

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL

magazine

WINTER 2020



CONCERNED CITIZEN

WHO ARE YOUR PEOPLE?

THE ADVOCATE

by the people

DEMOCRACY

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

FORUM

A National Security Crisis Simulation

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|--|---|
| Nicholas Burns Ray and Barbara Charbono Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, U.S. Department of State | Neha Narula Director, Digital Currency Initiative, MIT |
| Ash Carter Baker Professor of Technology and Global Affairs Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense | Meghan L. O'Sullivan James K. Oyster Professor of the Practice of International Affairs Special Assistant and Deputy National Security Advisor for Strategy and Afghanistan |
| Jennifer Fowler Director, International Group Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Treasury for Technical Planning and Financial Crisis, U.S. Treasury Department | Eric Rosenbach Lecturer in Public Policy Co-Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs Chief of Staff, Secretary of Defense, U.S. Department of Defense |
| Gary Gensler Professor of the Practice of Global Economics and Management, Sloan School of Management, MIT Chairman, U.S. Commodity Futures Trading Commission | Lawrence H. Summers Charles W. Eliot University Professor, Harvard University Director, Monetary Research Center for Business and Government Director, National Economic Council Secretary of the Treasury, U.S. Treasury Department |
| Aditi Kumar Executive Director, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs | Richard Verma Vice Chair and Partner, The Asia Group Ambassador to India, U.S. Department of State |

Tuesday, November 19, 2019 6:00pm
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HARVARD Kennedy School INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

JOHN F. KENNEDY JR. FORUM



FOR ONE EVENING IN NOVEMBER, the Forum was remade into the White House Situation Room. The imagined scenario: a crisis in 2021 as North Korea fires a test missile far into the Pacific Ocean, with experts convinced this advance in the country's capabilities was funded by a new Chinese digital currency. The assembled group, which included former Cabinet members and presidential advisers such as Lawrence Summers, Meghan O'Sullivan, and Ash Carter, dove deeply into the substance of the matter. Just as valuable, their firsthand knowledge of how personalities, agendas, and imperfect information play vital roles in decision making.

PHOTO BY MIKE DESTEFANO

WHEN I SPEAK TO PEOPLE ON MY TRAVELS, or to people who are visiting Harvard Kennedy School from across the United States and around the globe, they often ask me what we are doing to strengthen democracy and democratic institutions at a time when they appear to be under threat. In this issue of the magazine, we offer some answers to that important question.

Many of our faculty, students, alumni, and staff are committed to making democracy count. We have efforts underway to increase civic participation, strengthen democratic institutions, train leaders to be more responsive to their citizens, and improve accuracy in the media and the public sphere. All of these elements are crucial to a healthy democracy, and our efforts bring together knowledgeable members of the Kennedy School community with concerned political and civic leaders from outside the School.



In this issue, you can read essays by some of our faculty members whose scholarship and professional experience bear on democracy. These essays represent a range of perspectives and academic disciplines—covering redistricting, increased polarization and the rise of populism, racial inequality, misinformation in the media, and more. We have gathered these wide-ranging essays together under the title “By the People,” evoking President Abraham Lincoln’s appeal in the Gettysburg Address that “government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.”

This issue’s alumni stories also underscore the power of civic participation. Nisreen Haj Ahmad MC/MPA 2008 is teaching community groups in the Arab world about organizing—drawing on what she learned from Marshall Ganz, the Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society at the Kennedy School. Christina Fletes MPA 2016 is striving to increase democratic participation in the United States as a California-based voting rights lawyer. And Manivannan Ponniah MC/MPA 2019 has found creative ways to increase citizen participation in Bangalore, India, using his experience as an Adrian Cheng Fellow at the Kennedy School’s Social Innovation + Change Initiative.

I hope you enjoy reading about the varied ways that Harvard Kennedy School is examining and improving democracy and democratic institutions in the United States and across the world.

I wish you all the best for 2020.

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

Associate Dean for
Communications and Public Affairs
Thoko Moyo

Managing Editor
Nora Delaney

Editor
Robert O’Neill

Director of Alumni Relations
Karen Bonadio

Designers
Janet Friskey
Raychel Casey
Rachel Harris

Contributing Writers
Andrew Faught
Mari Megias
Ralph Ranalli
James F. Smith
Gayathri Vaidyanathan

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Lane Press

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MARTHA STEWART



The daughter of Nicaraguan immigrants, voting rights lawyer Christina Fletes MPA 2016 remembers having to translate for her parents during parent-teacher conferences. “I’ve always had to fight or advocate for people,” she says.

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Cover: *March for Our Lives, 2018*
by Shannon Finney; type treatment
by Delane Meadows

MAKE DEMOCRACY COUNT

Efforts to **MAKE DEMOCRACY COUNT** are underway across Harvard Kennedy School. Many faculty members and programs focus on increasing citizen participation, strengthening democratic institutions, training leaders to be more responsive to their citizens, and improving transparency and accuracy in the media and the public sphere.

- FACULTY
- CLASS
- ▲ PROJECT

- **Archon Fung** *Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government* studies public participation, deliberation, and transparency
- ▲ **Harvard Votes Challenge** increases voter registration on campus
- **Khalil Muhammad** *Professor of History, Race and Public Policy* examines the intersections of race, democracy, inequality, and criminal justice in modern U.S. history
- **Jane Mansbridge** *Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values* studies representation, democratic deliberation, and everyday activism
- **Marshall Ganz** *Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society* teaches social movements

- **Organizing: People, Power, Change** class taught by Marshall Ganz
- **Miles Rapoport** *Senior Practice Fellow in American Democracy* and visiting faculty member **E.J. Dionne** explore universal participation policies such as compulsory voting
- **Cornell Williams Brooks** *Professor of the Practice of Public Leadership and Social Justice* explores making democracy more racially inclusive
- ▲ **The Making Democracy Count Seminar Series** examines ways to strengthen democracy and public participation in government

- **The Politics of the Press** class taught by Nancy Gibbs
- **Arthur Applbaum** *Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values* studies political legitimacy and civil disobedience
- **Dissent and Disobedience in Democracies** class taught by Arthur Applbaum
- **Julia Minson** *Associate Professor of Public Policy* studies how people engage with opinions, judgments, and decisions that are different from their own
- **Matthew Baum** *Marvin Kalb Professor of Global Communications* examines the role of the mass media and public opinion in contemporary America
- **Thomas Patterson** *Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press* studies the media and elections
- **Democracy, Politics, and Institutions** class taught by Thomas Patterson
- **Joan Donovan** *Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy* studies how social movements, political parties, governments, and corporations shape media narratives
- **Media Manipulation and Disinformation Campaigns** class taught by Joan Donovan
- **Christopher Robichaud** *Senior Lecturer in Ethics and Public Policy* studies the role of truth and knowledge in democracies
- **Ignorance, Lies, Hogwash, and Humbug: The Value of Truth and Knowledge in Democracies** class taught by Christopher Robichaud

- ▲ **The Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative** trains mayors and senior city leaders from across the country and around the world to be more responsive to citizens' needs
- ▲ **The Legislative Negotiation Project** teaches legislators to work together effectively across the aisle
- **Pippa Norris** *Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics* focuses on democracy, public opinion and elections, political communications, and gender politics
- **The Rise of Authoritarian Populism** class taught by Pippa Norris
- **Arthur Brooks** *Professor of the Practice of Public Leadership* builds dialogue across the ideological spectrum
- **Democratic Leadership Skills: Managing Self and Others** class taught by Arthur Brooks, Archon Fung, Timothy O'Brien, and Robert Wilkinson

- **Alex Keyssar** *Matthew W. Stirling Jr. Professor of History and Social Policy* studies the history of voting and elections
- **History of the U.S. for Policymakers, Activists, and Citizens** class taught by Alex Keyssar
- **Benjamin Schneer** *Assistant Professor of Public Policy* studies political representation in the United States
- **How Decision Makers Translate Public Opinion into Policy Action** class taught by Benjamin Schneer
- **Tarek Masoud** *Professor of Public Policy and Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations* focuses on political development in Arabic-speaking and Muslim-majority countries
- **Political Institutions and Public Policy** class taught by Tarek Masoud, Matthew Baum, Quinton Mayne, and Thomas Patterson
- ▲ **Defending Digital Democracy Project** develops strategies and tools to protect democratic processes from cyber attacks

ENGAGED CITIZENS

MEDIA AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

RESPONSIVE LEADERS

HIGH-QUALITY INSTITUTIONS

Research Briefs

The Physics of Dissent

HOW DO “PEOPLE POWER” movements succeed when only a small number of the people take part? Berthold Beitz Professor in Human Rights and International Affairs **ERICA CHENOWETH**’s recent article in *Nature Human Behavior*, “The Physics of Dissent and the Effects of Movement Momentum,” argues that a basic law of physics—***mass X velocity = momentum***—can be applied to analyze social movements.



Using data about the potential effects of social momentum on sudden leadership changes in African countries from 1990 to 2014, Chenoweth and her coauthor, University of Kent’s Margherita Belgioioso, show that even when participation (mass)

is low, if a social movement is characterized by a large number of protest events in a short span of time (high velocity), it can quickly gain the tremendous momentum needed to effect social change.

The Making of Moral Character

INTENTIONAL CHARACTER DEVELOPMENT has recently become a focus of many schools and applied programs, and research on fostering moral character has been on the rise. According to a new article in the *Journal of Character & Leadership Development* by **DANA BORN**, a lecturer in public policy, this research tends to focus on two areas: moral reasoning, which consists of individuals’ assessment of what is moral in a series of social problems; and moral excellence, which derives from individuals’ character-related values or virtues. “Empirical Assessment: Two Facets of Moral Maturity” explores the two components in detail and uses empirical data to test whether they are linked. Born finds that moral reasoning and moral excellence or moral virtues are not necessarily related—an important distinction in the ongoing conversation about how to foster moral maturity across society.



“Our thesis is that Aristotle’s account of virtue helps to explain the deep connections between good character and authentic leadership... and leadership (of both self and organizations) with purpose.”



The Risky Business of Portrait Painting

ARISTOTLE’S *POETICS* describes a good portrait as “a likeness which is true to life and yet more beautiful.” But throughout the history of commissioned art, both truth and beauty have often taken a back seat to power and political calculus. “Risky Business: Commissioning Portraits in Renaissance Italy,” a new working paper by **RICHARD ZECKHAUSER**, the Frank Plumpton Ramsey Professor of Political Economy, explores the dark underbelly of portraiture in Renaissance Italy and the risks incurred by both patron and painter in commissioning official art. Paintings could be unflattering, unrecognizable, scandalous, judged too ambitious or indecorous, or never show up at all—leading to potential reputational risk and ruin for artists, clergy members, and those in (or trying to ascend to) the highest echelons of power. Zeckhauser and coauthor Jonathan Nelson, an HKS research fellow from Syracuse University Florence, explore several examples of paintings gone wrong—including that of the art world’s favorite mystery woman, the Mona Lisa.



PORTRAITS: MARTHA STEWART | ERIC FEFERBERG

Running out of STEM

SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY, ENGINEERING, AND MATH (STEM) jobs are key to the growth of our national economy and vital to promoting technological innovation worldwide. So why do



STEM workers seem always to be in short supply? Professor of Public Policy **DAVID DEMING**, in his new HKS Faculty Research Working Paper, “STEM Careers and the Changing Skill Requirements of Work,” finds that STEM is characterized by more rapid change and turnover than are other fields of employment. The reason: As technology advances and new skills are required, the skills of older STEM workers become obsolete, leading to a disproportionately younger workforce and a declining rate of return on initially high-value STEM degrees. Deming’s findings provide an explanation for patterns in work and education returns across STEM and highlight the important impact of STEM jobs on the diffusion of new technology across the labor market.

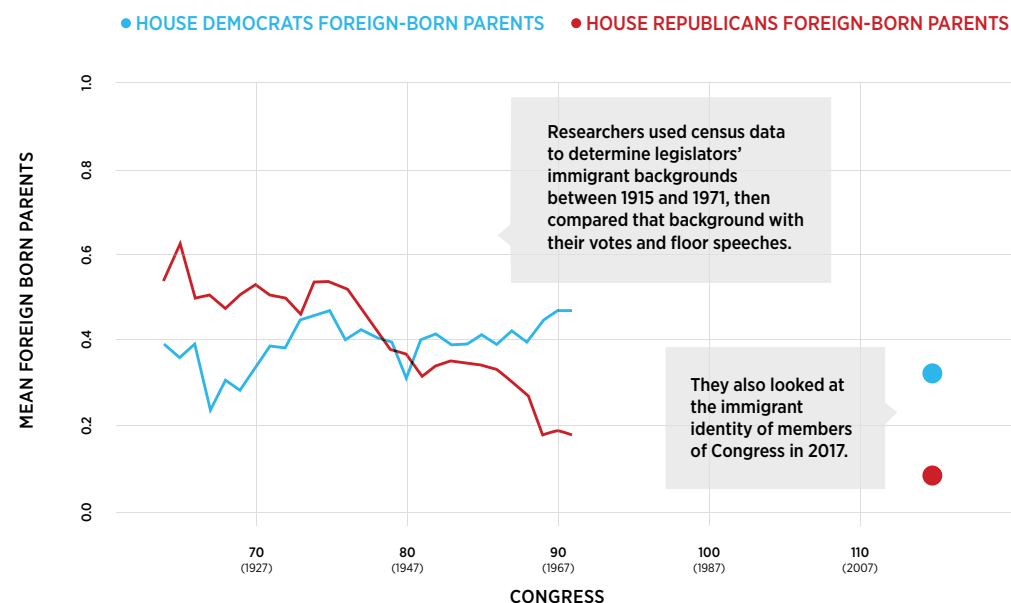


GETTY IMAGES



Notion of Immigrants

DOES RECENT IMMIGRANT LINEAGE INFLUENCE the legislative behavior of members of Congress? It’s an important question as the “nation of immigrants” struggles to craft and implement fair and humane immigration policy. In “‘Descended from Immigrants and Revolutionists’: How Family Immigration History Shapes Representation in Congress,” Assistant Professor of Public Policy **BENJAMIN SCHNEER** and two coauthors look to the past to better understand how legislators’ immigrant backgrounds affected their behavior, using census data to infer immigrant identity and poring over more than five decades’ worth of congressional votes and floor speeches from 1915 to 1971—a period that included the closing of the border in the 1920s and the reshaping of immigration law in 1965. They found that members of Congress born abroad, or whose parents or grandparents were born abroad, voted for pro-immigration policies more often than those further removed from the immigrant experience, even when the makeup of their districts or their ideologies would have predicted otherwise. The results, the researchers say, shed light on current political dynamics. As on so much else, the parties have diverged, and Democrats are considerably closer to the immigrant experience than Republicans, which helps explain why immigration policy does not enjoy the bipartisan support it once did.



Deflating Standardized Tests

IN A SYSTEM that increasingly measures educational quality by test scores, the stakes for standardized exams have become incredibly high, in many cases affecting rates of high school graduation, school closures and funding levels, grade retention (students repeating a year), and educator pay. “The Causes and Consequences of Test Score Manipulation: Evidence from the New York Regents Examinations,” published in the *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, finds that New York’s high school exit exams were plagued by extensive and widespread score manipulation. Professor of Public Policy **WILL DOBBIE** and coauthors found that this manipulation had both helpful and harmful effects: Score inflation increased students’ probability of graduating from high school by nearly 17 percent, but decreased their likelihood of taking more-advanced classes by nearly 10 percent. The findings add to an ongoing conversation about the realities of standardized testing and its effects on the overall performance of students across the public school system.





ALUMNI

Built for this Moment

JOE GOLDMAN MPP 2003 has been working on democracy, in one way or another, for much of his life. You could say it started when he helped design an electoral process at his suburban Chicago high school, continued during college when he began working in the field of public deliberations, and went from there, as he established his credentials in the field, connecting public voices to decision making. Then in 2010, frustrated by the siloed approach to pro-democracy work and alarmed by the loss of faith in democratic institutions, he joined forces with eBay founder Pierre Omidyar, eventually creating the Democracy Fund, a foundation devoted to supporting and connecting bipartisan work that ranges from electoral access to transparency to sustainable journalism. Like the organization that he leads, Goldman seems built for the moment.

What moved you to create the Democracy Fund?

If you solve the problem of public dialogue and deliberation, democracy isn't fixed. If you solve money in politics, democracy isn't fixed. If you solve the journalism business model, it's not fixed. You need to make progress in all of these areas to make it work better. And I think as I got exposed to larger parts of the democracy field, I just began to recognize how interconnected these pieces were and that all of these fields were starving for resources.

You saw the big picture earlier than most.

I often tell people I understand how a climate scientist must feel who spent a couple of decades warning people about rising carbon levels and saying something bad is going to happen. I think I, and many others in this field, spent a long time worrying about what the long-term consequences are when you have very low public trust in democratic institutions.

“Being bipartisan does not mean being neutral. A healthy democracy requires at least two healthy parties.”

I think people are now aware of that at a different level than they used to be. ... I definitely feel that the Democracy Fund is an institution that was built for this moment, not knowing that this moment was necessarily coming.

How do you resist focusing on the crisis of the moment?

We focus on the short term and the long term. In the short term, this is an institution that feels like it needs to stand up to deeply authoritarian threats and is going to speak out about it and call out bad actors. At the same time, we recognize that the problems facing the country and our democracy did not just start a few years ago and are not going to be long gone if an administration changes. We need to be able to work both in the short and long term. I see us as weaving together a kind of fabric of this broader movement of people who are of standing

up for democratic norms and democratic ideals.

Why is it important to fund projects from across the political spectrum?

You know, being bipartisan does not mean being neutral. A healthy democracy requires at least two healthy parties. And we certainly want to cultivate that and we think that it's always really useful to be able to listen to others and to get broader support behind laws and institutions. And at the end of the day, we stand for a set of values and we have articulated what those core beliefs are. And if you share those values, we want to work with you. And if you offend some of those values, we'll call you out on it. In an environment where polarization is a deep problem in the system, I think it's valuable to have to be able to work across the aisle and have relationships with folks across the aisle.

CAMPUS

Speak Bravely, Listen Generously

HARVARD KENNEDY SCHOOL is home to transformative policy ideas, groundbreaking research, and world-renowned faculty and experts. It's tough to think of a better place for engrossing, in-depth conversations about the big challenges facing our world and ways to address them. That's where POLICYCAST comes in. Throughout the academic year, host Thoko Moyo, the associate dean for communications and public affairs, brings you engaging discussions with HKS faculty, researchers, and visiting experts on policy, public leadership, democratic governance, human rights, media, and international affairs.

The official podcast of Harvard Kennedy School, PolicyCast has aired more than 140 episodes and has been downloaded more than 1 million times since it first launched in 2011. Past guests have included HKS professors and researchers, as well as visiting fellows and special guests such as Ban Ki-moon, Madeleine Albright, Drew Gilpin Faust, and Lin-Manuel Miranda.

PolicyCast has also established a significant footprint in the policy community and has been named one of the “15 Indispensable Podcasts” by *Slate* magazine. It also has a broad reach: More than 40 percent of PolicyCast listeners live outside the United States, and there are significant audiences in China, the U.K., Japan, Canada, and Australia. New episodes are posted regularly.

Check us out at hks.harvard.edu/policycast or on your favorite podcasting app.



NATALE MONTANER



Professor Robert Stavins taping an episode of PolicyCast in December.

WASHINGTON POST/FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY LIVE PROGRAM

FACULTY

A Greater Reach



THE PUBLIC LEADERSHIP CREDENTIAL (PLC) is Harvard Kennedy School's new nondegree online learning program for mid-career professionals. DAN LEVY, a senior lecturer in public policy and the program's faculty director, shared his thoughts about PLC.

What was the impetus for developing PLC?

Technology has now matured to the point where we felt we could finally do justice in an online environment to the ideas and teaching we are known for. We have always strived to help our students make a positive impact in solving public problems, and remote teaching technology now allows us to expand our reach and bring HKS to the world in a way that was not feasible before.

Do you have typical students in mind?

Successful mid-career professionals who want to improve their communities and the world around them and who for whatever reason—professional, financial, personal—cannot come to the Kennedy School for a year or two to get one of our residential master's degrees. They have to be willing to devote about 10 hours a week to the course they enroll in.

With the explosion of online learning in the past few years, what makes PLC special?

Our team of faculty and staff members have put the learner at the center in a way that feels more deliberate than some other online efforts. The courses involve real work tackling real-world problems. They are led by three excellent faculty members who did not just transfer existing residential courses to an online format but instead built them from the ground up. The learners get real-time feedback from us on their work. If they successfully complete the six courses plus a capstone, they get the PLC credential. And if they then choose to apply to our MC/MPA program and are admitted, their PLC courses count for credit, so they can spend less time on campus to get the master's degree. Even for learners who don't end up getting the master's degree here, the fact that we are willing to grant residential credit for these courses shows that we are serious about the education they get in the PLC courses.

How does the program use the Kennedy School's learning methods?

One of the facets we are very proud of is that our faculty and learning designers worked very hard and creatively to bring the Kennedy School's signature pedagogies to the online format. Three key approaches we use are case studies, simulations, and group work. Effectively enabling each of these online required thinking carefully about the comparative advantages of the online environment.

What do you hope learners will get out of the program?

We hope they get what we hope all our students get from the Kennedy School: an improved ability and commitment to advance the public good so that people across the United States and around the world can live in safer, freer, more just, and more prosperous societies.

For more information visit onlinelearning.hks.harvard.edu.

MARTHA STEWART



A REFORMER, INTERRUPTED

Moldovan politician Maia Sandu MC/MPA 2010 surprised everyone but herself when she became prime minister. She attacked corruption and began to rebuild institutions in her country until her coalition government was toppled by the old guard. But she's not done yet.

BY JAMES F. SMITH

JOINING ONE-THIRD OF THE ADULTS IN MOLDOVA, Europe's poorest country, Maia Sandu MC/MPA 2010 left home a decade ago to pursue education and opportunity abroad, earning a Harvard Kennedy School degree and then working for the World Bank in Washington. But unlike most young Moldovans, she went back, determined to use her education and management skills to repair a corrupt political system that was destroying her homeland.

Within a few years, the young technocrat joined the Cabinet, established a pro-European political party, ran for president (narrowly losing), and then, last June, engineered an unlikely coalition that made her prime minister of the small former Soviet republic, sandwiched between Ukraine and Romania. In office, she confronted billionaire oligarchs and pro-Russian Socialists who had vied with one another for control over government coffers.

Sandu's tenure as prime minister ended in November, after just five months; her foes ousted her through a no-confidence vote when she refused to back down from recruiting an independent chief prosecutor to fight corruption and enforce the law. But she remains defiantly

determined to bring her country fully into Europe and into a more hopeful future.

"I will definitely continue the fight," Sandu told *HKS Magazine* following her ouster. "The situation in my country is difficult, especially because voters who believe in democracy continue to emigrate, but I am still hopeful for Moldova and will work hard to contribute to building a democratic country, with good governance."

Sandu broke onto Moldova's national—and fractious—political stage immediately after returning from the United States in 2012. She was appointed education minister—and quickly showed her resolve to modernize her homeland. She enacted numerous reforms, including installing video cameras in exam rooms to end widespread cheating; bribes to educators went down 50 percent, according to one study. Sandu infuriated vested interests but won growing public admiration.

Frustrated by the entrenched corruption she witnessed, she founded a new political party—the Party of Action and Solidarity—in 2015 and ran for president a year later, drawing 48 percent of the vote in the

runoff. Her party became a credible force in Parliament in the reformist pro-European bloc.

After inconclusive parliamentary elections in February 2019, Sandu forged a coalition with the old-guard, pro-Russian Socialists. Their shared goal was to squeeze out the wealthy oligarch Vladimir Plahotniuc, whose ruling party was accused of living off theft from nearly every public institution. Moldovans endured a weeklong constitutional crisis in June, with her foes blockading government buildings. Sandu stood firm, and a court ruling prompted Plahotniuc and several allies to back down and leave the country in their private jets. Sandu became prime minister, vowing to pursue a policy of "de-oligarchization."

In an interview with *HKS Magazine* in Washington in September, she recalled the tense days of recruiting technocrats and expatriates to join her cabinet. (For the first time in Moldova, the cabinet had more women than men.) Some said yes because they were certain that Sandu would never take office. "I think I was the only one who believed there was a chance for this government to happen," she said.

The challenges were immense from the outset. In one especially notorious corruption case, discovered in 2014, \$1 billion was pilfered from three Moldovan banks, forcing a government bailout. No one has been charged.

"It is about making people believe again in their country," Sandu said when asked to describe her top priority. Citizens watched the bank theft unfold, "and then nobody is held responsible, not one single cent is recovered in four years," she said. "People stop believing in the state, in the country. Why would somebody want to open a business, pay taxes, in a country that allows these things to happen?"

During that September visit, Sandu spoke for 25 minutes without notes at a forum hosted jointly by the International Republican Institute (IRI) and the National Democratic Institute in Washington. She outlined the obstacles and explained her strategy for overcoming them. Soft-spoken but direct and blunt, she described the scale of the graft in government agencies. She needed to cleanse the court system of corrupt judges; she faced a separatist movement in Transnistria; Ukraine's dispute with Russia could lead to a cutoff of natural gas supplies this winter; previous controls on the media linger in ways that diminish open debate. "But I believe the stronger the institutions, the less vulnerable we are in the face of the external risks," she said.

After she was toppled from office, she pointed to some significant victories during her rule. "We started to clean up government institutions, state-owned enterprise, health care, and other sectors from pervasive corruption and shameless extraction of rent," she told a European political convention in Croatia a week after she left office. "We broke down illegal monopolies that were suffocating the economy. We stopped huge flows of smuggling in tobacco products."

Still, she knew she was fighting powerful forces—even within her coalition. Finally, the Socialist Party broke with her and brought an early end to the experiment. As she explained it, the power brokers could not stomach the idea of a truly independent judiciary that would investigate and prosecute those who stole from the people.

"We scared them with our uncompromising approach to fighting

corruption, and they took down our government," she said. "But we have managed to rid the country of one authoritarian leader and we will do it again. The people will no longer accept to live in an oppressive, corrupt regime, which takes away their fundamental rights."

American specialists on Eastern Europe, normally skeptical of promises of change in the region, had expressed surprise and admiration as Sandu rose to leadership. "She took the helm at a very challenging time because of how divided the country is between those who look to Moscow, those who look to line their own pockets, and those who look to Europe," said Damon Wilson, vice president of the Atlantic Council. Sandu draws on more than an HKS education and World Bank training, Wilson said: "She's got an extraordinarily strong moral compass and sense of purpose. What some people saw as potentially a liability—that she would be almost too honest, too earnest, almost too good—is her ultimate strength."

“We scared them with our uncompromising approach to fighting corruption, and they took down our government. But we have managed to rid the country of one authoritarian leader and we will do it again.”

MAIA SANDU



Sandu said in September that she knew she was making a high-stakes gamble by aligning with the Socialists but felt that public patience was running out. "I just knew this was our last chance, because if we let the previous regime continue, fewer and fewer activists would have been willing to expose themselves and stay with us. So this was a critical moment, and we had to use it."

She smiled when she remembered her time at Harvard. "That was the best year," she said. "Harvard helped me realize you should not get disappointed. We have to understand that development takes time, and we have to kind of sequence our expectations. It helped me a lot, in terms of leadership skills, analytical skills, but also putting things into perspective, and not getting disappointed and insisting on things."



ESSAYS ON

DEMOCRACY *by the people*

By

Archon Fung

Nancy Gibbs

Tarek Masoud

Julia Minson

Cornell William Brooks

Jane Mansbridge

Arthur Brooks

Pippa Norris

Benjamin Schneer

POLITICAL EVENTS IN RECENT YEARS have overturned prior certainties such as the dominance of moderates on the left or the right, respect for expertise and regard for truth, and a presumption of friendship rather than enmity between compatriots. The rule of incumbent politicians and parties has given way to insurgents fighting against the old order of policy and politics in the United States and around the world. These insurgents have elevated notions that were unacceptable in political discourse just a few years ago: Brexit, walling out immigrants, a universal basic income, and wealth taxes.

The basic terms of democratic governance are shifting before our eyes, and we don't know what the future holds. Some fear the rise of hateful populism and the collapse of democratic norms and practices. Others see opportunities for marginalized people and groups to exercise greater voice and influence. At the Kennedy School, we are striving to produce ideas and insights to meet these great uncertainties and to help make democratic governance successful in the future. In the pages that follow, you can read about the varied ways our faculty members think about facets of democracy and democratic institutions and our students work to make democracy better in practice.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY
GISELA GOPPEL

WE VOTED

Archon Fung

A VIBRANT DEMOCRACY depends on robust electoral participation. That is not what we have, but it is what we must aspire to. Though some hold up the United States as a beacon of democracy, the country's electoral participation is relatively feeble: In the 2016 general elections, it was 56 percent of the voting age population. In other words, people who didn't vote greatly outnumber those who voted for the winning presidential candidate.

In fact, the United States compares poorly with other countries in this regard. In the most recent national election, turnout was 87 percent in Belgium, 79 percent in Australia, and 68 percent in France. Among the 36 developed democracies that make up the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, America ranks 28th in voter turnout.

There was a time when some political scientists thought that low participation was a sign that people were satisfied with how their society was being governed. Whether or not that was ever the case, few would be so sanguine about low engagement today. Many decades of research have firmly established that people who are white, better educated, and have higher incomes tend to vote more often than those who don't enjoy socioeconomic advantages. Although political inequality has many other sources, such as lobbying and in-group connections, equalizing influence at the ballot box would be an excellent first step in addressing it.

Americans who don't vote have significantly different views from those who do. Research has shown, for example, that nonvoters are substantially more likely than voters to think that government should guarantee jobs and health insurance and that union organizing should be made easier, and less likely to think that abortion should always be legal. Furthermore, many Americans don't vote because they think their vote makes no difference, they don't trust politicians and political parties, and they don't like the choices that the major parties offer.

Achieving full participation will require mending these broken ties of trust and real representation. It will require that political leaders and parties offer a range of visions of society, economy, and policy such

that every American finds something compelling, authentic, and valuable in the political process. Because candidates would be competing for the votes of a much larger and more diverse electorate, full participation would increase political competition and compel the creation of policy proposals and relational strategies that resonate and connect with all Americans, not just half of us.

But how can we get there? Many current priorities—the left is focused on removing barriers to voting, voter suppression, and disenfranchisement, while the right hones in on voter fraud and the security and integrity of our electoral machinery—are important, but achieving them would not bring us even close to full participation. That requires a culture of voting, in which every American feels that it is her or his patriotic duty to participate. I believe that this responsibility extends well beyond individuals. Organizations in America—schools and colleges, clubs, churches, and businesses—should also strengthen the civic bonds that our democracy requires. They can start by encouraging their employees, customers, students, and others they touch to participate in elections.

Last year, for example, we launched an effort—the Harvard Votes Challenge—to get all eligible students at the University to register to vote. Though we didn't quite achieve full participation, we registered 93



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percent of eligible students at the Kennedy School. Many other campuses, including the University of Michigan and Yale University, have embraced similar efforts. So have some corporations and organizations. The United Auto Workers has worked with General Motors, Chrysler, and Ford to make Election Day a corporate holiday to encourage voting and poll work. Patagonia has done the same. Many companies—under the banner of Time to Vote—are exploring ways to encourage their customers and employees to participate in elections.

We do not know where full participation will lead, but it might, as the eminent political scientist E. E. Schattschneider wrote more than 40 years ago, “produce the most painless revolution in history, the first revolution ever legalized and legitimized in advance”—one that overturns the “whole balance of power in the political system”—because that balance depends, right now, not only on who votes but, critically, on who does not. We're a long way from achieving that vision of democracy, but America is worth it.

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Archon Fung is the Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government. His research explores policies, practices, and institutional designs that deepen the quality of democratic governance.



TRUTH AND TRUST

Nancy Gibbs

ON ANY GIVEN MORNING IN 2019, you could watch the news and read the polls and conclude that democracy was not designed to survive Facebook. Or Twitter, or WhatsApp, or any of the other channels through which information flows and toxins thrive. Disinformation is nothing new: Lies as tools, lies as weapons, have always challenged a system that depends for success on a certain amount of public trust. But the ease of creating and the speed of spreading bad information outpace our efforts to correct it, which can feel like using tweezers to clean up after a sandstorm. Journalists wrestle with the risk that fact-checking

will disperse nonsense rather than dispel it. Policymakers and technologists square off over rights and responsibilities, even as governments across the world debate where to put the guardrails around our privacy. But institutions are at a disadvantage trying to manage new technologies when people in so many countries don't trust them to do what's right. Even the trust individuals have in one another has suffered through this period of category 5 disruption.

The twin crises of truth and trust are inseparable, making all the challenges of public policy that much more difficult to address. A Pew Research Center study found that two-thirds of Americans think that other Americans have little or no trust in the federal government; a majority believe that trust in individuals as well as institutions is shrinking, and that this will make it harder to solve the nation's problems. An insidious process is at work here: The very awareness of distrust and growing cynicism about government's ability to promote progress leads to disengagement. The more people turn away from a common public sphere to their own curated

information streams, the greater the likelihood of political conflict, division, and misunderstanding.

The trust crisis flows downstream from larger challenges around inequality. We know that the gap between rich and poor has widened in health, life expectancy, and education, so maybe it's not surprising that the Edelman Trust Barometer registered a widening of the "trust gap" in 2019. In its global annual survey, the "informed public"—college-educated, with incomes in the top quartile—reported general trust in institutions that was 16 points higher than that of the "mass public." Trust becomes one more luxury good, allowing some citizens to engage in public debate with greater confidence and conviction than others.

I should confess my own bias, as a 30-year veteran of mainstream "legacy" media and its journey through this same polluted and polarized landscape. While never perfect and sometimes arrogant, journalists have tried to operate in a common space of authoritative information where debates over the impact of tariffs or the safety of vaccines or the effects of fossil fuels are anchored in research and evidence. As newsrooms shrink, and attention shifts to other platforms, the mission of journalists to inform citizens and hold leaders accountable for solving ever-more complex problems becomes increasingly difficult.

That is why our work at the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy is broad, interdisciplinary, and focused on the informational foundations of democracy. We have to promote "good" information and, at the same time, combat "bad" information to rebuild faith in a common purpose and promote the common good. Through



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Journalist's Resource—a site that curates and summarizes research related to news topics—and our fellowships, panels, and publications, we give journalists and policymakers access to the best research to deepen their understanding of confounding issues. And through research in disinformation and media manipulation, we dissect the ways bad actors use new techniques to damage public discourse and disrupt those looking to promote change. Among our senior fellows are veteran policymakers who are analyzing proposals, both regulatory and legislative, for managing this new information ecosystem. All these pieces must fit together; like air and water and weather, our information environment is something we experience collectively as well as individually. Trust is what allows us to take risks, to explore and exchange ideas, to honestly weigh options on the merits rather than judge them only by their partisan seasoning.

All over the Kennedy School, and the University and others like it, scholars are testing their visions for solving our most perplexing problems. If we can't share the insights they gain, if policymakers can't leverage their expertise, and if citizens can't trust the possibility of progress, this extraordinary house we've been building together for more than 240 years will slowly become uninhabitable. Trust and truth aren't the only things that matter in a democracy, but no democracy can survive without them.

—
Nancy Gibbs is the Lombard Director of the Shorenstein Center and the visiting Edward R. Murrow Professor of Practice of Press, Politics and Public Policy. Until September 2017, she was editor in chief of TIME.

One group of scholars held that the dichotomy was due to differences in education and living standards: In the West, affluent people with high degrees of literacy were less racked by the distributional conflicts that made democracy hard to sustain, and more able to take part in the reasoned debate and compromise that are at the heart of the democratic enterprise. Another group of scholars held that the reasons for the difference were cultural: The West was the beneficiary of traditions, religious and otherwise, that valorized the individual and cemented her inviolability in the face of state power; whereas elsewhere, people imbibed collectivist and theocratic belief systems that rendered democracy either inconceivable or illegitimate. These are, of course, not the only explanations offered for why "we" had democracy and "they" didn't, but they more or less limn the boundaries of the universe of explanations on offer.

As a scholar of the Arab world—a region with 450 million people, only 10 million of whom today live in what we might call a democracy—I have always found these arguments unsatisfying at best and offensive at worst. In particular, I am troubled by claims that democracy is the natural outgrowth of values and beliefs abundant in the West and deficient in the East. After all, my experience of the Arab world has been of a region in which citizens and activists have for the past 50 years pounded a steady drumbeat of demands for freedom, dignity, and social justice. The beat has been louder at some times than at others, but it has always been present—and has always, in my view, given the lie to the notion that non-Western people somehow want democracy less or are less able to imagine it. And although most Arabs have yet to convert their democratic yearnings into genuinely democratic institutions, others outside the advanced industrialized West have done so. Indians, Indonesians, Mongolians, Namibians, Botswanans, Ghanaians, Senegalese, and South Africans have all managed to get and keep democracy.

Today, as many in the West are reeling from what they see as a daily stream of indignities visited upon their democratic values and institutions, the notion that democracy is something the West figured out seems especially quaint. As our Harvard colleagues Steven Levitsky and Daniel Ziblatt—authors of the remarkable 2018 book *How Democracies Die*—remind us, even "consolidated" democracies can suddenly find themselves slouching toward authoritarianism. When politicians care more about staying in power than about respecting the rules of democratic competition, and when citizens suspend their critical faculties and give themselves over to their worst tribal instincts, even the hoariest of

constitutional safeguards will prove no stronger than the paper on which they are printed. One need only cast a glance at Hungary, in which a democratically elected leader seems to be dismantling a democratic edifice with remarkable efficiency, to grasp how democracies once deemed impregnable can prove eminently vulnerable.

But although the newly discovered fragility of democracy in the United States and some parts of Europe has put paid to the naive dichotomization of the world into the democratic West and the rest, it has put back on the table for scholars of democracy everywhere the question of whether democracy's emergence and survival require that citizens and leaders possess certain values, beliefs, and skills. As has been argued by Scott Mainwaring, my former codirector of the Kennedy School's program Democracy in Hard Places and one of the most gifted scholars of Latin America, democracy endures only to the extent that leaders value it. Only when politicians care so much about democracy that they would be willing to sacrifice their fondest policy goals in order to maintain it, can we bet on its survival. But it is not just leaders whose democratic values and virtues we need to worry about. As our colleague Archon Fung has argued, democracy is unlikely to be long for this world if citizens are unable to distinguish lies from truth, or if they lack the capacity to properly assign credit or blame for the policies that affect their lives.

For a scholar of the developing world, such claims—made routinely today by American scholars writing about America—lead to some uncomfortable places. One cannot, after all, argue that democracy in the United States is endangered by President Trump's disregard for democratic norms and procedures, or by his supporters' inability or unwillingness to sort the president's fictions from facts, while refusing to entertain the possibility that similar phenomena inhibit democracy in the non-Western world. And although this means that we must once again entertain questions of whether this or that country's democratic deficit is attributable to such things as a lack of democratic culture and liberal values and the relative sophistication of its citizens, our newfound recognition that no society has a lock on these things is likely to lead us to better and more-useful answers.

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Tarek Masoud is a professor of public policy and the Sultan of Oman Professor of International Relations and the faculty chair of the Middle East Initiative. His research focuses on political development in Arabic-speaking and Muslim-majority countries.



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Tarek Masoud

A FRAGILE STATE

Tarek Masoud

PRIOR TO THE ELECTION OF DONALD TRUMP, and the current season of hand-wringing about democracy's prospects for survival in the United States and Europe, Western social scientists tended to think of democracy as something "we" had achieved and "they"—that is, the peoples of the so-called developing world—had yet to grasp. The hypothesized reasons for this gap between "us" and "them" were many.



YASSINE GAIDI/ANADOLU AGENCY

JUST LISTEN

Julia Minson

WHEN YOU THINK ABOUT HAVING A CONVERSATION with someone on the opposite end of the political spectrum, does it make your blood boil? Does the anticipation of how angry and frustrated you will feel lead you to avoid such a conversation? Do you suspect that if you got into it, you would thoroughly destroy your opponent's arguments?

In my work as a decision scientist, I have focused on the psychology of disagreement and how people engage with opinions, judgments, and decisions that are different from their own. In dozens of experiments with thousands of people, I have found that many expectations people hold about disagreements are wrong.

Democracies are made healthier, and function better, when citizens listen to and understand a wide range of views—both those they agree with and those they don't. However, American political discourse has become increasingly polarized. Deliberately or not, people often place themselves in a partisan echo chamber where they consume only those views that support their pre-existing beliefs. This means not only reading and listening to partisan media, but also maintaining relationships and having political conversations only with friends, relatives, and colleagues who are likely to agree with them.

All these choices may be based on people's expectations of how a potential experience will make them and their counterparts feel. After all, who wants to be miserable and ruin relationships? Avoiding certain people or certain news networks seems like a small price to pay for protection from negativity.

However, research I have done with Harvard colleagues has led to important insights about people's expectations regarding the emotional consequences of conflict. It turns out that people are bad at forecasting both their own and their counterparts' feelings. These incorrect predictions lead to two kinds of mistakes: First, people avoid views they disagree with; second, they expect to win arguments that they probably cannot.

In a series of studies I conducted with Charlie



If you think you are right, you assume that your political opponents will be embarrassed and anxious when the flaws in their arguments are exposed. What people misjudge, however, is that their opponents are likely to feel the same way.

—
Julia Minson

Dorison PHD PPOL 2020, we asked people to report the emotions they feel in conflict and those they think their partners will feel. If they have accurate perceptions, the answers to both questions should be the same: A typical person should realize that the one disagreed with is also typical. We found that irritation and anger are the principal emotions people feel during arguments. Meanwhile, they expect their conversation partners to feel much more anxiety and fear than they report feeling themselves. This prediction comes from a mistaken belief that our views are valid and defensible while our opponents' are shoddy and wrong.

If you think you are right, you assume that your political opponents will be embarrassed and anxious when the flaws in their arguments are exposed. What people misjudge, however, is that their opponents are likely to feel the same way—that they are right and their interlocutors are misguided. In our experiments, we find that when people hold such biased beliefs, they are willing to bet money on winning an argument. Of course, when both sides do this, one is bound to lose.

So does this mean that it's useless to talk to people we disagree with? Not necessarily. Other research I have done with Dorison and Todd Rogers, a professor of public policy at Harvard Kennedy School, has shown that people assume that being exposed to conflicting views will make them feel much worse than it actually does. The emotions they report after listening to an opponent are less negative than what they expected going into the experience.

Because people don't want to feel what they anticipate to be unpleasant emotions, they tend to seek out media and conversation partners that support their beliefs. This tendency is called selective exposure, and it leads to echo chambers, worsening polarization and potentially undermining democracy. If we expose ourselves to differing views about political issues, however, we can make better-informed decisions and be part of a greater marketplace of ideas. We can break out of the echo chamber and learn something new.

My colleagues and I find that correcting the erroneous forecasts that lead to selective exposure is not very difficult. For example, in one experiment, we simply explained to participants that in previous studies, people didn't end up disliking listening to the other side as much as they had expected. These participants were then more willing to read information from opposing politicians. They

still preferred their own side, of course, but their openness to learning about opposing arguments went up by 20 to 30 percent.

This research gives me hope. If people learn that hearing opposing views won't be as bad as they expect, we may be able to increase contact across the aisle, making our democracy healthier. Actively engaging with opposing views might make us realize that both sides have some merit, and might reduce vitriolic, unwinnable arguments. Having an accurate understanding of how people feel in conflict should help us all listen more and argue less.

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Julia Minson is an associate professor of public policy. She is a social psychologist with research interests in conflict, negotiations, and judgment and decision making.



MARTHA STEWART

DEMOCRACY BEHIND BARS

Cornell William Brooks

NEARLY 6 MILLION AMERICANS WITH CRIMINAL RECORDS including incarceration are denied the opportunity to vote. Not only are these citizens legally prevented from voting, but the right to vote and democracy itself are incarcerated—behind bars of racially motivated, antebellum, and morally antiquated laws that affect voters across race, class, and gender today. Campaigns to re-enfranchise those returning from prison, “returning citizens,” offer powerful lessons on high-impact advocacy for leaders at Harvard and beyond.

One state, in particular, illustrates the impact of felony disenfranchisement on the voting rights of returning citizens and democracy itself. For decades, the state of Florida led the nation with the harshest laws. Following the end of the Civil War and the beginning of Reconstruction, legal provisions were codified in the 1868 Florida Constitution, which automatically excluded felons from voting. Petty crimes (such as stealing a case of fruit or a gold button) for which black people were disproportionately prosecuted—otherwise known as “Black Codes”—could result in

permanently losing the right to vote. The Black Codes were preceded by the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which abolished slavery or involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. As a consequence, the felony disenfranchisement provisions of Florida's Constitution, in combination with the U.S. Constitution's punishment clause, enabled one of the most draconian means of voter suppression—in one of the most consequential states in American presidential elections.

The degree of harm to democracy in Florida in particular and in America generally may be measured by the depth of the impact on African American voters and the breadth of the effect on voters in the state. Felony disenfranchisement has resulted in 10 percent of all Floridians, or 1.4 million prospective voters, permanently losing the right to vote. In fact, felony-disenfranchised Floridians represent more than 25 percent of the 6 million Americans robbed of the right to vote.

Florida's Reconstruction-era effort to disenfranchise former slaves, 150 years ago, reduces the size of the American electorate and the reach of democracy today. The impact of felony disenfranchisement on black Floridians is disproportionate and deep. Despite the fact that African Americans make up 16 percent of Florida's population, more than 20 percent of citizens who have lost their right to vote in Florida are African American.

The power of franchise restoration, in many cases, is at the discretion of each gubernatorial

administration, which may craft clemency rules to restore voting rights to returning citizens. For instance, under Governor Rick Scott, who served from 2011 to 2019, Florida only allowed a restoration of returning citizens' voting rights five to seven years after their release, with satisfactory completion of parole and payment of restitution. These rules were the most restrictive in several administrations, according to the Brennan Center for Justice. A federal district court judge in Tallahassee ruled that "the unfettered discretion that the [Florida] Clemency Board possesses" violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

In 2018, we witnessed the culmination of a robust campaign to undo the legacy of felony disenfranchisement in Florida, led by grassroots organizations such as the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition and Floridians for a Fair Democracy. The most prominent among these advocates was Desmond Meade, a returning citizen and president of the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition. Meade worked with other organizations to draft Amendment 4, which restored the right to vote for people with felony convictions, except those convicted of murder or sexual assault. Meade and multitudes of returning citizens used a diverse array of advocacy strategies—moral framing, policy prescription and analysis, coalition building, grassroots organizing, polling, and petition drives—to build a groundswell movement of liberal and conservative allies to pass Amendment 4 through a statewide referendum.

To de-incarcerate the vote and democracy demands a variety of tools, disciplines, and



The voting suppression crisis in our democracy should compel Harvard, the Trotter Collaborative, and the country to consider the past to face the present.

—
Cornell William Brooks

approaches. To be sure, the threats that imperil the franchise are intersectional (race, class, and gender) and require an interdisciplinary response (law, policy, the arts, and morality). A coalition of not only black and brown men as well as poor people with criminal records, but people of all backgrounds supported the multipronged campaign—responding to a message focused on "love, forgiveness, and redemption."

This is the breadth and depth of learning about advocacy that the William Monroe Trotter Collaborative for Social Justice in Harvard Kennedy School's Center for Public Leadership seeks to support students at the School, other graduate and professional schools, and Harvard College. The Trotter Collaborative is an interdisciplinary initiative that brings students, staff, and faculty together to work with advocacy organizations across America.

The Trotter Collaborative, as a social justice public policy clinic, seeks: first and most important, to assist in teaching hard and soft interdisciplinary advocacy skills; second, to leverage Harvard's considerable analytic capital to inform grassroots organizations across America; third, to equip those organizations to address intersectional injustices with interdisciplinary tools for justice; and fourth, to empower students and others to craft evidence-based justice reforms that impact and even inspire.

The voting suppression crisis in our democracy should compel Harvard, the Trotter Collaborative, and the country to consider the past to face the present. Imagine two prisoners, arrestees with mugshots 7089 and 7053, losing their right to vote forever. As a consequence of their civil disobedience during the Montgomery bus boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Louise Parks were arrested and convicted of breaking city racial segregation ordinances in Montgomery, Alabama.

It is morally inconceivable that King and Parks could have gone to their graves as voteless, third-class citizens. Today, we can imagine Harvard students using an even wider array of advocacy tools to further address social injustice, including felony disenfranchisement. With colleagues across Harvard and beyond, well-honed advocacy skills, well-informed policy analysis, and morally expansive imagination, students can assist grassroots organizations in emancipating bodies, votes, and democracy.

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Cornell William Brooks is professor of the practice of public leadership and social justice and the director of The William Monroe Trotter Collaborative for Social Justice. He is a former president and CEO of the NAACP, a civil rights attorney, and an ordained minister.

A TEACHABLE SKILL

Jane Mansbridge

IT IS EASY TO THINK OF THE POLARIZATION of American politics as a fairly recent phenomenon, a sudden departure from a collegial and collaborative past. The truth is that the causes of our current political divide are both systemic and historical, stretching back far beyond the rise of social media or the ascendance of cable news and free-flowing political money.

The seeds of today's partisanship were planted in 1964, with the signing of the Civil Rights Act. Southern conservatives began their exit from the Democratic Party, making the Republicans more conservative and both parties more homogeneous.

That mythic time when politics "worked" was also, as many of us forget, a time of Democratic hegemony—Democrats were the sun to the Republicans' moon, and Republicans knew they had to go along to get along. After 1980, as majority control of the House and the Senate came up for grabs, and getting a majority in Congress became each party's single most important goal, incentives for cooperation began to evaporate.

Economic inequality may also play a role: Polarization declined from a high point at the end of the 19th century to a 50-year low from approximately 1930 to 1980 and has risen to an even higher point today, mapping almost perfectly to the decline and rise of inequality. That close mapping suggests a causal relationship, but which caused what, or the degree to which both might be effects of another cause, is unclear.

And finally, yes, we can also blame the effects of social media and narrowcasting, as individuals move away from a largely shared and limited menu of journalism and opinion and toward single-serving-sized communications that emotionally and cognitively reinforce, rather than challenge, individual predispositions.

These deep-rooted divisions are unlikely to go away anytime soon. But even if political partisans do see one another as enemies, it is important to realize that enemies can negotiate. And they must, to keep even basic government going. Our constitutional system, with its checks and balances, was intentionally set up so that at least



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Jane Mansbridge

some sort of consensus is required for laws to be passed.

The good news is that negotiation is a teachable skill. Today, almost all business schools, law schools, and policy schools throughout the United States and many parts of the world offer courses in how to negotiate, in sectors from business to international relations.

Surprisingly, no one has ever focused on legislative negotiation—until now. The skills required for legislative negotiation are much the same as those required for any other kind, although the context is different. So in the past two years, with support from the Hewlett Foundation, Brian Mandell, the Mohamed Kamal Senior Lecturer in Negotiation and Public Policy; Kessely Hong, a lecturer in public policy; Julia Minson, an associate professor of public policy; Archon Fung, the Winthrop Laflin McCormack Professor of Citizenship and Self-Government; and I have served on a team at the Kennedy School to create a set of materials for teaching legislative negotiation.

A big difference from classic negotiation in business is that the specific members of Congress who negotiate an agreement with specific members of the other party then have to sell that agreement to their party colleagues (not easy), who in turn must sell it to their constituents (also not easy). Conceptually, it is what in negotiation theory is called a three-level game. Throughout the process, activists on both sides often have incentives to torpedo the deal. Nevertheless, a well-crafted agreement, which gives each side something it wants, can survive those attacks.

The materials developed at the Kennedy School, which include simulations, cases, and exercises, have been through a year of testing with congressional staffers and state legislators, with highly successful results. The Library of Congress has started a program to train high-level congressional staffers in negotiation skills, using Kennedy School materials and, at least for the initial sessions, HKS faculty members. The first training, held this past August, got rave reviews, and many congressional staffers have already signed up for the next one. We hope that learning the fundamentals of good negotiation can help these people (who do much of the negotiating), and eventually members of Congress as well, break through the impasses created by polarization.

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Jane Mansbridge is the Charles F. Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values. Her current work includes studies of representation, democratic deliberation, everyday activism, and the public understanding of free-rider problems.



DANIEL STEPHEN HOMER/JSOPA

HEALTHY COMPETITION

Arthur Brooks

COMPETITION CAN GET A BAD RAP. It is often blamed for growing inequality and predatory behavior and for making it impossible for the little guy to get ahead. It's seen as encouraging us to be unnecessarily adversarial and brutal. Some consider it the enemy of cooperation. In my view, these criticisms are misguided. I believe that competition is the most important philosophical advance of the United States, and we must better understand and protect it.

When competition works the way it's supposed to, people love it. Think of a sports event: No one wants it to be noncompetitive. Even if you love your Red Sox, you don't want the Yankees' bus to break down on the way to the game. You want the Yankees to show up with their absolute

best and get beaten, fair and square. But "fair and square" requires clear rules, an umpire who calls strikes and balls the same for both teams, and teams that accept the final score—whether they like it or not. For competition in sports (or any other area of life) to work, you need fair play, agreed-upon rules, and voluntary cooperation.

Consider competition in another part of our lives: politics. Democracy is a form of political competition. It can't function when there are uncontested elections or cheating. We make fun of elections in countries where the Dear Leader gets 98 percent of the vote unopposed, ballot boxes are stuffed, and if you try to run against the leader, you'll go to jail (or worse). We're grateful to live in a multiparty democracy where candidates truly compete (which means, by the way, that we're grateful for the people who disagree with us politically).

Today, there is a particular need for healthy competition in the world of ideas. In an idea-based economy, true competition is the secret to a free society that respects differences, ensures the right to dissent, and creates the conditions for progress through learning. Unfortunately, the competition of ideas is currently under threat. In some circles, there is a culture of "deplatforming" and "canceling"—of shutting down the competition of ideas instead of trying to win it. Acceptable discourse is narrowed, protest is squashed, opposing views are silenced, and contrary opinions are painted as evil or ignorant. This behavior afflicts everyone—progressives, conservatives, and centrists alike—because it weakens us: It dulls our ability to argue, makes us less likely to see our mistakes, and renders us less tolerant of others. All of us, no matter what our point of view, need to stand up and fight for our right to disagree, and for the right of people to disagree with us.

Of course, there are some bad actors out there with bad ideas. The answer to their ideas is more speech, not less. And in truth, whether they agree with us or not, the majority of people in the public sphere aim to make the country better. While we will—and should—disagree over how to achieve



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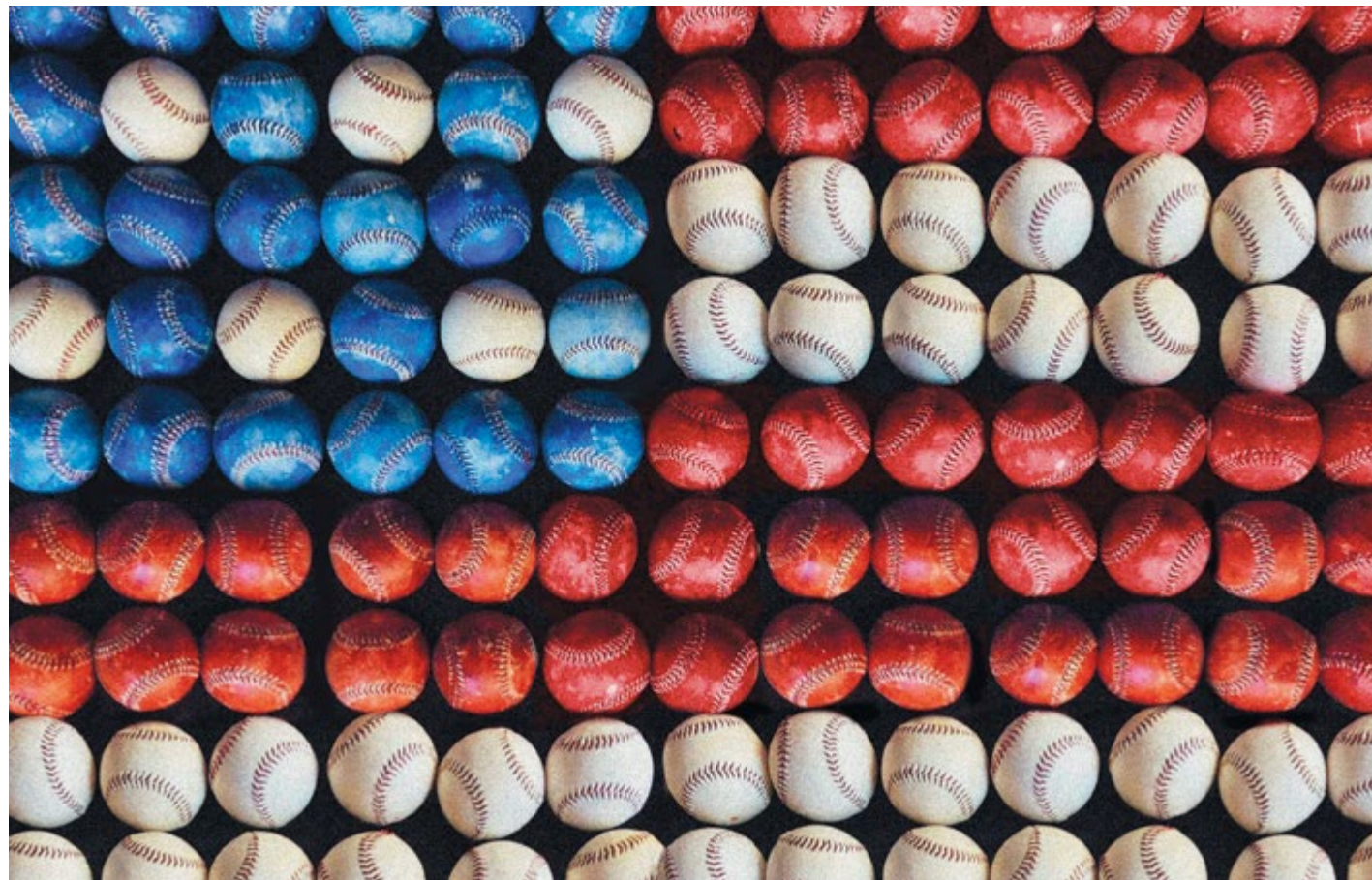
Arthur Brooks

prosperity and happiness and secure our freedoms, we must maintain a shared commitment to being able to disagree per se.

Ideas are the currency of progress, and Harvard is one of the most important idea factories in the world. At the Kennedy School we are committed to the competition of ideas and free speech. We will not allow deplatforming or canceling. We've put in place school behavioral norms that say: You can peacefully protest all you want, because that is a form of participation in the competition of ideas. But you can't shut down that competition and take away someone else's voice.

Why does this commitment matter? Because, although the Kennedy School can't improve the national discourse by itself, we can model the behavior we know our nation and the world need, and send forth our graduates—the leaders of the future—armed with these values.

Arthur Brooks is professor of the practice of public leadership. Previously, he served for 10 years as president of the American Enterprise Institute, a public policy think tank in Washington, D.C.



MEGAN ELLIS

KICKING THE SAND CASTLE

Pippa Norris

DEMOCRACY IS UNDER SIEGE AROUND THE WORLD. In the early 21st century, many countries face major challenges of democratic backsliding and even occasional outright regime reversal, with authoritarian forces rising. It's not just events occurring under President Trump in the United States. Democracy has already been destroyed in Egypt, Venezuela, Thailand, Ukraine, and Russia. It is in the process of being undermined in Poland, Hungary, Turkey, and the Philippines. Long-established democracies are not exempt, as demonstrated by the political instability and deep polarization in the United Kingdom, under pressure from Brexit. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington warned that gains for human freedom are temporary, in a two-steps-forward, one-step-back dynamic. Earlier historical eras experienced periodic waves of regime

change around the world, with reversals in democracy in the 1930s and the 1960s. During recent decades, accumulating signs suggest that history is now in danger of repeating itself.

The most comprehensive and rigorous data from the Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem), an academic project devoted to measuring democracy, demonstrates that the quality of liberal democracy has eroded worldwide during the past decade, although the map is patchy. Some of the most dramatic net losses have occurred in Turkey, Brazil, Ukraine, Poland, Nicaragua, India, and the United States. Several Anglo-American democracies have seen major erosion in civil liberties and political rights, according to V-Dem estimates, with some of the worst performance in the U.K. under Brexit and the United States under Trump. Around the globe, American retreat and European divisions threaten the rules-based order and global alliances established to defend the values of democratic governance, freedom, rule of law, and human rights.

These challenges have the capacity to undermine America's core values and interests, both at home and abroad. We are one of the oldest democracies and one of the most successful multicultural societies in the world. Democratic rollback threatens American values: the protection and promotion of human rights and the rule of law; international cooperation to achieve lasting peace; good governance; accountable and responsive public institutions; resilience against disaster; gender equality; freedom, justice, and dignity for all. Backsliding undermines transparent and accountable governance. It weakens legal guardrails preventing the abuse of power. Strongman demagogues have seized office by exploiting the politics of fear, deepening social rifts, and heightening intolerance. Formal protections and unwritten democratic norms respecting civil liberties and minority rights are in danger. The legitimacy of parliaments, elections, and parties is undermined.

Moreover, America's interests are directly threatened by the potential consequences of these developments. They endanger long-standing global alliances, the rules-based world order, and international cooperation over everything from trade and security to counterterrorism, sustainable development, and climate change. Several major authoritarian states—notably Russia, Saudi Arabia, and China—have become even more repressive at home and emboldened in actively undermining weak states abroad, without effective international sanctions. China's Belt and Road initiative, which provides an alternative model of development through remarkable economic growth, aids the country's rise even as China lacks fundamental freedoms. America's safety, security, and freedom go hand in hand. We cannot blithely assume that freedom and the rule of law happen by themselves or will simply continue, at home or beyond our borders.

Understanding the causes and consequences of this phenomenon is critical for mitigating the risks. The problems evident around the globe are widely agreed upon. The underlying causes are not. Authoritarian resurgence is puzzling intellectually because the dominant theoretical paradigm during the past four decades has focused on explaining the drivers of democratic advance, not retreat.

My new book, *Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarian Populism*, written with the University of Michigan's Ron Inglehart, emphasizes that the root causes of democratic backsliding exist across a wide range of post-industrial societies, threatening liberal democratic norms and practices. Democracies are at risk today from the collision of several forces, like a perfect storm: the growing politics of fear, with a backlash against liberal democracy fed by perceived threats to traditional cultural values and social identities; the rise of



Authoritarian resurgence is puzzling intellectually because the dominant theoretical paradigm during the past four decades has focused on explaining the drivers of democratic advance, not retreat.

Pippa Norris

authoritarian-populist parties, leaders, media, and social movements, fueled by, and reinforcing, these cultural tensions in mass society; the weakness of constitutional safeguards at home, which lack resilience and effective enforcement mechanisms to resist malpractice by strongman leaders; and finally, broad changes in international relations arising from the end of the American century and the decline of Western power, rising nationalist challenges to the rules-based world order, the agencies of global governance and multilateral cooperation, and the growing role of China and a resurgent Russia.

How these factors interact, and what weight each should be given, are a matter of ongoing scholarly debate in the social sciences. Are these global shifts just temporary, like market corrections? The full consequences remain uncertain. Democracies may remain resilient, and there are signs of pushback from the courts, the legacy media, and civil society. Some policy changes can be reversed by new administrations, but the recovery of public trust and the restoration of respect for informal democratic norms is far from certain. It seems easier for nihilists to kick over the sand castle than to rebuild. During the past decade, sufficient signs have accumulated around the world for a zeitgeist of deepening anxiety about the threat to liberal democracy.

Pippa Norris is the Paul F. McGuire Lecturer in Comparative Politics. A comparative political scientist, she focuses on democracy, public opinion and elections, political communications, and gender politics.

to reflect the will of the people. It makes it difficult to remove a political party from power in a state legislature even when a majority of voters select an alternative.

Following a 2019 Supreme Court decision, *Rucho v. Common Cause*, prospects for addressing partisan gerrymandering at the federal level have all but disappeared for the foreseeable future. But several state-level solutions still exist. One of these is for more states to create independent redistricting commissions, which take the authority for drawing electoral lines from politicians and hand it over to bipartisan citizen volunteers who do not hold public office. These commissions are designed to be insulated from politicians, whose primary interest is often to ensure their own reelection.

The United States will enter a new redistricting cycle after the 2020 census, providing an opportunity to study the performance of independent redistricting commissions from the previous cycle, in 2011. In a recent policy memo, I and coauthors examined the effects of commission-based redistricting by focusing on the experience of Arizona, a state with a five-member independent commission. We found that independent redistricting can yield several advantages, including more public participation in—and satisfaction with—the process, increased competitiveness, and greater fairness. For example, survey respondents in states with independent commissions are more likely than voters in states where legislatures draw the districts to say that they view their state's process as "fair." This is owing in part to the outreach conducted in such states. For example, in Arizona the commission went on a listening tour and hosted public hearings, provided time for public comment at their meetings when drawing district lines, and sought public feedback in other ways.

Commissions certainly increased competition in Arizona, where 24 out of 30 legislative districts became more competitive after redistricting. Only three congressional districts (out of a total of nine post-redistricting) became less competitive. And the three most competitive congressional districts in the state joined the most competitive in the nation. Increased competitiveness tends to produce greater turnover between the parties from year to year and fewer uncontested elections. Put simply, voters are more likely to face meaningful choices at the ballot box in competitive elections. While other positive effects of competitiveness, such as higher turnout, are less clear, most political scientists think that competitive elections are a net win for voters.

Finally, although it takes many years of election data to reach a firm conclusion, the preliminary

evidence for greater fairness in Arizona is encouraging: It has ranked near the top among states in achieving a proportional translation of votes into seats over the past several elections, even as statewide support for the Republican and Democratic parties has shifted back and forth.

Given this track record, it should be no surprise that many other states have taken steps to implement commission-based redistricting. Such proposals may outrage state legislators who want to hold on to political power. But as long as voters continue to care about democratic principles—such as an electoral system that gives legislators a reason to be responsive—we can expect commission-based redistricting to garner attention and perhaps even legal challenges to its constitutionality from those who stand to lose from changes to the current system. Whatever the outcome in the long run, commission-based systems have demonstrated that feasible alternatives to legislative-based redistricting not only exist but can meaningfully improve the democratic performance of a state's electoral system.

Benjamin Schmeer is an assistant professor of public policy. His research is in American politics and focuses primarily on political representation. This essay draws on his coauthored paper, "The Arizona Independent Redistricting Commission: One State's Model for Reform."



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Benjamin Schmeer

DRAWING A LINE

Benjamin Schmeer

IN MOST STATES, REDISTRICTING, the process by which electoral district boundaries are drawn, is an overtly partisan exercise controlled by state legislatures. Politicians from the party in power draw the lines that determine congressional and legislative districts every 10 years, after each census. Often they adhere to a brutal partisan calculus that privileges maintaining political power rather than reflecting the will of voters—in other words, legislators routinely engage in partisan gerrymandering.

Extreme gerrymanders should concern anyone who wants government



COREY LOWENSTEIN



CONCERNED CITIZEN

Working from within the bureaucracy, Manivannan Ponniah MC/MPA 2019 struggles to create a people's forum to clean up a city.

BY GAYATHRI VAIDYANATHAN
PHOTOS BY BERNAT PARERA



IN EARLY JULY, after a very public disagreement on WhatsApp, the president and vice president of a Bangalore-based citizens group resigned. Manivannan Ponniah MC/MPA 2019 (above), a public official and the founder of the group, jumped into the fray, sending heated messages in an effort to spur the members to move past their disagreements. "Who is the president now?? Is CITAG headless??" Ponniah messaged. "For God's sake, do something, guys!!"

The group, called Citizens Involved Technology Assisted Governance, or CITAG, had been convened nine months earlier with grand ambitions to reform government through citizen participation. Ponniah, a bureaucrat with two decades of experience in India's elite civil service branch, the Indian Administrative Service, had come to the realization that most innovation in India lies outside government, among the 98 percent of the people who are privately employed. He facilitated the creation of CITAG as a daring experiment in how to make government transparent and permeable to those innovators. Improved public services and governance would follow, he reasoned.

Bangalore needs the intervention. The city was once known as a pensioner's paradise for its green cover and hundreds of lakes. In the early 2000s, the city became an IT hub as global companies set up back offices to take advantage of an abundant, cheap, well-educated workforce. The population doubled in two decades, to more than 11 million, and the city government was caught unprepared. Roads today are choked with traffic, groundwater has run out in some places, and the air is toxic. Almost 80 percent of the city's fabled tree canopy has been lost over the past 40 years, and 90 percent of its lakes are fed by sewage.

Public utilities have struggled to keep up. To quench Bangalore's unforgiving thirst, the water department brings in 388 million gallons of water daily from a distant river, at a cost of \$6 million a month. Power cuts are routine. And garbage is everywhere, accumulating in so-called black spots even as it gets removed. Bangalore is ranked the 194th cleanest city out of 458 on an Indian government scorecard, a steep fall from its seventh-place finish in 2015.

For their first project, the citizens of CITAG are working with the city's solid waste management department to address grievances. They are making innovative use of blockchain technology—a transparent and tamperproof ledger—to keep track of people's complaints about garbage disposal, which the city can then resolve. It's a first step, they hope, on a path toward CITAG's greater involvement with the city government. If only they can get past the teething stage.

This is so simple

In early September, Ponniah sat behind a large desk in his imposing office at the state legislature complex, where he heads the labor, food, and civil services departments. Nine chairs, in three rows, were arranged in front of him. At 3:00 p.m., his daily office hours commenced, and people walked in—ordinary citizens, businesspeople, trade union representatives. A staff member served them buttermilk as they waited their turn.

An old man and a younger colleague complained that some government contractors were not getting legally mandated holidays. Ponniah dictated a strongly worded letter threatening the local commissioner with prosecution and signed it with an ink pen.

A group of health activists requested funding to educate rural women. Ponniah asked them to set up a pilot.

A young man came in to inquire about a job posting. He stayed as Ponniah, prompted by a reporter, described how he had arrived at this position.

Ponniah hails from a small village in south India and belongs to the lowest of the Hindu castes, known as Dalits, or "untouchables." His father was an Indian Railways supervisor and valued education highly, so he ensured that his four children read books in their free time and attended university. Ponniah got a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering and passed India's rigorous civil service exams in 1998, after which he was posted to Karnataka, the state of which Bangalore is the capital. (The exams are so competitive that in 2017, one million people applied to fill 980 spots.)

Ponniah's first posting was in the small city of Tumkur. It could have been a thankless task: City governments, known as municipal corporations, usually struggle with finances; corruption is rife; and citizens view officials with suspicion. People generally avoid contact with municipal offices until something breaks down—streetlights stop working, or garbage piles up.

On his first day, Ponniah found citizens wandering in the corporation's offices, not knowing where to go with their issues. He immediately set up booths dedicated to specific services—water, electricity, taxes—and mandated that officers sit at the counters every afternoon. They were also required to resolve complaints within 10 working days. The office quickly began humming.

To Ponniah, the lesson was clear: Make government easy to navigate, and citizens will participate. "I realized, oh, my God, this is so simple!" he said.



As Manivannan Ponniah MC/MPA 2019 (right and below) rose through the ranks of India's civil service, he confronted seemingly intractable public problems mostly by sticking to a deceptively simple principle: transparency.

Garbage is everywhere. ... Bangalore is ranked the 194th cleanest city out of 458 on an Indian government scorecard, a steep fall from its seventh-place finish in 2015.

He improved on his ideas about transparent governance at his next posting, where he set up a 24-hour help line for citizens' complaints and assembled a skeletal nighttime staff to address emergencies. Then he began working directly with people who'd lodged a suit against illegal encroachments in the city. To their delight, he ordered the properties, owned by powerful vested interests, demolished. He was immediately transferred by the political class. But when news spread, people rioted in the streets in protest. His transfer order was canceled, and Ponniah earned the moniker Demolition King.

Next he set up neighborhood citizens committees that fundraised and worked directly with the corporation to fix ailing civic services on a voluntary basis. Taxes were already so low, Ponniah reasoned, that he was justified in asking citizens to contribute to funding city services.

In 2012, Ponniah was appointed to Bangalore's Electricity Supply Company. In 2017, he was promoted





To Ponniah, the lesson was clear: Make government easy to navigate, and citizens will participate. “I realized, oh, my God, this is so simple!” he said.

to the state government, where he remains today. He has opened up his departments to the public, and frequently posts his WhatsApp number on his personal Twitter account so that people can keep in touch. Three surveillance cameras cover every inch of his well-lit office, and his calendar is available online—there is no room for corruption.

In 2018, Ponniah took a sabbatical to attend the Kennedy School, where he quickly gravitated toward the social innovation community, becoming an Adrian Cheng Fellow and finding support within the Social Innovation + Change Initiative. He learned about experiments in participatory governance in other parts of the world. In Chicago, for example, residents, rather than politicians or bureaucrats, are allowed to decide how to spend a portion of the municipal funds. That resembled his efforts with neighborhood committees. As his ideas matured, Ponniah decided to use his fellowship funds to seed a citizens group in Bangalore to improve governance.

He posted a call to action on Twitter: “Are you a concerned citizen who wants to work with the govt for making the society better, but not doing so? What are the top 5 things the govt should do to make you invest your time & energy on the govt on a pro-bono basis? Can you list them? Let’s give govt a chance!”

Ponniah knew that few citizens trusted city government (an informal poll he conducted found that almost three-quarters of Twitter respondents had less than 25 percent trust in Bangalore’s municipal corporation), and he understood that civic engagement rarely occurs in the absence of trust. Furthermore, very few Indians participate in governance, and government has shrunk even as the population has increased over the past half century. In 2011, only about 2 percent of citizens were employed in government service—compared, for example, with about 6.5 percent in the United States—serving the interests of a billion-strong population. Knowledge and innovation exist mostly outside the government. That is a recipe for governance failure, Ponniah believes. He wants people to get directly involved in the government and share their knowledge—but that can happen only if bureaucrats promote transparency, value participation, and empower citizens.

As dusk settled in, the awestruck young job applicant took his leave and headed out with a reporter. Bangaloreans admire Ponniah for getting things done and for being transparent and not corrupt, he said. “He’s like a movie hero.”

Some 66 Bangaloreans responded to Ponniah’s Twitter call. A few were attracted by his charismatic



Working from within the state’s labor, food, and services department, and using the insights he learned at HKS, Ponniah (right) used social media to enroll citizens to help clean up Bangalore’s garbage crisis. “Let’s give govt a chance!” he tweeted.

persona; others joined because of the mission; and some saw a business opportunity to work with the government. Ponniah’s tweet became a thread that led to the formation of CITAG.

CITAG differs from other citizens groups in that it is apolitical and non-activist. It is registered as a society rather than a nonprofit, which means the government can have a role in its management. An elected managing committee is responsible for daily functioning. And it aims to also provide the government with a technology solution—an app.

Shobha Anand, a consultant with the Indian Institute of Human Settlement, an educational body, has been involved with CITAG from the start. She has worked with citizens groups and knows the power of participatory governance. “If citizens take a proactive role and work with government, it is possible for us to achieve good governance,” she says.

Given Bangalore’s traffic congestion, CITAG members do not meet in person; they coordinate almost entirely on WhatsApp and in Zoom meetings. In her office, which was completely devoid of personal items, Anand scrolled to a WhatsApp conversation in which Ponniah first suggested that CITAG take on Bangalore’s garbage problem.

The city generates 3,500 metric tons of garbage a day, which is hauled away piecemeal to landfills by an army of contractors. Often trash remains uncollected in waste piles around the city. Citizens can lodge complaints on an app called Sahaya, but their cases are often closed without action. Sometimes municipal workers delete records to avoid having to address problems.

Randeep D (who, as is common in India, does not use a last name), the commissioner heading the city’s solid waste management department, is trying to resolve Bangalore’s entrenched garbage issues. He accepted CITAG’s intervention to fix the Sahaya app. “Fixing the public grievance redressal system and having more transparency will help us engage with citizens better, and the credibility of the organization also goes up in the eyes of the people,” Randeep said.

CITAG wants to incorporate blockchain in the back end of the complaints-logging database to make the record keeping tamperproof. A decentralized distributed ledger system would mean that each record entered into the database would be linked to the following record. Altering one record would disrupt the entire ledger, so changes would be transparent. In addition, multiple copies of the ledger would be created, increasing the accountability of all workers involved in responding to citizen complaints. Ponniah thinks a similar system could be applied to other government record keeping as well. “Security is very important in government, because most of the corruption is happening because data can be compromised,” he said.

CITAG faced turmoil in July. The managing committee had not established clear-cut processes, and members disagreed about the blockchain vendor. The president and vice president resigned without notice. The city began dragging its feet on providing app data to CITAG. Work on the project stalled.

That is when Ponniah, exasperated, fired off the WhatsApp messages asking CITAG members to step up. He appointed an interim president and vice president and called for elections. Anand became secretary, and nine executive members were elected. The committee is now setting up processes to ensure that tasks are completed in an organized manner. “The work should not stop just because someone is not available,” Anand said. “Someone else should come and pick up that work and continue to do it.”

Progress is indeed now being made. Randeep D is spearheading the project from the municipal side. A blockchain vendor has been identified and is working to develop a final product.

Anand is focused on ensuring that the group will continue beyond the current project. The group is considering working with Ponniah’s labor department to implement a blockchain-based ledger of labor department funds. In early November, Ponniah withdrew from CITAG to avoid any conflict of interest. Once CITAG has had a few successes, he said, it will be able to drive governance reform.

Anand said that more people are interested in joining CITAG, and the group is evolving. She pointed at a Google document that lists suggestions from members for future projects. One is that CITAG should be a platform where citizens can meet their local civic authorities. Another member wants it to work on rainwater harvesting. A third suggests replicating the blockchain project in other cities.

“If there’s a determination, even if you’re alone, you can try and drive the whole thing,” Anand said. “I’m sure CITAG will only become bigger.”

Gayathri Vaidyanathan is an Indian-Canadian journalist based in Bangalore, India. She writes about the environment, science, and society.

WHO ARE YOUR PEOPLE?

Nisreen Haj Ahmad MC/MPA 2008 applies Marshall Ganz's organizing methodology in the Middle East context and finds hope in hard places.

BY RALPH RANALLI

TWO OF THE MOST FORMATIVE EXPERIENCES in Nisreen Haj Ahmad's life were her father's exile and his eventual return. She was just two years old when the Israeli army raided her family's home in the West Bank in the middle of the night and arrested her father, a Palestinian activist working to resist the Israeli occupation. "They put him on a helicopter and dropped him in Lebanon near the border," says Haj Ahmad MC/MPA 2008. "My mom waited a few years thinking he would be allowed to return, but he wasn't. So she took us and we went to live with him in Jordan."

Every summer she, her mother, and her three siblings would cross the King Hussein Bridge to visit family in the occupied territories. They would rise early in the morning and endure long wait times, questioning, and "humiliating" invasive searches, she says, "so I decided to become a lawyer to protect the rights of the people." She earned her law degree from the University of Jordan in 1995, only to be told by the Jordanian bar association that at 20 she was too young to practice. So she went to Scotland and began earning a master's degree in international trade law from the University of Edinburgh.

Then Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) signed the Oslo II Accords, and suddenly her father was allowed to return to the West Bank.

"I remember we were on a bus of 30 people, all expelled for resisting the occupation and all allowed to return," she says. "This was a different kind of crossing over that bridge—it was like returning victorious, with no security checks or anything. It was very surreal." She remembers hearing Tania Nasser, a renowned Palestinian singer whose husband had also been exiled, singing an Arabic folk song to the passengers about returning home, and seeing the huge, joyous crowd that engulfed her father, raised him to their shoulders, and swept him away.

Those were heady, hopeful days, says Haj Ahmad, who now runs an Amman-based nonprofit called Ahel ("the people of the cause"), which partners with and trains community groups and organizations in organizing and collective action for justice and human rights. "It was a moment when we thought there would be peace," she says.

After finishing her master's degree, she became a legal advisor and negotiator for the Palestinian Authority, first working on trade deals with the European Union and Canada. She then started working with the PLO on the post-Oslo permanent status talks with Israel, including the Camp David and Taba summits, only to feel her hope slowly fade to disappointment and then near-despair over the next decade. The peace talks bogged down over continuing Israeli settlements; then, in 2000,

“You hear people’s stories and you hear how they change from victimization to power. And you see that transformation, and it’s humbling. It’s a reason for pride for me, and for some satisfaction that I’m not wasting my life.”

NISREEN HAJ AHMAD



the Second Intifada erupted; and in 2002 Israel invaded the West Bank during Operation Defensive Shield. “It was really hard,” she says. “That was a really low point.”

One day her grandmother took her to an upstairs bedroom and pointed out the window, Haj Ahmad says. “And she said, ‘When you started negotiating, these Israeli settlement houses were on top of the mountain, and now look, they are close to my backyard. What are you thinking?’”

“It was very obvious what was happening,” says Haj Ahmad. “But frankly, it was just hard for me to say, ‘Okay, you know what? I give up on the conflict and finding peace through negotiations and through the law.’”

Then a friend and HKS alumnus, Issa Kassissieh MC/MPA 2004, stepped in. Kassissieh, now the Palestinian ambassador to the Holy See, told her she seemed “stuck” and suggested that getting a Harvard Kennedy School degree—and a new perspective—might help. The next thing Haj Ahmad knew, she was in Cambridge, living in an apartment in the high-rise Peabody Terrace graduate student complex. With its view of the tree-lined Charles River and the tot lot next door where her four-year-old son could ride his bike and play in the sprinklers, it was a world away, both geographically and emotionally, from what she’d left. “Frankly, I was just running away,” she says. “I didn’t have many expectations; I just wanted to be in a place where I wasn’t struggling.”

But soon she would have another formative experience: meeting Marshall Ganz, the Rita E. Hauser Senior Lecturer in Leadership, Organizing, and Civil Society. Ganz recalls being engaged by Haj Ahmad right away. “She had this combination

of deep curiosity and sort of evident courage—and a deep sense of searching,” he says. “It wasn’t just intellectual curiosity, but more like a question: ‘How do I make sense of what I’ve experienced in a way that I can actually go forward?’”

Haj Ahmad had never heard of Ganz when she arrived at HKS. But people with ties to the School whom she knew from her negotiator days suggested that she drop in on his class during shopping week. “I heard him talk about narrative and stories and what your calling is,” she says. “That resonated with me because at that point, my life had reached a juncture where it no longer made sense.”

Haj Ahmad took Ganz’s courses in public narrative (MLD-355M) and organizing (MLD-377). Public narrative starts with the individual, the story of self, says Ganz: “First it’s about ‘Why do I care?’ Then we move to the story of us, how to bring to light shared values in others and then how to turn that into action.”

The way Ganz frames problem solving also struck a chord with Haj Ahmad. “That’s the thing I got from Marshall,” she says. “The first question is ‘Who are my people?’ and not ‘What is the problem?’ or ‘What is the issue and how are we going to solve it?’ When you are at the negotiation table—say, with Israel—the question is ‘Who are my people and what are they doing for their cause or for their rights?’ The answer was that they were depending on the negotiator. So it hit me that there is a tendency of the people who struggle the most to think that someone else will represent them or defend them or lobby on their behalf.”

Ganz says the question “Who are my people?” is fundamentally about empowerment. “That question doesn’t mean ‘Who is my ethnic group?’ It means



“
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NISREEN HAJ AHMAD



“
It wasn’t just intellectual curiosity, but more like a question: ‘How do I make sense of what I’ve experienced in a way that I can actually go forward?’”

MARSHALL GANZ

Worn down by years as a lawyer trying to negotiate an Israeli-Palestinian peace, Nisreen Haj Ahmad MC/MPA 2008 found herself transformed by HKS and particularly by the classes taught by Marshall Ganz (bottom left). Returning to Jordan, she founded Ahel, which teaches leadership and community organizing. A campaign to help teachers organize for better conditions and pay (above) was one of its many successful efforts.



‘Who is it that I’m committed to working with?’ The second question is ‘What are the challenges they face, and what kind of change do they need?’ And it’s based not on some academic study but on talking to people about their lived experience. It’s about ‘How can I enable them to use their resources in new ways to develop the power and the capacity they need to accomplish their goals?’”

Armed with her new approach, Haj Ahmad went back to Jordan and with her colleague Mais Irsusi founded Ahel, whose main objective, Haj Ahmad says, is to build people’s leadership and community power through collective action. Over the past decade, the organization has grown to a staff of 12 that supports a team of 30 coaches. It has helped more than 20 political and social change campaigns in Palestine, Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon, working on issues including gender rights, disability rights, workers’ rights, refugee rights, advocacy for personal freedoms, and prevention of discrimination.

One such effort is the Stand Up with the Teachers Campaign, which began organizing the female teachers in Jordan’s private schools in 2015. Most of the teachers were being paid less than minimum wage and were coerced to resign just before summer break. They also lost their contracts if they became pregnant.

Haj Ahmad says that Ahel trainers helped the teachers organize and discover where to apply pressure so that it would be most effective. The teachers eventually persuaded the minister of education, Omar Razzaz, to adopt new regulations stating that no private school would be recertified unless it provided transparent bank statements showing that it was paying teachers at least minimum wage for 12 months of the year.

“You hear people’s stories and you hear how they change from victimization to power,” Haj Ahmad says. “And you see that transformation, and it’s humbling. It’s a reason for pride for me, and for some satisfaction that I’m not wasting my life.”

Ganz says “her positivity in fighting in an arena where hopelessness would be almost the obvious choice” is what he finds inspiring about Haj Ahmad. “We try to make a distinction between optimism and hope,” he says. “That sort of optimism that says ‘Hey, everything’s going to be all right’ can blind you to reality. Hope is a recognition that the possible can sometimes triumph over the probable—in other words, that David can beat Goliath from time to time. And Nisreen has a deep sense of hopefulness.”



THEY TOOK A STAND FOR FREEDOM

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The ACLU Campaign for the Future transformed the ACLU in Northern California and nationwide. Through this historic campaign, we purchased our headquarters at 39 Drumm Street and strengthened the impact of the ACLU coast to coast.

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TAKE A STAND FOR FREEDOM

The ACLU Campaign for the Future

A wall display of numerous small teal-colored panels, each containing a list of names and donation information, organized into columns and sections. The panels are part of a larger campaign display.

THE ADVOCATE

Christina Fletes MPA 2016 wants to make sure that all Americans, especially those from underrepresented populations, participate in the democratic process.



THE DAUGHTER OF NICARAGUAN IMMIGRANTS, Christina Fletes MPA 2016 was a fourth-grader in Redwood City, California, when state voters passed Proposition 227, the 1998 ballot measure that required the state's public schools to teach all students in English. The development, which drew national attention, effectively eliminated bilingual education in a state where, at the time, one in four students was deemed "limited English proficient."

"I remember being very intimidated anytime a teacher would ask me to read out loud," says Fletes, whose lessons had been taught solely in Spanish, or in a mix of Spanish and English, through the third grade. "That was an impactful moment of my life."

Sixteen years later the state legislature passed a bill, signed by then Governor Jerry Brown, that repealed most of Proposition 227. But her early childhood experiences—Fletes translated for her parents during teacher conferences and translated their election materials—pushed her to advocate in behalf of underrepresented populations in the state. Fletes is a voting rights lawyer at the ACLU of Northern California, working to allow more Americans to exercise their agency in the democratic process.



BY ANDREW FAUGHT
PHOTOS BY ALISON YIN

It's not voter fraud but, rather, voter suppression that she's trying to prevent. After the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, voting access was on the upswing until 2008. (Of the 5 million new voters that year, 4.6 million were from underrepresented groups, and most of their votes went to Barack Obama.)

Amid swirling accusations that voting officials are trying to curtail minority votes that lean Democratic, voter participation in the 2016 presidential election was down by an estimated 2.7 percent, according to the United States Election Project, an independent information source on the country's electoral system. The reasons are several, experts say: Some states have required a photo ID to vote (millions of Americans lack such proof). Others have made it harder for working Americans to cast ballots by reducing the time available for voting. Some counties have purged voters from their rolls, claiming that they no longer live where they claim to live. States frequently aren't held to task for questionable behavior.

"Proving that it's intentional is not always easy," says Abdi Soltani, ACLU of Northern California's executive director. "In California, we have put a major focus on working with our counties and with the state so that every person who wants to vote is readily able to register and vote."

California has 5.5 million eligible but unregistered voters, most of them from communities of color. Every month, Fletes makes the 2½-hour drive to Fresno, in the state's vast Central Valley, to get out the vote. The state's interior is poorer and in some places more diverse than the coastal regions are. She often hears similar concerns, some of them questions of simple logistics, some of them born of apprehension: Does my vote matter? Where do I go to cast my ballot? Do I need an ID? "It's scary to walk into a building and engage in a process if you don't know how it works," Fletes says. "What's going to happen once you walk in the door? If you speak a different language, will somebody be there to help you?"

To date, California translates election materials into 10 languages. At least 220 languages are spoken in the state, according to the U.S. Census Bureau.

In 2019, Fletes was appointed to sit on the state's Language Accessibility Advisory Council, established in 2016 to advise the secretary of state on issues related to elections and election materials. The ACLU's concerns aren't limited to language barriers. In 2018, the organization sued Secretary of State Alex Padilla for failing to provide voter registration services for low-income Californians and those with disabilities. A judge ruled that the state must expand its voter registration outreach.

As voting goes, California is watched closely by the rest of the country. Some legislative bills propose lowering the voting age from 18 to 17 and possibly to as young as 16. ACLU Northern California is pushing for the state's 50,000 parolees to regain

voting privileges; the loss of them is a form of disenfranchisement, Fletes point out, that affects mostly brown and black people and is rooted in the country's discriminatory Jim Crow laws.

Meanwhile, Fletes in recent months has been meeting with community groups to apprise them of perhaps the biggest change to emerge on California's electoral landscape in decades: the Voter's Choice Act, which replaces neighborhood polling with one-stop mega "vote centers." The centers are an attempt to increase participation by allowing residents to register to vote on site—on a day and at a time that fits their schedules. Voters in participating counties will still be able to mail in their ballots.

With Fresno County adopting the system for its March 2020 primary election (the state will phase in the changes across its 58 counties), Fletes has asked Planned Parenthood and other well-known groups, along with community organizations such as Mi Familia Vota, Power California, and Valley Forward, to help with outreach efforts.

As a Latina lawyer, Fletes belongs to a small sorority—statistics show that just 2 percent of California attorneys are women of Latin descent—and she has made it a point to be a role model for first-generation college students or law school students who want to promote social justice. One of her Berkeley Law classmates was Evelyn Rangel-Medina, now the managing director of United for Respect, a nonprofit group that, in part, works to raise the minimum wage and create paid family leave and paid sick time for the economy's part-time workers. "After a big test, we'd have a pizza and a drink and talk about our dreams, and strategize about our careers and the big impact we wanted to have on the world," Rangel-Medina says. "We wanted to give back to our community."

Fletes is already battle-tested in her short time with the ACLU. In June, she and two colleagues filed a lawsuit against Fresno County's chief elections official after a Unitarian Universalist Church was removed as a polling site for the state primary in June 2018. The reason? The church refused to cover up "Black Lives Matter" banners that were hung on the property. Although state election laws say that campaign-related materials must be at least 100 feet from a polling site, the ACLU argued that the banners were more than 200 feet from voting booths and were not campaign related. The lawsuit is pending. It charges that the elections chief violated the church's First Amendment right to free speech.

The church scuffle is one reason that Fletes left a global law firm in January 2019 to join the ACLU. "It felt like I needed to get out of the locker room and go back to what I originally intended to do, which is public interest work—working for racial justice, working for people in my community," she says. "It feels like I am in the right place at the right moment."

Her commitment has powerful antecedents. "I'm



Christina Fletes MPA 2016 wants to hear from people on the ground and help them achieve their policy and legal goals, "not just tell them what they need."



“
I protested with my parents and uncle, who wouldn't typically be out there protesting. We were a community raising our voices against something that we felt was wrong. That was more important than being in class.”

CHRISTINA FLETES

the daughter of immigrants,” Fletes says. “I’ve always had to fight or advocate for people, especially my parents. I’ve had many privileges—going to Harvard and getting my law degree—that other people in my shoes have not. The best thing I can do is use my position to help others who may not have the same opportunities that I had.”

In addition to her experience with Proposition 227, another legislative proposal—this one federal—shaped her fate. In 2006, when she was in high school, the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act proposed to criminalize assistance to undocumented immigrants who sought food, housing, or medical services. The House of Representatives approved the bill, but it died in the Senate.

Fletes skipped a day of school to march in San Francisco with thousands of others who were shouting their objections. “I protested with my parents and uncle, who wouldn't typically be out there protesting,” she says. “We were a community raising our voices against something that we felt was wrong. That was more important than being in class.”

The first in her family to attend college and the first to be born in the United States, Fletes was a sophomore at UC Berkeley when she applied and was accepted to the Kennedy School—sponsored Public Policy Leadership Conference. The annual event targets students who are committed to public service and gives them a taste of what it's like to

study public policy in a graduate school environment.

The experience emboldened Fletes—“I got to see what public policy was”—and she ultimately enrolled at HKS, where she was awarded a Gleitsman Leadership Fellowship, which recognizes potential activists.

During her time at the Kennedy School, Fletes heard a presentation by Bryan Stevenson MPP/JD 1985, a lawyer and founder of the Equal Justice Initiative, a human rights organization in Montgomery, Alabama. He urged Fletes and her classmates to “work with communities that people don't want to help.”

“He told us to make sure that we understand the problem, and then to work directly with the people who are impacted,” she says. “I’ve really taken those lessons to heart. I want to hear from people on the ground and work with them to achieve their policy and legal goals, not just tell them what they need.”

Art Reyes MPP 2014 was a Gleitsman Fellow who grew up a working-class kid in Flint, Michigan. “When I came to the Kennedy School, there were probably some stereotypes that I had around who my classmates would be, and the privilege they would be coming from,” says Reyes, the founding executive director of a community organizing group in Michigan. “I was immediately drawn to Christina. She's incredibly passionate and remarkable at the work that she does.”

Before enrolling at Harvard, Fletes managed the first-ever national gathering of quantitative data about the lives of domestic workers. Her research resulted in a report, “Home Economics,” that received national press coverage and has been instrumental in helping states adopt domestic-worker bills of rights. After her first year at HKS, Fletes was awarded a Dubin Summer Fellowship by the school to collaborate with another workers' rights organization, the Restaurant Opportunities Center, for which she continues to work in her bid to eliminate the federal subminimum wage.

Back in San Francisco, posters line the walls of the ACLU's San Francisco office. They speak aphoristically of liberty and justice for all. Another placard bears the image of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who once famously said, “Just as buildings in California have a greater need to be earthquake proofed, places where there is greater racial polarization in voting have a greater need for prophylactic measures to prevent purposeful race discrimination.”

On her hourlong train ride to work from her suburban Hayward home, Fletes catches up on the headlines by listening to “The Daily,” a *New York Times* podcast. The news highlights the regular drama of the Trump administration. Although Fletes expects President Trump to drive more Californians—and Americans in general—to the polls in the 2020 presidential election, her hope is less ephemeral: “We want to make sure that voting becomes a habit, not something that happens when it feels like an emergency situation.”



EVENT

First Principles

THERE ARE FEW FIXED POINTS IN POLITICS these days. No more so than on the political right, where President Donald Trump has set charges to some of the Republican Party’s philosophical foundations. So, what does it mean to be a conservative in America in 2019?

A few of the movement’s luminaries convened at the John F. Kennedy Jr. Forum in October to answer that question. George Will, the veteran *Washington Post* columnist and commentator; Jeff Flake, the former Republican senator from Arizona and an Institute of Politics fall fellow; and Arthur Brooks, the former president of the American Enterprise Institute and an HKS professor of the practice of public leadership, were joined by IOP Resident Fellow Alice Stewart, a CNN commentator and formerly Senator Ted Cruz’s presidential campaign communications director. All touched on conservatism’s emphasis on maintaining order and stability while giving free rein to the liberty and creative energies of the people.

With the backdrop of an impeachment probe, the speakers addressed the question of allegiance to party, to country, and to principle. Brooks advised young conservatives to “stay close to first philosophical principles and not hard party principles ... because, in an environment of tribalism, the worst thing that we can do is align ourselves with the party.” More important, he added, is “the moral obligation ... in a free society ... to speak according to our principles and, furthermore, to respect the principles of other people—to stand up not just to the people with whom we disagree, but on behalf of those with whom we disagree.”

THE BUZZ



“It’s a very different ball game now than of course what the Founders ever intended.”

Senior Lecturer in Public Policy David King, speaking at a pop-up Forum in October on the coming impeachment battle.



“Anything that prevents people from having free and fair access—open access to the ballot—that’s voter suppression.”

IOP Fall 2019 Resident Fellow LaTosha Brown, cofounder of the Black Voters Matter Fund, at a Forum in October on engaging communities of color.



“I’m trying to be glass half-full about multilateralism. But it’s not the comprehensive multilateralism that reigned up until the great financial crisis.”

Mark Carney, governor of the Bank of England, speaking about the value of international cooperation at a Forum in October.



“Is your education going to make you arrogant? Is it going to make you persuasive? ... It has to be possible to attack prejudiced ideas without attacking human beings or reducing them to that one thing.”

Tara Westover, author and A.M. Rosenthal Writer-in-Residence at the Shorenstein Center for Media, Politics, and Public Policy, at a Forum in November.



“It’s important to look at where we succeeded in the past. ... African policymakers are capable of taking measures that can generate growth.”

Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala, chair of Global Alliance for Vaccines and Immunization and former World Bank managing director and Nigerian finance minister, speaking on PolicyCast.



“You have to do everything you can.”

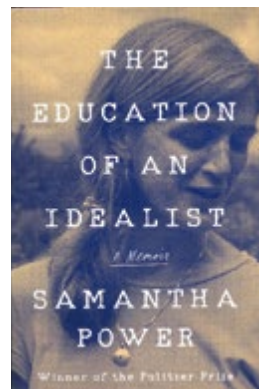
Lech Walesa, former president of Poland, founder of Solidarity, and Nobel Peace Prize winner, on coming out of retirement to fight against the rise of populism and nationalism.

MARTHA STEWART

The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir

Samantha Power, Anna Lindh Professor of the Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy, Harvard Kennedy School; William D. Zabel '61 Professor of Practice in Human Rights, Harvard Law School

BY TURNS A DEEPLY PERSONAL HISTORY, a diplomatic page-turner, and a moral manifesto, Samantha Power's new book, *The Education of an Idealist: A Memoir*, is a complex and engaging work by one of the world's most influential voices at the intersection of human rights and geopolitics.



Starting in her native Ireland, Power recounts spending childhood days at the pub with her gregarious but alcoholic father and then, after her parents' separation, emigrating at the age of nine with her mother and younger brother to the United States. She writes of her student years at Yale, her interest in pursuing a career as a sports journalist, and the moment she was captivated by the lone protester standing in front of a tank during China's 1989 crackdown on pro-

democracy protesters in Tiananmen Square.

The haunting images from China propelled her to study foreign affairs, and a few years later, she ended up in the war-torn Balkans as a 23-year-old freelance journalist covering the siege of Sarajevo and Bosnian Serb atrocities. After earning a Harvard Law degree and writing *A Problem from Hell*, a Pulitzer Prize-winning book about American responses to twentieth-century genocides, she landed a job with then-Senator Barack Obama. She became Obama's chief human rights and UN adviser after he was elected president and in 2013 was appointed U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, the youngest diplomat to assume that role.

Power gives readers a behind-the-scenes look at U.S. and global efforts to respond to crises in South Sudan, Burma, Syria, and beyond, and how she maintained a close relationship with the Russian ambassador even as the two waged a pitched battle in the UN Security Council. She also shows the challenges of raising two young children while managing a 24/7 national security job.

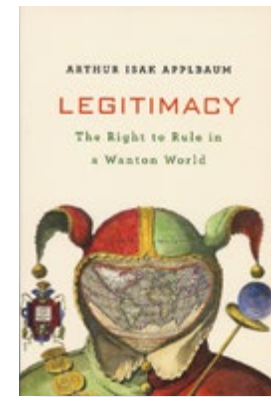
In the end, Power remains upbeat about our ability to make a difference in our communities and internationally. "People who care, act, and refuse to give up may not change *the* world," she writes, "but they can change many individual worlds."

Legitimacy

The Right to Rule in a Wanton World

Arthur Applbaum, Adams Professor of Political Leadership and Democratic Values

ARTHUR APPLBAUM'S WORK focuses on political legitimacy, civil and official disobedience, and role morality. His latest book, *Legitimacy: The Right to Rule in a Wanton World*, presents one of the first full-fledged philosophical accounts of what makes governments legitimate during an unsettled time for liberal democracy—a time marked by eruptions of authoritarianism and arbitrary rule.



Applbaum argues that adherence to procedure is not enough to ensure a legitimate government. "Following the best method for producing legitimate government doesn't constitute legitimate government any more than following the best recipe for crème brûlée constitutes crème brûlée," he writes. Even a properly chosen government does not rule legitimately if it fails to protect basic rights, to treat its citizens as political equals, or to act coherently.

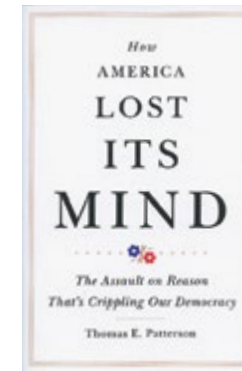
Instead, Applbaum reasons, a legitimate government must be made up of free citizens and must uphold three principles: liberty, equality, and agency. He explains, "The liberty, equality, and agency principles control three distinct aspects of governance: The liberty principle controls what decisions should be made. The equality principle controls who has the normative power to make these decisions. The agency principle controls how decisions are made." He singles out disregard of the third principle—which may result in a ruler's acting in incoherent and wanton ways—as the most damaging in today's world. "The greatest danger to the legitimacy of contemporary democracies," Applbaum writes, "is the threat of wantonism. ... Rulers that cannot govern themselves cannot legitimately govern others."

How America Lost Its Mind

The Assault on Reason That's Crippling Our Democracy

Thomas Patterson, Bradlee Professor of Government and the Press

THE KNOW NOTHING MOVEMENT broke like a wave over America in the 1850s. A large number of American Protestants, seeing a papist conspiracy behind the arrival of millions of Catholic immigrants from Ireland and Germany, organized in a not-so-secret society that at its high-water mark included members who held mayoral and statewide offices and even a viable presidential candidate. But, Thomas Patterson writes, "their governing policies were as zany as their theories," among them the belief that the Irish were a racially separate and inferior group, and soon the movement's popularity ebbed.



One tension at the core of democracy has always been that power flows from all citizens, regardless of their level of education or grip on the truth. But whereas ignorance and misinformation are ever with us, democracy today faces an insidious threat from the sheer virulence of misinformation and from its resistance to correction.

"Outrageous ideas abound today but, unlike those of the Know Nothings, they are not likely to disappear in short order," Patterson writes. "The conditions necessary for misinformation to thrive are firmly in place, held there by three of America's sturdiest anchors—the lust for money, the lure of celebrity, and the drive for power."

The sources of this situation have been diagnosed before: universal access to mass communication, the decline of journalism, the indulgence of views untethered from fact. Patterson, whose book grew out of his Julian J. Rothbaum Distinguished Lecture at the University of Oklahoma, delves into the characters who have helped make it so—those whom he dubs the disruptors, the performers, and the marketers. But he also suggests remedies that could help the increasingly endangered political moderate, responsible journalist, and well-informed citizen thrive again. Finally, he points to the vital role of the leader: "The quality of our leadership is ultimately an index of the quality of our democracy."

Valuing U.S. National Parks and Programs

America's Best Investment

Linda Bilmes, Daniel Patrick Moynihan Senior Lecturer in Public Policy; coeditor, John Loomis, Colorado State University

THE NATIONAL PARK SERVICE (NPS) OVERSEES more than 95 million acres, fielding 22,000 employees and 339,000 volunteers to manage national parks, monuments, historical sites, battlefields, seashores, and more. But although the national parks are heralded as one of our country's most important and enduring treasures, the agency faces a \$12 billion maintenance backlog and a \$2.5 billion budget that has remained flat for decades, is funneled from five sources, and includes tough restrictions on how the money is used.



Linda Bilmes first began looking at the NPS's budgetary woes while researching examples of poor financing systems. Years later, she and her coeditor, John Loomis, offer a new economic analysis, assigning the national parks a value beyond their beauty and ecological importance. *Valuing U.S. National Parks and Programs*, they claim, provides the first comprehensive economic assessment of "America's best investment."

The book offers a framework for

calculating the true monetary worth of the parks, accounting for visitor use and contributions, carbon-footprint costs, educational resources, entertainment-industry value, and sustainable future funding. The result is a valuation of about \$100 billion in economic benefits to the American public.

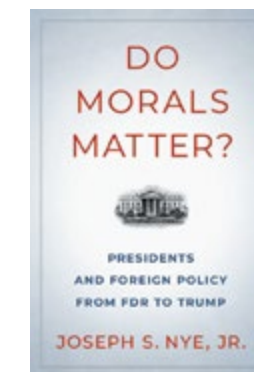
The authors also point to specific ways to improve funding for the NPS in the future, including longer appropriation cycles to reduce volatility and allowing the NPS to issue bonds. They hope this new framework will help economists and park professionals around the world quantify the value of their own protected areas.

Do Morals Matter?

Presidents and Foreign Policy from FDR to Trump

Joseph S. Nye Jr., Harvard University Distinguished Service Professor, emeritus, and former dean of Harvard Kennedy School

IN HIS NEW BOOK, Joseph S. Nye Jr., the preeminent scholar of international relations who coined the term "soft power," meticulously weighs the ethics of the foreign policy decisions of every U.S. president from Franklin Delano Roosevelt onward. "Good moral reasoning should be three-dimensional, weighing and balancing the intentions, the means, and the consequences of presidents' decisions," he argues. "A moral foreign policy is not a matter of intentions versus consequences but must involve both as well as the means that were used."



Using these three dimensions, Nye develops a moral scorecard for each president. This multifaceted approach allows for a nuanced judgment of foreign policy decisions. It also reveals some insights into our former heads of state. Nye judges Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and George H.W. Bush as the best in their balance of effectiveness and morality in foreign policy. The four least successful, in his assessment, are Johnson, Nixon, George W. Bush, and

(tentatively, since he is still sitting) Trump.

Although the bulk of the book is dedicated to the past seven decades, Nye also forecasts the circumstances that will affect future U.S. presidents' decisions. The next heads of state, he argues, will have to contend with a more powerful China and with how technology makes our world increasingly complex. Nye predicts that "the 46th president will face the moral challenge of defining a foreign policy where America provides global public goods in cooperation with others, and uses not only our hard power but also our soft power to attract their cooperation."

Do morals matter in the U.S. presidency? For Nye, the answer is a resounding "yes."

CLASSNOTES



—
Lisa-Joy Zgorski MPP 1993 (right) stands with Susan Pell, deputy executive director at the United States Botanic Garden, after welcoming HKS alumni to the gardens for an alumni event in September.

1967

Harry Harris MPA, after nearly 15 years as a successful and aging entrepreneur, has sold HealthCare California, central California's largest home health agency. In October 2019, he was selected as Fresno's Man of the Year. Harry enjoys leisure time at his home with family and friends. Also, he engages energetically in frequent global travel, nearing 150,000 air miles annually. Antarctica is a scheduled destination in November 2019, thus completing multiple visits to the seven continents!

1969

Jack Underhill MPA is preparing a paper on expanding affordable housing and reducing homelessness for the Conference of the American Society of Public Administration in March 2020. He spent a week in Appalachia with the Appalachian Service Project renovating homes for the poor.

1970 50th Reunion

Geoffrey Dutton MCRP writes, "My 30-year career in academia and industry as a geospatial software developer ended when I obtained a PhD in geography. Too superannuated to climb an academic ladder, I took up technical writing for the next 15. When my romance with high tech faded, I put myself out to pasture to write whatever I pleased, including articles damning high tech for betraying its promise and users. I found time to publish in 2018 an oddball thriller called *Turkey Shoot*, which portrays a ragtag group of radicals out to smash one or more states. Now writing a sequel to it (women's crime fiction, of all things). Never did make much use of my MCP degree. Cheers to all."

1974

Manolo Abella MPA writes, "I am now retired after establishing the Institute of Labour Studies in the Philippines and managing various UN and International Labor Organization projects for migrant workers all over the world for over 28 years. What I learned from HKS came in handy in advising governments on what to watch out for in reforming bureaucratic structures and systems, especially in politically sensitive areas of public policy like migration. Taking into account conflicting interests and stakes of bureaucracies with overlapping functions and responsibilities served me well in my advisory work, including my research for Oxford's Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, MOP in Sussex, the European Commission, and the World Bank."

JOEY WANG

1976

Paul Bailey MPP writes, "I am winding down a career in public policy, working for different government agencies on a variety of topics, with an emphasis on public finance and financial responsibility. I first studied financial responsibility as part of my second year MPP work. Who knew that something learned in school could be a theme of one's life work? I was in the combined MPP/JD program, so I started off in the 1972 Kennedy School class but graduated in 1976. I am honored that HKS accepted my son for a mid-career MPA; he works for the State Department's Foreign Service."

Scott Martin MCRP writes, "I am vice president/principal of Hilliker Corporation, an industrial and commercial real estate brokerage, and also of Westwood Net Lease Advisors. With Hilliker Corporation I am brokering the sale and lease of industrial and office properties in the St. Louis metro area. Westwood represents buyers of net leased real estate nationwide, such as fast food restaurants, dollar stores, and leased industrial and office properties."

1978

Robert Sabbatini MCRP and his wife, Bonnie Loyd, are both fully retired and have recently completed a seven-month trip to Italy. Robert was recognized as an Italian citizen in March of last year.

1980 40th Reunion

Ngure Mwaniki MC/MPA, after graduating from HKS, worked in the Office of the Vice President and Ministry of Finance of Kenya, and then was seconded as a consultant in the Office of the Economic Advisor to His Excellency the President. Ngure later worked as an economic adviser to the first governor of Nairobi City County, and served on several national boards, including those of the Revenue Authority and the Privatization Commission. He currently is founder and chairman of Mwaniki Associates Ltd., an economics and management consulting firm that has been in operation for 35 years and covers the sub-Saharan African countries. Ngure is also the Honorary Consul of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago in Kenya. He was cochair of the Harvard-Yale Alumni Club of Kenya from 1986 to 1992, and in his spare time enjoys golf, conservation, and creative writing.

David Reed MPP writes "Dear Bureaucrat," the advice column for people who work in the public sector, published in *Federal Times*. David writes, "Dear Bureaucrat gives practical advice backed by peer-reviewed research. The most popular column so far has been 'Dear Bureaucrat, My job wants me to lie!'"

Alexandra Schweitzer MPP writes, "I'm back at the Kennedy School as a senior fellow in the Mossavar-Rahmani Center for Business and Government, focusing on social determinants of health (SDOH). I plan to write about the underlying drivers of SDOH collaborations between health care and social service organizations. Managing high-cost, high-risk populations is a critical challenge on its own; adding housing, nutrition, or transportation assistance makes it much more complicated—and much more important. I'm doing similar work as a consultant to a Medicaid Accountable Care Organization. I've had great input from classmate Anne Weiss MPP. Hope to see everyone at our reunion in May."

Patricia White MPP writes, "After 22-plus years in London, we returned to the United States in March 2017 and are now living in Old Town Alexandria, which reminds us just a tiny bit of London. We maintain ties to London as our daughter still lives there and I continue to serve on the board of English National Opera. Closer to home I am serving on the board of the National Museum of Women in the Arts and we are getting involved in the local community."

1981

William Hamilton HKSEE has published *Formula for Failure in Vietnam: The Folly of Limited Warfare*. Compiled from in-person interviews of the generals and admirals who were ordered to fight a land war in Southeast Asia and told by a former infantry company commander who carried out those orders on the ground in Vietnam and Cambodia, this book details how the Johnson administration chose to fight a war of attrition against North Vietnam and then failed to seal off the battle area from Red Chinese and Soviet resupply and allowed North Vietnamese ground forces to have sanctuaries in Laos, Cambodia, and even North Vietnam itself.

Michael Schabas MCRP writes, "Since 2016 I have been an advisor to Ontario's Metrolinx regional authority, which is investing \$20 billion in expanding and upgrading the GO regional rail system to operate faster electric trains every 15 minutes across the network. Since early 2019 I have had the same role for the \$11 billion Ontario Line subway. For both projects I drew frequently on lessons I learned at HKS, including developing and explaining ridership and revenue forecasts, building a rock-solid business case, recommending a PPP procurement structure, and providing the arguments that persuaded government to provide the necessary financial and policy support."

➔
Use the Alumni Directory to contact your classmates.

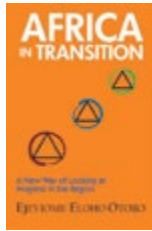
hks.harvard.edu/alumni-directory



—
Geoffrey Dutton
MCRP 1970



—
William Hamilton
HKSEE 1981



— Ejeviome Eloho Ootobo MPA 1985



— James Gruber MC/MPA 1985

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

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

1982

Eric Elbot MC/MPA, in joining the HKSNE Alumni Board of Directors, will focus on opportunities for alumni to strategically champion the greater public good, publicly make the case for the aspirations of a robust public sector, and deepen the meaningfulness of alumni involvement in our beloved Kennedy School, as it increasingly embodies: character is destiny.

1984

Judith Bunnell MPP writes, “Joseph and I have had lots of classmate connections since Reunion! Dinner with **Leslie Fogg Bowie MPP** and **Mark Sullivan MPP** in June. Dinner with **Ken Farbstein MPP** and **Zac Rolnik MPP** in Boston and then drinks with **Leslie Kirwan MPP**. Vacation with Janice and **Dana Rowan MPP** and their son William and our gal, India. Zac hosted us and Dana and Tony Gomez-Ibañez at his house for a barbecue! **Scott Jensen MPP’s** daughter, Tess, is in D.C., so we promised to look out for her. **David Barol MPP** also came for a D.C. visit and Mark cooked with Joseph. **Kathleen deLaski MPA** and Rich Innis hosted us and Dana and Janice for a summer weekend....Reach out! Looking forward to your visit.”

Margarita Castellon MC/MPA writes, “After a lot of years with AT&T and various boards in South Florida, I am considering retiring in the very near future and spending six months traveling through Europe, with a home base in Berlin. I look forward to connecting with fellow alums who live in Berlin and elsewhere along my travels. When I return, the plan is to take a fresh look at community needs and to be of service to my favorite nonprofits.”

Jackie Newbury MPA writes, “I would welcome contact from fellow alums if you are in Europe. I am working in London and Germany in banking and building a portfolio of directorships. In between, I have built a zero-energy home and am a keen hiker and traveller but haven’t made it to the United States recently.”

Gabriela Romanow MPA writes, “You won’t notice my new hip, but I hope we’ll find a time to dance together in May! I am pleased to announce that my work in advocating,

fundraising and educating about neuromyelitis optica (NMO) has been formalized with a job working with terrific neurologists at the Massachusetts General Hospital. We are creating New England’s first NMO clinic and research lab. You won’t notice Bob’s mended knee, but he has a new business venture providing him again with the challenges of entrepreneurialism.”

Bob Samuels MC/MPA writes, “A donation to the International Rescue Committee provides a way that American citizens and others can help the Syrian Kurds.”

Karen Walz MCRP continues to enjoy creative and successful urban planning projects in the Dallas-Fort Worth region. Among her recent awards is recognition as a “Texas Planning Legend”—the first baby boomer to be so designated. More information about her consulting practice and projects is at www.planforaction.com or on Facebook @StrategicCommunitySolutions. On the personal side, Karen and her husband, Terry Morgan, had a fascinating trip to Antarctica. They’ve now visited all seven continents (or eight, if you count Madagascar). Jake is in the fifth year of his PhD program in Victorian literature, and son Max is in his third year of law school. “Come to the reunion!”

1985 35th Reunion

Jack Gardner MPP continues to serve as CEO of The John Stewart Company, a statewide developer (and the largest manager) of subsidized affordable housing in California (no. 7 in the United States). Jack was recently inducted into the California Housing Consortium’s Hall of Fame in recognition of his “private sector leadership” and “profound impact” on California’s housing sector. According to the consortium, its Housing Hall of Fame recognizes “heroes in the field” based on characteristics such as innovation, effectiveness, impact, collaborative spirit, and inspirational records of service.

James Gruber MC/MPA writes, “I look forward to seeing all of you at our 35th reunion this spring! Prior to my coming retirement this summer from a faculty role at Antioch University New England, I had an opportunity to reflect back on 35 years since taking Ron Heifetz’s class on leadership and how I have tried to apply adaptive leadership to my environmental consulting and teaching. Through the encouragement and support of my dear wife, Patience (whom I met that same year), I was able to complete the book: *Building Community—Twelve Principles for a Healthy Future* (New Society Publishing) will be released this spring. How the years have passed! See you all May 15.”

Alison Hughes MPA writes, “Following career retirement eight years ago, served (pro bono) as director of our local governmental women’s commission for a few years. Also organized leadership forums and taught leadership skills to Arizona DACA students who live in border towns. Taking brief time out for relaxation under the radar. Plan to come up for air and engage in the 2020 election. Virginia election results inspired. Hope to turn Arizona blue, after which retirement looms once more.”

Ejeviome Eloho Ootobo MPA writes, “My book *Africa in Transition: A New Way of Looking at Progress in the Region* was featured in the Spring 2019 *HKS Magazine* and nominated for the Grand Prix of Literary Associations Award 2018, announced in July 2019. I am currently publishing an op-ed series titled “China, America and Russia’s Game of Influence in Africa” for the *Guardian* (of Nigeria). The first two installments of the series were published by the *Guardian* on July 9, 2019, and October 2, 2019. The next installment, focusing on United States–Africa relations, will be published in early December 2019.”

Michael Pocalyko MC/MPA received the Joseph Wharton Award at a Washington gala. The award honors Wharton alumni whose “professional success exemplifies the outstanding managerial and leadership qualities fundamental to the principles established by Joseph Wharton.” Michael, who earned his MBA at Wharton, was joined at the event by **Kenneth Brier MC/MPA** 1984 and **Maury Devine MC/MPA**.

Gary Usrey MPA writes, “At the 2019 U.S. National Squash Championships, held in Washington, D.C., I finished runner-up in the men’s 70-plus division. I also checked off a longtime bucket list item this past September by completing my first skydiving jump.”

1986

Jeff Bleich MPP reports that Flinders University in Australia recently launched the Jeff Bleich Centre for the U.S. Alliance in Digital Technology, Security, and Governance (flinders.edu.au/jeff-bleich-centre). Jeff has apologized to the university for not having a better surname. But he thinks it was a nice statement of faith in the centre that they could name it anything—even “Bleich”—and feel confident it would still be a success.

Casey Corr MPA retired from running a magazine based in Yakima, Washington. He now divides his time between a rural home near Yakima and Seattle. Last fall,

The World Is Here to Support You

Zeenith Ebrahim MC/MPA 2019

“I GREW UP IN CAPE TOWN in what was classified as a ‘colored’ community,” says Zeenith Ebrahim MC/MPA 2019, a native of South Africa. “The black community was the worst off, then colored communities, then people of Indian or Asian descent, and then white people. That was kind of the order, and that’s how resources like education, health care, and so on were allocated.”

Although apartheid formally ended in the early 1990s, South Africa’s smaller cities and rural areas remain highly segregated. It is there that Ebrahim hopes her early-stage social enterprise, Jamii (Swahili for “community”) will have an impact on populations that have trouble accessing health care. Her solution provides an antidote to the interrelated issues of lack of access to health care and lack of access to jobs.

“The intention is to provide very affordable diagnostics for heart-related illnesses in low-income communities,” says Ebrahim. The company is working on an app-connected medical device that home care workers would use to assess people’s health, including their blood sugar levels, blood pressure, and heart rate. “The second idea is to provide home care, including a tech platform for people

who have suffered a stroke or a heart attack and need help,” she says.

The project was born during Ebrahim’s year at the Kennedy School, where she was an Adrian Cheng Fellow. But it has much deeper roots. “My grandmother was bedridden for 16 years, and we always struggled

— “Having the HKS staff as a support system, kind of cheering you on, and then also the cohort of other Cheng Fellows, was very valuable.”

to find people who could help us,” Ebrahim says. “We didn’t ever find people who were qualified. So the idea for the company is that we have a medical device, we have an app, we have people that we trained. They can go for half an hour and just do whatever the family needs them to do, from basic diagnostics to bathing.”

She says that people frequently don’t learn they have diabetes or hypertension until something else goes wrong—and often it’s too



late. “We want to screen people and try to help them make lifestyle changes early enough,” Ebrahim says. “Of the women we spoke with last year, 60 percent were diabetic, prediabetic, or had hypertension.”

The community of social innovators created by the Cheng Fellowship and the Social Innovation + Change Initiative at HKS was critical to helping Ebrahim transition from her corporate background. “Having the HKS staff as a support system, kind of cheering you on, and then also the cohort of other Cheng Fellows, was very valuable,” she says. “There was never a sense of competition—it always felt collaborative.”

A formal product launch was scheduled for January 2020. Ebrahim remains grateful for her experience at HKS. “It’s amazing: There is a sense that the world is here to support you. I have never been in a resource-rich environment. I don’t mean money. There’s something about being at Harvard that makes you feel like you have access to resources—and I haven’t lost that feeling.”

ALY SCHWALING



— HKS alumni reflect on their Kennedy School experience at a panel for new students during orientation week. Pictured from left to right: Allister Martin MPP 2015, Doug Levine MPA 2008, MaryRose Mazzola MPP 2015, Carlos Aparicio Madico MPA/ID 2015, and Matthew Aronson MPP 2010.

he and his wife, Sally Tonkin, had lunch with Patty and **Mike Orfini MC/MPA**, who were visiting Seattle while their son climbed Mount Rainier.

James Junke MC/MPA writes, “Highlight of the year was my daughter’s wedding in August in Niagara-on-the-Lake. Raptors winning the NBA championship was special. Had a busy fall as a volunteer canvasser for Canadian Minister of Environment Catherine McKenna, who was reelected as the member of Parliament in Ottawa Centre, in the federal election of October 21, 2019.”

1987

Nadine Hack MC/MPA CEO of beCause Global Consulting, recently spoke at several international conferences including: “Role & Responsibility of Media in Deeply Divided Societies” in Belfast; “Future of Planet: Inspiring What Could Be” in Lausanne; and “How to Measure Impact by Movements” in Geneva. She co-facilitated, for the fifth time, the FIFA/UEFA Women Football Leadership Program in Zurich. She was one of 40 participants at the RFK Human Rights conference “Business & Human Rights” with 2014 Nobel Peace Laureate Kailash Satyarthi in Bad Ragaz.

Jim Lederman MC/MPA writes, “I have been forcibly retired because, with the advent of Trumpitis, there is no longer a market in the media for the kind of analytical skills that I acquired at HKS and still cherish—this despite the fact that the Middle East, my professional bailiwick for the past half century and more, is now undergoing what is possibly the most profound social and cultural upheaval since the rise of Islam.”

Shigetaka Seki MPP received a PhD in environmental science in 2018. In December 2018, Shigetaka started working at the Consumer Product Safety Association as executive director. The association authorizes the Safe Goods (SG) mark certification for products that have met safety standards.

David Wohl MC/MPA writes, “After 20 years of consulting in affordable housing development, I formed a joint venture company, Newport SW, to build or acquire apartments in Arizona that are affordable to low-income families and individuals. Earlier this year, we were awarded an allocation of competitive Low Income Housing Tax Credits to build 40 units for low- and very low-income families in Tucson, and we are now looking for property across the state for future development.”

1988

Volker Baas MC/MPA writes, “After having been appointed to the HAA Global Board this fall, I would like to offer all my fellow HKS alumni active support. I also look forward to establishing a strong relationship with the HKS Alumni Board, and would like to thank the alumni board for a very warm welcome at the HKS reception on October 25 (Karen, thanks for organizing so nicely).”

1989

Russell Hawkins MC/MPA is still based in South Africa (since 1994). He’s currently serving as technical adviser to the South Africa Local Government Association and completing his term as president of the Harvard University Alumni Association of South Africa. He also established linkage with GSPP. “Trying to keep busy. Would like to see more HKS involvement in Africa as well. Would also welcome and encourage classmates and others to visit South Africa. Reach me at hawke@mailbox.co.za. Keep in touch!”

Nancy Kaufman MC/MPA stepped down as CEO of National Council of Jewish Women in June. She is still living in New York City with her three grandchildren 19 blocks away! Nancy has “rewired” and started a consulting/coaching practice called NKK Strategic Advisors. “Come visit!”

Noriyuki Shikata MPP, after two years serving in Beijing as minister, deputy chief of mission, with the Japanese Embassy in China, moved back to Harvard in August 2019. He will be at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs’ Program on U.S.-Japan Relations until May 2020, doing research on emerging U.S. policy toward China and its implications for Japanese diplomacy.

Emily Warner MPA writes, “In May 2019, I officially retired. I live on a ridge in Oklahoma surrounded by hay meadows, pastures, and lovely views! The Voices of Unity community choir and the Boomtown (community) Theater require a lot of time. Our choir participated in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*, a musical at the Tulsa Performing Arts Center, in June 2019. I frequent the Oklahoma Jazz Hall of Fame, a Tulsa jewel! Several HKS pals have visited me and my travels almost always include a visit with HKS friends. I am also involved in civil rights issues. You will be hearing about the 1921 Tulsa Race Massacre on national news as its centennial approaches.”

MARTHA STEWART

1990 30th Reunion

Jon Morgan MPP writes, “Living in Darien, Connecticut, with my wife, Cathleen, and two children. I am working as an independent board director, primarily for investment funds. In May of 2019, I received a master’s of divinity from Yale Divinity School and will be using this to focus more attention on ESG and sustainability on the boards on which I serve. Also, I am no longer a Republican.”

Bryan Wood-Thomas MC/MPA is currently working on the design of an international maritime research and development board devoted to accelerating the development of low and zero carbon fuels and technologies for international shipping. “If successful, we will invest over \$5 billion to move the international shipping sector to a new energy transition. Best to everyone in the Class of 1990.”

1991

Gabriela Alurralde Smith MPA is the founder and president of the Crimsonbridge Foundation (crimsonbridge.org) and has over 20 years of experience in philanthropy, education, and the nonprofit sector. She designed and launched scholarship and educational programs for children and youth, and nationwide initiatives to improve outreach to immigrant communities. Internationally, she founded a development fellowship at HKS supporting emerging leaders from Latin America. Gabriela is a founding investor and board member of Venture Philanthropy Partners, and served as a member of the HKS Dean’s Council and the Georgetown University Board of Regents. Her professional background includes supervising education projects for the World Bank.

Fabiana Feld MPA will retire from International Finance Corporation and will join a renewable energy company as CFO. In addition, she will continue to teach at Stanford Business School and IE in Madrid. Her three sons are on their way to adulthood and this means more freedom to pursue interests that have been sidelined for a long time.

Jimmie McEver MPP was recently elected to the 2020 Class of Associate Fellows of the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics. He chairs the AIAA Technical Committee on Information and C2 Systems and has been heavily involved in AIAA’s Complex Aerospace Systems Exchange. He is a principal scientist and program manager for cyber capability integration at the JHU Applied Physics Laboratory, coordinating APL’s cyber- and AI-related work for organizations in the office of the secretary of defense.

Barry Sloane MC/MPA has been appointed to the Community Bank Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

Steve Zwick MC/MPA retired in 2018 after 24 years serving as the county attorney for Colorado’s San Miguel County. Steve is currently engaged in public service activities at the local government level on a volunteer basis.

1992

Michael Davis MPP writes, “After graduation, I worked for JPMorgan for 17 years, both in investment banking and asset management, where I ultimately ran the western United States for our institutional asset management business. I served for four years in the Obama administration as a deputy assistant secretary in the U.S. Department of Labor, where I focused on national retirement policy. For the last several years, I have been working for T. Rowe Price as head of our Defined Contribution Specialist team, which works with sponsors of large DC plans nationwide.”

Lucinda Flowers MC/MPA writes, “After years in affordable housing, community development, and urban planning, I started my own consulting practice in 2015. I help nonprofits with grant writing and fund development, drawing on decades as a communicator and policy professional. I returned home to New Orleans area in 2003, two years before our world changed forever with the catastrophic levee failures of Hurricane Katrina. As tough as that time was, I was grateful to be here and to work in a field that was so central to the recovery. That said, I still consider New England a second home and visit often—one of the perks of self-employment.”

David Greig MPA writes, “In my hometown of Wellington, New Zealand (after many years in Melbourne), working part time at the Ministry of Transport on economics/policy/strategy. The MPA has helped a lot, plus newer themes such as behavioural psychology/Nudge and real options/uncertainty. I get back to the United States every couple of years—enjoy wandering around the Harvard campus and also getting off the beaten track, e.g., Glacier National Park in Montana, and U.S. southern states (for blues music and museums). Also Galapagos, Peruvian Andes hiking, Morocco, Danube/Hungary bike riding, Armenia, North Vietnam. And seeing friends in France and keeping the language going.”

Gail Murray MC/MPA writes, “I am writing a political memoir about my time on the Walnut Creek, California, City Council and the

BART Board of Directors. In September in San Francisco, I attended an HKS panel titled ‘Getting Published in an Era of Evolving Media.’ Writing is only the first step! I learned how overwhelming the task is to get the book from paper to publishing! In October I attended a lively discussion by Nancy Gibbs, director of the Shorenstein Center, on ‘The Future of Media and Democracy.’ Nice to reconnect here on the West Coast with the stimulating work at HKS.”

Manuel Valle MPA is back in Madrid after five years as trade commissioner at the Embassy of Spain in Los Angeles.

1993

Diane Cherry MPP worked for 22 years at the federal, state, and local levels in energy and environmental policy and took an early retirement back in 2018. The past couple of years she worked at a nonprofit clean energy organization and recently started her own consulting firm, Diane Cherry Consulting. Diane has clients that range from clean energy companies nonprofits and educational institutions in clean energy-related work in North Carolina and the Southeast. Her current work includes energy resilience for NC military bases, a continuing legal education program for South Carolina renewable energy lawyers, and business development for an energy storage company.

Jeffrey Colvin MPA writes, “After graduating I served on the Kennedy School’s New England Alumni Council while working for the Boston Foundation. After seven years in philanthropy I returned to school and earned an MFA in creative writing from Columbia. With nearly twenty years of research and writing done, my debut novel, *Africaville*, will be published in December of 2019 by Amistad/HarperCollins. Reflecting my love of urban and international affairs, *Africaville* recounts three generations of a family whose matriarch is from a black community near Halifax, Nova Scotia, that was destroyed in the 1960s under the guise of urban renewal.”

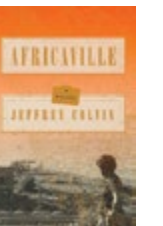
John Glenn MPA writes, “I retired from EPA in 2013 where I started its Green Racing program. The program encourages motorsports to change a single important metric—drop engine displacement—and adopt energy flow regulations instead to control power and force the sport to use its expertise to design more energy-efficient engines rather than power-dense engines (small engines that use a lot of energy to make power). The program has had a modicum of success, especially in Formula 1 and the World Endurance Championship.



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— Jeffrey Colvin MPA 1993



The Sweet Spot

Jennifer Kao PHD 2019

JENNIFER KAO REMEMBERS when she first saw the outlines of a multifaceted career that she would eventually make her own. While doing research for a project on economic growth run jointly by the London School of Economics, where she was studying for her master's degree, and a United Kingdom government think tank, she interviewed government officials, academics, and people in the private sector. "That to me was the sweet spot when it comes to thinking about policy decision making: to have one foot in government, academia, and business," says Kao, who joined the faculty at the UCLA Anderson School of Management in July after completing her doctorate at HKS.

Her twin areas of interest, however, were ones that Kao had almost been raised on. She remembers when her mother, who worked in biotech—"classic Bay Area," the California native says—would get ready for FDA inspections. "It made me keenly aware that the regulatory agencies for drugs in the United States

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 "My career goal is to be in spaces where you'll have three voices heard: the policymaker's, the private sector's, and the academic's."

really influenced how companies went about and thought about their decision making," Kao says.

Her experience in the U.K. led Kao to Harvard Kennedy School for her PhD. She was attracted by the school's multisectoral approach and its position as a hub for policy learning. In Cambridge, her interest in regulation and health care further crystallized.

At Harvard, Kao found the freedom and the flexibility to explore her interests at the vanguard of academics and innovation. She took classes across Harvard, but also took advantage of the academic community at MIT and the National Bureau of Economic Research. Her two closest friends in the doctoral program were an environmental economist and a development economist "doing quite different things," Kao says.

"But there was always an intellectual appetite to discuss ideas." These conversations inspired her to take a broader view. Kao also points to the mentorship she received from HBS Professor Ariel Stern PhD 2014.

Her scholarship now focuses on how regulation and information influence companies' innovation decisions. "One thing I'm looking at right now is how the current regulatory system influences the type of drugs that companies are coming up with," Kao explains. "For example, in one project my coauthors and I are examining how regulation influences the speed at which new products come to market and their ultimate safety. In another project, I'm examining how regulation shapes firms' decisions to seek approval for new uses of existing products. One of the most exciting aspects of this area is that regulation is constantly shifting to keep up with changes in technology, and vice versa. In addition, improvements in data have allowed researchers to document how an idea flows from an innovator to a consumer. It's a really fruitful area to study."

Her research will continue to be in that sweet spot. "My career goal is to be in spaces where you'll have three voices heard: the policymaker's, the private sector's, and the academic's," Kao says. "If I can continue to be in a realm where those three types of voices are heard, I will be very satisfied."

KRISTYN ULANDAY

NATALIE FABE LUBIAS

Since retiring, I've written a couple of articles for *Race Tech* magazine and was one of two keynote speakers at the 2018 World Motorsports Symposium in London."

Judy Lear MC/MPA writes, "I am working hard on the Every Woman Treaty, a global effort to stop violence against women. The United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, China, was 25 years ago, and we have actually come a long way. I am planning on being in New York City at the UN for Beijing+25 and would love to connect with any HKS people!"

1994

Gary Stahl MPA has been happily living with his girls in Geneva for the past two years. Gary is director of private sector partnerships for UNICEF.

1995 25th Reunion

Taylor Batten MPP was named managing editor of the *Charlotte Observer*.

Robert Dam MPP writes, "Greetings! I retired from the Air Force in 2014. I did a PhD in finance at Northwestern, and am currently an assistant professor at the Leeds School of Business at the University of Colorado. My wife, Christa, our two boys, Case and Reef, and I are having a great time in the Boulder and Front Range area."

David Manero MPP writes, "Here's to hoping everyone is doing well! We are still in London—probably moving and moving on in 2020. It is exciting! Best to all and hope to see you soon."

1996

Kimberly Gates MPP writes, "I took a fearless step to 'do what I love' as a real estate professional in the San Francisco Bay Area. Sleepless and happily applying skills honed at HKS and a 20-plus-year career in the health care, government, and detection/security sectors. Honored daily to be entrusted to help great people 'find their place in the world.' Excited by life's next chapter!"

Prasad Gopalan MPP is global sector manager for International Finance Corporation's agribusiness and forestry investments based in Singapore. IFC is a leading investor in the agribusiness and forestry sector in emerging markets with a portfolio of approximately \$6.5 billion. IFC is the private sector arm of the World Bank Group and is the leading multilateral development finance institution focused on developing the private sector in emerging markets.

Dennis Weiner MC/MPA, as a founding partner of Responder Ventures venture capital group, was recently recognized in *Government Technology* magazine's "Top 25 Doers, Dreamers & Drivers for 2018." He is currently bureau chief for Palm Beach County School District Police Department, the 10th largest school district in the United States, where he oversees the department's information technology, physical security, and emergency management efforts for its 187 campuses.

1997

Racheal Seymour MPP is now a writer on the ABC network drama *The Rookie*, starring Nathan Fillion.

Andres Vinelli MPP was named the new vice president of economic policy for the Center for American Progress. He will lead CAP's efforts to develop and further an economic policy agenda that will build a more equitable economy.

1998

Patrick Marx MC/MPA has been named lead facilitator for the Adaptive Leadership Inquiry project at the University of Montana (UM). The project is part of the new Office of Organizational Learning and Development designed to support the professional development of all UM employees.



1999

Veronica Loewe MPA in 2016 received her doctorate cum laude in biosciences and agrifood sciences from the University of Córdoba, Spain. In 2019 she was awarded the International Union of Forest Research Organizations Outstanding Doctoral Research Award for the scientific achievements of her research based on stone pine (*Pinus pinea*). This research, which focused on stone pine growth and fruiting, variability, and adaptation and management, made a valuable contribution to the advancement of stone pine domestication, helping to establish over 2,000 hectares of new plantations for pine nut production in Chile.

2000 20th Reunion

Timothy Anderson MC/MPA writes, "I'm a happy husband, father, and leader of the nonprofit that I started whilst we were together, World Computer Exchange. Let me know if you ever have computers (or cash) to donate, want to volunteer (hands-on or online), or know a group in a developing country that needs some low-cost refurbished computers loaded with educational content. I am grateful for the many classmates who have helped me in aspects of this adventure! It has been great to have this path of trust, grace, and humor to follow during this racist, greedy, and cowardly period in the governance of my country."



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—
 More than 70 alumni joined the HKS Alumni Network of New York to discuss the 2020 elections with Senior Lecturer in Public Policy David King in October.

— The Harvard Votes Challenge is a nonpartisan, University-wide effort organized by the IOP and the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation. The initiative challenged each of Harvard's 12 degree-granting schools to increase voter registration and participation among eligible students.

Christine Buchholz MPP writes, “In April, I joined the U.S. Department of State’s Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons as a senior advisor. The year 2020 marks the 20th anniversary of the Trafficking Victims Protection Act and the Palermo Protocol, which spurred on the anti-trafficking movement in the United States and around the world, respectively. While there is much to do to decimate human trafficking, it is a joy to put my Kennedy School degree to good use and celebrate how the movement has matured in the 20 years since we graduated. Ryan continues to work in community health at Unity Health Care, and our kids are now in middle and high school.”

Adair Dammann MC/MPA writes, “After my ‘First Early Retirement’ in 2016, I went to Africa (twice!) to teach English to adult women in Moshi, Tanzania. This was life changing, deepening my understanding of race, nationalism, colonialism, and gender, and thus my commitment to social, racial, and economic justice. Ask me about the women and men I met! Upon return, I sought a place to make a difference in my own community—and now direct the Washington State Labor Education Center, at South Seattle College. I fish with my husband a lot; dote on my two granddaughters; plot a return to Africa; and RESIST. Can’t wait to see you all in May!”

Kendra Perkins Norwood MPP was elected for a second term as the Region XII director of the National Bar Association (NBA), the nation’s oldest and largest national network of predominantly African-American attorneys and judges. In this role, she will be responsible for overseeing the NBA’s activities across the District of Columbia. She will also have a seat on the NBA’s Board of Governors. Kendra, who is a government contracts attorney at Wiley Rein LLP, also founded the Section of Government Procurement Law within the NBA and is currently working to stand up the new section.

Rosemary Powers MC/MPA left the public sector in August and pivoted to a mission-driven opportunity as president of the Cristo Rey Boston High School. Cristo Rey is a national network of Catholic schools that combine rigorous college preparatory academics with professional work experience, providing an innovative approach to inner-city education that equips students from families of limited economic means with the knowledge, character, and skills to transform their lives. Rosemary writes, “I am excited to support change for individuals, believing that these local actions will have a transformational effect on national concerns around income disparity and inclusion.”

2001

Mark Schmitt MPA writes, “For the last year I have been working on setting up the ‘Health Impact Transfer’ (HIT) Organization, together with three former Harvard grads. We shift resources from repair medicine into prevention, saving thousands of lives and ever scarce financial resources. Prevention is highly lucrative as savings exceed preventive intervention costs by five to 20 times. HIT pre-finances projects via crypto tokens. Parties benefiting from cost savings (e.g., Social Security providers) compensate HIT with a fraction of their savings upon successful project execution. Contact us to help build HIT into a worldwide operating organization. See also healthimpacttoken.org.”

2002

Dal LaMagna MPA writes, “Recently I executive produced *Doubling Thomas*, which you can find for rent on Amazon. Since our graduation I’ve sold Tweezerman to a German company. I executive produced *The Last Dalai Lama?* and *Dying To Know?*, which is about the lifelong relationship of Ram Dass and Timothy Leary. I ran for Congress again up in the Hudson Valley as an independent and failed to get on the ballot. However, my campaign went on as Hudson Valley Happiness and was based on Bhutan’s Gross National Happiness Index. I married Sarah Drew, author of the *Gaia Codex*, in 2017. We live on a farm in Rhinebeck, New York, and have a place in Manhattan close to IceStoneUSA.com, which I bought.”

Cynthia Medina Carson MPP, after a decade in the anti-corruption space and a long stint as a tech recruiter, launched her own company, WAGER, her antidote to salary secrecy in the workplace. WAGER is a salary transparency consulting group that began by pairing individuals in the same industry to have salary conversations. After hundreds of conversations, Cynthia began to offer one-on-one consulting, workshops, and webinars. Companies such as Spotify and Google are now inviting her to meet employee groups and help create spaces to have these complex compensation conversations.

Armen Meyer MPP writes, “I moved to San Francisco to start a job in tech. Luckily, I found fellow **MPP 2002 Bob Lesser** in town. We recently decided to buy a garage so we could start a company. Our idea is to rent garages out to founders, out of our garage, so they too can start companies. If small businesses are the engine of the economy, we are the biomethane for the engines. Come visit, and bring your checkbooks for our HKS-only seed round!”



Security through Global Health

Hoang Bui MPP 2019

BORN IN VIETNAM, Hoang Bui MPP 2019 came to the United States with his family as a nine-month-old. In about a year and a half, he will leave for Ghana in his first overseas assignment as a global health foreign service officer with the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), beginning a career he hopes will help safeguard the world’s most vulnerable populations and also his country’s security.

Bui recalls the moment that, perhaps more than any other, set him on his path. He was in middle school. “I was pulled out of class, and my sister was on the phone,” he says. “She said that our mom had been in an industrial accident.” With the loss of his mother’s livelihood, Bui and his family found themselves living below the poverty line. He saw education as his best way forward. “Originally I wanted to be a ‘good immigrant son,’ become a doctor, and make my entire family proud,” Bui says. That plan changed when he discovered that—along with an interest in public health—he had an affinity for languages, which led him to Taiwan, and later Thailand, aided by two National Security Education Program Boren Awards.

Before coming to the Kennedy School as a USAID Donald M. Payne International Development Fellow, Bui worked as a public health advocate in Minnesota, his home state. “Most people don’t know this, but in Minnesota we have about 200,000 Asian Pacific Islanders (APIs), either U.S. citizens or new immigrants,” he says. “In this community, sex is a taboo topic, so sexually transmitted infections go unseen, and HIV incidence rates for APIs in the United States were

increasing faster than for other racial groups.” Bui did fieldwork and collected data on sexual health in the API community, but he wasn’t sure how to convey that data effectively to influence policy.

That’s where the Kennedy School came in. As an MPP student, Bui learned to analyze and communicate the data’s implications. “Data and numbers by themselves do not necessarily motivate

— **“By understanding how to use stories, you can make the data come alive and move people.”**

people,” he says. “So by understanding how to use stories, you can make the data come alive and move people. That is one of the most powerful lessons I took away from my Kennedy School experience.”

Another powerful lesson came from Nicholas Burns, the Roy and Barbara Goodman

Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations at the Kennedy School and a career foreign service officer. Burns taught Bui about the good that diplomats can do in the world. A career as a global health foreign service officer will allow Bui to make the biggest possible difference using his skills.

According to Bui, “Global health is an indirect way, and in my opinion the most important way, to help countries develop and to strengthen U.S. national security.”



RAYCHEL CASEY

NATALE MONTANER



Going Where the Need Is Greatest

Maria Soledad Rueda MC/MPA 2019

MARIA SOLEDAD RUEDA MC/MPA 2019 aided famine victims, protected political prisoners, and lived through deadly conflicts on three continents during a decade of humanitarian work on her way to Harvard Kennedy School. So it came as no surprise that after graduation she returned to her career with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in a challenging post supporting yet another daunting emergency: as Ebola coordinator, based in Goma, in the eastern Congo. A region that has lived through the deadliest humanitarian catastrophes in the world over the past 25 years, at a cost of more than 5 million lives, is now suffering through an Ebola outbreak that has lasted more than a year. Rueda will help lead a team confronting the impact of the disease in a climate of guerrilla warfare and grinding poverty. Her customary response? Her heart takes her where the need is greatest.

Rueda, who goes by Sole, came to HKS in the summer of 2018 straight from her previous ICRC posting, in Gaza, where she negotiated between Israelis and Palestinians in another zone of seemingly perpetual strife. She says that during her Kennedy School year she found “a precious moment of self-reflection, to take the things I had accumulated and go deep inside, to step back and resource myself by learning from amazing people... I learned a lot, but it also offered me a

healing process I hadn’t expected.”

Before returning to the field in November, Rueda spent the months after graduation in her hometown of San Gil, Colombia, engaged in promoting peace. She worked with her mother, a physician, at the orphanage and school founded by her grandmother and now run by her mother. They worked with displaced Venezuelans, many of them children, who have flooded into Colombia as civil strife racks their homeland.

The focus was on family planning and preventing sexually transmitted diseases. The Colombian Congress and the Santander regional government gave Rueda awards for meritorious citizenship and leadership in her humanitarian work.

That she spent her break this way reflects her unshakable belief that shared humanity will prevail. After all, she has seen it happen repeatedly, in more than a decade of postings in Somalia, South Sudan, the Central African Republic, Myanmar, Liberia, and Panama—all leading her to the next position in eastern Congo. “I believe profoundly and in the deepest part of my soul that as humans we can be good for one another,” Rueda says. “And I mention this not out of naiveté but out of experiences that have left scars. Each one tested me in physical and emotional ways I never expected.”

Her earliest posts were with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, where she landed after completing her first master’s degree, at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies in Geneva, and

adding a specialization at the FH Joanneum University in Austria. Moving to the ICRC brought Rueda closer to the kind of peace building that she aspires to pursue in the years ahead. Her recent conflict-resolution work in Colombia, she says, felt especially timely given the growing fragility of her nation’s peace agreement with rebels. With her firsthand understanding of the consequences of armed conflict and violence, Rueda imagines a future working in the field of conflict resolution and mediation to promote peace.

“I learned a lot [at HKS], but it also offered me a healing process I hadn’t expected.”

Eddie Rubinowitz MC/MPA, a professor of journalism at Northeastern Illinois University (NEIU), won a grant from the Online News Association to cover issues faced by “Dreamers” and DACA recipients. The podcast that she and her students put together is called “DACamentation” and has played on Spanish Public Radio, an online radio station based in Chicago but with an international reach. As part of the grant, NEIU and Spanish Public Radio hosted town halls and a listening hour where students played their stories and the audience shared their own. Eddie and a group of students presented at the 2019 Online News Association conference in New Orleans.

2004

David Eagles MPP recently accepted a position as chief operating officer for Goodwill Industries International. Prior to this, he served as the chief operating officer for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development while serving as the acting deputy secretary for a portion of the tenure. Goodwill is a \$6 billion global network built on innovation and human potential. It is one of the most valuable and recognized nonprofit brands, and a leading social services enterprise with over 130,000 employees helping families and individuals reach their full potential through learning and the power of work.

Arlyn Gajilan MC/MPA writes, “While I’m still at Reuters, I’ve taken on a new role and am now the digital news director. I edit and manage our global websites and social media teams based in India, the United Kingdom, Tokyo, Canada, Singapore, and the United States.”

2005 15th Reunion

Ukko Metsola MPP writes, “I joined Royal Caribbean Cruises Ltd. in 2016 as vice president, responsible for the company’s government relations in Europe and Asia-Pacific. Our family has grown since the last reunion: we now have four boys with my wife, Roberta Metsola. She continues her work as an elected member of the European Parliament.”

2006

Lisa George MPP writes, “At the end of 2019, my husband, **Paul Hunyor MPA/MBA 2007**, and our four-year-old son made an exciting move from Sydney to Singapore. Paul is setting up a new office for BCG Digital Ventures for their work in Asia. I will continue in my role as global head of the Macquarie Group Foundation, based out of Macquarie’s Singapore office. We’re lucky to already have a few friends



there, especially classmate **James Crabtree MPP** and his family. We look forward to exploring the region in the coming years. Let me know if you happen to come through Singapore!”

2007

Anna Bell Gall MPP was recently named director of strategy and external affairs for the Energy Institute at the University of Texas at Austin. She was formerly senior advisor to the dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs at UT. Reach out if you find yourself in Austin!

Christoph Hermann MPP in 2018 cofounded NewsTech, an international media company with a strong focus on journalism and technology. He and his wife, Melanie, welcomed their first child, Carl, on August 11, 2019, in Vienna, Austria.

2008

James Ahlers MPP joined Honeywell Aerospace as director of intellectual property transactions in February 2019. He recently assumed the role of assistant general counsel of sourcing and procurement, supporting Honeywell’s global supply chain operations.

Ben Branham MPP and **Sarah Burleson MPP** welcomed their second child, Jack Leon Branham, on August 11, 2019, in

New York City. While formally coincidental, the fact that his first name is a nod to the place where they met has potential for apocryphal tales down the road. They continue to reside in Brooklyn, where Sarah is a senior trial attorney for Brooklyn Defender Services and Ben serves as chief communications officer for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey. Their four-year-old daughter, Betsy, began pre-K in the fall and is relishing the role of big sister.

Najim Dost MPA/ID writes, “In the first six years following graduation, I engaged in some consulting work in the area of international development (working with clients such as DoS, USIP, and BBC World Services that took me to places like India and Afghanistan) while also working on my PhD in international studies. Then I settled down in Ottawa, working for the Department of National Defence in the area of performance measurement, data, and analytics.”

Matt Nohn MPP writes, “Hello everyone: Professionally, developing an AI for planning sustainable, inclusive cities at our nonprofit (and always looking for connection to make it happen), while doing part-time consulting and being part-time employed with the World Bank. Privately, Ida (8), Moses (6), and Peter (4) are growing up quickly, allowing Sabrina and me to regain territory. HKS-wise: it is always a

— Last September, more than 200 alumni came together at the United States Botanic Garden for the Washington, D.C. Alumni Council’s annual fall reception. From left to right are Simon Black MPA/ID 2017, Daniela Serrano MPA/ID 2017, Ana Maria Rojas Mendez MPA 2018 and her guest, Diana Goldemberg MPA/ID 2017, and Akanksha Luthra MPA/ID 2018.

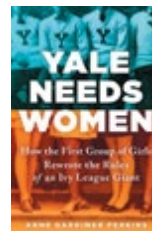


HKS PolicyCast

➤ PolicyCast helps make democracy count. Assistant Professor Benjamin Schneer explains how it may be possible to end gerrymandering. hkspolicycast.org



— Antonio Núñez MC/MPA 2009



— Anne Perkins MC/MPA 2010

highlight to connect with classmates, alumni, students, and faculty. I miss you all. Thus, sorry to ditch you for the reunion in Bali, but I am trying to minimize my (at least non-work) carbon footprint. PLEASE do get in touch, e.g., when in Berlin! Cheers, Matt.”

Maliheh Paryavi MPA/ID writes, “After completing my PhD at Harvard and devoting years to my personal growth, development, and empowerment, I decided to answer the call: help empower others to live their best lives, pursue and thrive in leadership positions, and transform the world both within and around them. To that end, I recently launched “The Maliheh Paryavi Podcast,” which is full of great insights, advice, and inspiring stories from world-class leaders and change-makers. More information about the podcast, my amazing guests, and links to all the episodes can be found on my website: malihehparyavi.com.”

Jose Luis Romo MPP in 2008 decided to pursue for his PAE a strategy for the development of his home state of Hidalgo, Mexico, following Ricardo Hausmann’s methodology. In 2016 Jose was appointed minister of economic development of Hidalgo. Three years later he managed to attract the largest amount of investment in the state’s history and, as a result, today the state of Hidalgo has the second highest rate of poverty reduction in Mexico since this data has been collected. Following this achievement, he was promoted to minister of public policy (chief of cabinet), and is responsible for the design and implementation of the state’s public policy. Jose calls it “a fairy tale.”

Massi Santini MPA/ID went through a year of major changes. Professionally, after 10 years of honorable service at the World Bank, he quit his staff position in April, ran for a seat in the European Parliament in May, and attended one fellowship with the European University Institute in Florence until July and another with the University of Hong Kong in November. Massi plans to move to New York after that, where he will contemplate his next move: the private sector? Back to a multilateral organization? Politics? On the personal front, there’s a potential breakthrough in the making, which will be shared in due time!”

Tai Sunnanon MPP writes, “I’m launching the second annual Global Social Enterprise Summit at UCLA March 27–28, 2020. It’s an un-conference where we’re providing tangible resources and offering ideation workshops to help you make the world a better place. Interested in speaking, advising, or attending? Visit gses2020.org.”

Karina Weinstein MPP writes, “I live in Staten Island (NYC) with my husband and two sons, ages 8 and 2. I am currently the strategy, innovation, and operations advisor at FXB USA, an international development organization working to break the cycle of poverty. My role includes advising FXB on embedding climate change adaptation and mitigation strategies into its work. Additionally, I serve on the board of Mixteca, a nonprofit organization that empowers the Mexican and Latin American immigrant community in New York. I am a member of the Staten Island Democratic County Committee. Looking to connect with alumni interested in climate change and immigrant rights.”

2009

Katherine Ellis MC/MPA writes, “I am living in Melbourne, Australia, and working as the CEO of the Youth Affairs Council of Victoria. It is the peak body for young people (ages 12–25) and the youth sector in the state, providing policy advice to the government, building the capacity of the sector, elevating youth voices in decision making, and pursuing thought leadership on matters important to young people. We have a particular focus on young people who face marginalisation, such as Aboriginal, disabled, culturally diverse, LGBTIQ+, and rural young people.”

Concepción Galdón MPA/ID is president of the social venture Puentes Global, which he co-founded in 2009. “I’m also a member of Ashoka Spain’s venture board, expert advisor to Madrid City Council, and sit in several investment committees of impact funds. In 2017 I became IE University’s social innovation lead. At IE I have the mandate to promote social innovation academic content across schools and programs, encourage more research on the topic, and engage with organizations and corporate partners in sustainability and purpose-driven projects. I’m also a professor of entrepreneurship and innovation at IE and a tutor of intrapreneurship projects for corporations.”

Antonio Núñez MC/MPA reports that this past June his latest book, *The Leader in Innovation (El líder ante la innovación*, Amazon), was published. More than 100 CEOs were interviewed for the book, which analyzes the keys to innovative leadership for senior management.

Hassan Tetteh MC/MPA was promoted to the rank of captain in the United States Navy and currently serves as the health mission chief for the Joint Artificial Intelligence Center (JAIC) at the Department of Defense. Hassan shared his exciting work as director of Specialized Thoracic

Adapted Recovery (STAR) Teams, based in Washington, D.C., in a TEDx talk, “From Life to Death,” and highlighted his research in thoracic transplantation that aims to expand heart and lung organ recovery nationwide and save lives.

2010 10th Reunion

Josh Archambault MPP writes, “I remain fully engaged in the think tank world working on market-oriented health care reforms. Please reach out if you work at the state level or in D.C. and want to work together. My wife and I have joined a local nonprofit that works to mobilize churches to support the foster care community and continue to serve as foster parents as well. It has been deeply rewarding and another policy area to engage in on the side!”

Tasce Bongiovanni MPP and Zack Bongiovanni, along with Lucas (5) and Caroline (3), welcomed Ayla Nizhoni into the world in December. Tasce is excited to start in her role as an assistant professor in the Department of Surgery, specializing in the surgery of trauma and critical care at University of California, San Francisco, and San Francisco General Hospital.

Ian Mills MPA writes, “Hope everyone’s doing great. Courtney and myself are now living in Barbados! I’m working for UK Aid (DFID) across the region and Courtney is embarking upon her next business venture—watch this space! Our little ones (Ariella and Eliud) are very happy and keeping us busy. Do get in touch if you want to visit! There are worse places in the world (and you might bump into Rihanna...)”

Anne Perkins MC/MPA writes, “My first book, *Yale Needs Women*, was released by Sourcebooks in September 2019, the 50th anniversary of coeducation at Yale College. And yes, many people are astounded to learn that Yale did not admit its first women undergraduates until 1969 (and Harvard was even later!). *Yale Needs Women* follows the story of five of these young women—three white and two black—through the tumultuous early years of coeducation. Early reviews have been strong: “stunning” (*Library Journal*), “thrilling” (*Booklist*), “riveting and uplifting” (Janet Yellen), and “beautifully written” (Henry Louis Gates Jr.). To learn more, see yaleneedswomen.com.”

2011

Jordan Brehove MPA reports that on May 25, 2019, the sun shined on the outdoor wedding of Jordan Brehove and Amanda Baldauf in Centerport, New York, at the Vanderbilt Museum. **Mike Kramer MPA** was part of the wedding party, adding energy to

the beautiful celebration with a very active dance floor. Jordan and Amanda now reside in Hoboken, New Jersey.

Hassina Sherjan MPA writes, “I have been working to help marginalized women and girls, who were deprived of education during the years of war, to complete high school, through Aid Afghanistan for Education (aidafghanistanforeducation.org). Afghanistan, still, suffers from insurgency and most of the country is in conflict due to terrorist attacks daily. I believe the main obstacle to peace is the fact that Afghanistan has the highest illiteracy rate in the world. Fifty percent of girls, by age 12, are either married or engaged. AAE has successfully graduated over 2,000 female students, who are now attending universities or working to support their families.”

Ruth Torres MC/MPA writes, “After an unsuccessful bid as the city council candidate for my party in 2017, I was elated to be the loser on the slate (that had more women than men for the first time), which was headed by the woman who would become the first female mayor of West Haven, Connecticut. I’ve been on her staff since she took office, which suggests that we should be open to deviating from our career goals when opportunities present themselves. This appointment was never on my radar but I have applied every single thing I learned at HKS in this role. Rafael and I continue to keep our feet in both our homelands—Connecticut and Puerto Rico.”

Mark Tracy MC/MPA has joined Indigo Ag as vice president and head of alternative finance. Indigo is a \$30 billion start-up recently named as the no. 1 company on CNBC’s 2019 Disruptor 50 list. Indigo, alongside growers and buyers, is building a system responsive to demands for high-quality and sustainably produced food and fiber. Indigo develops microbial and digital technologies that improve grower profitability, environmental sustainability, and consumer health. Recently Indigo announced the Terraton initiative to sequester excess atmospheric carbon in farmland through regenerative practices, reducing the effects of climate change.

2012

Jay Bhatt MPA reports that on June 27, President George W. Bush and President Bill Clinton were joined by Presidential Leadership Scholars Lisa Hallett, CEO of wear blue: run to remember, and Jay Bhatt, senior vice president and chief medical officer of the American Hospital Association, at the George W. Bush Presidential Center for a conversation centered on the work they are doing to address veteran’s issues and challenges

in health care. The discussion took place during the graduation ceremony of the 2019 class of Presidential Leadership Scholars. Jay was also named an Aspen Institute Health Innovators Fellow.

Andrew Chakhoyan MC/MPA writes, “Since graduating in 2012, I’ve completed a Global Leadership program at the World Economic Forum, tried myself in the corporate world—working for an international telecoms corporation—and most recently have founded an advisory firm called Strategic Narrative Consulting, based in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. Also, I regularly contribute to the WEF Agenda Platform, became a member of the Netherlands Speakers Academy,

gave a TED talk (youtu.be/MjllCwhQVio), and most recently joined the board of the Harvard Club of the Netherlands.”

2013

Leila El-Khatib MC/MPA writes, “Hello, amazing HKS alums! Since graduating, I returned to Canada to work in the federal public service. I also opened a consulting firm, 6 Degree Seminars, which, among other things, delivers cultural competency training specific to the Middle East and Islam. I found myself missing the HKS magic and through your

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— More than 30 alumni from HKS's Alumni Board and the HKS Fund's Executive Council listen as Dean Elmendorf provides updates on the state of the School during the groups' annual fall gathering in Cambridge.

support became an HKS Alumni Board member. This year I am excited to serve on the Executive Committee of the board, working on making improvements to areas impacting alumni. This was a natural progression from having served students as commencement class marshal and HKS representative to the Harvard Graduate Council. Feel free to reach out!"

Piyush Jain MPP writes, "During my PAE in the MPP program, I worked on crowdfunding as a solution with the foresight of creating a GoFundMe of India. ImpactGuru.com then came into force. ImpactGuru's potential to scale was affirmed when it raised a \$2 million Series A equity investment round, which was the largest for any crowdfunding platform in Asia, excluding China. Other milestones include the Indian government of Maharashtra's \$20,000 grant to us and partnerships with Apollo Hospitals Group, GlobalGiving.org, and Give2Asia.org. Since inception, \$60 million has been mobilized for 25,000 patients from 400,000 donors. I'm grateful to HKS for awakening the entrepreneur in me!"

2014

Leoule Goshu MPP is developing a University of Washington Seattle summer program to train diverse students for public service and leadership careers.

Michael Koehler MPA and his husband, **Allister Chang MPP 2015** spent this year deepening connections to each other's home countries: Michael in their new condo near Rose Park in Washington, D.C., and Allister on a Bosch fellowship in Berlin, Germany. Michael keeps being committed to bringing adaptive leadership out to the world. In March 2020, his firm KONU will offer a three-day "Adaptive Leadership Lab" in Washington. A 10 percent discount is available to colleagues and friends of HKS alumni at konu.org.

Nate Mackinnon MC/MPA and his wife, Kaitlyn, welcomed their beautiful new baby girl, Madelyn Rose, into the world on July 22, 2019. Madelyn is already practicing diplomacy by keeping her two "brothers" (the dogs) from playing too rough together. She's a natural leader who may someday be back at HKS. Madelyn, Nate, and Kait still live in beautiful Reno, Nevada, next to Lake Tahoe. "Come visit!"

Mai Mislang MC/MPA writes, "I am a former political speechwriter turned executive director and consultant for nonprofits in the Philippines. I focus on issues such as health, food, and wellness, which I frequently write about on Medium and Thrive Global. I still sing with my blues band in Manila and am coproducing a documentary on local music legends. The future of work is remote, and we need to leverage technology to embrace a more sustainable lifestyle: walk more, use less gas, grow our own food, cook our own food, and minimize single-use plastic. If you're looking for a coauthor/reference on any of these topics, please follow me on LinkedIn."

2015 5th Reunion

Bessma Aljarbou MC/MPA writes, "I have been living in the sunny (sometimes smoky) Bay Area since graduating from Harvard. I've continued my environmental focus and now lead Apple's supplier clean energy program, where I work to help our global suppliers transition to renewable energy. Work is rewarding, and I am putting my HKS degree to good use in advocating for regulatory and market mechanisms to achieve cost-effective renewable energy as fast as possible. Hugh and I are quickly being overtaken by our energetic

3-year-old. We enjoy exploring the West Coast and are planning our first family camping trip."

Natalie Brand MC/MPA writes, "At the end of 2018, I relocated from Washington state to Washington, D.C., to work for CBS News, specifically the affiliate services division. I produce and present reports on national politics for CBS affiliates nationwide, CBSN, and the network. I look forward to life on the road in 2020 as campaign season takes off. Iowa has become a favorite state to visit."

Kimberly Dowdell MC/MPA relocated to Chicago this year to rejoin HOK, a leading global architecture firm, where she spent part of her earlier career in New York. Her focus has been on major aviation and corporate design commissions, and on actively pursuing large-scale architecture and planning projects around the world. Kimberly is also serving as the 2019–2020 national president of the National Organization of Minority Architects (NOMA), where she has ushered in a 40 percent increase in membership since she took the helm in January. On behalf of HKS, Kimberly serves as a cochair of the Center for Public Leadership's Alumni Council (CPL AC).

Juana Hernandez MPP wed Victor G. Sanchez on October 12, 2019, in Los Angeles, California. In attendance were fellow MPP classmates **Miya Cain MPP**, **Amanda Dominguez Ayala MPP**, **Caitlin Guzman Hartman MPP**, **Stacey Harris MPP**, **Markus Kessler MPP**, **Cristian Martinez-LuSane MPP**, **Alicia Olivarez MPP**, and **Paul Monge MPP**, as well as former *Harvard Journal of Hispanic Policy* editorial staff **Octavio Gonzalez MPP 2013**, **Viviann Anguiano**, **John Garcia**, **Jeffrey Reynoso**, and **Seciah Aquino**. In November, Juana joined HCM Strategists as a senior associate in their postsecondary practice.

Olof Hugander HKSEE now works as a senior consultant at Brakeley Nordic, advising nonprofits on resource mobilization strategies—within philanthropic support, strategic partnerships, and stakeholder engagement. In this capacity, he manages consulting assignments for universities, civil society organizations, and cultural institutions. Brakeley traces its roots to 1919, when its founder was hired by Harvard to run the first modern university capital campaign.

Presently, Brakeley operates through a number of regional consultancies serving the nonprofit sector throughout the world.

Julia Kurnik MPA, since graduating in 2015, has joined WWF-US as the director of innovation start-ups, moved to New Jersey (near Philadelphia), and added several additions to her family. Shira (3.5), Asher (1), and Peaches, a 2-year-old lab mix who was adopted just last week, have joined Julia, her husband, and their two cats in one very active house. Julia cannot wait to see everyone at the reunion in May!

Erica Leinmiller MPP, for her devotion to her submarine's crew, diligent work to ensure continued compliance with radiological regulations, and training on weapons employment, received the 2018 Submarine Squadron 16 Junior Officer of the Year award. After 32 months onboard USS Florida (SSGN 728), a cruise missile submarine based in Kings Bay, Georgia, she recently transitioned to teaching the next generation of submariners in Groton, Connecticut. She looks forward to weekends back in Boston and meeting up with classmates in the Northeast!

Juan Mejia MPA writes, "I was elected to the Venezuelan National Assembly. As a deputy I am a member of the finance committee and I am also the chair for 'Plan País' Committee which is in charge of putting together a plan to recover Venezuela from its crisis. I have also started a 'soup kitchen' program to feed undernourished children in the poorest slums in Caracas; we have served more than 50,000 meals. Two months ago I received a sentence by the Supreme Court accusing me of rebellion and several other crimes, which forced me to go into exile where I am right now with my wife and two-year-old daughter."

Nicolas Mialhe MC/MPA writes, "Five years after cofounding The Future Society while studying at the Kennedy School, I am pleased to report that the organization has grown into a robust 501(c)3 organization. It acts as a global independent think-and-do tank, whose mission is to advance the governance of AI and other emerging technologies. Our theory of change revolves around an innovative combination of programs: policy research and advisory services; seminars and summits; education and leadership development programs; and special projects such as our AI Civic Forum, Global Governance of AI Forum, Independent Audit of Algorithms, and AI Commons, which promotes AI adoption in developing countries."

2016

Lester Ang MPP recently took on a new role as the strategy head for the Cloud Networking Group within Cisco Systems, for APAC, Japan, and China, after a stint in management consulting with Monitor Deloitte.

Gareth Davies MC/MPA is running for national Parliament in the United Kingdom.

Alyce Su HKSEE writes, "At the invitation of HKTDC, chaired by Dr. Peter Lam, I attended the AmCham China Conference 2019, "Global Impact: The US-China Relationship in the 21st Century," with keynote Charlene Barshefsky. The conference explored the global impact of the relationship between Washington and Beijing from the perspectives of international business executives, leading academics, formal diplomats, and presidential advisers. In October 2019, between the 70th anniversary of the People's Republic of China and the 2020 presidential election of the Republic of China, Hong Kong's ABCD has not changed—American Peg, British Law, Chinese Land, and Digital Asset."

2017

Niruban Balachandran MC/MPA was honored in November 2019 by the New America Foundation as one of the nation's 40 AAPI Foreign Policy and National Security Next Generation Leaders. He was also honored by the iTrek Foundation with the Bradley M. Bloom Impact Award for his individual efforts to improve Indonesia-Israel bilateral relations.

Edward Cuipa MPA recently joined the Office of International Affairs at the U.S. Department of the Treasury. He and his wife, Haley, welcomed their son, Edward Torrey Cuipa (aka Teddy), on October 13, 2019.

Abdi Ismail Isse MC/MPA writes, "After graduation, I spent seven months in northern Yemen coordinating the humanitarian response of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). I moved to Baghdad, Iraq, in January 2018. In my current role as deputy head of delegation for the ICRC, I am overseeing the implementation of one of ICRC's biggest humanitarian operations in the world, with more than 2,500 national staff, 150 international staff, and 10 offices across Iraq. My main tasks are coordinating humanitarian interventions that meet the needs of affected communities in need of protection and assistance, while managing risks in a volatile security environment."



HKS PolicyCast

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Dana Myrtenbaum MC/MPA is the director of the City for All program, promoting gender-mainstreaming in local governments in Israel. To learn more, go to itach.org.il/?lang=en.

Wayne Powell HKSEE has been appointed to the Los Angeles County Assessor's Advisory Council. He previously served two terms as mayor of Manhattan Beach, California, and was chair of the Los Angeles County Beach Commission. He currently serves on the board of directors of several nonprofit organizations and is a member of the City of Manhattan Beach Senior Advisory Committee and the Beach Cities Health District Finance Committee.

2018

Danielle Feinstein MPP writes, "This year I began working on the Public Leadership Credential as the research and content

manager, curating educational content for the Kennedy School's inaugural online credential program for mid-career learners. There are three tracks working with Kennedy School faculty: Moral Leadership (Chris Robichaud), Using Evidence (Teddy Svoronos), and Policy Design and Delivery (Michael Walton). It has been incredibly rewarding to apply my diverse and informative experiences here to work with a wonderful team of faculty, learning designers, and technologists to spread premier HKS frameworks across the world at a scale never seen before!"

Cory Siskind MPA recently raised an institutional investment round for Base Operations, her startup. Base Operations helps companies keep their global workforce safe and connected through crisis and risk management. The round was led by Boston-based Glasswing

Ventures with participation from Spero Ventures, Good Growth Capital, and Magma Partners. Base Operations' customers include *Fortune* 500s seeking innovative ways to keep their employees safe around the world.

2019

Jerry Durkin MC/MPA in October played Erik in a well-received and sold-out production of the Tony-Award winning play *The Humans* at Lean Ensemble Theater in Hilton Head, South Carolina.

Alnoor Maherali MC/MPA and Farah Alani were married in the picturesque town of Amares in northern Portugal among their family, friends, and classmates. The two now happily reside in New York City.

Stefan Norgaard MPP, after graduating from HKS this past May, worked as a negotiation research fellow with the Bloomberg Harvard City Leadership Initiative, researching and developing three analytic cases of transformative city leadership alongside former HKS colleagues. Now he is a first-year PhD student in the urban planning program at Columbia University (degree expected in 2024). Stefan's evolving research interests currently lie at the intersection of political economy, urban governance, and social justice. He is grateful for the skills, thinking, and values generated by his HKS experience.

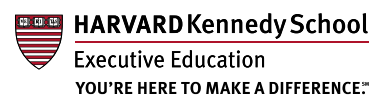
David Richter MC/MPA has formally announced that he is a candidate for the Republican nomination for the U.S. House of Representatives in New Jersey's 2nd Congressional District. The seat is currently held by freshman Democrat Jeff Van Drew, one of the most vulnerable incumbents in Congress. One reporter has already called David the "frontrunner" for the nomination, and another called him "the only serious challenger" to Van Drew. The primary is scheduled for June 2020.

Igor Zgrabljic MC/MPA writes, "Dear HKS friends, It has been only a few months outside school and I am sure we all share the feeling of how great was our time at HKS. Post graduation I have spent a lot of time in our library working on my transition 'Back to work.' The process was long and demanding, but rewarding at the end since I have started a job which represents exactly what I wanted to do next in my career. I was appointed as government affairs and public manager for Central and Eastern Europe at Google. Looking forward to staying in touch with all of you and wish you all the best in the years to come."



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THE GLUE THAT CONNECTS THE PIECES

BY MARI MEGIAS

“VISIT THE KENNEDY SCHOOL BECAUSE when I leave, I am energized and feel more optimistic,” says Jill Wagner MPA 1983. A member of the HKS Fund’s Executive Council since its founding, in 2014, Wagner was talking about a recent visit to the School. But she was also speaking more broadly about an association that goes back almost four decades and has been a major part of her journey as a lifelong learner.

Her personal dedication to learning extends to helping others achieve their educational goals. This is one reason she donates annually to the School as a member of the Littauer Society, which recognizes individuals who give \$1,000 or more a year to the HKS Fund. It is also why she is on the HKS Fund’s Executive Council, where she puts her marketing skills to work as an advocate for alumni giving. “I think that we can remind people to tap into the passion they felt when they were at the Kennedy School—to tap into what their degree has provided the world at large because of their education, and to tap into how much more we have yet to do,” she says.

Donors to the HKS Fund provide crucial resources that give the School the flexibility to respond to emerging challenges and seize new opportunities. For instance, HKS was able

to bolster digital HKS and additional emerging opportunities because of funding from alumni donors. “These funds helped start many initiatives at the School,” says Wagner. “And as we enter a new era of disruption, from quantum computing to artificial intelligence, what will this mean for education, for the classes being taught at HKS? How do we get our arms around cybersecurity and privacy?” By donating to the HKS Fund, she says, alumni can help the School address the thorniest issues confronting society today by working to educate the changemakers and leaders who will take prominent roles in shaping our collective future.

Wagner has been pondering public problems her whole life. A native of Denver who received her bachelor’s degree from Iowa State University, she spent her career as a marketing executive in the telecom industry at a time when it was dominated by men and when the field was disrupted first by the federally mandated dissolution

of AT&T and then by the advent of mobile communications.

She says her time as an HKS student gave her the confidence and knowledge to discuss technology with experts. “The technology boys saw me as a marketing type who did only creative stuff,” she says. “But I could go toe-to-toe with them over the technology, since I knew it as well as they did. I understood the possible ramifications when it came to privacy. I knew how technology evolves, how it was not a static thing, and that there were pluses and minuses as it evolved—and this didn’t scare me. I learned this at HKS.”

A strong advocate for women (she was the first female president of the student body at Iowa State), Wagner has pushed the organizations with which she has been involved to diversify their workforces. Now that she has retired, she continues to mentor young women—not in the boardroom, but in the sorority house where she lives with 45 college-age women near the University of



A career in the communications sector showed Jill Wagner MPA 1983 the importance of an HKS education. Her work with the HKS Fund aims to keep the School addressing the thorniest issues confronting society.

Minnesota. “I’m the adult in the room,” she says. “It’s a hoot and a half, and keeps me young.”

She focuses on education because, she says, “education solves problems; it doesn’t put a Band-Aid on them.” With all that’s going on in the world today, Wagner says, it is important that she feed her optimism. “I know that at the Kennedy School, the best and brightest are working on the most intractable problems”—a feeling that was reinforced when, on the plane from her home in Minneapolis to Cambridge, she read a piece on the crisis in the democratic West by Nicholas Burns, Roy and Barbara Goodman Family Professor of the Practice of Diplomacy and International Relations. “As a former U.S. ambassador to NATO, Burns

“I know that at the Kennedy School, the best and brightest are working on the most intractable problems.”

can say things that not everyone else can say, and say them in a way that has a lot of legitimacy,” she says.

A voracious reader, Wagner often peruses books and articles by HKS faculty members, and she knows that her annual donations to the HKS Fund fuel their work. “Many of the funds the Kennedy School receives are donated for something particular—and the HKS Fund is the glue that puts all of these things together,” she says. This glue connects the pieces because even when dollars are earmarked for specific uses, gaps remain. “The HKS Fund is essential to enabling the School to maintain excellence in its mission,” Wagner says. This is why she is such a staunch supporter of Harvard Kennedy School.



WHEN FIRST-YEAR HARVARD STUDENTS moved in at the beginning of the academic year, one of their first interactions was with Harvard Votes Challenge, an effort to increase voter registration across the University. The program, run by students with support from the Institute of Politics and the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, engaged with more than 1,000 first-year students, mailed more than 600 voter registration forms, and supported students from 48 states and the District of Columbia. It also helped 150 more students who are not eligible to vote figure out ways they could practice civic participation on campus. Undergraduates Kevin Ballen and Tyler Love helped share the message.

PHOTO BY NATALIE MONTANER



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