

# GOVERNANCE *Matters*

## THE LATEST TRENDS IN GOVERNANCE

### THE GOVERNANCE COMPETITION: WHY IT MATTERS

*Founder of the Chandler  
Institute of Governance  
Richard F. Chandler*

### HELPING PEOPLE LEAD BETTER LIVES

*Former Acting Vice-President  
and Minister of Planning and  
Development of Ecuador  
Sandra Naranjo Bautista*

### INDIA'S AADHAAR SYSTEM: BRINGING E-GOVERNMENT TO LIFE

*Infosys Co-founder  
Nandan Nilekani*

### MINISTRY OF THE FUTURE

*Director General of  
Policy Horizons Canada  
Kristel Van der Elst*

### MODERNISING THE ART OF GOVERNANCE

*Nikolai Astrup on equipping  
the Norwegian government for  
the digital and climate revolution*







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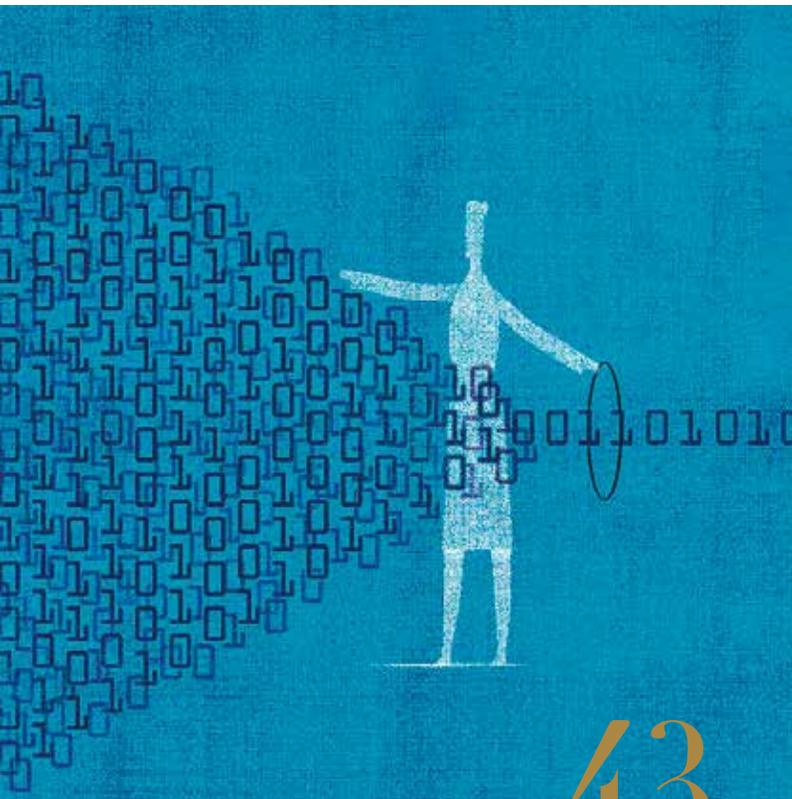
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# Letter from the Editor



Melissa Lwee-Ramsay at the Proximity Designs office (a Chandler Foundation partner) in Myanmar; November 2018.

**Governance: Tools of the Trade**  
When the Chandler Institute of Governance (CIG) was launched in 2019, it was with the aim of supporting public servants and policymakers with the right tools to better serve their citizens — through training programmes, advisory partnerships, and knowledge creation. To complement that, in April this year, CIG introduced the Chandler Good Government Index (CGGI), a non-partisan and non-ideological index that gives insights into the countries that are winning the governance competition, and support honest conversations about opportunities for progress.

*Governance Matters*, the inaugural edition of which you hold in your hands, is the newest addition to our toolkit for governments. When we first started conceptualising this magazine, our vision was to offer a platform for governance practitioners where success and setbacks alike are celebrated, and where ideas, stories, and tradecraft can be shared to inform and inspire.

## Stories of Tradecraft

In putting this magazine together, our editorial team asked ourselves: if governance was a discipline that could be studied and developed, what content would be of most use to our readers? How can *Governance Matters* support government leaders in dealing with the emerging and pressing challenges of our times?

To be a good nation steward for example, we learn from BBC's Justin Webb about the importance of storytelling in governance (p.9), whereas from

Accountability Lab’s Sheena Adams, we are taught how “naming and faming” governance trailblazers can catalyse progress (p.15).

The stories of NITI Aayog (p.19) and Chile’s Laboratorio de Gobierno (p.29) offer insights into how planning and innovation agencies can, and should, contribute to robust governance. From India’s Aadhaar (p.65), Japan’s vision for Society 5.0 (p.37), and our interview with San José’s Chief Data Officer Christine Keung, (p.43), we see how data and technology can be used to drive progress and equip a nation for the future.

### **Why Governance Matters**

In his article on why governance matters (p.3), CIG’s Founder Richard F. Chandler explains that sound governance “translates into stability and strong brand equity, boosting investment and growth”, making it a high-stakes contest for capital and talent in which every nation, state, and city participates.

This begs the question: can good governance be measured? The answer, says CIG’s Executive Director Wu Wei Neng (p.50), is that there is no perfect way to measure governance, but practical use of data from a highly-researched index such as the Chandler Good Government Index, can not only paint a powerful picture, it can also spark conversations and change.

Our cover story, featuring Nikolai Astrup (p.59), Norway’s former Minister of Digitalisation and then for modernisation and local government, is a case study of a country that is not resting on its

laurels. Although Norway is ranked an impressive 6th on the CGGI, Astrup reveals how he spent the past three years working to reform the country’s near-universally admired system of government. The reason: to equip it for new opportunities and huge challenges ahead.

### **Lessons from History Prepare Us for the Future**

Indeed, in the challenging and seemingly tumultuous world that we live in today — one that is defined by a pandemic and fears of an uncertain future — it may be difficult to look ahead with optimism. But as policy expert Andrew Wear points out in his article (p.109), history tells us that is possible to emerge from the crisis better and stronger than before, we just need to make the right choices.

As we collectively work to build back better, it is our hope that *Governance Matters* will be able to provide not just food for thought, but also a useful source of information on practical tools and tradecraft that can help us all get to the light at the end of this tunnel.



Melissa Lwee-Ramsay  
*Editor*

# The Governance Competition: Why It Matters

by *Richard F. Chandler*, Founder of the Chandler Institute of Governance

**W**inners and Losers: the Tale of Two Countries  
 In September 2021, Bradesco, one of Brazil's largest private banks, joined a growing list of companies no longer doing business in Argentina. Walmart had decided to leave a year earlier,<sup>1</sup> and other international companies, such as Honda, Starbucks, and American Airlines, had either stopped expanding or started shrinking their footprint in the country.<sup>2</sup> Between 2019 and 2020 alone, foreign direct investment in Argentina fell by 38%.<sup>3</sup>

The exodus is a stark reversal of fortune for a country that was once among the world's wealthiest and most promising. At the outbreak of World War I, Argentina was wealthier than France, Germany or Italy.<sup>4</sup> It was home to vast natural resources and fertile land, while its capital city, Buenos Aires, was emerging as a commercial hub and talent magnet — in 1914, half of Buenos Aires's population was foreign-born.<sup>5</sup>

Around the time when Argentina's ascent seemed assured, a northern European country was heading in the opposite direction. Having gained independence in 1917, Finland boasted natural resources but possessed a fairly poor, agrarian economy. Simmering tensions would see it erupt in civil war within a year.<sup>6</sup> The two countries' fortunes did diverge, but not in the way anyone at the time would have guessed. Argentina, brimming with opportunity, ultimately failed to capitalise on it, whereas Finland overcame its challenges and prospered. Governance shaped the trajectories of both.

Between 1930 and 1976, Argentina endured six military coups. In 2001, the country declared the largest sovereign default in history,<sup>7</sup> and saw three presidents inaugurated in the space of a week. Meanwhile, Finland's political systems and institutions withstood an attempted coup in 1932,<sup>8</sup> and continued to hold elections. A non-profit organisation recently ranked Finland the most stable country in the world seven consecutive years in a row<sup>9</sup> while its education system and civil service are widely seen as among the world's best.

## The Most Important Competition in the World Today

Argentina is a vivid case study of the importance of governance and resource stewardship, and far from the only one. We can track the ebbs and flows of capital and talent around the world, and in doing so, glimpse those who are winning — and those who are falling behind — in what I call “the governance competition”.

This competition is a high-stakes contest for capital and talent in which every nation, state, and



city participates. On the line are their short-term performance and long-term strength. The winners are those whose government are most trusted and most competent. Sound governance translates into stability and strong brand equity, boosting investment and growth. The competition is fierce and ongoing. The winners of today are not guaranteed to be the victors of tomorrow.

### **Capital and Talent Gravitates Toward Good Governance**

Capital and talent flow from less well-governed places to better-governed ones, not only between countries but also within a country, as regions and states compete for private-sector investment.

Turkey, an economic success story in the early 2000s, has seen foreign direct investment fall from more than US\$ 22 billion in 2007 to only slightly more than US\$ 9 billion.<sup>10</sup> The percentage of Turkish debt owned by foreign investors has plummeted from more than 20% in 2013 to less than 5% today.<sup>11</sup>

Weak governance impoverishes a nation through high inflation, currency devaluation, loss of purchasing power, and higher interest rates for business and government. The Turkish lira has lost 80% of its value against the U.S. dollar over the past 10 years as capital has fled the country.

In tracking the governance competition, migration patterns can be as revealing as capital flows. The number of Central Americans trying to cross the southern U.S. border has increased almost seventy-fold, according to one estimate, since the 1990s.<sup>12</sup> A recent poll found that nearly one in two Nigerian adults plan to leave their country in five years<sup>13</sup> — as one Nigerian writer characterised it, “the Nigerian dream is to leave Nigeria”.<sup>14</sup> The context and details differ in important ways, but each instance is heavily influenced by governance.

### **Architecting Nations: The Role of Leaders**

Despite its critical importance, governance is often conflated with — or overshadowed by — leadership. More attention seems to be directed toward the policies and decisions of individual leaders rather than the tradecraft of building sound and lasting institutions, systems, and processes.



Central American members of a caravan walking across the Mexico-U.S. border to seek asylum after traveling across Mexico for weeks, Tijuana, Baja California Norte, Mexico, 29 April 2018.

Looking back over history, we can discern various leadership archetypes. There are the ‘hero leaders’ who have led a nation to victory on the battlefield, the political leaders who were elected based on an appealing political philosophy or social ideology, and then there are the national architects, those whose legacy is a set of laws, institutions, and systems that create a foundation for lasting prosperity.

Sometimes, a leader will be a mix of archetypes. The French emperor, Napoleon, was a military genius who created a set of laws (the ‘Napoleonic Code’) and institutions that became the pillars of a strong system of governance. Looking further back in history at the great empires of Persia, Babylonia, and Rome, we find leaders who valued moral codes, laws, institutions, and systems. The Roman empire was one of the most enduring, lasting 800 years. The golden age of Rome was established by Augustus Caesar who created constitutional reforms, built lasting institutions and a competent civil service, and reformed the financial structure of government. The foundations he laid enabled Rome to enjoy 200 years of peace and prosperity, proving that strong laws, institutions, and systems were the best insurance against the weak leaders who followed him.

# The Trust Waterfall

*Prosperity and Well-being  
are Built on Trust*

## **Government Trust Equity**

*Character of leadership  
Competency of the civil service  
Consistency of policy  
Quality of laws & institutions  
Financial strength & resiliency  
Country reputation & “brand” value  
Country risk & credit rating*

## **Marketplace Trust Equity**

*Freedom to create  
Business incentives & protections  
Marketplace regulations  
Marketplace infrastructure  
Fair taxation  
Access to capital & cost of borrowing*

## **Social Trust Equity**

*Equal opportunity & social mobility  
Security & safety  
Jobs  
Public services  
Life expectancy & well-being  
Property rights  
Household savings & wealth*

In more recent times, Lee Kuan Yew, the Prime Minister of Singapore from 1959 to 1990, stands out as an example of the quintessential ‘national architect’. He not only created a prosperous society in one generation, he also built the foundations (a constitution, laws, public institutions, and a civil service) that will enable the country to sustain its prosperity for many generations to come.

What can national leaders do to attract and retain talent and capital, and thereby, position their countries for sustainable growth and prosperity?

## **1 Building a High Trust Society: The Trust Waterfall**

A decisive factor in building a strong and prosperous nation is trust. Trust is the oxygen of strong nations. The goal of governance should be the constant expansion of trust across all levels of society. Trust fosters greater investment, innovation, entrepreneurship, and economic growth. This growth, in turn, provides governments with the financial resources and tax revenue to build better systems, hire and retain talented civil servants, and deliver high-quality infrastructure and services, such as schools, hospitals, law enforcement, internet access, and public housing.

The fastest way to build trust is to eliminate corruption. Transparency International’s *Corruption Perceptions Index* shows that every country that has low levels of corruption has high levels of prosperity. There are no exceptions. This is why government integrity is so important. High trust societies start with the integrity of national leaders. We call this the ‘trust waterfall’. Integrity flows from government into the marketplace and then into the community.

Trust and prosperity are tightly correlated, and higher trust results in greater access to (and lower cost of) capital and investment. Hence, increasing the level of trust in government is always a top priority. Clear property rights, a strong rule of law, and effective anti-corruption systems all help. Yet, laws and rules are one thing, and compliance standards are another. Are the rules applied fairly and consistently? Can relationships or money purchase exemptions to them? Are the rules outdated, poorly-designed, overly-complex or bureaucratic?

## **2 Helping People Rise: Equal Opportunity and the Social Mobility Ladder**

Governments around the world are under increasing pressure to address income inequality, lack of opportunity, and discrimination. There is a clarion call to build fairer societies, ones that provide everyone — regardless of race,

gender or religion — with opportunities to be safe, healthy and educated, and to hold jobs, own homes, and participate in a vibrant marketplace. What people are seeking is a better life — the opportunity to climb the social mobility ladder and achieve their dreams.

Entwined with the social mobility challenge is the idea of a ‘fair society’, where shared prosperity is anchored by policies grounded in social equity — equal rights and equal access to public goods and services. Building a strong social mobility ladder is key to building fairer societies. What is the strategy? Governments must develop policies that foster creative empowerment for everyone — policies that ensure inclusion, promote diversity, and guarantee access to accelerators, such as education, vocational training, and finance. Policy-making is insufficient without implementation, and for that, the quality of the civil service is paramount.

**3 Strengthening Civil Service Capabilities**  
Noble leaders all believe in the ideal of building a society flourishing with everyone’s creativity — but this utopian dream has few role models. Why? Good ideas are not enough: it’s execution that distinguishes the strong nations from the weak. The soaring political rhetoric and campaign promises of politicians rest on the quality of a nation’s civil service to design and implement policy. In most cases, the machinery of government is ill-equipped to execute their responsibilities well.

The result of weak and inefficient public institutions is poor service delivery, wastage, lower social mobility, greater income inequality, and reduced national wealth and individual well-being. What can be done to improve this?

**Governance as a Discipline: Tools for Practitioners**  
Is good governance a product of chance or choice? What governance skills and strategies are transferable, and which only work in certain contexts and cultures? I view governance as the architecting and engineering of nations — a discipline that can be studied and mastered. Interwoven in governance are a nation’s identity, culture, and national narrative.

To create the architecture, structures, and institutions that stand the test of time, governance practitioners need the right training and the right tools. The Chandler Institute of Governance (CIG) was launched in 2019 to help provide both to public servants and policymakers so they can take up the mantle of public leadership and better serve their citizens.



Led by former officers from the renowned Singapore civil service, CIG is helping governments strengthen their capacity and capability, something that has become even more critical amid a pandemic, economic volatility and global protests.

This year, CIG launched the *Chandler Good Government Index*. Non-partisan and non-ideological, the Index analyses the effectiveness and capabilities of 104 countries' governments, or 90% of the world's population — the most comprehensive of its kind. This tool enables governments to identify their strengths and weaknesses and measure progress over time.

In 2021, CIG also launched the Chandler Academy of Governance. Its mission is to train and equip civil servants with the skills and tools to build stronger institutions.

*Governance Matters* is a new platform for governance practitioners. It is a place to recount successes and setbacks, to consider future trends as well as history's lessons, and to share ideas and stories that aim to not only inform, but also inspire.

### **While Success is Sometimes Fleeting, Failure is Never Final**

Argentina finished 68th overall in the inaugural *Chandler Good Government Index*.<sup>15</sup> Could it one day take the top spot?

We have seen governments in our own lifetimes — and in the pages of history — build the foundations for enduring prosperity. The possibility of creating such a story is as available to Argentina as any other country today.

Let's look at the continent of Africa, which has seen very patchy progress in governance despite decades of assistance from international agencies, NGOs, and philanthropic organisations. The lesson here is that poverty cannot be solved unless prosperity is created. And prosperity cannot be created without good governance, strong institutions, ethical cultures, and a professional civil service.

Good governance rests on both the character and competence of national leaders. Unfortunately for Africa, many of its leaders have been more intoxicated by the privileges of power than humbled by the responsibilities of governance. Since 2013, more than 15 leaders of African states have extended or weakened term limits to stay in power.<sup>16</sup> Mo Ibrahim, the Sudanese entrepreneur whose foundation awards a generous US\$ 5m prize to African leaders who complete their term with integrity, often finds no suitable candidates to whom he can confer the award.

Competence is also in short supply, but this may have more to do with the lack of knowledge about governance generally. There is a difference between knowing what to do and knowing how to do it. The architecting and engineering of nation building is a poorly understood discipline globally.

Africa desperately needs a regional role model to demonstrate the pathway to prosperity. On 24 August 2021, Hakainde Hichilema became the seventh president of Zambia, a country which despite an abundance of natural resources, is one of the most impoverished in Africa: 60% of its population of 18.4 million live on less than US\$ 2 a day. The average life expectancy is 61 years.

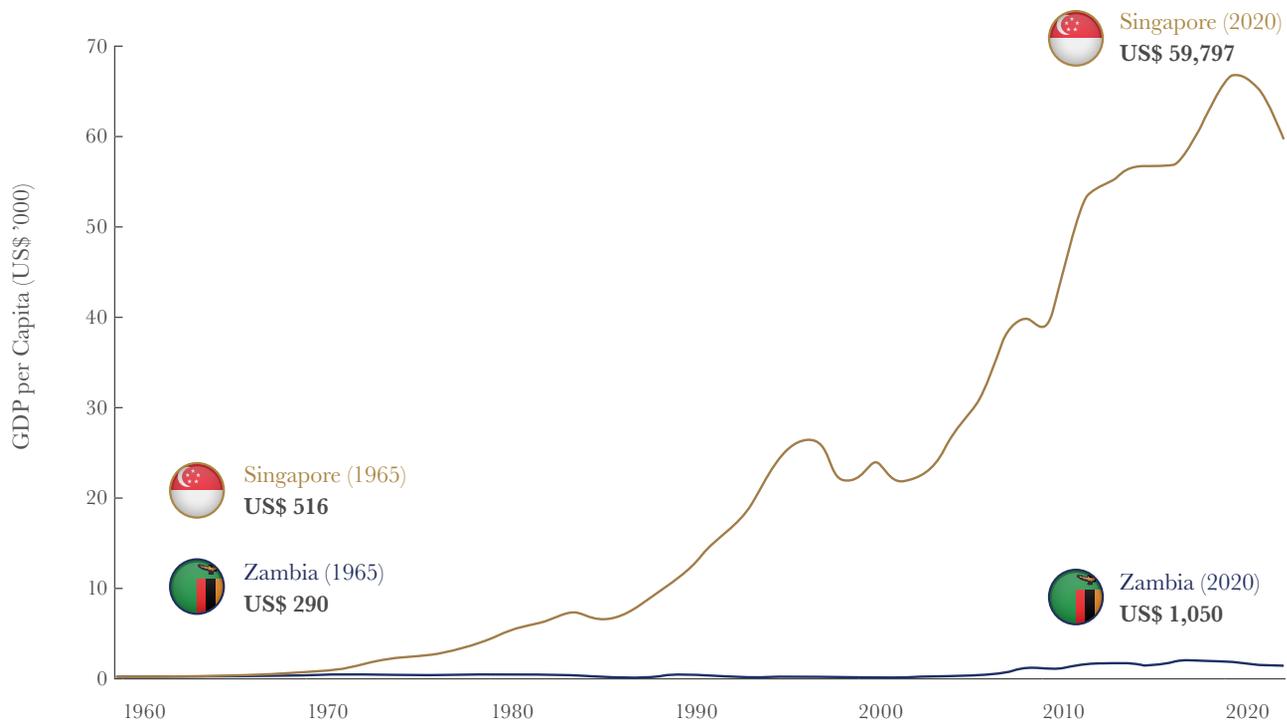
Could Zambia become the 'Singapore of Africa'? It is a dream shared by many African nations but achieved by none. Many would say this is impossible. However, 60 years ago, Zambia and Singapore both started with low GDP per capita bases. Can Hichilema, who inherits a country weakened by the corruption of previous administrations,



Former President of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, receiving the Ibrahim Prize for Achievement in African Leadership at the Kigali Convention Centre in Rwanda, 27 April 2018. She is the first woman to receive the award and is the fifth laureate since 2007.

## Comparison Between Zambia & Singapore

Comparative GDP per Capita in Last 60 Years



Source: World Bank Data

become a national architect, creating a legacy of laws and institutions to set his country on a path to sustainable prosperity?

Today, Zambia ranks near the bottom of the *Chandler Good Government Index* at 95th out of 104 countries. Improving this position is a process which starts with the all-important steps of building trust, fostering social mobility and strengthening the capabilities of the civil service.

### The Future of Governance: From Strategies to Blueprints

The challenges facing national leaders have never been so complex. They include climate change, cyber security, income inequality, and terrorism. But in most challenges, there also lie opportunities. For example, countries that can develop the best renewable energy, electric transportation, and hydrogen technology will lead the energy transition.

Overcoming challenges requires more than medium-term economic policies and industrial strategies. It requires a 'whole of government' blueprint for building a strong and resilient nation. Such a blueprint encompasses and combines the

architecture and engineering of constitutions, laws, institutions, systems and processes with national identity, brand, culture, values, and heritage.

Governance is as old as civilisation itself, and yet, as a discipline it is surprisingly undeveloped. As the knowledge and tools of good governance evolve, the benefits to society will be immense. Those nations who master the architecture and engineering of governance to build professional and adaptive institutions, fair and just societies, shared prosperity and exciting national narratives will attract and retain the talent and capital that will meet the challenges of the near and distant future. They will not just be the winners of the governance competition, they will be the leaders of tomorrow's world.

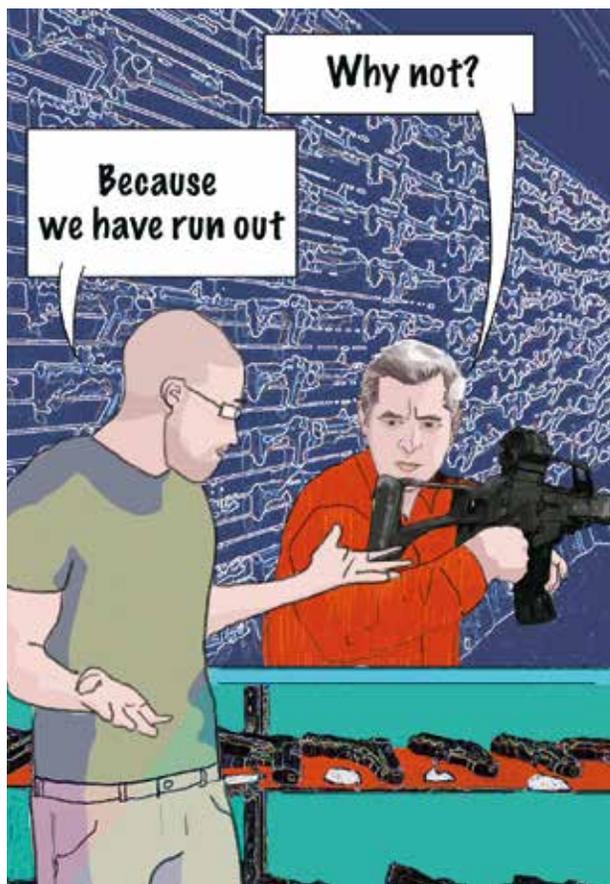
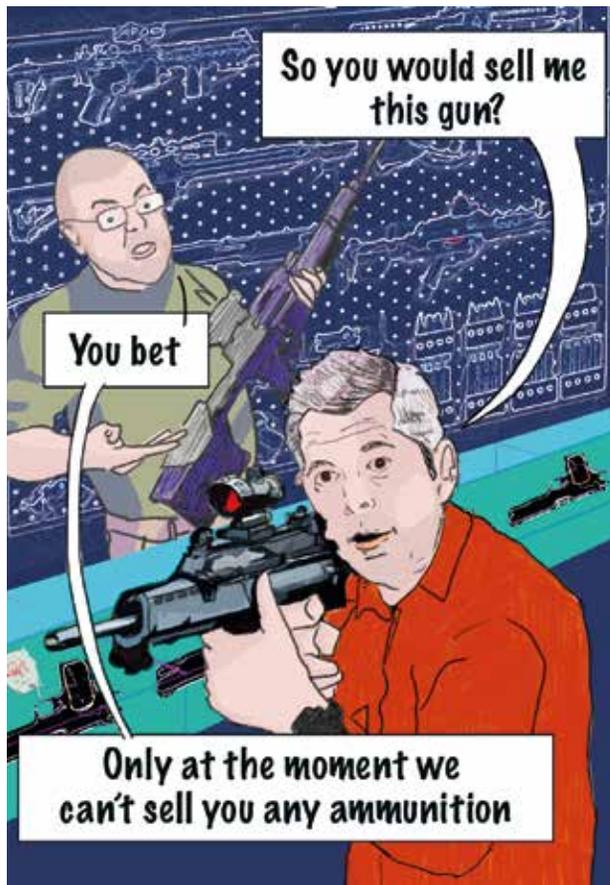


*Richard E. Chandler is the Founder and Chairman of the Clermont Group, an international business group with businesses in healthcare, financial services, and electric aviation. He is also the Founder of the Chandler Institute of Governance as well as social impact organisation, Chandler Foundation.*

# Rise of the Storyteller-in-Chief

by *Justin Webb*





I want to tell you a story. It's about a visit to a gun shop in the U.S. state of South Carolina when I was the BBC man in Washington DC. It was 2008, just after Barack Obama had been elected president. Bored with the election, we were doing a classic European piece about how easy it was for private citizens to buy very large weapons in the U.S.. The gun shop owner was very cooperative and we even got to try out a couple of assault rifles in the range at the back.

"So you would sell me this gun?" I ask.

"You bet," the owner replies. Then he adds: "Only, at the moment we can't sell you any ammunition."

"Why not?"

"Because we have run out."

In the aftermath of the Obama election, rural gun shops of South Carolina had run out of ammunition. While much of the nation celebrated what they regarded as a genuine mark of political progress, and much of the outside world looked on with admiration, many in rural parts of the southern U.S. were stocking up on ammo. They felt threatened. They felt unnerved. They felt excluded.

### Stories Work

Stories work. They capture our attention. They draw together sometimes complicated sets of facts. When I tell that story it illustrates clearly, sharply, even memorably, the oddness of the time, the ambivalence of the U.S. and the hostility of much of rural America towards Obama, which was later borne out in voting patterns or polling data. But the gun shop says it all.

Our brains are wired to cope better with stories. Our neocortex deals specifically with numbers and facts, but the deeper limbic brain deals with emotions, the irrational, the behavioural, the non-linguistic. If you can capture the limbic brain with an emotional response, you are winning. And the limbic brain is captured by stories.



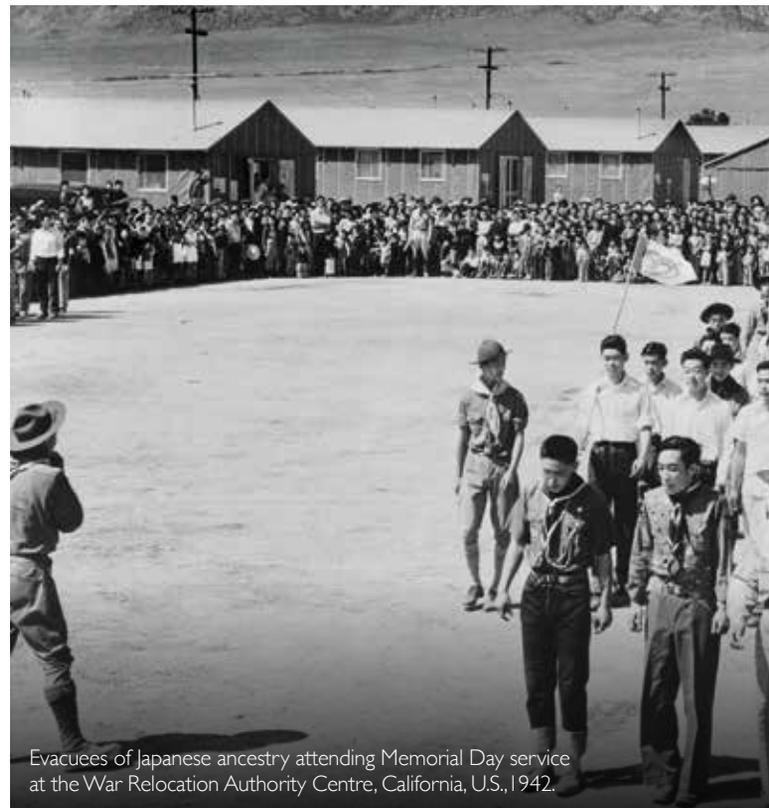
A still image of Apple founder Steve Jobs from the 2015 documentary film, 'The Man in the Machine'.

That is why the 'Apple story' or the 'Google story' is so compelling. It's not about products, it's about enablement (they suggest) of a better lifestyle, more freedom, and more joy. The buying of the products follows the buying of the story.

### **When Governments Become Storytellers**

And that is why governments around the world are turning to storytelling, employing people whose task is to set all the messy, and often, dull stuff of policy formulation into a wider context — a context that we buy into with our limbic brain. As Natasha Grand, director of a U.K.-based, place-branding agency Institute for Identity (INSTID), puts it: "Think of places as personalities that use stories to connect them with the global audience."

From the government of New Zealand to the city of Denver, from the government of Singapore to the Federal Authority for Nuclear Regulation in the United Arab Emirates, governments are employing storytelling.



Evacuees of Japanese ancestry attending Memorial Day service at the War Relocation Authority Centre, California, U.S., 1942.

And what is being achieved? The New Zealand Story Group is convinced that stories can achieve deep penetration into the psyche. David Downs, their newly appointed CEO, tells me by email: “Unlike data-heavy news releases, or standard public relations, a well-crafted story will create an emotional connection. And we know that emotion is a multiplier in creating preference. It is a basic human activity — the telling of stories, right from our early ancestors, to our current film and TV culture.”

INSTID’s Grand goes further to say: “To catch the attention of talent or visitors, it is no longer enough to list country assets; rather, you need to tell how they contributed to the place’s personality and created a distinct way of life.”

The New Zealand team see their task of creating a brand for New Zealand as immediately recognisable as Apple’s as winning for their nation on the global stage, particularly when it comes to trade. Downs identifies what he calls a secondary benefit: “It helps to craft a sense of national identity and pride.”



### Bringing Communities Together

This is storytelling as a kind of psychological bringing together of communities. And for some storytellers, it is the entire focus.

In the U.S. city of Denver, they are less concerned about the outside world and more concerned with themselves, with the drive for cohesion and progress in their own city. Denver’s Chief Storyteller, former journalist Rowena Alegria, helps small groups of residents identify stories that they might want to share, sometimes on video, to inspire others and crucially, to improve policy making by the city authorities.

“Those without a seat at the table and historically missing from the narrative — ethnic and religious minorities, those living with disabilities, LGBTQ, etc — are the ones most detrimentally affected by uninformed policy, assumptions and stereotypes, and yet, too often, they remain the last to be considered or consulted about those decisions,” says Alegria.

The stories are not being told by government — they are being told to government.

This is not only useful but also cathartic for marginalised people. Alegria gives an example of a story told by relatives of Japanese-Americans who had been interned after the attack on Pearl Harbor brought the U.S. into World War II. “The Office of Storytelling interviewed several people from Denver’s Japanese-American community who were interned or whose families rebuilt their lives here,” she recounts. “After a screening of our film, the daughter of a survivor we included stood up and said, ‘our only family heirloom was an Army blanket from one of these camps — until this film’.”

As for the United Arab Emirates, their nuclear storyteller, Rashid Al Falahi talks of “building trust towards the mission”. That mission is the wider story of nuclear power: a building of confidence, of belief, even of pride.



American civil rights activist Rosa Parks (centre), riding on a newly integrated bus following a Supreme Court ruling ending the successful 381-day Montgomery bus boycott of segregated buses, U.S., 1956.

### Stories are Powerful but also Partial

Here is a problem, or a set of problems.

That story I tell about the gun shop in South Carolina? It's true, but is it the whole story? I use it to illustrate how sealed off from progress some parts of the U.S. seemed to be, and why the Trump ascendancy was already on the cards in 2008. You might equally suggest that these rural communities had been grievously ignored by presidents of both main parties and by storytellers from the media, like me. You might, in other words, have found very different stories that put them at the centre.

Stories are powerful but they are also partial. While the risks of harm are obvious in closed societies, there is risk of some interpretations of the truth being steamrollered even in more open societies. The United Arab Emirates might want to persuade us that its newly-opened nuclear plant is safe and effective (and it might be), but many other nations

in the region view it with suspicion, if not hostility — and that is part of what any impartial person would regard as 'the real story'.

We are also, in the age of populism, wary of appeals to the inner part of our brain that deals with emotion rather than rational thought. Where does it lead us, politically and socially? When I interview people for the BBC, I am happy to be told a story but I want some rational, objective facts to be included.

### The Art of Telling Stories Convincingly

Having said that, perhaps part of our current malaise is our inability to tell the story of democracy and freedom more convincingly. Here's a story to illustrate: when my son was very young, I took him to New York. We rode on a bus. The driver, my son informed me, is black. I was surprised, Sam had never noticed anyone's colour before. "Why does that matter," I asked.



“Because of Rosa Parks,” he replied. “She got black people the right to drive buses.”

I realised that Sam had misunderstood the story of Rosa Parks, who bravely sat in the whites-only section of the bus and became an American civil rights hero. He thought she had campaigned and won the right (which he regarded as considerable) to actually drive the vehicle.

I realised, too, that all Sam had wanted it to be, was for it to be a positive story. Civil rights education in the U.S. often mentions (quite rightly) the horrors of the past and the iniquities of the present, but seldom celebrates the wonders: the benefits to be derived from moderation, the rule of law, and the acceptance of the results of democratic elections.

What do those who tell the stories have to say to those in government who might be considering the use of this artform, this tool as old as the hills but newly-

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*Unlike data-heavy news releases, or standard public relations, a well-crafted story will create an emotional connection. And we know that emotion is a multiplier in creating preference. It is a basic human activity — the telling of stories, right from our early ancestors, to our current film and TV culture.*

fashionable in some corners of the globe? Downs in New Zealand offers this assessment: “It’s an inexact science and we don’t know the counter-factual, or how much of the perception shifts can be attributed to our efforts alone — but there is enough belief in the core theory, and in the data we do have, to give us confidence that we are making an impact.”

So bring on the chief storytellers in governments around the world. Let us always interrogate those stories and challenge them. Let us not treat what they say as the whole story. But let us accept that stories matter to all of us.

A blank sheet of paper. A pen or a cursor hovering. And the ability to persuade, for better or for worse. It’s a big responsibility. Let us hope then, that those with the best motives tell the better stories.



*Justin Webb presents the Today Programme, the flagship of the BBC’s news output. He was the BBC North America Editor for a decade, and before that, was based in Brussels. He was for many years a roving correspondent, covering events around the entire globe. He was educated at the London School of Economics. He lives with his family in London.*

# Naming and Faming

*Sheena Adams*, Accountability Lab's Global Communications Director, profiles three integrity icons from the Global South who are paving the way for innovation in the public services.

There are many ways that governments can use the idea of positive deviance to shift norms and support reforms around the world. In India, the government celebrates its best civil servants during Civil Services Day while the Philippines has an annual Public Service Hero Award. The U.S. even has a brilliant 'Funniest Fed' competition to celebrate humor within government — which might sound frivolous but is exactly the kind of 'naming and faming' that can underpin a more approachable, effective government.

There are a variety of considerations for governments that want to institute these kinds of awards, all of which are related.

Firstly, the awards need to be seen as entirely independent. If they are organised by governments themselves and are seen as a driver of patronage and nepotism, that undermines the goals of the campaign, as has been the case in Nepal in the past.

Secondly, the process needs to be clear and transparent: if the winners are picked behind closed doors by some of the same officials involved in corruption, the credibility of the awards is immediately called into question.

Finally, sustainability and broader engagement over time comes from public participation — otherwise these awards remain esoteric. After all, public servants work for citizens and it is ordinary people who should play a role in judging their honesty and effectiveness.



2020 Integrity Icon Sri Lanka winners at the award ceremony, 24 January 2021.

In 2004, the non-profit Accountability Lab where I work, launched the Integrity Icon awards, a citizen-driven campaign that celebrates exemplary public servants whose work and integrity stands out among their peers by — yes, you guessed it — naming and faming them.

The awards extend from Philadelphia, Mexico, Sri Lanka, Nepal and Pakistan, to Ukraine, Morocco, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Liberia, and South Africa. In 2021, the campaign launched in Zimbabwe, Somaliland, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

The campaign begins with an open nomination period before five winners are chosen through a



**Inoka Himali Rathnaweera,  
2020 Integrity Icon, Divisional  
Secretary, Four-Gravets, Galle**

When COVID-19 took hold in the ancient port city of Galle in southern Sri Lanka in early 2020, Divisional Secretary Inoka Himali Rathnaweera knew she had to act quickly. Against a background of slow and mismanaged emergency response measures, she launched a mobile vegetable delivery service that brought essential groceries such as vegetables and fish, as well as medicines, to each area in the Four-Gravets region she oversees.

Rathnaweera explains: “We set up a mobile system where shop owners would take goods to different areas, announcing their items via loudspeakers. We also knew that prices had to be reasonable. We used social media to let communities know how the new system would work.”

It proved to be a lifeline to low-income communities. The mobile delivery system for grocery stores has since been rolled out all over the city, along with an online payment system and mobile ATMs that became indispensable during the city’s lockdowns. “Our ground level officers are implementing it everywhere. Even our President appreciated the system,” shares Rathnaweera.

Rathnaweera has also strengthened and supported the COVID-19 vaccine rollout in Four-Gravets, ensuring it is equitable. She led the digitisation of the vaccine registration process, ensuring that no one was left behind. More than 12,500 people in six Grama Niladhari divisions were vaccinated during the first few weeks of the rollout.

strict vetting process. Short documentaries are produced about these exemplary civil servants and the films are shown all around the country, from small informal ‘video clubs’ to screenings at national government departments.

The value of Integrity Icon lies in the process; it creates purposeful conversations about what it means to be a public servant and spotlights ordinary people and the role they play in strengthening institutions. It is also a good way to encourage all of us to think about what is needed to build inclusive, accountable societies, and how to get there. Here, we profile three previous awardees who are paving the way for better governance in the Global South.



A civil servant for more than two decades, Inoka Himali Rathnaweera believes she is destined for a life in service, Sri Lanka, 2020.

The public service sector in Sri Lanka is muddied by political influence. Rathnaweera says that when politicians attempt to push back against public officials carrying out their duties lawfully, many remain quiet. But not her. “I’m never afraid to speak up to politicians, even if they ask for favours. If it’s the wrong thing, I refuse and explain why,” she smiles and says. “I always say that with poor people I work with my heart, but with rich people and politicians, I work with my brain.”

A public servant for the past 25 years, Rathnaweera says she was destined for a life in service. “Since I was young, I’ve always acted against corruption and unethical behaviour,” she says. “Even in school, I would quarrel with boys if they were doing bad things on behalf of their friends. Today, so many people criticise public servants so I want to do things differently.”



**Amna Baig, 2020 Integrity Icon,  
Assistant Superintendent  
of Police, Pakistan**

In Pakistan, Assistant Superintendent of Police Amna Baig is using the recognition that comes with being an Integrity Icon to win over the everyday patriarchy she often has to deal with.

“The Integrity Icon award came with a lot of recognition,” she reveals. “My film went viral and I got so many calls from various embassies saying how proud they were of what I was doing. I’m also getting so many questions and messages from other young women who are seeing the police service as a career option for the first time.”

She adds: “But the real measure of my success has been the men who have come up to tell me that they want their daughters to join the police force. Pakistan is a very patriarchal society so it is really my biggest achievement to see those kinds of changes in fathers.”

A key challenge to these changing perceptions for Baig is the low percentage of women police officers in Pakistan — pegged at just 1.6%. This makes them outliers in a situation where the unintended consequence is dismally low rates of women reporting crimes — often related to assault and abuse.

Baig grew up in Hunza, the beautiful mountainous region in northern Pakistan bordering Afghanistan and China. As a young girl she thought of the police service as a ‘no-go area’ until a family trip to France turned her outlook on its head. She recalls: “We had lost something and our host told us to go report it to the police. I remember thinking, ‘Oh, I can just walk into a police station?’ And there were female officers there!”

She says: “In Pakistan, we’re used to fathers who want to get things done for their girls. That’s the whole culture in the country. We’re allowed to go to hospitals because we have women doctors, and we’re allowed to go to university because we have women lecturers. But we have so few female police officers that women just don’t go to police stations. They want to be able to talk with female officers and they don’t really believe we exist — and this is in a country where half the population is women.”

She reveals that she resolved to take the Civil Services Exam in order to become an officer — a steep goal that required her to be in the top 30% of candidates. Baig was drafted into the officer ranks of the Punjab Police. She set about introducing reforms almost immediately. Her first move was to establish a dedicated helpline and an all-women mobile police unit that visited women who were unable or unsure of visiting stations themselves, taking their statements, and investigating their cases. Baig then lobbied her managers to set up a women-focused service unit, equipped with private meeting rooms, washrooms, and a children’s play area — and staffed exclusively by female officers.



Amna Baig is inspiring more women in Pakistan to join the police force, 2020.

Last year, Baig was transferred to Islamabad, and one of the first calls she received was from the local Inspector-General of Police, asking her to replicate the unit there. “In the past month, we’ve dealt with more than 100 cases and the feedback we’re receiving is that 95% of complainants are satisfied with the service received,” she reports.



**Sakhile Nkosi, 2019 Integrity Icon, Senior Audiologist, Mpumalanga**

Although South Africa is considered a middle-income country, it also has a reputation as one of the most unequal societies in the world. This makes for an under-resourced and inefficient public service — tarnished by corruption and state capture — that is shadowed by a well-resourced and relatively well-run private sector.

Sakhile Nkosi is a young audiologist in a rural province called Mpumalanga. Interestingly, he is the only such specialist in a catchment area of hundreds of thousands of people — private hospitals included — and so his little office at the local public hospital is a crucial bridge across the public and private divide. He was crowned as an Integrity Icon winner in 2019 and has a sophisticated grasp of what it takes to navigate any bureaucratic incentives that emerge.

The visibility Nkosi has enjoyed since winning the award has positioned him well for leadership opportunities. These include being appointed to several hospital management committees as well as the Ethics Committee of the country’s national association of audiologists. Known for his ebullient personality and charming bedside manner, Nkosi is attuned to the many positive changes brought about by COVID-19’s impact.

“When I started here a few years ago, my aspirations weren’t discussed. Now my wellness comes up frequently in conversations with my supervisors,” he laughs. “I’ve also applied for research funding from the Mpumalanga Department of Health and my supervisor wrote a beautiful reference for me.”

Nkosi has used these gains strategically too, honing his abilities to make the system more effective for his patients and wisely lobbying his managers to grow his audiology department, which has become essential for the small town of Lydenburg.



Sakhile Nkosi with a patient in Mpumalanga, South Africa, 2019.

“In 2017, my annual budget was just R20,000 (US\$ 1,403). I was able to buy five, maybe six, hearing aids that year. My current budget for the year is R250,000 (US\$ 17,517). I’ve managed to procure 60 hearing aids plus lots of free accessories that I negotiated from my suppliers. I’m even customising them for my paediatric patients. If someone wants a Frozen or Mickey Mouse hearing aid, then that’s what they get!”

Strengthening relationships both inside and outside the hospital has become Nkosi’s strength. But he also has another ace up his scrubs in the form of an open, generous approach to public service. “I think my attitude makes a big difference to my success. I wake up and go to work joyfully every morning because I know my value,” he concludes. “I feel like a source of important answers to all my patients. Nobody else can answer their questions in the whole town. People call me the ‘doctor for ears’ and it’s my favourite title of all.”



*Sheena Adams is the Global Director of Communications for Accountability Lab based in Johannesburg, South Africa. She works with communications officers in 11 network labs across the organisation’s public engagement campaigns and community outreach efforts.*

# NITI Aayog: The Role of a Policy Thinktank

NITI Aayog's Vice-Chairman *Rajiv Kumar* explains the thinktank's role in translating a dynamic policy shift into reality.



**T**he Aayog with a Difference NITI Aayog. An elegant name for a new era. NITI stands for National Institution for Transforming India, while 'niti' pleasingly at the same time means 'policy' in Sanskrit and Hindi. 'Aayog' means 'Commission'.

When the Indian thinktank was constituted in January 2015, it was certainly not designed as a successor institution to the Planning Commission, whose goals, institutional framework, and instrumentalities for promoting the development agenda are qualitatively different. Rather, its formation reflected Prime Minister Modi's vision of promoting both cooperative and competitive federalism. India had some ambitious development goals to achieve.

The critical feature of NITI Aayog is that both the central and state governments act as development partners. NITI Aayog's principal mandate is therefore to forge meaningful partnerships with

state governments, civil society organisations, the private sector, and innovators for accelerating the pace of India's development. At the same time it empowers itself with all the intellectual fire power that can enable it to bring to bear transformative ideas for solving the challenges faced by the varied stakeholders, and their subsequent execution through the line ministries in either the centre or state governments. NITI Aayog therefore works as a thought partner with all stakeholders, especially states and union territories, which are the principal agents for fostering economic development. In a large and diversified country like India, this is clearly an effective approach to centralised planning.

NITI Aayog's founding principles include cooperative federalism (collaboration between the central and state governments, replicating best practices) and competitive federalism (spurring healthy competition among states, through a system of ranking them across various indices). Both pillars of this dual mandate are complementary and are



Prime Minister Narendra Modi is greeted by the delegates at the Global Mobility Summit 'Move' organised by NITI Aayog, at Vigyan Bhawan in New Delhi, India, 7 September 2018.

being implemented in tandem for guiding the centre and states towards shared objectives, albeit through customised approaches.

### **A Shared Vision**

The Governing Council of NITI Aayog — comprising Chief Ministers and Lieutenant Governors of all States and Union Territories — is the premier body tasked with evolving a shared vision of national priorities and strategies in shaping the development narrative. NITI Aayog partners with States for designing and reviewing development plans. It also provides a platform for direct issue-based interaction between state governments and central ministries thereby helping quick resolution of outstanding issues.

To enable the inclusion of common regional issues and challenges in designing the development path for the constituent States, the NITI Forum for North East has been established and tangible sectoral proposals are being implemented by States

in partnership with the North East Council. It is envisaged that similar to the NITI Forum for the North East, other regional councils of contiguous States could be formed in future. The first step has been taken through the formation of the Himalayan States Regional Council and the formation of a coalition of 13 central universities located in these States. These universities are taking up research on issues common to all the 13 Himalayan States.

NITI Aayog promotes competitive federalism principally through preparing and disseminating its sectoral indices in the public domain. The indices on water conservation, quality of school education, delivery of public health, state of innovation ecosystem, export preparedness, and achievement of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have attracted significant positive attention. Over the past four years, states have come to recognise the usefulness of these sector indices for improving their governance and improving accountability of their sector officials.



Union Minister for Finance and Corporate Affairs Nirmala Sitharaman (third from right), launches the National Monetisation Pipeline in the presence of NITI Aayog Vice Chairman Dr. Rajiv Kumar (second from right), CEO Amitabh Kant (second from left), and secretaries of relevant line ministries in New Delhi, India, 23 August 2021.

### Measuring Performance

NITI Aayog's Aspirational Districts Programme (ADP) was recently lauded by the United Nations Development Programme for enabling significant improvements in the 112 least developed districts of the country across health, nutrition, and education outcomes since its inception. ADP is the world's largest initiative in results-based governance, covering 250 million people in 112 aspirational districts across India. The ADP model is focused on promoting competition among districts, enabling convergence of schemes, and fostering collaboration across and beyond government agencies.

The Development Monitoring and Evaluation Office (DMEO) office within NITI Aayog evaluates the performance of all line ministries on the basis of the output and outcomes achieved in the various central and centre-sponsored schemes. Additionally, DMEO reviews the progress of infrastructure departments of the central government for periodic review by the prime minister. In order to improve governance at all levels of government, DMEO is collaborating

with state governments for establishing similar capacity. Additionally, NITI Aayog has been closely monitoring the progress of SDGs across all states as well as engaging with them to set up real-time technology-based monitoring capacities.

### Practical Implementation

NITI Aayog has made and is continuously engaged in providing fresh policy-related inputs for implementation by relevant central government ministries. It was involved with the drafting of the National Medical Commission Bill, as well as the Bills for reforming the education system pertaining to Indian Systems of Medicine and Homeopathy. All three Bills have been passed by both houses of Parliament, paving the way for building a world-class medical education system in the country.

NITI Aayog has also been closely involved with the design and monitoring of *Ayushman Bharat*, perhaps the largest universal health initiative in the world. A similar key role has been played by NITI Aayog in the *POSHAN Abhiyaan* scheme that was launched by the government to provide an appropriate governance

structure reflecting the many overlapping factors like access to sanitation and health services that affect the nutritional status of an individual or household. The reforms of the higher education system, recently announced as part of the National Education Policy, were also initiated in NITI Aayog. Universal health, agriculture sector modernisation, renewable energy, electric mobility, reforms of the mining sector as well as the campaign against women and child malnutrition are some examples of areas where NITI Aayog has made substantive policy inputs during its six-year existence.

### Data is the New Oil

Given that data is the new oil, NITI Aayog is working on modernising India's data system through the creation of a National Data and Analytics Platform, a user-centric web platform that aims to enable effective use of government data. The NDAP portal will be launched in January 2022 with 400 completely verified and user friendly data sets for use by the research and policy making communities.

To position India as a global leader in the use of futuristic technologies, NITI Aayog is focused on establishing a robust ecosystem that nurtures innovation, promotes democratisation in the development of emerging technologies, while enabling their seamless adoption for improving the ease of living and ease of doing business.

Atal Innovation Mission (AIM) is a flagship initiative of NITI Aayog for promoting innovation and entrepreneurship across the country. AIM has adopted a holistic approach towards establishing an integrated ecosystem of innovation and entrepreneurship at school, university, industry levels, linking NGOs, venture capital and private industries in the process. AIM promotes an innovative mindset in school students through Atal Tinkering Labs (ATLs) that feed into start-ups fostered by the Atal Incubation Centres (AICs). Around 7,500 ATLs have already been established thus far, covering 35 states and union territories in India. The goal is to establish 10,000 ATLs by the end of 2022 and ramp up to 50,000 over the next five years. Over the last four years, ATLs have given 2.4 million students access to the latest technologies and ignited new ideas.

### A Trusted Partner

To achieve the goal of rapid, sustained, and clean growth that generates employment for all, investing in the right physical and social infrastructure, is a prerequisite. NITI Aayog, with its intellectual breadth and depth, is well-placed to help India achieve these goals. Over the last six years, many bold reforms have been undertaken by the Central Government. India cannot grow faster unless States grow at higher rates. The time has come for States to implement these reforms in letter and spirit, so as to help the country reach the next frontier of growth.

In this process, States can count on NITI Aayog as a partner for customising and implementing these pathbreaking reforms, including reducing compliance burden, weeding out archaic legislations, and unleashing the full potential of private sector participation.

Ultimately, the onus of putting India on a high-growth trajectory and ensuring that the benefits of growth are equitably distributed rests with both the Centre and States. NITI Aayog will continue to work towards strengthening cooperative federalism, thereby enabling the Centre and States to work in tandem as equal partners for ensuring India's success.

*Assistance by Urvashi Prasad is gratefully acknowledged.*



*Dr Rajiv Kumar is the Vice-Chairman of NITI Aayog, in the rank and status of a Cabinet Minister. He also serves as the Chancellor of Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Pune. His earlier stint in government was initially with the Ministry of Industry and subsequently in the Ministry of Finance, as Economic Adviser during the reform years of 1991-1994. He also served as an independent director on the central boards of the Reserve Bank of India and the State Bank India. He has wide experience of having worked in government, academia, industry associations, as well as in international financial institutions. Dr Kumar has a PhD in Economics from Lucknow University, India and a DPhil from Oxford University, U.K.*

# Helping People Lead Better Lives

*Sandra Naranjo Bautista*, former Acting Vice-President of Ecuador, shares lessons from her time in office.

**G**overnance Matters: When you became a minister, you were younger than the median age of ministers in the world. Interestingly, we are also seeing more younger people being elected or appointed to ministerial and key government positions around the world. What do you think of this growing trend and what advice do you have for your peers who have assumed the reins of national leadership at a relative younger age?

**Sandra Naranjo Bautista:** I think that it's excellent this is happening because it reflects how our population has been changing. This segment of the population should be represented, and I think that being from that segment allows for better understanding of current issues, especially in a world that changes so rapidly. I also feel that there are some advantages that come with being young, in the sense that you perhaps are more willing to take risks and innovate, and can bring new or fresh ideas to the table.



That said, while I believe that it is good and refreshing to have younger people in government, I do think that there are some things that come only with experience, so finding the right equilibrium between the two is very important.

Leaders are only as good as their teams. And the best thing you can do when you are a leader, regardless of your age, is to find a team that complements you with different skill sets from the ones that you have. I found that while I was young, and perhaps had the drive to get things done, it was very useful to have a group of more experienced people around me, that had worked in public service longer and were able to offer their perspectives and wisdom.

**In your experience, what should a minister's first 100 days look like? What can a minister do to get up to speed with a new portfolio?**

This is an interesting question because I have a slightly different view when it comes to milestones such as 100 days. When you're a minister, you know for sure the day you start work, but you never know when your last day will be. So, I think it's important to just put that in perspective.

I believe that one of the first things you should prioritise when you are starting at an institution is to understand the organisation and make an effort to speak to the people who work there. Because while you are new, the institution is not,

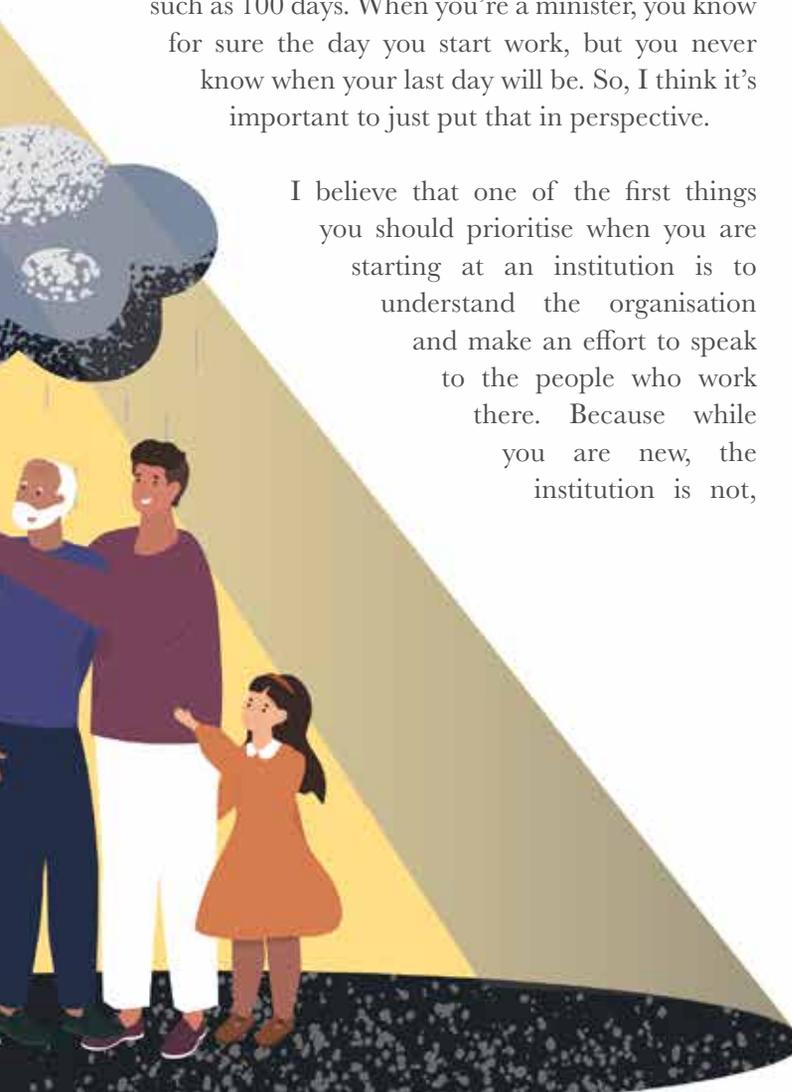
and there are people who have been working there for many years, and projects that are ongoing.

Every time I started a new position as a minister, I would meet with everyone in a town hall of sorts, just to introduce myself, and share who I was and what was important to me. For example, it was very important to me, personally, to make a point about corruption and how that was a line that should never be crossed. I was very clear that no matter who uses my 'name', that I would never give the instruction to give a contract to anyone. Likewise, I wanted to make it clear that I would not tolerate that sort of behaviour from the team.

I also believe that it is important to have a long-term vision that is shared with the rest of the organisation. Of course, not everything starts with you, but I think that it is important to lay out the priorities and have a plan for how to get there in the coming months or years. As a leader, your main role is to ensure that everyone is on the same page, so it is key to constantly reinforce the priorities.

Another thing I believe strongly in is keeping an open-door policy. I believe it is important that your team gives you frank and fearless advice, because the best way they can help you during a decision-making process is by telling you the truth. You need people to be honest with you, and not just tell you what you want to hear. And so with every team that I met for the first time, I would make it a point to take the time to listen to them and ask them about what they're working on, their priorities, their issues, and concerns. This was very useful, because in these conversations a few key issues would always pop up, this allows you to map out the problems of the organisation and the people dynamics quickly.

I always tell the story of how I was in an initial meeting with the public investment management team and I asked them what they would do differently, or if they had any ideas about how we could improve. One particular guy offered some brilliant ideas. I asked him why they weren't executed before and he answered that no one had ever asked them what they thought. This was shocking for me because so much knowledge and expertise were not being utilised simply because the 'space to listen' was not created.





Sandra Naranjo Bautista during a tour of the El Guabito project in Manabí, Ecuador, February 2017.

**In many countries, there is often tension or disagreement between politicians and political appointees on the one hand, and long-time civil servants on the other. You spoke about how you relate to them — via ground rules, drawing on their experience, and an open door policy. Can you share more about how the divide between the two can be bridged?**

This is a really important issue and one that I've written about at Better Govs. I think it's important to understand that we have different views and respond to different things. For example, civil servants tend to take a longer-term view because they have a career in the civil service.

Further, because of the type of work that they do, civil servants tend to focus more on technical and administrative issues. They are the ones with the institutional memory.

Conversely, politicians often take a shorter-term view of things because there is an awareness that their time in office is limited. Their thinking tends to revolve around: "What's the next thing I'm going to do?" Politicians tend to weight political priorities and views more heavily than the technical and administrative aspects of things. So, just understanding how we see the world differently is the first step.

Another aspect that I think is important to overcoming conflicts is to have a clear realisation that even though you may have different views, you are all working towards the same goal, which is the good of the country. That's the end goal. As a politician, you need an effective civil service, and civil servants need the empowerment and authority to get things done, so it's really a symbiotic relationship. Once you have that clear, it tends to overshadow the differences and brings people together.

**Countries often design good and well-intentioned policies and plans. However, the key is the ability to implement and execute these plans well. Can you share with us an example from your experience in political leadership where implementation really mattered?**

Execution is everything. If you're only thinking or even designing things, but not doing, then nothing happens. It doesn't matter how brilliant your ideas are or how many past achievements your cabinet might have. Your only measure — and all that really matters — is the execution of your ideas.

I'll give you a very tangible example. In April 2016, Ecuador experienced one of the biggest earthquakes the country had had in almost a century. It nearly destroyed one of the towns in a very poor and vulnerable area. The people that were affected were, perhaps, some of the poorest in the country. Some of them lost everything, including their homes, and the only way that they could move on from the temporary shelters that the government provided was if new houses were built for them.

The priority for the government was to finish building all these houses before the end of its term because we knew that when the transition of government came, there was going to be a natural stop in the process. We did not want these people to have to wait another year; people simply cannot live in temporary shelters. We built around 4,000 houses in a matter of months..

**Effective implementation requires both the right system and the right culture. How can government leaders create a culture of implementation within the civil service?**

I think it's important to have the systems in place. I love this quote from James Clear: “You don't rise to the level of your goals, you fall to the level of your systems.”

When you start delivering things and making things work, it is important to ensure that people know they have done well. When you show people that

their efforts are valued, it generates an effect — like a virtuous cycle where good things keep happening.

For example, while visiting one of the housing construction sites in Ecuador, I met a man who was still living in his temporary shelter, a tent. He invited me to this tent and showed me the space he had managed to make for his bike. I then asked what would he do with his bike when he moved into his house, to which he replied: “I don't know but I will find a special place for it.”

When he moved into his new home, he called me and invited me to see the “special place” he had chosen for the bike. It was a very special moment. I think that when you leave government, these are the things you take with you — the feeling that you get when you know you are doing something good for others. So, I think that is part of what creates the culture.



Sandra Najanjo Bautista speaks to children during a tour of the Fuerza Sucre shelter in Manabí, Ecuador, January 2017.



Sandra Naranjo Bautista during a press conference in Ecuador, 2017.

**Changes in levels of resources may impact implementation in governments. Scarcity of resources has become more pronounced in some countries due to resources being channelled to mitigation and recovery from the pandemic. What's a good way to think about how to respond in those situations?**

Resources are scarce. Things change. Think about all the governments during the pandemic. Even if they thought at the start of 2020 that they had the year all figured out, suddenly the virus descended upon us and the whole world changed.

Things aren't always as dramatic as COVID-19, but the point I want to make is that you always have to prepare for what is coming. In a situation where you are in the middle of the project, and you need to decide your next steps, I think an important concept is what economists call the marginal analysis. Ask the questions: "what is the marginal benefit of what you're going to do" and "how does it compare to the marginal cost of what you're doing" because at the end of the day, you're going to have to make difficult decisions and choices.

You want to make sure that whatever resources you're allocating — money, manpower, anything — they go to their most valuable use.

I think that marginal analysis is important in that it gives you a practical tool for prioritising and deciding how to allocate resources, and how or what to do next.

**As a senior leader, it can be difficult keeping track of everything happening on the ground. Have you found effective ways to oversee and retain accountability of the various teams and people doing things under your charge?**

Several things: first, I think the team that you have is very important as I mentioned earlier. You are only as good as your teammates. I used to meet with my undersecretaries, and define our priorities for the week, or the issues that were important. I would then ask them to do the same with their teams, who would then share that information with their own teams. I felt that this was an important step in keeping everyone on the same page because people can, and do, end up working in silos.

Another important thing to do, I think, is to be clear about your priorities because there will never be enough time to do everything. And when you work in the public sector, you know that the deadline for everything is 'yesterday' — you're always in a fight with time. So I like to think of the Pareto efficiency rule: basically, you want to focus on where you get 80% of the results. To give you a practical example, when I was monitoring the budget, I could not personally review every spending item in every ministry. What I did was focus on 20% of the institutions that had 80% of the budget. That meant that if something was wrong with, say, the Ministry of Transport and Infrastructure, then I had a big issue because they were an important part of the budget. But if there was low execution with a minor entity, it didn't mean that it wasn't important, it's just that the impact would be different.

One of the things we would do when I met with my team was to check in on our priorities because there are things that you want to do — and there are things that you must do. Everyone must be clear on what those tasks are and the deadlines. That's

how I like to think about monitoring. Think of a dashboard that tells you how things are and where to focus your energy. It's not so much about "so-and-so didn't do this", or "this is not working". It's more of, "I have a problem here that I need to fix". Then going back to this idea of allocating scarce resources, "how am I going to allocate the resources" to "how am I going to solve issues as I go".

When thinking about execution, I firmly believe the details matter. If you're the leader, you need to *be* in the details. Often, projects fail when people assume that someone else would do the work and they didn't.

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*My dad believed in thinking about those who were worse off and what could be done to help them — that was the way I was raised, and I think it has inspired the work that I do.*

**From your answers, it is evident that you are very values-driven. Can you share some of your major influences growing up and how they shaped the way you see leadership and government.**

When I first started working in government, I worked in the President's office. I think I was in a unique position because I was a junior staff but I saw everything, and it was an opportunity to gain a good perspective on how things work.

One thing that I learned early on is that it's very easy to confuse the position you're in with who you are. I told myself, that if I ever was in a position of power, I didn't want to confuse who I was with what I did. So yes, I was a minister, and now I'm the head of an organisation that I created. Sometimes you're up, sometimes you're down. But the essence

of who you are, and how you treat people, should not and does not change with the role you are in. That's what you take with you.

I came from a family where everything we had, was because of our hard work. But my parents and my grandparents, and in particular my grandfather on my dad's side, would always ask: "How do we help others?" My dad always used to say that we will always find people who are better off, and others who are worse off than we are. He believed in thinking about those who were worse off and what could be done to help them — that was the way I was raised, and I think it has inspired the work that I do.

The President that I worked for also influenced me because I could see that he truly cared about what he was doing. When he made a decision, it was based on how it could better serve the citizens. One of the things he taught me is that when you are in a position of power, you have to learn to use that power for the benefit of the majority.

As I went into my career in the public sector, I realised that those of us who work in the public sector have a huge responsibility to our countries and to our people, and we don't take that lightly. That's why I think it's important to talk to others in civil service who similarly believe in serving the greater good, because that is when you identify the power to do good things.



*Sandra Naranjo Bautista is a public policy expert, specialising in governance, policy design and implementation, and public financial management. She is the former acting Vice-President of Ecuador. She has also served as Minister of Planning and Development as well as Minister of Tourism. She has worked as a consultant for the World Bank, DFAT, the Gates Foundation and other organisations in Indonesia, Papua New Guinea, Timor-Leste, Peru and Mexico. Sandra is also the founder and CEO of Better Govs, an initiative focused on improving policy implementation in developing countries.*



Public Innovators Network gathering in La Moneda, Presidential Palace, Santiago, Chile, 2018.

# The Laboratory Brewing Innovation in Chile

*Roman Yósif Capdeville*, Executive Director of Chile’s Laboratorio de Gobierno, discusses why innovation is crucial to public management in the 21st century.

**G**overnance Matters: As the state agency and innovation lab leading positive disruption since 2015, what role does Laboratorio de Gobierno play within the governance ecosystem? What challenges have you faced?

**Roman Yósif:** Laboratorio de Gobierno was established to promote transformation and innovation within the Chilean public sector. We foster the acceleration of a very diverse kind of public sector with our clear vision. Any critical changes that can improve the lives of our people must be co-created, co-produced, and co-implemented hand in hand with the citizens themselves. This type of engagement is a unique paradigm of public sector innovation — not only in terms of the creation or redesign of public services, but also with regard to our public servants.

When leading a co-creative lab of this sort, we have to take a multinational approach in terms of disciplines, cultures, and the backgrounds of the people consulted. We must be evidence-based and



drive change based on data, user experience, and the appreciation of trends in the ecosystem.

As a lab, we have the opportunity to take a deep dive into research on innovation. However, I think it's equally important to focus on implementation. Many labs focus on innovation, on finding solutions, but they neglect the actual execution of the ideas. In 2018, we made structural changes to our business model and governance to ensure that we are really redefining and refining the way a government runs. In this way, we went from being a partner that promotes transformation to one that makes a tangible impact on society.

**In building innovation capabilities, which ministries and agencies do you partner with, and how do you drive concrete outcomes?**

The latter part of that question is something we ask ourselves all the time. As previously mentioned, in 2018, our lab faced a point of inflection. We were very young (not quite three years in operation) and we faced our first change of command in the

government. The President was new, the authorities and ministers were new, and we as a lab were very weak, institutionally, in terms of our innovation model, and how useful we were in terms of actually effecting change and showing perceptible results.

This was an opportunity for us to think about what sort of 'business-meets-service' model our lab needed to have in order to be relevant and have real impact.

We devised a bootcamp. The team spent a week delving into who we are (an agency that promotes innovation within the state with demonstrable results) and who our customers are (public sector institutions, and the authorities or civil servants who work within them). Based on this deep reflection on our intrinsic identity, we designed our business model.

Our model offers three services to accelerate public sector transformation for Chile's citizens. The first service is **agile consultancy**, which is a mix of some well-known methodologies, and others that take a very practical, local approach, implemented by a multi-disciplinary team. The team is agile enough to understand problems, explore them deeply and then design, co-create, prototype, evaluate, and escalate solutions.

The second service is the **public innovators' network**, a decentralisation strategy to instill a new kind of culture in the public sector — and also within the private and social sectors. This network has around 18,000 members, comprising civil servants and people from other sectors who are interested in multi-sector innovation. It is the biggest public innovation network in Chile and perhaps one of the biggest in the world.

Finally, we complement our service model with the **public innovation index**, a service to measure institutional capabilities. Only national public services can apply and it is 100% voluntary. In our first year, we measured 37 services representing more than 60% of public expenditure, so it's highly representative of the reality of the Chilean public sector. In the process, we provided customised reports, mentorship, and follow-up programmes — material useful for representatives of these services to improve capabilities year-on-year.

### Can you share an anecdote of how the lab has worked effectively with other government organisations?

Together with the Ministry of Healthcare, we designed a new model and value proposition for a national healthcare insurance service that provides services to 85% of the population in Chile. We co-created several digital services, eliminated bureaucracy, and coordinated with other agencies. At the same time, we effectively redesigned systems and structures. The way to implement new processes is to clearly assign roles and be definitive about an organisational chart. We successfully executed the project in six months in an ‘agile’ way with more than 1,000 civil servants working on the project, and with various associations in the mix.

What was really interesting about this transformation was that the people working in the healthcare industry under the Ministry of Health — those who would be affected — were very much engaged in the design and implementation of the new organisational changes. It was very unorthodox, because they had to rethink where they were going to work, with whom, and in what kind of role. This shows the value of giving stakeholders agency, and hence ownership.



Signing of the agreement with the president of the IDB for the creation of the Public Innovation Index, Chile, 2019.

### Can you share an example of how the agile methodology came into play during the COVID-19 crisis?

When COVID-19 hit, we took on a project to create the biggest employment subsidy programme in the history of Chile, a US\$ 200m programme to create one million jobs in six months. And we only had six or seven weeks from start to roll-out. This was extremely challenging because we had to coordinate with eight different agencies and two ministries to think, design, create and deliver in a very co-productive way.

The agile methodology really was about understanding what we call the ‘four labels of change’: strategy, service, operation, and organisation. We did it with the added pressure of the President and the ministers asking for results every two days. We understood that to be effective, a main goal had to be to deliver this program in a very simple, user-friendly way that was digital by default. We have now delivered more than 900,000 subsidies with 80% positive user feedback.





**How does the lab acquire its clients? Do you source them directly or do clients look for you to solve specific public sector problems?**

It is a mix. When we first started, it was mainly 90% demand-led. Now that we have more experience, and because we better understand the bigger picture of the common challenges that different kinds of public institutions face, we are able to detect opportunities — whether in a political context, or from agendas that various ministries need pushing — and put forward solutions before it gets to the stage where we are called in in a ‘firefighting’ capacity.

**Public leaders often say, “you must innovate to address the challenges of our time”. But in reality, there is a lot of firefighting of the same problems time and time again, and innovation is considered last. What is your advice for governments and public offices around the world who wish to encourage more innovation?**

Firstly, I would advise them not to create a singular ‘innovation manager’ role, because when such a

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*To facilitate a new era of thriving, forward-looking public sector institutions, innovation must be at the heart of public management in the 21st century.*

specialist is put on a pedestal, you are saying to the rest of the organisation, “they are innovating, the rest of us can get on with running the business”. On the contrary, the whole organisation must innovate simultaneously.

Secondly, innovation by its very nature is not clear cut — it’s an evolution. It’s an approach and a tool to reach a destination, through change. So my advice to public sector leaders is to put out your fires innovatively, through mixing experimentation with agility.

Finally, we must measure the impact of each innovative shift. We need to show the more orthodox government practitioners that innovation is not optional. To facilitate a new era of thriving, forward-looking public sector institutions, innovation must be at the heart of public management in the 21st century.



*Roman Yosif Capdeville has a degree in commercial engineering from Universidad de Chile and also a certificate on data analytics from MIT. He has worked in various industries, both, within the private and public sector, dealing with innovation challenges and collaborating with several stakeholders. He has led digital startups as well as cultural projects. Since 2014, he has focused his work experience on public sector innovation; as a co-founder and first Deputy Head of the Government of Chile’s “Laboratorio de Gobierno” (LabGob), the first national innovation laboratory for the public sector in Latin America. Capdeville is also an active member of the Innovation Circle Board of ICARE (the Chilean Institute of Company Administration), an expert member of the Chilean National Contest of Innovation AVO/NI, fellow member of the Public Sector Strategy Network of Salzburg Global Seminar, and board member of the Executive Committee for the State Modernization in Chile.*

# Ministry of the Future

Governance Matters speaks with *Kristel Van der Elst*, Director General of Policy Horizons Canada, a federal government organisation helping the Canadian government develop future-oriented policies and programmes.



**A** 2021 report commissioned by the U.K. government looked at the foresight capabilities of more than 16 countries, analysing eight of them in greater detail. Among those studied was Canada — and more specifically an organisation within the Canadian government called Policy Horizons. The report gave Canada — and by extension, Policy Horizons — the highest possible score in two areas: ‘activity across the ecosystem’ and ‘impact at systems level’.

Canada’s efforts to formally integrate planning for the future into its government date back to the end of World War II, with the creation of the Ministry of State and Technology in 1945. The government experimented with different structures, bodies, and research outfits until Policy Horizons — an organisation explicitly focused on strategic foresight — was officially created in 2010.

Through multiple administrations, Policy Horizons has grown in size and influence. Today, it produces a number of foresight studies that are informed by, and which also inform, Canada’s most senior decision-makers. It also trains public servants, cultivates a foresight network across multiple government departments, and helps departments and agencies bolster their own foresight capabilities.

Leading the organisation is Kristel Van der Elst, who has served as Policy Horizons’ Director General since 2018. Before joining Policy Horizons, Van der Elst was Head of Strategic Foresight at the World Economic Forum for almost a decade. In a recent conversation with *Governance Matters*, she explained why foresight remains vital — rather than a luxury — in times of crisis. “Every decision a government makes has long-term consequences,” she says. “And in a crisis, given how many decisions you’re making each second, each day, your choices bake the future in very quickly.”

### **Governance Matters: Could an organisation like Policy Horizons work in other countries? Or is it an approach and structure uniquely suited to Canada?**

**Kristel Van der Elst:** It could work anywhere. When you’re in the public service, you’re supposed to take care of your country for the future. That’s part of the job description. Every country should have foresight capabilities, and a lot of countries already do in some form. Singapore and Finland, for example, have strong foresight experience. The European Commission, since 2015, has approached foresight in a more structured, formalised way: one of its Vice-Presidents [Maroš Šefčovič] is the first ever member of the College of Commissioners in charge of strategic foresight. The Strategic Foresight Unit at the OECD sits within the Office of the Secretary-General. You have units being built at the IMF and the UN. There’s real demand for it.

It’s not always external-facing, and it can sit in different places. Foresight can often be treated like a research department. It’s great to do research and have data, but if it doesn’t reach decision-makers, then it’s not nearly as useful.

### **Part of Policy Horizons’ mandate is to help the government of Canada “develop future-oriented policy and programs”. How do you approach such an important, ambitious goal in practice?**

We adopt quite a few approaches: research, training, building networks. The research part sees us act a bit like a thinktank. We study key areas of change and uncertainty that Canada might face, across technological, economic, environmental, political, and geopolitical topics. We think about how they will affect the overall system and society we’re living in, and then bring that down to what it means for the policy landscape. We spend a lot of time engaging in conversations with different departments to cocreate work that will be useful for them — but we don’t tell them what they should do with our thinking. That’s their role.



Kristel Van der Elst (centre) with Policy Horizon's former Senior Director Eric Ward and Manager Marcus Ballinger, Canada, 2019.

**How are you able to work across so many departments?**

We're privileged at Policy Horizons Canada to have a Deputy Minister Steering Committee that provides oversight, direction, and guidance to us. Also, a representative of the Privy Council Office, which supports the Prime Minister and Cabinet, sits on the Steering Committee. That allows us to bring our thought leadership to the highest ranks of the public service. It also allows us to work across the government. Because although we're essentially sitting in one department, through the Committee, we have a number of deputy ministers from different departments involved. It really allows us to integrate and connect.

**Another part of your work is to “build foresight literacy and capacity” across the Canadian Public Service. How does that work in practice?**

We're the central hub for foresight, let's say, within the government of Canada, but we're not the only ones doing foresight. It is happening in different

departments — the Global Affairs department, for instance, has a foresight unit. There are a lot of people thinking about the future — senior advisers, those doing environment scanning — who don't operate strictly under the label of foresight. We lead trainings. We launched our first Futures Week conference this year, which allowed public servants to explore the future, examine the changing policy landscapes, the opportunities and challenges we might face, and to learn about how foresight informs decision making. We also build networks, like the Federal Foresight Network, where we bring together people from different departments. We meet monthly to share processes, tools, lessons, and experiences, so we slowly build up the capacity within different departments.

**Do you have any metrics that define what success or progress look like?**

It's tough to measure precisely. When someone makes a decision, they're informed by many sources — how can you isolate the effect of one report or one conversation? Ultimately, it depends on the answers

to these questions: Do the people that we're serving feel that we bring value? Do they feel their decisions are better informed so they can incorporate that information into their decision making? Do they call on us? Do they ask our opinions?

What we're seeing is that the demand on our services have increased tremendously — Policy Horizons has grown significantly in the last three years. There's a lot of demand for foresight, but we also seem to be responding in a way that people find helpful.

**What steps can other governments and public leaders take if they want to focus on foresight in government planning?**

There are many important nuances, but I think it really boils down to these factors: Do we have the systems in place? Do we have the people with the right mindsets in place? You need the right people who believe in foresight. And you need the right infrastructure.

If leaders don't make time for it, or don't prioritise foresight, then it's not going to happen. If you're constantly in emergency mode, long-term thinking doesn't happen or it doesn't get prioritised. And if leaders never ask those questions, if there's no infrastructure to take the time to ask those questions, it's not going to happen.

It is also important to integrate at the right places. Where you sit matters — if you're sidelined, it's just not going to work. Foresight has to be hardwired into existing processes and systems; it has to be integrated into decision-making. Embedding means putting mechanisms in place that create space for people to think about the future when they create and discuss the policy — time on the agenda at important meetings, workshops scheduled, committees organised. Things like that.

There's also something to be said for the right culture, instilling a 'foresight mindset.' You might be an expert in your field, but change often comes from across a system, in places you're not an expert on. You need to work across different departments and policy areas to understand how things are going to play out and where change might come from. Are you open to collaborating, to having conversations?

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*People embrace foresight because they realise change is happening now, and they're the ones who have to address it.*

**How can leaders not be in “emergency mode,” as you put it, when it seems like there's an endless supply of emergencies demanding their attention?**

During COVID-19, people rightly went into crisis mode: their focus narrowed to the end of the day, the end of the week. At Policy Horizons we said: “Let's start thinking about some of the issues that might arise in six months, 12 months.” And we've had so much demand for our work because people didn't have the time to be thinking about these issues in the way we could. The requests came from all levels of the public service, from high level decision makers to analysts, including people and organisations who might not have seen our value as clearly before.

My experience from doing this for 20 years in different organisations is that when things go well — when the world is growing, and it's all relatively peaceful — there's actually less demand for foresight. Because the assumption is often that things will continue to go well. But in times of crisis or disruption, people embrace foresight because they realise change is happening now, and they're the ones who have to address it.”



*Kristel Van der Elst is the Director General at Policy Horizons Canada, Government of Canada. She is former Head of Strategic Foresight at the World Economic Forum. Kristel holds three master's degrees including an MBA from the Yale School of Management. She is a Fulbright Scholar and a Rotary Foundation Ambassadorial Scholar.*





### Why is it important to manage the risks associated with digital technology and what can be done to manage them?

Imagine a future where tens of thousands of autonomous drones are flying to deliver goods or to help businesses (agriculture, infrastructure maintenance, etc.). To realise this, we need to achieve a certain level of safety.

But what should the rules look like? It is impossible to prescribe detailed rules about the algorithms that each drone can be equipped with. Should the rules pertain to technical standards? If so, the standards cannot be too detailed, and besides, technologies evolve so quickly that the standards might be out of date in a short time.

Or, let's suppose that two drones collide and fall onto a pedestrian, causing injury. Who should be

responsible? The collision might be because of the bad algorithm of either, or both, of the drones. That said, it is also possible that neither of the two drones' algorithms were wrong, but that the correlation of the algorithms caused an unexpected accident. In that case, who should be punished? The owner, algorithm engineer, data provider, or the manufacturer? But really, does punishing someone really make society better?

This is where innovation in governance comes in. Governance can be defined as “the design and operation of technical, organisational and social systems by stakeholders with the aim of maximising positive impact on society while managing risks at a level acceptable to stakeholders”. Based on this understanding, METI issued a set of reports titled Governance Innovation (GI report). The term ‘governance innovation has three meanings: (1) ‘Governance **of** Innovation’ in the sense of ‘managing risks’; (2) ‘Governance **for** Innovation’ in the sense of ‘maximising positive impact’ and (3) ‘Governance **by** Innovation’ in the sense of using innovative methods for the ‘design and operation of technical, organisational and social systems’. In order to achieve these goals, though, there is a need for fundamental reform of governance structure.

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*Digital technology itself is a ‘tool’ just like fire or a knife, and depending on how it is used, our society can be utopian or dystopian.*

### Can you elaborate on why and how METI proposes that these reforms should take place?

Governance is the activity required to realise a variety of ‘goals’ in ‘society’. In the digitalised society, governance has become extremely difficult because both ‘goals’ and ‘society’ are getting more complex, diverse, and fast-changing.

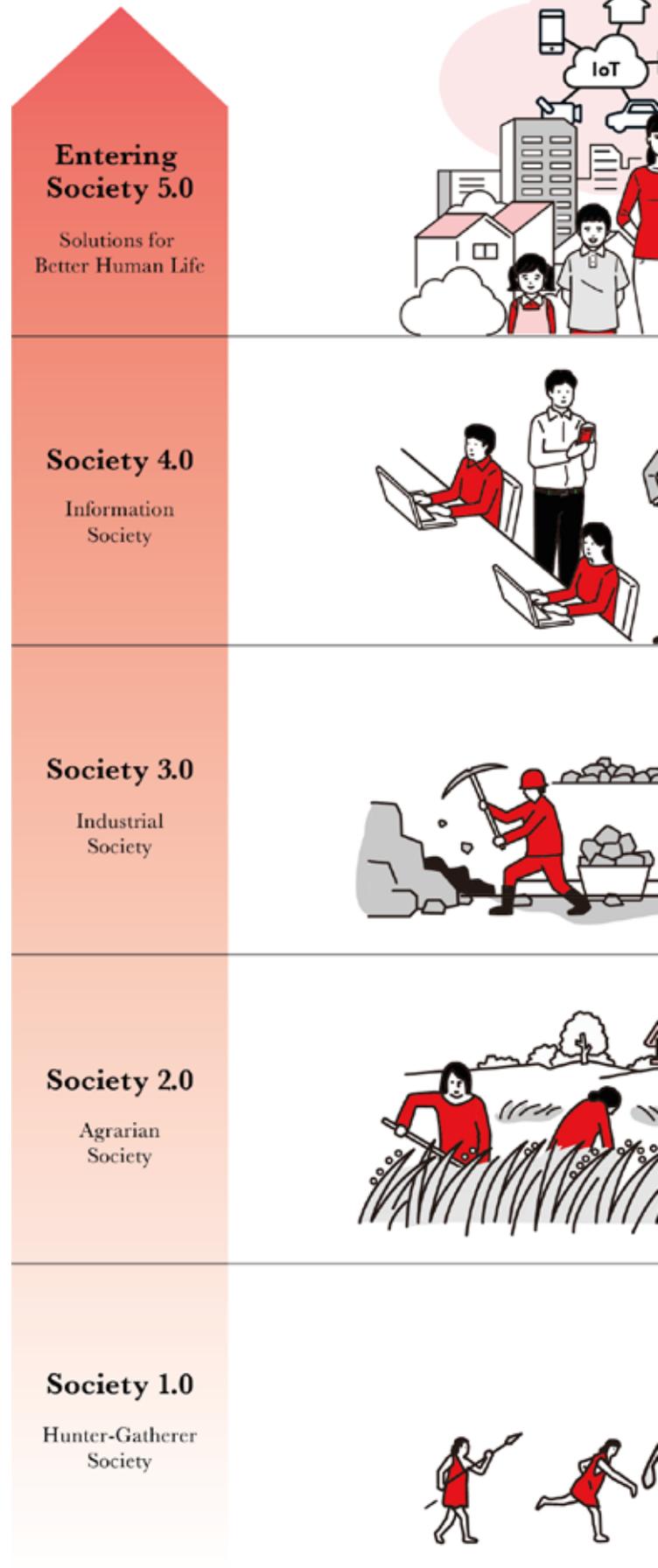
First, we assume that our ‘society’ will change in the way described in the right column of the table below. In short, our society will become more dynamic, uncertain, and global.

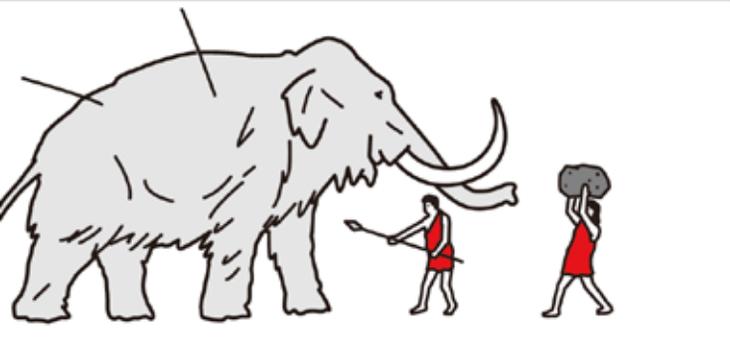
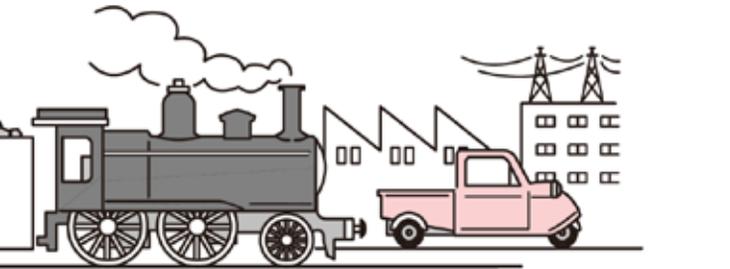
	<b>Before Society 5.0</b>	<b>After Society 5.0</b>
<i>Daily life &amp; digital technology</i>	Physical space and cyberspace are separated	Cyberspace is integrated with physical space and becomes an indispensable foundation of lives
<i>Object of trust</i>	Tangible (people, things)	Intangible (data, algorithms)
<i>Decision-making actor</i>	Only humans	Humans + AI and systems
<i>System conditions</i>	Stable	Fluid
<i>Predictability &amp; controllability</i>	Most areas are predictable & controllable	More areas become unpredictable & uncontrollable
<i>Responsible actor</i>	Easily identified	Not easily identified
<i>Geographical relationships</i>	Local <b>or</b> global	Local <b>and</b> global

Second, the ‘goals’ that we should pursue have become more diversified — the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Environmental, Social and Governance (ESG) are typical examples. Moreover, these ‘goals’ will continue to change in accordance with the development of technology and transformation of society. For example, the meaning of ‘privacy’ has expanded dramatically from a state in which one is not observed by other people, to the right to ask others to treat his/her personal information appropriately.

These characteristics impose difficulties on the traditional governance model, which is based on the belief that “the objectives of governance can be accomplished by regulators who define certain rules in advance, and by citizens who comply with the rules” (a vertical approach).

## The Road to Society 5.0





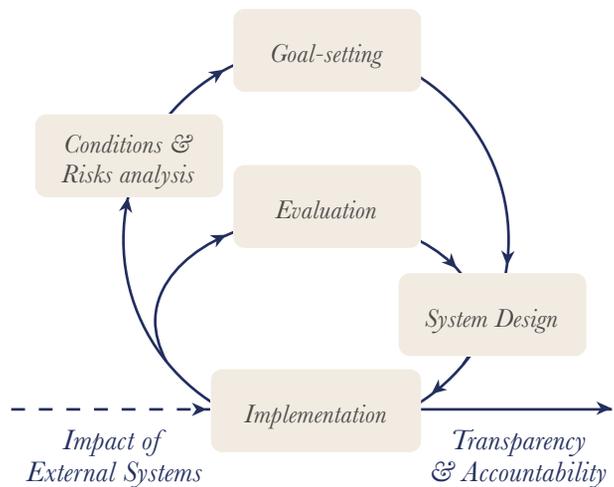
The world has become too complex to be governed through a single rule or by a single actor. Instead it will be necessary to take a multi-stakeholder approach, where certain goals are shared among stakeholders, and flexible solutions are implemented by each stakeholder (a horizontal approach).

To realise the horizontal governance model, the following two elements will be essential.

- *Agile governance cycles*: The new governance model needs to keep up with the ever-changing environment, risks, and goals, and;
- *Multistakeholder approach*: The new governance model needs to be one in which multiple stakeholders formulate rules and solve problems rather than a single government setting uniform rules.

**Can you please explain how the elements of agile governance cycles and multistakeholder approach come together to realise the horizontal governance model?**

The GI report proposes the following basic model of agile governance cycles.



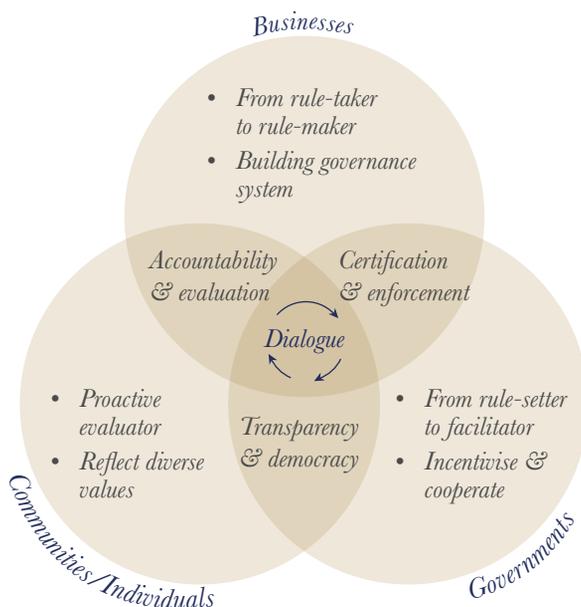
This is a model that contains PDCA (Plan-Do-Check-Act) as part of the process (the elliptical cycle in the bottom half, starting from “System Design”). In addition, it requires (i) continuous ‘condition and risk analysis’ and ‘goal-setting’ prior to ‘System design’ (the outer circular cycle), and (ii) sufficient transparency and accountability

to external stakeholders (the right bottom line). These requirements are characteristics of an agile governance cycle, which is based on the premise that the environment, risks, and goals are constantly changing, and a multistakeholder approach is necessary to achieve the goals.

As for the **multistakeholder approach**, in the traditional governance model, the ‘government’, as the name implies, plays a central role in establishing and enforcing rules. This vertical model is based on the assumption that society is relatively simple and predictable, and that a single entity can prescribe appropriate rules.

However, a society based on digital technology is extremely fast-changing, complex, and uncertain. In such a society, it is difficult for rules to keep up with the speed of changes in technology and business models, and there is a limit to how much monitoring can be done by the government alone. In such a society, a decentralised governance model that emphasises horizontal relationships among stakeholders such as businesses, individuals, and communities is considered necessary.

Under this horizontal governance model, the roles of each stakeholder are expected to change in the following way.



- **The government** will serve as a facilitator of multi-stakeholder rule-making, rather than as the sole provider of rules. For monitoring and enforcement, the government will design incentives for businesses, communities, and individuals to proactively take part in those governance processes.
- **Businesses** will become active designers of rules through providing self-regulations and designing digital architecture, rather than be passive followers of given regulations. They are expected to play a leading role in ensuring trust in new technologies or business models by explaining their rules and architecture externally.
- **Communities and individuals** are no longer vulnerable actors who lack sufficient information, becoming actors who are able to actively communicate their values and evaluations to society, which empowers democracy.

**Are there examples of how the Government of Japan is currently using the Agile Governance framework in shaping the governance of emerging technologies?**

Our governance guidelines for Artificial Intelligence (AI) is a good example of how the Agile Governance framework is used by the Government of Japan. The *Governance Guidelines for Implementation of AI Principles* bridge the gap between AI Principles and corporate practice. As it is necessary to allow for flexible and agile responses to the expected advances in AI technology and changes in social acceptance of AI, the Guidelines provide only basic behavioural goals for implementing AI Principles through agile governance cycles, leaving the specific practices and improvement methods to the companies.

**Given that this is still a conceptual approach, what can governments who are interested in Agile Governance do, should they wish to implement it?**

It is important to implement **agile governance cycles** in policy-making or rule-setting. Below, we recommend the following six points that we feel will be particularly important to implementing agile governance in society as a whole:



The ‘rule-based’ approach, in which the law prescribes detailed conduct obligations, cannot govern an increasingly complex digital society. Laws and regulations should take a **goal-based** approach, which prescribes the goals to be achieved by regulatees. Then, it is the role of each regulatee to determine what specific goals to set and how to achieve them using its technologies and human resources. This is the **co-regulation** approach.



However, it is not always easy for each company to set its own governance goals and design its own governance systems. Therefore, it is important for public and private sectors to formulate rules jointly with ‘soft law’, such as **standards and guidelines**. Such soft laws should be used along with goal-based hard laws.



In addition, it is important to actively promote demonstration of experiments using the **regulatory sandbox system** in order to improve laws and regulations based on practices and evidence.



These laws, regulations, standards, guidelines, etc should be **continuously evaluated and improved** based on data showing (i) whether they are capable of achieving the policy goals initially set (the inner circle of agile governance cycles), and (ii) whether there is a need to change the policy goals due to changes in social conditions (the outer circle of agile governance cycles).



It is also worth considering **reforming corporate sanction systems** from the perspective of incentives. A model that focuses only on the outcome of an accident and makes the company responsible will delegitimise corporate innovation, while at the same time creating incentives to conceal information when problems occur. The ultimate purpose of the sanctioning system should not be to identify and punish those responsible, but to prevent future accidents to the maximum extent possible by learning from the

ones that have occurred. The sanction system can be designed so that the penalty is imposed based on (i) the quality of governance during ordinary times, and (ii) the extent of cooperation with accident investigations and the implementation of remedial measures when accidents occur.



Finally, **disclosure of information** is essential for citizens to be able to appropriately reflect their values in governance. Mechanisms to allow individuals to be more substantively involved in political decision-making and governance system design, such as **CivicTech platforms**, should be implemented.

These are some of many examples of what the government can do in the age of digitalisation.

After all, ‘governments’ and ‘corporations’ are entities that were invented to achieve better happiness and liberty for human beings. We should use our full imagination to redesign them so that innovation can bring us the maximum positive impact while protecting — and even enhancing — social values. What we need is not a mere update of the existing framework, but dynamic reform of the entire governance framework.



*Hiroki Habuka is Deputy Director for Governance Strategy, Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, Japan, and an attorney-at-law admitted to the bar in Japan and New York State. He*

*served as the lead author of two reports published by METI, “GOVERNANCE INNOVATION: Redesigning Law and Architecture for Society 5.0” (2020) and “GOVERNANCE INNOVATION Ver.2: A Guide to Designing and Implementing Agile Governance” (2021). He received a master’s degree from Stanford Law School, where he was a Fulbright Fellow, and a Juris Doctor’s degree from University of Tokyo Law School. In 2020, he was selected by the World Economic Forum Global Future Council on Agile Governance and Apolitical as one of 50 World’s Most Influential People Revolutionising Government.*

# Decoding Social Equity with Data

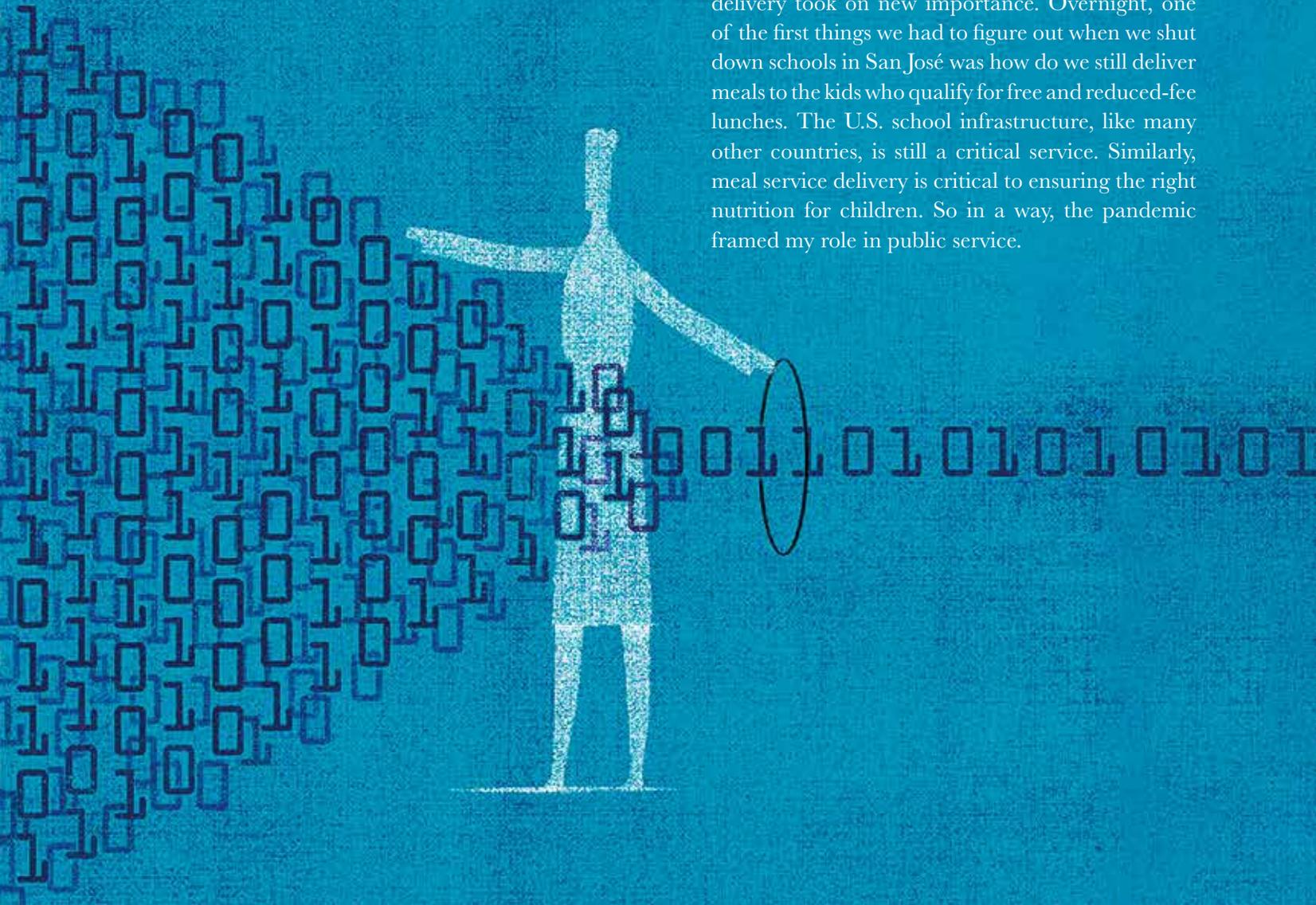
—  
*Christine Keung*, Chief Data Officer of San José, chats with *Governance Matters* about the power of data, and how it can be harnessed to better serve the community.

**G**overnance Matters: How did you come to be the Chief Data Officer of the City of San José and what does it entail?

**Christine Keung:** I would say I had a very non-traditional path to government. I joined the City of San José through a programme from Harvard Business School called the Leadership Fellows Program, which empowers people with a management and operations background to go and take high impact roles in leadership.

I think the folks who fund and support this programme really believe that beyond policy, government is also about service delivery. I accepted this fellowship in 2019, not expecting to serve it through a global pandemic, and so I sometimes do reflect on what my job would have been like if we were living in normal times.

With the pandemic, policy mattered but service delivery took on new importance. Overnight, one of the first things we had to figure out when we shut down schools in San José was how do we still deliver meals to the kids who qualify for free and reduced-fee lunches. The U.S. school infrastructure, like many other countries, is still a critical service. Similarly, meal service delivery is critical to ensuring the right nutrition for children. So in a way, the pandemic framed my role in public service.



That said, I'm very grateful for this opportunity. I think the hypothesis behind my fellowship was realised during the pandemic. Prior to business school, I had only worked in the private sector with growth-stage technology companies, such as Dropbox, and in very rigorous analytical environments, such as Bridgewater, one of the largest hedge funds in the world.

They have very different types of culture, but in a sense, these experiences were helpful because they allowed me to work in environments where data was leveraged to drive performance. When I stepped in as Chief Data Officer for the City of San José, it was at a time when performance was demanded, and our mandate was to serve everyone equitably. This created many opportunities for data to be used by the City in ways that it hadn't been used before.

**The City of San José is one of the most diverse cities in the U.S. How does the City government make use of data and analytics to build more equitable public services?**

San José is one of the wealthiest communities in the U.S. — we are the capital of Silicon Valley — and it is also one of the most ethnically diverse.

I like to say that immigration and innovation go hand in hand. The diversity we have is not random. In San José, we have one of the largest Afghan refugee populations and we're getting ready to welcome more refugees from there. We also have a huge Hispanic population and Vietnamese population. English is not the primary language in 50% of the households in San José. When I work for a city that really celebrates its diversity, I'm not serving a homogenous population, which means that access to resources differ, depending on the unit and the communities that our constituents are from.

There are also differences in terms of their immigration pathway to the U.S.. There is a difference between someone from outside of the U.S., who got a full scholarship to study at Santa Clara

University, versus someone who came to the U.S. as a refugee. Their ability to access the best that the City has to offer is fundamentally different. So we need to think about equity beyond just translating resources into different languages. That's important, but we have to go beyond that.

What's really helpful about data and analytics is that they are a tool to span that gap. For example, governments love surveys. One of the things that governments like to do is to take a survey and translate it into 20 languages. And we'll knock on people's doors and ask them to fill it out. I'm a first-generation American — I grew up in the U.S. as a minority — and my parents have never filled out a government survey. I just want to be realistic with you — surveys do not give you the full answer. Honestly, it's not just the U.S.. Many governments randomly mail surveys and hope some of them will get completed and returned.

I find that it is more helpful to apply analytics to existing government databases: it tells you who you've already served instead of putting the onus on your constituents to tell you what they want. I think it's actually more effective for governments to at least start with understanding who we were able to help for the last 10 years, understand where the gaps are, and then use that as a baseline for outreach.

**Can you elaborate further on what data equity is, and why it is more important today than ever before?**

Data equity is using our constituents' data ethically, and in ways that drive equitable outcomes for our residents — this is critical.

San José is one of the first cities to have an Office of Racial Equity. We formed this office in the summer of 2020, at the height of the Black Lives Matters protests. 2020 was a year of social justice reckoning for the country. And personally, I think it made us realise that the term equity can sometimes be a buzzword — you hear it used a lot by politicians and community organisations. But at the end of the day, we need to be rigorous about equity.

I come from a very rigorous high-performance environment. I think I've always treated the term equity the same way that companies would be focused on revenue. In the private sector, revenue isn't an ambiguous term. We know how much money is coming in and how much money we are spending. It is the same concept for me when we try to define equity for our different City departments — there needs to be consistency. And once we define it, we actually need to measure our performance against it. So that's what has always been our approach.

I developed a framework — a Data Equity Framework — that basically recognises that every City department is going to define equity differently. For example, the Parks and Recreation department is going to define equity differently from the Transportation department. This is also due to how different individuals and communities rely on these departments differently. We have to acknowledge that. My team developed the framework. We hired user researchers and service designers to go in and facilitate workshops to help each department define an equity objective. These are design thinking workshops with folks at every single level of the organisation. We define an equity objective and help them understand who they're trying to serve.

What sets our approach apart is that we actually use historical data, to essentially do a baseline assessment to understand how well we have served that community historically. And then, we commit to a roadmap so we know when we've missed a target, and what are things we can commit to moving forward to meet our objectives. I don't think that this and tying equity to performance have ever been done in the City, so this is quite an innovation.

**Can you walk us through an example of how the Data Equity Framework is used within a City department to derive equity goals and objectives, and performance targets?**

Let's use the parks department as an example because every city has their parks and every city maintains public spaces. In San José, our Parks and Recreation department also manages community centres. In our city, community centres are places where kids can go after school and it's where you have recreation programmes for senior citizens.

These are important places for a lot of low-income families. They are an important source of childcare — at least in the U.S. — as community centres are public spaces where kids can go to, and have really safe places to be. This makes these spaces especially important for lower-income communities.

One of the largest youth programmes in San José that is run by the Parks and Recreation department, the Citywide Scholarship, subsidises the cost of swimming classes, chess camps, computer sciences, and after-school camps for low-income families. We had a hypothesis that we could expand it to serve more people. Using data to help us figure out how to do that, we found that wealthier parts of the city had nicer parks, community centres, etc — and so, equity became a matter of customising services for each community rather than delivering the same service to all communities.

For example, if a place had a tennis court and a pool, you would think that to keep things equal, we would have to build tennis courts and pools in places that did not have them. But when we engaged with the community by hosting roundtables for more than 300 community organisations, we found that the lower-income families did not need tennis courts. What they needed were community centres to stay

*Data Equity Framework*

- 1

*Equity Objective*

What is an equitable outcome for your department and programmes?
- 2

*Equity Metric*

How will we measure this?  
(Derived from our objective)
- 3

*Monitoring & Evaluation*

How do we ensure this long term?  
(Supported by City Manager's Office)

open beyond 5pm because they could only pick their children up later in the evening. This was an example where we started with a goal, and using a combination of community engagement and data, we were able to learn exactly what was needed to achieve that goal.

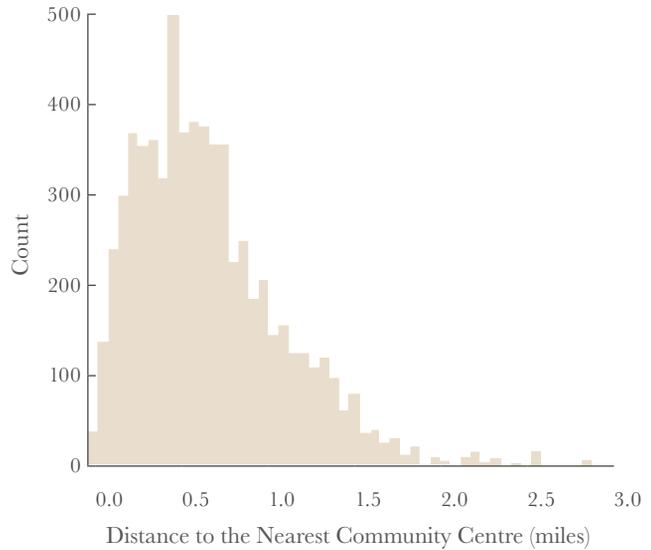
**So once the challenges and gaps in achieving an equitable outcome are determined, how does your team and the City bridge the identified gap? How does this get cascaded down to the frontline City employees?**

The thing about change is that it takes time. With frontline employees, it actually helps a lot when data is communicated to them. They've never had data. Frontline employees usually already know that something could be better because they've been serving communities. They know when the money runs out. They're the ones who have to tell the families: "Hey, I'm sorry, you have to apply next year." What was really helpful for our team was that when we communicate with frontline employees, the problems that we see from the data suddenly become more concrete, which is a good thing.



Community centres in San José are places where children can go after school, U.S., 2019.

**City-wide Scholarship Recipients (2009-2019)**



Majority of city-wide scholarship recipients live less than 1.5 miles from the nearest community centre.

Source: ActiveNet Registration Data and GIS

We also noticed that 96% of people receiving scholarships live within a mile from the community centres, which shows that the government may not have been fully marketing its resources and that it hasn't targeted its marketing efforts properly. Sometimes you just walk by a building and maybe you see a flyer, right? So imagine if you take some of the private sector marketing principles, and you bring it into government: everyone could have everything.

Having these kinds of insights — where you realise that we might accidentally be preferencing people who happen to live close to the park — is very important. If you look at housing prices in San José, the homes closer to amenities, like parks, are actually relatively better off, even if you're in a lower-income community. It's still the wealthier lower-income people accessing resources more than the poorer lower-income people. The data and insights made us stop talking about lower-income households and poverty as though they're homogenous, which is not true.

**What would you say is your biggest challenge at work currently?**

So, much of my work centers around influence. It's about working very closely with the City Manager's office — the counterpart to the Mayor's office — which is focused on operations. Change

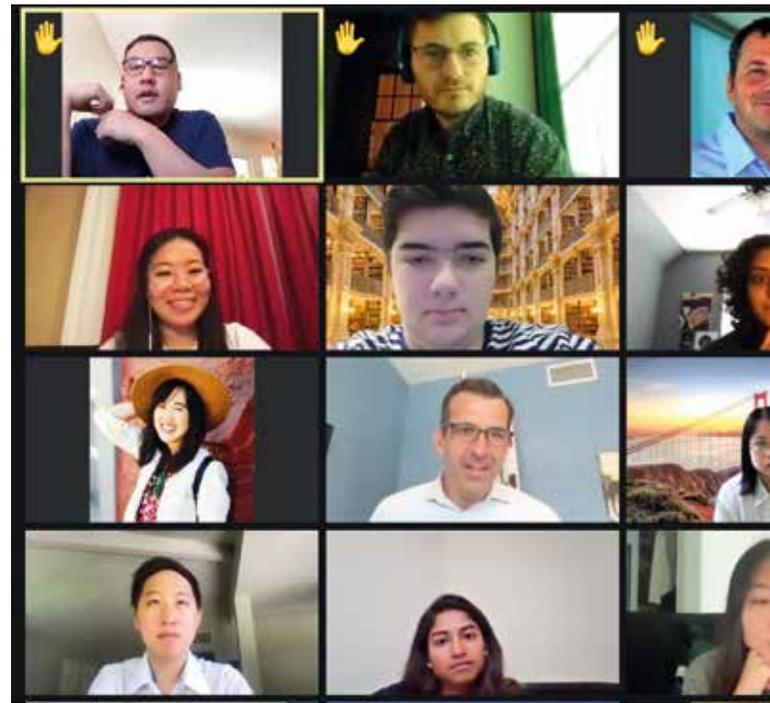
doesn't happen overnight — we need to gain their trust and buy-in through influence and tangible outcomes. We've been able to partner with as many City departments as we have and build a reputation around our work because we put in the time to really understand the needs of day-to-day City operators.

One of the biggest testaments we've had is that my team's work has more demand than we can meet. As of today, we've already transformed six departments, and we now have community organisations reaching out to my team wanting to collaborate. I think it was helpful that our city's governance approach is not top-down and that data equity came through soft influence. I started working on one project, and other people heard about that project and started coming to me and asking how they can understand their programmes better. I think that is a much more powerful change management approach than one that is achieved through executive authority.

**Some say that data is the new gold, and data-driven policies have demonstrated success. However, getting access to clean and useful data might be difficult. Can you share how the City of San José started collecting, organising, and making sense of public data in a way that is practical and sustainable?**

I don't think that government data in its raw form will ever be clean. And I think a lot of best principles around data management and data collection have existed for no more than five to 10 years. In San José, the only way we've been able to scale capacity for that is by hiring talented data scientists. I lead a 20-member team, and we have about 10 to 12 data scientists working for us.

The way we were able to scale that technical talent is by partnering with universities in the Bay Area, such as working with data scientists from UC Berkeley and San José State University. Our strong technical talent use Python to pre-process the data before analysis. I think this is a good way to scale capacity through talent. Imagine if I bought a very expensive software tool that did all of the data work for me. First of all, that software

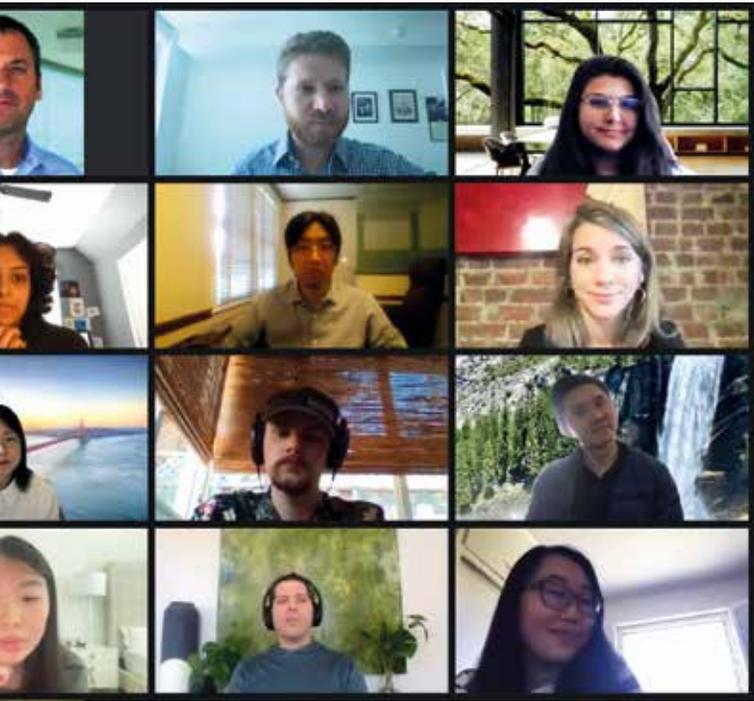


Christine Keung and members of San José's data team presenting during an all-hands meeting with the City's Mayor Sam Liccardo (third row, second from left), U.S., 2021.

doesn't even exist. Even if it did, that wouldn't be accessible to a city with less resources. However, every city has access to technical talent since every city has access to a local university with students interested in this kind of work looking for practice. I think other cities should build similar internship and fellowship programmes with their local universities, hire data scientists to come into the city to help with pre-processing of data, and create something really exciting.

**There are so many different types of data being collected by government today. How does your team engage with different government agencies in San José given that they all have different needs and possess different kinds of data?**

It's tough and this is something we get asked a lot. We do have a blog, and we are starting to write more about our procedures and we try to share them in an open source manner. The nice thing is that the way we manage the parks department data in San José is applicable to other cities because they all use the same software to complete and capture the data. There are many similar principles in terms of managing these programmes. The reality is that



data is just a reflection of day-to-day operations so it's never going to be that standardised. The things that make a data set interesting may be due to policy changes captured from six years ago. People usually think that our job is very technical, but you also need to have a genuine interest in the issue and be in the city to really make sense of the data sets. The example I gave you with scholarships was 10 years' worth of data. Imagine how much a single city programme can change in 10 years? Can you imagine all the different City Council decisions made? I'm pretty sure that data set captured at least four to five different policy changes and different ways of funding.

I think the short answer is that this process cannot really be automated. Maybe that's actually a good thing. This is not a situation where my team is writing machine-learning algorithms to learn these data sets. If anything, we're actually applying powerful summary statistics, and using that to tell a story and to shape policy. But the powerful summary statistics have to start with empathy: you have to start by reading the policy and understanding the history of the programme.

### Finally, what advice would you have for Chief Data Officers in other governments who have just started in their jobs? Are there areas they should look out for, or pitfalls that they should avoid?

What's interesting about the Chief Data Officer job is that, often, we have to define our own role. I like to think about it in terms of what does the Chief Data Officer do? The Chief Data Officer is different from the Chief Innovation Officer. San José has had a Chief Innovation Officer for at least five years. We're already on our second Chief Innovation Officer. The job of the Chief Innovation Officer is about bringing new things from outside into the city, but for the Chief Data Officer, it's less about newness and more about working with what already exists, and finding new ways to look at what already exists.

Cities need to have both functions as they're fundamentally different. We need innovation, but we also need empathy and rigour and understanding of what already exists. In the examples I've highlighted, I haven't spent anything beyond paying my team — I don't really purchase technology, that's not my job. My job is change management: trying to shift culture and trying to use data to drive equitable outcomes. That's a really unique and important mandate and I think all cities should start thinking about building that capacity.



*Christine Keung is the Chief Data Officer for the City of San José and a 2020-21 Harvard Business School Leadership Fellow. At the start of the pandemic, she joined a COVID-19 task force in the*

*U.S. Small Business Administration to improve access to the Paycheck Protection Program. Christine began her professional career as an early member of Dropbox's security team, and later as Chief of Staff, serving as the operational lead of the company's legal, policy, and security organisation. She was also Head of Business Operations at Fountain, a growth-stage Artificial Intelligence/Machine Learning startup, where she led the company through data regulation changes, like the European Union's GDPR and the U.S. Privacy Shield. Christine earned her BA in Economics at Wellesley College and her MBA at Harvard Business School.*



# The Chandler Good Government Index

## How We Measured National Governance Globally



1

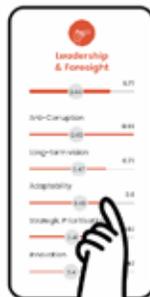
We worked with government practitioners and experts globally to identify areas that matter to government and are within their ability to improve.

2 Our Chandler Good Government Index's (CGGI) 34 indicators draw from 50 public data sources — all of which are robust global indices and indicators.

3 Each country is ranked according to its overall score — the higher the score, the better the ranking.



4 That overall score is determined by a country's scores across seven pillars.



5

Each pillar's score is determined by equally-weighted indicators specific to that pillar.



6 Six pillars — comprising 25 indicators — measure capabilities, one pillar — comprising nine indicators — measures outcomes.

7 The CGGI measures the government capabilities and effectiveness of 104 countries, or 90% of the world's population — the most comprehensive index of its kind.

# Can Good Governance Be Measured?

Chandler Institute of Governance's Executive Director *Wu Wei Neng* says there is no perfect way to measure governance — but the practical use of data can paint a powerful picture.

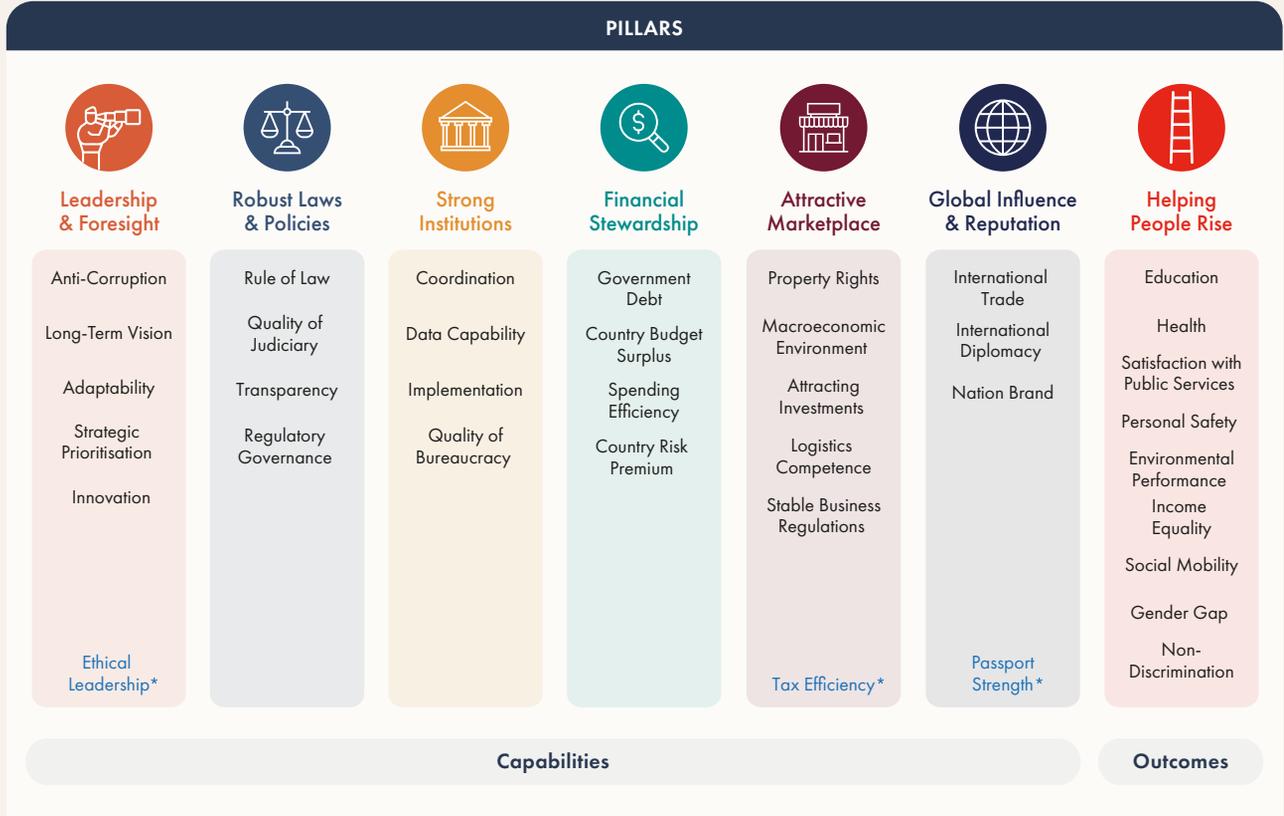
**M** **asuring What Matters**  
 What is the role of government? Does it include ensuring that everybody has a home to live in? Or taking on the ownership and management of strategic sectors like healthcare and energy? Should governments be responsible for rescuing large troubled companies in times of economic crisis? Or should their role be limited to providing national defence and basic infrastructure?

As the world responds unevenly to a crippling global pandemic and the resulting economic fallout, the role of governments is as contested today as it was in the times of Confucius and Plato, Keynes and Hayek. If we cannot fully agree on the role of government, there will never be agreement on how best to measure the success and performance of governments.

Even if we could define governance, to what extent can numbers ever capture the spirit of this definition? Are certain metrics equally relevant for low-income countries and high-income ones? Which offer more insight: expert assessments or perception surveys?

There are no simple answers, but this should not result in paralysis and inaction on the part of those who care about good government. There are aspects of governance that most people agree are important, such as educating children, preventing murders, and managing inflation, that can also be tracked meaningfully. This can bring clarity to conversations that otherwise risk being riddled with generalisations and clichés. And as anyone who has ever tracked their progress on fitness or expenditures can attest, measuring something is an important first step toward progress. If we agree that governance matters, then we need reasonable and practical ways to measure the quality of national governance.

“ *If we agree that governance matters, then we need reasonable and practical ways to measure the quality of national governance.* ”



\*Not included in CGGI 2021 due to incomplete data. To be considered for inclusion in future years.

### What is the Chandler Good Government Index?

Motivated by our belief that measurement can spark conversations and change, we launched the Chandler Good Government Index (CGGI) in April 2021. The Index analyses the capabilities and effectiveness of 104 governments, whose countries’ citizens amount to nearly 90% of the world’s population. This makes it the most comprehensive index of its kind.

Compiled from 50 public data sources, the CGGI issues each country an overall score, which is determined by a country’s performance across what we call the seven pillars of good governance

[see table above]. The score for each pillar is determined by a number of equally-weighted indicators specific to that pillar.

The CGGI was the product of a two-year journey. We connected with government practitioners from across six continents, and worked with a global network of experts and advisors to sharpen and challenge our thinking. We assessed hundreds of potential metrics and sifted through thousands of pages of reports, analyses, and data sources.

Before starting this journey, however, we had to ask a fundamental question: why create our own index?

## What Makes the Chandler Good Government Index Distinctive



### *Built by Government Practitioners, for Government Practitioners*

The indicators we decided to include — and just as importantly, to not include — in the Index were shaped by our own experience working in and advising the public sector. Our choices were based on interviews with government practitioners and civil servants from more than 20 countries. These conversations produced surprising alignment on the key components of good governance, even though the respondents were from countries with vastly different income levels, cultures, and challenges. Despite the debates, people currently working in government identified a core set of capabilities and factors required for any government to be effective. We distilled the lived experiences and wisdom from these practitioners to design the backbone of the Index.



### *Focusing on Capabilities*

A central tenet of our work at CIG — our training programmes, research initiatives, and advisory projects — is practicality. We wanted the Index to be a practical tool, which is why the Index focuses on government capabilities, rather than outcomes alone. Governments aren't always fully in control of outcomes — natural disasters strike, new regimes inherit the legacy of outcomes based on previous leaders' decisions — but they can always take steps to develop their skills and capabilities. Six of the Index's seven pillars, and 25 of its 34 indicators, focus on concrete capabilities, ranging from data analysis to corruption control, investment promotion to public consultation. These skills and competencies can be tracked and monitored, but more importantly, can be learnt and developed.



### *Recognising the Importance of Outcomes*

While the Index is capability-focused, it also looks at a basket of nine important outcomes, from education to healthcare, income

inequality to social mobility. The reason we included these outcomes is simple: they clearly matter in assessing a government's efficacy. A government that has impressive capabilities, but does not utilise these capabilities to generate outcomes that people care about, is not realising its full potential. In our analysis, a strong correlation emerged between the strength of a government's capabilities and the outcomes it delivered, suggesting that bolstering a government's capabilities might be a powerful investment in improving people's everyday lives.



### *Non-Ideological, Non-Partisan Viewpoint*

The Index measures the effectiveness and the capability of governments — it does not judge the political ideology and form of their government. The Index, like CIG itself, is not affiliated with any national government or political party, and does not represent any partisan or commercial interests. If you were to imagine each country on the Index as a car, the Index evaluates its quality — whether it has power steering, whether its brakes are working, its mileage per gallon. But we don't make judgements on whether the car should turn right or left — we believe that such assessments are best left to the people and businesses within each country.



### *Adding Unique Insights*

The CGGI includes capabilities that are not common in governance indices. Our experience and the feedback of practitioners within governments show us that these capabilities are vital. In the sixth pillar, for instance, one indicator is 'nation brand', defined as the coherence of a country's national tourism promotion with its image and appeal to a variety of non-commercial stakeholders. We included it because governments that have the platforms and capabilities to build and communicate a clear narrative and brand story will be more equipped to achieve their policy goals, engage stakeholders, investors, and tourists, and provide better services — particularly in a time of growing hostility and polarisation.

### Informing and Advancing the Governance Conversation

Since launching the CGGI, we’ve heard from government officials from some of the highest-scoring countries, those in the middle, and those in the lower third. Some wanted to understand the data and results better, while others were interested in how they might measure their own performance. The Index rankings have been reported by media outlets, discussed by radio hosts, and debated on social media by citizens. We have engaged with experts and academics to discuss our methodology. All of these have been welcome developments, and an important part of our goal to spark conversations, at all levels, about governance.

These are the kinds of conversations we are committed to continue. The Index will be updated annually so governments can continue to benchmark their performance and understand, in

practical terms, where they are effective and where they can do better. We hope that citizens, investors, development partners, and other stakeholders will also find this information useful. We are also eager to track over time how targeted actions by governments result in sustained, long-term improvements in specific capabilities.

### Rebuilding and Restoring Trust through Good Governance

As we prepare to update the CGGI in 2022, we are mindful of the ‘governance gap’ in many parts of the world — a widening divergence between what populations expect from their governments, and what their governments deliver. This governance gap is worsened by falling trust in many governments worldwide. As public polling in a number of countries reveals, trust in public institutions has weakened during the COVID-19 pandemic, after an initial uptick. Falling marketplace and public

Overall Rank								
	Leadership & Foresight	Robust Laws & Policies	Strong Institutions	Financial Stewardship	Attractive Marketplace	Global Influence & Reputation	Helping People Rise	
1	Finland	1	5	1	13	4	18	1
2	Switzerland	9	3	8	4	2	17	3
3	Singapore	3	18	7	1	1	40	4
4	Netherlands	10	2	22	7	3	5	6
5	Denmark	2	7	3	10	7	19	5
6	Norway	6	1	10	2	22	27	2
7	Sweden	4	6	5	9	13	11	7
8	Germany	23	13	11	3	8	2	9
9	New Zealand	5	3	4	5	15	49	19
10	Canada	11	8	6	13	14	32	16

The top ten ranking countries in the Chandler Good Government Index 2021.



The first edition of the Chandler Good Government Index was launched on 26 April 2021, and will be released annually, Singapore.

“

*Trust is built when governments perform well — and this trust, in turn, helps governments perform even better.*

trust leads to a vicious cycle: low trust undermines the ability of the state to govern, which in turn reduces the effectiveness of public policies and services, further diminishing trust over time.

Our core belief at the CIG is that this downward spiral can be stopped, and reversed. Trust is built when governments perform well — and this trust, in turn, helps governments perform even better. While history does not furnish any simple formulas for good governance, it does offer examples of governments improving the quality of services they deliver, of stamping

out corruption, and implementing thoughtful structures and policies. Progress is possible, and governments can strengthen their capabilities through good investments in talent, systems and training, and by learning from the experiences of others. By offering a new way for governments to understand and benchmark their capabilities and performance, we hope the CGGI sparks honest conversations about opportunities for progress.



*Wu Wei Neng is the Executive Director of the Chandler Institute of Governance, an international non-profit organisation headquartered in Singapore. CIG supports government leaders and public officers in multiple countries, through training, research and partnerships. He currently holds adjunct appointments with the Centre for Liveable Cities and the Singapore Civil Service College. Prior to this, he served in Singapore's Ministry of Trade and Industry and Ministry of Defence.*



# The 2021 Chandler Good Government Index

*Measuring the capabilities and effectiveness of 104 governments globally.*

## Top 20 Countries

1		Finland	11		Ireland
2		Switzerland	12		United Kingdom
3		Singapore	13		Austria
4		Netherlands	14		Japan
5		Denmark	15		Estonia
6		Norway	16		France
7		Sweden	18		Australia
8		Germany	19		United States
9		New Zealand	20		Iceland
10		Canada			Belgium

## Key Features



Practical tool to understand and benchmark government performance.



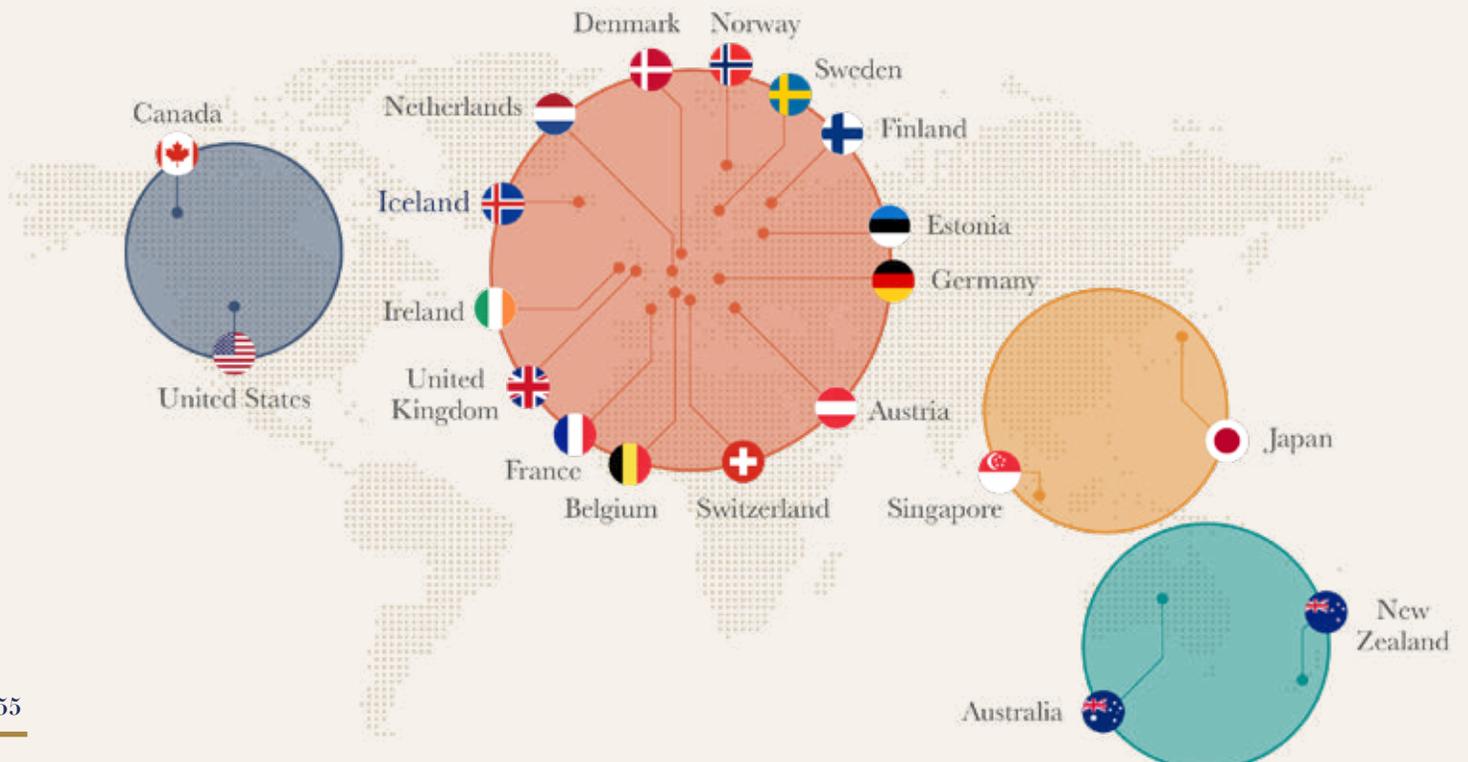
Supports honest conversations about opportunities for progress.



Built by government practitioners for government practitioners.

## Good Governance is Possible Across All Regions

The top 20 countries vary by region, geographical and population size, suggesting that good governance is within the reach of all nations.



## The CGGI Focuses on Measuring Government Capabilities

Measuring 34 capabilities and outcomes across seven pillars.

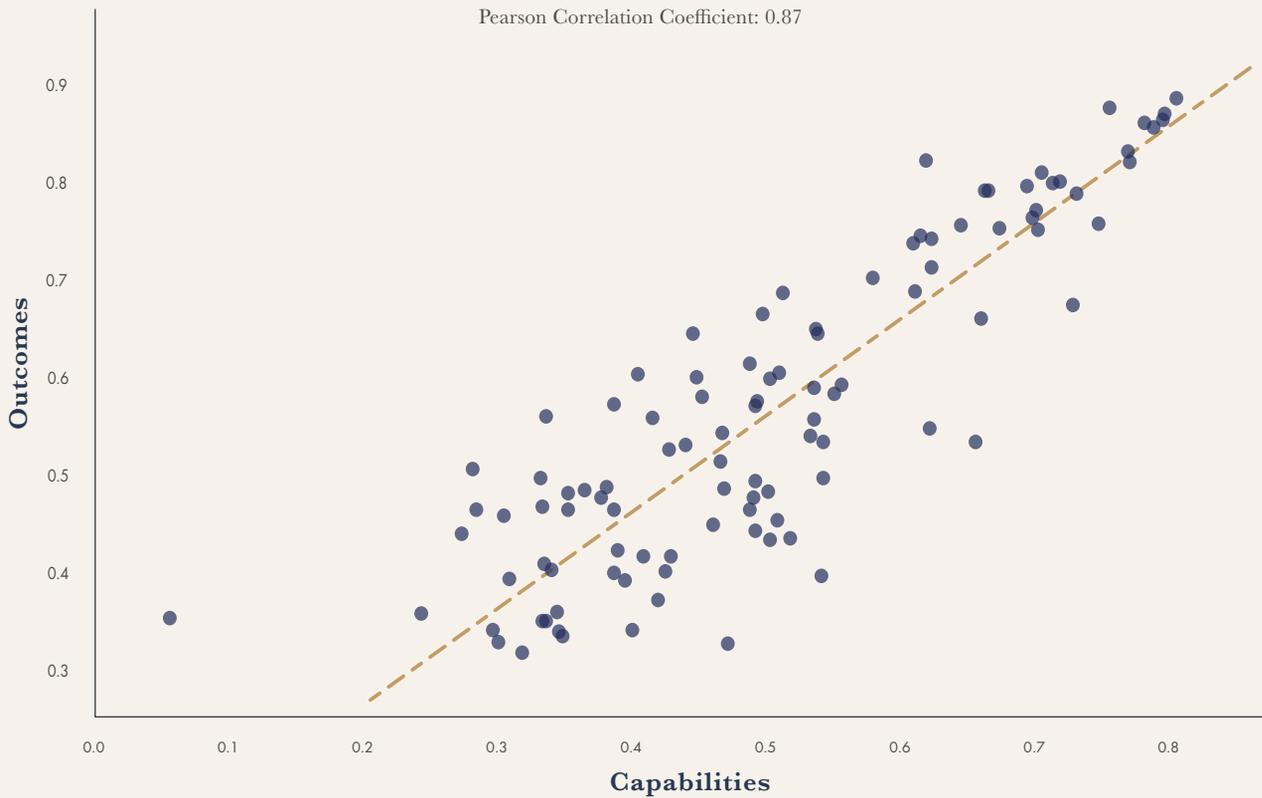
### 7 Pillars



## Findings & Insights

### Countries with Good Capabilities have Better Outcomes

Governments with effective capabilities can create greater opportunities and deliver better outcomes.



Source: Chandler Good Government Index 2021 Report, p. 82



Well-Governed Countries Tend to Be More Prosperous



Good Governance is Strongly-Linked to Anti-Corruption



Finland: topped the 2021 CGGI, performed well across all seven pillars.



**Open Markets and Efficient Institutions**  
Strength of Finland's public services rooted in country's consistent progress towards a more competitive economy.



**Finland at the Forefront**

OVER **98%**

of Finland's education system is state-funded: Investments focus on developing localised capacity of schools and teachers to respond to diverse needs of students.



**Focused on Innovation**  
Investment in research and high-quality education allowed Finland to shift from a resource-based to knowledge-and-technology-driven economy.

**7%** of Finland's population was born outside the country. New Non-Discrimination Act protects minority groups, supporting social cohesion and progress.



Switzerland: 2nd in the CGGI.



Switzerland has an open and collaborative policymaking process. Citizens play significant role in decision-making via referendums and proposals.



Switzerland's government: Multi-lateralism forerunner. Strong global influence and reputation. Seen as neutral and trusted partner. Hosts important international dialogues like the World Economic Forum in Davos.



**Switzerland: Participatory Governance, Partner to the World**



A global financial centre and one of the most attractive marketplaces in the world, Switzerland has demonstrated fiscal robustness and business competitiveness.

**The Balkans — A Promising Region for Good Governance**

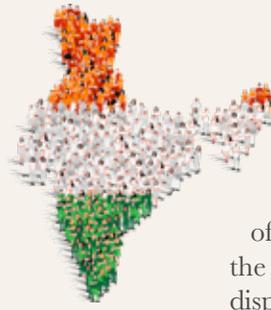
The Balkans showed strong performance in good governance, particularly Serbia, Bulgaria, Montenegro, and Albania. Despite structural challenges common to post-war societies, this region's productive outcomes are reducing income and gender inequalities, and improving citizens' overall quality of life, healthcare, education, and security. These promising developmental gains are linked to post-war reforms.



■ European Union member states  
■ Non-European Union states



**India: Highest Ranking Lower-Middle Income Country**



India could potentially deliver better outcomes based on its overall capability performance. Large, populous countries require more levels of government and scaling of systems to meet the needs and demands of a large, geographically dispersed and diverse population.

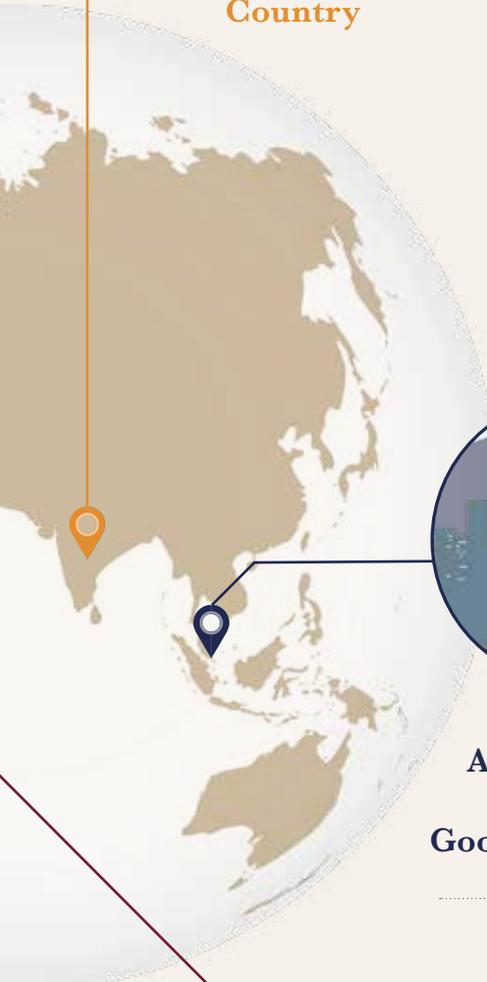


Civil service innovation and capacity building are key focuses for the Indian government. The nation exceeds the CGGI average score for government capabilities.

**TOP 20**



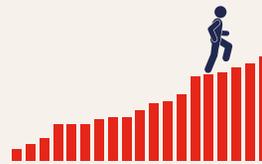
India: In the Top 20 across various indicators, performing best in International Diplomacy as well as Satisfaction with Public Services



**Singapore: Asia-Pacific's Beacon of Good Governance**



Singapore: 1st in Asia-Pacific and global 3rd in the Index.



Only non-European country to rank in Top 10 in Helping People Rise, the pillar on outcomes of governance



Global first in Financial Stewardship and Attractive Marketplace pillars, indicating Singapore's strength in fiscal policy, public financial management, budgeting, creating a conducive business environment.



Global first in 10 out of 34 indicators in the Index, including Long-Term Vision, Coordination, Education, and Personal Safety.



**Rwanda: Leads Low Income Countries**

**53<sup>rd</sup>**

Rwanda ranks 53rd globally, 2nd in Sub-Saharan Africa, and 1st amongst low income countries.



Rwanda performed well for Leadership and Foresight and Attractive Marketplace. Since emerging from the Rwandan Civil War and the 1994 Genocide against the Tutsi, good governance and political stability have been the nation's focus.



Among low-income countries, Rwanda ranked highest for the protection of Property Rights.



# Modernising the Art of Governance

*Nikolai Astrup* talks to *Matthew Bishop* about equipping the Norwegian government for the digital and climate revolution.

**E**ven the best governance needs to be upgraded from time to time. For the past three years, as Minister of Digitalisation and then Minister of Local Government and Modernisation, Nikolai Astrup has been working to reform Norway's near-universally admired system of government to equip it for new opportunities and some huge challenges in the decades ahead.

Speaking in his final hours in office before a new centre-left coalition government takes over, Astrup

is understandably in a reflective mood. At 43, a star of the country's centre-right, he can point to some huge advances in harnessing the IT revolution. Norway "now has one of the most digitised public sectors in the world," he says. Yet, there remain thorny challenges, including further breaking down the efficiency-harming silos between ministries as well as between national and local governments so they can work together seamlessly, and making the transition to a post-carbon economy that, along with demographic shifts, will bring fiscal constraints that this oil and gas exporting nation has got used to largely living without.

This work of modernisation is being undertaken from a position of strength that would be the envy of governments in most of the world. Ranked 6th in the latest Chandler Good Government Index, Norway is one of several countries in its neighborhood that always seem near the top of the various best country rankings. The country's tripartite model — built on a formalised process of openness, consultation and collaboration between government, business and trade unions — continues to enjoy a high level of public trust that stands out from the global trend of slumping trust in political and other leadership. The building of this public trust is aided immensely



The Norwegian Parliament in Oslo, Norway.

by the attitude of the politicians. As Astrup says: “Politicians in Norway are ordinary people. We walk in the streets with everybody else. We don’t hide. And we bring that perspective into our governance model.”

**Building Trust**

He believes that this was a model that worked at its best during the pandemic, which the country came through with relatively few deaths, high vaccination rates (and few anti-vaxxers), and a swift economic recovery. “Trust was built because we had the experts on the epidemic and the health officials and the politicians all standing side by side. Some countries had health experts giving one advice and then the politicians saying something else,” explains Astrup. “We scrutinised all the different vaccines and we actually said ‘no’ to the AstraZeneca vaccine, which helped build trust in the remaining options.”

He adds that the government’s openness was crucial to building trust: “When we have information that they should have, we will give it to them. We gave the public a clear impression that we were not holding back.”



**CGGI Overall Rank: 6**

Index Score: 0.810

- 0.67 Leadership & Foresight
- 0.94 Robust Laws & Policies
- 0.76 Strong Institutions
- 0.92 Financial Stewardship
- 0.73 Attractive Marketplace
- 0.66 Global Influence & Reputation
- 0.90 Helping People Rise



Nikolai Astrup at the Mobile World Congress in Barcelona on 1 March 2019. More than 100 people and 2500 companies gathered at the international event to share the latest technological innovations and explore opportunities enabled by 5G networks.

### Embracing the Digital Revolution

This trust has also helped Norway embrace the digital revolution in government. As digitalisation minister, Astrup was convinced that “artificial intelligence, the Internet of things (IoT), and 5G constituted a perfect storm of opportunities,” making it possible to “go from sort of the gradual improvements that we’ve been having for decades, to radical innovation... to deliver services and do our business, both in government and in the private sector, in completely new ways.”

After consulting widely, issuing a white paper on innovation in the public sector and another on innovation in the data-driven economy, he started developing a national strategy on artificial intelligence (AI) that has led to the creation of an innovative ‘regulatory sandbox’ to experiment with policy on privacy and AI.

His signature initiative is a new strategy to digitise the public sector, with the goal of creating seamless digital services across all parts of government, national and local, focusing on seven key life events, from having a child to setting up and running a business.

To open a restaurant in Oslo, Astrup explains, you typically had to liaise with 16 to 17 different local and national government agencies, sending in applications and submitting essentially the same data many times.

Astrup says that with the new strategy “it feels like it is one actor you are liaising with; we only ask for the information once and then we have to share the data among us, on the government side, to make sure that this is a swift process.” He adds: “Similarly, some people may think that it only takes two people to have a child. But actually, we have about 60 different government, state, and private actors involved in the whole process of school and kindergarten, health care, etc. And making this whole process seamless is a huge project.”

This is only possible if different government bodies are willing — and can be trusted — to share data with each other which, while arguably less of a challenge in Norway than in many other countries, was by no means easy. “A lot of people will agree in theory that we don’t want these silos at all,” says Astrup. “But the reality often is the opposite, isn’t it?”

Astrup eventually got a mandate from the prime minister to work across silos, which has been crucial to advancing the digitalisation strategy for services related to the seven key life events. And he thinks similar cross-cutting coordination roles are needed to advance the work on innovation, sustainability, climate change and the UN Sustainable Development Goals for 2030, of which he was in charge of national follow-up, and will require collaboration not just across government silos, but also business, academia, and civil society.

Some 90% of Norwegian households now have access to high-speed internet. The government invested heavily in the technical infrastructure to enable this data sharing, the core of which is a hub whose name translates as ‘all in’, and is the platform for launching new innovations that provide seamless government services. One of Astrup’s favorite examples of what is now possible was the launch a couple of years ago of a digital driver’s license that was downloaded by 700,000 Norwegians (around one-fifth of the adult population) in the first 24 hours.

Astrup would like to see similar data sharing across European borders — “a coordinated European approach, not one giant system, but

interoperability” — but is not especially optimistic. “Sadly, I think governments, including Norway’s, haven’t realised the full potential of data sharing.”

### A Balancing Act

Another modernising challenge that remains a work in progress has been to strike the right balance between quality and presence in delivering public services. “You can’t have a hospital in every village if you want the hospital to be a good one,” says Astrup. A financing framework set by the national government that requires municipalities to adhere to best practice was not efficient enough, on its own. So, Norway has been merging its municipalities, reducing them from a total of 423 to 356. It also trimmed the number of regions from 19 to 11.

“We’re a small country, so our view is that we need to make sure that our regions and our municipalities have the ability to deliver services in accordance with the public’s expectations. And that sometimes means realising that you’re too small on your own, and cooperating with your neighbour will make you strong,” he explains, before conceding, “it’s not without controversy. And with the new government coming in, we might see a couple of the new regions split up again.”

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Nikolai Astrup met with Margrethe Vestager, Executive Vice-President of the European Commission for A Europe Fit for the Digital Age, to discuss opportunities and challenges for Europe from emerging technologies such as 5G, the Internet of Things, artificial intelligence, and privacy, Brussels, Belgium, 24 January 2020.

Certainly, one big merger on the edge of Oslo was so unpopular that it probably contributed to the change of government in this year's election, along with growing concerns about the country's climate change strategy.

Riffing off the old joke that the stone age didn't end because the world ran out of stones, Astrup says he has "no doubt that the oil age will end before the Norwegian continental shelf is empty." There will be a transition to a post-carbon economy, he says, and "the Norwegian model is quite well-suited to make this long-term transition. We know that's going to be necessary; we know that we need to speed up as well."

### Answering Climate Concerns

There are growing calls from climate activists, at home and abroad, for Norway to show leadership by rapidly reducing its production of oil and gas, starting by developing new fields. But for Astrup, that would be empty symbolism. Far better would be for other countries to follow Norway's lead in regulating its domestic carbon use. "If every other country in the world set their carbon taxes as high as we have, then I think the problem will be largely resolved," he argues. There are many other positive examples: Norway has the highest carbon taxes in the world, with (for an oil producing country) extremely high petrol prices. In September, 77% of all new cars sold in Norway were electric cars. The industrial sector has reduced emissions by 40% since 1990. Astrup continues: "We have, by law, said that we're going to cut our emissions by 90% to 95% in 2050. We are committed to the EU system where we are going to cut our emissions by 50% to 55% by 2030." Add to that Norway's active role in helping save the rainforests from deforestation and forest degradation.

"If Norway says we're going to shut down our production tomorrow, which is 2% of the world's production, there's plenty of hydrocarbons in the world to replace it," says Astrup, noting that the production processes of those alternative suppliers are more polluting than Norway's.

Rather than unilaterally reduce its oil and gas production, Astrup contends that the better strategy is to persuade consuming countries to adopt policies that reduce the demand for carbon and invest in

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*If every other country in the world set their carbon taxes as high as we have, then I think the problem will be largely resolved.*

developing other cheaper renewable alternatives. "When the green option is the cheap option and the better option then, as we say, in Norway, as the snowball starts rolling, it won't be stopped. It will grow bigger and bigger."

Meanwhile he thinks, "we need to have a responsible transition, where we use the competence and expertise of our Norwegian oil industry in these new green areas. For instance, in offshore wind, the competence from the oil and gas sector is invaluable. It's just priceless because we know how to do advanced operations offshore, in the deep sea or close to shore. So we are world leaders in that area."

One of the key pillars of the Norwegian governance model is the sovereign wealth fund created to invest the proceeds of its oil and gas reserves for future generations, which is now the world's biggest fund of its kind, looked to as a guidestar by many of the rest. The oil and gas sector is, of course, important



Tesla electric car Supercharger station in Bergen, Norway.



Erna Solberg, Norway's former prime minister (right) speaks during the United Nations Climate Action Summit in New York, U.S., 23 September 2019.

to the Norwegian economy. As a country, Norway is “actually living off the proceeds of the sovereign wealth fund more than the oil itself,” Astrup notes, a trend that will surely continue as the transition from carbon accelerates.

“We already produce less oil than before on the Norwegian continental shelf. That has been mainly replaced by gas. But both for climate reasons and because the Norwegian shelf is mature, we will produce less oil and gas in the years to come.” That will have significant implications for an economy in which income per worker in the gas sector is much higher than the income in any other sector. “But because we have made a wise choice to not spend all the money, and instead put it aside, that will ease the transition from being an oil-based economy to having other work and jobs with more normal returns on capital.”

This shift will be made harder, however, by what Astrup recognises is a Europe-wide issue and not just a Norwegian one, “Our population is getting older. It’s happening in the rural areas faster than the rest of the country, but it’s going to happen across the whole country. It’s a good thing that people live long and happy lives but it does mean that tax income goes down, and that fewer people support more people in retirement. When you have the welfare system that we have in Norway, this will be an economic challenge for any government. And it will happen at the same time that revenue from the oil and gas sector goes down.”

Astrup thinks Norwegian politicians are not used to making tough choices when there are competing priorities, and that has to change. “It’s going to be interesting to see how they adapt to these new circumstances,” he concludes. For the time being, he returns to the parliamentary opposition, and steering Norway’s governance model through these challenges will be in the hands of the incoming government.



*Nikolai Astrup has served as Norwegian Minister of International Development, Minister of Digitalisation, and Minister of Local Government and Modernisation.*

*He has been a Member of Parliament since 2009, representing the Conservative Party, and is currently a Member of the Standing Committee on Energy and the Environment. He also served on the UN Secretary General’s High-Level Panel on Digital Cooperation.*

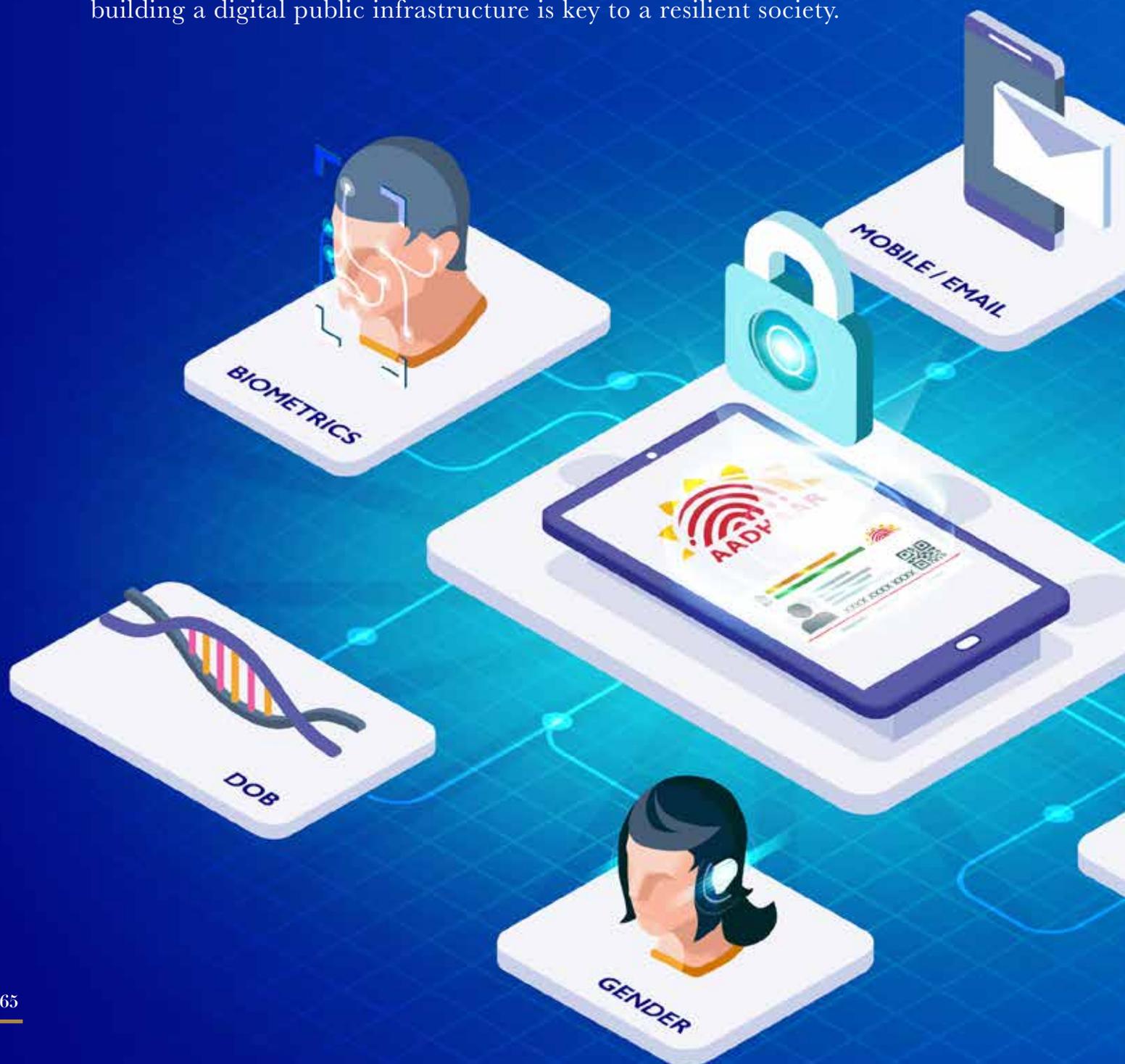


*Matthew Bishop is a journalist and practitioner who wrote some of the earliest articles about both philanthropy and impact investing in “The Economist,” where he spent*

*25 years as a writer and editor. He is the co-author of “Philanthrocapitalism: How Giving Can Save the World,” which Michael Bloomberg described as the “definitive guide to a new generation of philanthropists who understand innovation and risk-taking.”*

# India's Aadhaar System: Bringing E-Government to Life

*Nandan Nilekani*, Co-founder of Infosys and EKStep, on how building a digital public infrastructure is key to a resilient society.



## A n Identity that Works for Everyone, Everywhere

India is just emerging from the midst of a deadly second wave of COVID-19 infections. While the second wave brought the country to its knees, there were rays of hope and resilience that kept the country moving forward. Since January 2021, the Indian government has been able to dispense more than 950 million vaccine doses through their digital platform, “CoWIN”, in a way that ensured equal access to vaccination for every citizen.<sup>1</sup>

India also rolled out a stimulus package, targeting poor families, farmers, small businesses, and other vulnerable groups with US\$ 450 billion in aid.<sup>2</sup> As of September 2020, the aid has been directly deposited in the bank accounts of more than 421 million people.<sup>3</sup>

These measures were on a scale unmatched by any other programmes within or outside India, stress-testing the country’s digital public infrastructure. Such a scale was made possible by having reliable data about the intended recipients of the medical aid, financial aid, and vaccinations. This authentication system of India’s is called *Aadhaar*, which means foundation in many Indian languages.

*India’s health secretary Rajesh Bhushan called Aadhaar “the most reliable authentication system to track (vaccine) recipients”.*

### A Trusted Digital Identity System

As a **digital identity system**, Aadhaar allows governments, civil society, and businesses to trust that the person they are transacting with is truly who they claim to be. Aadhaar collects basic information about a person, providing multiple channels for authentication of this information using distinctive identifiers, such as biometrics and a **Unique ID** for each user.



# Aadhaar at a Glance

In 2009, when Aadhaar was conceptualised, it was estimated that roughly 400 million people in India did not have an individual identity document, while only 17% of India's population had bank accounts. Although around US\$ 50 billion was being spent on subsidies, diversion and leakage was rampant (in the range of 10-60%, depending on the programme).<sup>4</sup> What India needed was a safe, secure, reliable way to give a unique identity to its 1.2 billion<sup>5</sup> (and fast growing) population, some of whom had no documents to prove who they were.

The Indian government earmarked Rs 100 cr (US\$ 13m) and created a position of chairperson, one that was equivalent in rank and status of a cabinet minister, to kickstart its ambitious Unique Identification Project.<sup>6</sup> This newly-created entity, Unique Identification Database Authority of India (UIDAI), could work independently under the government in ways that were not tried before. Many volunteers with domain expertise were invited to create the Aadhaar system, and they brought in their understanding of design thinking, architectural know-how, operations, and even data privacy to help design a secure and scalable system.

Twelve years on, Aadhaar has now documented the identities of more than **94.2%** of India's population,<sup>7</sup> providing each of its users with secure, digital identity that can't be lost or faked. For millions, their Aadhaar numbers were their first proof of identity, which meant they now had a way to **belong**.

Aadhaar also drastically reduced the cost of identity trust from US\$ 10-20 per transaction to US\$ 0.27.<sup>8</sup> This gave millions of Indians **direct access** to government subsidies (rations, social pensions, cooking gas, fertilisers, etc) without



A mother and daughter in India showing their Aadhaar cards, January 2019.

having to rely on middlemen, the ability to **access affordable formal financial services** (like bank accounts) for the first time, and a way to prove their existence to access fundamental rights (like voting, free education, jobs, etc) for the first time. Such a development, in turn, has the ability to unlock **large economic value** in India (between 3-13% of GDP), as per estimates by Mckinsey.<sup>9</sup>

For the Indian government, Aadhaar has reduced the cost and leakages from running the world's largest social subsidy programmes. The Digital Dividend Report prepared by the World Bank estimates that India can **save US\$ 10 billion every year** through the use of Aadhaar.<sup>10</sup>

## Lessons From Aadhaar: What Makes a Digital Public Infrastructure Work at Scale

### 1 *Absolute Minimalism*

Digital public infrastructure needs to be minimalistic in nature: it does one thing and only one thing well. For example, Aadhaar's sole purpose is to provide a unique identity to a billion people, and be able to verify that identity digitally. Aadhaar collects minimal data required to establish the uniqueness of an individual (four key demographic elements — name, gender, date of birth, and address — and biometric data), and it only guarantees identity — not rights, benefits or entitlements.

### 2 *Build Trust by Design*

For a digital public infrastructure to work, every interaction with the infrastructure needs to be trustworthy — the owners of data have to trust that their data is safe and the users of the data have to believe that every interaction will generate an answer that can be trusted. Since each Aadhaar number is generated through a process of biometric de-duplication, the uniqueness of each citizen's identity has a degree of accuracy of more than 99%.<sup>11</sup> In fact, a pulse survey with 148,000 households across 28 Indian states and union territories found that citizens trust it so much that Aadhaar is becoming India's default identification for accessing government as well as private services; 90% of people trust that their data is safe in the Aadhaar system and 95% of those who don't have an Aadhaar want to obtain it.<sup>12</sup>

### 3 *Build Resilience for Failure*

Resilient and trusted systems are not systems that don't break, rather, they are systems that function under failure. Governments, businesses, and civil society have used Aadhaar authentication across the education and public food distribution systems, for fertilizer subsidies, for social protection, and banking, etc, through more than 57 billion authentication transactions, and the system has been able to return a biometric match in 93.5% of all cases.<sup>13</sup> The Aadhaar system provides

alternate authentication methods such as One-Time-Pin and recently, facial authentication. If these verifications fail, the Aadhaar Act and regulations empower service providers to nonetheless provide their services. The data of the failure event is captured through telemetry (automatic recording and transmission of data to an IT system in a different location), which helps constantly monitor the efficacy of the authentication process as well as to improve it.

### 4 *Don't Leave Anyone Behind*

Low-income and vulnerable populations usually have little or no access to documents that can prove their identity, so a digital public infrastructure needs to ensure inclusion for the most vulnerable in the way data and processes are structured and executed. In India, many people have no knowledge of their exact date of birth or have no documentary evidence. To ensure no one is excluded due to this, the Aadhaar system allows either age to be captured or a full date of birth to be captured when available.



People undergo a verification process to link their Aadhaar cards with the National Register of Citizens, Assam, India, August 2019.



A man links his Aadhaar number with his bank account during Digi Dhan Mela, an initiative by the Government of India to promote digital payment methods, New Delhi, India, December 2016.

Similarly, the concept of ‘introducer’ was created to aid people who have no proof of address or identity. This allowed residents with no documents to be introduced by a valid listed ‘introducer’, such as a local village leader or head of family, who already possessed an Aadhaar number and could personally vouch for the individual’s identity.

## 5 *Respect and Protect Privacy*

Protecting the privacy of individuals should be a key design element of digital public infrastructure — not an afterthought. For instance, the Aadhaar number is a random, 12-digit number with no built-in intelligence or profiling information (like sex, place of birth, date of birth, etc). Just by looking at the Aadhaar number, one cannot figure out who owns the number. Since the Aadhaar system has data of all of India’s Aadhaar holders in a central repository, it was essential that data be kept to a minimum to provide only identity-related functions (issuance and authentication), and not be linked to any other database. Authentication of an Aadhaar card by a third party involves only a yes/no answer to a person’s identity claim; it can’t provide any other

information about the person, such as their bank account details, religion etc.

## 6 *Distributing the Ability to Solve*

To succeed, a digital public infrastructure needs an ecosystem of partners that collaborate to enable key components of the project, and another set of innovation partners to build upon it to create more value for its recipients. Aadhaar is one of the key components in the creation of IndiaStack — a set of Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) that allows governments, businesses, startups, and developers to utilise a unique digital infrastructure to move India towards presence-less, paperless, and cashless service delivery.

Given the country’s diversity and vastness, it was imperative for the Aadhaar system to leverage the existing infrastructure of government and private agencies across India. The project had ecosystem partners, like enrolling agencies in each state to perform field enrollments, agencies to train and certify this cadre of enrollment officers, agencies to provide accurate devices, as well as a technology backbone to hold this partner ecosystem together.

Many applications were then built by the ecosystem of innovators on top of Aadhaar, like the Aadhaar payment bridge to send money to an Aadhaar number. This particular innovation served as the backbone of the Digital Direct Benefit Transfer in India, allowing the government to reach the user directly instead of building layers of middlemen to physically move the money.

Another innovation, Aadhaar Micro ATM, lets customers perform basic financial transactions on portable devices brought by bank representatives to their doorsteps, using only their Aadhaar number and their fingerprint as identity proof. During the first phase of the COVID-19 lockdown in India, 11 million Micro ATM transactions took place each day.<sup>14</sup>

COVID-19 has highlighted the urgent need to improve delivery of public services in order to reach each and every citizen at the right time, rapidly, and in the most efficient manner.

Aadhaar can serve as a case study for democratising technology for the world's next six billion with its inclusive, accessible and low-friction platforms in service to all, including the most vulnerable. This was one of the motivations for our work around **societal platforms**, applying these principles to improve outcomes for education, health, livelihood, gender equality and more, not just in India but in the rest of the world's emerging economies.

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*As the pandemic pushes more people under the poverty line, it's time to create exponential change through a platform approach — a societal platform approach. How do we build a future in which the solutions we have access to are always a step ahead of the problems we are trying to solve?*

## Platforms give you an ability to:



Reduce  
Cost



Amplify  
Scale



Increase  
Trust

As the pandemic pushes more people under the poverty line, it's time to create exponential change through a platform approach — **a societal platform approach**. How do we build a future in which the solutions we have access to are always a step ahead of the problems we are trying to solve? That is the question that we are trying to answer.



*Nandan Nilekani is the Co-founder and Chairman of EkStep, a not-for-profit effort to create a learner-centric, technology-based platform to improve basic literacy and numeracy for millions of children. He was most recently the Chairman of the Unique Identification Authority of India (UIDAI) in the rank of a Cabinet Minister. Nilekani was previously the Co-chairman of software services provider, Infosys Technologies Limited, which he co-founded in 1981.*

*Born in Bengaluru, Nilekani received his Bachelor's degree from IIT, Bombay. "Fortune" magazine named him "Asia's Businessman of the Year 2003". In 2005, he received the prestigious Joseph Schumpeter prize for innovative services in economy, economic sciences and politics. In 2006, he was awarded the Padma Bhushan, once of the highest civilian honours in India. He was also named Businessman of the Year by Forbes Asia. "Time" magazine listed him as one of the 100 most influential people in the world in 2006 and 2009. "Foreign Policy" magazine listed him as one of the Top 100 Global Thinkers in 2010. He won "The Economist" magazine's Social and Economic Innovation Award for his leadership of India's Unique Identification initiative (Aadhaar). In 2017, he received the Lifetime Achievement Award from E&Y. CNBC-TV 18 named him India Business Leader award for outstanding contribution to the Indian economy in 2017. He received the 22nd Nikkei Asia Prize for Economic and Business Innovation, 2017.*

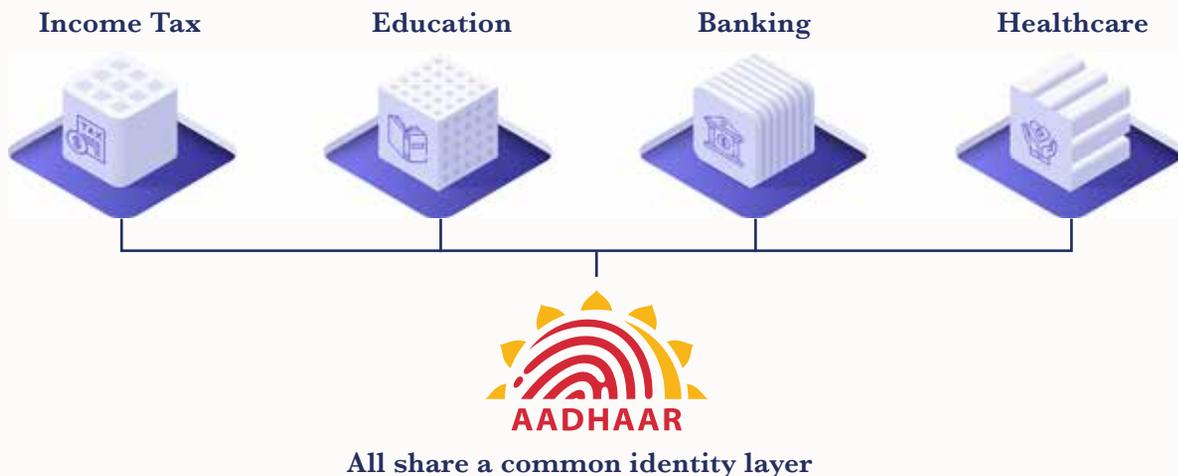
*Nilekani is the author of "Imagining India". He co-authored his second book with Viral Shah, "Rebooting India: realising a Billion Aspirations."*

# Looking Back...

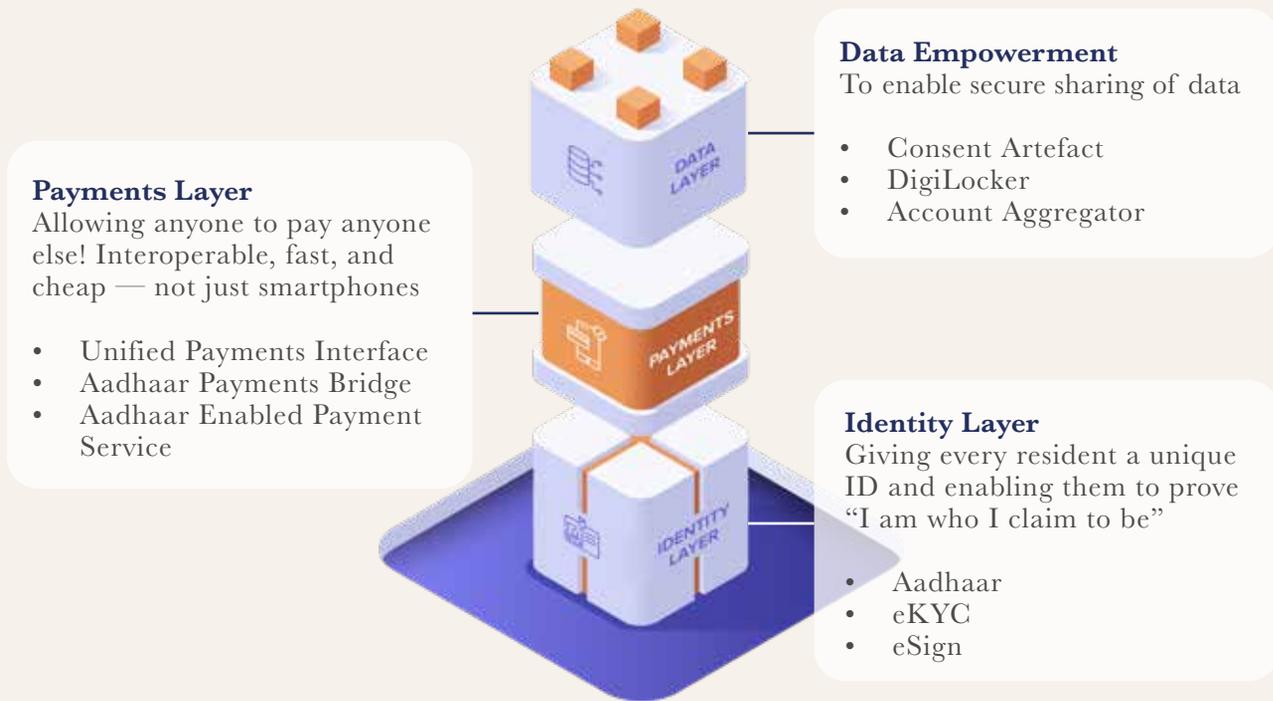
A project of Aadhaar's size and impact was bound to meet some challenges along the way.

- *Mission challenges:* Aadhaar is one of the biggest biometric databases in the world, so ensuring privacy was a must. India's lack of privacy laws meant the Aadhaar project encountered legal pushback and became the focus of public rhetoric. But the Supreme Court, in a landmark judgement, upheld the constitutional validity of Aadhaar and agreed that the Aadhaar Act does not violate a person's right to privacy, paving the way for Aadhaar to scale.<sup>15</sup>
- *Governance-side challenges:* As Aadhaar's work and impact traversed many ministries, it required buy-in from various ministries and had to withstand turf tussle between them.
- *Technology risk:* A project of this scale hadn't been attempted anywhere else in the world (the U.S. social security system is only one-tenth the size of India's), so there was a significant risk of technology failing at the last mile, cyber-attacks, etc.
- *Cost risk:* Identity card creation cost a lot in other countries. In 2020, the U.K. had to scrap their identification card scheme due to high costs, but India had to deliver identification cards on a budget of US\$ 1 per person.
- *Team challenges:* Aadhaar was able to attract many people from the private sphere to offer their domain expertise, but managing a private-public partnership of this type was tough in the beginning.
- *Time risk:* The Indian government changes every five years, so the Aadhaar project needed to be at a critical mass to be able to continue even after the government changed. This meant going from zero to 600 million IDs in four years. Such speed and scale of operations, had never been attempted before.
- *Adoption challenge:* With a population of more than one billion, the minimum scale for the pilot to be considered a success was 100 million users. Since Aadhaar was voluntary, it was a challenge to create demand for it, given that there was no apparent value for the user at that stage.

## Digital Building Blocks, Like Infrastructure, Create Economies of Scope



## India Stack: a Set of Digital Building Blocks



### What is Next for Aadhaar

India is taking a decentralised building-blocks approach to societal infrastructure. Aadhaar will continue as a foundational identification building-block and do that well. We envision that more and more building blocks will be added on to Aadhaar to bring more value to the citizens of India.

With the trinity of Jan Dhan (access to financial services), Aadhaar, and Mobile (connectivity), we foresee big strides in financial inclusion, access to better education, better healthcare, better livelihood opportunities, and other areas within the boundaries set by the Supreme Court ruling.

Aadhaar will try to reach citizens who are not recipients of any services yet in more user-friendly ways (such as Aadhaar enrollment at birth), and also make updating easy via the self-service, Indian postal services, etc.

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*The system in India is the most sophisticated that I've seen. It's the basis for all kinds of connections that involve things like financial transactions. It could be good for the world if this became widely adopted.*

**PAUL ROMER**

*Former chief economist, World Bank*

# Open is Better

*Tonusree Basu*, Open Government Partnership's Deputy Director of Thematic Policy Areas, shares how transparency and accountability are key to building trust in public leadership during times of crisis.



## From Candlelight Protests to Public Trust

In the period 2016-17, citizens of the Republic of Korea increasingly took to the streets to protest against then-President Park Geun-hye's involvement in a corruption scandal. These candlelight protests paved the way for a new government, led by President Moon Jae-in, to be elected into power — promising to foster spaces to hear citizens' voices.

As a concrete step towards achieving this, President Moon launched a 100-day government programme called the 'Gwanghwamoon 1st Street' (Gwanghwamoon combines the name of the historic Gwanghwamun Square with President Moon's own name). In just 49 days, 180,705 suggestions for the new government were submitted via the Gwanghwamoon 1st Street website or the public offices set up for this purpose. Of these, just over 1,700 of the proposals were integrated into government policies. 1st Street continues to serve as one of the key platforms for civic input into government decision-making.

During the COVID-19 pandemic, the government used the platform — alongside other digital efforts — to disseminate timely and accessible information about the pandemic to citizens. This public participation channel has also been used to launch important campaigns, such as one empowering citizens to protect their privacy and personal information against misuse. These efforts have gone a long way to bridge the gap between government and citizens, and rebuild public trust in government — something that also saw a significant drop in the last few months as COVID-19 continued to plague the world globally.

## COVID-19: A Wake Up Call for All

The COVID-19 pandemic exacerbated the existing inequalities and socio-economic challenges that countries and local governments face. Lack of access



to medical care, corrupt practices compromising contracts for personal protection equipment (PPE) and vaccines, and now challenges related to the access to vaccines compounded the question of saving lives and livelihoods.

As markets dipped and jobs were lost around the world, enormous stimulus and safety net packages were mobilised rapidly. However, these were rolled out without the necessary oversight, which enabled large-scale corruption and inefficiency across both the global north and south: corruption scandals involving facemasks in Germany and contracts for PPE in the U.K., misuse of COVID-19 recovery funds in South Africa — according to its auditor general, misappropriation of COVID-19 relief funds meant for low-income communities in Sri Lanka, and more.

Almost two years into the pandemic, countries that prioritise openness, data-based decision-making, and bridging the gap with citizens have done better in tackling pandemic-related crises, including the immediate response to multiple waves of the virus, and are also progressing on longer-term recovery and institutional renewal.

Amid calls to “build back better” on international platforms, it is important to recognise that any post-pandemic political and economic renewals need to go beyond just resetting or rebuilding — and embrace thinking anew. Efforts need to be underscored by principles of open, accountable, responsive, and inclusive policy-making. As France’s President Macron said at the 2020 Open Government Partnership Virtual Leaders Summit, on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly: “We must ensure that we don’t go back to the political systems we knew before. We must use this crisis as a wakeup call to reject the easy but false answers of populism and isolation. We have to build new

models of democracy and put citizens first.” This clarion call has been prominent across fora focused on global development such as the Sustainable Development Goals, but it is important to see that it is put into practice too in the form of concrete national policies.

### **Open Renewal: A New Vision for Public Leaders**

The pandemic — as much as the climate, economic crises that are unfolding — is a governance crisis. It sets out an opportunity to conceptualise a new vision for public leaders. Open Renewal outlines the vision for a cross-sector effort to promote a transparent and accountable recovery from the pandemic, tackle systemic inequalities of income, gender and race, address threats to democracy and civic space, and enhance public participation to reinvigorate democracy. The road ahead must be built on a strong foundation of values, digital transformation, and a commitment to delivery of public goods to all rather than only a few. While these are embedded in global frameworks, such as the 2021 G7 Communiqué, the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals, and the forthcoming U.S.-hosted Summit for Democracy, we need concerted leadership to strive for concrete policy efforts at national and local levels.

At Open Government Partnership (OGP), a global partnership of 78 national and a number of local governments, we have found growing evidence — including examples of how countries handled the pandemic — that a transparent and accountable approach to tackling crises is better for rebuilding public trust and post-pandemic recovery and renewal. Drawing on 10 years of OGP’s work in this space, I would like to share four key lessons that remain relevant for all public leaders committed to renewing public trust, particularly in the face of crises:



## 1 *Ensure Critical Data and Information is Proactively Disclosed*

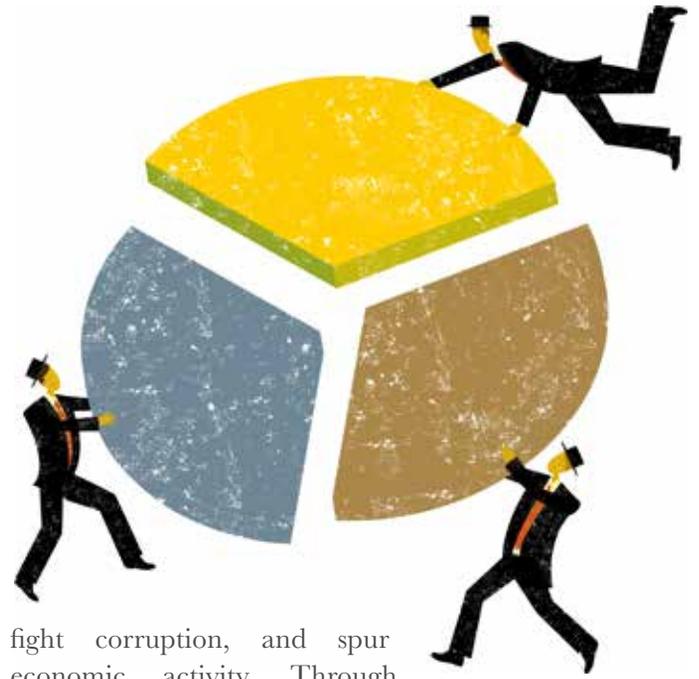
Timely and accessible data is key to restoring trust and fostering innovation. There are several good examples of this happening on issues ranging from opening up COVID-19 spending to fostering transparency in government use of algorithms, and even on transparency around police data. In Paraguay and Colombia, the governments published emergency contracts as open data, which was monitored by civil society, including by tracking price differences for COVID-19 supplies. In New Zealand, the government built an algorithmic charter with civil society groups to increase the transparency of governmental use of algorithms and to engage communities directly impacted by its use, especially under-represented groups. Through OGP, the United States government undertook the Open Police Data Initiative to address high levels of distrust and tension between the police and the

public. The initiative encourages local police jurisdictions to proactively extract and publish policing data. The

initiative increased access to information by creating a centralised database that comprises over 130 jurisdictions and 405 data sets as of June 2020, including cities such as New York, Los Angeles, and Detroit.

## 2 *Empower Citizens to Follow the Money from Budget to Spending*

Some useful examples that could serve as inspiration for similar ideas in other contexts: Colombia published information on COVID-19 emergency projects financed by royalties through its “Audidores Ciudadanos” (Citizen Auditors) application allowing citizens to monitor public spending and ensure it has the desired impact. Because Colombia increased its 2021 budget by 18.5 trillion pesos (US\$ 5.16 billion) to address pandemic response and relief measures, these commitments are critical in ensuring transparency and accountability. For public contracts in stimulus packages more broadly (e.g., for infrastructure projects), open contracting can save money,



fight corruption, and spur economic activity. Through Ukraine’s open contracting platform, citizens flagged 14,000 violations over two years, which helped the government save US\$ 1 billion. Likewise, 82% of entrepreneurs reported reduced corruption, and contract bids, including from micro, small and medium-sized enterprises (MSMEs) increased by 50%. Last year, Nigerian president Muhammadu Buhari signed a new beneficial ownership registry into law. The registry, the first of its kind in the world to be cocreated with input from civil society and businesses, draws on the OGP-framework of co-creation. It will include the names of people who own and control companies. It has been called the “most significant law in decades.” The register is a first step to fighting illicit financial flows and making available the information of real owners of companies in business with the government, which is also key for investors to reduce risk and know who they are doing business with.

## 3 *Enable Meaningful Participation in Policy Dialogue*

Open government is often equated with transparency and open data. Any efforts to rebuild public institutions and the economy as well as regain public trust must meaningfully engage citizens, businesses, media, and the third sector. Specific efforts must be made to include underserved communities that may have faced



further marginalisation because of the pandemic. For example, in South Africa, a transparency portal called Vulekamali, developed through a collaborative effort by civil society and the Treasury, ensured that all budget data was made available in accessible formats and its launch included community outreach efforts to train different communities, including women and young people, to use the data to monitor spending.

#### 4 Success Requires an Open and Inclusive Enabling Environment

The above examples and frameworks are rooted in efforts to do government differently — in ways that are suited to a post-pandemic context — by embracing the use of digital tools for public good, and evolving a policy infrastructure that will be resilient in the face of future crises. That said, any efforts towards an open renewal will be successful only if they truly have citizens at the heart of their design and roll out. A necessary condition of these initiatives is an open and robust civic space, for citizens and civil society to freely engage, innovate and monitor. Underrepresented groups including women, youth, indigenous communities, LGBTQIA+ groups, and others must be integrated into these processes, rather than included as an afterthought.



#### When Public Trust is the Key to Breakthrough

Public trust is not only a key aspect of democracy and governance, but an increasingly important pillar in the architecture of international economic policy. A digital-first and efficient government — one that is also open — can pave the way to increased public trust as we start rebuilding the global order. This is an opportunity for leadership in countries everywhere to ensure that there is a coalition of the willing that steps up to achieve this collective ambition.



*Tonusree Basu is the Deputy Director of Thematic Policy Areas at the Open Government Partnership. She has consulted on international open government projects, including with Transparency for*

*Development at the Harvard Kennedy School, UN Women, and the World Bank. Basu was part of the coalition leading India's grassroots Right to Information campaign and serves on the founding Board of Satark Nagrik Sangathan (Citizens Vigilance Coalition) India, that promotes citizen participation in engaging marginalised communities. Previously, she managed the media and civic engagement programme of India's independent parliamentary research initiative, PRS Legislative Research, where she helped launch the Legislative Assistants to Members of Parliament fellowship. She also managed a global policy network, in collaboration with the U.K. Cabinet Office and World Economic Forum on social impact investing coming out of the G8 in 2013. She holds an MSc in Politics and Communication from the London School of Economics and an MPA from Harvard Kennedy School, where she was a Public Service Fellow. Basu holds a diploma in conflict management, is a trained Odissi dancer, and is based in London, U.K.*



# From Ebola to COVID-19

*S. Olasford Wiah*, Community Health Services Director for Liberia's Ministry of Health, and *Brittney Varpilah*, Deputy Liberia Country Director at Last Mile Health, share how the lessons learned from the Ebola epidemic have contributed to a more robust national health system in Liberia that has been leveraged to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic.

## **F**rom Ebola to COVID-19

As Liberia's primary health system withstands another wave of COVID-19 infections in the country, community health workers such as Jerome Gardiner, continue to serve on the frontlines of the response. At the start of the pandemic, Gardiner and his peers were trained to recognise the signs and symptoms of COVID-19, encourage social distancing, hand washing, and mask use, and refer any suspected cases for treatment. They also employed no-touch protocols so that community health workers can stay safe while continuing to administer essential health services.



Gardiner and his fellow community health workers were already in place, serving their neighbours in rural and remote communities across Liberia, as part of a healthcare network that rose to tackle a former crisis: the West African Ebola epidemic.

### **A Historic National Community Health Worker Programme**

In 2016, Liberia emerged from a two-year-long Ebola epidemic that claimed nearly 5,000 lives. The epidemic devastated the health system, which had already been weakened by two civil wars. About 100 doctors remained to serve a population of more than four million.<sup>1</sup> An estimated 1.2 million Liberians lived more than 5km from the nearest health centre—which, coupled with a lack of infrastructure and transport, meant primary healthcare was inaccessible for the majority of rural Liberians.<sup>2,3</sup> This not only contributed to high rates of preventable disease, but also left the country vulnerable to unchecked future epidemics.

However, a bright spot of the Ebola response was the engagement of communities across the





The Liberian Red Cross team in Monrovia, Liberia, 14 October 2014.

country. Community members, including Gardiner, answered the call to serve when the government of Liberia asked for support in educating communities, tracing contacts, and rapidly referring patients to care in remote and rural areas. Although nationally, Liberia experienced a three-times decrease in facility-based delivery during the Ebola outbreak, facility-based delivery remained high in Konobo District, where paid and supervised community health workers kept providing services, dropping a mere three percent.

The government of Liberia recognised the urgent need to strengthen the health system, and the opportunity to leverage the power of the community. However, building a national health system that reached every last child and family across the country was an extraordinary challenge that required funding, research, expertise, and strong management. The only way to address such a challenge was in collaboration with partners.

In July 2016, six months after West Africa was finally declared Ebola-free, Liberia's Ministry of Health

assembled a powerful coalition of non-governmental organisations and donors (including the Clinton Health Access Initiative, International Rescue Committee, Last Mile Health, Partners In Health, Plan International), and funding partners (including USAID, Global Financing Facility, The World Bank, The Global Fund), and leading philanthropists to launch the National Community Health Assistant Program. The programme saw the deployment of a paid, professionalised community health worker — trained to deliver primary care, supervised by a registered nurse, and equipped with critical supplies — to every rural and remote community in the country.

Since then, the government and its partners have recruited, trained, supervised, equipped, and deployed more than 3,800 paid community and frontline health workers. These efforts to rebuild Liberia's national primary health system demonstrate how NGOs and funders can support governments to achieve systemic change.

Today, more than 80% of Liberia's community health workforce has been deployed nationwide.



Community health worker Abraham Browne conducts a rapid diagnostic test for malaria for a young patient in Liberia, 2019.

Community health workers have conducted more than 6.3 million patient home visits, and have delivered over 1.8 million treatments and screenings to children under five. In communities served by the national programme in Liberia, community health workers now treat 45% of all reported malaria cases for children under five. Just as importantly, they have kept primary health services going during the COVID-19 pandemic.

### **The Power of Partnership to Expand Primary Healthcare to All**

The continued success of this programme — that aims to fully scale across the country in 2022 and be sustained over the long term — is fuelled by the power of partnership.

It started with a vision and framework laid out by the government of Liberia. The government asked its long-standing partners to align with its unified vision for a community health workforce capable of providing universal access to primary healthcare. The government called for collaboration amongst partners, and pushed non-governmental organisations and donors to shift from focusing on their own vertical or geographic-focused programming to making strategic investments in the government-led, community-based primary health system.

The investments by partners in Liberia’s vision of health for all have taken many forms. We would like to highlight a few here:



*Evidence*



*Funding*



*Technical Assistance*

First, the government of Liberia benefited from local evidence on the potential impact of community health worker programmes when it was planning its national programme. Last Mile Health and the Ministry of Health worked together in Konobo District of Grand Gedeh County to jointly identify problems, brainstorm solutions, and implement innovations to improve access to and the quality of healthcare being provided by a pilot community health worker program. This pilot allowed the Ministry of Health to test approaches, demonstrate effectiveness, measure impact and cost, and then build a foundation for national scale.

While funding may seem like an obvious way to partner, even here, Liberia offers an interesting

lesson. One challenge the government of Liberia faced when advocating for this programme was shifting donors' mindset on cost. Liberia is a low-income country that relies heavily on foreign assistance. Donors believed supporting the recurring costs of this programme — such as salaries for community and frontline health workers — was too costly and difficult, and made the programme unsustainable for Liberia. To support its vision of paid and professional community health workers, the government of Liberia cited evidence-driven, global best practices — which have since been institutionalised in the World Health Organisation's guidelines on health policy and system support to optimise community health worker programmes. In addition, this vision was supported by a growing body of evidence that demonstrates that investing in quality, community-based primary healthcare that can meet up to 90% of a population's health needs is the most equitable and efficient way to accelerate universal health coverage.

Based on this evidence, the Ministry of Health was able to build a coalition of donors and partners who were willing to work together and invest in the government's vision. That vision, the National Community Health Assistant Program, would make strategic investments in building stronger health systems over the long run rather than focusing on less impactful and lower-cost quick fixes. Since then, Co-Impact, a global collaborative focused on systems change, unlocked additional financing for

this programme to support its scale-up across the remaining rural areas and promote sustainability. The programme aims to reduce under-five child mortality by 20%, and eventually serve as a partnership-driven model for other countries looking to build or strengthen their community-based primary healthcare system.

And, finally, the Ministry of Health leveraged non-governmental organisations to lead initial programme implementation and management with a focus on building local capacity. With this phased approach, as county-level government capacity strengthens, organisations, role shift from lead implementers to embedded technical assistance providers. Eventually, the community health worker programme will transition to being fully managed and owned by the government. This approach of working in close collaboration with its partners allowed Liberia to expedite the implementation of the programme.

### **The Road Ahead: The Importance of Resilient Health Systems**

The Ebola outbreak and the COVID-19 pandemic have both underscored the vital importance of resilient health systems that can reach all. Together with our partners, we look forward to fully scaling and sustaining the National Community Health Assistant Programme to reach every rural and remote community, advance universal health coverage, and protect against future disease threats.



*S. Olasford Wiah is the Director for the Community Health Services Division for the Liberia Ministry of Health. In this role, he oversees the country's National Community Health Assistant Programme, which aims to*

*provide universal access to primary healthcare for rural Liberians. The programme relies on paid and professional community health workers. Previously, Wiah served as the Community Health Department Director in River Gee County, where he contributed to the development of the national community health policy and program. He has a deep commitment to strengthening the primary healthcare system to achieve universal health coverage for all Liberians. He graduated as a Physician Assistant from the Tubman National Institute of Medical Arts in Liberia in 2009.*



*Britney Varpilah is the Director of National Community Health Systems at Last Mile Health, an organisation that partners with governments to design, scale, strengthen, and sustain high-quality community health systems,*

*which empower teams of community and frontline health workers to bring life-saving primary healthcare to the world's most remote communities. In this role, she supports the Liberia Ministry of Health to scale and sustain the National Community Health Assistant Programme across all 15 counties to provide 1.2 million rural people with access to primary healthcare. She joined Last Mile Health in 2016 to support the development of the 2016-2021 Community Health Policy and the design of the accompanying curriculum for the national programme. Prior to joining Last Mile Health, she worked for Mercy Corps and World Learning. She holds a Master of Arts in International Education from SIT Graduate Institute.*

# Getting Transformation Right

Kigali Mayor *Pudence Rubingisa* talks to *Governance Matters* about how the city became one of the most liveable cities in Africa.

**G**overnance Matters: You were in office for less than six months after you took office when COVID-19 swept the world. Beyond the urgent public health challenges, cities face the urgent task of sustaining jobs, economic activity, and livelihoods. How has Kigali done this?

**Pudence Rubingisa:** Kigali managed the public health challenges first while also addressing their parallel socio-economic consequences. We have used the lessons from the COVID-19 crisis to come up with better solutions for the city.

When the pandemic hit, a lot of effort was made to ensure that all our residents met, and continue to meet, their basic needs, and that universal access to essential services is maintained across the city.

As the City authority, we have worked very closely with the community when it came to dealing with the effects of COVID-19. We had to implement measures to prevent the spread of virus while also allowing, wherever possible, the continuation of peoples' livelihoods. At some point, we had lockdowns but essential services continued to operate.

The City of Kigali, with the support of the central government, has provided food support to more than 300,000 families that depend on a daily income and were, thus, immediately affected by the lockdown. Further, with the support of the central government, we established a recovery fund for businesses that were affected by COVID-19. We believe that this support will go a long way towards reducing the long-term effects of the pandemic.



Top: Panoramic view of Kigali, Rwanda, 2019.

Right: A bustling street in Central Ville, Kigali, Rwanda, 2019.

**The City of Kigali has seen rapid transformation and growth since the end of the genocide against the Tutsi. Today, Kigali is one of the most liveable cities in Africa. What are the most critical challenges to maintaining the liveability and economic competitiveness of Kigali?**

Given our history, the vision of the leadership in Rwanda is to learn from our past as we move forward and build a country that is people-centred. The mission of the leadership in our country is a transformational one. Some examples of how we have made Kigali more liveable while also providing more opportunities include:

- *Improve walkability:* A lot of effort has been made to design and construct roads and neighborhoods that encourage walking instead of driving. This is done by promoting mixed-use neighborhoods. Homes, jobs, shops, schools, and other everyday destinations are within easy walking distance of each other. The street network is convenient for pedestrians, with high-quality footpaths, short blocks, few cul-de-sacs, and higher-density housing.



- *Provide public open spaces:* Green spaces have many physical and mental health benefits for people, and social and environmental benefits for communities. Parks provide opportunities for physical activity, such as jogging, ball sports, and dog walking. Some of the green public projects that we are working on include Imbuga City Walk, Nyandungu eco-centre, Street for Kids, and the rehabilitation of Kigali's wetlands.
- Facilitating affordable housing development.
- Facilitating both public and private investment to provide employment.
- Upgrading informal settlements by progressively building affordable housing and providing them with basic infrastructure

**Developing cities often face a lack of financial and human resources. Although the World Bank classifies Rwanda as a low-income country, the government has successfully promoted liveability and economic opportunity in Kigali. How has the government managed to leverage innovative means of raising funds and resources for various city projects?**

In line with its decentralisation efforts, the government of Rwanda has put in place a fiscal decentralisation policy. The policy established various sources of revenues for decentralised entities, including the City of Kigali, such as decentralised taxes and fees, and earmarked transfers through intergovernmental fiscal relations.

Further, the City of Kigali considers our citizens' active engagement in planning and implementing development projects as a way of securing community ownership and sustainability of projects. In other words, we believe in the involvement of people in projects to solve their own problems. People are not forced to participate in projects that affect their lives but are given the opportunity where possible.

We also have the Joint Action Development Forum (JADF), which brings together non-governmental entities and local government, to ensure sustainable socio-economic development and improved service delivery for communities. The JADF facilitates active participation, dialogue, and accountability by sharing information and effective coordination of stakeholders' interventions in decentralised entities.



- *Promote public transport:* We are working on strategies to make public transport an attractive option in Kigali. We are planning to introduce second-generation public transport contracts that aim to increase ridership, reduce pollution, and improve passenger satisfaction through improved route planning, increased capacity, strict scheduling with a proposed waiting time of 5-10 minutes, and alignment of fares with distance travelled.

And finally, we have the Local Administrative Entities Development Agency (LODA) whose main role is to contribute to the capacity building of the population and decentralised entities. It does this by mobilising funding from development partners to finance the socio-economic development projects of decentralised entities and reduce extreme poverty in Rwanda.

**City leaders have a huge number of partnerships to build and maintain — with the state government, the business community, schools, NGOs, and others. How did you approach building those relationships, given the competing demands on your time?**

First and foremost, I would like to state that building those relationships is not challenging, in my context.

Since the Rwandan Patriotic Front came to power, it has initiated an inclusive community-level approach to development. Local administrative structures were given the primary responsibility for development activities, and subsequent mechanisms were established to involve citizens closely in the management of all affairs pertaining to their welfare. This was institutionalised through the decentralisation policy on the one hand, and sustained by the community development policy on the other. Implementation of these two policies focused on empowering populations to make decisions towards self-reliance.

The Community Development Policy of Rwanda states: “Community operates at different levels, both formal and informal. The core formal community addressed in this policy is the “Umudugudu” (Village). Villages (Imidugudu) are aggregated to form the cell (Akagari) community, then the sector (Umurenge) community, district (Akarere) community, and ultimately the Nation of Rwanda community. But the policy also recognises that there are other more informal communities within these jurisdictions, beginning with the family and broadening to include youth, women, kin, religious organisations, civil society, and the private sector, all of which contribute to and form the larger community.

As part of the efforts to reconstruct the country and nurture a shared national identity, the

government drew on aspects of Rwandan culture and traditional practices to enrich and adapt its development programmes to the country’s needs and context. The result is a set of home-grown solutions — culturally-owned practices translated into sustainable development programmes.

Home-grown solutions include applying a number of traditional, self-help good practices to enhance citizens’ participation in the implementation of development programmes. Just to mention a few, Umuganda (Community work) and the Joint Action for Development Forum (JADF) bring together NGOs and the local government, while the Kigali Investors Forum (KIF) brings together the private sector and the city authorities.

**Kigali has embarked on the Green City Kigali pilot project in Kinyinya Hill. The Green City pilot aims to serve as a model for sustainable urban development with affordable housing and adaptation and mitigation measures for climate change. How does this project fit into Kigali’s future vision of liveability?**

The Green City Kigali project aims to develop a model community in the 600-hectare Kinyinya



The Mayor of Kigali city, Pudence Rubingisa, is with Pastor Ted N. C. Wilson, the President of the General Conference of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. They are participating in Umuganda (community works) during Pastor Wilson’s visit to Rwanda in 2019.

Hill area (Planning Area) of Gasabo, a district in Kigali. The model will provide affordable housing for low-to-middle income target groups in sustainable, culturally-compatible, and climate-resilient urban communities. This will establish new standards that can be replicated elsewhere in Rwanda and beyond, setting a trajectory towards a Net Zero future.

This project aims to demonstrate how Kigali can become the preferred city for green, affordable housing, given the project's ambitions regarding innovation, design quality, affordability, materials, and supply chain.

Although the project introduces new concepts, it is still cognizant of the unique needs of the Rwandan people. It allows for the achievement of international standards but embraces the socio-cultural norms and expectations of local buyers.

**What advice do you have for other mayors in developing cities who are just starting out in their jobs? How should they establish their key priorities and plans in their first few months in office?**

Kigali is lucky to have a visionary and pro-people leadership at the national level. This has helped us serve the people well, even in the face of a pandemic. If you have a supportive working relationship with the central government, it makes your work as the city mayor much easier.

It is also important to work closely with the communities to understand their needs and issues, and collaboratively to find solutions. This is done through different fora, such as weekly meetings with members of the community at the level of the neighbourhood (umudugudu), and working frameworks with different groups, like the private sector, civil society organisations, and non-governmental organisations. This brings about unity, which then makes it possible to move faster and increase a sense of ownership of the development journey.

It is important to note that the city of Kigali is not an exception—the guidance and vision of our leader, President Paul Kagame, has made it possible for our country to work as one team.



Green City Kigali progress visit with Rwanda's Minister of Environment, Dr. Jeanne d'Arc Mujawamariya, and German Ambassador, Dr. Thomas Kurz, 2019.



*Pudence Rubingisa was elected Mayor of Kigali in August 2019 for a renewable five-year term. Upon his election, Rubingisa pledged to protect ecology in the long term, promote affordable housing, meet environmental challenges, build resilient infrastructure, promote sustainable industrialisation that encourages innovation, transform Kigali into a “smart city”, promote economic and social progress, and assume the obligations of succession. Throughout his professional career, Rubingisa has been involved in academics and the field of finance. He was Deputy Vice-Chancellor in charge of administration and finance at the University of Rwanda, Vice-Rector in charge of financial administration at the Higher Institute of Agriculture and Animal Production, and Director of the Public Investment Technical Team at the Ministry of Finance. Before being elected Mayor of Kigali, he was Managing Director of Intare Investments Ltd. He has been, and will remain, a member of several Boards of Directors at National and Regional levels. Rubingisa holds a master's degree in Finance from the Université Saint-Louis, Belgium, and a postgraduate diploma in public procurement from the International Law Institute.*

# Building a National Story

Monika Wirkkala, The Swedish Institute's Acting Director of the Department for Sweden communication shares more about the role of a national story in governance.

**G**overnance Matters: What, in your opinion, is a national story and how is Sweden's story unique?

**Monika Wirkkala:** A national story is the conception that people have around their nation — its culture, history, and heritage. It is the story that would be told by most people if you randomly stopped them in the street and popped that question.

In Sweden's case, the story is about a nation that has come a long way since the 1900s. There was a time when people emigrated to the U.S. to create better and more prosperous lives for themselves. Now, Sweden is a hi-tech country, with possibilities for people to have a good education, and to make a good life for themselves.

Society has developed immensely in 100 years, thanks to education for all, equal opportunities for women and men, an equal and inclusive social security system, innovations, and Swedish companies — such as Scania, Ericsson, IKEA and

many more — going global. I think people would also emphasise our sense of responsibility for others in society, and our trust of the government and government authorities.

The Swedish Institute (SI), where I work, recently published the book, *Sweden: A Country Less Ordinary*. It paints a picture of a nation that's driven by innovation, and that leads the way in equality and sustainability. The book will be primarily distributed through Swedish Embassies and Consulates around the world. Other stories about Sweden (in English, Russian, and Arabic) can be found on [Sweden.se](http://Sweden.se), which is the official source for facts and communication about Sweden.

**What kind of national messaging appeals to a global audience these days? What are some of the key messages about the country that Sweden wishes to share with the world?**

I think issues such as sustainability and work-life balance definitely speak to a global audience.

We know that people are looking to come to Sweden to live and work because of the work life balance and the opportunity to be close to nature. They can have a family life that is a bit more balanced — perhaps more so than what they are experiencing now. In many places, you really work long hours and long days. Childcare in Sweden gives both men and women the opportunity to work and have a career while also giving parents time to spend with the children.

Another key issue is sustainability. Climate change is a topic that dominates our headlines. Sweden is quite advanced in the sustainability space, and we would like to work with other countries to steer the development of sustainability globally.

**How is the Swedish Institute using the conversation around sustainability to engage leaders around the world?**

The Swedish government places a huge emphasis on sustainability and all government agencies have to think about “sustainability” in their work. It is a clear message. Our researchers work closely with Swedish companies on how to develop manufacturing processes that are more sustainable. Sweden is also positioned as number one in The Global Sustainable Competitiveness Index 2021, a global ranking for sustainability. For Sweden to remain competitive, we have to think sustainably and innovate. These are the qualities that we want associated with our nation.

To engage with leaders around the world, we have the Swedish Institute Management Programme and other leadership programmes on sustainability. Because of our size, we have to be active when it comes to engaging with other countries, so as to stay on the global stage and find global solutions. Sweden and its companies must work with others to ensure that we remain part of the global perspective.

We find a high level of engagement among the participants in the management programme, when it comes to the issues of sustainability, innovation, and design thinking. We have a very driven and engaged global alumni network with more than 16,000 members, as a result of these management programmes and scholarships for international master’s students and researchers at Swedish universities, which we really cherish and appreciate. Often, the alumni do their part by changing their company’s attitude or ambitions when it comes to sustainability. Many of them are also engaged in community work around these issues. The Swedish Institute gives them the tools to help raise the awareness on sustainability.

**How does the Swedish Institute work and coordinate with other agencies and ministries in Sweden, and what were the initial challenges faced by the Institute?**

The Swedish Institute is a public agency and gets its directions yearly from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs. It’s important to know that Swedish public agencies are independent of the Government even though they are financed by the state with tax money. The directions are of a general character, and the agencies interpret the directions to inform their activities. In other words, we work quite independently of the government.



Adoption of solar power is on the rise in Sweden. In Gothenburg, solar panels are fitted onto an existing apartment complex, 2019.

The Swedish Institute works closely with Swedish Embassies and Consulates abroad and supports their activities with materials for their use. These are accessible online (<https://sharingsweden.se/>). Recently we came up with the communications concept, “Pioneer the Possible”, which can be used by foreign missions, and actors such as Business Sweden, Visit Sweden, and Swedish companies. It conveys a partnering effort to support a global transition in the direction of a more sustainable future.

There is a strategy when it comes to Sweden’s communications, which we share with our foreign missions and agencies, such as Visit Sweden and Business Sweden. We jointly agreed on the profile areas and the core values of our Sweden communication. Despite being an independent authority, it is important that we coordinate with our fellow agencies. In the Sweden image strategy, four profile areas have been defined. These are innovation, creativity, society and sustainability — areas that Sweden is strong in. The profile areas point out what should be strategically communicated.

**Is there a structured process between the Swedish Institute, the foreign affairs ministry, and agencies, such as Visit Sweden and Business Sweden, to support coordination in nation branding work?**

The heads of communications of the different agencies meet four times a year to coordinate the branding efforts for Sweden. We are in the

process now of workshopping a new strategy as well as looking at the one that we have now, and deciding whether we will keep or adjust it. The various agencies and ministries meet and discuss the communications strategies, and then we unite in a common joint strategy.

**How has the art of nation branding changed since the Swedish Institute was set up? How has the Swedish Institute adapted to these changes?**

The Swedish Institute was founded in 1945, after World War II. The task was to deepen relations between Sweden and people in other countries. This was done by offering scholarships for studies and research in Sweden, as well as programmes for cultural exchange and study visits to Sweden. The Swedish Institute also provided support for Swedish culture and literature to be displayed abroad.

But since then, of course, the world has changed immensely, and so has the art of nation branding and public diplomacy. Today, we can communicate directly with people on the other side of the world through social media. That is a fantastic opportunity, but it also comes with many challenges. The Swedish Institute is responsible for Sweden’s official webpages and social media channels in English, Arabic, and Russian. It has become more important for us to understand and analyse the images and narratives relating to Sweden online.

Nation branding is partly a new phenomenon, but at the same time, it is not. I think countries have always been aware of how they are perceived by their neighbours or allies. It’s an important thing. We are in the trust business and people’s perception of us is important. It makes our cooperation and exchanges so much easier. We need each other, especially a country that is relatively small in size like Sweden.

But then, having the tools to ‘measure’ a nation’s brand, or how countries are positioned in international indices, is relatively new. And I think many governments around the world put more emphasis on this now. I am sure you are aware of the Nation Brands Index, which is a study that we have been following for years. Along with our own studies, it gives us insights on the image of Sweden and how to focus or design our promotional activities.





Swedish society is often described as one that encourages individualism, creativity, and cooperation. Team work and cooperation is crucial and highly valued at any Swedish company, university, and organisation, 2019.

**You mentioned about the opportunities and challenges that modern technology, like social media, brings to nation branding. Could you elaborate on the challenge of nation branding over social media and how you overcome them?**

Our social media accounts have 3.7 million followers. The opportunity is having a big reach, but the challenge is that you also get fake facts. You have to be very attentive to the responses that you get while being on top of responding to questions about Sweden.

**What are some of the biggest achievements of the Swedish Institute?**

I would say that our biggest achievement is working closely with the Swedish embassies long term, around the world. This has had a great impact for Sweden. Previously, we sent out (physical) exhibitions and communication materials. Now, with digitalisation, we can communicate simultaneously with target groups all over the world with the same messages. This means that our communications are more coordinated and have a much greater outreach than before.

We've also been able to support the embassies in the best way possible through a recurring dialogue on how to best showcase Sweden on different topics in a local context. There is the platform

sharingsweden.se that holds communication materials for them to use in their communication about Sweden. I'd say that sharingsweden.se is a big achievement in being a 'toolbox' for different actors in their Sweden communication.

**Finally, what advice can you give other countries and governments seeking to follow in Sweden's national storytelling footsteps?**

Cooperate and co-create. Work together. All national actors, that also work internationally, can contribute to the image of a country in conveying the country's strengths in a similar way. For that, you need a joint communication strategy so that you know what messages to convey. But then again, you must walk the talk, and show that what you say also transforms into what you do and how you act.



*Monika Wirkkala is the Acting Director of the Department for Sweden communication at the Swedish Institute, a government agency working closely with Swedish foreign missions, promoting*

*Sweden abroad. The Swedish Institute builds lasting relations between Sweden and other countries with a view to enhancing Sweden's attractiveness.*

# Working Together to Solve Global Challenges

*Fabrice Filliez*, the Swiss Ambassador to Singapore, shares his experience working in the diplomatic arena and tells *Governance Matters* why Switzerland is an ardent champion of multilateralism.

**G**overnance Matters: How does the Government of Switzerland ensure that the positive effects of successful international partnerships and cooperation benefit the Swiss economy and society?

**Fabrice Filliez:** The Swiss political system is firmly based on the notion of power-sharing and the inclusion of a broad range of interests. We have a multiparty government. When decisions are being prepared and elaborated, many different Actors — from the private sector to civil society — are consulted to take their perspectives into account.

To give you an example, the government regularly defines foreign policy strategies for specific regions and topics. As priorities and objectives are



identified, we test them with different stakeholders before they are adopted. We call this a ‘Whole of Switzerland’ approach — one that closely links domestic and foreign policy. This helps make sure that Swiss international activities are to the benefit of our society at large.

**In the last few years, many have argued that the world has seen a slowdown or reversal in globalisation. Global travel has been curtailed, and many countries are taking more nationalist perspectives. Do you think it is important that governments continue to invest in multilateral cooperation, and why?**

Switzerland has been an ardent defender of multilateralism for many years, and is bound to remain so. Most challenges of today and tomorrow are global and require global solutions.



Nepalese Health Minister, Hridayesh Tripathi (centre), speaks with Switzerland's Ambassador to Nepal, Ms. Elisabeth von Capeller (third from left), during the handing over of essential medical equipment from Switzerland to Nepal on 22 May 2021.

Further, multilateralism gives small and medium states a seat at the table in a world that is otherwise increasingly dominated by great power policies and rivalries. We regard it as the cornerstone of a functioning and fair international order. This is also why Switzerland, for the first time, submitted its candidacy for a non-permanent seat in the United Nations (UN) Security Council.

One of our priorities is to strengthen international Geneva as a hub for global governance and for discussing new challenges related to digitalisation and technological advancements. Based on its neutrality and stability, Switzerland has long been host to many international organisations — so it is only natural that we give much thought to the question of how multilateralism will have to look like to address future issues.

**Opportunities that come from in-person high-level meetings and dialogues have been disrupted due to the stop in international travel. How has your Embassy and the Federal Department of Foreign Affairs of Switzerland adapted to ensure that important diplomatic work still takes place?**

On the one hand, digitalisation has rapidly advanced in our department in the past two years. This has allowed us to continue with most of the work, even though some important international negotiations as well as larger events at the Embassy have been postponed. Diplomats have come up with innovative tools to maintain foreign policy, such as conducting international negotiations online and transforming certain diplomatic events into virtual get-togethers.



The United Nations office at Geneva is one of the four major offices of the United Nations where numerous different UN agencies have a joint presence, 2018.

On the other hand, the pandemic illustrated how important personal contacts still are in diplomacy. This is why we have invested much in making sure that international Geneva, which is the main UN hub in Europe and especially important for Switzerland's traditional role as a facilitator for diplomatic talks on neutral ground, was up and running fairly quickly again.

**At the start of the pandemic, Switzerland very quickly dedicated itself to swift and unbureaucratic response to humanitarian aid, development goals and global cooperation. How does this fit into Switzerland's strategy to combat COVID-19?**

Obviously, communicable diseases and their consequences do not stop at borders, and it is therefore important for Switzerland's security to counter global health risks across borders and to strengthen the health and economic systems

in developing countries. Switzerland's response is aimed at taking effective measures to counter the health, economic and social consequences of the pandemic in developing countries and humanitarian contexts. This is also in line with the 2021-2024 international cooperation strategy, which is designed to be flexible and allows for a targeted response to needs.

Since the outbreak of the Delta variant this year, Switzerland has sent relief supplies abroad to combat the pandemic, mostly to Asia. Ventilators, oxygen concentrators, and medical protective equipment were sent to Uzbekistan, Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia, Mongolia, Sri Lanka, Nepal, and India. Since the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, Switzerland has been continuously monitoring developments in the global public health situation and is ready to provide as much support as it can upon request. In this context, I welcome the close

cooperation between Singapore and Switzerland as co-chairs of the ‘Friends of COVAX Facility’, supporting vaccine multilateralism with the goal to ensure affordable, fair, and equitable access to safe COVID-19 vaccines for all.

**Your previous work at the Swiss State Secretariat for International Financial Matters helped place Switzerland on the path to strengthen its reputation in global taxation and transparency. What were some of the initial challenges your team faced, from planning to implementation of taxation reporting standards across a vast number of countries?**

If Switzerland says “yes” to an international standard, then it implements it very seriously. This sometimes takes a little longer because everything has to be legally secured and the implementation has to be bindingly regulated with the financial industry. Communicating this internationally was not an easy task. It took a lot of persuasion, but we were able to convince the international community by demonstrating, in practice, that Switzerland takes its international obligations for tax transparency seriously and implements them. Being involved in these challenging international

discussions on tax transparency was a unique professional experience.

**You have had a long and illustrious career in multilateral and diplomatic work. What advice do you have for young government officers who are starting off their diplomatic careers?**

I would give the following advice to young government officers who are starting off their diplomatic careers: keep on building your skills and competencies, diversify your experience, and specialise in one to three diplomatic fields. Invest in constantly building up your network and nurture your contacts over time. Stay curious and look at everything as a learning exercise. For example, digital diplomacy skills have become more and more relevant in today’s world. Think hard about the personal lessons and best practices you have learned. Try to get postings in bilateral and multilateral environments. Be open towards postings you weren’t planning for, as all postings offer development opportunities. Take initiative. Don’t be afraid to fail as you will learn from failures, too. Last but not least, lead by example, and with respect and humility, always in the interests of the state you are representing.

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*Multilateralism gives small and medium states a seat at the table in the world that is otherwise increasingly dominated by great power policies and rivalries.*

*We regard it as the cornerstone of a functioning and fair international order. This is also why Switzerland for the first time is a candidate for a non-permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council.*



*Fabrice Filliez is a career diplomat. Prior to his appointment as Ambassador to the Republic of Singapore and Brunei, Fabrice Filliez served in Berne for five years at the Swiss State Secretariat for*

*International Financial Matters with the title of Ambassador in charge of multilateral tax matters. He was responsible for representing Switzerland’s interests in important multilateral tax negotiations, in particular, at the Global Forum on Tax Transparency and Exchange of Information. Previously, he served as Head of the Economic and Finance Section of the Swiss Embassy in London. Other positions during his career included appointments at the Swiss Mission to the European Union in Brussels and at the Directorate for European Affairs in Berne, postings where he was actively involved in various Swiss-EU negotiations, as well as at the Directorate for Public International Law, Berne, Switzerland. Fabrice Filliez graduated from the University of Geneva with a Degree in Law and holds a Master’s in European Law from the University of Brussels, Belgium.*

# Ancient Wisdom for Modern Leaders

Author *Donald Robertson*,  
ponders over the lessons that  
can be learned from the Stoics.

## **F** or the Love of Wisdom

Could love of wisdom be the most important quality of a leader? According to *Historia Augusta*, the Roman emperor, Marcus Aurelius, would often quote Socrates from Plato's *Republic*, saying that "those states prospered where the philosophers were kings or the kings philosophers." The word 'philosopher' (*philosophos* in Greek) literally means 'lover of wisdom', and that's what the emperor had in mind rather than being merely an academic philosopher.



An illustration of Marcus Aurelius.



*Alone of the emperors, he gave proof of his learning not by mere words or knowledge of philosophical doctrines but by his blameless character and temperate way of life. His reign thus produced a very large number of intelligent men, for subjects like to imitate the example set by their ruler.*

### HERODIAN

*Roman civil servant*

Marcus believed that to govern others well we must lead by example — by becoming capable of governing ourselves — and that doing so requires both wisdom and self-discipline. For that reason, from an exceptionally young age he trained himself in Stoic philosophy. Near the end of his life, he recorded his daily reflections and contemplative exercises in a book known today as *The Meditations*.

### Who Were the Stoics?

The Stoic school was founded in Athens in 301 BC by a Phoenician merchant called Zeno of Citium, after he was shipwrecked nearby. He said the most profitable journey he ever made was, ironically, the one in which he lost his entire fortune at sea. It forced him to reconsider his priorities and led him to philosophy. Stoicism takes its name from a public building in the Athenian agora called the Stoa Poikile or Painted Porch. It was a philosophy of the street, taught in the city centre, open to everyone, and flourishing as a living tradition for nearly five centuries.

Unfortunately, only a tiny fraction of the original Stoic writings survive today, comprising mainly the works of three philosophers from the Roman imperial period: Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. Seneca was a lawyer who became the rhetoric tutor and speechwriter of the Emperor

Nero. Epictetus was a freed slave who became arguably the most famous philosophy teacher in Roman history. Marcus Aurelius was one of the emperors of Rome at the height of its power in the second century AD. We also learn a great deal about Stoicism from the famous Roman orator, Cicero, who was not a Stoic but had studied the philosophy in Athens and wrote about it extensively. Cicero, who has been called the first legal philosopher in history, was the main conduit through which Stoic conceptions of Natural Law came to influence modern jurisprudence and political theory.

### Stoic Belief

The Stoics derived several key ideas from Socrates, the famous Athenian philosopher, who died a century before their school was founded. Socrates had argued that the things people typically assume to be good, such as wealth, beauty, and fame, are neither good nor bad in themselves. Wealth may be good when used wisely by a good person, but in the hands of a vicious tyrant it becomes a bad thing. What really matters, said Socrates, is the way we use such external advantages. The ability to use them well might be viewed as a type of moral or practical wisdom. The wise man, he said, can even use misfortune well, by facing it with a philosophical attitude. The Stoics embraced this idea and concluded that such wisdom, which they equate with virtue or moral excellence, is the only true good, and indeed, the ultimate goal of life. While dealing with treachery, war, and even one of the worst plagues in European history, Marcus Aurelius told himself to remember: “This is not misfortune but to bear it well is good fortune.”

Today, we call this type of philosophy ‘virtue ethics’ because its central focus is on the value of improving one’s own moral character. This ethic has an obvious psychological consequence though: anyone who truly considers wisdom and self-discipline to be more important than the external events that befall them is bound to exhibit more emotional resilience in the face of adversity. Socrates therefore described his philosophical method as a type of psychological therapy, or a medicine for the soul.

Of all the schools of Hellenistic philosophy, it was the Stoics who developed this idea of philosophy as psychotherapy the most. Stoicism is popular today, in part, because it's the original philosophical inspiration for cognitive-behavioural therapy (CBT), the leading evidence-based form of modern psychotherapy. CBT is also the basis of modern evidence-based training in psychological resilience, which builds skills designed to prevent emotional problems like depression and anxiety occurring in the first place.

### Stoic Advice for Statesmen

The Stoics taught virtue ethics and emotional resilience to the rulers of the ancient world, writing manuals on kingship and statesmanship for them. For example, Zeno's most famous student, King Antigonos II Gonatas of Macedonia, became an early patron of the Stoic school. Although these books on ancient governance have all been lost, we can safely assume that they would have included much advice of the kind Marcus Aurelius writes to himself in *The Meditations*. It's no coincidence, therefore, that modern political and military leaders from Frederick the Great to former U.S. President Bill Clinton and former U.S. Secretary of Defense General James Mattis, among others, have endorsed *The Meditations* as a guide to life.

Here are three of the key Stoic practices for wise leadership that you'll find in its pages:



#### *Focus on the Inner Goal of Virtue*

As we've seen, the goal of life for Stoics is practical wisdom, of the sort that forms the basis of other cardinal virtues such as justice, courage, and self-discipline. We naturally tend to place more importance on external outcomes such as wealth and reputation. However, the Stoics advise us to consider what the most important thing in life is and then focus our attention on working toward that goal. We should ask ourselves, from time to time, whether our actions exhibit wisdom, integrity, and strength of character, or if they're taking us in the opposite direction.



#### *Focus on Our Sphere of Control*

"Some things are up to us and others are not" is the opening sentence of Epictetus' *Stoic Handbook*. Modern Stoics call this "The Dichotomy of Control" and it is the aspect

of Stoicism most widely referenced in modern self-improvement literature. For instance, entrepreneur and author of the "4-Hour" self-help book series Tim Ferriss views Stoicism as "an operating system for thriving in high-stress environments" for this reason.



*At its core, it teaches you how to separate what you can control from what you cannot, and it trains you to focus exclusively on the former.*

### TIM FERRISS

*Entrepreneur and Author*

The most famous Stoic saying of all, is probably "it's not things that upset us but rather our opinions about them", also from Epictetus' *Stoic Handbook*. This was quoted in many early books on CBT because it neatly encapsulates what we now call the "cognitive theory of emotion". Our feelings are shaped, to a large extent, by our underlying beliefs, which may be true or false, rational or irrational, and can be changed if we're open to questioning the evidence for them and exploring alternative perspectives. In other words, our emotions are up to us — not directly, but indirectly — because we can change the beliefs on which they're based.



#### *Focus on the Bigger Picture*

Stoicism also helps us to attain wisdom and emotional resilience in the face of stressful situations, such as change and natural crises like the current pandemic, by viewing things in terms of the bigger picture. This means regarding current events as transient, and not the whole story. Abraham Lincoln used to say to himself "this too shall pass", in order to achieve a similar effect. It's a very clever strategy because it allows us to actively accept unpleasant events, rather than merely burying our heads in the sand to avoid confrontation with them. We can learn to accept reality while moderating its impact on our emotions by adopting a philosophical attitude toward misfortune — the key to which is seeing it in terms of the wider context of life as a whole.



A photo taken in 2018 of a painting depicting Socrates addressing the Athenians.

For instance, former Mayor of Vancouver, Sam Sullivan, whose disability rights advocacy earned him the Order of Canada in 2005, credits the Stoics for helping him cope with challenges he has faced both in his personal life and in the political arena. In 2008, Mr Sullivan lost the vote to run for a second term as mayor. He put his setback in perspective by reminding himself that it was trivial compared with the misfortunes faced by others throughout history, such as his hero, Socrates. Marcus Aurelius would, likewise, often picture stressful events, such as the Marcomannic War in which he was engaged for many years, as though seen from high above. He would also contemplate the struggles and ambitions of his predecessors, such as Augustus, the founder of the Roman Empire, and how unnecessary many of their anxieties seem in retrospect, long after their demise.

### The Value of Stoicism Today

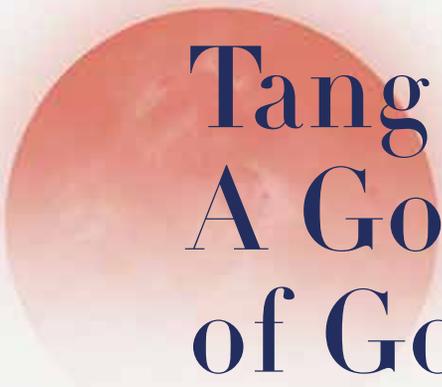
Over the centuries, philosophy became increasingly bookish and retreated into the stuffy “ivory towers” of academia, losing its practical orientation. In contrast, the original Academy, where Plato founded his school of philosophy, was actually a lush public park in Athens. There Socrates once roamed along the sunny paths and chatted with friends in the cool shade of the wrestling school, discussing how

philosophy could help them improve their way of life. Soon, I hope that will begin happening again as the Mayor of Athens has recently announced plans to develop the Plato’s Academy Park area. The Plato’s Academy Centre non-profit organisation, of which I am a founder, is also working on a proposal to open an international conference centre there, with workshops on the Socratic Method and philosophy as a way of life.

Stoicism is an ideal philosophy for leaders. From Antigonus to Marcus Aurelius, stoicism has helped ancient rulers stay resilient in the face of adversity, and remain free from arrogance in the spotlight of success. The wisdom found in Stoicism will continue to help our modern leaders today.



*Donald Robertson is a cognitive behavioural psychotherapist and the author of six books on philosophy and psychotherapy, including “How to Think Like a Roman Emperor: The Stoic Philosophy of Marcus Aurelius.” He is one of the founding members of the Modern Stoicism organisation, and a founder and director of The Plato’s Academy Centre.*



# Tang Taizong: A Golden Age of Governance

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Chandler Institute of Governance's Lead Researcher *Victoria Giaever-Enger* tells the story of the Tang Dynasty Emperor and the lessons from his reign that continue to be relevant to modern leaders today.

## **T**ransforming an Opponent into an Advisor

It is July 626, and a heavy heat hangs over the walled city of China's ancient capital Chang'an (now Xi'an), in Shaanxi Province. The 27-year old crown prince, Li Shimin, awaits a visitor in his study. He reflects on his past, ahead of his imminent inauguration as emperor. It has been a long and bloody struggle to get here, even against his own two brothers. The older man now entering his study, Wei Zheng, was the closest advisor to Li Shimin's rival older brother, and a man famous for his strategic insights.

Despite the risks, Wei Zheng does not apologise for conspiring against the crown prince; rather, he admits that his recommendation had been for Li Shimin to be assassinated. Surely, Wei Zheng is doomed? But no, instead of ordering Wei Zheng's execution, crown prince Li Shimin asks for Wei Zheng's allegiance and his advice. Wei Zheng accepts the offer, agreeing to loyally serve the new Emperor, who will take the name Tang Taizong.

This sort of unconventional decision-making was typical of Taizong during his reign. Where other leaders might have fixated on Wei Zheng's prior loyalties, Taizong instead focused on Wei Zheng's talent and clarity of thought. Rather than pursuing personal revenge, Taizong prioritised the interests of public service, and considered how Wei Zheng could serve as a skilled and experienced advisor. Spared and trusted to add value, Wei Zheng would go on to serve as Taizong's most valued advisor until his death 17 years later.

## Laying Foundations that Endured for Centuries

Taizong's father, Gaozu, had founded the Tang Dynasty in 618. Chang'an, home of the Imperial palace, was at the time the largest city in the world. But when Gaozu passed control over to Taizong in 627, the state of the empire was fragile. There were insecure borders and deep scars from decades of political instability and expensive wars. Taizong was inheriting a decimated economy, an inept bureaucracy, and an overly complex legal system.

What the new emperor needed most was wise counsellors who could present truthful advice on these important issues. Secondly, he needed a competent civil service to deliver on their recommendations. Thirdly, he wanted to record his strategies for statecraft, so that future emperors would preserve the best of his legacy.

### Taizong's Leadership Strategy

#### *A Management Guide for Emperors*

Much of what we know about Taizong's approach to governance can be found in *Zhenguan Zhengyao*, also known as *The Zhenguan Executive Guide*. This classic text on the art of statecraft, organised into 40 chapters, records Taizong's many discussions with his senior advisers and ministers. It can be considered one of the world's very first books on management.

*The Guide* was later revered and consulted, not only by subsequent emperors of the Tang dynasty, but by many non-Chinese rulers of later ages. The conversations in *The Guide* reveal how heavily Taizong relied on his team of advisers and how much he valued them. It highlights the great lengths to which Taizong went to foster a culture where those close to him were unafraid to speak the truth, no matter how unpleasant it might be for him to hear.

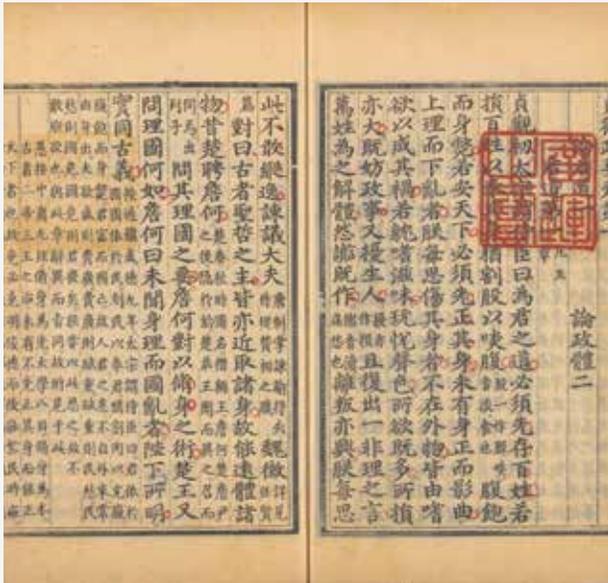
### *Remonstrances: Speaking Truth to Power*

Taizong realised early on that he needed advisers who would tell the truth. This is why he fully embraced the Confucian tradition of remonstrances. Core to Confucian teaching is the concept of remonstrance: the moral obligation of underlings — from children to political subjects — to provide guidance and correct wrongs committed by their superiors.

In Imperial China the practice was so well-established that there was an official government position called a 'remonstrant'. For an Emperor, remonstrances were mostly directed at their policies or actions. Yet plenty of emperors ignored remonstrances, and even punished those who delivered them. Taizong did not see remonstrances as personal attacks on his intelligence, but rather as an opportunity for improvement. "If I want to see myself, I need a mirror," he said. "If I want to know my faults, I need loyal ministers."



An illustration of Tang Taizong.



Pages from *The Zhenguan Executive Guide*.

One historian estimates that as many as 36 remonstrants would sit in Taizong’s court meetings. Another tells of Taizong having written remonstrances posted onto his walls, so he could read those critiques that could not be delivered in person. Wei Zheng, Taizong’s closest adviser, served as Taizong’s Chief Remonstrant, and was known for offering advice so blunt that Taizong periodically vowed to fire Wei Zheng, though he never did. Taizong is quoted in *The Guide* as saying: “I often sit quietly and reflect on myself. I am concerned that what I have done may ... cause public discontent. I hope to get advice and remonstrance from honest men so that I am not out of touch with the outside world.”

Importantly, Taizong not only heard these remonstrances but he also heeded them. *The Guide* is sprinkled with stories of Taizong changing his mind on everything — from responsibilities delegated to junior officials, to reduced punishments and prison sentences that Taizong had previously ordered. Once, after Taizong

received a sharply written memorandum from a magistrate in Henan, he was so enraged that he wanted the man to stand trial for slander.

Wei Zheng reminded the Emperor that sharp words are often necessary to grab a reader’s attention, and suggested Taizong focus on the merit of the complaint rather than its style. Taizong listened, and rather than punish the magistrate, he rewarded him, sending him twenty rolls of silk in thanks for his frankness. Taizong passed this advice on to his son: “If what is said is right, he [the Emperor] must not reject it even though it is offered by a low servant. On the other hand, if what is said is wrong, he must not accept it even though it is given by a high official.”

*Building the Right Team and Culture*

Taizong’s focus on the merit of the remonstrance practice would only work if the right people were up to this challenge. He wanted to ensure that he had the most trustworthy, experienced and capable advisers. Minister Wei Zheng went further to categorise how ‘good’ or ‘bad’ officials exhibited very different behaviours. It is striking how these behaviours still ring true today, especially for appraising the performance of a good official.

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*The key to good governance lies in having an efficient government. The quality of civil servants is more important than the quantity. If we can’t find qualified people, let there be vacancies. We can manage with fewer but more talented people.*

**TANG TAIZONG**

## *Six Types of Good Official*

*Those who are prescient enough to tell signs of coming events and take pre-emptive actions before any trouble occurs, so as to protect the ruler.*

*Those who give the ruler sound advice, carry out his good policies, and correct his mistakes promptly.*

*Those who work hard, inspire the ruler with examples of sage kings in history, and recommend worthy men to him.*

*Those who are perceptive, capable of remedying the ruler's mistakes and turning a bad thing into good account.*

*Those who abide by the law, do not take bribes or seek high pay, and lead a simple and frugal life.*

*Those who do not flatter, and dare to speak out against the ruler's mistakes.*

## *Six Types of Bad Official*

*Those who do not work hard but think only of power and wealth and have no principles.*

*Those who always say yes to the ruler, try to please him by any means, and go along with him even when he is wrong.*

*Those who are double-faced, jealous of the worthy, and use tricks to manipulate the ruler and cause him to be unfair to his officials.*

*Those who are smart enough to conceal their own wrongdoing, are eloquent enough to win favour from others, and purposefully create confusion in court.*

*Those who abuse their position for selfish ends and try to feather their own nests in the name of the ruler.*

*Those who use artful talk to beguile the ruler, confuse right and wrong to mislead him, and cause him to bear a bad name.*

### **Reforming the Bureaucracy across China**

Taizong cared deeply about how well the bureaucracy was functioning across the empire. He once told his ministers: "I often lie awake at night thinking about the affairs of the state. What worries me most is whether provincial governors and county magistrates are up to their jobs. Living in the palace, I see and hear only a limited amount. I count on these officials.

How well they perform their duties concerns the fate of our country."

Those sleepless nights inspired Taizong to action in a very practical sense — he had his ministers sleep in shifts so that one would be available to him at all hours! As for Taizong's worries about those civil servants beyond Chang'an, in the provinces, he knew he needed to make more changes.



An illustration of a palace examination at Kaifeng during the Song Dynasty.

### **A More Meritocratic, Decentralised, and Honourable Civil Service**

Taizong focused his most important reforms on how government officials were selected, trained, appraised, and promoted. He began with education. Taizong had more schools built, not only in the capital but also in the provinces and countryside. This opened the door of opportunity to those in the countryside to enter more skilled employment, including roles in government. Taizong advised that: "... talented people may live in obscurity. They may be waiting for the right opportunity; they may come from humble origins or have low status;

they may be poor or holding menial jobs. You must make every effort to seek them out, for such people will make your life easier."

Taizong next harnessed a more standardised testing system for selecting government officials. Testing of prospective civil servants had begun during the Han Dynasty and was developed during the Sui Dynasty to include more knowledge of Confucianism, the dominant state ideology. Under Taizong, becoming a civil servant now required passing two separate examinations, so that all civil servants possessed a baseline of skills.

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*If one uses bronze as a mirror one will be able to adjust one's dress and hat properly. If one uses the past as a mirror, one will be able to learn the principles of the rise and fall of a dynasty. If one uses a person as a mirror, one will be able to discern one's own achievements and mistakes.*

### TANG TAIZONG

It also meant government jobs would be filled by those who were more capable, and not simply well-connected. To ensure talented civil servants didn't simply cluster around the capital, Taizong personally oversaw the promotions of provincial postings. This increased their prestige. Before Taizong, such postings had been avoided — now, they were prized.

Taizong simultaneously enacted policies to curb corruption. These included limiting terms of office, implementing policies against payments to officials' relatives and increasing the penalty for breaking these policies. Taizong reinforced this personally. He publicly shamed officials found guilty of corruption, and shunned much of the excesses of previous emperors. “A chaotic age is marked by a ruler who is arrogant and extravagant, indulging his desires,” he said. “While his dwelling and garments are richly ornamented, his people are in need of simple clothes.”

### The Emperor Who Listened

Today, it is rare for those in a position of power to encourage nonconformity and frankness from their subordinates. Leaders often prefer to insulate

themselves from criticism. But Taizong was different. In 643 he lamented that: “If one uses bronze as a mirror one will be able to adjust one's dress and hat properly. If one uses the past as a mirror, one will be able to learn the principles of the rise and fall of a dynasty. If one uses a person as a mirror, one will be able to discern one's own achievements and mistakes. I always have these three mirrors at hand to avoid making mistakes. Now that Wei Zheng has passed away, I have lost one of my mirrors.”

By the time of his own death in 649, Taizong's policies on land rights and taxation had helped the economy to recover, and Chinese arts and culture were flourishing. Taizong had even reopened the Silk Road, to rekindle trade between China and Central Asia. He had created the foundations for a “golden age” of Chinese civilisation that allowed the Tang Dynasty to endure for another three centuries, until 907. But it was Taizong's unique approach to wise governance — listening to criticism and being open to reform — that paved the way for his and China's greatness.



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# Lights, Camera, Activism!

Professor *Natasha Lindstaedt* explores how governments can tap on celebrity activism to spotlight critical issues and the role that celebrities can play when it comes to effective political communication.

## **C**elebrities and Politics

In the last 10 years, Ben Affleck's humanitarian organisation, Eastern Congo Initiative (ECI) has given more than US\$ 10.5m in grants to support local Congolese organisations that were working to assist sustainable development projects. Some of these projects include training 150 female cocoa farmers to read and learn other vital economic skills, and providing grants to local coffee cooperatives. Affleck's star power has not only attracted impressive financial support to the organisation but also helped the ECI gain bi-partisan support from members of the U.S. Congress, including Representative Adam Smith and Senator Lindsey Graham to sponsor bills and legislation to aid the eastern Congo.

The success of this celebrity partnership is grounded in Affleck having spent time educating himself on the issues, regularly visiting the country, writing on the topic (citing local knowledge and connections and using statistical data from the United Nations), and genuinely showing a long-term interest and commitment to the project<sup>1</sup>.

But the marriage between celebrities and politics is not without its controversies. While celebrities bring glitz, glamour, and media attention, this lies in stark contrast to the technocratic day-to-day needs of governing effectively. Celebrities are often accused of not understanding the causes they advocate for and caring more about how they are



Actor Ben Affleck (left) arrives at a hearing with Senator Patrick Leahy, centre, and Senator Lindsey Graham, in Washington, D.C., U.S., 26 March 2015.

perceived. These assertions have led to criticism of celebrity advocates. But survey research (looking at the U.S.), has revealed that celebrities have more credibility than politicians.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of some negative stereotypes of celebrity activists, celebrities can serve as potential partners for governments in delivering important social goals. Celebrities have financial resources, relationships with the wealthy and powerful, public exposure — all of which are important currencies in promoting change and drawing attention to socio-political issues.<sup>3</sup> We focus on how governments can work with celebrities to achieve sound objectives.

## **Why Celebrities May Get Involved in Politics**

For most celebrities, their interest in politics is driven by two factors. First, they may be genuinely interested in a political issue or cause. Second, they



spawned a new industry where experts strategically assist in matching charitable organisations with the appropriate celebrity.

### **Mediatisation of Society and the Rise of Celebrity Activists**

Celebrities have become even more important in highlighting political and social issues due to the ongoing mediatisation of society. The growing use of social media has increased the power and influence of celebrities, helping them reach a much wider audience. Celebrities have a platform of millions of followers on Instagram and Twitter that may be hanging on to their every word. Kim Kardashian for example, has spent much of her public life being ridiculed for being materialistic reality star. In spite of this persona, with 254 million followers on Instagram, she has also successfully advocated for the clemency of 31 people who faced life imprisonment for non-violent crimes, most notably, Alice Johnson who had a life sentence for a first-time drug offence.

Furthermore, celebrities have become more powerful due to changes in mainstream media. Much of contemporary journalism focuses on celebrity news in order to attract greater viewership.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, the public has become increasingly frustrated with traditional news sources, and has sought out soft

recognise the benefits of being admired and see a need to shape a positive personal image. Being involved in a good cause helps celebrities distinguish themselves from tabloid celebutantes and assists them in being taken more seriously. Overall, it helps to construct a powerful personal brand that yields positive benefits for them professionally.

As celebrities are no longer part of studio systems, stars are free to voice their opinion, adopt pet causes and policy initiatives, without the fear of losing their jobs for doing so.<sup>5</sup> This leverage and autonomy that they now have in the entertainment industry to shape their own image has led to an increase in celebrity activism.<sup>6</sup>

The internet has also made it easier for celebrities to inform themselves on causes that are important to them, and quickly appear competent on these issues. Celebrity activism is so widespread that this has



Kim Kardashian West and Alice Johnson, United States, 13 June 2018.

news and alternative sources of news that tend to report more on celebrities.<sup>8</sup> This gives celebrities an even bigger audience, which serves to highlight celebrity causes more widely as well.

### The Power of Spotlight

In terms of spotlighting issues and raising money, examples abound of celebrities making a positive impact, with some even possessing the gravitas to attract widespread attention for important causes.<sup>9</sup> Due to their excellent networking capabilities and status, celebrities can facilitate accelerated fundraising and collaboration with corporate sponsors.

Billionaire mogul Oprah Winfrey has not only donated upwards of US\$ 50m a year to education, health care, and advocacy for women and children, she also lobbied for the 1993 National Child Protection Act, also known as the Oprah Bill, which established a database of convicted child abusers. Actress Elizabeth Taylor raised millions for AIDS charities, serving as one of the first advocates for AIDS funding, starting with the AIDS Project Los Angeles. U.S. basketball star LeBron James has donated and raised millions for children's and education charities through his LeBron James Family Foundation.



Colin Kaepernick kneels for the anthem prior to the game against the Tampa Bay Buccaneers at Levi Stadium, California, U.S., 23 October 2016.

American football player Colin Kaepernick gained global attention for kneeling during the national anthem at American football games to spotlight systemic injustices against the African American community in the criminal justice system and protest against police brutality. Other noted African American celebrities — and most notably athletes — eventually followed suit and global attention turned to this ongoing problem. U.S. actor Mark Ruffalo has become involved in advocacy for clean water and clean energy for all. He has lobbied the U.S. Congress to support bills to increase infrastructure to ensure clean water and highlighted the issue of PFAS industrial chemicals polluting waters in North Carolina.

### Authenticity Matters

That said, many of these examples of celebrity activism are high-profile stars drawn from Europe and North America, which reinforces the image that the global south somehow needs to be saved by the west. But celebrities from the global south have



played an important role in advocating on behalf of policies and organisations that they care about. Much of the effectiveness of celebrities centres on their authenticity and expertise, and not just their connections and charisma.

Some of the most effective advocates offer a closer connection to what they are supporting. Bestselling author Ishmael Beah suffered trauma from being a child soldier in Sierra Leone. He has since worked with the UN and created his own foundation to give a voice to children scarred by the violence in his home country of Sierra Leone. Beah has also worked to raise awareness about the devastating impact of Ebola on local communities and to raise funds for education. Somali model Waris Dirie, herself a victim of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) has advocated against FGM and started her own foundation to offer treatment and care for victims.

There are many other examples of celebrities from the global south working with international and local organisations to promote causes facing the developing world. Senegalese singer Youssou N'Dour for instance, has been a noted activist, working both with the UN and through his own foundation to support microfinance, healthcare and internet cafes to connect Senegalese people around the world. Camila Pitanga is a Brazilian actress who has long worked hard to spotlight fighting climate change, child labour, slave labour and supporting the rights of the indigenous communities and gender equality. Globally-acclaimed Nigerian musician Femi Kuti has worked with UNICEF to draw attention to the HIV/AIDS pandemic in Africa and to support children's rights. Indian tennis star Sania Mirza has worked with NGOs and the UN to fight against female infanticide and support gender quality in India. Chinese actress Hai Qing has used her celebrity platform to promote gender equality, and to end discrimination and violence against women in society.

Indian actor Aamir Khan has been fighting climate change and drought management on several fronts — one, by lobbying the Indian government and the European Parliament, and two, by working with his foundation to help communicate, equip and train farmers about how to tackle drought in villages in Maharashtra, India. The Indian government had been trying to prepare rural farmers to fight drought

in the region for years but with little success. Khan and his foundation have been much more effective in teaching farmers, using well-known indigenous techniques of water management. The foundation's success can be attributed to Khan's credibility and authenticity in delivering these messages.

### **How Governments can Partner with Celebrity Activists**

Governments can work with celebrities in many different areas. Celebrities can connect with their audiences in ways that politicians may not be able to. Since celebrities have been constantly employed to bring prestige to brands, governments can harness their charisma to get citizens to support government initiatives. Celebrities can be employed in innovative ways by governments, and may be particularly effective in encouraging consumer-driven initiatives.

Celebrities that are the most effective appeal to a broad audience, are educated on the issue and are willing to be personally invested in the issue.<sup>10</sup> Celebrities bring a great deal of attention to an issue, not just to citizens but to elected officials as well (since 1980, the number of celebrities testifying in the U.S. Congress has doubled). When a celebrity presides at a congressional testimony, this encourages congressmen to show up and can foster more initiatives for funding.



Sania Mirza speaks during a function of her announcement as UN Women's Goodwill Ambassador for South Asia on 25 November 2014 in New Delhi, India.

For example, when actor Michael J. Fox testified about his experience with Parkinson's disease, this led to a US\$ 275m increase in funding for research.<sup>11</sup> Mr. Fox was considered to be knowledgeable on the issue, had widespread appeal and was personally invested, having been diagnosed with Parkinson's himself.

When governments need to communicate vital information, packaging information as entertainment increases the likelihood that the information will be consumed. In these situations, having celebrities convey the message may be helpful. Less important than a celebrity's actual credentials and expertise, is the consumer's perceptions of the celebrity's expertise.<sup>12</sup> It's also important that there is a high perceived fit between the celebrity's image and what they are endorsing or talking about, as this contributes to credibility.<sup>13</sup>

Celebrities may be most effective when working with governments to inform the public to adopt behaviours on issues that are non-controversial, appear non-partisan, and where the messaging is clear and simple. Governments can work with celebrities to persuade citizens to adopt effective behaviour. While state and international organisations require experts in crafting smart policies and directives, the implementation process requires societal buy-in or compliance, which in turn necessitates strong state-society relations and high levels of trust.



Michael J. Fox performs on stage at A Funny Thing Happened On The Way To Cure Parkinson's benefitting The Michael J. Fox Foundation, U.S., 16 November 2019.

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*For governments that find themselves facing the challenge of low levels of societal trust, star power can be a useful tool to communicate directives and be a medium through which valuable information may be offered.*

In the case of the Ebola virus in West Africa in 2014, the use of traditional burials was considered to be a major source of Ebola transmission, with as many as 2.5 new cases resulting from unsafe burial practices. Because the region had faced brutal civil wars, levels of trust in the government were low and it was very challenging to communicate the importance of changing burial practices to stem the spread of the virus. There was a need to turn to an individual who commanded respect and legitimacy in the community. In the case of Sierra Leone, the message was most successfully communicated by noted religious and traditional leaders. But being effective in political communication often depends on the legitimacy of the messenger.<sup>14</sup> In some cases, celebrities may be more effective communicators.

Celebrities have also had some success in the area of diplomacy, particularly in the sports arena. Beyond the cases of ping-pong diplomacy between China and the U.S. during the early 1970s, and pin-down diplomacy between Iranian and American wrestlers in the 1990s, sports can be used as a vehicle for the easing of tensions.

Global superstar Yao Ming has been an advocate of sports diplomacy to improve U.S.-Chinese relations and to highlight similar interests. Through music, reggae star Bob Marley addressed the growing conflict between warring factions in Jamaica. Marley and a host of other notable reggae acts held the One Love Concert in 1978 to ease tension and violence in Jamaica. In both these examples of Yao Ming and Bob Marley, we see globally-renowned



Chinese Table Tennis Association president Liu Guoliang (third from left), Chinese Basketball Association president Yao Ming (centre), and head coach of Beijing Royal Fighters Stephon Marbury (second from right), attend an activity in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of Ping-Pong diplomacy between China and the United States in Beijing, China, 24 April 2021.

superstars with a huge domestic and international fanbase who appeal to cross-cutting cleavages across societies. They both appear to be authentic, have huge charismatic appeal, and are invested in their causes.

### Political Communication

For the most part, the success of the celebrity in politics lies mostly in their abilities in political communication.<sup>15</sup> Much of the small literature on celebrities and politics has shown that celebrities have limited influence on changing actual government policies.<sup>16</sup>

However, there are lessons to be learned about how governments can work with celebrities, particularly those who are considered authentic, knowledgeable, charismatic and well-respected. This is a symbiotic relationship as there is prestige involved for celebrities in working on important causes. In addition to being able to raise attention to issues and bring people together, celebrities can help persuade and change behaviour when the messaging is simple and when the messenger is considered to be legitimate and authentic.

For governments that find themselves facing the challenge of low levels of societal trust, star power can be a useful tool to communicate directives and be a medium through which valuable information may be offered. In doing so, the spotlight can be cast on pressing issues that truly need immediate attention.



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# Building Back Better

Policy expert *Andrew Wear* believes that by learning from our past and making the right choices in the present, the global community can emerge from the COVID-19 pandemic better and stronger than before.

## Lessons from History

The world frequently experiences times of intense difficulty. These crises can be natural disasters such as earthquakes, floods or bushfires. Economic recessions — or depressions — disrupt whole economies. Wars cause mass devastation. And as we've experienced lately, pandemic causes loss of life and severe disruption. The COVID-19 pandemic has been a crisis of enormous scale — a health crisis that killed millions of people and resulted in the deepest recession since World War II. In many parts of the world, the pandemic has also accompanied a crisis of democracy, with governments letting people down badly.

By exploring past recoveries, we can generate insights into the crisis we've just been through and how we — and our governments — might approach our coming recovery. Germany today is a manufacturing powerhouse with the world's largest trade surplus and South Korea is on its way to having the longest life expectancy in the world. New York is the world's leading city for finance and media and Taiwan has handled COVID-19 better than almost anywhere else in the world. All of these places were devastated by crises in the relatively recent past, and all have recovered strongly to be better than before.

An exploration of past recoveries shows that over the longer term, a crisis is less relevant than the steps cities and nations take afterwards. Assessing these recoveries from afar, it's easy to see that years on,

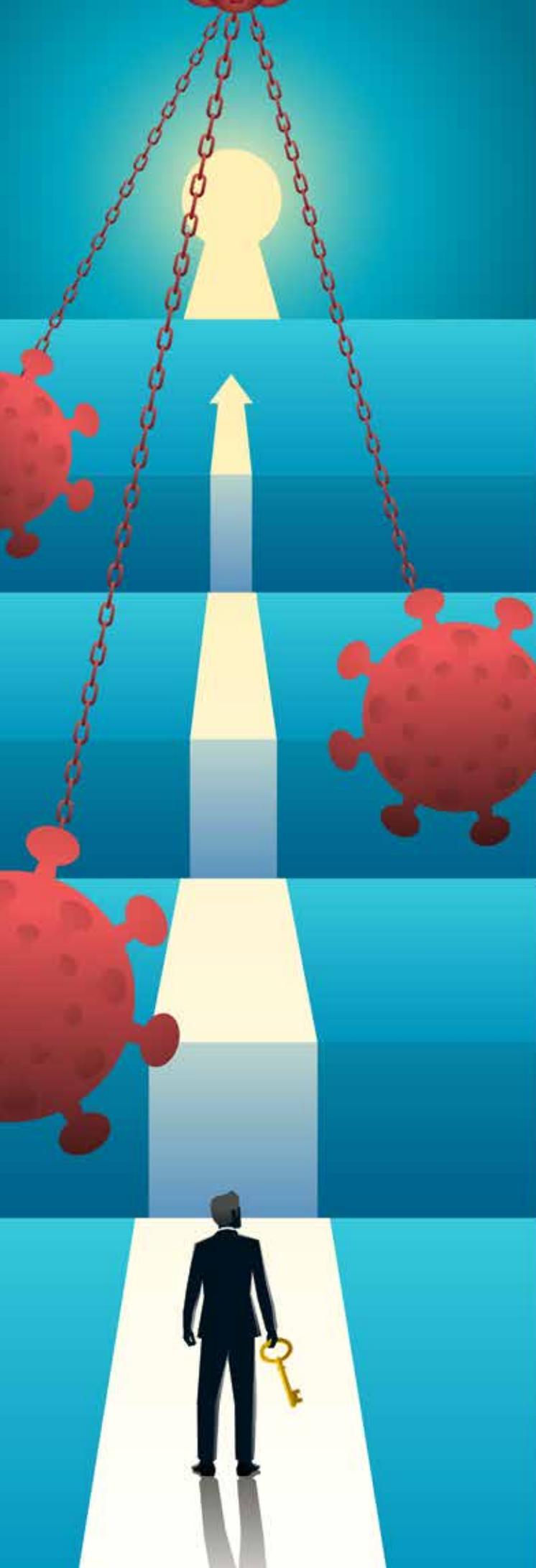
recovery can result in even greater prosperity and success than might otherwise have been possible. If other places can leverage their recoveries into a brighter future, then we can too.

## Insights from Past Crises

If past recoveries are any guide, it is likely that many countries will return to economic growth in the short term. For a while, we may even see growth slightly faster than normal, particularly following the vaccine roll out and if governments maintain an adequate level of economic stimulus. What's not clear is whether we'll see a boom beyond the initial bounce — like the U.S. experienced with the Roaring Twenties — or a decade of sluggish growth and stagnating living standards, just as much of the developed world experienced after the Great Recession of 2010. Following a crisis, the decisions that set a country up for long-term economic growth are some of the most critical that governments will make.

Lasting social consequences arising from the pandemic are inevitable. Recovery following the Spanish Flu involved an intensification of social activity and led to permanent changes in gender roles. The very identity of Christchurch changed following the 2010 earthquakes, with the city shaking off its conservative reputation to become a place where “everything is possible”. If the Spanish Flu is any guide, following an enforced period of reduced human interaction, we may be drawn to intensify our social lives, making up for lost time. A decade of parties ahead, perhaps? Alternatively, after many people reconfigured their relationship with the office during the pandemic, perhaps we will be more inclined to keep working from home, connecting with our local neighbourhoods.

Not all of these social effects will be positive. The increased prevalence of mental illness has been a consequence of almost every crisis in history. Experts are expecting a tsunami of psychiatric illness in the years ahead. Disrupted learning flowing from school closures will have long-term consequences. The OECD calculates that students who were at school in 2020 can expect to earn 3% lower incomes over their lifetimes.



Past crises show us that recoveries are rarely neat, linear progressions. They play out in the context of complex histories and pre-existing structural issues. But they invariably bump into other issues along the way too. The reality is that there will be future crises, and they won't wait until recovery is complete. The pandemic arrived in an Australia still reeling from devastating bushfires. And when New York was starting to bounce back from the Great Recession, it was hit by Hurricane Sandy.

### **The COVID-19 Classroom**

The COVID-19 pandemic has provided us with many insights, and it's important that we remember these as we move towards recovery.

#### *We're All Connected*

It has reminded us that health is a public concern, not just a private matter that concerns only the individual and their family. We've also learned that what happens around the world impacts us at home. It's likely that only when most of the world's population is vaccinated will we be able to declare the end of the pandemic. We've also experienced the consequences of the inequality that pervades our society. Precarious and underpaid work served only to exacerbate the pandemic. All crises expose the fault lines in society, and this pandemic has been no different.

#### *Competent Government Matters*

We've learned that at times like this, it's actually important to have a competent government. We understand its value most clearly when it is absent. Countries such as the U.K. and the U.S. have been characterised by flip flops in public health advice, botched test and trace regimes, and chaotic and ever-changing lockdown arrangements. Competent governments rely on the existence of institutions that have the capacity and authority to do things properly. These institutions need to have the staff, expertise, resources, and authority that equip them to respond to complex situations such as we've just been through. For these institutions to be effective they also need to be supported with a legal and political culture that is committed to public administration. Political leaders that value public administration have been critical during our most recent crisis.



Health workers administer a dose of the BioNTech COVID-19 vaccine during a vaccination drive for high school students at a school sports hall in Taipei, Taiwan, on 22 September 2021.

### *Small Units of Government*

Smaller units of government have proven to be particularly important. Many smaller jurisdictions — such as New Zealand, Taiwan, Iceland, and Australia — have proven remarkably successful in containing the virus. In federations, state and provincial governments have played an important leadership role. Small nations and state governments have often proven more agile than their larger counterparts, and better equipped to develop a rapid policy response.

### *Trust*

Governments and citizens have a symbiotic relationship. During a crisis, people need to trust experts, governments, and each other. In the absence of trust, governments find it much more challenging to respond competently. But the incompetence of government is likely to further undermine trust, leading to a downward spiral of declining trust and poorly-functioning government. Trust and capable public sectors are national assets that need to be nurtured over many years. The pandemic has shown us what can happen when they are left to whither.

### **Our Coming Recovery**

As we commence our recovery, we won't just be dealing with COVID-19 and its aftermath. Our recovery will coincide with a host of other serious

challenges. While many existed prior to the pandemic, the virus has shone a light on others or even exacerbated them. This makes the task of recovery more complex, with a great many factors to consider, ranging from deep inequality, to geopolitical tensions and long-term economic stagnation. Yet, while all this represents a challenge, some also provide an opportunity. The accelerating decarbonisation of the economy, for example, may provide the perfect catalyst to stimulate post-COVID economic development.

Consequently, we find ourselves with some powerful opportunities to recover from the crisis, tackle our biggest problems and create a brighter future. Billions of dollars of stimulus will — and should — continue to flow for some time. Directing these funds with purpose has the potential to yield positive outcomes in areas such as climate change, inequality, and economic productivity. As we emerge from the crisis to rebuild our cities, we have the opportunity to ensure that our communities, infrastructure, and economies become more resilient and hence better able to recover from future crises. Resilience will be further enhanced if we can cooperate globally. And by involving a range of perspectives in our recovery, there's the potential for an exciting range of new approaches to be tried and tested.

In the short term, there will be value in establishing dedicated agencies to coordinate recovery, perhaps underpinned by formal partnerships between different levels of government. Commissioning post-pandemic inquiries (similar to the 9/11 Commission or the Royal Commission into the 2009 Australian bushfires) will help to carefully document what was learned, ensuring we are better prepared and better able to respond in the event of a similar crisis. Cities will need to be rejuvenated with arts and events, to give people the confidence and purpose to return to public spaces. We'll need to re-engage vulnerable students in learning and boost support for mental health.

Economic stimulus must be maintained for as long as it takes, with stimulus focussed on initiatives that help drive long-term economic growth and help tackle intersecting challenges, such as climate change. We will need to experiment: trying lots of things, keeping the things that work, and discarding those that don't. And given the central role they will play in underpinning our long-term prosperity, economic development and education will require concerted additional effort over many years.

## Shaping Our Recovery



*Keep stimulating the economy for as long as it takes.*



*Focus stimulus on initiatives that help drive long-term economic growth and help tackle intersecting challenges, such as climate change.*



*Establish a dedicated recovery agency, underpinned by a formal partnership between different levels of government.*



*Commission a post-pandemic inquiry.*



*Double down on economic development and education.*

## The Road to Recovery

Crises do not have to leave a long-term legacy. We can recover. Places recovering from past devastation have gone on to create prosperous, exciting futures. The people living in places such as New York or Aceh or South Korea now enjoy a quality of life far better than what had existed before their crises. In many instances, places that experienced crises have not merely recovered, they have gone on to lead the world. Their experiences should provide us with the confidence that we too, can recover.

Recovery is not guaranteed though. History is also strewn with examples of places that failed to recover. They withdrew economic stimulus too early, or held too tight to their pre-crisis worldview. Embarking on what — for most of us — will be the biggest recovery process of our lifetimes, it's important that we approach it in a considered fashion, learning lessons from the past.

While the COVID-19 pandemic has been the biggest crisis of a generation, our recovery also represents an enormous opportunity. It has the potential to catalyse us towards renewed prosperity, advance us on a path to zero net carbon emissions, reduce inequality and strengthen our democracy. Examples from history show that with the right choices, we won't just recover, we will go on to create a better, brighter future.

*This is a commentary by Andrew Wear based on his latest book, "Recovery: How We Can Create a Better, Brighter Future After a Crisis," published in October 2021.*



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## Through the Lens of Aadhaar: The Power of Identity

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