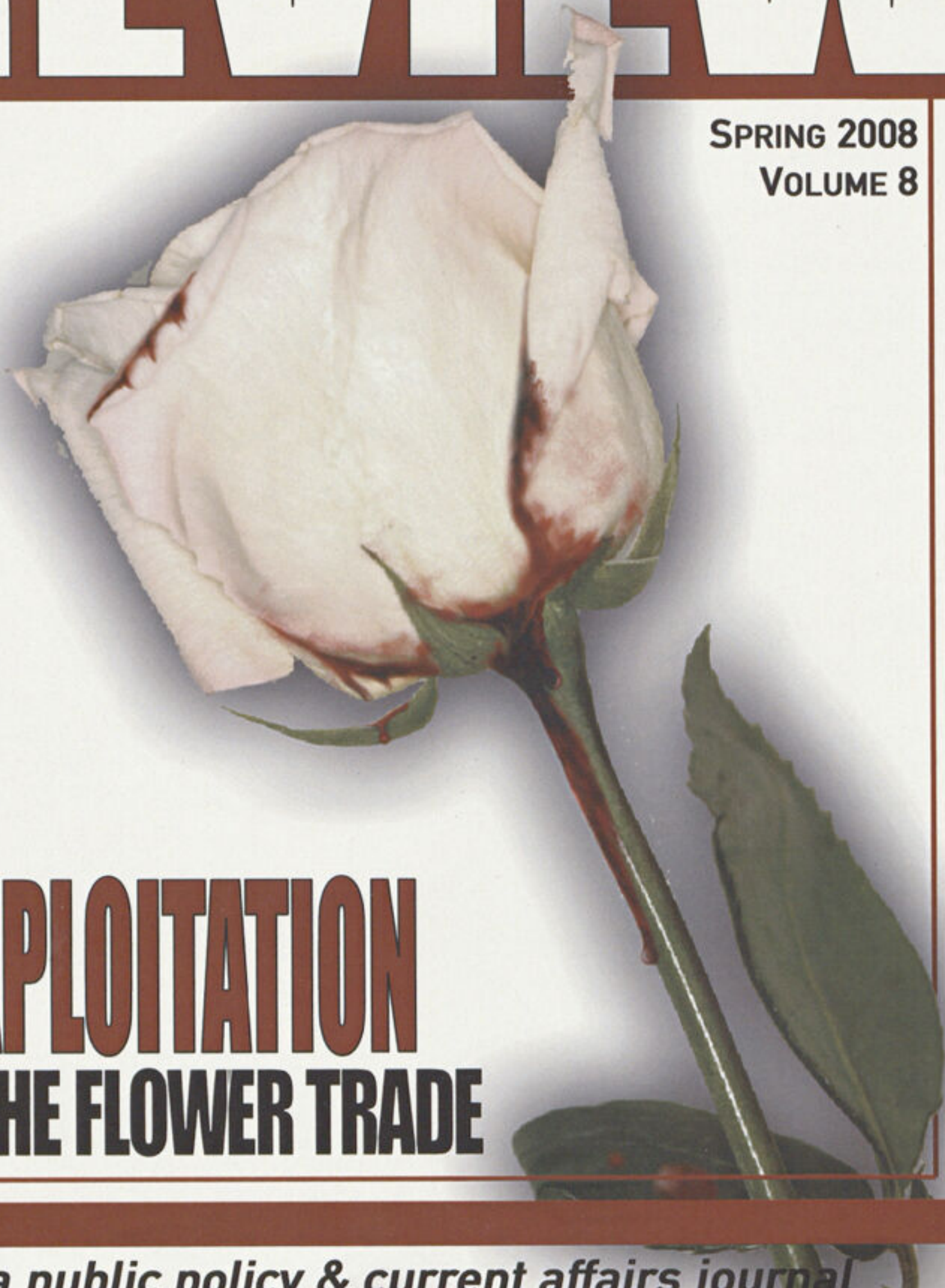


PLUS RISING STARS: 5 YOUNG LEADERS MAKING A CHANGE

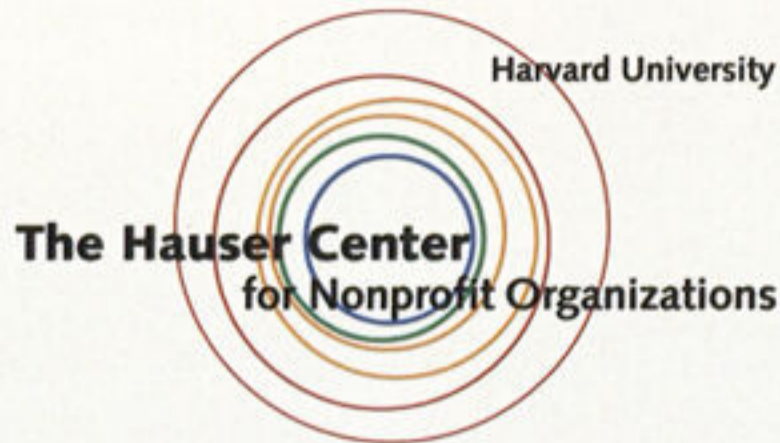
HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL REVIEW

SPRING 2008
VOLUME 8



**EXPLOITATION
& THE FLOWER TRADE**

a public policy & current affairs journal



The Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations is Harvard's university-wide center for the study of nonprofit organizations and civil society. Established in 1997 with a generous grant from Rita and Gus Hauser, the Center seeks to expand understanding and accelerate critical thinking about the leadership of nonprofit and non-governmental organizations among scholars, practitioners, and policy makers.

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Christopher Stone (Hauser Faculty Director), V. Kasturi Rangan (Harvard Business School), Peter Gelb (General Manager, The Metropolitan Opera) lead a seminar on "The New Future of the Metropolitan Opera."



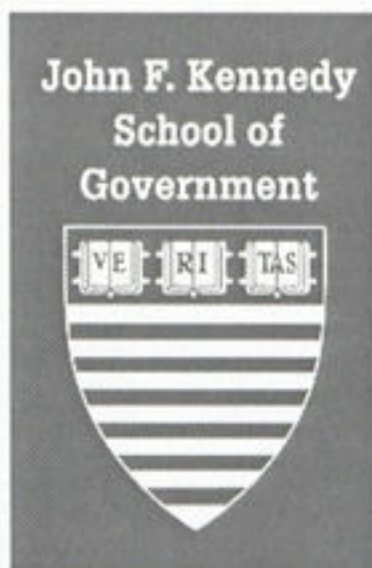
Mary Jo Bane (HKS Academic Dean), David Ellwood (HKS Dean), Rita Hauser (Hauser founder) speak at the "Hauser Center 10th Anniversary Research Colloquium."

As the Center starts its second decade, we will build on our base of teaching and research, engaging current and future leaders of nonprofit organizations and civil society movements worldwide. To strengthen our service to the nonprofit field, we will concentrate in five specific domains: (a) international humanitarian organizations, (b) justice and human rights organizations, (c) arts, culture, and media organizations, (d) nonprofit organizations in China, and (e) philanthropic organizations.

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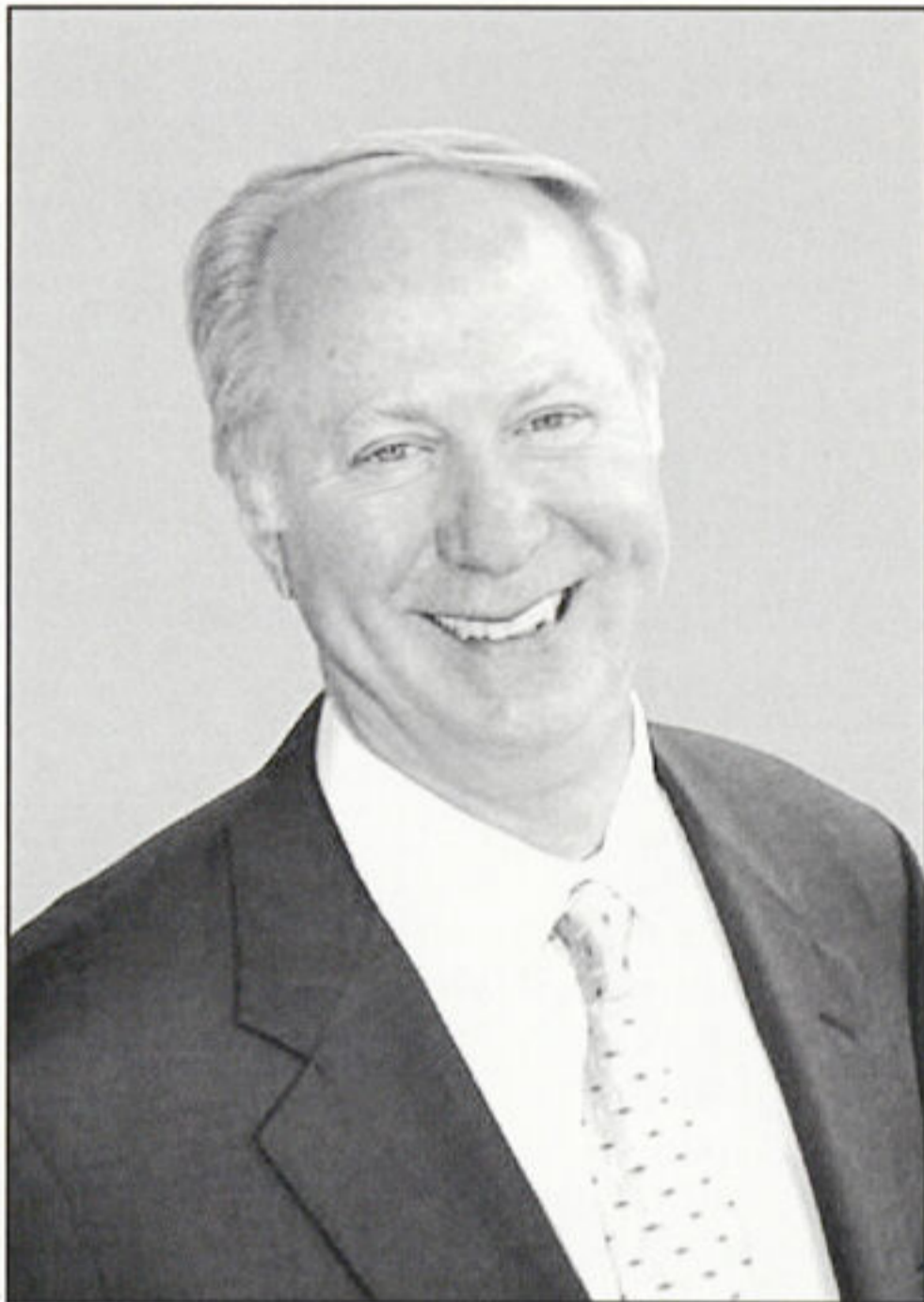
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FOREWORD BY DAVID GERGEN



The publication of the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* is a welcome event every spring because it opens a window on what some of our most talented students see as significant challenges facing the world and how they might solve them. This year's publication is no exception, brimming over with imaginative pieces.

But this spring also brings something new and special: a series of profiles the editors call "Rising Stars of Public Policy". Not only are the stars themselves of great merit but their selection is also highly revealing of the role models that our students are choosing these days.

Michelle Rhee is a thirty-eight-year-old alumna who grew up in Ohio, went to Cornell and then devoted three years to Teach for America, starting off in an elementary school class room in inner-city Baltimore. After studying at HKS, she founded a non-profit, entrepreneurial

organization called The New Teacher Project—a venture so successful that she was recently recruited to become the chancellor of the Washington, D.C. public schools, where she is now one of the most talked about public leaders in the country.

Yon Goicoechea is a twenty-three-year-old law student in Venezuela who organized a student protest movement in his country. He was catapulted into the international spotlight a few months ago when the movement helped to defeat an effort by Hugo Chavez to eliminate term limits on his presidency.

Eboo Patel is a dynamic Muslim leader in Chicago who first won a Rhodes, then a doctorate in the sociology of religion, before organizing The Interfaith Youth Core—a worthy effort, as his profile puts it, to tip the balance of history away from "religious totalitarianism" and toward pluralism and interfaith cooperation.

Soraya Salti is a young woman from Jordan who earned an MBA from Northwestern University and returned home to apply a competitiveness model developed at Harvard to the Jordanian national economy. Soon thereafter she founded and is now CEO of a non-profit organization called INJAZ that offers courses in entrepreneurship and empowerment to boys and girls. INJAZ started in Jordan and thanks to her leadership, has spread across the Middle East, now enrolling some 50,000 students; her goal is to train one million Arab youth a year in entrepreneurial skills by 2018.

Van Jones is a forty-year-old African-American dynamo who grew up in Tennessee, graduated from Yale Law, and soon co-founded the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, based in Oakland, California. He has invested fifteen years into these efforts and today is in the international spotlight for his pioneering work to create green-collar jobs for urban young people—jobs that will substitute, as he says, solar cells for jail cells.

Pause for a moment and think about what these five leaders represent. More to the point think about what they are not: Not one is a cabinet minister who is trying to promote new spending programs or new regulations. Not one is a civil servant who has spent 20 years working up through the ranks so that he or she could have a position of significant governmental authority. Not one is a colonel or general sending troops into battle.

Instead, the editors have chosen as their “rising stars” of public policy five people who are all social change agents and began their lives in the civic sector—four of them as social entrepreneurs. All are forty and under. All are idealists who believe that change is possible through civic engagement, innovation and long, hard struggle. All have taken serious risks with their lives—some professionally, others physically. Not one of them has made much money but all seem to have realized great psychic rewards for working on causes larger themselves. I personally know all but one of them (Yon Goicoechea) and can attest that they are inspiring figures working at the frontiers of social change.

This past spring, I accompanied two dozen Zuckerman Fellows to Washington, D.C., on a field trip where they met Senators, top officials in the executive branch, journalists, and military leaders. Who was the person who enthralled them the most—the one they said they would most like to be? Michelle Rhee, the social entrepreneur who came in through a side door to become chancellor of some of the toughest public schools in the country.

Nothing here suggests that the world no longer needs top-flight leaders in the public sector. Indeed, the work that Kennedy School students have done these past years in New Orleans, rebuilding after Katrina, have reminded them again and again how much we need more talented people in U.S. governmental agencies such as FEMA. The failures of government oversight in the subprime crisis have brought home those lessons about financial agencies in the public sector. The errors of judgment in the Iraq war, along with the intelligence failures, have highlighted how critical jobs in national security remain. Failures in governance plague nations all over the world.

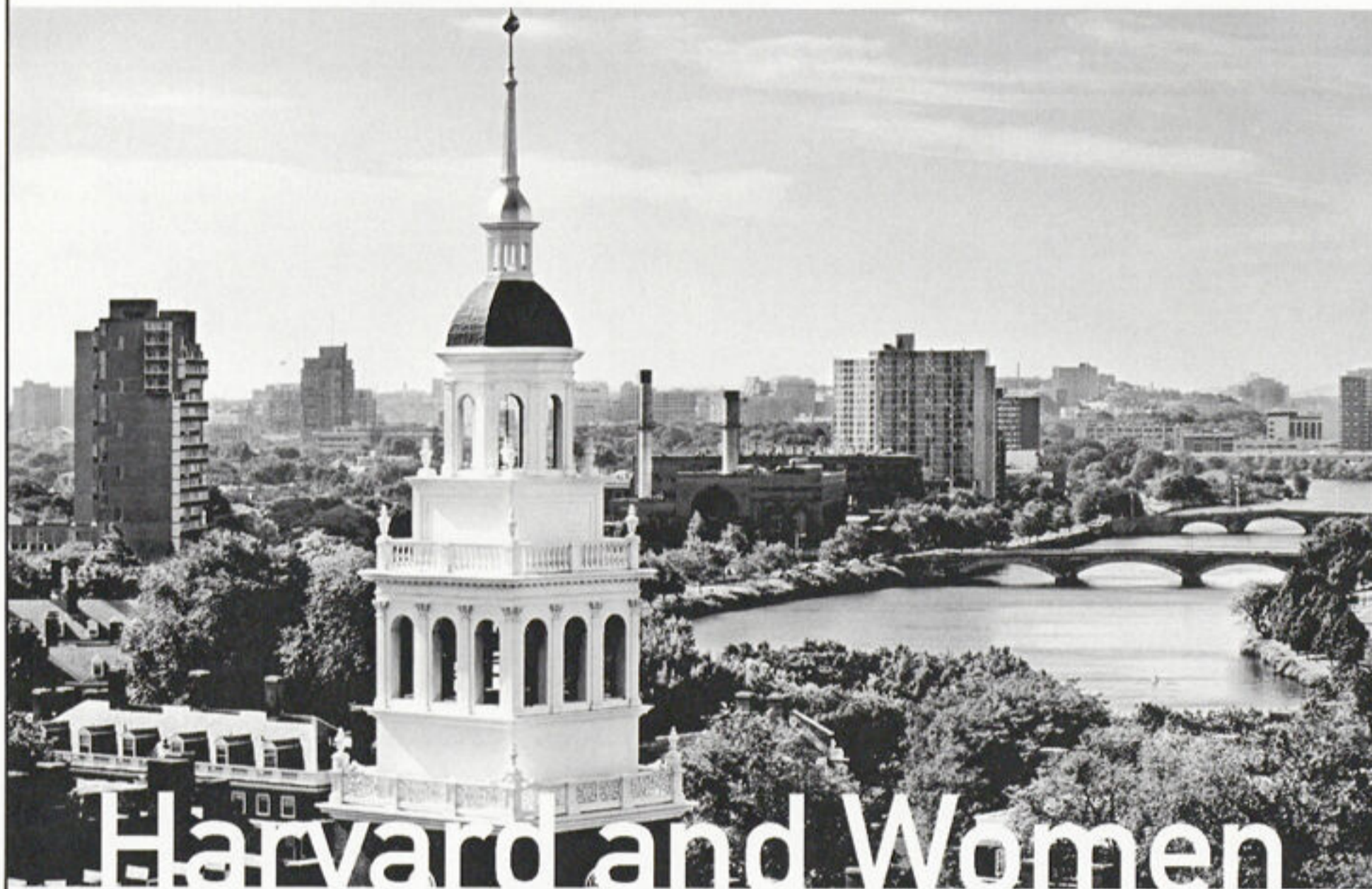
What these profiles tell us is that beyond positions of more traditional leadership, new role models are also emerging and they are capturing the imagination of the young—role models that offer fresh, innovative approaches that may not only help meet desperate social needs but may also be “game-changers”. There is a new spirit in the air among young people across much of the world: they are simply not content with the status quo and want to transform it. Those of us who have grown up with more traditional concepts of service and leadership can learn from them—just as perhaps they can learn a thing or two from us. Most of all, we should welcome—and yes, encourage, and work with—the idealists of the younger generation who are willing to step up to the leadership challenges of this new century and find new paths beyond the mountains. Three cheers to the editors of this *Harvard Kennedy School Review*!

David Gergen
Professor of Public Service
Director, Center for Public Leadership
Harvard Kennedy School



HARVARD Kennedy School

WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAM



The Women and Public Policy Program (WAPPP) addresses public policies that have an impact on women and both informs and learns from women who shape public policies. Its goal is to create a world more balanced in opportunity and more secure.

Primary activities are:

- » Facilitating scholarship on women and public policy
- » Publishing materials on women and public policy
- » Encouraging and enhancing teaching on women and public policy
- » Applying research findings to the public policy process
- » Enriching the culture at the Kennedy School

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MANDATES ARE SENSIBLE MEDICINE

NEEL SHAH explains why America needs health care mandates despite potential political ramifications

Colonoscopies are unpleasant, but they make sense. Likewise, health insurance mandates make many people squirm, but they may be in our best interest anyway. A health care reform plan that does not require coverage for every American will let deadly, curable ailments go untreated.

Not everyone sees it this way. When Sen. Hillary Clinton attacked fellow Sen. Barack Obama for not including a mandate in his health care reform plan, Obama directly addressed what makes people uncomfortable with the idea: it's not that people do not want health insurance, it's that they cannot afford it. If health insurance is sufficiently affordable, inducing people to purchase it with a federal mandate is unnecessary.

Missing from Obama's argument is that the decision to purchase health care depends on more than cost. It also depends on value. If you can afford something but do not think you need it, you might not buy it.

A 2005 U.S. Department of Health and Human Services report found that the vast majority of those who are uninsured live well above the federal poverty level. Most uninsured Americans are young and healthy and have never been sick enough to stay in a hospital. They understand the consequences of slipping on ice or rupturing their appendix—they just do not spend much time thinking about those possibilities.

Interestingly, it is not only the young that undervalue care—particularly when it comes to spending money to prevent disease. A recent study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* by Amal Trivedi and colleagues demonstrates the effects of small, shared-cost increases on the use of mammograms. Focusing on more than 350,000 women between the ages of sixty-five and sixty-nine years, the study estimated that even a co-pay of \$10 reduces the amount of

women who will get a potentially lifesaving mammogram by eight percent. Nationally, this would translate to tens of thousands of missed cancers each year.

Health care is an unusual commodity. Under the worst of circumstances, we will pay whatever it takes to be treated—even when the potential return is small. Given end-stage cancer, most of us will opt for expensive chemotherapies, even if no benefit is likely. When times are better, we are overly parsimonious—even when the potential return is huge. How many people do you know who go out of their way to schedule regular “well visits” with their doctor, even though they know these visits can help prevent cancer in the first place?

Economists have demonstrated that some of our most important health care decisions are not made rationally. Even when we are aware of the risks and trade-offs of our health care decisions, our spending does not always correspond with a measurable determination of value. Instead (to the consternation of many doctors), the current status of our health distorts how we value care.

This is why any health care reform plan must carefully consider how it imposes direct costs on patients—particularly those who generally feel pretty good. Doctors and economists both agree that while a \$500 colonoscopy may appear less desirable to a seemingly healthy fifty-year-old than a \$500 set of golf clubs, having fifty-year-olds get colonoscopies is a good idea. Any plan that relies too much on these types of snapshot preferences will fall short on saving lives.

Requiring comprehensive health insurance coverage will solve the problem so that fifty-year-olds won't have to compare their love of golf to their love of being probed. Instead, they can weigh the current unpleasantness of the colonoscopy against the future unpleasantness of cancer when deciding to receive care.

The binding nature of a federal health insurance mandate is not exactly pleasant. But sensible medicine sometimes is not.

NEEL SHAH is a joint degree candidate in medicine and public policy at Brown Medical School and Harvard Kennedy School and a student fellow at the Petrie-Flom Center for Health Law Policy at Harvard Law School.

A TALE OF TWO CHARTER SCHOOLS

*Creating better and
more responsible
charter schools*

By RACHEL HICKS,
ALLISON OHLE
AND JON VALANT

Charter schools are publicly funded, nonreligious schools that are free from many of the regulations facing traditional American public schools. The essential “charter school bargain” is autonomy for accountability. In exchange for increased control over curriculum, personnel, budgeting, and other components of school management, charter school operators accept performance expectations and the threat of closure for poor performance. While charter school laws vary from state to state, most charter school teachers do not belong to teacher unions. Students are admitted on a first-come, first-served basis, with random lotteries used in case of oversubscription. As public schools, charter schools cannot charge tuition.

The National Charter School Research Project reports that approximately 2.3 percent of America’s schoolchildren attended a charter school in 2006-2007. This percentage has steadily risen since the first charter school law passed in 1991.

Studies of charter school performance have yielded mixed results, and charter schooling remains one of the most fiercely debated topics in American education. Advocates argue that charter schools serve as laboratories for innovation, introduce healthy competition to public education, enable parents to find schools best suited to their children, and provide alternatives to low-income families that cannot relocate if they dislike their local public schools. Opponents contend that charters take resources from the

public schools, require long hours from teachers, and draw the strongest students and most active parents from the public school system.

Although charter schools and vouchers are cousins in the school choice movement, there are important differences between them. Voucher programs provide parents with public money that can be used toward private school tuition. These programs vary, but vouchers typically can be used in religious schools with admissions requirements and varying tuition costs.

EXAMPLE CHARTER SCHOOL: CLAREMONT ELEMENTARY

Poor performance, violence, and poverty plagued the Philadelphia School District in the 1990s. After numerous attempts by Philadelphia’s local authorities to resurrect the failing school system, the state finally seized control of the district in 2001. As part of the district’s improvement plan, the state offered to any interested party the chance to operate any of five Philadelphia public schools as a charter school. David Blaylock was one such party. After working a few connections, he was the proud owner of a charter authorizing a K-5th grade school at the site of Claremont Elementary for the 2002-2003 school year.*

David Blaylock was not an obvious choice for an educational entrepreneur. Unlike many other charter school founders, Blaylock had no experience teaching or leading a school. Instead, he had made his mark in business. Early in his career, Blaylock began buying real estate near the University of Pennsylvania’s campus in West Philadelphia in the 1970s. As the university expanded west, he raked in millions. Almost thirty years later, Blaylock decided to become a philanthropist and invest in the impoverished community that had brought him such wealth.

Claremont Elementary meant more to Blaylock than just atoning for his wheeler-dealer ways; he was on a mission. Blaylock wanted to

* The names of the school and the founder have been changed.

RACHEL HICKS, ALLISON OHLE, and JON VALANT are second-year master in public policy candidates at the Harvard Kennedy School. HICKS is a Teach for America alumna; OHLE, also a Teach for America alumna, is a founding teacher of KIPP Bridge College Prep; and VALANT has worked with charter schools and charter management organizations.

A TALE OF TWO CHARTER SCHOOLS

prove that even the worst public school could succeed with \$500,000 more per year to hire the best teachers, reduce class sizes to twelve, buy the newest curricular materials, and hire a full-time staff of social workers.

Before Blaylock, one of Claremont Elementary's major flaws was its ineffective teachers, who would allow students to jump rope in the hallways instead of go to class. When Blaylock arrived, he refused to rehire any teacher who had previously worked at Claremont. Blaylock made hiring a high-quality staff his first priority; every teaching candidate endured numerous interviews and delivered a sample lesson to a class at a nearby charter school. By the first day of school, every teacher at Claremont Charter School had been handpicked.

When the first round of state assessment scores came back in June 2003, Blaylock and the new Claremont staff were elated. Claremont Charter School had outperformed the former Claremont Elementary in every subject, at every grade level.

In the process, however, Claremont became Blaylock's educational fiefdom. As a charter, Claremont was no longer subject to an unresponsive district bureaucracy. With little external oversight, Claremont followed every whim of its leader. In the course of one summer, Blaylock changed his mind about textbooks, school curriculum, summer school admittance, and job responsibilities of some of his most significant employees.

One change was especially telling. A school intern asked Blaylock what Claremont was doing about inner-city kids' lack of knowledge and perspective on the world beyond their home block. An idea began to form in Blaylock's mind—the interns could design an “urban geography” curriculum to teach students about their neighborhood and city. The Claremont students, he decided, could have urban geography as part of an elective class like physical education or music. In fact, he could just cut music during the day and use that time for urban geography. He fired the music teacher the very next day and hired additional interns to work specifically on that project.

This penchant for last-minute decision making cost the school quality staff members and reintroduced instability. As long as Claremont maintained high scores, Blaylock could keep his

charter, but how long would Claremont be able to sustain its success under such conditions? Considering Blaylock's heavy political connections, the likelihood that the state would revoke his charter for poor performance was small. In fact, very few authorizers nationally have closed charters for reasons other than severe financial mismanagement. The situation in Texas has grown so egregious that several of the state's high-quality charter schools are supporting legislation to close more easily their low-performing counterparts.

**“CHARTER AUTHORIZERS AND
OTHER PUBLIC OFFICIALS MUST
GIVE THESE SCHOOLS FREEDOM
TO OPERATE, BUT THEY ALSO
MUST BE AVAILABLE TO HELP,
AND PREPARED TO CLOSE,
FAILING CHARTER SCHOOLS”**

A further complication is that not all charters are established to improve test scores. Some schools are founded with a particular focus, like performing arts, robotics, or fashion, for which test scores in the academic content areas can seem irrelevant. The pressure to outperform traditional public schools looms large in the charter school world, however. Perhaps the most well-known charter schools with this mission are the Knowledge Is Power Program (KIPP) schools, with their well-defined “no excuses” approach.

KNOWLEDGE IS POWER PROGRAM (KIPP) SCHOOLS

Since 1994, KIPP has emerged as a heavyweight in the charter school universe. KIPP manages fifty-seven schools in some of the lowest-income communities in American cities, and it is highly acclaimed and often emulated.

KIPP's Web site states that the average student who has been with KIPP for three years starts fifth grade at the thirty-fourth percentile in reading and the forty-fourth percentile in math. After three years in KIPP, these same students are performing at the fifty-eighth percentile in reading and the eighty-third percentile in math.

Eighty percent of students who finish the eighth grade at KIPP matriculate in college.

In a 2005 PBS interview, Mike Feinberg, cofounder of KIPP, said, "There are no shortcuts, no quick, easy magical solutions to making that kind of impact. It [is] about rolling up your sleeves and working very hard at it."

Reviews of KIPP have been positive, but opponents have criticized its overly harsh discipline policies, high student attrition rates, and possible "skimming" of the most qualified public school students. One KIPP student in Oakland, CA, defended the discipline code in a 2003 *San Francisco Chronicle* interview, attesting that it "helps children who make mistakes not to make mistakes again." Even if KIPP is not a perfect fit for all students, it works for many. In a 2008 interview on National Public Radio, a KIPP mother from Albany, NY, said, "the community works—you know, the triangle, the teacher, parent and the student triangle works for us."

NEW RULES FOR CHARTER SCHOOLS

Charter schools, while not a panacea for school reform, present a tremendous opportunity for the American public education system. However, poor state-level policies, most notably in oversight and accountability, are preventing this opportunity from being fully realized. Despite the success of KIPP and even schools like Claremont, most analyses of aggregate charter school performance have shown that charter school students perform little better than traditional public school students. Separating high-performing charters from their less effective peers is the challenge of the charter school movement. While most successful charter schools rely on curricular creativity, longer school days and years, and the ability to hire and fire teachers—all of which require freedom from state regulations—there is still need for responsible oversight. Charter authorizers and other public officials must give these schools freedom to operate, but they also must be available to help, and prepared to close, failing charter schools.

Shutting down schools can be politically difficult. Parents, concerned about uprooting their children and uneasy about their alternatives, actively resist the closure of failing charter schools. But these failing schools harm the students who attend them, dull the impact of the charter school movement, and take valuable

THE CHARTER SCHOOL EXPERIENCE

KIPP's doors open around 7 a.m. Students, wearing khakis and collared shirts, work silently on enrichment assignments while eating breakfast. Those who have earned the privilege proudly don T-shirts proclaiming "Honor Roll Nation" or "Got A's." In the corner of a classroom, some students work alone on essays, reflecting on poor choices they have made and how they will turn their behavior around. The teachers, most having been at school for over an hour already, prepare their overhead projectors for the long day ahead. Some are tutoring students. Some are meeting with parents.

With passionate teachers available before and after school, both in person and on the phone, there are no excuses for students not to complete assignments. With long school days (7:30 a.m.-5 p.m.), long school weeks (including Saturday school), and long school years (a mandatory summer program), there are no excuses for teachers to skip any material. With teachers willing to meet in the morning or evening, come to a student's home, and talk on the telephone, there are no excuses for parents not to be engaged with their children's education.

Homerooms are named after teachers' alma maters, many of which are prestigious universities. Students win T-shirts and pencils bearing these universities' names at school assemblies, and they form rival groups around college basketball and football games. Teachers speak often about their college experiences and post pictures and posters on their walls. The goal for each pupil in the building is clear—to have the option to attend college.

resources from other schools. We must be creative in making closures more palatable to political leaders, who must be more courageous in closing schools despite parental opposition. This might involve adding language to the schools' charters that calls for automatic shutdowns if certain goals are not met. When schools must be shut down,

A TALE OF TWO CHARTER SCHOOLS

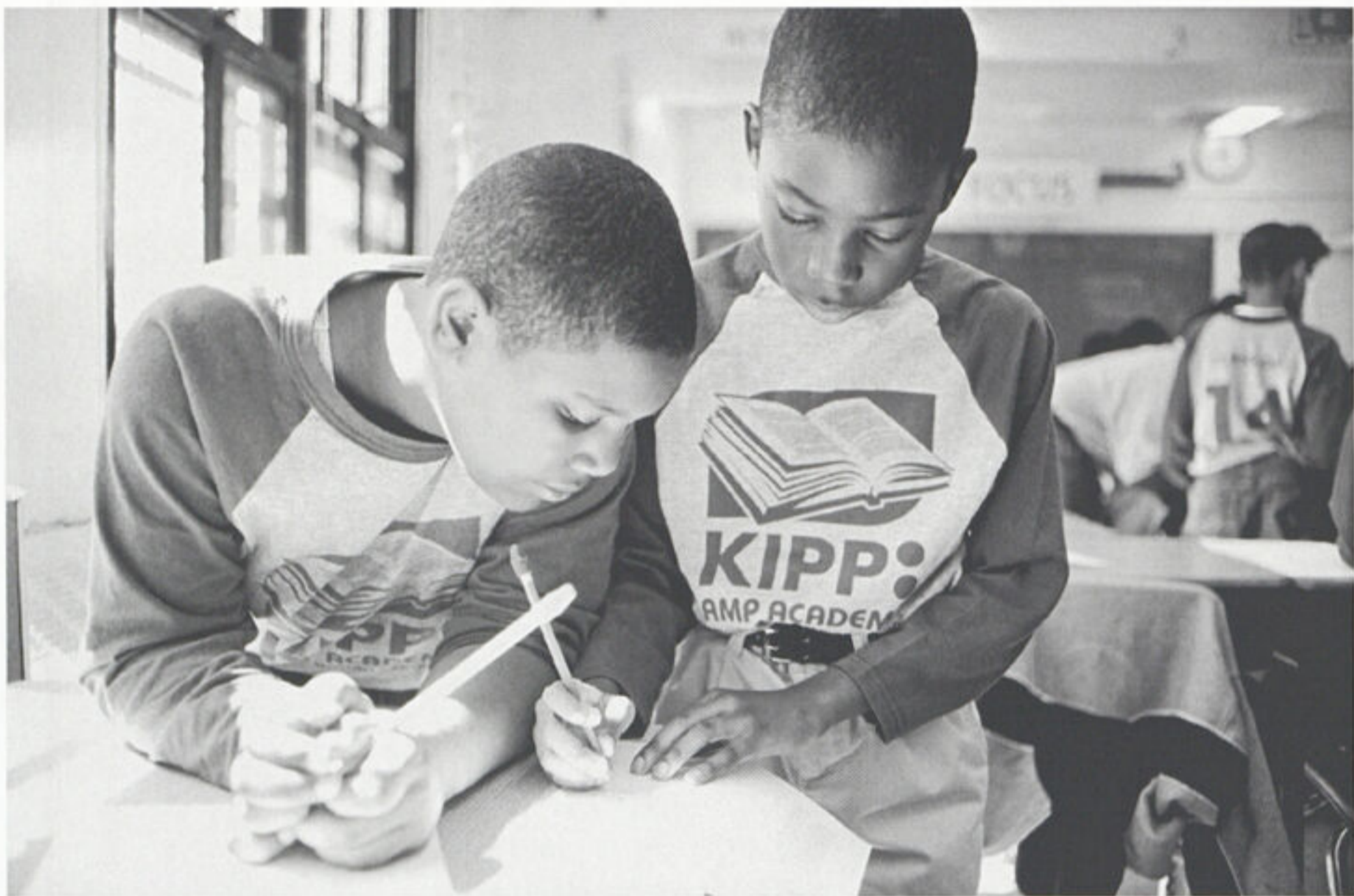


Photo of KIPP students, courtesy of Knowledge Is Power Program

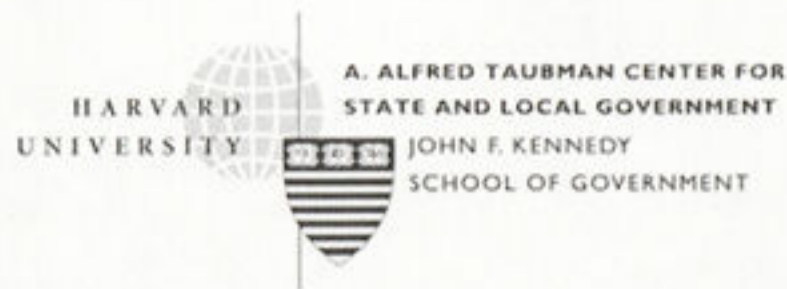
we should look to successful charter management organizations to create new schools in their place, easing parental resistance.

Most importantly, though, charter school authorizers must be more active in overseeing charter schools at every point in the school lifetime, preventing closures from being necessary in the first place. The State University of New York (SUNY) has one of the best mid-charter accountability systems because of its transparency, high expectations, and clear renewal standards. Such a well-defined system has enabled it both to close underperforming charters and raise the quality of its entire portfolio of schools. Unfortunately, SUNY and a handful of other authorizers are the only organizations with firm accountability processes. In the absence of such oversight, charter school leaders are left to their own devices, which can have disastrous consequences for vulnerable populations of students.

Finally, we must do a better job of taking the lessons learned in successful charter schools and applying them to traditional public schools. Charter school leaders must be more willing to make time for sharing best practices and humble

enough to listen to the best practices of public schools. Public school leaders must be willing to embrace charter school ideas. Researchers must identify specific measures to improve educational outcomes, ending decision making based on trends, political tides, and salesmanship. Politicians and teacher unions must clear the air of some of the controversy surrounding charters and help to facilitate a more collaborative and fruitful relationship between charter and public school leadership.

Without this leadership, charter schools will simply be research and development run on the most vulnerable among us—families seeking a better future for their children. Charter schools demand significant resources and attention. Given that, they must make a greater contribution to education excellence and equity. We need to create conditions for more success stories like KIPP and greater accountability for schools like Claremont. Until we do, the potential of charter schools will remain great but unfulfilled.



The Taubman Center for State and Local Government and its affiliated institutes and programs are the Kennedy School of Government's focal point for activities that address state and local governance and intergovernmental relations.

The Center focuses on several broad policy areas, most notably: public management, innovation, finance, and labor-management relations; urban development, transportation, land use, and environmental protection; education; civic engagement and social capital; and the impacts of information technologies on both government and governance.

The Center also disseminates this research via publications, instruction in the Kennedy School's graduate and executive education programs, sponsorship of conferences and workshops, and interactions with policymakers, public managers, and other scholars.

More information about the Taubman Center is available at www.hks.harvard.edu/taubmancenter. You may also reach us by phone at 617-495-5140 or by email at taubman@harvard.edu.



*Tired of L.A. traffic?
Sick of Greyhound's hobos?
Check out these public rides
around the world*

By KSR STAFF

TOKYO, JAPAN

To cope with rush-hour crowding in Tokyo, platform attendants, known as "People Pushers," help passengers reach their destination by physically pushing them into the cars.



Photo courtesy of Scott Murdoch, Five by Five Photography

JAKARTA, INDONESIA

Commuters who are crowded out of trains in Jakarta, or who want to avoid paying, often take to riding on the train's roof. In the past two years, more than fifty enterprising roof riders have died, and even the lucky survivors will be doused with ink. Indonesian authorities announced that they would begin spraying non-paying patrons with a colored liquid to easily identify and ticket the offenders. That's one way to overcome a free rider problem.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

In 2005, the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority decided to inspire efficiency consciousness through a series of new words whose definitions were posted in trains. Terms included "PlanBdextrous"—the ability to plan an alternate route home in case the Metro is inaccessible—and "Doorker"—a person who crowds or blocks Metro doors.

HOUSTON, TEXAS

When Houston's new METRORail was still in test stages, it collided with five motor vehicles. In its first few months, it set a collision record more than twenty-five times the U.S. average for rail/car collisions. To date, it has hit more than 170 cars and pedestrians, including a man in a wheelchair and a blind man. It is now affectionately called "Wham Bam Tram," "A Streetcar Named Disaster," and "Death Rail."

PARIS, FRANCE

To deter passengers from using their hands to stop a closing door on the subway, the French use a graphic of a rabbit in pain as the doors close on its paw. Mon dieu!



Photo Courtesy of Lorenzo Bustillos

Title Graphic by A. Tristan Suratós

GADGETS FOR A NEW WORLD

Where is my jet pack?

By A. TRISTAN SURATOS

A 3-D television projector, wireless transmission of electricity, push-button homes, a man-made planet, a new American “empire,” and—perhaps—even a woman president.

This is the vision of what life would be like in the year 2000 put forth by a group of experts in December 1950.

These prognostications, formed in a world before global warming, the end of the Cold War, and the events of September 11, may not have been entirely accurate. They do, however, demonstrate the issues that were most salient to the American public in the 1950s.

In the same way, the gadgets and technology of today not only demonstrate what the human mind has achieved thus far but also reflect, for better or worse, what we deem to be important in 2008. While we may still be waiting for personal jet packs and our first female president, in this article we look at a few “gadgets”—more like innovations—that address

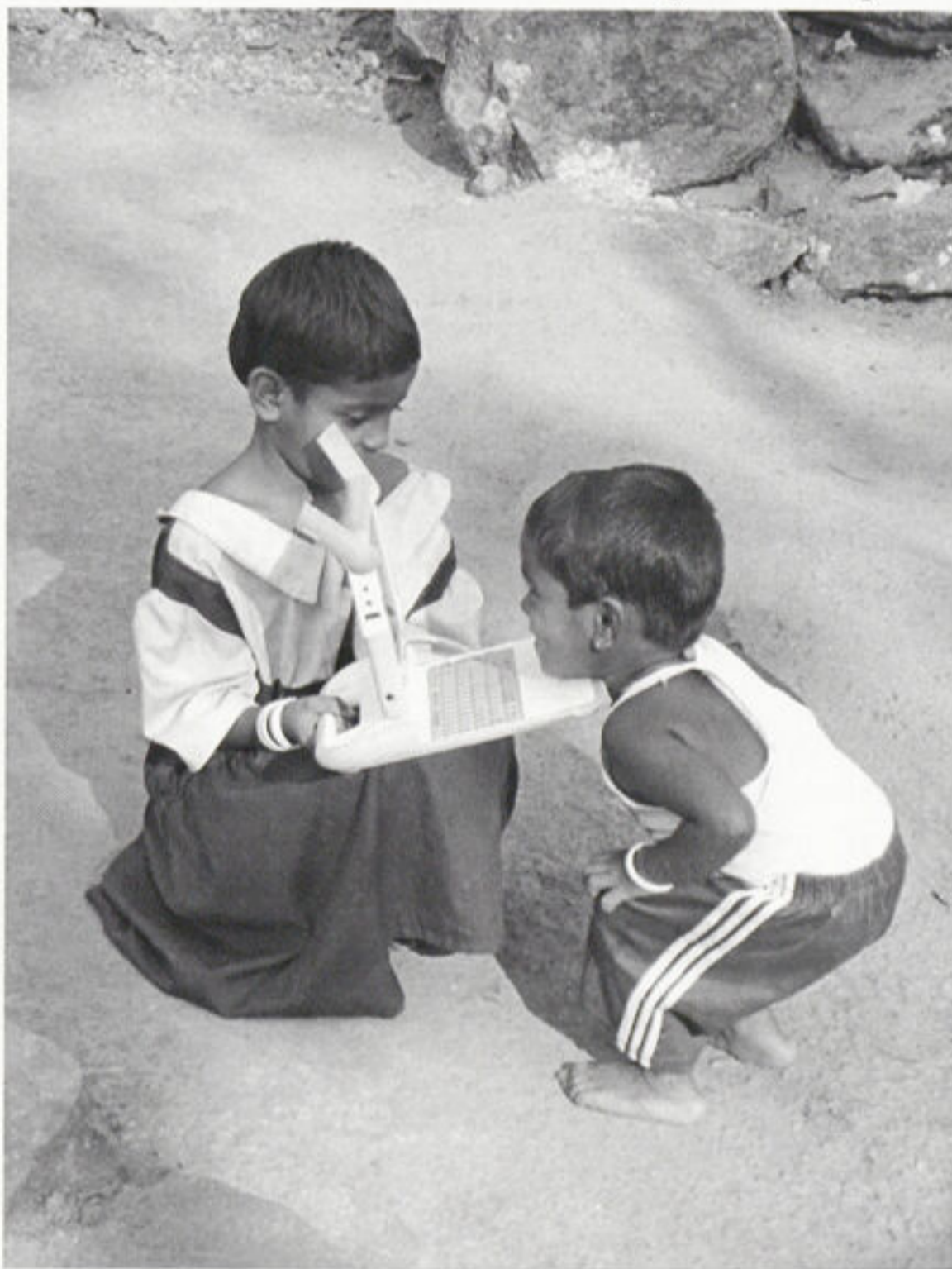
some of our current policy concerns.

ONE LAPTOP PER CHILD (OLPC)

Modern computers are one of the greatest technological developments in the last half

century. They have become increasingly faster and smaller, ubiquitous and essential—but only for some of us. The OLPC project aims to narrow the technology gap between developed and developing countries by distributing low-cost and durable laptops to children in developing countries to improve their quality of learning. A collaborative effort between the academic and the private sector, OLPC uses free and open source software and has secured the support of the United Nations Development

Programme and the governments of Libya and Uruguay, among others, for deployment. Laptops went into mass production in November 2007. It’s too early to know if OLPC will indeed improve both the quality of learning and the quality of life, but things look promising.



Two children in Khairat, India use their new computer from One Laptop Per Child. Photo courtesy of One Laptop Per Child

GREEN WiFi

What good is a computer if you can't access the Internet? Green WiFi, in many ways, complements the OLPC initiative by providing communities that have unreliable power sources with a low-cost, power-efficient way to get online. Started in a garage in San Francisco, CA, the solar power Wi-Fi project aims to get this done with just a single broadband line, a few solar panels, a wireless router, network software, and some PVC pipes.

FRONTLINE SMS

The developers of FrontlineSMS use the short message service (SMS), also known as text messaging, feature in cellular phones to help grassroots groups get organized. By providing a way to collect and send data using equipment that most people already have, the computer-based text messaging system helps groups mobilize cheaply and easily. Election monitors in Nigeria used FrontlineSMS to collect election feedback in 2007. FrontlineSMS was also used in Pakistan to pass information in and out of the country during the government clampdown on media that same year. It was short-listed for the Mobile Messaging Award in 2007.

AMBIENT ORB

Sometimes, what looks like a plaything does more than just provide amusement. Part lava lamp, part mood ring, part crystal ball, the

ambient orb is a glass lamp that changes color as it monitors whatever information it has been programmed for: the stock market, the weather, even traffic congestion. Some administrators at Beth Israel Deaconess Medical Center in Boston, MA, for example, have been using the orb as a way to quickly see the approximate waiting time in the emergency room without having to constantly check the computer or know exact numbers.

COGITO1002

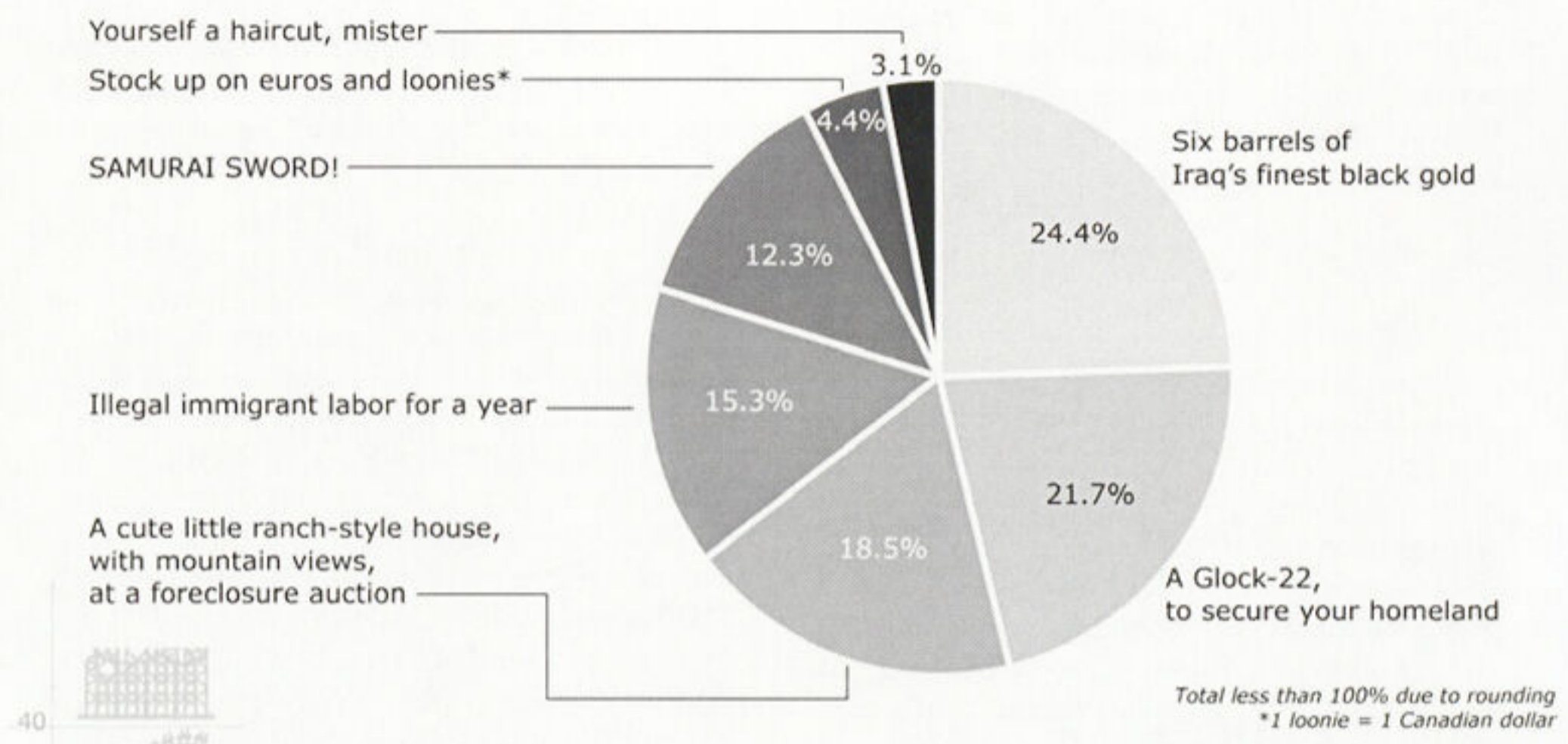
In the aftermath of September 11, security in public spaces has become a primary concern, as the tragedy revealed security gaps in high-traffic places such as the airport. While a machine that can detect liquid explosives has yet to be developed, an Israeli security company has come up with a machine that can identify individuals with hostile intent (but not exactly actual threats). The machine, called Cogito, is more than just a pat down or a wave of a security wand; it gets into your head. Cogito1002 is computer automated and involves a process in which every passenger enters a kiosk to answer questions from a screen, with one hand on a sensor, while his or her biometric responses are measured and analyzed to determine whether he or she should be let through or detained for further questioning. Because the security looks at human behavior rather than attributes, proponents hope that it will not be susceptible to racial profiling. It has so far been tested in Israel and Knoxville, TN.

Ambient Orbs in the Charles Hotel (Cambridge, MA) display temperatures from around the country at a glance. Photo courtesy of Carlyn Reichel



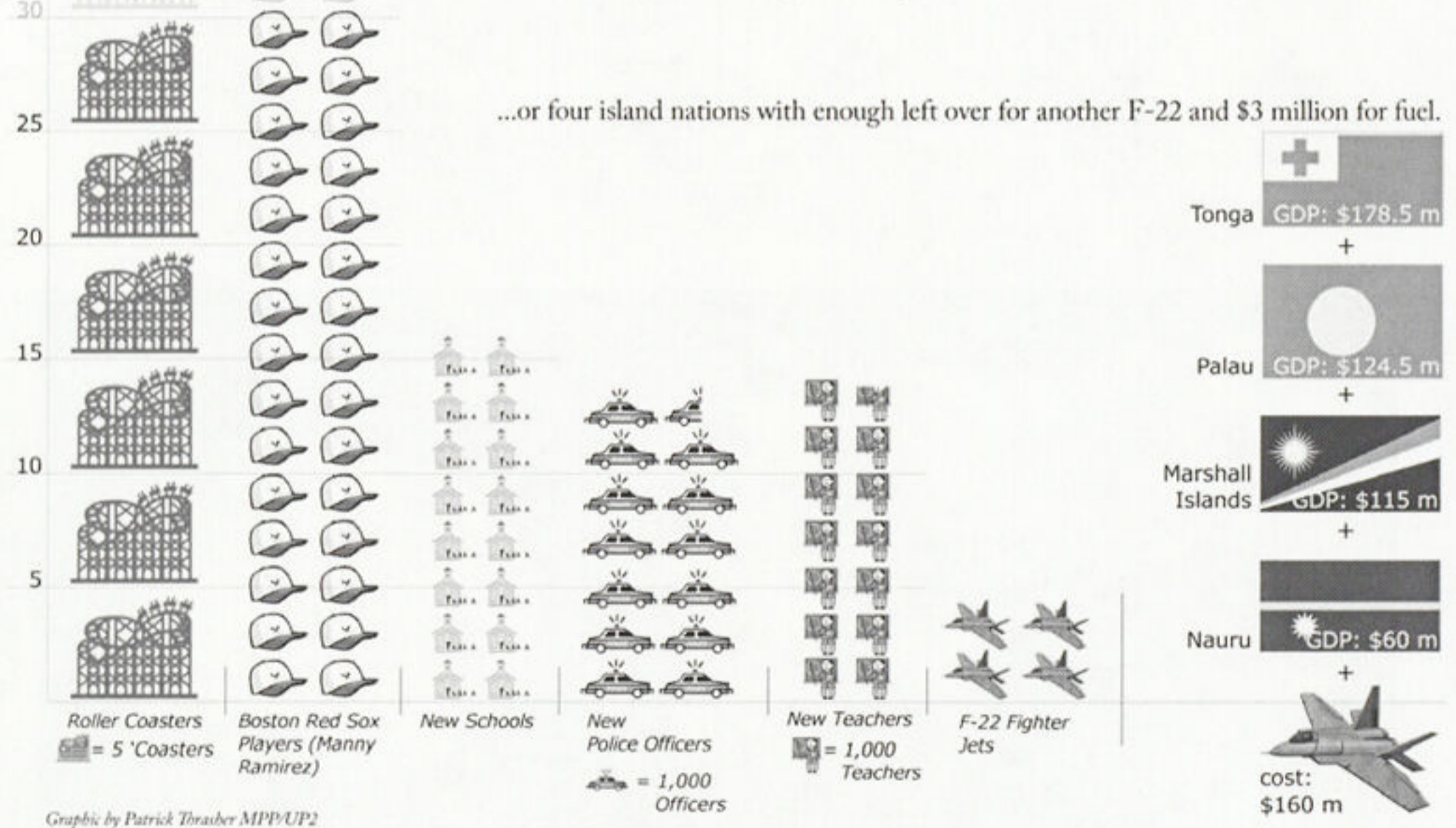
What Will You Buy with Your Economic Stimulus Package Check?

Starting in May 2008, the U.S. Department of the Treasury will begin sending economic stimulus payments to more than 130 million households of eligible taxpayers across the country. Individuals will receive \$300 to \$600 if single, or \$600 to \$1,200 if married and filing jointly. Given such an influx of cash, the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* asked, what will you purchase with your economic stimulus check?



An Interest-ing Look at the National Debt

According to the Congressional Budget Office, the national debt as of early 2008 is over \$9.3 trillion dollars. Each day, the U.S. spends \$641 million in interest alone. Here's what else that much money could buy:



Graphic by Patrick Thrasher MPP/UP2
Data Source: The CBO estimates that 2008 net interest payments will total \$234 billion. See http://budget.house.gov/analysis/08/cbo_report_jan_baseline.pdf.

IS THE BLOOM OFF THE ROSE?

*The Reality of the
Flower-Export
Industry*

By NORA FERM

Passengers landing in Quito, Ecuador, enjoy a stunning bird's-eye view of the Andes. In recent years, however, the dramatic peaks have been nearly upstaged by a new addition to the landscape—thousands of square feet of plastic greenhouses, which broadcast the success of one of the country's most championed industries before visitors even deplane. Inside, immigration and customs lines are decorated with massive bouquets of fresh roses, while, outside, hundreds of boxes of cut flowers wait on the tarmac to be loaded onto cargo planes bound for Miami. The flowers will be on the shelves of American florists and supermarkets by the next day.

While most roses and carnations sold in the U.S. market are grown on South American farms, Europeans are more likely to find roses imported from East Africa via Amsterdam. Few consumers on either continent, however, know the story behind those flowers. In 2002, while working at the nonprofit International Labor Rights Forum (ILRF), I decided to visit the farms and meet the people who could tell me that story. It is an undertaking that has stretched into five years and taken me to countries on four continents. Along the way, I have seen great potential for poverty reduction, trade, and economic growth, but I have also unearthed a series of complex social, environmental, and infrastructure challenges that warrant urgent attention from policy makers, investors, and workers.

FAVORABLE CLIMATES

In the highlands of Colombia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and China, landscapes are undergoing changes similar to those seen in Ecuador. All of these are countries with the high altitudes, equatorial climates, and low labor costs

NORA FERM is a first-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School. She founded the "Fairness in Flowers" campaign at the non-profit International Labor Rights Forum (ILRF) in 2003. FERM currently serves on the international Review Committee of the European-based Fair Flowers Fair Plants certification program.

to make a flower-export industry viable—and enough poverty, unemployment, and eager investors to make it a priority.

"I GET TO WORK AT 6 A.M.,
AND BY 8:30 A.M. MY HANDS
HURT SO MUCH I CAN'T
STAND IT"

Colombia was one of the first countries to build up a successful cut-flower export industry. In 1965, a graduate thesis on the ideal conditions for the large-scale production of carnations inspired an advisor for the U.S. Agency for International Development to take a trip to Bogotá, Colombia. His feasibility study prompted Colombia to produce and export carnations and chrysanthemums, soon followed by roses and tropical flowers. Duty-free treatment under the Andean Trade Preference Act, a U.S. effort to encourage alternative crops to coca, has contributed to the success of Colombian flower exports. The Colombian government was also able to mitigate potential losses from changing exchange rates by offering companies 200 pesos (about ten U.S. cents) for every dollar of flowers that they exported to the United States during the crisis period. Today, Colombia is the largest exporter of cut flowers to the United States. According to the local flower exporters' association, Asocolflores, more than thirty planes full of roses leave Bogotá every day for Miami International Airport during peak seasons.

Colombia is not the only country where government measures are giving a boost to the floricultural sector. In Ethiopia, a much more recent entrant to the international flower market, aggressive governmental policies have attracted foreign investors and driven exponential growth. On the road from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, huge greenhouses come as a surprise after driving past miles of dry pastures, cattle, and goats. But while



Ethiopia boasts the largest livestock population in Africa, the country has been determined to diversify. In 2005, the government offered willing flower investors a five-year tax holiday, easy access to bank loans, duty-free machinery imports, and land leased at less than \$8 an acre. Investors from the Netherlands, Germany, India, Israel, Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe took Ethiopia up on its offer, making more than half

of the country's seventy flower farms foreign-owned. The attractive investment package has helped Ethiopia's flower industry grow rapidly; the *East African* reports that export earnings grew by 500 percent between 2006 and 2007. Ethiopia is now well on its way to catching up with Kenya, Africa's largest flower exporter.

Similarly, the Chinese government is pinning the future of poor inland regions like Yunnan

IS THE BLOOM OFF THE ROSE?

Province on a new cut-flower industry. To facilitate flower exports, China has spent billions on infrastructure, building multilane highways, new bridges, and international airports. While Chinese farms face relatively high transport costs to Europe and the United States compared to South American and African growers, low production costs and low prices allow China to compete in the market. In 2006, when China began to export flowers to the United States in earnest, the *New York Times* reported that Chinese flower workers were earning \$25 per month—making labor costs half of what they are for Tanzanian flower companies and only 20 percent of what they are in Ecuador.

Elsewhere, conditions for the industry are still less than ideal. In Tanzania, for instance, most flower farms are located in the foothills near Arusha, 300 miles from the capital. The farm managers I recently spoke to explained that the closest international airport, Kilimanjaro, does not have the cold storage rooms or frequent daily flights they need to allow direct export to Europe. Instead, they often must truck their flowers across the Kenyan border to ship them from the Nairobi, Kenya, airport. They also maintain that electric power is pricier in Tanzania than in any other country; in an industry that depends on refrigerated storage rooms and high-tech irrigation systems, this has a significant impact on production costs. The flower industry remains marginally profitable despite these inconveniences. But new investors in Tanzania are erecting greenhouses in the south, where a proposed new airport may provide better services.

ADVERSE IMPACTS

In all of these countries, the story of the cut-flower industry goes beyond investment packages and infrastructure. Globally, the industry provides hundreds of thousands of jobs for relatively unskilled workers. In Colombia, single mothers, who are particularly vulnerable to poverty, make up a large portion of the flower workforce.

Unfortunately, these jobs tend to be insecure and unsafe. Workers and civil-society organizations report that violations of national labor laws and international conventions—ranging from forced overtime to discrimination and the repression of organizing efforts—are lamentably common. Workers also suffer

occupational health and safety problems attributable to pesticide exposure and repetitive work. One woman I met in Colombia had been working at flower farms for sixteen years when she began to have tingling in her hand and pain radiating up to her shoulder. She was diagnosed with carpal tunnel syndrome and had surgery three times, but she was not allowed to take enough time off work to recover completely. “I get to work at 6 a.m., and by 8:30 a.m. my hands hurt so much I can’t stand it,” she told me in 2006.

According to statistics from the Colombian Ministry of Social Protection, flower workers account for less than 1 percent of the Colombian population but 32 percent of carpal tunnel syndrome cases. Generally, each worker is assigned one task, such as using clippers to prune and harvest roses. Workers maintain that simply allowing them to rotate between different tasks over the course of the day or week would remedy the problem, but managers seem to consider that less efficient.

More than 60 percent of the jobs in the flower industry are held by women who are assigned to positions typically involving weeding, harvesting, and packing flowers. Men act as supervisors, fumigate greenhouses with pesticides, or oversee the composting of plant waste. Conditions for women flower workers are of special concern to Norma Mena, a soft-spoken Ecuadorian economist who has studied the impact of the industry on indigenous families and communities. In 2004, Mena conducted a study on Ecuadorian women revealing that more than half of women workers had been sexually harassed by male supervisors—some were even sexually attacked or raped. Mena’s serene and compassionate disposition would seem to make her the perfect confidant for female workers, but even she had trouble gaining the trust of the women she interviewed. “Women are afraid to report these incidents, or even talk about them, because they fear they will be blamed for provoking the harassment and lose their jobs,” she explained.

It is also common practice—though illegal—for employers to try to avoid paying maternity leave by requiring women to take a pregnancy test as a condition of hire. In 2006, an Ecuadorian farm manager told me that even though his company’s hiring policy forbids such practices,

female applicants nearly always bring him copies of pregnancy tests along with their resumes because they believe it's expected.

In addition to labor issues, environmental problems have also emerged in flower-producing regions. Flower farms use copious amounts of water to keep the beds well irrigated. They also spray numerous pesticides and fungicides, because only perfect and pest-free blooms will make it through customs and onto the shelf. Lake Naivasha, an internationally recognized Ramsar wetland in Kenya, is just one environmental casualty of the flower industry; its water level has dropped, and local fishermen contend that pollution and electric irrigation pumps are decimating the fish. The population boom resulting from the success of the flower farms has also strained local resources. According to the *East African*, the population around Lake Naivasha has grown by more than forty times over the past two decades as people move to the region to seek work. While local growers' associations have ostensibly agreed to conserve the water, there are no legal regulations in place. Environmentalists and farmers alike are starting to push the government to control the number of water permits before the lake is completely destroyed.

When it comes to other environmental issues, such as climate change, producers in the global South may actually be at an advantage. In early 2007, Tesco and other British supermarkets announced that they would decrease the quantities of flowers and other produce imported from Africa, due to public concerns about carbon emissions from air freight. They also began labeling products with their food miles and carbon footprints, which could encourage consumers to boycott products like Kenyan flowers and buy only local blooms. African exporters and development groups immediately expressed concern about the impact that a boycott would have on employment and the country's struggling economy. Just before Valentine's Day in 2007, Hilary Benn, the United Kingdom's International Development Secretary, publicly discouraged the boycott and cited a recent study by Cranfield University that showed carbon emissions to actually be greater for flowers grown in Europe because of the energy needed to heat and light the greenhouses. The warm climate in Africa allows minimal energy use during

production, a difference that is not offset even when transport emissions are taken into account.

“GIVEN THAT FLOWERS ARE A
LUXURY ITEM, NOT A BASIC
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CONSUMERS WHO BUY FLOWERS
TO BE ABLE TO SPEND A BIT
EXTRA TO BUY FLOWERS
PRODUCED UNDER
'FAIR' CONDITIONS”

SHIRKING OBLIGATIONS

To date, local authorities in flower-producing countries have lacked the capacity and the political will to effectively address most environmental and labor problems associated with the mass production of cut flowers.

Government policies to protect workers and the environment generally have not kept pace with policies that favor investors. In Colombia, labor law reform 789, passed in 2002, actually decreased income and employment stability for already-vulnerable workers in floriculture and other industries. It lowered wages for work on Sundays and holidays and also reduced the amount that employers can be fined for firing workers without just cause. In 2007, the Colombian newspaper *El País* quoted the vice minister for labor issues as saying that changes to the labor laws were again under consideration, due to concerns about the consequences of law 789, including the lengthening of the workday. Local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) like Corporación Cactus are pushing policy makers to broaden the debate, so that in addition to calling for a possible repeal of this specific law, they also propose new structural changes more conducive to decent working conditions.

Even where national laws establish strong protections for worker rights in areas like maternity leave, overtime pay, occupational health and safety, and freedom of association, many governments in developing countries lack the capacity to adequately enforce those laws. A

IS THE BLOOM OFF THE ROSE?

shortage of resources and staff at labor ministries means that few farms are inspected for compliance, and few complaints are investigated.

SOLUTIONS FROM CIVIL SOCIETY

In many of the rural areas where flower plantations have been established, people have few alternatives for wage work. Unions, civil-society organizations, and workers are therefore struggling to find ways to improve working conditions and to mitigate environmental impacts without hurting the industry or triggering layoffs or retaliatory firings.

On one of my first trips to Ecuador, Mena introduced me to César Estacio. A wiry, energetic man, Estacio had been fired after helping to organize a union at Rosas del Ecuador. He assumes his name was put on a blacklist shared by the region's flower companies, because other plantations consistently refused to hire him. Estacio believes that there are two major obstacles that must be overcome in order to improve working conditions at the flower farms. First, workers must know about the basic labor rights and regulations established by national law. Second, workers must have the resources and access necessary to be able to file complaints when their labor rights have been violated. When I first met Estacio, he had recently founded a small NGO, intending to overcome these hurdles by providing training and free legal assistance for flower workers. Most mornings, the one-room office is full of workers, like patients in a doctor's waiting room, hoping to recover unpaid wages or lost jobs. In 2006, the organization attended to seventy cases per month and was able to resolve most of the complaints in the workers' favor. Estacio also convinced the Ministry of Labor to post a labor inspector in Cayambe, Ecuador's main flower-growing region; workers previously had to travel more than two hours to the capital, a prohibitively expensive and time-consuming trip, in order to file complaints.

International initiatives are also trying to fill the gap left by patchy government policies; one example is the proliferation of certification programs for the cut-flower industry. Some of these programs have been developed by civil-society organizations and others by industry associations, but all purport to identify the farms with socially and environmentally responsible business practices. Like Estacio's legal support

center, certification programs can be useful when local governments fail to initiate workplace inspections or enforce national labor and environmental laws.

Certification programs aim to motivate companies to improve working conditions and protect the local environment by offering access to a market niche of concerned consumers. Though the programs seem to have contributed to certain improvements, such as more consistent provisions of protective equipment and clothing to workers, they are an imperfect solution. One inspection per year leaves room for problems to go unnoticed; for instance, local unions and community groups in Ecuador accuse Nevado Roses, winner of at least six different certification seals, of letting toxic pesticide runoff contaminate a neighboring school. Worker organization can be crucial in these cases, facilitating the monitoring of conditions and violations throughout the year.

Participation in certification programs and full compliance with their standards also need to bring clearer rewards for producers. Increasing consumer demand is the best way to do that. The press's eagerness to report on flower-industry issues seems limited to Valentine's Day stories, leaving a deficit of awareness-raising opportunities the rest of the year. Organizations like ILRF attempt to raise awareness year-round by bringing flower workers to the United States, where they can share their firsthand experiences in the industry with American consumers. Additional creative strategies are needed, and outreach and public education should be targeted at flower hot spots like hospitals and churches.

RAISING EXPECTATIONS

The cut-flower industry is providing jobs and contributing to economic growth in countries desperately in need of such solutions. And while the low wages, occupational health problems, and environmental degradation found in this sector also typify other agricultural industries in the developing world, the flower industry should be one of the first to break that pattern.

Flower production requires a large initial investment for greenhouses, irrigation systems, and refrigeration chains. This means that in contrast to other crops like coffee and cacao, where small or family farmers are common, the flower industry is dominated by companies with relatively large workforces. It is much more



Farmer Tim's flower plantation

Photo courtesy of Nora Ferm

feasible for local authorities to inspect conditions and enforce environmental and labor laws at a finite number of relatively large, easily identifiable companies.

In addition, roses and carnations are rarely destined for domestic consumption, but rather produced for export. Many flower farms are even foreign-owned. The largest producer of Colombian flowers, in fact, is the U.S.-based Dole Food Company. Dole is a well-known company with a reputation to maintain, and it becomes a clear target for activists when reports surface about labor rights violations at its plantations.

International lending and aid agencies have been promoting cut flowers—along with other nontraditional agricultural exports (NTAEs) like Peruvian asparagus and Chilean grapes—as a solution to rural poverty. NTAE goods target growing consumer markets in developed countries and are less vulnerable to devastating fluctuations in international market prices than traditional crops like coffee, where farmers may end up

having to sell their crop for a price that does not even cover their costs. Furthermore, given that flowers are a luxury item, not a basic food staple, it is also reasonable to expect consumers who buy flowers to be able to spend a bit extra to buy flowers produced under “fair” conditions.

Flower companies have the capacity to provide safer and more stable working conditions and significantly decrease the toxicity of applied chemicals and their impact on the environment and human health. Some have already chosen to adopt such practices. The rest are unlikely to do so until consumers use their purchasing power to motivate changes, or until local authorities assume their policy-making and enforcement responsibilities. The flower industry offers a promise of trade, employment, and economic growth to developing countries, but the beauty of the flowers and these macroeconomic benefits should not distract attention from urgent deficiencies in infrastructure, natural resource conservation, and protections for workers.

THE NEW RUSSIA: FRIEND OR FOE?

*Reflections for the next
American president on
how to deal with a
resurgent Russia*

By EKATERINA GRATCHEVA

In September 1969, twenty-three-year-old Oxford student Bill Clinton wrote an essay titled "Political Pluralism in the USSR." According to his then-roommate, Strobe Talbott, who became deputy secretary of state during the Clinton presidency, Clinton "had sifted through the prognostications of a dozen Kremlinologists and cautiously sided with those who believed that Khrushchev's policy of de-Stalinization had weakened totalitarianism to the point that the USSR might some day become a multi-party parliamentary democracy" (from Talbott's *The Russia Hand*). One of the Oxford Russians, the first guinea pig of Clinton's theory, congratulated Clinton on his "charming Yankee optimism about my beloved and hopeless homeland."

POST-COLD WAR HONEYMOON

Immediately following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, American romantics, as characterized by Graham Allison in *America and Russia: Memos to the President*, "expected instant democracy, rapid marketization, and easy strategic partnership" with Russia. Eager to consolidate its perceived victory in the Cold War, America got intensely involved with its former enemy. From Bill Clinton's presidential inauguration in January 1993 until former Russian President Boris Yeltsin's resignation on the last day of 1999, the two prominent leaders of the decade met eighteen times during their mostly overlapping tenures. This was as many times as Clinton's nine predecessors combined met with seven of USSR's Communist leaders—from Harry Truman's only encounter with Joseph

Stalin in 1945 to George H.W. Bush's last summit with Mikhail Gorbachev in 1991.

U.S. President George W. Bush continued Clinton's personalized approach toward Russia by reaching out to Yeltsin's successor. An unknown quantity in the West at the time, Vladimir Putin was maneuvered by Yeltsin from obscurity to the presidency overnight, when Yeltsin surprised the nation and the world by announcing his resignation and his successor during the traditional address to the nation on New Year's Eve in 2000. Soon after assuming office, George W. Bush met with the still-unknown leader of Russia in June 2001. "I looked the man in the eye. I found him to be very straightforward and trustworthy. . . . I was able to get a sense of his soul; a man deeply committed to his country and the best interests of his country," Bush said at a press conference attended by the two leaders.

"THIS NEW RUSSIA IS NOW
CHANGING THE RULES OF THE
GAME THAT THE WEST
ESTABLISHED DURING THE
1990S"

Several months later, just a few hours after the September 11 attacks, Putin offered his heartfelt sympathy and support to the American people. Russians, he said, knew of terrorism firsthand; in September 1999, Russia lost several hundred of its own citizens in the wave of apartment-building bombings in Moscow and Volgadonsk. In his address, Putin proposed American-Russian cooperation in the worldwide struggle against terrorism. True to his commitment and against the advice of his security advisors, Putin immediately embraced the United States' post-September 11 posture, supported

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American bases in the post-Soviet republics, and trained and armed the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan. However, the window of opportunity to develop a new relationship between the two nations was lost.

Ever since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the United States has been facing serious dilemmas on what policies to take toward Russia. The upcoming 2008 U.S. presidential election provides an opportunity for the United States to reassess its relationship with Russia. As a nuclear power and a permanent member of the United Nations (UN) Security Council, Russia is too important for the United States to risk misjudging its intentions or overreacting to its legitimate actions. Success in combating the greatest threats to America's national security and well-being requires Russia's deep cooperation, without which the United States has no hope of preventing the proliferation of nuclear arms. The United States also needs Russian support in its efforts to deal with global challenges, such as terrorism, pandemics, and environmental issues. It cannot afford for a disappointed Russia to turn into another adversary.

DIAGNOSTIC OF THE RELATIONSHIP

In his infamous Munich speech in February 2007, which epitomized the current state of the U.S.-Russian relationship, Putin defied American unilateralism. He said that the United States "has overstepped its national borders in every way. This is visible in the economic, political, cultural and educational policies it imposes on other nations." However, Moscow officials insisted that Putin's speech was not a declaration of conflict. "We are no longer in ideological conflict with the West," Sergei Yastrzhembsky, a presidential aide, said afterward. "Russia is now a totally different country."

This new Russia is now changing the rules of the game that the West established during the 1990s. The new Russia disagrees with the United States on how to resolve regional crises, especially in the Middle East and the Balkans. Russia opposed the United States' non-UN-sanctioned invasion of Iraq and is highly critical of the United States' ongoing military involvement. Following the Hamas victory, Putin invited members to Moscow for talks as the United States and its European allies refused to recognize the legitimacy of the Palestinian elections.

Following repeated objections to the United States' involvement in Kosovo, Russia immediately condemned Kosovo's declaration of independence on 17 February 2008 and its recognition by the United States and some other European countries and accused NATO of overstepping its mandate in the region. After almost two decades since the end of the arms race with the United States, Russia now openly confronts the United States in some areas of military technology, such as antimissile defense systems, and declares its intention to match the United States in renouncing disarmament treaties. Not a single political party in Russia is willing to follow the kind of relationship that the United States cultivated in the 1990s, when Russian interests were not considered and its opinion was ignored. Yet, observed Alexei Arbatov in *Recent Trends in Russia: A Russian Perspective*, Washington sees Russia's changing of the rules of the 1990s as a manifestation of hostility toward the West and a relapse of the Cold War mentality, rather than as a shift in the economic and political balance of power between the two nations.

“NOT A SINGLE POLITICAL
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IN THE 1990S”

In a speech in Munich in February 2007, Putin declared the resurgence of Russia to the West. He said, "Russia is a country with a history that spans more than a thousand years and has practically always used the privilege to carry out an independent foreign policy. We are not going to change this tradition today. At the same time, we are well aware of how the world has changed, and we have a realistic sense of our own opportunities and potential. And of course we would like to interact with responsible and independent partners with whom we could work together in constructing a fair and democratic world order that would ensure security and prosperity not only for a select few, but for all."

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Understanding the Russia of today and the role the United States has played in its transformation will be critical for the two countries to build the new meaningful relationship.

SPINACH TREATMENT, OR WHO WON THE COLD WAR

One of the main mistakes made by the United States was to treat post-Soviet Russia as a defeated enemy. While the United States proclaims that the Reagan administration defeated the Soviets in the Cold War, Russians firmly believe that it was Gorbachev's glasnost and perestroika, which he started soon after assuming his post in 1985, that were the important catalysts for the country's internal transformation. Gorbachev undertook the most radical reforms of the Soviet political system since 1917 by transferring the power from the Communist Party to the Soviet republics, which elected their own parliaments in 1990. He also dramatically reduced the Soviet subsidies for states in the Eastern Bloc and withdrew the support for the Warsaw Pact regimes. Russia's leaders are convinced that the choice was made by "the people of Russia—a choice in favor of democracy, freedom, openness and a sincere partnership with all the members of the big European family," a point emphasized by Putin in Munich.

Fueled by its "winner in the Cold War" narrative, Clinton's administration treated Russia as a dysfunctional and financially weak power, rather than as a potential partner. Clinton believed that fast market liberalizations would expedite Russia's democratization. Economically and politically weak, Russia was pushed to accept the ill-suited International Monetary Fund (IMF) package of market reforms, with their focus on privatization, in exchange for Clinton's noninterference in Russia's political matters. While the general population was mostly left out of the privatization process, the former Communist leaders snatched bargain state properties and transformed themselves into "entrepreneurs" overnight. Some became notorious oligarchs, taking ownership of the banks, mass media, and more. Russians had little good to say about the so-called democrats who came to power in 1991, as they were either unprepared to rule or got busy enriching

themselves at public expense. Very quickly, as it was pointed out in a *Time* magazine article, the word "democrat" had become synonymous with incompetent and corrupt.

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Dimitri Simes, president of the Nixon Center, noted in a *Foreign Affairs* article that Clinton's approach to Russia was known within the administration as "the spinach treatment"—policies unappetizing to Moscow but deemed healthy by Washington. Not in the position to confront the United States, Russia's top officials openly resented American paternalism. "It's bad enough having you people tell us what you're going to do whether we like it or not. Don't add insult to injury by also telling us that it's in our interest to obey your orders," Andrei Kozyrev, Russia's foreign minister under Yeltsin, complained to Talbott, who was serving as ambassador-at-large to the newly independent post-Soviet states from 1993 to 1994.

This resentment was further heightened by NATO's expansion into the space of former Soviet influence, which was seen to have been designed to undermine Russia and interpreted as a way for the United States to take advantage of its weakness. While the U.S. administration officials, including Secretary of State (1997-2001) Madeleine Albright, were insisting that expanding membership in NATO would benefit Russia, and that Russian officials had little objection to it, Russia was deeply offended by NATO enlargement. Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Russian Duma's Committee on International Affairs, speaking to Western journalists, said that expanding the alliance was "dangerous," that it was "isolating Russia, and that it would strengthen the nationalist forces in Russia." Furthermore, the Russians saw the move

as “treacherous,” as it was against the assurances NATO Secretary General Manfred Wörner made in Brussels in May 1990 when he promised the non-expansion. Instead, the military alliance now encompasses not just former Soviet satellites but the three former Soviet Baltic republics. Putin dismisses the U.S. assurances that the expansion was driven by the modernization of the alliance itself or ensuring security in Europe. To him, it “represents a serious provocation that reduces the level of mutual trust.”

The Russians saw NATO’s intervention in Kosovo in 1999, without approval from the UN Security Council and despite strong Russian objections, as a deliberate demonstration of the West’s dominance over them. Matters turned significantly worse when the Bush administration began to plan a missile-defense system in the Czech Republic and Poland, rather than jointly exploring issues of defense with Moscow against threats in the Middle East.

PETRO-POLITICS OR NEW ECONOMIC REALITY?

Soon after the Soviet Union crumbled, *Time* magazine ran a story of a group of disillusioned demonstrators gathered in Red Square carrying a placard emblazoned with “70 Years on the Road to Nowhere.” Yet, after several hopeful years of transformation toward a better life, Russians once again found themselves with a collapsed economy and a paralyzed government, as a result of the 1998 crisis. For the Russians, it felt like it had been another seven years on a dead-end road. Grigory Yavlinsky, who was highly involved in the market reforms post-Soviet Union, later said about the 1990s, “The people lived through two coups, two defaults, and two wars.”

Having suffered severe hardship during the entire 1990s, Russians now feel a new surge of self-confidence and national pride. Putin has been enjoying a high 75 percent popularity rating, highest among all G8 leaders (and much higher than Bush’s 30 percent), and has pursued assertive (though sometimes clumsy) foreign policy during his leadership.

Looking at Russia’s economic fundamentals, it is not surprising that Russia embraced Putin’s presidency. During Yeltsin’s leadership, Russia suffered substantial erosion of national wealth with the gross domestic product per capita declining by almost 50 percent. During Putin’s

presidency, Russia’s economy reversed its negative growth and averaged about a 7 percent growth rate. While high oil prices played an important role, the reversal of the economic contraction after the 1998 crisis has been driven primarily by the devaluation of the ruble, which created plentiful liquidity that penetrated a wide range of industries and regions, making this economic growth broader than during the Soviet times. Russia’s revival is based not solely on its petro-economy but more importantly on increased integration into the global economy, prudent fiscal and monetary policies, rise in competence in both public and business sectors despite deep-rooted corruption, and the development of a middle class.

Russia seems to have learned the Cold War lessons of spending beyond its means. Its new generation of decision makers, many of whom are either educated or experienced in the West, paid off the old Soviet debt to the Paris Club and Russian debt to the IMF and the World Bank, and transformed Russia from a net borrower into a net creditor. Motivated by its newfound economic strength, Russia is increasing its contribution to the multilateral agencies, has undertaken bilateral debt forgiveness with a number of countries, and has contributed to the cause to fight energy poverty and combat contagious diseases. During its G8 presidency in 2006, Russia assumed leadership in the efforts to alleviate energy poverty in the poorest countries by improving energy services for poor households. It established and financed a new initiative to be implemented by Global Village Energy Partnership in Sub-Saharan Africa.

Russia also joined Canada, Italy, Norway, the United Kingdom, and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation in a \$1.5 billion innovative pilot program called Advance Market Commitment, which offers a powerful and cost-effective means to develop and introduce new vaccines against priority diseases that currently kill millions of children in developing countries each year. On 14 June 2007 Putin approved the first ever “Concept of Russia’s Participation in International Development Assistance,” which presents a systematic approach to Russia’s development policy “designed to promote the attainment of internationally agreed objectives, including the Millennium Development Goals, by all countries while emphasizing the needs of low-income

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countries,” according to program documents.

There has been a substantial shift in the national psyche. Today’s Russians are more similar to Americans than to Europeans, despite Russia’s historical and geographic ties with the latter. They’re now more self-reliant and individualistic, demand respect, and seek self-fulfillment in the face of new economic opportunities.

DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD POST-SOVIET UNION

The current U.S. administration and the current batch of 2008 presidential hopefuls cite Russia’s poor record of democratic reforms as the main reason for not cooperating with the country on the matters of mutual strategic importance. The West is particularly preoccupied with Putin’s apparent consolidation of power: he is staying on as the country’s prime minister alongside his personally chosen successor, Dmitry Medvedev, his first deputy prime minister, who will be inaugurated as president in May 2008.

However, the decline of Russian liberalism seems to be the direct result of Russia’s political and economic chaos post the Soviet Union collapse, as Western models of political and economic liberalization lost favor with the Russian political elite and general public. In the midst of the economic turmoil in 1996, when Russians went to the polls to elect Russia’s first democratic leader, many were hoping to elect “a strong leader who might limit or revoke the right to vote itself. They would consider it a small price to pay to end the chaos they believe has resulted from the country’s latest experiment with democracy,” noted John Kohan in *Time* magazine.

Still, it was the Clinton administration, immediately following the collapse of the Soviet Union, that condoned Yeltsin’s consolidation of power when he issued an unconstitutional decree dissolving the Russian parliament, Duma, and soon forced a new constitution granting Russia’s president sweeping powers at the expense of the parliament. Disturbed by these developments, former U.S. President Richard Nixon warned the Clinton administration that “encouraging departures from democracy in a country with such an autocratic tradition as Russia’s is like trying to put out a fire with combustible materials,” according to Dimitri Simes.

Clinton also supported Yeltsin’s military intervention in Chechnya. As Yeltsin almost always made concessions on international issues, Clinton’s administration turned a blind eye on numerous domestic abuses, such as the murders of popular journalists Dmitry Kholodov, who was investigating alleged corruption among the high ranks of the Russian military, and Vladislav Listyev, a key force in bringing the voice of democracy to Russian television.

“THE RUSSIANS SAW NATO’S INTERVENTION IN KOSOVO IN 1999, WITHOUT APPROVAL FROM THE UN SECURITY COUNCIL AND DESPITE STRONG RUSSIAN OBJECTIONS, AS A DELIBERATE DEMONSTRATION OF THE WEST’S DOMINANCE OVER THEM”

Furthermore, the West seems to be failing to adequately appreciate the fact that Putin is the first Russian ruler in a thousand years to step down from power voluntarily. This observation of the constitution is a major step toward the political modernization of Russia. During many centuries of Czarist Russia and during the decades of the Soviet Union, leaders left their post either because of death or a coup d’état. Russia and the United States are rooted in different political cultures. While the United States was established on a democratic foundation and has more than 200 years of experience with democracy, Russia’s psyche is based on a thousand-year tradition of a strong centralized government.

The 2005 Pew Global Attitude survey showed that only 28 percent of Russians preferred a democratic government, while 66 percent favored a strong leader. This is in stark contrast to a similar survey conducted in 1991 when 51 percent of Russians preferred a democratic government and 39 percent favored a strong leader. Furthermore, in today’s Russia, only 14 percent of the population prefers a good democracy, while 81 percent feels that a strong

economy is more important.

In 1947, George Kennan, political analyst, advisor, and diplomat, treated the study of Czarist Russia as a prerequisite for understanding Soviet politics and foreign policy. When the Cold War intensified following the Korean invasion, Kennan wrote in "America and the Russian Future" in *Foreign Affairs* in 1951 as if addressing the current American leadership. He wrote, "Forms of government are forged mainly in the fire of practice, not in the vacuum of theory. They respond to national character and to national realities. There is great good in the Russian national character, and the realities of that country scream out today for a form of administration more considerate of that good. Let us hope that it will come. When Soviet power has run its course, or when its personalities and spirit begin to change (for the ultimate outcome could be one or the other), let us not hover nervously over the people who come after, applying litmus papers daily to their political complexions to find out whether they answer to our concept of 'democratic.' Give them time; let them be Russians; let them work out their internal problems in their own manner. The ways by which peoples advance toward dignity and

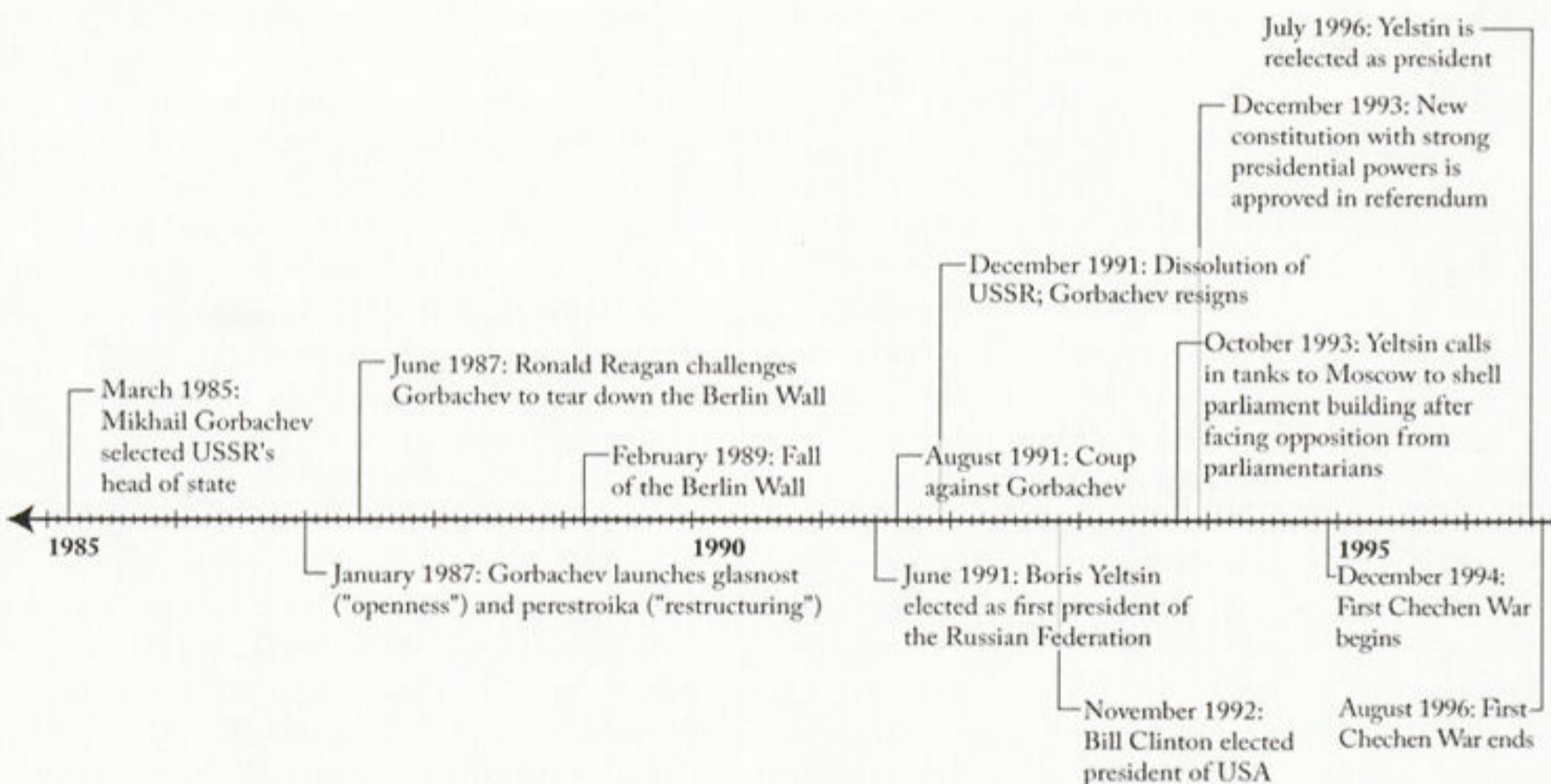
enlightenment in government are things that constitute the deepest and most intimate processes of national life."

DEMOCRACY SEEMS NO LONGER INEVITABLE

Promoting democracy has long been the cornerstone of American foreign policy, but having found its strength after a decade of turmoil, Russia started to challenge America's record on democracy and human rights. Putin, addressing the American representatives at the Munich Conference on Security Policy in February 2007, was indignant in his speech, "Incidentally, Russia—we—are constantly being taught about democracy. But for some reason those who teach us do not want to learn themselves." Iraq, Abu Ghraib, and Guantanamo became effective ammunitions for the Russian policy makers to challenge the effectiveness of the American military supremacy and its model of political and economic development. Even worse, Washington's failures made democracy per se, which the United States had attempted to impose by force, less attractive.

As the American policy makers are grappling with how to restore the American standing in the

Recent Russian History



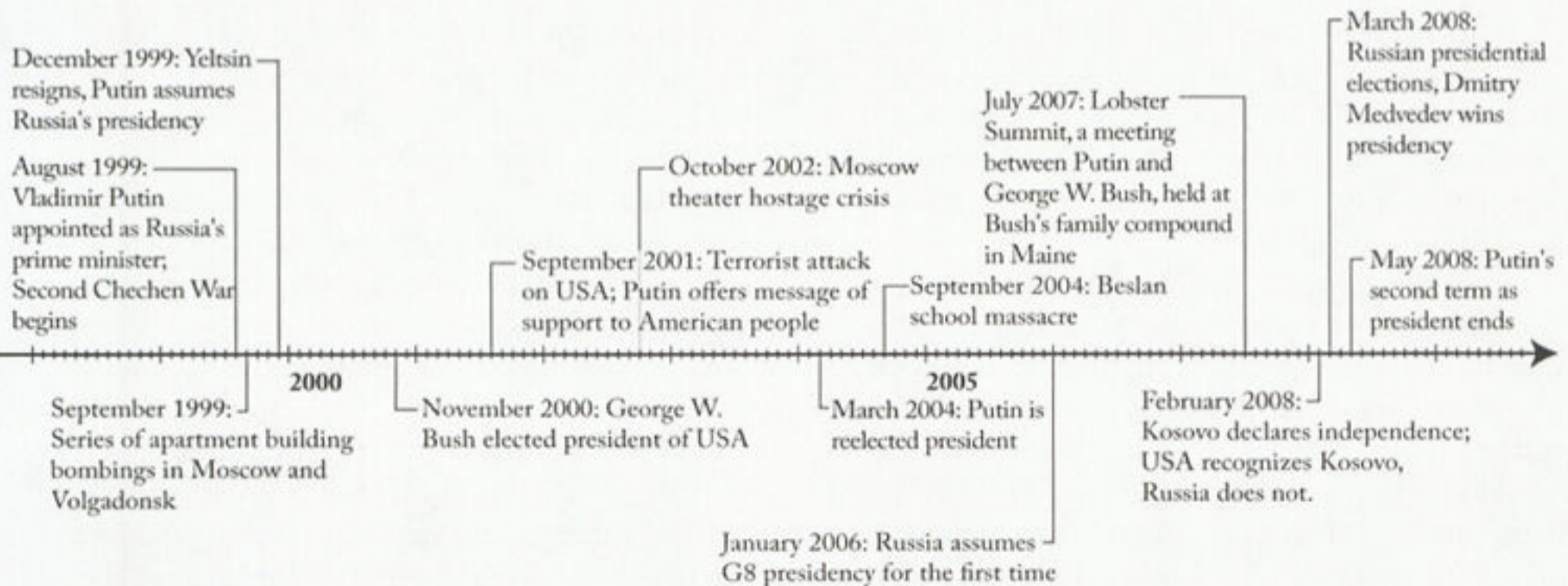
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world and recover from its own failures in upholding human rights at home, democracy no longer has the aura of inevitability. Afghanistan and Iraq, claimed by the Bush administration as successful examples of democracy promotion, demonstrate that it is easier to destroy a repressive regime than to create a democratic one. Even more problematic is the question of whether the so-called new democracies will survive after the U.S. troops are withdrawn. In many countries that hold democratic elections, like Palestine, Pakistan, Kenya, and Nigeria, the processes are deeply flawed or the results are not palatable to the West. Many countries across the world aspire to pursue the Chinese model of economic reforms, which seems to require only limited political transformation.

After a series of particularly unappealing results with the Western-style democracy promotion, in Iraq in particular, there has been an increase in opinion that creating a world order through the spread of democracy is dangerous, particularly as it implies that a standardized Western form of democracy can be successful everywhere and can remedy the world's transnational dilemmas. Furthermore, there are suggestions that fifteen years of the economic,

ideological, and geopolitical triumph of liberal-democratic capitalism is over, and in its place has emerged a new and sustainable form of authoritarian capitalism, represented by Asian economies and Russia, among others. It is these countries that have been growing faster than the Western countries, which are now struggling to find ways to stimulate their economies among growing evidence of recession. While capitalism as an economic order appears to be deeply entrenched, democracy as a political order seems to be far less secure.

Furthermore, liberal democracy's supposedly inherent economic advantage is also far less clear than is often assumed. A growing number of economists question the direction of causality between democracy and the country's level of development: is it the higher level of development that fosters democratic transformation or the other way around? While possibly only a stage in the development toward a more liberal model, there are suggestions that autocratic capitalism could be more viable in the long run. According to Azar Gat, professor at Tel Aviv University, in a 2007 article in *Foreign Affairs*, for example, "authoritarian capitalist states, today exemplified by China and Russia, may represent a viable



Graphic by Patrick Thrasher MPP/UP2

alternative path to modernity, which in turn suggests that there is nothing inevitable about liberal democracy's ultimate victory—or future dominance. . . . A successful non-democratic Second World could then be regarded by many as an attractive alternative to liberal democracy.”

As the world's balance appears to be shifting toward a new environment of competition between energy producers and consumers for control over energy resources, and between different varieties of capitalism, Russia's resurgence has been unquestionably helped by increasing oil prices. Still, to attribute the decline in democratic liberties to oil prices would lead to the underestimation of the deep changes in the Russian society and geopolitics. Whether the United States believes that the resurgence of Russia or other powers is temporary or not, it has to factor in the current redistribution of power in its policies. According to Putin, “there is no reason to doubt that the economic potential of the new centers of global economic growth will inevitably be converted into political influence and will strengthen multipolarity.”

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE NEW U.S. PRESIDENT

Speaking at the Harvard Kennedy School's Forum on 5 December 2007, the last Soviet leader Gorbachev gave the following message to the audience. He warned them that the United States can only be a world leader if it cooperates with the rest of the world, rather than attempting to coerce it. “The world will not be a follower to the United States, but just about every country wants to be a partner with the United States,” Gorbachev said. He also reinforced Russia's position that while it is eager to be a partner with the United States, it will no longer be merely following U.S. policies at the expense of its own interests.

There is good news. Recent polls show that 73 percent of Russians thinks the country should cultivate a mutually beneficial relationship with the West, while only six percent thinks that Russia should distance itself. 53 percent of the population has a good opinion of the United States versus 34 percent that has a negative opinion. Russia's current Foreign Policy Strategy states that “the Russian Federation is prepared to overcome considerable latter-day difficulties in relations with the U.S. and to preserve the

infrastructure of Russian-American cooperation, which has been created over almost ten years. Despite the presence of serious, and in a number of cases, fundamental differences, Russian-American interaction is the necessary condition for the amelioration of the international situation and achievement of global strategic stability.”

“RECENT POLLS SHOW THAT 73 PERCENT OF RUSSIANS THINKS THE COUNTRY SHOULD CULTIVATE A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST, WHILE ONLY 6 PERCENT THINKS THAT RUSSIA SHOULD DISTANCE ITSELF”

Successive U.S. administrations and Russia have a shared position when it comes to cooperation and national security issues. Russia states in its Foreign Policy Strategy that “it is only through an active dialogue with the U.S. that the issues of limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons may be resolved. It is in our mutual interests to maintain regular bilateral contacts at all levels, not allowing pauses in relations and setback in the negotiating processes on the main political, military and economic matters.”

The incoming U.S. administration should start by evaluating the current state of the U.S.-Russia relationship and move forward by assuming its responsibility for the failing relationship. The United States will benefit from changing its current confrontational approach to one based on a realistic agenda and tangible interests, which also takes into account specificity of Russia's political transformation and economic reality. The objective of the new strategy should be to move from the current political standoff to a quid pro quo relationship by building on Russia's economic strength and national interests instead of its weaknesses. It is critical to understand the new Russia to be able to design and implement an appropriate and effective long-term strategy.

Unlike European Union-Russia and

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European Union-U.S. relationships, the U.S.-Russia relationship lacks an economic anchor, thus resulting in highly unstable dynamics based primarily on geopolitics. Some of the volatility was based on a Kremlin assessment of the Bush administration as distracted and uninterested in strengthening the U.S.-Russia relationship. Still, Moscow sees the U.S.-Russia relationship as competitive, but not antagonistic. To defuse tension, the United States should engage Russia to cooperate in the areas of mutual concerns, such as nuclear proliferation, the control of nuclear materials and weapons, combating the current wave of terrorism, energy production and security, climate change, spread of pandemic diseases, and space exploration. The United States will benefit strategically from adopting tactical flexibility and moderate compromise with Moscow. If the two countries substantially narrow their policy differences in some of the areas of potential conflicts, Russia will see that its long-term interests are best served by full-fledged cooperation with the West.

The United States and Russia will benefit from creating a mutually beneficial environment for the development of business relationships between the two countries. This should be facilitated by advancing Russian accession to the World Trade Organization and by graduating Russia from the outdated Jackson-Vanik Amendment. The amendment, contained in Title IV of the 1974 Trade Act, effectively denies unconditional normal trade relations to certain countries, including Russia, that had nonmarket economies and that restricted emigration rights.

Russian political leaders have continually pressed the United States to graduate Russia from Jackson-Vanik coverage, which would grant Russia a Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) status by act of Congress. Russian policy makers see the amendment as a Cold War relic that does not reflect the current reality. While Russia remains subject to the Jackson-Vanik Amendment, some of the other former Soviet republics have been granted PNTR relationships—Kyrgyzstan and Georgia in 2000 and Ukraine in 2006. The most upsetting development for the Russian leaders was China's graduation from the amendment in 2002. Russia's graduation would serve as an important political symbol of its treatment as a normal country in U.S. trade, further distancing U.S.-Russian

relations from the Cold War and fostering development of a new bilateral relationship with Russia.

Expansion of NATO and Russia's cooperation with NATO is another major hurdle in the U.S.-Russia relationship. The West's influence in the post-Soviet area is in direct conflict with Russia's national interest and has the potential to complicate the relationship with the West. Further NATO expansion to include Ukraine and Georgia is deeply political and needs to be handled very carefully. Furthermore, the United States should also seriously consider Russia's proposal for a joint missile-defense system.

The United States should recognize that at this point it has limited capacity to affect democratization in the new Russia. Continued dialogue and cooperation, however, will demonstrate to Russia that the United States has a lot to offer. The United States should reach out to the Russian people through a comprehensive public diplomacy strategy using the Internet, international broadcasters, and visitor and exchange programs. Stronger business and cultural ties with the United States, a vibrant middle class, and a more open travel policy will lead to a more liberal social fabric, which served as a catalyst in the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. However, if the United States fails to win Russia as a partner, a nuclear Russia will become isolationist and anti-American, partnering with countries in the Middle East and emerging powers in Asia, potentially transforming from an autocracy to an even more repressive regime.

While seemingly an impossible task given the current tensions between the two countries, by changing its current approach the United States will likely succeed in developing a new partnership with Russia. The United States and the world at large will benefit from this cooperation at a time when peace and stability are at risk of becoming a scarce nonrenewable commodity.



The right analogy when confronting Iran's nuclear ambitions is India, not Iraq, argues
SAMUEL SCHWARTZ

UNDERESTIMATING NUCLEAR CAPACITY

In December 2007, the U.S. intelligence community released a National Intelligence Estimate (NIE) confidently stating that Iran froze its nuclear weapons program in 2003 and would likely be unable to build a nuclear weapon by 2009. This optimistic scenario contradicts the findings of the 2005 NIE that asserted Iran was working rapidly to produce a nuclear weapon. The suspect 2007 NIE on Iran is the result of a recurrent flawed assumption that civilian nuclear power programs are distinctive and clearly discernible from weapons programs. It is also indicative of undue haste in the U.S. intelligence community to reverse course after recent misguided intelligence decisions.

In 2003, the United States overestimated Iraqi nuclear weapon capabilities. The U.S. intelligence community was roundly criticized for being insufficiently skeptical of Iraq's non-conventional weapons claims and of providing the Bush administration with analyses that supported its predetermined resolution to invade Iraq. In the run-up to the release of the 2007 NIE, the media reported a number of stories indicating that the U.S. intelligence community was interested in redeeming its image as an impartial evaluator of international security threats. However, the 2003 overestimation of Iraq's capabilities is probably less instructive on the Iranian situation than the United States' earlier underestimation of the military nuclear intentions of another up-and-coming nuclear power—India.

In the early 1970s, U.S. government intelligence, military, and diplomatic bodies tasked with analyzing India's nuclear intentions concluded that a nuclear test was unlikely. Yet, on 18 May 1974, India conducted its first self-

described "peaceful nuclear explosion." U.S. intelligence was shocked by the unanticipated detonation. Most decision-makers assumed that the difficulties in diverting material from peaceful nuclear applications to military ones were so great, that the chances of the diversion being discovered were so high, and that the costs of getting caught were so painful, that no rational country would attempt to do so. The 1974 Indian nuclear test disabused the world of this notion, and in its wake, the United States spearheaded an international effort to close the loopholes in the nuclear nonproliferation regime that made the surprising detonation possible.

The Indian experience is highly analogous to today's Iranian context. Like the 2007 NIE on Iran, most official U.S. assessments of the Indian nuclear program estimated that nuclear weaponization was unlikely. In both cases, policy makers in the United States, Western countries, and in the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) made a clear distinction between civilian and military nuclear programs. They believed that nuclear weapons programs possessed distinctive, perceptible "signatures," in terms of size, shape, auxiliary construction, and power usage, differentiating them from nuclear power programs.

Likewise, the conceptual failing of the 2007 NIE on Iran was its decision to ignore the link between the civil uranium-enrichment process and the use of highly enriched uranium in nuclear explosives. The most serious oversight was the apparent assumption that the technology for enriching uranium for nuclear power is wholly different from the technology for enriching uranium for nuclear weapons. On the NIE's first page, its authors conceded that Iran continues to make great progress in enriching uranium. However, in a footnote, they assert that they have excluded Iran's purportedly civilian uranium conversion and enrichment program from their assessment of its military program.

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UNDERESTIMATING NUCLEAR CAPACITY

The former director of Israel's Military Intelligence, Major General (res.) Aharon Ze'evi Farkash, says, "Any distinction between Iranian military and civilian nuclear programs is artificial." This assertion is widely shared. Professor Richard L. Garwin, a U.S. physicist and recipient of the National Medal of Science for his work designing nuclear weapons, wrote in a January 2008 on the "Bulletin Online" (a web publication of the *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*) that the United States should not "put confidence in an arbitrary distinction between an Iranian civil program and a 'nuclear weapon program'." Garwin contends all that is required to convert Iran's declared civilian uranium enrichment program into a nuclear weapons enrichment program is "rearrang[ing] the plumbing at Natanz."

The technology for enriching uranium to reactor grade is not fundamentally different from that needed to enrich uranium to weapons grade. In the civilian uranium-enrichment process, natural uranium is mixed with fluorine and heated until it forms a gas. The uranium hexafluoride is spun in a centrifuge so that a gas

with a high concentration of the desired U-235 isotope can be drawn off while the heavier U-238 isotope remains. The extracted gas is fed into another centrifuge, and the process is repeated, with each iteration producing a gas with a higher concentration of U-235.

Iran claims to have succeeded in using the gas centrifuge process to enrich uranium to a level of 3.5 percent U-235, what is known as reactor grade, useful as fuel for civilian nuclear power plants. The process of further enriching the uranium to a weapons-grade concentration of 80 percent to 90 percent U-235 is a matter of adding more centrifuges until the U-235 concentration goes up and about twenty-five kilograms are produced. Frank Barnaby, a British nuclear physicist, told the *Guardian* newspaper, "You'd need thousands [of centrifuges] to get significant amounts of weapons grade uranium." Iran claims to have connected 3,000 centrifuges in a cascade at its Natanz facility.

Analysts have rated the Natanz centrifugal enrichment site as capable of housing 50,000 centrifuges. If this potential is realized, Iran's clearly has a capability for creating nuclear bombs.



Therefore, by artificially excluding Iran's civilian nuclear program from its considerations, the NIE authors appear to have made an egregious analytical error, which is almost identical to the embarrassing mistake made in assessing India's nuclear capacity.

The 2007 NIE's conclusions suffer from an additional analytical error in failing to acknowledge that Iran has already overcome the most difficult hurdles to producing nuclear weapons. Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger noted in his analysis of the NIE that there are three primary components to a nuclear weapons program: the production or acquisition of weapons-grade material, the weaponization of that material into a usable device, and the mating of the device with an appropriate delivery vehicle. The most difficult portion is enriching uranium (or plutonium) to weapons grade. The NIE confirms Iran's recent successful strides in uranium enrichment. In addition, Iran has already produced and continues the development of the Shihab-3 missile system that is capable of launching a nuclear warhead weighing up to 700 kilograms a distance of approximately 1,500 kilometers. Ze'evi Farkash claims Iran's recent missile exercises demonstrated that it is currently aiming its rockets at Israel and Saudi Arabia, targets well within the Shihab's operational range. Many analysts believe that Iran would be foolish to invest the huge sums necessary for developing long-range missiles if its intention was not to mate them with nuclear warheads.

Iran continues to work at a feverish pace on two of the three necessary aspects of a nuclear weapons program—enriching uranium and constructing a delivery system. The NIE concluded that Iran had ceased work in 2003 on the reasonably easy third portion of the program—weaponization. However, the NIE asserted with only moderate confidence that this portion has not been restarted. Israeli intelligence analysts believe that the weaponization program was restarted soon after the 2003 cessation. Nevertheless, this disagreement may be irrelevant. Ephraim Asculai, a nuclear analyst who served for more than forty years on Israel's Atomic Energy Commission, believes that once Iran has the highly enriched uranium, the weaponization program could be restarted and complete within three to six months. In December 2007, Asculai told the *New Republic*, "Making bombs is a much

shorter process than uranium enrichment . . . It is a matter of months, not years."

The NIE's authors are surely aware that enriching uranium to weapons grade is merely an extension of the process of reactor-grade enrichment. They are witnesses to India's 1974 manipulation of peaceful nuclear energy technology and know-how to build a nuclear bomb. The U.S. Iran continues to work apace on both uranium enrichment and a nuclear weapons-appropriate delivery system, two of the three components of a nuclear weapons program. They also understand that once a sufficient quantity of highly enriched uranium is produced, weaponizing it into a workable bomb could take as little as three months. In light of all this, the NIE authors' judgment that Iran is not pursuing nuclear weapons is irresponsible and unconvincing.

Kissinger views the NIE as an inappropriate attempt by the intelligence community to demonstrate that it is not a tool of the executive branch. If Kissinger is correct and the assessment of Iran's nuclear weapons program was consciously blurred, the world may one day have to pay an incalculably high price for the U.S. intelligence community's desire to demonstrate its autonomy. Every indication exists that Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad would use nuclear weapons to the detriment of U.S. interests. Ahmadinejad has threatened the stability of supplies of oil transiting through the Persian Gulf and has worked to undermine the stability of U.S. allies in the region. Moreover, he has stated his hopes to wipe Israel off the map. An Iranian nuclear weapon would allow the latter and ensure that Iran would be emboldened in accomplishing the former.

The damage that the NIE has caused to U.S. security interests as well as those of its regional allies is immense and is liable to reach unthinkable proportions. Despite the report's sanguine conclusions, this administration and the next would be wise to redouble U.S. efforts to prevent Iran from achieving a nuclear weapon.



REFUGEES OR TERRORISTS?

*Redefining material
support under the
Patriot Act*

By EMILY CINTORA

While many politicians and American citizens publicly decry antiterrorism legislation for infringing on civil liberties, the true victims of the war on terror live in silence. First targets of violence in their own countries, thousands of men and women are revictimized by post-September 11 legislation denying them protection through U.S. resettlement. The new admissions policy created by the USA Patriot Act of 2001, composed largely of vague terminology and faulty assumptions, has led to a broad interpretation and application of "material support" by government institutions. By providing "material support," even involuntarily, valid refugees and asylum seekers are classified as terrorists. As a result, persecuted people from Colombia to Iraq are denied necessary refuge. This major policy gap threatens not only human rights in individual countries but also jeopardizes international and regional stability and American regional influence and economic interests.

PROBLEMS WITH THE PATRIOT ACT

The root of the material support problem is in the Patriot Act, specifically in the amendment to the U.S. Immigration and Nationality Act's "grounds of inadmissibility." Under the new framework, entry into the United States is denied to those who "commit an act that the actor knows, or reasonably should know, affords material support [to State Department recognized terrorist groups], including a safe house, transportation, communications, funds, transfer of funds or other material financial benefit, false documentation or identification, weapons (including chemical, biological, or radiological

weapons), explosives, or training." The missing piece in this amendment is the lack of clarification of or distinction between voluntary or involuntary provision of material support.

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Since the passage of the Patriot Act, the U.S. Department of Homeland Security has assumed that all support is voluntary in its application of the policy. Consequently, Ugandan women forced to be wives, cooks, and aides for the Lord's Resistance Army's rebels are denied entry to the United States. Similarly, a Colombian man who paid ransom to Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia, or FARC, guerillas for an abducted child would be rejected in his application to enter the United States. The policy also possesses retroactive power, permitting deportation of people who once provided material support. Until limited exceptions were granted by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice in 2006 and 2007, this placed former U.S. allies, such as the Montagnards who aided U.S. troops during the Vietnam War, in the category of terrorists. Holds were also initially placed on the resettlement of a number of Cubans opposing Fidel Castro's regime. The United States has consistently failed to uphold its resettlement quota of 70,000 refugees per year due to antiterrorism legislation.

The strict interpretation of material support

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has produced consequences not limited to decreased U.S. refugee resettlement or deportation. First, the image and legitimacy of the United States as a world leader is tarnished when it fails to protect obvious victims. U.S. economic interests are also devalued in regions where conflict is allowed to degenerate and spread. As well as protecting victims, U.S. resettlement alleviates economic and social burdens placed on countries by refugees from neighboring conflict-ridden areas. As a result, already fragile countries in Africa and Asia—where conflict predominantly occurs—end up harboring larger populations of refugees than their economies can handle. Additionally, if other countries adopt comparable antiterror legislation, larger numbers of would-be refugees will be internally displaced in their own countries, making them more vulnerable to human rights abuses. Finally, the financial load on the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees will also grow with host governments' decreasing aid, shrinking the capacity of the overstressed organization and reducing refugees' access to the organization's protection and humanitarian services.

A CONFLICT OF INTEREST

While the U.S. government's first responsibility is to the security of its citizens against terrorism, there is a solution to the material support issue ensuring both homeland security and refugee protection. The legislative language of the Patriot Act and other antiterror acts must be amended so that the distinction is made clear between voluntary and involuntary support to terrorist organizations. Support provided under duress, with duress defined as the immediate risk of personal or familial harm, should not prevent otherwise eligible refugees from settling in the United States. An amendment to the legislation must detail and define specific resettlement criteria for the Department of Homeland Security.

Unfortunately, the only legislative attempt to address the material support problem, a Coleman-Leahy amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act, was voted down in 2006. Therefore, short-term solutions are required to protect vulnerable populations during the lengthy legislative amendment process. As previously indicated, under the Patriot Act, Secretary Rice

has the authority to grant exceptions. In the past two years she has declared the material support policy inapplicable to groups from Burma, Tibet, and Cuba that provided support to rebel groups under coercion. Nevertheless, these decisions apply only to very specific ethnic groups of people and few other cases of individual review have been undertaken. Therefore, the Secretary of State should assign a State Department contingent from the Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration (BPRM) to review refugee resettlement cases denied by the Department of Homeland Security due to the material support policy. After evaluation, the BPRM committee should advise the Secretary of State to provide group and individual waivers in necessary cases.

“THE LEGISLATIVE LANGUAGE
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From its initial drafts to its final form in 2001, the Patriot Act was hastily written and approved. While its intention to protect U.S. citizens is valid, the urgency of its inception created an incomplete policy with substantial consequences for refugees seeking assistance. Legislative amendment is necessary to rectify this unjust policy, to ensure a functional U.S. refugee resettlement program, and to ensure dependable international refugee assistance.



RECONSTRUCTION GOULASH

Hungarian assistance to Afghanistan

By TAMAS LANDESZ

It was early 2006 when Endre Molnar, a burly Hungarian diplomat in his mid-thirties, first saw the city of Kabul from the narrow window of a United Nations-operated Antonov twin-turboprop aircraft. Snowcapped Hindu Kush mountain peaks embraced the narrow valley that gave shelter to Afghanistan's war-ravaged capital alongside the Kabul River at 5,900 feet (1,800 meters) above sea level (see Figure 1). Before starting the all-too-routine steep landing maneuver, the captain shouted, "Everyone, please put on your bulletproof vests and helmets."

Hungary was planning the dangerous task of taking over the leadership of a provincial reconstruction team in Northern Afghanistan. Molnar was on a historical mission charged with collecting information and establishing contacts on the ground. En route he met Antje, a charming German adviser working with the Karzai government. It was wintry cold, and the sundown painted the surrounding mountain range red as they stepped out of the plane at Kabul International Airport. While waiting for their luggage, the amiable Antje spoke endlessly about security and health threats with disturbing accuracy; "80 percent of the air inhaled includes excrement particles—basically shit—due to the complete lack of canalization."

RECONSTRUCTION JIHAD

Molnar attended an international conference in Kabul's plush Serena hotel where he learned that provincial reconstruction teams had been established to bring together efforts among defense, development, and diplomacy—labeled by pundits as the three D's. This is a new doctrine

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used by U.S. and NATO troops as part of current post-conflict operations. Its historical roots go back to the British-Malay antiguerilla campaign and the Vietnam War when special units offered medical, engineering, and financial help to win the support of the public. As a result, support increased for the troops and expanded the sources of local intelligence.

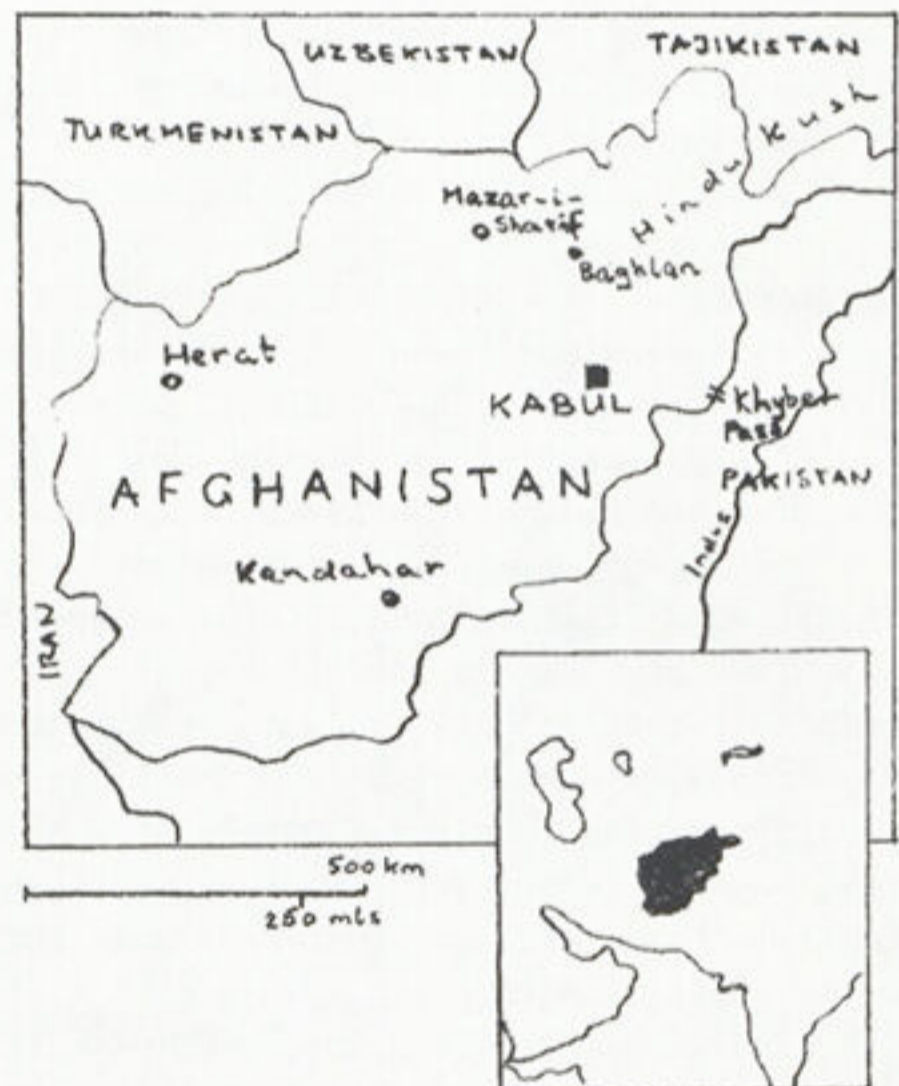


Figure 1

After countless PowerPoint slides it becomes clear that reconstruction teams are involved in short-term development and infrastructure projects, support of local governments and security forces, intelligence gathering, and assistance to governmental programs. Civilian and military specialists work together to perform small reconstruction projects that aim to build confidence at the local level. They also provide security for the implementation of the Afghanistan Compact, a five-year national

development plan endorsed internationally at the London pledging conference in February 2006. Reconstruction teams were originally established by U.S. forces, and their command gradually transferred to NATO's International Security Assistance Force operating in Afghanistan.

During the coffee break Molnar explained to a group of NATO military advisers that Hungary was eager to take on additional responsibilities as a new member of the alliance. While drinking a local brew, Molnar learned that the Afghani operation has exposed stark differences between the levels of risk particular NATO members are willing to take. "Most fighting is borne by American, Canadian, British, and Dutch forces deployed in the most volatile southern and eastern regions," complained one of his coffee partners. "Other governments have imposed caveats to keep their troops deployed in safer regions and even refuse to share equipment, such as helicopters or ambulances," countered another.

Closing presentations included expositions from representatives of all provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan (there are a total of twenty-five teams as of 2008). The differences between various countries' operational methods and effectiveness became clear. The British use a humanized approach to gather intelligence, exchanging helmets for berets when visiting village elders. Americans, best equipped technically and well-funded, often take on an influential role in local politics, which the population does not always applaud. The German model is regarded by many as overregulated and risk-avoiding, but it has the largest civilian component focused on reconstruction and development projects.

In his closing remarks, Jean Arnault, United Nations special representative, highlighted that "Afghanistan has received less foreign aid per capita than Kosovo, Bosnia, or East Timor and far less troops than necessary to make a lasting impact. In the meantime, the Taliban has been gaining strength on the Pakistani side of the border, rearming itself from the dividends of a flourishing opium trade. The international community needs to stay committed to Afghanistan for another twenty years or so to have a chance for making a difference. If we give up commitment earlier, failure is guaranteed."

Once stability is achieved, the mission of the provincial reconstruction teams will be over. But

in order to be successful, Molnar concluded, reconstruction teams seem to require not only additional troops and better equipment but a more integrated approach among contributing nations.

The following day Antje invited Molnar for an excursion to experience the ancient Afghani game of *buskashi*, where expert horsemen compete fiercely against each other to grab the carcass of a headless goat, carry it around a pole, and drop it in a circle. They watched the game sitting prominently on top of a tractor among village elders and local warlords. "Now, we are involved in a reconstruction jihad," pointed out a demobilized Pashtu warlord cheering beside Molnar. "Afghans are really tired of fighting and finally wish for peace after many decades of war," emphasized a village elder who used to be a good *chopendoz* (*buskashi* horseman) himself.

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On the way back to Kabul, Antje explained that "the security situation has been constantly deteriorating since the collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001, which risks undermining many of the achievements, especially in the fields of human rights."

PROVINCIAL DREAMS

Molnar's efforts contributed to Hungary's pledge to lead the Baghlan provincial reconstruction team located in northern Afghanistan for a minimum period of two years. The handover from Dutch forces and the ceremonial change of flags took place in October 2006, marking the start of a new phase in Hungarian military history. This mission, enjoying bipartisan support, is the most

RECONSTRUCTION GOULASH

extravagant military venture in the country's memory.

In his analysis, Molnar argued that although an expanded mandate in Afghanistan meant additional financial burden for Hungary, it also brought home much needed recognition from NATO. The American, German, and Dutch forces were willing to share their military, logistics, and civilian expertise. Besides finding international mentors and external funding, it was imperative to design an effective organizational structure, including civilian and military experts. He regarded as further priority the establishment of a well-connected local intelligence network to which the outgoing Dutch forces, German forces based in neighboring Kunduz province, and the United Nations regional office staff could all contribute substantially.

Historically, as there was no Hungarian Embassy in Kabul, the Hungarian ambassador to Pakistan covered both countries from Islamabad, Pakistan, with Molnar responsible for liaison activities. To facilitate political coordination in Baghlan and participation in reconstruction team meetings in Kabul, two senior Hungarian diplomats with ambassadorial status were deployed to Afghanistan in late 2006.

Ambassador György Busztin—deployed to Baghlan—told Molnar about his first visit to the provincial council in northern Baghlan. He was accompanied by Hungarian troops, boys of the age of his son. They entered a dilapidated building filled with bullet holes from the last three decades of war. On the second floor they found the provincial governor in a small dark room, who greeted them with a big smile. "Welcome, you seem braver than the Dutch boys. They always came in full armor, wearing bulletproof jackets and Kevlar helmets. But, you are wearing none." This was a perfect way to build confidence at local level, where personal contacts can go a long way in a traditionally closed society. Although the real reason for not wearing protection was that the equipment did not yet arrive to the base.

In addition to cooking and sharing goulash with locals around the military base, Hungarian troops provide security for reconstruction and development efforts in the province. Hungarian experts are involved in police training, institution building, school renovation, and sustainable economic development projects. Afghan

ownership is crucial for the success of these projects, which originate from local needs and use local resources.

Molnar continues to follow the situation in Afghanistan from the Hungarian Embassy in Islamabad. He still speaks regularly with Antje. They agree that there is no cookie-cutter approach for nation building and post-conflict reconstruction. "The Afghans need to find their own solutions to the problems they face, and the international community will be there to support them along the way," said Antje as she summarized the situation during a recent telephone conversation.

**"THEY ENTERED A
DILAPIDATED BUILDING
FILLED WITH BULLET HOLES
FROM THE LAST THREE
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The deteriorating security situation poses additional challenges for the international community. Afghanistan is a valuable venture, where international actors need to learn how to work with local governments and harmonize their efforts to create sustainable change. Pundits claim that the Taliban should have been brought to the negotiating table back in 2001, but better late than never. Molnar wondered if a potential defeat could lead to the end of NATO in the same theater where the Soviet Union lost the Cold War, without NATO ever firing a single shot. He thinks NATO will continue to fight a fierce war in the south and east of Afghanistan, this time with Hungary hopefully on the winning side. He then sent off his last code cable to Budapest. The eternal pessimism of his nation was a heavy burden on his soul. Yet, he fondly remembers the first flight to Kabul where he met Antje, leaning over his seat to grab a look through the narrow window.



TWO WORLDS, ONE CLIMATE

*Competing frames
for a post-2012
agreement*

By LETHA TAWNEY

Climate change is a thirty-year-old issue capturing headlines once more. In December 2007, more than 180 nations met in Bali, Indonesia, to begin the next round of negotiations about international action on global warming. Protestors, nongovernmental organizations, lobbyists for industrial interests, diplomats, technical staff, and academics converged to seek agreement on a rough roadmap and negotiation plan for the next two years.

The Bali conference was replete with platitudes and reassuring press releases were issued while tempers flared in the hallways and at the podium. The United States fought hard, forcing the Europeans, among other concessions, to abandon mention of any specific emissions targets the world should pursue. On the final morning, two days after the scheduled end of the meeting, the United States blocked an Indian proposal. The proposal requested that the eventual agreement require measurement of the effectiveness of financial and technological transfers from wealthy nations to developing nations. The assembled diplomats booed the American delegation when it spoke to block the proposal. Kevin Conrad, the negotiator from Papua New Guinea, addressed the United States from the podium of the general session. "If for some reason you are not willing to lead, leave it to the rest of us. Please, get out of the way." Moments later, Paula Dobriansky, negotiator for the United States, conceded to India's proposal. She was met with thunderous and relieved applause. Whether this final, minor concession was a win, a stalling tactic, or even important to the long-term agreement remains to be seen. The hunt for a comprehensive international agreement on climate change continues.

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Is international progress blocked on just the complex technical disagreements, or is there a larger flaw in the process? The Kyoto Protocol is the current international agreement on climate change. It includes binding targets for emissions reductions for industrialized nations and voluntary measures for the developing world. Its compliance period ends in 2012. The parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the parent treaty to the Kyoto Protocol, are struggling to design the next step to "stabilize the concentration of greenhouse gases at a level that would prevent dangerous interference with the climate system," as they agreed to do in 1992. It is widely accepted that "prevent dangerous interference" means capping greenhouse gas concentrations between 450 parts per million (ppm) and 550 ppm, though there are dissenters arguing for lower or higher targets.

“THE HUNT FOR A
COMPREHENSIVE
INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENT
ON CLIMATE CHANGE
CONTINUES”

In Bali, the parties agreed to a rough set of goals and a plan for further negotiations, culminating in a replacement protocol by 2009. Details were not addressed, though old foundations were reinforced, including a differentiated standard for developed and developing nations. This outcome was widely seen as a success, though some argued that too many concessions were made to the United States. At prior UNFCCC conferences, the United States has refused to even discuss a post-Kyoto protocol, so the Bali roadmap is a step forward.

Those participating in the UNFCCC process

TWO WORLDS, ONE CLIMATE

believe an international agreement is necessary to break the stranglehold of competing national interests. The assumptions and approach baked into the UNFCCC process dominate the negotiations. The focus is on technical issues: greenhouse gas emissions, carbon dioxide sinks such as forests, sustainable development, green technology transfers, financial flows, and steps to blunt the impact of climate-related changes like sea level rise. Despite this clarity of scope, agreement is elusive.

The process seems bogged down in the global reach and vast complexity of the problem and the proposed solutions. The definition of fair burden sharing is contentious. Ideal solutions for one party are abhorrent to another. There are no real incentives to cooperate, and putting off the hard work of compromise is easy because the problem is diffuse and the consequences are in the future. While these are the realities of international negotiations, they are not the root problem. Regardless of the approach chosen, agreement or coordination will remain elusive because the parties fundamentally see climate change very differently. When they think they have found common ground, it becomes shifting sand.

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COMPETING FRAMES

The parties are largely fractured into two camps. In Kyoto Protocol language, they are Annex 1 and non-Annex 1 nations. They are the developed and developing worlds, the global North and South. The North sees an emissions problem—a pollution “end of pipe” issue solved by technology. The South sees yet another resource grab, not of gold and timber, but of room to dump waste in the atmosphere, undermining its right to grow into prosperity.

The North understands climate change to be another unintended consequence of the industrial revolution. As with acid rain, smog, and the hole in the ozone layer, technologies will solve the issue without impacting lifestyles very much. Few underestimate the difficulty of revamping the power grid or replacing the transportation infrastructure, but as in going to the moon, the technical issue is surmountable with the right investment in research and development.

Northern economists focus on maximum cost-effectiveness as key to protecting the economy during the upheaval. Handily for the North, the most economically efficient investments happen to be found in the developing world since its infrastructures are just being built. At the World Energy Council Conference in November 2007, Halldor Thorgeirsson, director of Sustainable Development Mechanisms for the UNFCCC, argued, “Investing in emission reductions in developing countries can deliver 68 percent of global emission reductions in 2030 for 46 percent of the total cost.”

The developed world understands that the developing world is critical to any solution for reasons beyond economic efficiency. Globalization dictates that the South be involved in any agreement. Its growing populations and economies will create more future emissions. Any agreement that exempts the developing world from emissions limits will also encourage “leakage,” or the flight of emissions-intense industries to developing countries, worsening trade imbalances that already worry the North.

The UNFCCC agreement and most other proposals try to direct money and technology toward the developing world to entice participation, though reparations for the damage created by the North’s own historical emissions, are studiously avoided. Whether northern countries can convince their populations to support these transfers is yet to be seen. Regardless, the developing world has been lukewarm. According to William Pizer of Resources for the Future, a Washington, D.C.-based think tank, “developing countries may not see accepting a limit on their carbon dioxide emissions, essentially their use of fossil fuels, as a reasonable trade-off at any price.” This baffles many in the North.

Step through the looking glass, and the debate looks radically different. Climate change is

another disadvantage, shipped from North to South, like so many others. The South can afford economic upheaval even less than the North. Achieving improved human well-being will by any measure require increasing emissions, from providing a modern power grid to using chemical fertilizers. Greenhouse gas emissions underpin development worldwide. One might argue prosperity is identifiable by per capita emissions just as it is by per capita gross domestic product (GDP). As a result, agreeing to emissions caps looks suspiciously like signing away the right to develop.

Many developing nations, particularly China, understand the risk in climate change. They know their long-term stability lies in environmentally sustainable development, and they invest in it where they can. As an example, forty million Chinese homes get hot water through solar hot water heaters. Some development relieves existing environmental pressures like subsistence farming and firewood collection. A limited emissions development path would be ideal, but states find waiting for one or spending limited resources on forging one impossible.

In the most cynical view, the industrialized world built itself on the unfair extraction of natural resources from the colonies, leaving poverty behind. Now the same wealthy, extractive countries have consumed the atmosphere's capacity to store waste and want the developing world to limit its own development. In this frame, solutions that do not address the right to develop or historical emissions sound like the deeply unfair colonial natural resource extractions of the last three centuries.

The promises from the North of financial and technical aid do little to ease the bitter pill of binding limits. Sounding like an effort to buy compliance cheaply, they are tarnished by years of official development aid shortfalls and constraints. There is doubt they would ever materialize. If the promises are kept, technology transfers, foreign direct investment, and other flows often assume that Northern companies will sell their products to the South and then send their own skilled labor to do the work. The intellectual property rights will be retained in the North. The subsidies for imported solutions may block development of homegrown industries and capabilities, keeping the money cycling from governments to companies to workers in the

North, with little lasting impact on developing economies.

These imported solutions also raise worries about national sovereignty over important infrastructure. Just as the U.S. Congress moved in 2006 to block a Chinese-owned oil company from buying a stake in the U.S. oil company Unocal on national security grounds, China is concerned about relying too much on the United States or the European Union to build or maintain its power grid. Technology transfer on the conditions the South requires is deeply opposed by economists and industry in the North. In a repeat of the HIV/AIDS drugs battle between intellectual property rights and public health, technical solutions exist but deployment is bedeviled by competing incentives.

“THE PROMISES FROM THE
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TECHNICAL AID DO LITTLE TO
EASE THE BITTER PILL OF
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WHAT IS “FAIR”?

Perhaps the most contentious issue in this bipolar world is “fair” burden sharing. (See sidebar “The Complexity of Fair.”) The developing world invokes several standards of fairness, including the Northern standard that the polluter pays for past emissions and damage. The developing world argues it is entitled to the same right to develop and emit that the industrialized world has had for the last two centuries. Why should its fair share of the atmospheric dumping space be less than what the developed world used up? Developing world countries point to their struggles to meet urgent challenges and painfully slow progress on human well-being. These capacity arguments are embodied in the principle used in many international environmental agreements, including UNFCCC, of common but differentiated responsibility. Each nation shares a common responsibility to safeguard the environment, but capacity differences mean countries carry a differentiated responsibility for action.

For its part, the developed world worries that

TWO WORLDS, ONE CLIMATE

uneven or nonexistent caps are simply an unfair trade practice, giving the developing world yet more competitive advantages to go with its cheap labor. To sell solutions at home, the developed world countries need the entire global community to make sacrifices, not just their own citizens. Under the common but differentiated responsibility principle, they want a commitment to at least measurable and verifiable efforts from the developing world. Finally, solving the problem ultimately requires capping all emissions, because the atmosphere can only safely absorb so much.

This is not just a philosophical debate. The standard used has a tremendous impact on the end policy. Should caps be based on total historical emissions, total emissions today, total emissions in some other index year like 1990, emissions per dollar of GDP (carbon intensity), or emissions per capita? Do any of these allow the global community to agree to caps low enough to forestall catastrophic climate change?

Each standard creates winners and losers depending on the peculiarities of the nation's history, economy, and energy fuel mix. Each leads to different configurations of fair burden sharing. Each carries nuances about culpability and potential avenues to future prosperity. None guarantee we will reduce emissions enough to remain below 550 ppm.

WHAT TO DO?

Faced with the long history and fervent hopes each party brings to the table, is an agreement possible? The diplomatic pace does not match the urgency of the science. The problem and its solutions are diffuse, unevenly distributing both cost and benefits over time and space. The academic literature enumerates more roadblocks than opportunities. The process seems ill-suited to producing a common understanding of the problem. Future generations will judge us harshly for not acting in time, yet we seem to be paralyzed.

The infinite loop of miscommunication, frustration, and inaction will continue until the bipolar world can find a common understanding of the problem. The current chasm is so wide there is no mutually acceptable compromise view that can bridge it. Instead, the leadership, negotiators, and constituencies of the major emitting nations must create a new frame that

THE COMPLEXITY OF "FAIR"

The current debate between China and the United States is a great example of how complex "fair" becomes. China and the United States emit nearly identical total annual quantities of greenhouse gases. China's emissions have grown 80 percent since 1990 and are projected to grow another 65 percent to 80 percent by 2020, according to the International Energy Agency. China will soon emit more than the United States. Given this growth, different index or base years would radically alter the actual size of Kyoto-style reduction targets.

Total historical emissions change the calculus. The United States is responsible for four times more emissions than China. Since carbon dioxide remains in the atmosphere for hundreds of years, historical emissions are not ephemeral. Should already consumed atmospheric capacity count against a country? Similarly, China's per capita emissions are 20 percent that of the United States' per capita emissions. A "fair" per capita cap would lead to very high total emissions from China.

U.S. President George W. Bush proudly points to a slow and steady reduction in carbon intensity as U.S. progress on climate change. Carbon intensity is a measure of greenhouse gas emissions per dollar of GDP. Since 2002, China's carbon intensity has risen and is now 35 percent higher than that of the United States. But a 2007 study by the Tyndall Centre, a climate research group in the United Kingdom, attributes at least 23 percent of China's emissions to its export sector. Are the U.S. improvements in carbon intensity linked to larger economic trends pushing industry overseas? Are U.S. consumers having their cake, in lower carbon intensity, and eating it too, in low-cost, high greenhouse gas, imported consumer goods?

This illustrates the complexity of designing just the targets. If a cap and trade system were implemented, should China be given a total allowance of three to five times its current emissions? Why should it accept less? Will the United States accept a total allowance of one-fifth its emissions to match China's current per capita share?

emphasizes interdependence and the very finite capacity of the planet to support human civilization. It is in each actor's own self-interest to do so, since no one will escape climate change unscathed.

Sustainable development offers the view based on interdependence we need to adopt. Sustainable development means providing for all those here today in such a way that future generations are not robbed of the opportunity to support themselves. For more than thirty years, the sustainable development paradigm has been applied to the developing world. It is the sort of principle that is easy to apply to others and tougher to implement oneself. So development funded by donors in Africa has to be sustainable but shopping centers in the United States do not. Sustainable development, as articulated by the UN's Brundtland Commission and several international treaties, applies to both spheres equally, developed and developing. It is grounded in the interconnected nature of our planet, across continents, economies, and time. Faced with this interconnection it is in each actor's self-interest to consider wide-reaching impacts. Sustainable development predicts that the consequences of damaging actions will prove inescapable, regardless of whether you reside in the developed or developing world.

Arresting and adapting to climate change are just more criteria to be integrated into the sustainable development paradigm. When evaluating any policy, investment, or development, sustainable development demands that the economic, ecological, social, and temporal impacts be accounted for. For example, we should be wary of climate change solutions that have other damaging impacts as in the fields of corn for ethanol that reduce biodiversity or regressive carbon taxes that could increase poverty. Several UN agencies already take this approach and are advocating for holistic solutions, but their reach is limited.

Great minds have struggled for thirty years to make sustainable development integral to our worldview. It remains an afterthought in foreign policy, academic institutions, business plans, and government spending. In the developed world, sustainable development is often recast as charity or a moral issue rather than being in a nation's own self-interest. In the developing world, it is considered a brake on economic development.

Instead, at every level of organization, it should be presented as fundamentally in each actor's self-interest. It is the cornerstone of national security, fundamental to long-term profitability in industry, the foundation of a stable social structure, and the building blocks of prosperity. Ignoring long-term sustainability risks catastrophe.

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PROSPERITY.”

When faced with war, nations and their citizens will make tremendous sacrifices to survive. In the run-up to war, all segments of a nation, from government and media to academia and civil society, build the case for why sacrifice for the common good is in one's interest. Arguments for common defense are constructed between nations. A threat is clearly articulated and made imminent. A similar movement, appealing to self-interest, is needed for climate change. As has been done successfully with terrorism, the lines between far-away events and one's own prosperity or survival have to be compellingly and repeatedly drawn. It must be clear how making a different choice today as a voter and consumer, a business owner and shareholder, or a leader is in one's own self-interest, in the interconnected paradigm of sustainable development.

Cooperative agreements will always be based on self-interest. No international climate change action is possible between narrowly defined, competing, chauvinist states, and only limited national steps will ever be pursued. Only in realizing that we are all in the same boat can we effectively move forward. Some may be in first class cabins and some may be in steerage. When there are no lifeboats, we could all drown.

'DUCK HUNTING IN HEAVEN'

The role of religious language in U.S. politics

By EMILY CADIK

"I'm pretty sure there will be duck hunting in Heaven, and I can't wait," Mike Huckabee, 2008 U.S. presidential candidate, told the National Rifle Association (NRA) at its 2007 convention. He presented himself as the kind of down-to-earth guy any of them would be happy to have as a hunting partner. Looking past the image of Huckabee hiding in camouflage behind the pearly gates, his remarks contain a subtle insinuation—if God gives us guns in the afterlife, taking them away on earth is nothing short of sacrilege.

Huckabee's use of religious language while discussing gun rights was unusual in a campaign speech; the fact that he used religious rhetoric in a policy speech was not. U.S. candidates have been using religious rhetoric in their speeches as long as there have been campaigns. While its presence has been constant, the amount, context, and style have fluctuated over time. When former President Jimmy Carter, the first openly "born again" presidential candidate, accepted his nomination at the Democratic National Convention in 1976, he made only one reference to religion—"we will pray for peace." When Sen. John Kerry, a privately religious Catholic, accepted the Democratic presidential nomination in 2004, he made fifteen religious references. Not only did Kerry use far more religious rhetoric than the evangelical Carter, but he also used roughly three times as much as the devout President George W. Bush.

These findings seem counterintuitive. One would expect overtly religious candidates to use the most religious rhetoric in their speeches and candidates like John Kerry to use little or none. Kerry arrived at this awkward position because the political climate has changed in recent

decades. In *The Truth About Conservative Christians*, sociology professors Andrew Greeley and Michael Hout note that "in the 1960 campaign, John F. Kennedy had to promise that his religion would not influence the decisions he would make if elected president, but John Kerry had to promise that his religion would influence him." Kerry's display was not convincing, and many commentators attributed Bush's close 2004 victory to support and turnout from the religious right. Some secular liberals threatened a move to Canada, fearing a U.S. theocracy. At the end of Bush's second term, though, the landscape is changing. In 2008, voters will listen as a candidly spiritual Democrat faces off against a modestly religious Republican, breaking a decades-long trend of Republican-dominated religious discourse.

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Democrats have come a long way. From Walter Mondale to John Kerry, wonkish Democratic candidates made inelegant and infrequent attempts to relate to religious voters. Former President Bill Clinton was the exception, as his Southern demeanor and charisma charmed voters in a way that his fellow Democrats' policy talk did not. Religious rhetoric rolled off his tongue, and his ability to connect with African American communities reinforced his ties to the most religious wing of the Democratic base. Still, as Harvard Kennedy School Professor Marshall Ganz explains, he "never crafted a moral alternative to the Reagan world." His

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indiscretions in office made it even harder for Democrats to claim a moral high ground. Though politically adroit and personally magnetic, Clinton left religious voters no more accessible to Democrats than he found them.

Perhaps no candidate found religious voters as elusive as did Kerry. Kerry was visibly uncomfortable discussing religion; when he did, it was in the perfunctory settings and ways—in black churches; the “God Bless America” to end a speech. While his acceptance speech won him new allies, he blundered on faith. He insisted, “I do not wear my religion on my sleeve,” but then awkwardly tied his Social Security proposal to the commandment to “Honor thy father and

mother.” His abundant use of religious rhetoric sat uneasily with his professed discomfort, did little to convince voters that he was genuine, and did even less to convince them that he was a man of God.

Kerry’s choices make more sense in the context of broader trends. The Republican candidates used more religious rhetoric than their Democrat opponents in convention speeches six out of the past eight elections. At the same time, between Carter’s 1976 address and Kerry’s 2004 address, Democrats incrementally incorporated more religious rhetoric into their speeches. The explanation for the increase in religious rhetoric is probably not that Democrats became closer to

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God. The change in religious rhetoric indicates a change in strategy. Democrats saw that the Republicans were using more religious rhetoric and securing more religious votes. Trying to approximate the Republicans' success, the Kerry campaign amplified the faith talk.

Riding a tank did not make 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael Dukakis appear strong on defense, and using spurts of religious rhetoric did not make John Kerry's faith convincing. Instead, the candidates who had the most success reaching out to religious voters were those who used a conspicuous but inoffensive amount of religious rhetoric—and led audiences to believe that it was authentic. "To talk from a moral place requires an account of yourself," Ganz explains. Without it, the rhetoric "comes across as manipulation." Projecting a compelling account of faith requires action, not just words. Activities that showcase a candidate's religious commitment, like attending prayer breakfasts and church services, show voters that the candidate is not just paying lip service to God. Campaigns now hire faith directors specifically to design compelling faith narratives that will help candidates identify with religious communities.

In 2008, none of the Democratic frontrunners faced serious skepticism about their faith. They understood that if they wanted religious voters, they had to do more than preach the gospel. They hosted forums and conferences with religious voters and gave speeches on faith, interviews to religious publications, and poignant accounts of the moments in their lives that inspired a resurgence in their beliefs. Neither candidate found religious voters as elusive as Kerry had only four years prior—a testament to the success of their efforts. Exit pollsters even asked Democrats if they were evangelical, which, until recently, was only asked of Republicans.

Though the two Democratic frontrunners were both successful in their endeavors to connect with religious voters, their styles were strikingly different. Sen. Hillary Clinton consistently used very little religious rhetoric. On average, she made two or three religious references per speech, with methodical recurrence of the phrases "God bless you" and "God-given potential." These phrases appeared in four out of her five speeches following the first primaries and caucuses. The prevalence of "God bless you" is not surprising—most politicians end their speeches with a similar

remark. The recurrence of the phrase "God-given potential" is unusual, especially since Clinton used so little religious rhetoric in general, and because it was used in very different contexts. After Super Tuesday on 5 February 2008, she said, "We must continue to be ... a nation of idealists holding fast to our deepest values, that we are all created equal, that we all deserve to fulfill our God-given potential, that we are destined for progress together"—a statement with which few would take issue. It lists shared values and other abstract positive images, leaving each listener to imagine how to get there.

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Clinton's use of "God-given potential" is more complicated when she uses it in less vague contexts. In her speech after the Florida primary, "I believe that every child has a God-given potential that we could help to develop if we have universal pre-kindergarten" gave urgency to a policy problem. It told listeners that failure to improve education denies children the opportunity to develop what, by divine ordinance, is rightfully theirs—an image much graver than "students are not being prepared for the careers they want." Coming from a policy background, she would naturally be less inclined to broadcast her faith publicly. "God-given potential" shows voters that God influences her decisions without placing her in the uncomfortable position of reciting the Bible or praising God in a public forum. And it worked for her; according to a Zogby exit poll conducted at the Missouri and Tennessee 2008 primaries, Clinton won the greatest share of white evangelical voters.

Sen. Barack Obama, like Clinton, frequently gave speeches with little or no religious rhetoric. However, when he did use religious rhetoric, he often spoke in Biblical parables and incorporated more vivid religious terms than any of the other Democratic candidates. He was also the only candidate who spoke on multiple occasions not

just about the power of faith, but also the power of politicians using the language of faith. Speaking at a church in Hartford, CT, Obama asked supporters to “imagine Lincoln’s Second Inaugural without its reference to ‘the judgments of the Lord’ ... or President Kennedy’s Inaugural without the words, ‘here on Earth, God’s work must truly be our own.’” Variations in his use of religious rhetoric do not indicate a lack of strategy. Obama appreciates that religious rhetoric makes for a good speech, so he uses it not only to connect with voters, but to add emphasis or flourish.

However, despite his demonstrable Biblical knowledge, controversy surrounded Obama’s beliefs. He repeatedly deflected rumors that he was Muslim before media attention converged on the incendiary comments of his former pastor, Reverend Jeremiah Wright. Responding to the confusion, Obama delivered an historic speech in which he shed light on the interplay between race and religion through the lens of the black church. Though the speech focused on racial divisions in American life, Obama did not let the church escape criticism. “The most segregated hour in American life occurs on Sunday morning,” he told voters—an observation that broke with the campaign rhetoric tradition of cloaking religious rhetoric in vague, positive terms. The speech, along with Obama’s fluctuating amounts of religious rhetoric, leaves religion an unpredictable variable in Obama’s campaign.

On the Republican 2008 ticket, Sen. John McCain, former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, and former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney shared the dilemma of having their conservative credentials called into question. McCain fell out of favor with the religious right after calling Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, two gatekeepers of the religious right, “agents of intolerance” in 2000. Even after he became the presumptive nominee, several prominent religious right leaders still did not support him. As of February 2008, James Dobson refused to endorse him, lamenting, “He’s not in favor of traditional marriage, and I pray that we won’t get stuck with him.” Like Hillary Clinton, McCain is accustomed to the language of the Senate, where religious rhetoric is sparse. He has demonstrated that he is comfortable talking about how faith guided him as a prisoner of war in Vietnam. Sticking to this persuasive account, as well as

finding a few phrases he can use comfortably, will probably seem more authentic than adopting phrases from Huckabee’s lexicon. To his detriment, it might also keep some evangelical voters at home on Election Day.

Giuliani, a former aspiring priest and intermittent Catholic, also had a mixed record on issues important to the religious right. Like Kerry, he overcompensated for his religious ambiguity with haphazard displays of religious rhetoric. When Giuliani addressed the NRA, he used not a word of religious rhetoric. When he spoke at the Family Research Council’s Values Voter Summit, he used sixty-eight religious references—far more than any of the other candidates at the same event. The fact that Giuliani used so much religious rhetoric suggests that he felt since he did not agree with the values’ voters on abortion or homosexuality, he could perhaps at least identify with them on faith.

Romney had the opposite strategy. Romney’s commitment to his faith was unquestioned, but the Mormon religion made many voters uncomfortable, particularly the evangelical Christians who agreed with him on social issues. He used the least rhetoric of the candidates, with only sixteen religious references in his speech at the Values Voter Summit. His “God talk” to “policy talk” ratio suggests he thought it best to connect to values’ voters with his policy positions rather than his faith.

Huckabee, a Southern Baptist preacher, emerged as the darling of the religious right on social issues. His more liberal economic and foreign policy views, however, prevented the religious right from embracing him completely. Even so, he knew how to speak to them in their language. Huckabee broke the cardinal rules of religious rhetoric by frequently and explicitly using the Bible to justify his policy stances. Referring to the issues of abortion and gay marriage, Huckabee called for an amendment to the Constitution “so it’s in God’s standards rather than try to change God’s standards.” He also discussed God’s role in his own campaign; before the Republican YouTube debate, Huckabee claimed that “the Lord truly gave me wisdom and responses that were truly needed at that time.” Remarks like these stray out of safe territory, as many voters who otherwise do not mind religious rhetoric become uncomfortable with such bold discussion of religion. But those praying for a

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staunchly religious alternative to McCain encouraged it, and they delivered Huckabee primary victories even after McCain was all but assured the nomination.

By clinging to Huckabee until the eleventh hour, the religious right showed that they have a far less congenial relationship with the presumptive Republican nominee in 2008 than they have had in decades. Jim Wallis, a progressive evangelical pastor and founder of *Sojourners*, said in a February 2008 speech that "the monologue of the religious right is over, and a new dialogue has begun." Indeed, religious voices from the other end of the political spectrum are now part of what was once a lopsided exchange. But the religious right's presence on the American political landscape will not disappear any time soon. From its formation in the 1970s, with the creation of the Christian Coalition of America and Jerry Falwell's Moral Majority, to its solidification as the Republican Party's "base" in the 1980s, the religious right has not only amassed political influence, but fundamentally changed political rhetoric.

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Republican candidates have developed a unique vocabulary to address their base. The need to secure the confidence of religious voters without turning off less religious ones produced a dialect designed to resonate with values' voters while going unnoticed by others. In his 2001 State of the Union Address, George W. Bush said "together we can . . . earn from our conscience and from our fellow citizens the highest possible praise: Well done good and faithful servants." Without having read the Bible,

an observer would not take note of the religious rhetoric, but Bush's base most likely picked up on the reference to Matthew 25:21: "His lord said unto him, 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant.'"

Republicans are also masters of framing: they choose words that evoke images that help their causes. Frank Luntz, a Republican rhetorician famous for such maneuvers as redefining drilling for oil as "energy exploration," advised his party to speak to religious voters without employing "overt religious appeals." "Use words and phrases," he suggested in his "Luntz Playbook," "that no Coke-drinking, apple-pie eating American could disagree with." Linguist Geoffrey Nunberg, in *Talking Right*, explains how the religious right framed itself as a marginalized group by phrasing "people of faith" in a structure parallel to "people of color." Examples of this include George W. Bush's 2004 call to Congress to support his Faith-Based Initiative so that "people of faith can know that the law will never discriminate against them again," or when Bush said in 2003, "when people of faith provide services, we will not discriminate against them." By characterizing religious groups as persecuted, Bush shifted the burden to the alleged oppressors to absolve their guilt.

Veiled overtures to the religious right are most apparent in discussions of abortion and gay marriage. Addressing the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) earlier this year, Bush said, "on matters relating to America's moral compass, we have defended human life. We promoted strong families." A literal translation of this statement would suggest that the president was perhaps referring to national defense and public health. But the audience knew that was not the case; he was referring to abortion and gay marriage. By cloaking his policy positions in benign, imprecise terms, Bush championed the issues most important to his audience without even hinting at the religious foundations for the policy stances.

Candidates inevitably alienate some voters with their positions on issues, but voters take notice if candidates avoid talking about issues in their speeches altogether. Between the policy talk, candidates season their speeches with inclusive rhetoric that boasts the values they share with voters, like their mutual love of America and their desire for a better future. This is where religious rhetoric most often appears. News correspondent

Ray Suarez, in *The Holy Vote*, notes that “a lot of the ‘God talk’ in American politics is feel-good filler” that “gets bellowing approval from audiences, but takes those same cheering throngs nowhere uncomfortable, nowhere challenging.” Indeed, phrases along the lines of Reagan’s “It is impossible to capture in words the splendor of this vast continent which God has granted as our portion of this creation” (1980 Convention Speech) are far more common than Obama’s “We need to heed the biblical call to care for ‘the least of these’ and lift the poor out of despair” (“A Politics of Conscience” speech, Hartford, 2007). Voters who believe welfare has caused the decline of personal responsibility might take issue with using the Bible to support an antipoverty agenda, but few would be offended by the concept of America as part of a divine gift.

As most candidates avoid tying policies to the

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Bible, they also steer clear of words specific to a single religion. Specifically Christian rhetoric would probably not offend a majority of the population, but there are many other ways to talk about God without saying whose God. This allows candidates to reach out to Jews, Muslims, and other religious affiliations. Ganz explains that when Martin Luther King Jr. talked about faith, he “transcended Christian terms.” Similarly, candidates have more success connecting to voters when they avoid language that partitions the electorate by faith.

Some candidates weave religious words into their speeches effortlessly, as if it were the candidate’s natural style. But the rhetoric is not as spontaneous as it appears; looking at speeches to different audiences reveals that candidates turn religious rhetoric on or off depending on the

circumstance. Bill Clinton used twenty-six religious references in his speech to the National Baptist Convention in 1996. Addressing the more official, but still overwhelmingly Protestant Congressional Black Caucus, he used six religious references. Speaking to the mostly Catholic Congressional Hispanic Caucus Institute at a dinner also that year, Clinton used only one religious reference. Very rarely do candidates deliver unprepared remarks. The variation between audiences suggests that speechwriters are deliberate in incorporating the amount and type of religious rhetoric deemed appropriate for the occasion.

Politicians are getting better at using religious rhetoric, and voter surveys prove that it is working. A 2007 Pew Research Center survey asked respondents how they felt about the level of religious discussion in campaigns. The only groups that said there was too little religious expression in presidential campaigns were black Protestants and very observant evangelicals and other Christians. Neither of these groups is likely to abandon its respective party in this election. The only ones who believe there is too much religious expression are the religiously unaffiliated or those affiliated with non-Christian faiths. These blocs are also solidly Democratic. The remaining groups are torn over whether they believe there is too much, too little, or the right amount of religious rhetoric in campaigns. No persuadable constituency is clamoring for more religious expression, nor is any strategically important group protesting it. Assuming the campaigns are aware of these preferences, low levels of carefully placed religious rhetoric will likely remain a fixture of campaign speeches.

“By summoning a higher truth and embracing a universal faith, our leaders inspired ordinary people to achieve extraordinary things,” Obama said to the audience in Hartford. While this can certainly be the case, using faith in a way that actually inspires is not easy. It has to draw voters in without pushing too many away, agree with what voters already know about a candidate, and above all, seem genuine. After the primaries narrow down the fields to the strongest contenders, only the candidates with the broadest appeal remain. Voters reject candidates who alienate religious voters and, conversely, those who speculate about duck hunting in Heaven.

LIFE OF A SUPERDELEGATE

*Donna Brazile talks
service and sweet
potato pie with
CARLYN REICHEL*

Donna Brazile is a busy woman. Eight years ago she was managing then-Vice President Al Gore's run for the presidency, the first African American to head a major presidential campaign. Today, she runs her own political consulting firm, Brazile & Associates, chairs the Democratic National Committee's Voting Rights Institute, appears on CNN and ABC to discuss the latest election returns, pens a regular column for *Roll Call* and *Ms. Magazine*, lectures at Georgetown University, and sits on the board of the Louisiana Recovery Authority, the agency charged with post-Katrina rebuilding efforts. She is also one of this election year's most talked about political creatures—a superdelegate. By any count, she is a success.

Still, it is not the success that Brazile stresses in her life and her career, but the service. Between the interviews, the plane flights, and the phone calls, she still makes time on a Sunday evening to gather with friends and cook dinner for those who were part of what she simply calls “the movement.” Baked chicken, collard greens, cornbread dressing, and sweet potato pie—all the “fixin’s” from a true Southerner, born and raised in Louisiana. In the midst of all this, Brazile recently shared her thoughts about life as a political operative, the 2008 election, and the importance of service with the *Harvard Kennedy School Review*. Quoting Shirley Chisholm, the first African-American woman elected to Congress, she reminds us that first and foremost, “Service is the rent we pay for the privilege of living on this earth.”

Brazile is at her most passionate when she talks about “the movement”—the people who marched and who made change in America possible. When asked about the greatest success of her career, Brazile does not miss a beat—

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Photo courtesy of Brazile & Associates

“making Martin Luther King Jr.’s birthday a national holiday.” It was one of her earliest political endeavors, but still one she honors every year; she makes a point to take time to reflect on the life and the legacy of Dr. King. More than just the celebration of a great civil rights leader, Brazile views the third Monday each January as “a day that we re-dedicate ourselves to his cause, his cause for freedom, equality, and justice for all.”

Ironically, the work Brazile is best known for is also what she considers her greatest failure. “When you start out in life as a black woman born at Charity Hospital in New Orleans, I don’t think you measure failure in the way anyone else measures failure. I measure it in terms of not completing goals, so my greatest failure would be not winning the 2000 presidential race.” At the suggestion perhaps Gore did not lose the 2000 election, Brazile is quick to rebut. “The truth is

that I didn't win it. And I blame myself, and if I didn't blame myself, I wouldn't be in a position of talking to you tonight."

Shifting gears, Brazile touched on the behind-the-scenes world of being a Democratic pundit and superdelegate. Again, her focus is on her role as a servant in democracy's fight, not a political combatant. "The key goal is not to think about my opponent but think about the people out there watching TV . . . what can I do to inform them? My first goal is to inform, educate."

When it comes to the Republicans who sit opposite her on CNN, she has nothing but kind words. With regard to her fellow superdelegates, she has been more vocal. Brazile raised a brief media flurry in early February 2008 when she threatened to resign from the Democratic Party if the superdelegates ended up anointing a Democratic candidate. As of April 2008, with the nominee still undecided, Brazile is sticking to her guns.

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"As a former campaign manager I would love to see, not just a Democrat in the White House, more importantly I'd like to see every voter, everybody get a chance to participate in the process," she says. "My goal as a superdelegate is not to tell people what to do or what I'm going to do but essentially to listen to them and to see what they want. I'm a spokesman of the American people. I may disagree with them sometimes, but I still love them, and I respect them. I'm one of those Americans who believes in our democracy and believes that every American should have a right to participate in the political process, regardless of party affiliation. The party should not decide elections; voters should decide elections."

But does she really think it might come down to a superdelegate decision? "I think superdelegates are very responsible," Brazile says. "The majority of superdelegates are elected officials, party officials, party leaders. These are people who care deeply about the process. The last thing they want to do is go against the will of the majority and try to decide this election. At the end of the day, superdelegates are going to be part of the process. We're more like icing on the cake. . . . We're not the deciders, we're the uniters. We unite the party and bring it together."

Then again, "I'm just one superdelegate," she jokes, "we'll have to wait for my other colleagues to make their decisions."

When it comes to advice for the next president, Brazile offers simple wisdom. "Don't forget the people. Don't forget the people that stood out, stood in long lines, that waited until poll workers showed up . . . Don't forget where you come from." To eager young politicians interested in becoming the next Donna Brazile, she is similarly straightforward. "Be willing to make sacrifices. Don't look back. Find your joy."

Finding joy is another important lesson from Brazile's life. In one final meditation on her call to serve, Brazile shares her inspiration. "I'm a child of the civil rights as well as the women's rights movement. One stirred my passion for civic engagement, the other one stirred my joy for service in a large community . . . Which movement played a larger movement in my life? Really I'm the product of both. I came up in a time when America was changing, I saw the change, I grew up on the other side of the train tracks, I saw segregation . . . and yet at times in my life I didn't know if it was my race or my gender that would cause me the most pain. But I didn't really sit back and think about the pain, I thought about the joy. That's why I'm still a survivor. I'm a survivor."

On that note, she says goodnight and heads off to the next pressing matter. She has not been home in three weeks, and she's not slowing down anytime soon.



CHAP'S SHTICK

A young state senator chats with STEPHEN ANDER about turning a red state blue

It has been a long time—forty-four years, to be precise—since the Commonwealth of Virginia last supported a Democrat for President of the United States. With the state's evangelical roots firmly tied to the Moral Majority and Christian Coalition and an increasingly strong military presence in the Hampton Roads area, the Virginia Republican Party overcame a deeply entrenched Democratic political machine to make significant gains in the 1980s and 1990s. Holding a two-to-one ratio over the Democrats in the state house of delegates and a sizable majority in the state senate in 2002, it seemed like the Republican Party would be an indomitable force in Virginia politics for generations to come.

This Republican takeover is not localized to Virginia either, as the entire South—once a Democratic stalwart—has almost uniformly elected Republicans since the “Reagan Revolution.” However, in the past five years, Virginia has diverged from this trend. The past two governors, Tim Kaine and Mark Warner, were both Democrats. In 2006, George Allen, the immensely popular former governor and incumbent conservative senator, and a one-time favorite for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008, lost his U.S. Senate seat to Jim Webb, an outsider Democrat with no elected experience. The Republican Party has not even been able to identify a viable candidate to run against Mark Warner in Virginia's next U.S. Senate race to fill the open seat of popular retiring Republican Sen. John Warner. And in 2007, majority control of the Virginia State Senate swung to the Democrats due in large part to one critical election in Northern Virginia—the most expensive legislative race in Virginia history—which unseated an incumbent Republican.

This Democratic groundswell in Virginia may also prefigure a change in the nature of

national politics. As Professor Larry Sabato, founder and director of the University of Virginia's Center for Politics, aptly puts it: “The state is no longer reliably red. Whether it goes blue in November [2008] remains to be seen, but it is now competitive, and the color purple isn't just for a book anymore.”

“I THINK VIRGINIANS ARE SAYING, ‘HEY, WE’RE TIRED OF BEING TAKEN FOR GRANTED. WE’RE TIRED OF BEING TOLD WE’RE A REPUBLICAN STATE’”

John Chapman “Chap” Petersen, no novice to Virginia politics, won that critical state senate election. At the politically young age of forty, he has already run for elected office in Virginia seven times, ranging from Fairfax City Council to lieutenant governor, and he was instrumental in electing Webb, which (foreshadowing his own state senate campaign) tilted majority control of the U.S. Senate to the Democrats. A consummate politician, he attributes his victories to countless hours of personal door-to-door campaigning, saying, “for every three houses you visit, you can count on two of them.”

The *Harvard Kennedy School Review* sat down with Petersen to discuss this statewide Democratic trend, Virginia's role in national politics, and his own successes and failures over bagels in Fairfax City, VA, in February 2008.

KSR: Your state senate race tipped the Democratic Party into the majority in a classically conservative state. What's happening? Is your party wising up, or are the people changing?

PETERSEN: By and large we've had better candidates. It sounds like a simple answer, but

STEPHEN ANDER is a first-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School. He has worked with numerous think tanks and government agencies.

people tend to vote for the better candidates. Jim Webb was a great candidate. Now he's not a great politician, but he's a great fit for this state. Tim Kaine was a great candidate because he was such a hard worker, great speaker, and he had a good feel for his audience.

And then the branding of the Democratic Party's improved. When I was a kid back in the '70s and '80s, the Democratic brand was popular in Virginia, even though Reagan was president, and this is a conservative state. So that's made a comeback.

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And then third, this state's certainly changed, at least in Northern Virginia. Northern Virginia used to be dominated by the Pentagon and by the military industry. And now it's really more dominated by the tech industry. So the demographics are a lot different. And, of course, it's become more diverse. But the diversity doesn't necessarily always lead people to vote Democratic. For example, the Korean population's very large, and they tend to vote Republican. But I also just feel like Democrats are working harder. So it's a combination of all those things.

KSR: The Senate has the reputation of having people in there for many years, but now you're a new face, and you're young. Do you think that anytime when you've been this rising young maverick that you've been discriminated against for your age?

PETERSEN: Oh yeah. When I first ran for city

council, I had a double whammy in that I was younger, and I tend to look younger than I am. When I was running for city council, one of my opponents said, "When Chap Petersen goes door to door it looks like he's selling magazines for the school band." And I kind of laughed. But in terms of anything harmful, no. I think my role has always been, especially my first year or two in a body, to just try and be very deferential, maybe a little bit obsequious, but then when the circumstances warrant, I don't mind throwing some punches.

KSR: Because of all the Democratic officials for a traditionally conservative state, do you think that Virginia is going to play a larger role in the 2008 election than in previous elections?

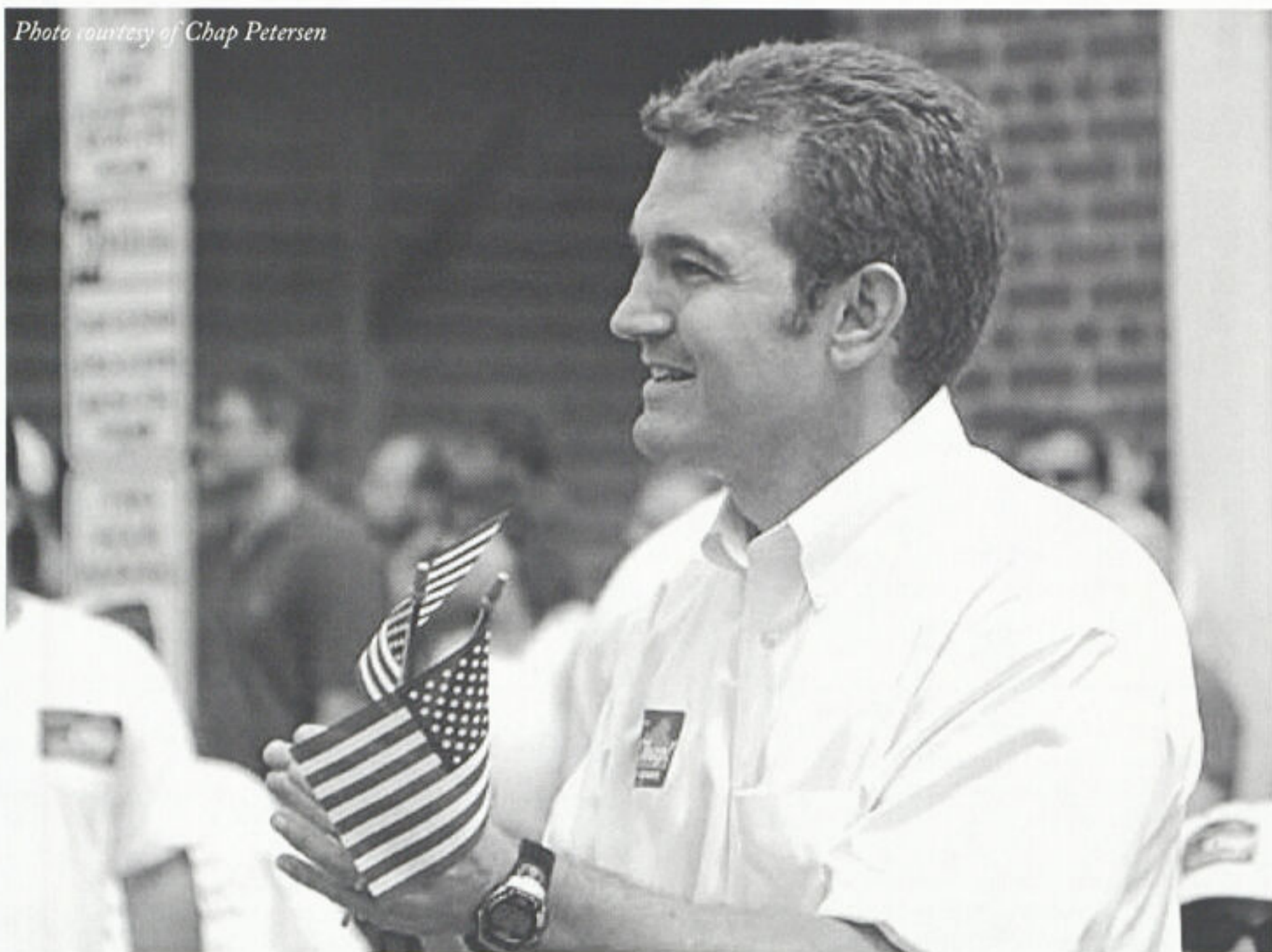
PETERSEN: I think this is a battleground state. And you have Republican-laden suburbs, but then you have Democratic-leaning inner suburbs. And then, of course, you have rural areas and urban areas. Bottom line is, I think it's about a 50-50 state in terms of our presidential vote. And the candidates have to come here. I think Virginians are saying, "Hey, we're tired of being taken for granted. We're tired of being told we're a Republican state."

KSR: Where do you see the greatest need for change in the United States, and where can the presidential candidates really spend a lot of political capital to make that change?

PETERSEN: I think we need to change the way that we deliver energy. We need to change the way that we power our vehicles. We need to have a grassroots change, from top to bottom, in the way that we fuel our economy. I think all the candidates get that. And the ability to shift from what has essentially been a petrol-burning economy to one that will be based on clean fuels is something that's going to take years, but it's going to have to happen. And the people that get in front of that issue, they will make billions and billions of dollars. It will be like the computer revolution was twenty, thirty years ago.

And the next president, in my way of thinking, will have to tackle that from a national security issue, as well as an environmental issue. In terms of foreign affairs, we need to have a president that can figure out exactly where our country stands in this sort of post-Cold War era. But it just seems to me, as an amateur observer,

Photo courtesy of Chap Petersen



Chap Petersen campaigns for the Virginia State Senate at the Fairfax Independence Day Parade in 2007.

that we need to have a president who has a vision for America's role in the global universe, in a way that maintains our sovereignty and our principles but doesn't have us involved in a conflict 10,000 miles away that's draining our economy back here at home.

KSR: As a state senator in Virginia, how do you think you could have a role in making that change?

PETERSEN: I think my role is, as part of the state senate, (a) we have to run the state, but (b) I want to see Virginia be a leader. I think it comes naturally to us. We're a state with a lot of history. We're a state with a lot of people. And we're a state with frankly a lot of wealth. Specifically, I'd like to see us be a leader in the way that we transport people and in a way that, as I said, we deliver fuel and energy.

This state is unique in that it has a coastal sector, a farming sector, and a mountain sector. It's unique in that we have some of the top universities in the nation as public universities.

We have great school systems. How many places can be the birthplace of the Internet and the birthplace of country music? And I want to see the state step forward and be a leader. And, obviously, as a state senator, that's what we got to do.

KSR: What advice would you give young future policy makers to move forward and have the array of success that you've had?

PETERSEN: Have interest in your life outside of politics. Don't treat this business as a be-all, end-all because you'll be a pretty lousy politician. You'll definitely be a pretty lousy person. So for me, I try and exercise every day. I'm a Christian. I'm in a bible study in Richmond. I go to church. I try to keep that part of my life active. And I love the Redskins. I love to go to football games. I'd say, "Don't be consumed by politics, be consumed by life. And then let your life experiences drive your political choices."

NEW POLITICAL TERMS FROM CAMPAIGN '08

By KSR STAFF

Every American campaign season produces new terms that outlive the election. In the 2004 presidential campaign, Sen. John Kerry was “swiftboated” out of the election after an attack ad from the “Swift Vets and POWs for Truth” questioned the senator’s service in the Vietnam War. In the 2006 congressional midterm election, Sen. George Allen derogatorily called one of his opponent’s staffers “macaca” while being videotaped, leading to his eventual defeat and giving rise to the term “a macaca moment.” Now, with the United States in another campaign cycle, the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* offers these new terms as the next potential entries in the political vocabulary.

A Rudy Awakening (A Ru·dy Awak·en·ing) - *noun*

1. A politician’s self-realization that no one likes him
2. Self-realization that he should not have skipped the first primaries

Alamomentum (Ala·mo·men·tum) - *noun*

The result of leveraging the Texas primary to keep one’s campaign alive, when it is likely to fail eventually

Caucus Block (Cau·cus block) - *verb*

To prevent your opponent from getting what he or she wants (the nomination) by winning the states that use caucuses

Farrakhan Test (Far·ra·khan Test) - *noun*

The requirement that all black politicians denounce Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan

Hip Replacement (Hip Re·place·ment) - *noun*

1. A younger, more popular candidate who supersedes the party establishment
2. John McCain’s biggest fear from a fall

Kool-Aid Gang (Kool-Aid Gang) - *noun*

Supporters of Senator Barack Obama who cannot substantively explain their support beyond “he inspires me”

Synonyms: Obamabots, “Yes, We Can”onites

“Living in a NAFTAsy” (Liv·ing in a NAF·TA·sy) - *noun*

A political term used for attack when the opponent supports the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)

McCain-Do Attitude (Mc·Cain-Do At·ti·tude) - *noun*

The optimistic notion to run for president despite being very old

Primary Bubble (Pri·ma·ry Bub·ble) - *noun*

The population’s and the mass media’s false impression that nothing else is happening in the world when the presidential primaries are in full swing

“Releasing the Spouses” (Re·leas·ing the Spous·es) - *noun*

A tactic used by politicians to have their spouses jointly campaign by proxy and attack their opponents but inadvertently resulting in political fallout for the politician

Ronline Voting (Ron·line Vot·ing) - *verb*

A tactic used by the Representative Ron Paul campaign to flood online polls and inflate the campaign’s political support

Starbucks Voters (Star·bucks Vot·ers) - *noun*

People who frequent Starbucks, place campaign stickers on their computers, and act like they are writing/studying, when they are really just on Google talk

“To Huckabee or Not to Huckabee” (To Huck·a·bee or not to Huck·a·bee) - *verb*

The question a politician asks himself between dropping out because there’s no chance of winning or staying in because there’s no chance of winning

WHO LET THE ALPHA DOGS OUT?

Reviewing current politics & political spin

By CARLYN REICHEL

Book review of:

Alpha Dogs: The Americans Who Turned Political Spin into a Global Business by James Harding (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008)

Ever wonder just how American politics, and electoral politics worldwide, became so nasty and brutish? In his first book, veteran journalist James Harding, currently the editor of *The Times* of London, gives us the answer: two men with a vision for the future and an influential rolodex of clients that spanned the globe. *Alpha Dogs: The Americans Who Turned Political Spin into a Global Business* is part twentieth-century world history, part behind-the-scenes blather, part modern campaign playbook. Conducting interviews with some of the most influential political strategists and public figures from recent memory—James Carville, Bob Shrum, and Shimon Peres to name a few—Harding recreates the hard-pumping, jet-setting, king-making world that was the Sawyer Miller Group of the 1980s.

The unlikely pairing of David Sawyer, a one-time Oscar-nominated documentary filmmaker, with Scott Miller, the advertising boy genius who instructed America to “Have a Coke and a smile,” launched one of the most influential political consultancies of modern democracy. The reach of the business is undeniably impressive, with clients ranging from just about every failed Democratic candidate for the presidency in the 1980s (John Glenn, Ted Kennedy, and Walter Mondale) to revolutionary leaders around the world (Sawyer Miller was involved with the efforts to topple both Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines and Augusto Pinochet in Chile) to corporate America (the firm helped Apple launch the Mac and helped Coke defend itself against Pepsi in the

1980s “Cola Wars”). Less clear is the impact the individual men (and one woman) of the firm had on the face of global politics and how much of their success was inevitable, fueled by the insatiable medium of television.

The Sawyer Miller Group had a near-visionary grasp of the power of television to send potent emotive messages to the public about political candidates or products, but the messages it sent were not always effective; the team lost more races than it won. Harding attributes several of the failures to candidates’ unwillingness to follow Sawyer Miller’s advice. Mario Vargas Llosa refused to forego his literary lifestyle to get out and press the flesh with poor Peruvians like he was told; to Miller and Sawyer’s eternal frustration, Mondale got a haircut rather than cut television spots introducing himself to the American public. Time and again, however, it seems as though the number one thing Sawyer Miller sold was itself. Moreover, the victories on which the group built a global reputation as the go-to firm for underdog candidates were broad-reaching movements of reform and far more complex than Harding leads us to believe. (Apparently Pinochet was single-handedly thrown from power by a commercial showing happy Chileans flying kites that came together to form the word “No.”) The reader of Harding’s book is left wondering, even when media manipulation was a relatively new art form, just how much social unrest can be incited by a well-crafted image and catchphrase. Nevertheless, the book gives an in-depth, journalistic account of some of the most interesting political developments of the past forty years, from the United States to Israel to Korea to Venezuela, where without fail, one or the other of the Sawyer Miller boys was there.

The book describes a diverse cast of characters, all “alpha dogs”—pack leaders motivated by a need to win, convinced of their own infallibility, committed to the power of “electronic democracy,” and unflinchingly

CARLYN REICHEL is a first-year in master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School. She previously worked in public relations.

confident in their ability to make people believe exactly what they were told to believe. At one point, Sawyer describes his motivation in putting together the team as a frank desire to assemble “brilliant, eclectic people from different walks of life . . . united by . . . a love of politics and the political process. The firm . . . [would] have more influence than any other place in the world.” And for a while, Harding hints, it did.

Sawyer Miller was at the forefront of a trend of American politicians spreading American-style politicking around the globe during the off years of U.S. elections. But is this just another example of globalization, fueled by transportation and communications technology, or is it perhaps a modern form of colonialism—America remaking the world in its democratic image? Harding himself seems unsure. He is somewhat taken in by the romantic lifestyle of these self-described “lone rangers” off to vanquish evil in some remote part of the world, but he also seems wary of the homogenizing effects that assuming a one-size-fits-all approach to global politics can have. He describes the wandering consiglieres alternately as an “accidental American democracy corps” and the “carpetbaggers of democracy.” Essentially, when it worked, they were geniuses. When it did not, the circumstances were just wrong.

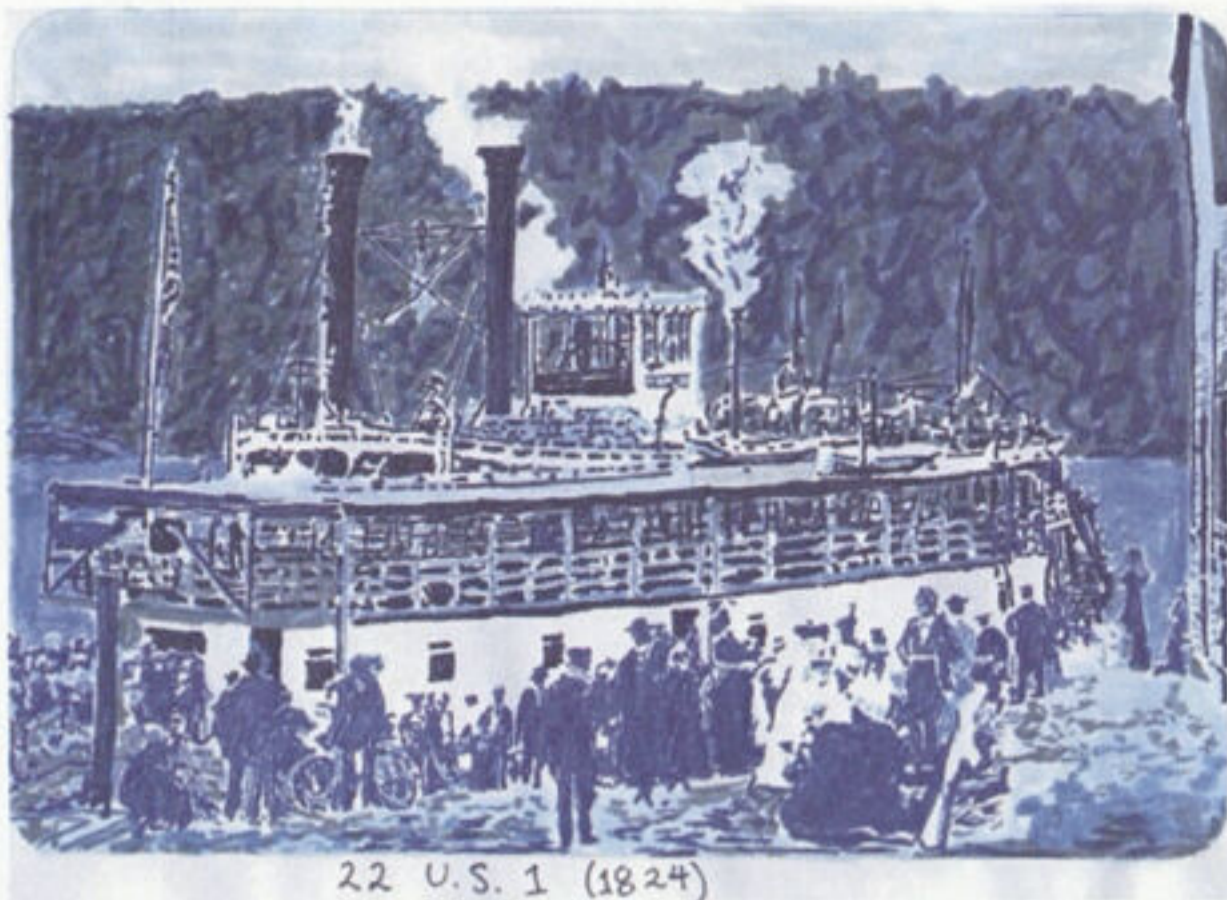
Lurking around the outside of this fascinating appendix to political history is the insidious, often disturbing desire for more—more power, more money, more clients, more influence. It is, of course, this struggle for more that led to a few ethically questionable choices in clientele (Panamanian strongman Manuel Noriega, for one), a semi-hostile ousting of Sawyer, and ultimately the fragmentation of the firm into several competing spin-off consultancies, including Weber Shandwick, the largest public relations firm in the world. Alpha dogs cannot play in the same pen for too long, it would seem.

Unable to agree on what the mission of the firm should be, Sawyer Miller dissolved, but the shoots it sent out into the world remain remarkably influential. Most of the familiar political strategists of today passed through the Sawyer Miller offices or opposed the group on some election, at some point, somewhere. Mandy Grunwald, the one female partner, was former President Bill Clinton’s advertising director in 1992 and has been a media adviser on Senator

Hillary Clinton’s 2008 presidential campaign. Mark McKinnon cut his teeth at Sawyer Miller before leaving the Democratic Party and working first as President George W. Bush’s media adviser and now as one of Senator John McCain’s closest consultants.

The world of the professional political operative is small and incestuous. The shock value of *Alpha Dogs* comes from the realization of how few people direct democracy in America and, apparently, around the world. The employees at Sawyer Miller not only pioneered many of the campaign tactics familiar to us today—a focus on image over substance, negative campaign formulas, and the three-step campaign formula of connect with the voter, take out the opposition, and create a sense of inevitable victory—but they were also their biggest disciples, carrying the message into corporate boardrooms and developing democracies the world over. The flip side of this has been the increased public disillusionment with campaigns and politicians at large. By the end of the book, even most of the Sawyer Miller operatives are pretty disgusted with themselves and their handiwork.

Harding gives us both sides of the story, but *Alpha Dogs* is more of an extended piece of investigative journalism into the tawdry underbelly of politics—Harding even throws in a few tidbits from the consultants’ personal lives to appeal to our more voyeuristic tendencies—than a work of history or political science. In the end, the book raises more questions than it answers, some of them deeply troubling, about democracy’s evolution. Sawyer Miller saw the future of campaigns in the electronic age and heralded the television medium as a way to trump political machines and bring democracy to the people—a way to start a conversation between the government and the governed. In a world where half of every campaign dollar goes to television advertising, driving up the price of campaigns and the influence of big donors, the Sawyer Miller legacy has proven anything but. Harding concludes on the more upbeat note that the next wave of “electronic democracy” is hard upon us, with the advent of Internet technology and voter niche-targeting plugging people back into the system. Taking the lessons of Sawyer Miller, however, one wonders if this is not merely just the next exploitable vacuum for Web-savvy politicians to tap and entrap us.



22 U.S. 1 (1824)

Gibbons v. Ogden, 22 U.S. 1 (1824). Gibbons v. Ogden was the first interstate commerce case. The Court, led by Chief Justice Marshall, held that Congress's power to regulate interstate commerce included the power to regulate interstate navigation. This laid the groundwork for a broad conception of the clause.

Hammer v. Dagenhart, 247 U.S. 251 (1918). In this case the court overturned a Congressional ban on interstate commerce of products made by children under the age of fourteen. Writing for the Court, Justice Day stated, "The commerce clause was not intended to give to Congress a general authority to equalize [disparate economic] conditions." Justice Holmes issued a famous dissent, that was explicitly followed by a majority in United States v. Darby Lumber Co., 312 U.S. 100 (1941).



259 U.S. 20 (1922)

THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE CLAUSE SERIES

By JOSÉ KLEIN

Art. I, §8, Clause 1 of the U.S. Constitution grants Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce. What you can regulate when you regulate commerce is largely political. Do the economic effects of domestic violence

justify Federal intervention? What about cultivation of medical marijuana for personal consumption? Each of these images depicts a seminal moment in the Supreme Court's evolving understanding of the clause.

JOSÉ KLEIN is a third year student at Harvard Law School and depicts issues of U.S. law through marker drawings. His artwork is available at joseklein.com.



295 U.S. 495 (1935)

Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States, 295 U.S. 495 (1935). Often referred to as the sick chicken case, Schechter Poultry Corp. v. United States marked the height of the conflict between Roosevelt's New Deal administration and the conservative Court of the time. Chief Justice Hughes, writing for a unanimous court, held the National Recovery Act (NIRA) was an unconstitutional exercise of Congressional power under the commerce clause. The Court distinguished the indirect effects of interstate commerce that NIRA regulated from direct effects.



379 U.S. 241 (1964)

Act of 1964, thus forcing the Heart of Atlanta Motel to accept patrons of all races. In dicta, Justice Clark noted that 75% of the motel costumers came from out of state and that it was positioned between to interstate freeways.

Heart of Atlanta Motel Inc. v. United States, 379 U.S. 241 (1964). The Court, through Justice Clark, held that Congress acted within its scope under the Interstate Commerce clause when it passed the Civil Rights

Gonzales v. Raich, 541 U.S.1 (2005). After a series of cases that radically cutback Congress's power to regulate under the clause, the Court upheld a federal law regulating marijuana, despite that it was being applied to a woman who



545 U.S. 1 (2005)

produced the crop for private consumption. The Court, through, Justice Stevens, reasoned that because private consumption of homegrown marijuana would have an impact on demand, it substantially affects interstate commerce.

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The Malcolm Wiener Center is a vibrant intellectual community of faculty, masters and PhD students, researchers, and administrative staff striving to improve public policy and practice in the areas of health care, human services, criminal justice, inequality, education, and labor.

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- › carrying out research on important policy issues affecting the lives of those most vulnerable and needy
- › providing professional education for those in the world of practice
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- › ensuring that research and education are closely tied to and draw from politics and practice in the field
- › developing working partnerships with the broader policy community

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HARVARD Kennedy School

MALCOLM WIENER CENTER
for Social Policy

RISING PUBLIC POLICY STARS

*Meet five young leaders
making a difference*

By ANTHONY BOX &
HANIA KRONFOL

Overhaul the Washington, D.C., public school system. Propel student political opposition in Venezuela. Curtail youth unemployment in the Middle East. Fight environmental destruction and create jobs for less-skilled workers. Mitigate religious conflict in America and around the world.

Ambitious goals, hindered by stubborn and enduring public policy problems.

Here we introduce you to the *Harvard Kennedy School Review's* Rising Public Policy Stars: five people, forty years old or younger, who are taking on these challenges and helping to transform public life.

Our honorees were selected by the editorial board of the *Review* after a consultation with the Harvard Kennedy School's students and faculty. They include political leaders, administrators, intellectuals, and social entrepreneurs. By inspiring and motivating others to join in their cause, they have become advocates for change and represent the profound impact that young leaders can have on public policy.

The 2008 KSR Rising Public Policy Stars:

MICHELLE RHEE, chancellor of the District of Columbia Public Schools, is shaking up the school system by working to close the achievement gap and demanding accountability.

YON GOICOECHEA is changing the political landscape in Venezuela by leading a student movement that has already handed Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez his first major political defeat in years.

SORAYA SALTI is fighting youth unemployment and encouraging women's empowerment in the Middle East by leading an organization in Jordan

VAN JONES, a human rights advocate and environmentalist, is working to develop a "green economy" in the United States and reduce social inequalities.

EBOO PATEL is helping foster religious tolerance by promoting interfaith dialogue and institutions that teach entrepreneurship skills to youth in the region.

These five forward-thinking individuals are taking on five different public policy challenges and are developing reputations for forging more empowered and sustainable societies around the globe.

ANTHONY BOX and HANIA KRONFOL served as Special Projects editors for the Harvard Kennedy School Review. BOX is a mid-career master in public administration candidate and KRONFOL is a first-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School.



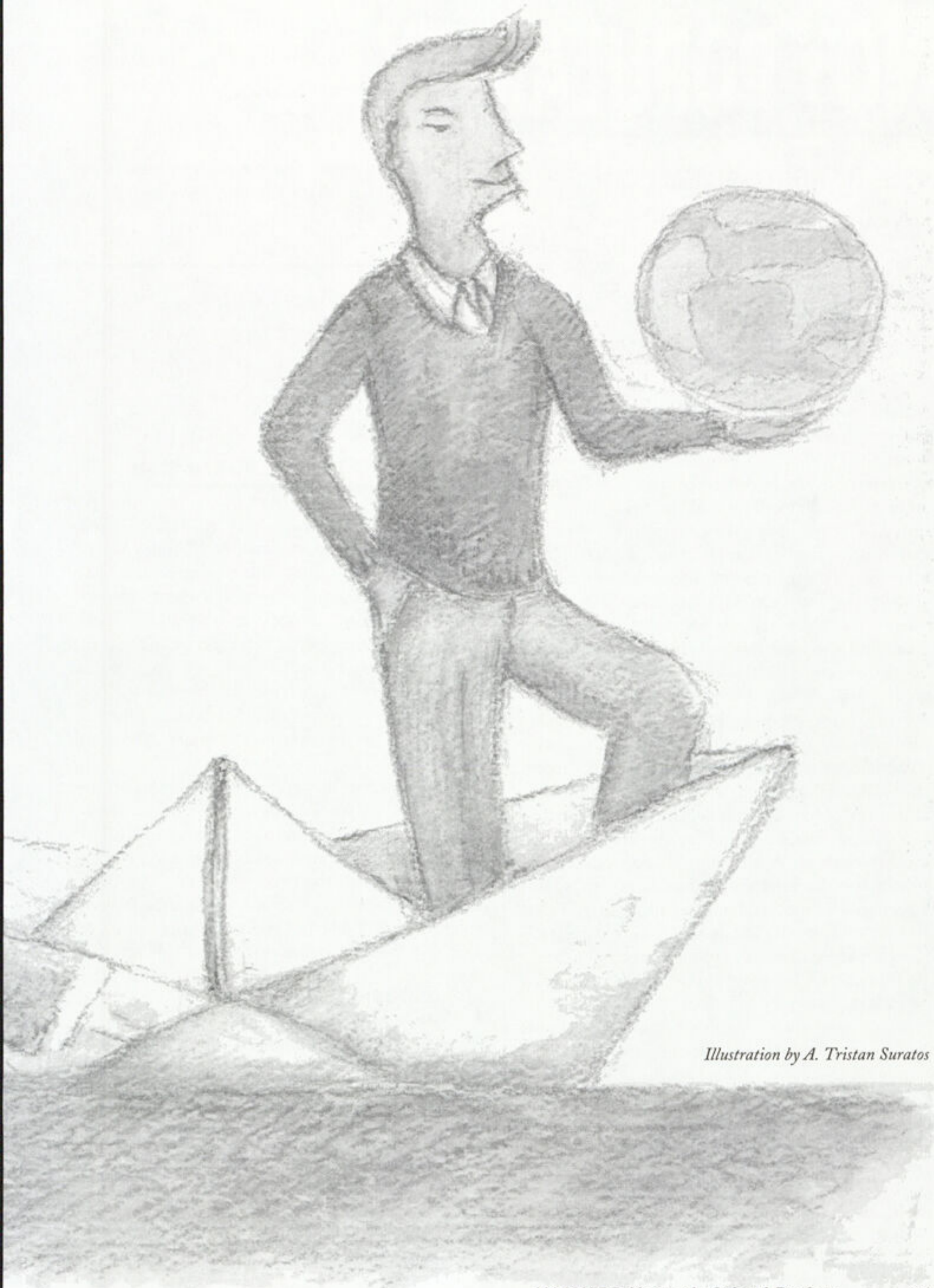


Illustration by A. Tristan Suratos

IT'S ABOUT GRADES, NOT POPULARITY

MICHELLE RHEE

Rhee undertakes austere measures to tackle under-performance in D.C. public schools

By MICHAEL FALCONE

Ask Michelle Rhee, the thirty-eight-year-old chancellor of the Washington, D.C., public school system, how many of her employees she plans to fire before the end of her first year on the job, and she hedges a little at first.

"It's going to be a significant number."

But when pressed, Rhee doesn't hesitate. Out of the roughly 800 people who work at the central office, "we're talking hundreds." And after meeting individually with each of the district's more than 150 school principals, how many will she replace by the beginning of next year? "It may be as high as 30 to 40 percent."

The firings may not win her many friends, but Rhee says they are an essential part of her strategy to turn around the troubled school district she has been running since June 2007. Rhee's frankness and confidence belie the fact that until she took this job she had never run a school, let alone a 50,000-student district. That didn't stop Adrian Fenty, Washington D.C.'s mayor, from tapping Rhee to be the new chancellor, an offer that she initially turned down. When she finally accepted the position, Fenty made it clear that he wanted Rhee to "shake things up." So far, she has delivered.

Sitting behind her desk at the district's headquarters in Washington, Rhee occasionally checks her BlackBerry and glances at her laptop screen as she speaks about her plans to end the district's history of, as she says, "incompetence." To get a sense of Rhee's approach to the job, look no further than her sense of interior design.

Shortly after taking over, Rhee cleared out most of the furniture from the chancellor's spacious ninth-floor office, including a comfortable couch, chairs, and a coffee table. "What was I going to do, sit there and watch TV?" she says. In their place she brought in four desks—one for her, one for her personal assistant,

one for the press secretary, and one for a scheduler. They share the space—no need for corner office frills, just efficiency.

"FOR NINE WEEKS OR SO, I WAS
OUT EVERY NIGHT AT
COMMUNITY MEETINGS
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DOESN'T REALLY BOTHER ME"

Rhee was born in Ann Arbor, MI, and raised in Toledo, OH. She attended the Maumee Valley Country Day School, an elite private high school in Toledo, excelled in sports, and spent some of her afternoons tutoring. Rhee studied government at Cornell University, graduating in 1992, and later earned a master's degree at the Harvard Kennedy School. In between, Rhee spent three years in the Teach for America program at an inner-city elementary school in Baltimore, MD.

In 1997, at the age of twenty-seven, Rhee founded a nonprofit organization, The New Teacher Project. It recruits and trains high-quality teachers and sends them to urban classrooms across the country. So far, The New Teacher Project has helped prepare and place roughly 28,000 teachers and has worked in more than 200 districts nationwide. It was through this nonprofit work that Rhee first attracted the attention of Fenty.

But having worked with so many school districts, including Washington, D.C., during her ten years as president of The New Teacher Project, Rhee was familiar with what a bureaucratic nightmare a public school system could be. And that was why she was so reluctant to take the top job when Fenty offered it.

"Running The New Teacher Project, I could do whatever I needed to," she says. "If I had an incompetent employee I would fire them. I could make decisions very quickly. We were very

MICHAEL FALCONE is a second-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School. He has written for The New York Times, most recently contributing to coverage of the 2008 presidential election.

IT'S ABOUT GRADES, NOT POPULARITY

nimble.”

In order to win her over, Fenty promised her a measure of the independence she had in the nonprofit world. “I’ve worked in urban education for fifteen years, and I’ve seen how superintendents have their hands tied; they’re basically hamstrung,” Rhee says. In her discussions with the mayor, she recalls, Fenty said all the right things. “I just didn’t know whether he was the real deal and whether I could trust him or not.” Rhee eventually decided she could.

Arriving in Washington, Rhee had no illusions about what she was up against. The D.C. public schools are some of the lowest performing in the country. For example, according to the 2007 National Assessment of Educational Progress, only eight percent of eighth graders met grade-level benchmarks for proficiency in math, and just 14 percent of fourth graders scored at proficient levels in reading and language arts. Characteristically, Rhee set the bar high. “We’re going to significantly raise student achievement levels, and were going to close the achievement gap,” she told the *New York Times* in June 2007. “I see a clear path to getting it done.”

Rhee laid out a plan for her first year that

“RHEE SAYS PEOPLE SHOULD MEASURE HER PERFORMANCE BY A SINGLE YARDSTICK— ‘STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT, THAT’S THE BOTTOM LINE’ ”

included fostering a culture of high expectations for students and teachers, standardizing academic programs across schools, and boosting the number of students that goes on to college. She also pledged to focus on modernizing school facilities, engaging parents more fully as partners, and overhauling the central office.

But Rhee, the daughter of Korean immigrants, also faced another hurdle. She is the first non-African American in forty years to head the urban school system where the vast majority of students are black. So, she has spent a significant part of her first year introducing herself, going from school to school, meeting

Photo courtesy of D.C. Public Schools



Photo courtesy of D.C. Public Schools



Rhee with students from Martin Luther King, Junior Elementary School

with teachers, parents, and students. And although Rhee, the mother of two young children, clearly has a softer side, she quickly cast herself as a hard-driving reformer and a problem solver.

Staring her in the face last summer was one of her first big challenges. The district was facing a budget deficit of more than \$100 million, and enrollment was declining. She and Fenty concluded that part of the solution would involve closing more than twenty of the district's schools, displacing some 5,000 students.

When the school closure plan became public—the list of schools on the chopping block was leaked to the *Washington Post*—the reaction was swift. One community activist said that Rhee's leadership of the school system amounted to a "dictatorship," local labor unions registered their displeasure, and one D.C. city council member who represents an area that is home to several schools due to be shuttered said he felt "unfairly treated."

As Rhee put it, "There was a city council member who said, 'Everyone knows we have to close schools. Nobody's denying that. You can close any school you want to—as long as it's not

in my ward.'" Rhee has since scaled back the plan, sparing six of the schools originally slated for closure, but adding four others in their place. The schools that will absorb the students from the closures will receive a variety of enhancements, such as additional staff, expanded academic programs, and additional administrative and faculty support.

The school closure issue brought Rhee face to face with many of the district's competing interests—the politics of the city council, the power of the unions, and the passion of parents, teachers, and students who feel strongly that their school should not be the one to go. Rhee has held dozens of public hearings to solicit input on the proposals, and community members have not shied away from telling her exactly what they think.

"For nine weeks or so," Rhee says, "I was out every night at community meetings getting yelled and screamed at, and that doesn't really bother me. I don't take that personally. I compartmentalize very well." One week in early January 2008, Rhee's mother was visiting and happened to be watching her daughter at a particularly tense community meeting. Rhee, who

IT'S ABOUT GRADES, NOT POPULARITY

by then had become accustomed to the criticism, came home, sat down, and made herself a peanut butter sandwich.

Rhee recalls what her stunned mother said that night. "When you were young I was always worried about you because you didn't seem to care what other people thought about you, and I always thought you were going to be antisocial. But now it seems to be serving you well," her mother said.

Across the district 80 percent of the schools are under-enrolled, and from a public policy standpoint, Rhee says closing some of them just makes sense.

"There is no doubt in my mind that we made the right decision and that ultimately the closure of those schools will result in higher-quality school programs for the children in the schools that remain open," she says. "I feel very comfortable in that."

Rhee is also comfortable because throughout the process she has been supported by a team of advisers that she trusts. As chancellor, Rhee has established an inner circle of sorts, made up of colleagues she worked with at Teach for America and The New Teacher Project. Two of her top aides worked with Rhee at the nonprofit she ran and followed her to Washington.

Rhee says that at The New Teacher Project her management style was fairly "hands off," but she's tweaked that model somewhat. Now she is more likely to wade knee-deep into details that would never have made it on to her radar screen before. She memorizes benchmark data about schools in her district, and if she happens to run into a principal from a school that is lagging, she'll let him or her know. She's also been known to pay attention to things like the absence rate of individual students and on at least one occasion dispatched district personnel to the home of a student who had missed an entire month of school to find out why.

Rhee says she receives hundreds of e-mail messages each day—some from parents who write to her about problems like a broken water fountain at their child's school—and she answers every last one of them. She makes sure that even problems that may seem small get fixed quickly.

"Fixing a water fountain, is that doing the big things, changing the quality of instruction in that school? No. But is it going to make that parent feel like something is different? Absolutely," Rhee

says. "Part of my job is to start to rebuild faith and confidence that we can actually do something different."

After less than a year on the job, Rhee says that the district has slowly begun to move toward some of the goals for improving schools and student achievement that she initially set. But she's realistic. It may take several years before those gains become apparent in the students' standardized test scores and other measures of progress, she acknowledges.

"PART OF MY JOB IS TO START
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DIFFERENT"

"In order to truly fix this system, it's going to take a really long time," she says. "This system didn't become the way that it is overnight, and it's not going to be changed overnight."

Her outsider status and maverick mentality seem to have given her the freedom to make changes that previous chancellors were not able to do. Early on she told her staff members, including the imports from The New Teacher Project, that the way to fix the district was not by being better bureaucrats. If that was their strategy, she told them, they might as well throw in the towel. She said she wants her employees to see the district office as being there less to govern the schools and more to serve them. And she wants them to know that they're going to be held accountable.

And what about holding Rhee accountable? She says people should measure her performance by a single yardstick—"student achievement, that's the bottom line." Rhee does not consider herself a career superintendent, but she wants to stick around long enough to see some dramatic gains in student test scores.

"The reason I took this job and the reason I remain incredibly confident that we're going to be able to turn the system around is that this is a manageable school system," Rhee says. "The scope and size of what we're dealing with, it's doable; you can turn it around, there's no doubt in my mind about it."

DEMANDING DEMOCRACY

YON GOICOECHEA

*Goicoechea leads students
in the fight for a new
Venezuela*

By MARIA HERMINIA
GRATEROL GARRIDO,
DANIEL LANSBERG-RODRIGUEZ
& SAMY ESAYAG

On 2 December 2007, Yon Goicoechea, a young Venezuelan student leader, appeared in front of TV cameras, sounding a call to vote against the constitutional reform proposed by Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez. The most contentious of the reform proposals sought to eliminate presidential term limits, redefine private property rights, and put the autonomous Central Bank directly under the president's control. Late into the night, it was unclear whether the Venezuelan National Electoral Council could or would announce a result that was unfavorable to Chavez. On December 3, they finally conceded that the new constitution had been voted down, the first electoral defeat of Hugo Chavez's Bolivarian Revolution in nine years. Many independent factors converged to doom the proposed reform, but among the most visible were Goicoechea and the student movement that he led.

Over the last ten years Venezuela has become increasingly divided along class and ideological lines. Yet Goicoechea and other student leaders were able to publicly bridge this divide and foster enough unity to form a strong "Movimiento

Estudiantil," organized and vocal enough to rally opposition to the referendum. Just three years ago, the prospect of a youth-led independent movement influencing policy in Venezuela would have been laughable. And yet the movement, comprised of students from both public and private universities, now inspires youth to action, oversees a network to facilitate collective mobilization, and sets up platforms to enable public debate.

"OUR ROLE IS THAT OF
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GENERATE PRESSURE"

Born into a middle-class Caracas family in 1984, Goicoechea was eight when, in 1992, Lieutenant Hugo Chavez attempted an armed coup against former President Carlos Andres Perez. The plot miscarried, and Chavez was sent to prison, but he was released six years later and elected president in 1998. By this time, the fourteen-year-old Goicoechea was already a well-rounded student, with a passion for music, French, and swimming. Upon graduating from high school, Goicoechea decided that he wanted to be a musician.

His artistic trajectory shifted sharply in 2002 when violent protests culminated in a military-backed coup that briefly removed Chavez from office. Upon Chavez's reinstatement there was a subsequent crackdown against opposition groups, many of whom fled the country or disbanded. Later that year a national strike was called to protest the massive layoffs of anti-Chavez senior executives of *Petróleos de Venezuela S.A.*, the national oil company. The strike became the longest strike in world history, devastating the economy but failing to unseat Chavez.

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DEMANDING DEMOCRACY



Photo courtesy of Daniel Lansberg-Rodriguez

By this time Goicoechea was in high school and organized resistance to the government lay in shambles. But Goicoechea had been struck and inspired by the level of student participation he had seen during the events of 2002. Students made up a visible contingent of the crowds of people marching against the state. This observation had a profound impact on Goicoechea who in short order switched his career ambitions to law.

He enrolled at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (UCAB), a private Jesuit institution that has a general commitment to social justice and a strong political streak. Aware of the extreme positions adopted by both Chavez's opponents and supporters, student leaders in the UCAB and other universities began to organize in more strategic and nationally significant ways. They addressed the need to create formal mechanisms to strengthen the exchange of information across universities, and organize outreach programs, capacity-building workshops and alliances that became the building blocks that later sustained student mobilization.

Although considered by some to be a Chavez opponent, Goicoechea sees himself as a

conciliator who promotes propositions rather than opposition. He sees the role of university students, not as kingmakers but rather as motivating agents who provide space for reflection to "illuminate the conscience of Venezuelan society." "Our role," he explains "is that of making propositions for guiding the country to a better situation . . . we need to continue to generate pressure."

According to Goicoechea, the early student movement was largely built upon a call for national unity against a perception that the government agenda was resulting in more "social divisions, radicalization, and hate among classes." The students carefully walked the line of standing by democratic principles while not directly opposing President Chavez as an individual. Goicoechea explains that their goal was (and remains) "proposing a country without polarization, a united Venezuela where all are reconciled... Through the recognition of past mistakes we can understand that we do not need to be condemned by our collective past. As Venezuelans, we can move forward."

In 2007, the government announced that the broadcasting license of Radio Caracas Television (RCTV), the oldest privately owned transmission in Latin America, would be revoked. Like many media outlets, RCTV had cited the apparent success of the 2002 coup as a "victory for democracy," conflicting with the ideals of Chavez' Bolivarian revolution. University students, and particularly those studying law and journalism, felt strongly that freedom of expression was being stifled and feared that if RCTV was shut down, then other TV channels and newspapers considered to be "antigovernment" would be sure to follow.

Students protested, and security forces met them with riot police, tear gas, fire hoses, and "ballenas" (riot-control armored vehicles). Throughout, Goicoechea and other leaders clearly instructed their followers that, regardless of the circumstances, they must always remain non-violent. It was during this period that Goicoechea gained TV exposure and emerged as a visible leader to those outside the university system. Following RCTV's closure, various university councils, working in tandem, set up a formal national parliament of students, and Goicoechea was elected secretary general of the student parliament.

When Chavez proposed the 2007 constitutional reform, the National Student Parliament mobilized against it. In addition to what the students saw as Chavez's attempt to concentrate his power, they were also concerned about the erosion of civil liberties. They feared that the proposal to detain citizens without charge during a state of emergency (one of several clauses of the reform) could be used as retribution against government opponents. Chavez supporters dismissed the criticism and argued that all reforms were needed in order to advance socialism in Venezuela. Still, Goicoechea toured Venezuela, spoke before the National Assembly, and by the end of 2007, the student parliament had launched fifteen simultaneous marches in every major Venezuelan city.

“OUR GREATEST ACHIEVEMENT
HAS BEEN THAT VENEZUELAN
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GREATER CONVICTION”

When asked about the mobilization, Goicoechea says “Our greatest achievement has been that Venezuelan citizens are now able to stand by democracy with greater conviction. For us the Constitution is about core values shared by Venezuelan society as a whole. At a minimum, we [the students] must strive to uphold democracy and democratic institutions so we opted not to support the proposed reform.”

To walk with Goicoechea through the barrios of Caracas is to see him crowded around, approached and assaulted by throngs of people hoping to praise or curse him. While Goicoechea calls for unity, opinion on him is divided. Many critics see him as an ally of the old oligarchy seeking to restore a time when Venezuela was governed by and for the rich. Others suggest he is simply a naive young man who is unaware of how things really work in government and does not understand the need for a Latin-American counterbalance to U.S. dominance. Still others see him as a populist who succeeds on charisma but whose actual program for a better Venezuela can be hard to pin down.

And Goicoechea's public activism has created risks to him personally. Some of Chavez's supporters have accused him of being a CIA spy, and he has been physically harassed at times. In a November 2007 interview with the *New York Times* he explained that he has had to adopt an intensive security regimen, often sleeping in different places and changing his contact numbers.

Goicoechea has kept his distance from existing political parties but also considers it necessary to support individual leaders who have had a positive impact. For this reason, he has personally endorsed two candidates who will be running for office in November 2008—Carlos Ocariz, a political veteran from Petare, the largest *barrio* in Caracas, and Leopoldo Lopez, a prominent municipal leader in the city.

What does the future hold for the student movement? Goicoechea himself will be graduating from the UCAB in a few months and plans to hand over his responsibilities to the next generation of students. He explains that it is crucial he steps down so that the student movement can remain true to itself. Goicoechea acknowledges that “it is different to be a student leader than a political leader.” Although he would prefer the student movement to maintain its role as a watchdog, some student activists are already clamoring to run for office.

Goicoechea is coy in response to questions about his own political future. He admits that he has a wide support base that has pressed him to run for public office, but he believes that he needs to give himself more time. “The majority of people on both sides, Chavistas and opposition, are seeking renewal,” he says, “but the standards of professionalism and authenticity in the public sector need to be high.” He sees himself playing a potential role facilitating dialogue and partnerships between university students, youth in political parties, and young people in public office. But for now, he plans to graduate from college.



SORAYA SALTİ

Salti spreads entrepreneurial skills to youth in the Arab world

GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS

By JONATHAN MAHER

In November 2004, a delegation from the U.S. House of Representatives traveled across the Middle East on a trade mission, meeting dignitaries and business leaders in Tunisia, Jordan, Egypt, and Oman. During their stay in Jordan, as is customary for such missions, a program of visits was also scheduled for the U.S. delegates' spouses. One visit took them to a public school to see a Junior Achievement (JA) program funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Middle East Partnership Initiative.

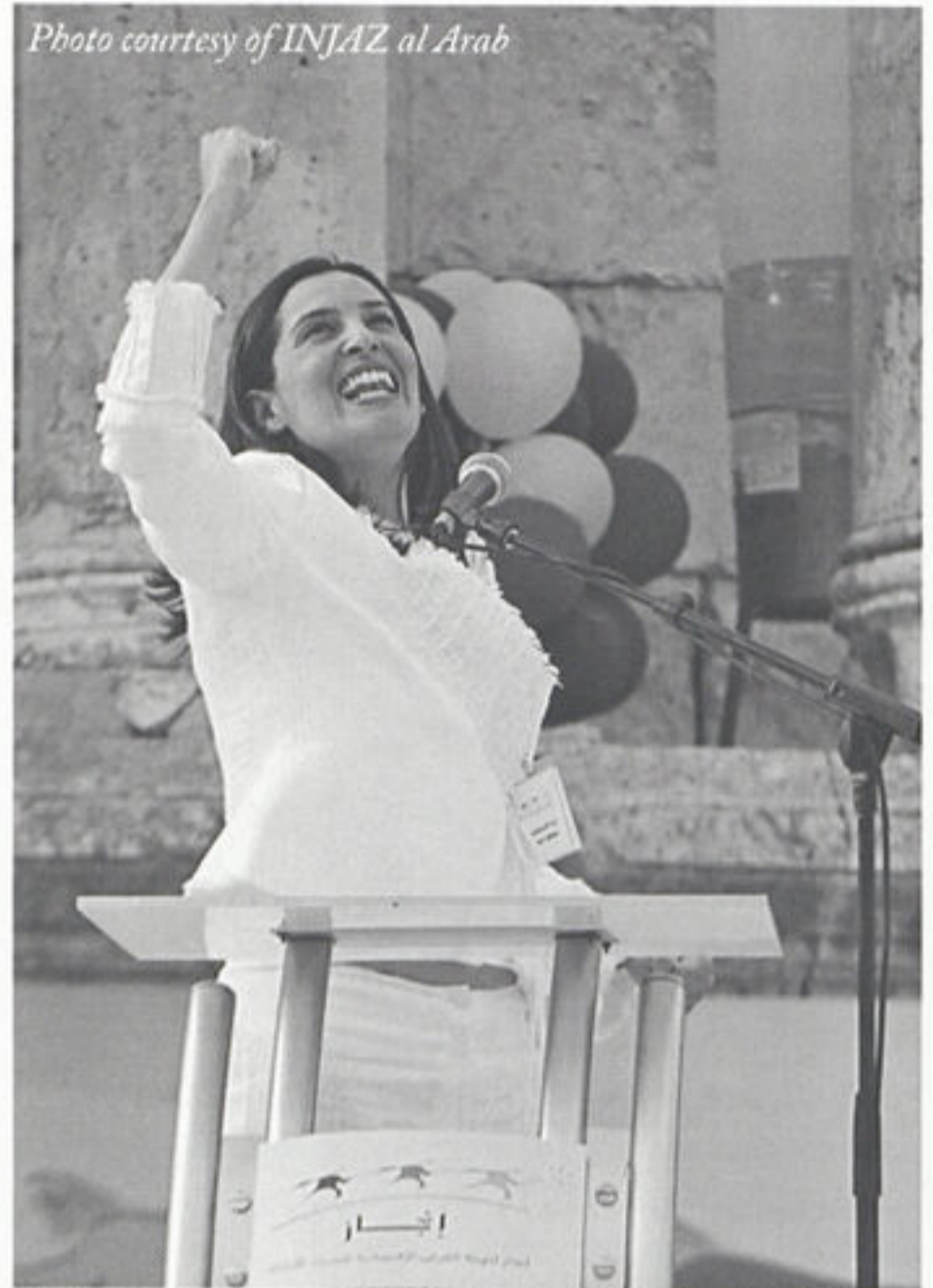
In one classroom, boys were learning how to read stock prices in the newspaper. In another, girls were learning job hunting and budgeting skills. Eventually, these students would have the opportunity to develop their skills in the company course in which they come up with a business idea, study its feasibility, design its plan, and sell the product. This was INJAZ (Arabic for "achievement") al Arab, a nonprofit organization that offers entrepreneurship, financial literacy, and work-readiness classes taught by private-sector volunteers.

Beyond the ingenuity of this program, which is an "Arabized" version of the Junior Achievement model, what struck the delegates' spouses was the speaker—INJAZ CEO, Soraya Salti, who was presenting the program's values of entrepreneurship and empowerment. Her presence and passion were felt throughout the organization. If yesterday INJAZ was the object of a courtesy call by the delegates' spouses, it has since become a growing force in the world of Middle East development, having reached out to thousands of young people across the region.

Before INJAZ, Salti had already built an impressive resume. She was a member of the innovative competitiveness team in Jordan's

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Photo courtesy of INJAZ al Arab



Salti at May 2004 INJAZ Jordan Graduation Event

Ministry of Planning. She had also led a monitoring and evaluation unit of a multimillion dollar program for small business development at the Jordan-United States Business Partnership, in addition to working as an economic researcher for the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia.

Born in 1970 to a Jordanian father and an American mother, Salti's cosmopolitanism and ease in working in international settings can be traced in part to her family history. Regardless, she prides herself on her independent thinking. Taking advantage of the peace between Jordan and Israel to get a quality education, Salti crossed the Jordan River on weekends for two years to join Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza to work toward her M.B.A. at the regional campus of Chicago's Northwestern University, despite the disapproval of relatives who were uncomfortable with her traveling. Her modus operandi is, "Generally, I do what I want."

And INJAZ is what she wants to do, Salti says, describing it as her “dream job.” INJAZ was founded by Save the Children, who brought Salti to turn around the floundering project in 2001. When Salti first joined INJAZ, it did not have any presence in the Arab world. The program faced serious management shortcomings and risked losing USAID funding. “There was magic in the classroom,” she says, “but everything around it was in distress.”

Since then Salti’s work has been driven by her belief that entrepreneurship is the best solution to

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the current demographic and economic realities of her country. While Jordan is not the poorest country in the Middle East—the unemployment rate of 13 percent is around the regional average, and gross domestic product per capita is estimated at \$2,533—its socioeconomic forecasts are worrisome. Despite efforts to diversify, Jordan still relies largely on exports of phosphates and potash and a constant inflow of overseas remittances and foreign aid. As natural resources dwindle, and the population doubles every quarter century, the economy is likely to be unsustainable.

Jordan does have one of the better-educated populations in the Middle East. But paradoxically, the unemployment rate of Jordan’s most educated citizens is high compared to less educated classes. Salti explains that “education attainment is not translating into youth employment in the region. The problem is a skills gap... The private sector has to be part of the equation for long-term development.”

Women are also entering the labor market in greater numbers at a time when public-sector positions, long-favored by women, are diminishing. This has swelled the number of unemployed women in Jordan, whose unemployment rate is now twice that of their

male counterparts.

Aware of these economic realities, Salti saw the unemployed, relatively educated labor force as a vast untapped resource for entrepreneurship. By applying JA’s model, the region could tackle three fundamental challenges simultaneously—create jobs, diversify the economy, and empower women. Salti and her Jordanian team transformed the organization into a nationwide youth movement, increasing its reach from 1,000 to 70,000 enrolled students. Salti describes JA as a “winning model” that relies on a decentralized network based on local leadership.

Many Middle Eastern states share Jordan’s problem of a youth bulge coinciding with unemployment. With 70 percent of its population under the age of twenty-five, the region needs to generate some 100 million jobs in the next twenty years. Delighted with its success in Jordan, and given the urgent need in other Arab countries, JA Worldwide asked Salti in 2004 to head its regional organization as senior vice president for the Middle East and North Africa. With Salti at the helm, INJAZ al Arab has recruited 10,000 volunteers and trained more than 300,000 youth since it first began in Jordan. It now has programs in twelve nations, including Morocco, Egypt, Lebanon, Qatar, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, Dubai, and Palestine.

In eleven of the countries where INJAZ operates, it works closely with the Ministry of Education. “By mobilizing the education bureaucracy to our advantage, we were able to scale up very quickly,” Salti explains. “And addressing youth unemployment has become part of the national agenda. It is now being seen as an economic and social threat.” One of the interesting paradigm shifts in Jordan in recent years is that women’s emancipation is being perceived more and more as an economic driver rather than just as a sign of social progress.

The success of INJAZ relies on its relationship with the corporate world. Today, 175 Arab CEOs serve on its regional and country boards. Four thousand men and women from the private sector volunteer for an hour each week to teach basic business skills and offer their professional experience to the students. The private entrepreneurs and leaders of national and multinational companies on the boards provide staff, financial support, and their professional networks to give the youth future opportunities



Photo courtesy of INJAZ al Arab

Queen Rania and First Lady Laura Bush visit an INJAZ classroom with Salti in May 2005 after completing the program.

**“ADDRESSING YOUTH
UNEMPLOYMENT HAS BECOME
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AS AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL
THREAT”**

Salti’s ambitions for INJAZ continue to grow. In January 2008, Jordan’s Queen Rania al Abdullah, one of Salti’s most ardent supporters, and JA representatives joined forty international and Arab businessmen in Davos, Switzerland, to launch Salti’s campaign to “Empower One Million Arab Youth,” at the World Economic Forum. Its goal is to train one million Arab youth in entrepreneurship skills each year by 2018.

Although it is not an explicit goal of INJAZ, Salti’s work is reforming Middle Eastern educational norms that focus on the merits of memorization and procedure. Salti was quoted in *Newsweek International* saying, “Our schools have

been producing government robots—good at following instructions but not thinking outside the box.” Instead Salti wants entrepreneurship to become second nature to students at an early age, to be instilled in the same way as reading, writing, or arithmetic.

One of INJAZ’s promotional videos called “One Million Wa’ads” shows a young Palestinian girl, Wa’ad el-Taweel, leading her Ramallah classmates to victory at the first Pan-Arab competition for the title of “Best Student CEO.” In the video, Wa’ad is asked by a judge how she would deal with a new competitor in her market. One has to admire her cool and confident demeanor before an assembly of older, traditional Arab business leaders as she tries to decide between product quality improvement and lowering prices.

“I think I would go for quality development in the end,” Wa’ad concludes. “Product development is one of our company’s goals. Whenever there is an opportunity to develop our services within acceptable price tags, we go for it.” as all the makings of a young entrepreneur, one at odds with a traditional image of Arab women. And she represents another Salti success story.

ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY SOLUTIONS

VAN JONES

Jones promotes "green collar jobs" to fight pollution and social inequality

By DOMINIC TOCCI

“The chief moral obligation of the twenty-first century is to build a green economy that is strong enough to lift people out of poverty. Those communities that were locked out of the last century’s pollution-based economy must be locked into the new, clean, and renewable economy. Our youth need green-collar jobs, not jails.” These words reflect the latest, and most challenging, mission undertaken by Van Jones, the human rights advocate and cofounder of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, based in Oakland, CA. Achieving this progressive direction for the environmental movement will require bringing people together to form new and unlikely partnerships. It will be a long struggle against an entrenched energy industry. But betting against Jones would be a mistake. He has fought and won a number of tough battles over the past fifteen years, and he seems to just be hitting his stride.

Jones was born in 1968 in a rural part of western Tennessee and received his undergraduate degree from the University of Tennessee at Martin in 1990. He spent a lot of time during college working and interning as a journalist across the South. By the end of college, though, he had become disillusioned with mainstream media. He observed many good things happening in low-income and black communities, yet only the negative stories would make the front page. Encouraged by a professor and by the desire to work more directly as an advocate for marginalized people, Jones applied to law school. He was accepted to both Harvard and Yale University, and he ultimately chose Yale for its smaller class size.

Law school was not exactly what Jones had envisioned. He longed for a focus on justice, but found that most of the curriculum was focused

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narrowly on regulations. Rather than continue grudgingly as a student, Jones chose to take the opportunity to work with the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights in San Francisco. In the spring of 1992, Jones took a semester off from Yale and headed west. That spring, the acquittal of police officers who had been videotaped beating Rodney King led to an uprising in Los Angeles and massive demonstrations in cities around the United States, including San Francisco.

“WE NEED TO TRAIN A NEW KIND OF WORKER: THE GREEN- COLLAR WORKER”

While working as a legal observer, Jones was arrested during the demonstration and held in a large warehouse for hours. During the arrest, he met other demonstrators of all races and ethnicities and heard about their views on police brutality. This experience inspired him to complete his studies at Yale and later return to San Francisco.

During his last year at Yale, Jones helped design and lead a nationwide, volunteer student campaign dubbed “Operation Harriet Tubman.” The campaign was a protest against the world’s first prison camp for HIV-positive people, set up in 1991 by U.S. President George H.W. Bush at a military base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The United States imprisoned 267 refugees who had fled a right-wing coup and bloodbath in Haiti. While the major media outlets ignored the issue, the student campaign undertook a massive fax machine effort to spread the word to campuses across the country. Echoing a hunger strike by the detainees, Yale students fasted for one week before “passing the fast” to another campus. This rolling hunger strike continued across the country, with students at many schools creating mock prison camps called “Camp Clintons.” Eventually, in June 1993, the protest strategy combined with legal action led U.S. President Bill

ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY SOLUTIONS

Clinton to close the camp.

Upon his return to the Bay Area after graduating from Yale in 1993, Jones resumed work at the Lawyers' Committee but really desired to delve into the issues of police brutality and prisons. With a fellowship and some money, he started the "Bay Area PoliceWatch" in 1994, a legal helpline for victims of police misconduct. At age twenty-seven he convinced the State Bar of California to license him to launch the first certified lawyer referral service for police abuse victims in Northern California. The service grew quickly and soon needed to be spun off from the Lawyers' Committee. So in 1996, Jones and Diana Frappier cofounded the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, named after an unsung civil rights heroine.

"RATHER THAN CREATING JOB-TRAINING PIPELINES FOR LAST CENTURY'S POLLUTION-BASED JOBS, WE NEED TO BE CREATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE NEW CLEAN AND GREEN JOBS"

One of the center's first major victories was successfully pressuring the San Francisco police commission to dismiss Mark Andaya, the lead police officer in an incident that had an unarmed black man die in police custody after being beaten and pepper-sprayed by several officers. Andaya had a long history of complaints of racial slurs and abuse. The campaign's initial challenge was to reframe media coverage of the incident, shifting focus from the background of the victim to Andaya's role in the arrest and the lack of accountability within the police department. The campaign also needed to confront both the local police union and San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown's police commission. Jones encouraged one to two hundred local residents to attend every police commission meeting, determined to maintain attention on Andaya's role in the arrest. After the commission twice refused to fire the officer, eventually all the pro-Andaya commissioners quit under the relentless pressure by the campaign. In the summer of 1997, after a two-year struggle, the new police commission



Photo courtesy of Van Jones

Van Jones and his son

fired Andaya as one of its first actions.

Despite the success of this campaign, Jones recognized shortcoming in his mobilization effort. None of the organizational work was built into a network that could be leveraged again in the future. He also realized the need to expand his center's scope of activities from individual campaigns to include broader policy ideas and reform proposals.

Under Jones' leadership, the Ella Baker Center evolved into a larger strategy and action organization working for justice, opportunity, and peace in urban America. The center's work focuses on four campaigns, the first being the "Bay Area PoliceWatch." The second campaign, "Silence the Violence," aims to reduce violence in the Bay Area by increasing opportunities for work, recreation, and community involvement, as well as discarding the old "tough on crime" approaches, which have had limited success in Oakland.

The center's third campaign, "Books Not Bars," was originally launched to block the construction of a massive youth prison in California based on the premise that youth jails are costly and have an extremely high recidivism rate. The effort was a success, and "Books Not Bars" continues to focus on reducing the youth prison population and shifting resources to education, and rehabilitation alternatives. This initiative has involved a battle against the very powerful prison guard's union, as well as a struggle against the large and profitable incarceration economy. Since its launch, the prison population has dropped by more than 40 percent.

The center's fourth initiative was born during the United Nations World Environment Day in San Francisco in 2005. Jones planned the social equity meeting for this event, which gathered mayors from around the world to develop policies for green cities. As the green economy was beginning to emerge, the new campaign, "Reclaim the Future," aimed to capture the potential of the environmental movement to increase social justice and empower people economically. Under the slogan "Green Jobs, Not Jails," the initiative was a natural extension of the

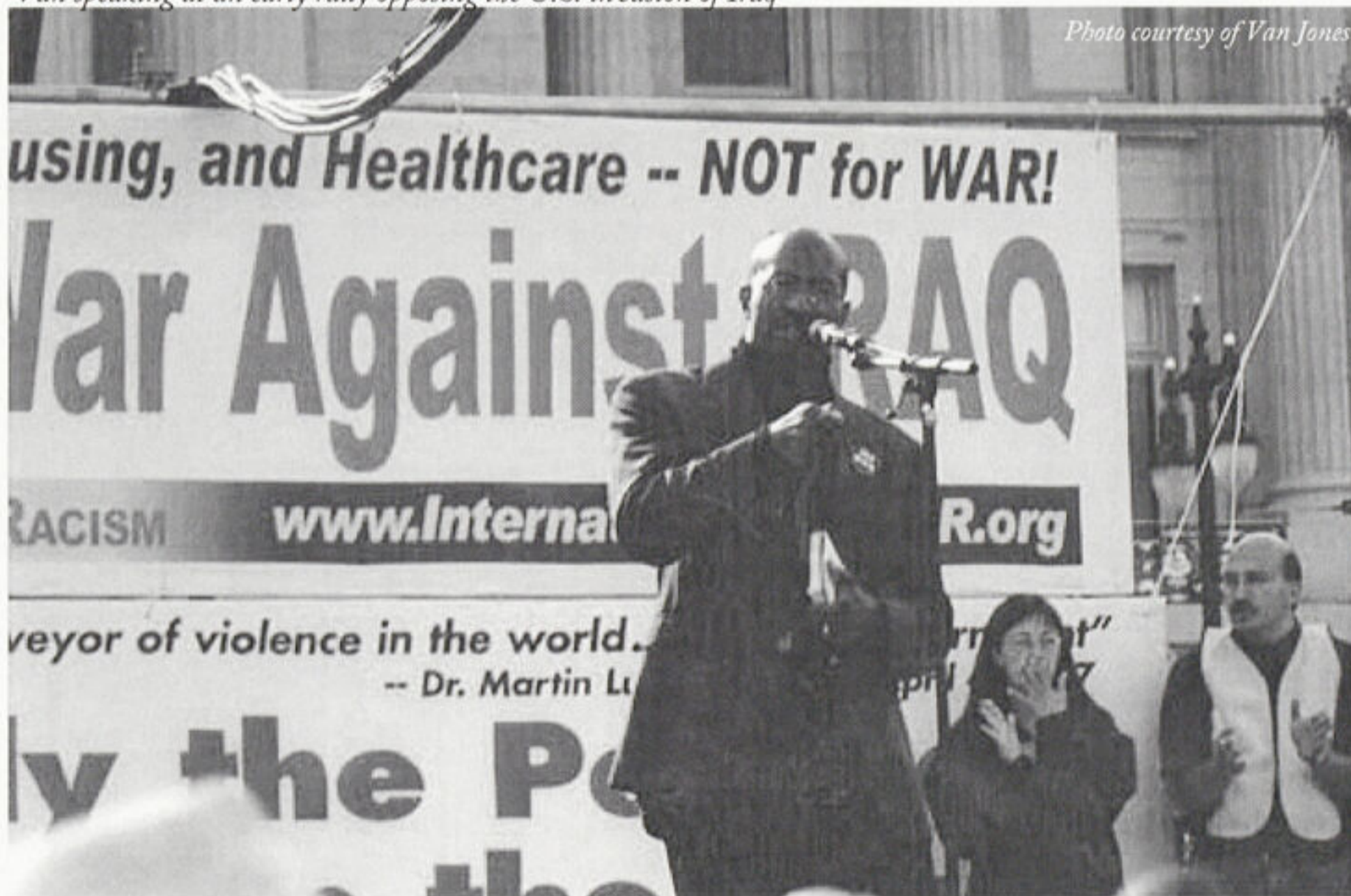
Ella Baker Center's overall mission of promoting alternatives to incarceration.

"I had this vision—from jail cells to solar cells," Jones recalled. "We need to train a new kind of worker: the green-collar worker." The transition from the gray economy to the green economy will create significant job opportunities—from installing solar panels to retrofitting buildings—and much of this work is not the kind that can be outsourced. "Rather than creating job-training pipelines for last century's pollution-based jobs," Jones says, "we need to be creating opportunities for the new clean and green jobs."

In 2007, the center changed the name of the initiative from "Reclaim the Future" to the "Green-Collar Jobs Campaign" to emphasize its focus on job creation in urban America. The initiative has already experienced a number of successes. Oakland adopted a proposal from the Ella Baker Center and the Oakland Apollo Alliance to create a Green Job Corps, tasked to train youth for green-collar jobs. The center is also working to create the first "Green Enterprise Zone" to attract environmentally sound industry to Oakland.

In recent years, Jones has emerged as an

Van speaking at an early rally opposing the U.S. invasion of Iraq



ENVIRONMENTALLY FRIENDLY SOLUTIONS

Photo courtesy of Van Jones



Van challenges police who are trying to shut down a lawful, peaceful protest in Berkeley, California in 1999

important environmental leader on the national stage. He is working to create combined solutions to what he considers to be America's two greatest problems—social inequality and environmental destruction. Jones views the greening of the economy as the next big economic wave and is determined to ensure that everyone in society benefits, especially low-income individuals. Achieving this goal, however, will require bringing unlikely partners and constituents together to form a broader environmental movement. In an interview with *Grist* magazine, Jones envisioned a “green-growth alliance, which would include the best of business and progressive labor and community organizations, with shared prosperity and broad opportunities as key values.”

At the national level, Jones worked with the U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and other members of Congress to pass the Green Jobs Act of 2007. This legislation provides \$120 million to train 35,000 people for green-collar jobs. Jones is also a founder of a new coalition promoting a national “Clean Energy Job Corps.” Modeled on the Peace Corps and AmeriCorps, this federal initiative aims to mobilize workers to update the energy infrastructure of the country. In 2007,

Jones also helped launch two new initiatives. He is the founding president of Green for All, a national organization that aims to secure \$1 billion for green-collar job training to lift 250,000 people out of poverty across the country. Jones is also a founding board member of One Sky, an initiative to bring together the multitude of groups focused on climate change into a national movement.

Jones is quickly becoming one of the leading American voices on issues of social justice and the environment, and is a sought-after speaker on these topics. Pulling off his transformational environmental vision will be difficult, but he has a strong track record of taking on powerful interests, bringing groups together, and getting his ideas implemented. “This is the time for solutions,” Jones insists, “for dreaming of a big coalition. In building this green economy, we want to honor our democratic tradition—equal protection and equal opportunity—to create green-collar jobs for lots of people.” His positive vision for urban America and emphasis on finding common ground among diverse parties exemplify the kind of leadership that the country needs now more than ever.

WITH A LITTLE BIT OF FAITH

EBOO PATEL

Patel promotes religious tolerance in America and around the world

By DORI GLANZ

In a February 2008 interview, Eboo Patel shared his thoughts on religious extremism.

"When the pictures of the nineteen September 11 hijackers were published, I remember staring for a long time at the photographs of the terrorists, searching their faces for signs of dementia or marks of evil...But for the most part they looked unsettlingly normal, perhaps even a little naïve, more like high school yearbook photos than 'Most Wanted' poster mug shots. And then it occurred to me; the reason that the pictures resembled a high school yearbook is because some of these murderers were barely beyond their teens.

I remembered Yigal Amir, the extremist Jew who assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin in 1995. I thought about the news reports I heard consistently about religious violence—in India, Sri Lanka, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, West Africa, wherever. The ages of the people doing most of the fighting, killing, and dying were generally between fifteen and thirty. The world had recently woken up to the increasing link between religion and violence. But there was something else going on that most people seemed to be missing—the shock troops of religious extremism were young people."

Ten years ago, Eboo Patel noticed an intersection of a great problem and a great hope to address it. As a young student, he noticed an increasing trend of violence motivated and justified by religion, marked by the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center, the assassination of former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and the bombing of the Atlanta Centennial Olympic Park in 1996. He noticed that the most religiously volatile parts of the world were also the youngest. Iraq, he points out, has an average age of nineteen and a half years, and 85 percent of the Palestinian territory is

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under thirty-three. He noticed that we are living in the most interactional world in human history and that at no other point in time have people across the world come into such frequent and substantial contact with each other. Most ominously, he noticed the trend of violence and hatred between religious communities increasingly shaping the religious identities of youth in the fashion of extremism.

"WHY DON'T COLLEGE
CAMPUSES HAVE INTERFAITH
PROGRAMS LIKE THEY DO
DIVERSITY PROGRAMS ON RACE
AND GENDER?"

Observing that extremist groups had built a set of institutions to shape the identities of young people, Patel, a thirty-three-year-old dynamic Muslim leader originally from India, formed the Interfaith Youth Core in 1998. The group is a Chicago-based nongovernmental organization aimed at countering violent extremism by promoting acceptance of a pluralistic society and providing alternative institutions such as interfaith councils in universities and congregations nationwide. But in a larger sense, the Interfaith Youth Core was established as the heart of a social movement that aims to foster positive youth action between diverse religious communities in the United States and the world. Patel, a Rhodes Scholar with a doctorate in the sociology of religion, serves as executive director of the Interfaith Youth Core.

Through activities, curriculum, service projects, intellectual work, and dialogue, the organization also seeks to effect pattern change in mainstream institutions. "Why don't college campuses have interfaith programs like they do diversity programs on race and gender?" Patel asks. And in response, the Interfaith Youth Core has established a presence on more than 150 U.S. college campuses. The core recruits young leaders

WITH A LITTLE BIT OF FAITH

from diverse religions and backgrounds, and they meet to learn about fostering inclusive dialogue.

Josh Stanton is one of these young leaders and a fellow with the Interfaith Youth Core. He's leading a multi-faith council at Amherst College in Amherst, MA, where he is a senior, and has been attending conferences and trainings with the core for a year. Stanton says that that the student participants can personally relate to Patel. "He involves us in the process to build this movement." At Amherst College, the multi-faith council is organizing a Habitat for Humanity project, the "House of Abraham Build," for students of all faiths. "In class, when we study religion," Stanton explains, "we focus on tension and conflict. So this is a chance for us to show that religious communities can do positive things, and that we can work to solve problems that go well beyond scope of religions themselves."

In his book, *Acts of Faith: The Story of an American Muslim, the Struggle for the Soul of a Generation*, Patel describes his frustration as a young Muslim growing up in Chicago. Lacking the language to discuss his religious tradition with others from different faiths, being Muslim seemed to Patel a condemnation to marginalization. And struck by the inequities and discrimination in American society, he found inspiration in the history of the civil rights movement, which he equates to the movement to redefine religion in terms of unity and inclusiveness. The book focuses on what he sees as the most critical test of our time—tipping the balance of history away from what he calls "religious totalitarianism" toward pluralism and interfaith cooperation.

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Patel stresses that on both sides of the "faith



Photo courtesy of Interfaith Youth Core

Patel speaking at IFYC's 2007 Conference on Interfaith Youth Work, Crossing the Faith Line

line" between pluralism and extremism, young people are key. On the one hand, the September 11 attacks and countless suicide bombings in the Middle East were perpetrated by young people. On the other, Martin Luther King Jr., Mahatma Gandhi, and Nelson Mandela began as young people of faith leading missions that require hope and cooperation, missions with profound interfaith character.

Patel acknowledges that the Interfaith Youth Core cannot alone end religious-based conflict. "The Grateful Dead," he says, "are a metaphor of pluralism in action. Different instruments play music that isn't fully composed beforehand. But Jerry Garcia or Robert Hunter would write the lyrics and the basic chord progression, and then they would play the song to their band and tell them to see how they fit in." Patel continues, "This is how a movement is built. A good leader

has a core idea and plays it to the people around them, and they figure out how they fit in." As this leader, Patel is not trying to build an all-encompassing institution to counteract forces of religious contention in the world. But he is playing his idea of interfaith cooperation and trying to get others to join him.

But not everyone is so convinced by Patel's movement of faith. Secularists worry about having religion in the public sphere. In response, Patel argues that the question is not whether religion will play a role, but whether it will contribute or detract from our public discourse. "I think that people who want to keep religion private are fooling themselves," Patel says. "Because the only question is what type of religion will be public not whether religion is going to be public. The problem, as he sees it, is that "if those of us who connect religion to the common good don't have an established language to express that, then we forfeit the public sphere to those whose religious view is narrow and self-serving." Develop this language, he argues, and cooperation becomes more mainstream. Religion

BELOW AND RIGHT: Americans of diverse religious backgrounds undertake community service projects with young Jordanians as part of the Amman/Chicago InterACTION Youth Exchange



Photo courtesy of Interfaith Youth Core

in the public sphere, he insists, can overcome narrow-minded radicalism.

Before September 11, Patel struggled to explain his view of the world as one with increasing religious violence. The relevance of his work constantly challenged, he worried that those institutions that were nurturing interfaith cooperation were full of old people talking, while those nurturing violence were full of young people acting. But no one in the White House was calling his office for advice on how to counteract these forces of religious totalitarianism in youth. September 11 caused a sudden shift in priorities. For Patel, it meant proving that Interfaith Youth Core was up to the challenge of providing a counterforce to this type of religious violence and extremism.

In fact, the United States, to Patel, exists in a sense for exactly the kind of interfaith work that he feels is so critical. "Look at America," he says. "Indian Hindus and Pakistani Muslims might be taught from birth to hate each other back home. But when they move to Chicago they move within four square blocks of each other." It is this diversity, this common commitment to democracy that makes the United States an ideal starting ground for a new conversation about the role of religion in our lives.



Photo courtesy of Interfaith Youth Core

MEXICAN JUSTICE

Justice for all: Mexican communities take policing into their own hands

By ANN GURUCHARRI
and ANTHONY SAUDEK

In January 2007, Mexican President Felipe Calderón ordered the Mexican Federal Army to the southwestern state of Guerrero. The order is part of his plan to rein in crime and corruption across the country. Officially, the military has been sent to wrest control of communities away from narcotics traffickers and corrupt cops. The plan has its skeptics, though, many of whom can be found in the La Montaña region of Guerrero. When Sosimo Mendoza, a schoolteacher and leader in his indigenous Tlapaneco community, heard about the army's impending arrival, he was nervous about how broadly its law and order mandate would be interpreted.

The story relayed in this article takes place in 2007, three days after troops arrived in busy Acapulco. Mendoza drives his old pickup truck into the quieter, dustier urban center of San Luis Acatlán, in La Montaña, to meet with the other forty-one men and one woman who serve as advisors to the region's Community Police. Over thirteen years, the Community Police has grown from a network of neighborhood watches—private citizens who would turn criminals over to the police—to what it is now: an extralegal justice system with its own police force, judicial system, and network of jails. The people present at this meeting with Mendoza represent the fifty-two

indigenous communities that currently coordinate to sustain the Community Police.

“THE ARRIVAL OF FEDERAL TROOPS POSES A FAMILIAR CHALLENGE FOR THE COMMUNITY POLICE”

The purpose of this meeting Mendoza is traveling to is to discuss the army's arrival. The meeting is held in the brushed dirt yard of the Community Police's central office on a sunny Saturday afternoon. In the shade of the yard's lone tree, plastic chairs face a worn wooden table. Propped up against the tree beside the table is a flip chart outlining the meeting's agenda. There are administrative details to take care of, but the primary topic on people's mind is Calderón's new plan. Like many others here, Mendoza is concerned that the army will use this opportunity to disarm the Community Police. For him, its presence is a provocation.

The arrival of federal troops poses a familiar challenge for the Community Police; throughout its thirteen years of existence the organization has experienced near-constant tension with the state. The members know that despite the accommodations they have won from the municipal authorities they could be seen by outsiders as just another armed, impoverished, indigenous group. This in mind, they have come in from their distant pueblos and gathered in the Community Police's headquarters to formulate the group's response. As they weigh their options, the discussion turns once again to reasserting their legitimacy.

ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNITY POLICE

Calderón has sent the army to Guerrero because he says that crime is out of control. For the people at this meeting, he is fifteen years too

In January 2007, Harvard Kennedy School master in public policy students ANN GURUCHARRI, ANTHONY SAUDEK and NIK STEINBERG, spent three weeks in La Montaña, Mexico, funded by the Mexico Program at the Harvard Kennedy School, interviewing over thirty people associated with the Community Police. SAUDEK, a former Peace Corp Volunteer in El Salvador, has spent his career researching public participation in rural community governance throughout Latin America. As a Fulbright Fellow to Nicaragua, GURUCHARRI explored anti-trafficking efforts in Central America and published her findings in the 2005 Loyola University Chicago International Law Review.

late. One man at this assembly, taller than Mendoza, and more dour, asks rhetorically, "Where was the Army when we needed them? Why are they coming now, after we have gotten

crime under control?" These are many of the same men who took part in the formation of the Community Police in November of 1995, when the problem of crime loomed large in their

Photo courtesy of Nik Steinberg

IA MUNICIPAL AHUICHAN, GRO.



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region. The small towns of La Montaña were isolated back then. The understaffed municipal and state police forces patrolled only the bigger towns, leaving the remote pueblos unguarded from criminals. With no state presence, crime was rampant. Bandits would regularly coordinate roadblocks on the major arteries of the region, where highjackers could systematically rob lines of halted vehicles, forcing passengers to lay face down in the dust as they stole everything of value. The process often involved physical and sexual assault. Lawlessness had also crept into the indigenous villages, and the crimes were violent. According to the Tlachinollan Human Rights Center of the Montaña, rape and murder were not uncommon in this now quiet corner of Guerrero.

One night in 1995 these communities experienced a particularly grotesque assault. A young girl was gang-raped and later died from her wounds, while the perpetrators escaped punishment. The people had had enough. Leaders from the girl's community contacted representatives from the surrounding villages, calling for a regional assembly to address the endemic violence. Present at the meeting were the elected representatives of thirty-six local villages from around San Luis Acatlán. Leaders from the church and local agricultural cooperatives were also in attendance. In calling for action, these men may have been emboldened by the Zapatista rebellion that had taken place the year before, but their ideas were of a decidedly different tenor. This was not a full-scale revolt but a targeted response to a dire need; their lives and welfare were at risk because the state was unable to provide the security it promised.

Valentín Hernández, a young lawyer who has spent the last ten years advising the Community Police, explains the mood of these first meetings. He says that at this moment the people of La Montaña took "one of the most important steps in imparting justice," because, "there were a lot of people at the meeting—obviously the people had suffered rape, assault, theft, murder—so, they were in a mood for revenge. More than justice. Revenge. The assemblies wanted to lynch offenders, hang them, mistreat them."

But over the course of several meetings this impulse was transformed by an emerging majority of participants who argued that crime in La Montaña was an endemic problem and required a

systemic, sustainable response. No one pueblo was capable of fighting the bandits on its own; a regional response was necessary so that delinquents who fled one town could not escape to another. Regional organization of this sort, unprecedented in La Montaña, pushed the limits of the law. The Mexican Constitution permits individual indigenous communities to govern themselves through their own "*usos y costumbres*" (norms and traditions), but there is no such protection for regional organization.

Slowly, the proposal for the regional Community Police emerged. Each of the community representatives returned to his or her hometown and called a general assembly at which the townspeople would vote to support or reject the proposal. After the initiative was ratified, which it was in all thirty-six communities, each town elected between six and twelve volunteer police officers to patrol the communities and major roads, arrest delinquents, and turn them over to state officials. The agricultural cooperatives, which were powerful in the region and had had too many loads of coffee stolen on their way to market, supported the new force with a truck and walkie-talkies. Even the local municipal government of San Luis Acatlán was willing to endorse this new initiative, providing twenty rifles and arranging for the local army battalion to give Community Police officers basic training.

The Community Police's impact on crime was immediate, and as a result the first years were its most violent. Several officers were killed in battles waged between the informal police officers and the criminals they were trying to either arrest or expel. Still, the resolve of the communities remained strong, and the local state officials were happy to have the help. Shortly after the assault of a teacher and his wife in an unaffiliated village, the municipal president encouraged the town to join the Community Police. It was the town's best hope for protection. The town heeded his advice, and many others followed suit. By 2001, the Community Police had grown further, spilling over the borders of San Luis Acatlán into three of the surrounding municipalities. Since then a handful of the communities, unable to sustain the commitment, have stopped participating. Meanwhile, four new communities are currently being considered for inclusion in the network.

An hour into the 2007 meeting, the

moderator has completed the day's administrative duties; he's welcomed the crowd, taken attendance, and set the agenda. He has also led a discussion to determine the scope of decisions that can be made at this meeting, given that the assembled representatives are not quite a quorum. While all topics will be discussed, a consensus is reached that the most important decisions won't be made until the next regional assembly when more are expected. The moderator sits down, and an adviser to the Community Police stands to introduce the topic of the army's recent arrival. Everyone will talk at the meeting. Inclusion and consensus of meeting participants are cultural tenets in the region's indigenous communities.

TRADITIONAL TOWN LEADERSHIP

In this way, this meeting mirrors the general assemblies that are regularly held in the towns to discuss local matters. Once a year at these meetings community members elect their town officials, including the local officers and the community comisario, or town leader. General assemblies and the role of comisario predate the Community Police, even the Mexican state. For these communities, being elected into an official office is seen neither as an honor nor as a burden. A Community Police officer expressed this sentiment, saying, "Here we're accustomed to take on an official role every three years. Today it's my turn; tomorrow it's somebody else's. There is no discussion of 'why me?'"

Traditionally, the comisario has been responsible for maintaining the peace of his community, organizing communal work projects such as opening up roads in the rainy season, and planning town holidays. In the first years of the Community Police, a town's comisario was given the role of settling small disputes and handing over offenders of more serious crimes to the Mexican judicial system. These new responsibilities were seen as a logical extension of the comisario's traditional duties.

Nevertheless, ultimate authority in the community remains with the general assemblies. Unfortunately, the general assemblies do not, in general, represent all members in the community. In particular, women's voices are largely absent from community decision making. Men constitute a substantial majority at general assemblies. When women do attend assemblies, the male majority often silences their voices.

Because women are rarely elected comisario, the Community Police leadership is almost exclusively male.

Aware of women's absence from the decision-making bodies of the organization, the Community Police leadership established a women's committee in 1999 with hopes of incorporating women into the group's decision making. The committee would also take on an advocacy role, working directly with female prisoners and victims. However, the committee's role in the leadership of the organization was never fully realized; before long the women found themselves limited to the role of advocate. Adding to the gender disparities, women on the committee are often confined by gender roles of the wider culture. A member of the committee explains, the leadership "uses its female members more as cooks than as members, calling on them only in specific cases [involving women]."

Currently, the sole voice of women in the Community Police is Blanca Nieve Callejas. Callejas is a young, strong-minded single mother who brags that her daughter wants to grow up to be a lawyer to fight injustice like her mom. A survivor of domestic violence herself, Callejas estimates that 75 percent of women in La Montaña have experienced domestic violence, making it the greatest threat to security that women face.

As head of the women's committee, Callejas is waging a one-woman fight to enhance women's participation in the Community Police. To make the organization more responsive to women's needs, she suggests that each community elect a woman to participate in the Community Police leadership. In the end, though, it will take more than one voice to advance such a substantial reform.

EVOLUTION OF THE COMMUNITY POLICE'S POWERS

A community member informs the group that San Luis Acatlán's municipal president has specifically clarified that the army is here not only to fight crime, but also to disband armed groups. Another report rumors that President Calderón has a list of 300 individuals who are considered security threats or threats to state authority. The leaders of the Community Police wonder if they are on the list. This would not be the first time they have been targeted.

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Tension between state authorities and the Community Police first arose in 1998. Over the course of three years of arresting criminals and turning them over to state officials, the Community Police had grown frustrated watching offenders get quickly released back into their communities after paying a fine or bribing officials. In a system in which arresting officers are often offenders' neighbors, the risk of retribution from the released offender against the man who arrested him was high. For the communities of La Montaña it had become apparent that the problem went beyond policing; the state's entire system of justice did not adequately meet their security needs.

In 1998, the communities decided to start an independent judicial and penal system. They set up a six-person committee, nominated annually from among the *comisarios*, to hear cases, render judgments, and enforce sentences—the Regional Coordinating Body of Indigenous Authorities (Coordinadora Regional de Autoridades Indígenas). All communities that agreed to participate in the Community Police were now subject to these judges' jurisdiction, and any victim of crime within and among these communities could turn to them for justice. Here the judges enforced laws based on their communities' *usos y costumbres*, not formal legal statutes. No lawyers were allowed, both because the ability to hire a good lawyer is just another way that the wealthy can buy freedom and because lawyers' adversarial style struck community members as inconsistent with the restorative system they were trying to build. Punishment was not to be punitive but rather constructive; in the words of the Community Police it is "reeducation."

Knowing that direct confrontation with the state justice system ought to be avoided, the Community Police established a policy to prohibit "double jeopardy." If you are the victim of a crime you may choose to whom you take your grievance—to the municipal or community authorities. But once a complainant has elected one system, it stays in that system. This means that if a community member reports his or her claim to the municipal police and he or she is dissatisfied with the results, that person does not have the right to then appeal to the Community Police, or vice versa.

While the state was willing to accept and

even encourage the communities' policing efforts, the establishment of parallel courts was viewed as a more direct threat to its authority. The Community Police had also renamed its judicial branch to signify the broader coverage of the organization. Now, as the Regional Coordinator of Community Authorities (Coordinadora Regional de Autoridades Comunitarias—CRAC) the organization was aggressively asserting what it saw as its right to mete out justice not just for indigenous victims and offenders, but for all criminals in its territory. This was intended to counteract the view held by the *mestizo* urban elite. In Mendoza's words, "they felt untouchable; 'the indigenous can do what they want so long as it does not affect the mestizos. Hang yourselves if you want, but don't include us.'" But if there were people outside the reach of law, these indigenous peoples felt the system wouldn't work.

"ESTIMATES SUGGEST A 95
PERCENT DROP IN CRIME IN LA
MONTAÑA SINCE 1995"

Rising tensions came to a head when, in 2001, state authorities arrested several members of the Community Police for deprivation of liberty of its inmates. This action was paired with an ultimatum—disarm yourselves or the Mexican army will disarm you. Community Police leaders returned to their communities and put the decision to a vote, where they found overwhelming support for their cause and a desire to keep the system intact. CRAC rejected the choice offered by the state and organized a march to the municipal palace in San Luis Acatlán. Five thousand community members showed up in support. The state, now realizing the political risk of forcibly shutting down the Community Police, backed off. The two systems have coexisted ever since.

Today, each Community Police officer in San Luis carries with him an identification card issued by the municipal authorities. The card provides umbrella coverage under the San Luis Municipal Police Force's gun license, theoretically protecting the officers from having their gun revoked by state authorities. In return, the municipality is able to keep a list of all

Community Police officers on file. Technically, the identification cards should not be necessary; the .22 caliber guns carried by Community Police officers are within the limits permitted for private citizens. Regardless, the Community Police is happy to have this sign of recognition. Though it has found a relatively steady equilibrium working in parallel with the municipal governments, there is very little that protects the Community Police from the whims of the state or federal authorities.

THE COMMUNITY POLICE TODAY: ITS SUCCESS, COMMITMENT, AND OBSTACLES

"What if the army tries to disarm us again?" one man asks at the 2007 meeting. He is standing up to speak, but still he is barely taller than the men sitting in front of him. He is older than most of the others. He elaborates his idea in a soft voice, and much of what he says cannot be heard over the squawking of roosters that scurry around the yard.

In the meandering flow of the meeting, the next man to speak goes on a tangent ranging far from the matter at hand, only to find his way back minutes later and at last respond to the question asked. "Then we'll organize another march," he suggests. The meeting continues like this, with the moderator calling on people to contribute, and each one taking the opportunity to speak at length. No one is interrupted.

A lot of what is said is repeated several times over as each man who is given the floor takes time to concur or disagree with each of those who went before him. Still, there is a thrust to the meeting; the discussion does move forward. When the next speaker picks up the thread of the conversation, he says he isn't sure that a march is their best strategy: "I don't think we would get the same turnout as we did before." There is general agreement on this point; the people of their communities are less invested now in the Community Police than they were in 2001.

Families here have no shortage of immediate problems, and these days they are less motivated to dedicate their energy to maintaining the Community Police. This is the paradox of this organization. The Community Police has been tremendously successful; even state officials recognize this. There is no good crime data for the region, but estimates suggest a 95 percent drop in crime in La Montaña since 1995. While

safety has deteriorated in almost every other part of Guerrero, La Montaña has become an oasis of peace. Without a serious threat of crime, the commitment of the communities has waned.

Why was this group so successful? In the eyes of the indigenous communities, the municipal police had failed because there were no consequences to committing crimes in the region. Many suspected that the police were corrupt. With this knowledge, those involved constructed a system built specifically to prevent corruption and ensure accountability, a formula that has led to their success. Abel Barrera, director of Tlachinollan, argues, "in the state courts, power is concentrated in a single judge," meaning that one only has to bribe a single person and detecting this corruption can be difficult.

By contrast, in the Community Police power is concentrated in the general assemblies of the participating communities. Even the judicial arm is made up of a six-person panel, ensuring that no one person is so powerful that his or her corruption would alter outcomes. Further insulating the system from corruption is the rapid turnover on the judging panel. Because comisarios serve only one year, not only will that individual's community spirit not be eroded, but even if he or she was inclined to act corruptly, the short term does not provide enough time to develop a moneymaking network.

The frequent transfer of authority creates significant administrative problems for the Community Police, however. Just as a leader has figured out how the system works and what could be improved, his or her time as comisario is already coming to a close. But this is a trade-off that the people are willing to make to ensure that no one person can abuse his or her power. The ultimate authority of the Community Police is in the hands of each community's general assembly. All decisions made by the organization are subject to their approval.

A visit to the Community Police's prison found three former comisarios behind bars. They had been elected by their communities to honorably represent them for one year, but the three skimmed money from a community development grant they had solicited, and their community caught wind. Complaints were made. The Community Police carried out an investigation and found the men guilty. The three former comisarios are a symbol of the

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Community Police's determination to stamp out corruption. Mendoza, himself a former comisario, knows that he is as accountable as anyone, saying, "We are all subject to the law."

A cellmate of these comisarios was turned in by his father for being an abusive drug addict, and another is serving a one-month term for chopping at the town bell with his machete. In all, there are currently forty men in the Community Police prison system. The longest-serving inmate was found guilty of murder and has been incarcerated for two years.

Jail time, though, is not spent exclusively in jail. Prisoners spend their days working in the communities on public projects and are in cells only at night and on weekends. The work is central to the Community Police's commitment to "reeducation." In the words of Valentín Hernández, "when the community arrests someone through the Community Police and sends him to work, we are giving him a second opportunity . . . a second education." The work also has a restorative quality. Again, Hernández explains, "We will put the detainees to work so that they can mend the harm that they did to the community. And, on the other side, give them an opportunity to reevaluate their errors so that at some point they can return to their community."

In this way and others, the Community Police's judicial system is based on the same principles as contemporary restorative justice initiatives. There is an emphasis on the victim's participation in all hearings and a desire to broker agreements that will restore the damaged bonds of the community. Typically, the members of CRAC, the victim, the offender, and family members of both are present at trials. While they are not opposed to imposing prison sentences, the committee of judges is more inclined to find a solution that is better tailored to the specific circumstances. If one person has stolen another's cow, then that person must pay to replace the livestock; if one teenager impregnates another, he may be asked to marry the girl and provide a family for the child. CRAC is, above all, aware of the interdependence of community members. Though a murderer may deserve to spend his life in prison, that sentence does not help the victim's wife take care of her now fatherless children, not to mention the murderer's children who will suffer now, too. This is why CRAC gives high priority to the wishes of the victim's family, which

often include some jail time followed by release conditioned on monthly payments to the victim's family.

Along with anticorruption and restorative justice, certainty of punishment is a central tenet of the Community Police. As with any justice system, though, trade-offs are made between zeal to punish the guilty and a desire to protect the innocent. The Community Police makes an effort to conduct full investigations of every crime in order to avoid wrongful imprisonment, but it is worrying that the group denies having made any mistakes. A high-ranking official asserted, "We've never incarcerated someone unjustly." This bold confidence is even more disconcerting considering that the Community Police judicial process has no formal means of appeal; once a case has been adjudicated it is rarely revisited. The local human rights organization, Tlachinollan, works closely with the Community Police to advocate for the rights of these indigenous communities both to state officials on behalf of the organization and to Community Police officials on behalf of victims who think they have been poorly treated. In the end, though, CRAC, the regional assembly, and communities have the last word, meaning that, in a system that prohibits lawyers but encourages familial participation, outsiders and orphans are at a distinct disadvantage in the Community Police's judicial process.

More problems result from the Community Police's limited financial resources. Though all six comisarios are supposed to be present for CRAC's investigations and trials, seldom are they all available. Because the position of comisario is unpaid, many claim that they cannot afford to be present at the central office. They have their families and land to tend to, and the trip to the central office itself can be expensive. Even if the Community Police wanted to compensate its workers, it doesn't have the money for it. The right-leaning municipal government may tolerate its existence, but the deliberate cutting off of municipal funding has had serious consequences. At one low point in 2006, the Community Police was called about an escaping criminal, but the officers were unable to track him down because they could not afford to put gas in their truck.

The sun has moved across the sky, marking four hours of uninterrupted discussion. The attendees gradually reposition their chairs to follow the limited shade and keep within earshot

of one another. By the end of the meeting, five points of action are outlined on the flip chart to address the army's arrival:

1. Inform community members
2. Work with other organizations to strengthen local and regional support
3. Write a letter to the municipal president asking him to request the withdrawal of the army
4. Stay alert and stay in constant contact; formally denounce any human rights abuses
5. Write a letter to the secretary of defense saying the federal government can't use narcotics trafficking as a pretext for shutting down the Community Police

These five steps provide a window into the Community Police's perception of its own legitimacy. Steps one and two illustrate that, as one community member argues, "the Community Police's legitimacy is from the people." Steps three, four, and five draw on another important source of legitimacy—domestic and international rights and the Mexican government's responsibility to protect those rights.

In fact, much of the day's discussion revolves around rights granted to the Community Police by the state and national constitutions and international accords. While the Community Police formed in response to an immediate need with no thought to rights ratified in any United Nations charter, the organization has learned to employ rights language to justify its continued existence to an external audience.

The list of laws and covenants that Mexico has enacted or ratified and that the Community Police uses to defend itself is extensive. Article 115 of the Mexican Constitution and Article 61 of the Municipal Organic Law of the State of Guerrero grant indigenous communities collective rights, including the right to provide public security. On an international level, the International Labour Organization's Convention No. 169 gives legal protection to indigenous communities that govern themselves. Meanwhile, Article 1 of the United Nations (UN) International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights states that all peoples have the right to self-determination and that in no case may a people's means of subsistence be taken from them. The Community Police draws further support from the UN's 1969 International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of

Racial Discrimination and the 1997 OAS Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Most of the Community Police leadership can refer to these treaties by name thanks to efforts of the human rights organization Tlachinollan, which has worked with the Community Police for more than a decade. While the legal framework they call upon is not the sole source, or possibly even a principal source, of their legitimacy, it is an important medium for reaching formal authorities. When the Community Police writes Mexico's secretary of defense, it will ask for respect. From the municipal president it asks for full faith and credit as a coexisting body. It is likely that the Community Police's letters to the municipal president and the secretary of defense, rather than describing the need for security in the poor communities of La Montaña, will draw upon the Mexican Constitution, the Guerrero Constitution, and various international accords in making its case for legitimacy.

The call for formal denouncement of human rights abuses by the military—another of the decisions taken during the meeting—further illustrates that the Community Police relies on using international human rights standards for protection. The human rights story, though, is not as clear as the leaders of CRAC might argue. These arguments may be effective in providing the Community Police with some legal cover, but until women fully participate in the organization at all levels and it incorporates an appeals system, the organization's ability to claim legitimacy through human rights standards may be incomplete. This fact highlights the complexities of the Community Police's claims of legitimacy.

The sun has chased these forty-two men and one woman at the meeting to the far end of the courtyard. Most traveled to the meeting on public transportation, which is to say that they rode in the back of a pickup, and soon the last pickups will be leaving San Luis and heading back to the other communities. The meeting is adjourned with an agreement to touch base one month from now. The front yard of the Community Police headquarters clears out two or three at a time, and by the end only the three comisarios and two officers on duty are left, along with a woman who lives in San Luis and was hired to cook meals and work in the office. The six clear the yard of its benches and walk over to the open-air kitchen,

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where hot tortillas and beans will soon be served up for dinner.

A few days before the meeting, Mendoza sat in his living room, holding a copy of the Community Police bylaws in one hand, the state constitution in the other. When asked how the Community Police would respond if the state were to improve its justice system and provide proper security, Mendoza said, "We would leave our arms . . . and would shift focus to something else." But there was a slight smile on his face that seemed to betray his skepticism about this scenario. It's almost inconceivable that the state could provide a justice system that would reflect these communities' values. For the communities, the Community Police is the right body for this task.

A NEW TREND IN JUSTICE?

The state is traditionally seen as having a monopoly on the legitimate use of force. If this theory is true, then the only reasonable option for the people of La Montaña is to press their case within the existing political system. They should petition legal authorities to overhaul the state justice system until it responds to their needs. By this reasoning the actions these communities chose with regard to the Community Police are illegitimate because they usurped powers reserved exclusively for the state. But a growing body of evidence suggests that the traditional view is outdated. The Community Police of La Montaña is just one example of a trend toward non-state justice systems in poor countries. From Rangpur, India, to Kenya to Colombia, researchers have documented cases of marginalized communities policing themselves when the state does not adequately perform this function.

Informal justice initiatives span a broad spectrum. They can be community watch organizations that dabble in vigilante justice or formalized, state-sanctioned, conflict-mediation groups that enforce traditional rather than state law. As a field of inquiry, informal policing is relatively new, and the breadth of examples has outpaced the available frameworks for understanding these organizations and how they fit into the modern political landscape. There is tension about just how to judge the legitimacy of non-state justice systems.

Informal policing has clear benefits—above all that it provides protection for the poor in an

otherwise insecure world. It can also be more cost-effective than state-led policing, its resolution of conflicts can be more appropriate for traditional communities, and it has the potential to reduce the pressure on already overtaxed criminal justice systems. Informal policing is, at heart, a democratic endeavor; it is citizens participating in public structures for the social good—all this while the leadership of many young democracies struggles to provide a justice system that responds to the needs of its citizens.

**"WE WILL PUT THE DETAINEES
TO WORK SO THAT THEY CAN
MEND THE HARM THAT THEY
DID TO THE COMMUNITY"**

Still, there are worries about informal policing, particularly with regard to maintaining human rights standards. If these police forces are only accountable to their own communities, where traditional power structures may be unbalanced, then marginalized individuals and groups within the community lose their ability to leverage outside support to ensure that their rights are protected. They become objects of a system in which they are not participants. Human rights groups can petition a government to change its practices, calling on international norms, but it is unclear how they exert any authority over a group like the Community Police. The result is that marginalized community members can suffer the brunt of a system to which they do not ascribe, with no avenue for appeal.

An important variable in the calculus of accountability, therefore, is the extent to which a system's rules and procedures are formalized. Among the informal police systems, few are as regimented as the Community Police. Over thirteen years, the organization has developed operating procedures codified in writing that set standards for the behavior of officers and comisarios.

The Community Police is unique in other ways. Within the literature there is no other example of a community-built system that reaches all the way from community patrol through sentencing and on to punishment through



incarceration. Nor are other documented groups as determined to take on all cases within their territory, including rape and murder. And with the possible exception of Ronda forces in Peru, there is no other example where the institutionalization of a non-state justice system is so enmeshed with the community culture. The wide variety of informal justice systems makes it difficult to establish criteria for evaluating individual systems that are appropriate for all cases. For many scholars, that's the rub; if one accepts that at least some non-state actors can use force legitimately, then the new challenge is to define what characteristics a group must have to gain legitimacy. A lot rides on this judgment; one's conclusion about the legitimacy of the Community Police will determine how one thinks the Mexican government, nongovernmental organizations, and the world community should respond to its existence. At first glance it is easy to disregard this organization as just another armed peasant group. The Zapatistas, in their quest for autonomy, have polarized the discussion, but there are important differences between them and La Montaña's organized poor, which merits them individual consideration.

The official line of the San Luis Acatlán municipal authorities is clear—the Community

Police are “outside of the law.” The chief adviser to the municipal president says, “We want the Community Police to have a legal way out, by taking away the illegal aspects of their organization . . . They can arrest, they can detain, but they can't judge.” This deal is a nonstarter for the communities.

The Community Police does not want to be co-opted by the state, and it staunchly defends its right to exist. If one accepts that the legitimate use of force goes beyond a simple state monopoly, then the Community Police is a good candidate for recognition as a legitimate organization. It is a force that, in the face of serious shortcomings of the state, is embraced by community members, is highly participatory, has cut crime, has formalized its structure, and recognizes international human rights standards.

It is groups like this that challenge authorities to come up with more nuanced responses to non-state justice systems. In Zimbabwe, punishments meted out by local non-state councils are endorsed so long as they are not “repugnant to natural justice or morality” or “contrary to the provisions of any [statutory] enactment.” In Peru, leaders are debating a constitutional amendment that will mean greater regulation of non-state justice systems.

In Guerrero, Mexico, the local municipal security chief says cryptically of the Community Police, “Our relationship is one of total respect and coordination, even though they are outside of the law.” This tightwire act is tough to sustain, but until the Mexican government finds a way to effectively address the needs of La Montaña, it will be forced to live with this gap between its words and its actions.

In the meantime, the Community Police will remain focused on the tie that binds the two systems together. “We have the same enemy,” Mendoza says, “which is crime.” And while the government sorts out its position, Mendoza is sure that the Community Police will continue as it has: “This is what our fathers and grandfathers taught us—to impart justice.”

One year later, in the spring of 2008, tensions remain high between the Community Police and state authorities. While the army has not attempted to disarm the group, a Comisario was recently arrested (and then released) by the municipal Judicial Police.

BRIDGING THE GAP

XIMENA FERNANDEZ
ORDONEZ interviews
the man behind
Brazil's 'Elite Squad'

In recent years, tourists visiting Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, have added a stop to their itinerary—the *favelas*, the dangerous slums that go unrecognized by the city but house more than one million of its citizens. The desperation found in the *favelas* of Brazil underscores a cycle of poverty, police brutality, and governmental corruption that is fully understood by few people. Luis Eduardo Soares is one of them.

Author of thirteen books and a co-writer of thirty more, Soares is currently the municipal secretary of Violence Prevention at Nova Iguaçu (Rio de Janeiro) and a visiting scholar at the Harvard Kennedy School. Soares has filled multiple positions for the Brazilian government, including as the national secretary of Public Security (under President Lula da Silva), the undersecretary of Public Security of the State of Rio de Janeiro, and the coordinator of Public Security, Justice, and Citizenship of the State of Rio de Janeiro. He teaches at the State University of Rio de Janeiro and at ESPM (School of Marketing and Management). His book *Elite de tropa*, about the operations of police squads in the city, was recently adapted into a film, *Elite Squad (Tropa de Elite)*, which won the top prize at the 2008 Berlin Film Festival.

He spoke with the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* in February 2008 about *favelas*, “a society of war,” and the challenges of fighting corruption and crime in Rio de Janeiro.

KSR: My first impression about the situation in Brazil was very surreal. There is a part that conveys happiness, relaxation, vacations. And then there's this completely different reality—almost a war scene in the *favelas*. And I was wondering how the general population and politicians reconcile those two.

SOARES: My effort is to bridge a gap, so that those in the city, in the society as a whole, can

understand deeply the meaning of police brutality and the suffering of people at the *favelas*.

I wrote a lot of books, but they were not able to bridge the gap. When life and death are at stake you have to change your behavior toward it. You have to understand the urgency of the topic and do something about it. It would be impossible just to understand it intellectually.

The police are part of the problem. There are three points that have to be addressed: corruption, brutality, and effectiveness. And they are connected, deeply connected.

When an authority, someone that represents the state or government, authorizes or gives policemen at the *favela*, or on the street, the power to kill arbitrarily, without paying any price on that, he or she is giving that policeman the ability to sell life, to negotiate it; to sell liberty, to negotiate it.

And, of course, that's what happens. We have this terrible history of governments that didn't respect the human rights and gave police that terrible, brutal authority. Saying, very clearly to them, “Go ahead and kill. We need to get rid of those criminals. Let's be tough on crime. So go ahead. We are amidst a war. Kill. Shoot.” Those people in government imagine that perhaps they will be able to solve the problem of crime by killing, even disrespecting the rights of the Constitution. But they don't envision, probably, that they are giving us a police that is incapable of fighting crime, because it is not only ineffective, but also corrupted, because that kind of arbitrariness leads to corruption.

KSR: Would the legalization of drugs would solve some of these problems.

SOARES: I have been, for over thirty years, for the legalization of drugs. There is no way of progressing and controlling drug trafficking in Brazil. And I guess it's similar in the U.S. The war on drugs is overwhelming. Anyone who works on that would acknowledge that it is impossible to control it. So there is no real question regarding whether to put them under

XIMENA FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ is a second-year master in public administration candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School.

control or authorize the access of drugs.

The question is, which kind of setting, institutional and legal setting, will lead to cultural acceptance? Heroin and cocaine are drugs of the past. We will, in a few years, have more and more of the synthetic ones. The process of producing, distributing, and consuming will change completely. So it's more and more obvious that the control is completely pointless.

So the real question is, would we rather live in the context of tradition, or in the context of organization and legalization? For me, the response is obvious. We've experienced the tradition, and we have war, with 45,000 homicides a year. We have police corruption. This is a function of our central racism and an expression of our terrible inequalities. The gangsters are poor and black. The others, the middle class, are the consumers. But they will never be arrested or have any kind of problem. The police will call their parents, and they are going to negotiate the leniency. It happens every day throughout Brazil. No white and well-to-do is going to be arrested or get involved in a problem of drugs . . . unless they are seriously involved. And the data is overwhelmingly clear about that. So that has been a tool for criminalizing black people. And it has been a tool for reproducing social inequality . . . and that is against my principles.

KSR: What was your main satisfaction while in office?

SOARES: Well, I guess it was showing that something different can work and can be done. And a new language can pose itself with positive consequences. We started a new approach [toward] homophobia and homophobic crimes.

We invited all the groups that represent homosexuals . . . and we tried to elaborate a consensual assessment of the problem. And it was very easy, because the problems were very well known. They were located geographically, they were of specific types. You have specific kinds of violence that could occur in certain areas of the city. The second step was establishing, developing, and applying specific actions. And those combined formed a whole new policy towards oppression. The application of the actions was followed and overseen by representatives of that huge assembly. The protection was amazing. And that was

acknowledged by everyone.

I told policemen, when I was in authority, "Well, I don't even dare to think that I would be able to change you, or to change your mind. . . . What I can do, and I will do, is to change your behavior. I cannot change your way of thinking, your values, your emotions. But I can change your actions." That's my responsibility. That's the responsibility of the government. That's the responsibility of the state. So let's find the new rules of the game.

KSR: And what was your biggest frustration?

SOARES: I guess the collision, the contradiction, between the electoral cycle and the timing of public policies—also my limitations, my personal difficulties in dealing with political leaders and political parties, etc. I acknowledge my own difficulties in compromising. My radicalism. I know that that's part of the problem.

This contradiction between the electoral cycle and the implementation of consistent policies is a real problem. When we're doing something very serious, like this reform, the consequences, results, will come much later on. But the electoral cycle in Brazil is a two-year cycle. You have federal- and state-level elections, and two years later, you have municipal elections.

So when the government starts, in the first year, you're full of energy and good expectations. You were elected. And there is this moment of almost general consensus. This moment is politically ideal for implementation of your ideas and projects. Even those who are against the new policy won't feel it is easy to oppose, because that's not the moment for them. And the first steps usually are very successful.

But then, of course, then you start a new process that implies change, and you raise resistance. And the resistance is armed. Those who are against the process use guns, firearms, and they can really spoil the process. They are able and waiting to do that if you begin to touch their main interests. And they are capable of very severe violence and resistance. If you begin to be successful you are going to have confrontations, conflicts.

The road is so full of contradictions. And governments are not willing to pay the price for the governed. The big players are not willing to pay high prices for change, because they know they will be caught. And that's the process.



CITIZENSHIP

By LEAH VINCENT



MEN IN ROBES

By FRANCISCO ALMENDRA



LEFT: Out on the town in the capital city of Lhasa:

Three monks stroll near Jokhang, the largest monastery in Tibet. Nearby stands the Potala, the former palace of the Dalai Lama's, empty since the 1959 Chinese annexation of Tibet forced him into exile in India. Yet the Jokhang remains a working monastery, still attracting thousands of pilgrims from within Tibet and from China every year. Recently, Chinese tanks replaced monks walking the streets of Lhasa after protesting Tibetans violently clashed with Chinese forces earlier this year.

RIGHT: Gyantse Dzong, an old monastery turned to a fort outside of Tibet's fourth-largest city, Gyantse:

Thousands of centuries-old monasteries were destroyed or converted into granaries or forts by the Chinese government. According to the records of the Dalai Lama, only dozens of an estimated 5,000 monasteries are left today. While monks from the destroyed monasteries joined those communities that were spared, there are a decreasing number of men entering monkhood.



FRANCISCO ALMENDRA has been shooting for eleven years, and worked as a professional photographer for three years in Brazil. He was also involved with foreign trade in Hong Kong and South Africa before coming to the Harvard Kennedy School to pursue a master in public administration/international development degree.

RIGHT: Fetching Water at the Zhongdian Monastery

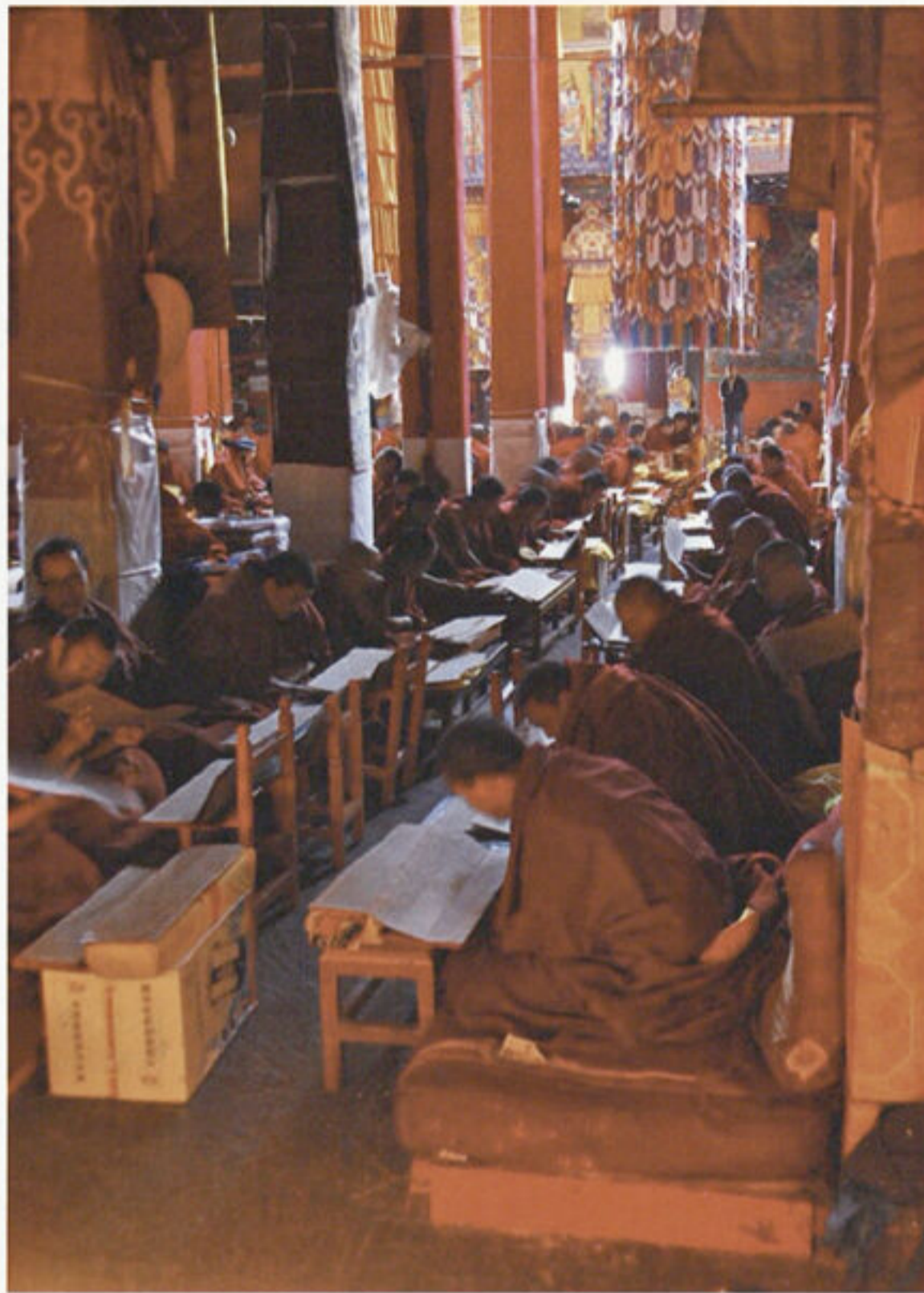
Every day, young monks attend to basic subsistence chores, like fetching water. The lack of running water and sanitation in most places sparks the debate about respecting local traditional ways or implementing development projects to improve access to basic services.



BELOW: Sand Mandala, Pelko Choede Monastery

One of many meditation exercises, forming mandalas with colored sand requires great stamina, coordination control and patience. Monks meditate for hours to control their breath and avoid blowing away the fine sand. A mandala depicts a sacred space where enlightenment is realized. Once completed, the mosaic is simply brushed away to illustrate the Buddhist doctrine of worldly impermanence.





LEFT: Monk exchange at the Dreprung Monastery on the outskirts of Lhasa

Members of different monasteries across Tibet gather to exchange scripture and Buddhist text studies in a large meeting near Lhasa. Tibetan Buddhism is one of the strongest elements in Tibetan identity, supporting the resolve to resist silent acculturation imposed by the Chinese government. In the past, China has relocated large groups of ethnic Chinese to Tibetan areas to build up its strength in the region. The Chinese occupation of Tibet has led to recent resistance by citizens within the country and diaspora communities, spurred on by protests against the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

BELOW: Daily discussion at the Sera Monastery located outside of Lhasa

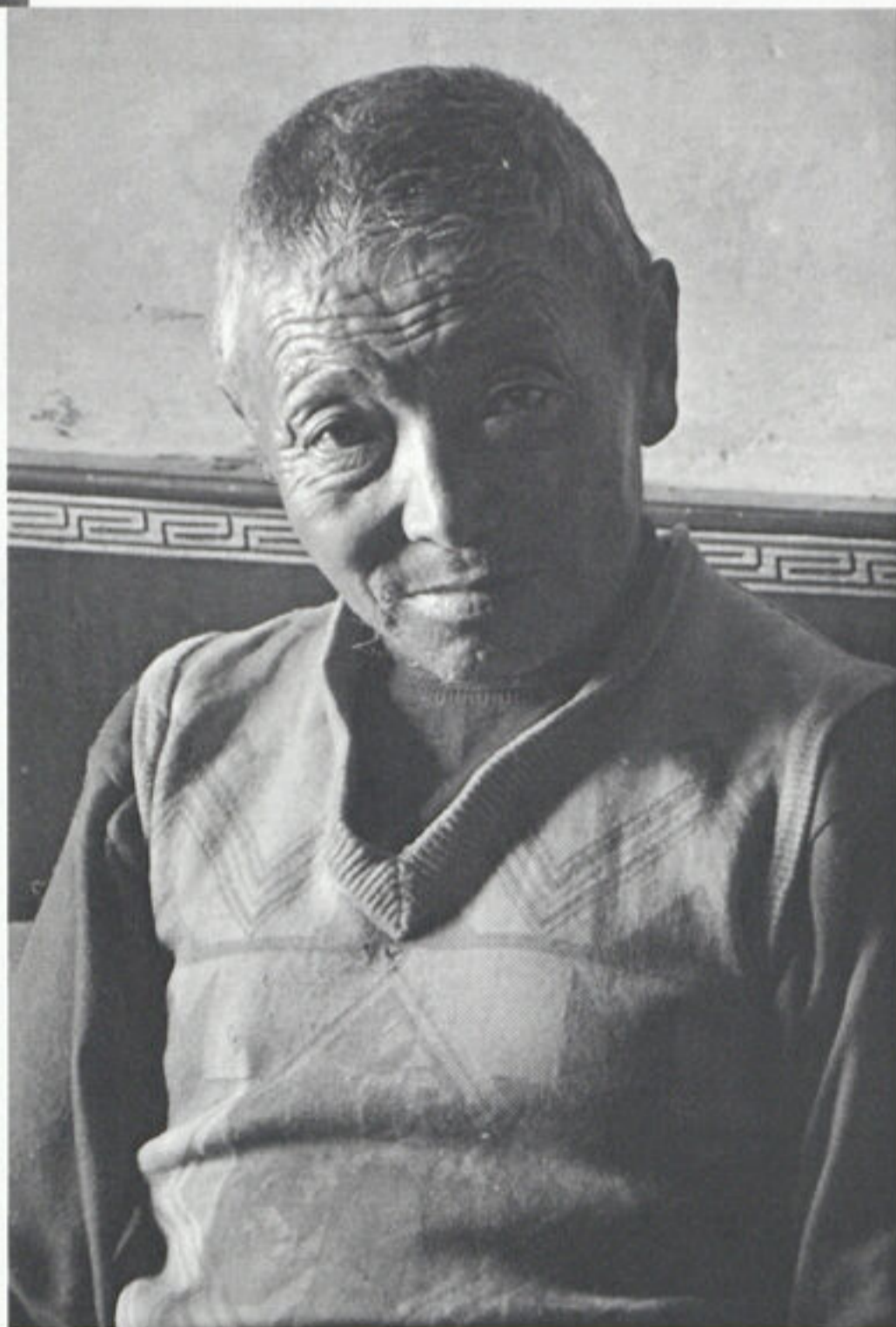
Every afternoon, monks gather to discuss the path to enlightenment and other intricacies of Buddhist philosophy. The concepts deliberated include universal compassion, nonexistence of the self, and the four noble truths of Buddha. These discussions also instruct younger members in basic doctrines and their interpretations. Recently, these discussion sessions at the Sera Monastery were interrupted by monk protests and Chinese government crackdowns.





*After meditation at the remote
Ganden Monastery*

*A senior monk poses for a portrait
after a long outdoor meditation in
temperatures of about two degrees
Celsius (thirty-six degrees
Fahrenheit). Meditation weakens
one's connection to the self and to
the world, a basic teaching of
Buddhism.*



*A conversation, Nechung
Monastery:*

*Many monks are curious about
foreigners and engage in
conversation whenever they can,
dispelling their inaccessible image.
Now the world will be watching
Tibet and China as unrest
between the two sides continues.*



Monks wait in line for a meal at their monastery

Walking in the streets of Yangon, a child tells a foreigner: "I want to be a monk. Here, if you are a monk, you have food and school for sure."

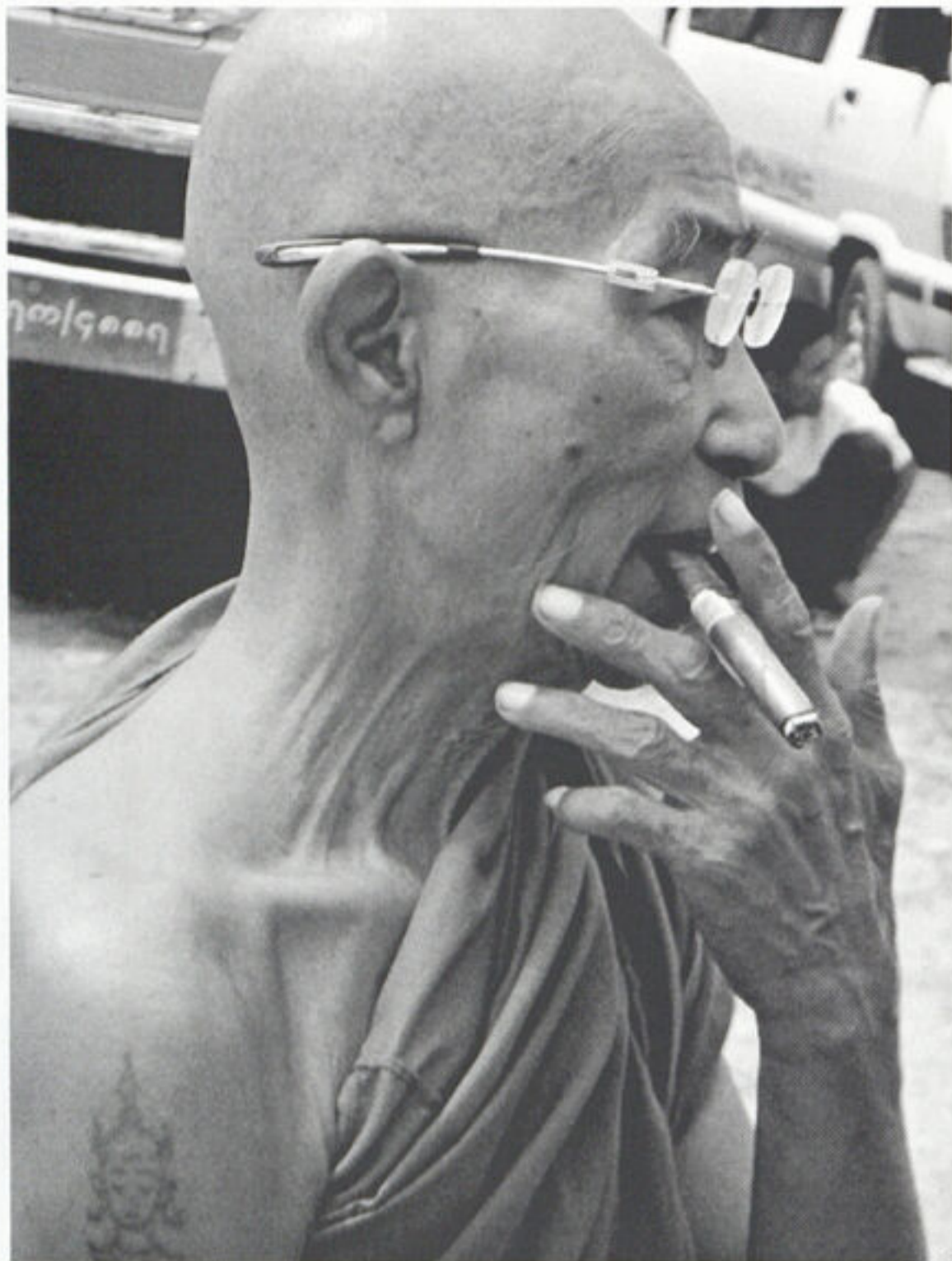
IMPRESSIONS OF BURMA

By FAUSTO GURREA

In Yangon, the capital of Burma, turning back time seems possible. The isolation of the country can be seen in every corner, in every face. Burma, often called Myanmar, is a country more often in the news for its controversial government and human rights record than its rich culture and

traditional society. While the West ponders questions of humanitarian aid and political freedom, the so-called Golden Land remains mysteriously opaque. These following photographs reveal a welcoming and strong people living beyond the waves of globalization.

FAUSTO GURREA is a second-year master in public administration/international development candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School. He worked in Myanmar during this summer internship.



*ABOVE: A monk enjoys a mild cheroot
Many Burmese people, especially in the countryside, still prefer this slim green cigarette. The isolation of the country has prevented the commercialization of cigarettes, among other products.*

*BELOW: Portrait of a lady
A street vendor, like many Burmese women, applies delicate traces of thanaka. This yellowish paste, made from pounded tree bark, is traditionally used as sun block and a skin moisturizer.*





Child of the Golden Land

Myanmar is called the Golden Land, due to the thousands stupas built all across the country. Donations from the rural population go towards building and maintaining them, and to support the monasteries.

A man fishes on Inle Lake in central Burma

A man uses his right leg to row around Inle Lake as he fishes for a daily catch. He, like many others in Burma, follows in the traditional footsteps of his father and grandfather.

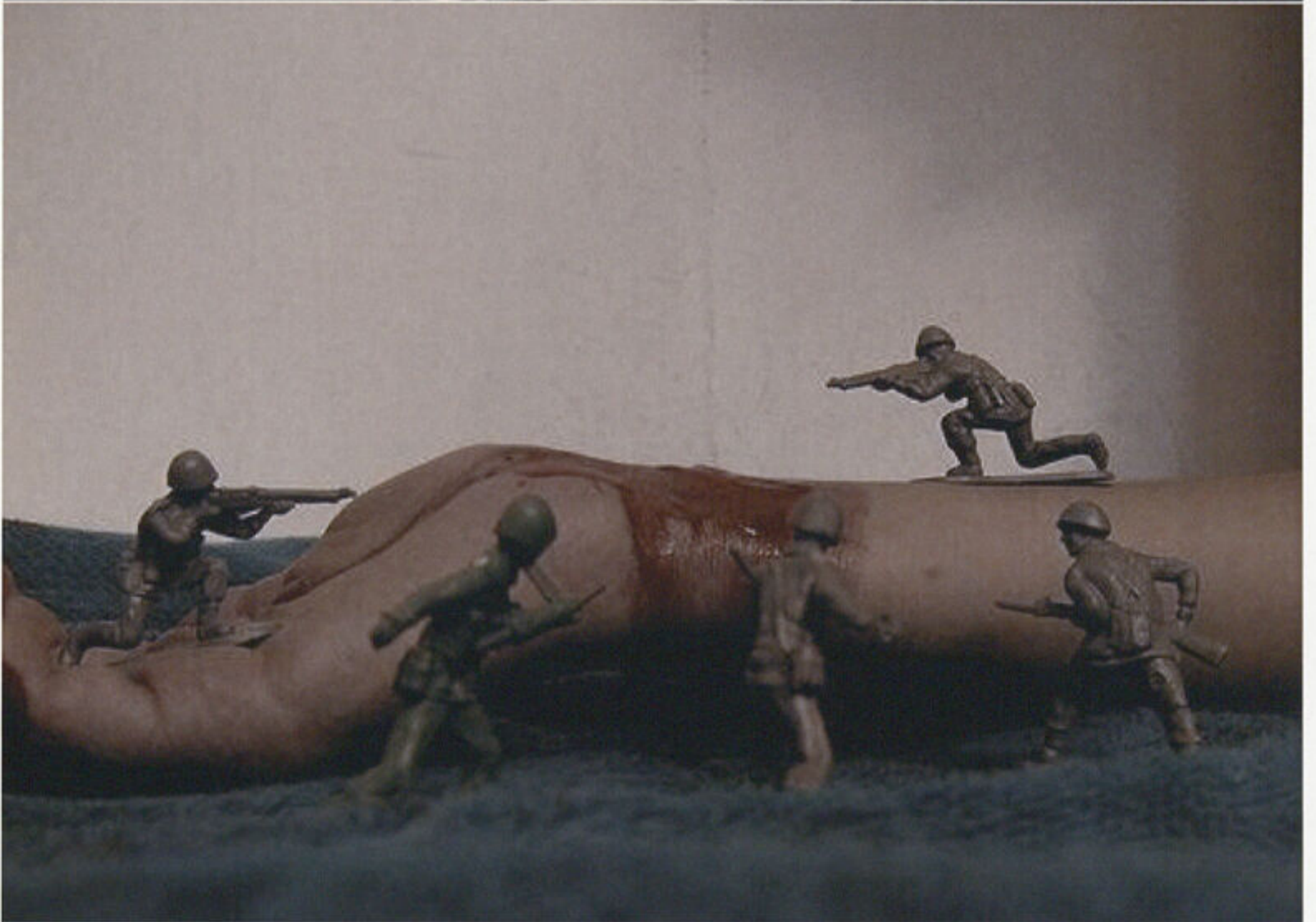




ANONYMITY

By LEAH VINCENT

LEAH VINCENT's photography examines the intersection of the public and the personal. VINCENT explores social issues in a variety of media, including lithography, acrylics and metal work. She is currently a first-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School.



GETTING PERSONAL IS KEY TO IMMIGRATION REFORM

THOMAS GILL
collected immigrant
stories on his journey
home from El Salvador
to the U.S.

I am a gringo. I knew I did not belong. I knew I could not roll my “r’s” very well, but I did not know my simple question would provide everyone within earshot such a good laugh.

“Why were you not deported?” I asked Chele. The question seemed straightforward, given Chele, a Guatemalan man on his way to the United States, had been caught by Mexican migration officials that morning. After all, he was as illegal in Mexico as he would be in the United States—if he made it.

I had asked the obvious. He looked at me, smiled, and said, “Look, if those guys had deported me this morning, their buddies would not be able to rob me tomorrow. And if they deport me tomorrow, then their buddies 200 miles north will not be able to rob me next week. They don’t deport anyone from southern Mexico. It’s just a game—and a business.” From the crowd of Central American migrants, some of whom had made this trip as many as fifteen times, there was not one objection.

A PERSONAL JOURNEY

I lived in El Salvador for more than two years, watching as, each passing day, the population decreased. The search for decently paid work pushed Salvadorans northward as much as friends and family already in the United States pulled them there. In February 2007, I decided to document their exodus by traveling the same route that many Salvadorans, Guatemalans, Hondurans, and Nicaraguans take to arrive in my native land. I understood the difficult situation in El Salvador. I was aware of the growing anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States. However, comprehensive reform demands comprehensive understanding. The journey

THOMAS GILL traveled from El Salvador to El Paso, TX, along the route that many Central Americans travel to arrive in the U.S. GILL is a first-year master in public policy candidate at the Harvard Kennedy School.

between Central America and the United States could not be ignored.

“HE WAS CONVINCED THAT IT WAS BETTER TO HIRE A COYOTE IN HOPES OF FINDING WORK IN THE U.S. THAN TO BUY LAND IN HIS COUNTRY”

On the first day, the bus traveled from San Salvador through western Guatemala on a dusty two-lane road surrounded by hills. With the exception of two random migration stops, one in El Salvador and one in Guatemala, the trip was uneventful until the Guatemala-Mexico border. There, just before crossing into Mexico, the bus made a right-hand turn and headed northeast for about thirty minutes. The stop was not advertised in the trip itinerary, but everyone knew the bus was headed for Tecún Úman. There, Central Americans who could not legally enter Mexico—about one-third of the passengers—left the bus. The driver did not open the luggage compartments. What little they carried was on their backs or in their pockets. The next step was making it into Mexico on foot, to a shelter a few miles north of the border. It was here that I interviewed Chele.

For many Central Americans entering the United States illegally, the trip does not begin at the U.S.-Mexico border. It begins well south of the Mexico-Guatemala border, and becomes more dangerous with each mile north. It is a calculated choice for migrants to leave their homeland. The first decision is whether or not to hire a coyote, or human smuggler, at an average cost of \$6,000 to \$7,000. Coyotes charge Mexicans between \$2,000 to \$3,000, because they can travel to the U.S. border legally. Such a cost is

hefty for anyone, let alone citizens of a country such as El Salvador, with a GDP a fraction of Harvard University's endowment.

I asked Chele why he did not invest in a farm in Honduras—again, laughter at the gringo's question. He was convinced that, given the agricultural situation in Honduras since the signing of the Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), it was better to hire a coyote in hopes of finding work in the United States, than to buy land in his country. Chele, however, did not hire a coyote. He had made the trip before—once successfully, and once not. He was prepared to pay bribes, and take the risk of being robbed by civilians, gangs, and officials along the way. Once broke, he went to the nearest Western Union to gather the means to pay off the next group of preying authorities. He had money waiting at nine Western Unions throughout Mexico.

POLITICAL RHETORIC

As I was making this trip through Mexico, back in the United States politicians were announcing their bids for the presidency in 2008. Senators Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, John McCain and former Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee all announced their candidacies within weeks of the journey. The debate over immigration issues took shape around a few recurring questions: Should the border wall be completed? Should undocumented immigrants be offered a path to legalization? How are illegals affecting our national identity? Should they be granted driver's licenses? Does granting amnesty betray the rule of law? Should U.S. citizens be punished for aiding illegal immigrants?

For once, neither party had a party line. On the Republican side, former New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani wanted a path to legalization that included fines and English classes. He also wanted to complete the border fence.

Huckabee, another Republican candidate, offered a plan to give undocumented immigrants 120 days to register, leave the country, and then apply to return legally. He also wanted to complete the wall by 2010. As he put it, "We shouldn't have amnesty where we just say, 'Fine, everybody's good, we're going to let it go.' We should have a process where people can pay the penalties, step up and accept responsibility for not

GETTING PERSONAL IS KEY TO IMMIGRATION REFORM

being here legally." Although he voted for the fence, he supported a path to legalization.

McCain faced criticism for working with Senator Ted Kennedy on immigration reform. And then there was Congressman Tom Tancredo, championing his promise that if elected, he would spend \$200 billion to deport every illegal immigrant in the country.

“FOR [CENTRAL AMERICANS],
THE DREAM DOES NOT CONSIST
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RATHER, THE DREAM IS A
LONGING FOR BASIC RIGHTS,
INCLUDING A JUST WAGE,
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CHILDREN, AND MEDICINE FOR
LOVED ONES”

As for the Democrats, both Clinton and Obama voted for the completion of the border fence, yet supported a path to legalization—bringing immigrants out of the shadows, in the language of rhetoric. This involved illegals paying fines and learning English; it also addressed employers' hiring responsibilities. These plans, replete with jargon designed to obscure the plight of migrants like Chele, bear little relevance to the daily struggle faced by thousands of Central Americans fighting for their chance at the American dream. For them, the dream does not consist of colonial homes enclosed by white picket fences. Rather, the dream is a longing for basic rights, including a just wage, education for their children, and medicine for loved ones.

The town of Ixtepec lies in the southern part of Oaxaca, still a long way south of Mexico City, much less the Rio Grande. Here, migrants gathered along the railroad tracks awaiting the unannounced departure of the next cargo train north. Padre Alejandro, a Catholic priest committed to serving the migrants, received word that the cargo train would depart Ixtepec at 9:30 p.m. With this news, the migrants devoured the food given to them and immediately began to

GETTING PERSONAL IS KEY TO IMMIGRATION REFORM

rejoin their fellow travelers.

The prime age to leave Central America is seventeen. At this age, if caught, one is still treated as a minor by both Mexican and U.S. officials. One such young man waiting for the train wore a bright red turtleneck with "Nebraska" written along the collar. Nebraska is typically a Republican stronghold, but like many other states dependent on agriculture, building a consensus on immigration there has proved difficult.

I asked where he was headed, and he proudly pointed out the name on his collar. The temperature was probably in the 50s, but he was obviously very cold, speaking only when he did not need his breath to warm his hands. I asked where exactly he was headed in Nebraska. He replied, "No, just Nebraska." I informed him that Nebraska is a pretty big place, and he seemed very confused. "Do you have the name of a city, an address, or a phone number?" He confidently replied, "I am going to Nebraska. I have some friends there who say there is plenty of work harvesting. I am going there." Without knowing any English, he was headed for an unknown address in a state nine and half times larger than his entire country. If he was cold in Ixtepec, he would surely freeze in Nebraska.

Generally, the train cars are locked so travelers are forced to ride on top of the train or between the cars. On this particular night, there were a few open cars that enabled some of the more vulnerable migrants, mostly women, to sit inside the train. While still dangerous, it is safer to travel inside of the trains than on the outside. The twelve-hour ride through the night made fatigue a daunting obstacle. Still, the train pulled away with more than 1,500 people hanging from the ladders on the sides of the cars, standing between the cars, and sitting atop the train. Those who could, belted themselves to the train so that, in case they fell asleep, they would not fall. At least one of them is likely to fall off in the next twelve hours, which helps explain why so many rehabilitation centers in Mexico are dedicated to amputees. The ones who only lose limbs are the lucky ones. Many lose their lives.

IMMIGRATION BILLS & AMERICAN ATTITUDES

The names of recent immigration bills clearly reflect the tone of the current debate on immigration policy. While the nomenclature is

more politically correct today than the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, names like "Operation Gatekeeper" and "Operation Hold the Line," military-minded solutions dominate. The wall is a symbolic representation of our attitude toward immigration. It does not matter that the wall would only cover 700 of the 2,000 miles of border shared by Mexico and the United States. The message is clear: We don't want you.

"THE TRAIN PULLED AWAY
WITH MORE THAN 1,500
PEOPLE HANGING FROM THE
SIDES OF THE CARS, STANDING
BETWEEN THE CARS, AND
SITTING ATOP THE TRAIN"

Even as funds have overwhelmingly been channeled toward a border patrol grounded in this mentality, the number of undocumented immigrants has continued to soar. These policies have merely pushed the migrants into more dangerous routes, namely through the desert in the Tucson, Ariz. area. The policies have led to an increase in immigrant deaths but have done little to ebb the flow of migrants traveling north. Very little money has gone toward addressing employers who hire the undocumented. Trade policies have exacerbated the problem.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was touted as a trade agreement that would slow the flood of workers from the south into the United States. Instead, Mexico has lost millions of jobs since NAFTA's 1994 passage, largely due to the inability of Mexican farmers to compete with subsidized farmers in the United States. Many of the jobs that left the United States for Mexico soon found a more permanent home in China. Ironically, the immigrants criticize NAFTA as much as middle-class Americans. Latinos blame it for forcing them to migrate, as many in the United States criticize it for opening our borders.

The journey continued for another 1,000 miles to Mexico City and then to Saltillo. The stories accumulated with each passing mile, and one seemed more unbelievable than the next. In

Saltillo, Carla made it very obvious that she would not have left Honduras ten days earlier had she known what awaited her. Her children were ages twelve, ten, and nine. She thought about coming many times, but never knew it would be so dangerous. She was separated from her husband and twelve-year-old daughter when the train she was riding was raided by Mexican migration officials. Everyone panicked. Many jumped from the moving train. The cops grabbed her husband and daughter, but she managed to escape into the mountains with other people. She hid through the night and made her way by foot with some other migrants to a shelter. Forty-eight hours later, she still had not heard anything from her husband or daughter. All she could do was wait and hope they would somehow arrive at the shelter. I suggested she call her house in Honduras and ask if her husband had called their family there to check in. She wiped the tears from her eyes and looked at me strangely before admitting, "We don't have a phone there. It was one of the things we hoped to buy once we found work in the United States."

MAKE A PLACE FOR THESE PERSONAL STORIES

Personal stories enjoy a prominent place in the U.S. presidential rhetoric of 2008. Topics like health care, education, and veterans' affairs are all punctuated with the story of some regular American the candidate has met on the campaign trail. On the issue of immigration though, the stories of individual immigrants, like those told here, are rarely, if ever, shared. The cost of humanizing "brown people" whose first language is not English is far too high for candidates fighting for votes. However, it may be precisely this lack of personal understanding about the many who desire to come to this country and work that has delayed the implementation of comprehensive reform.

Oftentimes, immigrants are portrayed as the enemy in a war on U.S. sovereignty. As I learned on my journey and as the stories here demonstrate, those making the journey would be only too happy to find a better way. Many pay huge fees, both financial and personal, simply for the opportunity to enter. And ironically, some of the biggest proponents of comprehensive immigration reform are immigrants themselves.

Comprehensive immigration reform depends

GETTING PERSONAL IS KEY TO IMMIGRATION REFORM

on a comprehensive understanding of immigrants themselves. Any denial of their reasons for departure or their attitudes toward the United States poses a major risk to effective reform.

Few people on either side of this debate believe it is feasible to deport 12 million people. The cost and the complications posed by what to do with their children, many of whom are U.S. citizens, create financial and logistical nightmares. On the other hand, even the most pro-immigrant advocates recognize that the United States cannot afford to have an open border. There are criminals smuggling drugs, and people that pose threats to national security trying to enter our country. But, there are also meatpackers, agricultural workers, caretakers, and people who will perform many other jobs that enable our economy to function at capacity. Amazingly, what is best for our nation's security may be exactly what is best for immigrants themselves—that they be integrated into the legal economy.

"THE COST OF HUMANIZING
'BROWN PEOPLE' WHOSE FIRST
LANGUAGE IS NOT ENGLISH IS
FAR TOO HIGH FOR
CANDIDATES FIGHTING FOR
VOTES"

One of the most repeated lines about illegal immigrants is the need to, quote, bring them out of the shadows. However, inducing undocumented immigrants out of the shadows may depend largely on whether or not policy makers can bring the conversation itself into clearer view. As it stands, the conversation around illegal immigration is guided by the border wall and notions of degrees of amnesty. This will only delay the reform that everyone wants. The conversation must be enlightened by the stories of illegal immigrants themselves. The keys to comprehensive and effective reform may lie with the last group we would ever think to ask.

THE FAMILY NAME

*Honor killings in
Germany*

By SHEILA B. LALWANI

A small memorial now stands in Berlin, Germany, for Hatun Surucu, a twenty-three-year-old Turkish German, whose brothers sprayed her body with bullets in 2005 for leaving her forced marriage, embracing a Western lifestyle, and raising her son alone.

Few in the Turkish community mourn her.

"She only had herself to blame," one male student said to a reporter from the German magazine, *Der Spiegel*, while another insisted, "The whore lived like a German." That sentiment was not uncommon in parts of the city densely populated by immigrants, mainly from Turkey and the Middle East. In some Berlin schools, for example, girls who do not wear the hijab, or Islamic head scarf, risk harassment by their male peers. In the streets of the Kreuzberg area of Berlin, one of the most densely populated Turkish districts in Europe, women walk together in groups. No women can be found on the streets alone at night.

Some worry that the parallel society between immigrants and mainstream Germans is widening.

"They need our acceptance. They need our love," said Jutta Steinkamp, a principal at the Heinrich Heine School, where 90 percent of the students are from immigrant backgrounds. "Otherwise, we will lose them. If we don't accept them for who they are—their hijabs, Muslim—they feel that they don't belong to us. That is a very, very big danger."

A new wall is rising in Germany. The bombings of September 11 (some of the perpetrators are suspected of living in Germany) and the terrorist attacks in Europe awakened

Germany to its often segregated immigrant population. Approximately 3.3 million Muslims live in Germany with roughly 2.5 million of them of Turkish origin. Many lead secular lifestyles, but some make strong, even extreme, efforts to preserve conservative values.

As Germany struggles to integrate an increasingly ultraconservative immigrant community, few issues present themselves with as many complexities as forced marriages and honor killings. Once veiled from public view, Germany is starting to recognize that honor killings and forced marriages are distinct crimes among the immigrant population.

Immigrants began migrating to Germany in large numbers during the 1960s when the country suffered from a labor shortage. The program brought thousands of Turkish workers to Germany to work in low-level labor jobs, but the policy provided no real means of integrating Muslim Turks into mainstream German society.

Following the September 11 terrorist attacks and the discovery that several of the plotters and conspirators led hidden lives in Hamburg, politicians and German citizens paid greater attention to the Muslim community in Germany. Islamic groups and mosques began increasing efforts to interface with mainstream German society, with some also becoming more skeptical of outsiders.

Forced marriages have been part of the fabric of immigrant life in Germany for many years; it is only recently that the German government has started to pay attention. Many families force their daughters into weddings when they are prepubescent and unite the couple civilly years later. Steinkamp said it is not uncommon for girls to "disappear," when, in fact, families may have sent their daughters to Turkey to get married. Once the girl is married, she often quits school and stays at home.

Some forced marriages have led to honor killings, a time-honored custom in Turkey, the

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Middle East, and South Asia. An honor killing is the murder of a female by family members for misconduct that can range from adultery to wearing "inappropriate" clothes to wanting to marry someone of her choosing.

Exact figures on the number of women who fall victim to honor killings are hard to pin down, but according to the German Federal Crime Office, more than fifty-five women in the last six years have been victims of honor killings.

Berlin went through a particularly difficult period when four women were killed for "insulting the family honor" in a time span of five months. One woman was strangled; another drowned in a bath, and another woman was stabbed on the street in front of her daughter. A Turkish women's organization, Papatya, has documented forty instances of honor killings in Germany since 1996, but experts say the number is likely far higher.

Perpetrators are rarely prosecuted, mainly because the Turkish community has been sluggish in its response to such data and even to the question of honor killings in its community. It has frustrated German authorities that Islamic groups and Muslims have been among the last to come forward with details or information on the crime. When a Turkish man stabbed his wife and their seven-year-old daughter because the wife was having an affair, many in the community defended him. In another instance, a father strangled his daughter and threw her body into a lake because she had a boyfriend. The case only came to light when the woman's body was discovered.

In some cases, the youngest son is selected to do the killing because minors receive lighter sentences. In some circles, the boys who carry out the crimes are revered as "honor heroes."

The judicial process for honor killings is slow and frustrates the German judicial system. Laws only cover civil marriages—not religious ones.

However, some arrests are made in honor killings. For example, in the case of Hatun Surucu, mentioned at the start of this article, her brothers were arrested less than a week after the attack and were charged with the murder. They have pleaded not guilty.

German Chancellor Angela Merkel recently joined a growing movement to criminalize forced marriages and end honor killings in Germany, which is growing less tolerant of practices among

Muslim immigrants that clash with the nation's liberal social values.

In October 2004, after much lobbying, Turkish women's groups scored a coup when the government passed a law making it illegal for parents to force their children to marry. Turkey, a secular Muslim state, has long had such a law.

In the winter of 2005, the Turkish Association in Berlin and Brandenburg held a roundtable discussion about the plight of Muslim women. At the talks, the group issued a ten-point plan calling for a "zero tolerance" stance on violence against women and encouraged other Turkish and Islamic organizations to "actively recognize" and address the problem.

Social service organizations insist that the number of honor killings is on the rise, but reliable numbers are difficult to pin down since families often cover up the crime. The issue has only surfaced through mainstream German society or through the media.

There is a growing awareness of domestic violence among the immigrant community. According to the most recent study from the Ministry for Family Affairs, 49 percent of Turkish women said they had experienced physical or sexual violence in their marriage. Many women said they met their husbands on their wedding night.

Some have blamed Islamic religious leaders for failing to address the problem. Muslim leaders in Berlin have said there is no basis for honor killings in the Koran, but those leaders have also been criticized for not making a clear condemnation of the killings.

Ekin Deligoz, a member of the Green Party, said Germans and Turks need to be more vigilant with women's issues. "Domestic violence . . . This is the beginning of the honor killing," Deligoz said. "If we do something for women's rights, we do something for women. We have to give women more security."

Honor killings have been around for centuries. The crimes speak to the complex nature of family structures and ideas of honor and culture. Some efforts have been made at prosecuting such crimes, but the awareness surrounding the issue remains low.

ANCHOR BABIES

ALEJANDRA

CAMPOVERDI reclaims the idea of the 'anchor baby' for her family and all immigrants

My great-grandmother was the first to hear the music. Living in Tijuana in the 1920s, it didn't have to carry far. It came directly to her. Thanks to American Prohibition, Tijuana boomed with an influx of Californians. The city became a popular destination for Southern Californians and Hollywood stars looking to entertain themselves with horse races, casinos, and alcohol.

The music wafted through the windows of my great-grandmother Maria Elena's modest home and filled her teenage mind with curiosities and a restlessness that she couldn't yet put into words. The people descending upon her town were worldly, manicured, and smart. She wanted the life she imagined they lived—the one she pictured in her mind as the sounds of the streets lulled her to sleep every night.

She had spent her childhood crossing to the "American side" to go to the movies and to shop. On those exciting days, she would walk alongside her parents and wave at the friendly border patrol guards who knew her and most of the town's inhabitants by name. Back then she saw the United States as a fun destination that you went to for entertainment—a Disneyland of sorts that you visited to imagine other worlds, not a world in and of itself.

She married a worldly young Mexican banker who had drifted into Tijuana along with the rush of American noise and who oozed the exposure and experience she wished she had. Marrying a man who embodied her childhood daydreams, she found herself young, pregnant, and inspired. She decided her child was to be my family's first "anchor baby."

In 1927, at nine months pregnant, when most women are resting peacefully at home, my

great-grandmother crossed the border like she had done so many times and gave birth to my grandmother in an American hospital.

An "anchor baby" is a child born in the United States to a noncitizen. It is meant to be a derogatory reference to a child whose role is to "anchor" the family into the United States, eventually gaining U.S. citizenship and eligibility

"MY GREAT-GRANDMOTHER
WAS MY FAMILY'S FIRST
ANCHOR BABY IN MIND—THE
INNOVATOR."

for social programs.

My great-grandmother didn't know the term, and she never intended to illegally immigrate into the United States. She was not poor, she didn't need a job, and she wasn't uneducated. All she knew was that she wanted to be a part of the United States. And the only way she knew how to do this was to create a tie to her dream with nothing more than the force of her will and the will of her body.

My great-grandmother was my family's first anchor baby in mind—the innovator who conceived a bond with America using little more than ingenuity and determination.

Her daughter, my grandmother Maria Louisa, did indeed benefit from my great-grandmother's maternity pact with America. While my great-grandparents worked to secure visas, they continued to reside in Tijuana so that my grandmother could attend American schools. Every morning, my grandmother would walk to the border, cross into the country of her citizenship, and board a school bus that was waiting on the U.S. side to pick her up. She identified with her birthright—speaking perfect English, attending Sweetwater High, and

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Alejandra Campoverdi's grandparents

Photo courtesy of Alejandra Campoverdi

ANCHOR BABIES

worshipping Mickey Rooney.

Barely a teenager when World War II began, my grandmother found herself swept up in the “Rosie the Riveter” recruitment effort. She took a factory job in San Diego, CA, making airplane parts. Still living in Mexico, she traveled back and forth from her homeland to her mother country. When the war ended, my grandmother settled back into life in Mexico with her family.

But the music she heard was different than her mother’s. It was Judy Garland and son huasteco, Shirley Temple and mariachis. She didn’t feel the urge to discover what she had already experienced. Already enjoying the freedom to move between Mexico and the United States her whole life, she longed for love and family above all else. One day at the movies, she turned around and locked eyes with my grandfather—handsome, smiling, and the love of her life. What ensued was a combination of chaperoned dates, stolen moments, and romantic boat rides with her name written in roses. Marrying the man who was reflective of her deepest desires, like her mother before her, she soon gave birth to my mother Cecilia.

My grandmother was my family’s first anchor baby in body—the simultaneous embodiment of a traditional Mexican woman and a dedicated American citizen.

My mother Cecilia’s first journey into the United States was the result of a lucky gamble. A new alternative to betting on horses, Fronton Palacio Tijuana Jai Alai opened in 1947 and was soon the hottest ticket in town. My great-grandmother won the biggest jackpot.

Now, with visas in hand, my great-grandparents could finally buy a house in the United States. They chose to immigrate to quaint Bonita, CA, a community in southern San Diego whose name means “beautiful” in Spanish. My mother waited impatiently in Tijuana until the summer when she could travel to visit her grandparents on what they called “el otro lado,” the other side.

My mother couldn’t believe how beautiful and clean the other side was. She was told that things worked differently there. The houses all sat in perfect manicured rows with pools, and there was this magical place called Pizza Hut. Not speaking a word of English, she grew up spending her summers as a silent participant in a world that just felt better.

Back in Mexico for the school year, my mother counted on music to get her through the day. She physically invoked it into her life. Riding her bike up to the border, she would raise her dusty transistor radio into the mixing airspace that mirrored the crossbred blood in her veins, as the notes crackled in from American radio stations. My mother’s first words of English were the lyrics to Creedence Clearwater Revival’s “Born on the Bayou.” As with her maternal predecessors, they filled her mind with thoughts of a new life, a new opportunity, and a new beginning.

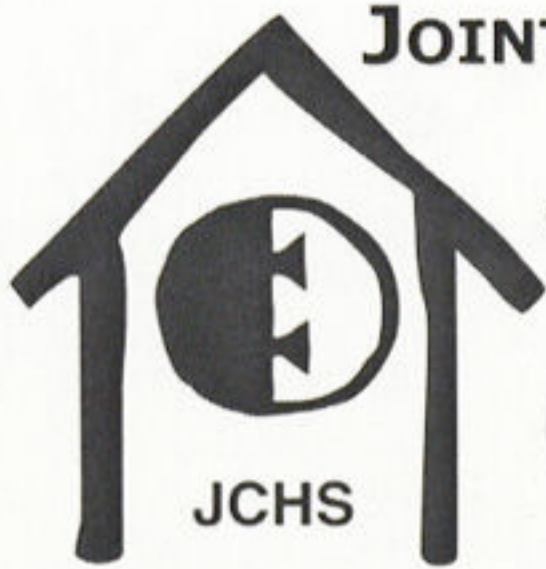
Papers proving my grandmother’s citizenship—but more importantly her extensive work in factories during World War II—ended up being the documentation that was needed for my mother to realize the U.S. citizenship she longed for. My grandmother’s commitment to her dual identities had inadvertently paved the way for my mother to become the next link in the campaign that my great-grandmother had started forty-five years earlier.

My mother had become the anchor baby in spirit—the one who could no longer be contained by borders or boundaries. She had the courage to pack up her things, cross the border one last time, and never look back. Five years later, I was born.

My great-grandmother, my grandmother, and my mother. Mind, body, and spirit. They built upon one another’s legacies, each climbing even higher, but anchored in the dreams and ideals of the past. Maybe this is why the music I now hear is a resounding consonance, a chorus obligating me to honor the melodies that together elevate the ground I now stand on—a Harvard student who is the direct descendent of three generations of anchor babies.

Yet this passage cannot end with me, because the story must always end where it began—with a voice that stole away in the night to give birth to a child and to a conviction.

The same convictions are born every day in the hearts of immigrants. While others vilify them, they personify the true nature of an anchor baby—one who is guided by inevitability under the surface, the original grip being the desire for the American Dream. May the family tradition of immovability continue, as I strive to honor my great-grandmother, grandmother, and mother, as the final anchor baby—in action.



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CHILD ABUSE AND NEGLECT

*Public systems and
private lives*

By JANET ROSENZWEIG

When pediatricians identified the battered child syndrome in 1964, Americans expressed outrage. Congress passed the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act (CAPTA) in 1974 with bipartisan support. Throughout the country, states rushed to establish child protective services (CPS) agencies to serve abused children and their families. In many states, these new child protection agencies replaced traditional child welfare organizations that had been providing material support for the poor since the New Deal. Fast-forward thirty years, and today, communities look different, families look different, and there has been a raft of unintended consequences of child protection systems. Neighbors—even family members—now expect public agencies to be responsible for families with needs, further deteriorating social ties while overburdening public systems. It is time to consider an update.

PUBLIC SYSTEMS

In the decades after CAPTA passed, states' interpretations and amendments to the definition of child abuse and neglect have blurred the original intent, and state CPS agencies have become highly bureaucratized systems of services and sanctions. These CPS agencies became parallel bureaucracies to traditional welfare agencies; while welfare agencies continued to provide income maintenance to the poor, a family had to be adjudicated as "neglectful" by the CPS system to qualify for family supports including in-home services, parenting classes, and child care.

In all states, the most severe cases involving serious harm or sexual contact also meet a definition for criminal conduct. CPS staff report these cases to law enforcement authorities, but

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competing ideologies and priorities often cloud investigations. Child protection services are investigated under the doctrine of "the best interests of the child," and law enforcement agencies determine if there is enough evidence to bring a criminal charge. While no one wants to see an abusive parent escape consequences, I believe that paradoxes abound in this system. The most troubling is that abusers who may be the most amenable to treatment are also the easiest to prosecute; what a clinician calls "accepting responsibility," a prosecutor calls a confession.

"TODAY, COMMUNITIES LOOK DIFFERENT, FAMILIES LOOK DIFFERENT, AND THERE HAS BEEN A RAFT OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF CHILD PROTECTION SYSTEMS"

Add to this the fact that, nationally, more than 60 percent of the cases referred to state CPS agencies allege neglect, which is generally a symptom of poverty. The federal welfare reform initiatives of the 1980s and 1990s have provided states with the discretion to provide support services to parents. Why? Because the states successfully argued that young, low-income parents could not move toward economic self-sufficiency if they were struggling with the demands of parenting. Public CPS agencies deliver formal sanctions along with services; families are often stigmatized by civil court proceedings and a listing in a central state registry that is often consulted as part of a background check for employment. Yet still, the more serious cases of physical and sexual abuse compete for the public resources of the CPS system with the neglect cases that could be served by the welfare

system.

Like all social sciences, the science behind CPS interventions is inexact. When we accept science with less than 100 percent accuracy, there is room to be wrong. Risk-assessment schema, decision-making trees, and other tools of the trade fail occasionally under even the best of circumstances. When the failure results in the tragic death of a child, a huge political price is paid; the same failure rate would go unnoticed in other lines of public service. CPS systems have become a convenient scapegoat for the public, with CPS staff vilified in local media after a tragedy. Failure to modernize the U.S. system for family supports and child protection—and our expectations for it—will cost lives and public resources.

Meanwhile, as child protection was developing into a massive, inefficient bureaucracy in each state, something remarkable was starting in California. In 1985, Dr. Vincent Felitti, at the Kaiser Permanente Institutes of Preventive Medicine, noticed something amiss in his obesity treatment program; clients who were most likely to drop out were also the most successful. Confused by this turn of events, Felitti began to interview these clients and found that the majority of them shared a history of childhood abuse.

From this insight grew the Adverse Childhood Experience (ACE) study, now a longitudinal study that ultimately followed more than 17,000 people. To calculate what they called “the ACE scale,” Felitti and other researchers identified eight adverse childhood experiences that are remarkably good predictors of adult health status. This list includes recurrent physical abuse, recurrent emotional abuse, contact sexual abuse, and emotional or physical neglect. Equally damaging are the presence of an alcoholic or drug abuser in the household, an incarcerated household member, someone who is chronically depressed, mentally ill, institutionalized, or suicidal, a mother who is treated violently, and a household with one or no parents. Taken together, these factors are counted to form the ACE score. Compared to people with an ACE score of zero, those with an ACE score of four or more were twice as likely to be smokers, twelve times more likely to have attempted suicide, seven times more likely to be alcoholic, and ten times more likely to have injected street drugs,

according to the studies published by Felitti and his colleagues.

Medical researchers have moved beyond the battered child syndrome to use the ACE scale, yet our public system for child protection has not. Fully two-thirds of the cases reported to the public systems allege neglect, a condition strongly

**“IT IS TIME TO SEPARATE
CHILD WELFARE FROM CHILD
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WILL BE STRONGER”**

associated with poverty, while millions of families dealing with incarceration, addiction, mental illness, violence against women, and even physical and sexual abuse escape the attention of any public system. The ACE study has demonstrated that adverse experiences for children are not confined to the poor.

BACK TO THE FUTURE

Total direct state and federal expenditures for child protection systems exceed \$15 billion annually. Efforts directed at strengthening and supporting families received less than 5 percent of that amount. It is time to separate child welfare from child protection within the child protective system. CPS agencies can no longer afford to duplicate services that child welfare systems can provide, such as financial support through Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, food stamps, and child support enforcement. Our public agencies must be permitted to direct their resources to the children at risk of abuse. They must shift the focus of the message from encouraging the public to report a family in trouble to one that encourages individuals and community groups to support parents from all walks of life in the difficult job of raising children. Lives will be saved, dollars will be saved, and, ultimately, communities will be stronger.

STUDENTS AND STATECRAFT

NIKHIL SACHDEV and JOHN PAUL SCHNAPPER-CASTERAS make the case for more exchange programs with the Middle East

Stanford University hosted the U.S.' first student exchange with postwar Iraq in 2005. Stanford students involved were touched by the courage of their Iraqi peers in traveling to the United States at great personal risk as well as their candid participation in an interfaith dialogue with a rabbi and reverend. Iraqi participants were struck by the resources available at the university and the individualized attention paid to them by U.S. professors and students alike. Students from opposite ends of the globe and political spectrum built substantive relationships and put a human face on distant countries.

This type of student-to-student diplomacy is essential to improving America's standing in the Middle East. Demographically, the region is uniquely youthful. A recent study from the Brookings Institution indicates that nearly one in five people is between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four—nearly 100 million in total. U.S. public diplomacy and information operations must make a sustained effort to engage this youth "bulge", or potentially face the much more difficult prospect of disengaging Middle Eastern youth from radical influences after the fact.

At first glance, progress is being made. According to the Institute of International Education, the number of international students in United States has increased for the first time since 2001. Worldwide participation in U.S. Department of State education and exchange programs has grown since 2005, and the State Department lists exchange programs as a top priority in our national strategy for public diplomacy. But in key Middle Eastern nations, including Iraq and Afghanistan, student diplomatic programs are small or nonexistent.

The authors directed the Stanford University-Iraq Student Exchange from 2004 to 2006. NIKHIL SACHDEV graduated in 2007 from Stanford with a B.A. Honors in economics. JOHN PAUL SCHNAPPER-CASTERAS is a joint degree student at Stanford Law School and the Harvard Kennedy School.

Only 190 Iraqis and 175 Afghans studied in the United States in 2006. Iraq, which has approximately nine percent of the population of the Middle East, sends only 1 percent of the international students from the region. While global participation in study-abroad programs has grown, the Middle East remains underrepresented. Approximately 18,000 students from the Middle East came to the United States in 2006 compared with roughly 85,000 from Europe and 328,000 from Asia. That means the Middle East (a focus of U.S. foreign policy and foreign aid, receiving \$76 billion since 2002, according to the Congressional Research Service) constituted only 3 percent of the international students in America in 2006. Such statistics are disheartening.

Several universities, including Stanford, have recognized these shortcomings and started their own exchange programs. In 2004, Tufts' Institute for Global Leadership sent the first student delegation to Iran since 1979. In 2007, the College of William and Mary established exchanges with Syria, Egypt, and Morocco, aided by a \$200,000 State Department grant.

In the near future, the State Department plans to bring several dozen Iraqi and Middle Eastern students to America to study and visit through department-sponsored programs. These efforts, though a good start, are much too small. During the Cold War, large-scale student exchanges produced some of the most pro-Western and pro-democracy Soviet scholars and scientists, ultimately contributing to former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, or openness. This was a thirty-year effort that began in 1958 when former U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev signed the "General Exchanges Agreement." In all, the agreement facilitated the exchange of more than 50,000 students.

The George W. Bush administration and Congress should learn from Eisenhower's

		Supporting Data							
		1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005
Figure 1a. Foreign Students in the U.S.	Middle East	-	34,987	38,858	38,545	34,803	31,852	17,448	17,806
	Iraq	-	112	155	147	127	120	142	190
	Afghanistan	-	110	75	92	102	109	155	175
	Europe	-	78,485	80,584	81,578	78,001	74,134	85,386	84,697
	U.K.	-	7,990	7,273	8,414	8,326	8,439	8,236	8,274
	France	-	6,877	8,139	7,401	7,223	6,818	6,555	6,640
Figure 1b. U.S. Students Abroad	Middle East	3,578	4,127	1,659	1,310	648	812	1,977	-
	Iraq	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	0	1	-
	Afghanistan	NA	NA	NA	1	2	NA	0	-
	Europe	81,367	89,593	97,271	100,668	109,907	116,684	124,292	-
	U.K.	27,720	28,289	30,289	30,143	31,706	32,237	32,071	-
	France	10,479	11,924	11,905	12,274	13,080	13,718	15,374	-

Data Source: Institute of International Education's Open Doors reports, 1999 - 2006

example and make student exchanges a national priority once again. Specifically, the president and State Department should take the following steps:

1. **Make exchange programs with the Middle East a formal U.S. objective by issuing a National Security Council directive.** The administration should also name a special assistant to the secretary of state for exchange programs to bolster and coordinate efforts at the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs, International Research & Exchanges Board, and local embassies. (Eisenhower did both.) The U.S. president should set the ambitious but feasible goal of exchanging another 50,000 students in the next thirty years.

2. **Enter into executive agreements with individual countries, particularly Iraq, to promote reciprocal exchange programs.** Security concerns pose the most significant problems for how exchanges are run and sometimes imperil their ability to actually exchange students between two countries. In 2005, no Americans studied in Afghanistan, and only one studied in Iraq. The Stanford-Iraq Student Exchange was ultimately unable to send Stanford students to Iraq due to security risks. On the whole, only 1.2 percent of Americans studying abroad went to the Middle East in 2007. If these security concerns persist, the United States should start by holding student conferences in safe nearby countries—Jordan, for example—or start an exchange of ideas by using Internet and teleconferencing technology to engage local Muslim communities.

3. **Harness the power of the Internet to streamline student visa applications.** Under the current system, Iraqi student applicants must travel to a U.S. embassy in a neighboring country to file their visa request. They then wait for a number of days (or make two trips) to learn if they will obtain a preliminary interview. For Iraqi

applicants, this means traveling through dangerous territory, sometimes twice, without even knowing if they will get a first-round interview. Instead, the State Department should allow students to file their initial paperwork online to simplify transportation arrangements, reduce costs, and make the process safer for students, while still maintaining the integrity of our border and embassy security.

Managing a student exchange initiative of this magnitude will certainly pose political and logistical challenges. Today, America must engage multiple Middle Eastern and Muslim-majority countries, not a single Soviet state. The volatile security environment, combined with specific threats against American citizens and institutions, understandably impedes travel and visa arrangements. Ideological differences might make students wary of such an opportunity. But we overcame analogous problems during the Cold War, and our efforts proved worthwhile. Today, such difficulties magnify the need for our renewed efforts.

Student exchange programs can once again help American and foreign students forge personal connections and work toward mutual understanding. This student-to-student diplomacy can improve the quality of dialogue about values, democracy, and cultural commonalities as well as differences.

Student diplomacy is not a panacea, and we should not expect it to directly or indirectly cause all extremists to have a change of heart. Some people will be less receptive to exchanging ideas and others may actively dislike what they see at foreign universities. But on the whole student diplomacy can do a world of good. To enhance America's international standing, we must re-establish student exchanges as a strategic priority and a central component of our public diplomacy.

TOO MUCH IS NOT ENOUGH

The rhetoric and reality of 'choice' in health policy and service delivery in the U.K. and Australia

By JAMIE SNASHALL

During the past ten to twenty years, welfare states such as the United Kingdom and Australia have used the concept of "choice" to promote greater competition in health services and an increased role for private-sector providers in the delivery of those services. Choice is framed as objectively good, as citizens have been recast as consumers who deserve the freedom to choose from a wide range of services. Under the banner of efficiency and the admirable aim of maximizing value for taxpayers, choice has also provided the necessary cover for these governments to stage a partial withdrawal from direct provision or funding of public health services. Simultaneously, those same administrations have begun directly funding some private health providers and giving tax breaks to citizens—generally middle and upper class—who can afford such services and thus exercise their "choice" to "opt out." The welfare state "guarantee"—the idea that government should use taxes to provide universal access to basic (or better) levels of health—is now regarded as quaintly old-fashioned. Instead, choice is an attractive proposition for policy makers as it promises consumer freedom, autonomy, and a supposedly wide range of options in services, the manner in which they are delivered, and how and when they are consumed.

To understand choice, we must ask and answer three major questions:

1. What are the choices?
2. Who exercises the choice? Is it the purchaser, the payer, the provider, or the end user?
3. What sort of utility does the end user derive

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from having choice available?

Regarding government health services, choice has been positioned as a way to empower citizens and offer them a menu of services. Having choice, however, does not always mean greater utility.

"CHOICE HAS BEEN POSITIONED AS A WAY TO EMPOWER CITIZENS AND OFFER THEM A MENU OF SERVICES. HAVING CHOICE, HOWEVER, DOES NOT ALWAYS MEAN GREATER UTILITY"

Despite ideologically different governments for the last ten years (this changed in 2007 in Australia), the United Kingdom and Australia have promoted and implemented "choice" to varying degrees in their respective health systems. Although the United Kingdom has a national health service ("socialized medicine"), both countries have universal public health insurance. Comparing British and Australian contexts helps us explore this idea of choice: what does choice cost? How does it impact health indicators and inequalities? Is the consumer more satisfied as a result of choice?

CHOICE IN THE UNITED KINGDOM: NEW LABOUR, SAME RESULTS?

Choice has generally been associated with reform of the National Health Service (NHS) under the Labour government after 1997. Reform attempts have been so frequent under successive governments that it is difficult to concisely summarize such activity—indeed, some have drawn attention to the tautology of the phrase "NHS reform." From 1997 to 1999, Labour did not increase expenditure but worked to reverse two reforms in public services established by the

Conservatives—the internal market in health (a split between the purchase and provision of healthcare in order to promote competition between NHS providers) and grant-maintained schools, both hugely politically sensitive issues.

Political and health policy commentators in the United Kingdom have always assumed that former Prime Minister Blair favored choice, but mention of its benefits only began to appear in his speeches in 2004, just prior to Labour's third election win. Blair's delay in embracing the rhetoric of choice led to speculation that he was only able to talk about choice as a result of Labour's massively increased financial investment in the NHS during his second term, which eventually bore fruit and created sufficient capacity so that "exercising choice" became a real option.

Both Blair and his then Chancellor of the Exchequer (finance minister) and now Prime Minister Gordon Brown eventually came to understand that abolition of the internal market in health was insufficient to ensure voter support, as voters wanted to see enormous increases in expenditure on public services. In addition to reversing the much-maligned Conservative approach, heavy spending measures were necessary to save New Labour from being savaged in its heartlands. Brown worked from 2001 to 2005 to deliver that expenditure, but he started from a different perspective compared to Blair—that of performance targets and not choice. As a result, his silence on a favorite Blair subject has been deafening.

Blair framed choice as a way to drive up standards. It is likely that Blair saw high quality and standards in public services as a way to ensure the sustainability of public systems; as average incomes grew, more and more people had the option of defecting to private-sector service providers. Blair was savvy enough to realize that if enough people defected, then public support for funding public services would wither. Labour's arguments on choice relied on equal entitlement derived from a common citizenship, and the Conservatives were mocked for offering only a "right to charge, not a right to choose." Significantly, Blair saw choice initially as only occurring within a public sector subject to competition from other public-sector providers—another form of internal market, perhaps?

In late 2005, Labour instituted choice for

hospital treatment. The patient had a choice between four or five different health care providers, selected by their primary care trusts (PCTs—local-level purchasers of healthcare) and paid for by the NHS. This presented patients with a choice in hospital locations and the possibility of choice of doctor or other medical professional. Starting in 2008, patients were set to be able to choose from any provider if clear NHS standards are met.

Julian Le Grand, an influential advocate for choice and adviser to the Blair government, is interested in choice as a promoter of equity. He believes welfare state universal health systems are actually "no choice" systems leading to inequalities in usage where the better-educated and more articulate citizen (generally middle class and above) overuses medical services despite a generally lower need for healthcare than the working class citizen. Le Grand asserts that extending choice will reduce those inequalities and lessen the middle class "voice" in the allocation of health resources. In his view, if policies are "properly" designed, choice and competition can promote equity with advisers on hand to "guide choice" and help people navigate the system. The problem with such an approach is that it may be simply insufficient to address the inequalities in health care delivery within the NHS, many of which stem from employment, housing, education, and other non-health factors.

Promoting choice also means that each participant in the health marketplace must be in possession of enough information (and must understand that information) to consider the options that are available. Under the U.K. system, where purchasers (PCTs) are separated from providers (hospitals and clinics), prices for each medical procedure are centrally set by the Department of Health. Theoretically, buyers and sellers should be able to focus on quality, rather than costs. Unfortunately, information that is available is generally poor and incomplete, meaning the effectiveness of competition and choice is limited. Despite many surveys showing that most U.K. consumers want choice in public services, the information available to them about these choices is often too complex to be easily understood.

TOO MUCH IS NOT ENOUGH

CHOICE IN AUSTRALIA: CARROTS AND STICKS IN PRIVATE HEALTH INSURANCE

Australians have always had the freedom to choose a general practitioner and other out-of-hospital services, but there is less clarity on the extent of choice of specialist for in-patients. Medicare, introduced in 1984, is Australia's universal health insurance system and provides free public hospital care (where a doctor is assigned to the patient) and general practitioner care that is either free if the doctor "bulk bills" (the doctor bills the government directly and receives only 85 percent of the scheduled fee, but avoids the costs and risks of billing) or available for a co-payment if the doctor does not bulk bill. Private health insurance membership has steadily declined since Medicare's inception—a logical consequence of universal coverage. Leonie Segal, foundation chair in Health Economics at the University of South Australia, says that unlike many other countries, private insurance in Australia is both "supplemental to and a substitute for universal cover—with individuals able to opt in and out of the publicly funded system whenever they choose."

John Howard was Liberal (conservative) Prime Minister of Australia from 1996 to 2007 and saw the merits of political and financial support for private health as he had always been opposed to universal public health insurance. In the 1980s, he called Medicare "an unmitigated disaster" and boasted that he would "take a scalpel to Medicare" and "get rid of the bulk-billing system," which he claimed was "an absolute rort [fraud]." At the turn of the last decade, Howard introduced a number of major changes to the health insurance system that were all promoted as fostering choice. These changes rested on an assumption that consumers would value having a choice of insurer, a proposition that seems unlikely as research shows that the end user would probably prefer a choice of provider.

One change was a 30 percent rebate given to every member of a private health insurance fund. Although the rebate was framed as increasing "choice" for consumers, in reality, it did nothing to increase consumer choice: the same number of companies offered the same number of products. The rebate was an industry subsidy, yet the government justified its enormous costs (estimated at AUD \$2.5 billion annually in 2002)

with claims that people would have their choice of insurer and provider. Proponents also claimed that the measure would reduce pressure on public hospitals, making the industry more viable overall. Given the Howard government's underfunding of public hospitals in its agreements with state governments, it seems heroically optimistic at the very least to rely on a subsidy to the private sector to ease this burden. Other changes to accompany the rebate "carrot" were the lifetime rating "stick," where the cost of premiums for those over the age of thirty increased by two percent for every year delayed in taking out private coverage and a tax exemption for high-income earners if they joined. Howard favored tax rebates with no income test: these policy initiatives were, according to journalist Paul Kelly, "ideology backed by money." In a Paul Kelly Blog posting written just prior to Howard's election defeat in November 2007, Kelly's analysis of the politics of "choice" was precise:

The contradiction in Howard's prime ministership has become too obvious. While pledging to transform Australia from "welfare state to opportunity society", Howard has overloaded the truck of middle-class welfare. He delivers opportunity through a big spending conservatism and publicly funded tax breaks rather than via genuine liberalism.

Under John Howard, choice was code for "middle class (and wealthy) welfare" that meant a redistribution of income from the bottom of society to the top.

The rebate has also proved largely ineffective and inefficient at taking pressure off the public hospital system. First, while private hospitals and day surgery centers perform an increasing number of procedures, these tend to be less complex, elective procedures. In contrast, public hospitals have no choice but to deal with acute and complex cases, generally the most expensive to treat. Second, many privately insured patients in Australia also continue to use the public system without mentioning their private status (as they are entitled to do). Third, due to the lifetime rating "stick," most new private health members were young. Their private coverage, then, did nothing to lessen pressure on public hospitals as they were already less likely to use such facilities because of their generally good health.

A similarity exists with the United Kingdom insofar as NHS public-sector providers cannot

cherry-pick elective surgery only; the public provider must continue to provide the full range of treatment for acute and complex cases. Under a competitive model of choice between public and private sectors, a patient who picks the private provider for elective care essentially takes money away from a public provider, potentially pushing it into financial crisis. In fairness to the U.K. government, its record of increased funding to the public sector is commendable.

As many Australians with private health insurance are middle- to high-income earners, the rebate served only to provide disproportionate benefits to those who most likely would have already been covered. Howard and his ministers have claimed that the rebate was responsible for the increase in private health membership, but countless research articles have highlighted lifetime rating and advertising of the initiatives as the real drivers. So, an increase in private health membership was achieved, but at a huge cost to taxpayers. On efficiency and equity grounds, the changes have been a chimera that has done little or nothing to improve the affordability of private insurance. Arguing that total social gains (benefits for all society and not just those with private health insurance) are even equivalent to the costs of the rebate is also a tall order. Although the Howard government spent so much to promote "choice," health outcomes for Australia overall are no better as a result of the rebate. It could be argued that for particular groups, such as those on low incomes or those in remote locations where private health providers simply don't exist, they have become worse.

A final point is that Australians with private health insurance are more likely to be able to choose their own doctor in hospitals, unlike those covered under Medicare. This is similar to what is occurring in the United Kingdom, albeit within the public sector. Consumers will decide on a doctor on the basis of many reasons (price, general practice recommendation, rapport), but presumably quality is an important factor. This means a connection between the concepts of choice and quality; information on particular doctors and hospitals will help the consumer make a choice based on perceived quality of services. Although evidence on the relationship between choice and quality is scant for Australia at this point, health service researchers are devoting more time and effort to this field.

CONCLUSION

British political commentator Stuart Hall once described the long-term mission of the Blair government as the "transformation of social democracy into a particular variant of free market neo-liberalism." Radical changes to the welfare state, in particular the health system, appear to be the crucible for this transformation. However, given Gordon Brown's studied indifference to choice and the apparently random manner in which Blair grabbed at it, its future as more than a passing fad under Brown's prime ministership seems uncertain. Choice probably has a brighter future if the Conservatives win the next election, due in 2010. In Australia, former Prime Minister Howard never accepted that the country was a social democracy, so he saw his task as continuing the country's transformation to a laissez-faire society. With a newly elected Labor government, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd will feel little pressure to expand choice in health because it is so clearly tied to his predecessor. Rudd has stated that Labor will not touch the 30 percent rebate, but given its huge financial drain on government coffers and failure to achieve any of its stated objectives, it is hoped that a review of the rebate will occur under the Labor government.

Both governments would be better served by considering cheaper and more effective ways to ensure choice, such as returning to a "guarantee" of equal access to high-quality services provided by the state. Universalism is fundamental to the welfare state in the United Kingdom and Australia, and we need to ask whether the concept has been undermined by linking equality with choice, thus creating what one senior U.K. health official called an "equity of the mediocre" in health services.

Complicated menus offering choice in public services do little more than confuse people. A focus on better performance and measurable health outcomes is far more beneficial. Even if choice is an admirable theoretical concept, the reality is this: without the right information and money available to the consumer, it is not much more than a hoax perpetrated on the less well-off in society.

MICROFINANCE GOES MAINSTREAM

*New developments in
microfinance and the
future of a socially
responsible industry*

By BEN RENO-WEBER

It turns out that 2007 was a watershed year for microfinance. After decades of lingering on the fringes of the international financial markets, microfinance is attracting the attention of commercial investors, not simply as an intriguing vehicle for charity but as an asset class with potentially attractive returns (see sidebar "Getting into the MFI Game").

The connection of the microfinance sector to the international financial system has long been the dream of many microfinance advocates. However, now that this dream is taking shape, several critical questions confront the microfinance community. First, what are some of the means through which for-profit institutions are entering the microfinance realm, and what does that entrance signify for the institutions and their clients? Second, what does the entry of for-profit institutions mean for the donors, socially responsible investors (SRIs), and international financial institutions (IFIs) that have traditionally funded microfinance institutions (MFIs) in the past? And third, is there an inherent ethical issue when investors with an eye on returns enter a sector that deliberately targets the poor, particularly when that institution has articulated a social mission? How will MFIs balance the interests of their shareholders and their clients?

BACKGROUND: MICROFINANCE IN BRIEF

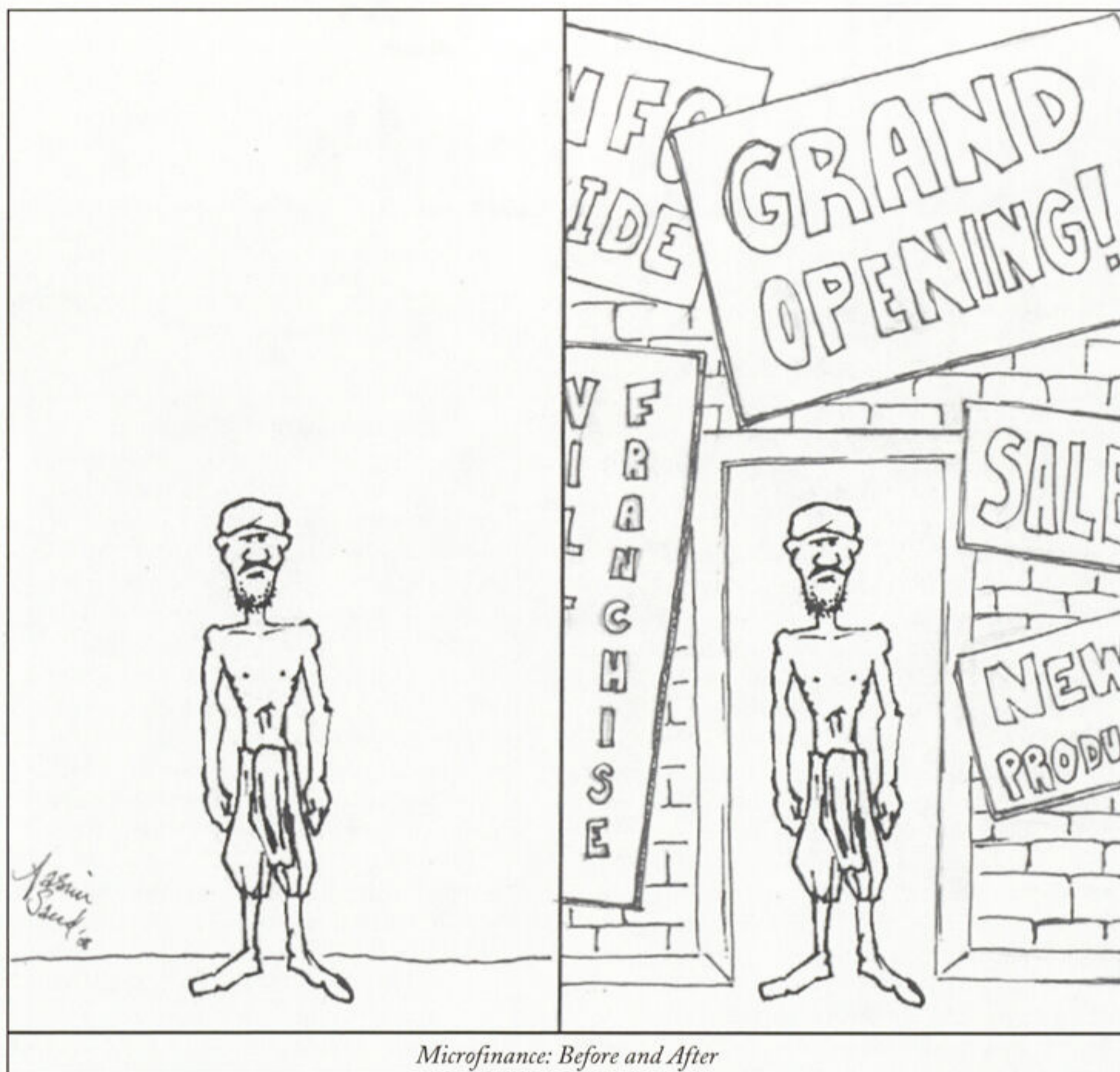
Microfinance generally refers to loans, savings, insurance, transfer services, and other financial products targeted at low-income clients. These financial products are generally small in size and offered without the need for collateral.

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GETTING INTO THE MFI GAME

- In April 2007, Compartamos, a Mexican microfinance institution launched the first initial public offering (IPO) of an MFI. The offering was thirteen times oversubscribed and raised \$450 million for a 30 percent stake in the company.
- During 2007, JPMorgan and Morgan Stanley launched specialized investment units to focus on microfinance investments, and they are far from alone.
- In March 2007, Sequoia Capital, provider of seed capital to Google, Yahoo!, and YouTube, took an \$11.5 million dollar equity stake in the rapidly expanding Indian MFI SKS Microfinance.
- The multinational insurance giant ICICI has partnered with a variety of MFIs to pilot the provision of everything from life insurance to health insurance to crop insurance to the poor in India.
- Citi recently issued a ~\$180 million AAA-rated local currency bond, securitizing the microfinance portfolio of the Bangladeshi MFI BRAC.
- The Microfinance Information Exchange conservatively asserts that there are currently \$23 billion in outstanding microfinance loans.

Microfinance clients tend to be low-income people with limited or no access to formal financial institutions. In rural areas, microfinance clients tend to be self-employed either as farmers, traders, or service providers. In urban areas, microfinance clients range from shopkeepers to taxi drivers to street vendors and include a huge variety of people and activities.



Microfinance: Before and After

The most basic form of microfinance is microcredit, by which a client borrows a sum of money from an MFI at an agreed rate of interest, which is usually high enough to cover the costs of the loan to the institution. Because of the high costs of servicing a loan relative to the loan size, interest rates for microcredit tend to be much higher than the rates Western customers are accustomed to receiving. In many cases, they can run up to an annual rate of 100 percent. However these rates are often significantly lower than the available alternatives for poor people, such as loan sharks or family networks. Microfinance clients have demonstrated a great willingness to pay "high" fees in order to maintain long-term access to the service.

Though much of the popular press on

microfinance has focused on loans for entrepreneurial purposes, microfinance loans are often used for school fees, home improvement, funerals, weddings, or other personal consumption. I am aware of no evidence that consumption loans have a lower repayment rate than loans for entrepreneurship. It is also important to note that microfinance has important limitations. It does not work well for the desperately poor, in post-conflict situations, or in areas of extremely low population density.

It is unclear how many institutions are currently providing some form of financial services to poor clients or how many microfinance clients there are globally. The term "microfinance institution" has come to encompass organizations as divergent as state postal banks, financial nongovernmental

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organizations (NGOs), private banks, credit unions, community-loan groups, and many others. For the purposes of this article, the term MFI will refer to any part of an institution that is in the business of providing financial services to the poor, even if that is not a primary activity of the firm. So if a commercial bank has a microfinance arm, even if it represents a miniscule part of the bank's portfolio, it will be considered an MFI.

THE PUSH FOR FINANCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

There has long been an ideological rift in the microfinance community between the "sustainability" advocates and the "poverty alleviation" advocates. There are no bright lines, and both sides acknowledge the importance of the other's position, but this rift has led to considerable tension, particularly in the donor community.

The sustainability advocates believe that financial sustainability, even at some expense to current clients (in the form of higher interest rates and fees), is the only way to increase the long-term access of the poor to financial services. If microfinance is proven to be profitable, the argument goes, then profits will attract people and institutions into the sector, and the resulting competition will spur innovation, reduce prices for clients, and increase access for the end user until all of the estimated three billion people who could benefit from microfinance are served.

It is on this basis that many donors have tried to jump-start the microfinance market, pushing for third-party ratings of MFIs, urging recipient institutions to become profitable, and creating the Microfinance Information Exchange to publish information on MFIs and MFI-funding sources. The theory was that as microfinance came to have the transparency and liquidity available in other parts of the financial markets, it would be able to access funding that would be both greater and more sustainable than donor funds.

On the other side, the poverty-alleviation advocates feel that if financial sustainability has to come at the expense of weakening the focus of microfinance institutions on helping to pull clients out of poverty, then the price is too high. They see the high returns that will be necessary to entice investors into a new and uncertain sector as coming at the expense of the poor they are trying

THE PROFIT POTENTIAL

- Compartamos is perhaps an unusual case in that it converted from a nongovernmental organization to a regulated finance company in 2000 and sold approximately \$6 million in shares. At that time it was reaching approximately 60,000 borrowers. By 2006, after receiving tens of millions of dollars in loans (generally at market rates), issuing a bond on the Mexican securities exchange, and reinvesting its profits, the book value of those original shares had risen to \$126 million. During the April 2007 IPO, Compartamos shareholders sold 30 percent of the existing shares for \$450 million, implying a market valuation of \$1.5 billion for the company as a whole and an internal rate of return of 100 percent annually on the initial \$6 investment. While this money went to the existing shareholders (about two-thirds public institutions and one-third private shareholders) and not to Compartamos, the implication is certainly that Compartamos (and other MFIs) could raise substantial capital by issuing equity.
- The purchase of SKS by the private equity group Sequoia Capital is another indicator of the appetite of for-profit institutions for MFIs. Sequoia, a venture capital firm famous for its backing of Yahoo!, YouTube, and Google, purchased a controlling share of SKS with an agreement that SKS would either be sold or go public within five years. Sequoia's investment of \$11.5 million makes SKS the largest for-profit microfinance organization in the world.

to help.

While both sides of this argument maintain a substantial constituency, the increasing growth of profitable institutions, the conversion of many NGOs into formal banks, and the increasing push on the part of donors and SRIs for financial sustainability suggests that the profitability

argument is winning.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS: THE ENTRY OF FOR-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS

There have been a number of institutions “investing” money in MFIs for a long time. Donor institutions such as national donors (e.g., USAID, SIDA, CIDA) and IFIs (e.g., World Bank, EBRD, ADB) have provided hundreds of millions of dollars of grant funding to MFIs. Grant funding is usually given without expectation of return.

Donor funds have also been used to leverage commercial funds in a number of ways. Donors have established credit guarantees, set up first-loss or stop-loss agreements with banks, or generally acted as intermediaries for MFIs with banks. Donors have also directly lent money to MFIs sometimes at market or below market rates both in order to give MFIs the capital they need to grow and to help MFIs establish a “credit history” they could take to a local bank.

In addition to the investment arms of the IFIs, microfinance networks (e.g., Accion, Opportunity International, FINCA) and socially responsible investors (e.g., Oikocredit, Unitus, AfriCap) have taken equity stakes in a variety of MFIs. The Microfinance Information Exchange lists almost forty institutions that have taken an equity stake in MFIs, amounting to more than two billion dollars of available investment funds, not including the IFIs. These funds theoretically have some expectation of return at an unspecified date, although the expectation varies widely among institutions. Several SRIs specifically limit investor returns, while others expect to eventually achieve market returns. In practice very few of these funds have successfully exited (i.e., sold their shares in the company to a third party) as of yet. The development of a successful market for stock in MFIs will be a real test of whether microfinance has truly become integrated with the broader financial markets.

MEANS OF ENTRY

What is new about the most recent entrants to the realm of funders is that they are motivated exclusively by the financial returns available within the microfinance sector. This has the potential to radically reshape the microfinance sector, perhaps ending it as a separate sector altogether. So how is this money making its way

THE ROLE OF BONDS

- In 2006, BRAC, a large microfinance institution in Bangladesh, issued a local currency bond securitizing its receipts from microloans over a period of six years. The bond is structured to provide the equivalent of about \$180 million in \$15 million increments every six months. The bond received a rating of AAA from the Credit Rating Agency of Bangladesh. What this essentially means is that BRAC sold the receipts for a portion of its microfinance portfolio in exchange for cash, and for-profit investors looking to diversify their portfolios bought segments of that portfolio. BRAC will continue to administer the loans, subject to a number of arrangements meant to align their incentives with those of the investors.
- Similarly, in 2007 Morgan Stanley worked with BlueOrchard Finance of Geneva to issue a \$108 million bond based on the underlying loan portfolio of twenty-one separate MFIs in thirteen countries. And, \$42 million of the issue has been rated AA by Standard & Poor's, its third-highest rating.

to MFIs? A few examples, detailed below, are illustrative of recent trends.

EQUITY STAKES

As the recent Compartamos initial public offering (IPO) makes clear, there is a great deal of appetite for equity in successful MFIs (see sidebar “The Profit Potential”).

The most interesting aspects of these equity transactions by fully for-profit organizations are both what they imply for the financial market's long-term view of microfinance and for the liquidity of ownership. At least some players in the market see microfinance as a strong long-term investment and anticipate sufficient interest by other players that they will be able to sell that investment at a future date. Microfinance institutions have increasingly been able to access debt on the international market, which is an

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important step. However, if microfinance institutions could tap the international capital markets for equity that would mean the graduation of microfinance to an entirely new level of access to finance.

SECURITIZATION

Another notable trend has been the willingness of large financial institutions to bundle and securitize microfinance loans (see sidebar "The Role of Bonds").

This means that investors can now purchase shares of a microfinance institution's portfolio or the diversified portfolios of several institutions. Ratings indicate that, at least in some instances, rating agencies consider microfinance debt to be equivalent or better than debt from major companies (Wal-Mart and Eli Lilly bonds currently have AA ratings). The ability to securitize their loan portfolios and have those portfolios rated investment grade means access to cheaper capital for MFIs, which can either be used for growth or to pass savings on to their clients. This is a huge step in fully integrating microfinance into the broader financial markets.

SERVICE PROVISION PARTNERSHIPS

Another increasing trend is partnerships between MFIs and for-profit institutions in the provision of services to MFI clients. These partnerships have taken a number of forms, but one of the most interesting is the provision of insurance. Well-structured micro insurance reduces income volatility, insulates landowners from losing their land, and protects families and MFIs in the event of a client's death (see sidebar "Insurance Enters the Picture").

While there are certainly some issues that remain to be worked out in how these types of partnerships are structured and executed, they represent important examples of the opportunities for partnership between for-profit financial services organizations and MFIs. This is a potential gateway for companies looking to expand their businesses into new segments of the population. If MFIs can leverage their relationships with clients at the base of the socioeconomic pyramid to access a company's technology, products, and financial resources, that has powerful implications in terms of their clients' ability to access affordable services.

INSURANCE ENTERS THE PICTURE

- In 2003, ICICI Lombard partnered with the Hyderabad-based MFI BASIX to pilot a rainfall index insurance program for BASIX clients in India. Rainfall index insurance is predicated on the idea that when rainfall in an area is in a certain range, crops are likely to grow well. When rainfall is outside of that range, crops are likely to do less well, and farmers who purchase the insurance receive a payout. ICICI held the policies, which were administered by BASIX, in exchange for a fee of up to fifteen percent of the premiums collected. The pilot started with 230 participants in one state. By 2005, the program sold 7,585 policies in six states.
- Beginning in 1997 AIG Uganda, a branch of the American International Group insurance company, and FINCA, a microfinance donor network, launched a basic insurance product. Its basic product, personal accident insurance, provides a financial payment to the beneficiary in the event of death in addition to covering any outstanding loan balance. In the event of permanent disability or catastrophic fire, the product covers the outstanding loan balance, which is important in an environment of group loans such as Uganda. By 2003 the company covered 1.6 million lives through 26 MFIs in three countries. It generates about 20 percent profit on premiums of \$750,000, accounting for nearly 17 percent of AIG Uganda's overall profits.

DONORS, IFIS, AND SRIS

Many donors have been saying for years that they eventually anticipated that the microfinance market would become self-sustaining, allowing for the exit of noncommercial funds. Now that this moment appears to be approaching, what does this mean for those who have gotten microfinance to the place it is today?

First, it remains to be seen whether donors actually will exit even the best institutions. Having funded MFIs when they were a risky bet at best, now many donors are enjoying having these success stories on their books, so to speak. Selling their stakes to commercial investors also means a loss of control, and having worked so hard to get these institutions up and running, donors are loathe to giving give them up now.

Second, the mechanics of exit are complicated at best. Many MFIs, even those that are for-profit, have ownership structures that are a mix of equity and donor capital. These shareholders have very different agendas, making fair market prices for shares difficult to assess.

Third, while there are successful microfinance institutions that are appealing to the financial markets, there are far more organizations that are struggling without the infrastructure, capital, and governance that would enable them to reach scale. Microfinance is far from reaching the estimated three billion people who could benefit from access, much less reaching them with the sort of competition that drives down prices and increases innovation in financial services markets for the wealthy.

So, what should the future role of donors, SRIs, and IFIs be? Three areas are listed below.

Capacity building. Leslie Barcus of the Microfinance Management Institute likened the current influx of money into the microfinance sector to making foie gras. "We keep shoving money down their throats without any sense of when they (the MFIs) are going to explode. We need to help increase their capacity to absorb funds before anything else." Donors can leverage their expertise and that of other successful MFIs to help bring institutions to scale.

Regulatory infrastructures. Governments around the world are recognizing the important role that microfinance can play in poverty alleviation and development, but they often lack an understanding of the kinds of institutional support that could facilitate its growth. Donors could focus on helping countries develop the legal and financial infrastructures such as credit bureaus, rating systems, and supportive legal frameworks that would enable microfinance to grow.

Untouched markets. Microfinance faces severe limitations to operating profitably in many settings. It does not work very well with the

poorest of the poor, in post-conflict situations, or in areas of extremely low population density. Donors and SRIs could focus on these areas, on supporting innovative models, and on helping vulnerable populations get to the point where access to microfinance could benefit them.

ENDGAME: WHERE THINGS ARE HEADED

The ultimate goal of microfinance is that everyone in the world has access to a broad range of financial services that can help them to achieve financial independence and security. Microfinance is not a panacea, and alone it will not end poverty or close the gap between rich and poor countries. But it is an important tool in the development arsenal.

The entry of for-profit financial institutions into the microfinance realm has a great deal of possibility in terms of generating scale, efficiency, and innovation. It is not, however, without risks for microfinance institutions, their clients, and the investing companies. A lot depends on how the deals described in this article, and the hundreds like them, play out over the next few years. Much also depends on the actions of donors and socially responsible investors who have brought microfinance to this point.

The best endgame may have less to do with international banks and more to do with the capacity they might someday build and leave behind. As Elizabeth Littlefield of CGAP says, "The ultimate end game of building sustainable financial markets that serve the poor is local market development, [it's] not about Wall Street or one-time transfers of money from the North to South. Local institutions need to develop capacity to safely and competently inter-mediate in local markets; take in savings on one hand, distribute loans on the other hand. When it can do that, it won't need investments from Wall Street anymore."

The history of microfinance to date has been about a combination of international expertise being combined with local innovation to create good for clients. There is every reason for optimism that these latest innovations will go the same way.

TICKETED BY THE INVISIBLE HAND

The economics of parking tickets

By STEPHEN ANDER

Parking illegally is one of the most frequent violations committed. In 2007, the *New York Daily News* reported that the New York City Police Department issued 1.7 million parking tickets. With a population of about 8.1 million, on average, more than one in five people received a parking ticket in one year, and these numbers do not account for the illegal parking that ticketing officers did not observe. Even beyond illegal parking's frequency, few crimes can rival the infraction's implicit acceptability.

This article aims to show that parking illegally is an economic decision—a balance of costs, risks, and benefits. In “Crime and Punishment: An Economic Approach,” Nobel-prize winning economist Gary Becker notes that crime “follows the economist’s usual analysis of choice and assumes that a person commits an offense if the expected utility to him exceeds the utility he could get by using his time and other resources at other activities.” Interestingly enough, Becker’s work in crime economics derived from a situation where he, himself, considered parking illegally. Ironically, despite parking tickets’ impetus to influence volumes of research, no one has considered the economics of parking tickets in any academic journal.

BACKGROUND

I used the University of Virginia from 1998 to 2005 as a controlled environment for observation and collected data on three variables: the prices of the tickets and parking permits (both nominal and real), weather effects, and qualitative data for when students were allowed to have cars on grounds. I run basic analyses on this data in different forms to create a model for what influences the number of tickets generated every

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week.

Based on Becker’s model, I would first hypothesize that penalty increases would significantly lower the frequency of illegal parking. Second, the weather should have two competing effects whose results could either decrease or increase illegal parking. Severe weather both increases the benefit of illegal parking (by minimizing time in adverse conditions) and decreases the likelihood of driving in the first place. Last, I would estimate that tightening restrictions on who could have a car would decrease the number of tickets issued. Most important, while this article concerns parking tickets, the results of this study may have valid applicability in broader contexts of public policy such as transportation, urban planning, and crime.

“PARKING ILLEGALLY IS AN ECONOMIC DECISION—A BALANCE OF COSTS, RISKS, AND BENEFITS”

DATA

To reiterate, I collected data for the following three variables:

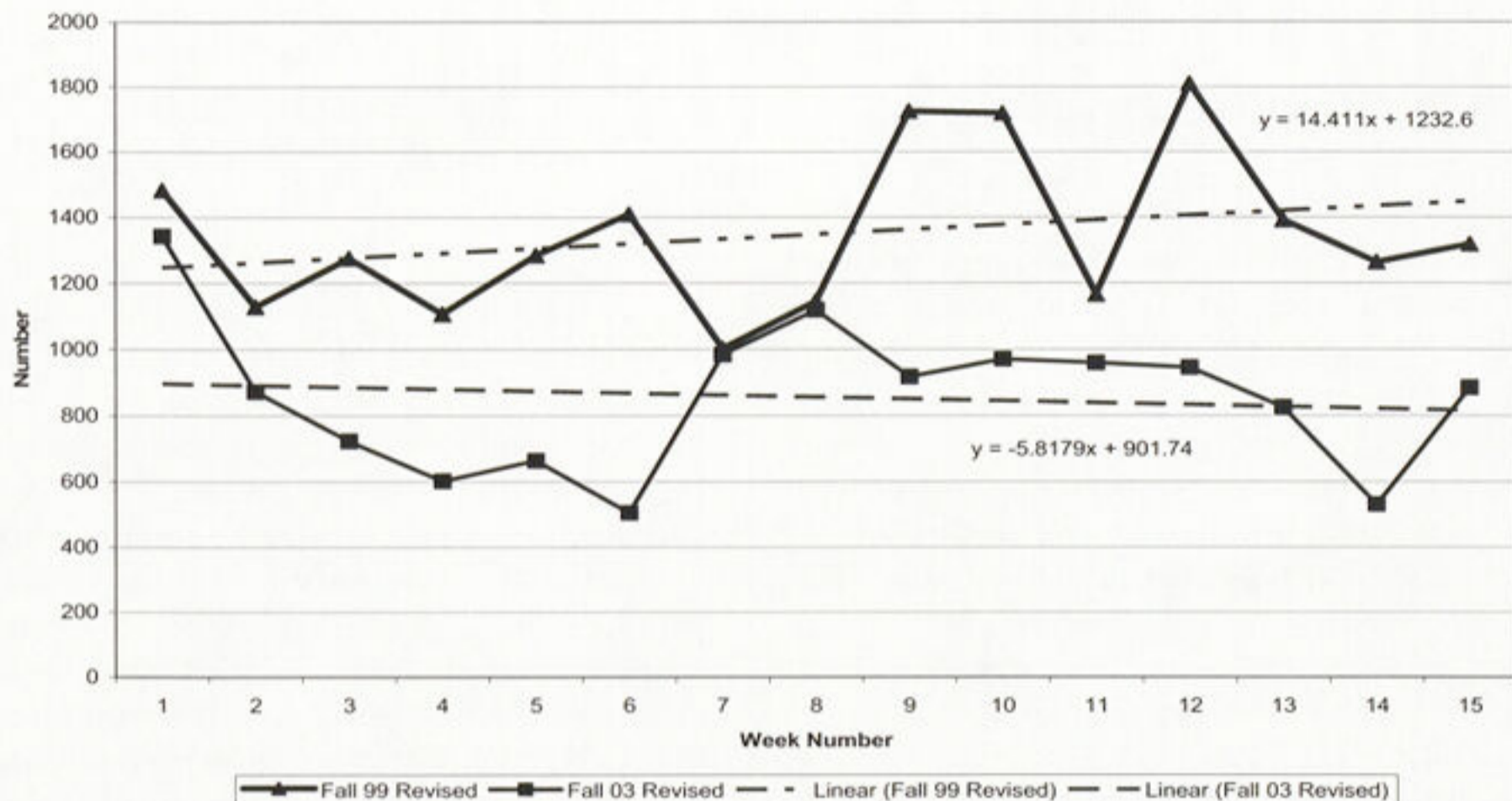
1. Ticket and permit prices
2. Weather
3. Car restrictions for students

TICKET AND PERMIT PRICES

Parking ticket data came from the university’s Department of Parking and Transportation (P&T), which monitors and regulates all parking and transportation policies. I accessed P&T’s weekly data of the numbers of tickets issued from 1998 to 2005 and compared the data over corresponding semesters. As shown

Figure 1

Number of Tickets Revised (Fall 1999 v Fall 2003)
Source: Becca White, Director of P&T



in Figure 1, by comparing the dotted trend lines of the fall semesters of 1999 and 2003, it is obvious that there is considerable distance between them.

Moreover, in this time, P&T increased the fees for parking tickets twice and the prices for parking permits four times (see Figure 2).

WEATHER

To align with the weekly ticket data, I collected weekly weather data for Charlottesville, VA, from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's National Climatic Data Center.

Specifically, in the period of interest, the weekly average maximum temperature was 63.59° F and the weekly average minimum temperature was 42.61°F. Summers averaged highs in the mid-80s and winters averaged lows in the low-20s. In terms of precipitation, Charlottesville received on average forty-four inches annually. Thus, the University of Virginia is "touched equally by all four seasons"—which may affect parking decisions.

CAR RESTRICTIONS FOR STUDENTS

From 1998 to 2003, P&T gave first-year students the option to buy a parking permit. However, in the spring of 2004, P&T took away the opportunity for first years to have a parking

permit until they reached their second year, which limited the number of cars on university grounds in the 2004-2005 school year.

MULTIPLE REGRESSIONS FOR TICKETS, WEATHER EFFECTS, AND STUDENT CAR RESTRICTION MODEL

The basis of this article is a model of crime as a function of the probability of being caught, benefit of committing the crime, and penalty of the crime. With the university and P&T controlled for, the *probability* of getting caught parking illegally has stayed the same. Moreover, with the map and structures of the university staying the same, the *benefits* to parking illegally have not changed, except in severe weather conditions. Last of all, the *penalty* of the crime has had a wide range of ticket and substitute prices (parking permits), which should affect the decision to park illegally in accordance with the law of demand. On the one hand, if the parking permit price increases, then the opportunity cost to park illegally decreases, and illegal parking will increase; on the other hand, increased ticket prices should decrease the number of tickets.

From running the multiple regressions of these variables, the data yields compelling results that largely explain the significant decreases in the number of tickets issued over the observed time.

TICKETED BY THE INVISIBLE HAND

The first set of data results shows that with a 1 percent increase in ticket price in real dollars, there will be a corresponding 1.621 percent drop in the number of tickets issued. Moreover, it says that a 1 percent increase in parking permit price in real dollars corresponds to a 1.573 percent rise in the number of tickets. Both of these results show significant reactivity to prices. Moreover, if P&T raises the price of parking permits and parking tickets by 1 percent, on average, there will be only a slight drop in the number of tickets issued ($-1.621 + 1.573 = -.048$ percent).

In terms of weather effects, the results convey that an increase in the amount of snow or rain will correspond with a decrease in the number of tickets. Therefore, in the opposing incentives to park illegally in severe weather, the explanation that in rainy and snowy conditions fewer people venture out is more accurate. Also, what is particularly noteworthy is the difference in magnitudes of the effects of each precipitation. The results show that, on average, there is a 2.3 percent decrease in tickets for every additional inch of snow while only a decrease of 1.3 percent with every additional inch of rain. Intuitively, this would make sense as the mix of cold and precipitation might deter people more so. Therefore, the type of weather can actually affect the overall deterrence on the economic decision to commit the crime of parking illegally.

Lastly, the inclusion of a dummy variable to signify semesters where first-year students could bring cars to school also showed predictable results. When first-year students could have a car, the number of tickets would be .053 percent higher than when they could not.

CONCLUSIONS

Parking patterns around the University of Virginia can be used to demonstrate Becker's model of crime. Increases in the penalty for parking illegally corresponded to a significant decrease in the number of tickets issued. Besides this necessary analysis of price, the inclusion of substitution (parking permits) and environmental (weather) variables gave an even fuller picture to explain illegal parking behavior. The data showed that people are fairly reactive to both changes in penalties of crimes and changes in weather.

These results may have significant public policy implications. Although cities might differ slightly from that of universities because a city's

Figure 2

Semester	Fee (nominal US\$)	Fee (real 1998 US\$)	Permits (nominal US\$)	Permits (real 1998 US\$)
Fall 1998	20	20	96	96
Fall 1999	20	19.57	108	105.67
Fall 2000	25	23.66	120	113.59
Fall 2001	30	27.61	132	119.65
Fall 2002	30	27.18	132	119.61
Fall 2003	30	26.58	132	116.94
Fall 2004	30	25.89	144	124.26

goal for its parking ticket policy may be more revenue-driven, the optimum ticket price to maximize revenue in real terms could be found with essentially the same analysis given in this article. The optimum ticket price would come from the peak of a quadratic function whose dependent and explanatory variables would be revenue and real ticket prices, respectively.

Second, this reactivity to price change in parking ticket penalties may be useful to urban planners in developing land-use policies as it would enable them to influence the amount, location, and types of parking that cities offer. If a city's objective is in fact to maximize revenue from parking tickets, it could strike an efficient balance between raising ticket prices and creating new parking spaces.

Third, these results may give some new information to cities and institutions with unique weather conditions. Since the data shows that precipitation actually acts as a deterrent for parking illegally (probably because people drive less in bad weather), certain rainy and cold places may need to reconsider the effect of its weather on its policies.

Last and most important, these results could inform crime prevention policies more broadly. The elasticities may reveal a more general reaction to increases in criminal penalties for relatively minor offenses. Similarly, we could expect to see a decrease in the frequency of speeding by increasing speeding ticket penalties.

21ST CENTURY ECONOMICS: AIN'T MISBEHAVIN'

Review of *The Dismal Science and Nudge*

By KARIM BARDEESY

Book review of:

- *The Dismal Science: How Thinking Like an Economist Undermines Community* by Stephen A. Marglin (Harvard University Press, 2008)
- *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness* by Richard H. Thaler and Cass R. Sunstein (Yale University Press, 2008)

“Rock star economist” has a certain unlikely cachet today: U.S. Sen. Barack Obama’s economic policy adviser Austen Goolsbee gets in trouble for treading into political territory by discussing Obama’s NAFTA plans with Canadian consular officials; *New York Times* “Freakonomics” bloggers Stephen Leavitt and Stephen Dubner trot out gang leaders and prostitutes to help explain the real dynamics and motivations behind less savory market transactions.

There’s a deeper truth to the econocelebs’ reach. Economic paradigms dictate our daily affairs; they shape the way we react to public problems because there is a sense that economics can use data in ways other forms of analysis cannot. Nationalism, race, class, creed, culture, and other collective identities are all appropriate domains for analysis, meriting their own study, but economists are trying to unlock them all. Advising us on how to “run” an economy is no longer their only concern. When asked about an issue concerning race during a 2005 interview, young economist Roland Fryar responded: “here’s the exact way that these [economics] tools should be used.”

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In *The Dismal Science: How Thinking Like an Economist Undermines Community*, Harvard economist Stephen Marglin wants to tear down the whole economics edifice. He insists that the motivations and collective decisions of a community, into which individual decision making is necessarily embedded, cannot be measured by supply and demand or by inserting notions of utility into any calculation. He ranges from Adam Smith and Karl Marx to John Maynard Keynes and ultimately Gregory Mankiw’s popular economics textbooks to trace the intellectual history and foundations of modern economic thought. However, it is often unclear whether it is economics’ view of society, or society itself, that Marglin has the most problem with. He affirms Adam Smith’s formulation that people’s wants are always in proportion to their relative position in a social system, but then attacks economists for basing theory on it. He does not like unhooking complex problems into questions of incentives and does not believe that our wants are unlimited.

Preferring a world bounded by community norms, Marglin says, “the very process of socialization imposes limits on the variability of preferences, values, and beliefs.” But his appeals for understanding socialization and community rest on some uncomfortable examples: he returns too often to an Amish family that lets a child die rather than accessing funds for medicine using Medicaid funding, a resource the family and community object to on principle. He says that this cannot be explained by inserting “community preference and norms” into a classic economic model where individuals and families try to, as economists quaintly put it, “maximize their utility.” In stretching to explain the extreme, Marglin does a disservice to a real critique of the “economics explains it all” school of thought.

Marglin’s real failing lies in his reductionist caricature of all post-Keynesian analysis. He provides little hard evidence to support his claim

that a purely atomistic, market-oriented paradigm has a hold on the profession and the resulting policy questions it addresses.

Luckily for the field, Richard Thaler and Cass Sunstein ride to the rescue with *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness*, a sunny, reader-friendly story of redemption through economics. Like Marglin, Thaler and Sunstein wonder if individuals really are the extreme rationalists that classical economics would suggest. (Why do workers leave money on the table instead of maximizing the employer contributions from a 401(k)? Why do we choose suboptimal health insurance plans?) Unlike Marglin, however, the University of Chicago authors of *Nudge* show us that, with the right tweaks, economists can help people help themselves.

Thaler and Sunstein, an economist and law professor, respectively, start with a few axioms that have become standard in the behavioral economics field: people are inclined to stick with the status quo, no matter where they've started; people are "risk averse in losses"; and people allocate different sources of savings to different purposes through "mental accounting," showing reluctance to shift resources. In response to these realities, Thaler and Sunstein advocate a "libertarian paternalist" perspective, in which policy makers take a more active role in shaping individual decisions.

Quite simply, they "argue for self-conscious efforts, by institutions in the private sector and also by government, to steer people's choices in directions that will improve their lives." This is not coercion, they assert, but a mere manipulation of the "choice architecture" of individuals swamped by modern life. Individuals still have free choice, but policy makers help organize the decision-making process so people will act like rational choosers more often. So providing transparency in test score results can help poor parents, who are otherwise more likely to not send their kids to the best public school available. Assuming someone consents to organ donation unless they specifically opt out can raise donation rates without impinging on individual freedoms. Pre-enrolling employees into a company savings plan that invests in a balanced portfolio of stocks and bonds helps maximize return for those who do not want to bother with the vagaries of the markets, while still allowing discretion for

individual choice.

Arranging options in a sensible way is relatively costless and, after Thaler and Sunstein's jaunty tour of policy design, kind of fun. The takeaway message is that thinking like an economist, in the broad sense, can bring you happiness and profit. It will help your community too, as your peers make wiser investments.

"ADVISING US ON HOW TO 'RUN'
AN ECONOMY IS NO LONGER
[ECONOMISTS'] ONLY CONCERN"

Nudge is a substantive contribution to the existing literature that has brought psychology, economics, and public affairs together. Business leaders who have been reading Malcolm Gladwell to learn how to *Blink* will better understand the kinds of choices their consumers make. *Nudge* is also a handbook of well-documented, state-level experiments for aspiring public servants. Who needs social entrepreneurship when you can become a "choice architect" at a government agency?

But while choice architecture can help orient individual decisions and shape collective outcomes, it cannot (yet) tweak tax rates, negotiate trade deals, or change monetary policy. While *Nudge* makes a bigger positive contribution to discrete policy areas, the questions Marglin raises deserve a seat at the table too. The overall declarations of economic thinking—on the merits of free trade, say, or the desirability of economic growth where that growth exceeds the expected costs of ecological damage—merit consistent and sustained re-evaluation. By looking again at economic conclusions, writ large, rather than the practice and new uses of economics, all factions can benefit. Good public policy starts with the nudge toward better personal decisions but blossoms only when behavioral, traditional, and critical modes of economic thought are brought into the dialogue, helping us face the big political questions of our time.

LITTLE GUY AGAINST THE GROWTH MACHINE

*Arts megaprojects
stymie Philadelphia's
growth, argues*
PATRICK THRASHER

Fall 2002: Mum Puppettheatre's team stood before a thousand peers on a Philadelphia stage to accept the best play award.

Our little theater company's production of Peter Shaffer's *Equus* had beat out companies thirty times our size and shows with budgets ten times our annual revenue. Not the Oscars, but not bad—a triumph for the little guy. If only Philadelphia's city fathers were as imaginative in recognizing emerging talent. Their preference for cultural pomp over cultural producers stymies the very cultural growth those big buildings purport to foster.

Philadelphia has a rich tradition of the arts, and with our award we had earned our own small place among the greats. Alexander Calder, abstract sculptor and inventor of the mobile, lived and worked here—a third-generation artist. The Philadelphia Museum of Art (PMA) boasts a world-class collection. The Philadelphia Orchestra vies with the Cleveland Orchestra, the New York Philharmonic, and the Boston Symphony for best orchestra in the country. Kenneth Gamble and Leon Huff “out-souled” Motown with their famed “Philadelphia Sound,” producing classics such as “Love Train” by the O’Jays and “Me and Mrs. Jones” by Billy Paul (Gamble now promotes economic redevelopment in his childhood neighborhood in South Philadelphia). Iconic architect Louis Kahn practiced here, and the seminal postmodern firm Venturi, Scott Brown and Associates still does.

In the last thirty years, Philadelphia's Old City, an old warehouse and manufacturing neighborhood right downtown, has become a thriving center for galleries, design shops, and the

occasional theater company (including my former employer). That arts scene has expanded northward, revitalizing the old industrial Northern Liberties neighborhood and spurring major new development. In 2005, the *New York Times* famously and, somewhat controversially, proclaimed Philadelphia the “Sixth Borough,” interviewing artists, musicians, and hipsters priced out of Brooklyn who were scooping up property in Philadelphia's Northern Liberties and other gentrifying neighborhoods. This vibrant cultural scene is one of Philadelphia's strongest assets. And at the very geographic center of it all—from the PMA to the west to the Clay Studio to the east—is the Avenue of the Arts.

The avenue literally runs straight through City Hall. A notional passage that starts at the northern edge of South Philadelphia, it runs north atop Broad Street from Washington Avenue, crosses Market Street, and extends past Temple University to Lehigh Avenue. The heart of the avenue, though, lies between South Street and City Hall. This six-block stretch boasts the former home of the Philadelphia Orchestra (the Academy of Music) as well as its new one, the giant, Raphael Viñoly-designed Kimmel Center for the Performing Arts. The Wilma Theater sits across the avenue from the Kimmel; the Wilma often debuts the American productions of Tom Stoppard's new plays. Nearby, the Merriam Theater, as well as the Kimmel Center and the Academy of Music, presents nationally touring productions such as *The Lion King* and Andrew Lloyd Webber's 1996 dud, *Whistle Down the Wind*. Two of Philadelphia's finest hotels are also here: the Ritz Carlton and the Park Hyatt Philadelphia at the Bellevue.

Individual artists, designers, and architects drove the redevelopment and conversion of Old City and Northern Liberties' industrial properties, at least until perceived risk levels dropped and developers moved in. The Avenue of the Arts, by contrast, is a top-down abstraction. It is the

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LITTLE GUY AGAINST THE GROWTH MACHINE

product of what the urban studies literature calls a “growth machine,” a pro-growth coalition of city officials, real estate developers, major businesses, organizational leaders, and other structured interests that each benefit from the unreflective economic and physical growth of a city—benefits from which those not part of the coalition are excluded. In its simplest form, the growth machine redevelops vacant lots, or builds bigger buildings on occupied ones, to make these properties generate more revenue. It then captures that revenue through increased rents, high sales prices, and increased property taxes. The growth machine may also include less obvious parties, such as organized labor, which benefits from jobs, and local newspapers, whose sports pages benefit when a new stadium is built. Growth machine politicians also earn the support of powerful, moneyed friends and, if the machine produces large or signature developments, the credit for making that development happen.

The growth machine’s problem is that it ignores the concerns of a city as a whole and excludes the input of those most marginalized, who are not sufficiently organized to demand a place in the machine for themselves. And because the growth machine produces physical evidence of its work—for example, buildings and new roads—and increased property values for some, it makes claims that it acts in the interests of the city as a whole.

The history of the Avenue of the Arts’ development shows it to be a textbook case of a growth machine at work. Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell, first elected in 1991, drove the Avenue of the Arts project. Widely and legitimately praised for turning Philadelphia’s fortunes around, he rode his successes in Philadelphia into Pennsylvania’s governor’s mansion, and in 2000 he served as the chairman of the Democratic National Committee. The organization “Avenue of the Arts, Inc.” was founded in 1993 to oversee the avenue’s development and promotion. Rendell’s wife, Judge Marjorie O. Rendell, is on the board. In 1994, Arts Bank became the first new performance space to open on the avenue, at the corner of South and Broad streets. A beautifully converted bank building, funded through major city and foundation gifts, it was intended to foster small and mid-sized performing arts companies that needed performance space only a few weeks a year. But it

quickly proved too expensive for most companies to rent, and control of the space reverted to the University of the Arts, just up the street, which, as it happens, needed more performance space.

“THE GROWTH MACHINE’S
PROBLEM IS THAT IT IGNORES
THE CONCERNS OF A CITY AS A
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MARGINALIZED”

Other interests got behind the Avenue of the Arts. Mayor Rendell raised more than \$1 million each from ten major corporations, using the fund to promote the avenue. Then-PNC Bank head, Richard Smoot, told the Philadelphia Inquirer that the bank’s participation “in part, boiled down to ‘self-interest’”. In 2001, the landmark Kimmel Center opened to a high-society crowd, unfinished and millions of dollars over budget. Judge Rendell is on the board of the Kimmel Center, as is the CEO of the Pennsylvania Real Estate Investment Trust (whose offices are on the avenue and which—full disclosure—employs my brother). The Kimmel’s board chair, William P. Hankowsky, is the chairman and CEO of Liberty Property Trusts, a publicly traded company with \$5 billion in assets and 65 million square feet of property to its name. Liberty Property has developed Philadelphia’s newest skyscraper, the 975-foot-tall Comcast Center, six blocks from the avenue.

The most recent development on the avenue hammers the growth machine analogy home. Seeking to address a chronic lack of performing arts space, the city bought a lot on the southwest corner of Pine and Broad streets for \$4.4 million, with plans to house five performing arts companies in four theaters in a major new performing arts facility there in 1994. Instead, the city sold the lot in 2002 for \$6 million to Dranoff Properties, which developed Symphony House, which houses only one theater beneath thirty stories of condos. The project did well enough to prompt Dranoff to begin developing another three residential proposals for the avenue. (The *Philadelphia Inquirer’s* architecture critic, Inga

Saffron, slammed the building, calling it “the ugliest new condo building in Philadelphia . . . like a sequined and over-rouged strumpet.”)

Finally, friendly auditors help the growth machine by cataloging the successes of these efforts. In 2007, the Greater Philadelphia Cultural Alliance (GPCA) released “Arts, Culture, and Economic Prosperity in Greater Philadelphia,” praising the multiplier effects arts spending has throughout the regional economy. Of the five photos in the report, three are of the Kimmel Center. The report was also underwritten by a new development, 1706 Rittenhouse Square Street (three blocks off the avenue), which actually advertises on the back page of the report. Its exclusive residences — “here will be no retail space, and you will not share the lobby, health club or elevator with hotel guests and hundreds of other residents” — start at “only” \$3.5 million.

Nonetheless, and setting aside the growth machine conspiracies, if the venues on the Avenue of the Arts are popular, and if the GPCA’s report is not actually wrong, what’s so bad about this sort of large-scale approach to building an arts scene?

First, the arts facilities that line the Avenue of the Arts are enormously costly to operate, cutting into the very scarce arts and culture money available. A recent RAND Corporation study found that the largest 20 percent of Philadelphia’s arts institutions received 60 percent of the total arts funding. The Kimmel Center is a good example of the perverse logic that permits fiscal irresponsibility for organizations sufficiently large and well-connected. Kimmel officials ultimately sued Rafael Viñoly Architects over the delays and cost overruns, settling out of court in 2006. This one-time settlement put the Kimmel Center in the black for the first time. In 2005, the Kimmel Center’s CEO earned more than my theater company’s annual operating budget, even while the center ran a \$4.6 million deficit—nearly 15 percent of its operating revenue.

More profoundly, increasing property values and revenues are not the same as economic growth. Urban economists are in broad agreement that cities’ future economic health lies with their ability to attract “knowledge workers”—everyone from lawyers to graphic designers—who are the main labor force in America’s post-manufacturing, value-added,

services-based economy. Baby-boomer knowledge workers are about to retire in droves, and so cities must attract younger knowledge workers. A city’s cultural life is a major asset that appeals to all potential residents, but younger knowledge workers are not necessarily interested in the old, large cultural institutions. Orchestra audiences nationwide are aging, and cities like Austin, TX, are attracting younger knowledge workers not with a major orchestra, ballet, or opera company but with a great music and local arts scene. In the long run, places like the Avenue of the Arts do not attract those who are crucial to a city’s economic health.

Though nascent, better local arts policies do exist. Fundamentally, such policies would focus on helping local artists rather than building arts facilities. The same millions of dollars spent plugging the Kimmel’s deficit could instead fund policies that promote the smaller, local arts and cultural amenities that made Old City and Northern Liberties so attractive initially—galleries, music venues, and small businesses. A recent study in Minneapolis suggests directing public funding directly toward artists themselves—the future Calders, Gambles, and Kahns—by, for example, developing affordable live-work housing or addressing other cost-of-living concerns. If city leaders want to promote the performing arts locally, more inexpensive, easy, and convenient work and performance space would also make a huge difference. Most small theater companies I know would be willing to trade quality of space for cheaper rental rates—and, hence, more time to rehearse and perform in the space to improve their work.

These more modest approaches are slower, and they do not produce a hulking Rafael Viñoly building as proof of their existence. But they do support the smart, engaged people who actually create the urban places that are so desirable for other smart, engaged people—the knowledge workers who will power Philadelphia’s economy through the next century. And you know what else? Sometimes these little guys might even make good art.

KID, COUNTER-KID

Understanding kids rights in America from a shorter perspective

Bill O'Reilly, a Harvard Kennedy School alumnus and host of *The O'Reilly Factor*, has co-written a new children's book with Charles Flowers entitled *Kids Are Americans, Too* (WILLIAM MORROW, OCTOBER 2007). To find out what kids really think about the book, the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* (KSR) took to the streets, asking two toddlers—with the help of their HKS-student parents—to offer their thoughts on O'Reilly's latest installment of children's literature. They share their countering reviews with us below.

A BILL O'RIGHTS FOR THE LITTLEST AMERICANS

BY HENRY DAVID AHLERS



In *Kids Are Americans, Too*, Bill O'Reilly explains the U.S. Constitution in such a way that even the framers probably didn't imagine how good it could be. In his

latest children's work, O'Reilly takes time out from "unspinning" the liberal media to devote himself to educating America's youth about their rights and how to exercise them responsibly in a pluralistic society. And we are all better for it.

O'Reilly displays a refreshing willingness to challenge historical orthodoxy. He informs his young readers that the Founding Fathers were very much human and capable of errors such as supporting slavery ("not good"). The modern Union would be in a far better state had the "Philly Gang" (as O'Reilly chummily calls the Founding Fathers) taken some time off from drinking and chasing skirts to include in the Bill of Rights some of the provisions we find in the "Bill O'Rights" as follows:

- "The Constitution gives all Americans the right to be a moron." (Judging by how Daddy shouts at the TV, a lot of Americans exercise this right

vigorously.)

- "If you are dishonest, all of your other rights collapse." (This is also known as the "liar, liar, pants on fire" clause.)
- Your Mommy and Daddy can force you to go to church. (Presumably this is true even if they are snake handlers.)
- Schools can prevent students from doing "just about anything they regard as distracting from the educational process." (If you live in Kansas, this includes teaching evolution.)
- You have the right not to be exposed to Rosie O'Donnell's filthy mouth. (Even under the current "law and order" Supreme Court, Rosie exposure is already an Eighth Amendment violation.)
- The text of the Constitution must be adapted to the modern age, but our fundamental rights do not change simply because the Founders ate parsnips, and we now eat tacos. (Gerber makes an excellent mashed taco.)

Putting these rights into action is where the fun begins, O'Reilly tells us, because your rights will often collide with those of others. The book does not sugarcoat the fact that, when that happens, you may reasonably become confused and wonder, "What are my rights here?"

"I dunno," O'Reilly answers authoritatively, helpfully noting that all you need to do is read the equivalent of fifty Harry Potter books to understand the laws of all fifty states—assuming you have not violated a federal law or municipal ordinance, or been cast out of Hogwarts for tomfoolery. O'Reilly's refusal to talk down to his readers by dumbing down the law may be the most admirable quality of the book, along with the "Awesome Multiple-Choice Quizzes," the references to the movie *300*, Paris Hilton, and ninjas. And the chewable pages.

The book's overriding theme with respect to competing individual rights is "negotiate before you litigate." O'Reilly sagely advises young readers not to line lawyers' pockets unnecessarily by charging into court when they can talk out

their differences rationally and reach a compromise. Fortunately, if kids do not know how to listen to contrary points of view and engage in reasoned dialogue, they can watch O'Reilly modeling this behavior nightly on *The O'Reilly Factor*.

Some people will quibble over details, such as O'Reilly's claim that the Constitution guarantees us "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," which is actually found in the Declaration of Independence. But this book is not for naysayers and ACLU crackpots who would sacrifice large truths to small facts. Or as O'Reilly eloquently writes, "This is not a book for selfish, spoiled brats."

I am no spoiled brat. Now if you will excuse me, Mommy is going to bring me my pacifier and do story time. That is my right.

IS THIS GUY KIDDING ME OR WHAT?

BY HAYDON JAMES ARTHUR
ARMSTRONG

Referring to Bill O'Reilly's *Kids Are Americans, Too* as a children's work may be a bit of a misnomer, Henry. I mean, peruse his prose, and the question nags, just who, precisely, is supposed to be reading this? At first I thought it was meant for tots like us; after all, he frequently calls his reader "kid" (including gems like, "You, kid, are an American."). What self-respecting adult could endure that? Alternatively, I kind of feel like O'Reilly's audience might be befuddled (grand) parents who want to force their little Caitlyns and Jacobs to read 160, wide-margined pages and turn into überpatriots. At any rate, I don't think *Kids are Americans, Too* will become must-read material for tweens coast to coast. But since this is not O'Reilly's first foray into the younger-readers' market (that would be 2004's humbly titled *The O'Reilly Factor for Kids: A Survival Guide for America's Families*), one has to assume that they've been chomping at the bit for his next installment.

This then begs the slightly different question, who is the "kid" reading this? The FOX News audience skews geriatric, not prepubescent. I'm having trouble picturing a "kid" today, curled up on the sofa, *The Hills* on TV, Black Eyed Peas on



the iPod, texting friends with a phone in the right hand, and holding *Kids Are Americans, Too* in the left. This is not to say that a young person today isn't reading for pleasure. It's just that I can't see someone born after 1993 cheering O'Reilly on when he tells kids to finish their dinner because children in China are starving. Besides, I hear our Chinese counterparts aren't doing too badly these days.

I take your point, though, Henry, that the author genuinely wants me to know my rights. But my problem is that O'Reilly craves attention more than I do when I have a full diaper. Interestingly, it turns out we have the same things to offer when we cry. Throughout the book, he keeps telling kids to watch him on TV and listen to him on the radio. But instructing children to kneel at his media altar likely defeats his purpose, as the persona he adopts in his book—LiteraryBill—is quite unlike MediaBill, the one he shows on TV or the radio. LiteraryBill counsels patience and active listening as a means to avert conflict. If only adults would listen to each other, he bemoans, what a wonderful world we'd have—so free of frivolous lawsuits. MediaBill, on the other hand, loves himself some conflict. Also, LiteraryBill tells me that all bullying is bad. Henry, have you seen this guy on television?

LiteraryBill hates that I'm growing up in a world where people fail to admit their mistakes by engaging in out-of-court settlements. But what's strange is that MediaBill settled a huge lawsuit with a former co-worker who accused him of saying really bad words (and suggesting he'd like to do bad-boy things to her with a loafah . . . and a falafel). The two Bills do have some things in common: both hold the ACLU in absolute contempt. Indeed, *Kids Are Americans, Too* takes its first swipe at the protectors of the Bill of Rights in Chapter 1, when O'Reilly praises a fifteen-year-old student who "used his head" rather than calling the ACLU to get his principal not to assign homework over vacation.

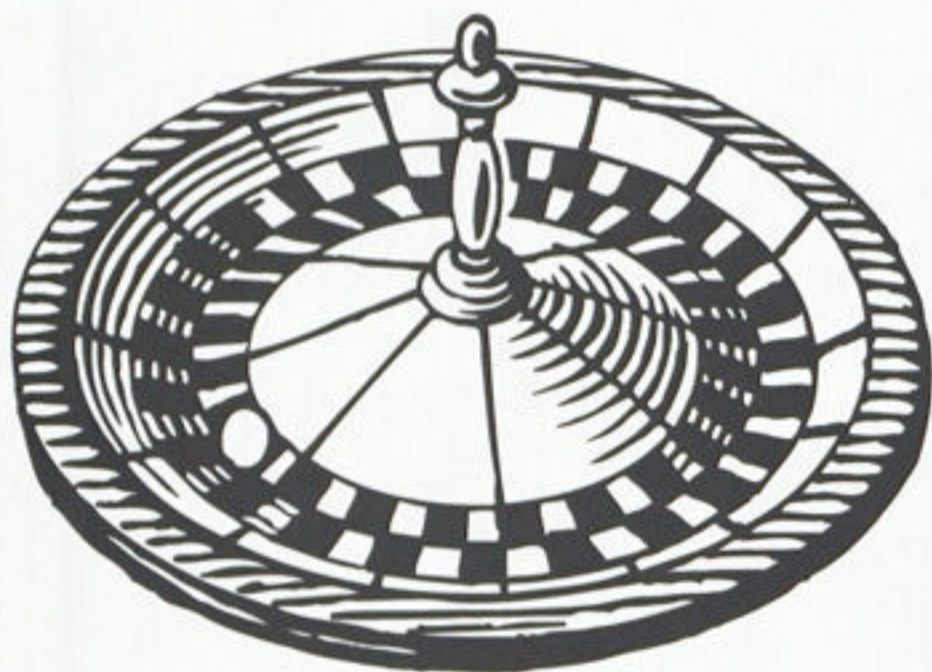
But who's going to stop O'Reilly from trying to foist his opinions on wee ones like us? Online booksellers already feature reviews from adults who say they wish they'd read something like this when they were young, and they can't wait to have their kids dig in. That's meaner than a time-out for putting your hands in the toilet. And leaves you feeling just as dirty.

ODDS ON SECESSION

Don't mess with Kosovo!

BY KSR STAFF

With Kosovo declaring independence in February 2008, the *Harvard Kennedy School Review* couldn't help wondering which of the world's most disputed regions will be next to strike out on its own. Here are the KSR's predictions and Vegas odds on which of the areas we hear most about in the news will be the next to break away.



TIBET

The movement for Tibetan independence from China is based on disputes over culture, religion, ethnicity, interpretations of history, political status, and human rights. The movement is suppressed within the People's Republic of China, but has significant celebrity support. In fact, the Tibetan independence movement would likely have greater forward movement if the Dalai Lama spent less time poolside at Richard Gere's house and opening Alanis Morissette's world tour.

KSR odds—10:1

CHECHNYA

The movement for Chechen independence from ██████ successfully established de facto independence after the first Chechen War in

1996. Following the Second Chechen War in 1999, ██████ federal control was reestablished. Chechens, however, still maintain that they would have won if the ██████ had agreed to settle the dispute using traditional methods—a staring contest.

KSR odds ██████ —:1

KURDISTAN

The area of Kurdistan currently spans parts of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria, and Armenia. This region has significant oil reserves, and the Iraqi Kurds have already gained official recognition internationally as an autonomous federal entity. But, as we all know, pulling out of Iraq isn't as easy as it seems.

KSR odds—USA is #1:1

QUEBEC

The movement for Quebec's independence from Canada has failed to win the majority of Quebec's voters in a referendum, but has support from many in Quebec's Francophone population. Reasons for Quebec's sovereignty movement include cultural and political disagreements. Reasons for its failure to gain independence include its fighting ethic, which is also French.

KSR odds—dix-huit:un

TEXAS

The movement to reestablish the Republic of Texas argues that, legally, Texas remains an independent nation under occupation. These proud Texans reinstated a provisional government on 13 December 1995 in the bustling city of Overton. The headquarters burned down in 2005, resulting in marginally lower odds of secession. Don't mess with Texas!

KSR odds—All in:1

SCOTLAND

Scotland was a sovereign nation until a treaty

was signed in 1707. This treaty abolished the Parliaments of Scotland and England in favor of a Parliament of the United Kingdom. A mere 292 years and a few Oscars for Mel Gibson later, Scots complained. Buoyed by a few too many drams of Glenfiddich, they voted for a devolved parliament with powers over health, education, justice, and tartan paint production. Whether this will lead to independence is a tricky question. According to Sean Connery, the secessionists' primary cash cow, it is only a matter of time. But then he lives in Barbados.

KSR odds—A fifth:1

KASHMIR

The Kashmir region is a disputed area, currently administered by India, Pakistan, and the People's Republic of China. Neither India nor Pakistan formally recognizes claims made by one another, further complicating the conflict. The movement for Kashmir's independence does exist, but fighters are looking to outsource the task. They are considering India, like everyone else.

KSR odds—Nuclear war:1

BOUGAINVILLE

The Island of Bougainville is currently part of Papua New Guinea, but an autonomous government has existed there since 2000 when the Government of Papua New Guinea and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA), a guerrilla movement, signed an agreement. Leaders of the movement argue that Bougainville is ethnically part of the Solomon Islands and is entitled to profits from the extensive mining on the island. Now we ain't sayin' they're a coal digga...

KSR odds—We honestly just found out this place existed:1

DID YOU KNOW...

According to the U.S. State Department, there are only two independent states that begin with "The"—The Gambia and The Bahamas. So you can talk about your summer in the Czech Republic, but not The Czech Republic, and the culture of the Philippines, but not The Philippines. And next time you want to impress guests at cocktail parties by boasting about your travels to The Canada, think again.

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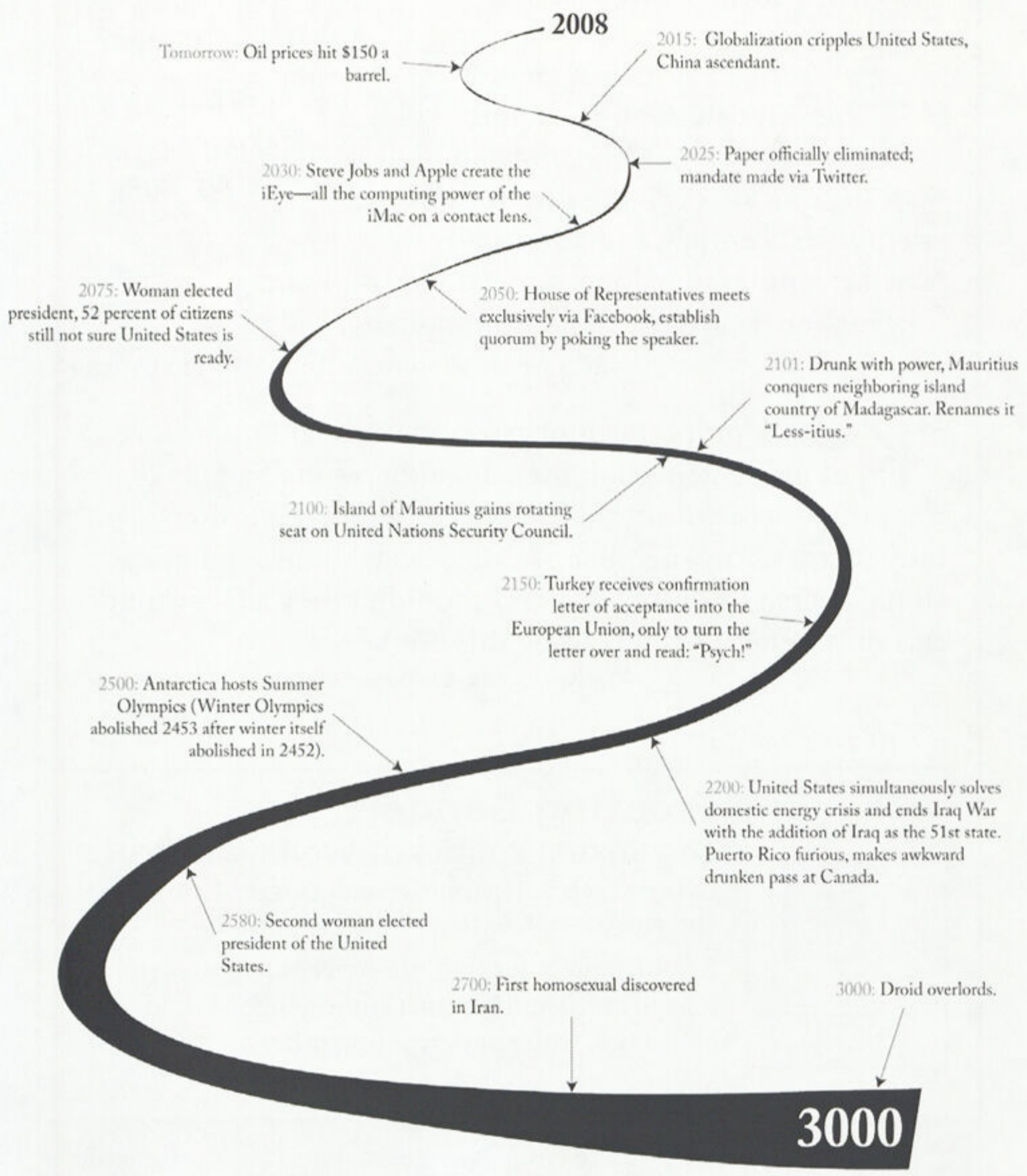
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*A timeline of
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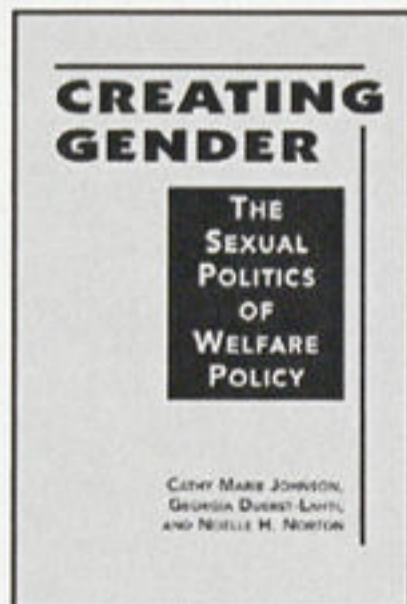
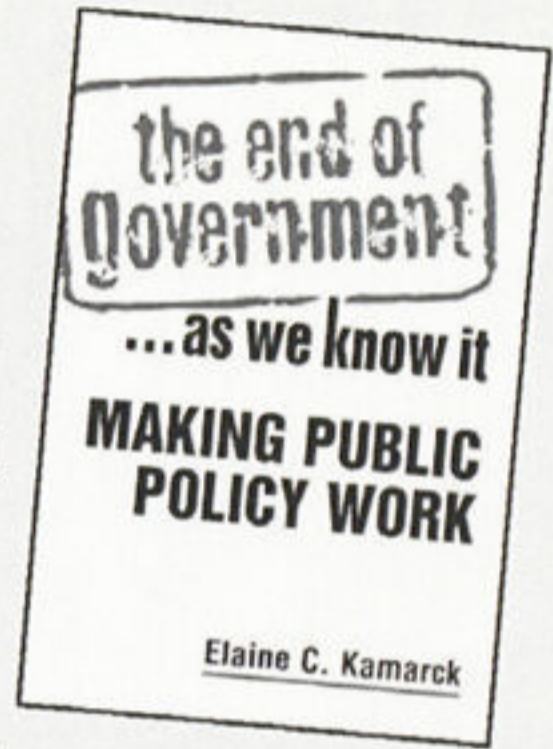
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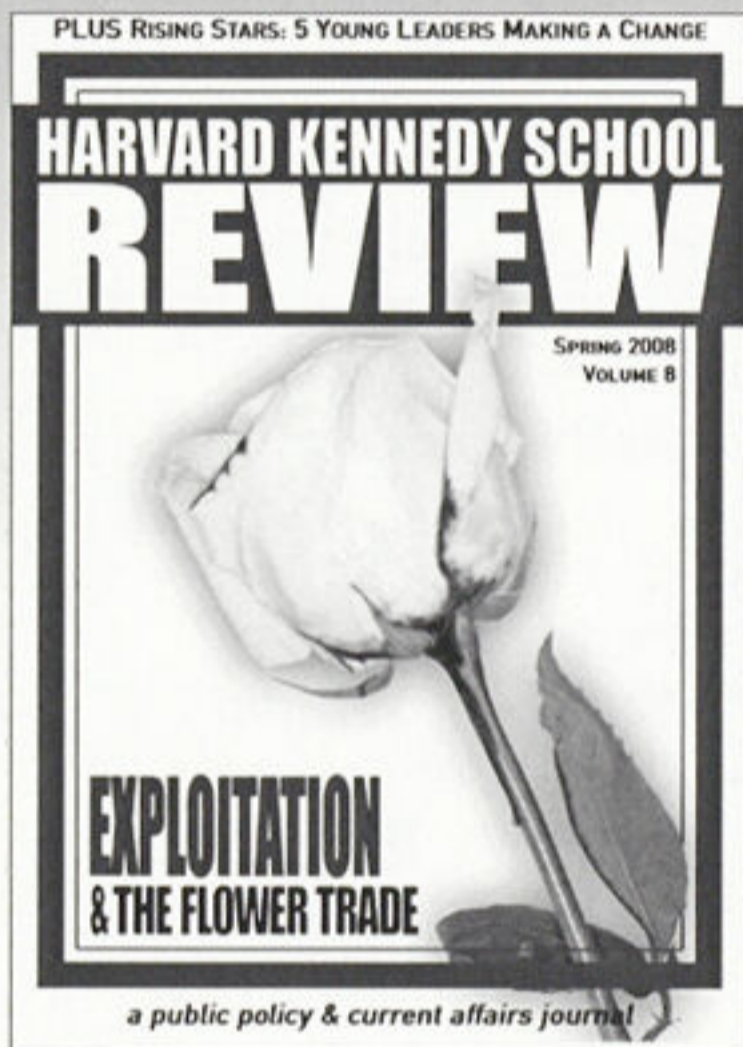


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