

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL

magazine

SUMMER 2020



CONFRONTING THE PANDEMIC

RECKONING OVER RACE AND INJUSTICE

SEEKING LEADERSHIP AMID
UNCERTAINTY

A photograph of a group of people, mostly Black, participating in a protest or rally. They are standing in front of the United States Capitol building in Washington, D.C. The man in the foreground is wearing a blue t-shirt and a purple face mask with a yellow strap. He is holding a wooden stick. To his right, a woman with grey hair is wearing a white t-shirt and a colorful patterned face mask. Another woman in a blue t-shirt is visible on the left. A yellow sign on a stick is visible in the background. The Capitol dome is prominent in the background under a clear sky.

RISE
TO THE
CHALLENGE



ROCHELLE LINDSAY MC/MPA 2020 celebrated her graduation with her daughter. The 605 members of the Harvard Kennedy School Class of 2020 tuned in on May 28 for a virtual graduation celebration, with remarks from Deah Doug Elmendorf and guest speaker Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, a former finance minister of Nigeria.

PHOTO BY RAYCHEL CASEY

AT HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL we have experienced the most unusual spring and early summer in recent memory—as I know many of you have as well. But despite the obstacles posed by the pandemic, we are pursuing our teaching, research, and outreach with great vigor and intensity.

I am writing this message on the day I welcomed the new mid-career class to the Kennedy School. I shared my excitement about the year that lies ahead and told these students that they, like generations before them, would find their time with us to be thought-provoking, empowering, and inspiring. Indeed, our faculty and staff are focused intently this summer on building new online courses and cocurricular arrangements, and our students are working with us in these efforts.

In our research and outreach, we are helping public officials around the world respond to the pandemic with effective public management, economic programs, social policy, crisis leadership, international relations strategy, and much more. This issue of the magazine

features insights from our faculty on what a post-pandemic world might look like, and how we can best protect people’s lives and livelihoods. We are also working actively to help overcome the entrenched challenge of racial and ethnic injustice. This issue offers our experts’ views on race, protests, and policing—how we ended up where we are and what we can do to create more just societies.

Along with the work of our faculty and students, we showcase in this issue the efforts of alumni who are using what they learned at

the Kennedy School to serve others. Melissa Hortman MC/MPA 2018 is serving her state as speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives. Taurai Chinyamakobvu MC/MPA 2019 has helped create a website to share accurate public information about the coronavirus while protecting user data. Sarah Bell MPP 2003 is helping central banks deal with economic crises, and Cara Myers MPA/ID 2018 is improving nutrition for children in Mozambique.

At the virtual graduation ceremony for the Class of 2020, I reminded our graduates that their fundamental and ongoing responsibility as members of the HKS family is to serve others. These past few months have demonstrated just how important that responsibility is. I hope that all our alumni—from the newest to those who graduated many years ago—take this sense of public purpose to heart. Our mission matters.

Dean Doug Elmendorf
Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy
July 2020



With all campus activities taking place remotely this spring, the breakfasts with the dean were virtual too.

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Cara Myers MPA/ID 2018 (second from left) in the field in Mozambique

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ADAPTING TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

SINCE MAY 2020
1,000+
ONLINE CLASS
SESSIONS

FIVE-DAY SPRING BREAK
48 ONLINE CLASS
SESSIONS WITH
3,000+ STUDENTS

NEW PROGRAM
OVER 20
SUMMER
SEMINARS

• When students couldn't come to campus, faculty members got creative:

- › A faculty-led, online teach-in during spring break helped students transition to remote learning. Over five days, faculty held 48 sessions with more than 3,000 students.
- › Lecturer in Public Policy **Mark Fagan** shifted his course "Supply Chain Management for Public Service Delivery" to focus on health care during the pandemic.
- › This year Spring Exercise, which allows first-year students to work with public leaders and policymakers to study real-world public challenges, pivoted to address COVID-19.
- › **Marshall Ganz**, the Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society, held sessions to train HKS faculty members to use online pedagogy effectively.
- › The Peter Wertheim Professor in Urban Policy **Gordon Hanson** and MPP Director **Eleni Cortis** developed new summer programming. An impressive series of more than 20 faculty-led workshops was held over Zoom for incoming and returning students. While classes were not for credit, this initiative provided an opportunity for students to connect with faculty and peers.

• Each term, the Dean's Discussions give the HKS community a chance to engage with faculty outside the classroom. This spring and summer, the sessions, which typically are live events, went online, attracting hundreds of participants. The sessions, moderated by Dean Elmendorf's chief of staff Sarah Wald, focused on the coronavirus pandemic:

- › COVID-19: Leadership in Crisis, Leadership Through Crisis
Panelists: Matt Andrews, Julia Minson, Wendy Sherman
- › COVID-19: The Economic Costs and Consequences
Panelists: Linda Bilmes, Karen Dynan, Jason Furman, Rema Hanna
- › COVID-19: Global Crisis Response and Management
Panelists: Marcella Alsan, Juliette Kayyem, Dutch Leonard
- › COVID-19: The U.S. Response and Its Impact on International Relations
Panelists: Nicholas Burns, Samantha Power, Kathryn Sikkink
- › COVID-19: Race and the Pandemic
Panelists: Desmond Ang, Cornell William Brooks, Kahlil Gibran Muhammad, Leah Wright Rigueur
- › COVID-19: Gender and the Pandemic
Panelists: Hannah Riley Bowles, Kimberlyn Leary, Zoe Marks, Janina Matuszeski
- › COVID-19: Threats to and Opportunities for Democracy
Panelists: Matthew Baum, Cornell William Brooks, Erica Chenoweth, Archon Fung
- › COVID-19: Effects in Developing Countries
Panelists: Eliana Carranza, Jeffrey Frankel, Rema Hanna, Isabel Guerrero Pulgar

Harvard Kennedy School **MOVED TO ONLINE TEACHING AND LEARNING** last spring in order to protect the community during the pandemic. Remote learning brought more flexibility to the classroom. As Dean Doug Elmendorf wrote in a message to the HKS community, "Our mission is not changing, but the way we advance that mission needs to adapt to our new circumstances."

By early May, more than a thousand class sessions had taken place over Zoom, along with countless meetings, conversations, office hours, seminars, and events—and more than a few coffee breaks and happy hours. On June 3, HKS made the decision to move to remote teaching and learning in the fall, continuing the work of the spring semester.

Research Briefs

Prioritizing Public Value

STREETS AND SIDEWALKS, writes Derek Bok Professor of the Practice of Urban Policy **STEPHEN GOLDSMITH**, are the “vital organs of the city.” When designed and operated efficiently, they bring people together, encourage the movement of capital and ideas, enable healthy behaviors, and contribute to cleaner air. But poor design can lead to negative effects for a community—including congestion, pollution, and safety concerns. In his new working paper, “Prioritizing Public Value in the Changing Mobility Landscape,” Goldsmith looks at how mobility patterns have changed in recent years and how this information could be applied to street and sidewalk planning. By using mapping and data tools, social media feedback, and data from bicycle and scooter rentals, for example, city agencies could make smarter and better-connected decisions around land use, sustainability, public safety, transportation, and employment. As Goldsmith notes, these issues have grown even more important in light of the coronavirus pandemic, which illustrates the critical need for smart, flexible urban planning in regard to public health.



Pathways for light rail, cars, buses, bicycles, and pedestrians intersect along Berliner Platz in the center of Bonn, Germany.

Enforcing Environmental Law

PROTECTING THE ENVIRONMENT poses important challenges for many Latin American countries. Driven by international demand for agricultural commodities, the rapid expansion of croplands and cattle ranching has heightened social conflict and environmental destruction in a region characterized by extreme land inequality, decentralized governmental systems, and weak institutions. A new article by Ford Foundation Associate Professor of Democracy **CANDELARIA GARAY**, “The Multilevel Politics of Enforcement: Environmental Institutions in Argentina,” examines how environmental regulations can be effectively enforced. Looking at the conservation of Argentina’s Chaco Forest, Garay and her co-author explore how various nonstate actors, such as conservation groups and producers, along with language ambiguity in legislation, can lead to wide differences in enforcement and thus in subnational deforestation rates.



Slash-and-burn forest clearing along the Rio Xingu in Brazil

Getting What You Pay For

AROUND THE WORLD, with few exceptions, the public sector pays higher average wages than the private sector does for employees of similar rank and skill. The rules determining public-sector salaries also differ from those in the private sector: Salary increases tend to be abrupt and irregular, driven by the forces of labor supply or political concerns rather than by employee productivity, and salary caps provide less incentive for skilled workers to excel. Rafik Hariri Professor of the Practice of International Political Economy **RICARDO HAUSMANN**’s new working paper, “You Get What You Pay For: Sources and Consequences of the Public Sector Premium in Albania and Sri Lanka,” explores these differences in Albania and Sri Lanka, the sources of wage compression, and how they determine individual self-selection into public- or private-sector work. Hausmann finds that although the economies of these two upper-middle-income countries differ in important ways, they display similar patterns when it comes to public-private pay differences, providing valuable information about public-sector issues on a larger scale.



NASA JOHNSON SPACE CENTER, NORAI EMILIO, FACULTY PORTRAITS BY MARTHA STEWART

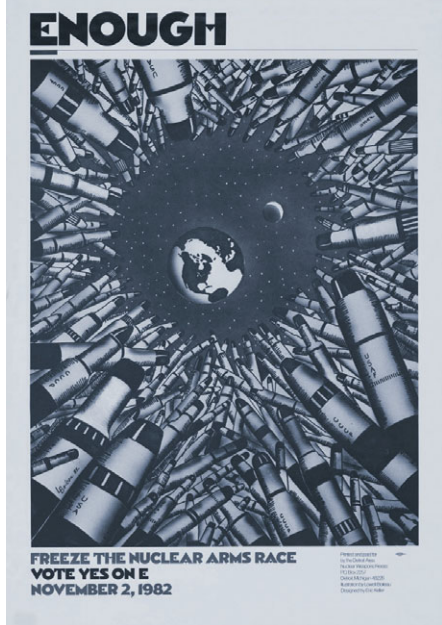
Maximizing Research Excellence

WHAT CONTRIBUTES TO high levels of research productivity and impact? In her new working paper, “What Maximizes Research Excellence? Productivity and Impact in Political Science,” Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics **PIPPA NORRIS** analyzes a large-scale survey of political scientists around the world. She explores three areas that might shape excellence: personal characteristics, such as gender and qualifications; working conditions, such as academic rank and job security; and role priorities around the importance of academic research. Her findings show that these considerations, particularly working conditions, can affect scholars’ potential for success in complex and nuanced ways. The paper provides insights into the barriers that academics face and opportunities for mitigation—including, for example, enhancing the path forward for early-career, women, and minority scholars.



A Three-Pronged Climate Policy

FOR THE PAST 30 YEARS, environmental activism and policy have focused on one strategy to fight climate change: mitigation, or the curbing of greenhouse gas emissions. However, this one-pronged strategy has failed: In the face of high costs and weak political will, emissions have drastically increased, and global surface temperatures have risen to dangerous levels. In their new working paper, “Three Prongs for Prudent Climate Policy,” **JOE ALDY**, professor of the practice of public policy, and **RICHARD ZECKHAUSER**, the Frank Plumpton Ramsey Professor of Political Economy, offer an alternative. In addition to mitigation, they argue, policy should focus on adaptation, which involves investing to offset the damage caused by changing weather and rising seas, and amelioration, or investing in geoengineering projects to counteract climate impacts produced by high concentrations of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. They explore the case for solar radiation management, a geoengineering instrument that involves injecting aerosols into the upper atmosphere to reflect back solar rays, as the most promising amelioration measure. This detailed strategy offers policymakers important tools for widening the scope and efficacy of current environmental policy.



The Case for No First Use

SINCE THE DAWN of the Cold War, when the Soviet Union enjoyed a preponderance of conventional forces in Europe, the United States and its NATO allies have made “first use of nuclear weapons if necessary” a cornerstone of their defense policy. But according to **JOHN HOLDREN**, the Teresa and John Heinz Professor of Environmental Policy and a former science advisor to President Obama, this position is long overdue for a change. In his article “The Overwhelming Case for No First Use,” Holdren writes that adopting a “no first use” policy—a guarantee that the United States will never initiate a nuclear strike—would raise the country’s credibility in its stance against proliferation, reduce foreign adversaries’ incentives to acquire nuclear weapons, lower the risk of nuclear accident or miscalculation, and stop the race for ever-more-powerful nuclear weapons that could make a first strike effective. Regardless of whether other world powers follow suit, Holdren writes, adopting this policy offers “the most conspicuous opportunity not yet taken for the United States to devalue the currency of nuclear weapons in world affairs.”





PROFILE

ALUMNI

Moving Forward in a Time of Uncertainty

SPRING EXERCISE at the end of her first year at HKS was about an imaginary smallpox epidemic, and Sarah Bell MPP 2003 was her team’s lead on the economic impact assessment. Nearly two decades on, Bell’s career in central banking has seen her weather a few more (real) crises—including Puerto Rico’s banking crisis in the mid-2000s and the financial meltdown of 2008. Now at the Bank for International Settlements (BIS) in Switzerland, a bank for central banks that also acts as a forum for member central banks to cooperate and discuss developments in the world economy and financial markets, she’s dealing with perhaps the greatest crisis yet—the global pandemic and the economic contraction that has followed in its wake.

What sparked your interest in public service?

When I was growing up in Texas, my parents were in different ways involved in public service. My mother ran a nonprofit for

her whole career; most recently, before retirement, she was the director of Meals on Wheels in San Antonio. My dad is a doctor in a rural part of the state who has also worked in tropical medicine. I always knew I wanted to be in public service. But I always thought I wanted to do it at the macroeconomic level rather than the community level.

How did you get into central banking?

As an undergraduate, I studied politics and economics, and I was focused on economic development—in Africa in particular. When I got to the Kennedy School, I thought I was going to concentrate on economic development. But I took courses on regulation and markets, and I got more interested in those topics. One memorable class on financial markets and institutions included a field trip to the Federal Reserve. After that visit, I was kind of hooked. I did a summer internship at the New York Fed and then spent 15 years working there, including

the last few years as chief of staff, before coming to the BIS where I am currently the adviser to the general manager. This role gives me a broad view of activities across the BIS and in the central banking community. What I got out of my experience at the Kennedy School more broadly, though, was training in how to think about policy decisions in the context of a high degree of uncertainty. That has definitely been a theme for me through my career.

What has your experience taught you?

One of the important lessons is the need to seek out and incorporate diverse and multidisciplinary perspectives to provide a robust framework for policymaking in a time of great uncertainty. Economists dive deep into analysis of situations with a certain approach, but central banks also need to consider a broad set of perspectives on a host of issues related to financial markets, public communications,

legal issues and social impact. When time is of the essence, you have to think about how to frame these considerations in a comprehensive way to be able to act decisively. I think the difficulty of that can’t be underestimated—you have to accept a certain threshold for potential failure. With hindsight, there were things we policymakers could have done better in the last financial crisis. But it was really important that the leaders at that time were ambitious and motivated to act quickly, as they are now. Another big lesson I took from that period—and I guess more so from the period that followed—was the importance of communication to the public. The Fed wasn’t as accustomed to communicating as frequently and transparently as it is now. That was a big lesson for policymakers at the time—the importance of not only doing what you’re doing, but at the same time explaining it clearly to the general public. I think central banks all around the world have moved in that direction of greater transparency, and that’s been an amazing development.

What do you think is the role of central banks in this moment of crisis?

Central banks are in a unique position right now, because in many ways they can act more quickly than fiscal authorities can. They have the operational capabilities to stand up facilities rapidly, particularly given the experience in the last crisis. So it has been incumbent on them to come out with unprecedented measures to support the flow of credit. And that’s been an essential role in the first stage of the pandemic. Less urgently perhaps but just as important, central banks also have a role to play in pointing out systemic vulnerabilities that have emerged in the wake of the crisis and calling for those risks to be addressed.

PHOTO COURTESY OF SARAH BELL

FACULTY

Values and Leadership

JANE MANSBRIDGE, the Charles F. Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values, has retired from Harvard Kennedy School after 24 years. Before joining the School, she taught at Northwestern University and the University of Chicago.

“During a long and distinguished career, she has made field-defining contributions to our understanding of the theory and practice of democracy, political representation, and deliberation as well as feminist theory,” the Skytte Foundation noted in awarding Mansbridge the prestigious Johan Skytte Prize in Political Science in 2018. “Her distinction between conflict- and consensus-driven democracy laid the foundations for her own and others’ influential research into direct democracy and the importance of deliberation for democracy.”

Iris Bohnet, academic dean and the Albert Pratt Professor of Business and Government at the Kennedy School, says, “Jenny, as Professor Mansbridge is known to many, not only influenced the School through her pathbreaking scholarship and as founding faculty chair of the Women and Public Policy Program but also through her teaching and mentoring of students



MARTHA STEWART

and faculty colleagues.” Bohnet notes, “I was one of the beneficiaries of her wisdom and care, and will remain forever grateful. Jenny is a wonderful role model for all—especially for women faculty.”

Mansbridge is the author of *Beyond Adversary Democracy* and the award-winning *Why We Lost the ERA*. She was president of the American Political Science Association from 2012 to 2013. Her recent work has included studies of representation, democratic deliberation, everyday activism, and public understanding of free-rider problems. As a response to the current political polarization, she also recently headed a project at HKS producing cases and simulations for teaching fundamental negotiation techniques to state and federal legislators and high-level staffers.



FACULTY

Good Behavior



WORKING IN POLLING OUT OF COLLEGE, TODD ROGERS quickly came to the realization that there was a science of behavior change that wasn’t being used in politics. So he decided to pursue an interdisciplinary doctorate at Harvard that combined organizational behavior, psychology, economics, and political science. He returned to politics, co-founding and leading the Analyst Institute, where insights from behavioral science were used to improve get-out-the-vote drives, fundraising, messaging, and volunteer recruitment. But academia pulled him back. “As time passed,” he says, “I realized there was a need for these powerful tools to be used to help families help kids.”

You began your career using behavioral science for voter engagement, but now you apply those insights to education. Why did you shift research to social support for students?

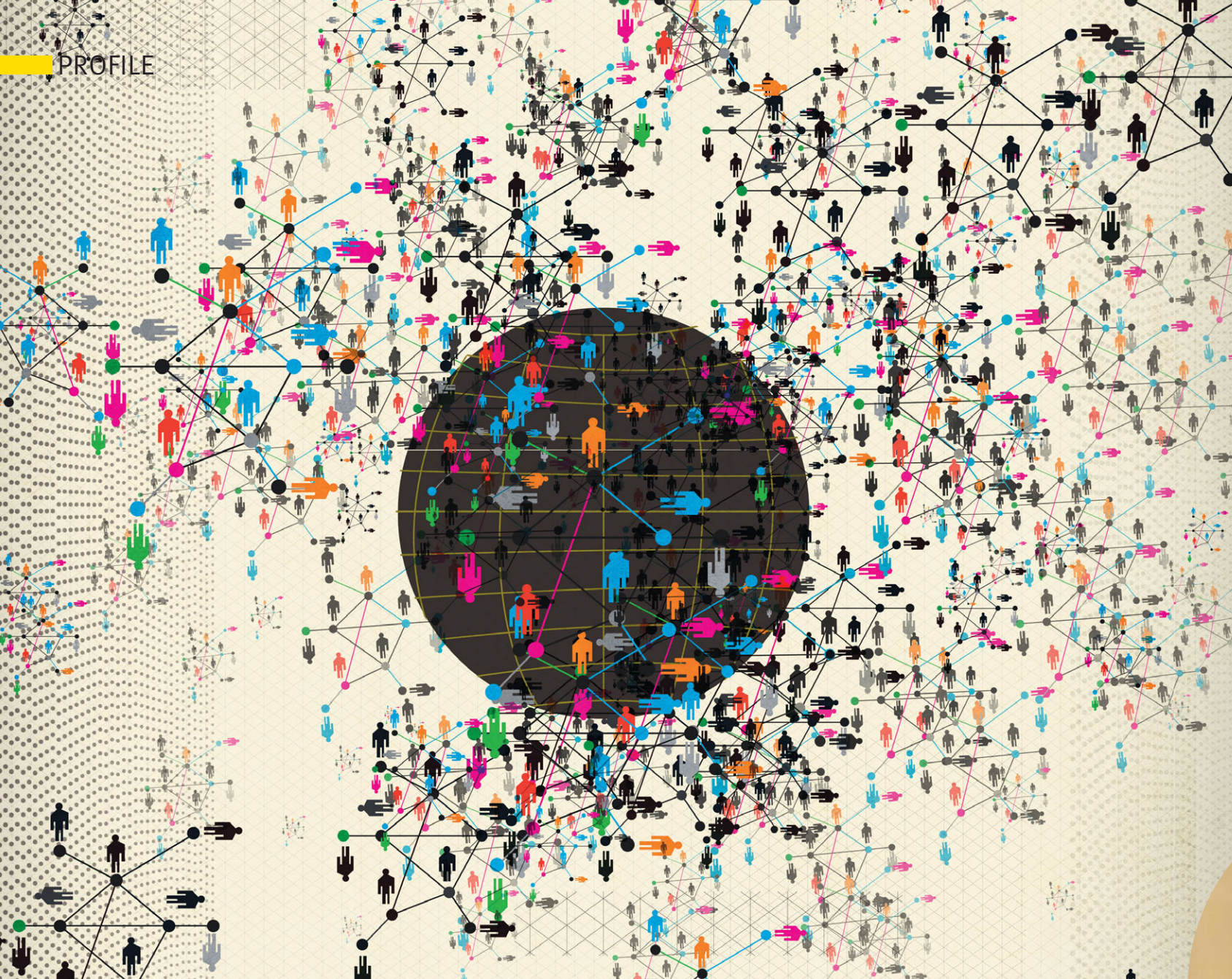
My Student Social Support R&D Lab at HKS’s Center for Public Leadership develops scalable interventions that mobilize and empower the people who care about students: parents, grandparents, coaches, peers, teachers. Students in the United States spend around 75 percent of their waking hours outside school, yet the vast majority of our resources and attention are focused on the 25 percent of time they spend in school. There’s a lot of low-hanging fruit when it comes to helping make those who care about kids more effective. It’s an asset-based view of families, as leaders such as Harvard Graduate School of Education’s Karen Mapp write.

What’s the highest-impact project you have worked on in your lab?

One of the most successful interventions in the behavioral science field compares your energy use to your neighbor’s using a monthly, mail-based report. People tend to conform to the behavior of others, and this report is remarkably potent. My research shows that the effect grows over years of treatment and even partly persists after treatment is discontinued. The first education intervention I developed aimed to reduce students’ absenteeism by applying the model of the home energy reports to informing parents’ beliefs about their students’ absences. (I was initially turned on to student absenteeism by the work of Hedy Chang MPP 1989, the preeminent national advocate for measuring and improving attendance.) Across several large randomized experiments, this intervention proved to be incredibly effective—about 50 times more cost-effective than the next best known student absenteeism interventions. I have worked with school districts around the country in my outside time to implement these efforts through an organization I started called EveryDay Labs. Watching this work scale to help so many families and districts has been incredibly fulfilling.

K–12 education has been tremendously affected by the COVID-19 crisis. What insights from behavioral science could be helpful to educators and families during this time?

I’ve been helping education leaders communicate more effectively, and I’m considering writing a short book project on behavioral science–informed guidelines for communicators. The most important organizing idea is that people have limited time, attention, and reading abilities, so leaders should cut words, minimize reading level, make messages skimmable, and chunk messages into a program of communications. Something the mathematician Blaise Pascal wrote to a friend captures it: “I am writing you a long letter because I don’t have time to write a short one.” I love that quote, especially because his 17 words could have conveyed the same message in just 10 words if he’d had more time: “With more time I would have written a shorter letter.”



BUILDING A SAFE VIRTUAL SPACE

Taurai Chinyamakobvu MC/MPA 2019 has harnessed technology to improve remote learning and information sharing during the coronavirus pandemic.

TAURAI CHINYAMAKOBVU MC/MPA 2019 enjoyed classroom discussions during his time at Harvard Kennedy School, but he was sometimes frustrated that conversations with classmates could not continue seamlessly after class. “When the class is done, the conversation often stops,” he says.

He saw potential for a digital solution that would allow students to connect, discuss, and share information outside the classroom. With a background in blockchain technology and fintech (the financial technology industry), Chinyamakobvu knows the digital landscape well. He even founded a cryptocurrency exchange in his home country, Zimbabwe.

Although the benefits of digital platforms are undeniable, he knows that real risks exist. Social media

platforms often expose people to data mining and security and privacy vulnerabilities. Chinyamakobvu repeats a common saying about social media platforms: “If you’re not paying for a service, you are the product.” He focused on developing a social media model with an emphasis on user security, inspired by a course on digital transformation in government taught by David Eaves, a lecturer in public policy and the director of the digital HKS initiative.

Chinyamakobvu fleshed out his thinking at the Harvard Innovation Lab and then joined forces with a team at the University of California, Berkeley, that was focused on the same concept: building a social networking tool that protects its users’ data and privacy. The bicoastal partnership led to the creation of LoopChat in 2019. “The mission is to have a platform where you can have secure interaction,” Chinyamakobvu says, “creating a private space where people can socially network without the fear that their data is manipulated or exploited.” He explains that LoopChat does this in a few different ways: “Unlike other apps that enable you to discover and communicate with whoever is on the platform as long you have their phone number or other contact details, LoopChat allows you to communicate with only the people you want to engage with by sharing your account QR code.” Chinyamakobvu

we discovered is, for example, that a class can run on Zoom, but once the Zoom session ends, the conversation stops,” Chinyamakobvu says. “So people can create group chats and the entire class can join.”

In March, the LoopChat team developed a quick spin-off project in response to the pandemic. Concerned about the lack of information—and the prevalence of misinformation—regarding COVID-19, they put their heads together. Could they use their technical know-how to help provide the public with accurate, clear information about the coronavirus? Chinyamakobvu and his team thought so. In short order, the 10-person group developed an informational website, www.livecoronaupdates.org. It features regularly updated information on COVID-19 cases in the United States, advice to prevent the spread of disease, media updates, and opportunities for community members to connect with one another.

“We started on a Sunday and then worked through the night,” Chinyamakobvu explains. “We deployed it after four days.” The idea, he says, was to deliver an immediately useful and easily accessible service. “We were really motivated by a desire to serve the public and provide a single place where people can find reliable information that will help keep them healthy and safe.”

“The mission is to have a platform where you can have secure interaction, creating a private space where people can socially network without the fear that their data is manipulated or exploited.”

TAURAI CHINYAMAKOBVU



also points out that some encrypted apps notify users when people in their contacts join the app.

“This doesn’t happen on LoopChat, as we see it as an invasion of privacy,” he says.

The tool was tested in a few courses at UC Berkeley and proved useful when in-person teaching for the spring 2020 academic term was replaced by remote learning because of the pandemic. It has grown rapidly since, with more than 50,000 users registered by the end of June from Harvard, UC Berkeley, Yale, UCLA, the University of Washington, Boston University, and other institutions.

Chinyamakobvu hopes that LoopChat will allow students to continue their conversations with classmates seamlessly in the way they might, say, in the cafeteria over lunch. “What

Chinyamakobvu believes that online resources like his team’s COVID-19 website and social platforms like LoopChat were especially valuable when employers had to rapidly figure out how to move online while people were quarantined. He is particularly interested in what work will look like in the immediate future. “There’s been a lot of talk about the future of work,” Chinyamakobvu says, “but the entire infrastructure of the global economy is not designed for remote workers.” He notes that people are social by nature and that “for us to be productive, we have to congregate,” but that it’s often more difficult online. He is interested in finding a technological solution that would allow people to gather and work together seamlessly while ensuring that their privacy and data are safeguarded. “What we found out is that when suddenly people had to break apart and social distance and work from different spaces, it forced a change,” he says.

The future of work—and of school—is happening now, Chinyamakobvu believes, whether we like it or not.

POLICYMAKING IN A PANDEMIC

FOR MONTHS, THE CORONAVIRUS has stalked the globe. It has passed through millions, one person at a time, reaching every corner of the earth. And it has infected not only people but every aspect of human culture. Policymakers and the public sector face their biggest test in generations—some say ever—as life and livelihood hang in a delicate, terrible balance. Facing health crises, economic collapse, social and political disruption, we try to take stock of what the pandemic has done and will do. We asked **HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL FACULTY**, in fields ranging from climate change to international development, from democracy to big power relations, to tell us how this epochal event has changed the world and what policymakers can do.

PUBLIC LEADERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT

Democratizing Work

Julie Battilana, Alan L. Gleitsman Professor of Social Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School; **Joseph C. Wilson**, Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School; founder and faculty chair of the Social Innovation + Change Initiative

AS THE UNITED STATES AND COUNTRIES around the world consider reopening after COVID-19, we are faced with a crucial question: Is our current societal model working, and if not, what kind of model do we want for tomorrow? Staying the course would be a recipe for disaster. Current levels of social and economic inequality both globally and locally have become untenable, and the current pandemic only reinforces them. Moreover, we are pushing the limits of what our natural world can endure. The status quo must change if we hope to survive the combined health, social, economic, political, and environmental crises at hand.



In May, Isabelle Ferreras, Dominique Méda, and I joined forces to ask a simple question: What can we learn from the crises we're facing? At the time, admittedly, our thinking was focused on making it through the COVID-19 period only. And yet, the solution we put forth in a joint manifesto, which has now been signed by 5,000 academics around the world, outlines a solution—democratizing work—that we hope can contribute to fighting the health, economic, social, and political crises stemming from COVID-19, as well as the long-standing crisis of anti-Black racism, about which calls for change have intensified in the wake of the tragic murder of George Floyd at the hands of the Minneapolis Police Department.

What these crises are teaching us, first and foremost, is that humans are not now and never were resources. They invest their lives, their time, and their sweat to serve the organizations they work for and their customers. As we say in the manifesto, workers are not just one type of stakeholder among many: They hold the keys to their employers' success. Without workers, there would be no manufacturing plant, no deliveries, no production. All workers are essential. They are thus a firm's core constituency. And yet they remain excluded from participating in the government of their

workplaces—a right that is still monopolized by capital investors. This exclusion is unfair and unsustainable, and it prevents organizations from reaping the benefits of workplace democracy.

What I have seen in my research is that workplace democracy may well be critical to the success of corporations in the future. I have been studying organizations that pursue social and environmental objectives alongside financial ones for more than a decade. It is time we turn to these organizations and learn from their work as the economy as a whole transitions toward setting clear goals for employee well-being and environmental and social metrics, in addition to financial performance. My research reveals a critical link to workplace democracy: Organizations that are more democratic—that give a voice to their workers—are better at staying the course and pursuing these multiple objectives.

Finally, democratizing workplaces is one of the most promising avenues for creating more-just (including more racially just) workplaces where all workers—workers of color, women, workers with disabilities—have real control over resources, and an actual say, as equals in the governance of their organizations. By giving employees representation in decision-making bodies and the right to participate and control their organization’s strategic decisions, we can collectively build institutions that are truly equitable and fair.

The Rainy Day Is Here

Linda Bilmes, Daniel Patrick Moynihan Senior Lecturer in Public Policy

THE SINGLE BEST WAY to strengthen the national economy now is to help reboot local economies, which are reeling from the economic fallout of the pandemic. The United States has 90,000 jurisdictions—including cities, towns, school districts, and transit systems—that together provide the public with schools, water, sanitation, trash collection, fire safety, emergency medical response, and infrastructure.

Local governments are on the front line in fighting the pandemic: responsible for organizing local testing; contact tracing, treatment and isolation programs; buying protective equipment; and setting up a system to eventually deliver a vaccine. But their revenues have collapsed.

State revenues are a mixture of sales and income taxes, federal aid, and user fees. Following the 2008 financial crisis, most states prudently set aside rainy-day funds to improve their balance sheets. This time the revenue shortfall will be far deeper and will quickly deplete those funds. Many revenue-producing activities—such as tourism, international airports, conventions, and sporting events—are unlikely to return to pre-pandemic levels for years. States that entered the pandemic in a poor fiscal position are especially vulnerable. And, unlike the federal government, states must balance their budgets.



“Instead of debates over austerity in the wake of the financial crisis, we might have broad agreement on the critical role of fiscal and monetary expansions after this crisis.”

JASON FURMAN

Meanwhile, local communities face an existential crisis. Revenues from sales taxes and user charges (tolls, parking fines, hotel and restaurant taxes, and the like) have dried up. And across America, small businesses—many of which are owned by minorities and women—are failing. Local governments will face a second fiscal crisis if property values fall, leading to a decline in property taxes.

State and local governments have already laid off 1.5 million employees, most of them teachers. Millions more are in danger of losing their jobs. Congress has provided some \$200 billion in aid to states, but that is no match for the estimated \$1.3 trillion revenue shortfall expected over the next three years. The Federal Reserve’s \$500 billion Municipal Lending Facility is welcome, but it is available only to states and very large jurisdictions and must be repaid within three years. That won’t help thousands of medium-sized communities that wish to issue longer-term debt to finance critical infrastructure projects that generate jobs.

States and municipalities are already taking steps to mitigate the damage. These include restructuring their balance sheets, entering into regional recovery efforts, carefully examining operating costs, adopting job-shares, monetizing fixed assets, pruning overheads, and working closely with community banks. But at the end of the day, those efforts alone will not be enough to prevent cuts in vital local services

that often fall on the most vulnerable. If night bus routes are curtailed, the night-shift nurse will be left standing outside the hospital waiting longer to get home.

Studies conducted during the 2008 crisis showed that each dollar invested this way produced a return to GDP of \$1.30 to \$1.55. In the current environment, we need to strengthen local communities by providing a flexible program of cash-flow assistance and long-term liquidity to states and localities.

Everyone Stays Home

Juliette Kayyem, Belfer Senior Lecturer in International Security

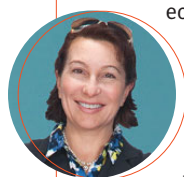
THE NEXUS BETWEEN WORK AND HOME has raised some interesting questions about how we prioritize “care,” mainly child care, as a critical infrastructure that needs to be prioritized in any crisis management response. We often think about a disaster, such as a hurricane or an earthquake, as impacting water or food supply, or an electrical grid. But what if the response to the crisis is that everyone—absolutely everyone—stays home? We can wish for an “opening up,” but if our kids are home—if we haven’t figured out the school and even the college issue—then it all seems rather beside the point.

ECONOMY

The End of Austerity?

Jason Furman, Professor of the Practice of Economic Policy

THE ECONOMIC RESPONSE to the pandemic by the United States and other advanced economies has been faster and larger than anything we have ever seen before, including dramatic policies of central banks and extraordinary actions by fiscal policymakers. As a result, household incomes are actually up rather than down in many countries, and although consumer spending has fallen, at least in the United States it has fallen by much less than it did during the 2008 financial crisis. If policymakers follow through, this could be a demonstration that early, large, and sustained fiscal policy responses can be successful in protecting families from the worst ravages of recessions and getting the economy back on track more quickly. Instead of debates over austerity in the wake of the financial crisis, we might have broad agreement on the critical role of fiscal and monetary expansions after this crisis.



FACULTY PORTRAITS BY MARTHA STEWART

“COVID-19 is causing the biggest economic downturn developing countries have ever seen. Governments and the international community have prepared for a tropical storm, but it increasingly looks like a Category 5 hurricane.”

RICARDO HAUSMANN

The Perfect Storm

Ricardo Hausmann, Rafik Hariri Professor of the Practice of International Political Economy

COVID-19 IS CAUSING the biggest economic downturn developing countries have ever seen. Governments and the international community have prepared for a tropical storm, but it increasingly looks like a Category 5 hurricane. They need to act, and act fast, to ensure that they are adequately financed to withstand a collapse in tax revenues and the need for increased health and social expenditures. Absence of such action will lead to a combination of currency, debt, and banking crises. Recovery from such avoidable events is slow and painful.



It Will Never Be the Same

Lawrence Summers, Charles W. Eliot University Professor

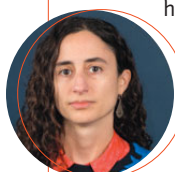


COVID-19 IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENT in my professional lifetime. The 1918 pandemic, the 1929 economic decline, the 1968 social implosion, and the Andrew Johnson presidency all at once is how it's been described. Labor markets, financial markets, and international relations will never be the same.

The Tide Is Rolling Back

Rema Hanna, Jeffrey Cheah Professor of South-East Asia Studies

COVID-19 IS A GAME-CHANGER for most of the developing and emerging countries of the world, and not in a good way. Virus hot spots are flaring up in many low-income countries, and however difficult it is to combat the disease in developed countries, developing ones face even graver challenges. Fighting its spread is very hard. Social distancing remains nearly impossible in the dense megacities. The lack of clean water in many poorer towns and villages prevents effective handwashing techniques. For those who do become ill, health systems are less developed, with fewer hospital beds and medical personnel per citizen, less technology, less medical equipment, and less personal protective equipment. But it is not just the disease that will take a human toll. The corresponding slowing of the global economy from the pandemic is leading to unemployment and food insecurity. For the first time in more than 20 years, we expect global poverty to rise. That, in turn, may roll back gains in nutrition, education, and preventive health care.



INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

A Dangerous Turn

R. Nicholas Burns, Roy and Barbara Goodman Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations

WE ARE FACING THE MOST CONSEQUENTIAL set of challenges since the Great Depression and World War II. The United States, in particular, is at a dangerous turning point, facing four fundamental crises:



The coronavirus crisis: With more than 150,000 Americans dead, inadequate testing, and irresolute federal leadership, we are not well organized for a possible second wave;

The economic crisis: More Americans are unemployed now than at any other time since 1933, with no clear administration plan to encourage a recovery;

The racial crisis: There is nothing more dangerous to our future than continued domestic dysfunction, especially the denial of justice to African Americans and other minority groups;

The leadership crisis: President Trump has failed to address these and other crises. His active attempt to divide Americans on race is the most disgraceful act by an American president in our lifetime.

There is hope. Americans have taken to the streets in the largest peaceful demonstrations in recent decades. Our businesses and universities lead the world in the digital age. The courts, career public servants in Washington, and the military leadership are defending democracy. Our students are ready to lead and to write the next chapter in the American story.

Global Trends and Foreign Policy

Joseph S. Nye Jr., Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus

WILL THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC CHANGE or accelerate pre-existing global trends? Many commentators predict the end of the era of globalization that has prospered under U.S. leadership since 1945. Some see a turning point at which China surpasses the United States as a global power. Certainly, there will be major changes in many economic and social dimensions of world politics, but humility is in order. One must be wary of assuming that big causes have predictable big effects. For example, the 1918–1919 flu pandemic killed more people than World War I, yet the major global changes were a consequence of the war, not of the disease.



Globalization—defined as interdependence across continents—is the result of changes in the technologies of transportation and communication, which are unlikely to stop. Some aspects of economic globalization, such as trade, will be curtailed; but while economic globalization is influenced by the laws of governments, other aspects of globalization, such as pandemics and climate change, are determined by the laws of biology and physics. Walls, weapons, and tariffs do not stop their transnational effects.

Thus far, American foreign policy has responded with denial and blaming others rather than taking the lead on international cooperation. For a speculative counterfactual, imagine an American administration that took its cue from the post-1945 U.S. presidents I describe in *Do Morals Matter? Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump*. For example, the United States could launch a massive COVID-19 aid program—a medical version of the Marshall Plan. Instead of competing in propaganda, leaders could articulate the importance of power *with* rather than *over* others and set up bilateral and multilateral frameworks to enhance cooperation. Recurrent waves of COVID-19 will affect poorer countries less able to cope, and a developing-world reservoir will hurt everyone if it spills northward in a seasonal resurgence. In 1918, the second wave of the pandemic killed more people than the first. Both for self-interested and humanitarian reasons, the United States could lead the G-20 in generous contributions to a major new COVID-19 fund that was open to all poor countries. If a U.S. president were to choose such cooperative and soft-power-enhancing policies, it might create a geopolitical turning point to a better world. More likely, however, the coronavirus will simply accelerate existing trends toward nationalist populism, authoritarianism, and tense relations between the United States and China.

A New Energy Landscape?

Meghan O'Sullivan, Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs

THE CORONAVIRUS and the immobilization of much of the global economy that followed have created enormous challenges for energy markets. These challenges have been most pronounced in oil, in large part due to the fact that the majority of the world's oil consumption is for transportation. Constraints on the mobility of billions of people around the world resulted in a drop in oil demand of approximately 25 million barrels a day, out of a pre-COVID-19 demand of 100 million. This cratering of demand led to a dramatic decrease in prices, including a day in which the American benchmark for oil went into negative price territory.

These developments, and fear that such volatility in one



of the world’s largest and most strategic industries could further exacerbate a teetering global economy, led to an unprecedented mobilization of international actors. In an extraordinary shift from past positions, the G-20, the United States, and even President Trump personally became actively involved in brokering a deal among OPEC members and other allied producers to agree to the largest oil production cut in history. This cut, and market forces that brought several million more barrels of oil off-line in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere, has helped stabilize oil markets, albeit from historic lows.

But critical questions remain, and debates are raging about whether the energy landscape will ever return to pre-COVID-19 parameters. One of the most important questions revolves around whether this abrupt rupture in energy markets can be translated into a boost for the transition to a more environmentally sustainable global energy mix. The answer to this question depends on how durable changes in consumer behavior are (particularly around travel) and whether governments seize the opportunity that pumping economic stimulus into their economies gives them to advance the energy transition. Europe has already demonstrated a willingness to use its stimulus packages to further the transition; China’s actions demonstrated a mixed intent, and—thus far—there has been little indication that advancing a clean energy transition is high on the list of U.S. policymakers’ priorities. The world has at least one opportunity to create a silver lining from the COVID-19 crisis, but it will require vision and action to realize.

Sounding a Retreat

Stephen Walt, Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs

THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC is the most disruptive global event since the Great Depression and World War II. More than 12 million people have been infected in less than six months; more than 550,000 people have died; and many more deaths will occur even if effective vaccines or treatments are eventually found. The economic costs are staggering: Much of the world has fallen into recession, public debt levels are soaring, and future growth prospects have dimmed.

Yet despite these far-reaching effects, the current pandemic will not transform the essential nature of world politics. The territorial state will remain the basic building block of international affairs, nationalism will remain a powerful political force, and the major powers will continue to compete for influence in myriad ways. Global institutions, transnational networks, and assorted nonstate actors will still play important roles, but the present crisis will not produce a dramatic and enduring increase in global governance or significantly higher levels of international cooperation.

Instead, COVID-19 is more likely to reinforce divisive trends that were under way before the first case was detected. In particular, it will accelerate a retreat from globalization; raise new barriers to international trade, investment, and travel; and give both democratic and nondemocratic governments

greater power to track and monitor their citizens’ lives. Global economic growth will be substantially lower than it would have been had the pandemic not occurred. Relations among the major powers will continue the downward trend that was apparent before the pandemic struck.

In short, the post-COVID-19 world will be less open, less free, less prosperous, and more competitive than the world that many people expected to emerge only a few years ago.

Good and Bad News for Climate

Robert N. Stavins, A.J. Meyer Professor of Energy and Economic Development

THE CORONAVIRUS PANDEMIC will likely have profound effects on both climate change and climate change policy. These impacts are mainly—but not exclusively—due to the severe economic downturn that has been brought about by the response of governments, firms, and individuals to the pandemic. With depressed economic activity, there has been and will continue to be a net reduction of emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases linked with the observed net decrease in energy demand. Without the pandemic, global emissions overall might have peaked in 2024. Instead, it now appears that they may have peaked in 2019. That’s good news for climate change, but economic recession is surely not a desirable approach to mitigating emissions.

The impact of economic recession is no doubt less positive for the course of environmental and climate change policy. Political will for environmental policies and regulations always decreases during economic downturns. However, governments’ financial responses to the recession can compensate for this, at least partly. Short-term financial assistance and economic relief have reasonably been focused on helping economies recover as rapidly as possible, and targeting relief to those in society who have been particularly disadvantaged. But a long-term economic stimulus could include elements that help move the economy in a green, climate-friendly direction—less reliance on fossil fuels, greater reliance on renewable sources of energy, and greater efficiency in the production and use of energy. In the previous recession, the American Recovery and

“Critical questions remain, and debates are raging about whether the energy landscape will ever return to pre-COVID-19 parameters.”

MEGHAN O’SULLIVAN

Reinvestment Act of 2009 included abundant use of such green incentives. Now the European Union’s proposed Economic Recovery Plan does likewise. Whether such an approach is used this year and next year in the United States, however, will depend upon difficult domestic politics—not to mention the outcome of the November election.

SOCIETY AND HEALTH

A New Look at Business and Government

Amitabh Chandra, Ethel Zimmerman Wiener Professor of Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; Henry and Allison McCance Professor of Business Administration, Harvard Business School

CORONAVIRUS AND OTHER HEALTH PANDEMICS will happen again, and sooner than we think, because of climate change. COVID-19 provides an opportunity to seriously examine the roles of business and government in society: to figure out what each is best at doing, what each is ill-suited to deliver, and what they must do more of together. Those determinations must be made in a clear-eyed manner, with data, incentives, and a tremendous sense of social justice for the poor and vulnerable.

The Worrying Rise of Digitalization

Mathias Risse, Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Administration

IN TIMES OF CRISES, such as pandemics, all of society’s underlying vulnerabilities are laid bare: The long history of injustice, of not respecting people’s rights as citizens and as human beings, lifts its ugly head once more. We hardly need reminders that not all is well in the human rights domain, but COVID-19 definitely is one. Also, many of the responses to this pandemic, in one way or another, have rather forcefully driven along the digitalization of our lifeworlds. The possibilities for surveillance as practiced by both governments and the private sector will increase enormously. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights was formulated in response to centuries of hardship in a thoroughly analog world. COVID-19 is one more very big step into an increasingly digital world in which human rights must be not only rethought in their new context, one by one, but also defended in ways that themselves make use of the compulsory digitalization that is happening all around us.

Rebuild What? And How?

William C. Clark, Harvey Brooks Professor of International Science, Public Policy and Human Development; **Alicia G. Harley**, Post-Doctoral Fellow, Sustainability Science Program

OUR WORK ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT invites a long-term perspective on today’s overlapping crises, of which the coronavirus, racism, and climate heating are only the most visible faces. From that intergenerational perspective, shocks and surprises are the norm, not the exception. Sometimes they stem from wars, sometimes from environmental degradation, sometimes from technological innovations, sometimes from revolutionary ideas ... and sometimes from pandemics. Such disruptions invariably impoverish or kill some people while opening opportunities for others. They can also lay bare underlying social inequalities that incumbent regimes have ignored or papered over. That is certainly the case today, when it has become starkly clear that the burden of our overlapping crises is falling disproportionately on people who are Black or poor or otherwise socially marginalized. The long-term perspective of the quest for sustainable development also highlights the reality that however terrible the immediate impacts of history’s cataclysmic disruptions, their ultimate consequences for human well-being are not foreordained but rather depend on how we choose to rebuild in their wake. But rebuild what? And how? Research suggests that the prospects for rebuilding a more just and prosperous world—and a world better prepared to weather the next inevitable shocks—depend on long-term programs of action to strengthen and maintain the following six interdependent social capacities:

- The capacity to conserve and enhance the natural and anthropogenic resources that constitute the productive base of society.
- The capacity to ensure greater equity in access to that resource base and the flow of goods and services produced from it.
- The capacity to adapt to unexpected shocks through identification and provisioning of essential reserves and through practice in mobilizing them.
- The capacity to transform unsustainable development pathways into more-sustainable ones through the disempowerment of incumbents vested in unjust aspects of the status quo.
- The capacity to link knowledge with action in ways that enhance the effectiveness of political agitation aimed at equitable improvements in well-being.
- The capacity to govern—to work together to achieve what we can’t achieve alone—and thus to develop and implement all the other capacities in an integrated and mutually supportive fashion.



An integrated strategy of capacity building is no substitute for immediate action to meet the basic needs and redress the violent injustices facing us in today's crises. But such a strategy is a historically informed alternative to the temptations facing each of us to focus exclusively on the single ill or capacity about which we feel most strongly. The capacities we list here are complementary, not competitive. Society has already built a significant understanding of how to foster each of them, and has sometimes learned to integrate them in sustained programs that support deep and long-lasting social change. Such programs should be put into action today by diverse actors at multiple scales in concerted efforts to rebuild a more just and sustainable world from the wreckage of our current crises.

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DEMOCRACY

A Just and Democratic New Normal

Archon Fung, Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government

A PERFECT STORM OF THREE CRISES is battering America: a public health crisis of the COVID-19 pandemic; a civic crisis of widespread protests sparked by racist police abuse; and an economic crisis of record unemployment and dislocation. Between now and November, we may well face a fourth political crisis surrounding the presidential election, its conduct, and perhaps even its outcome. These crises have vanquished all sense of normalcy for now. But in the longer term, will we be able to create a better new normal? What world will COVID-19 leave behind?

Writing in the *Financial Times*, Peter Atwater foresees a “K”-shaped recovery. The upward part of the K—people who will do better than before these crises—consists of professionals and others at the top end of the income distribution. The bottom half consists of have-nots who may fare even worse than they did before the crisis: essential but sometimes disposable workers, sometimes lacking health care, sick leave, or employment; and low-income people and people of color, who we now know suffer much more damage from COVID-19. If the future is this K, COVID-19 will merely have accelerated the trends toward economic, social, political, and health inequities that have been widening in the United States for the past 40 years: a quickening of the old normal as we knew it.

But perhaps it is within our grasp to create a different new normal, one that is more equitable and democratic. We can see shoots of this better new normal in the civic federalism of local responses to COVID-19's damage. Many governors and mayors stepped up with energy and creative solutions to protect public

health and map the way to recovery. Some businesses and nonprofits took costly action early to protect their employees and communities. Labor and community advocates organized immediate aid, but also spoke up for the least advantaged.

There are more shoots visible in the huge protests following George Floyd's killing. People of many races and classes have awakened to the reinforcing harms of economic inequality, disease, and racism. Himself an avatar of this intersectionality, Floyd lost his job as a security guard because of the pandemic, contracted COVID-19 in April, and was killed several weeks later by a Minneapolis police officer.

Will these shoots multiply into a robust new American democracy? Or will they be mowed down by the juggernauts of racism and plutocracy that preceded the pandemic? The answer is up to us.

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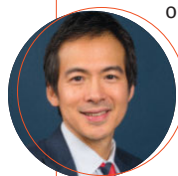
Information Is Survival Gear

Nancy Gibbs, Director of the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy; Visiting Edward R. Murrow Professor of Press, Politics and Public Policy

THIS PITILESS SPRING OF 2020 has exploited the forces that already weakened us: our political divisions, our doubts, and our intersecting injustices. Partisan division turned public health measures into performance art; distrust of institutions deepened as they struggled to respond; and the weight of suffering, physical and economic, on communities of color has inspired people all around the world to risk their own health and safety to come into the streets in solidarity.

Early in this crisis, the World Health Organization warned of an “infodemic”—people overwhelmed by information, some of it true, much of it not, that made it harder for anyone to know what to believe. In the months since, we've seen just how viral conspiracy theories can be, spread by those looking to divide us even further or profit from our fears. So, both the media and the platforms that control so much of our information ecosystem face a reckoning that was long overdue. We are seeing that play out in real time, from the serial policy adjustments at Facebook and Twitter to the soul-searching in our largest newsrooms to the desperate efforts to save what remains of local news.

Good information is more than a democratic value; it is survival gear. When people show up in emergency rooms after drinking bleach in hopes of preventing infection, or blame 5G, GMOs, or Bill Gates for the spread of the virus, we have failed to protect our information streams from lethal toxins. Out of this crisis, for all our divisions and distrust, should come a deep and broad debate over rules and norms about speech: Who controls what we read and see and hear? How do we honor both freedom and fairness? What can we do to promote reliable information even as we prevent misinformation from



“Good information is more than a democratic value; it is survival gear.”

NANCY GIBBS

spreading? We aren't likely to agree on the way forward, so the next test will be how well we create the conditions for debate—listening with open minds, putting the public interest first, and realizing that the tension between values can be a source of strength, not an excuse for surrender.

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When Misinformation Mobilizes

Joan Donovan, Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy; Research Director at the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy

AS A RESEARCHER OF CRITICAL INTERNET STUDIES who specializes in media manipulation and disinformation, I am often asked about how social media impacts society. When it comes to thinking about health misinformation on tech platforms, we must recognize how quickly behaviors change when people are exposed to new information. Questions about how to protect oneself and one's family from COVID-19 became a breeding ground for misinformation, where political polarization exacerbated an already contentious issue. To wear or not to wear a mask became a show of partisanship as a relatively innocuous recommendation turned into a topic of political discussion on social media.

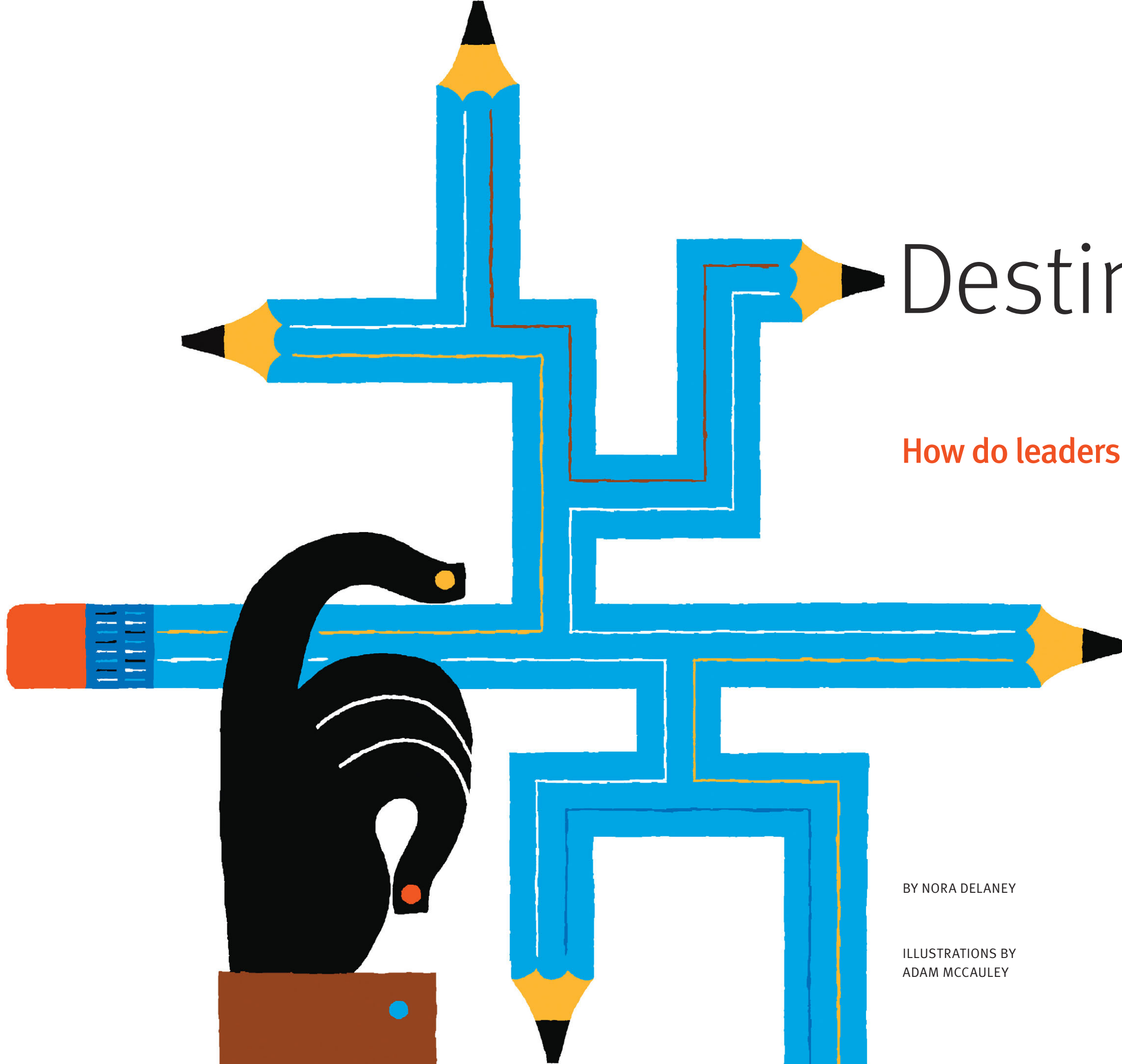
As the pandemic hit, like a slow-moving hurricane, many

took shelter indoors and followed along closely online, where social media platforms amplified both truth and misinformation about COVID-19. Rumors and conspiracy theories about medical recommendations, which are difficult for public health professionals to address, sit alongside data about potential risk and harm. Some health misinformation underpins in-person rallies to reopen the economy in the United States, where activists claimed that COVID-19 was a grand hoax by Democrats to hijack the election. When misinformation mobilizes, it can endanger the public.

For the past decade, we have witnessed social media platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and YouTube, become the most indispensable conduits of information during social upheaval, elections, and natural disasters. But look back to their origins: They were not designed to be such critical communication infrastructure. YouTube began as a dating site; Facebook was a place for college students to network; and Twitter's purpose as a microblog was described by CEO Jack Dorsey as “a short burst of inconsequential information.” How things have changed!

The lessons we learn today about how to handle health misinformation may hold the key to developing public policy on other forms of disinformation, especially as it relates to the role social media companies will play in curating content online. Tech companies are slowly coming to the realization that it's not just their corporate reputations at stake. It's also our lives.

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Destination Unknown

How do leaders make decisions in uncertainty?

BY NORA DELANEY

ILLUSTRATIONS BY
ADAM MCCAULEY

“I KNOW THAT I KNOW NOTHING.” This observation, loosely attributed to the ancient Greek philosopher Socrates, raises a host of questions: What can you do when you know if not nothing, then not enough? When you are a public leader responsible for the well-being of a community, how can you best serve people? What should you do when the stakes are high but you have little knowledge to guide you?

With the coronavirus pandemic, the world is experiencing an unprecedented and long-lasting public health crisis that has left almost no community untouched. Leaders must make crucial and time-sensitive decisions that affect the lives, health, and economic well-being of the people in their communities, but they must do so with limited information. In these conditions of uncertainty, decision making is a challenge even for experienced leaders. How can leaders decide when to open up schools and businesses? What should they take into account?

Harvard Kennedy School faculty members offer advice for decision making in times of uncertainty—from the practitioners who have managed crises during stints in government to behavioral scientists who can provide insight into how emotions affect choices. Faculty members have reached out to inform and counsel public leaders and policymakers in the United States and across the world through Zoom videoconferences, blogs, opinion pieces, and podcasts reaching hundreds of participants—in addition to the lessons they provide to the internal Kennedy School community through courses,

“Be honest. Empower people with facts. And be modest and give yourself the space to pivot when you need to.” MATT ANDREWS

special teaching sessions, and community conversations like the Dean’s Discussions, a series of talks over the spring and summer that focused on the coronavirus and included a session on race and the pandemic.

The HKS faculty has shared a wealth of diverse evidence-based ideas about leadership during times of crisis and how leaders can be effective even under conditions of extreme uncertainty. This knowledge should give public leaders hope.

Technical versus adaptive

One way to think about the COVID-19 crisis is as an adaptive problem. **RONALD HEIFETZ**, the King Hussein Bin Talal Senior Lecturer in Public Leadership, developed a framework—known as adaptive leadership—that is used around the world.

Heifetz distinguishes between challenges that are technical and those that are adaptive. Unlike technical problems, adaptive problems often require that people develop new capacities. They are frequently generated by novel and unpredictable challenges, and usually no clear-cut approach to solving them exists.

“When a problem is technical—when it is a known problem for which we can engineer a solution—we can design a critical path from point A to point B and be pretty good at sticking to that path to get to where we want to go,” Heifetz says. “But adaptive problems—such as the coronavirus pandemic—do not have that kind of certainty and predictability, and that puts enormous pressure on authorities to do the impossible: to resolve the uncertainty quickly and restore people to their normal lives. That’s one of the major reasons why we see a lack of leadership from people in authority positions: It’s dangerous to disappoint people. Authorities are under tremendous pressure to treat adaptive challenges as if they were technical problems.”

According to Heifetz, the crisis is making two key properties of adaptive change very real.

First, he says, we need people to step up and practice leadership throughout society to mobilize adaptive work, from the micro level of families, to people within organizations pulling together to seize new opportunities or sustain revenue, to every level of government—from local to national—as it is managing through the crisis, decisively solving its technical components and generating adaptability. Heifetz says, “We need people to lead just because they see the need to take the initiative, without waiting for the coach to call them into the play, without waiting to be

appointed, elected, or hired—pulling together whomever they can reach to face into our collective challenges creatively and together.”

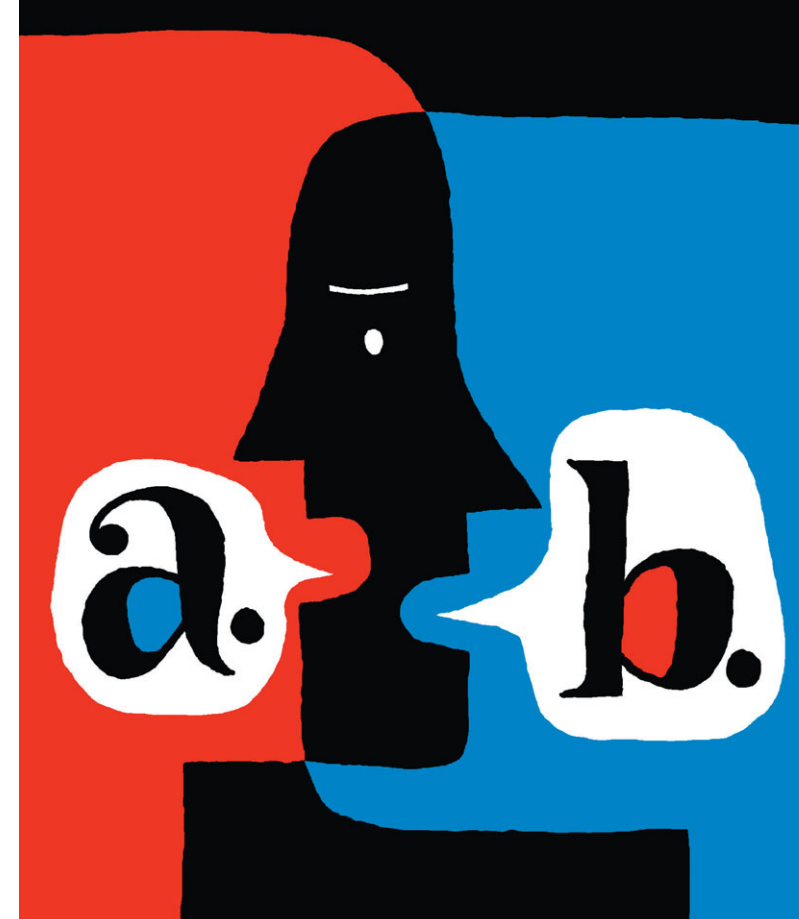
Second, we need trustworthy authorities who will figure out how to gain, renew, or repair trust on an ongoing daily basis so that they can then “provide the critical coordinating mechanisms of action and can educate people with the daily emerging truth, with its uncertainty, so that people can engage in the work that only they can do—the ongoing and changing adjustments they have to make.” In Heifetz’s view, the pandemic is teaching us that meeting this adaptive challenge requires shared responsibility, shared losses, and widespread innovation in every family, business, schoolhouse, nonprofit organization, and government office. “Building new capacity to meet an adaptive challenge often requires widespread behavioral change,” he says, and “leading from positions of authority requires titrating hope and despair daily, to buffer the losses while also engaging people realistically, because the losses need to be worked with and cannot be avoided.”

Heifetz believes that the coronavirus crisis is giving us a shared global experience that is generating billions of adaptive efforts—some unsuccessful, but many encouraging—from which we can learn much, both for this moment in the pandemic and for other challenges that will demand adaptive change.

Without a clear path, Heifetz says, leaders need to improvise and take corrective action often; this is the nature of adaptive work. “Leadership is an improvisational art,” he says. “You may have an overarching vision—that’s the easy part. The hard part is reading a changing reality and pacing the work so that your people can adjust and innovate in their lives and organizations at a rate they can absorb.”

Like many other faculty experts, Heifetz emphasizes the importance of trust: “There are bonds that hold a community together. Bonds of trust, bonds of affection, bonds of affiliation, bonds of mutual identification, that enable us to stay in the tough conversations against the divisive forces that would allow us to fly off into isolation.” According to him, these bonds are holding communities together.

Some elements of trust are hard: Public officials must acknowledge the difficulties that people face in a crisis like the coronavirus pandemic. Heifetz believes that leadership requires respecting and speaking to the severity of losses in people’s lives. Delivering tough messages requires “an enormous degree of empathy, humility, and transparency,” he says. “Public officials need to learn to speak with an authoritative voice when the message is uncertainty ... and when the only way through this



is shared losses and shared responsibility for the welfare of the community. Public officials have to find a way to give the work back to their various publics with presence, heart, transparency, and decisive action, even if those decisions will require change.”

“Particularly in an era of widespread distrust of authority,” Heifetz says, “the mindset of authorities in the midst of a crisis needs to be a mindset of repair and renewal. They must tend to trust on an ongoing basis.”

Lessons for leaders in developing countries

MATT ANDREWS, the Edward S. Mason Senior Lecturer in International Development, is the faculty director of the School’s Building State Capability program, housed in the Center for International Development. Andrews has created a blog series—Public Leadership Through Crisis—that offers ideas to help leaders during the COVID-19 pandemic. Through this blog, he shares insights from the Building State Capability program and from “problem driven iterative adaptation” (PDIA) methodology, which brings together teams of officials and stakeholders to identify complex problems and break them down into more-manageable components.

Andrews’ work is focused primarily on developing and transitioning governments, but he notes that many of the countries he works with are struggling with the same questions and issues that government officials are facing in the United States. In an episode of the Kennedy School’s podcast, PolicyCast, devoted

to this topic, Andrews observed, “Even if you don’t have all those resources, there’s an incredible amount that you can do by better authorizing people, by mobilizing and inspiring people.”

For a series spanning several weeks, Andrews spoke with policymakers and public leaders in developing countries that do not have robust institutions to handle a public health crisis. He held Friday Zoom sessions—most of which drew 50 or 60 people from around the world—to talk through the nuts and bolts of leadership as the crisis unfolds in real time. “If ever there was a time when leadership matters, it’s now,” he says.

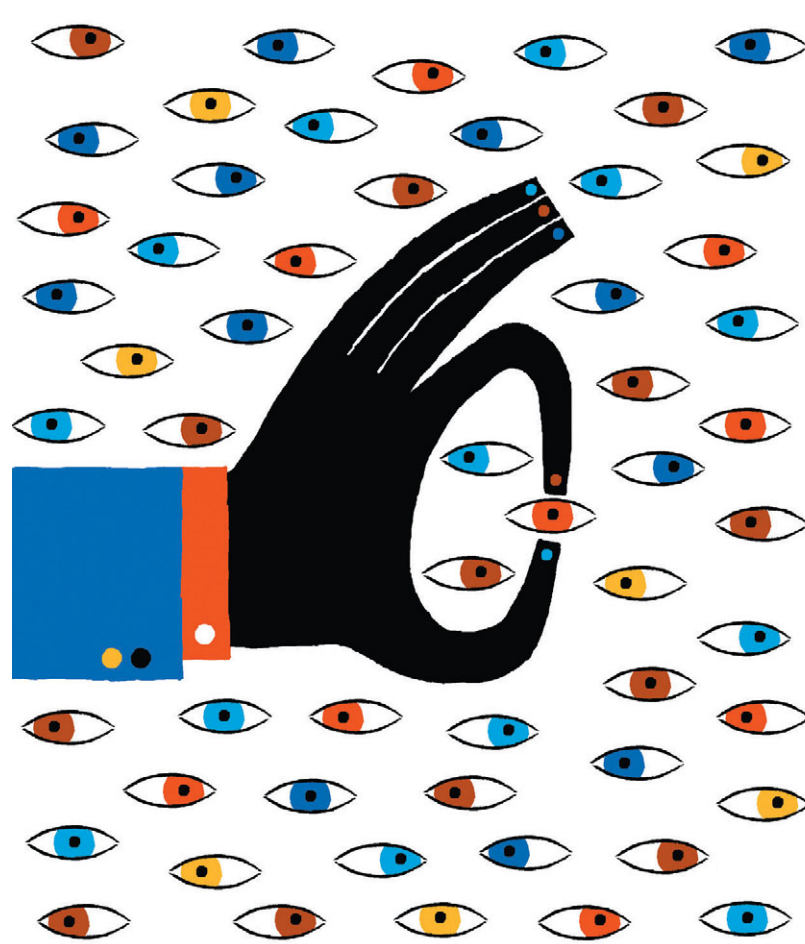
Andrews has been sharing a few takeaways with leaders. Most people he has spoken with have basic questions about what the public health response should be. “We don’t have a lot of resources, and we don’t have a lot of tools to throw at this,” he says. “So the public response everywhere has been to observe social distancing to try to stop the spread.” Leaders who begin this earlier, Andrews says, will have more tools to work with. To be effective, they should communicate well, mobilize people to be on their side, and manage the politics of the situation so that societies are unified rather than fragmented.

What should leaders do when they communicate with their constituents? Andrews suggests, “Be honest. Empower people with facts. And be modest and give yourself the space to pivot when you need to.” He adds that being calm and reliable is equally important.

In addition to communicating effectively, leaders need to organize people well. In times of crisis, Andrews says, leaders often tend to “circle the wagons” and gather small teams around them. But a command-and-control approach, working through a rigid hierarchy, is often too brittle to be very effective. He says, “We found that actually most organizations—and this is in keeping with the literature—do that for a week, do that for two weeks, and then they actually find that things start to crumble.”

How emotions can sway decisions

JULIA MINSON, a social psychologist who studies conflict, negotiations, and judgment and decision making, has tips drawn from her research for leaders communicating in times of crisis. Minson, who is an associate professor of public policy at the Kennedy School, is particularly interested in the “psychology of disagreement”—that is, how people engage with opinions, judgments, and decisions that differ from their own. She observes that the COVID-19 pandemic has caused conflict and become



a source of argument, with people debating what is factual. “A lot of the things we have been observing, for example, with the climate change debate are happening again,” she says. “There is a set of scientific and medical facts, and all of a sudden, people are finding reasons to debate them. You have people who are deeply, passionately committed to a particular set of values, to a particular set of perspectives, that are backed by facts and data. And they absolutely cannot communicate with people who don’t see the world the same way they do.”

Minson also believes that many leadership challenges are communications challenges. “A level of buy-in is required,” she says, because the pandemic necessitates a great deal of voluntary cooperation from the public to observe social-distancing measures. “So the question becomes, ‘How can we communicate in a way that garners that cooperation around an issue that has become partisan and conflict-laden?’”

Her advice for leaders is to understand that it is OK to pivot if facts on the ground change and you have evidence that suggests a new course. Leaders might worry that they will come across as indecisive, but studies suggest that they will be seen as better decision makers and as more competent (if less confident) leaders. “What people are looking for right now are competent, thoughtful decision makers,” Minson says. “And when you change your mind in the face of evidence, that’s exactly how you’re seen.”

She and her colleagues have developed a “recipe” to help people communicate better in conditions of disagreement and have built an algorithm that identifies words and phrases that can make people on the other side of a conversation feel understood. “They are not rocket science,” she says.

These communication tips include acknowledging the other person’s point of view and finding common ground. “There’s almost always something in common,” Minson says. “In the current situation, both people want to get through this as quickly as possible, or both are very concerned about the implications for the economy, or both recognize that kids have a very hard time when they’re out of school for a long time. So finding agreement means reaching beyond the current conflict and looking for some very basic things that we as humans can agree on.”

Minson also advises against using the language we tend to adopt when we want to win arguments. She says that “linguistic markers of debate”—the words *because*, *therefore*, and *actually*, for example—can sound condescending. If you are careful with your word choice, she says, other people will feel that you are listening to them rather than trying to force your own opinion on them.

Leading through crisis in practice

WENDY SHERMAN provides a few overarching principles of leadership that she has observed and learned through her experiences in government. Sherman, who served as undersecretary of state for political affairs in the Obama administration, was the lead U.S. negotiator in the talks with Iran that resulted in a nuclear agreement in 2015. She also led talks with North Korea during the Clinton administration. Now she serves as a professor of the practice of public leadership and the director of the Kennedy School’s Center for Public Leadership.

Sherman says that the pioneering leadership studies scholar Warren Bennis offers a good sense of the qualities needed to lead in uncertain times. Bennis, she says, “talked about a leader having a guiding vision, having passion, hope, and inspiration” along with integrity, candor, maturity, humility, curiosity, and “daring wonder.” Sherman believes that trust is also both a product of and a requirement for good leadership: “It’s not something that just exists. It’s given in that contract between people.”

She also draws from a model of leadership used by the U.S. armed forces, summarized as “Be–Know–Do.” Leaders should embody certain virtues and character traits, such as integrity. They should possess certain capabilities, including interpersonal and technical skills. And they should act.

Sherman emphasizes that leaders benefit from knowing when to pivot in a crisis. “No leader can corral all the forces necessary to get to a perfect solution in the first instance,” she says. “We are all interconnected. Viruses know no borders. But the solution

“What people are looking for right now are competent, thoughtful decision makers. And when you change your mind in the face of evidence, that’s exactly how you’re seen.” **JULIA MINSON**

is to be apart. And for leaders to figure out how to bring people together by telling them to stay apart is a very difficult thing to do. So we all should be somewhat generous to our leaders, because they’re all going to fail at some level. And what a good leader does is learn from that failure quickly and be able to pivot.”

The Kennedy School teaches policy design and delivery concepts that are crucial in making sound leadership decisions, Sherman points out. The principles that students learn in their courses and in practical experiences like the first-year MPP Spring Exercise—which this year focused on responding to COVID-19—can help in understanding the complexity of crises, in making decisions on the basis of evidence, and in communicating clearly. But in addition to the core interpersonal and technical skills that leaders need to do their jobs, and that the Kennedy School teaches its students, context matters a great deal.

“The context for this crisis is perhaps one of the most immensely difficult that any leader anywhere in the world has had to define,” Sherman says. “It is, quite frankly, more difficult than the 2008–2009 financial crisis. It is even more difficult than the aftermath of 9/11.” It is also more challenging, in Sherman’s opinion, than the Ebola crisis, which unfolded while she was serving at the State Department. “This is going to go on for a very long time,” Sherman says. “And the uncertainty of what’s ahead—the unknowingness of what’s ahead—requires tremendous humility on the part of leaders.”

Like Sherman, **JULIETTE KAYYEM** has handled crises in practice. Kayyem, the Belfer Senior Lecturer in International Security, has been an active voice on crisis response during the pandemic. Along with her colleague **DUTCH LEONARD**, the George F. Baker, Jr. Professor of Public Management, Kayyem has frequently contributed to a series of sessions over the spring and summer for mayors and city leaders managing the pandemic’s fallout. The sessions were a collaboration between the **BLOOMBERG HARVARD CITY LEADERSHIP INITIATIVE** and Bloomberg Philanthropies’ Coronavirus Local Response Initiative and were hosted by **JORRIT DE JONG**, the faculty director of the initiative and a senior lecturer in public policy and management. Each Zoom session attracted hundreds of mayors and other urban leaders. In the first of these videoconferences, Kayyem drew on her experience as an assistant secretary at the Department of Homeland Security in the Obama administration. During her tenure, she was involved with the federal government’s response to the 2010 Deepwater Horizon oil spill. Kayyem observes that in crisis situations, leaders must clearly communicate the information and data they have, even if that

information is limited. “It’s just honest,” she says. “That’s all you have got: numbers and hope.”

Three essential tasks for responding to crises

Although the COVID-19 response sessions themselves were open to city leaders only, the Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative has posted takeaways and insights on its website. These tools for crisis management and crisis communications target local leaders, but they are valuable for anyone in a leadership position. Among the takeaways are three leadership tasks crucial to responding to a crisis (drawing on the work of Leonard, Kayyem, and de Jong, as well as **ARNOLD HOWITT** and **DAVID GILES** from the Kennedy School’s Program on Crisis Leadership):

- Assess where you are in the life cycle of the crisis with as much accuracy as possible. This will inform how you allocate your attention and activities and organize the work.
- Establish a problem-solving process for a novel threat. Routine emergency management processes will not be sufficient for responding to this crisis, which will require rapid integration of new (and incomplete) information, learning on the fly, and nimble reactions to emergent issues.
- Understand the political aspects and identify risks to be managed so as to keep order, secure and retain support, and create the conditions for effective collaboration under extreme circumstances.

Like the military model “Be–Know–Do,” these three tasks emphasize using available knowledge and evidence and drawing on a problem-solving skill set to address a crisis, even when much is uncertain.

Although few surefire answers can be found to the questions that emerge in unprecedented crises like the coronavirus pandemic, leaders can take some basic actions to arm themselves with the best knowledge possible—using lessons from the adaptive leadership model and from problem-driven iterative adaptation, from practical crisis management experience and expertise, from decision science and more. From pillars of the community to mayors to heads of state, leaders should listen to expert opinion, communicate clearly, and mobilize people to act. Kennedy School experts show that even under conditions of uncertainty, leaders can use a wealth of tools and skills to make wise, informed decisions.



A movement greater than this tragic moment

The killing of George Floyd has reverberated across the country.

Protests erupted from coast to coast. The United States, already struggling with a pandemic, an economic collapse, and political polarization, seems to be at a defining moment.

We asked Harvard Kennedy School faculty members for their analysis of the crisis and their thoughts on a pathway out of it.

America Aflame: Why Now, and What Next?

Cornell William Brooks is the Hauser Professor of the Practice of Nonprofit Organizations; Professor of the Practice of Public Leadership and Social Justice; and a former president and CEO of the NAACP.

MILLIONS HAVE WATCHED the pornographically violent video of George Floyd dying under the knee of a Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin. Traumatized and outraged, Americans have taken to the streets in mostly peaceful protests, punctuated by both civilian and police violence. With protesters, police, and military in our streets, many ask two questions that are both historical and moral: Why now? What next?

Why has the police homicide of Floyd sparked national protest and even civil unrest? And why now? Floyd's homicide is neither unique nor even rare. The sixth leading cause of death of young Black men is police homicide. Young Black men are 21 times more likely to be killed by the police than their white counterparts. Indeed, one in a thousand Black men will die at the hands of the police. Black men are wildly overrepresented among the approximately 900 to 1,000 people who are killed by the police each year. Given these statistics, why did this alleged murder spark such unrest now? The video.

Videos of police homicides and hashtags of Black men (and boys alleged to be men)—Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Laquan McDonald, Alton Sterling, Philando Castile, and Freddie Gray, to name a tragically prominent few—are as morally disturbing as they are frequent. This video may differ from others in that not only was Floyd's death caught on camera, but he died in a close-up of violence. He was killed under a police officer's knee, not shot at a distance like Scott, Rice, McDonald, and Castile. The videotaped homicide, with a soundtrack of Floyd's pleas for help, takes place over nearly nine minutes. It creates an uneasy intimacy with violence, visceral revulsion, and outrage. America's reaction to the Floyd video is similar to African Americans' reaction to *Jet* magazine's publication of the photograph of the disfigured Emmett Till, a Black child tortured and murdered by white racists in 1955.

The moral revulsion elicited by the Floyd video has precipitated mass resistance to long-standing police brutality. Given the history of police misconduct, and having been involved in protests, legislation, and

investigations related to most of the major police homicides of the past five years, I contend that this moment is distinctive, not unique; tragic, but providing hope. Emmett Till's death and photograph on the eve of the 1955 Montgomery boycott inspired the modern civil rights movement, federal legislation, investigations, and prosecutions. Floyd's death and video may yet inspire a movement far greater than this tragic moment. This, of course, is largely in our hands.

This Is a Real Fight. Are You Ready?

Marshall Ganz is the Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society

THESE PROTESTS ARE REAL. They reveal our failure to free ourselves of the racism, violence, and lawlessness—a legacy of slavery—embedded in our institutions. We don't need more “conversations” about race. We need action—action that takes on the institution of policing itself: purpose, strategy, hiring, training, accountability, culture, and leadership. But the deep, persistent, crippling inequalities of wealth, health, education, housing, and all the rest are not a policing problem, although they often seem to be treated that way. Make no mistake about it: This is a real fight. Are you ready?



A demonstrator holds up a sign with the names of Black people killed by police.



An anti-racism protester shows a photo of George Floyd to police officers dressed in riot gear.

Valuing Black Lives

Megan Ming Francis was a visiting associate professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School for the 2019–2020 academic year. These comments are based on remarks she gave during an event hosted by the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy.

PUBLIC POLICYMAKERS AND INDIVIDUALS increasingly think and speak about the #BlackLivesMatter movement as if this project is a new one. But it is not. Black people in the United States have been fighting for their lives for a very long time.

In my book *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*, I chronicle how the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People mounted the largest campaign in history against lynching and racist mob violence in the early 20th century. Focused on the protection of Black lives from state-sanctioned violence, the NAACP organized mass demonstrations, advocated for an anti-lynching bill in Congress, and won a landmark criminal procedure decision in front of the Supreme Court.

More than 100 years later, racial violence has reemerged on the national political scene as the defining civil rights issue in contemporary United States politics. Responding to the murders of Breonna Taylor and George Floyd and chanting “Black lives matter,” activists have taken to the streets in cities like Minneapolis and Louisville to bring attention to the disposability of Black lives at the hands of law enforcement.

So where do we go from here? One of the points that has been so clear from the history of the Black freedom struggle is that Black people have been articulating a different vision of democracy and institutional accountability for a very long time, and we must pay much more attention. This is a terrible moment, but I've never witnessed so many people who urgently want something radically different; people want new ideas and strategies around harm reduction and accountability. So many people have been holding on, thinking we can reform policing around the edges. But now, lots of people have shifted and no longer believe meaningful reform is possible inside and are asking what else is actually out there. And so I've seen this opening—at least of people's imagination—to think about other kinds of institutional arrangements that actually value the community and the people that are in these communities much more, and that is hopeful. I believe listening to Black people who have been articulating a different vision is part of what the mattering of Black lives is all about.



“One of the points that has been so clear from the history of the Black freedom struggle is that Black people have been articulating a different vision of democracy and institutional accountability for a very long time, and we must pay much more attention.”

MEGAN MING FRANCIS

FACULTY PORTRAITS BY MARTHA STEWART, CLAY BANKS

PORTRAIT COURTESY OF MEGAN MING FRANCIS

From Protest to People Power

Archon Fung is the Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government at Harvard Kennedy School.



“These protests are an attempt to grab a modicum of power—to punish and perhaps change the police whose practices likely killed George Floyd.”

ARCHON FUNG

DEMOCRACY LITERALLY MEANS PEOPLE (*demos*) POWER (*kratos*). Democracy is a way of organizing our lives together so that we have power over the important decisions that affect us.

It has enabled some of us to create a government that gives us the home-mortgage-interest deduction, delivers the mail, makes sure the streets and parks are in good shape, runs nice suburban schools, and protects us from theft and other crimes.

But many of the people who protested in hundreds of cities around the nation this May and June lack power over very basic aspects of their lives and their government. For them, government is the police and prosecutors who run a system in which one in three Black men can expect to be in prison during their lifetimes. As the cases of Eric Garner, George Floyd, and many others demonstrate, that system kills, often with impunity. For these people, government is made up of the social service workers who can deny support and tell them how to run their family lives, the stingy public support systems that fail to provide economic security or even health care, and the dilapidated schools. These people don’t have democracy; they don’t have power.

The protests are an attempt to seize a modicum of power—to punish and perhaps change the police whose practices likely killed George Floyd. Protesting and disrupting are the only ways some people can exercise power. They are what people who lack more-effective avenues of influence sometimes do. As Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. said, “A riot is the language of the unheard.”

What Police Unions Must Do

Frank Hartmann is an adjunct lecturer in public policy and a senior research fellow in the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management at the Kennedy School. The excerpt below is from an op-ed Hartmann wrote with former Boston Police Commissioner Ed Davis for the *Boston Globe*.

DEREK CHAUVIN, THE MINNEAPOLIS POLICE OFFICER accused of the murder of George Floyd, had 18 previous complaints lodged against him, yet the city’s police chief had no way to impose serious discipline on the officer. Again and again, progress in policing has been frustrated by collective bargaining agreements negotiated by police unions and signed by elected officials. It is time to raise the issue again. The cost of not addressing it, not fixing it, is far too high.

Police work can be difficult and dangerous. It is understandable that officers want fair treatment in disciplinary matters, someone on their side. They should not be the victims of unfounded accusations. But recurring bad conduct is not acceptable. It must be stopped. There have been far too many gross violations of citizens’ rights, even to the point of death.

Police officers know when a fellow officer is out of control. They are wary of such officers. It is difficult to stand up to bad behavior. When, as invariably happens, a citizen is harmed and an accusation is

One way to end the protests is, as our president urges, “to dominate” with police and military force to shut these protesters up, to deny them even this form of voice, and to use repression to further exclude the communities they represent from the democratic enterprise.

Another way is to extend democracy—people power—to individuals and communities that do not now have it. There are several ways to do that.

First, create opportunities for residents to exercise real power over the parts of government that affect their lives the most. For example, involve them in deciding how police operate in their neighborhoods and how their schools are run.

Second, strengthen neighborhood initiatives and local government to enable people, especially in communities of color and low-income neighborhoods, to determine the shape of their lives. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston offers an inspiring model. So does the practice of participatory budgeting, in which people in city neighborhoods decide how public money is spent.

Third, strengthen the groups that organize and advocate at local and national levels for the interests and lives of people of color. Police unions and chambers of commerce generate power for their members. Democratic power for people of color requires robust organizations as well—churches and civil rights organizations, to be sure, but also newer groups such as the Movement for Black Lives and Black Voters Matter.



FACULTY PORTRAITS BY MARTHA STEWART

formalized, the union steps in. The “blue wall” is raised around the officer. The union will not acknowledge bad behavior, will not accept any discipline of a brother or sister officer, no matter how outrageous the behavior. This happens even though each offending officer places the whole profession in disrepute.

Three groups of people could address this problem and move us forward to better, fairer policing.

First, officers must accept the real danger these problem colleagues present. They must demand that union leaders rehabilitate such people or separate them from police service. Second, union leaders must make measurably effective efforts to rid departments of badly performing officers at the same time that they protect good officers. They must clearly demonstrate that the status quo of shielding problem officers is unacceptable. Third, state legislators must get serious about fixing the various legislative deals that have protected police officers from appropriate oversight.

Addressing the issue of intransigent police unions would help to prevent bad police behavior. It would improve policing in the community, on the street, with real people. It would tear down the impenetrable wall. Unions can do this. Unions must do this. It will take courage on the part of officers, union leaders, chiefs, and legislators. We need that courage, now.

The Violence, And the Threat of It, At the Heart of American Democracy

Khalil Gibran Muhammad is a professor of history, race, and public policy at Harvard Kennedy School and the Suzanne Young Murray Professor at Harvard’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. His comments first appeared in *Politico*.

FROM SOME VANTAGE POINTS, the protests might appear more controlled than what we saw after the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner. This time, officials and the media have clearly defined “peaceful” protesters who have a right to take to the streets, versus rioters, looters, and extremists who don’t. The sheer number of daytime white protesters alongside Black community members has also changed the political calculus, perhaps even limiting overzealous, militarized displays of force.

Yet, given the nationwide scale of protests, there are many more rubber bullets, tear gas canisters, and flash grenades flying toward protesters than in years past. There are also reports across different cities of excessive uses of force, like two New York Police Department SUVs that drove into a crowd of dozens of protesters for blocking traffic. In Atlanta, six officers were charged after pulling over and tasing a Black couple—students at Morehouse and Spelman colleges—who were trying to leave a protest after curfew. It seems that the police have been more violent and aggressive, particularly when day turns to night, and especially in response to those who deliberately destroy property. From the White House to governors’ mansions, officials are branding after-hours protesters violent criminals and calling for law and order. “New York was lost to the looters, thugs, Radical Left, and all others forms of Lowlife & Scum,” President Trump tweeted on June 2.

There’s a profound irony in this latest moment of civil unrest. As officials try to protect property and defend people’s right to protest peacefully for victims of police violence, the police risk killing even more people. It doesn’t make much sense, and only demonstrates how much state violence and the threat of it still rests at the heart of American democracy.



Protesters kneel and hold signs in support of Black lives.



“As officials try to protect property and defend people’s right to protest peacefully for victims of police violence, the police risk killing even more people.”

KHALIL GIBRAN MUHAMMAD

THE MOZAMBIQUE
SCHOOL LUNCH
INITIATIVE FOUNDED
BY CARA MYERS
MPA/ID 2018 IS
HELPING TO FEED
CHILDREN AND
BUILD LOCAL
AGRICULTURE.

BY RALPH RANALLI

A NEW HARVEST



PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF MOZAMBIQUE SCHOOL LUNCH INITIATIVE

CARA MYERS MPA/ID 2018 SAYS THAT A TRUISM from her Harvard Kennedy School education, which she has field-tested in the rural schools and farmsteads of southern Mozambique, is that your solution to a problem could be the right one—and still go wrong.

“You can be technically correct, but that doesn’t matter if you don’t have the right institutions and the right management to make something happen,” says Myers, the founder of the Mozambique School Lunch Initiative, a nonprofit that feeds 1,200 children daily with the aim of keeping them both nourished and in school. “That has really been true to my experience.”

Much of her current approach to partnering with rural communities in Mozambique to alleviate childhood malnutrition, she says, comes from courses with Matt Andrews, Edward S. Mason Senior Lecturer in International Development and director of the Building State Capabilities program, including “Getting Things Done: Management in a Development Context” (MLD-102) and “Problem-Driven Interactive Adaptation in Action” (MLD-103M). “I think it’s being able to take more of an ecosystem perspective, and really trying to think about what actually leads to impact, not just an outcome,” she says. “You know: What are you really trying to solve?”

In Mozambique that has meant linking two problems—childhood hunger and farmers’ income—and their solutions in a holistic way to give the program more long-term sustainability with locally sourced food. The initiative has collaborated with farmers on everything from modernizing their methods to irrigation equipment to working collective fields instead of individual plots.

“It’s not just the technical knowledge of how much fertilizer you need to apply,” Myers says. “It’s more about how do you get people to work together? How do you sustain change? And that is much more complicated. We’re building capability.”

When the program started, in 2016, southern Mozambique was experiencing a severe drought. “Even if we wanted to buy from local farmers, there was nothing available,” Myers says. Since then, the initiative has built up a supply chain of nearly 50 local farmers with 25 acres under cultivation, raising sweet potatoes, beans, onions, kale, tomatoes, cabbage, and even chickens. The farmers sell a portion of their production to the school lunch program, providing high-quality fresh food and earning



“It’s not just the technical knowledge of how much fertilizer you need to apply. It’s more about how do you get people to work together? How do you sustain change?”

CARA MYERS MPA/ID 2018



money for their families. “Last year we doubled farmer income—that’s transformational change,” Myers says.

The Mozambique School Lunch Initiative won the 2018 Harvard President’s Innovation Challenge Crowd’s Choice Award and was a finalist team in the 2017 New Venture Competition at Harvard Business School in the Social Enterprise track. But when Myers started out, she had no intention of creating a significant program that would still be around four years later. In fact, she says, her road to Mozambique was “a bit random.”

It started when Myers was a sophomore at Middlebury College and decided to take a one-year intensive course in Portuguese for Spanish-speakers. She had always loved studying languages, she says, and thought that “this was a great deal to basically become fluent in another language in just two semesters.” As an international politics and economics major, she was interested in



The Mozambique School Lunch Initiative, founded by Cara Myers MPA/ID 2018 (getting her hands dirty, at right), feeds 1,200 children in Mozambique each day.



Last year we doubled farmer income—that’s transformational change.”

CARA MYERS MPA/ID 2018

working for a global organization after graduation; thanks to her facility with Portuguese, she got an opportunity in Mozambique with Samaritan’s Purse, an international relief and development organization.

She worked in Mozambique in 2013 and then went to work for Innovations for Poverty Action in Kenya, where she first encountered Harvard’s international development efforts, meeting the economist and soon-to-be Nobel Prize winner Michael Kramer on a project. Throughout that time, she remained connected with several former colleagues in Mozambique, especially Talvina Ualane and Roberto Mutisse.

During the 2015–2016 drought in Mozambique, Ualane and Mutisse alerted her to the severity of the crisis and how heightened food insecurity was causing kids to drop out of school. The situation was getting so bad that the three decided they should try to do something to help. “It was originally intended as a one-month project ... it wasn’t my idea to have this five-year plan,” Myers says. “It was more like just trying to meet this pressing need and see if it would work.”

They started serving midday meals to students in three schools. Almost immediately, attendance increased, not only at those schools but among students from another one more than five miles away. It was clear, Myers says, that they had found a significant need they could serve.

When the drought finally ended, in 2017, a new opportunity arose: Local farmers wanted to get involved selling crops to the school lunch program. However, most of these smallholders were producing at only



a subsistence level and didn’t have the resources to increase production so that they would have a surplus to sell. After group meetings in each of the communities, Myers and her team decided to launch the Seed Support program, whereby local farmer groups would receive agricultural inputs, including seeds, to increase their production. Today, more than half of the school lunch program’s food is procured locally from those groups.

Myers says that this part of their model is key to tackling the root causes of child malnutrition in rural Mozambique. Because the lunch program is a reliable buyer, farmers can invest more in their farms and earn more income. That increases the productivity of local agricultural systems and reduces poverty—essential steps for sustainable development.

Myers now employs numerous skills she learned at HKS, including data-driven analysis and working with market dynamics. Her year as a Cheng New World Social Enterprise Fellow at HKS also helped her develop a better understanding of systems-level change and the various stakeholders involved in the process. She stays in regular contact with classmates and mentors, including Michael Woolcock, an adjunct lecturer, and Matt Andrews.

Andrews had an early sense that Myers would apply her HKS education in a significant way, he says. “You could see that she was consuming every class and feeding off her classmates, always thinking of the fields in which she would sow her new seeds of knowledge. She also insisted on bringing a practical view on everything into class, and often helped ground the discussions everyone was having in reality.”

Andrews has worked in Mozambique himself. He says he was intrigued—but not surprised—that Myers would focus her efforts there. “It’s far away and a hard place to work, so it was clear that Cara was not looking for easy,” he says. “I know that this is what makes her a great social entrepreneur: She is humble, hardworking, and focused on building real capability in the world. She really was the student that every professor wants the privilege to teach.”

Working in difficult places like Mozambique has become even more complicated because of the COVID-19 pandemic. Myers says the disease has not hit the region hard because the population is largely rural and well dispersed, but there is fear of a spillover from neighboring South Africa, which has been significantly affected.

Since the pandemic began, the Mozambique School Lunch Initiative has had to adapt to new realities on the ground. Schools are temporarily closed, so the program is providing monthly take-home food rations to vulnerable students while continuing to work with local farmers with enhanced safety precautions. Although Myers has been unable to travel physically to Mozambique, she is in constant contact with Ualane and Mutisse.

Since graduating from HKS, Myers has also worked as a consultant for the World Bank, focusing on the constraints on growth in rural Mozambique. “It’s interesting to work from that macro-level perspective as well,” she says, “while still working on the survival of our team and making sure everyone still cooks and is still paid and that they are taking care of the most vulnerable kids.”

To Be More Than We Were

Six months after graduating, Melissa Hortman MC/MPA 2018 was elected to a state leadership position. A year later, the pandemic and the killing of George Floyd changed what leadership meant.

BY RALPH RANALLI

MELISSA HORTMAN MC/MPA 2018 has already had a career's worth of watershed leadership moments since becoming speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives just two years ago.

One came on May 25, when a picture of Minneapolis Police officer Derek Chauvin kneeling on George Floyd's neck landed in her Twitter feed. "My very first reaction was: That's murder," she says. She immediately realized that a firestorm would be coming soon over the killing of Floyd, who died after Chauvin kneeled on him for nearly nine minutes, ignoring Floyd's pleas that he couldn't breathe.

She was right. Floyd's killing during an arrest for allegedly passing a counterfeit \$20 bill thrust Minnesota into the center of a national debate about police brutality and systemic racism. Hortman says she knew quickly that she would need to have a legislative response that went beyond sound bites.

"In politics, often the easiest thing for anyone to do is run to a microphone, sharpen their dagger, and see who has the best press conference," she says. "But what's excruciatingly difficult in all this high

emotion is to get people to the table and to slog through the work that has to happen."

In late July, Minnesota passed a police reform law, negotiated by Hortman, that limits the use of neck restraints and chokeholds, prohibits departments from offering controversial warrior-style training, and creates an independent state unit to investigate when a police officer kills someone or is accused of sexual misconduct. The law also strengthens citizen input and data collection at the state's police licensing and disciplinary board and reforms the arbitration process that governs officer discipline. After signing the bill into law, Governor Tim Walz credited Hortman with keeping lawmakers from her Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) Party and Republicans working at the negotiation table until they reached a significant result.

"Minnesotans can be incredibly proud of someone who puts Minnesota's interests first and foremost and has the skills necessary to navigate and move pieces of legislation through a process that is meant to be very difficult," Walz said.

That new challenge came just four months after Hortman's first big leadership test: tough negotiations between DFL lawmakers and Republicans on a state response to the COVID-19 pandemic. "There was already a burden on all of us to be more than we were, to focus on the things that matter, and to operate in a nonpartisan way in what has become a hyper-partisan environment," she says.

As both crises have unfolded, Hortman says she has been glad to fall back on her Harvard Kennedy School training. "The leadership piece of the Kennedy School education was definitely what was most valuable for me," she says.

She credits a class on diplomacy with Berthold Beitz Research Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs John Ruggie, for instance, with providing perspective on how to approach multi-party negotiations on complex issues. "Multi-layer complex negotiations are exactly what we're dealing with in state government, because we don't just have police reform and accountability—we also have to take care of our colleges and universities and pay our state troopers," she says. "These are times you think about what makes a good leader in a time of crisis. I would say some of the most valuable time that I spent at the Kennedy school was looking at leadership through history."



"There was a burden on all of us to be more than we were, to focus on the things that matter, and to operate in a nonpartisan way in what has become a hyper-partisan environment." MELISSA HORTMAN

A class with Lecturer in Public Policy Richard Parker, "Presidents, Politics, and Economic Growth: From FDR to Donald Trump" (DPI-132), helped her "understand the interrelation between economic forces and policy decisions and really getting into macroeconomic forces and how we as policymakers have influence—or not—on them." Hortman says her studies with Robert Livingston, lecturer in public policy, also provided important management training.

"Becoming speaker meant changing from being an advocate to being a leader," she says. "In our role as legislators, we are advocates for particular policies and causes, but in the higher levels of leadership, you

become an executive running an organization and directing the entire institution to be effective."

Hortman's fellow DFL lawmakers elected her as speaker in November 2018, after she helped engineer an 18-seat election pickup that gave their party control of the House. Working with DFL Governor Walz, Hortman's new majority came in hoping to expand health care coverage and benefits for workers, increase education spending, and launch new infrastructure projects. But they couldn't do it without the cooperation of Minnesota Republicans, who still controlled the state Senate by a one-vote margin.

Things got off to a promising start in 2019, with Hortman and Senate Majority Leader Paul Gazelka coming together to pass some challenging measures, including the state's \$48 billion two-year budget. A year later the COVID-19 pandemic hit, Hortman says, and all of a sudden legislative collaboration both inside the House and across state government became a matter of protecting lives.

"We began working to achieve a full majority and minority caucus agreement on all COVID-19-related items. It became really important for me to work with the minority leaders in a way we had not before," she says.

Hortman took two years to earn her degree, attending the fall semesters of 2016 and 2017 and accepting her degree at Commencement in 2018. She says the Mid-Career MPA Summer Program was both a highlight of her time at HKS and a "pivotal" bonding experience for her and many of her classmates. That bond was renewed during a group trek to Bhutan Hortman took with many of her mid-career classmates in December 2017. She says she still has a strong WhatsApp network of more than 140 classmates in the United States and abroad who regularly stay in touch to swap knowledge and experiences.

"It's very social, but it's also about policy," she says. The group has been invaluable, she says, because "the commonality of experiences is pretty remarkable ... we've been tracking government responses on the ground in all these different countries. We're all living it together."

Hortman's personal path to the Kennedy School—and to Harvard for that matter—was anything but a straight line. As a junior in the Anoka-Hennepin School District in her hometown of Brooklyn Park, she told her high school guidance counselor she wanted to attend Harvard College. "You won't get in," the counselor replied. "Why not?" Hortman asked. The counselor replied that the small district didn't have the type of coursework and extracurricular offerings that wealthier districts had.

So Hortman went to Boston University as a political science and philosophy major. But attending Harvard was still a dream, she says, so she applied to Harvard Law School. She wasn't accepted, instead earning her law degree at the University of Minnesota. It would be another 22 years before she finally stepped onto the Harvard campus as a matriculated student, a tribute to the perseverance she says has been an asset in both her educational and political career.

"It took me three tries to get elected too," she says with a laugh. But it was all worth it, she says.

"This is a moment when the electorate really understands and appreciates the value of good governance, when people are reliant on the government to have an effective response, and the value of government is absolutely clear," she says. "What I am focused on is trying to sustain that moment."

GETTY IMAGES/MEDIA NEWS GROUP/ST. PAUL PIONEER

EVAN FROST



EVENT

In the Service of Others

AS THE SCHOOL MOVED ONLINE following the onset of the pandemic, so did the rich variety of events outside the classroom. The Institute of Politics quickly pivoted to a “Fast Forum” format, allowing dozens of speakers and thousands of participants to continue to meet online through the spring and summer.

One of the School’s biggest annual gatherings—its graduation celebrations—also went virtual. The Class of 2020’s 605 graduates tuned in from 85 countries and 42 U.S. states, along with friends and family, to hear remarks by Dean Doug Elmendorf and Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, chair of GAVI, the global vaccine alliance; special advisor to the World Health Organization on the COVID-19 response; and former finance minister of Nigeria.

“When I received the invitation to speak prior to the pandemic, I wanted to speak on public service, reflect on and share my experience, and share why public service matters, even if at times it seems thankless,” Okonjo-Iweala said. “I wanted to press all of you to carry on and never lose your passion. With social distancing and lock-ins—the brave new words in our vocabulary—I thought the topic even more relevant.”

“A final intertwined lesson that we learn from this crisis is the lesson of leadership and the generosity of the human spirit,” she told the audience, echoing Mahatma Gandhi. “Even in these difficult and uncertain times, even as you face the world not quite sure what it has in store for you, be bold, be courageous, be selfless! Go out and lose yourself in the service of others!”

THE BUZZ



“The protests we see now are about the overlapping failures of America.”

Professor Leah Wright Rigueur at a June event on race, protests, and democracy hosted by the Ash Center.



“I really wanted to merge my interest in policy and public service together, and for me, in elected office, I think I saw that opportunity.”

Cambridge Mayor Sumbul Siddiqui speaking at an IOP Fast Forum in April.



“Back in those days, we couldn’t get much attention for these stories because of impeachment and politics.”

Washington Post reporter Lena Sun talking about the early days of the pandemic at an April Fast Forum.



“We need to make sure that the people can vote and that everybody who’s eligible to vote has that right to vote.”

Massachusetts Congressman Jim McGovern speaking on the need for accessibility to voting during the pandemic at a March Fast Forum.



“The coronavirus is demonstrating, literally, the foundation of unions—that an injury to one is an injury to all.”

Sara Nelson, international president of the Association of Flight Attendants-CWA, at a March event on labor issues.

MARTHA STEWART



“There’s going to be a big fight for the soul of the conservative movement in the post-Trump era.”

Former House Speaker Paul Ryan at a Fast Forum in April.

Why Do We Still Have the Electoral College?

Alex Keyssar, Matthew W. Stirling, Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy

A LONG-CELEBRATED HISTORIAN of U.S. democracy and electoral politics, Alex Keyssar has for years been fascinated by the question that titles his latest book. He has good reason: For more than 200 years the United States has chosen its most powerful public official through a process that is ill understood by many Americans, widely criticized by officeholders and policymakers, and never replicated by another sovereign body in the world. *Why Do We Still Have the Electoral College?* is a skillful attempt to excavate this question.

Keyssar does not seek to join the ranks of the countless authors who have already debated the merits and shortcomings of the Electoral College. Instead, he invaluabley augments existing scholarship by writing from the perspective that the persistence of the Electoral College is not self-evident and therefore requires explanation. Keyssar traces four distinct periods of U.S. history—from the Constitutional Convention to the present day—to illuminate the various strategies that have been at the center of national debates around electoral reform. In doing so, he debunks myths about whom the Electoral College has historically benefited, highlights the roles of slavery and white supremacy in blocking reform efforts, and emphasizes just how close we’ve come on multiple occasions to substantially altering the U.S. election process.

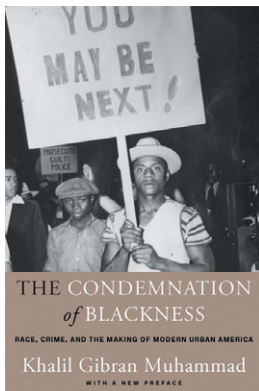
Keyssar’s astute and accessible treatise ultimately considers both the United States’ electoral legacy and the possibilities for a more democratic future.

The Condemnation of Blackness

Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America

Khalil Gibran Muhammad, professor of history, race, and public policy at Harvard Kennedy School; Suzanne Young Murray Professor at Harvard’s Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study

HISTORIAN KHALIL GIBRAN MUHAMMAD’S seminal work on race in the United States—*The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (2010)—was republished in 2019. In a new preface, Muhammad connects the history to stop-and-frisk policing today and notes, “The history in the following pages is as relevant now as ever and makes clear that racial crime statistics did not have to lead to racialized policing or lay the foundation for mass incarceration.”



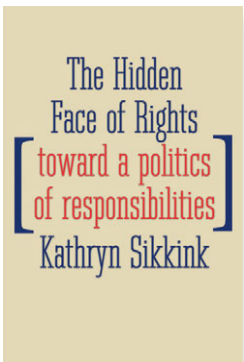
The Condemnation of Blackness is an essential text for anyone who wants to understand the history that has linked ideas of race and criminality in America—particularly in the urban North. Through deep research and analysis of census data and crime statistics, Muhammad helps the reader understand how we got to our current narrative about race and crime, and why it doesn’t have to be this way.

The Hidden Face of Rights

Toward a Politics of Responsibilities

Kathryn Sikkink, Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy

IN THIS BOOK, Kathryn Sikkink explores the ways in which a framework of responsibilities should accompany human rights. Sikkink is an expert in international norms and institutions, transnational advocacy networks, the impact of human rights law



and policies, and transitional justice. “The discourse of human rights often omits the language of political and ethical responsibilities, and that absence constrains the effectiveness of rights movements,” she argues. “We who believe in human rights need to begin talking and thinking explicitly about the politics and ethics of responsibility.” In this concise yet wide-ranging book—which includes many examples from her work and experiences at Harvard Kennedy School—Sikkink considers areas of responsibility that include climate change, digital privacy and misinformation, voting, freedom of speech, and sexual assault. She notes that one barrier to taking action for positive change is the free-rider problem. When public goods or services are shared, people sometimes assume that others are taking responsibility, so they don’t have to, even though they benefit from the results. “One barrier to getting people to assume responsibilities for issues like a clean environment is the classic problem of collective action and large numbers,”

As urgent today as it was in 2010, *The Condemnation of Blackness* explores the historical discourse about race and crime—especially in northern American cities such as New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago—from the 1890 U.S. Census through the first half of the 20th century. “This book tells an unsettling coming-of-age story,” Muhammad writes. “It is a biography of the idea of Black criminality in the making of modern urban America.”

Sikkink writes. “People hope that others will take action and they can free ride.”

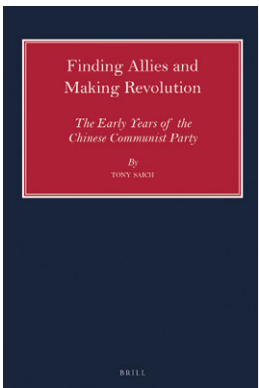
To spur individual and shared action, Sikkink says, people have to be motivated to be responsible. “To encourage people to assume responsibilities,” she writes, “we need to think of how to mobilize the full range of human emotions and motivations, including altruism and a sense of satisfaction one gets from performing civic responsibilities, and not just the pursuit of narrow self-interest.” In this sense, she believes, a framework of responsibilities can work hand in hand with a human rights framework.

Finding Allies and Making Revolution

The Early Years of the Chinese Communist Party

Tony Saich, Daewoo Professor of International Affairs; Director, Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation

WHAT DOES A LITTLE-KNOWN DUTCH MARXIST have to do with the rise of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in the early 20th century? Drawing on extensive archival research, a new book by Daewoo Professor of International Affairs Tony Saich reveals how Henk Sneevliet’s work



Sneevliet’s diary, reports, and letters, Saich recounts the earliest days of the CCP, which is approaching its 100th anniversary next year.

Many of the primary source materials that Saich uncovered during his archival research in the Netherlands shed new light on the degree to which the Soviets were involved in establishing the party and guiding its earliest policies. Sneevliet and Lenin, recognizing the communists’ organizational and numerical inferiority, pushed the party to cooperate with the nationalist Guomindang. Saich gives readers a nuanced picture of the complex relations among Chinese communists, the Soviet leadership, and party functionaries deployed by Moscow to shape nascent revolutionary movements around the world. Puncturing the myth that the CCP was an exclusively Chinese outgrowth of the country’s domestic development, Saich argues that “no account of the origins of the CCP can ignore this reality and the role the Soviets played in the foundational years of the CCP.”

On Trade Justice

A Philosophical Plea for a Global New Deal

Mathias Risse, Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Administration; faculty director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy

COMMERCIAL INTERESTS HAVE BEEN PLYING international trade routes for millennia, moving goods aboard everything from ancient reed rafts to today’s cargo jets and container ships. But as an area for philosophical study and thought, international trade has traditionally been a road less traveled.

Now Mathias Risse and Gabriel Wollner MPP 2012, a professor of political philosophy at the University of Bayreuth in Germany, have tackled this complex and challenging subject in *On Trade Justice: A Philosophical Plea for a Global New Deal*, blending contemporary analytical philosophy with an examination of current global trade frameworks and historical perspective. Their book explores both

justice and the application of morality to practical questions about international trade. The problem of exploitation in its many forms figures prominently in the authors’ thinking and analysis.

“Trade justice is about precluding various types of exploitation ... to the extent they happen as part of the basic framework of rules for the trade regime,” the authors write. “States exploit bargaining power in negotiations, bilaterally, or within the WTO. Unfair advantage-taking occurs between individuals, for instance, when in employment markets one party benefits inappropriately from another’s weakness. It occurs between firms and individuals if firms disregard safety standards and use bargaining power to shortchange workers on wages.”

The book also delves deeply into the moral and ethical obligations of business, acknowledging the primacy of modern corporations as drivers of international trade norms. Issues explored include wage injustice, collusion with authoritarian regimes, relocation decisions, and obligations arising from interaction with suppliers and subcontractors.

Among other remedies, the authors make a case for the World Trade Organization to redefine itself as an agent of justice, embracing a leadership role and promoting a human rights and development-oriented mandate.

CLASSNOTES



Zanny Minton Beddoes MPA 1992, editor in chief of *The Economist* (right), shares a moment with Dean Doug Elmendorf at the meeting of the Dean's Council in March at the Tate Modern in London.

1974

Sandford Borins MPP reports that his article "Innovation Under Populism" has been published on ESADE Business School's eBulletin at esade.edu/posts/post/innovation-under-populism.

1980

Alexandra Schweitzer MPP writes, "I'm wearing three hats these days. I'm thrilled to be back at HKS as a senior fellow in the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government. I'm studying and writing about programs to address social determinants of health, such as poor nutrition, unstable housing, and social isolation. This project dovetails with my ongoing consulting work helping health care organizations build integrated programs to address the needs of complex patients. Finally, I chair the board of Goddard House, a nonprofit senior living organization, which is developing innovative programs to bring the power of the arts to underserved older adults in Greater Boston."

Steve Steckler MCRP recently retired as chairman of Infrastructure Management Group (IMG), the company he founded in 1994. IMG grew to become one of the most successful U.S. firms in the privatization of public assets and services, as well as the financing and management of airports, railways, highways, and public utilities. Before IMG, Steve served as a policy advisor at the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Transportation during the Reagan administration, followed by several years at Price Waterhouse. He now shares his time among Washington, D.C., the Chesapeake Bay, and Naples, Florida, while writing, sailing, advising former clients, and enjoying the inspiring company of his four grown children.

1981 40th Reunion

Dick Sheffield MC/MPA writes, "I have been re-based to Texas by ABC News after a few months in New York covering the 2020 primary elections. Now working remotely, like so many others. Other than being part of our election coverage, I am revising and rewriting my second novel, *Cables from a Restless Heart*. You can read the synopsis and a brief excerpt and take a look at my first novel, *Lasso the Moon*, at dicksheffield.com/cables-from-a-restless-heart."

1983

Kristin Faust MCRP writes, "In November of 2019 I was named executive director of the Illinois Housing Development Authority (IHDA) by Governor J.B. Pritzker and the IHDA board. As the state's housing finance agency, IHDA is the leading voice for the creation and preservation of affordable housing in Illinois. We finance both home ownership and quality affordable rental housing. It's housing policy and housing finance all day long, and I couldn't be happier. There is so much to do to provide everyone the opportunity for a decent, affordable place to call home!"

F. Donal O'Brien MC/MPA writes, "I received the Father Edward F. Boyle S.J. Award from the Labor Guild of the Archdiocese of Boston at the 53rd Annual Cushing-Gavin Awards dinner, held on Dec. 6, 2019. The chaplain of the Labor Guild is Father J. Bryan Hehir, Harvard Kennedy School Parker Gilbert Montgomery Professor of the Practice of Religion and Public Life. The award recognizes my arbitration and mediation practice for 'Excellence in Labor-Management Relations Exemplifying Moral Integrity, Professional Competence, and Community Concern.'"

1984

Judith Bunnell MPP reports that more than 35 members of the MPP/MPA Class of 1984 participated in a "Virtual Cocktail Party (pants optional)" to check in and see how everyone is doing with the COVID-19 situation and in their personal and professional lives. Attendees included people from coast to coast, Canada, and Mexico, and they received a special message from classmate **Matt Tueller MPP**, U.S. ambassador in Kabul. "We plan to keep these going on a semi-regular basis!"

Dana Rowan MPP, after recently serving as chair of the Trustees of Boston Architectural College (BAC), is now teaching a graduate-level real estate course in "leadership and entrepreneurship" in the newly established master's of real estate development program at the BAC. This year the BAC is celebrating its 130th anniversary in architectural education. In addition, Dana has also become a member of the Harvard Alumni Real Estate Board, which was one of the last Harvard alumni organizations to convene a meeting on the Cambridge campus, before COVID-19 meeting restrictions were imposed on all campus activities.

1985

Kalyan Kumar Chakravarty MC/MPA has been contributing to the sectors of developmental administration, education, culture, forestry, tourism, science, technology, museums, archaeology, and the arts. "I.A.S. professor, CUTM, Bhubaneswar, member, Governing Board, BRLF, Delhi, advisor, KCC, Kolkata, state, national governments. Policy field research on indigenous heritage as part of sustainable livelihood resource management, biocultural diversity linkages. Published on culture arts development nexus, art history. Writing on Historiography of Indian art, Vision 2020: Perspective for Sustainable Development. At Kolkata with wife Minati and daughter Sayantani. PhD program at ESADE."

Barbara Lamont MC/MPA writes, "I run a critical health care call center for health departments and hospitals in more than 30 states. We provide nurse triage, Tier One health service reps, etc. You can imagine we are stretched thin during this pandemic, as many health departments and other agencies have turned all their calls over to us. We are hanging in there, doubling our staff and making sure all callers stay well!"

Karen Walz MCRP writes, "My consulting practice, Strategic Community Solutions LLC, continues to keep me engaged in exciting projects that help communities become more successful and sustainable. Building public involvement and consensus is ever-changing but very gratifying. I was recognized as a Texas Planning Legend in 2017—the first baby boomer to receive this award. My husband and I love traveling and made it to Antarctica, our last continent, in 2019!"

1987

Nadine Hack MC/MPA, CEO of beCause Global Consulting (because.net), recently spoke at several conferences, including "Role & Responsibility of Media in Deeply Divided Societies"; "Future of Planet: Inspiring What Could Be"; and "How Do We Measure Impact by Movements." She co-facilitated for the fifth time the FIFA/UEFA Women Football Leadership Program. She was one of 40 participants at the RFK Human Rights global conference "Business & Human Rights" with Nobel Peace Laureate Kailash Satyarthi, whom she featured in "Speak Truth to Power" (2000).

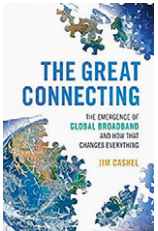


HKS PolicyCast

➤ Listen to the podcast where leaders in public policy, media, and international affairs confront the world's most pressing problems.

ken.sc/policycast

➤ Use the Alumni Directory to contact your classmates.
hks.harvard.edu/alumni-directory



— Jim Cashel MPP 1991

1989

James Brett MC/MPA was named vice chairman of the National Council on Disability (NCD). NCD is an independent federal agency that advises the president, Congress, and other federal agencies on policies, programs, and procedures that affect people with disabilities. Its members are appointed by the president or a member of Congress. James, who is the president and CEO of The New England Council, has dedicated much of his work as a policymaker and his community and civic life to improving the quality of life for people with intellectual and physical disabilities.

Aaron Harber MC/MPA is promoting public education about science by featuring a number of interviews he has done, including ones with National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases Director Dr. Anthony Fauci, on his nonpartisan public affairs program, “The Aaron Harber Show.” For those interested in learning more about Dr. Fauci’s background, visit HarberTV.com/Fauci.

Natalie Jaresko MPP writes, “On lockdown beginning week five of what is currently projected to be eight weeks in Puerto Rico. As executive director of the Oversight Board, have done all possible to ensure front-line workers, hospitals, the self-employed, small businesses, and others most affected by the emergency measures get financial support on a timely basis. Fiscal management of previous years made it possible for the government of Puerto Rico to act before federal. Now we look to access the federal support package

for those qualifying, while mitigating and containing the pandemic to the largest extent possible. Planning an economic recovery is the next required step...Stay safe and stay healthy!”

1991 30th Reunion

Jim Cashel MPP spent the 2018–2019 academic year as a visiting fellow at the Shorenstein Center researching broadband expansion in developing countries. He wrote *The Great Connecting: The Emergence of Global Broadband, and How That Changes Everything*. He lives in Sonoma, California, with his wife, **Anne Ching MPP 1992**.

1992

David Greig MC/MPA writes, “I was lucky to visit friends in Malaysia, Thailand, the countryside in central Vietnam (highlight: Hoi An), and a delightful small ski village in Japan (Nowawa Onsen) before COVID-19 hit us. Now I’m in lockdown, still working part time (on strategy for the New Zealand Ministry of Transport) but from home in Wellington. Fortunately we’re allowed out for local walks, provided we maintain over two meters distance from other people. New Zealand’s response, tough and early, seems to have been successful but it’s too soon to be sure. Like everyone else I look forward to some relaxation of it!”

Richard Hyde MC/MPA writes, “For the past four years I have been the pastor of a church near Portland, Maine.

Let me say that it has been a leadership challenge that has called to mind many lessons from Heifetz’s famous and irritating course on leadership. I also make periodic visits to the nation’s capital to lead tours and lecture for the University of Notre Dame Washington Program. Latest lecture: ‘God, Country, Notre Dame: Puritans, Catholics, and the Harvard–Notre Dame “Washington Connection.”’”

Ashok Parameswaran MPP is founder and president of the Emerging Markets Investors Alliance, a New York City–based 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization that engages institutional investors in public markets to promote good governance and sustainable development in the governments and companies in which they invest. In so doing, the alliance amplifies the voice

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS



The COVID-19 Crisis and Its Implications for Global Stability

“We’re going to have to begin to learn the lessons of what has gone wrong and what has gone right... not just in the United States, [but] all around the world. We know that we need to build up the ability of government at all levels to serve people capably and effectively and honestly.”

R. Nicholas Burns

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS

Wiener Conference Calls feature Harvard Kennedy School faculty members who share their expertise and respond to callers’ questions. This year, we added a special COVID-19 series. Visit the online archive at hks.harvard.edu/wiener-conference-calls.

Read excerpts from the discussions.

2020

ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

Emerging Global Leader Award



Shifting the Disability Narrative

Sara Minkara MPP 2014

“I NEVER THOUGHT IN A MILLION YEARS that I would start an organization,” says Sara Minkara MPP 2014. “I was planning on doing a PhD in economic development.”

Today, she leads Empowerment Through Integration (ETI), an organization with a lofty goal: to achieve an inclusive society by recognizing and eliminating the stigma around disability.

Minkara, who is blind, experienced the difference between an inclusive society and one where pity was the dominant narrative. Minkara was raised in the seaside town of Hingham, Massachusetts. “I went to public schools, and had very supportive teachers and a very supportive community,” she says. “There were of course obstacles to inclusion—there is no perfect place—but at least the United States had laws and infrastructure in place to allow me to get what I needed.”

This was not what she observed during her annual summer trips to her parents’ homeland of Lebanon. “I was exposed to a very different narrative of how disability was seen,” she says. “It is a common narrative of pity, charity, burden, ‘you’re different, you’re an add-on.’”

While studying mathematics at Wellesley College, she and a friend were awarded a grant to form a summer camp in Tripoli,

Lebanon, that brought together blind and sighted children. “The purpose wasn’t for sighted kids to pity the blind kids, but to see how they could come together to learn that everyone has something to contribute,” Minkara says. The camp was a powerful experience—but she thought it was a one-time thing. “I went back to Wellesley and continued my math studies,” she says. It was her thesis advisor who noted, “Why are you applying to PhD programs? Your eyes light up when you talk about the camp.” So she switched gears and applied to Harvard Kennedy School to get the skills to start the organization that became Empowerment Through Integration.

Her vision for ETI evolved during her time at the Kennedy School. “Originally, I was looking at the inclusion mission in a very surface-level way—that we’re going to teach kids in summer camps,” she says. “My time at HKS made me realize that the issues of disability and inclusion are deeper. Because systemic ableism is embedded across society, you can’t just empower youth with disabilities—they’re out in a non-inclusive world, one that doesn’t value them. We

want society to include people with disabilities because if you don’t, you lose out on their value.”

Minkara seeks to instill the perspective that inclusion leads to value for all people. Through customizable content and activities, ETI helps clients achieve diversity and inclusion goals. In addition, ETI advances a value- and inclusion-based narrative to help children with visual impairments gain the skills and confidence to thrive, while helping their peers and caregivers better understand and value youth with disabilities.

“To lead, you have to be able to inspire and mobilize others to be leaders in their own way,” says Minkara. For empowering more than 5,500 people through her nonprofit, Minkara is the recipient of the 2020 HKS Emerging Global Leader Award.

“We want society to include people with disabilities because if you don’t, you lose out on their value.”

IMAGE COURTESY OF SARA MINKARA



HKS PolicyCast

➤ PolicyCast digs deep. Archon Fung explores the forces behind distrust of elites and experts. ken.sc/policycast

of public policy experts on issues including deforestation, transparency and anti-corruption, human rights, animal welfare, and circular economy. Ashok would love to connect with alumni and students who may wish to contribute to the alliance as policy experts, volunteers, investors, or donors.

Chris Riback MPP writes, “I had the opportunity to host classmate and New Rochelle Mayor Noam Bramson MPP on my “Chris Riback’s Conversations” podcast. We discussed how one leads a city out of the coronavirus, and what it’s like to see the place you love go through it. As always, Noam’s intelligence and warmth shined. More importantly, Noam made clear ‘in words, tone & action’ why, during this pandemic period, government’s role is becoming understood and appreciated. Listen here: chrisriback.com/mayor-noam-bramson-from-patient-zero-to-new-york-as-epicenter.”

Marti Trudeau MC/MPA completed a doctor of social work degree through the University of Southern California Suzanne Dworak-Peck School of Social Work. Through her doctoral work she developed a training program for the hybrid health-services position of direct care community worker, which combines the roles of direct care worker and community health worker in order to better address negative social determinants of health in the home care setting. She is living in Philadelphia.

1993

Beth Arman MPP writes, “I finished my dissertation! I now have a PhD in public policy from University of Maryland Baltimore County. I’ve moved back to the West Coast. I live in Oakland, California, and work as a senior dean for Diablo Valley College.”

1995

Michael Daniel MPP writes, “I left the federal government in 2017 after 21.5 years and I now run a cybersecurity nonprofit called the Cyber Threat Alliance, based in Arlington, Virginia. We enable cybersecurity providers to share threat intelligence with each other and thereby make the entire digital ecosystem safer. Although it seems like it should be easy, sharing it seems like it should be easy, sharing is hard work, and we’re learning every day how to make it work in a highly competitive industry.”

Meinolf Meyer MPA writes, “I am still happy at Google in Hamburg, Germany. 2020 is the year of return to politics and public service, at least somewhat, i.e., part time. In Q1 2020 I have founded an NGO/charity, which is working towards better support and education for local politicians in my country. They are under increasing threat from extreme-right and populist activists—murder threats and other hate crimes are common now. Currently building and scaling the new organization, which is called ‘Starke Demokratie e. V.’”

1998

Charles Hokanson MPP writes, “I’m living and working in downtown Tampa, deeply engaged with bridging philanthropy, business, and education as senior vice president, Florida community engagement, at Helios Education Foundation. My team works on developing innovative grants and policy solutions aimed at reducing achievement gaps and promoting post-secondary completion, especially among low-income, underrepresented, and first-generation students. I also serve on on the boards of Florida Education Foundation (chair), Florida College Access Network Advisory Council (chair), Hostelling International USA (vice chair), Florida Philanthropic Network, and Florida Chamber Foundation.

Jenny Wilson MC/MPA writes, “I am so grateful for the lessons learned from my year at HKS years ago. Last year I was elected mayor of Salt Lake County, Utah, serving 1.2 million residents. Most importantly, I am now a member of ‘Unified Command,’ addressing two disasters simultaneously. The first, COVID-19, and the second, recovering from a 5.8 earthquake that hit our county on March 18. I will never again face a professional challenge as daunting as that faced on March 18. We continue to recover from that, and along with the world, we continue to address COVID-19. HKS provided me with skills, knowledge, lifelong friendships, and the confidence necessary to keep going.”

2000

Chris Granda MPP joined the team at Energy Solutions as a remote employee at the beginning of March, just in time for the pandemic. “COVID-19 is changing everything, but the battle against climate change continues and I feel fortunate to be part of the fight.”

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS



Market Failures, Testing, Treatments, and Vaccines

“It’s absolutely true that if I test negative today, I could test positive tomorrow, which doesn’t mean that today’s negative test has no value. It has less value than some permanent certification, which is why we’re going to have to retest the virus-negative people repeatedly, which in turn means we need more testing capacity than we had been thinking.”

Amitabh Chandra

Jeff Katz MC/MPA consults for nonprofits, mostly as an interim executive director for agencies in transition. In the past few years Jeff has led a homeless shelter, a community development corporation, and a Vietnamese community center. He is currently serving as interim executive director of Prison Book Program, which sends books to people incarcerated in 44 states. He was on the Reunion planning committee and is obviously disappointed that the Reunion will be delayed. Jeff now lives in Cambridge, within walking distance of the Kennedy School. “If you come to the Boston area, let me know and I will arrange a get-together with our local classmates.”

2001 20th Reunion

Josiah Brown MPP writes, “A year into starting up Court Appointed Special Advocates (CASA) of Southern Connecticut, I write with examples of our progress. We received federal 501(c)(3) nonprofit status. We prepared our initial cohorts of volunteer advocates. We launched our website (casasouthct.org)—with information about how to volunteer; the Advisory Council; ambassadors raising awareness; and how to donate. Op-eds appeared around Adoption Month and then Volunteer/Child Abuse Prevention Month. I was interviewed via YouTube. I’m learning a lot, working with committed volunteers and colleagues to advance the CASA movement to help all children find safe, permanent homes where they can thrive. My wife and I continue to enjoy living in New Haven with our children.”

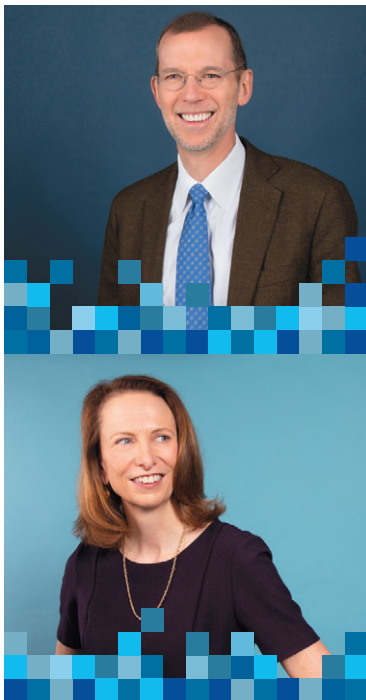
Angela Calman MC/MPA has joined The Commons Project Foundation as their senior vice president, communications and marketing. The Commons Project’s mission is to build digital platforms and services that put people’s interests first. Angela led global comms for a number of organizations, including 23andMe, Intuitive Surgical, and IBM Watson Health. She was also chief communications officer at The Cleveland Clinic. Angela is on the board of directors of I-ASC, an international organization advancing communication access for non-speaking individuals. She lives in Manhattan and Newport, Rhode Island.

2002

Earl Adams Jr. MPA was appointed in February to serve as office managing partner of the Washington, D.C., office of Saul Ewing Arnstein & Lehr, a national, full-service law firm. Earl is a litigation partner whose practice focuses on advising clients on a range of regulatory matters. Also, Earl was elected in January as chairman of the board of directors for the Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority (MWAA), which manages both Reagan National and Dulles International Airports. Earl is serving in his second six-year term, having been appointed and reappointed by two different Maryland governors.

Edita Tahiri MC/MPA 2002 writes, “Recently, I shared my experiences worldwide with people who go through war and peace in search for a better future. This is a ‘give and take’ mission

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS



for me. When the war ended in my country, Kosovo, I promised to myself that one day I will help others to come to freedom as others helped us. The same motivation that pushed me in leading our struggle to accomplish our dream now pushes me to contribute to others’ dreams. I traveled in places or participated in international conference including Myanmar, Philippines, Nepal, Syria, Yemen, Libya, Iraq.”

Daniel Wagner MC/MPA works full time as chief of staff for the National Nuclear Security Administration’s Office of Defense Nuclear Security. He writes, “The United States is in the midst of a major investment in our eight national labs to ensure our infrastructure and modernization programs assure the security of the nation. Additional work includes involvement with Community Renewal International, investing in rebuilding our cities. Seeking those interested in working in Baltimore. Finally, my nonprofit work involves working with vulnerable persons in Colombia and in Vietnam who are seeking greater empowerment through education and small business operations.”

Macroeconomic Effects and Policy Responses for the COVID-19 Crisis

“I think it would be a big mistake if we were to pivot very quickly, when we first saw signs of economic recovery, toward a fiscal contraction. We did that as a country in 2011 and ’12, and it was a terrible mistake that prolonged the suffering of that last downturn.”

Doug Elmendorf

“ We should care about what’s going on around the world for humanitarian reasons, but even if we were only motivated out of our own self-interest, we and other advanced economies need to be thinking about what’s going on in other parts of the world and ... shoring up the international institutions, like the IMF, that can provide support to these economies.”

Karen Dynan

2003

Mina Bressler MPP writes, “Founded by HKS MPP and MPA classmates from 2003, The Future is Female (thefutureisfemale.club) aims to help women flip four critical Senate seats in the 2020 election through grassroots organizing, strategic contributions, and volunteer opportunities. Organizers hope to recruit more HKS grads to the cause. If interested, please email thefutureisfemaleclub@gmail.com.”

Michael Julius Idani MPP received a fellowship to study at the Iowa Writers’ Workshop, where he will pursue an MFA in fiction. He has received fellowships and support from the Association of Writers and Writing Programs, the Hurston/Wright Foundation, Lighthouse Writers Workshop, Voices of Our Nation Arts Foundation, Banff Centre for Arts and Creativity, the Martha’s Vineyard Institute of Creative Writing, the Esalen Institute, A Cappella Books, and For Keeps Books.



ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

HKS Fund Outstanding Alumni Award



Believing in the Mission of Harvard Kennedy School

Jerome Holmes MC/MPA 2000

THE JUDICIAL RULINGS in which U.S. Circuit Judge Jerome Holmes MC/MPA 2000 participates establish the law not only for the litigants before the court but for future generations. Holmes is one of just 12 full-time judges on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit, which decides federal appeals coming from the six Western states of Utah, Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, Oklahoma, and Kansas. Nominated in 2006 by President George W. Bush, Holmes is also the first African American to serve on the 10th Circuit.

This concern for future generations is one of the reasons Holmes has given to the HKS Fund every year since graduating from Harvard Kennedy School. “I believe in the Kennedy

School’s mission,” says Holmes. “I think it’s important to create an environment that nurtures future leaders who will impact the world.” For his consistent giving over 20 years, Holmes is this year’s recipient of the HKS Fund Outstanding Alumni Award.

Holmes did not always want to be a lawyer (he wasn’t even sure he wanted to practice law until after his first year of law school at Georgetown University), but he did always want to do something for the public good. As the son of public-sector employees, Holmes says, “I have been animated in terms of career choices most of my life by the desire to be involved in public service.” He clerked for a federal trial judge in the Western District of Oklahoma, and then later clerked for a judge on the very appellate court he would join 15 years later.

Moving between the private and public sectors is a hallmark of his career. Following his clerkships, he joined a large Washington, D.C., law firm, then later relocated back to Oklahoma to serve as an assistant U.S. attorney. “I had what would have been considered a ‘successful career’ as a federal prosecutor, but I knew there’d be another chapter of public service in my life—what I didn’t know was what that chapter would look like,” Holmes

says. That’s when he decided to come to HKS. “I thought it would be good to expose myself to a lot of different ideas, to be in a milieu that appreciated public service, and to be able to think ‘big picture’ about leadership and how one achieves public goals.”

The Kennedy School did not disappoint him. “I wanted to stretch myself and to put myself in situations where I was not comfortable. For me, coming to the Kennedy School satisfied my desire to continue to grow and continue to position myself to have an impact. And this is what I find most gratifying about the job I have now—I make decisions that I know matter.”

Of his generosity to the Kennedy School, he says, “I’ve given regularly, but I haven’t given an incredible amount of money. Having pursued a career in government service, I have not been in a financial position to do so. But the Kennedy School’s mission is worth supporting, and I have been pleased to consistently give whatever I could afford to the HKS Fund, which supports the needs of current students. Even if you are a graduate of the Kennedy School who is pursuing a career path that isn’t a financially lucrative one, that doesn’t mean you cannot support the Kennedy School’s mission. And that’s what I’ve tried to do.”

—
“I think it’s important to create an environment that nurtures future leaders who will impact the world.”

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS



COVID-19 and the Post-truth Era

“I think the public, in these sorts of situations, absolutely needs the truth or else there’s just no trust in the leadership. But they can’t let that truth paralyze them and let them collapse into despair. The art of going back and forth with that is part of what I think makes for good adaptive leadership, and adaptive leadership is the kind of leadership that I find most persuasive.”

Chris Robichaud

Michelle Thornhill MC/MPA was recently named head of strategy and transformation for the Wells Fargo Foundation, one of the largest corporate foundations in the United States. She was also recognized by *Ebony* magazine as a Power 100 honoree, as the organization celebrates its 75th anniversary.

2004

Michelle Blair MPA joined the National Assessment Governing Board in 2007. As an independent bipartisan arm of the U.S. Department of Education, the board oversees the “Nation’s Report Card,” also known as the National Assessment of Educational Progress

(NAEP). After two promotions, Michelle now serves as the assistant director for assessment development, spearheading projects to update the knowledge and skills NAEP assesses and reports on for the nation, states, and several large urban districts, with a primary focus on students in grades 4, 8, and 12. In 2019, Michelle earned a master’s in mathematical statistics.

Stephen Frost MPP runs Frost Included, a diversity and inclusion consultancy helping a range of organizations around the globe. With the current COVID-19 emergency, he is leading the team and helping clients virtually to embed inclusion in their decision making. For example, only when we consider diversity in design thinking will we produce equitable health outcomes, de-biased algorithms, and better customer service generally. He would be delighted to hear from alumni, especially on how they are keeping inclusion on the agenda in their organizations at this time.

2005

Sylvia Clute MPA is co-author of an article in the current *Richmond Public Interest Law Review*. The article, “Unitive Justice and Re-Entry Culture Change,” pg. 203, is co-authored by Paul Taylor and Weldon Bunn, former inmates who transformed their prison culture using techniques that are similar to Clute’s Unitive Justice theory. The article is a comparison of their two approaches to culture change. The issue also includes transcripts of panels Clute, Taylor, and Bunn participated in, on pgs. 93 and 113. “Symposium 2019: Restorative Justice” is available at: scholarship.richmond.edu/pilr/vol23/iss2/2.

Alice Farmer MPA writes, “I’m sorry to miss everyone at Reunion this year! I am a refugee lawyer with UNHCR, currently living in D.C. Hope all are well!”

Patrick McCormick MC/MPA writes, “In April [I started] a new role as CIO for the City of Cambridge. City staff have been working nonstop to address COVID-19 challenges, including promoting safety measures, enabling a remote workforce, hosting public meetings online, and aiding residents and small businesses. I’m humbled to join such a dedicated team of public servants. The move follows nearly three years with the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as IT capital program manager. The Executive Office of Tech Services and Security was established in 2017 as a new secretariat with a mandate to modernize IT across

state government and it was exciting to be part of that enormous organizational change.”

2006 15th Reunion

Angela Joo-Hyun Kang MC/MPA is founder and executive president of Global Competitiveness Empowerment Forum (GCEF), based in Seoul, Republic of Korea. Since January 2020, Angela has been participating in global policy recommendation procedures as co-head of the South Korean Delegation and the elected chair of the Digital Inclusion Working Group of Women 20 (W20), the gender equality policy engagement group of the G20. She is also an Integrity & Compliance Taskforce Group member of Business 20 (B20), the business policy engagement group of the G20.

Adeeb Mahmud MPP joined FSG right after graduating from the Kennedy School. As a managing director, he leads the firm’s D.C. office, and advises companies and foundations on creating social change. Most recently, he has been designing responses to COVID-19 with pharmaceutical and other companies, as well as beginning to plan for recovery approaches from the pandemic. He and his wife live in Rockville, Maryland, and he has recently been in touch with **Jacqui O’Neill MPP**, **Alex Dworkowitz MPP**, **Doug Aaron MPP**, and **Shaun Gonzales MPP 2005**.

2008

Jed Willard MC/MPA writes, “Harvard College was abruptly emptied of students around March 14. My organization here, the FDR Foundation, has been supporting low-income students with out-of-pocket expenses the University can’t cover: from transportation gaps to internet access, and now summer jobs for students who must support their families. Simultaneously we’re working with scholars and officials around the world to combat COVID-19-related disinformation campaigns. If these activities are of interest or overlap with your own, I would love to hear from you.”

2009

Thomas Eads MC/MPA is now science advisor to the director of regulatory informatics at the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, Center for Tobacco Products (CTP). As a pioneer in regulatory informatics, Thomas is leading projects in advanced text analytics (concept discovery), machine learning-boosted document retrieval, and knowledge



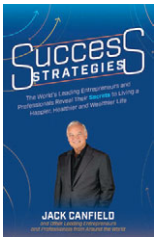
HKS PolicyCast

➤ PolicyCast takes on the vital issues. Professors **Erica Chenoweth** and **Khalil Gibran Muhammad** analyze whether a new mass movement can dismantle systemic racism.

ken.sc/policycast



—
Antonio Núñez Martín MC/MPA 2009



Hassan Tetteh MC/MPA 2009

representation (ontology). The work strengthens CTP’s response to new tobacco products that put youth at risk of nicotine addiction and exposure to other harmful and potentially harmful constituents. Meanwhile, time with family, HKS classmates, and hiking buddies grows in proportion to the joy of living in the Washington, D.C., area.

Hassan Tetteh MC/MPA currently serves as the health mission chief for Warfighter Health at the Joint Artificial Intelligence Center (JAIC) in the Department of Defense (DoD). Hassan also leads a Specialized Thoracic Adapted Recovery (STAR) team in Washington, D.C. His research in thoracic transplantation aims to expand heart and lung recovery and save lives. He created *The Art of Human Care* book series, and, in early 2020, was ranked on the Amazon bestseller lists with the new book, *Success Strategies*, coauthored with Jack Canfield.

2010

Ryan Androsoff MPP reports that 2019 was a busy year for him, having launched a new Digital Executive Leadership Program that he leads at the Ottawa-based Institute on Governance. The program is the first of its kind in Canada to provide digital literacy and leadership training for public sector leaders. Last year he also completed a documentary film and museum installation project to explore the history and spiritual traditions of his ancestors, the Doukhobor community who came to Canada 120 years ago as religious refugees fleeing persecution in tsarist Russia. More information about the project and the film are available at: doukhoborlivingbook.ca.

Nizar Farsakh MC/MPA writes, “Trained Iraqi activists in leadership and advocacy for a third year now. I also got the

opportunity to work on recruiting over 450 applicants for the Arabic online organizing course. Both those experiences have humbled and inspired me as I got a glimpse of the promise that region holds despite its gargantuan challenges. Finally opened the Museum of the Palestinian People in Washington, D.C., in mid-June with great success. Make sure to visit us on 18th & T NW next time you’re in D.C.! Visit mpp-dc.org. Oh, and we got to see Bocelli in concert for Christmas!”

Zak Gingo MC/MPA writes, “I am still working at Harvard, now as the associate dean for physical resources and planning in the FAS. I have been spending a lot of time helping to plan Harvard’s expansion into Allston, in particular the School of Engineering and Applied Sciences’ new research building that is about to complete construction. These days, my work revolves around Harvard’s response to COVID-19. Over the past 10 years I’ve had the pleasure of watching my children grow into confident young adults, and been able to visit some very interesting places, both at home and abroad. I hope everyone is doing well!”

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS



Measuring the U.S. Government’s Response to the COVID-19 Pandemic

“The failure of testing was the original sin because it gave us no time.... It is also our only salvation. It’s our only way to actually be able to have a real adaptation period.”

Juliette Kayyem

MARTHA STEWART

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE SUBJECT



ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

Julius E. Babbitt Memorial Alumni Volunteer Award



The network helps alumnae grow their professional experience and skills so they can have more impact in their fields.”

A resident of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Skeadas also became involved with the HKS New England Alumni Association through a connection she had with one of its board members, Christina Marin MPP 2014. She soon was the network’s treasurer and, in June 2019, was unanimously voted president. “It’s been a lot of fun,” she says. “We organize a ton of events, including ones that teach technical skills and ones for content knowledge.”

As co-chair of the HKS Women’s Network (HKS WN), another geographically dispersed network of which she became co-chair in 2019, she has built on her experience as a city ambassador to Casablanca, Morocco, for the Harvard Alumni Association (HAA)—she graduated from the College in 2012. Skeadas has helped HKS WN build out its board and transform to a chapter model, as with the

HAA. “We started with seven chapters. We now have 50 chapters and 75 ambassadors organizing dozens of events globally.”

Skeadas, who first became interested in public policy when she volunteered in middle school to build homes in Tijuana, Mexico, focused on international trade, finance, and econometrics at HKS. She also participated in the Women and Public Policy Program’s From Harvard Square to the Oval Office program. “This changed my relationship to the concept of running for office,” she says. She flirted with a run for Cambridge city councillor but decided to manage the campaign of political newcomer Sumbul Siddiqui, who then became the first South Asian and first Muslim to be elected to the council and is now the Cambridge mayor. Skeadas also served as operations

manager for the unsuccessful campaign of fellow HKS alumnus Jimmy Tingle MC/MPA 2010, who ran for lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 2018.

Skeadas, an avid traveler, is a staunch advocate of the value

of the HKS alumni network. “I feel very connected globally. If I go anywhere, I can reach out to alumni,” she says. Thanks to her work with three HKS alumni networks, many graduates already feel more connected with each other and with the School.

The Network Effect

Theodora Skeadas MPP 2016

IT IS A GOOD THING Theodora Skeadas MPP 2016 is an organizer at heart. From running political campaigns in Massachusetts to working as a consultant for the U.S. government on cybersecurity and geopolitical issues, Skeadas has established herself as someone who gets things done. It is no surprise, then, that Skeadas has significantly advanced the work of not one, but three HKS alumni groups. For her extraordinary contributions to the HKS community, she is the 2020 recipient of the Julius E. Babbitt Memorial Alumni Volunteer Award.

Her first interaction with the HKS alumni network came before she had even graduated, while working on a human trafficking detection project during her summer internship. Through Courtney Walsh MPP 2013, who was working at an anti-human trafficking organization, she became involved with W3D, the Harvard Women in Defense, Diplomacy, and Development Shared Interest Group, a network of HKS alumnae working to achieve sustainable peace. Skeadas became membership chair while still at HKS, started a Boston chapter after graduating, and eventually became president.

She says that W3D helps alumnae learn from each other. “From the alumna working at an NGO in Nairobi to one working at a think tank in D.C.—we’re really tackling the same issues....

“I feel very connected globally. If I go anywhere, I can reach out to alumni.”

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ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

Alumni Public Service Award



Innovating for Economic Security

J. Mark Iwry MPP/JD 1976

A UNIQUELY POWERFUL WASHINGTON WONK. A hero of our retirement system. A pension rock star. One of the world's 30 top financial players. A legend. An inspiration.

Mark Iwry has received plaudits like these from a variety of publications and people, along with awards for leadership and achievement from organizations that typically don't agree on much: workers' rights groups, the payroll industry, the financial services industry, the IRS, the small business community, investment advisors, pension professionals, and others. To his acclamations, HKS is adding its Alumni Public Service Award for Iwry's work to strengthen the economic security of working families.

Iwry (pronounced "Eevry") has always wanted to channel his idealism into achieving public good "in the tradition of my forefathers, 'tikkun olam'—repairing the world," says Iwry, who is descended from a legendary 18th-century rabbi and whose father was a Biblical archaeologist and scholar.

After studying history and literature at Harvard College, he entered the first year of HKS' Master in Public Policy program, which then numbered 26 students. "We felt like the batboys for the 1927 world champion New York Yankees," he says, remembering established and

rising stars in the faculty including Richard Neustadt (who would become his mentor and friend), Thomas Schelling, Graham Allison, Richard Zeckhauser, Francis Bator, Jonathan Moore, John Steinbruner, David Wise, Will Fairley, and Mark Moore.

After graduating from HKS and Harvard Law School, Iwry, on Neustadt's advice, joined the Washington law firm Covington & Burling to gain experience at the intersection of the private and public sectors. After becoming a partner, he was invited by the Treasury Department during the Bush administration to play a lead role in regulating the nation's private pension and health care systems and formulating national retirement and health policy.

Soon after, Bill Clinton was elected president. "Clinton announced that his top three domestic priorities were health reform, health reform, and health reform," says Iwry, who then joined the White House Task Force on Health Reform, which was expected to design, in his words, "the most important policy reform of our generation."

"We worked our hearts out for two years, only to see it all go down in flames," says Iwry. Ultimately, in the Obama administration Iwry played a key role in implementing health reform through the

Affordable Care Act (ACA or Obamacare). Because much of the ACA, including its employer and individual mandates and associated taxes and credits, resided in the tax code, it came within the purview of IRS and the Treasury Department, where Iwry served as senior advisor to the secretary.

Finding Common Ground

Much of the business community, including small businesses, retail stores, and restaurants, opposed the ACA. Predictions were dire: This effort to restructure one-sixth of the world's largest economy—especially ACA's employer mandate—would fail, precipitating major job losses and reducing millions of employees from full-time to part-time. Employers would drop health plans, shifting costs to taxpayers and leaving employees to seek coverage in the individual market. And health reform would wreak havoc with the employer plans that successfully covered most Americans.

Iwry took inspiration from Neustadt's teachings that the effective exercise of executive power relies more on persuasion and negotiation than command and control. Departing from the standard two-step regulatory procedure—proposed rules followed by final rules—Iwry orchestrated an intensive stakeholder consultative process to develop rules implementing ACA's employer mandate and related provisions. "We reached out, listened, and seriously engaged with stakeholders," he says.

Iwry took another of Neustadt's teachings—"where you stand depends on where you sit"—literally as well as figuratively. Iwry avoided the conventional seating arrangements at government meetings with outside organizations—instead of sitting together on one side of the table, Treasury and IRS staff would spread out among stakeholders to underscore that they were not on opposing teams.

Before developing ACA rules, Iwry held numerous meetings and briefings with employers, organized labor, insurers, and consumers, including four rounds of exploratory draft guidance, each eliciting extensive oral and written public comments. The result: the dire predictions did not materialize, former opponents praised the Treasury's and IRS' regulatory process, and most made peace with the rules.

Toward Universal Saving

Iwry has also had a profound influence on the way Americans save for retirement. As 401(k) retirement saving plans have increasingly displaced traditional defined benefit pensions, his vision has been to "restore the pension to the private pension system" by seeking to transplant to the 401(k) the most valuable attributes of traditional pensions: retirement security through employer funding, institutional, professional investment, risk pooling, and lifetime income.

At Treasury in 1998, Iwry formulated and directed a strategy to expand private-sector 401(k) participation by defining, approving, and promoting 401(k) "automatic enrollment." As behavioral economists such as then-HKS Professor Brigitte Madrian later confirmed, automatically enrolling employees in a savings plan unless they choose to opt out harnesses inertia to promote saving. Treasury and IRS rulings approved auto-enrollment with automatic (i.e., default) investment in a balanced fund of diversified stocks and bonds. Per Iwry's recommendation, President Clinton highlighted the guidance in a speech, and IRS, at Iwry's request in 2004, confirmed that 401(k)s can automatically enroll employees at high and increasing contribution levels. As auto-enrollment spread to about one-third of the larger 401(k)s, Iwry—then a co-founder of the Brookings Institution's Retirement Security Project—was instrumental in drafting and advocating the 2006 Pension Protection Act, which gave auto-enrollment a further boost.

Now used in more than 70 percent of larger 401(k)s, auto-enrollment has extended participation to millions of women, lower-income, African American, and Latinx workers. Auto-enrollment—including auto-contribution-increases and the resulting auto-investment in diversified funds—is widely considered the most transformative 401(k) reform of the last 40 years.

Building on auto-enrollment's success, Iwry reached out to a senior fellow at the conservative Heritage Foundation to co-author a sweeping solution to the greatest unfinished business of our private

pension system: covering the one-third of the workforce lacking access to a workplace plan. Their 2006 "auto-IRA" proposal to automatically enroll some 40 million uncovered workers in private-sector IRAs has been endorsed by experts, praised in the media, and introduced as bipartisan legislation in Congress, but has yet to be enacted.

However, the states are providing proof of concept. Since 2002, Iwry has launched and developed a state-level pilot of the nationwide auto-IRA initiative to expand private-sector retirement coverage. Seven states thus far have adopted and are implementing his auto-IRA legislation, which California's treasurer described as "the most significant expansion of retirement security since . . . Social Security in 1935."

Iwry has also authored many other initiatives and reforms: the saver's tax credit (encouraging 401(k) and IRA saving by some 8 million lower-income households annually); the SIMPLE-IRA plan (covering 3 million workers); a "start-up" tax credit for small businesses adopting retirement plans; the "myRA" (combining Roth IRAs and U.S. savings bonds), automatic rollovers, direct deposit saving of tax refunds in IRAs and savings bonds, and the "QLAC" 401(k)/IRA longevity annuity providing lifelong retirement income.

Since leaving government at the close of the Obama administration, Iwry, currently a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, continues to pursue these and other policy reforms and market innovations, confident that the best is yet to come.

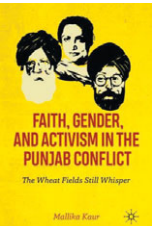
Iwry has always wanted to channel his idealism into achieving public good.

IMAGE COURTESY OF MARK IWRY

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Mallika Kaur
MPP 2010

Mallika Kaur MPP has a new book out titled *Faith, Gender, and Activism in the Punjab Conflict: The Wheat Fields Still Whisper* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020). In her law and policy work, Mallika became increasingly fascinated by the layers of stories that begin where legal cases and human rights reports end. This creative nonfiction book explores and engages with the everyday and unfinished histories of the conflict in Indian Punjab through stories of human rights defenders who challenged the violence that paralyzed most others in a position to intervene.

Greg Macias MC/MPA moved last November from New York City to Denver, Colorado, to take the position of vice president for programs and strategy for Western Resource Advocates (WRA). At WRA, Greg oversees a seasoned group of legal experts, economists, engineers, and

public policy advocates. WRA is the conservation leader in the region to transition the Mountain West in the United States to a carbon-free economy and protect its iconic wilderness, rivers, and lands, and to advocate for healthy air and water for its growing, vibrant, and diverse communities. Greg is living in downtown Denver, and enjoying the recreation, reflection, and peace the beauty of the region provides.

Allison Shapira MC/MPA writes, “This spring at HKS, I had the pleasure of teaching ‘The Arts of Communication’ (DPI-802M) through Zoom. My company, Global Public Speaking, is now helping people speak with impact, and guide their teams through uncertainty, in their virtual meetings, pitches, and presentations. I would love to be a resource to my classmates who need help in this area, starting with

these free tools: bit.ly/FreeVirtualResources. Be well and stay safe, everyone!”

2012

Erica Harrison Arnold MPP, in the fall of 2019, was named the executive director of legal compliance for Henry County School District (Georgia), which serves approximately 43,000 students and 6,000 employees. She served in a prior role as director of performance analytics and research in the same school system through The Broad Center Residency program. Previously, Erica was an associate attorney at Alston & Bird LLP from 2012 to 2017.

Jay Bhatt MPA writes, “As a member of the Presidential Leadership Scholars alumni, I was fortunate to be invited to participate in conversation with President Bush and President Clinton at the Presidential Leadership Program 2019 graduation, celebrating the fifth group of scholars working to make a difference.”

Jennifer Hollett MC/MPA is the new executive director of *The Walrus* in Toronto. *The Walrus* believes in the idea of a better Canada, and that a healthy society relies on informed citizens. As a registered charity, *The Walrus* (thewalrus.ca) publishes independent, fact-based journalism and produces ideas-focused events. Prior to this role, Jennifer was the head of news and government at Twitter Canada. You can find her on Twitter @jenniferhollett.

Pietro Rabassi MPA writes, “Dear HKS mates, after having spent our holidays in my home region in northern Italy at the border with Austria and Slovenia, we came back to Berlin (Germany) at the end of Feb. 2020. I was suggested by my doctor to take a COVID-19 test because of some symptoms; it was negative. At the same time, in another kindergarten group than our daughter’s a teacher has been found COVID-19 positive. We were quarantined until March 23, and our nanny too. It is a real challenge for me and my wife to work from home with two children under three at home with no child care. Hopefully the situation will improve soon! I look forward to your stories!”

2020

ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

Alumni Network Engagement Award



Real Collaboration and Positive Change

Women in Defense, Diplomacy, and Development (W3D) Shared Interest Group

HARVARD WOMEN IN Defense, Diplomacy, and Development (W3D) is a University-wide network dedicated to connecting and cultivating global leaders who work together toward sustainable peace. Over the past year, W3D has 1) quadrupled membership to 2,000-plus members across 72 countries, 2) started a network-wide mentoring program, 3) helped launch an on-campus W3D for students, 4) created a monthly newsletter, 5) transformed its organizational model into one with geographically dispersed chapters, 6) added a diversity and inclusion chair, and 7) detailed more specifically outlined board roles and responsibilities. It holds many annual



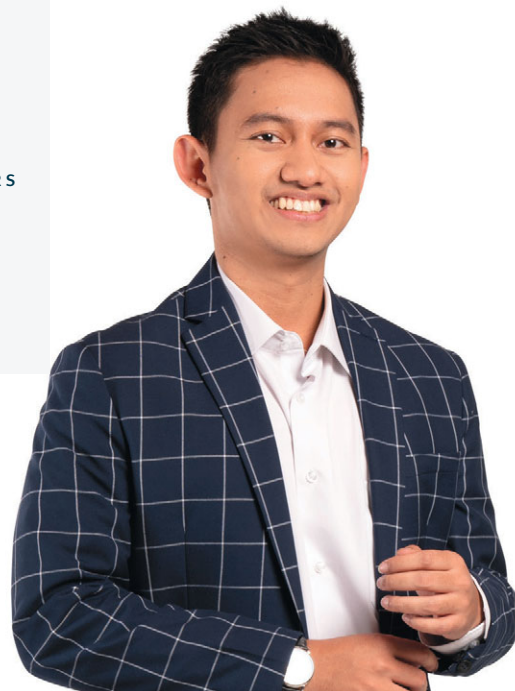
events, including sessions with the Office of Admissions, plus gatherings that align with its mission of connecting women in defense, diplomacy, and development. Founded in 2013 by three Harvard Kennedy School alumnae, W3D builds trust and collaboration among the defense, diplomacy, and development sectors to create holistic solutions. W3D is based on the knowledge that trusted relationships and inclusive groups are the key to real collaboration and positive change. As such, it taps the underutilized power of women as influential global leaders for sustainable peace through gender equity.

IMAGE COURTESY OF W3D



ALUMNI AWARD WINNERS

Digital Innovation Award



Innovation and Relevance in a Digital World

Adamas Belva Syah Devara MPA 2016

ADAMAS BELVA SYAH DEVARA MPA 2016 started *Ruangguru.com* during his time at Harvard Kennedy School. Since its founding, Ruangguru, which means “teacher’s room” in Indonesian, has grown to become the largest educational technology enterprise in Southeast Asia, operating in Indonesia, Vietnam, and Thailand and employing 4,000 people across the region.

Ruangguru connects 15 million K–12 students with 300,000 teachers, allowing students to obtain high-quality tutoring on web and mobile platforms that make it easy to interact with others. In addition, Ruangguru has expanded to provide professional courses and corporate training to adults.

The affordable subscription cost dovetails with wider adoption of smartphones and internet connections to distribute high-quality education, especially in rural areas. Ruangguru, which has received several rounds of venture funding, comprehensively tracks the learning behaviors and quiz results of its students; it is leveraging this data using artificial intelligence to recommend the most optimal path to complete mastery for every student, taking into account population-level data and probabilistic estimates of each student’s

mastery of every topic.

Devara, who has a social media presence with more than 350,000 followers, was selected by the president of Indonesia to serve as a special advisor. In this capacity, he helps ministries become more innovative and relevant in today’s digital world.



—
Saurabh Agarwal
MPA 2014

2013

Leila El-Khatib MC/MPA writes, “Since graduating, I returned to Canada to work in the federal public service. I also opened a consulting firm, 6 Degree Seminars, which, among other things, delivers cultural-competency training specific to the Middle East and Islam. I found myself missing the HKS magic and through your support became an HKS Alumni Board member. In 2020, I will be serving my last term and am thankful for my time to serve alumni. This year, as a global community, we are facing huge socioeconomic and political challenges and so now more than ever

we need to take on the role of helpers. Stay safe and healthy. Stay humble and grateful. Feel free to reach out!”

Mike McMahon MPP writes, “In the 1980s, a group of Harvard alumni ran candidates for the Harvard Board of Overseers, the University’s highest democratically elected governing body, to urge Harvard to divest from South African holding companies at the height of apartheid. Today, I am part of a similar movement focused on climate change, known as Harvard Forward. Together, we are asking alums to vote for the ‘Harvard Forward Five’ in the 2020 Board of Overseers elections.

If elected, these five candidates will advocate for bold, sensible leadership on climate. Learn more at harvardforward.org and join the hundreds of alumni already on board.”

2014

Saurabh Agarwal MPA has been working on launching a new girl superhero for children in India, Dabung Girl (Fearless Girl). Dabung Girl inspires girls to find the hero within and boys to perceive the superhero in girls around them. She is India’s “First Girl Superhero for Social Impact” and focuses on breaking stereotypes.

IMAGE COURTESY OF THE SUBJECT

Superheroes give wings to children’s imaginations and the confidence to take action. However, unlike other superheroes who come and save the day, Dabung Girl helps children find solutions on their own. The target age group is 6–14 years. The first comic book is out with stories on gender and environment. Saurabh is now working on a child protection theme.

Frank Kuzminski MC/MPA is honored to have been selected by the U.S. Army as a Goodpaster Scholar in the Advanced Strategic Planning and Policy Program (ASP3) to pursue doctoral studies. Beginning this fall, Frank will be a PhD student at the University of Washington, where he will focus his research on space security policy and U.S. collective defense commitments in the space domain.

Ted Zagraniski MC/MPA, as a future plans officer since 2017, has traveled the United States, the Pacific, and Western Europe, contributing to U.S. and multinational defense planning efforts. A special highlight was welcoming his second child (a girl) into the world just a couple of months after contributing to the plan for a hospital ship humanitarian mission to South America. His favorite part of every mission is returning home to Virginia and seeing his wife, son, daughter, and Chihuahua again.

2015

Chris Lumry MPP writes, “After running a nonprofit for the past three years that captures film stories of hope to break stigma around mental health, I launched OneStep Guides (onestepguides.com), a new platform that connects people to supportive services online. Our guides provide recovery coaching and general mindsets coaching for anyone looking to grow and build a more thriving life. This new endeavor stems from a personal passion for mental, emotional, and spiritual wellness. It’s an honor to work in this space. We prioritize support for affected families and offer services for people from all walks of life, including professionals that need help where they are.”

Caroline Mauldin MPA, in October 2019, launched a consulting company, Happy & Bennett (named for her grandmothers), dedicated to advancing progressive causes in conservative areas. Specializing in building bridges via communications, strategy, and connection, her goal is to help elevate the work of social justice activists and organizations working in politically challenging environments. Current

clients include The Coastal Conservation League (South Carolina), The Gates Foundation, and The Brigid Alliance (NYC). When not quarantined, Caroline splits her time between New York City and Charleston, South Carolina.

2016 5th Reunion

Gareth Davies MC/MPA was elected as a member of Parliament in the United Kingdom in December 2019.

Theodora Skeadas MPP writes, “A year ago, I joined Cambridge Local First, a nonprofit network of 400-plus locally owned and independent businesses formed to build a strong local economy and a vibrant community, as executive director. We support, promote, and celebrate a local economy community by educating the public and

government about the significant environmental, economic, and cultural benefits of a strong local economy, supporting small businesses, and advocating for policies. In recent weeks, our efforts have intensified. We now work tirelessly to provide businesses the resources, education, skills, and partnerships they need to successfully maneuver in this pandemic.” (Read more on p.53)

2017

Gal Lin MPP has been named one of Israel’s 40 under 40 up-and-comers in the agriculture industry by Mashov Group, Israel’s prime publisher for the agriculture sector, for his work at the AgTech startup eggXYt. eggXYt is pioneering the use of gene editing to make the livestock industry more sustainable and address hunger in the



HKS PolicyCast

➤
PolicyCast talks to the world. Growth Lab founder Professor **Ricardo Hausmann** breaks down the pandemic’s impact on developing nations around the globe.

ken.sc/policycast

Volunteer.

Make a difference in your HKS community. Join a regional network or shared interest group or become an alumni ambassador.

hks.harvard.edu/alumni/volunteer

world. Using CRISPR technology, eggXYt is enabling the pre-incubation sex detection of chicken eggs, preventing the culling of 8 billion male chicks, and saving the egg industry billions of dollars.

Yael Stern MPP has been selected for the MassChallenge Israel 2020 accelerator program with her startup, PainPal. Through PainPal, Yael is transforming the care of chronic pain patients with an innovative virtual behavioral health platform based on the most cutting-edge pain research. PainPal has also been granted funding by the Israel Innovation Authority.

Nadia Viswanath MPA writes, “I am based in San Francisco and enjoying deepening my experience in urban labor markets and workforce development in my role on the global team of Generation. Generation is a global

nonprofit organization that operates across 13 countries to transform education-to-employment systems with innovative training programs. Generation has reached over 35,000 graduates in five years with 80% job placement rates. In my role, I work across our 13 countries to identify our operational challenges and design for improved quality and outcomes. If you’re in or interested in the space, would love to connect!”

2018

Asset Abdualiyev MC/MPA, in September 2019, joined McKinsey & Company’s San Francisco office as a senior implementation consultant. In this role, Asset is working on strategy development and implementation phases with clients in various industries.

Safwan Amin MC/MPA practices law at an international law firm where a substantial amount of his work is focused on public policy and advising governments in the Middle East region. He also recently served as the chief of staff to the prime minister designate of Iraq. Safwan will be returning to school later this year to pursue a graduate degree at Yale Law School.

Stephen Jones MC/MPA writes, “I joined a group called the Global Special Operations Forces Foundation (GSF). As the only professional association for the U.S. and international special operations communities, we fill a critical gap in the national security discourse by leading like-minded public and private entities to increase understanding of the role that special operations can play in addressing global security. Our mission is twofold: 1) advocacy for adequate resourcing; and 2) bringing the special operations community together. Our events focus on building the capacity and capability of our U.S. and international partners. Learn more here: *gsof.org*.”

Grey Lee MC/MPA continues to advance sustainability in the built environment through a small portfolio of projects: creating a nonprofit arm of the award-winning net-zero-energy housing developer Placetaylor; providing process guidance at the International Living Future Institute; and teaching the green building and urban resilience course at Harvard Extension School. He is also welcoming impact investments into the social-benefit-provider co-housing enterprise Civekos, which he started while at the Kennedy School. He has enjoyed bumping into cohort alumni in Cambridge and abroad. Follow him @greylee.

Thomas Sellers MC/MPA writes, “In June 2019 I was elected to my town’s Budget Review Committee in Ogunquit, Maine, where **Terry Ann Lunt MPA** and I have been living since retiring four years ago. In addition, I continue serving as a trustee of Dana-Farber Cancer Institute and as a member of the DFCI Quality Improvement/ Risk Management Committee.”

Khadijah Tribble MC/MPA is now vice president, corporate social responsibility, of Curaleaf Holdings, Inc., a leading vertically integrated cannabis operator in the United States. Khadijah will oversee the company’s efforts to build an ecosystem of impact, policy, and business that aligns with the greater good of the cannabis industry and the communities in which Curaleaf operates and serves. She will also lead the company’s diversity, equity, and inclusion initiatives.

HKS ALUMNI BOARD

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Leila El-Khatib MC/MPA 2013, Member-at-Large

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Ramaswami (Balu) Balasubramaniam MC/MPA 2010
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Tami Kesselman MPA 1995
Carl Manlan MC/MPA 2012
Diego Osorio MC/MPA 2009
Frank Pearl MC/MPA 2011
Steven Rahman MPP 2000
David Rosenberg MC/MPA 1986 HAA Liaison
Corina Santangelo MPA 1999
Meredith Segal MC/MPA 2017
Brooke Suter MC/MPA 2017

This list is current as of June 1, 2020

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Jane D. Hartley
Sally Jewell
Brenda Jones MC/MPA 2018
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Maria Torres-Springer MPP 2005
Kent Walker (Overseer)
Ngairé Woods

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Karen A. Frank, Vice Chair
Peter L. Malkin, Chair Emeritus

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S. Daniel Abraham
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Ramin A. Isayev MC/MPA 2001
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Scott D. Malkin
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Sean C. Rush MC/MPA 2007
Vincent J. Ryan
Mohammad Safadi
Gabriel B. Sunshine
Erica L. Wax MPP 1997
Michael A. Zaoui

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Adrian C. Cheng
Anne Chiou MPP 2005
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Bharat Desai
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Ana Paula Gerard Rivero MC/MPA 1995

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Daniel K. Goldberg
Reinhard Gorenflos MPA 1989
Charles H. Grice MPP 1985
Fernando Gutierrez Eddy MC/MPA 2009
Dionisio Gutiérrez Mayorga
John R. Hargrove MC/MPA 2012
Nicolaus P. Henke MPA 1990
Kenneth A. Hersh
Frank F. Islam
Malik Ahmad Jalal MPA/ID 2011
Tasso Jereissati
Maha J. Kaddoura MC/MPA 2000
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Latifa Kosta
George Kounelakis
Nicholas Kukrika MPP 2007
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Yanchun “Lily” Li
Brandt C. Louie
Andrónico Luksic
Eugenio Madero
Mohamed L. Mansour
Bashar Masri
Lorenzo Mendoza HKSEE 2010
Rod Miller MPP 1990
Eric M. Mindich
Anthony P. Morris
Roberto H. Murray Jr.
Christian Long Oberbeck
Hilda M. Ochoa-Brillembourg MC/MPA 1972, HKSEE 2002
Marvin E. Odum
Minnie R. Osmeña MC/MPA, HKSEE
Jerome L. Rappaport MPA 1963
Jang-Han Rhee
Tom Rousakis MPP 1997
Carlos Salinas de Gortari MPA 1973
Elliot J. Schrage MPP 1986
Jane E. Silfen MPP 2013
Carl-Henric Svanberg
Anthony Tamer
Emil Tedeschi
Meena Thever MPP 2006
Lynn Thoman
Joseph B. Tompkins Jr. MPP 1975
Jesús Viejo Gonzalez MPP 1998
Enzo Viscusi
Brooke N. Wade
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Memberships as of June 1, 2020

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HKS CLASS OF 2020

VIRTUAL GRADUATION CELEBRATION

ON MAY 28, 2020 THE HKS COMMUNITY gathered virtually to celebrate the Harvard Kennedy School's Class of 2020, their significant achievements, and their dedication to serve in all corners of the globe. We honored this new class of leaders and the many sacrifices they made this year to preserve the well-being of our community.

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala delivered the 2020 HKS graduation address. Okonjo-Iweala, chair of GAVI, the global vaccine alliance; special advisor to the World Health Organization on

the COVID-19 response; and former finance minister of Nigeria delivered the graduation address via video, challenging members of the Class of 2020 to "be bold, be courageous, be selfless."

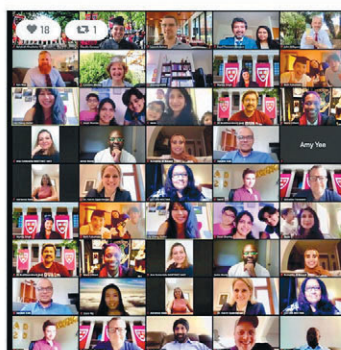
Graduates successfully established a solid foundation at HKS and are now lifelong members of the community. We hope the experience at HKS is a source of pride and support for all our new alumni—congratulations!

VIEW MORE ONLINE:
www.hks.harvard.edu/honoring-class-2020

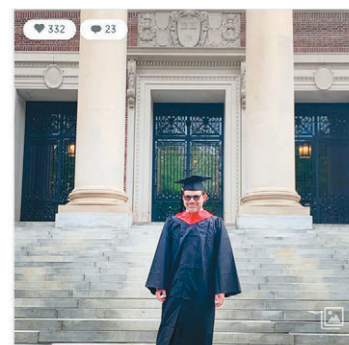


Ariella Barker MC/MPA 2020 has been involved in battles all her life. She grew up in rural North Carolina, with a single mom working multiple jobs and a grandmother who helped look after her. She was diagnosed with spinal muscular atrophy (SMA) at age three through

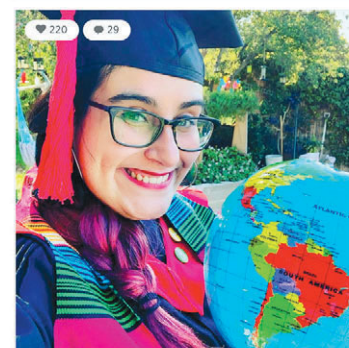
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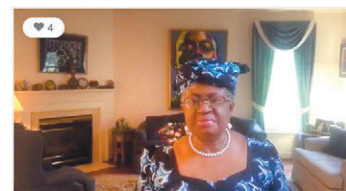
Virtual celebration of #HKSgrad with my cohort at @Kennedy_School #Harvard20 @HKSLife #LifeInTimesOf-Corona We move into the world to 'lose oneself in service of others!'



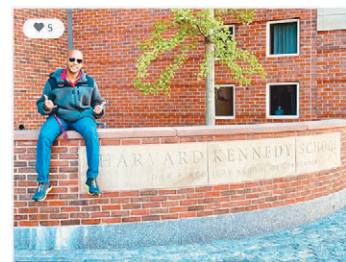
#graduation2020 #hksgrad #harvard-kennedyschool #may28th #2020 #covid19 #graduation #veritas



Profe+magister=maestra^2 🎓 #HKS-grad #Harvard20



Thank you Dr. @NOIweala for your exemplary leadership and charge to the @Kennedy_School Class of 2020 to honor the call to serve. We will go out and lose ourselves in the service of others. #hksgrad #Harvard2020



Graduation week is here! "ASK NOT WHAT YOUR COUNTRY CAN DO FOR YOU..." #HKSgrad #Harvard



Special thanks to ranalliralph for writing the full article #Repost harvardkennedyschool with get_repost . . . Baheirah Hammam Khusheim MC/MPA 2020 believes the best way to serve people is by actually living with them and letting them be part

Show more...



While we know we weren't able to celebrate on campus, we hope you were able to celebrate with friends and family. We are so proud of our exceptional graduates; congratulations to the Class of 2020! 🎓 #HKSgrad #Harvard20



Graduated from the @Kennedy_School & @HarvardDivinity today! #hksgrad #Harvard20 #harvard2020



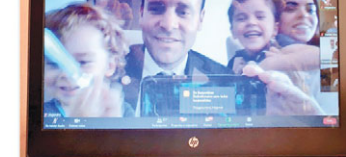
Congratulations, Harvard @Kennedy_School graduates! All of us at the Belfer Center admire your energy and passion, and we look forward to following your progress as your next chapter unfolds. #HKSgrad



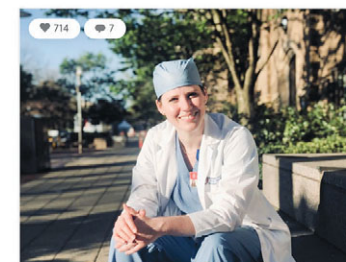
I am a HARVARD Graduate y'all!!!! #harvard #graduation #hks #grad #hksgrad #mpa #dual #degree



You may now call me Jon Yuan, MPP — thanks to everyone who's helped me make it to this point. Forever grateful 🙏 #HKSGrad

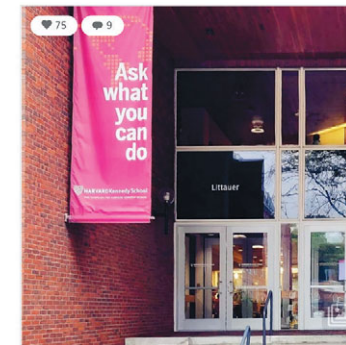


Hoy recibí, acompañado de mi familia, el Mason Fellowship Certificate de @Harvard @Kennedy_School y concluí mi periodo como Vicepresidente de Estudiantes Internacionales de la Escuela de Gobierno. El jueves tendremos nuestra graduación #hksgrad



Michelle Fakler MPA/ID 2020 loves surgery, being on the medical frontline, and seeing the tangible impact that a doctor can have on a single patient. But Fakler, who will return to the final two years of her surgical residency after graduating from HKS, also loves the big-

Show more...

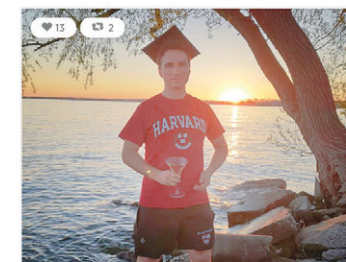


Ciiyeh, hahah... finally Harvard grad, argh 🙏 dream come true. so happy yip yip . #alhamdulillah . i just wish my mum n family is here w me yesterday...❤️ (Mejeng depan gedung HKS (yg dikunci krn Covid 🤒). Maap klo besok2 post2 foto2 narsis seputaran HKS ya wkwk) .

Show more...

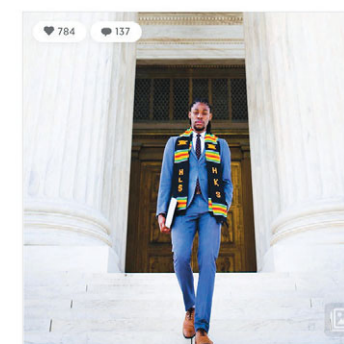


2 Congratulations, @Kennedy_School Class of 2020, and welcome to your alumni community! 🎓 #HKSGRAD <https://t.co/eI1Uz29uOd>



It has been a privilege to be part of the 2020 MC/MPA cohort @Kennedy_School with these impressive peers! The challenges ahead are just bigger than expected, but we are ready to face them! Thank you to all the faculty members! You are a gift to the world!

Show more...

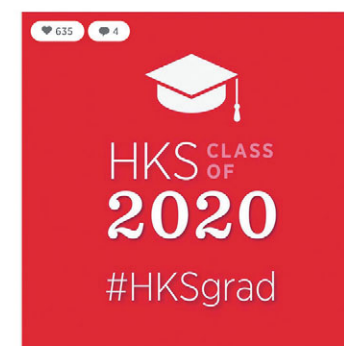
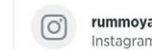


Today, I graduate from Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School of Government with my Juris Doctor and Master in Public Policy, respectively. This accomplishment would not be possible without the continued support of my family, friends, Howard community,

Show more...



Today I fulfilled a dream I've had since I was a little girl: to graduate from Harvard. Thank you to my amazing family and friends for getting me here - I could not have done it without you 🙏❤️ #HKSGrad



Join us in honoring the class of 2020! Share your favorite HKS memory or how you'll be celebrating virtual graduation by using #HKSgrad 🎓



FUNDRAISING AT HKS IN THE COVID-19 ERA

A conversation with Christy Jackowitz,
senior associate dean for alumni relations
and resource development

MAKING SURE THE KENNEDY SCHOOL has the resources to help our communities and train future public leaders remains a high priority during the COVID-19 crisis. We sat down with **CHRISTY JACKOWITZ**, senior associate dean for alumni relations and resource development, to discuss fundraising at the Kennedy School during this challenging time.

Q HOW HAS COVID-19 AFFECTED FUNDRAISING AT HKS?

When COVID-19 emerged, raising funds presented new challenges. During those initial weeks in the early spring, we made a conscious decision to pause our general fundraising as our supporters were directing more funding to frontline services. Many of them did, and we could not be prouder of their efforts to identify and support society's greatest needs. However, we also saw the need for improved public policy and leadership during those early months, so we slowly began reaching out to our supporters towards the end of the spring semester.

Year-in and year-out, Kennedy School alumni and friends provide crucial financial support for our mission—last year, for example, gifts from alumni and friends composed 48 percent of the School's operating revenue. The challenge was significant, especially since this pandemic had such a negative impact on personal finances globally. In

addition, there was a sharp drop in executive education enrollment, an ongoing risk to degree program enrollment, and a reduction in gifts as supporters focused on frontline responders.

Q WERE YOU ABLE TO ACCESS ENDOWMENT FUNDING TO MAKE UP FOR THE REVENUE LOSS?

It is a common misconception that Harvard can directly access its endowment funds for an emergency. These funds are largely restricted to very specific uses and not accessible for addressing unexpected needs or new opportunities for growth. Last spring, we relied on flexible funding when we had to pivot our activities online in an incredibly short time.

Current and admitted students also feel the financial impact of COVID-19, and we worked hard to help them with financial aid from unrestricted funding. We heard from students who could no longer attend the Kennedy School because the external foundations, governments, or businesses who had offered them support had to pull back those offers, and others whose financial situations have changed quite drastically due to lost income within their family. We are committed to helping these students—and this is why unrestricted flexible support is so important. It allows us to be nimble in the face of these unexpected challenges.

NATALIE MONTANER

Q ARE YOU HOPEFUL THAT THERE IS LIGHT AT THE END OF THE TUNNEL?

It has been incredible to see so many alumni and friends make the Kennedy School one of their philanthropic priorities during this time. This is a community effort. That's why we also run smaller campaigns where we ask alumni and friends to support the School with smaller gifts. When we say that they add up, they really do. The accumulation of gifts under \$10,000 last year alone equaled full financial aid packages for 17 students this coming term. These are 17 students who will now be attending the Kennedy School because of people who know that their contribution is part of something bigger.

Q WHERE CAN ALUMNI GIVE NOW TO HAVE THE MOST IMPACT?

The HKS Fund is our go-to resource to address unpredicted situations, and we are still in very unpredictable times. These funds are designated for the dean's highest priorities, including financial aid. They offer flexibility and are fully available to have an immediate impact.

Of course, we realize that not everyone is in a position to give—and we've been so impressed that some are stepping up to offer

other kinds of assistance, from meeting virtually with admitted students to hosting career chats to being partners for students working on their Policy Analysis Exercise and providing internships.

Q IS THE SCHOOL RAISING FUNDS SPECIFICALLY FOR COVID-19-RELATED PURPOSES?

Yes, inasmuch as we continue to fund innovative and relevant programs to provide real-world learning opportunities to our students. For example, the faculty were quick to adapt their teaching to include finding solutions to this ongoing crisis. We also pivoted our first-year MPP students' Spring Exercise this year to focus on the response to the pandemic. Students worked virtually with each other to develop policy recommendations related to public schools being reopened, migrant workers in New Delhi, international travel, and the spread of the virus in developing countries.

As we look to helping the world beyond our campus, the Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative, originally designed to provide an environment where mayors and city officials could learn to best address common challenges, has become a real-time resource. Every week since the beginning of the pandemic this group of hundreds of public leaders from around the world has focused on crisis response—including lessons from former U.S. Presidents Bill Clinton, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama, as well as Bill Gates and Nancy Pelosi.



It has been incredible to see so many alumni and friends make the Kennedy School one of their philanthropic priorities during this time.”

CHRISTY JACKOWITZ

Q IT SOUNDS LIKE THE SCHOOL'S FUNDRAISING HAS EVOLVED OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS. DO YOU ANTICIPATE MORE CHANGES?

We have many more immediate needs that have emerged over the last few months, so we have placed a greater emphasis on current-use giving at this time. We are only able to do what we do because of the generous, unrestricted financial support from our alumni and friends. I am also deeply appreciative of all the other ways our alumni have stepped up during this global crisis. I have always said that our alumni are our greatest assets, and that is certainly proving to be true today.

MEMBERS OF HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL'S CLASS OF 2020 celebrate and show school spirit while social distancing in the John F. Kennedy Memorial Park. From left to right: Jaime Diaz MC/MPA 2020; Gerta Uruci-Limani MC/MPA 2020; Ana Esmeralda Martinez Saez MC/MPA 2020; Scott McCann MC/MPA 2020; Karim Sarhan MC/MPA 2020; Fernanda Pedreira MC/MPA 2020; Kudzai Makomva MC/MPA 2020; Serena Lese MC/MPA 2020 (seated); Hind Al-Hindawi MC/MPA 2020; Fernando Marquez MC/MPA 2020; Nada Siddiqui MC/MPA 2020; Will Green MC/MPA 2020; Sayef Tanzeem Qayyum MC/MPA 2020; Amy Yee MC/MPA 2020; Doris Gutierrez MC/MPA 2020; Sybil Hebb MC/MPA 2020. Ganesh Ramachandran MC/MPA 2020 helped organize.

PHOTO BY MARTHA STEWART





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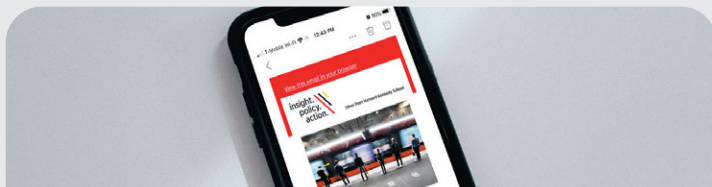
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cool! will do!