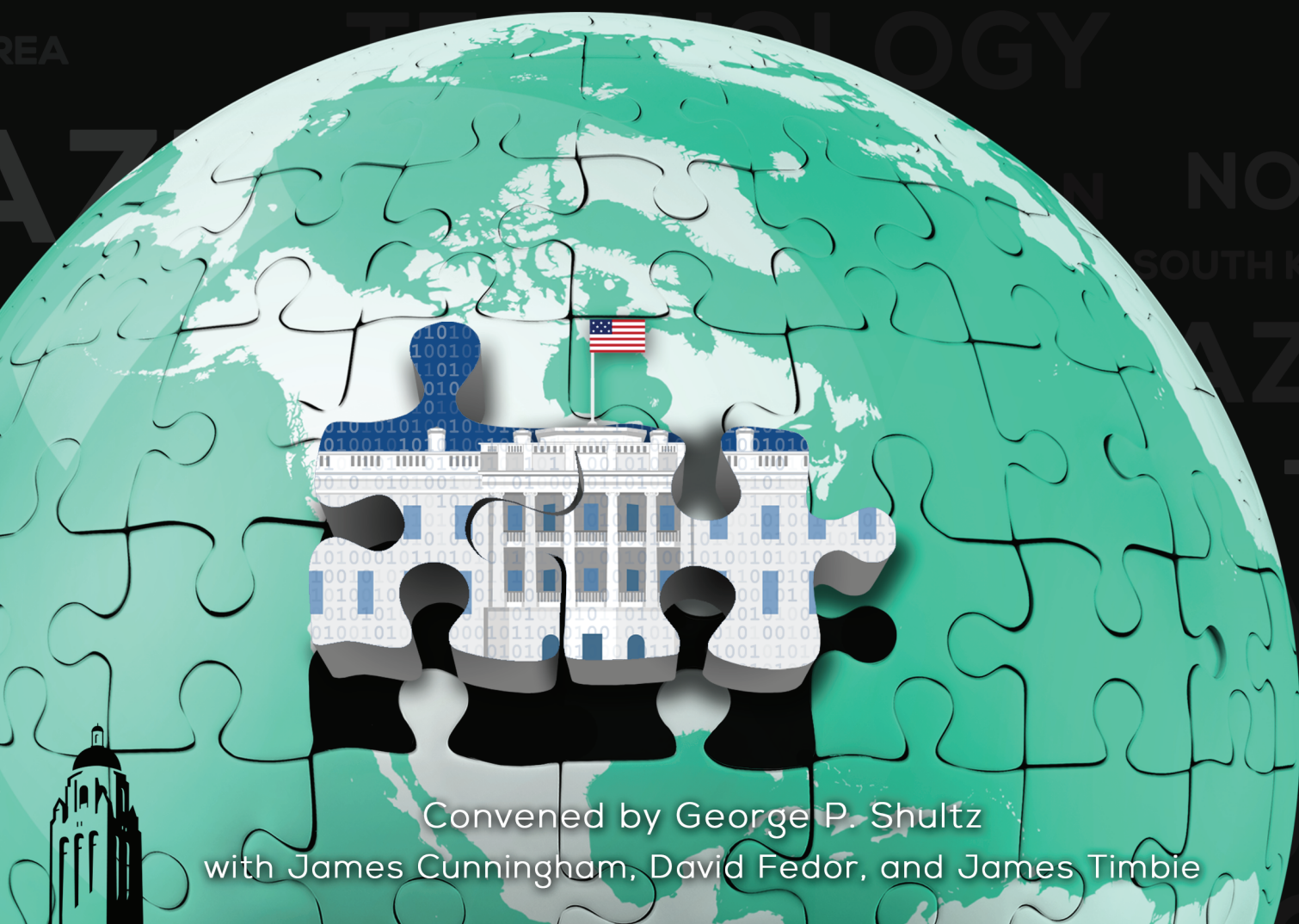

GOVERNANCE IN AN **EMERGING** NEW WORLD

GOVERNING IN AN EMERGING
NEW WORLD

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Convened by George P. Shultz
with James Cunningham, David Fedor, and James Timbie

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A Letter from the Conveners

Sharp changes are afoot throughout the globe. Demographics are shifting, technology is advancing at unprecedented rates, and these changes are being felt everywhere.

How should we develop strategies to deal with this emerging new world? We can begin by understanding it.

First, there is the changing composition of the world population, which will have a profound impact on societies. Developed countries are experiencing falling fertility rates and increasing life expectancy. As working-age populations shrink and pensions and care costs for the elderly rise, it becomes harder for governments to afford other productive investments.

At the same time, high fertility rates in Africa and South Asia are causing both working-age and total populations to grow, but that growth outpaces economic performance. And alongside a changing climate, these parts of the world already face growing impacts from natural disasters, human and agricultural diseases, and other resource constraints.

Taken together, we are seeing a global movement of peoples matching the transformative movement of goods and of capital in recent decades—and encouraging a populist turn in world politics.

Second is automation and artificial intelligence. In the last century, machines performed as instructed, and that “third industrial revolution” completely changed patterns of work, notably in manufacturing. But machines can now be designed to learn from experience, by trial and error. Technology will improve productivity, but workplace disruption will accelerate—and will be felt not only by call center responders and truck drivers but also by accountants, by radiologists and lawyers, even by computer programmers.

All history displays this process of change. What is different today is the speed of change. In the early 20th century, American farm workers fell from half of the population to less than five percent alongside the mechanization of agriculture. Our K-12 education system helped to navigate this disruption by making sure the next generation could grow up capable of leaving the farm and becoming productive urban workers. With the speed of artificial intelligence, it's not just the children of displaced workers but the workers themselves who will need a fresh start.

Underlying the urgency of this task is the reality that there are now 7.6 million unfilled jobs in America. Filling them and transitioning workers displaced by advancing technology to new jobs will test both education (particularly K-12, where the United States continues to fall behind) and the flexibility of workers to pursue new occupations. Clearly, community colleges and similarly nimble institutions can help.

The third trend is fundamental change in the technological means of production, which allows goods to be produced near where they will be used and may unsettle the international order. More sophisticated use of robotics alongside human colleagues, plus additive manufacturing and unexpected changes in the distribution of energy supplies, have implications for our security and our economy as well as those of many other trade-oriented nations, which may face a new and unexpected form of deglobalization.

This ability to produce customized goods cheaply and in smaller quantities may, for example, lead to a gradual loss of cost-of-labor advantages. Today, 68 percent of Bangladeshi women work in sewing, and 4.5 million Vietnamese work in clothing production. Localized advanced manufacturing could block this traditional route to industrialization and economic development. Robots have been around for years, but robotics on a grand scale is just getting started: China today is the world's biggest buyer of robots but has only 68 per 10,000 workers; South Korea has 631.

These advances also diffuse military power. Ubiquitous sensors, inexpensive and autonomous drones, nanoexplosives, and cheaper access to space through microsatellites all empower smaller states and even individuals, closing the gap between incumbent powers like the United States and prospective challengers and giving potentially disruptive capabilities to non-state and terrorist actors. The proliferation of low-cost, high-performance weaponry enabled by advances in navigation and additive manufacturing diminishes the once-paramount powers of conventional military assets like aircraft carriers and fighter jets. This is a new global challenge, and it threatens to undermine U.S. global military dominance unless we can harness the new technologies to serve our own purposes. At the same time, the proliferation of nuclear weapons poses a serious global threat.

Finally, the information and communications revolution is making governance more difficult everywhere. An analogue is the introduction of the printing press: as the price of that technology declined by 99 percent, the volume grew exponentially. But that process took ten times longer in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries than we see today. Information

is everywhere—some of it accurate, some inaccurate, such that entire categories of news or intelligence appear less trustworthy. The “population” of Facebook now exceeds the population of the largest nation-state. We have access to ceaseless and instantaneous communication with everybody, anybody, at any time. These tools can be used to enlighten, but they can also be used to distort, intimidate, divide, and oppress.

On the one hand, autocrats increasingly are empowered by this electronic revolution, enabled to manipulate technologies to solidify their rule in ways far beyond their fondest dreams in times past. On the other hand, individuals can now reach others with similar concerns around the world. People can easily discover what is going on, organize around it, and take collective action.

At present, many countries seek to govern over diversity by attempting to suppress it, which exacerbates the problem by reducing trust in institutions. Elsewhere we see governments unable to lead, trapped in short-term reactions to the vocal interests that most effectively capture democratic infrastructures. Both approaches are untenable. The problem of governing over diversity has taken on new dimensions.

The good news is that the United States is remarkably well-positioned to ride this wave of change if we are careful and deliberate about it. As an immigrant nation, we have always had to govern over diversity. Meanwhile, other countries will face these common challenges in their own way, shaped by their own capabilities and vulnerabilities. Many of the world's strongest nations today—our allies and others—will struggle more than we will. The greater our understanding of other countries' situations, the stronger our foundation for constructive international engagement.

This is why we have embarked on this new project on Governance in an Emerging New World. Our friend Senator Sam Nunn has said that we need to strike a balance between optimism about what we can do with technology and realism about technology's dark side. So we aim to understand these changes and inform strategies that both address the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities afforded by these transformations.

To do so, we are convening a series of meetings and calling for papers to examine how these technological, demographic, and societal changes are affecting the United States (our democracy, our economy, and our national security) and countries and regions around the world, including Russia, China, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Europe.

In past volumes, we have considered how new communication technologies are affecting elections and democratic processes, but their impact does not end there. After the election, you must govern, and these new technologies, alongside the other phenomena described above, are changing the governing process as well. Political activists can use social media to foment opposition to policy proposals. Information has become more readily available, yet unreliable, complicating the decision-making of both political leaders and voters. Is it harder to make constructive compromises, for example, when a decision-maker is judged instantaneously rather than on the portfolio of accomplishments over an appointed term? And politics becomes increasingly national as local newspapers close and politicians govern by tweet.

But these disruptive forces can also be used to make governments more effective, responsive, and honest. The connected world allows all levels of government to provision services more effectively and equitably, and it can increase transparency and accountability, for example in our primary and secondary schools. We need good governance now, and these social and political dynamics, while complicating traditional modes of governing, may help us get it.

We assembled a panel of experts—former and current political leaders, journalists, and intellectuals—to discuss this important issue and consider how we can improve the quality of governance in the United States. Three of the panelists prepared papers for the discussion.

Jeb Bush, the former governor of Florida and a national leader in education reform, writes that if government is to harness emerging technologies to improve its service to the American people, it will need to be fundamentally transformed. Drawing on his experience as governor, he calls for greater flexibility, accountability, and transparency in government and for a recommitment to federalism, which allows us to use our states as laboratories of innovation. In particular, he points to education as an area of great need, but also great potential for positive reform of this kind.

An important buttress of good governance is the press, but Karen Tumulty, a political columnist at the *Washington Post*, attests that the spread of social media and digital platforms has transformed the fourth estate. Hallmarks of the

journalism profession have gone by the wayside with digital media replacing print, news organizations consolidating, and the traditional news cycle disappearing. Tumulty warns that we are still in the early stages of this transition but writes that we still see a hunger for reliable reporting, both locally and nationally.

City and local governments are the most “consumer-facing” governance entities; when the gears at the federal level grind to a halt, they are increasingly tasked to take on complex social and technological questions without the benefit of a sophisticated national apparatus to support it. At the same time, ballooning pension obligations are eating up their budgetary capacity to deliver anything but basic services. Can technology help? Amanda Daflos, chief innovation officer of the City of Los Angeles, writes about her experience employing technology to improve the quality of governance and public services.

In addition to these contributions, we have solicited the wisdom of three more panelists. Willie Brown, the former mayor of San Francisco and speaker of the California State Assembly, will share his thoughts on how the art and practice of politics may be changing in light of the penetrating spotlights afforded to those outside city hall or the statehouse by the tools of the information and communications revolution. *Wall Street Journal* columnist Dan Henninger will discuss three of his columns from 2019, “Gridlock Is the New Normal”, “Can the West Still Govern?”, and “Trump’s Fight with the ‘Globalists’”, which consider what the future holds for democratic governments who find themselves dominated by *de facto* veto powers. Finally, the Hudson Institute’s Christopher DeMuth will comment on the impact of the internet on government and the new nationalist revival, drawing on his February 2019 article in the *Claremont Review of Books*, “Trumpism, Nationalism, and Conservatism.”

We have written before that the emerging world is in need of good governance and leadership from the United States. If the United States hopes to play that role again—and we hope that it does—Americans will have to wrestle with these challenges.

We are excited to present these papers and to hear from this panel of experts and practitioners. We thank our friend and colleague Jim Hoagland for moderating this wide-ranging discussion of modern governance, and we thank our colleagues at the Hoover Institution, particularly Rachel Moltz and Shana Farley, for their continued hard work in support of this project.



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Unlocking the Power of Technology for Better Governance

By **Jeb Bush**, Former Governor of Florida

The rapid advances of the digital age have radically transformed our private and work lives by making information more accessible, communication faster, and businesses more competitive. But while our private lives have been so quickly transformed, government has been slow to respond. Embracing the technological advances of the last few decades promises to make government more efficient, transparent, responsive, and effective.

But for technology to reach its full potential, and for government to reliably harness it for the good of the public, we need to transform government itself. Our twentieth-century government—bureaucratic, inefficient, overly centralized, and captured by special interests—is not positioned to make the best of the technological advances that have taken place despite it. Our complacent monopoly of a government needs to be brought into the twenty-first century. We need to cut regulations, make civil servants accountable, fix broken public procurement processes, and, for the sake of accountability, experimentation, and local autonomy, return power to state and local governments.

There is no more important place for that transformation to take place than in our K-12 education system. We send our children to school full-time for over a dozen years so that they can be set up for success in life. Yet we continue to fall short in providing every child an education worthy of that time. Advancements in technology promise to transform the classroom by allowing each student to receive an individualized education tailored to their unique talents and needs. Yet familiar problems of dysfunctional, broken government threaten to keep our children in an outdated system that puts bureaucrats, party politicians, and special interests before the mission of giving every American child an education worthy of the most accomplished nation in history. We need to shift power away from failing schools and school districts and back to parents and educational innovators. We need to give parents the power to choose which school to send their kids to and the information they need to make the right choice.

Technological Opportunities for Government

Making Government More Efficient

Border security is an immense political and practical challenge. Over the last few decades, efforts to secure the border have repeatedly ended in failure. President Trump has famously proposed building a physical wall along large parts of the U.S.-Mexico border. His proposal includes upgrading hundreds of miles of existing fencing as well as building hundreds of miles of new wall where there are insufficient natural barriers to illegal crossings. His plans have been largely stymied by a lack of political support for the wall and the money required to build it, estimated to be about \$20 billion. Concerns have also been raised that a wall so long can have severe environmental effects, such as preventing animal migrations.

Anduril, a startup defense contractor, has an alternative solution to building new wall across hundreds of miles of rural borderlands: a smart wall. Called Lattice, their proposed system consists of portable towers equipped with radar, laser-enhanced cameras, and communications equipment. The system uses artificial intelligence to detect motion and distinguish humans, cars, and animals. Border patrol agents would be notified immediately of illegal crossings and be able to track the crossers on their smartphones. Congressman Will Hurd, a former CIA agent with a computer science degree who supports using Anduril's solution, points out that "a concrete structure 30 feet high that takes four hours to penetrate costs \$24.5 million a mile." Conversely, Anduril's smart wall would cost only \$0.5 million per mile.¹

Though more mundane than border security, parking inefficiencies impact millions of people. Everyone has driven around in circles looking for a parking spot. For some, it is even a daily ritual. Further, as spots fill up, the increased difficulty of finding the remaining spots, which may not even exist, causes some capacity to be left unused. To correct for this, parking capacity must be overprovisioned. Between time wasted looking for empty spots, the construction of excess parking capacity, the opportunity cost of other uses for the land, and trips forgone because of predicted difficulty finding parking, the cost of this inefficiency is very high. Furthermore, traditional

parking systems have high administrative costs, requiring the installation and maintenance of payment terminals as well as constant patrolling by parking attendants.

Solutions for these problems are emerging. Mobile parking apps reduce the need for physical parking meters while also notifying parking attendants when spots expire. Parking guidance and information systems use cameras or inductive loops (more commonly known as the mechanism by which smart street lights detect waiting cars) can detect exactly which spots are occupied and which spots are not, allowing drivers to be given exact directions to an open spot.² These intelligent parking systems also allow dynamic pricing, so that parking spots can be efficiently allocated during busy times.³

Technology can also make the interaction between citizens and government agencies simpler and more efficient. Information on government services is provided on more than 4,500 websites on over 400 domains, and one review found that the overwhelming majority were “not fast, mobile friendly, secure, or accessible.”⁴ That study concluded that 91 percent of the most popular federal websites “failed to perform well on at least one of the metrics analyzed.”⁵ Improvements to these websites would make them both more accessible and more efficient to use for citizens seeking to engage with their government. One effort the government has made to improve the experience for users is the 2017 creation of a single sign-on, which gives citizens access to multiple government services with a single login.⁶ But much work remains to be done.

Making the Most of Data

Intelligently directing public resources in response to the opioid epidemic can make the difference between life and death. As the wave of drug overdose deaths has swept across the nation, police, health departments, and other public services have struggled to stay ahead of it. To help, the Drug Enforcement Agency’s Washington/Baltimore High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area team developed an app, ODMAP, that, with the help of first responders, maps the time and location of drug overdoses. Especially because overdoses are linked to high-potency batches of illegal narcotics, mapping overdose deaths allows governments to see where those batches are being distributed and how they are moving. Beyond helping catch drug traffickers, this information helps governments decide which police units need to increase their on-hand supply of naloxone, where training resources need to be deployed, and how to prioritize public outreach efforts.⁷

Detecting violent crimes in real-time can also be a matter of life and death. In 1992, seismologists at the Menlo Park office of the United States Geological Survey (USGS) applied techniques from seismology to create a proof

of concept for the real-time detection of shootings, which had become a serious issue in the area.⁸ Seeing the commercial promise, Robert Showen expanded on their work and founded ShotSpotter.⁹ Today, the New York Police Department (NYPD) uses ShotSpotter to determine the exact source of gunfire in the city and can even identify the direction the shooter was moving if the shots come from a moving vehicle. This system allows emergency services to immediately respond to an incident, more quickly treating victims, identifying witnesses, and collecting evidence than if they had to wait for 911 calls.¹⁰ More than 90 cities use ShotSpotter today.¹¹

In the first study of its kind, the city of Bellevue, Washington, is using footage from its streetlight cameras to identify dangerous intersections that need to be reworked. Through a partnership with Together for Safer Roads, a joint effort of several companies, machine learning and artificial intelligence techniques are being applied to the raw camera footage to identify near-misses, i.e. incidents where cars almost hit other cars or pedestrians. The study should avoid the imprecision, subjectivity, and reactivity of traditional studies of dangerous intersections, which rely on expert analysis and extrapolation from reports of actual accidents.¹²

Technology has also increased safety from hazardous materials. Earlier this year, U.S. Senator Jim Risch’s office was quarantined as emergency responders worked to determine whether a mysterious white substance was hazardous.¹³ Modern technology could greatly expedite these situations as there are now handheld Ramon spectroscopy devices which can detect and identify a wide range of substances, including narcotics and explosives. In Twin Falls, Idaho, first responders will share such technology and make the data available to surrounding regional response teams, which Fire Battalion Chief Mitchell Brooks describes as an effort to “bridge the gap between our local hazmat and bomb squad.”¹⁴ The handheld device will greatly increase the speed of first responders in identifying unknown substances, which currently requires, in many cases, involvement by state experts, who can take several hours to arrive on the scene. Current Ramon spectroscopy devices are typically able to identify the substances in its database within about a minute.

Empowering Citizens to Shine Light on Government

Governments at both the state and federal level have rapidly begun to adopt open data policies, which make government data available to the public. At the federal level, the 2014 DATA Act has two main requirements: (1) the Treasury Department and White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) must establish government-wide data standards for the information that agencies report to them and the General Services

Administration, and (2) Treasury and OMB must make this data publicly accessible and downloadable for free. This data is available now on data.gov, and several states and cities have sought to implement similar open data requirements.

One such city is Seattle, Washington. The state of Washington has several sites dedicated to open data, providing citizens with a wide variety of free government data ranging from spending figures to environmental conditions to employment opportunities. The city of Seattle has made its police data accessible to the public through My Neighborhood Map, which allows users to see locations where 911 calls have been placed as well as the locations where police reports have been filed in the last twelve hours. The Seattle police department also regularly releases data on uses of force as well as historical crime data.¹⁵

As allegations of police misconduct have become politically prominent, more police departments are adopting body cameras. In many communities there is a lack of confidence in the police, and body cameras may serve to build more trust in law enforcement. Body cameras can resolve factual disputes about conflicts between officers and citizens, which in turn can save resources during the judicial process. Body cameras not only save time otherwise spent on fact-finding, but they can also provide valuable corroborating evidence for prosecutors.¹⁶ Furthermore, evidence suggests that the presence of body cameras may reduce the likelihood of conflict between citizens and officers altogether, as citizens “often change their behavior toward officers” when they learn they are being recorded.¹⁷

Technological Empowerment Instead of Central Control

Finally, new technologies can solve problems and make stronger government action unnecessary. Governance benefits not only when government can wield some new technology itself, but also when technological advances improve efficiency in private businesses, empower consumers, and level the playing field.

Consider the controversies surrounding for-profit colleges and universities. In response to the perception that these institutions were overcharging students and providing poor instruction, the Obama administration imposed new, onerous regulations on them that would have seen their access to federal student loans largely cut off if their students did not meet certain employment targets. These regulations were criticized for singling out for-profit institutions even though students graduating from non-profit colleges and universities also find themselves increasingly heavily indebted for an education that failed to teach them useful skills.

The current administration's secretary of education, Betsy DeVos, has instead taken a different approach. She has

replaced the Obama-era rules and punitive measures with a requirement that all college and universities receiving federal student loans publish data about their graduates' debt levels and earnings at various points in their careers, broken down by course of study. Instead of deciding on behalf of the whole country which schools are worth going to, Secretary DeVos is leveraging technological advancement in the private sector to empower students and parents to decide for themselves whether a particular school or major is worth the money.

Transforming Government for the 21st Century

Advances in technology and communication present a tremendous opportunity to improve the quality of government, but the beast must be willing. Longstanding problems with government in America stand as obstacles to this project and need to be addressed.

Fewer Rules and More Common Sense

Since the Progressive Era, the administrative state has grown dramatically in America. This “fourth branch” of the federal government is now responsible for creating and enforcing the majority of the laws that Americans are subject to. At over 185,000 pages, the Code of Federal Regulations now dwarfs the U.S. Code in size and, in many ways, importance.¹⁸ The regulations themselves run the gamut from overly prescriptive to arcane and unintelligible. In some industries, the rules are so vague that “the law” is whatever the relevant regulator happens to say it is at that moment. In other areas, the regulations are so long and detailed that a good relationship with the regulator to ward off enforcement actions may be the best compliance strategy.

This represents a fundamental change in how government relates to businesses in America. Addressing wrongful actions by businesses that cause harm was traditionally the province of the court system, where the individuals and groups so injured could get compensation. This was an outcome-driven system, focused on finding responsibility for real physical harm visited on real people and property. Jurors, the final arbiters of liability, grounded the process in common sense. Now, businesses have to be mindful of thousands upon thousands of prescriptive rules, the violation of which, no matter how harmless and petty, can carry severe penalties. For every bureaucrat making rules, there are many more compliance officers in companies across America running through checklists and creating red tape to avoid breaking any of the regulatory state's ever-growing list of diktats.

As a result, the United States has now sunk to a dismal 53rd in the world for ease of starting a business.¹⁹ Regulations, like sediment in a harbor, have built up over time, making it difficult for Americans to accomplish even basic activities without consulting a rulebook. If businesses lack the flexibility to develop new technologies and the new

business models that come with them, if they are subject to the arbitrary and capricious whims of Washington, D.C., bureaucrats, then we will miss out on advances that could better our lives and give us an advantage over our competitors.

The Trump administration has made progress toward reducing the regulatory burden, but more remains to be done. For example, the President could establish an independent commission, modeled after Australia's regulatory commission, to conduct a regulatory "spring cleaning", periodically making recommendations to Congress. Congress could establish a fast track means to approve or reject the recommendations. The President could create a regulatory budget and place a cost cap of zero to encourage the elimination of costly rules if new rules are promulgated. Congress could pass legislation that ends the "sue and settle" practice that stymies modernization of regulations. The President could streamline the permitting process by synchronizing reviews and creating transparent timelines.

A More Dynamic and Accountable Civil Service

The American private sector sees a constant hiring and firing of its workforce as managers seek to acquire and retain high performing employees. A 2016 study by the Department of Labor showed that approximately 1.3 percent of private sector employees are discharged from their jobs each year.²⁰ This stands in stark contrast to the public sector, in which job security is treated as a right. Public sector employees were discharged at a rate of approximately 0.4 percent, which is less than a third of the rate in the private sector.²¹ The federal government, and the governments of many large cities, are bound by laws which make it virtually impossible to fire government employees for poor performance.

The problem is not tied to any specific geographic region or government department. In Chicago, it takes 84 steps to fire a park worker for incompetence.²² In New Hampshire, a Department of Labor employee brought her case to the Personnel Appeals Board to protest a formal warning she was given for sleeping at her desk. In her complaint, she alleged that "she had not been given sufficient time since her first warning to correct her problem of sleeping at work."²³ Stories abound of ineffective teachers who are virtually immune from being fired because of the strength of teacher tenure in public schools. In New York City, hundreds of teachers who have been removed from the classroom for misconduct or incompetence are paid to sit in an empty room for six hours a day while the city painstakingly processes claims and appeals related to their incompetence.²⁴

Unlike in the private sector—where performance and cost-savings are rewarded, and waste is punished (if not by the company then by its competitors)—employees

in the public sector have little incentive to pursue efficiency and improvement of government. Doubtlessly, many try to do the right thing anyway, out of a sense of duty and love for their work, but they inevitably run up against the absurd procedures and stubbornness of the bureaucracies they toil in.

Civil service reform is needed. Government agencies should be staffed for the benefit of the public, not run as lifetime jobs programs for bureaucrats. The vast majority of Americans work in the private sector and have to justify their paychecks with their hard work. It is time that public sector employees are held to the same standard as the rest of us. Several states have taken the lead. Governor Scott Walker in Wisconsin famously weakened the collective bargaining power of the public-employee unions, which had over the years led to mismanagement and waste at the taxpayer's expense. In 2012, Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed legislation that moved most government employees at-will status.²⁵ In 2001, I signed legislation in Florida that removed civil service protections of employees, gave supervisors more discretion to set pay based on performance, and eliminated harmful rules that put seniority before taxpayer interests.²⁶

Government as a Savvy Consumer

Public procurement is notoriously wasteful and inefficient. Companies that want to do business with governments are subject to special requirements and regulations. Consequently, achieving and maintaining status as a government contractor or vendor can be incredibly burdensome. It is often not worth it for established firms in an industry to do so. In other cases, only the largest, most dominant firms in an industry can afford to play by the government's special rules. These requirements ultimately translate to higher prices and, just as importantly, fewer choices for governments. Ultimately, it is the taxpayers who pays these inflated prices and the public that suffers from the lower quality goods and services being provided to the government.

The federal government spends an enormous amount on its outside contractors—often far beyond the market rate for virtually identical goods and services in the private sector. This practice is highlighted in the information technology space, where a 2011 study revealed that the federal government pays outside contractors nearly twice as much as internal government IT workers.²⁷ The same study further revealed that the government pays nearly five times its internal rate for outside contractors providing claims assistance, and three times as much for outside contractor lawyers.²⁸

The procurement process itself is also highly inefficient and oftentimes confusing, sometimes varying even amongst departments in the same jurisdictions. Procurement is typically a multi-step process and the lack of uniform

"workflow processes" only makes things more muddled. While government employees waste time figuring out in which order the paperwork has to be filed, a lack of efficient communication between departments can frequently result in redundant purchasing. Because of the wide variation in procurement processes across departments, cunning vendors can potentially take advantage of the lack of communication between purchasers to acquire multiple government contracts for redundant goods and services.²⁹

While technology cannot solve all of the difficulties associated with government procurement, it can reduce many of the headaches. Technology can certainly make communication better within and amongst jurisdictions, which can greatly reduce the amount of redundant purchasing. Oakland County, MI has been sharing applications and technology between its agencies through cloud computing.³⁰ By using cloud-based technology, Oakland County has eliminated the infrastructure and upfront costs of information-sharing for local governments, creating a more streamlined information system that combats redundancy.³¹

Technology can also improve the application process for potential contractors. By digitizing forms that are currently only on paper, the government could make bids easier to sign and submit. A simpler, digital application process lowers the barrier to entry for potential suppliers, which could drive up competition and potentially save the government and taxpayers money. Furthermore, digitizing applications provides the government with an opportunity to provide feedback to bidders more easily and efficiently. Governments could use digital tools to quickly review bids and determine which ones offer the best value.³²

Without improvements that make the procurement process easier, the barrier to entry remains too high for most technology companies to participate. In its current form, government procurement is a very slow process, often taking several years. Startups are dependent on steady revenue, and often cannot afford the time and resources needed to participate in the procurement process.³³ Because of the rapid pace at which startups rise and fall, the average procurement length of two years is far too big a risk for most up-and-coming technology companies to take.³⁴ Furthermore, the current procurement process requires companies to outline not only what they will produce for the government, but precisely how they plan to produce it. For lean and innovative operations this serves as a deterrent because it limits their capacity to come up with creative solutions further on in the process.³⁵ The hyper-prescriptive nature of the current procurement process does not enable the types of innovation that most startups would be able to offer.

Fifty States, Fifty Chances to Get it Right

One of the major problems with the federal regulatory state is that with its insatiable appetite for issuing rules, it will eventually get around to any given policy area and then speak all at once for the entire nation. Once the regulator acts, it becomes hard to understand the foregone costs of no-regulation, the opportunity cost of alternative regulatory schemes, and so forth. A few shuttered businesses or stagnating sectors might generate some analysis, but much less is thought about the enterprises not contemplated or never pursued because they are made impossible by the federal regulatory regime. Further, the Washington, D.C. bureaucrats making these decisions do not necessarily understand the different interests and values that might make different approaches better in various parts of the country.

If we want government to be dynamic and creative in reaping the fruits of the 21st century, both in its decisions to act and in its decisions to abstain, then we need to return power to the states. Where possible and reasonable, decisions should be made closest to those affected by them. Beyond making decisionmakers more accountable and responsive to the values of the governed, state and local control allows for the effects of government decisions to be understood and contrasted with results in other places that have taken different approaches.

Lessons and Opportunities for Education

Among the most important duties government has assumed is the education of children, and our collective future in no small part depends on the fulfillment of this duty.

While the United States spends more per student than all but a handful of countries, student outcomes lag behind. Roughly one third of students complete their K-12 experience truly college or career ready.³⁶ This is borne out by the burgeoning skills gap and the corresponding unfilled jobs and by the remediation rates in our community colleges and four-year universities. There is no silver bullet to enhance student learning, but the Florida experience suggests that robust accountability and empowering parents with an array of choices for their children's education can be a catalyst for dramatic improvement.

For the last 20 years, Florida has embarked on the reform journey starting with the A Plus Plan for Education. In short order, we graded schools A thru F based on proficiency and learning gains. Through the school recognition program, schools received \$100 per student for earning A's or a better grade. This has become the largest bonus program for teachers and school personnel in the country. We ended social promotion at the end of third grade and embraced a command focus on early literacy. In subsequent years, we added accountability

provisions by creating incentives for students passing AP, IB and career certifications.

Along with the accountability measures, Florida created the largest private school choice programs in the country, dramatically expanded charter schools, funding the largest private sector universal voluntary Pre-K program and expanding the Florida Virtual School.³⁷ Today, roughly 50 percent of all students attend schools chosen by their parents.³⁸

Education outcomes can improve by faithfully staying the course on accountability and expanding parents' choices in children's education.

The NAEP test, known as the Nation's Report Card, measures reading and math aptitude for fourth and eighth graders. In 1999, nearly half of Florida fourth graders were reading severely below grade level. Twenty years later, Florida fourth graders have improved by more than two grade levels and now rank fifth in the country. In 1999, Florida's fourth graders were way below the national average. In 2019, Florida fourth graders had improved by three grades and were seventh in the country. Similar gains have been experienced in eighth grade as well, with low income and minority students leading the way.³⁹

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In 1999, Florida's graduation rate was 50 percent, the lowest in the country. Twenty years later, the graduation rate had improved by 30 points.⁴¹

In short, Florida has had the greatest improvements as measured by the NAEP test and is one of the few states to have seen a narrowing of the achievement gap—in a state with nearly 60 percent of its students qualified for the free or reduced lunch program.

Bringing Education Into the 21st Century

Imagine if time was the variable and learning was the constant. Imagine a technology-backed learning process where students learn at their own pace and in their own way. With the use of big data analytics, it is possible to customize the learning experience for each student.

"Teaching to the middle" is a well-known problem. Teachers, faced with a large classroom of students with widely different levels of knowledge, levels of interest, and levels of ability, are traditionally trained to come up with a single lesson plan. The default option for teachers has been to develop that lesson plan with the average student in mind, i.e. "teach to the middle." But the middle barely exists, dwarfed by the number of slower students, on the one hand, and quicker students, on the other. Students who learn more quickly are left bored and unsatisfied, their potential wasted. Meanwhile, students who learn more slowly fall behind, learn to dislike school, and fail to rise to their own potential.

The end result of the traditional social promotion system, where seat time determines advancement, is huge variance in learning outcomes. According to Education Reform Now, 25 percent of high school juniors are academically ready to start college-level coursework, but only a small percentage have the opportunity to do so.⁴² On the other hand, a plurality of their peers will graduate high school neither college nor career ready.

Technology in education now promises to make personalized learning accessible to everyone. This is in large part due to the rise of "blended learning," a model where students get personalized instruction as well as in-person small-group instruction from a teacher. Blended classrooms allow teachers to have students working at their own pace while still benefitting from aspects of traditional instruction. There are many individual success stories of personalized instruction. Kareem Farah and Rob Barnett, math teachers in Washington, D.C., developed their own blended instruction model that allows individual students to move at their own pace. After experiencing personal success with it, they now run The Modern Classroom Project, a nonprofit that helps other teachers implement their model.⁴³

In order to bring personalized learning to scale, significant changes will be required. We need to think less about funding seat time and more about funding the acceleration of learning. In addition, end of year assessments need to be modified to determine mastery when it occurs. Accountability systems will have to change to reward mastery as well.

We also need to give parents the power to choose where to send their children and the information to make the right choice. Attempts to reform the government monopoly on education will likely fail in America unless that monopoly itself is broken. School choice does this by putting power in the hands of parents and the educational innovators who will compete to provide the best education possible by leveraging techniques like personalized and blended learning that are made possible by technological advancements.

As a country, we have moved beyond the industrial model of societal governance. Now is the time to do the same to educate the next generation of Americans.

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The Promise of Government

By **Amanda Daflos**, *Chief Innovation Officer for the City of Los Angeles*

In 2019, some wonder if American government has the power to persist in the same ways as we've known it, while adapting to the future and delivering on the same values. The headlines focus on budget cuts, failed technology projects, vendors accused of overbilling, and a government left behind in the race toward a digital world. Government is the most powerful and ever-present institution in our lives—influencing the food we eat, the water we drink, the streets we drive on, the homes we live in, the air we breathe. Do the agencies we rely on to perpetuate our lives have the steadfastness to adjust?

Forces at Work

A recent 2017 Census count indicated that there are nearly 90,000 local government agencies across the United States, up from the previous count.¹ As of 2019, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that there are more than 22 million federal, state, and local government employees across the United States.² Government is big—both in the number of governments and the number of people that make it work.

The government workforce is aging. In fact, some statistics anticipate that 40% of the government workforce is currently eligible to retire, which is predicted to cause a 'silver tsunami.'³ Some agencies are already experiencing this, and, as employees walk out the door, so does the historical knowledge and know-how, leaving agencies scrambling to recruit.

But, recruiting processes are often outdated, particularly in larger governments and agencies that have stringent requirements like public safety or engineering. At the same time, it is also difficult, or simply a low priority in the face of so many priorities, to automate the hiring and recruiting process. The number of steps required to apply can be onerous and time consuming—often taking one year to eighteen months to land a job. To today's young job applicants, candidates who expect the experience to be as easy and fast as shopping online, other employment opportunities often look far more appealing.

Constrained budgets, a growing pension obligation, shifting expectations of government, and an ever-litigious society make the daily work of policymakers and government operators increasingly complex. How might government adapt to become the government of the future when it is voluminous and facing internal challenges that are further complicated by external forces?

Incremental Government Transformation

There are positive changes afoot, helping to incrementally modernize governmental processes and systems to be relevant and able to handle the needs of today and tomorrow. The rise and success of innovation teams is one movement worth looking at as evidence that change is possible in government. The innovation teams program was established by Bloomberg Philanthropies around 2012. The theory was that installing interdisciplinary teams into local government with a mission to obsessively problem solve, a requirement to produce measurable outcomes, and a singular topic to focus on could bring about a healthy transformation. Now nearly a decade into the program, 29 formal teams exist globally and have helped chip away at major societal challenges like reducing gun violence, increasing the use of public transit, reducing red tape to increase the rate of home building, increasing diversity in and modernizing police hiring, and increasing economic opportunity for those who have been incarcerated. In addition to the formal teams, there are more than 80 innovation officers in governments around the world—all tasked with making change.

These teams often apply five critical tools—IT capacity, Design Thinking, Behavioral Science, Data Science, and Project Management. Underutilized in government, these tools have helped to yield significantly different outcomes when applied and, most importantly, when applied together.

Design thinking involves government agencies meeting with their constituent-customers to ask targeted questions in an empathetic way, which helps agencies and workers understand what constituent-customers need from government programs and, importantly, how they might use these programs. Why create a phone service if people prefer to get their information online? Why create a parking ticket as a paper form when people would pay more timely and more easily online? Design thinking also enables government agencies to test prototypes and iterate as agencies receive feedback. Hearing from constituent-customers and testing solutions incrementally is changing the nature of what government produces and ensures that what gets deployed meets the needs of more people. It also means we're spending money more wisely on programs that will improve the lives of those they are meant to serve.

Behavioral science is taking off in public sector agencies and helping to achieve outcomes with often very subtle changes to the parts and pieces of government. For example, rewriting forms, moving lines on a highway, or shifting furniture in a public space to yield improved outcomes are in direct response to the way people behave. And it is working. There are examples from across the globe showing significant improvements after deploying rapid, low cost changes to existing government tools, often saving millions of dollars, generating additional revenue, increasing program, or ending programs that people just don't need.

Data and project management are proven practices, but, like design thinking and behavioral science, they are becoming increasingly valued in the public sector as agencies look to understand their constituent-customers and, importantly, as IT projects become more necessary to help government transition and modernize systems. IT skills are becoming valued particularly as skills that can be present in agencies beyond the IT department. Why not have an IT specialist working in the mayor's office or animal services agency to help modernize the day to day approach? Why not have a chief storyteller, as Detroit and several other cities do, to communicate with residents on a whole new level?

Transformative Trends

Incremental change is equally as important as transformative change. While many governmental systems and processes persist from the 1970s, 80s, and 90s, widespread change is also taking place helping government leap into the present. Take for example the national and global #MeToo movement, which spurred calls for action. In Los Angeles, the City jumped into action to evaluate its own sexual harassment and discrimination policies and practices to ensure best in class procedures. The City deployed an online tool to enable all City employees, and those that do business with the City, to report in one centralized, online way. Built as an open source tool with the help of a designer, the tool has won awards for its digital experience and the outcomes it is enabling. The tool was complemented by a change in sexual harassment and discrimination policies and processes and organizational structures that address complaints were modernized and simplified.

Policing is another area facing unprecedented change and challenge. Nationwide, retirements have surged while the interest in policing has plummeted. In Nashville, job applications dropped from 4,700 in 2010 to 1,900 in 2017. In Seattle, applications declined by nearly 50 percent in a department where the starting salary is \$79,000. The FBI had a sharp drop, from 21,000 applications per year to 13,000 last year, before a new marketing campaign brought an upswing. Retaining officers has also become more difficult with 40 percent of officers leaving their jobs

within five years, according to a recent PERF survey of 400 departments.⁴

This change is attributed to unrest concerning policing as well as an increase in public and media scrutiny of police with the aid of technology and social media. Police agencies nationwide are looking at new ways to attract young people into policing. An important element of this effort is meeting people where they are—online—and digging deeper to tell real stories of what day to day policing is like. Police agencies are working to bring the recruiting practices online so that young people can apply more easily and, when they have questions, ask a chatbot and get an answer immediately versus waiting to call the department between the hours of 9 and 4. Police agencies are launching new digital marketing campaigns and working to appeal to candidates in a wider variety of online venues. While new, these practices stand to be a differentiator and are perhaps one way to bring in a new generation of people and transform the culture of policing.

What it Takes

We are in an unprecedented time, but turmoil has historically presented an opportunity for change. With strong, courageous leadership that has a grasp on the operations of government, a true understanding of how to change, a strong interdisciplinary approach, patience, and a fresh perspective from the upcoming generation of public sector leaders, we have the power to move toward a forward-thinking, digital future and make good on the promise of government.

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Governance in a World Beyond the News Cycle

By Karen Tumulty, *Washington Post*

The arrival of Donald Trump in Washington has changed many things about the nation's capital and how it operates. One of the most elemental of those is its metabolism.

That became clear to me early one morning just weeks after the 2017 inauguration. It was a few minutes before dawn, and I was getting ready to pour the day's first cup of coffee when my iPhone started buzzing on my kitchen counter. An editor was sending a message to the entire national reporting staff through one of the *Washington Post's* internal email channels. What, I wondered, could possibly be so urgent that it would merit alerting the newsroom at an hour when most people who work there were still asleep? I opened the email, and it turned out to consist of only five words: "He's awake, and he's tweeting."

Over the past two and a half years, those words have come to describe the world into which those of us in the news business wake each morning in Washington. And those early morning bursts are just the opening bell. Social-media blasts from the president throw things into disarray throughout the workday and late into the night. The commander-in-chief's thumbs don't take a break at the close of business on Friday. On one weekend alone last spring, Trump hammered out 52 tweets in the space of 34 hours.

To the dismay even of many who support him, Trump uses his Twitter feed (which currently has 64.3 million followers) for purposes that are trivial, petty, and beneath the dignity of his office. He airs his grievances against the news media; hurls insults at and attaches nicknames to those he perceives to be his adversaries; and makes inflated and inaccurate boasts about himself and his achievements. Many times, his tweets appear to be prompted by something Trump has just seen on Fox News or another cable channel (though he claims he doesn't spend much time watching television).

But not everything he does over Twitter is trivial. This president also conducts some of his most important business over that platform. He announces changes in key administration personnel (his first secretary of state and third national security adviser were fired via tweet), initiates new policies and reverses them, even engages in diplomacy and international trade negotiations via that 280-character format.

Those tweets have become more than a means of communication. The president has actually altered the balance of power among the branches of government. Legislation moves—or doesn't—according to the latest directive sent out over social media. Georgia Senator Johnny Isakson, a Republican who is retiring at the end of the year, noted in a recent interview with *Politico* how reactive the legislative branch has become. Institutionalists worry that Congress is increasingly abdicating its role to the executive branch. Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell will not move legislation if he does not know the president will sign it, and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's chamber can do little on its own. So as Isakson put it, this is the "first time ever in history when the president sets the agenda every day when he tweets at 4 in the morning. Pelosi will drive some trains. Mitch will drive others. And the president it going to drive ones he wants to drive."

Lawmakers are not the only ones who are living in a constantly reactive mode. One of the quandaries for journalists is our own role in perpetuating and escalating some of the more unhealthy aspects of the current environment. Consider the recent Category 5 tweetstorm that became known as "Sharpiegate." After being called on his incorrect claim that Hurricane Dorian was likely to hit Alabama, the president produced an out-of-date weather map that had been doctored with a felt-tip pen, reportedly by Trump himself. That shouldn't have merited more than a day of coverage, but it escalated nonetheless. It became more consequential when the Trump White House—at the direction of the president himself—put pressure on the scientists at the National Oceans and Atmospheric Administration to back up the false claim. So what began as something relatively insignificant turned into an effort to improperly influence what is supposed to be an independent agency, and one whose mission is public safety no less.

Where does this leave the media? Should journalists be covering every presidential tweet? And if not, where does one draw the line between those that should be treated seriously and those that should be ignored? Every one of these 280-character outbursts is a presidential pronouncement, and that means each, by definition, is "news." But there is also merit in the complaint that journalists, seeking the clicks and ratings that follow Trump's every move, are being complicit in their own manipulation and distraction. There are small remedial

steps we can take. I, for one, have used the license that I have as an op-ed columnist to declare that I will no longer repeat the insulting nicknames that Trump bestows on people who challenge or annoy him. But the presidency has long been an office that bestows the power to shape the news, and social media has given the chief executive an unprecedented opportunity to shape the narrative and even bend the facts. As of mid-August, the *Washington Post's* Fact Checker had documented more than 12,000 false or misleading claims made by Trump since he took office and found that nearly one in five of them “stemmed from his itchy Twitter finger.”

There is some evidence—tentative, at this point—that the public is getting injured to and exhausted by all of this. Earlier this year, the social-media-monitoring tool CrowdTangle published data showing that the “interaction rate” for Trump’s tweets—that is, a measure of what proportion of his Twitter followers react by either “liking” or retweeting his posts—had dropped precipitously. In May 2019, the rate was only one-third of what it had been in November 2016, the month he was elected. This was occurring even as—or perhaps because—the frequency of his tweets had risen dramatically.

Technology that allows a president to communicate more directly with the citizenry—and that allows average people to give instant feedback—is in many ways a healthy, democratizing development. But while this White House is finding new ways to connect with the public, it has been doing away with some of the old ones. Worrisome among these developments is the elimination of the formal press briefing, which had been a near-daily event going back to when Richard M. Nixon converted the West Wing swimming pool into a space to be used specifically for that purpose. The briefing was frequently a frustrating exercise for those on both sides of the lectern and became more so after Bill Clinton’s press secretary Mike McCurry in 1995 allowed them to be televised. In the first year and a half of the Trump presidency, the briefing room became a battle ground, where dissembling by White House officials became so intense there was talk that reporters should boycott. Reporters themselves were often guilty of preening for the cameras, rather than eliciting information.

The briefings got shorter and shorter, until they disappeared entirely. As I write this, there has not been a White House press briefing in more than six months (the last one was March 11, 2019). Before that, there had been a 41-day gap. In place of those once-regular exchanges, reporters have been reduced to chasing officials down the White House driveway for comment or throwing questions at the president himself in chaotic settings, such as photo ops, where there is little opportunity for follow up. There are also the now familiar scenes where journalists are forced to shout their questions over the noise of the president helicopter. News briefings at the Pentagon, once a

regularly scheduled occurrence, have also become rare.

This is a dangerous development, not only for the press and the public but also for the policy process itself. Knowing that a press secretary would have to answer questions in a regular, public forum forced important discussions and arguments among decision-makers. They recognized that, as long as there was a regular process by which journalists could publicly ask questions, they were likely to be exposed and embarrassed for policies that had not been carefully thought through and worked out before they were announced. Former press secretary McCurry explained it to me this way: “With sharper and clearer answers, you get sharper and clearer policy.” Nearly all of the contenders for the 2020 Democratic presidential nomination have gone on record as saying they will bring back regular briefings.

In recent weeks, we have seen a very clear example of where a daily media briefing would be helpful as tensions between the United States and Iran have ratcheted up after attacks on the Saudi oil industry. Administration officials, including the president and the secretary of state, have issued cryptic and conflicting statements (including, on Trump’s part, via Twitter). When you have the president of the United States talking about being “locked and loaded” to use “the ultimate option” against a foreign adversary, it is critical that his administration speak clearly and consistently about the implications—for the sake of both the American people, and for this country’s allies around the world.

It would be a mistake here to portray all of this as a product of this administration, or to suggest that the relationship between the president and the media will ever go back to being what it was. The current situation is not a phenomenon that began with Donald Trump. It is the product of forces that were building for decades before the 2016 election and which will not disappear once Trump has left the scene. No one really can predict the degree to which he has permanently altered the workings of politics and governance, or whether they will snap back to something more recognizable once he has left the scene.

What is certain to remain after Trump is gone is a deeply polarized and skeptical country, much of which gets its information in a siloized fashion through media outlets and social platforms that serve to confirm preconceived ideas, rather than challenge them. The clout of large legacy news organizations has been diminished by this atomization, as well as by technological changes, which made it possible—and preferable—for Trump and his recent predecessors to get their message out without going through the traditional media gatekeepers. The realities of the new media environment also increase the incentive for the president and other leaders to choose only friendly outlets. According to one tally done by CBS

News' White House correspondent Mark Knoller in mid-2019, Trump since taking office had given 61 interviews to Fox News Channel, but only five each to ABC and CBS, seven to NBC and its sister network MSNBC, and none at all to CNN.

Trump is not the first president to search out new ways to connect with and broaden his audience. Nor is he the first to jolt the system when he does it. Consider this: For nearly half the nation's history, the idea of a chief executive personally delivering a speech to Congress was considered an act so presumptuous as to be nearly unthinkable. It was a radical act when Woodrow Wilson traveled to Capitol Hill a month after his 1913 inauguration to deliver an address on tariffs. "Washington is amazed," *The Washington Post* pronounced in a headline, over a story about this astonishing development that noted no president since John Adams had done such a thing. "Disbelief was expressed in congressional circles when the report that the President would read his message in person to the Congress was first circulated," *The Post* reported, but assured its readers that such spectacles were "not to become a habit."

Wilson thought otherwise, and eight months later returned to Congress "in pursuance of my constitutional duty to 'give to the Congress information of the state of the Union.'" The State of the Union address—which no president between John Adams and Wilson delivered in person—is now an annual ritual. In 1922, Warren Harding was the first to broadcast his state of the union address to a limited radio audience; Calvin Coolidge took his national the following year; Harry Truman tried the new medium of television for his State of the Union speech in 1947; and Bill Clinton's a half-century later was live-streamed over the internet. Presidents have found other forums to reach the electorate. Ronald Reagan, who had started out as a sports broadcaster in Iowa, adapted Franklin D. Roosevelt's fireside chats and delivered weekly radio addresses, which under Barack Obama went out over YouTube. (Trump has done away with them entirely.)

Obama was in many ways a pioneer in using 21st-century communications technology to its maximum advantage, and in the course of doing so, bypassing traditional means of communication that were once considered *de rigueur*. As the 2008 election headed into its final stretch, one Obama campaign official noted that the Democratic standard-bearer was going to win without ever once having spoken to the editorial board of the *Washington Post*. While he was president, Obama built his Twitter following to tens of millions—but did only one Oval Office interview with the *Washington Post*'s chief White House correspondent Scott Wilson. As Wilson noted in one speech, his personal contact with the president was limited to speaking with Obama occasionally when he popped back into the press cabin on Air Force One and attending a few small, off-the-record lunches with a

handful of other White House reporters. But Wilson noted that the American people were hearing from Obama constantly and without a filter—not only on Twitter, but through official websites, YouTube, and Google+ hangouts. In his campaign to boost enrollment under the Affordable Care Act, Obama gave an interview to comic actor Zach Galifianakis on "Between Two Ferns," a feature on the internet site *funnyordie.com*. It got more than 50 million views.

At the same time as they are bypassing the national media, some recent presidents have grown more solicitous of local outlets. During Obama's campaigns, for instance, he and his advisers would largely ignore the national press traveling with them in favor of doing interviews with local television stations and newspapers. That was in part because they knew that the questions they would be asked would be more parochial, rather than yet another round about the attacks at Benghazi, the stalled Middle East peace process, or the ballooning federal deficit.

Just as significant as the ways in which communications technology is reshaping governance are the profound changes that it is bringing about within the news business itself. The internet has created the financial pressure that is driving many organizations—and journalists—out of the business. But it is also generating what could be a new golden era for those that have the resources and ingenuity that it takes to survive and adapt.

First, the bad news about the news. As has been well-documented, the old business model has been broken. Though a newspaper's content can now reach bigger audiences than ever, thanks to the internet, circulation figures tell a grimly familiar story of decline. In 2018, according to the Pew Research Center, total daily newspaper circulation—meaning the number of people who pay to read the news, either in print or online or both—was down to 28.6 million on weekdays and 30.8 million on Sundays. That was the lowest level since that data began getting compiled in 1940. And of course, with declining subscriptions come lower ad revenues. Most digital ad revenue goes to Facebook and Google, not to news outlets.

A Pew Research Center study in July reported that newsroom employment has dropped by one-quarter since 2008. Where there were roughly 114,000 people working as reporters, editors, photographers, and videographers 11 years ago, there are now only about 86,000 in the newspaper, radio, television, and digital-only newsrooms. Newspapers took the biggest hit, seeing a 47 percent decline over that period, to 38,000 newsroom workers from 71,000. And among newspapers, smaller ones have seen the greatest decline, many of them cutting back their production schedules or going out of business entirely.

How does all of this affect governance? The most obvious way is in a diminishing of the watchdog role that journalists have traditionally played. You see this most dramatically in the shrinking number of journalists keeping an eye on statehouses and local governments across the country. In some places, foundation-funded and for-profit digital news organizations have tried to fill part of the gap, and many are doing terrific work. But they cannot compensate for the loss of resources that traditionally have been devoted to holding local and state-level officials accountable. In Washington, you also see it in the House and Senate press galleries, where there are far fewer regional newspapers assigning reporters to focus on the doings of their state and local congressional delegations. These Washington reporters were among the first to go when their newspapers' budgets got squeezed.

Again, figures compiled by Pew tell the story. In 2009, the press gallery roster had 125 accredited reporters covering Washington for local daily newspapers in 33 states; five years later, there were 111 reporters working for papers in 29 states. Often, these reporters have seen and uncovered things that wire services and national outlets miss. For instance, in 2005, the staffs of Copley News Service and the San Diego Union-Tribune won the Pulitzer Prize for reporting on national affairs in recognition of their coverage of the bribe-taking that sent a local congressman, former Rep. Randy Cunningham, to prison.

The diminishment of local journalism affects governance in other ways. A study published in November 2018 by the Oxford Academic Journal of Communication found that communities where newspapers have closed have tended to become more polarized politically. In the past, voters often viewed local issues through a nonpartisan lens, and were able to forge alliances over the common ground of their regional needs. With less information about local issues, voters become less interested in them and begin to see all politics reflected through their national party ideology.

The study documented 110 newspaper closures between 2009 and 2012 and discovered that split-ticket voting declined in the areas once served by those papers. Its researchers—Matthew P. Hitt of Colorado State University, Johanna Dunaway of Texas A&M University, and Joshua P. Darr of Louisiana State University—later wrote of their findings in *Scientific American*. “As local newspapers disappear, citizens increasingly rely on national sources of political information, which emphasizes competition and conflict between the parties,” they noted. “Local newspapers, by contrast, serve as a central source of shared information, setting a common agenda. Readers of local newspapers feel more attached to their communities.”

Another place citizens turn is social media. According to Pew, about two-thirds of American adults get at

least some of their news there, even as they worry that not everything they are reading is factual. Americans' increasing reliance on social media also contributes to polarization, because their news feeds often become “echo chambers,” in which they are shown content that reinforces what an algorithm has figured out are their existing beliefs.

For larger outlets, such as the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, and *Wall Street Journal*, the outlook has not been so gloomy. That is because they have the resources, the national reputations, and the readership base that it takes to reinvent themselves for a world in which more and more people prefer to get their news online, whether through websites, apps or social media—a trend that is being led by young people, and therefore represents the future of the news business.

The *Washington Post* newsroom today bears almost no resemblance to the one I saw on my first day as a *Post* reporter in May 2010, which really doesn't seem like it was such a long time ago. It helps, of course, to have the deep pockets of an owner who happens to be the richest man in the world. Since Amazon owner Jeff Bezos purchased the *Post* in 2013, the newsroom has grown by more than 250 people. Almost half the 900 or so people who work there now have been hired since Bezos purchased the newspaper from the Graham family, which acquired it at a bankruptcy sale in 1933. (Worth noting here: The *Post* is not part of Amazon, despite President Trump's constant statements that we are.)

And the expansion continues. Just this year, 10 new staff positions were created to do investigative journalism in such areas as sports, the environment, and international coverage; 11 new reporters are being brought aboard to cover technology; and the newspaper is dramatically expanding its foreign staff. But Bezos has made it clear from the outset that the *Washington Post* is not a charitable endeavor on his part; while he has the capital to give the newspaper what he calls a “long runway,” it is a business endeavor. The *Post* has turned a profit in each of the past three years.

All of these resources have allowed us to harness technology as a reporting tool in ways that it was never used before. For instance, the *Post* won the Pulitzer for national reporting in 2016 by building a database containing the details of 990 fatal police shootings that had occurred across the nation the previous year, and then unleashing a team of reporters, editors, researchers, photographers, and graphic artists to find and illustrate patterns in law enforcement. This required using tools that did not exist for journalists even a decade ago.

Technology also provides us an opportunity to put our journalism in front of a vastly bigger audience. We have adjusted our own newsroom metabolism to that of our

digital audience. The “news cycle” as we used to think of it no longer exists. In the early years of the internet era, newspapers were still planning their coverage around the next day’s print edition. Editors would hold a meeting late in the afternoon, where they would decide which stories were running and where they would be placed in the paper. That meant the flow of copy was pretty rigid: Reporters sent their stories to editors between 5 p.m. and 8 p.m., and it posted online around 10 p.m. or 11 p.m.—when most readers were asleep or headed there.

The current system is built around the way our readers actually consume the news online. We know that people start reading as soon as they wake up, and that traffic rises steadily through the lunch hour, so we want to have fresh stories ready for them to read and share. That’s known as “winning the morning,” or dominating the conversation that is happening on television and radio and online. We continue to publish stories throughout the day, knowing that people will be reading over lunch and when they get home in the evening. (We also know something their bosses may not: Many of them are reading at work.) Foreign stories are often published around 3 a.m., so we can catch readers overseas. And our work is usually accompanied by a video produced in-house, separate headlines for the story itself and the home page, and clickable links for sharing it on social media. If a story isn’t getting as much traffic as the editors think it merits, they will experiment with different headlines to draw in more readers.

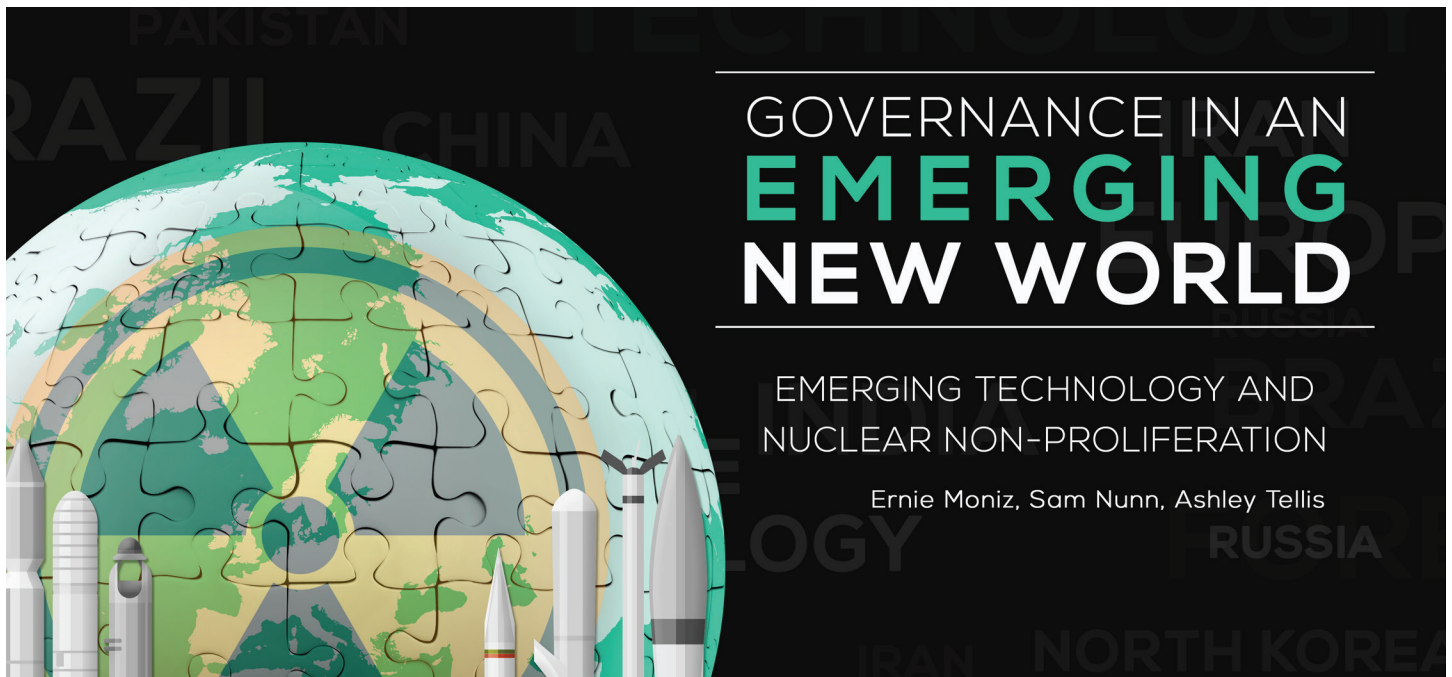
One of the biggest changes is the fact that we simply no longer wait for the print edition to publish a story. The big features and enterprise projects that continue to dominate the Sunday paper are often published online as early as Wednesday or Thursday. All of the major outlets are also eager to be the first to put out an “alert” when a big story breaks, because they know that being even a few seconds ahead of the competition can yield a big advantage in the number of readers who click on their story instead of one of the others that are sure to come flooding in.

This, too, has an effect on governance. Policymakers and politicians have also had to adjust to a world without a news cycle. Sure, there is still the old tendency to announce bad news late on a Friday, in hopes that it will not get as much attention. But those we cover know they have to jump on a story the second it hits the web, scrutinizing it for errors or misstatements in hopes that there can be changes made before a piece goes into wide circulation. Often, an official who declined to return a reporter’s phone call will suddenly become very eager to provide a comment that might still get squeezed into a report.

As dramatic as all this has been, it is only the opening chapter of a story that is still unfolding—for both the

leaders in government and the news media that covers them. Five years from now, all of these developments that have both flummoxed and awed us might seem as quaint as the coin-operated news box that used to sit on nearly every corner in every city. It is exciting and a little scary to imagine what lies beyond the next turn in the road. One thing we can count on, however, is that change will continue to happen. Where it takes us may be the biggest story of all.

Karen Tumulty is a political columnist for the Washington Post, where she has worked since 2010. She received the Toner Prize for Excellence in Political Reporting in her previous role as a national political correspondent for the paper. She previously worked at Time, including as a White House correspondent, and at the Los Angeles Times.



Emerging Technology and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

Tuesday, November 5, 2019

4:00 pm–5:15 pm PDT

Hauck Auditorium, Hoover Institution, Stanford University

The existential threat posed by nuclear weapons is unique, and states have continuously managed that risk across decades of profound global change. How might changing global demographics and emerging 21st-century technologies redefine the nature of nuclear weapons proliferation and their use? Leaders from the Nuclear Threat Initiative will explore potential impacts on nuclear proliferation challenges and on counter-proliferation strategies, and panelists will consider the particular risks in the India-Pakistan nuclear standoff

The Hoover Institution hosts a public panel discussion “Emerging Technology and Nuclear Non-Proliferation” on Tuesday, November 5, 2019 from 4:00pm - 5:15pm PST. The event will be livestreamed and can be viewed below.

Moderated by Elisabeth Paté-Cornell, Stanford University and former member of the President’s Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board.

Expected Panelists: Ernie Moniz, co-chair of the Nuclear Threat Initiative and former secretary of Energy; Sam Nunn, co-chair of the Nuclear Threat Initiative, former U.S. Senator for Georgia and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee; Ashley Tellis, senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and former senior advisor at the U.S. embassy in New Delhi

For more information about the project, visit: <https://www.hoover.org/governanceproject>.

This event is open to the general public and part of a series led by George P. Shultz whose intention is to learn from our changing world, to map our governance options in response, and to help structure a variety of efforts going forward.

About

New and rapid societal and technological changes are complicating governance around the globe and challenging traditional thinking. Demographic changes and migration are having a profound effect as some populations age and shrink while other countries expand. The information and communications revolution is making governance much more difficult and heightening the impact of diversity. Emerging technologies, especially artificial intelligence and automation, are bringing about a new industrial revolution, disrupting workforces and increasing military capabilities of both states and non-state actors. And new means of production such as additive manufacturing and automation are changing how, where, and what we produce. These changes are coming quickly, faster than governments have historically been able to respond.

Led by Hoover Distinguished Fellow George P. Shultz, his Project on Governance in an Emerging New World aims to understand these changes and inform strategies that both address the challenges and take advantage of the opportunities afforded by these dramatic shifts.

The project features a series of papers and events addressing how these changes are affecting democratic processes, the economy, and national security of the United States, and how they are affecting countries and regions, including Russia, China, Europe, Africa, and Latin America. A set of essays by the participants accompanies each event and provides thoughtful analysis of the challenges and opportunities.



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