

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL

magazine

WINTER 2023



QUESTIONING INEQUALITY

DEMOCRACY IN HARD PLACES

METHANE EMISSIONS

State Champions

Hilary Norton MPP 1992
and other alumni are
championing California's
most vulnerable





SIX MONTHS ON FROM RUSSIA'S INVASION, and after leading Ukraine's improbable and unexpected resistance with what some described as Churchillian resolve, Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy spoke, live from his office in Kyiv, at a Forum event at the Kennedy School in September with faculty member ASH CARTER, who died suddenly a month later. Wearing his trademark olive green t-shirt, Zelenskyy spoke of the leadership lessons the brutal war has taught: "Focus on your task and move ahead. Never stop. The moment you stop, your enemies start digging in, which makes everything more complex, more challenging, which will require more resources. Be unstoppable, be true to yourself, but be just."

PHOTO BY MARTHA STEWART

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL'S MISSION is to improve public policy and leadership so people can live in societies that are more safe, free, just, and sustainably prosperous. Our students and alumni, our faculty, and our staff all strive to advance this mission—whether they are on campus, elsewhere in the United States, or around the world.

Creating societies that are more sustainably prosperous involves improving social policy and empowering people and communities that have been let down or left out. In this issue of *HKS Magazine*, we share stories about alumni tackling economic and social inequality as well as stories about faculty-driven projects that address this crucial set of challenges.

We profile three alumni in California—Scott Hugo MPP/JD 2015, Hilary Norton MPP 1992, and Chuck Flacks MPP 1992—working on issues ranging from environmental and housing justice to homelessness and transportation. In a short Q&A, we hear from Jeremy Ney MPA 2021, who uses data visualization to help policymakers understand trends in American inequality.

We also highlight programs at the School that aim to change the conversation about inequality; improve the quality of life for low-wage workers; develop better job training and

access to the workforce; and provide direct support to people in extreme hardship. The featured initiatives include the Stone Program in Wealth Distribution, Inequality, and Social Policy; the Reimagining the Economy Project; the Shift Project; the Project on Workforce; and the Taubman Center's research on Chelsea Eats.

In addition to the stories in this issue focused on economic and social inequality, we include a feature on Tarek Masoud, the Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Governance, and his Initiative on Democracy in Hard Places and work focused on democracy in Arab countries. We also showcase a research project to quantify methane emissions

that Robert Stavins, the A.J. Meyer Professor of Energy and Economic Development, is undertaking with Daniel Jacob, the Gordon McKay Professor of Atmospheric Chemistry and Environmental Engineering at the Harvard Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences.

In so many ways, members of the Harvard Kennedy School community are tackling the country's and the world's most pressing public challenges—and I am delighted we can share some of their stories with you. As always, I hope you find *HKS Magazine* both inspiring and informative.

Dean Doug Elmendorf
Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy

Dean Elmendorf at a
Dean's Council presentation
in November.

HKS Chief Communications Officer
Sofiya Cabalquinto

Managing Editor
Nora Delaney

Editor
Robert O'Neill

Director of Alumni Relations
Karen Bonadio

Designers
Janet Friskey
Delane Meadows
Lydia Rosenberg

Contributing Writers
Brian Adams
Susan A. Hughes
Diana King
Mari Megias
Ralph Ranalli
James F. Smith

Printer
Lane Press

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MARTHA STEWART



PHOTO BY MOYCE YONG

Over nearly a quarter century, Phyllis Johnson MC/MPA 2015 (above, left) has worked to make the coffee industry fairer and more sustainable.

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COVER PHOTO OF HILARY NORTON, MPP 1992 BY JOSH EDLSON

MAPPING HKS

52%

Roughly half of the Kennedy School's current student population comes from outside the United States.

98

Our current students represent 98 countries and territories, not including the United States.

EL SALVADOR

Mauricio Amaya
MPA/ID candidate

The problem that I am interested in untangling is why inequality and poverty are still so prevalent in my region and why our countries have not been able to catch up with other societies regarding economic development. What inspires me is the blatant suffering and injustice from economic deprivation and disparities.



UNITED KINGDOM

Imogen Hobby
MPP candidate

Educational inequality is such a complex problem that it can sometimes feel overwhelming, but one thing I've learned here at the Kennedy School is that progress is made by those who show up and get to work, even when the task seems insurmountable. I hope to give all children a fair chance to thrive, at school, and beyond.



NIGERIA

Adefemi Bucknor-Arigbode
MC/MPA candidate

I want to untangle the unequal participation and representation of women in political processes, public leadership, and nation building in my society. I want the voices and desires of all women to be heard and relevant in public discourse, policy, and governance. I want to make my mark on the world by leading by example.



INDONESIA

Nurul Wakhidah
PhD candidate

I aspire to do research that could inform policies to improve equality of opportunity in Indonesia, so I am pursuing my PhD at HKS, where research is not only academically rigorous but also policy-relevant.



BRAZIL

Leonardo da Silveira
MC/MPA candidate

My "why" is to end poverty. I want to interact with the existing poverty-alleviation structures, helping these increase their capacity to overcome intergenerational poverty cycles. Individual choices may explain a certain level of inequality, but I am convinced that poverty is a structural problem, a systemic and cruel policy failure.



AUSTRALIA

Tess Kelly
MPA candidate

As an Australian lawyer and policymaker, I am focused on addressing the overlapping health and legal needs of children who come into contact with justice and child protection systems. I am passionate about working to protect the rights of these children, and to prevent the harm these systems continue to perpetuate.



NUMBER OF STUDENTS

U.S. states and territories not shown
1 ————— 116

Scan to Explore



GET TO KNOW SOME MEMBERS OF OUR HKS GLOBAL STUDENT COMMUNITY



Racial representation in clinical trials

“DOES HOW A TECHNOLOGY is developed affect who adopts it?” HKS Professor of Public Policy **MARCELLA ALSAN** and a group



of researchers ask this question in the context of drug approval in the United States, where Black patients are consistently underrepresented in clinical trials. The median trial includes 5% Black participants, compared with a Black share of the population of about 12%. The gaps in clinical-trial enrollment have been well documented, but their consequences have not. The researchers surveyed doctors and patients and found that “Black patients, and the physicians who treat them, find trial evidence less

relevant for their care, and are less likely to prescribe medications, when experimental samples are not representative.” But those gaps close when the participant base is more racially representative, the researchers find. The research also looks at the reasons for the gaps in representation. It finds that in the case of HIV/AIDS medicine—an outlier in the way it carefully represents populations—research sites have often been selected in “conversation with community partners and thus are not limited to large academic centers.” This highlights the extent to which “active, large-scale investments in inclusive infrastructure, in addition to incentives, can be important for improving health equity.”

The costs of electronic monitoring

SINCE 2020, the number of individuals awaiting trial in San Francisco County who are required to wear an electronic monitoring (EM) device has increased by 308%. This explosion is the result of a decision in a case regarding defendants’ ability to pay cash bail and



nonmonetary release options. While many have applauded the solution as a way to end mass incarceration and reduce jail populations, others have pointed to the costs associated with pretrial monitoring—including psychological, social, and economic ones—and described it as an alternative form of incarceration. In new research, **SANDRA SUSAN SMITH**, director of the Wiener Center for Social Policy and faculty chair of the Program in

Research indicates that electronic devices made it more difficult for defendants to secure or keep a job and maintain vital social connections because of the stigma of appearing convicted of a crime—among other issues.



Criminal Justice Policy and Management, followed the experiences of defendants enrolled in the pretrial monitoring program to study the effects of the new system. Smith’s research team found that prior life challenges, especially with housing insecurity and co-occurring disorders such as substance abuse, made it much more difficult for defendants to meet pretrial program obligations with an EM device; that EM devices made it more difficult for defendants to secure or keep a job and maintain vital social connections because of the stigma of appearing convicted of a crime; and that program compliance was made difficult by technical problems with the EM devices themselves, including inaccuracy, unreliability, and inconsistency.

The downsides of negative messaging

WHAT’S THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY to get across a public health message: Use positive wording to emphasize the benefits of certain behaviors or negative framing that might scare people who avoid those safeguards? A vast research project surveyed the responses of nearly 16,000 people around the world to contrasting COVID-19 health messages: Some messages focused on potential gains from taking actions such as wearing a mask, and others stressed the potential loss that could result from avoiding those actions. The study found that neither positive nor negative messaging shifted people’s attitudes or behavior related to those choices. However, the negatively framed messages did raise people’s anxiety—an emotion linked to ailments including high blood pressure and increased morbidity. The experimental research project was led by Charles Dorison, a postdoctoral fellow with joint appointments at HKS and Northwestern University. Among the coauthors were **JENNIFER LERNER**, the Thornton Bradshaw Professor of Public Policy, Decision Science, and Management at Harvard Kennedy School, and **NANCY GIBBS**, the Edward R. Murrow Professor of the Practice of the Press, Politics and Public Policy and Lombard Director of the Shorestein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy.



The importance of measuring permafrost loss

PERMAFROST, AS THE NAME SUGGESTS, is permanently frozen ground, most famously below large swaths of Arctic tundra. For thousands of years, it has been a carbon sink. But with the Arctic warming more quickly than the rest of the world, the millions of square miles of permafrost are expected to become a carbon source, with enormous implications for climate change—some projections put permafrost carbon emission by century’s end at 550 gigatons, or about the current level of emissions by major fossil-fuel-emitting nations—and for the lives of Indigenous populations. In a new paper in *Environmental Research Letters*, **JOHN HOLDREN**, the Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy, and coauthors lay out the gaps in our knowledge; the steps needed to plug them, including better surface-level and satellite monitoring; and the need for effective coalitions of scientists, policymakers, and Indigenous peoples. “Rapid advances in technology, coupled with an opening in the policy window, make this a critical moment to accelerate understanding of thawing permafrost and incorporate that knowledge into responsible global mitigation strategies and just and equitable adaptation measures,” the authors write.



550 GIGATONS
What some projections indicate permafrost carbon emissions will reach by 2100.



Blueprints for nonviolent resistance strategies

IN A RECENTLY published paper, **ERICA CHENOWETH**, the Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment, and Lecturer in Public Policy **ZOE MARKS** explore the potential impact on democracy in the United States of the rise of authoritarian forces. Their report draws on numerous historical examples to offer an effective blueprint for implementing pro-democracy nonviolent-resistance strategies in the event of a nationwide authoritarian transition after the 2024 election. Their key recommendations include: building and maintaining a large-scale, multiracial, cross-class, pro-democracy alliance that continues to push

for structural and institutional reforms and to contest for power; preventing, deterring, and strengthening resilience to increased threats of state or paramilitary violence through strategic planning, community power-building, and organized and disciplined actions at the grassroots level; and building pressure to induce defections among those loyal to the autocrat or authoritarian alliance, including through widespread economic noncooperation and labor action.



CAMPUS NEWS

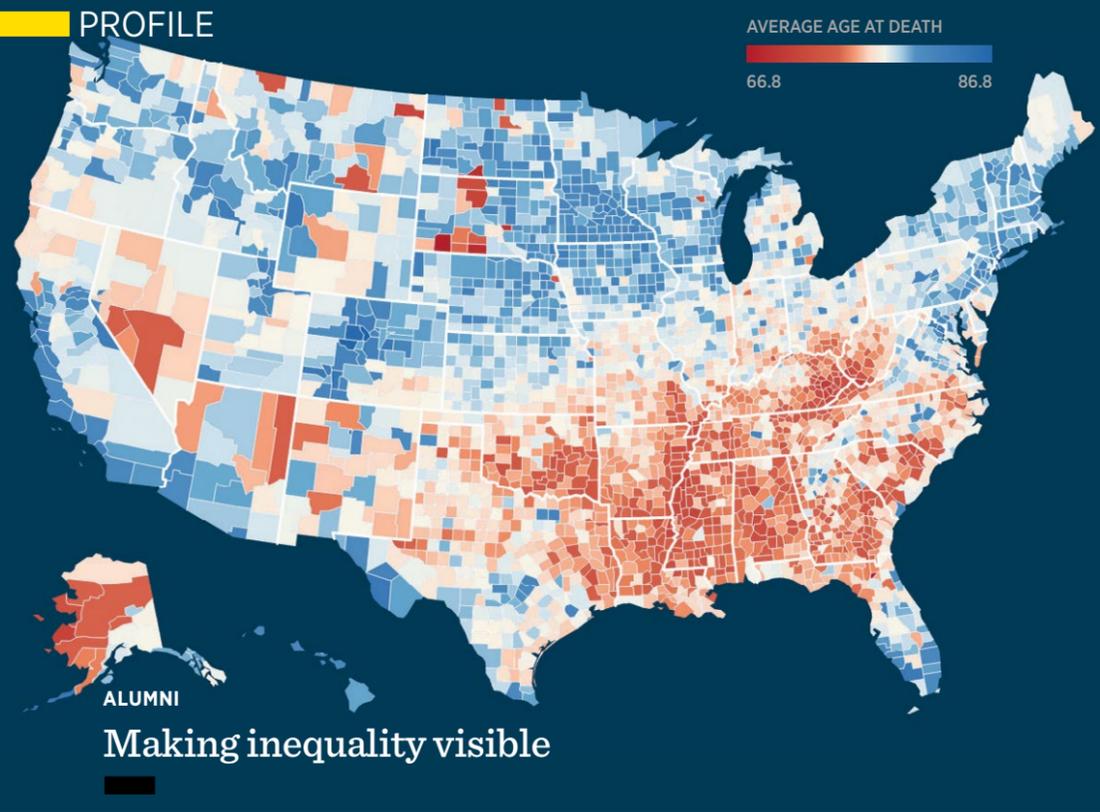
Harvard announces a new president

ON DECEMBER 15, HARVARD UNIVERSITY named **CLAUDINE GAY** as its 30th president. Gay will succeed President Larry Bacow MPP 1976 when she assumes the role on July 1. A highly experienced and respected academic leader and political scientist, Gay has served as the Edgerley Family Dean of Harvard’s Faculty of Arts and Sciences since 2018. She is the daughter of Haitian immigrants and will make history as the first Black president of Harvard. Looking ahead to her presidency, Gay said, “With the strength of this extraordinary institution behind us, we enter a moment of possibility, one that calls for deeper collaboration across the University, across all of our remarkable Schools. There is an urgency for Harvard to be engaged with the world and to bring bold, brave, pioneering thinking to our greatest challenges.”



PORTAIT OF CLAUDINE GAY BY STEPHANIE MITCHELL
UKRAINE PROTEST BY JENNY MATTHEWS/GETTY

FACULTY PORTRAITS BY MARTHA STEWART, LYDIA ROSENBERG | MONITORING: ERIC GAY/AP



AVERAGE AGE AT DEATH
66.8 86.8

ALUMNI
Making inequality visible

JEREMY NEY MPA 2021, who completed a concurrent degree program with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's Sloan School of Management, brings a quantitative storytelling approach to social policy issues—particularly aspects of inequality. While at the Kennedy School, Ney conducted research for the Malcolm Wiener Center's Data Visualization Lab. To help others see the interconnectedness of inequality, Ney also launched his own newsletter, called *American Inequality*. He currently works at Google in New York, but he continues to develop the newsletter, which has since grown into a robust, accessible data visualization project that can benefit policymakers, academics, nonprofits, and the public.

Why use data visualization to explore and map inequality in America?

The focus on visualization was born out of an idea of allowing

folks to understand what was happening in their own communities in a democratic fashion. These geospatial maps allow people to look at their own regions and understand their own communities. Inequality is messy and can be really challenging for people to talk about. Visualization allows folks to perceive what's going on in the world. It is also about storytelling, creating a rich format for people to dive into.

What have you learned through this process?

The biggest discovery for me is just how interconnected and interwoven social forces of inequality are. Often the research or political conversation is about income or the minimum wage. But I have realized through this work that inequality is so much more than income. It's tied up in other social forces, such as health care, taxes, education, gender, race, and location. Trying to pull the lever on income only

really misses out on all these other pieces—understanding how air pollution can be connected to internet access, to mental health, to educational outcomes, for example. This interconnectedness has become the central thesis of *American Inequality*. The other great discovery is that this work really deals with issues of life and death. The first piece published was about life expectancy. The United States is now experiencing the greatest divide in life expectancy across regions in the past 40 years. If you are born in certain parts of the Rockies or the Northeast, you will live to 87, on average, but



if you are born in certain parts of the South or the Midwest, you will live to 67, on average. A 20-year difference. Talk about inequality.

Who is American Inequality for?

Politicians, policymakers, academics, students, the generally curious—they all make up our reader base. And we have had interesting examples of the impact of our work in action. In Oregon, policymakers knew internet access was a problem but lacked precise data. They were able to use the data we had collected to create a program partnering with a nonprofit to set up internet hotspots in certain areas. I continue to talk with policymakers, politicians, and academics—including colleagues at the Kennedy School.

What is next for the project?

We just launched a new data portal and analysis tool to make all the data open-source and easily available. We want folks to use it to direct resources or to support or highlight issues in certain communities. We would love to build a body of case studies. Data is a powerful tool to help us understand where to direct time, energy, and efforts—not only by location but by issue as well. We are trying to understand how this information is being used. And we are continuing to partner with other organizations. There is no shortage of inequality topics. We're incredibly excited about the impact we've been able to have, but we know that work remains to be done. Individuals, the private sector, and the public sector will all have to work together to enact real change. Opportunity awaits.

FACULTY

Moving the Needle



ELIZABETH LINOS, the Emma Bloomberg Associate Professor of Public Policy and Management, is faculty director of The People Lab, which investigates how to recruit and support government workers, improve service delivery, and integrate evidence and data into policymaking. We spoke to her about her work.

How does your research connect to pressing public problems?

My research sits at the intersection of behavioral science and public management, which means I spend almost all my time thinking about how we can use insights from psychology and economics to support the people who work in the public sector and to improve the services they deliver.

How does The People Lab fit into your work? Tell us about some of your findings.

The People Lab works in three big buckets. The first thinks about the people of government. We do a lot of projects around how to recruit, retain, and support people who work in government. The second is around service delivery: How we can make it easier for people to interact with government and how we can reduce the barriers that people face when they have to do so. And the third takes a step back to think about evidence-based policymaking and what it would mean to reimagine that process—to bring communities that are most affected by government into the process of producing evidence. And once we have that evidence, how can we get policymakers to adopt it at scale?

We have had surprising findings across each of our buckets of research. For example, on the service delivery side, a lot of our work has focused on the role of stigma as a barrier to accessing social-safety-net benefits. In one experiment, we found that just adjusting how a program is described to use less-stigmatizing language to describe government rental assistance increased applications to the program by 11% compared with the use of status quo language. We are designing studies that will further investigate the role of stigma across the social safety net.

In the workforce bucket, a lot of our work has focused on the burnout of frontline staff, which emerged as one of the biggest public sector challenges during COVID. Our research has

demonstrated how much can be done even within the constraints of the public sector. While you cannot always pay people as much as they deserve, we find that even low-cost, light-touch strategies that build support systems through which frontline workers can rely on one another, share their experiences, and exchange advice end up being incredibly useful in coping with burnout. Our findings indicate that these programs have effects on burnout six months down the line, and in some cases even reduce turnover.

What is one of the biggest takeaways from your work?

When you are trying to address some of the big-picture challenges that we all care about, whatever your policy area is, the public sector has a really important role to play. So if we are not moving the needle as much as we would like on some of these big policy challenges, the solution may lie in more



“I see these conversations shifting perspectives. My hope is we influence the agencies and institutions across the state.”

concerted investments in government. Now, the important side lesson is that the people who are already working in government are really trying hard to solve these pressing challenges. So if we don't see the progress we want, it's not because people are lazy or didn't think of it or don't care enough. The challenges are so great, and what we ask of government is so complex, that it's going to take a much larger investment in using data and evidence in government to move the needle.

MAP: JEREMY NEY | SOURCE: GHDX | CREATED WITH DATARAPPER | PORTRAIT BY NATALIE MONTANER

LYDIA ROSENBERG

FROM THE ARTS TO THE ARCTIC TO CLIMATE JOURNALISM

Allison Agsten MC/MPA 2021 directs the new Center for Climate Journalism and Communication at the University of Southern California

BY RALPH RANALLI

ALLISON AGSTEN MC/MPA 2021 grew up in rural Descanso, California, a tiny, unincorporated town not far from the border with Mexico. Sparsely populated, full of wide-open spaces, and largely untouched by development, it was a place where she would stumble upon pottery shards, arrowheads, and other artifacts of the local Indigenous cultures just lying on the ground as she roamed the countryside as a kid. It was also a place that taught her the value of community.

“You couldn’t get by there unless you supported your neighbors and your neighbors supported you,” she says. “People took care of each other where I grew up in a way that I have yet to experience in all these years in the city, and I will never take that for granted.”

Agsten is now director of the new Center for Climate Journalism and Communication at the University of Southern California’s Annenberg School for Communication and Journalism. It’s a job,

she says, that blends her interests in serving community, visual storytelling, and driving positive policy solutions.

Agsten moved to Los Angeles for college, and while attending UCLA, she interned at CNN’s bureau there. After graduation, she landed a full-time job as a production assistant. She worked her way up to producer, which gave her a chance to do some arts coverage. “It was something I was really passionate about,” she says. “My father was very into visual art, and we always had art magazines and art books around the house. As I was an only child growing up in the middle of nowhere, it was those books and magazines that kept me company.”

That job launched Agsten on a nearly 20-year career in the arts, which included positions at several Southern California museums as a communications director and curator. Her last stop was at an organization called Arts for LA, where her community-minded spirit and love for the arts intertwined. As a policy research fellow, she surveyed 800 artists for a study of housing affordability. The results shocked her.

“I learned through that research that artists in Los Angeles were experiencing homelessness at a rate that was staggeringly higher than the general population,” she says. “And that was before COVID. So I proposed some responses, and within a couple of months legislation based on my paper was introduced and passed.”

The legislation passed by the Los Angeles City Council allowed public arts funding for the first time to be used for housing as well as other expenses. Agsten says she was hooked after her initial taste of policy success: “I thought, ‘Oh my god, this is where it’s at.’” A short time later she applied to the Kennedy School and was accepted into the Mid-Career master’s program.

But before the fall term even started, her career direction took another turn. During the summer, she attended a lecture about the climate crisis and the Arctic given by Halla Hrunn Logadóttir MC/MPA 2017, a cofounder of the Arctic Initiative at the Kennedy School’s Belfer Center and adjunct lecturer, and now director-general of Iceland’s National Energy Authority.

“I couldn’t help thinking that it was a visual issue, that the way we have visualized [the Arctic] region is so far off and so embedded in the way we communicate from a media perspective.”

“We cannot rely solely on scientists to communicate about climate change. We have to train journalists across a spectrum of beats and a spectrum of functions to not just tell the story but make it a priority at the highest level in the newsroom.”

“She began the talk by asking, ‘What comes to mind when you think of the Arctic?’” Agsten says. “Every single audience member said either polar bears or icebergs—not people. And I couldn’t help thinking that it was a visual issue, that the way we have visualized that region is so far off and so embedded in the way we communicate from a media perspective.”

She ended up taking Logadóttir’s class at HKS and making a study of the Arctic the focus of her time at the Kennedy School. She was selected to represent her class at the 2021 Arctic Circle Assembly in Iceland, where she won the audience-favorite award for her presentation on recentering Indigenous people in Arctic climate-news stories. She was later awarded funding from the Belfer Center to write a research paper on the subject titled “Reforming the Arctic Narrative.” After graduation, she sent the paper to her former boss at CNN, Willow Bay, who had been named dean of the Annenberg School for Journalism a few years earlier.

Agsten says, “She emailed me back almost instantly and said, ‘You won’t believe this, but we’ve just received funding to start a climate journalism center. Would you like to talk?’ We did, and we both knew quickly that it was a fit.”

Agsten was hired as the first director of the new Center for Climate Journalism. She was also given a second appointment as the first curator of USC’s Wrigley Institute for Environmental Studies and is responsible for organizing climate-related art initiatives at the school’s main campus and at its Catalina Island lab. A chief focus of the center, she says, is to support climate-crisis reporting that focuses on the impact on people and communities as much as on the underlying science. Another key aspect of the center’s work is training professionals and encouraging news organizations to integrate climate reporting into all aspects of their operations. The center is currently working with eight ABC-owned television stations around the United States to embrace climate coverage in a holistic way.

“We cannot rely solely on scientists to communicate about climate change,” Agsten says. “We have to train journalists across a spectrum of beats and a spectrum of functions to not just tell the story but make it a priority at the highest level in the newsroom.”

PHOTOS COURTESY OF ALLISON AGSTEN

Ash Carter, HKS professor and former defense secretary, dies at 68

Carter helped bridge the disciplines of policy and technology and made the world a safer place.



ASH CARTER was the Belfer Professor of Science and Global Affairs and director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. During a nearly four-decade-long career at HKS, he twice left to serve in government, eventually becoming U.S. secretary of defense from 2015 to 2017.

“Ash Carter was a true patriot,” Harvard University President **LARRY BACOW** said. “His counsel and service shaped America as we know it today—and made America better for all Americans. Losing him will have profound effects on Harvard Kennedy School and on the University, but it is our nation that has suffered the greater loss. We will do our best to honor Ash by remembering his

commitment to democracy and by working together toward a more perfect union.”

As secretary of defense, Carter helped lead the international coalition to destroy ISIS, designed and executed the strategic pivot to the Asia-Pacific region, and launched a defense cyber strategy. He opened all military positions to women, allowing them to serve in combat, and ended a ban on transgender troops serving in the military.

In a previous stint in the Pentagon, from 1993 to 1996, he was responsible for the Nunn-Lugar program, which removed and eliminated nuclear weapons in former Soviet republics, including Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. Carter and colleagues at the Belfer Center had

helped to lay the groundwork for that denuclearization program, alerting the world to the dangers caused by the fall of the Soviet Union and arguing that fissile material from nuclear warheads could be turned into fuel for nuclear power plants.

During a recent Forum event with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, Carter remembered the poignant sight of former enemies who stared each other down across the Iron Curtain for decades, planting sunflowers together in a former Soviet missile field in Ukraine.

“Ash was the best exemplar of what we aspire to for our faculty, fellows, and students,” said **GRAHAM ALLISON**, the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government and former dean of HKS and director of the Belfer Center. “He was an individual first and foremost committed to public service, to making a difference in making the world a safer place. He fulfilled that commitment by: advancing knowledge about the most important challenges—and what to do about them; serving in government when he had an opportunity; and preparing the next generation of students and fellows for leadership in government.”

Carter began his career in academia. After studying physics and medieval history at Yale University, he received his doctorate in theoretical physics from Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. He served as a physics instructor at Oxford University, a postdoctoral fellow at Rockefeller University and MIT, and an experimental research associate at Brookhaven and Fermilab National Laboratories before coming to HKS in 1984. He authored or coauthored 11 books and more than 100 articles on physics, technology, national security, and management.

During his time at the Pentagon, Carter was fond of saying how even when reaching the most remote military installation in places like Iraq or Afghanistan he would be greeted by a warm “Hello, Professor Carter!” from former students turned soldiers. It was this long reach that persuaded him to return to the Kennedy School after his years at the Pentagon, said Kennedy School Dean **DOUG ELMENDORF**.

“I want to offer my gratitude for his insight and wisdom, his unwavering commitment to trying to make the world better, his confidence that the Kennedy School can make an important difference in the world, his generous spirit toward his students and colleagues, and his warm and gracious

Ash Carter teaching at the Kennedy School in 1985; President Barack Obama with Secretary of Defense Carter; Carter joined Graham Allison for a conversation on technology and global affairs in 2017



PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARTHAN STEWART | EVAN VUCCI/AP | MARTHA STEWART

Carter (center) looks on as U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry and Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov shake hands after signing an agreement providing Ukraine with assistance dismantling its nuclear weapons arsenal in 1995; Carter talking to multinational troops at Erbil International Airport in Iraq, 2015; Carter with students at HKS; Carter with his wife, Stephanie Carter (right), and Christine Lagarde, managing director of the International Monetary Fund, at a 2017 event at the Kennedy School

friendship with me,” Elmendorf said. “I will miss him so much.”

“He was a beloved husband, father, mentor, and friend. His sudden loss will be felt by all who knew him,” Carter’s family said in a statement. “He believed that his most profound legacy would be the thousands of students he taught with the hope that they would make the world a better and safer place.”

“Today we mourn the passing of former Secretary of Defense Ash Carter and celebrate a leader who left America—and the world—safer through his lifetime of service,” former President Barack Obama, in whose administration Carter served, wrote on Twitter. “Michelle and I extend our heartfelt sympathies to Ash’s wife, children, and all those who loved him.”

SAMANTHA POWER, a colleague both at Harvard Kennedy School and in government service, called Carter’s death “an immeasurable loss.” “Devastated by the passing of my friend and close colleague,” Power, the administrator of the United States Agency for International Development, wrote on Twitter. “An epic public servant who dedicated his life to making our country safer, he also inspired the next generation ... to tackle the world’s hardest problems.”

Those hard problems included making technological change positive for all. The Technology and Public Purpose project that Carter created following his return to the Kennedy School in 2017 set out to address that challenge. “The arc of innovative progress has reached an inflection point,” the project’s mission statement reads. “It is our responsibility to ensure it bends towards public good.”

“Rest in peace Ash Carter—colleague, friend, patriot, national leader,” **LARRY SUMMERS**, the Charles W. Eliot University Professor and the Frank and Denie Weil Director of the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, wrote on Twitter. “Along with the national security community, his Kennedy School and Belfer Center colleagues and students, I will miss Ash’s wisdom, dedication and his leadership for our country. This is a very sad day.”

“As his student at the Kennedy School, Ash Carter mentored me for a career in national security,” said **ERIC ROSENBACH** MPP 2004, codirector with Carter of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs. “A decade later in the Pentagon, as his chief of staff, Ash demonstrated to me why we need principled, indefatigable leaders who take on the toughest issues to keep America inclusive and strong. Back at the Kennedy School, he made me realize that people who both teach the next generation and lead the current one are truly unique. Ash was one of a kind, and I will miss him dearly.”



TRIBUTES TO ASH CARTER FROM HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL AND BEYOND

Following the passing of Ash Carter (1954–2022), the Belfer Professor of Technology and Global Affairs, director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, and a former U.S. secretary of defense, hundreds of tributes came in from all over the world. Here is a small sampling from the Kennedy School community and beyond.

“His public contributions were amplified by his many years at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government, where he inspired and mentored the next generation of national security leaders. As president, I continued to rely on his expertise through his presence on my Council of Advisors on Science and Technology.”

PRESIDENT JOE BIDEN

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“This is so terribly tragic—a massive loss to the country and the HKS community. Secretary Carter was a remarkable professor and public servant. May we honor his legacy of service by emulating the values he espoused.”

CRYSTAL RUGEGE MC/MPA CANDIDATE 2023

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“He has been a friend, mentor, colleague, mutual dog enthusiast, and a ‘come walk with me’ ally for 25 years. I will say no more except it was the honor of a lifetime to have been so lucky.”

JULIETTE KAYYEM, BELFER SENIOR LECTURER IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY, HKS

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“Ash Carter was a giant, a man whose contributions to U.S. and world security were huge and long-lasting. One key example was the Nunn-Lugar program: Ash helped conceive the radical idea that the former nuclear enemies should cooperate to dismantle and secure the nuclear, chemical, and biological legacies of the Cold War. He helped draft the legislation, and then, as assistant secretary of defense in the Clinton years, helped implement that effort. As a result, we ended up with one nuclear power coming from the Soviet Union rather than many; thousands of nuclear weapons



International & Global Affairs Student Fellows with Carter (center) and Eric Rosenbach (far left).

retired from missiles; hundreds of missiles, bombers, and submarines destroyed; thousands of tons of chemical weapons eliminated; new security measures put in place for nuclear, chemical, and biological stockpiles, and more. The world is immeasurably safer as a result.”

MATTHEW BUNN, JAMES R. SCHLESINGER PROFESSOR OF THE PRACTICE OF ENERGY, NATIONAL SECURITY, AND FOREIGN POLICY, HKS

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“Ash Carter was a friend of many years, an esteemed colleague, and a patriot who served this nation with distinction. His dedication, extraordinary skill, and intellect were his hallmarks, and his loss is a great one that will be felt by many.”

CONDOLEEZZA RICE, DIRECTOR OF THE HOOVER INSTITUTION AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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“America has lost one of its most dedicated national security leaders and public servants with the sudden passing of Ash Carter. His innovative leadership made the Department of Defense stronger and our nation safer. We will miss him.”

MICHAEL BLOOMBERG, ENTREPRENEUR AND FORMER THREE-TERM MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

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“I have lost a dear friend of more than four decades. Ash was of course a man of enormous intellect and huge commitment to public service. But he was also a great person, a great colleague, kind, decent,

and caring. ... Ash was the very epitome of the kind of public servant this country needs: thoughtful, honest, full of integrity, and above all giving privilege to the best interests of the country.”

STEVEN MILLER, DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY PROGRAM AT THE BELFER CENTER

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“My acquaintance with Ash spanned four decades. Over that period, he and I interacted extensively in the context of many of his roles and many of mine, including 13 years in adjacent offices at the Belfer Center. ... It’s of course impossible, in a short note, to do justice to all that Ash was and did ... as scholar, policy analyst, teacher, mentor, builder and leader of institutions, visionary, and pillar of commitment to a better world. Suffice it to say here that he will be sorely missed in all these roles, as well as in the other roles he fulfilled so well—husband, father, and friend.”

JOHN HOLDREN, TERESA AND JOHN HEINZ RESEARCH PROFESSOR OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY, HKS

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“At least for me, he will be remembered as my favorite professor, who taught us with a rare and enjoyable mix of intellect, wisdom, and humor. I know that many other current and previous students feel the same way.”

SAM YOON MPP CANDIDATE 2023, HKS STUDENT GOVERNMENT PRESIDENT

R. D. WARD/DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE | CAROLYN KASTER/REUTERS | JESSICA SCRANTON | MARTHA STEWART

QUESTIONING INEQUALITY

BY RALPH RANALLI

HKS faculty tackle causes and effects of extreme economic inequality

BEYOND THE SUFFERING OF INDIVIDUALS, the extreme levels of inequality now evident in the United States and other countries across the globe carry grave systemic risks, many Harvard Kennedy School scholars and researchers say. Hopelessness and lack of economic opportunity breed discontent, which populists and authoritarians can seize upon to exacerbate political polarization, putting democracy at risk.

“We might feel that things are very divided today, but things can get worse,” says GORDON HANSON, the Peter Wertheim Professor in Urban Policy at HKS, who has studied the damaging effects of globalization on workers in the United States and who recently cofounded the Reimagining the Economy Project with DANI RODRIK, the Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy. “We’ve seen a significant deterioration in our sense of common purpose and our sense of trust in national unity, and failing to rise to this challenge means that we could slide further down that hill.”

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SHUTTERSTOCK.COM IMAGES

To meet the moment, the Kennedy School has launched a number of projects and initiatives in the past few years to address the underlying drivers of extreme inequality and to propose solutions. In March, Kennedy School Dean **DOUGLAS ELMENDORF** announced the creation of the new James M. and Cathleen D. Stone Program in Wealth Distribution, Inequality, and Social Policy, calling it a “crucial challenge ... to create appropriate public policy to create a fairer economic system that can provide economic opportunity and mobility.”

“Income inequality and concentrated wealth can leave many people at economic and social disadvantage,” Elmendorf, the Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy, wrote in announcing the program. “Moreover, concentrations of income and wealth can concentrate political power in ways that threaten and undermine our democracy.”

The Stone Program, based at the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, brings together faculty members, researchers, and students from across Harvard and beyond to study the causes and consequences of wealth inequalities in various populations around the world. Other efforts at the Kennedy School, many of them also based

at the Wiener Center, study inequality from a variety of perspectives, including how to make public discourse about inequality more productive; envisioning new economic policies and systems that lift more people out of poverty and dead-end jobs; better understanding the needs of low-wage workers; improving job training programs to create more widespread mobility; and finding the most effective way to direct financial help to those in need.

That multifaceted and multidisciplinary approach is vital, says HKS Academic Dean **DAVID DEMING**, a faculty codirector of the center’s Project on Workforce and the Isabelle and Scott Black Professor of Political Economy. Before being named academic dean, Deming taught a class called “The Causes and Consequences of Inequality.” “My overall frame for the class,” he says, “was that with a problem like inequality, there are multiple competing explanations, but only one fact pattern. So whatever your story is for why inequality has increased in the past half century, it has to fit all the facts. But it never does. That teaches students that the problem of inequality has multiple causes and probably multiple solutions.”

HOW CAN WE CHANGE THE CONVERSATION ABOUT INEQUALITY?

IT’S A TOUGH THING for an economist to admit, but focusing on the numbers when trying to tell the story of inequality’s causes and effects has not been particularly successful, says **GORDON HANSON**. “As we economists have tried to communicate what the data say to the rest of the world about the state of working America, we quickly get locked in the political battles about redistribution of income, about government, regulation and taxation, and so forth.”

Cue the Reimagining the Economy Project, which is based at the Wiener Center. Hanson—who has done extensive work with economists David Autor of MIT and David Dorn of the University of Zurich on the so-called “China shock” effect on workers left behind when corporations moved manufacturing jobs to Asia—focuses mostly on economic fallout in U.S. communities. Rodrik, meanwhile, applies a global perspective, studying local policies in other industrial and developing countries that are aimed at mitigating the effects of global trade on workers. Overall, the project seeks to meld a range of ideas, disciplines, and perspectives to produce multidisciplinary scholarship that will change the conversation about what Hanson calls “inclusive prosperity.”

“Inclusive prosperity is grounded in the idea that we want to be creating jobs that confer dignity on workers,” Hanson says. “And that means jobs that allow you to provide for your family, that let you get your kids the education or the career training that you desire for them, that give you prospects of being a homeowner if that’s what you choose to do, and that offer an upward trajectory that gives you the opportunity to achieve advancement, satisfaction, and engagement over the course of your career.”

The definition of inclusive prosperity views workers as people rather than economic inputs, Hanson says; progress toward it will be achieved only through a policy debate that is similarly focused. “When we say that people at the 90th percentile earned this many times as much as people at the 10th percentile—it’s hard for people to get their heads around that,” he says. “We’ve been focused too much on the ratios of income ... rather than saying, ‘Look at the [bottom] 20th percentile—life is really rough for them right now.’ The odds of someone in your household having metabolic disease is pretty high. The odds of someone in your household dealing with substance abuse is pretty high. The odds that most of the working-age adults in your house are not working is pretty high.”

The Reimagining the Economy Project is working on a number of strategies to change the conversation, including building a data visualization platform that tries to tell the whole story of inequality’s economic consequences (see page 8). Ultimately, Hanson says, the aim is to go beyond analyzing how the current economy functions to visualize new structures, policies, and forms of market economies.

In other ways, however, the challenge will be not coming up with new ideas, he says, but finding new ways to implement ideas that have already been proved effective—especially in the area of training people for better jobs.

“The utterly fascinating thing to us as we’re starting to learn about the experimentation that’s happening is how the right set of things to do seems pretty clear,” Hanson says. “You train disadvantaged workers and the long-term unemployed in skills



targeted to specific occupations; you work with local employers for the training; and then you provide these wraparound services that get workers ready to work and the social skills they need to stay on the job. Those things really work. And the shocking thing is, we’ve known they work since the late 1990s.”

The problem, Hanson says, is that adopting and scaling up successful job-training programs requires getting actors in the public and private sectors within communities to work together. “That’s hard to do,” he says. “There are places that are doing it, and they aren’t fleetingly rare examples, but they are uncommon. The median place is not doing it.”

Hanson says that successful models they are studying tend to be public-private partnerships driven mostly by the private and nonprofit sectors, with government agencies serving a supporting role. Examples include The Right Place, in Grand Rapids, Michigan, which helped the city stay a vibrant manufacturing hub even after competition from China decimated the local furniture-making industry, and Greater Rochester Enterprise, which took advantage of legacy investments and capability in optic design and manufacturing to build a new sector after the devastating bankruptcy of Kodak.

“We’re trying to learn as much as we can about the nature of experimentation that’s happening right now,” Hanson says.

HOW CAN WE LEARN ABOUT LOW-WAGE WORKERS’ LIVES TO MAKE THOSE LIVES BETTER?

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC thrust a previously invisible sector of workers into the public spotlight. Grocery stockers, food-service workers, and package-delivery drivers were suddenly embraced as “essential workers” and celebrated on lawn signs and in public-service announcements in the media.

But **DANIEL SCHNEIDER**, the Malcolm Wiener Professor of Social Policy at HKS and a codirector of The Shift Project at the Wiener Center, says that to hourly workers, those kind words alone were worth very little. “The pandemic was a moment when these workers were really central to the response and in the public mind—but things did not improve for them that much,” he says. “Our research shows that their schedules remained really unstable and unpredictable, and their access to paid leave and other benefits did not substantially increase.”

Schneider seconds Hanson’s assertion that addressing inequality—and thereby mitigating both its personal and its societal consequences—requires thinking and talking about

AP PHOTO/MARCIO JOSE SANCHEZ/MATT ROURKE



it in a new way. “I think we all think in terms of inequality, but inequality in what?” he says. “When we say ‘inequality,’ that’s often shorthand for income inequality and maybe wealth inequality. But there is a kind of broader inequality in life conditions that are very much shaped by work.”

When you compare workers who are stocking shelves, ringing up purchases, and making coffee for white-collar professionals with those professionals, Schneider says, you find not only monetary inequality between the two groups but also that white-collar workers have more control over their time. Service workers are largely still at the mercy of managers and the ruthless algorithms of scheduling software, and the Shift Project’s research has linked unpredictable schedules with psychological distress, poor-quality sleep, work-family conflict, economic insecurity, and job dissatisfaction. Canceled and back-to-back closing and opening (so-called “clopening”) shifts are strongly associated with negative outcomes. “In some ways the most fundamental inequality is this inequality of time,” he says. “Everyone has only so much of it, but the quality of that time is radically unequal.”

Yet in some ways the pandemic has also illuminated a path forward, Schneider argues. Demand caused by labor shortages and shifting attitudes about employee loyalty, often referred to as the Great Resignation, have given workers more power than they’ve had in a long time. “Wages have gone up at the bottom,” he says. “We have seen an actual narrowing of wage inequality for the first time in decades, and a surprisingly

tight labor market over the past year has given these workers some degree of market power.”

To solidify that power, workers will need to continue another trend—organizing and unionizing as they have been doing at Starbucks, Amazon, and other prominent service-sector companies. “The movement toward greater voice and union representation suggests one path forward toward equality,” Schneider says. “We know from decades of research on unions and their decline that they are actually a force for reducing inequality, not just because they improve the well-being of their members, but because they have a broader, normative sort of regulatory function in the economy.”

But giving hourly-wage workers more power will require changing the conversation again, this time in the political arena, where support for organized labor has long been on the decline, despite recent shifts in public opinion. Support for unions is actually quite high and bipartisan when pollsters ask about issues such as paid family leave and a higher minimum wage. The problem, Schneider says, has been a disconnect between popular opinion and public policy when it’s filtered through politics.

“Policymaking and policymakers’ attitudes are much more closely aligned with those at the extreme high end of the wealth and income distribution than they are with mass public opinion, and that has consequences,” Schneider says.

HOW CAN WE BRING TOGETHER PUBLIC POLICY, BUSINESS, AND EDUCATION TO BUILD A BETTER LABOR FORCE?

WHEN IT COMES TO GRADING vocational and job training ecosystems, **RACHEL LIPSON MPP 2018** gives the United States barely passing marks.

“I’d probably give us a C or a C-minus,” says Lipson, a cofounder and former director of the Project on Workforce, now in the Biden administration. “We don’t have a cohesive or easy-to-navigate system, and the pathways here are often harder for people to access.”

The number of “bad jobs” versus “good jobs” in an economy is a key indicator of inequality. “There is a large volume of bad jobs in our economy right now, and there’s this notion of ‘Well, let’s just tell the employers that their jobs are bad and they need to improve them,’” Lipson says. “But I think the question is ‘How do you create an ecosystem where there’s higher productivity and higher return on investment so that structurally we can create more good jobs in this country?’”

Launched in 2019, the Project on Workforce is a cross-school, interdisciplinary collaboration between Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard Business School’s Managing the Future of Work Project, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education. The project tracks collaborations between government policymakers, business and labor interests, and education leaders that are necessary for successful job-training programs.

In some European countries, vocational and apprenticeship programs are the product of centuries of collaboration—sometimes dating back to craft guilds—between industry groups, education officials, and trade unions, which together define the skill sets workers will need to be productive and their employers will need to be successful. Meanwhile, the U.S. system developed very differently, with a heavy emphasis on college as the primary path to the working world.

DAVID DEMING, the project’s faculty director, says both approaches have positive and negative aspects. Although the Swiss apprenticeship system has a high degree of collaboration, for example, it can also be rigid to the point of failing to keep up with technological change and emerging industries. And although the U.S. college-based system tends to be more decentralized and nimble, it doesn’t serve large numbers of people well—if at all.

“If you’re fortunate enough to come from a family of means and you go to a good four-year college, a lot of pathways are laid out for you,” Deming says. “Students at selective colleges like Harvard, for example, often don’t know very much about which jobs are going to be good for them in the long run, but they’re living in an environment where it’s very hard to make a bad choice, because all the people around them are guiding them. Most people don’t have access to such resources, and I would like to change that.”

Potentially productive approaches identified by the Project on Workforce include democratizing education by creating more opportunities for learners to hone skills while earning wages and focusing on portable skills that will keep workers from getting stuck in dead-end jobs.

Lipson says that high school vocational programs are often stigmatized for tracking certain students—especially students of color and with lower socioeconomic status—toward lower-wage careers. Yet research has found that programs like Year Up, where young people work for employers in high-demand sectors while earning credentials and paid stipends, have had proven positive impacts.



GETTY IMAGES/TOM LEE/KEVIN DIETSCH/ ROBERT NICKELSBURG

GETTY IMAGES/BRIANNA SOUKUP/JAHI CHIKWENDU/ LUKE SHARRETT/REUTERS/ LUCY NICHOLSON

“The job-fit question really matters,” she says. “The research evidence broadly supports the claim that these early career choices about which occupation or field you’re going to start in can make a big difference in your lifetime earnings. So the question becomes ‘How can we create more guidance, structure, and support?’ This is something I think the United States overall does really badly on, especially in low-income communities.”

Deming, meanwhile, says he would like to see a greater focus on portable skills that can help new members of the workforce transition between jobs, especially two key ones: the ability to work on a team and independent decision-making and problem solving.

Deming says teaching students to work effectively on a team is often neglected in schools, because even when students are asked to work in teams, teachers tend to segment assignments in a way that makes individual grading possible. So he and his colleague Ben Weidmann, director of research at the Skills Lab at HKS, recently published a paper on a method they’ve developed to better identify individual contributions to group performance.

Other tools created by the Project on Workforce include a soon-to-be-launched website that will allow users to view a map of the United States and identify geographic locations where the supply of workers fails to match the demand in key industries.

HOW CAN WE MOST DIRECTLY HELP THOSE SUFFERING FROM INEQUALITY?

CHANGING PUBLIC DISCOURSE and creating better job-training systems are important, but they take time, and sometimes the consequences of extreme inequality necessitate getting help to people who need it most as quickly and as effectively as possible. A recent example comes from Chelsea, Massachusetts, which has long been one of the state’s poorest communities: Nearly a quarter of its residents live below the federal poverty level.

Professor **JEFFREY LIEBMAN**, the Robert W. Scrivner Professor of Social Policy and faculty director of the Kennedy School’s Rappaport Institute for Greater Boston, says the COVID-19 pandemic caused “extreme hardship” among the city’s 40,000 residents, of whom a significant number are undocumented immigrants and thus were ineligible for unemployment insurance, stimulus checks, and SNAP.

“In most communities, more people were eligible for the social safety net, and that protected them from the kind of extreme hardship that Chelsea went through,” Liebman says. “Chelsea was facing a massive hunger problem because the community was hit harder from a health standpoint and from an economic standpoint by COVID

than just about any other community in the country.”

Chelsea launched a massive food-distribution program, but in September 2020, City Manager Thomas Ambrosino and other officials decided to pivot to direct financial aid so that residents could buy their own food with cash cards issued through a program called Chelsea Eats. The city also partnered with the Rappaport Institute to study the program and its effects.

“I think the fundamental insight that Tom Ambrosino had,” Liebman says, “was ‘Let’s give people income and let them make their own decisions so that they can buy the kinds of food they want and also meet other essential needs—whether that ends up being diapers, clothing, or cooking oil.’”

Data showed that around 65% of the money distributed through Chelsea Eats was spent on food, contrary to the fears of skeptics. “Comparing those who got the cash cards and those who didn’t, the people who received the cards consumed more food, were more satisfied with what they had available to eat, and were more likely to say their financial situation had improved,” Liebman says.

“It is unusual to have data on such a large sample of economically vulnerable families who were ineligible for most federal benefits,” Liebman says. “One of the things the Chelsea experience demonstrates is just how important the U.S. safety net is.”



ALUMNI

HKS alumni making life fairer and more affordable for Golden State residents

CALIFORNIA’S ECONOMY is the largest state economy in the country, with a \$3.37 trillion gross state product. But as is the case everywhere, the benefits are not reaped equally among its 39 million residents. Cities and communities throughout the Golden State face challenges including housing shortages, unaffordability, and homelessness, along with inadequate transportation for people in need—factors that interweave to contribute to social and economic inequality.

Harvard Kennedy School alumni in California are addressing these challenges in numerous ways. **SCOTT HUGO MPP/JD 2015** is using his joint background in law and policy to protect tenants’ rights as a housing-justice attorney in Oakland. In her role on the California Transportation Commission, **HILARY NORTON MPP 1992** is working to make commuting more accessible and equitable. And her classmate **CHUCK FLACKS MPP 1992** is seeking to end homelessness in Los Angeles and Santa Barbara County.

PHOTOS BY JOSH EDELMAN

GETTY IMAGES/PAT GREENHOUSE/ADOBE STOCK



“Working in partnership with community-based organizations in support of tenants who themselves are directly in the fight was something I was passionate about and could run with.” SCOTT HUGO

SCOTT HUGO MPP 2015

Restoring Oakland residents’ faith in local government



Scott Hugo at Frank Ogawa Plaza near Oakland’s City Hall

JOSH EDELMAN

BY SUSAN A. HUGHES

WHEN YOU CONSIDER SCOTT HUGO’S TRAJECTORY since high school, he comes across as an overachiever: a dual degree from the University of California, Los Angeles, in political science and history; a Rhodes Scholarship and an MPhil in international relations from Oxford University; a joint Juris Doctor/Master in Public Policy from Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School. But Hugo is disarmingly modest about his accomplishments.

“The way I look at it,” he explains, “is that when you’ve had the opportunities that I’ve had, when you’ve had supportive family and teachers, when you’ve had the privilege that I have, there’s a responsibility that comes with that. I wouldn’t call it overachieving; I would call it doing my best to live up to that responsibility.”

That responsibility to give back to the community, to others struggling to get by, and to often-ignored populations led Hugo, who is now a housing-justice attorney for the Oakland City Attorney’s Office, to a life of public service not far from where he grew up. He attended De La Salle High School in Concord, California, just outside San Francisco. The school’s motto, “Enter to Learn, Leave to Serve,” made a lasting impression on him. But it was a horrific incident that started him thinking about a life of service focused on justice and injustice.

“A couple of weeks before my senior year, one of my football teammates was murdered,” Hugo says. “Terrance Kelly. He was a year ahead of me, had a full ride to the University of Oregon on a football scholarship. He was murdered over a basketball court dispute.” His friend’s death left Hugo confused and made a deep impact.

“I knew about injustice in the world, and I knew about some of the injustices here in the Bay Area,” he says. “But to have a friend and teammate who was my same age, 18 years old, have his life end in that way, with no justification for why his path should be any different than mine, really underscored for me that people were living fundamentally

different lives in different Americas based on their ZIP code, their race, and their socioeconomic status.”

After college—first close to home, at UCLA, and then further afield, as a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford—Hugo knew he wanted to go to law school but was also still searching for a way to give back to his community in the East Bay area. “The question for me at Oxford—an extraordinary opportunity to spend two years of my life abroad and meet people from around the world and ask what values are central to my life—was where do I contribute to fighting the world’s fight?” The answer came to him when he returned to the United States and enrolled at Harvard, pursuing an ambitious joint degree at the Kennedy School and Harvard Law School.

“I was always really fascinated with the intersection of law and public policy,” Hugo says. “And in particular, the ways in which the systems, the laws, and the policies that we build as a society set up the conditions for justice. They either set up people to flourish, or they amplify the injustices within society. I knew a legal career would enable me to fight for changes in the laws and to enforce them. But that public-policy element was always a key passion and frame and perspective for me. What drew me so much to the Kennedy School, to be honest, was the idea of being part of this community.”

“Hugo evidenced his commitment to environmental policies and impact in his final Integrated Work Project required for the joint Harvard Kennedy School and Harvard Law School students in the MPP/JD program,” says HKS Senior Policy Advisor and Chief of Staff **SARAH WALD**, who teaches a seminar with **ARCHON FUNG**, the Winthrop Laffin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government, in which the students complete intensive projects. “It is the only time we have had a paper about the policy and legal aspects of illegal dumping, and it was a great project.”

Hugo feels that the students at the Kennedy School, as much as anything else, contributed to his growth: “I learned so much from the people around me.” Also key were the opportunities available outside the classroom. He received a Dubin Program Summer Fellowship, perhaps the most instrumental push to his career. It supported him in undertaking a summer internship with the Neighborhood Law Corps, a unit within the Oakland City Attorney’s Office.

“The Dubin Fellowship allowed me to spend time with attorneys who were doing the work I envisioned,” he says. “It really affirmed that this is where I want to be.” After leaving Harvard, Hugo joined the staff of the Neighborhood Law Corps. He’s been with the attorney’s office ever since. “Working in partnership with community-based organizations in support of tenants who themselves are directly in the fight was something I was passionate about and could run with,” he says.

“The tenants immediately assumed that if the government was going to get involved, it would get involved on the side of the wealthy.”

SCOTT HUGO



JOSH EDELMAN

“I can’t tell you how much it means to know that government is fighting for us.”

More than the cases he has won as an attorney with the Oakland City Attorney’s Office, Hugo remembers the people whose lives have been transformed. He can still hear the joy in Wei Bin Ma’s voice, for example, when Hugo’s office won a victory for Ma and other residents of a single-occupancy hotel, often considered the housing of last resort in the vanishing affordable housing of Oakland’s Chinatown. Ma was distressed when the hotel’s new investor-owners reduced the number of bathrooms available to tenants and removed their Chinese New Year decorations, among other changes. Hugo recognized those actions as attempts to evict the tenants, “to make their life incredibly miserable.” Seeing Ma as a powerful independent advocate, Hugo and the city attorney’s office partnered with a private civil rights firm and the Asian Law Caucus, a legal and civil rights organization serving Asian American and Pacific Islander communities, and the three parties brought a successful suit against the building’s owners.

“The tenants immediately assumed that if the government was going to get involved, it would get involved on the side of the wealthy,” Hugo recalls. He remembers how moved Ma was that Hugo was on his side. “I can’t tell you how much it means,” Ma told Hugo, “to know that government is fighting for us.”

Barbara Johnson and Chantal Dyer are also on Hugo’s mind when he thinks about the struggles facing hardworking Oakland residents—so much so that he keeps a photograph of Johnson and her grandchildren on his desk. Hugo’s team was notified of a demolition company that was coating a neighborhood in construction dust and debris. “This company chose a mixed-use commercial/residential West Oakland neighborhood,” Hugo explains. “Because of the neighborhood’s predominantly Black community and its long history of experiencing environmental racism, the company believed, wrongly, that it could operate with impunity there.” The residents, including Johnson and Dyer, said they were having trouble breathing because of the construction debris. Hugo filed a successful suit against the owners to stop the operation, fueled by the sheer will and dedication of the neighborhood’s residents.

“This case, being able to fight alongside the community members, will always be one of the greatest privileges in my life,” Hugo says. The declaration Dyer provided in support of the case has stayed with him throughout his career. She wrote:

“For me, this lawsuit is about generations—specifically, the next generation. My kids witnessed

the injustice of what [the owner] was doing to their community, and they saw their parent and grandparents standing up against that wrong. [This company] could have been here for years, continuing to contaminate the neighborhood. Instead, this has sent a different message that what they were trying to do in our neighborhood won’t be tolerated. The next generation now knows that message and will take it with them in the years to come.”

Return for the community, stay for the justice

Hugo has now been with the Oakland City Attorney’s Office for seven years. “It is a privilege to work for someone like City Attorney Barbara J. Parker, who leads with her values front and center and who fights for justice,” he says. He was named the first lawyer of a newly formed affirmative-litigation unit, the Housing Justice Initiative. It focuses on protecting the rights of Oakland tenants and helping preserve affordable housing—part of the “three P’s of housing justice”: protection, preservation, and production.

“The Housing Justice Initiative is a recognition that at this very moment in time we have a unique role to play in protecting tenants’ rights and helping them stay in their homes,” Hugo explains. “What we do is not going to solve the housing crisis; no individual or government can do that on its own. But we all have different roles that we can play. And by helping keep people, particularly low-income tenants of color, in their homes, we can limit the harm and help buy time for some of those additional solutions to come into play.”

Some of those solutions may well result from his own work.

“I chose to begin my career locally,” he says, “to be grounded in community and to recognize that I can be part of this fight and contribute right here in my own backyard. The more that we build out this work and show what local government or government more generally can do when it comes to enforcing housing rights—that is something that can be scaled everywhere.”

As Hugo looks back on his Kennedy School experiences: the community of students; the Center for Public Leadership (“that conversation with [acclaimed civil rights activist and lawyer and HKS alumnus] Bryan Stevenson!”); the Zuckerman, Ash Center, and Dubin Summer fellowships he was fortunate to receive, Hugo appreciates the power of his Harvard law and public policy degrees in preparing him for a career fighting in behalf of East Bay residents. “I am incredibly indebted to the opportunities HKS gave me and the investment they made in me,” he says. “I am honored to spend my career trying to make good on that investment.”

Empowering people through housing and transportation



“We need to rebuild a very frayed society and a very unequal economy”

HILARY NORTON

FOR HILARY NORTON MPP 1992, transportation is about more than moving people from one location to another. It is about community, access, and democracy.

Norton has spent three decades focused on community development and transportation, working for state and City of Los Angeles elected officials, business associations, and nonprofits over the course of her career. As an undergraduate at Wellesley College, she became interested in affordable housing, transportation, and building healthy communities. She further cultivated her public policy goals at the Kennedy School, where she did her Policy Analysis Exercise on eradicating racism-based redlining in South Los Angeles. And over the course of her career, she has been driven by a desire to make California a state where affordable housing, sustainable transportation, and career-making jobs are accessible to all.

Appointed to the California Transportation Commission (CTC) by Governor Gavin Newsom in 2019, Norton was elected chair in 2020 and served for the maximum two terms. “For me and my colleagues, serving on the CTC is not a job—it’s a calling,” she says, adding that two of those colleagues are also HKS graduates: Darnell Grisby MPP 2003 and Michele Martinez HKSEE 2018.

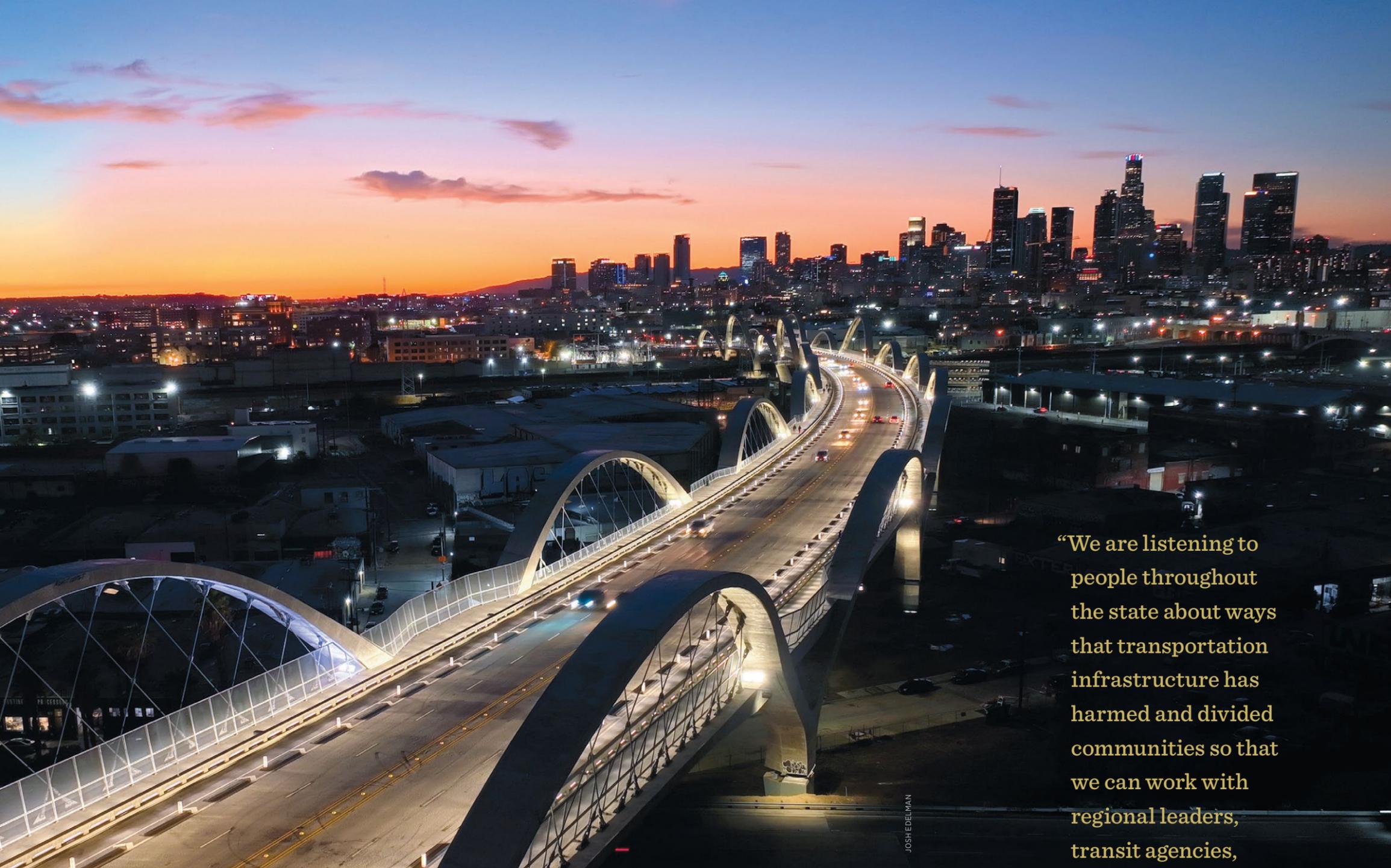
Each year, the CTC allocates \$5 billion to \$7 billion, raised from gas taxes, to state transportation projects managed by the California Department of Transportation. “While often known for funding highway and bridge projects,” Norton says, “the CTC is very proud that Governor Newsom and the state legislature have funded an additional \$1 billion for CTC’s highly popular active transportation projects to encourage biking, walking, and traveling in wheelchairs and strollers. CTC’s additional programs support projects to create affordable housing near transit, support more-efficient and zero-emission travel by bus or car, and improve the sustainable



BY NORA DELANEY

JOSH EDELMAN

Hilary Norton at Los Angeles' Union Station



JOSHEDELMAN

“We are listening to people throughout the state about ways that transportation infrastructure has harmed and divided communities so that we can work with regional leaders, transit agencies, local nonprofits, and community members to identify remedies to those harms.”

HILARY NORTON

movement of goods. You cannot have economic empowerment without intentionally linking housing, transportation, jobs, and improved air quality.”

“I am also grateful that CTC is engaging in deep work on equity,” Norton says. “We are listening to people throughout the state about ways that transportation infrastructure has harmed and divided communities so that we can work with regional leaders, transit agencies, local nonprofits, and community members to identify remedies to those harms.”

Equity is inextricably linked to housing affordability, which Norton says is one of the biggest issues the state

faces right now. A primary way in which people create wealth is by owning a home, but in California, home ownership is simply out of reach for many. “The state needs to look at how we can expand opportunities for wealth creation,” she says. “In what ways can we create better opportunities for shelter, affordable housing, wealth creation, so that people can start building more-stable lives together and enjoying the fruits of California as it becomes the world’s fourth-largest economy?”

Norton says that California’s size and overall wealth make it not only possible but incumbent on policymakers to ask: “How is the state growing? How can we make sure

people travel in efficient, sustainable ways? How can we make life more affordable and equitable? How can we uplift everyone rather than see increased homelessness?”

Norton’s role at the CTC is the product of a long career working at the nexus between housing and transportation in Los Angeles. In 2008, she became the founding executive director of FAST (Fixing Angelenos Stuck in Traffic), focusing on strategies such as express toll lanes, rapid-transit bus systems, and microbus pilot programs to reduce traffic congestion, expand access to low-income communities, and incentivize environmentally friendly transportation alternatives in Los Angeles. “We helped create new paradigms to move people better,” Norton says.

She loves her work and lives her paradigm. As the mother of two grown children, Xavier and Eva, Norton has seen how transportation has affected their ability to get to school and to jobs and is envisioning a future that should belong to everyone. She now leads the nonprofit transportation-management organization FASTLinkDTLA, which aims to reduce gridlock; create new commuter programs to link people to jobs through expanded rail service, new routes for scheduled buses, vanpools, carpools, and rideshare vehicles; and promote safe, zero-emission, and innovative alternatives to driving alone.

Norton is grateful for the ability to convene and connect people to achieve equitable community outcomes through her work at the CTC and FASTLinkDTLA. She credits her Kennedy School experience with refining her ability to “deliver an ‘elevator speech’ to summarize complex issues while finding joy in collaboration, which is crucial to reaching beyond yourself while continuously learning from others.”

“We need to rebuild a very frayed society and a very unequal economy,” Norton says. Deeper communication and collaboration, she believes, are essential to restoring the fabric of society and a well-functioning democracy. They are also her personal keys to maintaining the discipline and the “fire in the belly” that are necessary for tackling seemingly intractable problems while savoring the community outcomes and infrastructure projects that result from cocreation.

“Real collaboration, real trust, and radical transparency,” she says, are needed to confront and address past harms and create a new mobility infrastructure that improves the quality of life for everyone. Whenever she is in the midst of challenges, Norton adds with a laugh, “I remind myself that I chose this, and I would not change my career or my life to work on anything else. Public policy is a passion that the Kennedy School really stokes for life. Every day is exciting.”



“There is not enough housing for people— from the very rich to the very poor.”

CHUCK FLACKS

CHUCK FLACKS MPP 1992

Homelessness: The stupid problem

THE SOLUTION SHOULD BE SIMPLE. “If you put someone in housing, you have ended their homelessness experience,” Flacks says. But of course it isn’t that easy. “Then the task is, how can we help someone stay housed? How can we help them to improve their life? It is a crime that in a country as well-off as ours, anybody should have to face homelessness.”

Flacks hasn’t always focused on homelessness. He started his career in community development in California, building on experience as a Kennedy School student working with the Dorchester Bay Economic Development Corporation. He saw the power of the ways in which business, workforce, and housing development interacted with skills creation and youth programs to strengthen entire communities. Flacks took those ideas back to California with him. For 20 years, he concentrated on workforce development and housing in San Diego and San Francisco.

Moving back to his hometown of Santa Barbara in 2015, however, Flacks found himself drawn to the issue of homelessness, which he knew was a significant problem. “It brings together a lot of different components of what I’ve been working on,” he says. “There’s obviously a poverty component. There’s a housing component, because the best way to end homelessness is to provide housing.” Flacks holds a master’s degree in counseling psychology from San Diego State University, and he recognizes that there is often a mental health component to homelessness as well. “I have spent a significant amount of time doing mental health work directly with homeless people,” he says. “That training and experience serve me well in the policy arena.”

Over the past few years, Flacks has held positions in a number of organizations focused on homelessness, including serving as the executive director of the Central Coast Collaborative for Homelessness—an organization focused on minimizing the impacts of homelessness in Santa Barbara County—and as director of programs for People Assisting the Homeless (PATH)—a group serving



Chuck Flacks at a hotel that will be converted to permanent housing in Goleta

JOSH EDELMAN

BY NORA DELANEY

cities in five regions throughout California.

Currently Flacks manages data products on the performance of the Los Angeles Homeless Services Authority (LAHSA), the largest homeless services provider in the country. The organization is sustained through various funding sources, the largest of which is Measure H, a Los Angeles County sales tax approved to fund homeless services and prevention. LAHSA has a staff of 600 people, including 300 community-outreach workers who connect people experiencing homelessness with housing services. Roughly 69,000 people in LA County sleep on the streets. “We have enough homeless people in LA on any given night to fill Dodger Stadium,” Flacks says.

Flacks also runs Flacks Seed Consulting, a firm that partners with funders, nonprofits, and governments tackling poverty and homelessness. In that work, he uses both his policy and his clinical knowledge. “One of my contracts is with the city of Goleta, which is a small city in Santa Barbara County,” he says, “and part of my role is to go out into the community and meet with homeless people and see how our programs are working.” He periodically goes on ride-alongs with police officers and visits encampments to talk to people experiencing homelessness. “It is nice to work at different levels,” he says, “to have the 30,000-foot view and also the direct one-to-one human interaction.”

Flacks recognizes the scale of the problem not just in LA or Santa Barbara but throughout California—a problem driven by a shortage of affordable housing. “We are suffering the pains of our own success as a state,” he says. “We love to brag about the size of our economy, but what we haven’t done is build enough housing and infrastructure to meet demand.”

He describes the housing problem as a strange market failure: “How could we possibly be literally millions of units short across all income levels?” A boom in single-family suburban development followed World War II, and the reaction to that development in the 1970s and 1980s resulted in denser cities. But, Flacks says, “what California didn’t do for the 21st century was to think about the next wave of community building. Now we are suffering the impacts at every economic level. There is not enough housing for people—from the very rich to the very poor.” One result, Flacks says, is “brain drain” and “youth drain”: Young people are leaving the state, unable to afford homes. Another result of this failed housing market? Homelessness.

Until the housing crisis is remedied in a meaningful way and with enough funding, Flacks believes, homelessness will continue to be a byproduct. The COVID-19 pandemic, perhaps surprisingly, brought a brief respite due to financial support from governments. “You had rental-

“Maybe we are waiting for a new generation of community leaders. How can we give them the economic tools to start pulling some of these levers to address homelessness?”

CHUCK FLACKS

assistance funds,” Flack says. “One of the concerns is that those funds are stopping. We are going to see homelessness ramp up again.”

For Flacks, solving “the stupid problem” requires not only financial support but also a well-constructed “pipeline out of homelessness”: outreach, shelters and interim housing, and, ultimately, permanent housing, made possible through rental assistance or the creation of housing units. Flacks cites Bakersfield as one California city that has succeeded in creating such a pipeline. The Housing Authority of Kern County, where Bakersfield is located, committed significant time and resources to the problem, resulting in both interim and permanent housing. Flacks

is interested in researching small communities in New England that have demographics similar to those of the California cities he works with, but far less homelessness and more housing available for those who need it.

Despite the seriousness and complexity of the problem, Flacks feels a measure of optimism. He believes in the promise of community-based solutions and is heartened by the enthusiasm he sees from some local leaders.

“I really do look at this problem through the lens of community development,” he says. “Maybe we are waiting for a new generation of community leaders. How can we give them the economic tools to start pulling some of these levers to address homelessness?”



DEMOCRACY IN HARD PLACES

As others study how democracy dies,
HKS Professor Tarek Masoud studies
how it can survive against all odds

BY JAMES F. SMITH

INDIA

NEAL HAMBURG | ARVIND YADAV/HINDUSTAN TIMES/GETTY IMAGES

PROFESSOR TAREK MASOUD'S CENTRAL OBSESSION is to figure out how countries that lack democracy can get it and keep it. And few groups of countries are more bereft of democracy than those he studies most closely—the Arabic-speaking, Muslim-majority countries of the Middle East.

Masoud, the Ford Foundation Professor of Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School and faculty director of the Belfer Center's Middle East Initiative, knows the conventional explanation for the lack of democracy in the Middle East: The countries there are underdeveloped and divided in ways that have kept democracy from emerging and thriving. But when the Arab Spring happened, in 2011, Masoud—then an assistant professor—was hopeful that the Arab people would beat the odds and manage to replace their dictatorships with democracies. Around that time, he established the Initiative on Democracy in Hard Places at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, which was focused on figuring out how to build democracy in authoritarian countries that, like the Arab countries, were poor, often ethnically divided, and with little history of participatory government. But when the Arab Spring ended in civil war and renewed dictatorship, Masoud felt the air drain out of the endeavor. “The outcomes of the Arab Spring were exactly what political scientists would have expected them to be,” he said. “After that abject failure, it was hard to be optimistic about getting democracy in hard places.”

In 2016, the arrival at HKS of Professor Scott Mainwaring, a leading scholar of democracy and someone Masoud describes as “a scholarly soulmate,” gave new life to the effort. Together, Masoud and Mainwaring forged an HKS course



“Scholars bring logic, rigor, and evidence. Practitioners bring experience and an understanding of the real world. We learn a lot when they are in dialogue.”

TAREK MASOUD



INDIA



EGYPT



TUNISIA



BRAZIL



ARGENTINA



TOGO

students who had been activists and practitioners around the world—or who wanted to be. Among them was Hainer Sibrian MPP 2020, a first-generation American born to Latin American immigrant parents, who gravitated toward Masoud. Sibrian, who studied for a year in Egypt before attending HKS, joined the State Department after graduating to begin a career as a U.S. diplomat. Speaking from Togo, where he was serving as a political and economic officer in the U.S. embassy, Sibrian said he frequently draws on lessons from his courses on democracy with Masoud. “[Tarek’s] classes almost always ended with a question,” Sibrian added. “It wasn’t like ‘Hey, we solved it today.’ But we definitely asked the questions that helped us get closer to understanding” what helped democracy survive and what undermined it. “And that was invaluable.”

To resolve their debate, Masoud and Mainwaring staged a major conference on democracy in 2019 and then coedited a book, *Democracy in Hard Places*, based on submissions to that conference. It offers nine case studies exploring why democracy has survived in countries as diverse and underdeveloped as India, Benin, and Timor-Leste and as unstable as Argentina and Moldova.

The book presents examples of democratic survival in “countries that nobody thought were good candidates for democracy because they were poor or ethnically fragmented or located in tough neighborhoods,” Masoud says. “Instead of throwing up our hands and concluding that some countries are just not good candidates for democratic governance, we thought what we really should be doing is thinking about how to meet that challenge. Is there something we can learn from the few democracies that emerged against great odds?”

called “Getting and Keeping Democracy,” which Masoud describes as a semester-long dialogue—sometimes a debate—about why some democracies succeed while others wither. “Scott is a passionate advocate of the notion that democracy emerges and survives only when leaders are committed to democratic ideals,” says Masoud. “Political scientists have a hard time with that kind of argument. We tend to think that democracy is the result of processes that unfold over a long period of

time. We think that countries become democratic only after they’ve ‘grown up’ and become industrialized and affluent. That was certainly my thinking after the Arab Spring.”

Masoud and Mainwaring’s course pulled in many HKS

“Do not give up on these places. Do not think that the story of democracy is over in any of them.”

TAREK MASOUD

A FOOT IN EACH WORLD

Masoud traces his passion for democracy, and particularly for democracy in the Arab countries, to a childhood spent between two worlds. He was born in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, to Egyptian parents who had immigrated in the 1970s. But he grew up in Saudi Arabia, where his parents had gone to work, and spent summers in their native Egypt. He came back to the United States at the age of 16 to finish high school in New Hampshire and then earned his undergraduate degree at Brown University. He has always grappled with the contrast between the open, democratic United States of his birth and the closed, authoritarian Arab world of his upbringing, and it drove him to major in political science and to pursue a career writing about and studying politics.

After graduation, Masoud interned at *Foreign Affairs* magazine under Fareed Zakaria, then the managing editor, and was later a segment producer for the *PBS NewsHour* with Jim Lehrer before seeking a doctorate from Yale University.

Once he landed at the Kennedy School, he quickly became involved in the Middle East Initiative, which was then part of the School’s Executive Education program. When Masoud became faculty director, in 2018, he began to bring in an array of visiting scholars and senior fellows who remain the backbone of the initiative today. “I like to force scholars and practitioners to talk with each other rather than just talking amongst themselves,” says Masoud. “Scholars bring logic, rigor, and evidence. Practitioners bring experience and an understanding of the real world. We learn a lot when they are in dialogue.”

Masoud’s work asks whether we can learn from the few democracies that emerged against great odds. Hainer Sibrian MPP 2020 (above, left), now serving as a U.S. diplomat in Togo, said that work helped him get closer to understanding what helped democracy survive and what undermined it.

Masoud’s other initiative, the Project on Democracy in Hard Places—which he describes as a labor of love—is smaller, but it follows a similar model of emphasizing the possibilities for learning that come from an ongoing dialogue between fellows who are hands-on players and visiting academicians. He also is chair of the Democracy, Politics, and Institutions area at the Kennedy School.

ARCHON FUNG, the McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government at HKS and director of the Ash Center, says, “Tarek’s leadership of the Democracy in Hard Places initiative is an important piece of our work at Ash and across the School to shed new insights into critical questions about how societies with fragile democracies—or little history with democracy at all—can develop and deepen the institutions and practices of political representation and democratic accountability.”

Mainwaring, who focuses on Latin American democracy, with its history of coups and attempts at democratic transition, left HKS in 2019 to return to the University of Notre Dame faculty, but he and Masoud continue to work closely together. “I think people who have experienced authoritarianism are often those best



Masoud's approach emphasizes the value of dialogue between fellows who are hands-on players and academics. Prominent Venezuelan opposition leader Freddy Guevara (above, at the microphones) and Mohamed Moncef Marzouki (opposite page at bottom), the first democratically elected president of Tunisia after the Arab Spring, are both visiting fellows with the Initiative on Democracy in Hard Places this year.

DEMOCRACY IN THEORY AND PRACTICE

One of the Hard Places visiting fellows this year is Mohamed Moncef Marzouki, who was the first democratically elected president of Tunisia after the Arab Spring. Tunisia has experienced a backslide, with the elected president suspending parliament and taking an authoritarian turn—similar to what happened in Egypt after its brief democratic stint.

The other Hard Places visiting fellow this year is Freddy Guevara, a prominent Venezuelan opposition leader who came to the Kennedy School in August 2022 after hiding out for three years in the Chilean embassy in Caracas, the Venezuelan capital. Guevara has been on the front lines of opposition to President Nicolas Maduro, whom the United States and many other countries regard as a dictator. Venezuela has suffered from years of relentless economic decline and emigration—while democratic foundations in neighboring Colombia and Brazil have held up.

Guevara says that after the exhaustion and stress of surviving amid turmoil and violence, often in hiding, and then living in exile for a year, coming to Cambridge for the Kennedy School fellowship afforded him a time of “reflection and regeneration.” He is auditing courses and joining study groups as he focuses in part on how civil resistance and democratic transition theories might be adapted in light of the everyday experiences of people like him in pro-democracy campaigns.

“The opportunity that Tarek gave me is invaluable,” he says. “It’s not an exaggeration to say that the months I’ve spent here

“We’ve got to remember that the average citizen still does want a more participatory form of government.”

TAREK MASOUD

have already changed my mind about many things. I am trying to use the resources here to reflect on not only the Venezuelan situation but also the struggle for democracy worldwide, and on what small ways I can contribute.”

THE BIGGER DEMOCRACY PICTURE

In 2021, Masoud was named a coeditor of the *Journal of Democracy*, a publication of the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, which is regarded as one of the premier forums for scholarship and analysis on democracy around the world. Masoud says that this new role has enabled him to step back and view the question of how to get and keep democracy through a much wider lens, by working with authors who are writing about these questions in a variety of contexts.

He points to an article in the October 2022 issue of the journal, titled “Why Ukrainians Are Rallying Around Democracy,” as emblematic of the insights to be gained from ranging widely across the world. “One of the things I learned from that article,” he says, “is the importance of democracy as an identity.” He explains: “Surveys show that Ukrainians are becoming more committed to democracy, and part of the reason for that seems to be that their great tormenter, Russia, is fundamentally nondemocratic. I think one of the silver linings of the great catastrophe of Russia’s invasion of Ukraine could be the galvanizing of a democratic identity in much of that region.”

Although Masoud’s work with the *Journal of Democracy* forces him to think beyond the borders of the Middle East, he still travels to that region four or five times a year. He serves on the governing board of the American University



of Cairo, a 100-year-old institution that he views as a rare beacon of liberal education in a region sorely in need of it. “By training leaders who understand and value freedom and popular participation in governance, institutions like the American University in Cairo and the Kennedy School can help bring democracy to hard places,” he says.

About the Arab countries—which he describes as some of the “hardest” places for democracy—he remains cautiously optimistic. His sense is that while many regard the Arab Spring as a failure, “we’ve got to remember that the average citizen still does want a more participatory form of government. And to the extent that the governments in the region don’t deliver it, we’re going to continue to see people agitate for change. So do not give up on these places. Do not think that the story of democracy is over in any of them.”



A POWERFUL LEVER

BY ROBERT O'NEILL

HUSSEIN FALEH/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES

A water buffalo is pictured across from the Nahr Bin Omar oil field in Iraq's southern province of Basra.

Reducing methane emissions—which are very bad for global warming but with a much shorter lifespan than carbon dioxide—can buy the world time to avoid catastrophic and irreversible global warming.

A Harvard team is building the tools to help policymakers do just that.

CARBON DIOXIDE IS THE USUAL VILLAIN in the climate change story. Emitted largely through the use of fossil fuels, it not only warms the planet now, but will continue to do so for more than a century while it remains in the atmosphere.

Less well known is the role that another greenhouse gas—methane—plays. About one third of global methane emissions occur naturally, mostly from wetlands. But two-thirds are caused by human activity, including from, oil and gas operations, coal mining, landfills, plus livestock and rice paddies. And because of its chemical composition, methane has a much higher global-warming potential than carbon dioxide does—up to 80 times as much—and is responsible for about a third of current global warming. But crucially, methane lingers in the atmosphere for much less time than carbon dioxide does—only about 10–20 years.

“What that means is that methane is responsible more for near-term climate change, but it also means that acting on methane can give us a short-term climate response,” says Daniel Jacob, the Vasco McCoy Family Professor of Atmospheric Chemistry and Environmental Engineering at Harvard University. “So, if we are trying to address climate change over the next decade or two, methane is a very powerful lever.”

Jacob and **ROBERT STAVINS**, the A.J. Meyer Professor of Energy and Economic Development at Harvard Kennedy School and director of the Harvard Environmental Economics Program and the Harvard Project on Climate

Agreements, are combining their respective natural sciences and public policy expertise on a project designed to help policymakers use that lever. For countries currently working to address climate change through a variety of international agreements, the Harvard team’s efforts will help policymakers more precisely determine their existing emissions and, from there, their proposed cuts.

“There is increasing recognition that in the shorter term, methane is exceptionally important,” Stavins says. “Now, if you look over a 100-year time horizon, which has been the traditional convention, then methane doesn’t look nearly as important. But you have to recognize that the emissions targets being used and considered right now are not for the year 2100 or 2050, they’re for 2030. And if you’re talking about from now until 2030, methane is incredibly important. That’s why there’s increasing recognition from so many participants in the process of the exceptional importance of methane.”



Robert Stavins moderating the panel session, “Using Satellite Observations of Atmospheric Methane to Advance Global Climate Change Policy” at COP 27.

Funded by the Harvard Climate Change Solutions Fund, which was started by the University in 2014 to support research and policy initiatives battling climate change, the project is using observations from recently deployed satellites to create a clearer picture of precisely where and how methane is being emitted.

At COP 27, the global climate change summit, which was held in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheikh in November, Jacob and Stavins publicized their work and offered their data to eager global policymakers. Over the coming year, the Harvard team will continue to gather and disseminate more data.

Data on methane emissions has historically been problematic. It was based exclusively on a bottom-up approach, which estimates emissions according to certain activity levels on the ground rather



Above: A gas pipeline constructed through sand dunes has been exposed by wind and movement of the desert sands in Gumdag, Turkmenistan. Below: The Sinai Peninsula dominates this north-looking, oblique view from space.

MOHAMED MAHER/AP IMAGES

ESA/NASA, REZA/GETTY IMAGES

125

Countries have agreed to help reduce global methane emissions by nearly a third from 2020 levels by 2030.

0.2°

These countries could reduce warming by 0.2 degrees Celsius by 2050 if they follow their pledge.

3%

An estimated 3% of methane traveling through oil and gas wells and pipelines escapes into the atmosphere.



“If we are trying to address climate change over the next decade or two, methane is a very powerful lever.”

DANIEL JACOB, *Vasco McCoy Family Professor of Atmospheric Chemistry and Environmental Engineering at Harvard University*



Above: Daniel Jacobs speaking in the panel session “Measuring up to the Methane Challenge” hosted by IPIECA at COP 27. Below: A man leads water buffaloes past a burning pile of trash in the village of Mit Rahina (close to the ruins of ancient Memphis) in the Badrashin district of Giza province, some 40 kilometres south of Egypt’s capital.

KHALED DESOUKI/AFP VIA GETTY IMAGES, MOHAMED MAHER/AP IMAGES

than on actual atmospheric data. So a country would count the head of cattle it has or the number of gas wells or coal mines, and estimate their methane emissions from there.

Jacob’s laboratory at Harvard’s John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences adds an invaluable layer of top-down information. His team takes data collected by satellites—the two most important ones were launched by Europe and Japan—that orbit the earth and collect data on methane concentrations in the atmosphere. Then, using inventories of methane emissions that countries provide, they calculate backwards to correct those

inventories and understand where the emissions actually originated, yielding a near real-time and spatially accurate map of the emissions.

“What we can do uniquely from satellite is look at recent changes in emissions, because the emission inventories that are coming out of individual countries are based on statistics that are typically be two or three years old,” Jacob says. “But if we’re going to try to change the emissions rapidly, and to verify those changes in emissions, the only way that I can think of is to do it from satellites.”

Stavins, whose work through the Harvard Project on Climate Agreements has made him an invaluable resource both to the United Nations body overseeing the Paris Agreement and to individual countries’ negotiating teams and NGOs, is working to help disseminate the new data and also receiving input from policymakers and relaying that back to Jacob’s team—indicating what data would be most helpful to particular countries, whether in terms of emissions by sector or geographic region or time scale.

The new, more accurate emissions information comes at a crucial moment as countries work to calculate their greenhouse gas reduction targets in accordance with international agreements and national policies, and as industry groups also work to reduce emissions. Under the Paris Agreement, signatories produce nationally determined contributions (NDCs), which are reduction pledges for pollutants including methane. Under the Global Methane Pledge, coauthored by the United States and the European Union in 2021,

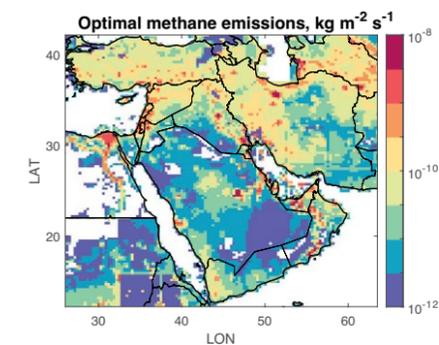
125 countries have now agreed to help reduce aggregate global methane emissions by nearly a third from 2020 levels by 2030. The countries participating in this pledge account for nearly 50% of global anthropogenic methane emissions and about two-thirds of global gross domestic product. If they maintain their pledges that could reduce warming by 0.2 degrees Celsius by 2050. And the Methane Guiding Principles, a voluntary initiative to reduce methane emissions from the natural gas supply chain, was launched in 2017 by some of the world’s largest energy companies, including BP, Shell, ExxonMobil, and Chevron.

The Harvard team has just completed its work on the Middle East and North Africa, a major region for oil and gas production. It is also working on estimates for North and South America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. The tropics are of particular interest as a place of rising methane emissions, Jacob says.

Because many of the emissions represent losses via gas and oil leaks, the team sees the fossil fuel sector as an area where improvements can be made at relatively low cost because it may also be in the producers’ own interests to do so. (Jacob’s team estimates that about 3% of methane traveling through producers’ wells and pipelines escapes into the atmosphere. The industry’s estimates are much lower, at around 0.3%.)

Jacob and Stavins hope the satellite observations research will continue to have substantive impacts on climate policy in the years ahead.

“We plan to contribute to continuous monitoring of emissions, detect changes in emissions, and point to the need for action,” Jacob says. “For example, if you have a flare that goes out, we should be able to see it from space, and then take action.”



2019 TROPOMI satellite observations of atmospheric methane concentrations and emissions for the Middle East and parts of North Africa.

Stavins says he is seeing enormous interest in the new data, and in methane emissions reductions, from both policymakers and industry groups. In fact, the current project is a precursor to a much larger and more ambitious University-wide initiative, funded by the Salata Institute for Climate and Sustainability. With Stavins as the principal investigator and Jacob as a co-principal investigator, the initiative will bring together 17 faculty members from across the University to collaborate on what Stavins characterizes as a “soup

to nuts” methane research and outreach effort. “An End-to-End, Collaborative Strategy to Reduce Global Methane Emissions.”

“We used to think about climate change as something that’s way off in the future. But now we think of climate change as associated with the floods in Pakistan, droughts in Africa, and forest fires in California. In other words, it’s here now and increasing over future years,” Stavins says. “And that means that a focus on the next few years is exceptionally important, and in the next 20 years, methane is incredibly important.”



EVENT

Where pandemics and policy meet

THE BUZZ



“Prevention is the basis for lasting peace, the measure to cut short any aggression, the measure to save many more lives than you would save by reacting.”

Ukrainian President **Volodymyr Zelenskyy**, speaking at a Forum in September



“The fundamental problem democracy is trying to solve is how to be a pluralist society.”

Maya Wiley, president of The Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights, at a Forum in September



“Our democracy is at stake. I’m going to stand up, whether my fellow Republicans like it or not. I’m going to tell it like it is.”

Maryland Governor **Larry Hogan**, speaking at a Forum in October



“Our institutions don’t defend themselves. January 6 could’ve been far worse if people in positions of authority hadn’t stood up.”

U.S. Rep. **Liz Cheney**, speaking at a Forum in October



“Public service needs the public, not just the professional politicians.”

Massachusetts Governor **Charlie Baker**, giving the 2022 Godkin Lecture in November



“It’s not about accusing people. This is about telling the truth, because that’s the only way to move forward.”

U.S. Rep. **Barbara Lee**, speaking at a Forum in October

MARTHA STEWART | HERBATCH/EMEKJIAN | GRAEME SLOAN/SIPA/USA/AP IMAGES

“SEVERAL DECADES AGO, when people asked me what my worst nightmare was, I said it would be an outbreak of a respiratory illness that’s brand-new, that’s easily spread, has a high degree of morbidity and mortality, and jumps from the animal reservoir to a human,” said Anthony Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases at the U.S. National Institutes of Health, when he spoke at a John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in November. “Right now, we are living through my worst nightmare.”

In the three years since the COVID-19 pandemic first gripped the world, Fauci has become a household name in the United States and beyond. He was frequently the face—often masked—of the scientific community as it struggled to guide the nation through the unprecedented health care crisis, which affected every facet of people’s lives. He defended the sometimes zigzagging path that public health officials laid out. “Science, which I’m sure most people in this audience know, is a self-correcting process,” Fauci explained. “You make a decision at a time X based on the data that you have. If the data changes, you have an obligation as a scientist to change what you’re saying.”

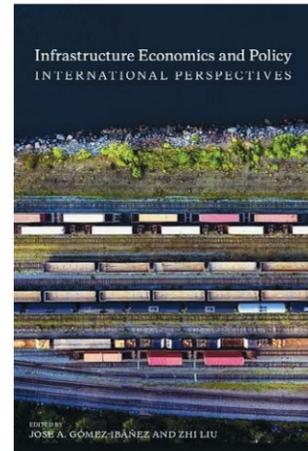
As for the gray area between public health and government, Fauci, who has served the past seven presidents, is very clear: “As a public health official, you absolutely have to stay out of the political realm. You can be involved in policy, but you have to be out of anything that’s political.”

Infrastructure Economics and Policy

International Perspectives

José Gómez-Ibáñez, Derek C. Bok Research Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy; Zhi Liu, Lincoln Institute of Land Policy

SUSTAINABLY BUILT AND FUNDED INFRASTRUCTURE is vital to making societies more resilient, equitable, and livable. The trillions



of public dollars being poured into infrastructure, especially in the wake of the pandemic, are testimony to that. In this edited volume, José Gómez Ibáñez, the Derek C. Bok Research Professor of Urban Planning and Public Policy and an expert in transportation, infrastructure, and development, and Zhi Liu, director of the China Program at the Lincoln Institute, present case studies and essays with a global and cross-sectoral perspective. Chapters cover land value capture and other

funding mechanisms; the role of infrastructure in urban form, economic performance, and quality of life, especially for disinvested communities; and other essential concepts, economic theories, and policy considerations. Several Harvard and Harvard Kennedy School scholars contribute, including Henry Lee, Akash Deep, and Edward Glaeser. The book offers an invaluable tool set for understanding infrastructure at a critical time.

Holding Together

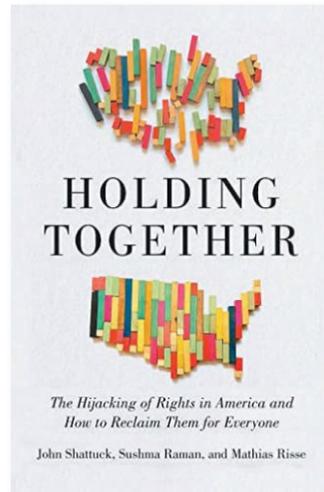
The Hijacking of Rights in America and How to Reclaim Them for Everyone

Sushma Raman, former executive director of the Carr Center; Mathias Risse, Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights, Global Affairs and Philosophy and director of the Carr Center; John Shattuck, former senior fellow at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy

IN A TIMELY EXPLORATION OF DEMOCRACY and disenfranchisement in the United States, the authors chronicle voting rights as they exist today, how the machinery of democracy has been used against itself, and what policies can be put into effect to ensure equal access to democracy for all. The book is written with data from a two-year study

of voting rights in the United States conducted by the Carr Center and directed by Shattuck, a former U.S. assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor.

Deftly blending history, politics, and current polling data, the volume is written for policymakers as well as the general public.



following “The Corrupting Influence of Money in Politics” is a call to authorize citizen funding of elections: “clean election laws.”

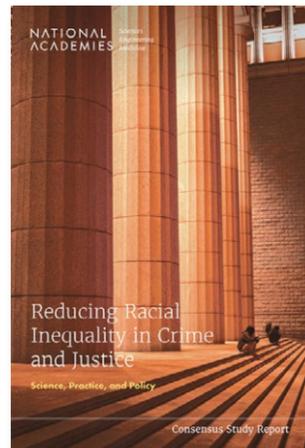
Various sections focus on the battle for voting rights, equal protection (a chapter on LGBTQ rights was written by the HKS faculty affiliate Timothy Patrick McCarthy), legal protection, the media, and privacy. Although each section outlines attacks on voting rights—including the influence of “dark money,” the lack of civic education, the use of intimidation, and the misuse of redistricting—each chapter ends with concrete policy recommendations to address those concerns. For example,

Reducing Racial Inequality in Crime and Justice

Science, Practice, and Policy

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, Ford Foundation Professor of History, Race and Public Policy; Bruce Western, Columbia University; Yamrot Negussie; Emily Backes

IN THIS BOOK-LENGTH CONSENSUS STUDY REPORT from the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine—building



on reports from past years—the authoring committee, including cochair Khalil Muhammad, presents research and recommendations to address the fact that people of color, especially Black, Latinx, and Indigenous people, are disproportionately harmed by the criminal justice system in the United States. The committee’s mandate is to “review research to explain why there are such large racial inequalities in crime,

victimization, and criminal justice involvement, and to offer evidence-based advice on reducing inequality.”

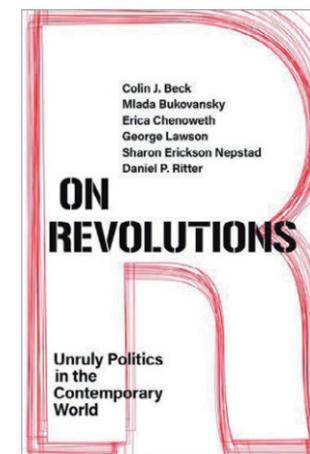
The comprehensive report considers both policy reforms to the criminal justice system itself and interventions outside the system to address racial inequality. In gathering information, the committee reviewed the existing academic literature and held listening sessions with people from historically marginalized groups who have had contact with the police, courts, and prisons to understand their firsthand experience. “Reducing racial inequality can reduce crime and improve safety,” the report finds. “Minimizing the overall harms from crime, including harms that result from society’s responses to crime, expands the toolkit of criminal justice responses beyond retribution, deterrence, and incapacitation to include victim restoration, prevention through improved community relations, addressing unmet needs, and cross-system coordination beyond criminal justice agencies.”

On Revolutions

Unruly Politics in the Contemporary World

Erica Chenoweth, Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment; Colin J. Beck, Pomona College; Mlada Bukovansky, Smith College; George Lawson, Australian National University; Sharon Erickson Nepstad, University of New Mexico; Daniel P. Ritter, Stockholm University

IN THIS VOLUME, the Kennedy School’s Erica Chenoweth and five other scholars outline an approach to revolutionary theory for the



21st century, both building on and departing from prior generations of thought. They consider how scholars look at—and theorize, research, and advise on—revolutions. The authors explain that 21st-century revolutions are different from their forebears and thus require new methods of study. For instance, contemporary struggles are less likely to be armed and more likely to rely on civil resistance techniques, to involve cross-class collaborations, and to form

around urban centers (such as Cairo’s Tahrir Square during the 2011 Egyptian revolution). They are also likely to have more-modest goals than earlier revolutions did—to be “small ‘r’ revolutions.”

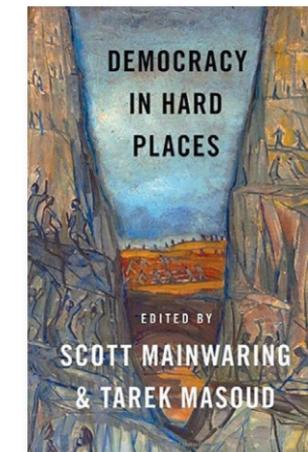
“Yet even as the model of practice for many revolutionaries has shifted,” the researchers write, “the model of revolutionary theory

for social scientists has not.” To address this concern, they consider new approaches, drawing on insights from fields including resistance studies, international relations, and the study of social movements. The authors also break down dichotomies that have traditionally defined research on this topic: whether revolutions are primarily political or social, violent or nonviolent, successful or failed, domestic or international. To advance revolutionary studies, they write, “we need to recognize the multifaceted nature of contemporary revolutions.” Their book provides fresh insights on how to think about revolutions around the world today.

Democracy in Hard Places

Tarek Masoud, Ford Foundation Professor of Democracy and Governance and director of the Middle East Institute; Scott Mainwaring, University of Notre Dame

THE TIDE OF DEMOCRACY that seemed to sweep over so much of the world after the end of the Cold War has been ebbing for some



time—not only from places where democracy had never been deeply ingrained in the political culture, but also from places where it seemed well established and, most frighteningly, from places where it was part of society’s genetic code. The hard populism in Poland and Hungary is an example, as is the worrying challenge to the smooth transition of power in the United States. The process—the expansion and then recession of democracy—has challenged scholars, causing them to rethink how democracy

might take hold but also offering new opportunities to understand what “democracy” means and where it can survive. Tarek Masoud has long focused on this phenomenon; he established the Democracy in Hard Places program at HKS with Scott Mainwaring (who was on the HKS faculty for some years before returning to the University of Notre Dame). In this edited volume, the two bring together a number of experts to look at places where democracy has managed to survive under sometimes difficult conditions—places such as Indonesia and East Timor, South Africa, Argentina, and the former Soviet republics Moldova and Georgia. Those examples, the authors contend, will help readers understand how democracy has been maintained and how it can perhaps be built elsewhere.

CLASSNOTES



Alumni gathered last fall at the HKS on the Road: New York event, which featured Deval Patrick, co-director of the Center for Public Leadership, at the Harvard Club of New York City.

1968

Michael Arnow MPA recently produced a program on preventive health titled “Más Vale Prevenir ... An Ounce of Prevention” with input from doctors and other specialists from Mexico, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Colombia, and the United States. Michael is now working on a documentary about Americans of differing political views, religions, ethnicities, and national origins who treat each other with respect, all within one family: his own.

1979

Dean Pineles MC/MPA, after a lengthy legal and judicial career both at home and abroad, has written a memoir titled *A Judge's Odyssey: From Vermont to Russia*.

1981

Donald O'Brien MC/MPA writes, “In retirement in New Hampshire’s Monadnock region, I served three years on the town planning board, ran for selectman, was defeated, ran again, and was elected. Subsequently as an ex officio member of the planning board and the Conservation Commission, I was able to get things done! I

spent my career as a broadcast journalist, but as an elected official I had a good deal of empathy for the politicians I had covered somewhat cynically in my working life.”

1982

Jon Laramore MPP writes, “**MPP 1982** classmates **Linda Niessen, Polly Smith, Monica Friar, David Hoffman,** and **Jon Laramore** had a mini-reunion in September in Indianapolis. Linda is dean of Kansas City University’s College of Dental Medicine in Joplin, Missouri; Polly is retired in North Carolina; Monica teaches math in Walpole, Massachusetts; David is consulting and semi-retired in Alaska; and Jon is executive director of a civil legal aid program in Indianapolis.”

1983 40TH REUNION

Evan Katz MCRP, assistant baseball coach at Manchester Essex Regional High School, fulfilled an early season promise to the team that if they made it to the semifinals of the championship he would write a 5,000-word story about the 2022 season on his baseball social media website “Baseball by the Sea.” The Hornets won the Division 4 championship and “No Earbuds in the Outfield” tells the impossible championship tale.

Isabel Liu MPP invests equity in infrastructure globally. Over the course of her executive and non-executive career, she developed from start-up five infrastructure investment businesses, including three billion-dollar funds. She is currently a board director of three London Stock Exchange-listed companies: Schroder Oriental Income Fund, Utilico Emerging Markets, and Gresham House Energy Storage Fund. Isabel also champions infrastructure users, having served at the Heathrow Consumer Challenge Board and Transport Focus. She completed an MBA at Chicago Booth and worked in Chicago and Hong Kong before moving to London. Fluent in Mandarin Chinese, she is married to Mak Lo (Manolo) Chiu.

Roy Watson MC/MPA writes, “Exciting times! Left working for USCIS. Now happily back as a private attorney doing select immigration cases. My work with the Immigration Service provided amazing insight! I am actively pursuing real estate investment focusing on targeted U.S. markets with large military populations. Best!! Recently left Boston Harvard Club after nearly 40 years in protest over ridiculous COVID rules that suspended all science. Would LOVE to hear from classmates. Hoping to start “landscaping” again (aka golf!). Daughter just graduated as a

physician assistant in NYC, and my son may use his top-secret security clearance to apply to the U.S. Department of State. Hope you are all healthy and well.”

1985

Jim Gruber MC/MPA writes, “Little did I realize back in 1984–85, at HKS, that my future would include working to counter attacks on the foundation of our democracy in the United States. I had an opportunity to lead democracy-building work in Eastern Europe in the 90s by applying Ron Heifetz’s leadership model. Today my wife, Patience, and I are committed to supporting and preserving our democratic norms and institutions through our work on our Democratic town and state committees. I am fortunate to have the inspiration of HKS in undertaking this calling.”

1987

Nadine Hack MC/MPA recently received the Catalyst for Change Award from the Shirley Chisholm Cultural Institute (SCCI). Nadine has delivered keynote speeches at FIFA Global Leaders, Business & Professional Women, and Barclay’s Bank. Her articles have appeared in many publications, including *Acquisition International* and *New York* magazine. She has also facilitated a leadership program for women at IMD.

1989

Barbara Devries MC/MPA is working part time at her business, Life Management Associates. Barbara married her longtime partner, Stewart, five years ago and is doing lots of traveling—New Guinea, Sulawesi, Bali, a safari in Tanzania, Egypt, Hungary, Israel, Portugal, and the list goes on. Barbara reports that a recent highlight was rafting down the Colorado River in May, and she is enjoying spending time with grandchildren.

1990

Peter Holmes MC/MPA came out of retirement to join the New York State (NYS) Department of Financial Services in the Virtual Currency Unit (VCU) as director of financial services programs. The VCU licenses, supervises, and examines entities wishing to engage NYS residents in cryptocurrency transactions. The team is expanding as befits commercial interest in this space. Peter is providing a broad view of how to structure responsible control and governance

at licensees to reflect the inherent risks in their activities and applicable law/regulation. “Great colleagues, substantial challenges.”

Jonathan Duke-Evans MC/MPA has published his first book, *An English Tradition? The History and Significance of Fair Play* (Oxford University Press). The book examines the idea of fair play from the ancient world to the 21st century and, with comparisons from the USA and many other cultures, asks whether the boast that England is the land of fair play survives scrutiny.

John Rakis MC/MPA writes, “I am happy to announce my marriage to Sally Findley, which took place in Manhattan on October 15. Both of us lost our prior spouses to cancer and we were very fortunate to have found each other nearly four years ago. Sally is a professor emerita at Columbia University, where she taught at the School of Public Health for more than 30 years. Aside from her many academic achievements, she has sung in Carnegie Hall, is an expert cross-country skier and kayaker, and a very talented chef. We look forward to sharing many adventures in the years to come!”

—
“Little did I realize back in 1984–85, at HKS, that my future would include working to counter attacks on the foundation of our democracy in the United States.”

Jim Gruber MC/MPA 1985

1991

Julie Ames MC/MPA was named one of 50 top Leaders of Influence in life science in San Diego, California, by the *San Diego Business Journal*. Julie currently serves as vice president of Biocom California.

1992

Jim (Dimitri) Kales MPP is the recently named CEO of Braille Institute of America in Los Angeles, and is the seventh person to lead the 103-year-old organization. Braille Institute helps more than 20,000 children and adults annually, through a broad range of educational and social services. Programming is offered at seven Southern California centers and hundreds of community outreach locations, and via

online services across the United States and beyond. For the past 15 years, Jim served as CEO of Aspire, one of the Midwest’s leading nonprofits serving people with disabilities. He is excited to return to his California roots and reunite with many HKS classmates there.

1993 30TH REUNION

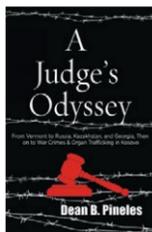
Xavier Briggs MPA went on public service leave from the MIT faculty to serve for six years as vice president of the Ford Foundation, overseeing its inclusive economies and markets work in the United States and globally. Last year, he moved back to Washington, D.C., and joined the Brookings Institution as a senior fellow.

Susan Hammel MPP writes, “Doing good and doing well: oxymoron or not? This is the question of my lifetime and I’m thrilled to share news of the do good well fund we designed and launched with RBC-GAM and the Minnesota Council on Foundations five years ago. The Minnesota Impact Investing Initiative now totals \$112 million in capital invested in low-income communities across the state. Money that used to be invested in Wall Street is now home. Imagine if everyone invested with as much care as they eat/shop/vote?”

Sally Tyler MC/MPA writes, “My book, *The Durian Chronicles: Reflections on the US and Southeast Asia in the Trump Era*, was published in October. Check out the Southeast Asia Globe story (southeastasiaglobe.com/the-durian-chronicles-explores-political-dissonance-as-a-link-between-the-u-s-and-southeast-asia). Still in D.C., but happy to talk about the work with groups elsewhere via Zoom or otherwise. Looking forward to seeing classmates IRL in 2023!”

1994

Mary McNeil MC/MPA just published her first book, *Century’s Witness: The Extraordinary Life of Journalist Wallace Carroll*. Carroll, although largely unknown today, was among the greatest journalists of the 20th century. With a commitment to balanced and accurate reporting, his legacy is worth noting today by working journalists as well as an often skeptical news-reading public. Donald Graham wrote, “Only after reading this wonderful book did I know how great Carroll was. Anyone who cares about the values of daily journalism should read it.” Mary launched the book Sept. 1 at Politics and Prose in Washington, D.C. For info and to order the book, go to marylmcneil.com.



Dean Pineles MC/MPA 1979

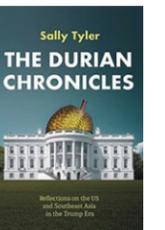


The Green Energy Transition
 November 3, 2022

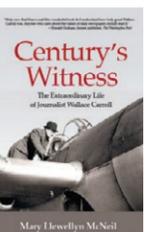
“[I]t is very hard for me to understate the joy and happiness and incredible optimism I have with the Inflation Reduction Act. It is a tremendous investment in clean energy, but also the longevity of it and the stability of it is incredible, because from a planning perspective, we can now really make longer-term investments.”

Molly Sterkel MPP 1999

ken.sc/atp



Sally Tyler MC/MPA 1993



Mary McNeil MC/MPA 1994

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS

Wiener Conference Calls feature Harvard Kennedy School faculty members who share their expertise and respond to callers' questions. Visit the online archive at hks.harvard.edu/wiener-conference-calls.

1995

Patsy Welsh MPA writes, "In June I will celebrate 25 years with the U.S. Small Business Administration, where I serve as a public affairs specialist. For many years I worked out of the SBA Cleveland, Ohio, district office, but during the pandemic my role was expanded with an additional detail to the SBA Columbus district office. I have recently relocated to Columbus, where I have family, and continue to do public affairs for all of SBA's Ohio offices. I would welcome hearing from other KSG alumnae."

1997 25TH REUNION

Mami Terai MC/MPA writes, "I started to practice law in 2006. My main practice areas are immigration and general corporate law. I am an active member of the American Immigration Lawyers Association, where I have served on the Board of Publications for nine years and been a member of the Distance Learning Committee. Given how controversial immigration has become in the United States, it is fascinating to be involved in this policy area. Both my background working for the Japanese government and my time at HKS have shaped my approach to immigration law. I recently started my own YouTube channel which discusses topics around immigration law: youtube.com/channel/UCdOexjdzRTB-SxBlgr1KYg."

1998

Dawn Doak MPP writes, "I recently celebrated 20 years with the FBI, specializing in behavioral analysis for the national security division (like the show "Criminal Minds," but for spies, not serial killers!). Over the past two decades, I've been honored to consult on the FBI's most complex (and sometimes most notorious) counterintelligence, counterespionage, and counterproliferation investigations. Also, this winter I'm launching The Psych Project, a

thought collaborative exploring the intersection of national security and psychology."

Jon Fernandez MPP, having recently completed 10 years as superintendent of the Guam Department of Education, became the longest-serving GDOE super-intendent in department history and also the longest-tenured state superintendent in the nation at the time of his resignation on July 15 this past year. For family reasons, Jon and his family have relocated to Arizona, where they plan to be for at least the next five years. "I am enjoying a little time off and then will begin looking at the next career adventure in the Tucson/Phoenix area (or beyond if needed). I'm looking forward to meeting any alumni in the area!"

Jason Kaune MPP completed eight years serving on an elected public school board (grades K-8) and was recently appointed chair of the American Bar Association Standing Committee on Election Law, a bipartisan entity committed to improving elections. Next spring he will teach as a visiting lecturer on political ethics and issues for organizations at Yale School of Management.

—
"Both my background working for the Japanese government and my time at HKS have shaped my approach to immigration law."

Mami Terai MC/MPA 1997

2000

Christine Casatelli MC/MPA is a lecturer in MIT's Comparative Media Studies department, teaching in its Writing, Rhetoric, and Professional Communication program. Prior to her role at MIT, she was editorial project director and chief editor for *Explore GBH*, which is the monthly member magazine for GBH public media in Boston.

Cynthia Giles MPA recently published *Next Generation Compliance: Environmental Regulation for the Modern Era* (Oxford University Press, 2022). The book dispels two myths: that compliance with environmental rules is good and that enforcement is responsible for making compliance happen. The book explains how to build better compliance into regulations—particularly rules to address climate

change—and avoid the compliance calamities that plague many environmental rules today.

Jerome Holmes MC/MPA assumed the position of chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit on October 1, 2022, for a seven-year term.

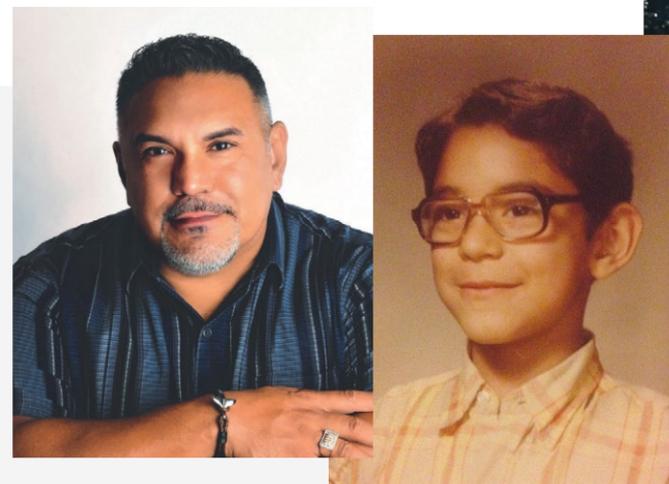
Karen Kalish MC/MPA has moved to Seattle! She writes, "I'm healthy (at 77!) and want to spend my next chapter in a blue state with water and mountains. I love being near nephews and favorite cousins and friends, including **Adair Dammann MC/MPA!** I have a condo near the Space Needle, Chihuly Museum, and the Olympic Sculpture Park. I see Mount Rainier (when it's out) as I open my eyes every morning and sunsets from my office. Glorious, and I have a guest room and bath overlooking Puget Sound. Come visit!"

Jeff Katz MC/MPA writes, "Greetings, Kennedy School friends. After 20 years of various consulting roles with nonprofit organizations, including serving 13 times as an interim executive director, I have shifted my consulting exclusively to doing executive searches. I recently led the search for the CEO of the Edward M. Kennedy Institute for the United States Senate and am now leading the search for the head of the museum at the National Baseball Hall of Fame. I live in Cambridge, within walking distance of the Kennedy School. If you are ever in the area, reach out and let me know. Happy to organize a get-together with our local colleagues."

Tim Mathern MC/MPA, now the longest-serving state senator in North Dakota, is on the ballot again. First elected in 1986, Tim says he went to Harvard after his first 14 years in the Senate in order to do a better job for the remainder of his career. He recalls Frank Hartmann's course, "Management of Self," as the most consequential in his public service career. Tim notes he has experienced a worldwide move toward individualism in people's philosophy coupled with autocracy in governments. His basic work is assuring the common good.

2001

Josiah Brown MPP writes, "It's been three years since I launched Connecticut Court Appointed Special Advocates, a new affiliate of the national CASA movement for children. Working with those in foster care and at the prior, preventative stage of protective supervision, we are already serving the two largest child-protection courts in the state.



Advancing Equitable Development

Jesse Leon MPP 2001

His recently published memoir, *I'm Not Broken (No Estoy Roto)*, begins and ends in Harvard Yard on a humid June day more than 20 years ago, when Jesse Leon MPP 2001 graduated from the Kennedy School. Commencement serves as an apt metaphor for a story about resilience and rebirth, opening and later chapters in a life that at times feels too full—of both tragedy and promise—to belong to a single person.

The summer before he was to attend Harvard, while on a research fellowship in Cuba, Leon met a Yoruba priestess who told him, "You were supposed to be the priest of your family...but a trauma took place that changed your life's course."

The studious middle child of indigenous working-class Mexican immigrants, Leon's path was changed irrevocably when he was 11 by a terrifying encounter in which a giftshop owner molested him in the back room of his shop, which led to years of sexual abuse, child prostitution, drug addiction, and homelessness. But he survived. He graduated from the University of California, Berkeley, and Harvard, and went on to oversee multimillion-dollar grant-making portfolios for several foundations; manage \$1 billion in public-sector investments, including for the first LGBT senior housing development in Florida; build thousands of affordable housing units; and establish his own social-impact consulting firm, Alliance Way.

Established during the pandemic, Alliance Way helps foundations and impact investors maximize positive community impact and provides racial equity, diversity, and inclusion (REDI) training and coaching. One of Leon's current projects is advising the Walton Family Foundation on a grant-making and investment strategy for regional workplace housing in northwest Arkansas.

His improbable path from the streets to high-impact consulting work, Leon says, should not be read as the tale of "an individual pulling himself up by his bootstraps." He writes that his

success was "the product of a network, of the efforts of many people," including family and friends who never gave up on him; Narcotics Anonymous sponsors; admissions and financial aid officers who, he felt, "were all conspiring so that students of color would succeed"; Kennedy School classmates who took him under their wing; and professors who gave him opportunities to apply his studies to real-world projects.

In particular, he credits a Policy Analysis Exercise with Joseph Kalt for introducing him to corporate social responsibility work. During that project, he worked with the Hopi Nation to design a holistic land-use strategy to test wireless satellite technology. Leon created a telemedicine, tele-education, and environmental cleanup and remediation plan for the Hopi community. "I didn't know at the time that the Kennedy School was training me to do a type of development work that didn't yet exist," he says.

That work in equitable development connects the environmental and racial-justice movements to create growth that addresses climate change, benefits vulnerable local communities, and builds inclusive economies. "Issues of race and inequality must be addressed up front rather than as add-ons in policy making," he says.

What Harvard taught Leon was how to use numbers to tell a story—in order to marshal resources for the communities that need them—and to tell it in a way that includes the communities being served. "If my mom doesn't understand the story I am trying to tell, then I haven't been effective," he says. "It's my great hope to use everything that I've lived through to serve individuals and communities in need, in ways that are gender-affirming and multilingual."

In telling his own story, Leon has realized the unimaginable: As the priestess foresaw so many years ago, he has become a "priest" of sorts, mediating between different worlds—the public and the private sector, underresourced communities and elite institutions, the past and the present—and bringing his many lived experiences to bear.





Championing Equity and Inclusion in the Coffee Industry

Phyllis Johnson MC/MPA 2015

After more than 10 years in corporate America as a scientist and then a buyer, Phyllis Johnson MC/MPA 2015 felt a gnawing emptiness. “I had a nice home, everything I needed,” she says. “Yet I thought there had to be more to life—to work—than generating revenue.” During a business trip, an entrepreneur introduced her to Kenyan coffee beans at a shop that imported items from East Africa. Something clicked: She was immediately drawn to the idea of working in the coffee industry. It felt like “going home,” she says.

Over the past 23 years, Johnson has risen to become a leader in the industry, working to create a sustainable business built on relationships of fairness and equity through BD Imports, the business she founded with her husband, **Patrick Johnson MC/MPA 2015**. But her quest has continued, and she now aims not only to bring the joy of coffee to consumers while advancing underresourced communities, but also to change the industry.

The youngest of eight children, Johnson grew up working on a cotton farm in rural Arkansas. “Even though my family owned land, we worked on farms owned by white proprietors who came to check on the work,” she says. “What I learned in coffee is that this [segregated structure] exists all over the world.”

Coffee has complex ties to slavery and colonialism and is still marked by systemic inequalities. Although it is among the oldest and largest commodity industries, and the global coffee market is valued at \$460 billion as of 2022, some studies point out that a coffee farmer’s share of a \$4 latte might be only 3 cents.

From the start, Johnson has focused on helping those most often overlooked in the industry to access information, opportunities, and training—both in her company’s work sourcing beans from local producers in Africa and Latin America and in her leadership roles with the International Women’s Coffee Alliance, an organization that aims to empower women in coffee communities worldwide. Her efforts to establish IWCA chapters in East Africa have been featured in a case study at Oxford University and Harvard Business School.

It was while speaking at HBS that Johnson was encouraged to apply to the Kennedy School. Her experience there has “helped me look at my past as well as the future,” she says. “Why Are So Many Countries Poor, Volatile, and Unstable?” and other courses shifted her thinking from “seeking the right answers to asking the right questions” and taught her how to collaborate effectively with unlikely partners in a common quest.

As one of only a few women of color to serve on the board of the National Coffee Association of America, Johnson often wondered what it would take to bring more diverse perspectives into the room. Diversity initiatives, which she felt called upon to lead, would percolate from time to time and then dissipate. When, after the murder of George Floyd, the racial reckoning of 2020 occurred, she wrote an open letter exhorting the industry to examine its outcomes rather than rest on a few diversity hires.

The extraordinarily positive response compelled Johnson to create the Coffee Coalition for Racial Equity, whose mission is to build pathways for Black Americans to advance in the industry. She has brought together a board of coffee professionals from around the world with diverse backgrounds and speaking multiple languages—all “trying to move the needle” toward greater equity and inclusion.

When she sips her morning brew, Johnson thinks of the many people who produced it. Every cup connects her—connects all of us—to many lives, to the seeds of countless hopes and dreams. Johnson’s purpose, she has come to realize, is to honor those hopes and help create paths for fulfilling those dreams.

Connecticut CASA is applying the proven CASA approach to improve outcomes for young people who have experienced abuse/neglect. Our aim: safe, permanent homes—with family members whenever possible—where youth are more likely to thrive. Our funding is a blend of public dollars, foundation grants, and individual donations.”

Jose Rosenberg MC/MPA writes, “I have for the past five years been the representative at the United Nations of the Vienna-based Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization. My office is in New York at UN headquarters. Come visit. My wife, Maria Cristina, and I were married while I attended KSG. We are each day more in love. Our son, Juan, who was in the womb while we were there, just turned 21 and is a senior at IE University in Spain. Our daughter, Anabelle, 17, will soon head to college herself. The years have flown by. Fortunately, in a beautiful, gentle way. The KSG Harvard experience remains with me always. Saludos, Jose.”

Xenia Wickett MPP has launched an executive coaching and international advisory business, Wickett Advisory. Xenia supports senior executives to achieve their career and organizational goals faster with

better informed, more confident, and less stressful decision making. See wickettadvisory.com for more information.

2002

Sumaira Chowdhury MPA/ID recently moved to Muscat, Oman, as the UNICEF representative and is keen to connect with alumni in the region.

Andrew Leigh MPA has been an Australian parliamentarian since 2010. Following the election of the Labor Government in May 2022, he was appointed assistant minister for competition, charities and treasury. Andrew’s latest books are *What’s the Worst That Could Happen? Existential Risk and Extreme Politics* and *Fair Game: Lessons from Sport for a Fairer Society and a Stronger Economy*. A keen runner, he recently completed all six World Marathon Majors in under three hours. Andrew lives in Canberra with his wife, Gweneth, and their three boys, Sebastian (15), Theodore (13), and Zachary (10).

Edie Rubinowitz MC/MPA was promoted to full professor at Northeastern Illinois University, a Hispanic Serving Institution in Chicago. She spent a recent sabbatical

reporting solutions-journalism stories for Chicago Public Radio, WBEZ. She and her husband, Scott, have a 12-year-old son, Max.

2006

Sean Carberry MC/MPA writes, “I recently returned from a 14-month hiatus from D.C. that I spent writing a memoir of my journey to become a war correspondent. *Passport Stamps: Searching the World for a War to Call Home* will be released by Madville Publishing in 2023. In the meantime, I am now managing editor of *National Defense* magazine and busy reconnecting with classmates and colleagues in the city while continuing to write about foreign policy and international affairs on Substack.”

2007

Paula Castillo MPP is a certified mindfulness coach focused on helping professionals increase work-life balance, manage work-related stress, change careers, and increase happiness at work. Paula offers a free 30-minute discovery call via her website, paulacastillo.co.

2008 15TH REUNION

Moushumi Khan MC/MPA writes, “I am humbled and thrilled to share that I have just joined as the U.S. alternate executive director at the Asian Development Bank working with the inspiring fellow HKS alum, U.S. Executive Director Ambassador **Chantale Wong MC/MPA 1988**, and her team! It will be an amazing opportunity to support the Biden administration’s priorities in Asia as the ADB tackles some of Asia’s most pressing issues.”

Emilian Papadopoulos MPP and **Natalie Colbert MPP** moved back to Cambridge, Massachusetts, in summer 2021 when Natalie became executive director of the Belfer Center. Emilian continues to advise CEOs on how to protect critical infrastructure from cyber attacks, and is taking a hiatus from teaching cybersecurity at Georgetown while in Boston. Most importantly, the couple welcomed their first baby boy, Rémynaux (Rémy) Apollo Papadopoulos, in August 2022. “See you at Reunion, and please let us know if you come through Boston in the meantime!”

Ben Renda MPA worked for 15 years at Google/YouTube building out the trust and safety teams at YouTube as well as the customer service organization, running operations for Google’s phone service as COO-Google Fi, and leading Google’s

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ANDREW THOMAS LEE

Alumni

Talk Policy



After Dobbs: The Future of Women’s Health
December 13, 2022

“We already have a maternal mortality crisis in the United States. An American today is 50% more likely to die in childbirth than her own mother was ... [I]f you’re Black, you’re three or four times more likely to die ... [T]he *Dobbs* decision alone may increase maternal mortality by as much as 20 percent.”

— **Neel Shah MPP 2009**

ken.sc/atp



— **Sean Carberry MC/MPA 2006**



Algorithmic Decision-making and Fairness

“When we’re designing algorithms the same way that when we’re designing policies, we have to carefully consider what the impacts are of our design choices and not simply apply these heuristics of saying, ‘Well, my algorithm doesn’t consider race and so therefore the policy that results from using this algorithm must be just.’”

Sharad Goel

HKS Professor of Public Policy

product policy teams. Ben then dove into the race to define the metaverse by joining Roblox in June to run its trust and safety operations teams.

2009

Bruce Haupt MPP writes, “I am in Houston with three little girls that are my world. Now consulting for Alvarez & Marsal in the public sector and education practice...first project is outcome-based procurement work with Houston Independent School District! Say hello if you’re ever in Texas!”

2013 10TH REUNION

Jeanne Dietsch MC/MPA was named one of 50 Women in Robotics You Need to Know 2022, by Women in Robotics. Jeanne’s company, MobileRobots, opened up the field of mobile robotics and AI to many more people. MobileRobots made the first sturdy, affordable, programmable platform. Instead of being locked away in grad students’ offices in elite universities, the company’s Pioneer robot drove the hallways and RoboCup soccer fields in colleges and labs worldwide. Eventually, its descendants worked in an Intel Mask Fab plant, tire factories, and more. The company was purchased by Adept Technologies, which is now owned by Omron.

Mike McMahon MPP and Megan Parilla were married on Oct. 1, 2022. The happy couple comfortably resides in Evanston, Illinois.

2014

Michael Koehler MPA returned to Harvard as an adjunct lecturer at the Graduate School of Education, where he teaches the Adaptive Leadership component in the Doctor of Education Leadership Program with Candice Crawford-Zakian and Lisa Lahey. He also launched a podcast called “On The Balcony,” where he discusses HKS Professor Ron Heifetz’s seminal book *Leadership Without Easy Answers* with practitioners like **Rosi Greenberg MPP 2018**, **Mitzi Johnson MC/MPA 2014**, **Jevan Soo Lenox MPP 2011**, **Radha Ruparell MPA**, **Ian Palmquist MC/MPA 2012**, **Lauren Lyons MPP 2013**, **Professor Kimberlyn Leary MPA 2009**, **Prime Minister George Papandreou (IOP Fellow 2012)**—and the author himself.

2016

Ellen Gallagher MC/MPA started a new role as chief program officer at Tech Goes Home (TGH) in May 2022. TGH is a Boston-based nonprofit that empowers communities to access and use digital tools to overcome barriers and advance lives. Ellen is enjoying being back in the nonprofit sector and working on digital equity. Prior to this, she spent five years on staff at HKS in the Taubman Center and the Center for Public Leadership. Ellen continues to live in Cambridge with her family.

2018 5TH REUNION

Nicholas Butts MPA and **Jenina Soto MPA** were married at the Boston Public Library in June 2022, with their rehearsal dinner hosted at the Harvard Faculty Club. Their close friend and classmate **Alex Choi MPA** officiated at the wedding. Jenina and Nicholas met at HKS and remain closely involved with the School, both serving on the HKS Fund’s Executive Council and on boards of various SIGs and alumni groups. Jenina is the general manager of Northern California for DoorDash, and Nicholas leads partnerships and business development at the artificial intelligence start-up Faculty.

2021

Joana Ortiz MC/MPA writes, “In May 2015, I moved to Boston from Austin, Texas, for an opportunity at a nonprofit. Within a few months of moving there, I met my

now-fiancé, Chris, who had also moved to Cambridge in May from Calgary to begin his PhD at GSAS/SEAS. Over six years in Boston and an MC/MPA and PhD later, we returned to my hometown of Austin. I have since accepted the position of president and CEO of the Austin Young Chamber of Commerce—a 501(c)6 dedicated to developing young professionals and the Central Texas economy. Chris and I will marry on February 19, 2023. We’re proud Harvard alumni! Please come visit us and we’ll give you all the breakfast tacos!”

Rika Tsunoda MPA writes, “I finally came back to campus for the first time in a year to attend in-person Commencement. I was so grateful to have a reunion with my friends from the Class of 2021. After graduating from HKS, I moved back to Japan, where I’m a deputy-director at the Japanese government’s Digital Agency. I’m currently working on government regulatory reform to promote digital government. On top of that, I started serving as the Japan chapter lead of the HKS Women’s Network and Harvard W3D. I hope to reconnect with those who have shared interests around the world! Japan has fully reopened its borders to independent international travelers. If you have a chance to come visit Japan, let me know!”

—
“I finally came back to campus for the first time in a year to attend in-person Commencement. I was so grateful to have a reunion with my friends from the Class of 2021.”

Rika Tsunoda MPA 2021

2022

Majd Steitieh MPP writes, “Hi everyone, I’ve moved to LA since leaving HKS and although I moved to pursue a career in consulting, I’m spending a lot of my time writing songs and a script! I guess the Hollywood bug got me! No idea if I’ll ever want to publish any of this stuff, but if I do, you were the first to know :)”

Powering More Effective and Accountable Government

Zachary Bookman MPA 2007

In 2012, Zac Bookman MPA 2007 was serving as an advisor on the International Security Assistance Forces’ Anti-Corruption Task Force, living in a shipping container in Kabul, when he cofounded OpenGov. Bookman was working with U.S. Army Lieutenant General H.R. McMaster and regional government officials to build Afghanistan’s institutional foundations for democracy and reverse systematic corruption.

“It was an intense time,” says Bookman. “We’d work all day to help build transparent institutions, and I’d spend nights reading about the history, politics, and cultures at play. It underscored the importance of ensuring effective and accountable government at home.”

Upon returning to the United States later that year, Bookman left a promising career in law and foreign policy to focus on building OpenGov. In the wake of the financial crisis of 2008–2009, three California cities had declared bankruptcy (and 12 were on the verge). Bookman and his cofounders were curious: “With taxes and other revenues still flowing, how is it possible for a city—for three cities—to go bankrupt?”

The team discovered that in addition to political, incentive, and other problems, local governments were hamstrung by antiquated and costly “green screen” technology that kept departments siloed and staffers buried in paperwork. “They were using 30-year-old systems delivered on 20 disks that cost millions of dollars,” Bookman says. The State of California was using an accounting system that ran on COBOL, a programming language popular in the 1960s.

The OpenGov team reasoned that the oldest and most important industry—government—would benefit from modern, cloud-based software built specifically for its needs. “It was a tremendous market opportunity, but also we saw a threat to the health and functioning of our communities,” says Bookman.

When the City of Cupertino, California, adopted OpenGov to streamline workflows and increase the accuracy of budget planning, officials went from being unable to answer basic questions posed by their council and residents to enabling the public to see and engage with 10 years of budget data in real time. In the process, the city also unexpectedly uncovered an \$800,000 embezzlement scheme.



Over the past decade, OpenGov has grown to nearly 700 employees and a “unicorn” valuation. As one of the leading enterprise software providers to state and local governments, it offers budgeting, permitting and licensing, procurement, asset management, and financial management software to more than 1,600 cities, counties, state agencies, school districts, and special districts (including the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which uses the software to run all its building and inspectional services).

From the start, OpenGov has had an ambitious vision: to bring the cloud to government and ensure that public leaders and administrators have the best solutions to meet their needs and serve their communities.

Bookman’s blend of entrepreneurship, innovation, and public service embodies the lessons and ethos of his time at the Kennedy School. Part of the inaugural class of Zuckerman Fellows, he pursued a JD at Yale Law School and an MPA at HKS. Harvard offered exposure to campus speakers such as Jack Welch, Barack Obama, and David Petraeus and the space and inspiration to “dream and think big,” he says. “It was not just learning specific skills through courses but setting high expectations and [discovering] the art of the possible.”

Bookman’s leadership at OpenGov, along with his experience on a Fulbright fellowship studying corruption in Mexico and serving as a law clerk for a federal judge, has taught him that it is “the small, everyday interactions that can erode or build trust in government.” Thus modernizing government can help achieve a truly great possibility: It can renew trust in our democracy.

PORTRAIT COURTESY OF ZACHARY BOOKMAN



Advancing a Sustainable Ocean Economy

Torsten Thiele MPA 1987

According to Torsten Thiele MPA 1987, ocean sustainability may be the defining challenge of our time. “Human survival and wellness” are inextricable from the health of the ocean, he says. “Over 95% of life takes place underwater. Our total earth system is reliant on it.”

The ocean is a powerful climate regulator, buffering much of the negative impact of climate change. It generates more than half of the world’s oxygen, absorbs the most carbon and excess heat, regulates temperature, produces rain and wind, and is a rich source of new medicines. But marine areas today face unprecedented threats from overfishing, acidification, pollution (there will be more plastic than fish in the ocean by 2050), deoxygenation, and climate change—all of which has led to sometimes irreparable habitat and biodiversity loss. Amplifying the problem is a lack of regulations and monitoring in waters outside national jurisdiction—a governance issue the United Nations is currently working to resolve.

Since 2014, Thiele has been advancing ocean-conservation solutions, particularly in ocean finance, through his nonprofit Global Ocean Trust, which aims to provide cross-sector perspectives and design innovative solutions to ocean challenges. Leveraging more than two decades in the finance industry, he pioneered the concept of a “global ocean bank for

sustainability and development”—an esoteric idea that is gaining traction in the movement for a sustainable ocean economy. The bank would support efforts to restore and protect marine ecosystems, helping to harness the potential of the ocean to solve global sustainability issues such as climate change, food security, biodiversity, and uneven economic development.

Thiele has become a leading figure in ocean finance, serving as an advisor to numerous coalitions and task forces, including the High Seas Alliance (an ocean governance group), the Deep Ocean Stewardship Initiative (a marine research group), and the Ocean Risk and Resilience Action Alliance (a cross-sector group of financial institutions and NGOs focused on protecting small island states). Once a novelty, “blue finance” is now a standard part of discussions about marine sustainability. It encompasses a growing range of funding vehicles, often blending public and private investment. Blue bonds, for instance, may package together several loans to pay for projects that protect marine health, such as sustainable coastal tourism, sustainable fishing, aquaculture, and marine renewable energy (offshore wind and floating solar panels).

For Thiele, creating effective public-private partnerships is crucial. Achieving a sustainable ocean economy is a trillion-dollar problem that will require significant private-sector investment to supplement taxpayer funds.

“Reconciling conservation with profit is not just possible but necessary,” Thiele said in a recent podcast. “It’s even more necessary for the financial folks, because they need to reconcile their investments with their long-term impact on the planet.”

Working at the intersection of academia, public policy, and finance, Thiele credits the Kennedy School for providing him with “the analytical tools to look at things from different perspectives.” A game theory course with the late HKS Professor Thomas Schelling helped him define the ocean problem as one that was difficult but solvable, giving him the courage to tackle its complexity. (Thiele returned to Harvard in 2014 as an Advanced Leadership Initiative Fellow.)

Despite the challenges facing the ocean, Thiele is optimistic: “If we engage carefully right now, we can shift the trajectory.” Several irreversible tipping points, such as the melting of the polar ice caps, have already been passed, but we can prevent others from following suit and chart a different course—if we act now.

“We can’t leave this to the next generation,” Thiele says. There is no time.



LOTTE OSTERMANN

HKS on the Road is a series of events in select cities around the world through 2024. The series features Dean Doug Elmendorf and HKS faculty who discuss current events with alumni and friends.

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AN OUTSIZED IMPACT

The HKS Fund provides crucial aid to the next generation of changemakers

BEFORE COMING TO HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL, **BETHANY KIRKPATRICK MPP 2023** taught English at a middle school in North Carolina. Wanting to learn more about how race, poverty, education, and health care affect the quality of public education and individual student outcomes, she set her sights on attending HKS.

“I have been teaching for the past few years—not a lucrative position—and I received a scholarship to cover all of my tuition,” she says of the financial aid she received from the School. “There’s no question that I would not be here without it.”



This support—and its effect on students like Kirkpatrick and the people she will go on to serve—is made possible by the alumni and friends who give generously to the HKS Fund. As the single most powerful tool for attracting superb students and empowering them to pursue careers in public service, financial aid offers opportunities that simply cannot be found elsewhere, including the chance to learn from pathbreaking faculty and connect with alumni and the greater Harvard community.

“The Kennedy School admits extraordinary students who have an intense passion to improve the lives of others through better governments, nonprofit organizations, and public-oriented aspects of for-profit businesses,” says Caitlin

Santacrose, director of the HKS Fund. “But while we provide financial assistance to many emerging leaders each year, the need is greater than current resources can accommodate.”

Over the past decade, gifts from alumni and friends have allowed the School to invest significantly in financial aid—but even so, HKS can cover only one-third of the need. The School now aims to expand financial aid to reach many additional public leaders each year—leaders who show great promise but cannot afford to attend the School without a major expansion of financial aid. “We are helping a lot of students,” says Santacrose. “With additional support from alumni and friends, we can enable more students to enroll who could otherwise not afford to do so while giving more students the chance to enter public service without the burden of student loans.”

Increasing access to the School will generate positive impacts around the globe for generations to come. This is what motivates **GREG ROSENBAUM MPP/JD 1977** to invest in the education of these leaders. “When I think about how we’re going to solve the problems that the world has today and in the future, the place where these leaders are going to be minted is right here at HKS,” he says.



Rosenbaum is a member of the HKS Fund Executive Council and the School’s Littauer Society, which recognizes donors who make leadership-level gifts of \$1,000 or more to the HKS

Fund in a given year. Another group, the HKS Loyalty Society, highlights donors who give any amount in two or more consecutive years. **KARLY ZHUNUSSOVA MPA/ID 2020**, a native of Kazakhstan, joined the Loyalty Society because she wants to pay forward the support she received as an HKS student. “Financial aid is the only chance to continue education when you are a



“When I think about how we’re going to solve the problems that the world has today and in the future, the place where these leaders are going to be minted is right here at HKS”

GREG ROSENBAUM MPP/JD 1977

young professional from a developing country with limited or even nonexistent opportunities to get a student loan,” she says.

NAVEED AHMED MPA/ID 2024 hails from Pakistan, where he worked for the UN Development Programme in the country’s northernmost province, which borders Afghanistan.

He focused on implementing policies to protect communities and build disaster resilience. “I saw a real disconnect between the higher-level policy and what’s being implemented on the ground,” he says. “That experience informed my decision on how I would like to be as a future policy formulator, on how I could craft better public policy.” Financial aid made it possible for him to come to HKS.



One hundred percent of gifts to the HKS Fund directly benefit students like Ahmed, paving the way for them to create positive change in their communities and the world. “Our supporters are united by their commitment to empowering the Kennedy School to help create better communities, better nations, and a better world,” says Dean Douglas Elmendorf. Through their philanthropy, HKS is able to educate people who will go on to improve the world through principled and effective public leadership.

THE HKS FUND: BY THE NUMBERS



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“This document does help to hold people together,” former Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer said, holding up a copy of the U.S. Constitution, at a Forum in October. Breyer, who served for 28 years on the nation’s highest court, is now the Byrne Professor of Administrative Law at Harvard Law School. At the event, moderated by Shorenstein Center Director and HKS Professor Nancy Gibbs, Breyer responded to questions about the court’s, and the country’s, resilience: “We’ve gone through a lot of difficult periods, and despite the difficulties, the country has emerged.”

PHOTO BY MARTHA STEWART



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