

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL

magazine

SUMMER 2022



PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA

PROTECTING THE MOST VULNERABLE

BLUE-SKY THINKING

HKS POLICY LABS

Evidence and Data in Support of Service





BEFORE SHE ADDRESSED the Harvard Kennedy School graduating class of 2022 in May, Moldovan President **MAIA SANDU MC/MPA 2010** took some time to visit her alma mater, give interviews, and meet with students—including a group of Moldovan and Romanian students from around Harvard who joined her for tea.

PHOTO BY JESSICA SCRANTON

WITH THE START OF A NEW SEMESTER comes new activity on campus. Our buildings are full of students, faculty, staff, and fellows engaged in a host of endeavors—taking classes and attending events, conducting research, gaining new experiences.

The work of the Kennedy School, one of Harvard’s professional schools, has a real connection with practice. And the hands-on nature of what we do at the school lends itself to experimentation and innovation. This issue of *Harvard Kennedy School Magazine* explores the idea of “policy labs”—initiatives that embrace this experimental approach. Our Growth Lab, led by Ricardo Hausmann, Rafik Hariri Professor of the Practice of International Political Economy, uses data visualization to present and understand economic growth in societies around the world. And our Public Interest Technology Lab, led by Latanya Sweeney, Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and Technology, investigates how technology can help rather than harm societies. These two labs join a host of other activities at the school that put innovation and experimentation at the fore.

Our practical approach at the Kennedy School also means that we seek solutions, and we take on the most significant public issues facing societies around the world. In a series of short essays in this magazine, Kennedy School scholars examine policy topics that concern China—a country whose role as a global power has grown significantly. From trade to geopolitics to energy policy, our scholars share their expertise.

Our alumni also lead the charge in facing the world’s big issues. Among others, we feature stories about Suparna Gupta MC/MPA 2013, who is improving institutional care for vulnerable children in India; Claire Henly MPP 2021, who, as a White House Fellow, has been

tackling climate change; and Andrey Liscovich PhD 2015, who returned to his native Ukraine to fundraise and coordinate relief efforts during the Russian invasion (you can also get a snapshot of our faculty members’ insights on the Ukraine war in this magazine).

Our alumni—and our faculty, staff, fellows, and students—are distinguished by the way they respond to the big issues in the world. Through grit, curiosity, and a willingness to experiment and to go where the problem is, the Kennedy School makes a difference when and where it matters.

I hope you enjoy reading this issue of *Harvard Kennedy School Magazine*.

Dean Doug Elmendorf
Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy

Dean Doug Elmendorf speaking at the 2022 Global Empowerment Meeting, co-hosted by the Center for International Development and the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy.

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“I think, in part because I’ve been granted an incredible amount of privilege and access to resources and access to education, I can and should do something about it,” says Claire Henly MPP 2021, a White House Fellow in the office of the special presidential envoy for climate.

FEATURES

- 12 Perspectives on China** Scholars examine issues including public opinion, international trade, superpower geopolitics, and energy policy.
- 21 Policy Labs** Labs are more than white coats and beakers. The Kennedy School’s labs put inquiry, investigation, and real-world work at the forefront.
- 22 Harvard Researchers Help Ailing Economies:** The Growth Lab helps diagnose and treat economic woes around the world.
- 30 Simple Experiments, Complex Problems:** The Public Interest Technology Lab addresses the collisions between technology and society.
- 34 Blue-Sky Thinking** Claire Henly MPP 2021 is working on creative solutions to big environmental problems.
- 38 Protecting the Most Vulnerable** Suparna Gupta MC/MPA 2013 has worked to protect the most vulnerable children in India from exploitation or worse.

DEPARTMENTS

- 4 Ideas** Spotlight on Ukraine | Research Briefs
- 6 Campus** Mark Moore | New faculty
- 8 Profiles** Andrey Liscovich PhD 2015 | Shoshana Chatfield MC/MPA 1997
- 9 Faculty** Sandra Susan Smith
- 42 Bully pulpit** Maia Sandu MC/MPA 2010 | Bill Taylor | Juan Manuel Santos MC/MPA 1981 | Donna Brazile | Marcia McNutt | Tim Scott | Jamie Raskin
- 44 In print** *Uncertainty* | *The Devil Never Sleeps* | *Growing Fairly* | *Hearts Touched with Fire* | *In Praise of Skepticism*
- 46 Alumni voices** Classnotes | Marina LeGree MC/MPA 2014 |
- Maria Soledad Rueda Garcia MC/MPA 2019 | Robert Manson MPA 2004 | HKS Women’s Network | Amelita Armit MC/MPA 1979 | Hamissou Samari MPP 2012 | Vilas Dhar MC/MPA 2016
- 62 Ways and means** The Stone Foundation Helps Grow the School’s Inequality Work
- 64 Exit poll**

Spotlight on Ukraine

“We in America are shocked by what we see on our screens, but we’re not in Europe, where I think the real true feeling is that this is the biggest upheaval to the security and political order since World War II. So we’re talking about a large ground-based war in continental Europe with a credible threat of the use of nuclear weapons. This is transformative.”

MEGHAN O’SULLIVAN

Jeane Kirkpatrick Professor of the Practice of International Affairs and director of the Geopolitics of Energy Project, speaking on HKS PolicyCast in March

FREDRIK LOGEVALL, the Laurence D. Belfer Professor of International Affairs at HKS and a professor of history in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, was born and raised in Sweden. Following the invasion he marveled at the extent to which Nordic countries, and also Germany, had united in standing up for the Ukrainians against Russian aggression. Much of that support was attributable to the leadership of Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, with his clear and honest messages to his people and to the world. That unity, Logevall said in a March HKS interview,

“underscores the degree to which Putin miscalculated here—and the degree to which this alliance has been strengthened in the short term.”

“As the war drags on and Western sanctions increase, there is also a danger that secondary sanctions will spill over and harm China. Providing Putin with a face-saving off-ramp could address this and the other dangers the war poses. And it would deepen Russia’s growing dependence on China and boost China’s own global image and standing.”

JOSEPH NYE

University Distinguished Service Professor, Emeritus, in a March op-ed on Project Syndicate

“Fighters who believe in the cause tend to not abuse civilians to the same extent. We know in Ukraine right now, some Russian fighters have no idea what they’re fighting for and may not believe in the cause very strongly.”

DARA KAY COHEN

professor of public policy, in an April *HuffPost* interview

RUSSIA’S INVASION OF UKRAINE in February 2022 has proved to be a defining event of our era. Whatever path the crisis eventually takes, its impact on everything from energy markets to the realignment of global power to the understanding of human rights and war crimes will be immense. Harvard Kennedy School faculty have added their expertise to inform those seeking to make sense of a brutal conflict.

Ash Carter, the Belfer Professor of Technology and Global Affairs and director of the Kennedy School’s Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, thinks that although the timing was unexpected, nobody should be surprised that Russian President Vladimir Putin took such a step, since he has long made plain his grievances with the West. “I think the Western family of nations came too late to a realization of what we have in Vladimir Putin,” Carter said in April at an event sponsored by the Institute of Politics.

“Hard power still matters in world politics. The idea [was] that major war was almost sort of burned out of Europe, that it was never going to happen there, that some combination of the European Union, NATO enlargement, the spread of markets, and economic interdependence was going to make this a vast zone of peace. And I think what the European countries have now discovered is that it would’ve been nice if it turned out that way, but it didn’t.”

STEPHEN WALT

Robert and Renée Belfer Professor of International Affairs, speaking at an HKS event in March

“A lesson that does carry over from the past on sanctions is that they tend to be effective when they’re multilateral, and especially if they’re enforcing some agreed-upon norm or rule.”

JEFFREY FRANKEL

James W. Harpel Professor of Capital Formation and Growth, speaking on HKS PolicyCast in March

“Clearly, the intense shock of the current Russian invasion may well prove critical in changing attitudes and behavior, spurring many Ukrainians into action who might never have contemplated bearing arms before.”

PIPPA NORRIS

Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, in “What Mobilizes the Ukraine Resistance?,” an article posted on the EUROPP blog of the London School of Economics in March

“The single most important thing we can do to end war crimes is to have an early peace in this war. The biggest cause of human-rights violations in the world is war—international war and civil war. So we don’t want to prolong the war. If there’s a peace agreement, the Russians will clearly ask for amnesty and immunity for their crimes.”

KATHRYN SIKKINK

Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy, speaking on HKS PolicyCast in April

With her mixed Russian and Ukrainian roots, **JULIA MINSON**, an associate professor of public policy, retains her childhood impression of Russia as a dominant military power shaped by memories of World War II and a place where the KGB once frightened people into silence and suspicion until the Soviet Union collapsed. She collaborated with a Norwegian computer scientist to get accurate information to Russians. In an April op-ed in *TIME* magazine, Minson wrote,

“We try to understand how you can talk to people who dramatically disagree with your view of the world in a way that doesn’t blow up into a screaming match—and actually leads to persuasion and ongoing dialogue.”



Cooperating on COVID-19 Relief

In the paper “Building Mass Support for Global Pandemic Recovery Efforts in the United States,” Assistant Professor of Public Policy **GAUTAM NAIR** and his coauthor, Kyle Peyton, a research fellow at the Australian Catholic University, examine Americans’ support for international pandemic-recovery efforts. They find that Americans are willing to support the government’s playing a major role in those efforts, provided that international agreements have only moderate domestic costs, that the burden is shared with other countries, and that resources such as domestically manufactured vaccines and patent buyouts are prioritized. Overall, decision-makers will have more success if they reframe U.S. contributions to global pandemic-recovery efforts as serving U.S. economic interests as well as humanitarian ones.



In Government We Trust?

PIPPA NORRIS, the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics, investigates the environments that influence people’s trust in their public leaders in “Trust in Government Redux: The Role of Information Environments and Cognitive Skills.” She finds that “open” societies with a free press and a highly educated population are likely to judge their governing bodies as trustworthy if they can assess them as competent, impartial, and having integrity. In “closed” societies, such as authoritarian states, this connection between trust and quality of government is not apparent. Norris writes, “The results confirm the thesis that in authoritarian states lacking a free press and freedom to dissent, citizens are more likely to be misled when evaluating untrustworthy leaders, or else they are self-censoring in their public expressions of dissent.”



Improving Peacekeeping

LINDA BILMES, the Daniel Patrick Moynihan Senior Lecturer in Public Policy, and coauthors examine the operational effectiveness of United Nations peacekeeping operations in a working paper, “Strengthening Management of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations: A Review of U.N. Peacekeeping Operations Audits.” The authors studied 288 audits of U.N. peacekeeping missions over a five-year period and identified changes that could improve those operations in a cost-effective manner. They write, “The absence of centralized and flexible funding for U.N. missions stymies their initial deployment, reduces operational effectiveness and increases costs. The result is a cycle of weak operational performance that continues to be repeated.” Five approaches emerged that the researchers believe could improve peacekeeping operations: more-efficient mobilization, more fungibility in resources, reprioritized resource investments, greater accountability, and decision-making based on timely operational data.



Partisanship and Housing Policy

With housing costs rising rapidly in large U.S. cities, an understanding of the relationship between politics and housing policy could provide insight for policymakers and researchers. In their working paper, “How Partisanship in Cities Influences Housing Policy,” Assistant Professor of Public Policy **JUSTIN DE BENEDICTIS-KESSNER** and coauthors study the relationship between local politics and housing policy. Using survey data, housing policy data, and data from city council and mayoral elections in large U.S. cities, the authors examine partisan divides in housing policy. They focus on both the degree to which partisanship shapes people’s opinions on these policies and the degree to which politicians from different parties favor differing policies. For example, electing a Democrat as mayor can lead to an increase in the creation of multifamily housing in cities where councils have no power over zoning appeals.



An Epidemic of Hospital Closures

On average, 21 hospitals closed in the United States annually from 2010 to 2015, and 47 closed in 2019 alone. The number of closures skyrocketed amid COVID-19, creating concerns for many patients, providers, and communities. Associate



New Faculty

Harvard Kennedy School welcomes new faculty members:

Assistant Professor of Public Policy
Luis Armona

Professor of Public Policy
Eliana La Ferrara

Associate Professor of Public Policy
Matthew Lee

Emma Bloomberg Associate Professor of Public Policy and Management
Elizabeth Linos

Assistant Professor of Public Policy
Elizabeth McKenna

Assistant Professor of Public Policy
Charles Taylor

TOP LEFT IMAGE: INDRANIL MUKHERJEE / AFP

Professor of Public Policy **SOROUS SAGHAFIAN** and colleagues explore how policymakers can respond and make the health care sector more efficient. In their paper “Towards a More Efficient Healthcare System: Opportunities and Challenges Caused by Hospital Closures Amid the COVID-19 Pandemic,” published in *Health Care Management Science*, the authors look at the effects of the increase in hospital closures—such as pressure felt by the remaining hospitals that may result in rushed services and reduced quality. The authors suggest that researchers study how incentives such as innovative payment models and other interventions might improve the performance of those hospitals that remain.

Ideas—As Well As Interests—in Political Appeals

DANI RODRIK, the Ford Foundation Professor of International Political Economy, and colleagues build a framework for thinking about how ideas shape politics in their National Bureau of Economic Research working paper “Economic Interests, Worldviews, and Identities: Theory and Evidence on Ideational Politics.” They examine how political leaders not only appeal to potential voters’ material interests but also “often seek support by trying to persuade the public of a particular view of how the world works—a view that enhances the desirability of the candidates’ preferred policies.” Politicians also seek support by appealing to “voters’ identities, values, or some overarching normative principles (such as fairness or freedom).” Both these approaches, the researchers suggest, have to do with ideas, which are distinct from—but may complement—voters’ economic interests. They also find that economic shocks, such as the effect on U.S. labor markets of increased trade with China, can lead to growth in ideational politics, and they investigate how high levels of inequality affect identity and worldview politics.



FACULTY PHOTOS BY MARTHA STEWART

Present at the Beginning: Over 50 Years at the Kennedy School

MARK MOORE was a member of the Kennedy School’s inaugural Master in Public Policy class. After being awarded one of Harvard’s first PhDs in public policy, he was appointed assistant professor in 1974 and the Guggenheim Professor of Criminal Justice Policy and Management in 1979. Moore, now a research professor, discussed his work and the Kennedy School with the Ash Center earlier this year. Here is an excerpt from that conversation.

Q: What moment from your teaching career stands out most in your memory?

I think it was one of the earliest classes I taught in the fledgling HKS executive program, around 1976 or so. We had launched our first program, for senior federal government executives. I was a 29-year-old associate professor with a newly minted PhD in public policy and two years of government experience. And there, sitting in the front row, was General George Patton Jr.—the son of the famous World War II general. I believe my topic was leadership! ... In those first few years, I think, we learned more from the participants than they did from us. But soon we were able to give back what we had learned, packaged in ideas, curricula, and pedagogy that could actually help experienced professionals diagnose their context more comprehensively and accurately and figure out what they needed to do from their particular positions to “create public value.”



Q: Your seminal book, *Creating Public Value*, was published in 1995. How would you judge the performance of government practitioners since then?

Government managers—including those who were elected, politically appointed, or served as professional civil servants—have had a rough go of it over the past 40 or 50 years. They have faced political environments that made it difficult to create consistent, coherent democratic mandates for performance and operational task environments that required frequent innovations. They have been under constant pressure, with little appreciation for the difficulty of their jobs or any recognition of their successes. Despite the challenges, many were able to respond with a strong sense of professional integrity and innovative capacity.

Q: How do you think HKS has helped these practitioners over the years?

I like to think that we made some important contributions to these professionals, partly by teaching them some things they did not know but more by helping them understand what their combined professional experience could teach them about their jobs. An incredible amount of useful and usable knowledge was contained in those classrooms, and our research and pedagogic methods helped reveal and codify it. What has been particularly exciting and gratifying to me is that the tools we developed for use by government executives—the concept of public value and the framework of the strategic triangle—have spread beyond them to include managers of voluntary sector organizations, commercial enterprises, complex collaborations across organizational and sector boundaries, and even those who characterize themselves as social entrepreneurs or social change agents.





ALUMNI

“Something I must do”

Right after Russia launched its invasion of Ukraine, **ANDREY LISCOVICH PhD 2015** felt he had no choice but to go back and defend his native land. Leaving behind his career as a Silicon Valley entrepreneur, he journeyed by airplane, train, car, foot, and fire engine to his besieged hometown of Zaporizhzhia to volunteer. There recruiters recognized that Liscovich (below, right), a former CEO of Uber Works, might be more useful in charge of logistics than with a gun. Since then, he has been working to equip troops with everything from thermal underwear to artillery-spotting drones, enlisting help from tech colleagues and donations from supporters via his Ukraine Defense Fund. We spoke with Liscovich in recent months. Here are portions of our conversations.

How did you experience the run-up to the invasion?

For three weeks in February, I was in Russia. I knew [war] was

a possibility, so I went there to see my friends. Most of my closest friends are Russian, and I got to see them. I didn't think I would be able to go back to Russia ever again, at least until this regime is replaced.

You said one of the reasons you went back to Ukraine was that you needed to have “skin in the game.”

I know that I would not have gotten anywhere near the support that I have received if people didn't think I was serious about this, and people didn't think I was going to take a personal risk. And that has been a factor behind our ability to find significant donors, and an incredible amount of support and interest from people. I feel a sense of moral obligation to do something about this. I see my parents being refugees now. And my city is still under Ukrainian control, but Russians are getting closer by the day. So I feel like it's something I must do. I can't sit idly by in San Francisco and

just “like” things on Facebook—it's not enough.

How do you get your head around the war between these two countries that are so important to you?

I have no hatred for Russians. I have no hatred for Russian culture. I love it. I have deep ties to Russia. And in fact, I'm arguably the poster boy for who should be welcoming Russian tanks with flowers.



I'm a native Russian-speaker. I spent my formative years in Russia. Almost all my close friends are Russian. And I'm doing everything I can to make sure that if they come here, it's as tourists, not as a force that's trying to change the way of life for Ukrainian people. It's not Russia versus Ukraine; it's Putin versus the West.

Do you think about what will come after the war? Do you feel this experience has changed you?

I try to keep a very narrow focus on the work. It's been a nonstop marathon, and a lot of very specific high-impact work needs to be done immediately, so you just cannot take your eyes off the ball. I don't think I have changed in fundamental ways. The way I see this war is as a battle of wills. Putin counts on his will being stronger, and he counts on Western resolve to be fragile. So this experience simply tells me that one needs to be prepared to disregard this criticism, to disregard the doubts and the naysayers, to just dedicate the time available, the energy available, to doing what can result in the outcome we all hope for.

FACULTY

Creating the Roundtable on Racial Disparities in Massachusetts Criminal Courts



SANDRA SUSAN SMITH is the Daniel and Florence Guggenheim Professor of Criminal Justice, the Carol K. Pforzheimer Professor at the Radcliffe Institute, and faculty director of the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management (PCJ). In 2021, the PCJ, led by Smith, formed the Roundtable, a multiparticipant working group made

up of stakeholders ranging from judges to the formerly incarcerated, with the goal of influencing future policies, practices, and procedures to eradicate the sources of racial inequity and racial disparity in Massachusetts's courts.

The Roundtable allows for honest conversations around what happens to real people in the criminal legal system. Are these tough discussions, and do your participants stay connected?

All Roundtable members bring their unique experiences and understanding to our discussions. We do not always agree. Indeed, perhaps the only view we all share is that the criminal legal system does harm and needs to be changed. On all other questions—the extent and nature of the harm, root causes, and how to effectively eliminate the sources of harm—we have small to large areas of disagreement. Despite this, or perhaps because of this, bonds among members are growing and ties are deepening. Still, two points are worth making. First, members come to the Roundtable with a history of fighting for racial justice in the criminal legal system from whatever positions they hold. Second, in committing to this project, Roundtable members also necessarily commit to being open to the views that others share, to being willing to question or reexamine their own assumptions in light of what they are learning, and, to some extent at least, to being willing to compromise.

How important is having the formerly incarcerated as members?

Earlier in my career, I was invited to participate in several such convenings, but rarely were people with lived experience also invited to participate as active members on equal footing with other members—typically policymakers, practitioners, academics, and researchers. At most, justice-involved individuals would be invited to make a guest appearance: Organizers would put together a panel discussion in which two or three people with lived experience would describe the injustices they confronted; then they were thanked for their courage in sharing with the group, wished a brighter future, and

guided out of the meeting space so that serious discussions among the principals could continue. They were passive participants and expected to be so. Those were missed opportunities. How could we address intractable problems within the criminal legal system without centering the voices of those most negatively impacted by it? The Roundtable had to be different.

Have any of the findings from the Roundtable working groups surprised you?

I have learned so much because of my participation in the Roundtable. This work has caused me to delve into bodies of research with which I'd not been familiar, to hear perspectives that I'd not heard before, to contemplate possibilities that had been foreign to me. For instance, I had not considered before that the planning associated with re-entry should begin the day one's jail or prison sentence begins, not toward the end of one's stint. That produces much better outcomes. I have learned how and why people of color are lost at each stage of the jury-selection



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

process; how problematic this is for constituting diverse juries that, research shows, yield fairer jury outcomes; and the efforts that can be made to resolve these issues. I now better understand why decriminalization policies often increase racial disparities as well as how such policies need to be constructed so as to benefit Black and Latinx people as much as they do white people. I've understood some ideas in theory, but it has been in the context of the Roundtable that I have seen good evidence.

ARIS MESSINIS / APPI | COURTESY OF ANDREY LISCOVICH

MARTHA STEWART



SERVICE FOUND ME

Shoshana Chatfield MC/MPA 1997 is the first woman to head the U.S. Naval War College. For the former helicopter pilot and professor, it's a natural evolution in a life devoted to service.

IT WAS ON A CROSS-COUNTRY GREYHOUND BUS TRIP that Shoshana Chatfield first envisioned the path that would eventually lead her to become a U.S. Navy rear admiral and president of the Naval War College. The trip, from her native Garden Grove, California, to Boston, allowed her time to consider the opportunities that she—the first member of her family to go to college—would have, and what had made them possible. Even though her family had limited economic means, she had been able to attend great public schools, to play sports, to take part in extracurricular activities, to be accepted to an institution like Boston University.

“While I was on the bus for four days, I thought a lot about what I would do,” Chatfield says. “You think about how awesome it is to have those opportunities, to be able to make something of yourself—to graduate from college, to enter the workforce, to be an

adult—and that’s when I decided I wanted to serve my country.”

Chatfield is now more than three decades along that path of service. In that time she became a highly decorated Navy helicopter pilot, earned a Harvard Kennedy School mid-career master’s and a doctorate in education with a focus on leadership, taught as an assistant professor of political science at the U.S. Air Force Academy, and commanded a helicopter squadron. Today

“In the end, I guess I found the Navy, or the Navy found me.”

SHOSHANA CHATFIELD

she is the first woman to lead the U.S. Naval War College (USNWC), a graduate school that develops leaders at all stages of their careers and from all the U.S.

PHOTOS: COURTESY OF THE U.S. NAVY

armed services, U.S. government agencies and departments, and international navies.

A focus on the seas is vital for national security and international relations, Chatfield believes. “We’re a maritime nation,” she explains. “We live on goods and services that arrive on our shores and are exported from our shores; they travel on sea lanes and under water. Digital tech and financial transactions are carried over the sea, so security on the ocean and having relationships with other nations that depend on the global commons is really important.”

“Quite a significant portion of our faculty and staff are working on behalf of the Navy and our joint force to help decision-makers understand different aspects of the tough choices they have to make,” Chatfield says. “We do a lot of research on behalf of the Navy on war-gaming and strategy and operations. We also do a lot of experiential learning by working through rigorous analysis of applied research.”

As head of the Naval War College, Chatfield is guided in part by her experience at HKS—both what she learned and how she learned it—and her broader experience as someone who returned to education after years of operational involvement. “I’m fortunate

to have been an adult learner who was well supported at HKS,” she says. “We have different kinds of learners [at USNWC] and different environments for them to learn in, where they can really explore intellectually and touch new ideas and concepts to help enhance their critical thinking.”

Like every other higher-learning institution, the USNWC has had to navigate the difficulties posed by the pandemic. “We’ve had two years of constant change,” Chatfield says. “We’ve seen a focus on incorporating technology to deliver the education, which required a big change in how people presented the material for students. There can be lots of desire to go back to how things were before the pandemic—but that would be taking a step backward. We have incredible technologies for connection, giving us a huge boost in

how to reach learners. We have more attendees at our conferences and symposia, including people who normally wouldn’t be able to travel or access our content. This is a tremendous opportunity.”

In her current role, Chatfield is constantly thinking about the nature of the organization she has devoted her life to—especially the nature of its leadership.

“It’s not the leadership at the time but the legacy of the leader organizationally that endures.”

SHOSHANA CHATFIELD

about what a good leader is,” she says. “There’s been some work done that really shows that it’s not the leadership at the time but the legacy of the leader organizationally that endures.”

Now 34 years into her



service, Chatfield remembers a conversation she had with her HKS advisor, IBM Professor of Business and Government Roger Porter, about what she should consider if she wanted to move to a new career. He offered three broad questions she should ask herself: Are you excited about doing it and do you wake up and want to do this thing? Do you think that it matters that it’s you doing it and that you bring some perspective that’s important? And are you in an environment with people you respect and admire?

The answer for Chatfield was always there. “In the Navy it’s a robust population of people who are striving, achieving, inspirational. We find it in our junior ranks and our senior ranks,” she says. “In the end, I guess I found the Navy, or the Navy found me.”



PERSPECTIVES ON CHINA

ANTHONY SAICH
GORDON HANSON
JIE BAI
GRAHAM ALLISON
HENRY LEE
EDWARD CUNNINGHAM

KEVIN FRAYER/GETTY IMAGES

AS CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY GENERAL SECRETARY XI JINPING has strengthened his grip on power, China has solidified its position as the United States's only peer competitor on the global stage. Its rise continues to spark questions about its newly assertive role in the world and the policy implications of that reality. A range of projects and people at Harvard Kennedy School study public policy around China. From the Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia, housed at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, to the Great Rivalry project at the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, scholars at HKS examine issues including public opinion, international trade, superpower geopolitics, and energy policy. In the following pages, some of our experts contribute brief essays to help us understand China's internal dynamics and its growing role in the world.



WHAT KIND OF WORLD DOES XI JINPING WANT?

— Anthony Saich

When General Secretary Xi Jinping agreed a “Joint Statement” with President Putin claiming there would be “no limits” to the relationship, some wondered whether this heralded the creation of a new world order. The statement does reference the trend toward the “redistribution of power in the world.” So, what kind of a world does Xi want to see? Two major principles drive his view. First, security and sovereignty issues must all be aligned to ensure the continued rule of the Chinese Communist Party. Second, he insists that China be seen as at least an equal player in the world, making it a key participant in defining the rules of the road.

Under Xi’s leadership, China’s foreign policy approach has completed the move away from the era governed by Deng Xiaoping’s mantra: “hide your strength, bide your time.” Clearly, he feels that the time is now and there is no need to hide the nation’s strength. Already in December 2014, Xi noted that China could not be a bystander, but must be “a participant, a leader.” In October 2017, he followed this by stating that by 2050, China would be a “global leader in terms of composite strength and international influence.” This focus, linked to the “rejuvenation of the Chinese nation,” has been accompanied by a more aggressive promotion of China’s interests

and defense of its actions. This is best seen in the actions of the “Wolf Warrior” diplomats who aggressively combat Western criticisms, often taking to Twitter or Facebook, both banned within China.

There are three key features to China’s global approach. First, as noted, China intends to be a major player in global affairs. The nation has been a major beneficiary of the current global order and it would be a mistake to think that it wishes to undermine that order completely. China has profited from membership of the World Trade Organization and associated trade and investment regulations. Its commercial and trading routes have benefited from the U.S. security umbrella, but the deteriorating relationship may push China to develop its own security structures, a development certain to be seen by the West as an aggressive expansion. However, China has sought to exert its influence in those areas that it sees the United States withdrawing from. Clearly, China seeks to change the focus of regimes such as the United Nations system overseeing human rights and it has a very different view of internet governance and cybersecurity from that of Western nations.

Second, China views itself as an equal with the United States when defining global rules and institutions. For Xi, time is on China’s side with the increasingly prevalent view in Beijing being that while the East is rising, the West, especially the United States, is declining. Chinese media is replete with accounts of the superiority of the “socialist” system, reveling in showing the failures of “democracy” in America. Ever since the global financial crisis of 2008-2009, China’s leaders have become more confident that their system is effective and does not need to learn lessons from the West. This perception has been compounded by descriptions of the chaotic response to COVID in the West, compared with Beijing’s “zero-COVID” policy, let alone by showing footage of the Capitol riots on January 6, 2021. China now

proposes that not only is its model effective domestically but also might be suitable for other nations to study.

Third, China has developed a more coherent policy toward Asia. Strangely, given the importance of the region to China, for many years it did not have a clear policy approach but wrapped Asia into the broader geopolitical frameworks. Current policy is characterized by carrots and sticks. The carrots are the significant trade and investments, best signified by the Belt and Road Initiative. China is now the major trading partner for most countries in the region. The sticks are the aggressive defense of China’s claimed territorial interests in the South and East China Seas. While, on occasion, China might reduce its aggression, it will not renounce the claims. The status of Taiwan remains the sharpest thorn in the relationship with the United States. Similarly, the implementation of the National Security Law in Hong Kong has caused concern for both the United States and Taiwan, while disconcerting others within the region. This has created, as noted by Evan Feigenbaum, a dangerous bifurcation

between an economic Asia with China at the core and a security Asia, within which the United States remains the key player.

China’s emergence as a major global power raises for many nations the question of how to respond. In major part, this depends on where you are and the nature of the relationship. For Russia, China is a good rhetorical partner for its opposition to NATO and the West. For many other countries, trade and investment are most important. While many others, especially in Southeast Asia, do not want to be forced to choose between a rising China and a still powerful West. The tension therein can only increase. Clearly, under Xi, China is determined to be an increasingly influential global player, willing to assert its national interest more forcefully than before.

— Anthony Saich, Daewoo Professor of International Affairs, is the director of HKS’s Rajawali Foundation Institute for Asia and faculty chair of the School’s China Programs.

WHO ARE THE CASUALTIES OF A TRADE WAR?

— Gordon Hanson

The trade war between China and the United States, launched with bluster and bravado by Donald Trump in 2018 and continued with muted enthusiasm by Joe Biden in 2021, celebrated its fourth birthday this April. U.S. tariffs on imports from China, first limited to washing machines and solar panels and quickly expanded to the cover most U.S. purchases, ended a two-decade experiment in multilateral cooperation. When China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001, there was hope that it would manage its commercial relationship with the United States under rules accepted by the large majority of trading nations. Alas, that hope proved to be naïve. Instead, a chaotic and fractious relationship is emerging, which if not moving the countries toward a formal economic decoupling will leave in place barriers that prevent the deep integration that WTO-style globalization was supposed to engender.

The first set of barriers are the trade-war tariffs themselves. U.S. levies on Chinese imports are equivalent to an average sales tax of 19%; retaliatory levies by China on its purchases of U.S. goods likewise average 21%. Consider U.S. tariffs, first. Economic research shows that these barriers reduced U.S. imports from China in affected product lines by an average of more than 30%. If a trade decline of this magnitude seems impressive, it is also somewhat misleading. In clothing, footwear, and other labor-intensive goods, China responded to

U.S. levies in part by moving the final production stage of assembling inputs into outputs ready for delivery to consumers to Vietnam or other nearby countries. Even if much of a good is produced in China, as long as the final stage of production occurs elsewhere the imports escape duties meant for China at the U.S. border. Hence, effective tariffs on value added in China have risen by less than the 19% headline number. But what has changed is the ability of Chinese firms to structure global supply chains as they wish. They are now obligated to organize these chains to evade U.S. levies, which raises production costs and dampens trade. U.S. exports to China are less fortunate. Because most of what U.S. firms ship to China are commodities—think soybeans farmed in Iowa—manipulating supply chains is not an option. China’s tariffs on U.S. imports therefore have had a strong bite.

The U.S.-China trade war has proved to be about much more than tariffs. The bellicose posturing of each nation toward the other complicates how multinational enterprises plan their global investments. A U.S. tech firm considering operations in China, for instance, may fear more aggressive treatment by Chinese antitrust authorities (just ask Qualcomm) or less protection of their intellectual property within China (see Apple). For their part, a Chinese company considering licensing U.S. technology may fear losing access to this technology at some point in the future, if the U.S. government deems the company a security risk, as happened recently to Huawei and ZTE. Investors loathe uncertainty and the U.S.-China trade conflict has produced uncertainty in abundance. The result is weaker bilateral



The trade war that began in 2018 has expanded beyond the flow of goods to affect the international movement of capital and labor. The longer the trade war lasts, the more corrosive these knock-on effects will be.” GORDON HANSON

flows of investment and less engagement and fewer partnerships between U.S. and Chinese companies.

A third type of barrier created by the trade war is more subtle than those on goods and capital but perhaps no less consequential. The flow of people across borders—Chinese students seeking science and engineering degrees in U.S. universities, tech entrepreneurs from Silicon Valley searching for input suppliers in Shenzhen—moves ideas and information between countries and thereby greases the wheels of international commerce. The COVID-19 pandemic severely reduced travel between China and the United States. As this travel resumes, heightened tensions between the nations will act like an international roadblock. There is likely to be reduced interest in and fewer opportunities for academics, artists, businesspeople, and others to move back and forth between China and the United

States. The result will be greater weakness in the cross-border networks that sustain international cooperation and trade.

As China and the United States sort out their geopolitical relationship in the aftermath of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, they have an increasingly fragile economic foundation on which to rely. The trade war that began in 2018 has expanded beyond the flow of goods to affect the international movement of capital and labor. The longer that trade war lasts, the more corrosive these knock-on effects will be. How the two countries choose to order their commerce will determine what form globalization takes in the coming decades. Right now, that form is looking very distant from the spirit of 2001.

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Gordon Hanson is the Peter Wertheim Professor in Urban Policy at HKS and the chair of the School's Social and Urban Policy Area.

WHAT DRIVES THE CAR MARKET IN CHINA?

—
Jie Bai

The past several decades have witnessed significant liberalization among developing economies to foreign trade and investment, as advocated by international organizations. Nevertheless, for strategic reasons, emerging economies such as China, India, and Brazil continue to impose considerable restrictions on foreign direct investment (FDI) in certain sectors. One such policy is quid pro quo (technology for market access), which requires multinational firms to form joint ventures (JVs) with domestic firms, often with a significant cap on foreign equity, in return for access to the host country's domestic market. While the joint venture requirement more directly exposes firms in developing countries to foreign technology, multinational firms consider it a form of coerced technology transfer and a significant barrier to investing in developing countries. Quid pro quo lies at the forefront of the U.S.-China trade debate, and concern over this policy was a key stated justification for the Trump administration's decision to impose tariffs on \$50 billion worth of Chinese imports in 2018.

Despite the historical and contemporary relevance of quid pro quo and these recent controversies, little is known about its benefits to the host country over a policy of unrestricted FDI. In a recent paper, I and coauthors study the importance of the joint venture requirement under quid pro quo in facilitating knowledge spillover from foreign to domestic firms. Our context is the Chinese automobile industry, where quid pro quo was first introduced in the country, eventually becoming a major industrial policy. Foreign automakers are required to set up joint ventures (the quid) with domestic automakers to produce and sell cars in China (the quo). A

fixed cap of 50% is imposed on the foreign ownership share, and it is binding in all cases. China has had the largest automobile market in the world since 2009. All major multinational automakers compete in this large market, including 23 joint ventures (e.g., BMW-Brilliance), 12 domestic automakers that are affiliated with the joint ventures but have independent production (e.g., Brilliance Auto), and seven domestic automakers with no joint venture affiliation (e.g., BYD).

The automobile industry is the paradigmatic industry for studying knowledge spillover given the multitude of technologies embodied in the final products, including propulsion, electronics, safety, fuel efficiency, emission control, materials, and most recently AI technologies. In recent years, Chinese domestic automakers have developed high-quality indigenous brands, potentially benefiting from knowledge spillover from foreign automakers via JVs. The rich dynamics of this industry allow us to study the following questions: Has the ownership affiliation stipulated under the quid pro quo policy been effective in inducing knowledge spillover from foreign automakers to domestic automakers? If so, to what extent, and what are the underlying mechanisms? What will happen if quid pro quo is lifted? This latter question speaks directly to the current trade debate between the United States and China.

Conceptually speaking, the joint venture requirement creates a set of domestic automakers that are affiliated with foreign automakers through JVs. These domestic automakers are the primary beneficiaries of the policy, receiving direct access to foreign technology. Leveraging rich multidimensional vehicle performance quality data, we find that affiliated domestic automakers ("followers") indeed learn more from their affiliated foreign automakers ("leaders") than do nonaffiliated domestic automakers. This reflects in the fact that the domestic followers tend to adopt similar quality strength as their affiliated leaders. Worker flows and shared supplier networks are important channels mediating the knowledge spillover.

Finally, turning to the policy question of what would happen to domestic automakers' quality if quid pro quo were lifted. Evidence suggests that ownership affiliation as required by quid pro quo is not a necessary condition for knowledge spillover and that the



presence of affiliated domestic partners is not a necessary "conduit" for knowledge to flow from foreign to domestic automakers. Evidence from the upstream parts and components industry further shows that ownership affiliation does not confer a significant advantage in terms of knowledge spillover compared with full foreign ownership. These findings speak directly to the current U.S.-China trade debate. Amid recent tensions with the United States regarding forced technology transfers via the quid pro quo policy, the Chinese government has pledged to remove the foreign ownership requirement in several strategic sectors, including the auto industry. Our findings suggest that doing so would not significantly hinder quality upgrades in the domestic industry.

The discussion focuses on the benefits of quid pro quo for Chinese domestic firms but does not speak about the costs to foreign firms in terms of either the profit split or potential IP infringement risks. With a majority stake or even sole ownership, foreign automakers may have stronger incentives to bring the most advanced technology into the Chinese market, as they can better guard their know-how. How such incentives are shaped by global knowledge diffusion is an important open area for future research.

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Assistant Professor of Public Policy Jie Bai's research focuses on microeconomic issues in developing countries and emerging markets.

WHAT HAPPENS WHEN A POWER RISES SO QUICKLY?

—
Graham Allison

Graham Allison, the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government, has authored a series of reports on the rivalry between China and the United States in terms of economics, military might, technology, diplomacy, and ideology. Allison spoke on the PolicyCast podcast earlier in the year about a few aspects of this rivalry. Following are excerpts from that conversation.

The biggest international story in the world today, and for the foreseeable future, is China. Never before has a nation risen so far, so fast, on so many different dimensions. And the most significant challenge to the United States today is the rise of China and its impact on the international order.

The Chinese vision is, "We are inexorably rising. You are irreversibly declining." That's it; that's the grand narrative. There's a different view, which is, "We in the United States believe our democracy and market economy are going to perform better, because we don't believe a party-led autocracy can govern a society successfully for so long."

ON ECONOMICS

Who is the manufacturing workshop of the world? Who is every country's number one trading partner? Who provides the most critical links in supply chains? The answer to all these questions is

China. China manufactures more than twice the amount of items that the United States does. China has defined a new world economic order. In the economic realm, the degree of interdependence between the United States and China is such that if you should have a total breakdown of relations between the two countries, Chinese factories would be producing items that they wouldn't have any place to send to, and Walmarts would be empty. A total breakdown in economic relations would have a huge negative impact on both societies and would probably lead to a global recession. On the current trajectory, by 2030 China will have a GDP twice the size of that of the United States, rising to three times as large by 2040.

ON TECHNOLOGY

Most people simply can't believe how rapidly China has closed the gap in so many technological arenas, even to the point of surpassing the United States in some. Let's take 5G as an example. You can't watch TV without being inundated by claims from cell phone service providers that we have the best, fastest, and most reliable service. However, 5G in most parts of the United States is as slow as 4G. Whereas you get five times that speed in Beijing or Shanghai. In China, 160 million people, equivalent to about half the U.S. population, live in a 5G world now. What are the consequence of that going to be?

Quantum and AI are two other examples I deal with in a Belfer Center paper I published in December, "The Great Rivalry: China vs. the U.S. in the 21st Century." Artificial intelligence is the tool that technologists believe is most likely to have transformational impacts on the U.S. economy and security in the next 20 years. China is ahead of the United States in the areas of facial recognition, voice recognition, comprehensive surveillance, and fintech. There are other areas where the United States is ahead—for example, in enterprise technology. However, in most areas it is a genuine race.

In the quantum arena, two or three American companies—including Google and Microsoft—are leading the development of this technology, but the Chinese have made huge strides, as I describe in my paper. So, what could this mean? Well, in each one of these

arenas, as we've seen historically, you can have technological arms races in which the rivals strive to get ahead of each other. However, it is hard to get a decisive advantage, and the technologies proliferate quite quickly. It's a challenge to have a permanent advantage when there is no clear end to the race. At the same time, if a country "wins" the technical arms race, the consequences are significant. In the quantum space, the consequences for the intelligence community as well as for potential military conflicts would be very severe. Similarly, in the AI space, the potential military and security arena applications are significant, and the consequences could be huge.

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Graham Allison is the Douglas Dillon Professor of Government at Harvard University and former dean of HKS.

CAN WE BALANCE CLIMATE GOALS AND ENERGY SECURITY?

—
Henry Lee

The past two years have been a sharp reminder to China of the risks of fossil fuel dependence. While fossil fuels have powered its rapidly growing economy, the country has been left vulnerable to the volatility of oil, gas, and coal markets. In September 2021, most of China's provinces experienced major blackouts, catalyzed in part by disruptions in coal markets. The Chinese government blamed greedy speculators for high coal prices and the subsequent power shortages, but the problem had more to do with an inefficient grid and the disconnect between deregulated coal and regulated power tariffs. In February, Russia's invasion of Ukraine sent oil and liquified natural gas prices skyrocketing to \$100 per barrel and \$40 per Mcf (1,000 cubic feet) respectively. As the world's largest importer of oil and a major importer of gas, the economic disruptions that resulted reinforced China's concerns about energy security—concerns that will continue to influence its energy policies over the remainder of this decade.

Does this mean that China will slow its decarbonization efforts? If you look at recent pronouncements from Beijing, one might say yes. In March, the National Development and Reform Commission, China's central planning agency, cautioned provincial officials against the "overly simplistic and mechanical" implementation of climate policies.

However, on examination, the policies China is pursuing to wean itself off reliance on fossil fuels may also benefit its quest for greater energy security.

China leads the world in the deployment of wind and solar generation. As its renewable energy investments expand over the next 20 years, China will have greater flexibility to accelerate its transition away from dependence on coal. In the transportation sector, it has surpassed the rest of the world in electric vehicle sales, which will increase as automobile manufacturers face new regulatory requirements to sell ever greater percentages of electric vehicles. Electrifying industrial processes and the heating of buildings is gaining increased attention at both the national and provincial levels. All of these actions will reduce fossil fuel use—particularly the imports of oil and natural gas. A greener China will be a more energy-secure China.

In *Foundations for a Low-Carbon Energy System in China*, a recent book I edited with Harvard Professor Daniel Schrag, with chapters written by a talented group of young scholars, we pointed out that China's ability to meet its climate targets—and by extension its energy security targets—depended on reforming its electricity sector. Specifically, China will need to address the structural rigidities that currently hamper its electricity system. These include outdated governance structures; an inefficient dispatch protocol that leads to overreliance on the least efficient generating facilities; and pricing policies that disincentivize investments in renewables. In addition, greater investments in demand management, ancillary services, and storage will be essential so that the grid can continue to operate when renewable generators are not available. China will also need to actively develop the capacity to capture and sequester carbon emissions from the coal facilities that are not retired. Finally, China will have to manage the human dislocations that occur as fossil fuel industry jobs disappear. Disproportionately large shares of these jobs are in a few provinces that do not have the fiscal bandwidth to provide a safety net for these workers. Cooperative efforts between Beijing and fossil-fuel-intensive provinces, such as Shanxi and Inner Mongolia, to retrain and relocate dislocated workers will be required, as will new investments to innovate and deploy new clean technologies.

These reforms will not only put China on the road to meet its climate goals but will also reduce its dependence on imported fossil fuels, making China more energy secure. The more China can couple its climate initiatives with its security initiatives, the faster it can reap the environmental and economic benefits of a cleaner and more sustainable country.

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Henry Lee, a senior lecturer in public policy, is the director of HKS's Environmental and Natural Resources Program.

WHAT IS THE FUTURE OF CHINA'S PRIVATE SECTOR?

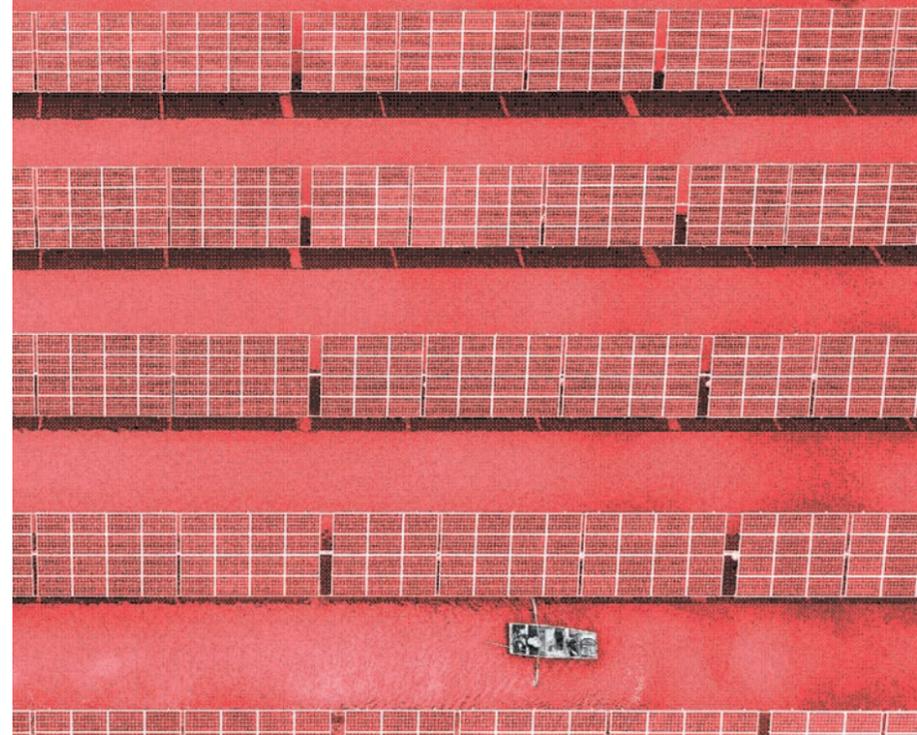
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Edward Cunningham

China's private sector is often summed up with a combination of four numbers: 60/70/80/90. Private firms contribute approximately 60% of China's GDP, 70% of its innovative capacity, 80% of urban employment and 90% of new jobs. Given the clear centrality of private enterprise to the vibrancy, growth, and stability of China, it is therefore difficult for many to grasp the logic of the Chinese government's acceleration of placing state power over private enterprise. Are we witnessing a fundamental pivot in the industrial recipe for the nation's success, in which privately owned market drivers will be muted? How will the CCP's relationship with the private sector evolve in the medium term?

In attempting to answer these questions, it is important to keep in mind two perspectives. First, the Chinese government's increasing intervention in the private economy is less a pivot and more the latest installment of a ratcheting of domestic control over specific industries. Second, the state is managing a calculated opening in other industries still in need of foreign know-how and resources. Overall, this combined approach represents a government that will likely preside over greater restrictions on domestic private actors in China's economy in the medium term, but with important strategic openings to foreign private actors in key industries that merit our collective attention over the next few years.



GREG BAKER/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; HONG XIADONG/VCG/GETTY IMAGES





Given the clear centrality of private enterprise to the vibrancy, growth, and stability of China, it is difficult for many to grasp the logic of the Chinese government’s acceleration of placing state power over private enterprise. Are we witnessing a fundamental pivot in the industrial recipe of the nation’s success, in which privately owned market drivers will be muted?” EDWARD CUNNINGHAM

In 2021, China’s Vice Premier Liu He MC/MPA 1995 spoke at a digital economy forum, promising that “guidelines and policies for supporting the private economy have not changed ... and will not change in the future.” To a great extent, he was right—policy guidelines strengthening state involvement in private industry are nothing new. They began nearly a decade and a half ago, in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, marking the end of a short window of liberalization that had followed China’s joining of the World Trade Organization, in 2001. At that time, the government responded to the financial crisis with a fiscal stimulus package that increased money supply by nearly a third, doubled stock prices, fueled massive gains in property prices, and necessitated a series of deleveraging policies that restricted credit—particularly to private firms. Yet demand persisted, and alternative financial institutions emerged to meet such demand through “shadow banking” that was able to navigate a fragmented regulatory apparatus. Regulatory centralization followed, along with a range of policies to rein in private companies in largely consumer-facing industries, including real estate, financial services, technology, and education. By late 2020, Ant’s Hong Kong IPO was suspended after an intervention from Chinese regulators. The education company New Oriental, also listed in the United States, lost 90% of its market value as the private tutoring industry was effectively banned from turning a profit. Didi Chuxing, the ride-hailing company, was delisted from the New York Stock Exchange in May of this year after facing increased scrutiny from regulators.

In addition to interventions in the rules and market structure of these industries, Beijing has also turned to state-owned investments in leading firms driving these industries. According to Dealogic, public investments in private-sector companies increased from \$9.4 billion in 2016 to more than \$125 billion in 2020. Seemingly small government “golden shares” that were often overlooked historically in manufacturing industries were expanded into consumer data-intensive industries. For example, China’s internet regulator (Cyberspace Administration of China), through majority ownership in the China Internet Investment Fund, recently assumed a 1% stake in a ByteDance subsidiary that, despite its negligible percentage, granted the power to appoint one of three board members in a unit that holds key licenses for operating the lucrative domestic short-video business. A similar 1% stake in the NASDAQ-listed Weibo had been executed a year earlier.

The scale of such formal interventions and investments has been significant. Chong-En Bai of Tsinghua University and Chang-Tai Hsieh of the University of Chicago have shown that private companies with state-connected investors increased from 14.1% of all registered capital in China in 2000 to 33.5% in 2019. In 2017 the role of Communist Party committees was written formally into corporate articles of association that gave the party oversight of strategic decisions. Of course, longstanding informal

mechanisms of Party influence also grew. A September 15, 2021, Party and the State Council opinion on strengthening “United Front Work” in the private sector reflects a major reimposition of ideology on private business.

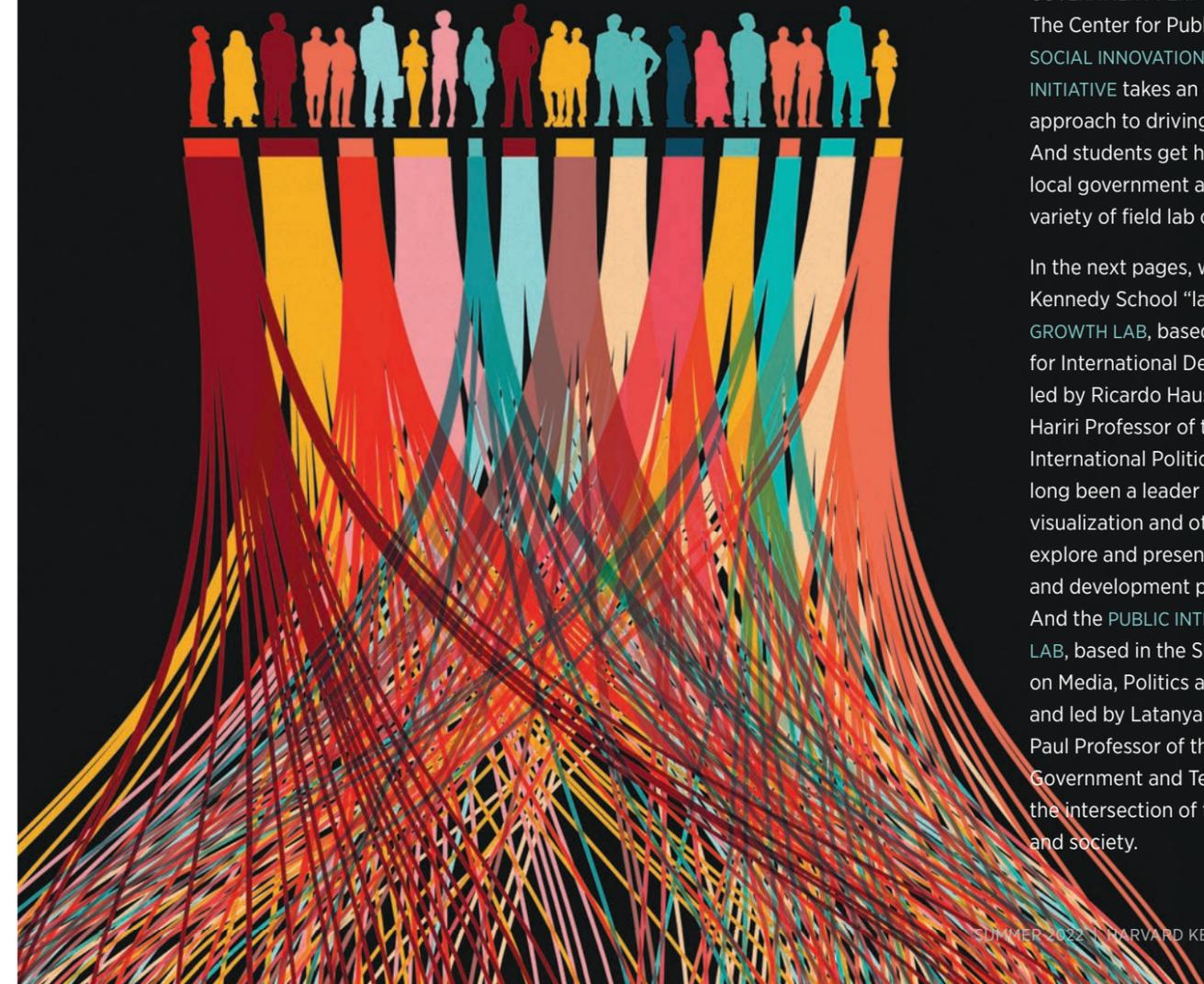
But things look a bit different when we turn to some of the largest foreign private firms eager to grow their investments in China. These companies are marking significant wins in the area of ownership and investment, despite the seemingly secular trends against the private sector noted above. In financial services, Blackrock, the world’s largest asset manager, recently won approval from Chinese regulators to launch a mutual funds business in China. Investment banks such as J.P. Morgan and Goldman Sachs, whose scope of business has long been restricted in China, are now able to establish 100%-owned securities ventures and are doing so. One of the world’s largest hedge funds, Bridgewater Associates, has announced a major expansion of new onshore China funds. American Express in 2021 became the first foreign payments network licensed to process renminbi transactions in China. Even in the strategic automotive industry, Tesla managed a revolution of sorts in pushing for a change in regulations that allowed 100% foreign ownership of its Gigafactory 3 manufacturing plant. In these industries in which foreign technology and know-how remain critical, and in which foreign firms are viewed by Beijing as potentially useful allies in lobbying for a deescalation of U.S.-China tensions, foreign private interests can gain while domestic private interests may lose.

However, it is perhaps China’s macroeconomy that provides the best roadmap to the future weight of the private sector in the medium term. As Michael Pettis has noted, if Beijing continues to target a GDP growth rate that substantially exceeds the real, underlying growth rate of the economy, “China has no choice but to expand the role of the government in the economy and to reduce the role of the market in allocating resources.” A longstanding but failed series of policy attempts to rebalance income to ordinary households and drive domestic consumption underlines the difficulty of avoiding this outcome. The interventions into the private sector and state investments in private firms discussed above only exacerbate such a structural challenge.

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Edward Cunningham, adjunct lecturer in public policy, is the director of HKS’s China Programs and of the Asia Energy and Sustainability Initiative.

HKS POLICY LABS

Evidence and Data in Support of Service



THE EXPERIMENTAL MINDSET can be brought to many disciplines, not just the natural sciences. The concept of the “lab” extends beyond the domain of white coats and beakers. The Kennedy School has several labs—programs that put inquiry, investigation, and real-world work at the forefront.

For example, the [SOCIAL POLICY LAB](#) at the Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy uses data visualization and storytelling to address social issues. Also based in the Wiener Center, the [HEALTH INEQUALITY LAB](#) studies the economics of health inequality in the United States and around the world. The Taubman Center for State and Local Government collaborates with public leaders and administrators to tackle problems through the [GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE LAB](#). The Center for Public Leadership’s [SOCIAL INNOVATION AND CHANGE INITIATIVE](#) takes an experimental approach to driving social change. And students get hands-on work in local government as well as through a variety of field lab courses.

In the next pages, we examine two Kennedy School “labs” in depth. The [GROWTH LAB](#), based in the Center for International Development and led by Ricardo Hausmann, Rafik Hariri Professor of the Practice of International Political Economy, has long been a leader in using data visualization and other tools to explore and present economic growth and development policy research. And the [PUBLIC INTEREST TECHNOLOGY LAB](#), based in the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy and led by Latanya Sweeney, Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and Technology, probes the intersection of technology and society.

HARVARD RESEARCHERS HELP AILING ECONOMIES

The Kennedy School's Growth Lab applies public policy tools to diagnose and address economic woes in nations around the world.

BY JAMES F. SMITH | PHOTOS BY LISA OSSENBRINK

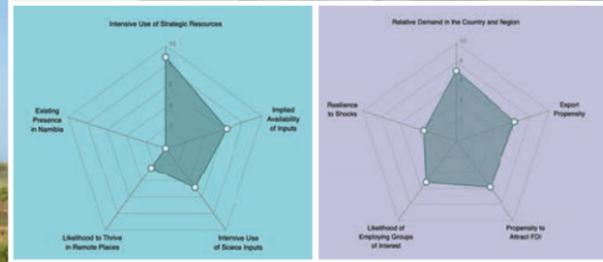


FROM ITS ROOTS AS A MODEST EXPERIMENT nearly 20 years ago, a program based at Harvard Kennedy School has steadily grown in scale and influence, earning international acclaim in the economic development and growth arena. In the process, the Growth Lab at the Center for International Development has honed its field work, academic research, technology tools, and classroom teaching into a unique blend of analysis and action that has touched cities and countries across the globe.

In the metaphor of its founder, Ricardo Hausmann, the Growth Lab is like a teaching and research hospital for a medical school, training students and practitioners how to do policy work. The Growth Lab's "patients" are governments that need diagnosis and treatment to heal deep economic ailments.

Consider the Growth Lab's project in Namibia—just one of the lab's seven current national engagements. Independent only since 1990, Namibia lies on the arid southwest coast of Africa, still suffering from the legacy of apartheid a generation ago, much like its larger neighbor, South Africa. The Namibian government came to the Growth Lab for help in crafting a strategy for sustainable and inclusive growth.

(Left to right) Miguel Angel Santos, Andrés Fortunato, Helvi Phillipus (Bank of Namibia), Robby Amadhila (ROAMA Manufacturing), and Nikita Taniparti



Members of the Growth Lab team visited the Etunda Green Scheme to visit smallholder farmers, and also the Asparagus farm owned by a Spanish company—Industrias Alimentarias de Navarra (IAN), both in the Omahenene region.

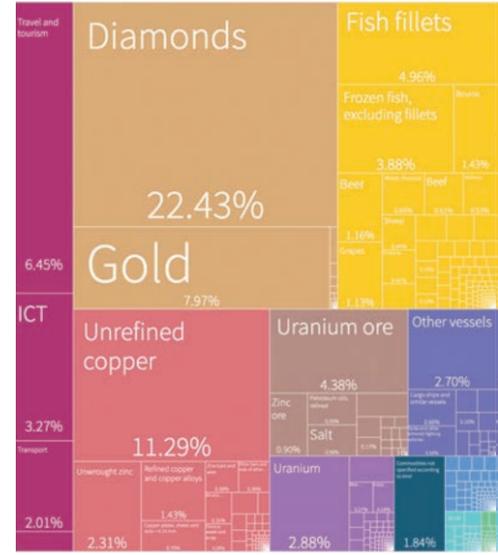
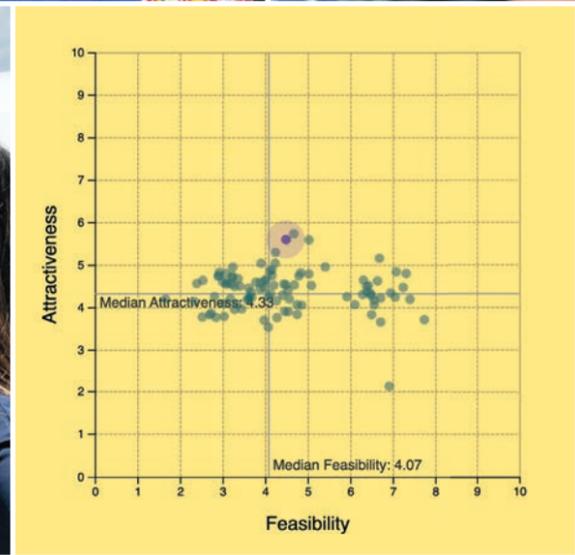
Data graphics from the Growth Lab's Industry Targeting Dashboard for Namibia shows (blue) intensive use of strategic resources; (purple) relative demand in the country or region; and (yellow) overview of attractiveness and feasibility of "Other vegetables, prepared or preserved."

That's why Nikita Taniparti MPA/ID 2018, now a Growth Lab research manager, led a team of six researchers through a series of discussions in April with local officials and residents in the crowded, struggling villages of northern Namibia. This fieldwork took place midway through the Growth Lab's three-year applied research project in Namibia to help identify ways to grow the economy as it copes with searing inequalities that have plagued the country since independence in 1990. This Growth Lab team was hunting for solutions to a specific aspect, framed by the Namibian government: how to rethink land tenure and use in the north to foster inclusive growth and higher productivity. And a team of four Growth Lab student interns returned to Namibia for the second straight summer for more hands-on work.

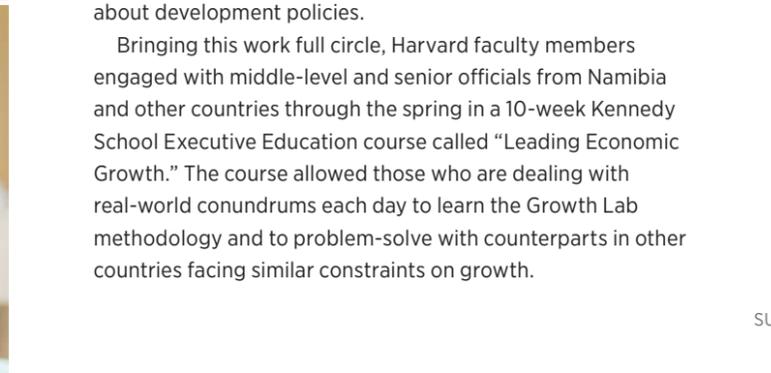
At the same time, back in the Growth Lab's warren of offices at HKS, postdoctoral researchers were puzzling through larger academic questions to understand the obstacles to growth not just in Namibia but in other countries across the world. These scholars crunched fresh economic data and drew from decades of development research to produce peer-reviewed papers and in-depth analysis.

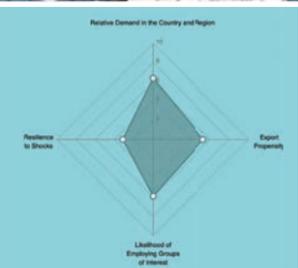
Meanwhile, another set of Growth Lab experts on the digital team used the incoming Namibian field data to build a simple, user-friendly web tool designed to quickly scan the economic landscape and find products and services best positioned to power the next phase of Namibia's growth. This tool mirrors other innovative Growth Lab data visualization tools built in recent years to enable officials to make informed decisions about development policies.

Bringing this work full circle, Harvard faculty members engaged with middle-level and senior officials from Namibia and other countries through the spring in a 10-week Kennedy School Executive Education course called "Leading Economic Growth." The course allowed those who are dealing with real-world conundrums each day to learn the Growth Lab methodology and to problem-solve with counterparts in other countries facing similar constraints on growth.



Namibia export basket, 2019, from the Atlas of Economic Complexity.





Growth Lab team tours ROAMA Manufacturing's apparel facility. Data graphics help assess the relative benefits of promoting activewear in Namibia.



THE GROWTH LAB'S ROOTS

RICARDO HAUSMANN, the Rafik Hariri Professor of the Practice of Political Economy at the Kennedy School, remains the hard-driving faculty director of the Growth Lab. He is blunt in his pride: "I think the Growth Lab is an institutional innovation that is quite unique. There is nothing quite like it, I would say, in the world."

Its origins were less auspicious. "It was something that we stumbled into," as he puts it.

Hausmann came to the Kennedy School in 2000, after seven years as chief economist at the Inter-American Development Bank, and previously served as minister of planning in his native Venezuela. He recalled the initial challenge that evolved into the Growth Lab: He was asked to produce a strategy for economic growth in El Salvador in 2005. He pulled together several HKS faculty members to help: **DANI RODRIK**, **ROBERT LAWRENCE**, Lant Pritchett, and Andrés Velasco. "It was like herding cats," Hausmann says now. "But we managed to come to a synthesis, and, in the process, we discovered a different way of analyzing things."

Hausmann, Rodrik, and Velasco wrote a paper titled "Growth Diagnostics," which generated so much attention that the World Bank asked them to teach it in what became a long-running executive education course. "Then the World Bank asked us to apply this growth diagnostic methodology," Hausmann remembers. "Next in line was South Africa, and next was Kazakhstan." In early 2006, he launched the Growth Lab as a program within Harvard's Center for International Development, where he was the faculty director.

Hausmann plunged into ideas around economic complexity and growth diagnostics, which evolved into the two trademark methodologies of the Growth Lab. His research papers now have tens of thousands of citations.

"The economic complexity approach had enormous impact,

and it allowed us to attract more postdoctoral fellows and to have more visitors who wanted to do research with us," Hausmann says.

ECONOMIC COMPLEXITY BY THE LETTER

The executive education component has become an intrinsic part of the Growth Lab model—Hausmann teaches the course with HKS Senior Lecturer **MATT ANDREWS**, who leads the Building State Capability program within the School's Center for International Development. "Leading Economic Growth" enables officials from countries that want to work with the Growth Lab to test whether the approach is worth a multiyear engagement.

Teaching in the spring executive education course, Hausmann used an analogy from the game of Scrabble to get across a key insight of economic complexity. In that game, having a diverse set of letters allows you to build more words—and more complex words. In the Growth Lab's lexicon, a country with more diverse productive capabilities can grow more diverse and complex industries than one with fewer capabilities. Expanding the set of capabilities allows locations to find new industries and better growth opportunities and thus create more wealth, through strategies such as attracting talent and firms from other countries.

Hausmann prefaces his teaching hospital metaphor this way: "Public policy is to economics what medicine is to biology or engineering is to physics. Physics and biology study the nature of the world we live in. Medicine, engineering, and public policy are about changing the world. Progress in biology and physics is very helpful to medicine and engineering, but biologists are not physicians, and physicists are not engineers. The Kennedy School needs to advance knowledge in public policy and teach it."

Woven together, these research and teaching components add up to a powerful engine not only for assessing problems but also for identifying and testing workable solutions. And in the process, scores of Kennedy School students and alumni are tapping into a Growth Lab smorgasbord of learning and professional opportunities.

"There's a huge multiplier effect for each project we work on because we are working in the country and they are sending their civil servants to study at Harvard," says Taniparti, the Namibia project co-lead, who joined the Growth Lab staff in 2018 after earning her HKS degree and then working at a research institute in her native India. "These country officials are getting access to the wider Harvard network. And students and faculty at Harvard end up enlarging their research interests because they know there's

an avenue to apply them at the Growth Lab."

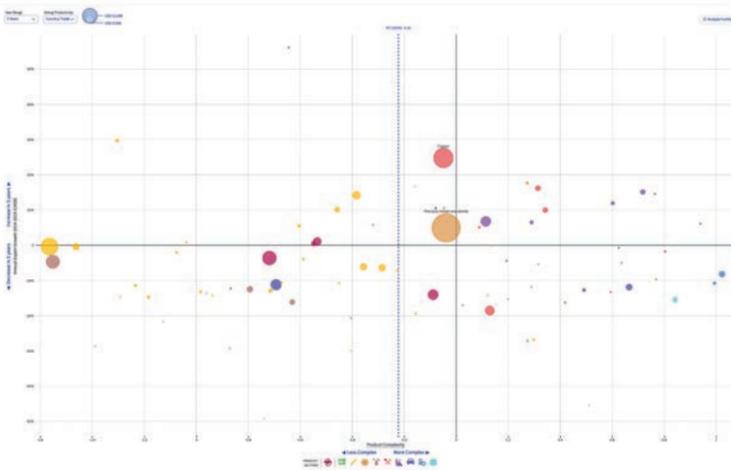
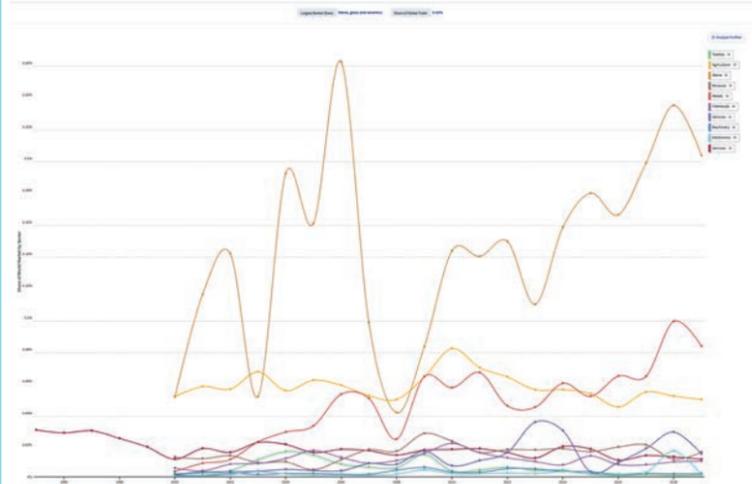
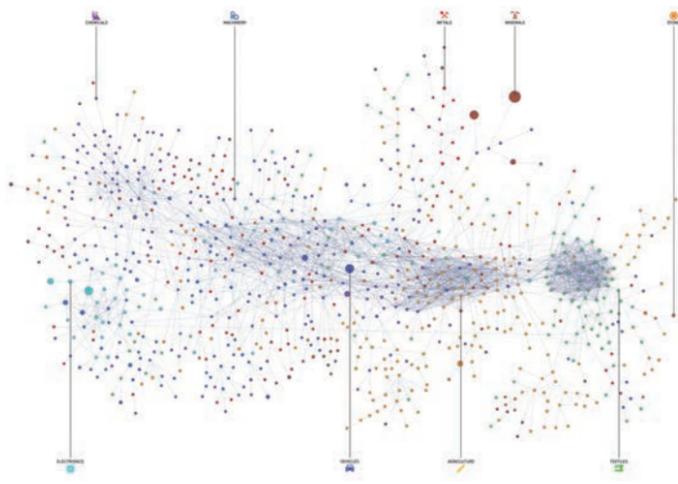
Aphary Muyongo, the deputy director of economic geology in the Namibian Ministry of Mines, was one of several Namibian officials in the executive education course. Muyongo came across Growth Lab research papers on Namibia and found them practical and clear on the need to diversify the economy away from raw mineral production. That prompted him to want to do more with the team.

"At the end of the day, it's equipping us with tools on how to approach our economic problems," he says of the lab. "And for me, this is very empowering because even if you are left on your own, you're able to do the work by yourself, instead of a consultancy where you give a question and then they come up with solutions. This is like hands-on—you have to do it yourself."



"I think the Growth Lab is an institutional innovation that is quite unique. There is nothing quite like it, I would say, in the world."

RICARDO HAUSMANN



Examples of data visualizations from Namibia's Industry Targeting Dashboard on Viz Hub—Namibia product space, global market share, and export growth dynamics.

(Right) Members of the Growth Lab team presenting to local officials in Namibia.



For Hausmann, the Growth Lab's three dozen researchers are the equivalent of a teaching hospital's interns and residents. He notes that medical school students spend just one year in the classroom and the next three years in teaching hospitals working with patients. In the classroom, you can explain a disease or an economic model and study its implications. But doctors do not know what ails their patients and must figure out which disease is affecting them. This can only be taught by looking at real patients. The same is true of public policy, according to Hausmann. In his view, the Growth Lab aspires to be the Kennedy School's teaching hospital for economic growth problems.

At the same time, just as some doctors focus on clinical research to advance medicine's underlying biology, Hausmann's nine postdoctoral fellows in the Growth Lab are producing the core academic research on economic growth. The applied

research teams take that academic learning into the field to inform their context-specific, custom treatment plans.

"What we are trying to advance is the technology with which we study issues," Hausmann says. "We diagnose things, we cure things—that's our core work. That's our mission. And in the process of doing our work, we develop technologies to analyze things and fix them and we want to make them accessible to the world at large."

DIAGNOSTIC TOOLS FOR GROWTH

To that end, the Growth Lab built its Atlas of Economic Complexity, a prize-winning tool for tracking global trade flows, product by product and country by country. That is the

most ambitious of many data visualization tools built by the Growth Lab and is available on its Viz Hub. Another recent tool is Metroverse, which drills down below country level to look at development data for more than a thousand cities globally. The tools are user-friendly, designed for non-experts.

Tim Cheston, one of the Growth Lab's three senior managers for applied research, says the Growth Lab's approach flouts a lot of conventional wisdom. "All our methods basically go against the development paradigm of 'one size fits all,'" Cheston says. "The methods both in economic complexity and growth diagnostics really emphasize the location-specific nature of the challenges and barriers to economic growth, as well as the opportunities for that location to be able to diversify and grow."

The Growth Lab has carried out research projects in more than 30 countries since its founding. A key feature is that these projects are usually sustained for several years, allowing relationships to grow and country expertise to deepen. The lab currently has active policy engagements in Colombia, Ethiopia, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Namibia, South Africa, and the United Arab Emirates. Work with the state of Wyoming is planned.

"All our methods basically go against the development paradigm of 'one size fits all.'"

TIM CHESTON

Former Growth Lab faculty and student alumni also now hold influential positions at other institutions, spreading the Growth Lab methodology. The dean of the newly established School of Public Policy at the London School of Economics (LSE) is Andres Velasco, a former HKS professor who worked closely with Hausmann for years in the formation of the Growth Lab. In March, Velasco launched a new research collaboration with Hausmann and the Growth Lab.

At a recent event at LSE, speakers from several countries described the impact of Harvard's Growth Lab projects, not least in Albania, which has been a focal point of Growth Lab research since 2013. Albania's deputy prime minister, Arben Ahmetaj, said, "The past nine years have been transformative for Albania."

"We went from a country which was on the brink of collapse [with] a failed growth model that relied heavily on construction and remittances," Ahmetaj said, "to a country that was able to restore its macroeconomic stability without recession, undertake transformative reforms in priority areas such as energy and fiscal policy and turn around the growth rates by creating an export-led sustainable growth model."

"Today, I can proudly say that together with Ricardo and his team, we actually changed the failed model into a successful growth model," he added.

Another recent "patient" has been Jordan, an Arab country plagued by chronic unemployment. Former Prime Minister Omar Razzaz has described how the Growth Lab team's diagnostic work identified information technology as a promising avenue for increasing Jordan's economic complexity. After three years of pursuing that strategy, Jordan achieved huge IT industry growth: American multinational Cisco's presence grew from 10 engineers to 1,300; Microsoft's technical staff grew from 25 to 500; and Amazon and Expedia have achieved similar growth.

GROWTH LAB GROWS ITS OWN TALENT

A distinctive feature of the Growth Lab is the extent of its homegrown staff. The majority of the lab's applied researchers are graduates of the Kennedy School, mostly with MPA/ID degrees and many with international roots. The lab also places 16 HKS students in intensive summer-long internships in countries where projects are underway. Several former interns are now on its full-time team of nearly 50 people.

All three current applied research program senior managers are HKS graduates who worked their way up to leadership roles. Douglas Barrios MPA/ID 2012 worked briefly for a consulting firm after getting his degree, but soon came back to the School to join the Growth Lab. Barrios, who oversees projects in Namibia, South Africa, and Kazakhstan, says that team learning and mentoring are baked into the system. He notes that the applied research teams "do a lot of capacity-building with our counterparts so they are able to do this type of work on their own."

Tim O'Brien MPA/ID 2015 spent two years in the Peace Corps in Malawi before coming to HKS and joined the Growth Lab after graduation, traveling almost monthly for fieldwork on a series of country projects and rising to senior manager. "The Growth Lab organization is very flat," he says, "and you're quickly put in situations with real decision-makers. Within my first six weeks, I was writing a memo to the prime minister of Albania. Within my first year, I was meeting with the prime minister of Sri Lanka."

Hausmann decided early on that he wanted to make all of what he calls the Growth Lab's "know-how" technology free and accessible to researchers and policymakers everywhere: "Our philosophy has always been that we create public goods, and we serve them up for free to the world." It helps to have his teams testing those tools in practice—out in the field with the nation-patients—and constantly honing them.

"We are in the business of developing knowledge, science, and technology to do public policy. And that is different from advancing the frontier of knowledge in pure economics in the same way that doing medical research is different from doing biology."



LATANYA SWEENEY AND
THE PUBLIC INTEREST
TECHNOLOGY LAB

SIMPLE EXPERIMENTS

“POLICY MOVES in a function of years,” LATANYA SWEENEY explains. “Technology moves in a function of months. There is an incredible mismatch in the rate of change.”

This mismatch has driven Sweeney’s work for more than two decades as she has explored what she calls “clashes” between technology and society, leading her to major discoveries in the fields of privacy and algorithmic fairness.

A computer scientist and the Daniel Paul Professor of the Practice of Government and Technology at Harvard Kennedy School, Sweeney is committed to public interest technology, a field built on the understanding that technology can cause social harms as well as serve the common good.

Sweeney established and leads the Public Interest Technology Lab, which is housed in the School’s Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy. The lab enables students and scholars to conduct their own experiments to address collisions between technology and society, which range from the bias baked into algorithms to vulnerabilities in voting technology to the immense power that tech platforms wield. “We go where the problem is,” she says.

GOING WHERE THE PROBLEM IS

This mindset developed from Sweeney’s experiences in graduate school. She was achieving her lifelong dream of becoming a computer scientist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, when a colleague told her that computers are evil. Sweeney disagreed, but as she learned about how data was being shared through technology in ways that put people’s privacy at risk, she realized that technology and society could, indeed, be at odds. So, she started investigating and experimenting, eventually writing her dissertation on data privacy protection. In 2001, she became the first African American woman to receive a PhD in computer science from MIT.

Continuing her graduate school focus on data privacy, Sweeney became a pioneer in the field, with her discoveries leading to changes in law and policy. For example, she conducted experiments that showed vulnerabilities in supposedly anonymized health data. She revealed that using just a few pieces of publicly available information—date of birth, gender, and ZIP code—87% of

the U.S. population could be matched to health records. In response, HIPAA—the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act, a major federal health privacy law—was revised to better protect individuals’ privacy.

Sweeney had another breakthrough when she discovered just how biased computer algorithms used by ad providers can be. She learned from a journalist that an ad for arrest records popped up when her name was searched online. Sweeney was alarmed. She had never been arrested. She decided to figure out what was going on. Her ensuing research, published in a 2013 paper, revealed racial discrimination built into algorithms. Ads for arrest records popped up more frequently when someone searched a stereotypical Black name rather than a stereotypically white one—“Latanya” rather than “Tanya,” for example—regardless of whether the person searched for really had an arrest record. “I showed how Google’s ad network was delivering ads that were actually in violation of the Civil Rights Act,” Sweeney says.

A LABORATORY AT A POLICY SCHOOL

Although Sweeney has made significant contributions to the public good in her research on technology, a large part of her work as an academic has been teaching students and building networks of scholars.

While she was a professor at Carnegie Mellon University, Sweeney started the Data Privacy Lab (which is now part of the Public Interest Technology Lab) and brought it with her to Harvard in 2011 when she joined the University’s Department of Government. After a leave to serve as chief technology officer at the U.S. Federal Trade Commission, she returned to Harvard and eventually took a joint position at the Kennedy School. (Since 2016, she has also been a faculty dean at Currier House, where she lives with her family among 300 Harvard undergraduates and enjoys mentoring and interacting with them.)

In 2021, Sweeney launched the Public Interest Technology Lab with three primary goals: developing public interest technologies, conducting research, and connecting students and scholars to share knowledge across universities. She has drawn faculty affiliates to the lab from the Kennedy School and across Harvard.

The idea, she says, “was to take all these experiments

COMPLEX PROBLEMS

BY NORA DELANEY | PHOTOS BY M. SCOTT BRAUER

that have worked”—the tinkering and exploring that have led Sweeney to discover privacy vulnerabilities and algorithmic bias, for example—“and put them on steroids.” Although the Tech Lab is fairly new, it traces the arc of Sweeney’s evolving interests in an evolving field and aims to address the growing conflicts between technology and society.

To deal with these increasingly frequent clashes, Sweeney realized, she needed to reach more people. So, she designed the lab as a hub for students and scholars to learn, experiment, and connect—to train others in order to extend the work far beyond Harvard. Sweeney, who holds a faculty position at both the Kennedy School and the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, teaches what she calls “save the world” classes that embody the ethos of the lab.

“I teach students how to spot unforeseen consequences and how to do these simple experiments,” she says. She emphasizes the simplicity: it is “not rocket science.” But these modest investigations into technology can make a difference and unearth threats to privacy, to fairness, and to democracy. “The issue is: what do we do about these clashes and how do we make the public aware?” As her own work has revealed, asking the right questions and investigating can change laws and business practices at large tech companies.

Sweeney “is going to save the world from technology run amok,” says **JOAN DONOVAN**, research director of the Shorenstein Center and an adjunct lecturer affiliated with the Tech Lab. “She not only teaches ethics and values in tech but illustrates for students how to build technology that has social significance beyond monetization.” Donovan, who is an expert in media manipulation and disinformation campaigns, explains, “I have been able to sit in on several of her classes, where the students debate the real stakes of technological design, not just from a critical perspective. They have to prototype how to make things work without ignoring the inconvenient truth. Technology is both process and product, helpful and harmful, and most of all, intentional design can mitigate risks.”

KATHY PHAM, a senior fellow at the Shorenstein Center and an affiliate of the Public Interest Technology Lab, also emphasizes how uniquely placed Sweeney is to lead the lab, with her background as a computer scientist and former chief technologist at the Federal Trade Commission. “When I think of Dr. Sweeney, I think of the embodiment of public interest tech,” Pham says. As a computer scientist herself—who was named deputy chief technology officer of the Federal Trade Commission in 2021—Pham is inspired by Sweeney, who, she says, has been a pioneer in the field for many years, “rethinking how technology affects democracy.” Pham explains, “she has done all these roles. She brings a depth of experience that is unique.”

Drawing on her deep and varied background and knowledge, Sweeney has positioned the lab as a hub to connect with others doing public interest technology projects. For example, it is part of the Public Interest Technology University Network, which consists of roughly

50 universities where students and faculty members do this type of work. The lab also sponsors the Technology Science Research Network, which is made up of scholars from across the country who study technology-society issues, host events, train students, and publish research. The network’s scholars contribute to *The Journal of Technology Science*, of which Sweeney is the founding editor in chief.

Through the Public Interest Technology Lab, students, staff, and faculty have developed a range of tools and platforms that solve public problems—from enhancing voting security to helping people without internet access schedule vaccinations to understanding how large social media companies shape conversations.

CREDIT MONITORING FOR ELECTIONS

One tool that Sweeney is excited about is VoteFlare. The idea emerged in 2016 in one of her “save the world” classes when students asked how they could empower voters across the political spectrum. Sweeney, along with Harvard PhD student Jinyan Zang and Data Privacy Lab researcher Ji Su Yoo, discovered how easy it was for voters’ registration information to be changed by fraudsters, potentially disrupting elections. In a *Technology Science* paper, they shared their findings: In 2016, websites for 35 states and Washington, D.C., were vulnerable to voter identity theft whereby imposters could change voter registration information. All that they needed were a few key pieces of information, most of which are publicly searchable or obtainable through data brokers or darknet markets.

Sweeney and her students wondered how they could fix that problem. The answer they developed was VoteFlare, a tool that Sweeney compares to credit monitoring for voting information. People who sign up for the VoteFlare app are notified by a “flare” in the form of a text, a phone call, or an email if their information is changed online, so they can take corrective action if warranted.

VoteFlare was piloted in 2020 during the Georgia runoff election successfully and has also been used in the Texas 2022 primary. The team plans to roll it out across the country before the general election, particularly in areas where voter suppression is a risk. Josh Visnaw, the project manager for VoteFlare, explains that the tool “allows individuals to fix issues before it is too late, ensuring that they’re able to participate in the democratic process.” He says, “We envision this technology complementing the good-faith efforts of election officials and civil society groups across the country, as we approach the 2022 midterm elections.”

INSIDE FACEBOOK’S DECISION-MAKING

Another project Sweeney is excited about is fbarchive.org, a new online archive of 20,000 internal Facebook documents that the whistleblower Frances Haugen, a former Facebook employee, released in 2021. Sweeney and her team received the documents, verified their authenticity, and are digitizing and curating them so that they will be available to researchers,



“I TEACH STUDENTS HOW TO SPOT UNFORESEEN CONSEQUENCES AND HOW TO DO THESE SIMPLE EXPERIMENTS.”

LATANYA SWEENEY

journalists, and to some extent the public. For this project, the lab is collaborating with the leadership and core team of the Shorenstein Center, as well as the center’s Technology and Social Change Project.

Sweeney explains two basic challenges to creating the archive: one is privacy, and the other is usability. “Names and identities have to be scrubbed,” she says, because the documents—which are photographs of internal Facebook employee messages—include not only Facebook’s leaders but also ordinary employees, who might be harmed by exposure, and Facebook users, whose conversations are sometimes included in internal employee discussions.

As for usability, Sweeney says, “What Frances Haugen did was call up a document on a screen and she would take a picture with her mobile phone. So, you end up with 20,000 images from a phone. Sometimes she was not the same distance from the screen. The orientation’s different. The lighting’s different.” All those factors pose difficulties. But the usability issue goes beyond the challenges of working with inconsistent photographs. The researchers also need to decipher the content. “There’s a huge amount of inside-Facebook talk,” Sweeney says. “So, we had to unpack acronyms and so forth and put a glossary together.”

The fbarchive.org platform, Sweeney says, will provide insight into not only what goes on at Facebook, but also the power and sway of the company’s decisions. Using a machine learning algorithm, her team is organizing the documents into

clusters of topics to make them easier to explore and curate. “The documents are fascinating,” Sweeney says. “They cover almost every contemporary issue in society around the world.” No matter the topic, “somehow Facebook is engaged in it, involved in it, magnifying it, causing it.” She notes, too, that the documents can reveal Facebook’s behind-the-scenes policy decisions: “What are the knobs they could use to change things, and do they tend to use them or not?”

A DIZZYING INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

We are, Sweeney says, in the middle of a revolution. Unlike earlier technological revolutions—for example, the mass development and adoption of cars—digital tools are changing so rapidly that society and policy struggle to keep up. “Technology today doesn’t require slowing down,” she says. “It’s immediate. You have an idea: Let’s put up a website. People are mesmerized by the shiny new thing they can do.” The Public Interest Technology Lab, however, is there to respond and to look out for those unforeseen consequences of fast-moving technology.

“The number of challenges—the number of clashes—dwarf what one person or small group could ever do in response,” she says. But Sweeney is hopeful that the Public Interest Technology Lab—through its experiments, teaching, and far-reaching networks with other scholars and universities—can help policy catch up and create avenues for technology to help, rather than harm, society.

BLUE-SKY THINKING

Claire Henly MPP 2021
is working on creative solutions
to big environmental problems.

BY RALPH RANALLI

PORTRAITS BY ROBERT SEVERI

SOME PROPOSED SOLUTIONS for reducing global methane emissions might sound silly at first—such as putting masks on cows so that their burps can't escape into the atmosphere. But Claire Henly MPP 2021 says the problem with the greenhouse gas is urgent and serious.

"Methane is the second most important greenhouse gas after carbon dioxide, though it typically gets much less attention," says Henly, a White House fellow in the office of the special presidential envoy for climate, John Kerry. "But a lot of really interesting work is happening in methane, including technical advancements."

Although it breaks down much faster in the atmosphere than carbon dioxide, methane is 84 times as powerful in terms of trapping heat. That means cutting methane emissions is the fastest and most effective way to slow global warming in the near term, according to a recent United Nations report. The report also said that methane emissions could be almost halved by 2030 using mostly existing technology. That's why a significant part of Henly's White House fellowship is working on the Global Methane Pledge, a worldwide diplomatic effort to reduce methane emissions by 30% by 2030.

At the beginning of the one-year fellowship, Henly says, her efforts were focused on recruiting countries to the pledge, culminating in a trip last November to COP 26 (the United Nations' 2021 climate conference for the



197 countries that signed on to the 1992 Paris Agreement on climate). “We had a big event where President Biden and [European Commission President Ursula] von der Leyen launched the pledge,” she says. “It was really exciting.”

At the launch, 100 countries joined the Pledge representing nearly 50% of global methane emissions and over 70% of global GDP. Top 10 emitters who joined up include Brazil, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Pakistan. China, India, and Russia have not joined, however.

The Biden administration has announced new measures aimed at reducing global methane emissions in the United States by 30% from 2020 levels by the end of the decade. President Biden has also reinstated an Environmental Protection Agency rule (which was repealed by Donald Trump) that regulates leak detection and repair in the oil industry and applied it to new operations in gas as well, including the production of natural gas as a byproduct of oil production. Other new rules will require companies to oversee and inspect 3 million miles of pipelines and transmission lines. The oil and gas industry is estimated to be responsible for 30% of methane emissions in the United States. The other major sources of methane are municipal landfills, thousands of abandoned oil wells and coal mines, and agriculture.

Henly says that the office of the special envoy is essentially the U.S. government’s climate diplomacy operation. Coming out of the Kennedy School, she applied for a White House fellowship and was assigned to Kerry’s team. “I did a bunch of interviews,” she says. “It’s run sort of like a medical school match, where you rate the different offices and they rate you and then you match with an office.”

Henly’s focus on climate and the environment is largely a product of her work and life experience before HKS. Born in New York City to

“I think what happens is I get frustrated by something and say to myself, ‘This is not working.’ And then I think, in part because I’ve been granted an incredible amount of privilege and access to resources and access to education, I can and should do something about it.”

CLAIRE HENLY

sense to me. That’s when I got excited about renewable energy.”

Henly says she never intended to work in the mining industry. That internship was more representative of one of her character traits: an intense curiosity to see how things work from the inside. “I’ll just get curious about how something works,” she says. “How does an organization work? What do they do? What are the people there like? What motivates them? In a way this fellowship is a similar thing. I’m asking myself, ‘OK, how does government really work?’”

Another personal trait, she says, is feeling that she should be doing something about problems she sees in the world. That led her to cofound a startup, Red Ox Systems, with a classmate right out of Yale. The company, which worked to commercialize a new wastewater treatment technology, won six start-up awards, including one from the National Science Foundation.

“I think what happens is I get frustrated by something and say to myself, ‘This is not working,’” Henly says. “And then I think, in part because I’ve been granted an incredible amount of privilege and

an Australian mother, she and her family moved to Melbourne when she was very young. Australia is a major exporter of coal and gas—commodity exports make up roughly 25% of its gross domestic product—and Henly grew up curious about the environment and the country’s role in polluting it.

She stayed curious even after she returned to the United States to attend Yale University, where she earned her bachelor’s degree in environmental engineering (and served as captain of the women’s ultimate frisbee team). For one of her summer internships, she returned to Australia to work for a large mining company and was assigned to a giant iron-ore strip mine where huge earthmoving machines were essentially dismantling a mountain for its component parts.

“You understand why we do it [strip mining],” Henly says, “and it’s this marvel of human ingenuity, how we’ve created this whole industry to power our gadgets and refrigerate food. That’s been such a benefit in terms of quality of life. But then when I saw what we’re actually doing—stripping mountains and burning this awful substance [coal] and polluting our air and water—and it really didn’t make

access to resources and access to education, I can and should do something about it.”

After founding Red Ox, Henly moved to the Rocky Mountain Institute, a Colorado-based global organization focused on the renewable energy transition, where she underwent rigorous training in how to be a nonprofit consultant. Her work there included consulting with the Chinese government on the country’s carbon-peaking strategy (how a country gets to a pivot point where its carbon emissions no longer increase but instead start to decline) and a year advising the government of Rwanda on increasing access to electricity in rural areas through off-grid solar-power generation and electric mini-grids.

Henly says she gradually came to realize that government was where the important decisions were being made, and that was the next frontier she wanted to explore. So she enrolled at the Kennedy School, first making a stop in Boston City Hall to work on climate-resilience strategies for coastal South Boston as a summer fellow with the Mayor’s Office of New Urban Mechanics.

“I was curious about government,” she says. “And I wanted to take a breath from working so that I could improve myself and become more capable.”

An HKS class that made a particular impact on her was **RONALD HEIFETZ**’s course on leadership. Heifetz, the King Hussein bin Talal Senior Lecturer in Public Leadership and the founding director of the Center for Public Leadership, “gave me a new perspective on work and on myself,” she says. “That was an incredible learning experience. The first course is really focused on systems. But the way that my mind tends to work is through people. I think about individuals—their backstories, their motivations, their moods—and I use those kinds of inputs to think about why someone is making a decision. It’s much less natural for me to think about the system, and it was really helpful in that first class to be reminded that this bigger macro system is also influencing and shaping leadership challenges and issues.”

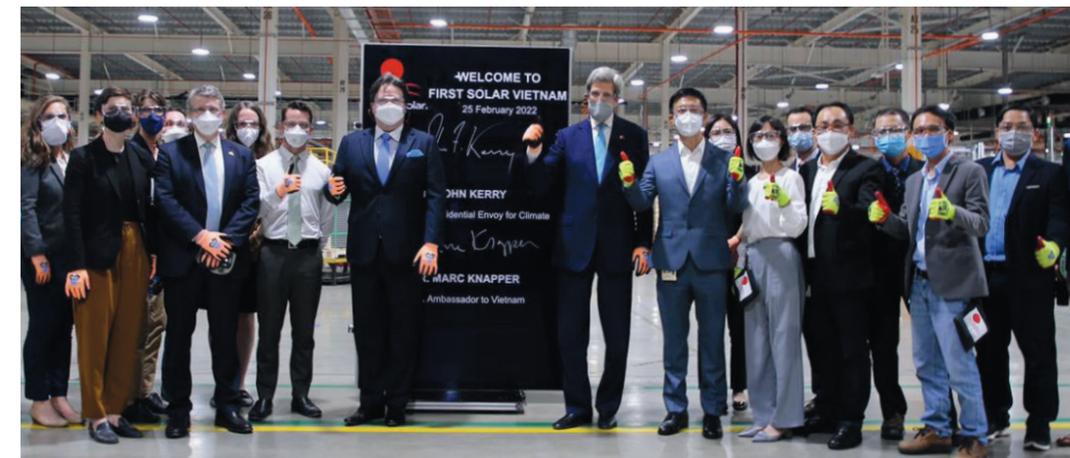
Ford Foundation Professor of History, Race, and Public Policy **KHALIL MUHAMMAD**’s class on systemic racism in the United States was also a game changer for Henly. “It was so helpful to have that lens on public policy,” she says. “It’s something that’s forgotten, and race and racism are in so many ways the foundation of American government and baked into so many American policies. So it was an absolutely critical part of my time at the Kennedy School.”

Attending graduate school during COVID wasn’t ideal—Henly estimates that 75% of her learning was done remotely—but in some ways it contributed to helping her bond with classmates through their shared adversity. Overall, she says, earning her master’s was a good way to move forward during an uncertain time. “I’m happy that I kept going,” she says. “The pandemic put everyone’s life on hold a little bit, so I felt like I was at least making progress.”

Now Henly is applying the skills she learned at HKS to making sure that the Global Methane Pledge moves forward. Her current work involves three areas: persuading international development banks and other funders to support the pledge; advancing research and development in methane-reduction technology; and studying how various countries that have signed on to the pledge can adapt their agricultural sectors to emit less methane.

The third area involves meeting with experts at agencies such as the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the U.S. Agency for International Development to find out what resources are available and which specific strategies might work for a particular country. She recently traveled with Special Envoy John Kerry to Vietnam, which is the world’s fifth-largest producer of rice. When rice paddies are flooded, water blocks oxygen from penetrating the soil and creates ideal conditions for methane-producing bacteria. Worldwide, rice cultivation is estimated to produce 7% of global methane emissions, but techniques such as alternately flooding fields and letting them drain can reduce bacterial buildup.

Visiting Vietnam with Kerry, who has been deeply involved in the



Henly (second from left) on a recent trip to Vietnam with Special Presidential Envoy for Climate John Kerry (right of poster).

country since fighting in—and then advocating against—the Vietnam War “was fascinating on so many levels,” Henly says. “There is a lot of history at play even in something as technical as methane emissions.”

“A lot of really exciting stuff” is happening in methane-reduction technology, she says. That includes work on methane oxidation—a process that uses bacteria to break methane down into other compounds such as carbon dioxide and water—and, yes, even masks for cows. As far-fetched as it may sound, Cargill Corporation, one of the largest privately held companies in the world, is working with a UK start-up to develop a mask that can break down the methane in cow burps and exhalations before it is released into the atmosphere. “That same technology could be put in an air-handling system at a dairy facility,” Henly says.

“I think now is a really interesting time to be doing climate work in the government,” she says. “This year and probably the next few years, a lot of good work will be done at the federal level. It’s an exciting time.”

Suparna Gupta MC/MPA 2013 has worked to protect the most vulnerable children in India from exploitation or worse. Her whole-community methods are spreading fast.

PROTECTING THE MOST VULNERABLE

BY ROBERT O'NEILL

ANSHUMAN POYREKARI | HINDUSTANTIMES

AANGAN, THE MUMBAI-BASED CHILD-PROTECTION NONPROFIT that Suparna Gupta MC/MPA 2013 had built from scratch, was pivoting. Over 15 years, Aangan had evolved from a small group of experts devoted to arts-based processes for psychosocial work with children in state-run facilities to a large multistate operation working with government officials to institutionalize better standards of care.

Following a rejuvenating year at Harvard Kennedy School, Gupta felt it was time for Aangan to take another step forward. Rather than working with children post-harm—runaways, victims of trafficking, criminal offenders—when they were already in an institution, how could the nonprofit keep them out of there in the first place?

India's Ministry of Home Affairs calculates that every year about 100,000 Indian children go missing and more than a million are victims of trafficking. Nearly every other girl in India is married before the age of 18. And Save the Children India estimates that a sexual assault on a child occurs every 30 minutes.

Gupta decided that she wanted her work to reach children before they began falling through the cracks, so she concentrated her energies on just a handful of “hot spots”—districts where children were known to be particularly at risk. Her organization focused, as it had in the past, on building relationships with official agencies and working with children through small groups. One day, a woman came into a session with teenage girls.

“She came in,” Gupta remembers, “and said, ‘You’re doing this work with adolescent girls. That’s very nice, but why aren’t you working with mothers like us? Because we were also child brides, and we could be very different parents if we knew more about our rights, or how to get together and approach officials.’ And we realized this was a great idea, because who else is as concerned about their children as their parents, and who knows more about the community and has such credibility? Here are the mothers, ready and able. So it was a natural choice to have them become the backbone of the work.”

Aangan estimates that since then, working with community members as well as local, state, and national authorities, it has created a system that has protected more than a million children from trafficking, child marriage, dangerous work, sexual exploitation, and violence. That system is now scaling up, being adopted more broadly by police departments and other government agencies.

Gupta's path to this work was part accident, part destiny. She was working in advertising in Mumbai, enjoying the vitality of her colleagues and the environment. But as she approached her 30th birthday, she stepped back to examine her life and had the gnawing feeling that she was not where she was supposed to be.

“I kept feeling, ‘This is not home; this is not what I am meant to be doing,’” Gupta says. She had volunteered during her time at school and college, working with disadvantaged adolescents, and had always felt that she belonged to that work. “I think it just came from the satisfaction of volunteering and understanding the power of it,” she says. “And I have to say, it was very much for myself. I just remember thinking, I want to do this. I need to be doing this. This is my purpose.”

After talking it through with her family and preparing for the transition (“Starting a nonprofit means you take the world’s biggest pay cut”), she began her work. She



Suparna Gupta



realized that she had neither the specific training nor the specialized knowledge of India's complicated child-protection system. But a visit to a notorious state-run children's home in India convinced her that she should nevertheless try.

"The thing that came to mind when I first visited a state-run children's home was that it was just like a zoo, just these long cages with children," Gupta says. "Children who have been abused, exploited, and hurt in the worst possible ways are just bundled together and thrown into this system. That's when I decided

that I was going to work with the most vulnerable groups of children."

Gupta thinks that her naivete helped her get through the door when she went back to the same children's home and proposed her idea to the superintendent. "I think he looked at me and said, 'This silly lady is unlikely to report me or rock the boat, unlike others who have come in claiming to help.' And initially, I didn't."

But Gupta did push ahead. She put together a small group of psychologists and people from the arts—theater, drama, storytelling. They went into the home every week and worked with some of the approximately 500 children there. The work expanded from one home to include eight more in the greater metro area. She realized the importance of building trust with the authorities who were running the homes. But the Aangan team knew the conditions were terrible and that after they left, the children were back in an unforgiving environment. If children tried to run away, they might even have their arms broken as punishment, Gupta says.

One day, during an exercise in which the Aangan staffers were asking children what they would do if they were in charge, one 8-year-old boy said that he would run the home not as a prison but as an ashram. Struck by the comment, Gupta convinced state officials of the importance of listening to the children in the system and was entrusted with surveying children and ground-level staffs statewide. The small Aangan group fanned out to hundreds of homes across the state of Maharashtra.

The standards-of-care tool that Aangan developed as a result accounted for the concerns of staffers and the complicated regulations that governed their work but also, critically, the voices of children in the system. Gupta gave an example of what

was happening when children went unheard: The authorities had invested a substantial sum to build bathrooms in one home, and official inspections noted the facilities. But the children explained that they were unable to use them at night because they were locked in their rooms and had to use their sleeping areas as toilets instead. Aangan was appointed by state departments of women and child welfare to audit children's homes and train functionaries across Maharashtra. They later took the audit to 15 of India's 28 states. "I realized that it's exciting to be able to affect the system and not just deliver a one-off service," Gupta says.



“When you meet a child in state care, you are meeting them very late in their journey related to harm ... What should we do to catch the harm much earlier?”

SUPARNA GUPTA

As Aangan's work expanded, so did its goals. With another milestone approaching (this time her 40th birthday), Gupta began to look upstream. "When you meet a child in state care, you are meeting them very late in their journey related to harm," she says. "So they would have been harmed at home. They might have left, been exploited, three or four times over. I started thinking about what we should be doing preventatively. What should we do to catch the harm much earlier?"

Her year as a Mason Fellow at Harvard Kennedy School energized Gupta as she stepped back and looked at what Aangan had achieved and where it could go. That year not only gave her time to think and taught her the intellectual framework within which to consider the nonprofit's work; it also validated a lot of what she had done and boosted her self-assurance. "Whatever we had tried suddenly had a framing and a name," she says. "I started to value lessons from the field, and that gave me huge amounts of confidence and energy."

The "hot spot to safe" model that Gupta launched after returning from HKS now focuses on seven districts across the country. For this project, Aangan has trained 18,000 women volunteers who have worked with 5,000 government officials and 300,000 families, having an impact on a million children from marginalized, vulnerable groups.

Through the COVID-19 epidemic, the nonprofit used its dense network of volunteers to make sure that the most vulnerable families in those seven districts had enough to eat and that child-headed households dealing with COVID deaths were linked to community care. Aangan distributed mobile phones because social distancing meant that communications had to be handled differently, and was able to feed 10,000 families during India's strict lockdown period. With lockdown exacerbating interpersonal tensions and causing a spike in domestic violence, the group also worked to find safe spaces for those most at risk. The network mobilized to help adolescents either orphaned by the epidemic or facing mental health issues as a result of isolation. "I think the big lesson for us from COVID is that when you have a primed, trained group on the ground, they can take over whatever needs to be done, whether it links to climate, epidemics, or local emergencies," Gupta says.

In two of the states where the hot-spot model has been tried, the police will now expand the model more broadly. When the pandemic eases and children begin returning full-time to school, Aangan will be pushing state education departments to expand the model through school systems, and cities to use it through municipal systems. "The idea is to demonstrate that investing in local-community child-protection workers makes sense, and that doing so will strengthen state child-protection systems," Gupta says. "Aangan's role will be to provide tools, trainings, and ideas that bring officials and citizens together for this important work."

Gupta does question whether Aangan is trying to address more social problems than it can actually take on, but she believes that the key to her team's work is the power of listening to the most vulnerable. "When care and protection systems for children are broken or nonexistent, you have to think holistically, work from the ground up, and put time into the community-strengthening work," she says. "I would love to have a tidy silver-bullet solution, but at the end of the day, communities must be active participants in this kind of changemaking work."



“Who else is as concerned about their children as their parents, and who knows more about the community and has such credibility?”

SUPARNA GUPTA

India's Ministry of Home Affairs calculates that every year about 100,000 Indian children go missing and more than a million are victims of trafficking. Aangan tries to reach children before they begin falling through the cracks, working with official agencies, mothers' groups, and the children themselves.



EVENT

You want a better world? Help shape it.

THE BUZZ



“Ukraine just wants to be able to make decisions that normal sovereign countries get to make. And that’s what the United States is trying to support.”

Bill Taylor, former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, at an IOP Forum in February



“All the countries south of the Rio Grande had great expectations But because of internal political problems ... [this] administration has done almost nothing.”

Juan Manuel Santos MC/MPA 1981, former Colombian president, at an IOP Forum in February



“This journey took a struggle, this struggle took a movement, and this movement took not only faith, but leaders.”

Donna Brazile on Ketanji Brown Jackson’s Supreme Court appointment, at an IOP Forum in March



“Science is important to society and democracy because science is the best way that mankind has yet delivered to get us out of the zero-sum problem.”

Marcia McNutt, president of the National Academy of Sciences, giving the Science in Democracy Lecture in March



“Conflict is lucrative—doesn’t matter if you’re on the right or the left. The more polarization there is in the nation, the more you tune in.”

U.S. State Senator **Tim Scott** (R-South Carolina) at an IOP Forum in April



“In democracy, healing comes from truth.”

Congressman **Jamie Raskin** (D-Maryland) at an IOP Forum in April

“IF YOU WANT REAL CHANGE that will directly impact communities and societies—you need to get into politics.” That was the simple message Moldovan President Maia Sandu MC/MPA 2010 wanted to pass on to the Harvard Kennedy School graduating class of 2022. Moldova, one of the poorest countries in Europe, finds itself on the precarious edge of the war in Ukraine. In the months following the Russian invasion, more than half a million Ukrainian refugees streamed into the country. And Russian military leaders have spoken of connecting a Russian-speaking part of Moldova, known as Transnistria, to Russia via a land bridge across southern Ukraine. But Sandu’s focus was less on her country’s difficulties than on the need for good people everywhere to get involved.

“I never intended to become a politician,” she said, describing her own journey as a reformer. “I didn’t know how to do it. I realize that here at Harvard Kennedy School and in other good places, many well-educated, effective managers and sectoral leaders say they prefer to keep their distance from politics. People do not want to mess up with politics. I thought exactly the same. Up to a point. Up until I decided that I do not want to live in a country led by corrupt people.”

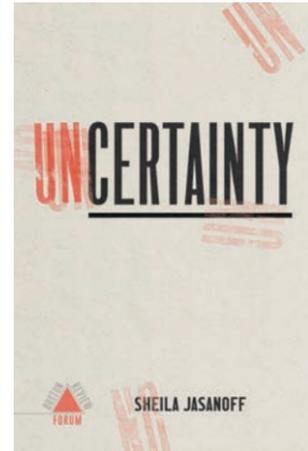
She concluded: “If you want to live in a better world, and I am sure you do, I urge you to become involved in shaping it—on behalf of your own people and for the future generations!”

JESSICA SCRANTON | MARTHA STEWART | CHRISTOPHER MICHEL

Uncertainty

Sheila Jasanoff, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies

SHEILA JASANOFF—a leading scholar in the field of science, technology, and society—makes a case for humility in the face of



crises like the coronavirus pandemic. A recent essay of hers on the subject supplies the anchoring conversation in *Uncertainty*, published by MIT Press. The essay originally appeared in *Boston Review*. Jasanoff launches a discussion of uncertainty and crisis to which other experts respond, examining the scientific, philosophical, and emotional facets of how democratic societies handle them. Arguing that when it comes to COVID-19, we have overestimated the

reliability of our predictions, she advocates a humbler approach. “Humility,” Jasanoff writes, “asks a moral question: not what we can achieve with what we have, but how we should act given that we cannot know the full consequences of our actions.” She recommends that when faced with challenging decisions and uncertain conditions, experts implement “technologies of humility: institutional mechanisms—including greater citizen participation—for incorporating memory, experience, and concerns for justice into our schemes of governance and public policy.” It is an approach, she writes, that is “proactive, historically informed, and analytically robust”—and that may help protect the most vulnerable in future crises.

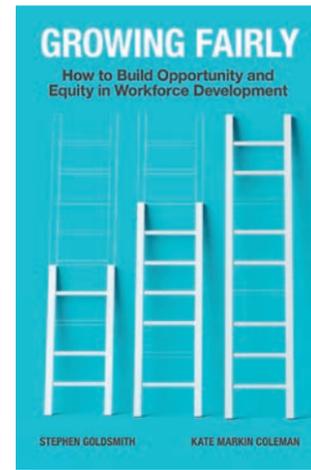
Growing Fairly

How to Build Opportunity and Equity in Workforce Development

Stephen Goldsmith, Derek Bok Professor of the Practice of Urban Policy; Kate Markin Coleman

AS A FORMER MAYOR OF INDIANAPOLIS and a former deputy mayor of New York, Stephen Goldsmith has deep knowledge of what is working in American cities and what is not. He and Kate Markin Coleman are concerned with a trend over the past few decades: inequities in economic growth across society. In *Growing Fairly*, Goldsmith and Coleman, a former executive vice president

and chief strategy and advancement officer for the YMCA, provide 10 principles for fair workforce-development reforms, drawing on



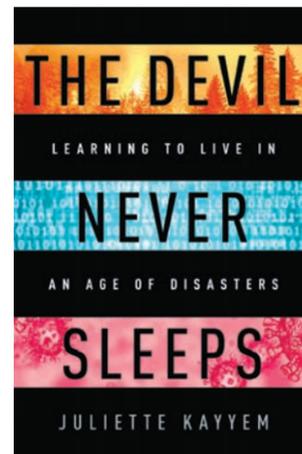
examples from practitioners in cities around the country. Their approach is a bipartisan one: “As a joint project of a Republican and a Democrat, this book rejects choosing between conservative views that assume that anyone who works hard will succeed and more progressive views that simply demand more government support. We argue, instead, for a broader shared narrative about potential, one that demonstrates how greater cross-sector collaboration can enhance upward economic

mobility for those whose prospects have dimmed.” Ultimately, “this book is about people and potential,” Goldsmith and Coleman write. “It highlights initiatives that have successfully lowered barriers to urban workers’ aspirations and their economic mobility.” *Growing Fairly* is intended as an aid to leaders who want to make practical workforce reforms, but it also serves a broader civic-minded audience as a call “to come together around a more inclusive narrative that will bridge political divides and produce support for comprehensive solutions.”

The Devil Never Sleeps

Learning to Live in an Age of Disasters

Juliette Kayyem, Belfer Senior Lecturer in Public Policy



years of working through major crises, domestic and foreign, to offer *The Devil Never Sleeps*, a guidebook for living with disasters. Looking beyond crisis management, she examines historical and current events and offers eight lessons on how to live in this new state of perpetual catastrophe. As she says, “Disasters are the standard now.” Kayyem constructs her discussion around what she calls “the boom.” The first section is all about preparation, advising that

we “assume the boom.” Using her own work as a crisis consultant during the initial stages of the COVID-19 pandemic, she stresses how important it is to have mechanisms in place for listening and communicating as a disaster unfolds. The middle section offers best practices to keep harms on “the left side of the boom,” using the BP oil spill and the wildfires in California to illustrate that once a disaster hits, strategies exist to minimize its effects. The final chapters detail the lessons learned from disasters and how to prepare for future ones, as Kayyem demonstrates with the freak snowstorm that hit Texas in 2021: Although a plan existed for managing electrical outages in the event of an ice storm, there was none in case the entire state was affected, simply because that had never happened before. Using actual events to highlight her strategies, Kayyem keeps the focus on what can be done rather than sounding alarmist. Well, she is a bit alarmist—but rightly so, as she says in the final chapter, which is a call to action: “We must think in terms of what makes us safer as we wait for the devil’s return.”

Hearts Touched with Fire

How Great Leaders Are Made

David Gergen, Public Service Professor of Public Leadership

DAVID GERGEN has famously advised presidents across four administrations and both parties, from Nixon to Clinton; he has been a leading commentator, in print and on television, for close to four decades; and he founded and led the Center for Public Leadership at the Kennedy School. Now 80, Gergen uses *Hearts Touched with Fire*, his latest book, to launch an appeal to future generations to aspire to, as he says in his dedication, “future lives of service and leadership.” He also reaches back into his own vast experience, as both a practitioner and a scholar, and into that of other leaders, past and present, to provide a manual. “Let’s be

clear,” Gergen writes, “much of our future now rests upon an infusion of fresh blood into our civic life. We need talented, new leaders who are looking for paths forward, not obsessing over past differences.” That doesn’t mean he urges that the past, its leaders and lessons, be swept aside. The book’s title is taken from a speech by Oliver Wendell Holmes: “Through our great good fortune, in our youth, our hearts were touched with fire. It was given to us to learn at the outset that life is a profound and passionate thing.” Nevertheless, Gergen’s

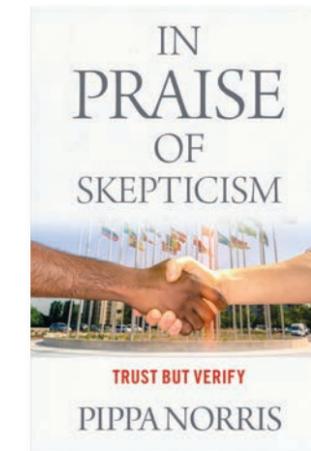
focus is forward, toward a leadership unmoored from traditional ideas of position and hierarchy. He looks at individuals who have revolutionized leadership in recent years, from the MeToo founder Tarana Burke to the climate activist Greta Thunberg to the Parkland High School students who started a gun-control movement. And he urges a new generation to take up that torch.

In Praise of Skepticism

Trust but Verify

Pippa Norris, Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics

THE COMPARATIVE POLITICAL SCIENTIST and Kennedy School faculty member Pippa Norris has for many years examined the role of trust in politics. Her newest book, from Oxford University



Press, reexamines the concepts and evidence of trust and trustworthiness. Norris argues that although trust is conventionally seen as a healthy and positive quality in societies, blind trust can have terrible consequences. Just think of the effects of the anti-vax movement during the COVID-19 pandemic or the influence of the QAnon conspiracy theory on the Big Lie about electoral fraud. Drawing on data from the European Values Survey and

the World Values Survey—pooling interviews with more than 650,000 respondents in more than 100 societies over four decades—Norris examines whether people view political authorities as trustworthy or untrustworthy, whether those beliefs are backed up by government performance (reflected by evidence of competence, integrity, and impartiality), and what the consequences are. She investigates the risks of both cynical beliefs (underestimating performance) and credulous faith (overestimating performance). Ultimately, Norris finds that open societies, legacy cultural values, and cognitive skills affect how accurately people assess the trustworthiness of political authorities. “We should cautiously trust but verify,” she observes. “Unfortunately, our assessments of risks are commonly flawed.”

CLASSNOTES



JESSICA SCRANTON

It had been three years since the big tent was raised in John F. Kennedy Park and the community united in person to celebrate the end of the academic year. This year the School caught up. Not only did the Class of 2022 celebrate their graduation (pictured above), but the Classes of 2020 and 2021, whose graduations had been disrupted by COVID-19 restrictions, came back to do in person what they had done virtually.

1974

Sandford Borins MPP received the 2021 Award for Excellence in Teaching, awarded by the Canadian Association of Programs in Public Administration (CAPP) and the Institute of Public Administration of Canada (IPAC). CAPP is the national organization for post-secondary programs in public administration. The national award recognizes Sandford's commitment to experiential and participatory teaching and his innovative use of narrative in teaching. Sandford has developed a survey on climate change practices and politics that he has sent out to his undergraduate class (Harvard College 1971), and will discuss the results with the class at their 50th reunion in Cambridge and on his blog at sandfordborins.com.

1978

Eric Hirschhorn HKSEE is the lead author of *U.S. Export Controls and Economic Sanctions*, published in January by Oxford University Press. This is the fourth edition of the work, previously known as *The Export Control and Embargo Handbook*.

Armando Lopez MC/MPA writes, "I am the proud father of Armando and Alex, graduates of the John F. Kennedy School of Government just like me. I share with you that sadly my beloved wife passed away at the end of last year, but despite the situation I am happy to be able to enjoy the love and company of my grandchildren, Armando, Anuar, Valentina, and Loretta."

1980

James Carras MC/MPA has been teaching an HKS course titled "Equitable Development and Housing Policy" for the past eight years. In 2021 he was an Advanced Leadership Initiative Fellow at Harvard, with a focus on "Equitable Capital Ecosystems." James continues to consult with city governments, nonprofit organizations, and private entities, providing them with strategic planning and implementation strategy services for equitable development and redevelopment. "Living in Fort Lauderdale has been fortuitous, particularly during the pandemic, and I was able to celebrate with my wife, Alicia, the marriage of our son, James, and new daughter-in-law, Carolina."

Richard Sumpter MC/MPA retired in 2017 after 47 years with the federal government, the last 27 of which were with USEPA as a regional planning coordinator. In 2019 Richard retired from teaching as an adjunct

instructor with several universities in the Kansas City area. Over his 30-year teaching career, he taught more than 300 undergraduate and graduate courses in a variety of disciplines. Richard continues to read a lot and write some, mostly in the area of political commentary. "Many thanks to KSG for a wonderful experience."

1982

Sarah Carpenter MC/MPA was elected for her second term as a city councilor in Burlington, Vermont, on Town Meeting Day this past March. Sarah, who is a lifelong resident of Burlington (except for her time at the Kennedy School), represents one of the wards in the north end of Burlington. She retired in early 2019 after 20 years as the executive director of the Vermont Housing Finance Agency. Sarah remains active in affordable housing issues and serves as the chair of the Vermont Rental Housing Advisory Board.

1983 40TH REUNION

Richard Larkey MPA is involved in workforce development for technical and trade careers in the Sacramento area of California. Richard enjoys spending time with his family of eight grandkids and six kids. This year he will be traveling to Germany, Hawaii, and the Southwest region of the United States.

—

"I'm excited to announce my transition to retirement this spring. I'm grateful to have spent my entire career working on environmental issues."

Arlyn Purcell MCRP 1985

1984

Judith Bunnell MPP reports that she, along with **Lisa Austin MPP**, **Jody Feerst Litvak MPP**, **Joseph Olchefske MCRP**, **Zac Rolnik MPP**, and **Wendy Feldman MPA/MC 1989**, partnered with the Alumni Relations Office to host "Listening Sessions" with alums from the 1970s and 1980s. Judith writes, "Great turnout and lots of enthusiasm for better connecting with classmates and HKS. Because most of these classes were "pre-internet," just finding contact information is a challenge. Alums also need an orientation

to all the centers, the programs, and all the changes since they were on campus so that they can participate more fully. More to come and interested alums are welcome to participate in this effort."

1985

Arlyn Purcell MCRP writes, "I'm excited to announce my transition to retirement this spring. I'm grateful to have spent my entire career working on environmental issues, ending with my time as director of environment and sustainability for the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport. My team achieved a lot during my tenure! I'm also proud of my work with the Transportation Research Board, where I chair the standing committee Environmental Issues in Aviation. I hope to continue to contribute in some way and I look forward to figuring that out."

Carlos Sosa MPA retired two years ago and is living in Miami, where he is devoted to family and writing. During the pandemic, Carlos has written three books. The first, *Huellas de Azogue y Chocolate*, is a historical novel about his ancestors. The second, *El humo de la amapola*, is a novel about the Armenian genocide, and the third, *Illuminando Esquinas*, is a collection of different essays that illuminate generally unknown facts about historical events. Presently, Carlos is writing a book of essays on perspectives of American democracy, titled *America, quo vadis?*

1986

David Boghossian MPA writes, "Our friend and '86 classmate **Jim Corcoran** died this fall. He was an accomplished and beloved teacher, writer, and journalist. Those wishing to donate to a scholarship fund in Jim's name can visit give.simmons.edu/the-james-p-corcoran-scholarship-fund-in-communications. James was a good man and a good friend. We will miss him."

IN MEMORIAM Jim Corcoran MPA 1986

1987

Nadine Hack MC/MPA has published several articles in Forbes, most recently on "how to engage in the world without burning out." She has been featured in many articles and interviews, and has facilitated leadership programs through the International Institute for Management Development in Switzerland.

Alumni Talk Policy



Democracy Today in the United States: Our Choice, Our Challenges
January 25, 2022

"[...] we're at a moment right now with having stepped off the stage and being in trouble, where Europe knows that it has a significant position with regards to this conversation and action around democracy."

— **Kahlil Byrd MC/MPA 2003**

ken.sc/atp



— **Carlos Sosa MPA 1985**

WIENER CONFERENCE CALLS

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

Elisa Speranza MC/MPA just published her debut novel, *The Italian Prisoner*. "Set in New Orleans' Sicilian community, it is an engrossing tale of wartime love, family secrets, and a young woman's struggle to chart her own course at an inflection point in American history. The book was inspired by a true but little-known story involving Italian prisoners of war on the New Orleans home front during World War II. More at elisamariesperanza.com."

1989

Natalie Jaresko MPP just completed five years as the executive director of the Financial Oversight and Management Board for Puerto Rico. Under her guidance, Puerto Rico restructured \$60 billion of its \$72 billion debt, reducing the debt by about 60% and building a strong foundation for future economic growth on the island. Natalie also introduced transparency into financial management and began a major civil service reform to strengthen the ability of government to deliver public services efficiently. She writes, "As I completed my work, Russia further invaded Ukraine and I do all I can—in the press, public speaking, and working with governments to end the war. #StandWithUkraine #StopputinNOW #UkraineWillPrevail"

John Rakis MC/MPA writes, "After spending 44 years serving the multiple needs of prisoners and ex-offenders, I happily retired in 2018. Soon thereafter, I met the second love of my life, Sally, and we are looking forward to getting married in 2022. When we're not traveling or in New York City, we enjoy a beautiful second home in New Hampshire. In the course of my work in criminal justice, I developed many practical and useful resources for practitioners, which I uploaded to the Internet Archive (archive.org/details/@john_rakis). I am always happy

to hear from classmates. Should your travels take you to Brooklyn or New Hampshire, please let me know."

1990

Leslie Loble MPA has been appointed as an industry professor at the University of Technology Sydney and a Fellow of the Paul Ramsay Foundation (Australia's largest philanthropic body). Laurie belongs to the boards of several government and NFP organisations, including the national Australian Education Research Organisation. She retired as deputy secretary of the NSW Education Department after some 20 years working across schooling, early childhood, and tertiary sectors, and leading some of Australia's most significant national education policy reforms.

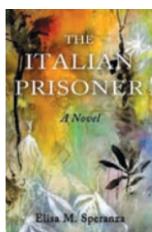
1991

Noreen Dunne MC/MPA writes, "Hello to all my classfriends and staff of MPA, and the Mason Programme of 1991, HKS! I was thrilled to be able to participate in various virtual reunion sessions in May 2021. This

was a first for me, doing things virtual in the late hours of the night, Darjeeling, India time! To be able to listen to, to talk to, and above all to see some of my friends on my computer screen, over the miles, was really something. Being interviewed by Michael (Brown) in *Difficult Conversations* and listening to Ron (Heifetz) from Hawaii was such a novel learning experience for me. Thank you."

Mac Prichard MC/MPA recently joined the Oregon Workforce Talent and Development Board, the governor's advisory group on workforce issues. Mac writes, "It was an honor to be nominated earlier this year by Governor Kate Brown and to have my appointment confirmed in February by the Oregon Senate."

Barry Sloane MC/MPA, after working for 18 years as CEO of Century Bank, retired as chairman following the bank's sale last November. Barry is now spending most of his time on medical philanthropy as a trustee at Rockefeller University and MGH and is studying AI at HBS. He is investing in Fintech and growth equity opportunities. "It is the future of financial services."



— Elisa Speranza MC/MPA 1987

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LAURENT GRABET

FROM THE FIELD



ALUMNI PUBLIC SERVICE AWARD

Reaching for New Summits

Marina LeGree MC/MPA 2014

In 2021, Marina LeGree MC/MPA 2014 led the effort to evacuate more than 100 people from Afghanistan after the country fell to the Taliban. The regime change prompted extraordinary changes at Ascend, the NGO founded by Marina that uses mountaineering and athletics to empower young women with self-confidence and leadership skills.

Under the restored Taliban regime, Marina's staff and participants were in peril. Marina led her team to evacuate these individuals and, in some cases, their families. The effort was immense, enlisting help from around the world, including Marina's friends in the HKS alumni network. Marina coordinated efforts among the Harvard community and helped to secure visas from countries including Chile, the United States, Poland, and Kazakhstan. The effort had helped secure safe passage for 135 people.

Working to relocate them, Marina says, "has been the dead opposite of everything I've ever stood for in Afghanistan: strengthen communities; create change. I never wanted to be a pipeline for people to leave."

Marina's relationship with Afghanistan began after she earned her master's in international affairs from George Washington University. Working first for the United Nations' International Organization for Migration, then for the German aid agency GIZ, Marina was stationed in Faizabad, the provincial capital and largest city in the remote, mountainous northern province of Badakhshan.

"I was living like Afghans live, which for a woman means you can't go outside, and which means you don't get to move physically," she says. "You cannot move as a woman—everyone will stare at you. You can't go outside without judgmental eyes on you, and it's suffocating. That part of the experience was awful."

She later worked for NATO and the U.S. government, providing support to troops and civilian personnel doing stabilization work in local communities as part of the anti-insurgency effort. As her work and the occupation wore on, she was also increasingly disheartened by the level of corruption she observed in both the Afghan government and the U.S. occupation effort.

Seeking a way to reset her career, she attended HKS where she developed the idea for Ascend.

"I really needed that new peer group," Marina says. "I wanted to surround myself with people who had done different things and who inspired me and who would have different viewpoints, and that's what I got. I had an incredible class full of people who are friends for life and the people who really helped me start Ascend."

Since launching in 2015, 20 to 30 girls in Afghanistan participated and graduated annually from Ascend. In 2018, Hanifa Yousoufi, an Ascend team member, became the first Afghan woman to climb the country's highest peak, the 24,580-foot Noshaq. Ascend grew tremendously in 2021 and was able to accept 75 girls and open the first sports center for women in Kabul.

While the Afghanistan program is on hold, Marina says, "We're keeping our foothold there because the Taliban haven't really said much about who's going to be allowed to do what. We can do female-only instruction in the space that we have, and we can also deliver instruction via cell phones—which we've gotten pretty good at during COVID anyway." The mountaineering program will expand to one or two new countries; site selection is underway.



EMERGING GLOBAL LEADER AWARD

Finding Hope in Dark Places

María Soledad Rueda García MC/MPA 2019

María Soledad Rueda García is the newly appointed International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) operations coordinator for the Near and Middle East, covering Israel, Palestinian territories, and Iraq. Most recently, she represented and led the ICRC's activities in Ethiopia as head of operations from 2020 to 2021 during one of the most challenging humanitarian crises in the Horn of Africa. Serving during the conflict in Ethiopia's northern Tigray Region, Sole, as she is known by her friends, had packed for a three-day visit when she was first immersed in the heart of the crisis. Rather than flee, she stayed to provide safety for those who were in extreme danger by bringing an international presence and ensuring the operation of the ICRC in Tigray was executed in the midst of an armed conflict.

"In times of war," Sole says, "all constructed barriers fall, and we find at the core our shared humanity. I strive to protect it, infusing humanity in situations where only horrors seem possible."

Born and raised in San Gil, Colombia, Sole has instilled her career with lessons she learned from her mother, a physician, leader of the local orphanage, and head of household. "I grew up watching my mother work tirelessly, teaching my two sisters and me to live life to the fullest and with constant gratitude," she says.

As a professional, Sole has been deeply involved with the world's most difficult crises. She worked as COVID-19 coordinator in Goma, in the eastern Congo; helped to fight the spread of Ebola in Liberia; negotiated agreements between Israeli and Palestinian authorities on behalf of the population in Gaza; and negotiated and achieved better conditions at prisons and labor camps in Myanmar.

"Leading teams to find their own greatness through service is one of my most rewarding satisfactions," Sole says.

Her leadership skills have saved lives, including overseeing a refugee camp of more than 15,000 refugees from Somalia who were fleeing chronic violence and insecurity along with the worst drought in decades, and managing the influx of thousands of refugees along the border of South Sudan in Ethiopia. "Every moment close to populations bound by violence humbled me and further proved that my path should be to serve and live a life driven by integrity, inspiration, and light," Sole says.

Despite the dreadful brutality that Sole has witnessed, she remains positive and an inspiration to her classmates. They remark on her ability to stay in touch regardless of her whereabouts and the conflict around her. She checks in, asks where she can help despite her workload, and remains upbeat, they say. Among her best qualities, one alum shared, is Sole's incredible capacity for empathy and the ability to see both sides of a conflict to better arrive at a resolution.

"I have met the most courageous people in places ravaged by violence and conflict," Soledad says. "They have taught me the greatest lesson: Life is beautifully obstinate and inherently comes with hope."

"Many people worldwide have heeded the call to focus their energy and passion on being of help to others in their time of direst need, when circumstances make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to help themselves," adds Sole. "Being a voice and a spark of hope for those that the violence and conflict have silenced is the most humbling privilege. It is to my peers and the population we have the honor to serve that I dedicate this award."

PIUS UTOMI EXPEI/GETTY IMAGES

1992

Bets Greer MPA, after completing a six-year course of Buddhist study and a three-year silent retreat in southern Arizona, now lives in Camp Verde, AZ, near the stunning red rocks of Sedona. Bets is managing editor, chief archivist, and a translator with Diamond Cutter Classics. Her first book, *Emptiness Meditations*, scheduled to be released in 2022, is a translation into English from Tibetan of five different works on Buddhist philosophy and meditation by Choney Lama, Arya Nagarjuna, Master Kamalashila, Trijang Rinpoche, and Pabongka Rinpoche. Bets plans to teach and lead meditation retreats using the book as a guide, while working to translate a text on Buddhist philosophy by Kedrup Je.

Janet McGuigan MPP writes, "After serving on numerous community and social service boards, as well as the Representative Town Meeting, I've just been elected to the Greenwich (Connecticut) Board of Selectmen. I'm looking forward to serving my town in this very New England role. Any advice from my classmates is warmly welcome!"

1993 30TH REUNION

Reuven Carlyle MPA writes, "In 2022, I'll (voluntarily) complete 14 years as a senator and representative in the Washington State Legislature. I'm proud that on my watch as senate environment & energy committee chair, Washington has passed the most sweeping climate legislation in the nation, including cap & invest carbon pricing, 100% clean energy, clean fuel standard, renewable hydrogen, building efficiency, Paris Accord-goals, and more. I continue to work in sustainability consulting. My wife, Wendy, and I have four fabulous kids ages 15 through 24. Onward to new adventures!"

John Reid MPP and co-author Thomas Lovejoy published *Ever Green: Saving Big Forests to Save the Planet* in March 2022. The book takes readers to some of the largest intact ecosystems on Earth, explains their irreplaceable role in keeping the planet liveable and diverse—both biologically and culturally—and presents practical conservation solutions. Its chapters on forest policy draw on John's MPP training and decades of real-world experience. *Ever Green* has been praised by the *Washington Post* and the *Boston Globe* and excerpted by *The Atlantic*.

1994

Brian Brooke MPP is exploring startup opportunities and investments in smart cities and smart mobility, primarily in Europe.

Brian Quinn MPP was recently promoted to full professor at Boston College. Brian is a professor in the law school, where he teaches and writes on corporate law, mergers & acquisitions, and venture capital.

1997

Alex Rodriguez MPP is currently CEO of FreeFall 5G, Inc., a venture-backed early-stage company striving to unleash the full promise of 4th Industrial Revolution technologies by advancing 5G mmWave Advanced Antenna Systems for more rapid global 5G connectivity. "Check out the technology in action at vimeo.com/freefall5g."

1998 25TH REUNION

Jenny Korn MPP has published "Connecting Race to Ethics Related to Technology: A Call for Critical Tech Ethics" in the *Journal of Social Computing*. Jenny was recently elected as the newest member to the board of the Harvard Asian American Alumni Alliance (H4A).

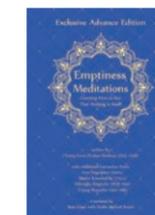
1999

Amr Abdallah MPA writes, "2021 was a busy year with several work and personal projects. Personally, I started paying more attention to my health and exercising more. Workwise, I led the design of the EFE alumni mentoring program. Moreover, without the support of my family (dear wife and my lovely three girls), I wouldn't be where I am today."

Cynthia Tinoo MC/MPA writes, "It's been awhile since I shared about myself. As you may see on the news, my country Burma/Myanmar has been under notorious military regime again for over a year. Reporters are arrested, protestors are tortured and killed, villages were bombed, daily heartbreaking news. ... Many people, especially in ethnic regions, have been suffering with civil war. I have been raising funds for humanitarian assistance through Partners Asia (PartnersAsia.org) to support internally displaced families. I'm blessed to live peacefully with loved ones in America, serving as a board member of the Harvard Club of Santa Barbara and Partners Asia."

2001

Josiah Brown MPP writes, "It's been three years since we launched a Connecticut affiliate of the national Court Appointed Special Advocates network for children who have experienced abuse/neglect. In



—
Bets Greer
MPA 1992



—
John Reid
MPP 1993

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Cooling the Planet

“I think there’s no question that our first job in the next decades has to be cutting emissions. It doesn’t make sense to be spending a lot of effort to pull CO₂ out the atmosphere while still belching CO₂ into it.”

David Keith

2021, we merged into a single statewide Connecticut CASA and are now in the two largest CT courts, together serving 30% of youth under child protection jurisdiction statewide. Two folks I met at HKS, **Reggie Solomon MPP 2000** and **Billie Gastic Rosado HGSE**, serve on our board. Our dedicated CASA volunteers are advancing children’s best interests. We’re on Twitter @ConnCASA and have a YouTube channel at ConnecticutCASA. My wife, Sahar Usmani-Brown, and I continue to live in New Haven, where our kids are now in grades 11 and 8. Best to everyone!”

Jesse Leon MPP writes, “Excited to announce my memoir, *I’m Not Broken*, was published by Penguin Random House in August! Thank you to everyone who believed in me and showed me that I was worthy of dreaming big in spite of years of drug addiction and sex trafficking. We all have a story to tell! From living in the streets to the steps of Harvard Kennedy School. Please show your support by ordering my book from your favorite independent bookstore or online retailer.”

2002

Oscar Schiappa-Pietra MPA was appointed by the government of Peru as executive director of the Plan Binacional de Desarrollo de la Región Fronteriza Perú-Ecuador and executive secretary of the

Fondo Binacional para la Paz y Desarrollo. Both of these international organizations were established by the 1998 Brasilia Peace Accords between the governments of Peru and Ecuador. Oscar still serves as legal counsel for Viridis Terra Perú, a Canadian sustainable forestry corporation operating in the Amazon, and as a representative of The Vine Trust, a Scottish charity operating two medical ships that provide free medical services to indigenous communities in the Amazon.

2003 20TH REUNION

Matthew Kohut MC/MPA has co-authored a book titled *The Smart Mission* (MIT Press), which shares insights based on many years of work with NASA on intangibles such as knowledge, culture, and collaboration.

2004

Diana Samarasan MC/MPA writes, “After 14 years, I am transitioning out of the global organization I founded, the Disability Rights Fund (DRF), which is based in Boston and works across Africa, Asia, the Pacific, and the Caribbean. I am immensely proud of DRF as a model of decision making by people with lived experience, embodying the disability rights slogan, “nothing about us without us.” You can read more about our influence on philanthropy in Ben Wrobel and Meg Massey’s recent book, *Letting Go: How Philanthropists and Impact Investors Can Do More Good by Giving Up Control*. I am now co-authoring a book about the DRF journey and building my consulting. And my daughter is fifteen!”

2005

Leonardo Beltran MPA/ID is a distinguished visiting fellow at Columbia University’s Center on Global Energy Policy, where he researches the interplay between the energy transition in Latin America, innovation, and its political economy. He recently became a member of the Technical Advisory Group of ESMAP at the World Bank.

2006

Yousaf Haroon HKSEE recently delivered a five-year energy-strategy paper for Pakistan’s largest natural gas operator. In the paper, Yousaf identified growth, operational excellence, and business diversification as

the three areas needed to strengthen LNG value chain, organizational development, and international linkages.

2007

Armando Lopez MC/MPA writes, “I am in Mexico City with my wife, Monica, and my incredible sons, Armando (9) and Anuar (6). I currently work as chief of staff at the National Institute of Migration, where I contribute to the innovation, attention, and protection of migrants in the context of mobility.”

Marco Lowe MC/MPA was chosen by Seattle’s newly elected mayor Bruce Harrell to be the city’s chief operations officer. His portfolio includes the city’s utilities, finance, and administrative departments.

Patrick McCreesh MPP recently announced the acquisition of his company, Simatree, by Galway Holdings, a financial services distribution company. Patrick will continue to serve as the managing principal for Simatree under Galway. Additionally, Patrick recently released a new book, *Stuck: How to WIN in Business by Understanding LOSS* (Productivity Press). Patrick resides in Vienna, Virginia, with his wife, Courtney, and four daughters.

2008 15TH REUNION

Joseph Pfeifer MC/MPA published his first book, *Ordinary Heroes: A Memoir of 9/11*, for the 20th anniversary. “Walk with my firefighters and me on an unforgettable intimate journey of courage, leadership, and resilience that turns traumatic memories into hope. I am humbled to make *The New York Times* bestseller list, which describes *Ordinary Heroes* as “a book for today” by its “inclusive sense of public service, that values the heroism of those who do ordinary things in extraordinary times.”

2010

Ryan Androsoff MPP has been continuing his work supporting public-sector digital transformation initiatives through training, consulting, and public engagement. This past year he launched a new company called Think Digital (*thinkdigital.ca*) to help scale up these efforts in Canada and beyond. Ryan and his partner, Rita, are still calling Ottawa home, and welcome any of his classmates to get in touch if they happen to find themselves up in Canada’s capital in the future!

Kara Waddell MC/MPA leads the system of early education and care in Fort Worth, Texas, as the president and CEO of Child



JULIUS E. BABBITT MEMORIAL VOLUNTEER AWARD

Service as an Identity

Robert Manson MPA 2004

Robert Manson MPA 2004 is committed to building relationships and engaging with Harvard and connecting HKS alumni worldwide. As a leader among HKS alumni, Bob, as he is known, gives freely of his time with such an abundance it is easy to believe that he must be two people working across Denmark, Finland, Ireland, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. Bob has served not only as president of the Harvard Club of Ireland for four years, but also as a Harvard Alumni Association (HAA) regional director for Europe overseeing six countries for three years, and was most recently elected to the executive committee of the HAA as a member-at-large.

Bob’s focus on public service was recently on display at the HAA Alumni Leadership Conference in Cambridge, Massachusetts, when he was asked to host a session on public leadership. He ultimately presented three case studies featuring the Harvard Club of Ireland, the Harvard Club of Seattle, and the Harvard Graduate School of Education to encourage other clubs to adopt initiatives with a public service focus that could have a positive impact in their local communities.

This recent example of encouraging participation among HKS alumni is the latest in a history of making change since graduating in 2004. Just six years ago, Bob founded the Harvard Club of Ireland Nonprofit Fellowship, which was modeled on a program from the Harvard Club of Australia, to select leaders of nonprofits in Ireland and send them on an executive education program at Harvard Business School called “Strategic Perspectives in Nonprofit Management.” Since its inception, seven fellowships have been awarded and its success has garnered attention from other Harvard clubs in Europe.

While engaging alumni and students is a passion, Bob also seeks out future public leaders who would benefit from a Kennedy School education. To do so, Bob co-founded the Harvard Club of Ireland Outreach Program, adopted from the Harvard Club of the United Kingdom, to encourage applicants to HKS from state schools in Ireland.

“I am incredibly honored to be the recipient of this year’s award, which is named in memory of a young man who dedicated his short life to public service,” Bob says. “I am fond of saying that volunteerism and public service is not what I do; it is who I am.”

In addition to his volunteerism with Harvard and the Kennedy School, Bob also continues to give back to his community. He is a volunteer with the Special Olympics Ireland (Basketball and Golf Programs) and a serial fundraiser for Crumlin Children’s Hospital, Down Syndrome Ireland, and St Raphael’s Special School through marathon and ultra-marathon running (60 marathons and ultra-marathons completed). His commitment to leading change within his community, locally and at HKS, continues to inspire his classmates and other alumni groups around the world, proving that leading by example can enlist multitudes to create change.

“This award is dedicated to my classmate Captain Oleh Khalayim MPA/ID 2004,” adds Bob. “Two months ago, Oleh was working as a portfolio officer at the World Bank in Washington, D.C. Today he is serving in the armed forces of Ukraine.”

—
“I am fond of saying that volunteerism and public service is not what I do; it is who I am.”



ALUMNI NETWORK ENGAGEMENT AWARD
Empowering Alumnae
 Harvard Kennedy School Women's Network

In 2021, the Harvard Kennedy School Women's Network (HKS WN) reached nearly 3,000 alumnae through more than a dozen events. The Network's success relies on its growing footprint around the globe and it now celebrates 50 city chapters with a mission to connect, support, and amplify the efforts of HKS women and gender-nonconforming individuals in authentic, meaningful, and powerful ways. This includes activities such as welcoming new HKS alumnae, meeting with prospective students, and planning informal group gatherings.

"Around the world, our chapters are strengthening the community through meaningful interactions and topic-based discussions—much like we had while we were students at HKS," says HKS WN co-chair **Theodora Skeadas MPP 2016**.

"For example, the Boston chapter organized successive small group dinners, and our London chapter has been particularly busy, organizing several different panel discussions to engage alumnae on a variety of topics."

The global footprint now includes many U.S. cities such as Boston, Charlotte, Chicago, Cincinnati, Denver, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Phoenix, Portland, San Diego, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.; and international networks in Bangalore, Beijing, Bogota, Brussels, Cairo, Copenhagen

(Scandinavia), Delhi, Guatemala City (Central America), Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, Israel, Johannesburg, Lausanne, London, Madrid, Manila, Mexico City, Mumbai, Nairobi, Paris, Rabat, Seoul, and Singapore.

"The growth of the HKS Women's Network to 50-plus chapters and 75-plus chapter leads globally has empowered alumnae to connect with others in their cities and regions around the world, and in doing so, fostered relationship-building and impact globally," Theodora says.

HKS WN events have included: the HKS WN mentorship program, gender parity in the maritime sector, a time management workshop, financial literacy for women series, and women and artificial intelligence series.

"We are grateful to receive this year's Network Engagement Award and so proud to be a part of such an incredible group of HKS alumnae," says co-chair **Andrea Blinkhorn MPP 2016**. "The HKS Women's Network was founded with the mission to connect, amplify and support the work of HKS alumnae all around the world and over the past few years, we've been able to strengthen our bond with one another as members and help each other through tough challenges. We're looking forward to continuing to grow and provide meaningful opportunities for alums to connect with each other."

"We are grateful to receive this year's Network Engagement Award and so proud to be a part of such an incredible group of HKS alumnae."

Care Associates. In 2021 she was awarded Nonprofit CEO of the Year by the *Fort Worth Business Press* and was recognized among the Fort Worth 400 Most Influential in 2020 and 2021. Kara, her husband, Bill, and her sons, Ethan (17) and Luke (16), are gearing up for college admission applications and hoping to plan a trip back to Asia this summer (pending COVID realities).

2011

Catherine Lee MPA/ID, a World Bank economist turned film director, was recently named one of America's "40 Under 40" documentary makers by HBO + DOC NYC. She is currently directing a feature-length film about **Peter Ajak MPA/ID 2009**, an ex-child soldier, political prisoner, target of presidential assassination, and father of three. Peter's friend of 16 years, Catherine filmed his rising leadership over four years across four African countries and the United States. At its core, the film interrogates the question of whether one man can change his country—and at what price? Catherine invites HKS alumni to write team@seedsofanation.com to learn more and support the completion of this critical capture of history.

Mark Tracy MC/MPA completed Ironman Florida on Nov. 6, 2021, to raise money for Camp BraveHeart, a grief camp for children. Camp BraveHeart is run by Hope Health, the largest nonprofit hospice, palliative, and visiting nurse provider in Rhode Island. Tracy serves as secretary of the board of Hope Health as well as chairman of the board of the Rhode Island Public Health Institute (RIPHI). During the pandemic, RIPHI opened Open Door Health, the state's first dedicated LGBTQ health care clinic.

2012

Jay Bhatt MPA was elected to the UnidosUS National Board this summer. UnidosUS is the nation's largest Latino civil rights and advocacy organization. Since its founding in 1968, the organization has contributed to a stronger America by elevating the voice of Latinos and advocating for issues of voting rights, immigration, economic mobility, education, and healthcare. Jay was the recipient of the HKS Alumni Public Service Award and the University of Illinois School of Public Health Distinguished Alumni Award in 2021.

Nataliya Bugayova MPP, after HKS, worked in Ukraine on reform efforts. She served as chief of staff to the economy minister after

the 2014 Euromaidan Revolution; cofounded the Professional Government Initiative, which united 2,000 Western-educated Ukrainians to help drive reforms; and served as the CEO of *Kyiv Post*, Ukraine's independent English-language publication. For the past five years Nataliya has worked in national security in D.C. She led the Russia program at the Institute for the Study of War, analyzing the Kremlin's strategy and global military campaigns. Recently, she has also been focusing on the intersection of national security and tech amid U.S.-China competition. Nataliya is a Schmidt Futures International Strategy Forum fellow.

Nathan Dial MPP writes, "Classmates, in the last year a lot has happened. I married my girlfriend of five years, Monica, this past August in Charleston, South Carolina. I completed my PhD in political science from Northwestern University. My dissertation was on NATO in the 21st century and the conditions that need to be present for the institution to complete out-of-area activities. I am now back in the operational Air Force, flying the RC-135. Additionally, I got picked up for the Aspen Strategy Group's Rising Leaders program 2022 Class."

Illac Diaz MC/MPA was one of 140 changemakers selected to showcase their work at EXPO2020 in Dubai, where he premiered "Theory of Light," a pioneering documentary on his work. Part historical

chronicle, part environmental lesson, "Theory of Light" shows how Diaz's Liter of Light initiative is reinvigorating efforts to take action and inspiring new generations of innovators to develop ideas that can change the world. With a commitment to uplift perspectives of marginalized communities whose lives are impacted by climate change, the documentary gives a voice to those who have not been represented in traditional climate storytelling.

Dan Futrell MPP shares that the Pat Tillman Foundation, for which Dan serves as CEO in Chicago, was recently named the "8th Best Nonprofit to Work For" in the country by *The Nonprofit Times*. The ranking is partially derived from factual information about financials and demographics and mostly derived from employee feedback on leadership, strategy, engagement, and culture from PTF's 20-person team.

Andrew Kurtzman MPP is serving as assistant director of the Government Accountability Office's Innovation Lab. GAO audits the performance of executive branch programs on behalf of Congress. Andrew writes, "In my current role, I am leading teams of data scientists seeking to automate, deepen, or broaden bodies of GAO audit work. The Innovation Lab is also producing government-wide guidance, including the federal government's first artificial intelligence oversight framework. I have

Alumni
Talk Policy



Housing + Homelessness
 February 22, 2022

"Often the voices of those of us that have experienced homelessness, especially BIPOC and BIPOC LGBT individuals, are not at the table, where our voices are not heard, we're not at the table formulating policies."

— **Jesse Leon MPP 2001**

ken.sc/atp

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The Impact of Science and Technology on Society

“What does it do to human agency if some people have the capacity to reach 83 million people in one day and the rest of us have no followers or 123 followers? I mean, this power is not equally distributed. So I think we have to take the question of the human seriously. Where is it that our technologies are depriving us of the capacity to act as humans?”

Sheila Jasanoff

been at GAO for nearly eight years, since completing an MBA at the University of Chicago in 2014.”

2013 10TH REUNION

Mike McMahon MPP was engaged to Megan Parilla in Chicago, Illinois, on Dec. 23, 2021. The happy couple celebrated with some hot toddies and an airing of grievances around the Festivus pole.

Jasdeep Randhawa MPP recently became a legal officer with the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change in Bonn, Germany. “I am in gratitude for my time as a student at HKS, where I found my passion to work in international development and environmental law. My professors at the Kennedy School, the many class discussions, and stories shared, continue to inspire me to contribute towards addressing the global climate crisis. If you find yourself in Bonn, give me a shout!”

2014

Michael Koehler MPA continues to develop change agents for systemic leadership challenges with his firm KONU. The firm’s latest work includes designing Systems Leadership Labs for the UN, supporting adaptive capacity at D.C. public schools, and building peer-coaching programs for fellows of the Obama Foundation.

2015

Kimberly Dowdell MC/MPA was recently elected to serve on the board of trustees at Cornell University, her undergraduate alma mater.

Rohan Mathur MPA joined the faculty at The Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine as a physician scientist in the Division of Neurosciences Critical Care. He serves as a scientific lead and investigator for the Precision Medicine Center of Excellence at Johns Hopkins, which is using data science techniques to deliver personalized medical solutions for patients admitted to the ICU.

MaryRose Mazzola MPP recently joined Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts as the inaugural director of their new Center for Sexual and Reproductive Health. The center is an innovative, high-impact research and training program that brings together Planned Parenthood’s nationally recognized research and professional education programs. MaryRose also serves as an adjunct professor in the Merrimack College Women’s and Gender Studies Department, where she develops and teaches the department’s DEI and legal courses. She graduated from Northeastern University School of Law in 2021 and was admitted to the Massachusetts bar this past December.

2016

Daniel Cunningham MC/MPA, this past April, addressed the Harvard Club of Cincinnati on “What is the Best Possible Post Post-WWII American Model of Global Leadership?” In his presentation, Dan gave examples of American global leadership needed today, including soft power, hard power, economic power, social power, environmental power, and digital currency power. He also explored the intersection of American global leadership and economic growth, and spoke on the win-wins of American global leadership, now and in the future.

Maroof Mohsin MC/MPA, since graduating from HKS, has been teaching at the IBA (Institute of Business Administration) University of Dhaka and in the Department of Political Science and Sociology (PSS) at North South University Dhaka.

2017

Niruban Balachandran MC/MPA is the director of professional development for the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Kevin Barnard MC/MPA, a commander in the U.S. Navy, was recently assigned to duty at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations in New York City. He will serve as a political-military advisor to the U.S. ambassadors and other personnel assigned to the delegation.

Johannes Lohmann MPA/ID, after graduation, joined the Behavioural Insights Team, an organization that designs and runs social projects based on behavioral science. Johannes is now the head of Organisational and Financial Behaviour and is currently living in London.

Dennis Schroeder MC/MPA writes, “It has been quite a rollercoaster. After graduation I had the privilege to be selected as a science diplomacy fellow by the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) in Washington, D.C. Subsequently, I worked as an education consultant in India and Afghanistan for the World Bank and became a lecturer at a Bhutanese university. Things slowed down a bit in terms of moving places the end of

—
“I am in gratitude for my time as a student at HKS, where I found my passion to work in international development and environmental law.”

Jasdeep Randhawa MPP 2013

2020. Since then I have been heading the German Goethe-Institut in Namibia. We’re helping to develop the country’s creative industries via a vast network of incredible people (thank you HKS!), working on cultural diplomacy and on the intersection of arts and environmental issues.



HKS FUND OUTSTANDING ALUMNI AWARD

Paying It Forward

Amelita Armit MC/MPA 1979, Hamissou Samari MPP 2012

This year the HKS Fund Outstanding Alumni Award will be shared between two individuals who continue to donate to HKS while serving populations in need: Amelita Armit MC/MPA 1979 and Hamissou Samari MPP 2012.

Amelita is a retired public service professional actively engaged in community volunteer work. She worked both with the Alberta provincial government and the Canadian federal government for over 25 years in various senior positions in industry and commerce, intergovernmental affairs, and human resources management. To date, Amelita is the only Filipino who has achieved the rank of assistant deputy minister in the Canadian public service. She concluded her public service career as president and CEO of the Parliamentary Centre, an NGO committed to strengthening parliamentary democracy and good governance practices around the globe.

Hamissou is a senior program officer at the Division of Monitoring and Evaluation of the Millennium Challenge Corporation, a U.S. government foreign assistance and international development agency.

Hamissou is also the cofounder of LiftTogo, a nonprofit organization with the twofold mission of helping African immigrants in the United States to achieve their higher education goals while raising funds to provide material support to school-age children from low-income parts of his native Togo.

Amelita, who has donated to HKS for over 30 years, and Hamissou, who has given every year since graduating, share a similar interest in giving back and ensuring that incoming students and School programs have the funding they need to succeed. “My donations are my way of saying ‘thank you’ and paying it forward, so that current and future students of lower-income backgrounds could be afforded a chance to achieve their dreams,” Hamissou says.

“I believe in what the Kennedy School stands for—the importance of public service, and public policy leadership in our democratic society,” Amelita says. “Enabling or ensuring that

this work continues, especially in these complex and challenging times is essential. Every contribution counts, big and small—time, money, resources, etc.”

Beyond his reasons for giving, Hamissou also focuses his generosity on programs he feels can scale up to meet the challenges of tomorrow.

“I make a living trying to understand how and why some development projects succeed or fail in comparison to others,” he says. “One of the things that I’ve learned is that the size of the investment is very important. But equally important is the capacity of the project implementer to manage it well enough to achieve the greatest impact. Over the years, HKS has established an outstanding track record of

making sure that the funds go to areas of greatest need and true potential.”

Giving back to HKS to generate learning opportunities for public leaders is not just an aspiration but something Amelita experienced during her time at the Kennedy School. “To be open to ideas, to other points of view—to look at the

whole and not just the parts. In today’s language, the terms are ‘healthy dialogue,’ ‘inclusivity,’ ‘collaboration’—these were all part of my learning experience in the Kennedy School—my classmates came from different professions, different countries, different levels of government, and I benefitted from all the varying perspectives they brought to the School,” Amelita says.

Together, Amelita and Hamissou are helping the Kennedy School to improve public policy and leadership so people can live in societies that are more safe, free, just, and sustainably prosperous. They have experienced this mission firsthand and by giving back they create change for the next class of public leaders.



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DIGITAL INNOVATION AWARD

Technology as a Democratizing Force

Vilas Dhar MC/MPA 2016

Vilas Dhar MC/MPA 2016 is described by classmates as visionary, tireless, inspirational, and passionate. As president of the Patrick J. McGovern Foundation, a 21st century philanthropy advancing artificial intelligence and data solutions to create a thriving, equitable, and sustainable future for all, Vilas advocates for technologies and policies that transform social and economic opportunities to create equity.

“My vision of our brighter future is one in which technology amplifies the very best of humanity, our creativity, ingenuity, curiosity, kindness, and generosity,” Vilas says.

Vilas has championed a new framework for digital exposure, literacy, and mastery that grounds the creation and use of 21st-century technologies in principles of inclusion, diversity, equity, and accessibility. Through work with organizations such as The Hidden Genius Project, Per Scholas, and Education Design Lab, Vilas supports the creation of new participatory mechanisms to bring traditionally underrepresented voices into policy and technological decision-making.

“It is essential we put a fine point on the idea that technology can be a democratizing force—but to do so, we require a purposeful will,” Vilas says. “To achieve that potential, we need to come together with a shared intention to ensure that the technologies being built are the ones that actually serve all of us.”

Vilas is also a leading voice for equity and democratization of AI. At the foundation he envisions a future where technology amplifies the best aspects of humanity rather than using it to create divisions and seed hatred.

“The challenge we face today is to build democratic, inclusive public discourse—one that involves technologists, ethicists, everyday users—to build the AI-enabled future that humanity deserves,” he says.

Prior to joining the foundation, Vilas founded and led a nonprofit incubator and a sustainable public interest law firm. At HKS, Vilas had a role in leading contributions in the academic study of technology for good as the Gleitsman Fellow on Social Change and was the Practitioner Resident on AI at the Rockefeller Foundation’s Bellagio Center in Italy. “At the Kennedy School, I learned that creating a better world requires us all to make decisions—from policymakers to technology leaders to each of us as consumers, stakeholders, and advocates for justice and equity,” Vilas says. “I learned how to make better decisions—and how to support and lift up those who provide diverse, creative, and empathetic insights.”

As an advocate for using technology for social change, Vilas shares his views as widely as possible. His passion for raising awareness is fueled by a commitment to service and aiding humankind during a time of technological advancement. Most recently Vilas was honored by the World Economic Forum and named a Young Global Leader for his work.

While doing his best to inform and steer the conversation on technology and policy, he is also incredibly hands-on. He has been known to spend his days quickly moving between projects such as working with villagers in India to adopt mobile applications to plan a more profitable harvest, and with social activists in Africa using drones and citizen experiences to help track climate change across the continent.

“The 21st century opportunity is at the intersection of stakeholder engagement, responsible innovation, and a vision of collaboration to address shared global challenges,” he says.

2018 5TH REUNION

Yasmine AbdelKarim MC/MPA writes, “I am happy to share that I have managed to close Series A fund for my startup *Yallafelsekka.com*.”

John Krohn MC/MPA is now the deputy chief of staff for the Department of Energy’s Office of Nuclear Energy. In this capacity, he helps develop and implement U.S. government policies to support the existing U.S. nuclear fleet, advance next-generation reactor technologies, and expand geopolitical partnerships by helping other nations leverage U.S. technologies to advance their nuclear industries.

2019

Salvador Maturana MC/MPA, in June 2020, joined DiDi Global, the world’s leading mobility technology platform, as a senior public policy manager for the Southern Cone (Chile, Argentina, and Peru).

David Richter MC/MPA has been named chief operating officer of infrastructure project management at Paris-based Bureau Veritas Group, a world leader in laboratory testing, inspection, certification, and other consulting services. David is based in the company’s New York City office. David has also been elected to the board of directors of Pernix Group, a Chicago-based international construction contractor. In his spare time, he is pursuing his doctorate in civil engineering at Columbia University.

2020

Tom Ellington MPA announced his candidacy for the chairmanship of the Macon Water Authority in Macon, Georgia. MWA provides water, sewer, and stormwater management services.

Emily Schlichting MPP and **David Demres MPA 2018** were recently engaged on a trip to Italy. The pair met at HKS in 2017 while both completing combined MBA and policy programs.

Nourhan Shaaban MPP writes, “It is crazy to think that it has been two years since we graduated. I moved to Seattle and grew to enjoy nature—hiking, paddleboarding, and being outdoors. After graduation, I was hired at Delivery Associates, a public-sector consulting company, to lead a rapid six-month city-level COVID response in collaboration with Bloomberg Philanthropies. I managed and implemented a product development roadmap of digital solutions to

support eight U.S. mayors/cities in containing COVID-19. I am currently a senior product manager at Udacity, an educational startup, building products that enable governments, enterprises, and foundations globally to upskill thousands of learners.”

Helen Zhang MC/MPA writes, “Looking to enjoy understanding your world? Intrigue Media, cofounded by two former diplomats, will help you do just that. We provide a free daily briefing on global affairs at the intersection of geopolitics, tech, and business that’s dished with an Australian sense of humour. Intrigue Media is described by our readers as “the juice of *Foreign Affairs* magazine, without the pulp that no one reads.” Subscribe at: internationalintrigue.io.”

2021

Vince Romano MC/MPA has accepted a position as an assistant United States attorney (AUSA) in the District of New Jersey.

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“So very, very often, we lament the absence of women or the absence of people of color, or the absence of people with disability in our organizations. But what I’m suggesting to you is that this is not how we start a social movement, because that could actually create prescriptions or norms of what the world should look like.”

Iris Bohnet

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Invest in the future of HKS.

hks.harvard.edu/donate

PIUS UTOMI EXPE/GETTY IMAGES

Reunion 2022



1. Classmates gather for photos at Friday's cocktail reception.
2. Friends reunited!
3. Alumni arriving back on campus for reunion weekend.
4. Classmates gathering in the Forum at the start of the weekend's programming.
5. Members of the class of 1987 gathered at Friday's reception.
6. Alumni leaders and volunteers of the Black Alumni Association with Dean Elmendorf.
7. Hamissou Samari MPP 2012, winner of the HKS Fund Outstanding Alumni Award, with his friends and family.
8. Halla Hrund Logadóttir MC/MPA 2017 chatting with alumni after the morning panel on climate change.
9. Classmates reuniting at the start of the weekend.
10. Emerging Global Leader Award winner María Soledad Rueda García MC/MPA 2019 with her family and Dean Elmendorf.

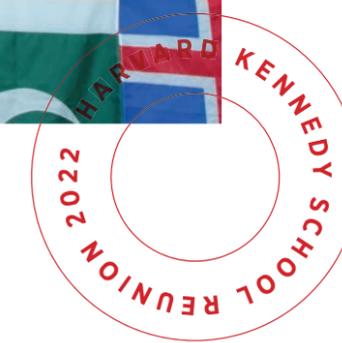


More than 500 alumni and friends came back to campus May 17-19 for this year's Harvard Kennedy School Reunion. Check out the Reunion 2022 video, photos on Facebook, and explore the buzz on Instagram and Twitter by searching #HKSAumni.

Classes of 1972 | 1977 | 1982 | 1987 | 1992 | 1997 | 2002 | 2007 | 2012 | 2017



➤ See more photos and video from Reunion online.
hks.harvard.edu/reunion



CONFRONTING INEQUALITY

Jim and Cathy Stone's generous continuing support will help HKS and the University advance their work on economic inequality.

IN 2018, THE JAMES M. AND CATHLEEN D. STONE FOUNDATION provided Harvard Kennedy School with a \$2.5 million gift for new and ongoing work to address wealth concentration and the broader problems of inequality. The gift supported the research and outreach efforts of the Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy at the Kennedy School's Malcolm Wiener Center for Social Policy, which serves as a nexus for work across the University. The

program brought together Harvard faculty members and PhD students from the social sciences who were exploring issues such as wealth concentration, poverty and justice, opportunity and intergenerational mobility, and inequalities of income, race, and place.

"The accelerating concentration of wealth at the pinnacle of the wealth distribution is not propitious for the well-being of our country," Jim Stone said at the time. "The concentration and

sequestration of wealth at the top can interfere with economic growth and diminish the benefits of mobility. Excesses of concentration and hereditary wealth tend to weaken the middle class and dampen prospects for the poor. Just as important, this trend threatens to undermine the democratic pluralism in politics that has helped create this country's impressive record of success. Cathy and I are pleased to support the efforts at the Kennedy School to examine issues of equity in the distribution of our society's wealth and income."

Four years later, that gift has funded more than 40 doctoral students, drawn from across Harvard University graduate schools, who are working on cutting-edge issues in the social sciences. In addition, it has been used to host a weekly seminar on inequality at which leading researchers from universities around the country have presented works-in-progress to the program's highly engaged community of scholars. And it launched the annual James M. and Cathleen D. Stone Lecture in Economic Inequality, designed to bring greater awareness to this important challenge. The inaugural Stone Lecture was delivered in 2018 by the renowned economist Thomas Piketty at Harvard Kennedy School's John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum.

Earlier this year, Jim and Cathy Stone again provided transformational funding through their foundation, whose mission is to promote a more knowledgeable and inclusive society, to help the Kennedy School add new elements to its program on wealth inequality.

"We are delighted to help Harvard Kennedy School expand its work on the causes and consequences of increasing wealth inequality," Jim Stone said in announcing the new gift. "Taken to its extreme, the trend toward excessive wealth concentration can carry society away from meritocracy, productivity, empathy, mobility, and democratic ideals."

"The new Stone Program will position Harvard to be at the forefront of studying and researching inequality."

MAYA SEN

The Stones presented HKS with a \$5 million gift to establish the James M. and Cathleen D. Stone Program in Wealth Distribution, Inequality, and Social Policy at the Wiener Center. The donation was announced in March, just hours before the economist and Nobel Memorial Prize recipient Joseph Stiglitz took the Forum stage for the most recent Stone Lecture. The new Stone Program, which builds on the success of the Stone PhD Scholars, will unite faculty members, students, and researchers from across Harvard University and beyond to better understand and address the causes and consequences of wealth inequalities in various populations around the world. "The Kennedy School, with its distinguished interdisciplinary faculty, has a special opportunity and role to play in addressing this issue," said Cathy Stone.

The Stone Program will include the work of the Multidisciplinary Program in Inequality and Social Policy and add



The James M. and Cathleen D. Stone Foundation's generous contributions have helped build the School's and the University's programs on economic inequality, including the prestigious Stone Lecture. The Stones (top) were in the audience at HKS in March when Nobel Prize winner Joseph Stiglitz delivered the Stone Lecture. Maya Sen (above), head of the Stone Program, also spoke at the event.

new components, among them a consortium of doctoral students in the social sciences whose research focuses on income and wealth inequality; policy-relevant and public-facing research that speaks to real-world problems; and public events to communicate research results and engage members of the broader community.

"Income inequality and concentrated wealth can leave many people at economic and social disadvantage," said DOUG ELMENDORF, dean and the Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy at HKS. "Appropriate public policy to create a fairer economic system can provide economic opportunity and mobility for people currently deprived of such prospects. The establishment of this program by Jim and Cathy will allow the Kennedy School to build a critical mass of scholars creating evidence-based approaches to this crucial challenge."

Beyond its core components, the Stone Program will expand the reach and impact of its research with a rotating mix of high-profile visiting scholars and a nimble grant program to enable researchers to start projects quickly and efficiently.

"The new Stone Program will position Harvard to be at the forefront of studying and researching inequality," said MAYA SEN, the program's faculty director. "We are thrilled to be able to build on our existing strengths while also helping push the boundaries of research and scholarship with the exciting new opportunities afforded by the Stone Program."



MARTHA STEWART



IT HAD BEEN THREE YEARS since the last in-person commencement. But finally, in May, an HKS graduating class was able to gather again—with their families and friends, with their teachers and with each other—to celebrate. Like those in the two classes that preceded them, the 609 graduates (from 37 U.S. states and 86 countries) had had their lives and their student experience in some way changed by the pandemic. But now, even with some mask wearing, it was time to celebrate a move to the next phase in their lives, as well as something that felt a little closer to normalcy.

PHOTO BY KAYANA SZYMCAK



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Welcome Class of 2022!

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