Last December’s trip through Southeast Asia was the first time that John Kerry had traveled to Vietnam in nearly a decade—and marked his first visit to the country as secretary of state. For Kerry, the trip in many ways was an affirmation of his work in the US Senate towards normalizing US relations with Vietnam.

The history of the US rapprochement with Vietnam in many ways tracks with the development of the Center’s work on Vietnam, in particular, with the work of the Harvard Vietnam Program and its flagship initiative, the Fulbright Economics and Teaching Program (FETP). The origins of the Harvard Vietnam Program and FETP can be traced back to the 1990s when Kerry worked with his Senate colleague John McCain to normalize diplomatic relations with Vietnam.

However, at Harvard, the groundwork was being laid for the reestablishment of diplomatic ties years before when Thomas Vallely, the founding director of the Vietnam Program, along with HKS Professor Dwight Perkins and Vietnam Program Economist David Dapice, visited the country in the 1980s to examine economic issues. Vallely and Kerry came to know each other as politically active young veterans prominent in anti-war circles in Massachusetts in the early 1970s. Vallely served in the Marines in Danang while Kerry patrolled the coasts and rivers of Vietnam as a Navy lieutenant during the war.

After earning an MPA from the Kennedy School (’83) and a political career in the Massachusetts State House, Vallely traveled to Vietnam in 1985 for the first time since the war. It wasn’t long before Vallely returned to Harvard, this time as director of the nascent Vietnam Program, and began continuing on next page
working to sow the seeds of rapprochement between Washington and Hanoi.

After nearly two decades of normalized diplomatic relations, it can be easy to forget how controversial rapprochement was at the time. Many veterans groups were adamantly opposed to normalization, arguing that the Hanoi government was still holding American prisoners of war. Kerry and McCain recognized that first they had to tackle the POW issue head on before moving forward on normalization, so they worked to establish the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs. The Committee, with the cooperation of the Vietnamese government, conducted an exhaustive investigation that ultimately helped to lay the political groundwork for full normalization of ties.

Kerry also played an active role in efforts to establish academic exchanges between the US and Vietnam. Beginning with the Fulbright Program, which in part provides assistance for foreign scholars to study in the United States, academic ties were eventually forged between the two countries. In most countries, however, the Fulbright Program is administered locally by the US embassy, but without formal diplomatic ties or an embassy in Vietnam at the time, the State Department approached Harvard and the Vietnam Program about running the Fulbright Program there.

“Through the Fulbright Program, Harvard was at the vanguard of Track II diplomatic initiatives between the US and Vietnam and found itself well positioned to usher in the next phase of the academic cooperation between the two countries—ultimately leading to the creation of the FETP,” said current Harvard Vietnam Program Director Ben Wilkinson.

To complement the Fulbright Program’s scholarships for study in the US, Harvard worked to establish a training center in economics and public policy in Vietnam for Vietnamese officials. “Economics was identified as an initial focus because Vietnamese officials had very little exposure to market economics—rather they were largely versed in Soviet-style, central planning type economics,” said Wilkinson. By also insisting on instruction in the Vietnamese language, Harvard was able to reach a much larger cohort of students than through traditional exchange programs.

Harvard ultimately established FETP in Ho Chi Minh City in 1994 with a grant from the State Department—a year prior to the establishment of formal diplomatic relations with Vietnam. With the opening of diplomatic facilities in Vietnam, the US embassy gradually took over responsibility of administering the Fulbright Program, allowing the Harvard Vietnam Program to concentrate its attention and resources on FETP.

In the Senate, Kerry became one of staunchest advocates in Washington for the US-Vietnam relationship, and used his perch as a senior member, and ultimately chairman, of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to advocate on behalf of FETP and other public diplomacy efforts in Vietnam. Shortly after being confirmed, Kerry gave a speech as secretary of state mentioning these programs in Vietnam, saying, “I’m a passionate advocate of the Fulbright [School] and what it brings to us.”

On his December trip to Vietnam with Wilkinson and Vallely at his side, Kerry showcased the work of FETP and the Fulbright Program. Meeting with a group of FETP lecturers and current and former students at the US consulate in Ho Chi Minh City, Kerry heard firsthand about efforts to strengthen higher education in the Lower Mekong Delta region. Kerry also used the trip to highlight what is perhaps the first US-based initiative in the higher education sector in Vietnam: the Fulbright University-Vietnam (FUV) project.

FETP has been directly managed by the Vietnam Program for 20 years and is currently structured as an academic joint venture between HKS and the University of Economics—Ho Chi Minh City. Asked why transitioning into an independent university was important, Wilkinson said, “The current FETP governance structure has run remarkably smoothly since it was initially established, but evolving the program into an independent university will better ensure its sustainability well into the future.”

In Vietnam, Kerry expressed his strong support for this new model during discussions with his Vietnamese counterparts in Hanoi. “Kerry’s visit was instrumental to highlighting the work that the Vietnam Program is doing in the country, and helped build important momentum for the FUV project,” added Wilkinson. “The creation of the new university is an unprecedented undertaking in the Vietnamese context.”

A nonprofit foundation, which is chaired by Vallely, has been established to support the fledgling university. The foundation is working with the governments of the US and Vietnam, as well as individual and institutional donors from both countries, to build a solid financial footing for FUV to ensure it continues to educate new generations of Vietnamese students well into the future.
states seek innovative ways to integrate immigrant communities into political and civic life.

Lawrence owes its creation to the waves of immigrants welcomed to the Merrimack Valley to work in the city’s teeming mills and factories. Today the city still claims one of the highest proportions of immigrants in the state and a unique approach to integrating immigrant groups into the economic, civic, and political life of its community.

Cosponsored with the city of Lawrence, Community Works, the WBUR radio station, the Lawrence History Center, and Qniversity Lawrence, Integrating Immigrant Communities into Civic and Political Life invited participants to reflect on what they have learned from the city’s efforts to integrate new arrivals by asking what has worked, what has not worked, and what else might the city do? And, what can others learn from the Lawrence experience?

Mayor Rivera provided welcoming remarks; panelists included Jessica Andors, executive director of Lawrence Community Works; Sister Eileen Burns, executive director of Notre Dame Education Center-Lawrence; Archon Fung, Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship at HKS; Zoila Gomez, attorney; and Eliana Martinez of Lawrence International High School. Asma Khalid of WBUR served as moderator.

Over 200 people attended the event at which participants asked tough questions about the problems posed by high unemployment, poor language skills, and undocumented immigrants.

Raisa Carrasco Velez, MC-MPA ’09, who connected the Ash Center to local partners in Lawrence, reflected, “As an HKS alum and former Ash Fellow, I am very pleased the Ash Center would bring so many of us together and help shine the light on our unique story. Lawrence, in spite of many challenges, continues to be a city of hope and resilience. The city greeted me and my family with open arms twenty-five years ago, and I found support and great opportunities.”
In the News

Challenge.gov
US General Services Administration
Challenge.gov is the federal government’s online portal for running challenge and prize competitions. Challenges allow the government to crowdsource solutions to problems in a contest format, which results in diverse solutions and contributors. This pay-for-performance model saves money on critical initiatives and broadly drives innovation within and beyond government. Since its launch, Challenge.gov has been used by 59 federal agencies to crowdsource solutions and has received 3.5 million visits from 220 countries and territories and more than 11,000 US cities. Challenge.gov has conducted nearly 300 scientific, engineering, design, multimedia, ideation, and software challenges, resulting in public-private partnerships that are unprecedented in their size and scope. Examples of Challenge.gov competitions include an FTC Robocall Challenge that has blocked 84,000 computer-driven advertising phone calls thus far, a Disability Employment Apps Challenge that sought innovative technology tools to improve employment opportunities and outcomes for people with disabilities, and the Blue Button for All Americans Contest that helps veterans gain access to their health information.

Healthy Incentives
King County, Washington
King County saved $46 million over a four-year period on employee health care by supporting health improvements and encouraging use of higher quality health care. A benefit plan rewards employees with lower out-of-pocket expenses for choosing quality health care and participating in wellness activities, while work through a regional collaborative drives health-care quality improvements. King County’s approach targets some of the roots of the health care cost crisis: unhealthful lifestyles and poor quality health care. After the program was initiated, the county began converting its physical and cultural environment to support health. Wellness programs like Weight Watchers were brought on-site, healthful food options were put in vending machines, and ongoing education on nutrition and exercise were launched through a newsletter and website. From 2009 to 2012, wellness action plans were enhanced to address a wider range of health risks, and included additions such as on-site disease management workshops, activities in county parks, and community meetings. Employee engagement has been at or above 90 percent since the program began.

Winners Announced for 2013 Innovations in American Government Awards
This winter, the Ash Center’s Innovations in Government Program announced two winners of the Innovations in American Government Awards. The recipients were selected from a pool of more than 600 applicants from the city, county, state, and federal levels of government following rigorous rounds of evaluation. Winners are chosen based on novelty, effectiveness, significance, and the degree to which their innovations can inspire replication by other government entities.

Call for Nominations: Innovations Awards
The Ash Center encourages innovative government agencies at all levels of government in the United States to apply now to the Innovations in American Government Awards. Administered by the Ash Center, Innovations Awards are given to programs that serve as examples of creative and effective government at its best. All units of government across all policy areas are eligible to apply. The winner of the general Innovations Award and the winner of the special Roy and Lila Ash Innovations Award for Public Engagement in Government will each receive a $100,000 grant to support replication and dissemination activities. Finalists will also receive monetary grants, and other programs and programs designated as Bright Ideas will receive recognition of their efforts. Applications and additional information are available at: www.innovationsaward.harvard.edu. Applications are due June 20, 2014.
In March, the Ash Center announced the appointment of Somerville, Mass., Mayor Joseph A. Curtatone as a senior fellow affiliated with the Center. Curtatone’s non-stipendiary appointment represents a continuation of a strong collaboration between the Center and the city of Somerville to strengthen and promote innovative ideas in city government.

“Mayor Curtatone’s appointment will further enhance the work between the city of Somerville and the Ash Center, as well as continue to provide a unique experience for Harvard Kennedy School students to learn about and contribute to government innovation first hand,” said Ash Center Director Tony Saich.

A graduate of Harvard Kennedy School’s Mid-Career Master in Public Administration program, Curtatone was inaugurated to a historic sixth term as mayor of the city of Somerville on January 2, 2014. During his time in office, Curtatone has been widely recognized as a leader in implementing innovative governance strategies, including the development of the city’s highly successful SomerStat program, which harnesses data to evaluate, improve, and increase the efficiency of city services. After inheriting a government in fiscal crisis, Curtatone used data-driven management to stabilize city finances while expanding services and earning the city its highest ever bond rating of Aa2.

With Curtatone’s leadership, Somerville has earned regional and national distinctions including from the National Civic League as a winner of the prestigious “All America City” competition.

In the past, HKS students have worked directly with the Mayor’s Office to improve the delivery of public services in Somerville. Under this model, the city is able to both harness the dedicated time and energy of HKS students as well as the cutting-edge approaches being taught in the classroom—while students learn from Curtatone and his staff how best to apply what they have been taught to make government better for citizens.

As a fellow, Curtatone will assist the Center in its efforts to expand its applied research and education efforts to a number of other medium-sized cities in Massachusetts. Curtatone will work with the Center’s faculty to identify additional cities in Massachusetts with whom the Center can leverage its considerable expertise and resources to promote innovative governance solutions as well as to develop new experiential learning opportunities for HKS students.
Event Snapshots

Forum on US-China Diplomatic Relations
March 23–25, 2014

The Ash Center and the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard Kennedy School collaborated with the Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries (CPAFFC) to facilitate a rare opportunity for the academic community, policymakers, and others to discuss topics critical to the future of the US-China relationship in an open and productive manner. The forum was co-chaired by Tony Saich, director of the Ash Center and Daewoo Professor of International Affairs, and COAFFC President Li Xiaoping, and marked the 35th anniversary of the normalization of US-China diplomatic relations. Joseph Nye, HKS Distinguished Service Professor and former Dean of the Kennedy School and Zhao Qizheng, Dean of School of Journalism and Communication at Renmin University and former chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, were Honorary Chairs.

Participants took part in a number of discussions, including those focusing on the role of the US and China in shaping the future global architecture; trade and financial relationships, including an overview of differing regulator regimes and global trade frictions between Washington and Beijing; and the energy and environmental challenges confronting both nations. Saich reflected that despite “the bluster that often accompanies discussion of the bilateral relationship, [the US and China] face strikingly similar challenges on the global security, financial, and environmental fronts.”

Among those from China attending the forum were Sun Zhe, deputy director, Center on US-China Relations, Tsinghua University; Zhang Xinsheng, president of China Education Association for International Exchange and president of the International Union for Conservation of Nature, and Sun Guoziang, Ambassador, Consul General of the People’s Republic of China in New York. In addition to Professor Saich, Forum attendees heard remarks from Belfer Center Director Graham Allison; Harvard University President Drew Faust; Lawrence Summers, President Emeritus and the Charles W. Eliot University Professor of Harvard University; and Lt. Gen. (ret) Karl Eikenberry, the William J. Perry Fellow in International Security at the Center for International Security and Cooperation and faculty member of the Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center at Stanford University. Joseph Nye and Kenneth Rudd, former prime minister of Australia and senior fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School, were keynote speakers.

Organizers of the forum anticipate that this meeting will form the beginning of a series of more specific dialogues on topics identified during the meeting.
Representatives from 30 of the country’s largest cities convene at the Project on Municipal Innovation Advisory Group meeting with Prof. Stephen Goldsmith.

The opening afternoon discussion of innovation models captured a recurring theme within the network: how to build structures within government that foster innovation. The discussion highlighted cities like Chicago and New York that are using data-driven approaches to inform operations and policymaking as well as Denver’s effort to instill a culture of innovation across departments with its Peak Academy.

Anil Menon, president of Cisco Smart+Connected Communities, delivered a keynote encouraging the leaders to manage across boundaries. In the global economy, there is demand not only for the exchange of goods but also for the export of local expertise and service provision to other jurisdictions.

Menon’s message resonated throughout the rest of the meeting, as members participated in panels and breakout sessions to facilitate deeper conversations about successes and the challenges facing their cities. Topics included models to support innovation, partnering with philanthropy to disrupt inequality, revitalizing vacant properties, regulatory reform, and financing downtown redevelopment. By pooling experiences and lessons learned, members left not only with new ideas but a greater sense of community as city leaders and innovators.
**Event Snapshots**

**‘Tech4Democracy’ at Harvard**

April 30, 2014

The digital revolution came from unexpected quarters. It did not emerge from the large incumbent companies of the time—Wang, IBM, Digital Equipment Corporation—but from insurgents operating out of garages (Apple and Google) and dorm rooms (Microsoft and then Facebook).

In the arena of democratic reform, many try to combat overt threats to our political institutions through mainstream efforts such as campaign finance reform, election administration, and reform of the electoral college. But the next democratic revolution may be driven by much smaller operators—while also intersecting with the technology revolution.

On April 30, 2014, the Ash Center will cohost an event with Harvard University’s Innovation Lab (i-lab) exploring Harvard-affiliated technology start-ups that hope to strengthen American democracy. Harvard University students, alumni, and faculty are launching some of the most compelling and promising tech start-ups that find creative ways to deepen democracy by mobilizing citizens and empowering them to influence the critical public and private decisions and policies that affect their lives.

The panel discussion, moderated by HKS Professor Archon Fung, will feature the founders of start-ups with names like TurboVote, ShoutAbout, and OpportunitySpace. Current and former students/entrepreneurs will explain their technological innovation and its contribution to the field of democratic reform efforts and what we are learning about technology’s contributions and shortcomings to the health of democracy. The event is part of the Ash Center’s ongoing Challenges to Democracy public dialogue series.

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**Ash Center Receives $10 Million Gift for China Public Policy Research and Student Support**

The Ash Center has secured a major gift of $10 million to fund a five-year program on “Conflict, Cooperation or Coexistence: How Can the US and China Manage Global Governance?” to build multiple relationships with key thinkers and institutions in China and enhance mutual understanding of critical policy challenges. Currently, confusion and mistrust persist in both countries about the true intent of the other, with fears in the US of the challenge of a “rising China” and in China that US policy is intended to constrain China’s growth. China’s continued development will require accommodation from the US and Western countries to its legitimate strategic interests and from China it will require greater transparency about its perceptions of global governance. Most analyses of the relationship draw from historical precedent or extrapolate current trends into the future. This cedes the ground for policy formulation to preconceived ideological positions rather than utilizing new research that reviews different scenarios of China’s future international behavior and domestic development. This is where the China and Global Governance Program can make a real difference. The gift from JT Capital Management will support various program components in addition to major research initiatives, including outreach activities such as workshops and conferences, support for senior visiting fellows and postdoctoral fellowships, and support for HKS students through full or partial tuition scholarships, living stipends, and PAE/SYPA research grants.
The two bombs that blasted spectators and runners at the 2013 Boston Marathon—killing three and injuring more than 260—triggered a highly effective emergency response and about 100 hours of intense law enforcement effort to identify and apprehend the alleged perpetrators. At the one-year anniversary, the Ash Center’s Program on Crisis Leadership has released a paper, “Why Was Boston Strong? Lessons from the Boston Marathon Bombings,” examining the response to the bombings.

“Why Was Boston Strong” probes the marathon bombing events to provide response agencies with specific, actionable steps to help improve emergency management planning and operations. The paper was written by the faculty co-directors of the Program on Crisis Leadership, Prof. Herman B. “Dutch” Leonard, HKS and Harvard Business School, and Dr. Arnold M. Howitt, executive director of the Ash Center; and by Christine M. Cole, executive director of the HKS Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management; and Prof. Philip B. Heymann, Harvard Law School. The paper is available for download at http://bit.ly/P378dk.

The report is based primarily on interviews with two dozen senior command-level officials from law enforcement, emergency management, and emergency medical agencies from the federal and state governments and local jurisdictions. It was prepared for and later refined following a conference in mid-March of top public safety officials, practitioners with responsibilities for securing large-scale events, and scholars of emergency management, organizational behavior, and criminal justice from the Boston region, other parts of the US, and a number of other countries. The conference—which included both formal presentations and substantial open discussion—distilled lessons derived from the marathon experience and considered their relevance for other events in the US and other countries.

The report found that the response to the bombing and its aftermath was driven in significant part by the extensive planning and cooperative relationships developed among senior emergency personnel over a period of more than a decade in preparing not only for the marathon but other large-scale “fixed” events such as Boston’s Fourth of July concert and fireworks, First Night celebration, and major sports championships. The report authors suggest “that major contributing factors to much of what went well—and to some of what went less well—were the command and coordination structures, relationships, and circumstances through which responding organizations were deployed and managed.”

Specifically, the report highlighted the speedy response by survivors, bystanders, and professional responders at the bombing site; effective on-scene triage, coordinated apportionment of victims among area hospitals’ trauma centers, and fast transport to hospitals; and the rapid mobilization of area hospital emergency departments and their ability to handle the surge of the wounded. Three individuals died at the scene, but the many with life-threatening wounds were evacuated to hospitals within 22 minutes; and all of these survived.

A number of key actions taken by law enforcement personnel were also singled out for praise in the report, including the effective establishment of central coordination and command, quick organization of investigative work, and the rapid response to the scene and the securing of the blast areas by police and other responders. Much of this success was “the result of extensive and careful planning, years of investments and training, structure, skill- and relationship- and trust-building.”

The US House of Representatives Homeland Security Committee invited the report coauthors, represented by Prof. Leonard, to testify before the committee. He described to the committee how “Boston Strong”—the widely used slogan that emerged after the bombings—not only described the spirit of those who participate in the marathon and those who live and work in the metropolitan area, but also symbolized the depth of preparedness among medical and emergency personnel, the Boston Athletic Association and its thousands of volunteers, and the public safety personnel present that day.

At a bipartisan meeting with the staff of the Senate Homeland Security and Government Affairs Committee later that day, Leonard and coauthor Christine Cole had the opportunity to present their recommendations on how best to improve future responses by law enforcement and other public safety agencies charged with preparing for and responding to both large planned events and unforeseen, complex, and rapidly evolving crises.

Many of the observations and recommendations made in the report—though based on the unique experiences in the Boston area—were intended to provide guidance to event organizers and emergency personnel around the world grappling with the logistical challenges of securing similar large-scale events. “We believe that many of the lessons about mastering highly uncertain and fluid events will apply to many other event scenarios just as well—natural disasters and industrial accidents, for example, in addition to terror-related events,” the authors wrote in the report.

Development of the white paper and organization of the conference benefited from the expertise and assistance of the International Centre for Sport Security as well as from support of various divisions of Harvard University, including the Ash Center.
Innovations in Participation, 2013: Participedia’s Year in Review

By Michael MacKenzie, Tim Glynn-Burke and Archon Fung

Participedia (participedia.net) is an online resource for scholars, activists, policymakers, and citizens who are interested in new democratic practices and institutions around the world. Participedia was developed by Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Citizenship Archon Fung with colleagues from other institutions. In 2013, 152 new case studies were added to the collection. Here are synopses of six cases that were recently added to Participedia.

India • Satyamev Jayate (Truth Alone Prevails)
This democratic innovation combines new and old communications technologies. In 2012, actor Amir Khan produced a TV show profiling pressing political issues in India. The show was called Satyamev Jayate or “Truth Alone Prevails.” Each episode dealt with a separate political issue, including female feticide, child abuse, and corruption in the health-care system. In addition to personal profiles of those affected by the issues and critiques of relevant public policies, political leaders were invited to take part in live discussions of the issues.

Millions of people watched each episode of the show. Viewers were encouraged to phone into the show to directly ask questions of political leaders. Individuals were also encouraged to sign online petitions on the show’s website. The popularity of the show, combined with the online petitions, put pressure on elected officials to act on issues that they had for various reasons been reluctant to address.

Estonia • Rahvakogu (People’s Assembly)
This democratic innovation engaged Estonians in a nationwide discussion about ways to improve their political system. The Rahvakogu or “People’s Assembly” was an innovative way to combine a large-scale participation process with a small-scale deliberative event. Individuals were encouraged to make suggestions about how to improve the political system in Estonia. In the first three weeks, the website gained 60,000 views and 1,800 users posted nearly 6,000 ideas and comments. The suggestions made in the online phase of the project were compiled by a team of analysts and organized into themes.

During the second phase of the process, 500 individuals were randomly selected to participate in a Deliberation Day event, of which 314 attended the event itself. At the Deliberation Day event, participants discussed the pros and cons of each theme and identified priorities for political reform.

United States • California Citizens Redistricting Commission
California had some of the least competitive elections in the United States. In response, the California Citizens Redistricting Commission (CCRC) was created. The CCRC is an independent body comprised of ordinary citizens. Unlike many other participatory processes, members of the CCRC were selected through an intensive application process that attracted 30,000 applicants from diverse backgrounds.

When redrawing the electoral map, the CCRC followed a number of criteria established by the State Legislature, including population equality, geographic integrity, geographic compactness, and geographic contiguity. The CCRC did not consult with incumbents, political candidates, or political parties, but they did conduct thirty-four public hearings across the state. The CCRC’s electoral map was formally adopted and used for the first time in the 2012 general election. Independent observers have concluded that California now has some of the most competitive electoral districts in the United States.

Finland • Crowdsourcing
In 2013, the Finnish Ministry for Environment and the Committee for the Future of the Parliament in Finland initiated legislative crowdsourcing to establish a new off-road traffic law. In the first phase, participants were invited to comment and make suggestions on ten broad topics related to the traffic law. Participants submitted 340 ideas and 19,000 votes. In the second phase, 500 solutions for the identified topics and problems were generated, with 25,000 votes. Findings indicate that the crowdsourcing experiment was successful in increasing citizen participation and input in lawmaking.

Ireland • Constitutional Convention
The Irish Parliament (Oireachtas) initiated a Constitutional Convention to discuss and propose amendments to the Constitution. The delegation was comprised of an independent chairman, 33 delegates from Ireland’s political parties, and a random sample of 66 citizens.

Members were briefed prior to weekly deliberations, and the Convention reached a wider population via the web. Matters are decided by majority vote of members present, and Parliament must respond within four months. If it agrees with a recommendation, it must legislate a referendum to amend the Constitution. The government has since approved referenda on both reducing the voting age and on civil marriage for same sex couples.

Argentina • La Plata Multi-Channel Participatory Budgeting
Participatory budgeting in the city of La Plata employs an innovative combination of offline and mobile channels to promote the engagement of citizens in the direct allocation of the investment budget of the city. La Plata’s process is composed of three phases. Over 200 deliberative face-to-face meetings are held across different areas of the city. Citizens are able to remotely participate in the process (e.g., via mobile voting) by selecting options for public investment that have been previously generated during the deliberative phase. Finally, citizens monitor execution of the projects. The number of participants in the voting process via remote methods is on average ten times higher than in that of face-to-face participation.
In the 1900s, Boris Marshalov, a Russian actor visiting the US, observed a session of Congress. Afterward, Marshalov reflected, "Your Congress is very strange. A man gets up to speak; he says nothing; nobody listens; and when he sits down, everyone gets up to disagree." In many ways, this observation still rings true. Today, there is widespread and palpable public sentiment that Congress and Washington politics have become synonymous with words like bickering, gridlock, partisanship, polarization, and not least of all, paralysis. This is made clear in the US Congress' job approval rating, which is at its lowest point in history.

"Negotiating Agreement in Politics" is a timely and comprehensive report published by the American Political Science Association (APSA) that discusses the causes — institutional and otherwise — that have brought about the present state of paralysis. Crucially, this report also explores potential strategies to resolve the problem.

The report elaborates on a series of "institutional disincentives for cooperation and rewards for conflict" built into the US system. These challenges include a strong separation of powers with parties often controlling different branches of government, the many veto points in the system, equally matched and intensely competitive parties, and political calculations that incentivize refusal to negotiate and disincentivize collaboration. The result, more often than not, is what the authors call "negotiation myopia, a constellation of cognitive, emotional, and strategic mistakes that stand in the way of achieving agreement and mutual gains."

The authors suggest that deliberative negotiation, which embraces the possibility of expanding the pie rather than dividing it, is the solution to the dysfunction, inertia, and inefficiencies created by negotiation myopia. The report then reviews cases from commercial negotiations, psychology experiments, and studies of Congress, as well as other democracies and international relations to structure key rules of engagement for successful deliberative negotiation:

- Agree to incorporate nonpartisan, technical expertise to develop an unbiased, accurate and shared set of facts in order to find common ground rather than approaching the negotiation with competing, diametrically opposed and self-serving narratives.
- Engage in frequent and close interactions between negotiating parties to build and strengthen respect, trust, and an appreciation of each other's perspectives and goals.
- Establish penalties or other adverse consequences that are unpalatable to both parties in case of failure to reach a negotiated outcome or inaction.
- Conduct some negotiation confidentially in order to avoid the temptation of playing to the gallery under harsh public and media gaze, to promote more 'pondering' and less 'posturing.'

When the Founding Fathers structured American democracy, their foremost concern was to avoid tyranny, including majoritarian tyranny. They addressed this concern by establishing a strong separation of powers, numerous veto points, and a system in which different branches of government were based on different types of elections and could become controlled by different parties. The system is intentionally designed, in other words, to make negotiating not merely desirable, but essential; it is in fact the only way to get things done.

As it happens, after Boris Marshalov made his observation, the US Congress entered a long period of relative bipartisanship. However, because of the gradual realignment of parties after the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the level of polarization is now back to what it was a hundred years ago. Tussles for power, electoral calculations, the role of big money in politics, and the attractiveness of grandstanding are just a few of many factors that now discourage our representatives from negotiation and compromise.

The APSA's "Negotiating Agreement in Politics" provides a good starting point for further exploration through its analysis of the causes and consequences of the failure to negotiate and suggested path forward.
Student Focus

Travel Grants Support Student Research

Each year, the Ash Center provides travel grants to HKS students conducting field research for their Policy Analysis Exercises or Second Year Policy Analyses. This winter, the Center supported 19 students on projects that are advised by Ash-affiliated faculty or that explore topics aligned with the Center’s research and programmatic agenda. The HKS Indonesia Program also provided travel funding for eight Harvard students to conduct research over the January term in Indonesia. And, for the first time, the China Public Policy Program supported six Harvard students travelling to China for research projects over the winter break.

Laurie Au Community Empowerment on Lanai
Arthur Bauer and Lily Shen* Cash or Conditions: Consequences on Cognitive Abilities in Indonesia
Amanda Benton Creating a Shared Home: Promising Approaches for Using Co-Housing to Prevent and End Homelessness
Konstantin Von Bismarck and Todd Wintner Building a New Business Model around Voter Engagement
Amy Chang** Steps towards Establishing a US-China Cybersecurity Framework
Jonathan Chang How Indonesia Addresses Its History of Ethnic and Religious Conflict and Re-Focuses Its Human Capital Investment
Teresa Conrad Developing a Blueprint for a ‘Research & Development Fund’ for Social Innovation in Germany
Roniesha Copeland WGBH Digital Education Strategy
Daniel Feldman and Michael Haggerty* Intersection of Waste Systems, Public Space, the Support of Livelihoods through Community Enterprise, and Urban Development Programs in Indonesian Cities
Philip Harding Connected Congress: Rethinking Congress-Constiuent Communication
Manoah Koletty* Discovering Local Strategies for Improving Subnational Administrative Effectiveness in Indonesia
Dian Kusuma* Effects of Universal Health Coverage on Health Outcomes in Developing Countries: Evidence from Jamkesda Expansion in Indonesia
Michael Law** China’s Shadow Banking System and Financial Risks
Tim McDonald Policy Design for State Demonstration in National Health Reform: Program Assessment and Negotiation Analysis
Farzin Mirshahi The Diplomacy of Business: the Role Corporations Should Play in Resolving the Territorial Disputes in the South China Sea
Sarah Oberst and Diana Zamora Improving Teaching Outcomes in Antioquia, Colombia
Dante Perez and Carlos Quintero Herrera Lasso Borderless Nation: Would Mexico Benefit from a New Policy to Engage Its Diaspora in the United States?
Karina Qian and Benjamin Weinryb Grohsgal  A Data-Driven, Spatial-Analytic Framework for Built Environment Policy Targeting and Impact Evaluation at the Block Level: A Case Study of San Francisco

Arturo Reyes  Community Engagement and Regional Economic Development Strategies

Avery Schmidt  Toward a Framework for Evaluating Police Reform in New Democracies

Irene Shao**  Launching “Bridging Education And Mobility Inc.,” a Nonprofit that Aims to Improve Migrant Education in China

Kavitha Sivadasan and Jason Zhang**  Making Healthcare Affordable in China


Anne Washburn  Fukushima Crisis Communication Lessons for the United States: Policy Implications for the United States in the Event of a Nuclear Accident or a Nuclear Terrorist Attack


Yubing Xia**  Empowering Mulans: Making Gender-Transformative Policy Changes in Rural China

* Travel grant provided by the Ash Center’s HKS Indonesia Program
** Travel grant provided by the Ash Center’s China Public Policy Program
Experiential Learning: HKS Students Advance Disaster Recovery Efforts in Chile

by Matt Stolhandske, Project Manager, Recupera Chile

This past January found twenty lucky students leaving the Cambridge cold behind for a bit of hard work in the warm Chilean sun. As part of Doug Ahlers' J-term course, “Community Recovery: Rebuilding Disaster Damaged Communities in Chile,” the students were deployed to the towns on the areas of coastal Chile that were the most badly damaged by the earthquake and tsunami of February 2010. Their projects promoted entrepreneurship and innovation as a means of stimulating recovering economies and restoring broken livelihoods. In some cases, new forms of employment are necessary to overcome the disruption to the ecosystems that formerly furnished both food and income. In other cases, small- and medium-scale entrepreneurs are trying to rebuild their enterprises and struggle navigating the complicated web of potential funding sources. Through the work of Recupera Chile, a multidisciplinary Harvard initiative cofounded by Ahlers, the students held an entrepreneurship and innovation competition in the town of Cobquecura as a means of replacing lost economic activity and performed a feasibility study for an aquaculture project in Dichato in hopes of providing an alternate source of income for fishermen who have struggled since 2010.

Fundamental to the J-term course and the operations of the Harvard initiative is the concept that recovery is a multifaceted phenomenon. Recupera Chile, therefore, also focuses on families affected by the largest displaced persons camp in the country, also in Dichato, by addressing the social, mental, and physical health needs of the people in the town. In addition to providing health screenings, case management services, and ongoing support to the municipal government, the Recupera Chile team is developing a new education concept. The project, called the Innovative School, provides high quality education and introduces environmental and tsunami-safety concepts to children at an early age.

HKS students Changgi Lee, Jack James, and Kay Kim on a boat tour to learn about aquaculture south of Concepción, Chile.

Boats on Coliumo Bay just outside of Dichato in southern Chile demonstrate the region’s economic engine. The Recupera Chile initiative is working with the community to investigate aquaculture alternatives to restore livelihoods and combat overfishing.

HKS students Hyunsuk Ji, Jennifer Hatch, and Changgi Lee take in a local fish market in Chile where they lived and worked in disaster-damaged communities for two weeks during the January term.
On the Bookshelf

Two New Titles from Innovations Series
Partnership with Brookings

Since 2007, the Ash Center has collaborated with Brookings Institution Press on the “Innovative Governance in the 21st Century” book series. The series, edited by Ash Center Director Tony Saich, examines important issues of governance, public policy, and administration, highlighting innovative practices and original research worldwide. All titles in the series are copublished by Brookings Institution Press and the Ash Center. In the spring of 2014, two new books will be released.

The Persistence of Innovation in Government
By Sandford Borins

In The Persistence of Innovation in Government, Sandford Borins addresses the enduring significance of innovation in government as practiced by public servants, analyzed by scholars, discussed by media, documented by awards, and experienced by the public. He maps the changing landscape of American public-sector innovation in the twenty-first century, largely by addressing three key questions: Who innovates? When, why, and how do they do it? And, what are the persistent obstacles to innovation and the proven methods for overcoming those obstacles?

Probing both the process and the content of innovation in the public sector, Borins identifies major shifts and important continuities through an analysis of the Ash Center’s Innovations in American Government Awards program, significant new research on government performance, and a fresh look at the findings of his earlier book Innovating with Integrity: How Local Heroes Are Transforming American Government. Borins also offers a thematic survey of the field’s burgeoning literature, with a particular focus on international comparison.

The PerformanceStat Potential: A Leadership Strategy for Producing Results
By Robert D. Behn

In The PerformanceStat Potential, Robert Behn examines how government leaders use a leadership strategy he calls PerformanceStat and defines as a focused effort to exploit the power of purpose and motivation, responsibility and discretion, data and meetings, analysis and learning, and feedback and follow-up to improve an organization’s performance. This effort started two decades ago with CompStat in the New York City Police Department but quickly jumped to other public agencies in New York and to police agencies internationally. Baltimore created CitiStat, the first application of this leadership strategy to an entire jurisdiction. Today, governments at all levels employ PerformanceStat. Behn analyzes the leadership behaviors at the core of PerformanceStat to identify how they work to produce results. Behn goes on to examine implementations of PerformanceStat in the Los Angeles County Department of Public Social Services, which uses its DPSSTATS to promote economic independence among its residents; in the city of New Orleans, which uses its BlightStat to combat urban blight; and by the Federal Emergency Management Agency, which uses its FEMASStat to capture and apply lessons from each crisis response, recovery, and mitigation.

www.ash.harvard.edu 15
In Focus: Challenges to Democracy Year One

Challenges Explored
- Inequality versus Democracy
- Expansion of Presidential Power
- Becoming American: Immigration and Citizenship
- Promise and Perils of Digital Technology

Events Hosted
- Dollarocracy: How the Money and Media Election Complex Is Destroying America
- Launch Event: Inequality vs. Democracy with WBUR and NPR’s On Point
- Robert Schenkkan’s All the Way Performance and Discussion at American Repertory Theater
- Leading a Nation of Devils: How to Get Things Done in a Democracy
- Datafest with HKS Student Group Tech4Change
- Too Many Checks, No Balance: Partisan Brinkmanship or a Shrinking Presidency as the New Normal?
- All the King’s Men (1949) with Harvard Film Archive
- The Heart of Robin Hood Performance and Discussion at American Repertory Theater
- The Unknown Known: Film Screening and Discussion Featuring Director Errol Morris
- Cities, Technology and Democracy Study Group: Participatory Budgeting with Archon Fung
- Cities, Technology and Democracy Study Group: The Responsive City with Susan Crawford
- Cities, Technology and Democracy Study Group: From Potholes to Policies with Quinton Mayne and Tom Cosgrove
- Integrating Immigrant Communities Into Civic and Political Life: A Panel Discussion on the Lawrence Experience
- Digital Democracy: Is Digital Technology Transforming the US Political Landscape as Expected?
- Finding Common Ground Between the Left and Right: Solving Challenges to American Democracy
- Cities, Technology and Democracy Study Group: A Call to Action with Mayor Joseph Curtatone and Jorrit de Jong
- Harvard University’s ‘Tech4Democracy’ Movement with i-lab
- Crossing Boundaries: How Local Innovations in Immigrant Integration are Expanding Our Notions of Democracy

Read more about this public dialogue series at www.challenges todemocracy.us.