



2019

RECLAIMING DEMOCRACY

GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM CONFERENCE
SAN FRANCISCO BAY | APRIL 1-3

RECLAIMING DEMOCRACY

**GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY
FORUM CONFERENCE**

APRIL 1-3, 2019

SAN FRANCISCO BAY

This book includes transcripts from the plenary sessions and keynote conversations of the 2019 Global Philanthropy Forum Conference. The statements made and views expressed are solely those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of GPF, its participants, World Affairs or any of its funders. Minor adjustments have been to remarks for clarity. In general, we have sought to preserve the tone of these panels to give the reader a sense of the Conference.

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FOREWORD



Jane Wales

Democracy, the system of national governance long seen as most respectful of individual rights, most resilient in the face of change, and best able to provide, appears to have lost its luster. Whether in Europe, Asia, Africa or the Americas democratic norms appear to be eroding, its institutions challenged if not undermined.

Once the standard-bearer of human rights abroad and civil liberties at home, in 2018 the US has experienced the most precipitous decline in citizen trust of any country surveyed by the Edelman Trust Barometer at any time, while China has experienced the greatest rise. Moreover, elections in democracies as far-flung as Hungary, Poland, the Philippines, Mexico and Brazil suggest a trend toward nationalist populism—resulting in illiberal democracies where the vote is sacrosanct but an embrace of pluralism is not. In part this outcome reflects citizens' response to the pressures of globalization, and the apparent inability of political leaders to address intractable problems—such as inequality, mass migration, climate change or race relations.

In the face of this perceived dysfunction, citizen leaders on all continents have turned to community solutions. And philanthropists—once obsessed with scale—have increasingly embraced a new localism. At the 2019 Global Philanthropy Forum, we explored these examples of successful democratic decision-making.

First, we addressed the problem writ large. **Larry Diamond**, Senior Fellow at Stanford's Hoover Institution, opened the conference by assessing the current state of democracy worldwide and providing an insight into its future. Central European University trustee **Kati Marton** spoke to rising illiberalism in Europe. And **Brad Smith**, President of Candid, reported on philanthropy's efforts to preserve and promote democracy, reclaiming its underlying values.

The conversation shifted to the central role of pluralism in any liberal democracy. **Meryl Chertoff**, of Georgetown Law Center, spoke on her work

strengthening religious freedom and tolerance. **Larry Kramer**, President of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, argued that every philanthropist should be working to advance democracy, since all other efforts are weakened if our democratic norms and institutions are failing. And he called upon those gathered to take seriously ideological pluralism—both in their foundations’ internal decisionmaking and in their grants made.

Jeremy Heimans, co-founder and CEO of Purpose, and **Asha Curran**, co-founder of #GivingTuesday, spoke to the ways in which the information revolution has brought about the decentralization of decision-making, including in grassroots movements and grassroots giving. Heimans argued that the most effective efforts employ “new power” that is “open, participatory and peer driven” A highly effective example of new power in philanthropy is #GivingTuesday, a crowdfunding model, which Curran co-founded with Henry Timms. It puts new power to the service of giving and social change.

The next panel weighed in on the ongoing debate of whether, on balance, technology advances or undermines democracy. American Kevin Blankston, Londoner Stephen King and Sandor Lederer of Hungary were among those who spoke to the ways in which technology is used to advance transparency and build community. But they noted that those same tools have been used by autocratic governments to surveil and suppress citizens. Sean McDonald spoke to new approaches to data governance.

The first day concluded with a moving discussion on extremism and hate, which have fueled nationalist movements around the world. **Christian Picciolini**, founder of the Free Radicals Project, recounted the desire for belonging that drove him into the white nationalist movement as a teenager. **Mehrdad Baghai** described the youth programming of High Resolves, which aims to build better citizens, who share common values and make a commitment to the wider community. **John Wood Jr.**’s organization Better Angels gathers those with opposing ideologies to engage in respectful conversation.

Day 2 opened with a lightning talk from New York Times correspondent **David Brooks**, who gave an impassioned presentation about how our culture of individualism has led to separateness that can only be addressed by building relationships, person by person, locally. He then joined a panel with **Ann Stern**, president and CEO of the Houston Endowment, and **Dan Cardinali**, president and CEO of Independent Sector, both of whom emphasized the concept of top-down and bottom-up powers working together, providing vivid examples.

Building on the notion of finding points of commonality, **Charles Koch** and the president of his foundation, **Brian Hooks**, joined me in a conversation about funding across difference. The Charles Koch foundation’s experience in working with social justice funders on criminal justice reform was a

positive one, one that Koch would like to repeat, perhaps in the area of immigration reform. Not only would he like to see common sense reform but also a path to citizenship for “Dreamers.” Can we use philanthropy forge partnerships on specific issues with those with whom we otherwise disagree? The answer is yes, and we must.

And so we naturally took a deep dive into the humanitarian crisis at the US-Mexico border, and the traumatic experience of asylum seekers and the children from whom many have been separated. **Jonathan Ryan**, president and CEO of RAICES, and **Carolyn Miles**, president and CEO of Save the Children, painted a dark picture of the conditions migrants were facing at that moment and emphasized philanthropy’s role in assisting organizations that help on the ground. **Lee Gelernt**, Deputy Director of the ACLU Immigrants’ Rights Project, discussed efforts to inform asylum seekers of their rights and to advocate on their behalf. **Maria Moreno**, principal of Las Americas Newcomer School, represented a local solution to minimize the trauma and isolation faced by immigrant children.

We were honored that Global Fund for Children chose to recognize philanthropist and GPF co-founder Juliette Gimon, who was lost to cancer a year ago. Juliette’s sister **Marianne Gimon D’Ansembourg**, Global Fund for Children’s founder **Maya Ajmera**, and its CEO **John Hecklinger**, presented the inaugural Juliette Gimon Award for Courageous Leadership to two courageous women: **Gamze Karadag** of Mavi Kalem and **Lesli Dalila Ovando Munoz** of Asociacion Generando. Karadag assists Syrian women and girls impacted by the refugee crisis. Ovando Muñoz has spent her career fighting for survivors of gender-based violence.

Our conversation returned to technology with a panel filled with leaders who took it upon themselves to help make media accessible, truthful, and accountable in various countries. **Premesh Chandran** and **Govindraj Ethiraj** discussed the media companies they founded to help educate the public and fact-check governing bodies in Malaysia and India, respectively. **Karen Edwards** and **Mary Fitzgerald** analyzed the need for their organizations, Soap and Open Democracy, which encourage critical thinking and a finite consensus of fact versus fiction.

In the third morning of GPF19 we turned to the practice of philanthropy, and in particular focused on the creation of aggregated funds in which established foundations and individual philanthropists can pool their recourse in support of a shared strategy managed by a shared expert staff. **Phil Buchanan** of The Center for Effective Philanthropy, joined me a conversation with **Chuck Harris** of Blue Meridian Partners, and **Charlotte Pera** of the ClimateWorks Foundation, and **Cecilia Conrad** of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, about ways philanthropists can join forces in this way, and learn while giving. Conrad helped lead the Foundation’s 100&Change Initiative its follow on initiative to match finalists with funders.

In our final conversation, we had the honor of being joined by key advocates for the transparency and accountability that is essential to democracy.

Patrick Alley, Director of Global Witness, **John Githongo**, CEO of Inuka Kenya Trust, **Esther Dyson**, Wellville, **Chris Taggart**, CEO of OpenCorporates and **Giannina Segnini**, Director of the Data Journalism Master's Program at Columbia University emphasized the importance of context, culture, and courage to act once information is unveiled.

And we concluded our time together with lightning talks from men who have dedicated their careers to upholding the core values of liberal democracy. **Peter Eigen**, founder of Transparency International, posited that effective civil action is being held back by the shrinking civic space that is the hallmark of illiberalism. And **Ivo Herzog**, chairman of the Vladimir Herzog Institute, whose father was tortured and killed by the Brazilian government in 1975 spoke to the dangers of speaking out—and the imperative to do so.

The GPF team took pleasure and pride in mapping out the content of this year's conference and hosting extraordinary leaders willing to share their wisdom. After founding the GPF eighteen years ago, along with such dedicated souls as Juliette Gimon, I will be stepping down to join the Aspen Institute on a full time basis. But, while it will be my successor who calls to ask you to speak on a panel or to give a lightning talk, or to simply serve as a resource to your fellow philanthropists, I will be back to sit alongside you, learning from you as I've been lucky enough to do for almost two decades.



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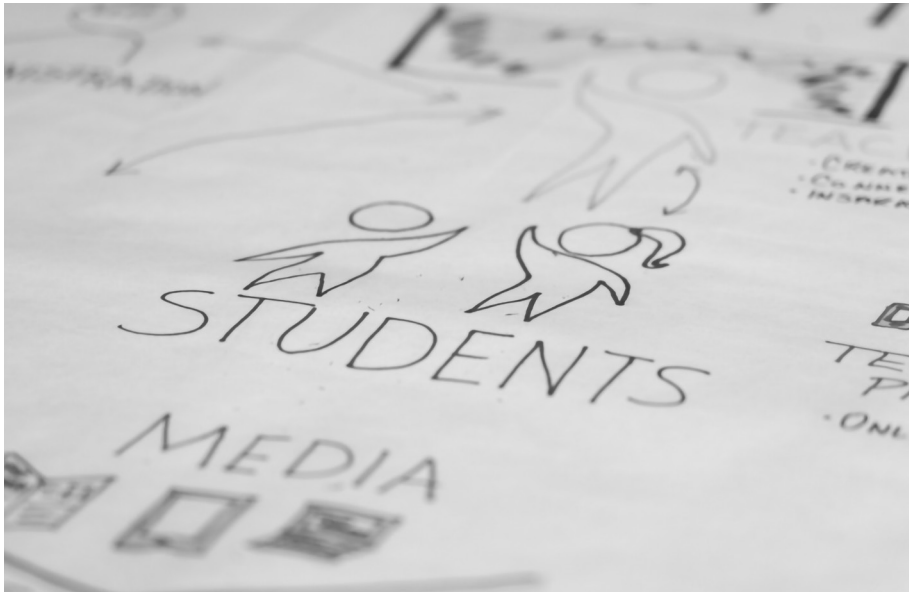
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Zennström Philanthropies

2019 CONFERENCE **AGENDA****MONDAY APRIL 1****7:30 AM BREAKFAST****8:30 AM SPEED NETWORKING****9:30 AM BREAK****10:00 AM CONFERENCE OPENING AND WELCOME FROM GPF FOUNDER JANE WALES****10:10 AM VIDEO REMARKS FROM MICHAEL IGNATIEFF, PRESIDENT AND RECTOR, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY****10:15 AM DEMOCRACY IN PERIL, PHILANTHROPY'S RESPONSE**

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the rise of the Arab Spring, liberal democracy with its commitment to collective self-determination and individual rights appeared to have widespread appeal. It was seen by many as the political system that was the most resilient, most tolerant and best able to deliver on the promise of prosperity. As a result, many thought it would be the dominant form of government in the new era. But, the felt pressures of globalization, and the twin shocks of the global financial crisis and the migrant crisis caused some citizens to question whether political leaders who had championed open economies and open borders had served them well. Digital disinformation campaigns further stoked discontent. And a new wave of populist nationalism swept over countries as far-flung as Poland, Hungary, Turkey, South Africa, Brazil and the United States. Formerly liberal democracies have become increasingly illiberal. Some lost their claim to democracy altogether. Larry Diamond will offer an assessment of democracy's future and, Brad Smith will report on philanthropies' efforts to promote, preserve and reclaim democracy.

LARRY DIAMOND, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institution at Stanford University**KATI MARTON**, Trustee, Central European University**BRAD SMITH**, CEO, Candid (formally known as the Foundation Center)**IN CONVERSATION WITH JANE WALES**, Founder, Global Philanthropy Forum**11:15 AM BREAK****11:30 AM PLURALISM: THE SINE QUA NON OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM**

Pluralism—the ability of multiple cultures and perspectives to co-exist within a shared society—is the sine qua non of liberal democracy and robust civil society. Yet, at a time of economic, social and demographic change, the commitment to pluralism appears to have waned. Individuals searching for ballast and belonging have embraced populist nationalism, even ethnocentrism, undercutting their and our capacity to see ourselves as one. Political opportunists have played to their fears and the rise in hate crimes in Europe, the US and Canada tells a chilling story. Divisions by race,

ethnicity and country of origin are matched by a rise in anti-Semitism, Islamophobia and bias against minority Christian sects, according to Meryl Chertoff of the Aspen Institute. While Larry Kramer agrees, he will point to another danger to democracy, and that is our tendency to dismiss the ideas and ideals of others with whom we disagree. Pluralists see themselves as open, but are we? Or do we see others' arguments as not only wrong but unworthy, as not only ill-informed but immoral? When it comes to ideological pluralism in the practice of self-governance and the practice of philanthropy, are we coming up short? After all, according to sociologist Arlie Hochschild, author of "Strangers in Their Own Land," "in the end, a healthy democracy depends on a collective capacity to hash things out."

MERYL CHERTOFF Executive Director, Justice and Society Program, the Aspen Institute @AspenInstitute

LARRY KRAMER President, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation @Hewlett_Found

IN CONVERSATION WITH PETER LAUGHARN President and CEO, Conrad N. Hilton Foundation @peter_laugharn

12:30 PM LUNCH

1:15 PM NEW LOCALISM, NEW POWER

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

The information revolution brought about the decentralization of decision-making and authority, and—according to Jeremy Heimans—the advent of a new kind of power that is “like a current ... It is open, participatory and peer-driven.” A former McKinsey strategist and cause-oriented activist, Jeremy co-founded several online campaign groups and citizen initiatives, including GetUp, an Australian political movement that is larger than all of the country's political parties combined. He now heads Purpose, a social business. He is joined in conversation on stage by Asha Curran, Chief Innovation Officer at the 92nd Street Y, and Co-Founder of #GivingTuesday. This highly effective crowdfunding and organizing vehicle puts new power to the service of giving and social change. Asha is also a non-resident Fellow at Stanford's Digital Civil Society Lab.

JEREMY HEIMANS Co-Founder and CEO, Purpose @jeremyheimans

ASHA CURRAN Co-Founder, #Giving Tuesday and Chief Innovation Officer, 92nd Street Y @RadioFreeAsha

IN CONVERSATION WITH KATHLEEN JANUS author of *Social Startup Success* and lecturer at Stanford University

2:00 PM DATA AND DEMOCRACY—WHO SAYS DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES ARE DEMOCRATIZING?

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

In this session we will hear from technologists, scholars and activists on the ways in which technology is used by community-builders to advance democracy and citizen agency, and the ways in which those same technologies are used by autocrats to surveil and silence political opponents. Among the speakers will be a leader of a Hungarian watchdog organization that uses digital tools to advance transparency, accountability

and the rule of law in an increasingly autocratic state; an American woman, a techie who provides grassroots organizers the data tools they need to mobilize and inform, and helps to direct data science research to create positive change for Black people; a data governance expert making the case for the creation of digital “civic trusts” as a means by which to manage the digital commons and ensure citizen access and input.

STEPHEN KING CEO, Luminate @luminategroup

SANDOR LÉDERER Co-founder and Director, K-Monitor @k_monitor

SEAN MCDONALD Co-founder, Digital Public and CEO, FrontlineSMS @seanmcdonald

IN CONVERSATION WITH LUCY BERNHOLZ Senior Research Scholar, Stanford University Program on Philanthropy & Civil Society @p2173

3:15 PM

BREAK

3:30 PM

WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1: PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY FUNDING ACROSS DIFFERENCE; CREATING A CULTURE OF LISTENING & LEARNING

CATALINA

In a divided polity, foundations and donors from differing political and ideological perspectives are seeking new opportunities to collaborate on those issues on which they can agree. Recent campaigns to advance criminal justice reform and marriage equality have demonstrated the power of alliances across liberal, conservative and libertarian lines. Are there other opportunities to pursue? What changes in foundation culture and practice might be needed to see and seize the opportunities?

AMY GOLDMAN CEO and Chair, GHR Foundation @ghrfoundation

BRIAN HOOKS President, Charles Koch Foundation @CKInstitute

LARRY KRAMER President, William and Flora Hewlett Foundation @Hewlett_Found

FACILITATED BY JONAH WITTKAMPER Co-Founder and President, NEXUS, Founder, Healthy Democracy Coalition @JonahWittkamper

TRACK 2: DATA & DEMOCRACY CIVIL LIBERTIES AND DATA PHILANTHROPY—WHEN NOT TO ASK FOR MORE

PENINSULA 4

In our search for evidence of impact, we ask that data be generated by grantees and those they serve. But, in so doing, what risks might we create especially for marginalized populations? Will the data we gather on the homeless, for example, expose them to an unfair level of surveillance? When we gather data on the relationship between race or ethnicity on the one hand and education and health outcomes on the other, might that data be used to justify the denial of insurance or access to educational opportunities? Can we develop norms that support the dual objectives of accelerating learning while protecting the privacy of those we seek to support?

STEPHEN KING CEO, Luminate @luminategroup

ALISON LEAL PARKER Managing Director, US Program, Human Rights Watch @alisonHRW

LINDA RAFTREE Co-founder, MERL Tech @meowtree

FACILITATED BY PATRICK ALLEY Co-founder, Global Witness @Global_Witness

TRACK 3: NEW LOCALISM YOUTH LEADERSHIP

PENINSULA 1

Successful democracies and robust civil society require the engagement of ethical leaders at all levels in all sectors. Nonprofit training and mentorship programs, networks and schools like the Latin American Leadership Academy have emerged. Other nonprofits focus on preparing young people for educational and career opportunities, while others focus on enhancing their civic engagement and empowerment, as is the case with Humanitas360 Institute. Meet emerging leaders and hear from those who have begun programs aimed at lifting the next generation.

RICARDO ANDERÁOS VP of Operations, Humanitas360 Institute @anderaos

DIEGO ONTANEDA BENAVIDES Co-Founder and CEO, Latin American Leadership Academy @LALA_CEO

OMEZZINE KHÉLIFA Founder and CEO, Mobdiun—Creative Youth @OmezzineKel

ROCÍO BARRIONUEVO QUISPE Co-Founder, FUTUPLAN

MISAN REWANE Co-Founder and CEO, WAVE @misanrewane

BRENO TEIXEIRA Alumnus, Latin American Leadership Academy

FACILITATED BY LINDA CALHOUN Founder and Executive Producer, Career Girls @careergirlsorg

4:45 PM BREAK AND NETWORKING

5:30 PM RECEPTION: SPONSORED BY CHARITIES AID FOUNDATION AND CAF AMERICA
BALLROOM FOYER



6:30 PM DINNER
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

7:30 PM IDENTITY & DEMOCRACY: BEYOND HATE
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

As if in response to Larry Kramer's plea, Better Angels was created to combat political polarization by bringing together people of differing

views and asking them to listen to each other respectfully—and to model empathetic listening in workshops, in debates and in their private and civic lives. John Wood, Jr., a former politician troubled by the partisan divides, has helped lead the effort. Like him, Mehrdad Baghai believes that empathetic behavior can be learned. He and his wife founded High Resolves to offer a curriculum in “citizen education” to young people, so that they may develop the skills to see across difference, and to act in the interests of the whole. They and we can gain immeasurably from the insights of Christian Picciolini, as he was himself drawn to extremist views, having defined himself in opposition to the “other.” As a teenager, without a clear sense of belonging or future, he was recruited into the white supremacist movement. He found, however that you can “unlearn hate”, and withdrew from a movement that was damaging to him, to others, to society. This panel is moderated by Mark Gerzon, who specializes in promoting and facilitating conversations across difference, in a search for common ground.

MEHRDAD BAGHAI Founder and Global CEO, High Resolves @highresolves

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI Founder, Free Radicals Project @cpicciolini

JOHN WOOD, JR. Director of Media Development, Better Angels @JohnRWoodJr

IN CONVERSATION WITH MARK GERZON Founder and President, Mediators Foundation @Mark_Gerzon

TUESDAY APRIL 2

7:30 AM SPECIAL BREAKFAST SESSION: LESSONS FROM THE FRONT LINES — HOW TRUE IMPACT IS REALIZED
HOSTED BY DRAPER RICHARDS KAPLAN FOUNDATION
CATALINA



Hear first-hand from the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation team how their social entrepreneurs are working in communities around the world to develop solutions to solve some of society's most complex issues from human rights to access to clean water.

DEBRA CLEAVER Founder and CEO, Vote.org @debracleaver

NATALIE BRIDGEMAN FIELDS Founder and Executive Director, Accountability Counsel @nataliebfields

MOY ENG Executive Director, Community Arts Stabilization Trust (CAST) @CASTSF

GEORGE MCGRAW Founder and CEO, Dig Deep Right to Water Project @GMCginge

KATHRYN PETERS Co-Founder and Chief Operating Officer, Democracy Works @katyetc

IN CONVERSATION WITH JIM BILDNER CEO, Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation @jimbildner

9:00 AM THE NEW LOCALISM—WEAVE THE SOCIAL FABRIC

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

In the face of the perceived dysfunction at the national level, citizen leaders on all continents have turned to community solutions. And philanthropists—once obsessed with scale—have increasingly embraced a “new localism,” a phrase coined by Brookings scholar Bruce Katz. They complement their “big bets” with a focus on localities where collaborative problem solving is most visible; the opportunity and need for cross-sector engagement is most apparent; and the reality of mutual dependence is inescapable. David Brooks will speak to the role that “community builders” play in reweaving the fabric of our democracy. Ann Stern will describe the community solutions her foundation has pursued, while Dan Cardinali will speak to trends he sees from his vantage point as CEO of the Independent Sector.

DAVID BROOKS New York Times columnist and Executive Director, Weave the Social Fabric Project, The Aspen Institute @nytdavidbrooks

DAN CARDINALI President and CEO, Independent Sector @DanCardinali

ANN STERN President and CEO, Houston Endowment @HoustonEndowmnt

IN CONVERSATION WITH LAUREN SMITH CEO, FSG

10:00 AM FUNDING ACROSS DIFFERENCE

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

In a sharply divided polity, societal needs suggest a new imperative for philanthropies to collaborate when they share a vision on certain issues, even when they have important differences on others. Finding those opportunities can be essential for achieving meaningful goals. And the discipline of collaboration across difference may be an imperative if we are to reweave our social fabric. The founder of the eponymous Charles Koch Foundation will join its president in a conversation about their practical and philosophical reasons for seizing opportunities to unite broad coalitions toward shared objectives. They'll reflect on their recent experience in building coalitions from across the ideological spectrum to advance criminal justice reform and the lessons that can be applied to other issues such as immigration.

CHARLES KOCH Chairman, Charles Koch Foundation @CKinstitute

BRIAN HOOKS President, Charles Koch Foundation @CKinstitute

IN CONVERSATION WITH JANE WALES Founder, Global Philanthropy Forum @JaneWales

10:45 AM BREAK

11:00 AM

WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1: PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY POLITICS AND POWER

CATALINA

When pursuing social justice and social change, how important is it to have a multipronged strategy that can include grants, investments and policy advocacy? Three of the more striking trends in philanthropy today include the rise in giving for advocacy, the rise in social investing, and the rise in the number of limited liability corporations created to advance a variety of complementary approaches, including nonprofit grantmaking, for-profit investing and lobbying. Those LLCs that are taxed as partnerships (as opposed to corporations) can also make political donations in federal elections. The Chan-Zuckerberg Initiative (CZI), the Emerson Collective, the Omidyar Network, and other funders have opted for this more flexible form and more forward-leaning strategies, at a time when the stakes in public policy seem particularly high. If social change and social justice are the goals, is this kind of flexibility needed? In this working group, activists and advocates join decision-makers in LLCs to share their view of the benefits, and potential drawbacks of engaging in politics and policy, keeping many quivers in one's bow.

AMOL MEHRA Managing Director, North America, Freedom Fund @amolmehra

KOKETSO MOETI Founder and Executive Director, Amandla.mobi @Kmoeti

SASHA POST Policy Director, Justice & Opportunity Initiative, Chan-Zuckerberg Initiative @ChanZuckerberg

IN CONVERSATION WITH ANNE MARIE BURGOYNE Managing Director, Social Innovation, Emerson Collective @AMInnovation

TRACK 2: DATA & DEMOCRACY PROTECTING DEMOCRACY'S IMMUNE SYSTEM AND INFRASTRUCTURE—FROM CITIZEN TRUST TO VOTING MACHINES

PENINSULA 4

According to law enforcement agencies and independent experts, foreign country meddling in the electoral politics of countries in Europe and in the Americas is far from over. Efforts that have been uncovered to date come in the form of on-line disinformation campaigns, leveraging social media algorithms to reach the most credulous consumers—the ones who are the most likely to believe the fake news and to forward it to others. The result has been the undermining of trust—the societal glue on which democracy depends. Now officials are concerned that cyber methods will be used to compromise voter rolls and voting machines. In this working group we will discuss ways to inoculate against this kind of damage, not only through technical fixes, but by building social capital, citizen agency and media literacy. As Lucy Bernholz writes, “civil society is the immune system for democracy.”

SUNIL ABRAHAM Executive Director, Centre for Internet and Society @sunil_abraham

DAVID J. BECKER Founder and Executive Director, Center for Election Innovation & Research @beckerdavidj

MICHAEL MONIZ President and CEO, Circadence @Circadence

FACILITATED BY BETSY COOPER Founding Director, Aspen Tech Policy Hub, The Aspen Institute @BetsOnTech

TRACK 3: NEW LOCALISM

WHEN POLICY FAILS: TAKING ON INEQUALITY IN THE COMMUNITY

PENINSULA 1

This panel will look at community-based ways to address inequality in our nation's cities. Using Oakland, California, as a test case, working group members will share ways to build equitable and sustainable local economies. Among their approaches are to build a tech-driven economy powered by a diverse workforce to advance entrepreneurship, to mentor the next generation of female political leaders, and to direct data science research in ways that advance inner city Black people. All four speakers work at the intersection of technology and political and economic inequality.

CATHERINE BRACY Executive Director and Co-Founder, TechEquity Collaborative @cbracy

RODNEY FOXWORTH Executive Director, BALLE @RDFoxworth

ANNE MOSES President and Founder, IGNITE @annebmoses

FACILITATED BY ANDREW DAYTON Founder and CEO, Constellation Fund @MNConstellation

12:15 PM BREAK

12:30 PM LUNCH | REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

1:15 PM WHEN POLICY FAILS: TAKING ON IMMIGRATION AT THE BORDER

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

The pressures of immigration—real and perceived—have colored politics and divided polities. Having explored the very real migrant crisis in Europe in previous years, and the resulting political backlash, we now turn our attention to events at the US-Mexico border. Panelists will help us better understand how the politics of the issue have stood in the way of comprehensive immigration reform put forth by successive presidents, from George W. Bush to Barack Obama. And, they will share with us their and others' efforts to lessen the danger and the trauma for migrants and asylum seekers fleeing violent crime and political persecution only to be turned away at the border. The civil society organizations represented on the panel provide legal and practical advice and help youngsters in detention gain language skills in a safe and caring environment. Panelists are among a number of international, national and local nonprofit organizations playing vital, life-saving roles when policy has failed us.

LEE GELERT Deputy Director, ACLU Immigrants' Rights Project @leegelert

CAROLYN MILES President and CEO, Save the Children @carolynsave

MARIA MORENO Principal, Las Americas Newcomer School

JONATHAN RYAN CEO and President, RAICES @jonathandryan

IN CONVERSATION WITH NEAL KENY GUYER CEO, Mercy Corps

2:15 PM

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT: THE INAUGURAL JULIETTE GIMON COURAGE AWARD

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

A champion and co-founder of the Global Philanthropy Forum, Juliette Gimon joined the GPF team in its start-up years, playing a pivotal role both in its creation and its success. Sadly we lost Juliette to cancer, a loving mother, sister and daughter, she was a philanthropist through and through, much like the rest of the Hewlett family. Her legacy is large, but among the highlights is the Juliette Gimon Award for Courageous Leadership, established by Global Fund for Children on whose board she had served. Awardees will be announced this afternoon. Juliette's sister Marianne; Global Fund for Children's Founder, Maya Ajmera; and its CEO, John Hecklinger will introduce the honorees. Both awardees have toiled long and hard on the issues that moved Juliette most. In the face of the Syrian refugee crisis, Gamze and the organization she leads have provided educational and social support systems for Syrian women and girls. Lesli-Dalila is a women's rights defender and her organization provides legal aid, medical and psychological support to survivors of gender-based violence.

MAYA AJMERA President and CEO, Society for Science & the Public @MayaAjmera

MARIANNE GIMON D'ANSEBOURG Council Member, Flora Family Foundation @GimonMarianne

JOHN HECKLINGER President and CEO, Global Fund for Children @jhecklinger

GAMZE KARADAG Vice Chairwoman, Mavi Kalem @gmzkaradag

LESLI DALILA OVANDO MUÑOZ President of the Board, Asociación Generando

2:45 PM

BREAK

3:15 PM

WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1: PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY PHILANTHROPY IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

CATALINA

Among the most heartening trends in philanthropy is its growth in societies around the world. In this working group we will look at philanthropy in Latin America and Africa, where innovation abounds. We will hear from philanthropists, who will discuss, among other things, the value of giving at home. Joining them is an individual innovator who, having traveled to the US for his college education, felt compelled to devote his life's work to the people and places who were part of his early

years. Helping to draw you into the conversation will be the leaders of three philanthropy networks, including the Brazil Philanthropy Forum, the African Philanthropy Forum, both of whom are GPF affiliates, and GIFE, an association of Brazilian social investors, institutes, foundations and companies.

MADAM LBOGANG CHAKA Founder, Afro Visionary @lady_leboo

LORENA GUILLÉ-LARIS Executive Director, Cinépolis Foundation @lore_guille

KENNEDY ODEDE Founder and CEO, Shining Hope for Communities @KennedyOdede

JORGE VILLALOBOS Executive President, Mexican Center for Philanthropy @CemefInforma

JOSÉ MARCELO ZACCHI Secretary-General, GIFE, General Coordinator, Pacto pela Democracia @jrmzacchi

FACILITATED BY MOSUN LAYODE Executive Director, African Philanthropy @MosunLayode, and Paula Fabiani CEO, IDIS and the Brazil Philanthropy Forum @PaulaFabiani

TRACK 2: DATA & DEMOCRACY BUILDING RESILIENCE AND COMBATTING POVERTY IN SMART CITIES

PENINSULA 4

In celebration of their centennial in 2013, the Rockefeller Foundation created the 100 Resilient Cities initiative to support cities around the world become better prepared to face the growing challenges of the 21st century. While these include large unexpected events like natural disasters, they are also the daily stresses that weaken the fabric of a city—unemployment, violence, failing education systems, chronic hunger, homelessness. How do we use data to inform and enhance philanthropy to combat poverty and increase resilience? What are the opportunities for advancements in tech to prepare cities to combat these stresses or even eliminate them all together? With the development of smart cities, will there now be more questions than answers? Now is the time to focus on cities as central agents of change and as panelist Sean McDonald has stated “There’s an unprecedented opportunity, for all parties involved, in getting this right—and there’s no question the world’s watching.”

ANDREW DAYTON Founder and CEO, Constellation Fund @MNConstellation

SEAN MCDONALD Co-founder, Digital Public and CEO, FrontlineSMS @seanmcdonald

TRACK 3: NEW LOCALISM COLLECTIVE IMPACT AND COMMUNITY APPROACHES TO POVERTY REDUCTION

PENINSULA 1

Collective impact as an approach to local, cross-sector collaboration has had tremendous success in mobilizing stakeholders to achieve results at scale. In this session, you will hear how this approach has contributed to reducing poverty and promoting economic empowerment for over 250,000 people in over 340 communities in Canada, over 25,000 families in Central Iowa, and learn about other initiatives across the globe. You will also hear from the funder’s perspective and learn how philanthropy contributed to lifting up what works locally and disseminating an approach countrywide. These case studies will shine a light on the importance of collaboration and ways in which collective impact can be used to address big challenges at the local level, and scaling solutions that work.

PAUL BORN Co-Founder and Co-CEO, Tamarack Institute, and Director, Vibrant Communities @paulborn

TIM BROADHEAD Former President and CEO, The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation @jwmccconnell

ELIZABETH BUCK President, United Way of Central Iowa @UnitedWayCI

IN CONVERSATION WITH JENNIFER SPLANSKY JUSTER Executive Director, Collective Impact Forum, FSG @CIForumTweets

4:30 PM

BREAK

5:30 PM

**RECEPTION: SPONSORED BY THE END FUND
BALLROOM FOYER**



6:30 PM

**DINNER
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM**

7:30 PM

**DATA & DEMOCRACY - INDEPENDENT MEDIA AND THE
CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM**

An independent media—the only industry protected in the US Constitution—is an essential actor in a liberal democracy. Yet it is the most disrupted by the information revolution and the advent of digital and social media. Malign actors seeking to divide have exploited social media algorithms to drive disinformation to the most credulous. And political opportunists have sought to discredit the media that are the source of embarrassing truths. In this panel you will hear from those who reveal sources of propaganda, to check facts, report on abuse. One speaker’s company reports on the seven most significant stories from seven perspectives, recognizing that there are multiples lenses, and allowing the reader to be a thoughtful judge.

PREMESH CHANDRAN CEO and Co-Founder, Malaysiakini @premesh

KAREN EDWARDS Co-Founder and CEO, Soap @KarenAtSoap

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ Founder, IndiaSpend, FactChecker and BOOM @govindethiraj

MARY FITZGERALD Editor-in-Chief, OpenDemocracy @maryftz

IN CONVERSATION WITH GIANNINA SEGNINI Director, Masters of Science Data Journalism Program, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism @gianninasegnini

WEDNESDAY APRIL 3

7:30 AM

BREAKFAST AND TABLE TALKS

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

Learn from fellow conference participants who are excited to share their work or explore a topic of interest in these intimate and informal breakfast sessions. View the list of topics on the conference app.

9:00 AM

PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY: KNOWLEDGE MARKETPLACE

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

As the number of individual philanthropists in search of impact grows, so does their thirst for knowledge, and the opportunity to learn while giving. Several staffed foundations have stepped up, creating new vehicles for grantmaking that take advantage of the domain expertise, strategy acumen, and evaluative capacity of their program officers. Some have created “side car” funds that allow individual givers to “plus up” a foundation’s giving. Other foundations have come together around an issue, a strategy, and a shared staff to create a new entity that others—be they staffed foundations or individual donors—can join. They include Blue Meridian, ClimateWorks Foundation, and Co-Impact. The MacArthur Foundation offered yet two more innovations. The first was to share the professionally vetted proposals of finalists in their 100&Change grant competition so that other donors might offer their support. The second, most recent initiative is its Catalytic Capital Consortium, undertaken in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation and Omidyar Network. It dedicates \$150m to address financing gaps in impact investing. When combined with regranters like the Global Fund for Women, the Global Fund for Children, Give to Asia, Give to Colombia and Global Greengrants, these initiatives may form the beginning of a “knowledge marketplace” in which the supply of knowledge within philanthropic entities meets the demand for knowledge on the part of individual philanthropists. The demand for knowledge on the part of individual philanthropists.

PHIL BUCHANAN President, The Center for Effective Philanthropy @philxbuchanan

CECILIA CONRAD Managing Director, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation @macfound

CHUCK HARRIS CEO, Blue Meridian Partners @bluemeridianp

CHARLOTTE PERA President and CEO, ClimateWorks Foundation @ClimateWorks

IN CONVERSATION WITH JANE WALES Founder, Global Philanthropy Forum

10:00 AM

VENEZUELA’S TRAGEDY; COLOMBIAN CIVIL SOCIETY’S RESPONSE

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

Imagine you were Colombia, and Venezuela were your neighbor. You have emerged from a 50-year civil war. The terror of FARC violence and intimidation behind you, a better life lies ahead, as democratic governance and economic growth are assured. But, Venezuela, your much larger neighbor with a population of 31.5 million is collapsing under the corrupt leadership of Nicolas Maduro. Venezuelans have fled across the border to Colombia; about 30% of them do not return to Venezuela. The majority are women, children and the elderly, and their living conditions are bleak. Accompanying the influx of people has been a rise in such crimes as drug trafficking, smuggling and prostitution.

The humanitarian assistance for Venezuelans from Bogotá and other capitals has been rejected by Maduro who has declared “we do not beg from anyone.”

10:50 AM

BREAK

11:00 AM

DATA & DEMOCRACY: THE NORM OF TRANSPARENCY

REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

Whether you are a philanthropist seeking to advance field-wide learning; a human rights activist working to ferret out abuse, a corporate CEO wishing to build consumer confidence and employee pride; a nonprofit leader promoting collaboration and impact; an advocate seeking to persuade; or a democratic leader seeking to govern effectively, transparency is the means to an important end. In this panel we will hear from activists, human rights investigators, journalists, data nerds and data aggregators who believe that openness is an imperative if liberal democracy and cohesive society are to succeed.

PATRICK ALLEY Co-Founder and Director, Global Witness @Global_Witness

ESTHER DYSON Executive Founder, Wellville @edyson

JOHN GITHONGO CEO, Inuka Kenya Trust @johngithongo

GIANNINA SEGNINI Director, Masters of Science Data Journalism Program, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism @gianninasegnini

CHRIS TAGGART Co-Founder and CEO, OpenCorporates @CountCulture

IN CONVERSATION WITH MARKOS KOUNALAKIS Foreign Affairs Columnist and Visiting Fellow at the Hoover Institution

- 12:00 PM** **CITIZEN AGENCY: TAKING A STAND**
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM
PETER EIGEN Founder, Transparency International @p_eigen
IVO HERZOG Chairman, Vladimir Herzog Institute @vladimirherzog
INTRODUCED BY PAULA FABIANI CEO, IDIS and Brazilian Philanthropy
Forum @PaulaFabiani
- 12:30 PM** **CLOSING REMARKS**
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM
JONATHAN VISBAL Chairman, Board of Trustees, World Affairs
JANE WALES Founder, Global Philanthropy Forum @janewales
- 12:40 PM** **LUNCH**
REDWOOD SHORES BALLROOM

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



SUNIL ABRAHAM

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CENTRE FOR INTERNET AND SOCIETY @sunil_abraham

Sunil Abraham (an Ashoka Fellow) is the Executive Director of the Centre for Internet and Society (CIS), Bangalore/New Delhi. CIS is a ten-year-old policy and academic research organization that focuses on accessibility, access to knowledge, internet governance and telecommunications. He is also the Founder and Director of Mahiti, a twenty-year-old social enterprise that aims to reduce the cost and complexity of ICTs for the voluntary sector by using free software. Starting in 2004, for 3 years, Sunil also managed the International Open Source Network, a project of UNDP's APDIP, serving 42 countries in the Asia-Pacific region. Sunil currently serves on the advisory boards of Mahiti and Samvada.

MAYA AJMERA

PRESIDENT AND CEO, SOCIETY FOR SCIENCE & THE PUBLIC @MayaAjmera

Maya Ajmera is the President and CEO of Society for Science & the Public and Publisher of its award-winning magazine, Science News. Founded in 1921, the Society is best known for its world-class science competitions, including the Regeneron Science Talent Search, Intel International Science and Engineering Fair and Broadcom MASTERS, and its award-winning science journalism.

In 1993, Maya founded The Global Fund for Children (GFC), a nonprofit organization that invests in innovative, community-based organizations working with some of the world's most vulnerable children and youth. Under Maya's 18 years of leadership, GFC grew from a vision into one of the largest networks of grassroots organizations working on behalf of vulnerable children. To date, GFC has awarded nearly \$43 million to more than 700 grassroots organizations in 80 countries, touching the lives of nearly 10 million children. She is also author of the book, "Invisible Children: Reimagining International Development at the Grassroots."

Maya is also an award-winning children's book author of more than 20 titles, including Every Breath We Take, Children from Australia to Zimbabwe, and To Be a Kid, with more than 5 million readers worldwide.

Maya is Co-Chair of the board of Echoing Green and a board member for Kids in Need of Defense. She also serves on the faculty at The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies (SAIS) at Johns Hopkins University. Maya holds an AB from Bryn Mawr College and MPP from the Sanford School of Public Policy at Duke University. Maya is a 2011 Henry Crown Fellow of the Aspen Institute and a member of the Aspen Global Leadership Network.

PATRICK ALLEY

DIRECTOR AND CO-FOUNDER, GLOBAL WITNESS @Global_Witness

Patrick co-founded Global Witness in 1995. Since then Global Witness has become a global leader in its field, described by Aryeh Neier, former president of the Open Society Foundations, thus: "Global Witness brings together the issues of human rights, corruption, the trade in natural resources, the role of banks, the arms trade, conflict. It is the only organisation that does this. Period."

Patrick has taken part in over fifty field investigations in South East Asia, Africa and Europe and in subsequent advocacy activities. Patrick conceived several of Global Witness' campaigns and focuses on corruption, conflict resources, forests and land & environmental defenders. He is a board director of Global Witness and is involved in the organisation's strategic leadership. Alongside his two co-founders, Patrick received the 2014 Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship. Patrick is also a trustee of the OpenCorporates Trust Limited.

RICARDO ANDERÁOS

VICE PRESIDENT OF OPERATIONS, HUMANITAS 360 INSTITUTE @anderaos

Ricardo Anderáos is Vice President of Operations at Humanitas360 Institute. Prior to joining H360, he served as Framework Change Leader for Ashoka at Latin America.

Anderáos has a long career in journalism, with emphasis in digital platforms, having served as the editor-in-chief at Huffington Post Brasil, Metro Newspaper and MTV Brasil, and as international correspondent for Folha de S.Paulo newspaper.

As an environmentalist, he facilitated the development of an NGO's network that negotiated environmental safeguards towards the pre-salt exploitation by oil companies in southeastern Brazil. Since 2017, he has been working with philanthropist Patrícia Villela Marino, president of the Humanitas360 Institute, in projects like the first index about citizen empowerment in the American continent, developed in partnership with The Economist Intelligence Unit, and an entrepreneurship ecosystem for detainees and former detainees, preventing them from returning to crime after being released from prison.

Anderáos holds a PhD in Social History of Art from the University of São Paulo.

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

FOUNDER AND GLOBAL CEO, HIGH RESOLVES @highresolves

Mehrdad is Global CEO of High Resolves, the leader in the design and delivery of educational experience around citizenship for young people. Mehrdad has focused on rapid growth of the program in Australia and expansion into the U.S., Canada, China, Brazil and Africa. Recently, he was awarded the John P. McNulty Prize for his work as a social entrepreneur.

Mehrdad is Chairman of Alchemy Growth, a boutique strategy advisory firm. He is a frequent lecturer and writer on management theory especially in the growth strategy domain. He is co-author of the New York Times bestseller *As One* as well as international bestsellers *The Alchemy of Growth* and *Granularity*. Previously, he was a partner in the Sydney and Toronto offices of McKinsey and Company and co-leader of the Firm's worldwide Growth Practice.

Mehrdad has also served as an Executive Director at the CSIRO, Australia's national science agency and various other policy initiatives. Mehrdad has degrees from Harvard Law School, Harvard Kennedy School and Princeton University. He is a Henry Crown Fellow at the Aspen Institute.

KEVIN BANKSTON

DIRECTOR, OPEN TECHNOLOGY INSTITUTE, NEW AMERICA @KevinBankston

Kevin Bankston is the Director of New America's Open Technology Institute, where he works in the public interest to ensure that all communities have access to communications technologies that are both open and secure. He previously served as OTI's Policy Director from 2013 to 2015.

Before leading OTI's policy team, Kevin was a Senior Counsel and the Director of the Free Expression Project at the Center for Democracy & Technology. From that position, he spent two years advocating on a wide range of Internet and technology policy issues both international and domestic, including organizing an unprecedented broad coalition of companies and civil society organizations to demand greater transparency around the US government's surveillance practices.

Prior to joining CDT, he worked for nearly a decade at the Electronic Frontier Foundation, specializing in free speech and privacy law with a focus on government surveillance, Internet privacy, and location privacy. Before joining EFF, he litigated Internet-related free speech cases at the national office of the American Civil Liberties Union in New York City as a Justice William Brennan First Amendment Fellow. He received his JD at the University of Southern California Law School after receiving his BA at the University of Texas at Austin.

DAVID J. BECKER

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR ELECTION INNOVATION & RESEARCH @beckerdavidj

David Becker is the Executive Director and Founder of the nonprofit Center for Election Innovation & Research. As one of the foremost election experts in the country, David has led CEIR's successful efforts to help election officials of both parties, all around the country, ensure that all eligible voters can vote conveniently in a system with maximum integrity.

Prior to founding CEIR, David was Director of the elections program at The Pew Charitable Trusts. As the lead for Pew's analysis and advocacy on elections issues, David spearheaded development of the Electronic Registration Information Center, or ERIC, which to date has helped a bipartisan group of over half the states update nearly 10 million out-of-date voter records, and led to these states registering over five million new eligible voters.

Before joining Pew, David served for seven years as a senior trial attorney in the Voting Section of the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division, and served as lead counsel on major voting rights litigation, including the case of *Georgia v. Ashcroft*, ultimately decided by the US Supreme Court.

David's many appearances in the media include *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, CNN, MSNBC, PBS NewsHour, and NPR, and is frequently published on election issues, including by the Stanford Social Innovation Review and The Washington Post.

David received both his undergraduate and law degrees from the University of California, Berkeley, and was a two-time champion on *Jeopardy!* and a winner on *Who Wants to be a Millionaire*.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

SENIOR RESEARCH SCHOLAR, STANFORD UNIVERSITY @p2173

Dr. Bernholz is a Senior Research Scholar at Stanford University's Center on Philanthropy and Civil Society and Director of the Digital Civil Society Lab. She has been a Visiting Scholar at The David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and a Fellow at the Rockefeller Foundation's Bellagio Center, the Hybrid Reality Institute, and the New America Foundation.

She is the author of numerous articles and books, including the annual *Blueprint Series on Philanthropy and the Social Economy*, the 2010 publication *Disrupting Philanthropy*, and her 2004 book *Creating Philanthropic Capital Markets: The Deliberate Evolution*. She is a co-editor of *Philanthropy in Democratic Societies*, published in 2016 by the University of Chicago Press. She writes extensively on philanthropy, technology, and policy on her award winning blog, philanthropy2173.com.

She studied history and has a BA from Yale University, where she played field hockey and captained the lacrosse team, and an MA and PhD from Stanford University.

JIM BILDNER

CEO, THE DRAPER RICHARDS KAPLAN FOUNDATION @jimbildner

Jim Bildner is the CEO of the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation. Jim is also an Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School and a Senior Research Fellow at the Hauser Institute for Civil Society and the Center for Public Leadership at Harvard University.

Jim is a trustee of The Kresge Foundation, The Non Profit Finance Fund, The Public Citizen Foundation, Healthy Americas Foundation, Trustee Emeritus at Case Western Reserve University, an Overseer Emeritus of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and a member of the executive board of WBUR (Boston Public Radio). He also serves on the boards of ROCA, Inc., Fox Islands Wind, LLC, the EBSF Loan Fund, the Island Institute and Coastal Innovation Loan Fund, Education SuperHighway, IDEO.org, SIRUM, the Earth Genome, CAST, OpenBiome, Service Year, Open Up Resources, Inc., Landed, Inc., the GroundTruth Project, the Empowerment Plan, UpTrust, on the board of the Lizard Island Research Foundation in Australia and Climate Central. He is a member of Young Presidents/World Presidents Organization and a member of the Chief Executives Organization.

In his board service, Mr. Bildner serves on the Investment Committees of boards with aggregate endowments in excess of \$4 billion as well as a member of numerous finance, investment and/or audit committees of these boards.

PAUL BORN

CO-FOUNDER AND CO-CEO, TAMARACK INSTITUTE @paulborn

Paul Born grew up as the son of Mennonite refugees. This is what made him deeply curious about and engaged in ideas that cause people to work together for the common good.

Paul is the Co-founder and Co-CEO of a 25,000-person learning community known as the Tamarack Institute and the Founder and Director of Vibrant Communities, a

network of over 300 cities with community plans to deepen community and end poverty. He is the author of five books, including two Canadian best sellers. Paul is a global faculty member of the Asset Based Community Development Institute (ABCD) and a senior fellow of Ashoka, the world's largest network of social innovators.

CATHERINE BRACY

CO-FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE TECHEQUITY COLLABORATIVE @cbracy

Catherine Bracy is a civic technologist and community organizer whose work focuses on the intersection of technology and political and economic inequality. She is the co-founder and Executive Director of the TechEquity Collaborative, an organization in Oakland, CA that seeks to build a tech-driven economy in the Bay Area that works for everyone.

She was previously Code for America's Senior Director of Partnerships and Ecosystem where she grew Code for America's Brigade program into a network of over 50,000 civic tech volunteers in 80+ cities across the US. She also founded Code for All, the global network of Code-for organizations with partners on six continents. Catherine built Code for America's civic engagement focus area, creating a framework and best practices for local governments to increase public participation which has been adopted in cities across the US.

During the 2012 election cycle she was Director of Obama for America's Technology Field Office in San Francisco, the first of its kind in American political history. She was responsible for organizing technologists to volunteer their skills for the campaign's technology and digital efforts. Prior to joining the Obama campaign, she ran the Knight Foundation's 2011 News Challenge and before that was the administrative director at Harvard's Berkman Center for Internet & Society. She is on the board of directors at the Data & Society Research Institute and the Public Laboratory.

NATALIE BRIDGEMAN FIELDS

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ACCOUNTABILITY COUNSEL @nataliebflds

Natalie Bridgeman Fields is the Founder and Executive Director of Accountability Counsel. She leads the organization of community-driven lawyers, policy advocates, and researchers working to amplify the voices of people around the world to defend their human rights and environment. She has worked as a lawyer supporting community human rights and environmental grievances in dozens of countries. She lectures and has published on the topics of accountability in development finance, impact investing, incentives, international law, and global governance. Most recently, she co-taught a Stanford Law School Policy Lab with Professor Paul Brest on accountability in impact investing.

Previously, she served as a consultant on accountability for the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank Inspection Panel. Earlier in her career, as a lawyer at Wilson Sonsini, and through her own law office, she litigated corporate, human rights, and environmental cases in US courts, including the first case to render a jury verdict on crimes against humanity.

She has been recognized for her social entrepreneurship as an Echoing Green Fellow, Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation Entrepreneur, and fellow at the Stanford University Center on Democracy, Development, and The Rule of Law. She is a graduate of Cornell University, where she was a Udall Scholar, and received her law degree from UCLA School of Law, where she was Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of International Law and Foreign Affairs. She speaks fluent Spanish, conversant German, and lives in the Bay Area with her husband and three kids.

TIM BROADHEAD

FORMER PRESIDENT AND CEO, J.W. MCCONNELL FAMILY FOUNDATION
@jwmccconnell

Tim Brodhead was from 1995 to 2011 President and Chief Executive Officer of The J.W. McConnell Family Foundation, a private foundation based in Montreal. The mission of the Foundation is to foster a more resilient Canada by enhancing social innovation, inclusion and sustainability. He continued as a Senior Fellow of Social Innovation Generation (SIG), a collaborative initiative to promote social innovation in Canada, until 2013. He then was appointed Interim President of the Pierre Elliot Trudeau Foundation until 2014.

Currently he co-chairs Canadians for a New Partnership and is a board member of The Natural Step, Engineers Without Borders (EWB-Canada), the Fondation Lucie et André Chagnon, and the Inspirit, OMEGA, Jarislowsky, Glenn Gould and Ottawa Community Foundations. He is on the Advisory Boards of Musagetes, the MaRS Solutions Lab and the McGill Institute for Health and Social Policy and is a member of the Waterloo Institute for Social Innovation and Resilience (WISIR).

In 2001, Tim was appointed an Officer of the Order of Canada. He is the recipient of honorary degrees from Carleton University, Dalhousie University, the University of New Brunswick and McGill University.

DAVID BROOKS

NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WEAVE THE SOCIAL FABRIC PROJECT, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE @nytdavidbrooks

David Brooks is an Op-Ed columnist for *The New York Times*, a position he began in September 2003, as well as an Executive Director at the Aspen Institute. He is also currently a commentator on “The PBS Newshour,” NPR’s “All Things Considered” and NBC’s “Meet the Press.”

He is the author of “Bobos In Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There” and “The Social Animal: The Hidden Sources of Love, Character, and Achievement.” In April of 2015 he came out with his fourth book, “The Road to Character,” which was a number 1 *New York Times* bestseller.

Mr. Brooks also teaches at Yale University, and is a member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Born on August 11, 1961 in Toronto, Canada, Mr. Brooks graduated a bachelor of history from the University of Chicago in 1983. He became a police reporter for the City News Bureau, a wire service owned jointly by the Chicago Tribune and Sun Times.

He worked at *The Washington Times* and then *The Wall Street Journal* for 9 years. His last post at the *Journal* was as op-ed editor. Prior to that, he was posted in Brussels, covering Russia, the Middle East, South Africa and European affairs. His first post at the *Journal* was as editor of the book review section, and he filled in as the *Journal's* movie critic.

He also served as a senior editor at *The Weekly Standard* for 9 years, as well as contributing editor for *The Atlantic* and *Newsweek*.

PHIL BUCHANAN

PRESIDENT, THE CENTER FOR EFFECTIVE PHILANTHROPY @philxbuchanan

Phil Buchanan, President of The Center for Effective Philanthropy (CEP), is a passionate advocate for the importance of philanthropy and the nonprofit sector and deeply committed to the cause of helping foundations and individual donors to maximize their impact. Hired in 2001 as the organization’s first chief executive, Phil has led the growth of CEP into the leading provider of data and insight on philanthropic effectiveness. CEP has been widely credited with bringing the voices of stakeholders to funders and with contributing to an increased emphasis on clear goals, coherent strategies, disciplined implementation, and relevant performance indicators.

Phil is author of the forthcoming book, *Giving Done Right: Effective Philanthropy and Making Every Dollar Count*, to be published by Public Affairs, an imprint of Hachette, in spring 2019. He is co-author of many CEP research reports, a columnist for *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, and a frequent blogger for the CEP Blog. Phil is also co-founder of YouthTruth, an initiative of CEP’s designed to harness student perceptions to help educators and funders accelerate improvements in K-12 schools and classrooms. He holds an MBA from Harvard University and received his undergraduate degree in Government from Wesleyan University. He has been recognized seven times as among the *Nonprofit Times* “power and influence top 50”—most recently in 2018. In 2016 he was named the *Nonprofit Times* “influencer of the year.” Phil serves on the board of directors of Philanthropy Massachusetts.

Phil was born in Toronto, grew up in Oregon, and currently lives in Lexington, Massachusetts with his wife and two daughters.

ELISABETH BUCK

PRESIDENT, UNITED WAY OF CENTRAL IOWA @UnitedWayCI

Elisabeth Buck became President of United Way of Central Iowa in May 2017 after serving as Chief Community Impact Officer since January 2011. As United Way of Central Iowa’s chief executive, Elisabeth leads strategies to achieve substantive community impact in the priority areas of Education, Income, and Health to improve lives and build a stronger central Iowa.

Prior to joining United Way, she served as Governors Vilsack and Culver’s Deputy Chief of Staff from 1999-2007 until her appointment as Governor Culver’s Director of Iowa Workforce Development (IWD) in 2007. During her time in this position, Elisabeth transformed IWD into a client-centered environment and integrated the

Workforce Centers with partners to provide seamless employment services and up-skilling activities for lowans. She also led the Governor's initiatives that addressed misclassification of workers and ex-offender reentry.

Elisabeth earned a BA in political science from Iowa State University, where she served as student body president. She went on to be named 2002 Leader of the Year in Iowa State Government, 2004 Volunteer of the Year, received the AFSCME Leadership Award in 2006, and was honored as a 2015 Business Record Woman of Influence.

Elisabeth and her husband, Tim, have two children and one granddaughter.

ANNE MARIE BURGOYNE

MANAGING DIRECTOR, SOCIAL INNOVATION AT EMERSON COLLECTIVE (EC)
@AMInnovation

Anne Marie Burgoyne is the Managing Director, Social Innovation at Emerson Collective (EC) where she leads the investment process for nonprofit social innovators in a wide array of sectors, including education, immigration, social justice, health and the environment. She also works with the diverse team at Emerson to assure that partner organizations access EC's capacity building, communications, convening and advocacy supports.

Before joining EC, Anne Marie was Managing Director of the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation where she made early-stage grants to high-growth, high-impact nonprofits. Anne Marie is on the governing boards of Girl Effect, Stand for Children and The Management Center and on the advisory boards of College Track and REDF. She teaches a class at Stanford's Graduate School of Business called Making Social Ventures Happen. Earlier in her career, Anne Marie was a non-profit Executive Director a REDF Farber Fellow.

Before entering the non-profit sector, Anne Marie was on the executive team of a technology services company and an investment banker. Anne Marie received her MBA from Stanford University's Graduate School of Business. She also holds a BA in English and a BS in Economics from the University of Pennsylvania and its Wharton School, respectively. She lives in San Francisco with her husband and two terrific girls and enjoys walking, yoga, cooking and cabaret singing.

LINDA CALHOUN

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE PRODUCER, CAREER GIRLS @careergirlsorg

LINDA CALHOUN is Founder and Executive Producer of Careergirls.org, a free, noncommercial, online platform which showcases video clips of diverse women role models sharing career and educational advice to inspire young girls to expand their horizons, improve their academic performance, and dream big about their futures.

The idea for Career Girls was born after Linda started working as a database consultant for international development projects for USAID and the World Bank. She has several years experience leading teams in the design and requirements of databases to support GIS for public agencies in Kansas, Connecticut and the Kyrgyz Republic. She found this work to be rewarding on many levels and wanted girls

coming up behind her to know about exciting careers in tech and beyond.

In 1994, she had the honor of being a member of the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa (UNOMSA) as an election monitor in the KwaZulu Natal Province. In addition to earning her Bachelor of Science degree in Mass Communication at Boston University, she also received a certificate in International Marketing from the American University of Paris.

She is also the President, Friends of the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women, Chair of the Commonwealth Club of California's International Relations Member Led Forum, Trustee of World Affairs and Board Member for Take Our Daughters and Sons to Work Foundation. She and her husband Ed live in San Francisco are co-founders of EL Films production company and established, independent artists.

DAN CARDINALI

PRESIDENT AND CEO, INDEPENDENT SECTOR @DanCardinali

Dan Cardinali is President and CEO of Independent Sector, the only national membership organization that brings together a diverse set of nonprofits, foundations, and corporations to advance the common good.

Before joining IS in 2016, Dan served on the IS Board of Directors and several IS member committees.

He also led IS member, Communities In Schools, the nation's largest and most effective dropout prevention organization, for 12 years after working in other positions at the organization.

As a thought leader in the field of public education, Dan was credited with fostering the growing national trend toward community involvement in schools through partnerships with parents, businesses, policymakers, and local nonprofit groups. As the president and CEO of IS, he believes strongly in the power of nonprofits, foundations, and other organizations to work collaboratively to improve life and the environment for individuals and communities around the world. Dan is known for his commitment to performance management to drive evidence-based programs and high impact organizations.

Early in this career, Dan worked as a community organizer in Guadalajara, Mexico organizing a squatter community to secure land rights, running water, and public education. He then returned to Washington, DC for a research fellowship at the Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University.

Dan is a 2007 Annie E. Casey Children and Families Fellow, serves on the board of Child Trends and the advisory boards of HBS Social Enterprise Initiative, the Conference Board's Center on Corporate Citizenship and Philanthropy, the Fetzer Institute and Project Evident. He holds a bachelor's degree in international relations from Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and a master's degree in philosophy from Fordham University.

MADAM LBOGANG CHAKA

FOUNDER, AFRO VISIONARY LEGACY @lady_leboo

Madam Chaka founded a company called Afro Visionary Legacy, a strategic advisory and public speaking firm with a focus on Africa and its diaspora. She has experience from top-tier consulting firms having worked within the advisory divisions of the likes of Accenture, Deloitte and KPMG. Her career has seen her on platforms in Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Malawi, Liberia, Tanzania, Ghana, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Namibia, Uganda, Togo, United Kingdom, Dubai and the United States of America.

She holds a Masters of International Business awarded with distinction and a Bachelor of Business and Commerce from Monash University, Australia. In addition, she studied African Studies to understand the needs of the continent. She was appointed to lead the African expansion of Football for Peace, a UK-based charity. Madam Chaka serves on the advisory board of the African Women in Energy and Power.

As a strategic advisor she has advised companies across industries such as Sasol, Xstrata Coal, Volkswagen, Standard Bank, Mondelez, Kellogg's, Zanele Mbeki Development Trust, Aspen Institute and Department of Defence. She formed part of the advisory team to Former President Mbeki to Nigeria. Practically, she has travelled to 19 African countries to understand the needs of the continent on the ground.

As a Pan African speaker, she has addressed children in underprivileged schools in South Africa, Ghana, DRC and Zimbabwe. She has also spoken at various prisons. She has shared stages with H.E Vice President, Jewel Taylor of Liberia and H.E Former Vice President of Zimbabwe Joice Mujuru, Former President H.E. Mbeki of South Africa, Former President H.E. Mkapa of Tanzania, Former President H.E. Marzouki of Tunisia, and Former President H.E. Mohamud of Somalia.

PREMESH CHANDRAN

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, MALAYSIAKINI @premesh

Premesh Chandran is the co-founder and CEO of Malaysiakini. Launched in 1999, Malaysiakini is the Malaysia's most popular political news website, currently reaching over 8 million readers in English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil, with a staff size of just over 100.

It is best known for its independent news coverage over the past 20 years, despite government hostility. As a voice against corruption and government abuses, it played a key role in informing a generation of voters, leading to Malaysia's democratic change in federal government in May 2018, the first since independence.

Malaysiakini is also one of the few media that reduced dependency on grants. It has been financially sustainable since 2008 through revenues from subscription and advertising.

Premesh holds a degree in Physics and a Masters degree in International Studies. He is a 2019 TED Senior Fellow, a recipient of Asia Foundation's Chang-Lin Tan Fellowship in 2010, and was the Media Personality of the Year in 2012. He is also a business coach for tech startups and has coached over 50 companies in the past 7 years.

He sticks to his idealism by finding practical ways to achieve them. He believes that change happens when we can demonstrate a better way is possible, practical and scalable.

MERYL JUSTIN CHERTOFF

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE'S JUSTICE AND SOCIETY PROGRAM @AspenInstitute

Meryl Justin Chertoff is Executive Director of The Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program. She directs its summer seminar in Aspen, custom seminar for federal judges, speaker series in New York, Washington and Aspen, and the Inclusive America Project on religious pluralism in America. She is also an adjunct professor of law at Georgetown Law, where she teaches about state government, intergovernmental affairs, and state courts. Ms. Chertoff is a Fellow of the American Bar Foundation and serves on the advisory committee of the After Charlottesville Project: Communities Overcoming Extremism. She is an opinion contributor for The Hill and writes for the Huffington Post and the Aspen Idea.

From 2006-2009, Ms. Chertoff was Director of the Sandra Day O'Connor Project on the State of the Judiciary at Georgetown Law, studying and educating the public about federal and state courts. At Georgetown Law, she developed educational programs for visiting judges and other government officials from overseas.

She served in the Office of Legislative Affairs at the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), participating in the agency's transition into the Department of Homeland Security in 2003. Ms. Chertoff has been a legislative relations professional, Director of New Jersey's Washington, D.C. Office under two governors, and legislative counsel to the Chair of the New Jersey State Assembly Appropriations Committee.

Her undergraduate and law degrees are from Harvard.

DEBRA CLEAVER

FOUNDER AND CEO, VOTE.ORG @debracleaver

Debra Cleaver is the Founder and CEO of Vote.org, the leading non-partisan, nonprofit organization increasing voter turnout. Since its inception in 2016, the organization has registered close to two million voters, and run large-scale Get Out The Vote campaigns targeting tens of millions of low-propensity voters.

Debra is an alum of Pomona College and Y Combinator and is currently a DRK Fellow for Social Entrepreneurship. Debra and her organization's work has been featured in *The New York Times*, *Washington Post*, MSNBC, C-SPAN, WIRED, SOCAP, Bloomberg, BBC, BuzzFeed News, *Forbes*, and more.

CECILIA CONRAD

MANAGING DIRECTOR, JOHN D. AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR FOUNDATION @macfound

Cecilia A. Conrad, Ph.D. is a Managing Director at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and CEO of Lever for Change, a new nonprofit affiliate of the MacArthur Foundation. In addition to her role at Lever for Change, Dr. Conrad oversees the MacArthur Fellows program and MacArthur's 100&Change.

Before joining the foundation in January 2013, Conrad had a distinguished career as both a professor and an administrator at Pomona College, Claremont, CA. She joined the economics faculty at Pomona College in 1995. She served as Associate Dean of the College (2004–2007), as Vice President for Academic Affairs and Dean of the College (2009–2012), and as Acting President (Fall 2012). From 2007–2009, she was interim Vice President and Dean of the Faculty at Scripps College.

Conrad's academic research focuses on the effects of race and gender on economic status and her work has appeared in both academic journals and nonacademic publications including *The American Prospect* and *Black Enterprise*. Her co-edited text, *African Americans in the US Economy*, was named a CHOICE Outstanding Academic Title in 2005. Conrad has also served on the faculties of Barnard College and Duke University, was an economist at the Federal Trade Commission and was a visiting scholar at The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies.

Conrad was recognized as California's Carnegie Professor of the Year in 2002, received the National Urban League's Women of Power Award in 2008 and the National Economic Association's Samuel Z. Westerfield award in 2018. She has honorary doctorates from Claremont Graduate University and the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth.

Dr. Conrad is a member of the board of trustees of Bryn Mawr College, The Poetry Foundation, the National Academy of Social Insurance and the Sylvia Bozeman and Rhonda Hughes EDGE Foundation. She received her B.A. degree from Wellesley College and her Ph.D. in economics from Stanford University.

BETSY COOPER

FOUNDING DIRECTOR, ASPEN TECH POLICY HUB, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE
@BetsOnTech

Betsy Cooper is the Founding Director of the Aspen Tech Policy Hub. A cybersecurity expert, Ms. Cooper joined Aspen's Cybersecurity & Technology Program after serving as the Executive Director of the Berkeley Center for Long-Term Cybersecurity at the University of California, Berkeley.

Previously, she served at the U.S. Department of Homeland Security as an attorney advisor to the Deputy General Counsel and as a policy counselor in the Office of Policy. She has worked for over a decade in homeland security consulting, managing projects for Atlantic Philanthropies in Dublin, the Prime Minister's Strategy Unit in London, and the World Bank, and other organizations.

In addition, Ms. Cooper has clerked for Berkeley Law professor and Judge William Fletcher on the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. She completed a postdoctoral fellowship at Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation (where she currently is a nonresident affiliate), as well as a Yale Public Interest Fellowship. Ms. Cooper has written more than twenty manuscripts and articles on U.S. and European homeland security policy. She is also a Senior Advisor at Albright Stonebridge Group.

Ms. Cooper earned a J.D. from Yale University, a D.Phil. in Politics from Oxford University, an M.Sc. in Forced Migration from Oxford University, and a B.A. in Industrial and Labor Relations from Cornell University. She speaks advanced French. She is based in the San Francisco Bay Area.

ASHA CURRAN

CO-FOUNDER, #GIVINGTUESDAY @RadioFreeAsha

Asha Curran is Chief Innovation Officer and Director of the Belfer Center for Innovation & Social Impact at 92nd Street Y, which was recently named one of the "10 Most Innovative Nonprofits" by Fast Company. She leads #GivingTuesday, the annual day of giving following Black Friday and Cyber Monday, as well as a portfolio of global, digitally driven initiatives, including 7 Days of Genius, the Social Good Summit, the Ben Franklin Circles, and the Women inPower Fellowship.

She is the recipient of the 2015 Social Capital Hero Award, was named a 2016 Woman of Influence by New York Business Journals and is a 40 Over 40 Women to Watch honoree. Asha serves on the board of directors of TheGuardian.org, a nonprofit dedicated to advancing civil discourse and issues-driven journalism, and she is a nonresident fellow at Stanford University's Digital Civil Society Lab.

ANDREW DAYTON

FOUNDER AND CEO, CONSTELLATION FUND @MNConstellation

Andrew Dayton is the Founder and CEO of the Constellation Fund, a Minneapolis-based grantmaking organization created to fight poverty by raising the living standards of individuals living below the poverty line. Constellation uses data, research, and predictive analytics to identify, fund, and partner with the people and organizations making the biggest demonstrable impacts in the fight against poverty in the Twin Cities. He is also a co-founder and co-owner of North Corp, an award-winning retail and hospitality group.

Andrew previously served as the Deputy Legislative Director to former San Francisco Mayor Edwin M. Lee, leading the San Francisco's state and federal policy and budgetary priorities in Sacramento and Washington D.C. He sits on the board of directors of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors—a New York-based nonprofit organization working to help donors create thoughtful, effective philanthropy throughout the globe—and The Minneapolis Foundation, one of the first community foundations in the world. Andrew received a B.A. in History from Yale University, and a J.D. from the University of Michigan Law School.

LARRY DIAMOND

SENIOR FELLOW, HOOVER INSTITUTION, STANFORD @LarryDiamond

Larry Diamond is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and at the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. For more than six years, he directed FSI's Center on Democracy, Development, and the Rule of Law, where he now leads its Program on Arab Reform and Democracy and its Global Digital Policy Incubator.

He is the founding co-editor of the *Journal of Democracy* and also serves as Senior Consultant at the International Forum for Democratic Studies of the National Endowment for Democracy. He has been a Senior Adviser to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, an advisor and author for the U.S. Agency for International Development, and has also consulted for many other international, governmental, and non-governmental organizations on issues related to democracy and constitutional design.

His research focuses on democratic trends and conditions around in the world, and on policies and reforms to defend and advance democracy. He is the author of six books, including *The Spirit of Democracy* and *Squandered Victory*, and editor or co-editor of 50 others addressing the challenges and conditions for democracy around the world. His new book, *Ill Winds: Saving Democracy from Russian Rage, Chinese Ambition, and American Complacency*, will be published by Penguin in June.

ESTHER DYSON

EXECUTIVE FOUNDER, WELLVILLE @edyson

Esther Dyson is executive founder of Wellville, a 10-year project to show the long-term value, both social and financial, of investing in health. She believes the best way to persuade people is with facts and data—plus good stories!

Trained as a journalist for the Harvard Crimson and with a BA in Economics, Dyson started her serious career as a fact-checker for Forbes Magazine. Over the years she wrote a monthly newsletter for the tech industry (1982–2006), served as founding chairman of ICANN (1998–2000), served on the board of the Sunlight Foundation fostering government transparency (2007–2016), trained as a cosmonaut in Star City outside Moscow (2008–2009), and became an active angel investor (including 23andMe, Meetup, Omada Health, Yandex and many others). She sits on the boards of 23andMe and Yandex and, on the nonprofit side, of Open Corporates.

KAREN EDWARDS

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, SOAP @KarenAtSoap

Karen is the Co-Founder and CEO of Soap, a nonprofit dedicated to solving information overload and mistrust by connecting users with quality sources online. Soap's mission is to help people—especially young adults—make sense of today's issues so they are empowered to make informed choices for their future.

In early 2017, Karen and her co-founder looked at best practices of established information trust models, with the goal of excluding bad actors upfront. Today, the Soap AI platform connects consumers and thought-leaders with over 50,000 human-vetted sources. Designed with digital natives in mind, Soap draws users toward a “Path of Contextual Thinking” exposing them to a broad spectrum of perspectives, so they form their own point of view.

Throughout her career, Karen has focused on how people consume information. She co-founded Common Sense Media, now serving over 100MM users and 40% of schools. As the 17th employee at Yahoo, she headed marketing for six years, building Yahoo as one of the fastest-growing global brands ever. Currently, she serves on the board of The Institute for the Future and KQED. She earned her MBA from Harvard, and a BA in Communications from Stanford.

PETER EIGEN

FOUNDER, TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL @p_eigen

Prof. Dr. Peter Eigen has worked in economic development and governance for several decades and has led initiatives for better global governance and the fight against corruption.

From 1983 to 1988, Eigen was a World Bank Programs Division Chief for Argentina, Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Paraguay and Uruguay. Thereafter, he was the Director of the Regional Mission for Eastern Africa of the World Bank.

In 1993, Eigen founded Transparency International (TI), a civil society organization promoting transparency and accountability in international development. From 1993 to 2005, he was Chair of TI and is now the Chair of its advisory council. During this period he founded the Partnership for Transparency Fund and the International Civil Society Center, Berlin. From 2005–2011, Eigen was the founding chairman of the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative (EITI). Presently he chairs as co-founder of the Humboldt-Viadrina Governance Platform its Fisheries Transparency Initiative.

In 2000, he was awarded the Honorary Doctor's degree at the Open University, UK, in 2004, the Readers Digest Award “European of the Year 2004”, in 2007 the Gustav Heinemann Award and in 2017 the Inamory Award, Japan. Germany awarded Peter Eigen its Grand Cross of Merit in recognition of his efforts to combat corruption at the global level in January 2013.

MOY ENG

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COMMUNITY ARTS STABILIZATION TRUST @CASTSF

Moy Eng began her career in New York City, fundraising with the Alvin Ailey American Dance Theater and the Orchestra of St. Luke's, and has worked for over three decades as a senior executive and grantmaker in arts and culture, renewable energy policy, and international and US human rights. At the center of her life is art, supporting artists and making artwork as a poet, songwriter and vocalist.

By day, Moy currently leads Community Arts Stabilization Trust (CAST), a new nonprofit social enterprise developing long-term solutions to create affordable workspace for the arts in San Francisco, Oakland and other cities. Launched in 2013, CAST has purchased and opened two arts buildings in central San Francisco, attracted exceptional support from philanthropic, private and public sectors, and been cited as a model by the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, and by cultural leaders in Austin, New York, Seattle, Sydney, and London. Moy was honored in 2018 by the World Affairs Council as a social entrepreneur “who will shape our tomorrow.”

By night, she is producing her first recording of original songs with co-writer and four-time Grammy-nominated composer, Wayne Wallace. This recording entitled the blue hour is planned for release in summer 2019.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

FOUNDER, INDIASPEND, FACTCHECKER AND BOOM @govindethiraj

Govindraj is a television and print journalist and most recently Founder of BOOM, a fact-checking and fake news busting initiative. He is also Founder of the award-winning IndiaSpend and FactChecker, public interest journalism efforts which use data to write and syndicate stories in areas like health, education and environment.

BOOM and FactChecker are the only verified India members of the International Fact Checking Network (IFCN), a part of the Poynter Institute. IndiaSpend is a member of the Global Investigative Journalism Network.

Govindraj also anchors seasonal shows on Indian news television—the current one being ‘Aegons of Business’ featuring conversations with young entrepreneurs on BloombergQuint, and earlier the weekly ‘Policy Watch’ on public service broadcaster Raja Sabha or RSTV.

Previously, he was Founder and Editor-in-Chief of Bloomberg TV India, a 24-hour business news service launched out of Mumbai in 2008 and a partnership between Bloomberg LLP and the UTV Group in India. Prior to setting up Bloomberg TV, he worked with Business Standard newspaper as Editor of New Media with a specific mandate of integrating the newspaper’s news operations with its digital or web platform. Before that, Govindraj spent five years with television channel CNBC-TV18 where he actively drove most of the channel’s programming growth and expansion initiatives.

Prior to television, he worked in print in The Economic Times, Business World and Business India magazines. He has been a career business journalist who has reported and written on Indian business for over 25 years. He is a Fellow of the Inaugural Class of Ananta Aspen’s 2006 India Leadership Initiative, a 2018 McNulty Laureate and a winner of the 2014 BMW Responsible Leaders Awards.

PAULA FABIANI

CEO, IDIS @PaulaFabiani

Paula Fabiani is the CEO of IDIS. Previously, she was the financial director of Maria Cecilia Souto Vidigal Foundation and controller of Akatu Institute. She also served in the Private Equity department of Votorantim Group. She has previously worked at BankBoston in asset management and M&A and at Lloyds Bank in trade finance. Fabiani is author of the books “Endowments—Establishment and Management in Brazil” and “Early Childhood—Overview, Analysis and Practice.”

She holds a bachelor’s degree in Economics from the FEA-USP and an MBA from the Stern School of Business—New York University. She has an executive education in Endowment Asset Management from the London Business School and Yale and in Nonprofit Sector Management from FGV. She is the only Brazilian accredited SROI practitioner by Social Value UK. She is a member of the Network of Political Action for Sustainability—RAPS, and a board member of the Vladimir Herzog Institute.

GABRIELA FEBRES-CORDERO

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, UNITED FOR COLOMBIA FOUNDATION
@United4Colombia

Venezuelan by birth, with a degree in Business Administration from the University of San Francisco, California, with an honorable mention Cum Laude. Throughout her professional career, she has been Venezuelan Minister of Foreign Trade, as well as member of several boards of companies and trade associations in Venezuela, Colombia and the United States: World Trade Center Association NY, Venezuelan Association of Exporters, Bellsouth-Colombia, Cerámicas Caribe Venezuela, Cementos Caribe Venezuela, Chamber of Commerce of Caracas, Colombo-Venezuelan Chamber, Cuban-Venezuelan Chamber, Banesco Banca Comercial Venezuela. She was also President of the Board of Directors of the Export Financing Fund of

Venezuela, member of the Board of Directors of the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington; of the Museum of Natural History; of the National Museum of Women in the Arts, artistic institutions based in the city of Washington DC.

In Colombia, he is a member of the board of directors of the Arts and Crafts School of the Mario Santo Domingo Foundation. Additionally, he participates actively in the Group of Friends of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta and in the promotion of Vallenata musical training for children of limited economic resources in the Colombian Coast.

She is the Founder and President of the United For Colombia Foundation.

MARY FITZGERALD

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, OPENDEMOCRACY @maryftz

Mary Fitzgerald is Editor-in-Chief of openDemocracy, the global non-profit news website that seeks to challenge power, inspire change and encourage democratic debate across the world.

openDemocracy’s recent investigations into the ‘dark money’ that funded the Brexit campaign have triggered law change and multiple criminal investigations, and have fed into ongoing lawmaker inquiries on both sides of the Atlantic. openDemocracy’s global team has also exposed how data is manipulated and misused to target voters online with misinformation and divisive, polarizing rhetoric, from Venezuela to Hungary. Their work has exposed many challenges to democracy in Europe, the Americas and the Middle East, but it also profiles and pioneers solutions to these challenges.

In addition to reporting, openDemocracy trains and mentors journalists, partners with other media, educators, activists, NGOs and policy institutions across the globe, and brings together innovative thinkers and change-makers to try and solve some of the world’s most entrenched problems. openDemocracy.net publishes in Russian, Arabic, Spanish and Portuguese as well as English, and has an open submissions policy committed to diversity of voice and perspective.

Prior to joining openDemocracy in 2014, Mary worked at Avaaz, the global campaigning organization, on campaigns to protect human rights and enhance democracy across Europe, Africa and Asia. Before that, she was a Senior Editor of Prospect Magazine, a London-based political and cultural monthly magazine. She has served as a trustee for the human rights charity Reprieve, and on the editorial code committee of Impress, the UK press regulator. In addition to openDemocracy, her writing has appeared in the Guardian, Al Jazeera, New Statesman and others.

RODNEY FOXWORTH

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BALLE @RDFoxworth

A nonprofit leader and social entrepreneur, Rodney Foxworth is Executive Director of BALLE (Business Alliance for Local Living Economies), a network of entrepreneurial leaders working to advance equitable economic opportunities through entrepreneurship and local business ownership in marginalized communities throughout the U.S. and Canada.

Previously, he was CEO and Founder of Invested Impact, a consulting firm focused on economic development, philanthropy, and social innovation, and co-founder and Strategy Advisor of Impact Hub Baltimore. Prior to founding Invested Impact, Rodney was community manager at BMe, a national network of black male leaders and entrepreneurs. Rodney has also served as program manager at Job Opportunities Task Force, a policy advocacy and workforce development organization. Additionally, he has been a consultant to the Annie E. Casey Foundation, Calvert Impact Capital, and the John S. and James L. Knight Foundation, among others.

Rodney is a BALLE Fellow, Next City Vanguard, and *Baltimore Business Journal* “40 under 40” honoree. He is featured in the *Washington Post* bestseller, “Reach: 40 Black Men Speak on Living, Leading, and Succeeding.” Rodney serves on the board of Justice Funders and SOCAP.

LEE GELERT

DEPUTY DIRECTOR, ACLU IMMIGRANTS’ RIGHTS PROJECT @leegelert

Lee Gelernt is a lawyer at the ACLU national office in New York. Over the past 2 years, he has argued several groundbreaking cases, including a nationwide challenge to the Administration’s unprecedented practice of separating immigrant families at the border; the first case challenging the travel ban on individuals from certain Muslim-majority nations; and the first case challenging the President’s recent asylum ban. Mr. Gelernt is also currently litigating a number of other nationally significant civil rights cases, including a case involving the fatal cross-border shooting of a Mexican teenager by a U.S. border patrol officer.

Over his career, Mr. Gelernt has argued numerous other notable civil rights cases at all levels of the federal court system, including in the U.S. Supreme Court and virtually every federal appeals court. He has also testified as an expert before the U.S. Senate.

Mr. Gelernt has received numerous honors for his work, and has been recognized as one of the 500 leading lawyers in the country in any field. Mr. Gelernt is also adjunct professor at Columbia Law School, and for many years taught at Yale Law School as an adjunct. He is a frequent guest speaker around the country, and regularly appears in the national and international media, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, *USA Today*, NPR, CNN, NBC, ABC, CBS, MSNBC, among many others. In July 2018, Mr. Gelernt’s work was featured prominently in a *New York Times Magazine* cover story about the ACLU.

MARK GERZON

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, MEDIATORS FOUNDATION @Mark_Gerzon

Mark Gerzon is one of the key architects in the field of global leadership and an experienced facilitator in high-conflict zones. Best known in the USA for designing and facilitating the Bipartisan Congressional Retreats, he has convened and facilitated numerous cross-partisan dialogues over the past twenty years. His experience in this arena is summarized in his most recent book, *The Reunited States of America: How We Can Bridge the Partisan Divide*.

Working for the United Nations, he has done similar work in emerging democracies around the world. The author of numerous books, including *Leading Through Conflict*

and *Global Citizens*, he served as advisor to UNDP Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery in Kenya and Nepal. Since 2014, he has shifted his focus back to his own increasingly divided country, and has worked at both the national and local levels to foster collaboration across the political spectrum.

As President of Mediators Foundation, which he founded over thirty years ago, Mark is working closely with several other projects that also advance the field of global conflict prevention and collaborative leadership.

MARIANNE GIMON D’ANSEBOURG

COUNCIL MEMBER, FLORA FAMILY FOUNDATION @GimonMarianne

Marianne works as an independent consultant specialized in gender and international development. Marianne has sixteen years of grant-making experience and sustainable development experience in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East. She worked with the UNICEF Syria Country Office on developing protection interventions for vulnerable adolescent Iraqis living in Syria.

Ms. Gimon previously worked for the Population Council, the Social Science Research Council, the United Nations Development Program and Equilibres et Populations. She is a family council member of the Flora Family Foundation, and a board member of Refugees International and Echoing Green. She earned an MA in Economic and Political Development from the School of International and Public Affairs of Columbia University and a BA from Brown University.

JOHN GITHONGO

CEO, INUKA @johngithongo

John Githongo is the CEO of Inuka, a non-governmental organization involved in governance issues broadly defined, with an emphasis on working with and for ordinary Kenyans—youth in particular. In doing this Inuka is guided by the principles of heshima (respect), diversity (celebrating the depth and wealth of Kenya’s cultural diversity) and Ni Sisi! (It is us!)—for it is Kenyans who own and will ultimately resolve even the most seemingly intractable of their problems.

John is also the Chairman of the Africa Institute for Governing with Integrity; Executive Vice Chair of the Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA); Chair board member of the Africa Center for Open Governance (AFRICOG); and a Commissioner of the Independent Commission on Aid Impact (ICAI) of the British government.

Previously, he served as Vice President of World Vision, Senior Associate Member, St Antony’s College Oxford; Permanent Secretary in the Office of the President in charge of Governance and Ethics of the Kenya Government; board member for Transparency International, Berlin; CEO of Transparency International Kenya and a board member of the Kenya Human Rights Commission. In the past he has been a columnist for *The EastAfrican*, Associate Editor, and *Executive* magazine, as well as a correspondent for the *Economist*.

In 2004, the German President awarded him the German-Africa Prize for Leadership. In 2011 he was selected as one of the world’s 100 most influential Africans by *New African* magazine and one of the world’s top 100 global thinkers by *Foreign Policy* magazine. In 2012 he was short-listed, alongside US Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,

for the prestigious Tipperary International Peace Award. In October 2013, John was awarded the Oxi Award by the Washington Oxi Day Foundation that marks heroism and the defense of freedom.

John is also a Senior Advisor to the Office of the President of South Sudan on governance. He holds an honors degree in Economics and Philosophy from the University of Wales and an Honorary Doctorate from the Open University.

AMY GOLDMAN

CEO AND CHAIR, GHR FOUNDATION @ghrfoundation

Amy Goldman is CEO and Chair of GHR Foundation, a philanthropy serving people and their ideas for transformational change in lives around the world.

Amy steers the foundation's direction with optimism and a background in diplomacy and social investment that has inspired new approaches to philanthropy. Under her leadership, GHR has doubled its assets and staff as the organization launched a new effort to build bridges across ideas, sectors and people; elevated powerful movements of faith and inter-faith actors for sustainable development; implemented systems change strategies across public, private and faith sectors to keep children in families; and unlocked significant funding from industry and government to prevent Alzheimer's Disease.

Amy serves on the Georgetown University board of directors, the Georgetown University Walsh School of Foreign Service board of advisors, Mayo Clinic leadership council and is a trustee and vice chair of the board for the University of St. Thomas in St. Paul, Minnesota. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Amy previously served as a lead consultant for Washington D.C.-based International Trade Services, where she focused on trade negotiations and investment strategies. She holds a master's degree in political science from the University of California at Berkeley, a master's degree in law and diplomacy from Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and bachelor's degree in foreign service from Georgetown University.

Amy lives with her husband, Philip, and the youngest of their three children in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

LORENA GUILLÉ-LARIS

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FUNDACIÓN CINÉPOLIS @lore_guille

Lorena Guillé is an entrepreneur that has devoted her life to CSR, philanthropy, next-gen leadership and human rights. She holds a Bachelor's degree in Industrial Engineering and a Masters on Public Policy and Public Administration at the Tec of Monterrey.

Since 2006, she has been the Director of Corporate Social Responsibility at Cinépolis and Executive Director of Fundación Cinépolis. She has led the efforts to: recover the sight of +47,000 people suffering cataract blindness, bring the cinema experience to +500k people in rural communities, harness the power of film for social awareness and behavioral change, and use the installed capacity of Cinépolis to generate social value in the territories where the company operates.

She also founded and produced the first Human Rights Film Festival in Mexico, dhfest, and has co-founded other initiatives such as Colectivo Primera Infancia, The Ethical and Human Rights Compliance Project, and Más Ciudadanía.

Lorena is member of the Global Philanthropist Circle and Nexus Global Youth Summit. She is also a Board member at the US-Mexico Foundation and member of the Advisory Board of the EGADE Business School, the Women's Forum and Foro de Mujeres Forbes Mexico. She is a mentor of entrepreneurs at the Unreasonable Institute Mexico and Endeavor MX. Lorena has been recognized for her social leadership as one of the most influential women by Forbes Magazine (Mexico 2015-2018), a Rising Talent by the Women's Forum (Paris, 2017), as well as The Entrepreneur of the Year (México, 2015) by Universidad Anáhuac. She is married to Santiago and is the mother of three wonderful children.

CHUCK HARRIS

MANAGING DIRECTOR AND CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER, BLUE MERIDIAN PARTNERS @bluemeridianp

Chuck Harris plans and oversees the execution and advancement of Blue Meridian's strategy and operations while leading efforts to engage new philanthropic Partners and to support their engagement. As a member of EMCF's senior leadership team, he also provides strategic support and guidance on Foundation matters. In his previous role as an EMCF Portfolio Manager and its Director of Capital Aggregation, Chuck managed relationships with various grantees and oversaw the Foundation's capital aggregation activities, notably the True North Fund.

Before joining the Foundation, Chuck co-founded and served for five years as Executive Partner of SeaChange Capital Partners, a financial intermediary designed to enhance the flow of capital to outstanding nonprofits serving children and youth in low-income communities in the United States. Chuck spent 23 years in the banking business before retiring in 2002 from his position as a partner and managing director at Goldman Sachs, where he served as co-head of the East Coast High Technology Group in the firm's Investment Banking Division and as co-head of Corporate Finance in the Americas.

He has served extensively on the boards of nonprofit and philanthropic organizations as well as privately held and publicly traded for-profit corporations. Chuck has spoken broadly on the role of capital formation in advancing social change. He is a graduate of Harvard College and holds a master's degree in finance from MIT's Sloan School of Management.

JOHN HECKLINGER

PRESIDENT AND CEO, GLOBAL FUND FOR CHILDREN @jhecklinger

John Hecklinger leads Global Fund for Children. Prior to joining GFC, John served as Chief Network Officer for GlobalGiving, where he established partnerships to drive GlobalGiving's growth as a globally networked organization. Before taking on that role, John was GlobalGiving's Chief Program Officer, heading the team that identifies effective nonprofits around the world and helps them make the most of GlobalGiving's support and services, and he previously led corporate partnership

efforts as GlobalGiving's business development director. An information industry veteran, John led GlobalGiving's efforts to improve the global philanthropic information ecosystem through projects such as BRIDGE (Basic Registry of Identified Global Entities).

Prior to joining GlobalGiving, John headed partnership efforts at CARFAX Vehicle History Reports, creating a network of thousands of content providers in North America, and served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Bangui, Central African Republic. He holds a master's degree in English from the University of Florida and a bachelor's degree in English from the University of Virginia.

JEREMY HEIMANS

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, PURPOSE; CO-AUTHOR, *NEW POWER* @jeremyheimans

Jeremy Heimans is the co-founder and CEO of Purpose, a global organization headquartered in New York that builds and supports movements for a more open, just, and habitable world. Purpose has advised organizations such as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Google and UNICEF.

He is the Co-Founder of GetUp!, an Australian political organization with more members than all of Australia's political parties combined, and Avaaz, the world's largest online citizens' movement, now with nearly 50 million members worldwide.

Heimans is a recipient of the Ford Foundation's 75th anniversary Visionary Award for his work as a movement pioneer and chaired the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Civic Participation. He has been named one of *Fast Company's* Most Creative People in Business and *The Monthly* has observed that Heimans "might be the most influential Australian in the world."

With Henry Timms, Jeremy is co-author of the 2018 bestseller "New Power", praised by the *New York Times'* David Brooks as "the best window I've seen into this new world" and by *The Guardian* as "a manual on how to navigate the 21st century." Their thinking on "new power" has been featured as the Big Idea in *Harvard Business Review*, and Jeremy's TED talk on the topic has been viewed more than 1.4 million times.

Heimans was educated at Harvard University and the University of Sydney and began his career at McKinsey and Company. He lives in New York.

IVO HERZOG

BOARD CHAIRMAN, VLADIMIR HERZOG INSTITUTE @vladimirherzog

Ivo is the eldest son of the journalist Vladimir Herzog, brutally murdered in October 1975 by agents of the dictatorship government of Brazil. His death was a milestone for the process towards democracy in Brazil.

In 2009, Ivo and others founded the Vladimir Herzog Institute with the following core values: freedom of speech, democracy, and human rights.

After almost 10 years, the Vladimir Herzog Institute has become globally known for its work in human rights education, the protection of journalists that receive threats, and the documentation of the recent political history of Brazil.

Ivo is an engineer who graduated from the Polytechnic School of the University of São Paulo. He holds a master's degree (MBA) from Michigan State University and attended two executive programs at Harvard Kennedy School.

He has more than 20 years of experience in the private sector as a project manager. He also is experienced in the public sector, having worked with the Secretary of Planning of the State of São Paulo.

For the last nine years, he has developed the activities of fundraising, project management, and executive management at the Vladimir Herzog Institute.

BRIAN HOOKS

PRESIDENT, CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION @CKInstitute

Brian Hooks is President of the Charles Koch Foundation and Charles Koch Institute and Chairman of the Seminar Network, a network of organizations, businesses and philanthropic leaders dedicated to helping remove barriers that prevent people from realizing their potential. Brian also chairs the board of directors of Stand Together and serves on the board of the Mercatus Center at George Mason University and Institute for Humane Studies.

Prior to his current role, Brian served as Executive Director and Chief Operating Officer of the Mercatus Center, where he oversaw strategy and operations for a growing research, education, and public policy center. A graduate of the University of Michigan, Brian lives in Alexandria, Virginia, with his wife and daughter.

MICHAEL IGNATIEFF

RECTOR AND PRESIDENT, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY @M_Ignatieff

Born in Canada, educated at the University of Toronto and Harvard, Michael Ignatieff is a university professor, writer and former politician.

His major publications are *The Needs of Strangers* (1984), *Scar Tissue* (1992), *Isaiah Berlin* (1998), *The Rights Revolution* (2000), *Human Rights as Politics and Idolatry* (2001), *The Lesser Evil: Political Ethics in an Age of Terror* (2004), *Fire and Ashes: Success and Failure in Politics* (2013), and *The Ordinary Virtues: Moral Order in a Divided World* (2017).

Between 2006 and 2011, he served as an MP in the Parliament of Canada and then as Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada and Leader of the Official Opposition. He is a member of the Queen's Privy Council for Canada and holds thirteen honorary degrees.

Between 2012 and 2015 he served as Centennial Chair at the Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs in New York.

Between 2014 and 2016 he was Edward R. Murrow Chair of the Press, Politics and Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School.

He is currently the Rector and President of Central European University in Budapest.

GAMZE KARADAG

VICE CHAIRWOMAN, MAVI KALEM @gmzkaradag

Gamze has been a powerful advocate for the rights of women and girls in Turkey since 2005. As Mavi Kalem's Vice Chairwoman, Gamze provides assistance to women and children in crises. She leads the organization's advocacy and community efforts to make it easier for Syrian refugee girls to enroll and remain in Turkish public schools.

Rooted in the idea that volunteerism is a way of life, Mavi Kalem has spent nearly two decades mobilizing volunteers to improve the lives of impoverished women and children living in the multi-ethnic Fatih district. From health education, to psychosocial support services, to summer art clubs, each project has been implemented collaboratively with volunteers and members of the community.

In response to the Syrian refugee crisis, Mavi Kalem, under Gamze's leadership, initiated educational and social support programs for Syrian women and children. Gamze has developed training modules for adolescent girls focused on reproductive health, gender mainstreaming, mental and physical wellness, and prevention of gender based violence. Gamze was named a "Gulmakai Champion" by Malala Fund in recognition of her work with refugee girls.

Gamze, 37, has a young son and lives in Istanbul with their one cat.

OMEZZINE KHÉLIFA

FOUNDER AND CEO, MOBDIUN - CREATIVE YOUTH @OmezzineKel

Omezzine Khélifa is a telecommunications engineer, activist, and former politician. She is the Founder and CEO of "Mobdiun—Creative Youth", a social impact & civic innovation organization that empowers youth to lead change and help build a peaceful democracy in Tunisia. Using arts, sports and technology, Mobdiun works with young people in marginalized communities targeted by violent extremists and provides them with opportunities to build skills and gain access to resources and networks to foster their creativity as peaceful builders of Tunisian society.

Khélifa left her finance job in Paris during the Arab Uprisings, moving back to Tunisia to take part in transition efforts. She volunteered for the social-democrat party, twice ran for parliament, and advised the finance and tourism ministers when her party joined the governing coalition. After her cabinet experience, she became a consultant for the World Bank in Tunisia and coordinated a multi-donor trust fund of ten million dollars assisting the government in strengthening the financial sector, improving its governance and implementing the national decentralization plan.

Khélifa helped set up Thae'ra, the Arab Women's Network for Parity and Solidarity and the Women's Alliance for Security Leadership (WASL). She's been honoured with the Project on Middle East Democracy's Leaders in Democracy Award, and named a World Economic Forum Young Global Leader. She is also a New Voices Aspen Institute Fellow, as well as a member of the World Economic Forum's Expert Network. Recently, she was selected as one of the inaugural Obama Foundation Scholars at Columbia University.

STEPHEN KING

CEO, LUMINATE @luminategroup

As CEO of Luminate, Stephen leads the overall team and strategy and is responsible to Luminate's Board for the running of the organization. He brings over 25 years of leadership experience to his role, with a career focus on using media and technology to create positive social impact and hold power to account.

Before joining Luminate, Stephen was a partner at Omidyar Network where he led the Governance and Citizen Engagement initiative and helped establish its global network of investments. Prior to that, he worked at BBC Media Action where, as Chief Executive, he helped build the organization's reputation as a global leader in using media to promote better governance and transparency, and improve the lives of the world's poorest.

Stephen has held executive positions at several nonprofit organizations and companies in the UK, North America, and Asia. He is currently a board member of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists and of Phandeeyar, a technology incubator.

CHARLES KOCH

CHAIRMAN, CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION @CKinstitute

Charles G. Koch is Chairman of the Board and CEO of Koch Industries, Inc., a position he has held since 1967. Since then, the company has been transformed into a dynamic and diverse group of companies employing nearly 130,000 people worldwide, with about 67,000 in the United States, and a presence in 60 countries.

Much of Koch Industries' success can be traced to Mr. Koch's interest in and commitment to scientific and social progress, which led to the development and implementation of the Market-Based Management® business philosophy. Mr. Koch has written two books about MBM®, including "Good Profit." "Good Profit" explains how any organization—including nonprofits—can apply the principles of MBM in a way that enables it to succeed by benefiting society as a whole.

He has continuously supported academic and public policy research (including a number of Nobel Prize winners) for more than 50 years, and has received numerous honors and awards, including three honorary doctorates.

Mr. Koch received a bachelor's degree in general engineering (1957) and two master's degrees in nuclear and chemical engineering (1958 and 1959, respectively) from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

LARRY KRAMER

PRESIDENT, THE WILLIAM AND FLORA HEWLETT FOUNDATION
@Hewlett_Found

Larry Kramer has been President of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation since 2012. Under his leadership, the foundation has maintained its commitment to areas of enduring concern, while adapting its approaches and strategies to meet changing circumstances and seize new opportunities. He has, at the same time, been

instrumental in launching new efforts to respond to pressing and timely problems, such as challenges related to political polarization and cybersecurity.

Since joining the Hewlett Foundation, he has written and spoken about issues related to effective philanthropy, including the importance of collaboration among funders and the need to provide grantees with long-term support. He frequently lectures and writes about broad societal issues, from global climate change to the challenge of maintaining democratic government in the 21st century.

Before joining the foundation, Larry served from 2004 to 2012 as Richard E. Lang Professor of Law and Dean of Stanford Law School. During his tenure, he spearheaded significant educational reforms, pioneering a new model of multidisciplinary legal studies while enlarging the clinical education program and incorporating a public service ethos.

His teaching and scholarly interests include American legal history, constitutional law, federalism, separation of powers, the federal courts, conflict of laws, and civil procedure. He is the author of numerous articles and books, including “The People Themselves: Popular Constitutionalism and Judicial Review.”

PETER LAUGHARN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CONRAD N. HILTON FOUNDATION @peter_laugharn

Peter Laugharn serves as president and CEO of the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, a family foundation established in 1944 by the man who started Hilton Hotels. They provide funds to nonprofit organizations working to improve the lives of disadvantaged and vulnerable people throughout the world.

Laugharn is a passionate leader with 25 years of foundation and nonprofit experience internationally, with a focus on improving the well-being of vulnerable children. Previously, Laugharn was executive director of the Firelight Foundation, which identifies, funds and supports promising African nonprofits serving vulnerable children and families in the areas of education, resilience and health. Prior to Firelight, Laugharn served as executive director of the Netherlands-based Bernard van Leer Foundation, whose mission is to improve opportunities for children up to age 8 who are growing up in socially and economically difficult circumstances.

Laugharn began his career at Save the Children, where he worked in a variety of roles. A graduate of Stanford and Georgetown Universities, Laugharn holds a Ph.D. in education from the University of London. He was a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco from 1982 to 1984. He was a co-founder of the International Education Funders Group and the Coalition for Children Affected by AIDS, and he is a member of the board of the Pacific Council for International Policy.

MOSUN LAYODE

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AFRICAN PHILANTHROPY FORUM @MosunLayode

Mosun Layode has more than 15 years of experience in international development and nonprofit leadership. She most recently served as the executive director of WIMBIZ (Women in Management, Business and Public Service), a leading nonprofit organization focused on elevating the status and influence of women and their contributions to nation building.

Prior to this, Layode was the executive director of LEAP Africa (Leadership, Effectiveness, Accountability, Professionalism) which is committed to inspiring and empowering a new cadre of African leaders.

Passionate about the interplay of social issues and business, Layode founded Social Runway, a nonprofit organization that supports social innovators. She also served as an independent development consultant for nonprofit organizations.

Layode studied urban and regional planning at the Federal University of Technology in Akure, Nigeria, and obtained an Master of Science degree in environmental resources management from Lagos State University. She holds an MBA from Lagos Business School and benefited from the executive programs offered by IESE Business School and Harvard Business School. Layode currently sits on nonprofit boards and is an alumnus of the United States International Visitors Leadership Program.

SANDOR LÉDERER

CO-FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR, K-MONITOR @k_monitor

Sandor Léderer is the Co-Founder and Director of K-Monitor, a nonprofit public funds watchdog based in Budapest, Hungary. K-Monitor was founded to improve the levels of transparency, accountability and the rule of law in Hungary. Civic participation and technology-driven solutions are among the organizations key instruments.

Beside K-Monitor’s tech focus, the organization is also active in anti-corruption advocacy and research. Sandor was contributing to the European Commission’s Anti-Corruption Report as the Local Research Country Correspondent for Hungary. He is an expert in topics such as Freedom of Information, Whistleblowing, Political Finance and Public Procurement. In a recent project he worked on a tool that monitors public procurement documents through algorithms. Sandor is also active in projects on new forms of citizens’ participation and local open governance.

Sandor is a European Young Leader at Friends of Europe, a GMF alumni and an Obama Fellow. He is a member of the International Advisory Board of the ePanstwo Foundation (Poland) and represents K-Monitor in the board of the TransparenCEE Network.

LALA LOVERA

DIRECTOR, FUNDACIÓN COMPARTE POR UNA VIDA @compartex1vida

Since she first arrived in Colombia, Lala Lovera has dedicated herself to working for mothers and children in vulnerable situations. What seemed like a temporary stay outside of Venezuela, because of her husband’s work, became a life decision that changed her family’s projects. With the massive migration of her compatriots, she became a leader in the attention to the Venezuelan population in the country.

Lala directs Fundación Comparte Por Una Vida (the Share for a Life Foundation). Social work has challenged her as a migrant woman to learn to help without looking at nationality. After a decade in Colombia, Lala feels part of this country. What she calls female impetus drives her to set increasingly high goals in her work and to “go for more, for everything” when it comes to caring for children.

Lala has accompanied Venezuelan travelers who cross the border to get to Bogotá, and has heard the stories of mothers who bring their children in their arms and those

who had to leave them in Venezuela. The message that she sends to the Venezuelans who leave his country is an invitation not to falter.

To the Colombians and Venezuelans she asks for empathy toward these women. Every decision they have made is only for the welfare of their families.

KATI MARTON

TRUSTEE, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY @katimarton

Best-selling author Kati Marton has combined a career as a writer with human rights advocacy. From 2003 to 2008 Marton chaired the International Women's Health Coalition, a global leader in promoting and protecting the health and human rights of women and girls. From 2001 to July 2002 Kati Marton was Chief Advocate for the Office of the Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict at the United Nations. From 2000 to 2011 she was a member of the board of Human Rights Watch.

Marton is currently a director and former Chair of the Committee to Protect Journalists. She also serves on the board of directors of the International Rescue Committee and the New America Foundation, a public policy think tank. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, P.E.N. International and the Author's Guild, and sits on the board of Central European University.

Since 1980, Marton has published eight books and contributed as a reporter to ABC News, Public Broadcasting Services, National Public Radio, *The New Yorker*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *The Times of London*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Newsweek*, *Vanity Fair* and *The New Republic*. From 1995 until 1997, Marton hosted NPR's *America and the World*, a weekly half-hour broadcast on international affairs.

Kati Marton has been honored for her writing, reporting, and human rights advocacy including a George Foster Peabody Award for a one-hour documentary on China. She was a Gannett Fellow at Columbia University's School of Journalism in 1988 and she received a Philadelphia Press Association Award for Best Television Feature Story and a PBS Award for reporting from China.

SEAN MCDONALD

CO-FOUNDER, DIGITAL PUBLIC @seanmcdonald

Sean McDonald builds governance for technology and technology for governance. Sean is the Co-Founder of Digital Public, which uses trusts to help communities protect and govern digital assets. He is a lawyer and the CEO of FrontlineSMS, an award-winning global technology company.

Sean is a Senior Fellow at the Center for International Governance Innovation and a Research Fellow at Duke's Center for Law and Technology. Sean is an advisor to Digital Democracy and the IEEE's Ethics and AI Committee. Sean is also a researcher and writer whose work has been published by the Review of the International Committee of the Red Cross, Stanford Social Innovation Review, Cornell's Legal Informatics Institute, IRIN, Innovations Journal, among others.

Sean was formerly a Visiting Fellow at Stanford's Digital Civil Society Lab and an Affiliate at Harvard's Berkman Klein Center. He holds a JD/MA from American University, with specializations in international law and alternative dispute resolution.

GEORGE MCGRAW

FOUNDER AND CEO, DIGDEEP @GMcGinge

George McGraw is a human rights advocate specializing in the human right to water and sanitation in the United States. George currently serves as founder and CEO of DigDeep, the only WASH (water, sanitation and hygiene) organization serving disadvantaged communities in the United States. Founded in Los Angeles in 2011, DigDeep develops education, research and infrastructure programs aimed at extending access to clean, hot-and-cold running water to every American.

Under George's leadership, DigDeep won the 2018 US Water Prize for its Navajo Water Project, which has brought clean, running water to hundreds of Native families across New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. Now George is leading an effort with Michigan State University, the US Water Alliance and the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation to study the root causes of domestic water poverty, which still afflicts some 1.6 million Americans without access to running water or basic sanitation.

George has written on water for *The New York Times*, *The Los Angeles Times* and *The Nation*, and spoken at events hosted by the Clinton Foundation, *the Atlantic*, and Ford. The UN Foundation named George one of its 17 "Local Globalists" and he is currently serving as Social Entrepreneur in Residence at Stanford University. George holds an M.A. in International Law and Conflict Management from the United Nations University for Peace.

AMOL MEHRA

MANAGING DIRECTOR, NORTH AMERICA, FREEDOM FUND @amolmehra

Amol Mehra, Esq. is the Managing Director, North America, at the Freedom Fund.

The Freedom Fund is a leader in the global movement to end modern slavery. We identify and invest in the most effective frontline efforts to eradicate modern slavery in the countries and sectors where it is most prevalent.

Previously, Amol served as Executive Director of the International Corporate Accountability Roundtable (ICAR), a leading human rights organization harnessing the collective power of progressive organizations to push governments to create and enforce rules over corporations that promote human rights and reduce inequality.

Amol serves on the Advisory Council for the Center for Business and Human Rights at NYU Stern, the Human Rights Advisory Committee of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, the Advisory Committee of the Investor Alliance for Human Rights, as a Board Member of GoodWeave International and as a Commissioner on the Financial Sector Commission on Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking ("Liechtenstein Initiative").

Amol's work has appeared in the *Washington Post*, Huffington Post, *Forbes* Corporate Social Responsibility and Leadership Section, CSRWire, the *Guardian* Sustainable Business Section, National Public Radio (NPR), as well as in various legal journals and periodicals.

CAROLYN MILES

PRESIDENT AND CEO, SAVE THE CHILDREN @carolynsave

Carolyn Miles is President & Chief Executive Officer of Save the Children, an organization that gives children in the United States and around the world a healthy start, the opportunity to learn and protection from harm. The global Save the Children movement currently serves over 157 million children in the US and in 120 countries. As a global organization, Save the Children has committed to driving down the numbers of preventable deaths of children under 5, ensuring every child gets a high-quality basic education and protecting all children from harm.

Miles joined the U.S. organization in 1998, was COO from 2004-2011, and became President and CEO in September 2011. Under her senior leadership, the organization has more than doubled the number of children it reaches with nutrition, health, education and other programs. Resources were over \$800m in 2017. Miles' signature issues include hunger, learning outcomes, and ending preventable child deaths.

Prior to Save the Children, she worked in the private sector in Hong Kong for American Express and as an entrepreneur. While in Asia, she confronted the deprivation of the region's children, which motivated her to dedicate her life to their welfare.

Miles has served on numerous boards, including Doerr Institute, Blackbaud, InterAction, USGLC, MFAN, Academy of Education, Arts and Sciences, FSG and the University of Virginia's Darden School of Business, where she received her MBA. In addition to her current service on the Darden Board, she is the Co-Chair of the US Global Leadership Coalition (USGLC) and is the Chair of InterAction, the largest coalition of US-based NGOs. In 2015, Miles was named one of the 50 World's Greatest Leaders by *Fortune* magazine and inducted into the CT Women's Hall of Fame. In 2017 she received the Distinguished Alumna Award from the Maxine Platzer Lynn Women's Center at the University of Virginia. Miles is married with 3 children.

KOKETSO MOETI

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, AMANDLA.MOBI @Kmoeti

Koketso Moeti has a long background in civic activism, and has over the years worked at the intersection of governance, communication and citizen action. She currently serves as the founding executive director of amandla.mobi, a community of over 230,000 people working to turn every cellphone into a democracy-building tool to ensure that those most affected by injustice—low income Black women+ in particular—can take collective action on issues affecting our lives.

In 2018 she was announced as an inaugural Obama Foundation fellow and the Waislitz Global Citizen grand prize winner. This comes after being a 2017 Aspen Institute New Voices fellow. She is also the Deputy Chairperson of the SOS Coalition, a coalition of South African organizations committed to and campaigning for public broadcasting in the public interest, as well as a reference member of the Civic Tech Innovation Network.

When not working Moeti can be found writing, and has been published by Salon, *The Guardian*, Al Jazeera, *City Press* and the *Mail & Guardian*, among others.

MIKE MONIZ

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CIRCADENCE @Circadence

Michael Moniz is the President, CEO, and Co-Founder of Circadence, a market leader in cybersecurity readiness solutions. Mr. Moniz transformed Circadence's early visionary multiplayer gaming expertise and core network optimization focus into the world's preeminent AI-powered cybersecurity learning and assessment platform available on Microsoft Azure. Under his guidance, Circadence has secured more than 42 patents in emerging market segments.

Mr. Moniz has been a two-time finalist for Ernst and Young's prestigious Entrepreneur of the Year Award and is featured in the *New York Times* best-selling book "How to Act Like a CEO" by Debra Benton. Mr. Moniz has been an invited speaker at several national and international conferences, including Microsoft's READY and INSPIRE, NDU's Cyber Beacon event, MD5's Veterans Innovation Initiative, and the French-American INTERPOL Cyber Security Conference. Mr. Moniz is also a Founding Managing Director at Paladin Capital Group, a DC-based PE Firm with over \$1B under management.

Mr. Moniz serves as a board member with several organizations including the National Defense University Foundation, Northern Therapeutics Inc. and the Long's Peak Council for BSA. Formerly, Mr. Moniz held Director positions with QuantaLife, Inc., the Atlas Institute at CU Boulder, the Fund for Peace, and the Outdoor Industry Foundation.

Mr. Moniz, an avid alpinist, in 2012 set the world speed record for his ascent of the 50 highest mountains in the U.S. in 43 days and has summited five of the Seven Summits, including a dual 24-hour summit of Mt. Everest and Lhotse. In 2010, *National Geographic* named Mr. Moniz one of their Ultimate Adventurers.

MARIA MORENO

PRINCIPAL, LAS AMERICAS NEWCOMER SCHOOL

Marie D. Moreno is an outstanding educator that advocates and supports newly arrived immigrant and refugee families from 32 countries speaking 29 languages. She currently serves as the principal of Las Americas Newcomer School (Grades 4-8) for the past 14 years in the Houston Independent School District. This school is designed specifically to acculturate and support children who have gaps in their education and have experienced trauma in their journey to the United States.

Her 24 years of experience in education has fueled her to be passionate for the most at-risk students in Houston. In 2017, the Deputy Chief of the UNHCR visited her campus and was extremely impressed by the services provided for the un-school refugees and students with lack of formal education. Marie received her Baccalaureate of Science from the University of Houston, her Master's in Education from Texas Southern University, and is currently working on her Doctorate in Education in Ethical Leadership from the University of St. Thomas-Houston. She serves as a servant leader by promoting equity and excellence to her staff and community. She is devoted to learning more about refugee experiences by traveling to Uganda, Kenya, and Guatemala and hopes one day to visit the countries of Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Nepal.

ANNE MOSES

FOUNDER AND CEO, IGNITE @annebmoses

Anne Moses has over 20 years of experience in social justice and political organizations across the non-profit, political, and academic sectors with a focus on women and girls. In 2010, Anne founded IGNITE, a nationally recognized nonprofit that is building a movement of women who are ready and eager to become the next generation of political leaders. IGNITE has grown rapidly to become the largest and most diverse young women's political leadership program in the country.

Anne's previous senior leadership positions as Chief Operating Officer for Emerge America and Majority Council Director for EMILY's List informed her passion and expertise in the arena of gender parity in political leadership. Throughout her career, Anne has also worked as a consultant in the nonprofit sector, with clients across the environmental, veterans' affairs, domestic violence, and health and human service sectors. She has served as Principal Investigator on federal, state and local evaluations regarding the impact of welfare and health care reform on low-income individuals and communities.

Anne and her work have been featured on CBS, CNN, NPR, Fox News, *Marie Claire*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Vox*, *Bustle*, *Refinery 29* as well as numerous international and domestic articles on women and leadership. Anne holds a PhD from UC Berkeley, an MSW from New York University, and a BA from Middlebury College.

KENNEDY ODEDE

FOUNDER AND CEO, SHINING HOPE FOR COMMUNITIES @KennedyOdede

Kennedy is one of Africa's best-known community organizers and social entrepreneurs. Kennedy grew up in Kenya's Kibera slum, the largest slum in Africa, where he experienced the devastating realities of life in extreme poverty first hand. The oldest of eight children, he became a street-child at the age of ten. Still, he dreamed about changing his community. In 2004 he had a job in a factory earning \$1 for ten hours of work. He saved 20 cents and used this to buy a soccer ball and start Shining Hope for Communities (SHOFCO).

Driven by the innovation and entrepreneurial spirits of the people of Kibera, SHOFCO became the largest grassroots organization in the slum. In 2018, SHOFCO became the youngest-ever organization to receive the Conrad N. Hilton Humanitarian Prize, awarded to nonprofits that have made extraordinary contributions to alleviate human suffering.

Although he was entirely informally educated, Kennedy received a full scholarship to Wesleyan University, becoming one of Kibera's first to receive an education from an American liberal arts institution. He graduated in 2012 as the Commencement Speaker and with honors in Sociology. He later served on the Wesleyan Board of Trustees. Kennedy was awarded the 2010 Echoing Green Fellowship, which is given to the world's best emerging social entrepreneurs. He was named to *FORBES* "30 under 30 list" for top Social Entrepreneurs in 2014. He won the 2010 Dell Social Innovation Competition, and is a member of the Clinton Global Initiative. His work has been featured on multiple occasions by Nicholas Kristof in *The New York Times*.

Kennedy previously served on the United Nations International Commission for Financing of Global Education Opportunities. He currently serves on the Wangari Maathai Foundation board and he Chairs the Varkey Foundation Alliance for Girls' Education. Kennedy speaks six languages, is a senior fellow with Humanity in Action, and an Aspen Institute New Voices Fellow.

DIEGO ONTANEDA BENAVIDES

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, LATIN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ACADEMY (LALA)
@LALA_CEO

Diego Ontaneda Benavides is the co-founder and CEO of Latin American Leadership Academy (LALA), a new nonprofit institution that seeks to promote sustainable economic development and strengthen democratic governance in Latin America by developing a new generation of leaders. Diego's passion for social and economic development took him from McKinsey & Company in San Francisco to African Leadership Academy (ALA) in Johannesburg. At ALA, he was inspired by the vast potential he saw in empowering the region's most promising young leaders to solve their own communities' biggest problems. After running two pilots in Latin America with co-founder David Baptista, he and David founded LALA in 2018.

Diego is a 2018 Echoing Green Fellow, a Straubel Foundation 2018 Impact Leader, and received the Stanford GSB Miller Social Change Leadership Award. He graduated magna cum laude and Phi Beta Kappa with a BA in Political Economy from Williams College, and holds an MBA from Stanford Graduate School of Business. Diego is originally from Lima, Peru, and is now based in Medellín, Colombia.

LESLI DALILA OVANDO MUÑOZ

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD AND LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR ASOCIACIÓN GENERANDO (ASOGEN)

Lesli Dalila Ovando Muñoz, a committed women's rights defender, was recently named President of the Board and Legal Representative for Asociación Generando (ASOGEN), after joining the staff in May 2013 as a counselor for women survivors of violence.

ASOGEN is dedicated to supporting survivors of gender-based violence, providing them with legal aid, medical services, and psychological support. Despite a desperate need for these services, ASOGEN is the only organization that offers this kind of support in Chimaltenango and the neighboring states of Sacatepéquez and Sololá.

Lesli previously worked with the United Nations Mission in Guatemala verifying compliance with the Peace Agreements, and for the State Council on Urban-Rural Development in Chimaltenango. She began her professional career as a secretary with her municipal government in El Tejar. She earned a professional degree from Francisco Marroquín University in Computing and Business Administration. Lesli is described by her colleagues as a responsible, sincere and good-hearted person who enjoys the small things in life; she loves flowers and cats and the color purple. She is the mother of two sons, Eduardo and Ángel.

ALISON LEAL PARKER

MANAGING DIRECTOR, US PROGRAM @alisonHRW

Alison Leal Parker, managing director of Human Rights Watch's US Program, helps to guide Human Rights Watch's work on domestic human rights issues in the United States, with a focus on immigration policy. From 2001-2002, she served as a Sandler fellow and the organization's director of refugee policy, in both positions documenting and advocating against violations of the rights of refugees around the world.

Parker has conducted human rights investigations in prisons, jails, immigration detention centers, and immigrant communities throughout the United States as well as in refugee settings in Africa and Central Asia. She has conducted extensive advocacy before the governments of the United States and Europe; has testified before state legislatures and the US Congress; and is a frequent voice in the media. Parker has edited and authored numerous Human Rights Watch reports, including a landmark examination of the sentencing of children to life without the possibility of parole, which was subsequently cited in two U.S. Supreme Court decisions limiting the practice. She also sits on the Board of Directors for the Campaign for the Fair Sentencing of Youth.

A graduate of the University of California, Berkeley and Oxford University, Parker holds a master's degree from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs, and a JD from Columbia Law School. Prior to joining HRW, she worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Jesuit Refugee Service, and engaged in sovereign litigation as an attorney at Cleary Gottlieb Steen and Hamilton in New York.

CHARLOTTE PERA

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CLIMATEWORKS FOUNDATION @ClimateWorks

Charlotte Pera is President and CEO of the ClimateWorks Foundation, a leading philanthropic organization that works globally to mobilize philanthropy and advance climate solutions. Charlotte previously held leadership roles for more than a decade at the Energy Foundation, including Senior Vice President and Director of US Programs, and US Transportation Program Director. She helped launch the Energy Foundation's program in China and supported the creation of the European Climate Foundation. Earlier in her career (1991-1999), Charlotte analyzed advanced vehicle technologies, developed emissions inventory models, and designed public programs to reduce vehicle pollution at engineering consulting firm Acurex Environmental.

Charlotte serves on the supervisory board of the European Climate Foundation and the Stewardship Board of the World Economic Forum System Initiative on Shaping the Future of Environment and Natural Resource Security. She served for many years as a founding board member of the International Council for Clean Transportation. Charlotte holds BS and MS degrees in mechanical engineering from Stanford University.

KATHRYN PETERS

CO-FOUNDER AND CHIEF OPERATING OFFICER, DEMOCRACY WORKS @katyetc

Kathryn Peters is the Co-Founder and Chief Operating Officer of Democracy Works, an organization that makes voting a simple, seamless experience for all Americans so that no one misses an election. She led the development and launch of TurboVote, an election reminder and voter registration tool that now serves more than 6 million voters in partnership with 175 colleges, several national nonprofits, and corporations that include Snap and Google. Katy also manages the teams responsible for the Voting Information Project, a national open data collaboration which publishes official state polling locations and ballot data, and Ballot Scout, which tracks mail ballots through the postal system.

Her belief in better democracy has taken her from campaign organizing in rural Missouri to a master's in public policy at the Kennedy School of Government to political rights monitoring in Afghanistan. Katy has been honored as one of Forbes magazine's '30 Under 30' in the field of law and policy and as a Champion of Democracy by the National Priorities Project.

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

FOUNDER, FREE RADICALS PROJECT @cpicciolini

Christian Picciolini is an award-winning television producer, a TEDx speaker, author, peace advocate, and a reformed violent extremist. His life's work bears witness to an ongoing and profound need to atone for a grisly past, and an urgency to make something of his time on this planet by contributing to the greater good. After leaving the violent hate movement he helped create during his youth, he began the painstaking process of rebuilding his life.

In 2009, Christian co-founded the nonprofit Life After Hate and is currently the Free Radicals Project, the world's first global network of extremism preventionists, helping people disengage from hate movements and other violent ideologies around the globe.

In 2016, Christian won an Emmy Award for his role in directing and producing an anti-hate advertising campaign aimed at helping youth disengage from white-supremacist groups. He has worked as an adjunct professor at the college level, and is a frequent commentator on national and international news networks. In 2018, he launched MSNBC's *Breaking Hate*, a documentary series highlighting his deradicalization work in violent extremism.

Christian Picciolini's memoir, *WHITE AMERICAN YOUTH: My Descent into America's Most Violent Hate Movement—and How I Got Out*, where he details his involvement in, and eventual exit from, the early American white-supremacist skinhead movement, was published by Hachette Books in 2018.

SASHA POST

POLICY DIRECTOR, JUSTICE & OPPORTUNITY INITIATIVE, CHAN ZUCKERBERG INITIATIVE @ChanZuckerberg

Sasha Post is Policy Director of the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative's Justice & Opportunity Initiative. He was previously Director of Policy Planning at FWD.us and has worked as an attorney at SEIU, an advisor to the President of the Center for American Progress, and a Program Officer at the Open Society Foundations. He holds a law degree from Yale and an AB from Harvard.

ROCÍO BARRIONUEVO QUISPE

CO-FOUNDER, FUTUPLAN

Rocío is an 18-year-old student from Cusco, Peru. The constant presence of violent behaviors in her community opened her eyes to the distressing situation of gender violence that Peru faces. As an advocate for social justice, Rocío co-created FUTUPLAN in 2018. FUTUPLAN empowers teenagers from vulnerable communities to dream and set goals through integral sexual education, life planning, and gender violence awareness & response workshops. Their workshops have reached 3 of 13 communities so far.

Rocío is a Latin American Leadership Academy (LALA) alum. She participated in LALA's 2018 Leadership Bootcamp in Medellín, Colombia. There, she connected with experienced social entrepreneurs who are now advising her to improve FUTUPLAN. At LALA she also met two young Latin American leaders from Colombia and Brazil with whom she is co-creating GirlTalk, a platform that seeks to coach young female Latin Americans who wish to develop social impact projects in their own communities. Furthermore, her LALA experience strengthened and reassured her desire to work with social causes. Rocío plans to study Economics and aims to become a social entrepreneur to address her region's most pressing issues.

LINDA RAFTREE

CO-FOUNDER, MERL TECH @meowtree

Linda Raftree is an independent consultant focused on the ethical uses of technology and digital data in international development, human rights, and social impact spaces. She is currently supporting Humanity United and Girl Effect to develop and implement organizational data policy, practice, tools and guidance. Additionally, she is supporting iMedia to develop digital social and behavior change strategies that place ethics and safeguarding at the center and use digital data to measure impact. Linda has also supported CRS and USAID to develop responsible data principles, policies and guidelines and has advised The Rockefeller Foundation on innovation and ICTs for evaluation.

In addition to her consulting work, Linda organizes the MERL Tech conference, which brings together various sectors who are working on data and impact measurement in the humanitarian and development spaces. Prior to becoming an independent consultant, Linda worked in various roles at Plan International, including youth engagement, ICT4D, and transparency & governance. She has published on adolescent girls and ICTs for UNICEF, the role of ICTs in child and youth migration

for the Oak Foundation, ICT-enabled monitoring and evaluation for The Rockefeller Foundation, and digital safeguarding for Girl Effect. Linda is a Certified Information Privacy Professional (CIPP) and Certified Information Privacy Manager (CIPM). She runs the New York City Technology Salon, and blogs at Wait... What?

MISAN REWANE

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, WAVE @misanrewane

Misan Rewane is co-founder and CEO of WAVE. Born and raised in Lagos, Nigeria, Misan is no stranger to the challenges of education and social mobility. When her parents, unable to ignore the education system's breakdown, were compelled to send her to the U.S. for university, she resolved to help transform the region's education system.

After graduating from Stanford University, she worked with The Monitor Group, TechnoServe, and the Centre for Public Policy Alternatives. As an MBA candidate at Harvard Business School, she partnered with fellow West Africans who were passionate about tackling youth unemployment and launched WAVE in 2013.

WAVE tackles youth unemployment by identifying motivated but underserved West African youth, training them on crucial employability skills, and connecting them to entry-level job opportunities. Since its launch, WAVE (now a team of 40) has graduated over 2000 young people across its academies, matched over 1,000 of them directly to entry-level jobs with over 300 businesses and has trained thousands more across its various partnerships with public and social sector organizations. By turning motivated young talent into reliable human capital for local businesses, WAVE inspires positive change in employer attitudes, creating a fairer and more inclusive labour market.

ALFREDO ROMERO

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FORO PENAL @alfredoromero

Alfredo Romero is a human rights lawyer and activist in Venezuela. He is well recognized for his pro bono work since 2002, providing humanitarian and legal aid to victims of political repression and their families, including those killed, brutally tortured, disappeared or arbitrarily detained.

Romero is the Executive Director of the NGO Foro Penal in Venezuela formed by a network of more than 5,000 activists, including more than 200 pro bono lawyers.

For more than 17 years, Alfredo and Foro Penal have represented more than 10,000 victims of political repression in Venezuela, mostly youth, providing national and international legal assistance, campaigning for their release and denouncing human rights abuses.

Alfredo has a masters degree from Georgetown University and from the London School of Economics and Political Science. He was a Research Fellow (2015–2016) at the Harvard University Kennedy School of Government where he developed a research and conducted a seminar on strategies and tactics for counteracting State repression.

Alfredo Romero has been nationally and internationally recognized for his human rights work, including the 2017 Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award, and in 2014 Foro Penal obtained the US State Department Human Rights Defender Award.

JONATHAN RYAN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, RAICES @jonathandryan

Jonathan Denis Ryan is an Irish-American attorney and human rights advocate. He has led the Refugee and Immigrant Center for Education and Legal Services (RAICES) since 2008, currently serving as the CEO and President.

After receiving his BA in Comparative Literature from Columbia College in New York City and a law degree from the University of Texas at Austin, Jonathan worked at American Gateways as an immigration attorney. In 2004 he joined RAICES as one of only four employees. Under Jonathan's leadership, the organization has grown to over 200 employees.

RAICES provides free legal services for unaccompanied children, families, and adults both in and out of detention; community legal services; refugee resettlement and post-release support; and advocacy on behalf of their clients and the communities it serves.

In 2018, Jonathan was a recipient of the Child 10 Award in Malmö, Sweden. The Child 10 Summit gathers ten individuals from around the world to recognize their effort to protect and end the exploitation of children and the violation of their human rights. This year RAICES plans to expand out of Texas and become a national nonprofit organization.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

DIRECTOR OF DATA JOURNALISM, COLUMBIA JOURNALISM SCHOOL
@gianninasegnini

Giannina Segnini is the Chair in Data Journalism at the Knight Foundation and the Director of the new Data Journalism degree at Columbia Journalism School. Until February 2014, she led a team of journalists and computer engineers fully dedicated to unfolding investigative stories by analyzing and visualizing public databases.

Since 1994, Segnini has led the Investigative Unit at La Nación, highly recognized for its impact. More than fifty criminal cases against politicians, businessmen and officials have been originated by its revelations. Since 2000, Segnini has trained hundreds of journalists on investigative journalism and database journalism in Latin America, the US, Europe and Asia.

She has served as trainer and consultant for several media and academic organizations such as the Journalism School at Columbia University in New York, News International in the UK, The Icelandic and Finnish Association of Investigative Journalism, O Globo and Folha de São Paulo in Brazil, El Tiempo in Colombia, El Nacional and Cadena Capriles in Venezuela, El Periódico and Siglo XXI in Guatemala, the Organization of American States (OAS) in Washington DC, Freedom House, Inter American Press Association (IAPA), Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Instituto de Prensa y Sociedad (IPYS), USAID, and Grupo de Diarios de América.

For the last decade, Segnini has been a speaker at high-level international conferences on investigative journalism, such as the Global Investigative Journalism Conference, the International Anti-Corruption Conference held by Transparency

International, the International Press Institute (IPI), the News World Summit and the Latin American Conference on Investigative Journalism. Segnini is coaching cross-border investigations in Latin America and is part of the grand jury for the first Global Award on Data Journalism (Global Editors Network/Google).

BRAD SMITH

PRESIDENT, CANDID @CandidDotOrg

Bradford K. Smith is President of Candid, the leading source of information about philanthropy worldwide. Candid maintains the most comprehensive database on U.S. and, increasingly, global grantmakers—a robust, accessible knowledge bank for the sector, together with research, education and training programs designed to advance knowledge of philanthropy.

Before joining Candid in 2008, Mr. Smith was President of the Oak Foundation in Geneva, Switzerland, a major family foundation with programs and grant activities in 41 countries. With the Ford Foundation, he worked as representative in Brazil before becoming Vice president in the New York headquarters, responsible for the global Peace and Social Justice Program. During his 10-year tenure as Vice President, the program provided hundreds of millions of dollars to organizations working on the issues of human rights, international cooperation, governance, and civil society, while supervising field operations on three continents and overseeing the creation of TrustAfrica.

Mr. Smith serves on the board of directors of the Tinker Foundation and the advisory board of the United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security. Mr. Smith holds an M.A. in economics from the New School for Social Research in New York and a B.A. in anthropology and ethnomusicology from the University of Michigan.

DAVID SMOLANSKY

DEPUTY SECRETARY GENERAL, VOLUNTAD POPULAR @dsmolansky

Smolansky holds a B.A. in journalism and M.A. in political science. He is also a Global Competitiveness Leadership Program alumni of Georgetown University and was awarded in 2015 “Outstanding Young Person of the World” by the Junior Chamber International. He co-founded and is currently Deputy Secretary General of Voluntad Popular, a democratic opposition political party illegalized by Maduro's regime.

Elected as the youngest mayor in Venezuela, he made security and transparency the priorities of the local administration. In 2017, the regime removed Smolansky from office and ordered his arrest after leading non violent protests against the dictatorship. He was forced to be in clandestinity until he fled the country through Brazil. Smolansky is based during his exile in Washington DC where he has been designated by Secretary General of the Organization of American States as the coordinator of the Working Group for Venezuelan migrants and refugees crisis in the region.

Living in exile, Smolansky has been advocating for the restoration of democracy and freedom in Venezuela and has become one of the main representative of the interim government foreign policy.

JENNIFER SPLANSKY JUSTER

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, COLLECTIVE IMPACT FORUM, FSG @CIForumTweets

Jennifer Splansky Juster has over 15 years of social sector leadership experience, including advising foundations, NGOs, and partnerships on issues related to strategy, evaluation, and the design of collective impact initiatives. She is the executive director of the field-building initiative Collective Impact Forum and has worked on multiple collective impact engagements, designed training opportunities for collective impact practitioners, and frequently speaks on the topic.

Jennifer has co-authored multiple publications on collective impact, including the report “Guide to Evaluating Collective Impact” and the articles “Committing to Collective Impact: From Vision to Implementation” and “Essential Mindset Shifts for Collective Impact.” Over the course of her career, Jennifer has also worked with a range of foundations, nonprofits, government agencies, and corporations across sectors. Former clients include the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Conrad N. Hilton Foundation, Marin Community Foundation, MetroWest Health Foundation, and the David and Lucile Packard Foundation. Jennifer holds a BA in Human Biology from Stanford University and an MBA from the Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University.

ANN STERN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, HOUSTON ENDOWMENT @HoustonEndowmnt

Ann Stern is the President and CEO of Houston Endowment, a private foundation with assets totaling approximately \$1.8 billion. Created by Jesse H. and Mary Gibbs Jones in 1937, Houston Endowment’s mission is to enhance the vibrancy of greater Houston and advance equity of opportunity for the people who live here. The Endowment invests approximately \$80 million each year in organizations that support its mission.

Prior to joining the Foundation in 2012, Ms. Stern was executive vice president of Texas Children’s Hospital. She previously served as vice president and general counsel for the Hospital. Prior to joining Texas Children’s, she was in private law practice and taught business law at the University of St. Thomas.

Stern received her bachelor’s degree in Plan II from the University of Texas at Austin, graduating Phi Beta Kappa. She also received a Juris Doctorate from the University of Texas at Austin.

Stern currently serves as a director on the boards of Invesco Funds, The University of Texas Law School Foundation, The Holdsworth Center and Good Reason Houston. She previously served as the chairman of the board of St. John’s School and on the boards of the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas and Texas Children’s Hospital.

CHRIS TAGGART

CO-FOUNDER & CEO, OPENCORPORATES @CountCulture

Chris Taggart is the Co-Founder & CEO of OpenCorporates, the largest open database of companies in the world. OpenCorporates’ primary mission is to open up and connect company data from across the globe, making it more useful, usable and understandable for the public benefit.

OpenCorporates has already made a clear and significant impact. First, its database of over 160 million companies in 130 jurisdictions is a critical tool for investigative journalists, NGOs, academics, due diligence professionals and government agencies from across the globe. Notable users include the ICIJ’s Panama and Paradise Papers investigations, the Organised Crime and Corruption Reporting Project, BBC, The Financial Times, The Times, Global Witness and Transparency International. Second, OpenCorporates has also been the leading force behind the push to make company registers open data for access to all—with numerous successes.

This public benefit mission is supported by an innovative virtuous-circle, public-benefit business model, whereby the free public access is subsidized by commercial users who paid for data in bulk, having confidence in its quality due to the intrinsic many-eyes feedback loop. Commercial users include Mastercard, Capital One, Factset, Transferwise and PWC.

BRENO TEIXEIRA

ALUMNUS, LATIN AMERICAN LEADERSHIP ACADEMY

Breno Teixeira is a 17-year-old Latin American Leadership Academy (LALA) alum from São Paulo, Brazil. He participated in LALA’s first leadership bootcamp in São Paulo, 2017, where he built a strong network of young leaders and social entrepreneurs from Latin America, learnt skills that helped him create innovative initiatives, and transformed himself into a more empathic and purpose-driven young leader. His LALA experience was so transformative that he has volunteered at four LALA bootcamps to support the organization’s growth and to help develop other young Latin American leaders.

After his first LALA bootcamp he founded Construindo o Futuro (CF), a movement of teenagers that creates projects in schools and communities around Brazil to help achieve the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals. As the CEO of Construindo o Futuro, his mission is to empower those teenagers to become a new generation of conscious, engaged, purposeful adults who will lead Brazil towards sustainable development. CF now has 14 youth ambassadors in six Brazilian states, and is now also starting activities in Bolivia. They have mobilized 121 volunteers to implement 10 sustainable development projects and online activism, ranging from Physics and Mathematics classes in public schools to local awareness about depression and suicide.

JORGE VILLALOBOS

EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT, MEXICAN CENTER FOR PHILANTHROPY @CemefInforma

Jorge Villalobos Grzybowicz is Executive President of the Centro Mexicano para la Filantropía (Mexican Center for Philanthropy). He graduated from the Instituto Libre de Filosofía in Theology and holds a Master in Communication and Development from the Universidad.

He’s been participating in development projects and social promotion in Civil Society Organizations since 1976. For fifteen years he worked on rural promotion projects through the use of the radio, in which he developed a model for community radio in small rural communities, the only radio stations of this type in Mexico. In 1993 he

earned a BA in Communications from the Universidad Iberoamericana at the Santa Fe campus where he founded of Radio Ibero.

Since 1990 he has collaborated with Cemefi. He was recently recognized for his 25-year trajectory and experience in the field with the “Andamos” award.

He is an Advisory Board member for the Mexican Agency for International Development Cooperation (AMEXCID), the Ministry of Public Affairs (Secretaría de la Función Pública), and the Mexican Health Foundation. At the international level, Mr. Villalobos is a member of the board of Forum Empresa, a Latin-American network for corporate social responsibility, and of the Encuentros Iberoamericanos de la Sociedad Civil (Ibero American Civil Society Meetings), which have taken place since 1992 in different countries from Ibero-America. He is also the former President of the Board of RedEAmerica, and he is an invited member of the Hague Club.

Mr. Villalobos has also published diverse essays and articles about communications, community radio, social development, philanthropy, volunteering and corporate social responsibility.

JONATHAN VISBAL

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, WORLD AFFAIRS @world_affairs

Jonathan Visbal, chairman of the board of trustees for World Affairs, specializes at Spencer Stuart in senior-level assignments in the technology and communications arena, with a concentration on the globalization of businesses via new technologies. His assignments span the functions of board director, CEO, and senior executive management. He focuses on helping companies develop new computing, networking and wireless communications capabilities. He pioneered the firm's entry into clean/green technology, cloud computing and mobile applications. He has served as a member of Spencer Stuart's board of directors and as the leader of the firm's global Technology, Communications, & Media Practice as well as the Silicon Valley office.

Prior to joining Spencer Stuart, he held the role of vice president of international business development at Lucent Technologies. He also worked at Octel Communications for 10 years in a variety of sales and marketing positions, including as vice president of marketing, director of European telecom sales, and group product manager. He was one of the founders of the company's Europe, Middle East and Africa operations in London. He began his career in telecommunications with AT&T and Pacific Telesis International.

Visbal holds an MBA from the Stanford Graduate School of Business and a BA from the University of Colorado in international affairs and economics. He has taught managerial ethics at Stanford University and served as an adjunct professor at the University of San Francisco. He has lived in Europe and Latin America for 16 years, is fluent in English and Spanish, and has a working knowledge of French and Portuguese.

JANE WALES

FOUNDER, GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM; VICE PRESIDENT, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE @janewales

Jane Wales is CEO of the Global Philanthropy Forum, vice president of the Aspen Institute and host of the nationally-syndicated National Public Radio interview show *World Affairs* (formerly *It's Your World*).

Previously, Wales served in the Clinton Administration as special assistant to the President and senior director of the National Security Council. She simultaneously served as associate director of the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, where her office was responsible both for advancing sustainable economic development through science and technology cooperation and for developing policy for securing advanced weapons materials in the former Soviet Union. In the Carter Administration, Wales served as deputy assistant secretary of state.

In the philanthropic sector, Wales chaired the international security programs at the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the W. Alton Jones Foundation and she directed the Project on World Security at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. From 2007 to 2008, she served as acting CEO of The Elders, chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and founded by Nelson Mandela. In 2008, Wales also chaired the Poverty Alleviation Track for the Clinton Global Initiative.

JONAH WITTKAMPER

CO-FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, NEXUS, FOUNDER, HEALTHY DEMOCRACY COALITION @JonahWittkamper

Jonah Wittkamper is Co-Founder and President of NEXUS and Founder of the Healthy Democracy Coalition. NEXUS is a global movement of over 4000 young people from 70 countries dedicated to bridging communities of wealth and impact. The Healthy Democracy Coalition is a US national network of philanthropists and allies dedicated to cross partisan philanthropic learning and collaboration. Both networks involve people from many of world's most philanthropic families. In 2018, Jonah also created the Global Governance Philanthropy Network. In March of 2014, Jonah led the effort to convene the first White House Conference on Next Generation Philanthropy.

Prior to co-founding NEXUS, Jonah served as the US Director of Search for Common Ground and was part of Distributive Networks Inc., where he helped to build the text messaging technology used by the 2008 Obama campaign. In 2000, Jonah co-founded the Global Youth Action Network (GYAN) to strengthen youth participation in global decision-making. As the organization grew it merged with TakingITGlobal to form the largest site on the internet dedicated to empowering young leaders, receiving two million hits per day.

Earlier in his career, Jonah led an award winning student computing organization, founded two internet startups, and created a corporate social responsibility initiative in one of the world's largest corporations. He has served as a Co-Founder, board member, or advisor to a number of organizations including Pioneers of Change, the ManyOne Foundation, the L. A. Jonas Foundation, the Millennium Action Project, the Shift Foundation, WISE (Wealthy Individuals—Social Entrepreneurs), and many others. He is an alumnus of Williams College and Camp Rising Sun.

JOHN WOOD, JR.

DIRECTOR OF MEDIA DEVELOPMENT, BETTER ANGELS @JohnRWoodJr

John Wood, Jr. is a writer, public intellectual, community advocate and political figure from Los Angeles, CA whose work has focused on creating dialogue and understanding between polarized communities.

In 2014 Wood was California's youngest active nominee for U.S. Congress, featured on programs like *The Larry Elder Show* and in publications such as *The National Review Online*. Subsequently, Wood was elected Vice-Chairman of the Republican Party of Los Angeles County from December 2014 to May of 2016.

Tiring of the partisanship and cynicism of conventional party politics, Wood turned his attention to political depolarization. He now serves as director of media development at Better Angels. As a writer and speaker, Wood's work has focused on race, religion, public policy, social commentary, the intersection of politics and science and political and moral philosophy. His writings have been featured in *Quillette*, *Areo Magazine*, *Arc Digital*, *Better Angels Media*, *The Washington Times Communities*, *Reflections* (a journal of the Yale School of Divinity), and *Black Is Online*.

Wood is the grandson of the late record industry pioneer Randy Wood, of Dot Records and Randy's Record Shop fame. He lives in Los Angeles with his wife and three children.

JOSÉ MARCELO ZACCHI

SECRETARY-GENERAL, GIFE, GENERAL COORDINATOR, PACTO PELA DEMOCRACIA @jmzacchi

José Marcelo Zacchi is Secretary-General of GIFE and General Coordinator of Pacto pela Democracia in Brazil.

He was director of Instituto Pereira Passos (IPP), of the City Hall of Rio de Janeiro, and Founder, Executive Director and Board Member of Casa Fluminense, Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública and Instituto Sou da Paz, all of them civil society organizations working in the Brazilian public arena. He was also Special Advisor to the State Department of Social Welfare and Human Rights of Rio de Janeiro and Advisor and Chief of Staff of the National Secretariat of Public Security of the Ministry of Justice, in previous works in the public sector, and research associate at Instituto de Estudos do Trabalho e Sociedade (IETS).

Throughout these activities, he also served as a consultant to UN-HABITAT, to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), the World Bank and various other public and private organizations acting in social, urban and cultural projects in Brazil and Latin America, and collaborated with various publications and internet and TV projects.

José has a Bachelors degree in law from the University of São Paulo and a Masters in public administration from Harvard University.

DEMOCRACY IN PERIL, PHILANTHROPY'S RESPONSE



MONDAY APRIL 1
10:15 AM

LARRY DIAMOND

SENIOR FELLOW, HOOVER INSTITUTION AT STANFORD UNIVERSITY

KATI MARTON

TRUSTEE, CENTRAL EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY

BRAD SMITH

CEO, CANDID (FORMALLY KNOWN AS THE FOUNDATION CENTER)

IN CONVERSATION WITH JANE WALES

FOUNDER, GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM

JANE WALES

Now I'm fortunate to be joined by Kati Marton, who is on the board of Central European University, Brad Smith, leader of Candid, and Larry Diamond, who has deep expertise. Larry, we'll turn to Hungary in a minute, but I'm struck by what else is in the news. Yesterday, President Bolsonaro marked the celebration of military rule in Brazil, and a court ruled that in fact the democracy is strong enough and resilient enough to deal with such ideological diversity. Is it?

LARRY DIAMOND

Well, I'm not sure, and I'm not sure about American democracy either. And I think the lesson of the last few years, Jane, to all of us, everyone in this room and everyone who regards themselves in a democratic system, is to take nothing for granted. We had a theory in political science for a while that once democracies became rooted, became legitimate, they became "consolidated." That was the word we used. And particularly when they were "consolidated" at high levels of wealth, they were irreversible. And in fact, my esteemed colleague, brilliant scholar Adam Schwartz used the word "impregnable" to describe them. And I will say Hungary was above the level of per capita income where Adam said, "you could forget about it, nothing to ever worry about."

And we now know that that's not true, and we are in a new era because of everything you were talking about. I don't know why you really need me up here, because the framing of this problem was done so brilliantly that you've really, I think, identified a lot of the key causal drivers. We are in a period, as Freedom House has noted, where democracy and freedom have been kind of stagnating or declining for about a dozen years. We're in a period where I think the so-called third global wave of democratization has really come to an end. We're in a period where the Zeitgeists in the world (that is a very important word I think that we need to recall: the global intellectual and normative spirit) is shifting. Russia, and China, and Iran are mobilizing extraordinary new energy to shift it in a variety of overt and covert ways, through the use of what the National Endowment for Democracy called "sharp power."

And we're in an era where citizens have very high expectations, very short attention spans, less patience than they used to have, and are driven to even more intense levels of cynicism than they used to have. This is because of social media and the way that disinformation, false information, negative information, and just raw cynicism percolates and goes viral very quickly. These are new challenges in an age of globalization, and growing economic inequality. I think we really need to stress that, as well as the increasing insecurity on all fronts. I think even though we all know that immigration is causing anxiety among democratic publics in the West, I think many of us who live in these coastal cities and knowledge centers, that celebrate and frankly need immigration much more than we're being allowed to recruit now, don't appreciate how anxious many people are who see this as a threat, even though it's not logical.

The short answer to your question, which I want to wrap up with, is that I think Brazil has been through a terrible crisis of confidence in democracy, of functioning of democracy, of pervasive corruption. The political class was completely discredited. And so you got this figure, who makes Donald Trump look like Barack Obama by comparison, emerging as president of Brazil. I think that the institutions may be strong enough to contain him. He doesn't have a legislative majority, although he may craft a working one. But there are many places in the world where democracy is much more imminently on life support than it is in Brazil. And some of these are big important countries. And I'll just mention two in different degrees of danger:

In the Philippines, we're talking about a country with nearly 100 million people, a democracy more or less since 1986, having gone through the extraordinarily inspiring transformation of the People Power Revolution, with (I apologize for saying this, there's no other word to describe it) a thug as president of the Philippines. He has presided over, and celebrated, the extrajudicial execution of around 12,000-16,000 people. We can't keep count. His opposition leader in the Senate is in jail. His principle judicial adversary has been purged as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and his principal news media monitor and adversary, Maria Ressa is in threat of being prosecuted. And Ferdinand Marcos' son is very soon probably going to be placed in the vice presidency by the now Duterte-friendly supreme court. So, this is what we're looking at.

Finally, you have the biggest democracy in the world, India, where Narendra Modi hasn't gotten to that point to be sure. He certainly celebrates the freedom and fairness of elections, but he has used the recent border clash with Pakistan in an extremely cynical, nationalism-promoting way, and very definitely and skillfully I might add, to probably ensure his comfortable reelection in May. This is while he is cavorting with very, very dangerous religious chauvinists and ethnocentric sentiments. So, those are some of the trends we're looking at outside of the region that Kati is at the center of.

JANE WALES

I remember when we used to invite you to cheer us up.

LARRY DIAMOND

I have many things to say that can cheer you up—

KATI MARTON

Jeez, I hope so.

LARRY DIAMOND

—but we'll save that for later in the conversation.

JANE WALES

So Kati, before going to Hungary, your place of birth in fact, I wanted to pick up on one thing that Larry said regarding the migrant crisis: Here in the United States and particularly in California, we need immigrants to keep our economy going on all levels of the economy. You're writing a biography of Angela Merkel. Germany, like us, needed immigrants.

KATI MARTON

Absolutely.

JANE WALES

So, talk a little bit about why she made that decision to open the country just at a time when others are making the decision to close.

KATI MARTON

With great pleasure, and hopefully with a little bit more optimism than Larry. First of all, Jane, I just want to say how honored I am to be here with all of you, thank you for inviting me. I already feel better just being in a room with people whom I hope to get to know in the coming days. I think we draw strength from each other. I am not an unbiased observer of world events as Jane has alluded. I came here as a refugee speaking no English from Hungary, a child of people who were officially declared enemies of the people. A phrase that's now back in vogue. And I am today myself deemed an enemy of the people of Hungary by Viktor Orban, a man I've known since 1989 who started with great promise, a progressive Oxford-educated young reformer.

And by the way, his Oxford education was paid for by none other than his current demon, George Soros. So, the ironies abound here. We'll get to all of that, but let me first deal with my current favorite subject. As Jane mentioned, I am writing Angela Merkel's biography, and so I spend a great deal of time in Germany, and much of that time with refugees who are coming from the Middle East. Merkel's courageous welcoming of one million largely Middle Eastern refugees fleeing the same people that we are fighting, namely ISIS, was detested by the new radical right wing party. Because for the first time since the Second World War, there is an extreme right wing party in the German parliament, a party that has a single issue, and that is anti-immigration.

You're quite right Jane, to say that we in the United States need an infusion of refugees. I happen to think refugees bring good things to this land. We are a land of refugees, but so is Europe, a continent of migration. Everybody came from someplace. There's no such thing as a pure Hungarian, whatever Viktor Orban tries

to sell. Hungary is the draftiest place in Europe. Every invading horde went through there, and the lazy ones, like my forebears, decided, "Okay, far enough, we'll stay here." Another branch went on to Finland, which is why Finnish and Hungarian have some common roots. But at any rate, the refugees who came to Germany represent a positive presence. They represent youth and, for a country—indeed a continent—that is rapidly aging, a necessary infusion.

I have, I will confess, tremendous respect for Merkel. She's one of those rare politicians where the closer you get and the more time you spend with her, the more you respect her. Unfortunately, she's not a very good communicator. Alas! She is a deeply intellectual person who is actually a scientist, and thinks things through before she speaks, which doesn't work out so well in politics because others beat you to the punch. And the message from the right wing was that these dangerous hordes from the east are here to continue what they're fleeing, which is war against Christianity, war against the West. When indeed, and I say this with the authority of someone who was actually spent time with many of these people, this is the last thing they want after they've done their treacherous journey from cities and towns that have been reduced to rubble.

So, they're not coming looking just for better jobs. They're coming to rebuild lives, just as my family of four came here after another catastrophic European event. They're not interested or invested in terrorism. Of course, there are always going to be some bad apples. With the Italian immigration to America, we didn't only get Frank Sinatra, we also got the Sopranos. So, there's always a mix, but that's not a reason to build walls. And so the messaging was slow and unfortunately incomplete, and Merkel has paid a political price for it. But in fact, the majority of Germans, something like 70%, no longer consider the refugee issue to be paramount. There are many other issues, issues of the economy.

But Larry, I want to agree with you that it isn't just about the economy. It's about other things that matter more to human beings than the economy. And that is where we dropped the ball. Those of us who are now smeared with a title "global elitist." The first time I saw myself referred to as an elitist on social media, I was a little bit flattered. Me a refugee who came here with nothing, an elitist? That's a good thing. It turns out it's code for some very unflattering things. And those unflattering things are that I am now a member of a class that thinks it knows everything, that looks down on others, and is basically out of touch. Obviously there is a large category of people in Europe and in the United States that feels unacknowledged and looked down upon.

And I just want to quickly say last night on my flight from New York, I sat next to a gentleman from Summit, New Jersey, who quickly identified himself as a Trump supporter. And we had six and a half hours together, so it was in my interest not to get too feisty. But you know what? By the end of that six and a half hours, we had heard each other. I'm happy to report, I saw him ordering several of my books online. So, a win for me.

BRAD SMITH

Book sales.

KATI MARTON

Yes, yes, it's all about book sales. But seriously, I learned a lot from him because I was listening. And I think, I hope he learned a few things from me. We're not here today just to assert a catalog of problems. We're all aware of them. We're here to come up with a way out of this crisis of democracy, which is what it is. The western world is going through a crisis of democracy. And as Larry so well put it, every one of us has a role to play in fighting that poisonous tide. And it isn't enough just to vote every four years. We have just been taught the lesson of how fragile democracy is, how it isn't permanent, and how it needs looking after. And I hope that eventually you'll give me an opportunity to say a few words about CEU at the forefront of that battle, and why it punches above its weight.

We're not closing down. It's the first time that a university has been evicted from a country since World War II in Europe. So, it's a significant watershed event, but we're not closing shop. We're moving two hours down the Danube to Vienna, starting a new campus there. We're going to be an even more global university, and as my chief Michael [Ignatieff] just said, the thing that makes CEU relevant for people like me is that it is an incubator of democratic leaders - leaders who value human rights, rule of law, press freedom, all the things that we in this room care about. From 160 countries, young people are learning those values, from Azerbaijan to Zimbabwe, they will go back to those countries infused with those values, which is why the likes Orban wants us closed.

So, I'm very proud to be affiliated with CEU which I think has done a remarkable job in 25 years. And I have to acknowledge our founder's vision, George Soros' vision. George Soros is the demon of choice for many autocrats, along with Islam. Strange combination there, a Hungarian Jew and Islam as the two demons of choice for autocrats worldwide. But anyway, as you see, I'm not dispassionate. I care deeply. I have seen where nationalism leads. I'm an American patriot, but I was an eye witness to the Balkan wars and saw how quickly my husband Richard Holbrooke virtually ended those wars. Unfortunately, there's no one of his caliber and determination who is working to end the war in Syria, which is actually responsible for the rise of populism, and for the crisis of immigration.

JANE WALES

I'm going to turn to Brad, first to give us a sense of why George Soros is so vilified and why that's so effective. But also as we've seen historically, the roles of Ford, of Rockefeller, of Open Society Foundations, have mostly focused on enlarging the civic space, not on promoting any particular point of view, but an understanding of the processes of democracy and the role of civil society. So, give us a sense of that role, and what this moment feels like to you as you're looking at American philanthropic efforts to promote democracy.

BRAD SMITH

Okay. So, I guess I get the chance to be the designated optimist. Professionally, I'm an optimist. I do have personal opinions about a lot of what's being talked about here, but professionally I try to remain as objective and fair as possible. I'll just have one quick parenthesis here: Up until February 1st I was president of the Foundation

Center. Now I'm the president of something called Candid, and that name actually has a lot to do with what we're talking about today. The Foundation Center was created at a not dissimilar time in American history, which was McCarthyism in the 50s, when American foundations were subject to Congressional hearings alleging that they were supporting un-American activities. Out of this, a group of foundation leaders decided to create a public information service about what foundations did as the best defense against this kind of insinuation and suspicion. So, the Foundation Center was created as a neutral, objective, fair observer and communicator of the philanthropic sector.

We became Candid by combining together with another organization a lot of you know, which is called GuideStar. GuideStar was created in the mid-1990s and had its first website only a few months after Tim Berners Lee created the first website in the world, trying to make the nonprofit sector more visible. This was based on the assumption that the more accurate information you had about what the third sector, or the social sector, was doing, the more it would be able to defend itself against the kinds of pressures that we're seeing today. And I would posit that part of the problem we're dealing with, especially outside of the United States, is the lack of this kind of information infrastructure to really describe what the sector does, which makes it a very easy target.

To get back to the question that you asked, I think in the historic work that a lot of the big foundations like Ford and Rockefeller did to sort of enlarge civic space over time, there was probably wittingly or unwittingly an implicit American bias built into that world view. That view was basically that if you could increase the citizen demand for effective government and accountability and transparency, then government would have the ability to respond and act accordingly. So, there was a view that the purpose of the state was to be some kind of fair arbiter of the different demands of society and had the responsibility of guaranteeing the social good and the widest distribution of justice, freedom and all the things we believe in.

I remember when I was hired by the Ford Foundation where I used to work, I was the first governance program officer to work outside of the US. And I was sent off to Brazil, the country we've been talking about. And a lot of the public policy work that was being done by the Ford Foundation was very much based on the US model. I get to Brazil and there's no district voting, so nobody has 'my congressman'. The country had just come out of a military dictatorship. Its elected president, Tancredo Neves, died on the eve of his inauguration. His vice president, who was not supposed to be there, muddled through until they democratically elected their first president, Fernando Collor, who was promptly impeached for corruption. They emerged from that, and there's a huge congressional budget scandal. Those of you who know Brazil know that Brazilians are wonderfully creative with naming things, so the congressional budget scandal was named the scandal of the seven dwarfs, which referred to these seven relatively short congressmen who siphoned off all this money.

So the whole idea that if you could just enlarge civic participation to bring more demands on government, that somehow government would be able to respond, was highly questionable. I think this was probably the biggest challenge when American foundations began to work outside. We saw another version of it in Eastern Europe after the fall of the Soviet Union. There was an assumption that if you've got the economy right, if you turn to free markets, that democracy would follow suit. And that has obviously, given all that we've been talking about today, not proven true.

JANE WALES

Take us back to the United States, because so many American philanthropies and philanthropists are now finding ways to invest in our own democracy, and I want to get a sense of what that looks like now.

BRAD SMITH

Well, this is the hopeful part. I think if there's one light motif for this entire Global Philanthropy Forum, it's that there are things that we cannot afford to take for granted. And one of the things that we cannot afford to take for granted in this country, and in some other countries in the world, is the whole notion of philanthropic freedom. In the United States, foundations, as long as they do not run afoul of some very specific pieces of legislation about partisan political activity and self-dealing, are free to actually engage in public policy, in supporting democracy, and in freely promoting debate and advocacy about some of the most important issues of our time.

In 2014, actually, the Hewlett Foundation, together with some other foundations including Ford, Carnegie, Mott, Rockefeller Brothers and others, decided to try to better coordinate the funding they were doing specifically on strengthening democracy in the United States. So, this is not just a broader civil society funding or broad education funding. This is actually funding with the express purpose of trying to strengthen democracy. They came to what was then the Foundation Center (today Candid) and asked if we could begin to collect data and make this data publicly available. And you can find it on a website called philanthropy.candid.org.

What this will show you is funding that we have been able to track since 2011 by US foundations. It amounts to about \$5.3 billion. It's less than 2% of overall giving by foundations, but it's still a significant amount that's been given by 6,000 different foundations to four broad areas related to strengthening democracy. And those are campaigns and elections (how campaigns and elections are actually run), civic participation (something we've been talking about), government itself (government performance, transparency, budget processes, judicial nominations), and media.

This last category, media, is really interesting because I remember in 2014, when we were working with foundation professionals who actually were in charge of this democracy funding, we had long debates about whether or not media should be included. There were people passionately arguing that it shouldn't be included, it's not that relevant, and it's way too broad. And I look back from today's vantage point and think, "Well thank God that we did decide to include media," because a lot of the most interesting funding that's going on right now is media-related.

The other thing we've done is we've collected research reports that had been funded or published by foundations themselves into a sort of a resource center. There's about 200 pieces of research. The idea behind this research is that if you're a funder that wants to respond to the kinds of things you're hearing today, first of all you're legally allowed to do it, and second of all, you're not alone. There are 6,000 other foundations that are doing it. You can dive into this information and you can see, for whatever aspect of democracy you're interested in: Who's getting the money? What are they getting it for? Who's giving them money? Then you can research to see what we've already learned about what's working and not. One sample of a report I pulled when I was looking this morning just came out this year, and it's on disinformation,

fake news and influence campaigns on Twitter. What could be more relevant to what we're talking about today?

We're also seeing that this funding is going on in other parts of the world. It's not put together on one platform like this, but there's some really interesting grant making and operating activities going on as foundations begin to respond to this moment. The last thing I'd say about this is that foundations are uniquely positioned to work on this set of issues. One reason for that is that you, we, represent one of the last reserves of un-earmarked capital left on the face of the earth. Government money is all earmarked, it's all subject to the political process. Corporate money is brutally subject to short term market-driven decisions. Foundations have the luxury and, I would argue for this forum, the obligation to look over the horizon and work long-term on the kinds of trends that we're going to be talking about in the next few days to really see how those are going to be reversed, or at least put in the right direction.

JANE WALES

Several foundations from across the ideological spectrum have come together to do research on the role that Facebook played, not just in 2016 but in 2018 and potentially in 2020. Just say a word about that, and then I'm going to turn to Kati because in Europe we saw the same kind of meddling of elections that we saw here.

BRAD SMITH

Yeah, this is something that was announced: The Hewlett Foundation and others have come together to actually look at Facebook's data on the elections. There will be research sponsored and coordinated with the Social Science Research Council to look at what did happen and didn't happen with that information. There's a lot of really interesting movement going on to really understand social media rather than just say things about social media off the cuff. One thing to add related to this: the data that we pull is from across the spectrum, and there are some incredibly effective examples of philanthropy from a more libertarian or conservative perspective.

For example, the Federalist Society in the United States is pretty much advising the current administration on judicial nominations. The Trump administration will have had the opportunity to replace one-third of the federal judiciary, including several Supreme Court members, by 2020, and 53% of the Federalist Society's grant funding comes from a handful of five foundations. Those are the Bradley Foundation, the Templeton Foundation, the Mercer Family Foundation, the Sarah Scaife Foundation, and Searle Freedom trust.

A really interesting thing about those grant making dollars is that the majority of the grant making dollars those foundations provide to the Federalist Society are given for general support. And, if we look at the overall data for all of philanthropy that we have for all over the world, 8% of the money that institutional philanthropy gives is for restricted support, not for general support. So, general support could have huge political outcomes.

JANE WALES

So Kati, I'm going to turn to you on the notion of election meddling.

KATI MARTON

Yes. Well, when I said that we dropped the ball I was thinking that we really underestimated the role of social media in distorting and manipulating elections, and indeed the entire fabric of democracy. All of these autocrats whose names we've been dropping, all of them play from the same manual. Among the first things that they do is to eliminate independent media. In Hungary for example, independent media is on life support. And Orban achieved that in very short order. During the Cold War, my parents were jailed for being straight-shooting reporters. They were the last Western Hungarians, but my father was Associated Press and my mother was United Press, and they were jailed when I was six years old. I didn't see them for two years and I didn't know where they were.

Now, they don't do that anymore. Because Orban is a member of the European Union so he has to be "perfectly legal" in sanctioning press. So, he deprives free media of its oxygen, which is advertising, by rather more subtle techniques than jailing. Facebook, which we thought would be a platform for community-building, has in fact become a platform for hate-building. Hate, as I observed during the Balkan Wars, spreads much faster than love. It's an unfortunate reality about the human species. Hate on social media is rampant and uncontrolled.

However, because of our example (the 2016 election here), the Germans and the French and others took precautions that we did not take about filtering out the most egregious spreaders of hate. And now they're passing even more stringent controls, and it's unfortunate that that's necessary, but it does seem to be. It's a wild West on the Internet, and we saw with what just happened in New Zealand that haters globally find each other, they connect with each other. They stoke each other's rage and we can't be naive about that.

I asked Chancellor Merkel's closest national security adviser, "Could a Trump be elected here?" because of course Germany, with its dark history, makes us all anxious. When there's a far right party in Germany, it's not like the far right party in Holland. And this gentleman said, "No. Germany will be the last country in Europe to succumb to populism because we don't have Fox News." In other words, there isn't a single voice that has basically one issue. The old school media is still in very good shape. Newspapers are still more online now than in hard copies, but Germany will not succumb in the near future to a Trump because there is a more vibrant media. But there isn't any longer in Hungary, which is one reason that Orban can evict CEU, because the Hungarian people were not aware that this is happening.

JANE WALES

So Larry, I'm going to let you take us home.

LARRY DIAMOND

So, I'm coming from 48 hours in Nashville over the weekend, which drew together an extraordinary gathering of political reformers, Republicans and Democrats interestingly. Libertarian, green, everything in between that have been kind of rising up over the last number of years. Several organizations that have been funded by foundations that are in this room and in this space. The convener was an organization called Represent Us, others like Unite America, Issue One, Fair Vote, I can't remember

them all. But the point is this: There is a reform movement gathering from the ground up in the United States that I think will be recognized historically in its ultimate impact as equivalent to the progressive movement in the early 20th century, and what it will ultimately accomplish. I've been seeing it gathering for some years now, but I think it has hit a really historic critical mass.

The single most important thing that it is now focusing on, that I think it is positioned to have an extraordinary and transformative impact on is, in my opinion, the single most important political reform we need in the United States to depolarize and refresh American politics: "ranked choice" voting. You had a historic political showdown in the state of Maine. In 2016, they passed the referendum. The legislature, all the professional politicians met in the middle of the night and drew their daggers to kill it. Then the people of Maine in the dead of winter, in an extraordinary story that I document in my forthcoming book, collected enough signatures to put on the ballot in June of 2018 a people's veto to reverse what the legislature had done, which they did. This is how you got the first ranked choice voting election for Congress in the history of the United States in November of last year, which affected the outcome of a congressional race I think in a depolarizing way.

There was a remarkable speech at this event by the ex-convict who led the campaign to enfranchise 1.4 million convicted felons in the state of Florida, which passed. And it wasn't that close in a state where you think Republicans don't want to enfranchise convicted felons because it might lean in the wrong way from their partisan interests. You've had very significant reform packages passed to adopt an automatic voter registration, to get rid of gerrymandering in several states. Michigan actually did vote for both by voter referendum in the last election. And I actually see this extraordinary energy from the grassroots bubbling up now to empower women and recruit more women to run for political office, and to fight what I think is the single most disgraceful, pernicious, inexcusable trend in American politics right now, which is conscious, explicit, cynical, highly calculated voter suppression.

I think we have the wind at our backs. I think those foundations that have supported these kinds of organizations and initiatives should give themselves a pat on the back. I went to Nashville a little bit skeptical. Some of this involves a little bit of organizational self-promotion which isn't my style, and a little bit of glitziness (Jennifer Lawrence is one of the big advocates of ranked choice voting and one of the spokespersons for Represent Us). But I mean, you need that in order to be successful, right?

You need that kind of voice and that kind of, in a way, drama and charisma. But I think we've crossed the threshold, and that we're now seeing people from different ideological perspectives who actually are ready to talk to one another, and you're doing it here in this room over the next couple days. There are a lot of people coming from different points in the partisan spectrum who can agree on certain things, one of which is that our system is broken. Who's going to speak up and say, "I'm proud of gerrymandering in the surgical fashion that's increasingly happening now in the digital age", or "I'm proud of the corruption behind lobbying"? And by the way, even Donald Trump in October of 2016 came out with an anti-lobbying bill, which could have been better and has only been partially implemented by him, but actually it did recognize some of the problems and in some ways it was a step forward.

JANE WALES

I'm going to ask if mics can be made available so folks in the audience can ask their questions directly. We will go into a conversation after the break about funding across difference in one of our working groups, but we have a question here so go ahead.

KENNEDY ODEDE

Thank you so much. My name is Kennedy Odede from Kenya. I work on community organizing in the slums of Kenya. So, there's something I have really been thinking about that I want to ask the panel: Those who are anti-democracy tend to be against globalization. And what I found out is that inequality is the problem because where there's inequality, that's where I see a lot of anti-globalization. Do you agree with me or not? I'm just curious. Thank you.

JANE WALES

I'm going to give that to Kati since Europe has more robust social programs and therefore does not have quite as much of a problem with inequality that other areas have.

KATI MARTON

I think that's absolutely true that inequality spreads anti-globalization, and a sense that while some of us have benefited from the globalized world others have not. I'll give you an example: I was in a town at the Eastern most edge of Germany 10 days ago. It's a town that has been beautifully restored to its former sheen, which had been left to ruin under the communist regime. And yet I saw banners of imams with straggly beards and veiled women. By the way, there are no imams in this town, there are no straggly bearded people, or veiled women, but the fact is that they are coming. The threat is that we, the globalizers, are in favor of spreading a foreign body into Europe, and that globalization means the destruction of the West.

Meanwhile, the town has been built up with the West German generosity. When I say that it isn't entirely about the economy, it's that globalization is seen as a threat to their sense of place and culture. That is the conversation that we need to be having, which is that globalization is actually for everybody. We haven't been able to convey that message that globalization is A) inevitable. We can't go back to local economies, we're an absolutely interdependent world by now and what happens in Beijing happens in Washington, whatever our president tells us. And B) that globalization is a force for good. But somehow we haven't had that conversation sufficiently. And Jane I'm really happy that we're having it today, because of our weak communication in that regard. We just assumed that everybody would get that the Internet would set us free, and that the globalized world was both inevitable and to the benefit of everybody. But we have to acknowledge the fact that there are local cultures, there are local customs that globalization does not threaten. It's the difference between nationalism, which generally leads to war, and one's patriotism, which I think we're all in favor of. When our president says, "I'm a nationalist," I'm really wondering, does he even know what nationalism is? Nationalism is exclusion. Nationalism means that that one country, one culture is superior to another, which I absolutely reject. But it doesn't mean that cultures have to conform to others.

BRAD SMITH

Yeah, the data shows that there are people on the ground and philanthropies on the ground around the world that are supporting strengthening and defending democracy in Kenya. I pulled an example of a grant when I was looking this morning to constitutionally challenge the anti-homosexuality act. So this is also not just about inequality, it's about morality and about other kinds of prejudice and hate. In this case actually, in the data we carry we anonymize the recipient to protect them, because what they're working on is very dangerous. In virtually every country you can look at in the world, there are people and organizations on the ground that are fighting the good fight and really trying to counteract a lot of the trends we see.

JANE WALES

Let me just add on economic inequality. The integration of global economies has lifted millions from poverty, particularly in India and China, and created tremendous wealth. But that wealth is highly concentrated. In our own country it was predictable and predicted that the middle class would experience a declining standard of living, perhaps sowing new divisions along educational lines—like the difference in earning capacity between high school graduates and college graduates. Economists refer to this process as the “rational” distribution of wealth, but it's not necessarily the equitable distribution of wealth, and that's the job for policy and the job for philanthropy. Hence the importance of all of you being here. Larry—give us the final word.

LARRY DIAMOND

I want to say something sobering, but I'll end with something positive. If you just plot the percentage of the population that is foreign-born over a historic time in the United States, and now in Europe, you see a striking correlation. This was the point that my mentor, Seymour Martin Lipset, made with his co-author and an important nonprofit figure in the San Francisco area, Earl Raab, 40 years ago in a book called the *Politics of Unreason*. It is a very important history of right wing, nativist, populist, illiberal movements in the United States. The correlation is that when the percentage of the foreign-born in the United States has gotten up above about 10-12%, near its historic high, you start seeing the Know Nothing movement, the Ku Klux Klan, the John Birch Society and, if I may say so, the alternative for Germany, or the Sweden Democrats, or many of these parties.

I think we need to be honest with ourselves as liberals in a kind of classical European sense, in terms of our values of transcending narrow and exclusivist identities. People can only adapt so rapidly. I share your admiration of Angela Merkel, Kati. I think she's the greatest leader of a democracy of our generation, period, full-stop. But I do think that she overestimated the absorptive capacity of Germany, and out of the best intentions. I just think we who favor immigration need to understand the anxieties of people. Societies need time to adapt, and we have done much better at assimilation and *E Pluribus Unum* than Europe has. Germany has done much better with its Turkish immigrants than it is given credit for. There's a Turkish-German who is leader of the Green Party I think. That's extraordinary. But societies need time. On the other hand, if we can give them time, and do what Kati said which is listen to what they're saying in the way that Arlie Hochschild did in that remarkable book, *Strangers in*

Their Own Land, or Katherine Cramer in her extraordinary book about the rise of rural consciousness in Wisconsin, or Scott Walker in the *Politics of Resentment*. If we can listen and give them time, I think we can get back to what we're about as a nation, which is that we will be the most successful nation in the world in the next generation completely because of our superior ability to integrate people from all over the world, and create out of them a synthesis that no other country can match.

You mentioned the trends in terms of population and the need for immigration, which is of course true especially in Europe, true to a slightly lesser extent, but still dramatically, in the United States, true in Japan, Korea and Taiwan, and also in the People's Republic of China. How's China going to manage the stress of a rapidly aging population? They've got absolutely no plan for it. So, I would still bet on the United States.

BRAD SMITH

China is really interesting because we're framing this conversation about democracy, and China is not a liberal democracy. It's a different kind of system, but interestingly enough it is creating, very consciously with a policy framework and funding streams and tax incentives, a third sector which includes foundations and nonprofit-like people's organizations. It is growing indigenous forms of support: 57% of Chinese people have made cell phone donations to nonprofits. They get tax exemptions for doing so. The Chinese government very much sees this as a way to deal with some of the pressures that we're talking about here today: the concentration of income, reinvesting money back into society, how you build a social fabric. Now, it may be in a different framework than we're talking about here, but if you strip that away, a lot of what's going on is the participation of everyday citizens in nonprofit organizations and foundations by making donations, is building what's at risk, what we are talking about here, which is social solidarity: this idea that somehow you're responsible for more than yourself and that you have an obligation as a member of society to lift up that entire society.

KATI MARTON

Just a quick thought, and this certainly holds with regards to Chancellor Merkel, but I think it's something for all of us to bear in mind: We overestimated the role that reason and rational thinking plays in politics and in people's political choices. If you examine some of the ways that people vote, they don't always vote in their own logical self-interest. There's something else that's going on. And that is what we have not factored in because, well, in Merkel's case she's a scientist and so she reduces everything to its component parts in a super rational way. But human beings are not primarily rational creatures. That's what we see playing out worldwide, and we have to factor that in to our decision-making, too. We're not going to be rational all the time.

JANE WALES

And if you're anything like me, you use reason to justify the emotional choice already made. So, please join me in thanking these wonderful panelists before we take a break.

PLURALISM: THE SINE QUA NON OF LIBERAL DEMOCRACY



MONDAY APRIL 1
11:30 AM

MERYL CHERTOFF

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, JUSTICE AND SOCIETY PROGRAM,
THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

LARRY KRAMER

PRESIDENT, WILLIAM AND FLORA HEWLETT FOUNDATION

IN CONVERSATION WITH PETER LAUGHARN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CONRAD N. HILTON FOUNDATION

PETER LAUGHARN

Good morning, everyone. My name is Peter Laugharn. I'm the President of the Conrad Hilton Foundation. Welcome to our panel on Pluralism: the Sine Qua Non of Liberal Democracy. I'm thrilled to have with me two eminent panelists, Meryl Chertoff of the Aspen Institute's Justice and Society Program, and Larry Kramer, President of the Hewlett Foundation. Welcome as well to our web audience and you are all encouraged to live tweet. The hashtag is GPF19.

I wanted to start with an assertion that it's possible not everyone will agree with. I would like to posit that no matter what your foundation's mission, no matter what your individual philanthropic creed might be, there are two meta issues that you should be interested in and active in. Those are global climate and the state of our democracy, or if you would like, in the broader frame of this conference, the state of our global policy. This may go against the idea that we should all be very focused in the work that we do, and it may stretch our ideas of donor intent. I realize this is a stretch because it's true in my own foundation, and I have both colleagues and board members here in the audience.

Now, I want to give just a little bit of context about ourselves. The mission of the Conrad Hilton Foundation is the relief of human suffering, quite a broad issue. We tend to focus on individuals and the improvement of their lives and about the systems around them, but systems close to them. We have not had a program on climate and we have not had a program on meta or higher-level democracy. I think we're behind the 6000 foundations that were mentioned earlier today. But we were put to test last November, and I'm not speaking about the November election but what happened two days after that.

I had just come back from an international trip. I wanted to get in a visit to the gym early in the morning, so I opened my computer, unfortunately, at 4:30 in the morning and I saw messages of condolence that were coming in to me and I didn't know what it was about. I realized within a couple of minutes that there had been a mass shooting five minutes from the foundation in the city of Thousand Oaks at the Borderline Bar and Grill, where my own daughter had been a guest.

We spent that day organizing a victim's fund, participating in processions and going to a vigil for the victims. When we came out of that vigil, I got a text that we were

under mandatory evacuation for the fires that eventually consumed a lot of Malibu and of our area, and we were among the 75,000 families that were evacuated then. When we came back four days later, we said we wanted to do two things: provide immediate help to victims and look at the upstream reasons for both of these events, one for climate and one about, I would say, the state of relations within our democracy. In the climate arena, we made a grant for four cities in California (Berkeley, Los Angeles, San Francisco and Oakland) to work on urban fire and urban heat. In regard to the shootings, we discussed a number of things.

We talked about gun violence as a public health issue. We talked about mental health and PTSD, as in that case it seemed to be one of the major contributors. But we felt a need, particularly since the shooting at the Tree of Life synagogue in Pittsburgh had been the month before, to really look at difference and bridging difference and lowering heat and building relationships between people. We looked to our own mission in this and said, how can we stretch to this?

Actually the answer was fairly simple. Conrad Hilton, when he was alive, was a strong believer in interfaith understanding. In the 1930s he funded a lot of traveling groups usually about Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism, but I'm absolutely certain if he were alive today and doing this he would have included Islam, and indeed other religions as well. Again, given the impetus of the Tree of Life synagogue shooting, we reached out to the Aspen Institute, to Meryl's institute, and said we would like to fund something that would help build bridges, that would bring people together who are not speaking to one another, in this case on the question of religious pluralism, and that would give a model for how everyday foundations or all foundations could be involved in building bridges.

Our resolve I think was increased manifold a month ago with the shooting at the New Zealand mosque. I'd say we are on a journey. It's easier to identify a problem than to really have the solution for it, so I'm glad to have more experienced people here at the panel. I imagine that many of you are further along in this journey than we are and some of you are also saying, well, that's not our mission, but how can we get ourselves involved? How can we play our part?

Ultimately, this session is about giving you ideas and asking you to find a way to step up to the situation that we're in. We'd like to get you thinking, 'what am I called on to do and where might my philanthropic efforts lead?' Once again, Meryl Chertoff is the Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Society, and runs the Inclusive America program at the Aspen Institute, which focuses on religious pluralism. Larry, before being the President of the Hilton Foundation was the Dean of the Stanford Law School. I think you'll find them both thoughtful and provocative. Meryl, could we start with you? Could you tell us a little bit about your work and how it addresses challenges to pluralism?

MERYL CHERTOFF

Sure. Thank you very much, Peter, and I'm delighted to be here today. Thank you all for being attentive. Since Peter told a personal anecdote, I will start with one as well. Our work is around religious pluralism, and while I've been working in this space at the Aspen Institute since 2011, I can tell you that the situation has not become better and I'll tell you a story from my own life.

Just after the Tree of Life synagogue shooting, I was observing a period of mourning for my own father and in the Jewish tradition, one's supposed to say Kaddish each night, for the first 30 days after the death of the individual. Because of the way that Tree of Life coincided with that mourning period, I was going into synagogues where I had to pass through metal detectors or pass through armed guards. As an adult, and one who lived through 9/11, I'm able to assimilate that. It's very distressing, but I can assimilate it. But when I saw the young children coming in to their religious school activities and realizing that they had to come in under the same watchful eyes, it broke my heart.

I know that after Christchurch, the mosques in my community and the after school activities in our Muslim schools also were conducted under the watchful eye of guardians, and I wonder what that's doing psychologically to these young children and what their fathers and mothers feel, what women who can't leave their house wearing hijab, who have to think twice now before wearing hijab, are going through. We are encountering a massive psychic and moral issue that's coming about, which many of us are seeing day-to-day. I just wanted to start framing it with that. We've been at this Inclusive America project working on religious pluralism for the last 10 years and I'm a poster child for people who reach across the aisle. In my case, it was reaching from the center-right across the aisle on the question of religious pluralism.

Religious pluralism can bring people together and help them identify meaning and purpose in themselves and others. As my colleague Chris Stewart points out, it's engagement across and in full awareness and appreciation of our differences. Before 2012, we thought that religious pluralism was a missed opportunity for building a more robust civic culture, and while many in the funding sector were excellent about engaging around issues of race, gender and immigration status, little attention was focused on what for many Americans is a key pull of identity and that is religious affiliation.

In fact, one could say that in our experience, we found an allergy to religion. It was deemed by some to be too risky because of the First Amendment considerations and because it was viewed as the province of the right in the culture wars. It was seen through the lens that reflects a positioning on reproductive rights, the rights of gay Americans, and women's social and political rights. But in the years that followed, we found that engagement around the right to exercise religious identity freely and have equal citizenship and equal status as Americans of faith or of no faith requires urgently that we develop an appreciative understanding of our own faith, the faith of our neighbors, and the underpinnings of religious freedom in the Constitution, which did not single out any religion for favored status, and created a wall between faith and politics for the protection of both.

George Washington's letter to the Touro congregation, a Jewish congregation in Rhode Island, said it perfectly. Now remember, this is George Washington talking about what we now call religious pluralism: "For happily, the government of the United States gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, and requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support."

That's the language of contract, meaning a reciprocal relationship. All people have equal rights to exercise their faith, and in return, they comport themselves as good

citizens. Since 2016, it's become clear that the commitment to the protection of religious minorities is not just a good idea, it's essential to the continuation of our democracy and freedom. As my mentor Sandra Day O'Connor said, "Knowledge of the Constitution is not passed down in the gene pool. It is learned by each generation.

Some of these tools ought to be provided by public education, but it is not. Some protections must be provided by public safety officials and prosecutors, and although they try, their efforts are imperfect. Much of the work has to be done in local communities, and I saw in Jane's introductory essay, she talked a lot about localism. This work has to be pushed down into the local sector and done by people at all levels through affinity groups, through youth engagement, through the relationship between local government and civil society organizations.

I have, in the last 10 years, seen that there has not been enough of this work done because the philanthropic community has not made a sufficient investment in it. That funding is the oxygen that we need in order to elevate this work to the level of the wonderful work done by philanthropies around race and other things that have been divisive in our country. I'm asking today for them to consider investing in this new form of division. We need to maintain and reweave the social fabric, not just through laws but through norms.

We heard from Michael Ignatieff earlier today, and I have to admit I'm a huge fan. In his book *The Ordinary Virtues*, he talks about two versions of pluralism, the thick version and the thin version. The thick version is the pluralism that we're going for, which is the robust engagement with appreciative understanding of difference. The thin version is what Ignatieff talked about in his book as a kind of tolerance, a picket fence version of pluralism where we sit side by side by side, but we don't really know each other. Ignatieff, in the brilliant first chapter of the book, talks about Jackson Heights in Queens, a place which is not far from where I grew up, where people from lots of different backgrounds live side by side, and although around the bleeding edge young people get to know each other, there isn't that kind of robust engagement. Where does that lead? Well Ignatieff is an expert on that because he was in Bosnia, and he knows that if the right fuel is there and the accelerant is there, if all you do is live side by side by side, there can be combustion.

The issue is otherization versus trust. We're on the side of trust. Where's the otherization coming from? It's coming from grassroots nationalist movement that's not just here in the United States, it's all around the world. Amplification online and manipulation by charismatic authoritarians, this is the challenge for us. There are anecdotes, not one but many: youth groups (we see opportunities in the after school sector and summer programs like WISE and Boys and Girls Clubs and 4-H clubs where the kids spend the critical hours between three and seven in the evening), affinity groups, women and intrasectional identity groups, local community groups, and local governments. There's also a role for the private sector as part of diversity training.

PETER LAUGHARN

We'll have an opportunity to come back to those questions of building thick pluralism, of making philanthropy less squeamish. Now, moving on from the religious pluralism frame, Larry, Jane characterized you today as talking about ideological pluralism. Can you tell us something about the role of philanthropy in pluralism today?

LARRY KRAMER

Sure. Let me try and frame this with just a couple of observations around the general topic. The first one is just to recognize the inevitability of pluralism. This is not a new phenomenon, it's not a new feature, and it's not something that we've discovered in the last generation or in the last 20 years or something. It has always been true of any democratic society, and that's of any size at all. It was equally true in the founding generation. We have this tendency to think no no no, the problems today are so much worse, they're so much different than they've been in the past. Race is so much harder a definition. They were all white men back in the time of the founding, and none of that is remotely true, at least as perceived by the people in their context. Yes, the divisions have changed over time but this country was founded on a set of problems, which were all about the incredible difficulty of creating a functioning democracy, which was made up of people with different interests and passions and beliefs and divisions around which people were willing to kill each other.

It's important to recognize that, so then the second observation, I think, as we think about this is actually the solution that was derived in this country that then has been picked up in many places around the world was to recognize that you needed to embrace that pluralism, that actually the only way you could create a functioning democratic society was to enlarge it so that you took in a sufficient number. This is the famous Federalist 10, Madison's famous paper. Take in a really large number of interests and beliefs and passions and then create a process through which actually the people who live in the society are forced to compromise with each other and accommodate each other. That is the structure on which the only successful democracies that have ever existed anywhere have survived, and it is the one that we have struggled with and gotten by with for the first two centuries plus of this country.

Now, the mechanisms for doing that, some of them are formal and institutional, the structure of the government itself, but many of them are just cultural. It's an education in what it means to be a citizen in a democracy and what your obligations are and so on. What we are losing today, which is I think a little different, is we are losing that culture and I see that happening on a number of different levels.

The work that we have taken on at the foundation began really addressing the ones that are at the political level and at the national level. I'll just say one word about that and then one word about philanthropy. In terms of the political divisions, I respect and I think it's wonderful the work that so many people are doing to try and build conversations at the local level. With some notion that we can rebuild this from the ground up, I'm skeptical. I don't actually think it's possible to rebuild from the bottom up. It's too big a country, the divisions are too many. You can't do family therapy for an entire nation, which is essentially what we're talking about needing to do.

Instead, I actually think that the solution to the problems at least on the political level needs to be considerably more top down, which is to say when it comes to politics, people take their cues from political leadership about how to behave much more than the reverse, and there's, I can sort of back that up, but people are interested with mostly historical evidence but if you think about your own experience, so that in some ways, while we do need to do the bottom up work, which I think I love seeing it, we also need fundamentally to do some top down work and essentially to put it very briefly, we need to create space and opportunity for our national political leaders to start behaving like

grownups again, and if they start behaving like grown-ups and treating each other like grownups in the way we expect grownups to treat each other, I think the public at large will embrace that pretty quickly. We see it in rare instances today. When that happens in Washington, we see the solutions get taken up very quickly.

PETER LAUGHARN

Larry, let me ask you a question about that. We'll come back to your phases. I love your optimism about how strong the levers of philanthropy are in order to incentivize or encourage people to be acting like grownups, but there are much larger forces and actors in our society who have actually a vested interest in them bickering. The cable news, for example. How can we counter that?

LARRY KRAMER

Well, that was the part I was trying to avoid in this opening, which would be a long discussion about what we're doing it at the foundation, although I'm happy to talk about that. Just for introductory purposes, I argue that there are three distinct issues that need to be addressed and philanthropy has a potential role in all three of them. The one that I've been talking about now is about the practice of politics. The truth is, as much as I think some people want not to believe it, very few people who go to Congress go wanting to burn it down. It's a terrible job. The pay is awful, the life is awful. People go because they want to do something good, and most of them in fact hate the situation they're in, being able to do nothing at all. It's not bad motivated people, it's just recognizing the that there's a set of institutional, cultural, and structural changes that have taken place within politics that we need to disassemble in order to create space for them.

Second, we need to fix the information environment, in which the distribution function for information has essentially been sourced out to these platforms who have an incentive and have created a system where at very low cost, you can essentially put propaganda out into the world. We know propaganda works so we're drowning in a sea of propaganda and we have to solve that problem.

And third, we have an ideas deficit. Political debates always take place within a kind of overarching intellectual paradigm that itself shifts from time to time. We went from mercantilism in the 18th century, laissez faire in the 19th, Keynes in the mid-20th, Milton Friedman, or what people now call neoliberalism, in the late 20th. Those work for a time, they provide explanations for people. They're not right or wrong, that's the wrong way to think about them. They work as explanations and help people make sense of the world and they tend to be largely shared, and then the left-right debate takes place within them. From time to time, changes in conditions and/or changes in the ideas happen so that a system ceases to work as an explanation and we need a new one. We're in one of those periods now, you can see it. If you don't give people a better explanation, they drift towards the ones that are available. In the 1920s and 30s, communism and fascism had a lot of appeal for a lot of people until we developed something else that worked, at least in the United States and in much of the West, but not so much in Russia obviously, or in Germany and Italy. We're in a period like that today. The appeal of Trump and the so-called national populism is that we don't have any better alternative. The old explanations that have been offered by

liberals and conservatives are not working for people, so we have an ideas deficit that needs to be addressed.

Philanthropy alone is not going to solve any of those huge problems, but I think in the way that we often do, we can help nudge some pivotal levers. The way I feel about that is, if we do all the things that we can do as a funding body, we may still not succeed, but if we don't, we surely won't. So we have an important role to play and I think that's a product for more conversation. The last point I just want to make is that I think we have our own problem within philanthropy: many of the things that have taken place out in the society where people are no longer listening to each other have seeped into our world as well. We're also not listening terribly well, I think, to the ideas that we need to listen to and the other things that we disagree with.

I gave a talk at my foundation around the 'ideas' part (rethinking neoliberalism), and someone in my staff raised their hand at the end and basically said, "Well of course economists thought that way, look at them." This person meant they were all white men, and I was kind of taken aback at the moment. What I said was, "Well, that was of course true in the 1940s. When these ideas were developed the academy was entirely white men, but I promise you today there are economists of all genders and races on all sides of this issue." But what I was thinking at the time was that's not an argument, that's just dismissing something. The more I thought about it, I realized we do that kind of pervasively. We dismiss people who disagree with us, either because of who they are and therefore we don't need to listen to them, or because we assume that they really know we're right and they just have some bad motive (their self-interest or racism or whatever it is), or we take the worst argument for something and we destroy it and then pay no attention to the other arguments. These are increasingly common techniques, and I can understand why politicians might do it. I can even understand why journalists might. They're in a very competitive setting. But in philanthropy, we have no excuse for that. There's nothing contradictory between feeling passionately about an issue and taking the time to actually understand how an argument on the other side might seem reasonable to somebody else. Until you do that, you don't understand your own argument, you don't understand the other side's argument, you have needlessly increased the temperature all around, and you may be missing out on the places where you can actually find accommodation and move it forward.

One last very quick point: I want to underscore something you said at the beginning, which is that philanthropy has been able to work for many years on issues because we could take certain things for granted about the stability of democratic institutions and about the nature of the problems we faced, and we can't any longer. I do believe every single person in philanthropy needs to have both this concern for what it takes to make democratic government work as well as concern for climate, because these are both issues that are going to just undo whatever else you're doing, and to not address those alongside everything else you're doing actually is fiddling while Rome is burning in the truest sense of the word. Rome is burning, and if we don't recognize that the whole city's on fire now, the kinds of issues that we're working on are just going to get undone.

PETER LAUGHARN

Thanks, Larry. Meryl, one of the issues that Larry brought up is propaganda, and we've all been thinking recently about the role of social media in religious interfaith

discussions and tensions. *The New York Times* had an article, I think yesterday about Australia and New Zealand really wanting to clamp down on social media in ways that no one in this country has considered. How does social media interact with your work? What does it make easier? What does it make harder?

MERYL CHERTOFF

I'm going to get to that. First, I thought I was going to agree with everything that Larry said but it turns out that we actually have some pretty significant differences. I mean, in the prior administration, President Obama was if anything the quintessentially rational man who modeled grownup behavior, and right after 9/11, President Bush went to the Islamic Center and said Islam is not the enemy and tried, at least in many respects, to make that clear in the domestic policy.

The idea that the answers are going to be top down presupposes that there's some sort of a confluence of agreement, and I would argue that actually what we've got now is a kind of a Burger King democracy where everybody wants to have it their own way. Getting to social media, they're being encouraged to think that because everybody is able to get the ideas that they already agree with amplified online. So that's one of the big problems is that there really isn't a consensus now as to what we want and there aren't grownups in the room because we're all being told that if we could just get rid of this or that other, then we who are the true Americans or the true Hungarians or the true Filipinos, that we'll be able to have the true (insert X country here).

What we fail to appreciate is that we are globally becoming more diverse and so we're going to have to find a new consensus, and that requires people to say that what's good for 'the we' is not necessarily what's good for 'the me' every minute. That means there has to be trusted sources of news that people can look to that are fact-based. One of the things that's very alarming to me is this retreat from science and retreat from fact, and the idea of the building of a myth. We've seen where the building of national myths leads us to. The idea of critical thinking is under attack, and critical thinking is something that we really need to bolster. That's why engaging with difference is so important and that's one of the things I thought Ignatieff so brilliantly explained when describing the role of Central European University. But this has to come even before people get to university because some of the very bad patterns are already set by the time you get to university, if you get to university which many people do not. Then the question is, what are their news sources, and how toxic are those news sources, and are they getting anything to balance it? That's a challenge that is very important for all of us in this room to be thinking about.

LARRY KRAMER

Yeah, so just to make clear, there's no disagreement on the diagnosis of the problem. Then the question is, how do you want to think about the solutions? For me, take Obama as a good example. Why was it so difficult to get anything done? As I said, I think there are a set of institutional, structural, cultural changes that have taken place in the nature of our national institutions that need to be fixed. It's not because there was ever more consensus than there is today. There wasn't. In fact, the ideological differences today are smaller than they have been at many times in the past. What

we've lost is the ability of our national institutions to bridge them, and my claim is that it's not because of bad people, it is because of things that we need to address and fix, of which media is one.

Secondly, on the localism point, I'm all for local solutions. The fact of the matter is, there are too many problems that can only be addressed at the national level and they tend to be flashpoints to create controversy. Even in earlier times, when in fact local communities were less interdependent on each other, it was impossible to do that. There were always too many issues that need to be addressed at the national, and now at the global, level. Unless we solve those problems, you're just going to see that. You're not going to address climate change at the local level, you literally cannot do it. You're not going to address most of our political problems and issues. You're not going to be able to come up with solutions for national education policy, of which we do need some, or national economic policy, of which we absolutely need some, without having functional national institutions that create space for local stuff to happen.

PETER LAUGHARN

Part of the scale of pluralism is to agree about disagreeing. Larry, you believe in the 'top down' approach?

LARRY KRAMER

I think both.

PETER LAUGHARN

Let's have a bit more about each of those. Larry, if everyone came out of this room today thinking 'top down' is the way to go, what is the way that the philanthropic community could engage in that? What should they do?

LARRY KRAMER

Sure. Number one is to focus on the institutions that make it difficult for someone who, say, goes to Congress with good faith and a desire to come up with solutions and a willingness to work across the aisle to do so. There's a set of structures inside Congress which have to do with the way it functions that can actually be changed with support from philanthropy, whether that's rebuilding a budget process, or the way committees function, or so on. There's a set of external things in the way our politics operates, including things like campaign finance, the nature of elections, not so much gerrymandering for this purpose as things like winner-take-all single member districts. There's a whole set of things where philanthropy can help generate solutions and build support for them, that can actually produce the kind of change that we need to take place.

PETER LAUGHARN

Then, with the analogy of climate change, do we need some sort of consortium and aggregation of a philanthropic effort?

LARRY KRAMER

I mean, there's so much need that you don't even need a consortium so much as just reading and learning about it. There's a lot of conventional wisdom that is contradicted by a lot of good research, so it would help if people took a look at the best research out there. I don't actually think you need a massive amount of coordination because there's so many things that need to happen and so much room for philanthropy. It would be more about knowledge and awareness of what other people are doing. That's why we funded that initial Foundation Center resource so the people could look and see what was out there, who was funding what, what needs to be done.

PETER LAUGHARN

It's pretty amazing that 6,000 foundations are already involved. Meryl, if we're talking more about the bridge-building and individuals looking one another in the eyes, what is challenging to do about that? Particularly after an election where it seems like if you look at the political side, blue areas are getting bluer, red areas are getting redder, and people are more isolated from one another. How to overcome that?

MERYL CHERTOFF

This is one of the areas where we really do have some wonderful opportunities to create the opportunities for encounter. That can come in terms of bringing young people together, it can come in terms of creating these road shows where people go out and they engage with people who are different. My colleague David Brooks is going around the country on sort of a listening tour as part of what he calls The Weave Project, and I think David is going to be one of the speakers later. He's going to talk about reweaving the social fabric.

What I really want to zero in on is this problem of otherization. If you keep slicing and dicing it so that everybody is defined out of what constitutes full citizenship, then pretty soon, you've got only a very small number of people who are full citizens. This has been the Trump strategy. He never goes over 30%, 37%, 38% and why? Because he's got a core of people who are tremendously committed to his point of view, who are not really concerned about what most of the people in this room will agree are the norms of democracy, about respect, about listening even to people with whom you disagree and trying to develop consensus. He's trying to govern with a very small number of people. There are semiotics associated with it. I talked about my personal experience. There was a time in my life that I wore a small emblem of my faith around my neck, and I stopped doing that but if you watch on Fox News, the people who are representing the Trump administration and people affiliated with him, some of these women are wearing large crosses. There's a semiotics to that. They are saying this is a white Christian nation.

Now demographics tell us differently, things are changing. This is still a Christian nation, but it is not necessarily a white Christian nation. So there is a need for an adjustment by people who are used to being the 'in' group to take into account dealing with difference and having difference be part of their communities. That can be difference in language, but that can be difference in faith as well. While I applaud the idea of doing things at the national level, a lot of these have to be relationship-

building and building these conversations, and if we have to do it artificially by bringing people to a place and sitting them down together and trying to build what we call the 'My Pal AI' phenomenon. This is Robert Putnam's idea that if you have a friend named AI, who is of a different faith, you will not only be more tolerant to people of AI's faith, but you'll have more of a sense of inclusion to people of other faiths more generally.

Also here's an opportunity for social media. There is an enormous opportunity to have young people encounter each other through these kinds of devices, but it has to be done in a modulated and filtered way so that positive messages are coming through. The Tony Blair Foundation did some great work a few years ago in their Face to Faith program in getting kids from Pakistan to talk to kids in Connecticut and things of that nature. There are all kinds of creative ways to do this, whether it's in physical space or in virtual space.

PETER LAUGHARN

I've got a couple of teenagers at home and I can't imagine them gravitating toward religious pluralism. How do you make it cool for youth?

MERYL CHERTOFF

I think that young people are naturally curious about other people. I mean, there's food diplomacy and music diplomacy and music diplomacy. There are all of these things that are being done globally, which can be done locally too. We have one of our colleagues in this work who is a conservative evangelical pastor who is working with the Muslim community to develop relationships between the pulpits and trying to push it down into the pews as well. He talks about globalism, which is the idea that all of this is about both global and local efforts because the world looks at us and we look at the world. Young people are curious about the world and they want to look past their neighborhoods, and that can be an opportunity.

PETER LAUGHARN

Larry?

LARRY KRAMER

I actually don't want to get bogged down by the national-local debate. Work on whatever level you want, just work on this problem. That's the 'Rome is burning' thing. What I do want to point out though is the idea of trying to divide people based on group identities is just not new. That has been true profoundly all across American history. The question you need to ask is, why now were 40% of the population (and that's sadly not a small group) willing to actually pull the lever and vote for somebody who in every single other respect, frankly, is such an indecent human being?

That's the kind of alienation and disaffection that we need to think about, and it's not just because they've been told to think they're a member of a certain group and the 'other' is not them. We've all been told that constantly for 200 years. The question is why it took, and the answer lies in these other issues. The institutions that are supposed to provide answers for people in their lives have been failing for a very long time, and so blaming others becomes more appealing as an explanation for

why people's lives seems so hopeless or why their futures seem so frustrating. That's where we need to address it. That's my main contention here, that those problems do require, at least partly, functioning national institutions. They require ideas that we don't now have about how to think of them, instead of just throwing out the same old stuff that people already rejected on both the left and the right.

PETER LAUGHARN

That brings up a question: who are the strangest bedfellows that either of you work with in this work you're doing?

MERYL CHERTOFF

Well, we've actually had some great relationships with people in the evangelical sector. Not the people who you're reading about going to the White House who are trying to subvert politics in the interest of religion and they're being played vice-versa, but people who are sincerely evangelical with whom we may have very substantial disagreements on some issues, but who understand that their own ability to exercise their religion depends on my ability to exercise mine and yours to exercise yours. They appreciate that and understand that an attack on one is an attack on all, and they have been some of our best colleagues in this. We have been building these authentic relationships where we understand that we are going to disagree on matters of theology and on ultimate disposition and we may disagree on reproductive rights, but we have some very key areas where we do agree. So one of the things that's really important is to build those dialogue skills and act like a grown-up and understand that you're not going to agree on everything, just like you don't agree with everybody in your family, but you still have a way of getting through Thanksgiving dinner, usually.

It's critical to develop that ability to engage with people who we disagree with on some critical things and find the areas that we can agree. There's the brilliant idea of final-status negotiations and the idea of holding some things out for the end and not talking about it until trust has been built and there's an agreement on 80% or 90% of things. If you get to that 90% agreement, then you can get to the hard stuff and have that discussion. That makes it a much more productive discussion at that point.

PETER LAUGHARN

Larry, you've said a number of times historically, we've been through waves before, this is not new but presumably there have been more positive times as well. What leads to the shift from turbulent times to more coalescence?

LARRY KRAMER

I think the most important thing is people's perception that whatever institutions they're counting on to work for them are working for them, even when things are bad. If there's a sense of trust and faith in the institutions and in the people who are in them, people will accept quite a lot and work really hard for it. I find it really interesting, we have this whole exercise plan about listening to somebody who strongly disagrees with you. When did that become that hard? One of the interesting things about the polarization, although it's getting worse right now, it's mostly

confined to politics. So people who cannot talk about politics can go to the movies together, have dinner together, go bowling together for those who still bowl. It will get worse if we don't solve it, but it is a really interesting question. It's not really that difficult, I mean think across your own life. Why is it now so much harder to listen to somebody who voted differently than you did than it was when Ronald Reagan was elected or when Richard Nixon was elected?

PETER LAUGHARN

Is there any part of this issue or topic that people don't want to talk about? Something they don't want to admit or don't want to mention?

MERYL CHERTOFF

Well, there's the problem of tribalism. There's an expression in the Middle East: 'Me and my brother against our cousins, me and my cousins against the tribe, and me and my tribe against the world.' I mean, even my dog knew that she had to defend her pack first. So there is a little bit of that and there's a tension between that notion that we're all citizens together and we all have equal value in a polity, and that notion that obviously as individuals we have loyalties. But when we come together as a polity, then we need to view it through an equity and inclusion lens.

That's what's so difficult for people is you have to have a certain generosity of spirit to be able to make that part of your daily life. For most of us, particularly when things get tough and you've got these kitchen table issues, there's a tendency to get very clutchy. It's hard to be broad-minded when you're thinking about putting the meal on the table, where your next paycheck is going to come from, and whether you're going to be able to pay for your diabetes medication.

LARRY KRAMER

When I think of the people I know who hold these radically different views, I just think, "God they're dumb and uninformed, it's frustrating, how can they possibly think that?" But then when I or people tend to think about the people they don't know, we tend to assume bad faith. We think they know we're right and they have some really bad motive, say racism, self-interest, whatever it is, for holding the position that they do. That makes it really easy then not to really deal with it. To me, the reflection of tribalism is that presumption and that sense that, at least with political issues, there's such otherness that one can just stay angry about the whole thing. The question is how we break that down. Even if I'm willing to kind of accept and live with the people I do know and the fact that they just don't get it, as long as I'm assuming bad faith on the part of hundreds of others that I don't know and will never talk to, and on the part of the people who represent them and the government, how do we solve that problem? That's where I think if we see them treating each other a certain way, I think it can go a long way towards my being willing to do so as well.

PETER LAUGHARN

Which comes back to the question of the pluralism.

MERYL CHERTOFF

Of course, you want to model good behavior from the top. I mean, the Prime Minister of New Zealand did absolutely wonderful work after a horrible tragedy to model what a response should be. The leadership from the top here just can't be dignified with the term 'leadership' when it comes to reacting to dreadful things that have happened in this country over the last couple of years. That's someplace where the bully pulpit is really essential, and it's contributing to the degradation of the conversation.

LARRY KRAMER

Yeah, and we should come back to the social media issue because that's also really pivotal. I think of it this way: Imagine it's 1964 and somebody comes to you and says, "I have a great story I want to get out. Lyndon Johnson is running a child trafficking ring out of a pizza parlor." In 1964, how would you have gotten that out? You actually wouldn't have been able to. You could self-publish, but ten people would have seen it because you wouldn't have the resources. You could have found extremist outlets that would have published it (the John Birch Society had a paper, the Communist Party had a paper, they would have probably run it) but the only people who would have seen it would have been that small number that went far out of their way to get that stuff. The only way to reach a mass audience would have been through the devices of these mainstream media, which were responsible curators of the news and also the distributors of it. Maybe they leaned a little to the left or a little to the right. I'm actually going to say they leaned a little more to the left than they did to the right, but for the most part they were really pretty responsible and centrist so most Americans were not getting exposed to awful propaganda.

Now the technology comes along and I can produce that story myself really cheaply at a pretty high level of quality and, using the internet and social media, reach a mass audience. As that happens, the amount that's invited in goes way up because the costs have gone way down and suddenly, although most Americans are actually still looking at mainstream media, it's embedded in this wave of this propaganda, which is not so much false news as it is taking a fact and distort it and present it in a way that's designed to stoke anger and fear, and it works. Unless we solve that problem as well, it's going to be really hard. Even if our leaders begin to behave better, the media will control what people are told about how they're behaving because that's their source of getting the information. As long as that remains distorted, we've got a big problem.

PETER LAUGHARN

Apparently, in New Zealand and Australia these days, they're talking about whether social media should be licensed in the same way that other media channels are.

LARRY KRAMER

Right. Obviously need some sort of new solution but there's lots of options there, and we don't really understand the problem as well as we need to yet.

MERYL CHERTOFF

The platforms have to start absorbing some of the costs of what they do. They're making enormous amounts of money. There's the economic theory of tort, which is

that if you're making a huge amount of money on your enterprise, then you have to start internalizing costs associated with doing that. Social media platforms have really had a free rider for a very long time. I appreciate the First Amendment concerns, but there needs to be some internalization costs.

PETER LAUGHARN

Well, great, let's open it up to questions from the audience.

SUNIL ABRAHAM

My name is Sunil Abraham and I work at the Center for Internet and Society in India. My question is to Larry. Are you telling us, Larry, that it's sufficient to engage with and understand the other side, or are you advocating that philanthropists build ideological diversity into their portfolios? What happens then is, for example, if you're a media owner, some of your grantees will be actively working against other grantees. Thank you.

LARRY KRAMER

You have to hire people who believe in the work you're doing and do it, so no, I'm not advocating that you have a staff that includes people who actually fundamentally disagree with the work you're asking them to do. I'm simply asking that the people who are doing the work take the time to make sure they actually understand the people who think they're wrong, and why and how they think that.

PETER LAUGHARN

Good. Next question over here, yes?

JOHN WOOD, JR.

Hello, my name is John Wood, Jr. I work with an organization called Better Angels, and I'm very much enjoying the conversation. Mr. Kramer, you made the observation that we're not going to be able to apply family therapy towards fixing what's wrong with the problems in our culture. Working with one of the leading organizations applying family therapy to that kind of dialogue, I felt obligated to speak up. But I think I agree with you, though, that that's not a sufficient means of changing this dramatic problem. We have a national decline in our political culture. What do both of you think about applying creative means of facilitating dialogue as a method of bringing people together to instill a sort of movement culture in the direction of depolarization in our broader political society? There's so many groups actively doing something, there's so much hunger I think for that kind of transcended dialogue. What do you think about the possibility of that lending momentum to a broader cultural shift in the direction of dramatically changing the culture of things on the national level?

MERYL CHERTOFF

I know a little bit about it. Better Angels is actually a best practice model and we admire the work that you're doing fostering dialogue in communities and, as I understand it, bringing together people who have really deep disagreements. You found a way of moderating those conversations. Those are the kinds of efforts that,

if brought to scale, could be impactful in different communities, with trainer sessions and then scaling that stuff out. From my perspective, that is a model of the kind of thing that works.

LARRY KRAMER

Of course we support your work, but what I would say is the following: I'm all for it but it doesn't stick very long because when people go home, they're bombarded by the same signals, whether it's from their media or from their political leadership, so it's not sufficient but it's not bad. My academic career before going to philanthropy was focused around social movements actually, the conditions for popular government to work. That's always what interested me, and I've never seen a political movement that wasn't built on a substantive issue, not a way to do things, not a process. Even the American Revolution actually wasn't fought for democracy or republicanism, what got people going was taxes. I'm skeptical about the ability to scale it, certainly not at least without much more signaling from the top down and much better presentation of modeling of argument through the media.

PETER LAUGHARN

Any other questions?

NEIL GHOSH

Thanks, Peter. My name is Neil Ghosh of SOS Children's Village. Right up to the day of the Charlottesville rally I went to visit with a pencil and a paper. I'm not a journalist, I'm a CEO of an organization, but I was interviewing random people, white, black, kids. I was asking the same question: what would you do if you're the President of the United States to stop this thing? One of the common themes was education. Regarding top-down versus bottom-up, I think it is somewhat education, also. I think one of the things I always think about when I go to the Global Philanthropy Forum and other such events in San Francisco, is we are missing out beyond the coastline. What can we do, not just in New York and San Francisco, but also in the Midwest? Also, what are your thoughts on doing more about programs regarding foster kids, opiate prices, and so on which might be able to build more bridges?

MERYL CHERTOFF

One of the things that we're talking about is embedding these basic ideas in the education process. In public education it's always difficult, because of First Amendment issues, to get talking about religion in the schools. But the ADL has got some wonderful guidelines about how to talk about religion in the classroom without going over the line of the First Amendment. This can be done in public schools, it can be done in after school programs. Another wonderful opportunity actually is in religious education in the Sunday schools and the Friday schools and the Saturday schools that kids go to. These schools have done a terrible job in educating about the other, and that's an enormous opportunity to start bringing some of that multifaith dialogue into those schools where actually some of the worst ideas get propagated. All of these are opportunities. Again, we can pilot these things, which then if successful, can be done in the national level.

LARRY KRAMER

Yeah, clearly education is important and we need to do better at it, particularly around civics education. It's been in steady decline for 40 years, people get very little of it now, and what they get isn't very good. That is actually a focus on our education work. At the same time, when I was teaching at law school, we would teach the students ethics and how they should behave as lawyers, and then they would go to a law firm and they would experience the way it "really worked." You see that over and over again, I mean police in the academy are taught one thing and then when they're in the station house, they learn something else. It's the same thing for education. You can teach somebody up through their formal education, but if they go out in the world and the signals that they're getting bombarded with are telling them "yeah, yeah, yeah, but here's how it really works," it doesn't matter much.

But it's an important place to start. There are people that don't actually even think democracy is all that important. Well, how did that happen? I'm certain that it's very much a product of the way in which we acculturate children through the educational system. So many of them are no longer in public schools which served that purpose, and both public and non-public schools aren't really teaching civics. When they do, they focus on basics like the three branches of government and not on how amazing it is to have a democracy and what your obligations as a citizen are to keep it going.

MERYL CHERTOFF

A wonderful thing that Justice O'Connor did was iCivics, to try to get a more active engagement in civic education. One thing that we haven't hit on is the role of popular culture and getting positive messages out through popular culture. There are people in Hollywood now who are turning to that and are looking at that. There are some wonderful entertainers from minority faiths that are talking about their own experience and are being critical, and more diversifying of roles. All of that is good stuff to the extent that you can have conversations with people in Hollywood about that. There's a lot of receptiveness to that now, and I think that's another place where there's an opportunity.

PETER LAUGHARN

Now if I could ask the two of you to give the audience one takeaway, particularly what do you think that they should be doing with their philanthropy to improve the situation?

MERYL CHERTOFF

Well, some funders are already doing wonderful work in this space and others are interested in entering it. That's why at Aspen this year, we're focusing on bringing funders together through the Religious Pluralism Funders Circle. It's a place where funders can gain knowledge of what others are doing, share information and best practices, connect with each other, and seek collaboration. We think that this is a wonderful opportunity.

LARRY KRAMER

It seemed to me we touched on four issues. I'm going to add climate back in even though we didn't talk about it, but it is existential in that sense. The way democracy functions, the way our media function, and the way we are thinking about the relationship of government to society, all of you should just be working on that as some part of what you do. You can pick where to start, although I do recommend taking a little time to learn since as I said there's a lot of bad conventional wisdom out there. If all of us are working on it someplace, we'll begin to make much more progress. The amount of funding in this is vanishingly small, given the importance of the problems, and everything else you're working on is going to get undone if these institutions collapse.

PETER LAUGHARN

There you have it. Could you join me in a round of applause for our speakers?

NEW LOCALISM, NEW POWER



MONDAY APRIL 1
1:15 PM

JEREMY HEIMANS

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, PURPOSE

ASHA CURRAN

CO-FOUNDER, #GIVING TUESDAY AND CHIEF INNOVATION OFFICER,
92ND STREET Y

IN CONVERSATION WITH KATHLEEN JANUS

AUTHOR OF *SOCIAL STARTUP SUCCESS* AND LECTURER AT
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

JEREMY HEIMANS

Well hello, it's great to be here. I hope everybody enjoyed their caesar salads. I want to now move you from caesar salad to power. I want to talk to you about a different way to think about the exercise of power. This is a room where there's lots of power represented: economic power, political power, cultural power. I want to suggest that if we're going to take the mission of this conference seriously, reclaiming democracy, we might need to think very differently about the way each of us exercises power.

Let's start by telling a few stories that sort of set the scene for the context that we live in in the early 21st century. I'm going to start, unfortunately, with Harvey Weinstein. Now think for a minute about how Harvey Weinstein managed to preserve his position of power for 30 years in Hollywood, despite the fact that it was an open secret that he was conducting the spree of abuse and harassment. Many powerful men in Hollywood simply let him do it. They didn't stand up to him, even when they had that power. That's because Harvey Weinstein was a master of using power as currency. The more of it you have, the more powerful you are. He would then spend that power ruthlessly to punish his enemies, reward his friends, and reward his protectors. At the beginning of the book on *New Power*, we cite a survey taken of the people most thanked in the history of the Academy Awards, and tied for first place with Harvey Weinstein was God.

Now think in contrast about the Me Too movement and how power works in that movement, which ultimately helped to topple Harvey and it's brought about really rapid social and cultural change. The Me Too movement power doesn't work like a currency. No one person can hoard it up. It works much more like a current, something that surges. It gets more powerful the more people participate, and as the current moves, it changes. In each place that the Me Too movement has gone, new leaders have emerged, its changed shape. In France, the Me Too movement evolved to become Denounce Your Pig, which is very French. In Brazil, the Me Too movement became My First Assault, because the problem was so prolific that it didn't make sense to talk about one example of that.

Back to France. Here's a second story of our times. This is the president of France, Emmanuel Macron, a young man who emerges a little bit out of nowhere to become president of France. He does so by saying, "You're sick of the political parties of

France, you're sick of the entrenched power structure (what he called the old world). I'm here. I'm not starting a party, I'm starting a movement called En marche." He mobilized this very digitally-connected group of supporters, and he wins the presidency. But one of the earliest comments he makes in his presidency is, "You know what? I might've talked about building a movement, but actually what the French presidency needs is a more Jupiterian approach, something that's more regal, that restores respect and authority." His trajectory from this movement-builder to a very traditional authority figure has now been challenged. As fast as Emmanuel Macron emerges, the gilets jaunes movement emerges to chase him. That movement didn't come from the established political acts in France. It didn't come from the unions, or the established progressive groups who are very well-known to get up and protest in France. It came from a completely leaderless, decentralized group of people who sprung up on Facebook, rallied around this iconic idea of wearing these yellow vests, and it's taken off like wildfire throughout France and even began to spread to other parts of the world.

Third story: Aqsa Mahmood is a Scottish school girl. She grew up in Scotland. She had a pretty normal childhood. She was known for loving Harry Potter. So one day Aqsa Mahmood just disappears. A few days later she calls her parents, and she's not calling them from Glasgow, she's calling them from Syria. She'd found her way from the bus station in Glasgow to Syria to join The Islamic State. Once she got there, she became one of the most notorious and effective recruiters for ISIS. What she did is she created this intimate network of girls. She adapted ISIS' ideology, which is obviously one of misogyny and medieval theocracy, yet she adapted that ideology perfectly to attract other girls from the west to join her in Syria.

The US government then responded to the threat of Isis when it emerged several years ago in the propaganda wars. The first thing the US government does is something they had been doing for a hundred years. They scramble some fighter jets, and they start raining down leaflets on top of the heads of the civilian populations of Iraq and Syria, cartoons telling them, "Don't join ISIS." Very naughty. Then they secrete this twitter account, Think Again Turn Away in English. If you are just on the brink of joining the jihad, you probably don't want to hear from the US State Department.

So what do these three stories tell us? A young girl who, in recruiting many girls from the west, out-maneuvers the propaganda machine of the State Department. A young man who becomes president using a movement, but then abandons his movement, and has a movement threaten his very viability. And this titan of industry who ultimately is befallen by this very different kind of social and cultural phenomenon. These are three examples of what we call the difference between old power and new power.

Now, Bertrand Russell offers us a very simple definition of power. He says, power is the ability to produce intended effects. Think of all the new power as two different ways to produce intended effects. If you're a master of old power, you know how to use power in such a way that it relies on what you have, what you own, what you control, that others do not. It downloads, it commands, it is leader-driven. It thrives in systems that are closed. What we argue is that if you're going to use new power, you need a different method and a different mindset, and that all of us in the 21st century need to get our heads around what this is. New powers, as I said, isn't power's currency, it's power's current. It isn't the kind of power you can hoard up. You have to

learn how to harness its energy without controlling it. It relies on dynamics that are based on upload, that are based on sharing, that are peer-driven, and that are open.

Here is a different way to think about the difference between old and new power. Tetris the number one video game of the 20th century. Think about it as a metaphor for old power. It's a block-based game. There are blocks falling on your head. Your job is to sort them into neat rows. They get faster and faster and faster until they eventually overwhelm you. So you really can't beat the system in Tetris. You have very little agency in the system that Tetris represents. Minecraft is the number one video game of this century. Like Tetris, it's a block-based game, but in many other ways, it operates fundamentally differently. Everything in Minecraft is created by its users. You're not constrained by the system. In fact, everything is built bottom-up. The way that you get ahead in Minecraft is actually by collaborating with other users, by building things with other users.

Think for a moment about what it's like to be a kid growing up in the early 21st century and how different that is to when we were growing up. The idea of playing Minecraft all day, and what's that teaching you about your expectations around participation, your relationship to institutions. You will sense that you can shape the world in the way that you want. That brings us to this clash of values that I think are a really important feature of some of the debates about democracy and some of the declining confidence we see in democratic institutions, particularly among young people. Let's unpack this clash of values.

Before I do that, I just want to make clear: our argument is not new power good, old power bad. There are lots of contexts in which we need old power values. But what we need to reckon with is that there is a sea change in terms of norms and values that are colliding with many of these old power norms that we had relied on. So let's talk a bit about governance. We're talking about democracy at this conference, and part of the challenge is that we know there's growing distrust of institutions. There's also growing impatience with institutions and their lack of responsiveness. That's part of why we're seeing this move toward more network, more informal forms of governance, which in some ways are very hard for traditional democratic institutions to grapple with because they're not as representative. In some cases they're not even as inclusive.

We see a lot of debate about transparency, we talk about transparency a lot. But really I think what we need to reckon with is that whether we like it or not, transparency is now arriving at our doorsteps. You think about the story of Hillary Clinton. There was a campaign speech she gave to a bank in Brazil. In that space she says, "Look, politics is a messy business. Sometimes you need a public position that's a little different to your private position because that's how you get things done." I think that's a very legitimate expression of this old power norm around confidentiality discretion. Yet think of what happened to her. That speech was leaked, all of her speeches were leaked, all of her emails were leaked, and that usually had negative consequences for her campaign. As institutions, I think we all must ask, how do we occupy ourselves today before we are occupied?

There's also an assault on expertise underway in the world today. This is also a real challenge for democracy because part of traditional democratic structures rely on a civil service, rely on facts, and rely on an evidence base. And we saw, for example

in the Brexit debate, the way that was chipped away at and attacked. We saw that people said, “We’ve had enough of experts, we don’t need to listen to these economists.” Again, that makes it a real challenge for those who are defending liberal democratic values to figure out how to use these new power values.

Finally, affiliation is changing. Institutions that could rely on people to belong to them for 30 or 40 years are finding that people want to affiliate differently. They don’t want to affiliate less (arguably they actually want to affiliate more), but they do it in a way that is more transient and that requires our institutions and structures to change. Our work was originally published in Harvard Business Review. In our two-by-two matrix, we lay out the organizations in our world along two dimensions, their models and their values. Thinking about the castles quadrant (old power model, old power values): These are many of the institutions that thrived in the 20th century, some of which are now struggling, but you still see some successful strategies in this quadrant. Think of Apple. Apple maybe a technology company, but that doesn’t make it a new power company. Its model is based on the idea that there’s a product designer not far from here in Cupertino who knows what we need before we know we need it. Products that have descended from the heavens. If you look at the Apple stores, they’re based on a model of worship. The Apple logo is right where the crucifix is in a church, and it glows like a Vegas Church.

Then there are the cheerleaders: old power institutions that are evolving and adapting. They’re adopting some new power values, but their business models are fundamentally old power. Then there’s the crowds: new power values, new power models. You get two archetypes here. One is these new decentralized social movements and models. You see this with cryptocurrency, Black Lives Matter, Me Too, the gilets jaunes movement that I described. I think what’s really important to note about these movements, for philanthropy and also for democracy, is that it’s incredibly important that we develop the skills to work with them and harness their energy, and not simply ignore them because we can’t knock on the door of the Me Too movement and asked to speak to the head of it. It becomes very important to find ways that old power institutions can do relay with new power institutions in order to create both the energy that these movements give rise to, but to help push that energy into lasting change. Finally we have what we call the Coopters. These are organizations with new power models, Facebook for example, but who I would argue still have very old power values. As a result, we’re seeing that even though platforms like Facebook have produced this explosion of participation, they haven’t actually made power more distributed. They’ve actually concentrated and captured more power, which is a big challenge in our world today.

A couple of implications before we wrap up and move to the panel. The first is the most effective institutions are actually blending old and new power. We see this, whether you like it or not, with the NRA: brilliant old power model, every politician in America is terrified of it, but also a very effective new power model. They know how to release control, to cultivate the agency of millions of people who’ve signed up to that ideology. The organization I run is called Purpose. We do movement-building. We help organizations and philanthropies do that, and we’ve tried to grapple with that. We helped Mike Bloomberg start Every Town. Every Town is an attempt to combine an old power and a new power model to provide a long-term counterweight to the incredibly effective power of the NRA.

Finally, I want to really impress this on everybody: I think the future is a battle over mobilization. We’re talking about democracy here, we’re talking about preserving evidence and facts and faith in institutions. But if we’re going to do that, we’re going to have to use new power to propagate our ideas and to mobilize people. You think about an issue like climate change. Unfortunately it’s not enough for the climate scientists to be right because of climate deniers. It’s the same with the anti-vaccines against the doctors. The healthcare officials are proving much more effective at spreading their ideas. In fact, those people who are spreading hate and misinformation are actually starting at a bit of an advantage in this battle because they can say anything, they can do anything, and their trade is provocation. So the challenge that I want to put out to you is that it simply won’t be enough, at a time when our institutions are so weak and under pressure, to rely on technocratic solutions. We’re going to need to invest in new power. Those of you who are philanthropists are going to have to think about whether that means you might have to spend down some of your own power in order to build this kind of bottom up-pressure and force that I think we ultimately need if we’re going to defend the values that the people in this room care about. Thank you so much for listening. I’m now going to invite Asha Curran and Kathleen Kelly Janus to join me on stage.

KATHLEEN JANUS

Thank you, Jeremy. Welcome to our plenary, New Localism, New Power. I would also like to welcome our web audience. If you are live tweeting, you can use the #GPF19. My name is Kathleen Kelly Janus. I am a lecturer at the program on Social Entrepreneurship at Stanford University and the author of *Social Startup Success*, a book that is based on five years of research traveling the country to try and understand how the best nonprofits succeed. My experience with new power is through my co-founding of Spark, an organization of millennials who are fighting for gender equality. We are now the largest network of millennial donors in the world. So I’ve seen new power in practice, and I believe in new power to make an impact. Whether it’s Spark or Giving Tuesday or all of the inspiring examples that Jeremy and his coauthor Henry Timms write about in *New Power*, there’s no doubt that this form of civic engagement has reached a stage of credibility and influence in our society.

As Jeremy describes, new power is open, participatory and peer-driven. It has resulted in community-driven movements like we’ve never seen before, from Black Lives Matter, to the Ice Bucket Challenge, to Giving Tuesday. These grassroots movements have come at a time when, as we’ve heard throughout this morning, democracy is in many ways under threat. By localizing impact, citizens are able to find trust in movements that they are supporting and therefore affect positive change in their local communities. This begs the question, does new power take away from or bolster democracy? How can nonprofits and philanthropists leverage new power to make an impact on the causes that we all care so much about? These are some of the questions that we will explore with Jeremy Heimans and Asha Curran who’ve been on the forefront of this new power movement.

Jeremy, through his work with co-founding several online campaign groups and citizen initiatives, including GetUp!, an Australian political movement that is now larger than all of the country’s political parties combined. Asha as the Chief Innovation Officer at the 92nd Street Y and co-founder of Giving Tuesday, a global online giving

movement that has surpassed \$1 billion in giving in the US alone. So Asha, you've heard Jeremy's talk probably more than once. Tell us, is Giving Tuesday a new power movement?

ASHA CURRAN

I think Giving Tuesday is a hybrid old power and new power movement, certainly more new power than old. If you look at the values slide that Jeremy showed, you certainly see Giving Tuesday being represented much more by the new power values: wisdom of the crowd, collaboration, peer-driven, all of that. At the same time, if you think about the quadrant of the most new power movements (Occupy, Black Lives Matter, I would even stick Cyber Monday in there), they just sort of exist in the ether and are completely decentralized. I don't think that Giving Tuesday is like that. I think it's actually an incredibly unique model that is distributed rather than decentralized, but does have strong leadership whose strategy is to create even more strong leadership. I think that is an interesting thought point or lesson for movements in general: Are you creating a movement that is full of other leaders?

KATHLEEN JANUS

I think most of us are probably familiar with Giving Tuesday, and most of us have probably given to Giving Tuesday causes. Maybe you could tell us just a little bit about the structure of Giving Tuesday. One of the things I think is so interesting about what you do is that on the one hand it is a very decentralized movement, but you do that purposefully through the way that you structure the organization itself, and give ownership to leaders and communities around the world to influence how they use the hashtag.

ASHA CURRAN

I never want to assume anybody has even heard of Giving Tuesday, let alone appreciates the full scope of what it has grown to be. Essentially, Giving Tuesday was born at the 92nd Street Y. It was the brainchild of my colleague, Jeremy's coauthor Henry, and I've had the privilege of working on it since the minute it was born. It was born out of very simple, and when I look back on it an excruciatingly American, idea. It was Thanksgiving, Black Friday, Cyber Monday, and then Giving Tuesday. It was not just predicated in very American things, but also predicated in a very transactional way. We thought of it and positioned it, in the beginning, as a day to pivot from the gluttony and spending of the previous three days to giving back to the nonprofit sector. I think the distillation of that message was really important in early days for people to even understand what it was.

We made two really important decisions in the very beginning that have really shaped everything that has happened after that. One was to launch it immediately, rather than do the sort of traditional nonprofit institutional thing of running it through committee meetings for a year and doing a strategic plan and setting all kinds of KPI, and then releasing it into the world a year and three months later. I'm so glad we did that. The first strategic plan we did for Giving Tuesday was two years ago, which was six years after it was created, and it was time. But in the beginning, it would have kept it from being the moonshot that it really was.

The other thing that we decided to do was to remove all branding from Giving Tuesday. In other words, we work at the 92nd Street Y so the first logos that were created were "92Y's Giving Tuesday" or "Giving Tuesday powered by 92Y." We really fought hard against the sort of nonprofit mindset that's all about, where's my logo and where's my credit and is everyone going to know that we created this? Because we were sensing, even all those years ago, that leaving all that aside would actually promote greater participation and a sense of co-ownership and co-creation to let people take this idea and to adapt it and to make it their own.

That was a bet that was uncertain at that time, but that really paid off. It was also a bet on believing that we could use this force-multiplier of social media to harness good. Somebody said earlier that hate is easier to spread than love. I relentlessly believe that we just have to create more frameworks to spread love. Giving Tuesday, as a philanthropic movement based in the actual definition of philanthropy, which is love of humanity, has certainly spread virally. So the things that happened after the creation of Giving Tuesday, with that framework in mind, were very surprising and made me realize that we were really limited in even our own scope of what we thought could happen.

It became very hyper-local. The very first year, Baltimore decided to do a Giving Tuesday campaign that was run by one woman at a nonprofit organization who was just really excited about the idea, really loyal to Baltimore, and really wanted to do this amazing thing. She brought together the government and the local nonprofits and the local businesses and raised \$5.5 million. She was actually a harbinger of this incredible new kind of leadership that we've seen emerge from this movement, which is probably now the most important thing about Giving Tuesday.

The people who are attracted to taking it and owning it and doing something creative and collaborative with it, turn out to be a very specific type of person. Whether they're a leader like this woman in Baltimore, whether they're leaders pulling together in Bethel, Alaska, whether they're the leader of all of Giving Tuesday Russia, or Tanzania, or Brazil, or Romania, or whether they're the leader of a cause coalition around Giving Tuesday, they tend to be entrepreneurial. They tend to be risk-tolerant. They tend to be incredibly impatient for change. They tend to have no tolerance for the kind of things that we have assumed are right in this sector without questioning for far too long. And going back to the new power theory, they also tend to be leaders who lack all the traditional forms of power. They don't have a huge amount of resources at their disposal, either human or capital. What they do have is social capital. Somebody brought up Robert Putnam earlier. In the way that Putnam wrote about social networks being so key to social fabric and to democracy because they yield these norms of trustworthiness and reciprocity, that's what we're seeing with Giving Tuesday, but we're seeing it at scale. Those social networks are formed, and then they're formed and formed and formed, and then they're interconnected. The power of that is really remarkable.

At the same time as we saw Giving Tuesday go hyper-local, we also saw this incredible global spread. After a year or two, Giving Tuesday was in the US, UK and Canada. It's now in 56 countries officially, the most recent of those being Pakistan and Somalia. Again, these are leaders who are operating in unbelievably challenging circumstances. In so many of the countries that Giving Tuesday is operating, Venezuela, Slovakia, Russia, Ukraine, Brazil, places that are in crisis, they are doubling

down on it as a movement that is strengthening the very fabric of civil society. It is not, as is commonly understood here in the US to my chagrin, seen as a day that one has to delete too many fundraising emails.

KATHLEEN JANUS

Amazing. Really, really incredible work.

ASHA CURRAN

Thank you.

KATHLEEN JANUS

Imagine you hadn't gotten together with your team and said, "let's start Giving Tuesday small" ... It never would have happened. By letting go and relinquishing that control, you actually ultimately were able to unleash this incredible amount of impact. We have listened throughout the morning to two speakers who've talked about the decline of democracy and the need to engage and bolster civil society. We've seen, in so many of these new power movements, civic engagement like never before. Does that translate into democratic engagement as well? What is the intersection between new power and democracy?

JEREMY HEIMANS

I think the answer is not necessarily, and that's a problem. You think about the 2016 election. I remember this was a time when my team at Purpose were really engaged on Black Lives Matter and a whole bunch of other new power movements, but I found them generally not as motivated intrinsically by the election. I was struggling with that a little bit, but the candidates both felt very establishment. They didn't really want to play within those structures. I think one of the big challenges is making democratic participation a little bit more in sync with the style of engagement and participation that we're seeing elsewhere.

I think that's also very true of government. If we want people to engage with government in a way where they're not just protesting every four years, or you put a referendum to people and they use it as an opportunity to say no, then government needs to behave a little bit more like the platforms in people's lives. It needs to give us feedback. It needs to actually care what we have to say. It needs to give us more layered, more meaningful ways to participate that go beyond a vote. And so I think these are some of the challenges. 20th century institutions weren't made for these new forms of participation and affiliation. It makes them frustrating for many, particularly younger people who are used to participating in these new ways. They're making their own content, they're very much in charge of the terms on which they shape their world and participate in politics.

KATHLEEN JANUS

Have you seen any great examples of this in politics?

JEREMY HEIMANS

I think you see a lot of political candidates who are figuring this out, who understand now that you have to build a movement. It's striking to me that in the Democratic primary now, essentially almost all the candidates have realized they have to rely heavily on these techniques in order to get an army of small donors. I mean, that represents a major shift from even when Barack Obama ran for president. I think tactically we're seeing that, I think we don't see it as much within the democratic institutions themselves. All we see is this huge disconnect between these movement candidates and then what happens when that collides with formal democratic institutions.

KATHLEEN JANUS

So as I was traveling around the country interviewing nonprofits for my book, I heard people say again and again, "I want something viral. I want a viral video or I want a hashtag that's going to go viral." What do you recommend? I mean, Asha I'm sure you hear this all the time: "I want something like giving Tuesday for my organization." What kind of advice do you give nonprofits or philanthropists who want to leverage these forms of new power?

ASHA CURRAN

First of all, you can't make something go viral. You have to create something creative and then hope for the best. But I would also say that it reflects a really shallow understanding about the changing nature of engagement and participation to think that just because something's going to get a lot of engagement on social media, it's actually going to have a deep and profound impact or speak to people in a really meaningful way. Giving Tuesday is so meaningful, in my perspective, because it's much more than a hashtag. I think there's a big difference between a movement and a meme. Nonprofits are behind in the adoption of digital tools in general, and I think also behind in that sort of deeper understanding of how best to leverage social media. The thing I most often say is, "Try something that you never would have thought that you would've tried." Reach out to people who are either mission-aligned or non-mission-aligned so that you're not working in silos. Bring together a new creative team to think of something amazing or leverage something that is already working, but someone else is already doing. I was just having this conversation with somebody. Amongst our Giving Tuesday network of global leaders, we say there's no stealing, there's only joyful replication. Take something that has worked, and use it. Again, those are muscles we need to flex in this sector. It's not wrong to do that. Other sectors do it all the time.

JEREMY HEIMANS

There's an expression we use, which is, it's not movement if it doesn't move without you. That's actually a very different mindset from "how do I make this thing go viral?" Because that's all about your role, your agency. I think that mindset often gets in the way of things that might really have the possibility to move without you. I second that, Asha. The way to think about this work and this new power stuff is as a set of skills you need to learn alongside the old power skills that all of your

organizations know and practice well. It isn't about casting aside the old power, but it is about saying, "This is new set of muscles that I need to grow alongside the old power repertoire." And I think that's very true for philanthropy as well as for the nonprofit sector.

KATHLEEN JANUS

My four-year-old and my six-year-old were drawing the other day and the six-year-old copied the four-year-old and instead of saying she copied me, she said she was inspired by it. I thought, "That's amazing, she must have learned that in school because she didn't learn it from me." I think both philanthropy and the nonprofit sector get so bogged down in outcomes, really trying to use an outcomes-oriented approach, with the best intentions, to try to ensure that we are having the impact that we intend to have in our work. This is very much in tension with trying to not predetermine outcomes. And so how do you balance that with new power?

JEREMY HEIMANS

I think it's a real challenge because there's an intellectual temptation, particularly over the last 15 years or so, to measure everything in such a way that is not as compatible with building power, and movement-building as it might be with, say, vaccinating kids. I think it's important to think about two kinds of metrics. One you might think of as signaling metrics. These are metrics of how people are participating. Are you actually building power? If you're creating connections among people, that's intrinsically valuable because those connections among the people that you want to mobilize around the issue that you're working on are going to play out later. They're going to be valuable. The connections between those Giving Tuesday leaders build every year, which is part of why every year Giving Tuesday gets bigger. You can measure that, but it isn't outcomes-oriented, it's a signaling metric. Then there's confirming metrics. Confirming metrics are outcomes, but again, this is a social sciences problem, not a science problem. So establishing that causation for example, between a new movement that we might be involved with building on gun control and specific policy outcomes, is complicated. We've been working really hard at Purpose to figure out how you measure those things more, in part because we know how important that is within the philanthropic sector. But I think you do need a different mindset about this. The most important thing is not devaluing the idea that creating power that is not yours, but that is power in the people you're invested in on the issues you care about, is intrinsically valuable even if it doesn't immediately get you to a very specific outcome.

KATHLEEN JANUS

You've done this masterfully in Giving Tuesday. I know you have a data team and it would be very easy in your case to talk about vanity metrics: clicks and number of dollars raised, but you go beyond that. How do you do that?

ASHA CURRAN

That's actually the least important stuff to me. First of all, I'd say from a strategic perspective, what you just said is overly kind because in the beginning we really didn't want to think about metrics at all past something like, "we want to get a hundred

nonprofits to sign up for this thing in 60 days." We deliberately took this wild leap of faith that people would be attracted to generosity as a universal human value, and what that could lead to was a mystery. We liked it that way. I think there's outcomes and outputs and KPIs that can hem you in because then you're only trying to achieve those. With Giving Tuesday, we have always wanted to achieve what we can't even see over the far horizon. So I think there's a place for it, and there's also a place for just being extremely ambitious.

Yet data has become a big part of Giving Tuesday because of a slightly different thing. We're not trying to prove how great Giving Tuesday is or how much money is donated on it. It's great that money's donated on Giving Tuesday. I'm not saying that's not an important thing. NGOs do important work, they need resources to do it, they're forming the foundation of civil society, all of that. But clicking a donate button or writing a check is one tiny sliver of what Giving Tuesday accomplishes. I'm much more into measuring the other things and especially the long tail effects.

In a community, whether that's an entire country, a small town, or a coalition of social justice organizations, we promote generosity in its mega frame, not as the transaction of giving money, but thinking about generosity in terms of the way that we treat other on a daily basis. Are we treating other people with empathy, with kindness, with respect? If I asked anybody in this room, "Who's the most generous person you know?" nobody would say the person they know that writes the biggest checks. In fact, sometimes that's really not true. Our interest is in measuring the other pro-social behaviors that are generated by increased generosity, and certainly the other civic participatory behaviors that are created by increased generosity.

JEREMY HEIMANS

This is where you need that relay, that partnership between old power and new power. If you think about wanting to get anything done (big policy change, big cultural change), you're going to need the combination. Take an issue like criminal justice reform. There's a lot of work to be done just to increase the salience of that issue. To actually put it on the agenda, to make it impossible to ignore, new power is going to play a critical role given the current context of how ideas spread. In order to achieve, for example, a very specific outcome in a state legislature in the United States, you're going to need an old power strategy, but ideally you're going to need those things to be done in coordination. You need to really be working together strategically from the beginning within an ecosystem rather than being suspicious of each other, which is what I think we see in a lot of movements that we're part of, from the climate movement to the work around refugees and immigration. In all of these cases you've got this disconnect between those who are in institutions and those who are in movements.

KATHLEEN JANUS

I think that's exactly the tension. Another trend we've heard today is that people don't want to talk to people they don't agree with, and I think that can often happen at an institutional level. How do we level that playing field between old power and new power? Do you have any great examples of new power movements partnering with old power for positive change?

JEREMY HEIMANS

I think the Me Too movement is interesting because I think what happened there is you get this huge burst of new power activity that just spreads like wildfire in many directions. Then certain leaders say, "Let's not try to coopt that and create 'Me Too Inc.'" They don't do that, which would have been a mistake. But what they do is they create Time's Up. Time's Up is an institutional outlet for that energy that pursues specific programmatic objectives, but that does not seek to become the movement. The women's march was a brilliant example of a new power phenomenon. Someone started a Facebook page. The next thing you knew there were women's marches in hundreds of cities around the world. Millions of people participated. I think then creating "Women's March Inc" limits the scope for a movement like that, rather than thinking a little bit about how you can do those things in parallel but in coordination.

ASHA CURRAN

I think another way of bringing in some new power values to the traditional institutional framework or structure is in rethinking our relationship to the whole idea of expertise, and where there's a place for that and where we need to rethink it. If I'm getting a root canal, I want an expert to be doing my root canal. But when I think about philanthropy, if I think about the sector, I think what I see is still an extremely ingrained hierarchical structure where some people are seen as the experts and other people are seen as needing that expertise. I think what I see with the Giving Tuesday ecosystem and contrast is this incredible peer learning structure that is flat. It's lateral. It's not that nobody is an expert, it's that everybody is. Everybody has something to bring to the table. Everybody else has something that they need. What that structure forms is the norm within that social network or group of transparency and mutual support and sharing and openness of best practices, where in the nonprofit world, traditionally, you're going to find hoarding of all of those things.

KATHLEEN JANUS

We have to end on a positive note. What gives you hope?

JEREMY HEIMANS

I think that there is enormous hope in those people who are figuring out how to use new power to spread love, to spread compassion. When I think about moments like that moment in 2015 where the Syrian boy Alan Kurdi tragically washes up ashore, the photograph of his lifeless body spreads and it's a very new power response. This idea of 'Refugees Welcome' sweeps Europe. You've got people starting to show up in train stations with flowers, greeting and welcoming refugees. That movement actually played a key role in the refugee resettlement commitments that followed including the very significant commitment by Merkel to resettle a million refugees.

Of course I can all hear you thinking, well then what happened? Because there was a rise of far right populism and anti-immigration sentiment that arose in response to that. But I think that really highlights for me the stakes of this work. We're going to be in this battle. This question of who can mobilize best is so important. That's why I think the role of philanthropy is not just investing in technocratic solutions, but investing in this capacity to mobilize, and learning how to fund that and get

comfortable with that, is so important. I can assure you that on the other side of these debates, there are both very powerful interests and very well-resourced financial interests that are spreading some of the values that I think most people in this room are very afraid of spreading.

KATHLEEN JANUS

That's a great call to action. Asha?

ASHA CURRAN

I think all of the terrible things that may be said about social media are all true. But one thing that I feel like I've been very moved by in the past year or two is the rate at which untold stories are being told and people are making their voices heard and are telling those stories, whether it's unpleasant for others to hear them or not. The other thing I would say is, my daughter is 17 and I feel like people wring their hands over that generation and say they're not giving enough, they're on TV and social media and video games too much. We're just not understanding the way that they engage. They care very deeply and they're actually incredibly engaged, just not in the ways that we recognize. I see in her generation an absolute almost blasé inability to even think of tolerating the injustice that previous generations did. And that gives me hope.

KATHLEEN JANUS

I agree. I see it in our students at Stanford as well. There's no longer these sort of lines between going into the for-profit sector to make money, and going into the nonprofit sector to do good. Everybody sees it as their duty and obligation to contribute to the world and make the world a better place. It's our job to give them the tools to do that. Thank you so much. Please join me in thanking Jeremy and Asha.

DATA AND DEMOCRACY—WHO SAYS DIGITAL TECHNOLOGIES ARE DEMOCRATIZING?



MONDAY APRIL 1
2:00 PM

STEPHEN KING
CEO, LUMINATE

SANDOR LÉDERER
CO-FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR, K-MONITOR

SEAN MCDONALD
CO-FOUNDER, DIGITAL PUBLIC AND CEO, FRONTLINESMS

IN CONVERSATION WITH LUCY BERNHOLZ
SENIOR RESEARCH SCHOLAR, STANFORD UNIVERSITY PROGRAM ON
PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Good afternoon everyone, and welcome to the plenary on Data and Democracy: Who Says Digital Tech Are Democratizing? I'm Lucy Bernholz from the Digital Civil Society Lab at Stanford. It's my pleasure to be joined on stage by Stephen King, CEO of Luminare, Sandor Léderer, the co-founder and director of K-Monitor, and Sean McDonald, who is co-founder of Digital Public and CEO of Frontline SMS. I want to also welcome our live streaming audience, and encourage all of you who are tweeting to use the hashtag #GPF19. The conference as a whole is talking about reclaiming democracy. The title of this session is Who Says Digital Tech Are Democratizing? I want to actually start by getting a little honest. I think it's probably fair to guess that just about every single person in this room, until a few years ago, would have been in the camp of those who say digital tech are democratizing. But there's been a real sea change of awareness by many of us about the challenges of digital technologies, and the challenges they may actually be playing for our democracies.

We also have to be honest about who has known this for a very long time. There are very important populations of people in our democracies who've known for a very long time that digital tech came with all kinds of limitations. Specifically, the night that Mike Brown was murdered on the streets of Ferguson, Missouri, within hours there was a very clear line of communication that what was being talked about on Twitter, was not the same as what was being talked about on Facebook, was not the same as what was being covered in the broadcast media. This was content moderation brought to the public eye. But there's other people who have been aware of the challenges of digital technology for democracies, at least as we understand those two things. There are educational technology researchers who would have told you, 10 years ago, about the discriminatory possibilities. There are media scholars who have been looking at these systems for a long time. There are people, some of them may be here in this room, who have been part of the #KeepItOn Coalition, which is 70 organizations around the world who have been fighting internet shutdowns for several years now. There's nothing automatically democratizing about these technologies. What we're

here to talk about today is, if we've gone from one end of a pendulum to another. My three colleagues here on the stage are all each directly involved in ways that are focused on, I would argue, trying to make digital technologies useful for the pursuit of certain democratic purposes. I think we all stand to learn something from that.

But before we get to my colleagues here, I want to take this apart a little bit. Two phrases: "digital technology," and "democracy." Because we can talk about these things at a level of abstraction that I don't think gets us very far. I'm going to do this partly because we're going to talk a little bit about what seem like either polar opposites or tensions. I want to just put some of the language out on the table here. When we talk about "democracy," people have in their minds all kinds of things, from basic freedoms (freedoms that are protected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights), to expression and association, to privacy. Those are important values. You might have in your mind principles of democracy, whether that be about participation, or accountability and scrutiny. We'll want to think about where technology fits in on those things. Then there's also core social values at work here, sort of muddled into the catchphrase "democracy." Things like justice or equality, some really important concepts that are not all the same thing.

Then, on the digital technology side ... I run something at Stanford called the Digital Civil Society Lab. We're often trying to get people to really come back with us to the very beginning, to the very first principle, and to understand two things. One: we live in an age in which we should assume that these technologies, this whole system from data to the political economy of the companies, is at work in whatever we're doing. Two: digitized data as an economic resource are as fundamentally different from money as water is from land. You've heard Jeremy and Asha and Kathleen Kelly talking about "current versus currency." Far too many of our frame-limiting misassumptions have been based on the idea that we can use data like money.

That's not to say you can't make a whole lot of money off of data. Welcome to Silicon Valley, people have figured that out. But digitized data and money are two fundamentally different things. They're different economic resources. At the Lab, we think there are four domains of change that we all need to be engaged in as we try to adapt to this fundamentally different economic resource and adapt our institutions, including our democracies, to them. One of those four domains, and my colleagues will talk about each of them, are actual technologies. Things like encryption have a fundamental connection to values like privacy.

There's organizational forms, and we'll hear about both whole new forms of organizations that are being created, as well as existing organizations, like your foundations, that need to figure out how to actually govern this fundamentally new resource. There are legal changes, and we'll talk a little bit about the policy environment that matters. If you understand that you're dependent on digital technologies, then you'd also understand that the rules and regulations that shape that digital realm, the policy frames of intellectual property and telecommunications, are now the policy frames that matter to civil society and philanthropy. Finally, the social behavior that each of us engages as we interact with these technologies, whether that's how we actually use our own telephones, or whether or not we pursue some kind of responsible data practices when we're at work. There's four domains, and the work that Stephen, Sean, and Sandor are leading engages all of them.

That's plenty from me. I want to get right to my colleagues here. Stephen, tell us what it is you're doing at Luminate on this question of data and democracy. Which of those many values and challenges you are actually trying to address?

STEPHEN KING

Great. Thank you, Lucy. Just very briefly, Luminate is a global philanthropic organization which is funded by Pierre Omidyar, the founder of eBay. We've just been around for about year, but we came out of the Omidyar Network. We were part of the Omidyar Network's Governance and Citizen Engagement Program. This is, I suppose, a 10-year journey we've been on. We were proud to say, but also kind of ashamed to say, that we were one of the first enthusiasts in the philanthropy world around the role of technology, or the potential role of technology within democracy. I think we've gone on a journey where we were the shiny-eyed Silicon Valley enthusiasts back in 2009. I remember talking to colleagues and saying, "Of course everybody in Nigeria will have a mobile phone. Internet penetration's going to grow exponentially, and then of course, it will happen that governments will be held to account. People will be waking up in the morning and checking their mobile phones for their national budgets," and so on. Of course, that never happened.

One thing that has happened, of course, is the ubiquity of the mobile phone and those connections. I'll talk a little bit later about some of the positive effects that I think technology has had in democracy. But I think what we're also seeing, and particularly what the last couple of years has shown us, has been the negative effects as well, particularly within the technology platforms. I think in the early years (the Arab Spring was a good example), there was a lot of enthusiasm around the role that technology could play of putting people together, of amplifying and putting people in touch with each other in a way that they had never really had before. But I think even at that time, we saw some of the negative effects. The governments very quickly realized that these tools could also be used for surveillance. If you go into one person's Twitter feed, you immediately find out who else they're connected to, and it's very easy then to go and to surveil that whole group.

I think right from the start there were dangers, and government was also very good at finding ways in which they could tap into those networks. I think what we've seen in the last couple of years is that this has become an art in itself, partly because of the changes in business models. In "Surveillance Capitalism," Shoshana Zuboff writes very eloquently about the digital exhaust that is produced by all of us in our online behavior, our searches, and so on. That behavioral surplus has now become the dominant business model for Facebook, for Google, for Twitter, and so on. If we go back five to ten years, these companies were seen as forces for good. I think that has disappeared quite quickly. Individuals are now much more concerned about their own control and agency over their data. We don't talk about it as "ownership." I think that's a misnomer. But I think people now are much more conscious about having, or would like to have, control and agency over their own data.

What we've also seen, I think, is deliberate misinformation, manipulation, and so on, as we've heard throughout the day today. The impact on elections, the way in which information and disinformation has been spread by social media. I think there's a geopolitical angle to this as well, which we're also seeing: now Russia and China are using these tools to deliberately undermine liberal democracy. Russia, I think, is doing

it from a position of weakness, to distract from the weakness in its own economy and so on, and is looking at ways in which it can undermine liberal democracy in Europe, in the U.S., and elsewhere. China is looking at it more from an economic and longer game, I think, to try and get countries involved in the Belt and Road Initiative, and in a much more China-dominant economic force in the future. I think what you're also seeing here with China is state surveillance, and the models of state surveillance now being exported to other countries. Larry Diamond, who we heard from this morning, talks in a recent article about the way in which CloudWalk Tech, a Chinese company which has exported surveillance materials to Zimbabwe, partly to build up its own database of facial recognition software, but also to support and export that kind of authoritarian surveillance materials to other countries in the developing world, as well. That's a phenomenon that we're now seeing, which we couldn't have anticipated maybe five years or so ago.

I don't want to give an impression that it's all doom and gloom. Where we have seen successes, and where we have seen real breakthroughs, have been in a range of different technologies that have been used. I know we have one of our investees here from South Africa, Amandla.mobi, which is a fantastic example of grassroots, community-based organizations organizing using mobile phones. 250,000 of them in Johannesburg, and in other towns, are now using the mobile phones to help people organize at a community level. We've also seen, in Brazil, NOSSAS, which has been written about a lot, which is combining the offline and the online platforms: Online platforms to help people organize, but also offline activity to pressurize government to make changes, whether it's around environmental impact assessments, police security, helping to avoid school closures, and so on. I think what we shouldn't forget is that technology has this massive potential. We are seeing examples throughout the world where it is being used as a democratizing force, but of course now, as people become more aware of the negative aspects of it, there is this concern that it is having a very negative impact on the democratic discourse and conversation.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Sandor, in your work in Hungary, you're focused most specifically on anti-corruption efforts. You've found a lot of ways that various uses of digital data and digital technologies are helpful to you in doing that work. Tell us a little bit about the work of K-Monitor, and where you're sitting on this balance of how to design your use of technologies in a way that is democracy-enhancing.

SANDOR LÉDERER

Thanks so much for having me. A few sentences about the organization. It's a small, five-person organization which was founded 11 years ago. It started with a tech project that was about building a database and a map of corruption in Hungary to inform citizens. It's a very common way of using technology in the anti-corruption sector. Since then, I think technology always remained a key tool for us in our operation, not because we always thought that technology would solve the problems, but because we understood somehow that without using technology effectively, we have a much more difficult job to achieve things we want to achieve.

I would like to tell you three areas where I think this is relevant in terms of this context of data and democracy. One is access to information. Of course, we keep working on

these very classical ways of opening up government data, opening up spending data, to inform citizens, to help investigative journalists. We ourselves use aggregating tools to monitor public procurements, let's say. But besides this very classical approach, there are two topics we started to engage with, which is, I think, very much showing the risks of technology coming in. One is the transparency of algorithms. There was so much spoken about Hungary in the beginning of this conference, so I don't have to give you a background about the country. We have a government that is getting more and more authoritarian, and it's starting to understand how it can use technology to maintain its power to do surveillance, look at citizens, do profiling, and so on. There's absolutely no legislation on what algorithms can do, whether they should be transparent, whether you have access to the source code, about who controls their work, whatever. This is one area we started engaging with, because I think this will become crucial for the next years.

Another such topic is political and government advertisement on social media. Two-thirds of the population are on Facebook, and the government party massively uses Facebook to communicate. In Hungary, the main source for propaganda are not the Russians, it's our own government. Imagine that fake news, disinformation, comes from the government, and one primary channel, besides their own media, is social media. Of course, we sued the Hungarian government to receive information on how much they spent and how the campaigns were made. Of course, it would be much, much easier if Facebook and Google and all these other companies would simply publish this information. I know that there have been steps made in this direction, but I think we are still very far away from this becoming common. I think it could be a huge problem for many authoritarian leaders if this data would be, above all, transparent, and NGOs would not have to fight for it.

The second issue is IT capacities. There are very, very few NGOs who actually know how they can benefit from technology, and also what threats technology can pose and how they could more efficiently advocate based on data, but also how the wrong use and storage of data can actually harm their constituencies. We started a program to do mentoring and workshops for investigative journalists, citizens, and other NGOs, but we realized that this is simply not enough. Maybe there is a bit of greater knowledge in this regard, but NGOs simply don't have the capacities and the money to hire a coder or an IT company. It's two, three, or four times as expensive to have a tech person in your organization than a regular NGO employee. As far as I know, there's almost no NGO in Hungary that has internal IT capacities.

The third area is a bit what Stephen mentioned: what these technologies can mean in empowering citizens and even building communities. We see how business services like Uber or Airbnb have become powerful, but we simply don't see the tools that would enable, let's say, the creation of a union of taxi drivers, or people who simply cannot afford to get a flat in the city for affordable prices, because all the flats are now on Airbnb and someone is making business out of it. Back to the Hungarian context, we also saw that democratic backsliding could happen because the democratic institutions did not have a real connection with citizens. Nobody really felt ownership over the institutions, so we have to somehow rebuild democracy, or at least allow citizens to have democratic experiences.

I think the local level is a very good area where you can contribute to change, even if you have authoritarian governments and political forces on the national level. You

can help people to self-organize, have a say in things that matter to them, and show good examples. Once they see that the local government publishes all kinds of data and allows them to participate in certain decisions, they will ask themselves why the national government doesn't do it. Why can't we have a say in bigger and other things? To summarize, I think these are three main areas that not only K-Monitor, but many small NGOs on the ground, are dealing with these days when it comes to data and democracy. I think it very much also shows how we have to deal with both the threats and the opportunities these technologies mean.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Thanks, Sandor. There's a really important connection that comes out of that story, that I think segues to Sean: It's a good step to be able to use digital technologies to make information more available to individuals, but it's also the legal infrastructure of the access to information knowledge, that whole set of policy domains, that also has to be pushed on and changed, perhaps even more so, in an age of digitization of public information. Sean, in your work to start Digital Public, it seems to me (and you'll tell the story far better than I can) that part of what you're after is reimagining the technology of the institutions that exist to manage data across its lifecycle, from beginning to whatever the end might be, and really think of it as not quite as a commodity but as a resource that needs to be managed with whole new institutional structures within a legal context. Tell us more.

SEAN MCDONALD

Yeah, absolutely. I think one of the things that occurs to me, which draws a lot on the point that you made initially, is that when we talk about democracy, so often we conflate it with freedom. What we think is, "It's exciting that we can now do all of these things that we couldn't do before." But democracy is largely about ensuring the things that we do result in the public good, through a process of compromise and common participation and control. I think that common infrastructure of control, whether you think of it as networked power or new power or as very institutional power, is something that in an age of digitization has changed fundamentally.

Whereas you may originally deal with one organization to do something, you are now dealing with them, their digital suppliers, maybe someone in a public/private partnership, and the terms of service agreements that chase that all the way down. You may find that one of your partners was acquired halfway through your project, and so their legal infrastructure changed, or the terms of their data licensing changed. All of a sudden, we're moving from the individual unit to almost a supply chain of units, and figuring out what is the supply chain of our influence? To Stephen's point, privacy scholarship has in many ways moved from blanket prohibitions on data sharing to ensuring contextual appropriateness of data sharing. GDPR focuses on consent but also on legitimate purpose, which is to say that we agree that there are individual and group interests and sometimes, group interests will trump individual interests. But what we don't have in most digital spaces is the infrastructure, whether regulatory, self-regulating, or legal of any stripe, to ensure that we are able to move that promise of agency in a consistent way throughout that supply chain.

Digital Public started from that as a problem. Where we came to was looking at trusts. Trusts, for those of you that don't know them, are a thousand-year-old legal tool. They

are actually from the UK. They started during the Norman Invasion, so very apropos for reclaiming democracy. Basically, what they act as is an organizational power-of-attorney. Without getting super into it, basically what happens is you put an asset into a trust. That might be data, it might be money, it might be the right to use data in a particular circumstance. Then you bring people in to govern how that will be used, or how that might go forward. What you find, and I think one of the most interesting revelations since we started working in Digital Public, is that we are all digital political scientists. Whether you know it or not, you are a data governor. Now, if you've never thought about yourself that way, you are probably a data autocrat.

If you spend a lot of time thinking about how you do that (you share only with a couple of people, you make sure it is for things that you want), you're probably a data plutocrat. Then, if you've built the organizational infrastructure to adjudicate disputes, to bring on decision-making authority from outside organizations, and to meaningfully interact in a way that promotes the interests of your community in the way that your digitization decisions are made, then you're probably getting closer to this idea of reclaiming some form of democracy through technology. To your point, it's not about money. But it is very much about tracing our relationships, and how it is we build common expectations and enforcement through mutuality of the promises that we make to each other in digital relationships.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Leaving aside the digital aspect for just one second, all three of you have talked interspersed about the responsibilities of people, which is a big part of a democratic system, and the responsibilities of legal systems or institutions. I want to break that into a two-part question for each of you, starting again with Stephen. What is it that Luminare most thinks the individuals in this room and people around the world need to be able to do in order for us to use digital technologies for democracy? What is the people's responsibility?

STEPHEN KING

I think what's changed over the last couple of years, particularly in the wake of the Cambridge Analytica scandal and various other abuses of power and data and technology, is that people are much more aware around what control they have over their own digital footprints, over their own data, and so on. I think one of the things that we need to think about now, and one of the things that we're advocating as an organization, is a Data Bill of Rights. What that will mean is greater transparency over who controls your data. At the moment, we're all aware of the consent where we scroll down, and we tick the box, and then off we go. I think there is now much more awareness of that, so people are much more concerned. Obviously, we've seen abuses, even regarding the tragic events in Christchurch, where technology has been used in tragic and terrible ways. I think the uses and abuses of people's data and information, people are much more aware of now. One aspect is around transparency, the second is around privacy, and the third is around competition. I saw Mark Zuckerberg mention the other day that they are open to regulation. The work that needs to be done to both regulate the platforms, and also potentially to break them up, is something that is now becoming much more at the forefront.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Sean, what is it that people need to be able to do differently? What do we need to be able to understand, or what is it that we all need to make sure we know, if we don't know it already?

SEAN MCDONALD

I think it's the old wisdom around "If you want to go fast, go alone. If you want to go far, go together." I think we've been going fast for a while. I think we're really learning how solitary, and in some ways how competitive, that has become. Investing in harmonization and going together, focusing on adoption over the newness, over representation, over being the first to pilot or being the first person to write your list of principles. It is a sea change, a little bit, in the way that many of us are primed into the space. I think it is extraordinarily difficult to hold the space, to figure out who your coalition is, before you take that next step.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Sandor, what about for you?

SANDOR LÉDERER

I think we still need a lot of education in this regard. I mean, I think a lot of us are still not aware of how data affects our lives, what threats they pose. I think we're at a super-basic level. There is a lot of technology, a lot of knowledge, out there for a very few. For the many, it's still like ... imagine if you buy a microwave oven. You have a user's manual, and you get at least the basics to understand what the threats are if you use this machine. If it comes to regulation, I think there should be plain language in explaining, when you register on a social media platform, This, and this, and this data of you will be shared with these people, and this can happen to you, if you go on the platform." This is just one example, but I think we are really at the basis of explaining these issues to many.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

With that list of changes for democratic citizens, or for citizens to be able to participate in a democracy in a digital age, what are the structural changes that you're looking for? A Bill of Rights is a little bit of both, but what else is Luminata pushing for that's either a structural or a regulatory re-think, or an institutional innovation?

STEPHEN KING

I think that greater scrutiny and oversight of platforms is something that's hugely needed. I think GDPR is a start, but I think there is also the potential to help other governments navigate this field. For example, we work in Myanmar. Of course, we've heard many examples of where hate speech has been amplified by Facebook in Myanmar. Now, the government there wants to do something about it, but is hopelessly ill-equipped. I think the danger to us and to others, and civil society organizations in the country have expressed this, is that government then uses this as a tool for censorship. You've got the tension between freedom of speech and regulation which will help to avoid some of the abuses and excesses that we've seen.

SEAN MCDONALD

I wrote an article that was published in November of last year in Foreign Policy, which essentially centered around a term called "digitale politique." It is the idea that these are all contested spaces. So much of what I see happen in conversations around regulation, around anti-trust, around particular things that we all are concerned about in one form or another ... The institutional powers that exist do not necessarily exist to do what we want them to. You may or may not, for example, agree with European regulators that any of the American Big Five must be broken up. It is a completely separate question of what happens when a European regulator is able to go in and dismantle an American company, as an expression of authority.

I think that we have to be really clear with ourselves when we are passing new laws, or requesting new regulation, or ascribing to new statements of law, or any of the forms of behavioral regulation that we're talking about inside of digital spaces, so we're not just asking, "How do we want to change your behavior?" We're asking, "Who do we want to have the authority to change your behavior?" To your point earlier about Russia and China and certainly the EU: There are a number of new philosophies, essentially, emerging for how data and digital rights should play out on the internet. The tensions are not just, do we agree or disagree? It's not just, are we going to get the most votes together? It's that these are very existential philosophies about exercise of power in contested spaces.

To answer the question, I think that institutions are already starting to look at how can they disproportionately compete. How can they maximize the power of their advantages? This is a natural assumption, but so much of what is already starting to happen, for example with GDPR, is the one-stop shop, this idea that Europe will go together, is starting to fray in implementation. You're starting to see the French courts, and German anti-trust regulators, among many others. Ireland's DPA has certainly granted some interesting authorities across the continent. These are all contested spaces. I think at the institutional level, what I'm hoping is that we will include more of the power dynamics explicitly in the conversations that we have about policy. I generally don't see us including it as, "Yes, we agree that this company is doing something wrong, or something right, and I do or do not think that this authority should be the one to step in."

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Yeah. Sandor?

SANDOR LÉDERER

I think there is not a single solution. If you look at the times when social rights were established, everybody knew that there was a problem that workers have no rights, many said that they knew what the solution is, but in the end, there were many different ways that led to the development of worker rights. I think it's a bit similar in regards that we don't know what the best solution is, and I'm not sure that there is a solution that works for every situation. There can be situations where local legislation, or a country's legislation, can solve one problem. Sometimes, you need a regional solution, and GDPR is going in this way. Then, you would need also global standards to be developed in this regard.

It's also about the actors. Of course, it's governments and international institutions that can play a role here. Also the tech companies have to be forced to do self-regulation. I'm not sure that this will be the solution, but why not experiment with this and work on this, as well? Also, empower citizens and support civil society organizations that somehow bring together people in stepping up for their own rights when it comes to data, or when it comes to social media. I'm not sure that there will be a union of Facebook users that can force Mark Zuckerberg to do this or that, but at least if there are attempts to gather those users of Facebook, or those who have their data on Google or Facebook, and all the other companies, that's an interesting method. I think we have to experiment with these approaches, and we'll see what works better, and what doesn't work.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Well, just in case it wasn't complicated enough, as you've all pointed out, we've got a set of global challenges and we don't have a global rule-making mechanism. That's an over-simplified way of pointing to what you've said. We've all pointed to, "Well, people need to do things differently. Governments need to do things differently. The tech companies need to do something differently." What about us? What of philanthropies, philanthropists, non-profits, civil society organizations? It seems illogical that they can just continue to function the way they've been functioning for however long they've been around, when everything else is in so much turmoil. So what do philanthropists need to be able to think about differently, or do differently? I mean this on any one of at least two levels. One is within their own organization, whether that's about data governance or digital literacy skills. The other is collectively, in their contribution in this space, and what it's supposed to hold for democracy. How do we think about that? What do we need to do differently to use digital data and digital technologies in support of democracy, and not in pursuit of efficient document management (which we're all getting better at I'm sure)?

STEPHEN KING

I think for us, one of the things that we are much more aware of now is our responsibilities to our grantees, in developing countries particularly and in authoritarian regimes, to provide them with digital security training, and also to be respectful of how we manage their data. I think unwittingly, and of course, there's been many examples where organizations have been hacked. Data can go astray. Data can be leaked, and so on. If we are working with human rights defenders and people who are in vulnerable positions, we need to really up our own game in terms of how we manage their data, but also how we equip them with the skills to protect themselves, as well. I think there are still many organizations there that don't have those. It's sometimes costly to put in encryption, and so on. But those are the kind of things they need to think about.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Is that an ongoing set of relationships, then, and something you're budgeting for because it goes on forever and you're not just ticking a box?

STEPHEN KING

Indeed. Regarding what philanthropists can do, we co-fund with many other organizations, many of them who are in this room (OSF, Hewlett, MacArthur, and so on). There is, I think, a joint collective responsibility, and also an opportunity, to put pressure on platforms and on governments in the countries in which we work.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

That advocacy and policy influence role, specifically around the digital political economy, if you will. Great. Sean?

SEAN MCDONALD

The easiest answer to say is "diligence," right? We talk about ourselves as indicative or recognizing of good practice, but we started this by saying 10 years ago, we were probably all people who would have been the problem. I think that a lot of what we need to invest in is, one, longer time horizons. The things that you create during the life of your grant, or the life of your philanthropy, will live on both as a potential source of value, and as a potential source of the data trash island that is living in the middle of the world. We need to figure out how we're positioning people that we support and empower to play a positive role in that process, and in determining what those assets may turn into, whether they're values or liabilities. I think that the second piece I would say is that philanthropy, in a lot of really interesting ways, models giving away resources, giving away some form of agency. Now, lots in the details there. We're now at this moment which is also very interesting that's happening around data: "What do I need? What can I share? What can I share in a competitive way, and in a non-competitive way?"

Just a final idea here is the idea of a confidence interval. For those of you that are not deeply mathematical, nor am I, a confidence interval is essentially an indication of how much confidence you should put in a particular solution based on how well you know the variables, how clean and high-quality your data, how complete the information that you have to make a decision is, and how effective your implementation arm is. Confidence intervals in digital systems, particularly in data governance and digital policy, are something that is largely under-explored. I think that we have this idea that any data, that some data, is good data, and have forgotten in many instances Mark Twain's very pithy response to that. I would just offer this idea that when we see the emergence of data as affecting democracy, the first thing that we should do is interrogate the confidence interval.

SANDOR LÉDERER

I'd rather talk from the small civil society organization perspective. I think what we can do is try somehow to move forward in this situation. For us, it means find partners. As I said, the civil society sector is very underfunded, or has very little capacities, when it comes to tech, especially small organizations. What we started to do is build a volunteer community of tech people, data people, IT companies, that give away resources in their free time, in their free capacities, to support civil society organizations. Of course, it's not an easy job, simply because having a coder doesn't mean that you get a problem done. But we can build this community of people who

are able to manage projects, who can actually write the code, and who know about the problem that has to be solved. Often, techies come with whatever ideas, but it simply doesn't resonate with reality, or what the organizations on the ground are facing. For us, the importance is somehow to solve this situation by building these communities of practice on the ground.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

That's wonderful, thank you. There's still a great need for philanthropic support of the tech functionality, the security trainings, and so on. There's also this larger understanding of what the resource is capable of, and the political economy in which it exists, which strikes me as an organization-wide set of understandings, not just something you can depend on (if you're lucky enough to have one) Bob the IT guy for. It's a much more complex set of questions. Now we're supposed to open this up for questions.

PETER EIGEN

Thank you very much. I'm very excited about this discussion. I'm Peter Eigen. I'm the founder of Transparency International. You have raised the question earlier, who should be entrusted with the responsibility to regulate information technology? Let me share with you our experience with fighting international corruption. 25 years ago, we had exactly the same problem. Nation-states were unable to deal with international corruption. Everybody was participating, allowing their own citizens to bribe everywhere in the world, including Germany, and so on. It took a small NGO at the time, probably as small as yours in Hungary right now, to basically create a multi-stakeholder approach to this issue. Now, international corruption is prohibited. It's not extinct yet, but it's still prohibited. I think my answer would be very similar to the question "Who should be entrusted to deal with the primacy of politics over the market in information technology?" My answer would be this is clearly an issue of global governance, which cannot be solved at the national, at the regional, at the communal level. Everybody has to contribute to it.

At the global governance level, we have to recognize that nation-states have lost their capacity to take this role. There are at least three asymmetries. One is in terms of global reach, where the states simply don't have the reach they need in order to deal with large companies. There's the question of the time horizon, which has been raised earlier in the discussion, where the decision-makers at the national level, in particular in democracies, have to think of maintaining power during the electoral periods of three, four, five years. When you deal with climate change for instance, as the previous panel did, this is not a matter of three, four, or five years. This is a matter of generations. The whole time horizon of the decision makers and issues they have to deal with is totally out of whack.

The third one, of course, is the incredible diversity of the constituencies of the power at the national level. Our answer to that, and I think we can look back at a very positive experience, is the powerful role of civil society organizations. That is exactly a role which we are presently losing. Limited space, harassment, imprisonment, killing of civil society activists, and also a question of how one can fund civil society in a way without destroying their independence and credibility. I think if the philanthropic

community could focus on addressing these two issues, trying to counteract the limited space, and helping to create a basic funding provision for eligible civil society organizations, that would be a very powerful way of dealing also with governance and the information technology.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Thank you. There wasn't a question in there, but I'll ask a question related to the comments, which is how do you each think about the roles that digital technologies are playing in being used to close civic space? We talk about these things as if they're parallel, but if you just think about internet shutdowns, there's a very easy example there. I'm curious, in your daily work, if that relationship has factored into the way you think about either funding civil society organizations, or structuring yourselves as one?

STEPHEN KING

China's role in exporting surveillance is another example. Also, the whole issue of social credit scores, which is now becoming a phenomenon, which is also now being exported. I think there is that alternative means of social media, alternative means of engagement. The use of social media and technology as a surveillance tool is, I think, something to be concerned about.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Sean or Sandor?

SEAN MCDONALD

Surveillance is moving a lot faster, and they're able to do it alone. I, generally speaking, try not to give too many examples in public, because of how terrifying it is. Just today, two of the largest credit rating agencies in the United States announced a partnership to "improve our data products," which went really well the first time Equifax tried.

I think that part of what we have to figure out is how we deal with two-sided markets. So much of what we're talking about is data as an object. So much of what we are actually concerned about is how data gets used. The social credit scoring system, there's a lot of apprehension, because of how little influence there is over how to make sure that it is a good thing. At the same time, I'd imagine that quite a few people in this room are invested in digital IDs, right? And digital ID systems are a precursor to credit scoring systems, if not directly involved.

I think that so much of what we're talking about focuses on step one, and because step one is so big and so hard, that we really struggle to get to step two, or step three, or step four. That's to your point about time horizons. A lot of the things that we're talking about, in terms of what people should do, come from the need to invest in the foundations of awareness, and capacity, and agency to operate in the space. Those are not things that data inevitably produces.

SANDOR LÉDERER

I completely agree with what Sean said.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Okay. There's another question right here.

CHRIS TAGGART

Thank you. Chris Taggart from OpenCorporates. I haven't heard as much as I thought I might do about some of these conglomerations of data: Big data being pooled together, and the power that that generates, and the fact that the access is increasingly being limited. They have this concept of data gravity, where you have black holes of data. Once you've got that, the data is automatically sucked in by the gravitational pull. That data is probably not useful to anyone else, unless you've got these other 50 data sets being there.

I just wondered about the relationship between massive amounts of data that's being collected by some of the biggest companies, and other organizations in the world, and the implications of that? And actually how some of the regulations that we're putting in may even strengthen that? "Right to be forgotten" is essentially something that says, "You only get to play in this game if you have these huge call centers, and these huge processes in order to do this."

Mark Zuckerberg is now calling for some sort of regulation. Now, of course he means the regulation that he would like. But almost certainly that regulation would be one that would strengthen their position in the market, and make it more difficult for competitors. I know, from Sandor, that getting access to things like the Hungarian company register data is really challenging, and you can't do proper investigations without that. Talk a little bit about the relationship between large data sets, and the power that brings, and the asymmetries of power that is being hardened in society, in a way.

SANDOR LÉDERER

This is, I think, very similar to as it was years back. There is this constant asymmetry, and it's in some way growing because the amount of data collected and produced is growing, and there's always something new. We're always in a reactive mode, right? We're always lagging behind. We're always some steps behind, and sometimes it's getting more steps. I think that you mentioned the company registry, and the example of that shows how long it can take. It's 10 years since an organization such as ours started to advocate to have data on beneficial ownership, and have company registry data completely opened up, because it's a must for anti-corruption work and investigation, but also a super important tool for businesses in looking up other companies, and regarding trust and so on.

It really took legislation 10 years to move at the point where we would say, "Okay, that's a success." It will take another two or three years until this is in force. I think this is a huge problem, coming back to the time frame. How we work and advocate, and how politics work, is still too slow compared how quickly technology is evolving, and how quickly this whole space is moving. I think if you don't find ways to be quicker

and more responsive or proactive, we'll just keep going behind what's happening in this regard.

SEAN MCDONALD

I think it's such an interesting question about the size of data, because on the one hand, that presumes that more data is relevant, because people care about the facts and the certainty of the thing, right? If you are pulling a trigger with a very good data set, and pulling a trigger with no data at all, what happens once you've pulled that trigger is still the most important thing. I think that we really struggle with figuring out how we manage what used to be a very clear thing, which was 'more makes more sense'. To Lucy's opening point, data is not money, data is not value, and that actually in a lot of instances, the bigger your data set, the bigger your risk profile and surface.

I think so much of my concern around unbundling, and this idea of moving into supply-chains, is that we externalize so many of our commitments to, or accountability to, the public good. Data size is part of that, but there is also this idea that we're going to know the threats that are available based on a set of data. I think that what we have to do is get involved in adaptive threat modeling, because it is impossible to know at the point of any individual data release the universe of data that all of your potential adversaries may not only have right now, but may have in perpetuity going forward. We have to move from this. In my opinion, I think we need to move from "We need to get it right right now," to "We need to start investing in the foundations that enable us to correct going forward."

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Which absolutely assumes an understanding of the pervasiveness and permanence of this digital, connected reality. It's still amazing to me how many people and institutions in civil society and philanthropy think, "If you don't have a Twitter account, you're not in the digital world." Stephen, I'm wondering if you have thoughts on the asymmetry.

STEPHEN KING

Going back to one of the things that Sandor mentioned earlier on, which I think is related to this, is around algorithmic accountability. Obviously, with the advances of artificial intelligence, algorithms are now making decisions about things like sentencing, credit scoring, a whole range of different things, and there is no set of ethics around that, and there are no frameworks or governance of who makes those decisions, who sets those boundaries, and so on.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

We're going to wrap up. I'll give each of you a chance to say a few parting words. What I would hope is that, as the philanthropic and civil societies starts to think more about algorithms and their use in decision-making, that we don't repeat the cycle we did with data itself. Maybe it's a time horizon question, maybe it's something different, but this sense of both unbridled enthusiasm to unbridled fear, and trying to find our way. Again, I think it comes down to understanding what it is we're talking about. If you're thinking about democracies as a system of governance in which the people

have the power to scrutinize the decisions, algorithms are undemocratic, period. End stop. Sandor, do you have thoughts on the key element of thinking about digital technology and democracy that drives your work?

SANDOR LÉDERER

I think it's curiosity, because it's such an interesting area. I think it has so much impact on whatever we do. I think we need simply to experiment a lot, and try new ways. Continuously try. I would, if I may, encourage you to invest in all kinds of activities that might be interesting, and not just follow trends. I think civil society is often suffering from donors having a belief in some narrative for a few years, then the global narrative changed, and organizations have to follow these trends. Be much more flexible in experimenting, because there is no single solution. We never know the solution, and who knows what will come out at the end?

SEAN MCDONALD

Believe your grantees. For a lot of us, these were issues that we were looking at practice, and thinking, "Gosh, this will probably turn into something." We were wrong sometimes, too, of course. But I think that there's a lot of uphill convincing that the realities on the ground, or in the law, or wherever else, are what they are. I think so much of what we've found, and my own work both at FrontlineSMS and then moving into Digital Public, in some ways has been that you can really find the limits of technology very quickly if what you're trying to do is change power. What we're talking about is building an experimentation enabling environment that does not continue to disproportionately harm the vulnerable.

STEPHEN KING

I think we have come to the realization that technology is a tool. It's not a solution. Of course, like any media, whether it's from the printing press to radio, it can be used for nefarious means as well as good. I still remain a tech optimist, but I'm much more aware now, I think, of the dangers for weaponization.

LUCY BERNHOLZ

Yeah. Wonderful. Join me in thanking Sandor, Sean, and Stephen.

IDENTITY & DEMOCRACY: BEYOND HATE



MONDAY APRIL 1
7:30 PM

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

FOUNDER AND GLOBAL CEO, HIGH RESOLVES

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

FOUNDER, FREE RADICALS PROJECT

JOHN WOOD, JR.

DIRECTOR OF MEDIA DEVELOPMENT, BETTER ANGELS

IN CONVERSATION WITH MARK GERZON

FOUNDER AND PRESIDENT, MEDIATORS FOUNDATION

MARK GERZON

Please welcome our panelists here tonight. It's good to be with all of you for this session called "Identity and Democracy: Beyond Hate." Before I invite our panelists to speak, could you just each take a moment and ask yourself, if you were sitting in their seats and you were about to do what they're going to do, what would you say when I asked you, what shaped your identity when you were young? How is that affecting what you're doing today? How is that affecting your work and your politics today? Take a moment and ask yourself what you would say if you were on the stage because that's the question I'm going to be asking them in just a minute. If you're live tweeting for this session, please use the hashtag #GPF19. Thank you all for joining us.

When you think about your identity, what I'm struck by with that word is that it's both personal and political. My professor at Harvard was a man named Eric Erikson, who coined the phrase 'identity crisis'. And now we have the phrase 'identity politics'. Identity is both an extremely personal word and an extremely political word. That's going to be at the heart of our conversation. We're the only session at the GPF conference that has the word 'identity' in it. We're also the only session that has the word 'hate' in it, which is also a very personal word, and a very political word. We all know how personal hatred is, and I'm aware of how political it is. The mobilization and the channeling of hatred is one of the most commonly-used political strategies in the world today. When I studied the genocides and the Holocaust of the 20th century for a book that I wrote called *Leading Through Conflict*, I was struck by the way that leaders in every single genocide and every single Holocaust channeled hatred, and manipulated hatred, in order to demonize a group that could then be annihilated. So the subject we're having here at the end of our dinner tonight is a very powerful one, and it's both personal and political, and I can't think of three better people to talk about it than Christian, Mehrdad and John.

But just before we begin, when I asked you what shaped your identity, what went through your mind? According to Eric Erikson, the classic period of identity formation is the age of 14 to 21. For me, that was from John F. Kennedy's death to Watergate, with several assassinations and a war and several elections in between. That was

what shaped the period that shaped my identity, what shaped yours? We're now going to listen to John and Mehrdad and Christian address three questions that I've asked them. The first question is, what's your identity and what shaped it? The second question is, how did that influence your work that you're doing now? The third question is, what is the lesson that you learned that you want to share with this group tonight about how our democracy can survive and transform hatred? I'm very pleased to say that John and Mehrdad and Christian have some powerful personal stories, and I think some powerful insights. Let's turn first to John Wood, who's with a wonderful organization called Better Angels.

JOHN WOOD

Thank you very much Mark, and thank you all, of course, for being a part of such an important occasion. This is a pleasure and honor to speak to everybody. I guess I'll answer your first question, Mark, with a couple of quick stories. I might be a little bit unique among some folks that you know. I did not really have a self-professed racial identification until I was probably about five or six or so. I come from a biracial, multicultural and for that matter, bipartisan background. My father's white, my mother's black. At the age of about five or six, I can remember looking at my parents and looking at other kids and their parents and noticing that most kids tend to be the same color as their parents. But me, my mother, and my father were three different colors between us, right? So one day I asked my dad, "Dad, you're white, right?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Mom's black, right?" He said, "Yes." I said, "So what am I?" He looked at me for a pensive moment, and he picked up my hand and he said, "Well, son, can't you tell? You're tan." And so for the next year or so of my life, my self-professed racial identification was tan. I was a tan American, until somebody got around to telling me that that was not a thing.

Fast forward for about 20 years, I was running for congress in Los Angeles. I was running in the 43rd District, which is predominantly a minority district with a large African American community, but also has a pocket of white suburban Republicans. When I was running for office, I had sort of an opening line that I would use, whether I was speaking to a black democratic church in South Central LA, or to a white tea party group in suburban LA County. People would ask me, what at the age of 26 makes you qualified to represent a district as diverse and complicated as the California 43rd? And I'd tell people, "Well I come from a bit of an interesting background." I'd say my mother is a liberal, black democrat from inner city Los Angeles. My father is a conservative, white Republican from Tennessee. I grew up explaining my mother to my father and my father to my mother, and that's why I think I can represent a lot of you. In the midst of all those labels, racial and political and so on, the easiest thing for me to call myself is an American.

Now within being an American, it is true that I am an African American, and it is true that I am an Anglo American. Both of those labels describe an aspect of my heritage, my upbringing, my self-identification. The thing about that that informs my work, and my work with Better Angels in particular, is the fact that whereas for so much of our society today, Republicans and Democrats happened to be the enemy depending on what side of the aisle you stand on. For me, Republicans and Democrats and white people and black people have always just been mom and dad. The lesson for me, what I can testify to from the experience of my own life, is that the more we come

to know about each other the harder it is for us to hate each other. There is a story behind everything that we know and believe and are, whether it is truth or ignorance, that is reflective of a human experience. If you come to know and appreciate the human experience that led that other person to think the way they do politically, you won't be able to hate that person for it, because you'll see some aspect of yourself in that story. We all have a story, and there's no way that our stories can be so different from one to the other that we would fail to empathize with each other if we had a broader awareness of what it is the other person had been through to travel to their own particular conviction. That's how my identity informs my work. That's the lesson from it that I'd take: If we understand that experience, we give ourselves the ability to communicate across the line of division.

MARK GERZON

Beautiful, John. Thank you. So Mehrdad, tell us your story. How was your identity formed and how has it shaped your work with High Resolve?

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

Thanks Mark, and thanks for the invitation to be here. I was born 53 years ago in Iraq. If you look at my family, I have a Jewish background on both sides, but my family was Bahai. There were parts of my family that didn't quite understand why we had become Bahai and parts that did. The interesting thing about being a Bahai Persian in Iran before the revolution was that I could go incognito. If someone didn't know what I was, I could go into a store and I would be able to be just a perfectly acceptable member of society. But if someone knew that I was Bahai, and they came from a more fanatical background, I became untouchable and I was unclean, and they wouldn't be able to touch a glass that I had touched or drink from it.

That represented a part of society, but as a child, this is a very confusing thing. On the one hand, you see the different ways that society can hate and love. On the other hand, the rationale makes no sense to you, because you can flow in and out of it. There's no consistency to it. You learn at a very young age that this is a learned behavior, and if it's learned, it can be unlearned. I grew up in Canada, I went to university in the US, I married an Australian, and I'm an Australian citizen now. So really, I'm a global citizen. I've lived in many countries, and it's difficult to belong to any particular group anymore.

This issue of hate and this identity issue was something that really stuck with me. Years later, I was working at the Kennedy School with Tom Schelling who went on to win the Nobel Prize. We were creating experiential games to measure, in the early days of behavioral economics, people's tendency to prefer themselves over a collective, or cost to benefit, or short-term to long-term. One of the things we discovered, beyond the fact that people naturally tend to have a bias towards personal short-term cost, was that when they played games, this actually shifted. You could actually get people to see themselves as belonging to a collective, to be more long-term oriented, and to actually value the benefit they create much more than they would normally. So we stumbled upon a pedagogical technique in the 1980s, which was not accepted at the time, but I realized that it had a lot of power.

What we have been doing with High Resolves is trying to create an organization that creates immersive learning experiences which allow people to question their beliefs and to rewire their thinking about some of the most important concepts. I think my big lesson is that if we want to get people to unlearn things about race or hatred, they're going to have to go through some sort of peak experience that basically gets them to look in the mirror and make a choice. Then they have to question that choice. To give you a very quick example of one of our games, imagine 60 high school students running into a gym. Each one is wearing a photo of someone on a lanyard around their neck, and we give them one simple instruction, which is find your people. The natural reaction for most, without any instruction, is to group by race or by gender. But then if you expose them to much more detail about their character (what food they like, religion, introvert or extrovert, music they like), suddenly they have speed dating conversations with each other, they actually get much better intersectionality in terms of their sense of identity, and a lot of the previous assumptions are tested.

That is an example of holding people up to the mirror, and I think it has to happen. We had a discussion this morning about top-down versus bottom-up, and I think the speakers agreed it had to be both. But for me it's about, is there a moment when you stare in the mirror and you ask yourself, "Why did I choose to group by race? What was it about me that moved me to group that way? Is that assumption valid or not?" So that's what we're doing. We're in about 400 schools in Australia. We work with about 200,000 teenage kids that are getting about a three-to-four year program. We're in the US and Canada now and growing in Brazil, China, and India. It's hopefully something we can do globally going forward.

MARK GERZON

Thank you Mehrdad. Christian, nobody knows who you are. Tell us about yourself.

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

Well, when I'm not wearing my little black hat, nobody really knows who I am. I've had several identities throughout my life. I've pivoted and kind of bounced back and forth like a pinball machine. I was born an Italian American, first generation son of Italian immigrants who came to the US in the mid-60s. They moved to the south side of Chicago, in a neighborhood that was filled with the same families from the same villages that they came from in Italy. Growing up, I didn't really know who I was. I didn't know if I was Italian, I didn't know if I was American, I didn't know if I was Italian American or American Italian or any mix in between, because I was kept in such a bubble with my family and their peers that I didn't really understand what it was to be an American, although I wanted to be.

Because my parents were immigrants, they also had to work very hard seven days a week, 16 hours a day. Growing up, I felt very abandoned by them. Of course, I know now that they were just working to survive, but at that age, as a kid, I wondered what I had done to push my parents away. The concept of identity is very important to me because I do believe that there are three things that allow us to do anything in our lives: identity, community and purpose. At 14 years old, I hadn't found any of those things. I didn't know who I was, I didn't know where I belonged, and I didn't know

what I was supposed to do with my life. That's kind of normal, I think, for teenagers. At 14 years old, I was standing in an alley and a man approached me as I was smoking a joint, and he pulled that joint out of my mouth and answered that identity question for me. He pulled that joint out of my mouth, and he said, "That's what the communists and the Jews want you to do to keep you docile." At 14 years old, I didn't know what a communist, a Jew, or even what the word docile was. But what I did know was that he was the first person that had paid any attention to me in 14 years, that I felt like anyway. That man happened to be America's first neo-Nazi skinhead, and I became, at 14 years old in 1987, one of America's first neo-Nazi skinheads.

30 years later, 23 years after having left that movement, it informs my work today. I've gone back in, this time to help pull people out. I started an organization called The Free Radicals Project, which is a disengagement and de-radicalization network that's global. My job is to understand what leads people into extremism, so that I can then backfill those potholes, which is what I call those things in life that detoured their path, and bring them back to the identity that was inherent at birth. I do that by building resilience. I think through resilience and through immersion, and receiving compassion from people that we maybe don't deserve it from, especially at times when maybe we don't deserve it, it really allows people to understand that their hatred for other people is actually and more precisely self-hatred of themselves being projected onto others. If I was to give one lesson that I've learned, it's that ideology is not what is primarily radicalizing people. We become pre-radicalized from the day we're born. We hit those potholes in life and they detour us. It can be trauma, abuse, privilege, poverty, for me was abandonment. Those are the things that condition us to accept narratives on alienation and marginalization and things like that. If I were to tell you one secret, it's that ideology is not what is driving this wave of radicalization. It's a search for identity, community and purpose, and potholes. If you were to ask me what my identity was today, I would tell you I was a pothole filler.

MARK GERZON

And also, you're wanting to uncover the roots of self-hatred, because you think a lot of that projected hatred is projected self-hatred?

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

Yeah, it's a feeling of loss, a grievance, a brokenness. It could be a million different things for a million different people, but it's those types of things that stop us from feeling joy or connection to other people, if they're unresolved inside of us.

MARK GERZON

Beautiful. Well as I told you all, these three gentlemen are the powerful sort of triple lens for looking at the subject that we're discussing tonight. If you looked at the sort of political geography of hatred in the world today, I'd really love for you to share with all of us how you see it. We all know where the oil is in the world. We know where the uranium is in the world. Where's the hatred in the world, when you look out at it? Is it evenly distributed everywhere across the globe? Are there pockets of high hatred and pockets of low hatred? Are there "hatred-free zones"? When you look out and you scan this country and the world, how do you see it? The Christ Church massacre

absolutely enraged me, and I think angered most of the world. It also drove a beautiful response. I think people are now realizing that there's something going on literally all over the world around this theme, and with something as personal and universal as hatred, it makes sense. But I really would love to know how you see it? What's the political geography of hatred?

JOHN WOOD

It's an interesting way to phrase the question. I have to admit, I've never thought about hatred in specific geographical terms, though I'm conscious of the fact that different parts of the country in different populations experience bitterness, grievance, frustration and anger in different ways. In some cases, it congealed into a visceral sort of hatred, the type of which I think Christian speaks to in his experience, in a way where it's just very conspicuously targeted toward a particular sort of group. I do think that hatred is kind of the age-old enemy of human progress. It's the age-old enemy of our psychological and spiritual evolution, you might say. In the United States, I see this long string of judgment that runs through politics and pits us against each other on a tribal sort of basis, on accounts of our being liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican, being of a certain religious group or racial group, or what have you.

There are all sorts of ways in which that breaks down for various reasons. Depending on what part of the country you're in, you're going to be dealing with a different set of stories that affect a different group of people differently. The question that I ultimately return to is, how is it that we transcend the various conditions of hatred and its more modest degrees or subtle variants? The contempt that we might feel when we see somebody step out of a diner and jump into a dirty pickup truck with a MAGA hat on or something like that. We think, "there's a person that I wouldn't trust," right? It's the way a lot of folks in conservative circles might feel if they see somebody walking around with a Black Lives Matter shirt. They think that they know about that person enough to have some contempt for that individual, on the basis of the words that are written across the T-shirt, without necessarily having a sense of the experience that lies behind that signaling.

The question that I always come back to is, what are the ways in which we can unearth the values that exist between us in common that would allow for us to understand each other's experiences, so as to communicate across that gap? In certain cases, the hatred is congealed to a point where there is just a different approach that needs to be taken, if you're dealing with folks who are radicalized to the point of violence. But in all cases, empathy is required, and willingness to have the patience to endure the animosity of people who need to be turned towards a peak experience, in Mehrdad's language, in order to open their minds to the idea that there is another way of looking at their fellow human beings that establishes connections that they might not have known was there to be built before.

MARK GERZON

Mehrdad, you talked about peak experience, and our media and our bubbles that we're working in now are doing just the opposite of what your exercise does. Your exercise takes people into the zone of dealing with difference, whereas our bubbles

are keeping us away. So how do you see this geography of hatred? Do you see our media kind of fueling it? Do you see our media intensifying? Are you swimming upstream, trying to get people to have peak experiences that break them out of their bubbles?

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

Definitely. But let me say, I think there was a phrase mentioned this morning: hate spreads faster than love. I definitely think the love emotion is stronger and lasts longer. I think there is a battle between the two and there is this incredible chemical reaction between them that you can observe. Regarding the question about geography, it depends on what granularity you look at it. I mean, if you zoom out and see the planet, you don't see any hate if you look at the big blue marble. If you zoom all the way in, every single heart has a little bit of love in it for something, whether it's for family or friends or some other thing they have an attachment to.

Everyone experiences the hate and the love. I think even the most pious wonderful person will have moments of experiencing hate. Growing up, we left Iran and moved to Canada. Canada is a really nice place, and Canadians are lovely. I still had someone who followed me home from school for almost two years every single day calling me Paki. As a non-violent person, which was taught the Navena creed, I didn't do anything about it. Until sometime in the second year, there was one 'Paki' too many I turned around, punched him and broke his nose. So I can't claim I don't have hate in my heart. That's a universal experience. I think we have to remind ourselves to not say, "These people are haters and these people aren't." We're all both.

MARK GERZON

What did your parents say when you came home?

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

My mother was absolutely horrified, and my father thought it was a good thing. I sided with my mother.

MARK GERZON

We're going to talk about gender in a minute, but that's a great story. Christian, do you want to add to that?

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

I think hatred is born of ignorance. Fear is its father, and isolation is its mother. We're living in a global environment that's being made smaller now because of the internet. It's also bringing us closer together in some ways, but in other ways, it's essentially splitting us apart and removing that sense of intimacy. I think we're living in a time when we are very uncertain, to be sure, and extremism and hatred typically grow during those types of conditions. For instance, when the middle class is disappearing, it's not necessarily the people at the very, very bottom or the very, very top that are being radicalized. The people at the bottom are generationally kind of used to that and don't really have anything to lose, and the people at the top don't lose as much.

It's the people on the cusp, the middle class, the ones who fear losing something, that are the most at risk of becoming extremists. I think we're at a time right now where it's kind of a perfect storm of uncertainty and a feeling of potential loss, and for some, loss or equalization feels like oppression.

MARK GERZON

Absolutely. Well, the theme of this conference is philanthropy. Before we turn to the audience, I would love to have you each say something about philanthropy's role in this question of moving beyond hatred. I'm part of a group called Philanthropy Bridging Divides, which several of the speakers here at the conference are part of. We brought together philanthropists from the right and the left, and across the spectrum. We've sat them down and said, "How do we feel about how philanthropy is dealing with this divide in America? Do we feel good about the role of money, or do we feel like money is actually dividing the country and separating?" We've been having really good conversation about that over the last few years. I'd love for you to address that tonight. Given the topic of this and the nature of your own work, what do you think philanthropy can do? Also, what do you think it shouldn't do?

JOHN WOOD

At Better Angels, the work that we're committed to begins with the act of bringing people together for the sorts of peak experiences and dialogues that can allow us to actually connect with what it is the person on the other side of the aisle has experienced. We can forge some sense of common identity between us that allows us to move beyond the stigma that the pervasive forces in our political environment will continue to push. Those forces ensure that we are not able to coalesce around the things that we have in common for the sake of building our common progress.

But it's about more than dialogue. It's about generating a demand for a new type of politics, and for a sense of community that is inclusive of our differences, but transcendent of them. That way we actually stimulate an appetite for a different type of politician, a different type of media menu, a different type of politics. The folks who are the higher levels of influence in our society have to respond to the desires and calls of people within our broader population for something that is more beneficial and enlightened, something that speaks to the deeper values of who we are as a people. The philanthropic sector is indispensable in that work. Earlier in the day, we had people speak to the limitations at play in the private sector, government finance, and so forth. Unlike other sectors, philanthropy has the ability to look with conscious patience at the social ills that are plaguing the nation, and to invest directly in the sorts of projects that would allow for us to reshape the dialogue in this country in a manner that can actually change the cultural tenor from the bottom-up, so that we may affect the way things happen from the top-down.

Only the philanthropic sector can kickstart that sort of activity. In so doing, we give ourselves the opportunity to reshape our culture in a profound and powerful way. It's important that we recognize the fact that this is the fundamental challenge of our time. If civil society breaks down, then everything else that we build on top of that (the private sector, government, politics, social impact advocates) threatens to crumble and collapse if we seek to sabotage each other, as an American people

and as a global society. Therefore, philanthropy has to be the antidote to that sort of division.

MARK GERZON

What would you do with \$100,000? You can't give it to Better Angels.

JOHN WOOD

Well, one of the big things that I think is plaguing us in modern society is this issue of loneliness. It ties into this question of radicalization and hatred because people are isolated, they don't have a sense of shared community. That has to do with a number of things, including the Balkanization of society all into digital media. But the more that we can do to build out a sense of shared community through volunteer enterprises, through the sorts of projects that actually create a sense of shared identity and community amongst the young people in our schools and in our education system (High Resolves is a good example). Anything that invests in a culture of common humanity and shared citizenship is an antidote to hatred. Ultimately, it bolsters our immune system against the worst angels of our nature, if you will. There are many ways in which that manifests, and it's up to every individual in this room to think about the sorts of projects that appeal to their particular interest. They're out there waiting to be supported, and the people in this room can move that work forward.

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

Makes a lot of sense to me. It's interesting because when Anand wrote *Winners Take All*, he really kick started a whole conversation around whether philanthropy is really just an indulgence that is making some people feel good about their otherwise sins in the world. Look, if it weren't for Omidyar and Einhorn, and a foundation that doesn't want to be recognized, High Resolves wouldn't be in North America. If it wasn't for the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, we wouldn't be building a digital platform that is going to combine curriculum from a few dozen different organizations so schools can have free access to curriculum around race harmony, or anything they want to pick, and see what other schools are doing. So there's definitely a benefit for it. Can I detach the benefit from whatever the source of wealth was? For me, I think, what is the alternative? Is it not to have it, at this point in the future? I completely agree with Larry Kramer on the environment. If philanthropy didn't step in, I'm a normally optimistic person, but I think it would take a real hit on that.

Between being a student and trying to build a social venture, I was in the business sector. I was a partner at McKinsey and I wrote a lot of books on business strategy. One of the frameworks that we put into the world is called *The Three Horizons*, which is a way of doing strategy. My advice to philanthropic organizations would be to deploy a three horizon strategy, which leads to lasting impact. You're going to have a good chunk of your portfolio that will go into "horizon one"-type projects that are necessary just to keep the place going. For a while scaling was big for us. "Horizon two" is about picking a couple of things that can scale, and that you think are going to deliver disproportionate impact. But the part that always gets left off, and I would encourage our wonderful philanthropic community not to forget, is "horizon three,"

which is the experimentation in disruptive and new thinking. Without the patient capital investing in the truly disruptive new models, we're not going to make the step-up innovations that are going to really have much greater impact. That's the learning that takes place on other people's learnings, and I think that would be an amazing thing to make sure happens. In the business sector, the ratio you typically go for is 70:20:10. It might be different in philanthropy. Because of the longer-term horizon, it might be 50:30:20 or something like that. I think at least making sure there's some in "horizon three" is an important part.

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

I work in an industry that for some people doesn't exist. Some think it's a fantasy land where racism and white nationalism isn't a threat. I can tell you, it's not. I can tell you that we can turn on the TV at almost any time and see news of another attack, but also the lack of it being called terrorism. That stems from, I think, our government's lack of focusing (and this is not just the current administration) on white supremacy. I used to run an organization that I founded called Life After Hate that, under President Obama, won a \$400,000 grant to develop an online intervention program. That was in January 2017, just a few weeks before the administration changed. As we waited patiently for that funding to come in, we instead received an email that said, "We've reassessed our strategy and radical Islam is the focus." While I certainly agree that it is an issue and a threat, we also have a massive threat that's been living within our borders here for going on five centuries. The philanthropic community is very important for the type of work I do, because I don't have the luxury of being able to go to the government for funding.

I also have to say, though, that in the 20 years that I've been doing this work, helping people disengage from extremist groups, everything from neo-Nazis and white nationalists to ISIS members and school shooters, I've never charged for an intervention. I've also never fundraised. I always have seen this as my atonement. However, I do also see the need to scale. I'm not a unicorn, there are lots of people like me who also disengaged, who I would certainly love to train to do this work, who have stepped up and said that they want to be trained to do this work. As far as that goes, I don't know that we would be able to survive without the donations and the support of the philanthropic community.

MARK GERZON

I gave a talk to an organization called the Southeastern Council of Foundations. There were about three or four hundred foundations in the room in Louisville when I gave this talk. We then had a workshop afterwards and found out that a significant portion of those foundations across the Southeast were doing "bridging divides" funding of various kinds in their communities, extremely innovative pioneering work. So I agree, I think the philanthropic community is an incubator for bridging divides, but we're up against a rather powerful set of forces, which the conferences as a whole I think is going to analyze. I think we have to remember that whatever we do has to have real energy and edge, because the forces of hate are powerful.

You had studied the Nazi period pretty deeply, is that right John? I've studied it as well and Hermann Goring said, "You can control the people in any country. You just

tell them they're being attacked, and when anybody disagrees with you, you call him a traitor." He basically just laid out how you grab the brain and channel hatred, and it's a very powerful strategy. I invite all of us to dig a little bit deeper and ask ourselves, what's the deeper way in which philanthropy can address this issue? How can we actually find something that's more intoxicating than the inebriating side of hyperpolarization where you have an enemy? I've attended both Trump rallies and Sanders rallies, and I felt the adrenaline rush of being at these events, the adrenaline rush of being surrounded by people that agree with you. They're all pointing their finger at the same enemy, and it's intoxicating. Then we send out this message of Better Angels or Bridging Divides or Living Room Conversations, and all these lovely projects which I'm a part of and have helped start. It's a little bit less inebriating and intoxicating. I invite the audience to join us in this inquiry: what's the new frontier for philanthropy, in terms of addressing these challenges?

I'd like to invite the first questions, if you don't mind, to come from four women. This panel is beautifully diverse on one level, and not on another level.

AUDIENCE MEMBER

I'm very moved by Christian's analysis of the problem, the notion that hate comes from a sense of abandonment, loss, lack of belonging. You're focused on bringing people out of that setting. My question is, is that preventing new white supremacist or new ISIS members from being created? And I wonder if you will reflect on some of the choices we make as a society that can lead others to feel that sense of abandonment, that sense of loss, and ultimately, that sense of rage. I have one image in my head right now of the kids who've been separated from their mothers at the border and put in cages, and the incredible trauma that they've experienced. Are we creating the next lost young man or young woman when we do that?

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

I think absolutely, we are. You nailed it when you said trauma. It's really about the emotional trauma, whether it stems from abandonment or abuse or a million other things, that kind of keeps us searching without really knowing what we're searching for. This white nationalist movement that I'm seeing today is frightening because it is probably the fastest growing underground movement that I've seen in my lifetime. That's because there is this sense of uncertainty. I can tell you from talking to a lot of young white males that they feel that there is now a scrutiny on them, and I think rightfully so and in many cases. They are young and not really understanding why that scrutiny is there. I think it's working to push a lot of confused young people to a certain direction.

I want to go back to the philanthropic question, because I really do think that what I do is a band-aid. My goal has always been to stop people before they go down that path. Unfortunately, I have both a blessing and a curse of having come from that world, and being able to connect with these people and their confusion. I really think we're failing young people. I think that if we want to stop racism, hatred, aside from institutional systemic changes that we need to make, we need to start focusing on young people. As adults, as teachers, as parents, we need to learn to be vulnerable with our children. If we can't be vulnerable with them, they will never learn to be

vulnerable with us and tell us how they feel, what's going on, what confusion they have. They see us as superheroes, as perfect, they aspire to be like us. Even if we're well-intentioned, if we're not willing to open up and share a little bit of ourselves with our children, I don't know that we're teaching them that they can do the same with us. That leads to that magical age of 14, breaking away from your parents, developing a sense of individuality, and then being sucked into something that you think is empowering you but is really destroying you. So we need to focus on children. Put all your money towards the kids.

AUDIENCE MEMBER

Mehrdad, you talked about the ability to choose whether or not you revealed part of your identity, and how that shaped how others responded to you. I'm curious, as you think about all those different aspects of identity, how do we navigate it when some things like gender are not necessarily a choice to reveal or not, versus aspects like religion or sexual orientation or other aspects of ourselves that we can choose to disclose or not?

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

Now look, I only stated it as a way of saying that I feel I was very fortunate because it my self-esteem and confidence not to be completely tapped. I could see it, but I didn't have to feel a negative sense towards myself as a result, and I think my mother helped me a lot on that front. I think for me that was a fortunate thing. I think for a lot of people it isn't and that luxury doesn't exist. People will see you through whatever lens. I don't know how many of you have seen the Green Book. There's a line in it: "If I'm not black enough for some, not white enough for some, not man enough for some, then what does that make me?" It really captured for me the dilemma that people will experience. The challenge is, how do we give people who feel particularly vulnerable a chance to find the courage and the voice and the esteem? If you don't think teenagers have figured out that adults can't solve it and it's their turn to take the stand and do something, you're missing a big movement right now. What they need is to actually practice that and become more confident.

We have a program which is called Videos for Change. In teams of five, they pick a social thing they're passionate about, they make a one-minute video, which is almost like a public service announcement, and then there's a bit of a film festival and they share it, and then some people move forward. The work these young people do is unbelievable. If you go to videosforchange.org, you can see a few samples of their work. What's interesting to me is what the topics are that the young people want to make films about. Domestic violence, body image, depression, youth homelessness, youth suicide. If you go through it, it's the gamut of mental health issues, and that is what the reality is that they face day-to-day. A lot of it is because of the negative feelings that are projected because of who they think they are, and what society accepts or doesn't accept. What we've observed is that the exercise of having the chance to be an advocate for a cause gives you that sort of shift, that trajectory change, that sets you on a different path.

Even though it's a simple exercise, there's something about social advocacy at that age that can address some of what Christian was calling the potholes in the road.

There are these interventions at the right times that give you a sense that maybe you can do something about it. One of the biggest things about young people is when the switch goes on that what they do actually makes a difference. That's the biggest switch. You can think, "It doesn't matter what I do, there's going to be global warming and hatred." But then you decide to take your tray in the at the lunch cafeteria, not leave it on the table, and a bunch of other people follow. I can show you the postcard from a girl who said that was the big changing point in her life. She realized she had the power to influence other people to make a change. As soon as they discover that superpower, then you're off and running.

MARK GERZON

Excellent. Other questions?

AUDIENCE MEMBER

My question is about forgiveness. John and Mehrdad, I wonder how you think about forgiveness in the context of the hate that you've suffered. But Christian, what about self-forgiveness? How does that work?

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

In 1999, I once again met a man that I had known in high school, who was the black security guard at the high school who I gotten in a fistfight with. That got me kicked out of that school for the second time, and it had been the sixth high school that I had been kicked out of. Years later, I ended up somehow getting a job with IBM, setting up computers at schools and universities, and the first place that they put me was my old high school, the same one I got kicked out of twice. I was not laughing all the time, I was terrified. I saw this man, Mr. Holmes, who had been somebody I had been physical with, and tormented. When I saw him, I didn't know what to say to him, I was ashamed. All I could think to do was to say I was sorry. He accepted my apology, but then he said, "That's good for you but it doesn't really do anything for me."

He asked me to try and make amends, tell my story. But the most important thing that he made me promise to do was to find a way to forgive myself, so that I could learn how to heal, so I could go out and find a way to ask for forgiveness myself. I think there was a very important concept (he didn't word it this way, but my approach stemmed from it): to see the child and not the monster. It doesn't matter if that child is 16 or 60. If we can learn to treat the people whose ideas we despise like we do our children, where we don't shame them, we don't hit them, we don't disown them, we don't kick them out of the house. If instead we really try and find out what it is that is making them cry, then I think that that is a secret solution to try to stop this wave of hate and violence.

MARK GERZON

Beautiful. I want to add another emotional word to this lexicon before we go to more questions, which is that hatred is one of the emotions in a palette of emotions. I think another one we need to address is self-righteousness. Maybe that's a good way for us to close here: what do we have to forgive ourselves for? I wouldn't have to forgive myself for hatred, it would be for self-righteousness. I was a young self-righteous

conservative growing up in Indianapolis, Indiana in the 1950s. Then when I went to college at Harvard, and became a liberal and a radical and turned in my draft card, and I became a service self-righteous radical. It was only in my 20s that I realized, left or right, both of them were self-righteous. I think that self-righteousness is related to the hatred. When I read Hillbilly Elegy or some of the books about the Trump voters, there's an anger at liberal cosmopolitans who look down their noses self-righteously at these MAGA hat-wearing guys in their pickup trucks. Let's just broaden the conversation here from hatred to some of the things that produce hatred, and one of them is self-righteousness. I'm pleading guilty to a couple of decades of self-righteousness, which I'm still getting over, and then my next step was being a mediator and being self-righteous about being a mediator. So it's a never ending story of humility in the face of the complexity. Other questions?

AUDIENCE MEMBER

Earlier today, you talked about the importance of sparking personal transformation to combat hate. I believe in the power of personal transformation, but it's very labor intensive. How do we scale it? And Christian, since you brought up media, if we were to work on the front-end, upstream, what are the structural things that we should be investing in in order to prevent hate from spilling over in the way we see it doing so now?

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

I think there are two ways to look at this. It's almost like we're treating polio, what I do is I treat those who are sick. But what we really need to do is inoculate the population from this going forward, and that means systemic change and institutional change. It means focusing on children so that they never reach the point where the only place they can find comfort or camaraderie is on the fringes and in the dark alleys. I always thought it was ironic that the alley where I was recruited was literally a dead-end alley at the corner of Union and Division streets. I'm not kidding, it's true. First of all, what I do is not rocket science. I may be an ex-Nazi who has a level of credibility with them or something. I don't know why because they think I'm a traitor, but they still like talking to me. I think that's because they poke at me because they want my attention, because they want me to help them. But I think to scale this, we can all do the work that I do. It's about being empathetic and compassionate toward the people that sometimes we think deserve it the least, because I guarantee you that deep down inside, they're probably the ones who could benefit from it the most.

JOHN WOOD

Mark, you said that sometimes when we talk about the idea of bringing people together and depolarizing them, it doesn't seem like it sparks this visceral emotion as does patriotism and animosity. Hate is like a fire because it catches on and just blazes, whereas love seems to be something that requires some discipline and patience and cultivation. But it is important for us to think in terms of actually looking at love as a real social value, as opposed to merely a sentiment. That's something that Martin Luther King Jr. struggled against. He said, "When I use the term love, I do not speak of mere emotional bosh or sentimentality, but rather a righteous force of social transformation." I think that there needs to be a shift in our language that sparks the

most intense moral aspirations of people. It has to do with this idea of love, because love implies forgiveness. It also implies self-reflection. In the 1960s, Dr. King's I Have a Dream speech at the March on Washington was a peak moment for the consciousness of our country. Dr. King challenged his own followers in the non-violent movement to reflect on the hate that they had for the people who hated them, so that they might root out of themselves that hatred that made them similar to those who are oppressing them.

In building the culture of a de-polarization movement, I do think that that has to be in the DNA of it, ultimately. It can't just be about us having nice conversations with people with whom we have disagreements, it also has to bring with it some self-reflection. I think we should re-conceptualize the term love from mere sentimentality to the way that Dr. King understood it: as a force of social transformation that causes us to reflect on the ways in which we are contributing to the cancer of hatred in our own society. If we're able to make this linguistic shift, it's ultimately going to be important in allowing the work of this larger movement to scale and to be communicable to people more broadly.

MARK GERZON

Mehrdad would you like to give a final benediction here?

MEHRDAD BAGHAI

There were quite a few points there. On the point of forgiveness, the story I told from my childhood is one of many shortcomings I can think of. But I think the thing that I hold as the benchmark is the Bahai community's reaction in Iran. Despite all the prejudice, despite all the persecution, jailings, torture, everything else, there hasn't been one act of violence in retaliation. I think that comes from the idea that it's not even about forgiveness, because you really can't blame the other side, given the learning and the education and the indoctrination they've been through. It's a natural outcome, it's a natural consequence of what they've had. Hate and forgiveness are the wrong sorts of metaphors, I think.

In terms of scaling, I think that it's actually quite possible. We've been experimenting for about 13 years now. Initially, it was a very labor-intensive program. We now have a completely freemium model, so any school that wants to do the kind of program we do has access to completely free curriculum and experiences, and they can string it together and see what others are doing. I think the really important thing about scale is collaboration which, in the not-for-profit sector, has traditionally been difficult. But thanks to The Chan Zuckerberg Initiative's funding on this, the ecosystem that we've been trying to create has come together. It's not just High Resolves, it's Facing History and Ourselves. It's I-civics, it's Peace First, it's Generation Citizen, it's the ADL, and others who are standing shoulder-to-shoulder with us. With all the curriculum available on one site, people able to experiment, and that collaboration is going to make it much easier for the kind of scale effects we want to see to happen. I think that's exciting to see as well.

MARK GERZON

I want to add that in our conversations of philanthropy bridging divides Adam Meyerson of Philanthropy Roundtable, which is as you most of you know, is a

collection of more right-of-center foundations, is totally committed to this civic work. So I think there's a possibility of a true trans-partisan commitment to civic education. There's 3,000 talk shows, and I don't know a single talk show that reflects the values that we've talked about tonight. So if I were encouraging philanthropy, I'd say think about media. Think about scaling by having media that reaches hundreds of thousands, millions of people reflecting these values, because now it's basically left or right or left versus right. There's no real listening, there's no real dialogue. That kind of vulnerability you're talking about is not being showcased anywhere in the media menu that we give our young people or ourselves.

CHRISTIAN PICCIOLINI

As somebody who's made media to try and reach people as a counter-narrative, it is very powerful. There's a documentary series that I shot for MSNBC called Breaking Hate. Once that aired, many people reached out to me who were in white nationalism but wanted to get out because they'd heard about my story or seen my TED talk or something else. Once they see somebody else can do it in a successful way, it gives them hope. Media and our digital platforms are especially important because frankly, we have to do the same things that the recruiters are doing to find these kids. We have to win hearts and minds, we have to empower people but in a real way. I think until we do that, we are going to lose this fight, but I have hope.

MARK GERZON

Thank you Jane, and thank you GPF, for bringing these remarkable people together.

THE NEW LOCALISM—WEAVE THE SOCIAL FABRIC



TUESDAY APRIL 2
9:00 AM

DAVID BROOKS

NEW YORK TIMES COLUMNIST AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, WEAVE THE SOCIAL FABRIC PROJECT, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE

DAN CARDINALI

PRESIDENT AND CEO, INDEPENDENT SECTOR

ANN STERN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, HOUSTON ENDOWMENT

IN CONVERSATION WITH LAUREN SMITH

CO-CEO, FSG

DAVID BROOKS

I am the last person who should be doing a project on community because I'm a rather bookish and solitary person by nature. When I was seven, I read a book called *Paddington the Bear* and decided at that moment I wanted to become a writer. I've written pretty much every day, and it's a solitary activity, and it's been the center of my life. I remember when I was in high school, I wanted to date a woman named Bernice, and she didn't want to date me, she wanted to date some other guy. And I remember thinking, "What is she thinking? I write way better than that guy." That's where my life was.

Then when I was 18, the admissions officers at Columbia, Wesleyan, and Brown decided I should go to the University of Chicago, which is also a solitary, bookish place, famously where fun goes to die. The best thing about Chicago: it's a Baptist school where atheist professors teach Jewish students St. Thomas Aquinas. I had a double major there in history and celibacy, which also kept me by myself. Then I went off and did a bookish sort of solitary life. I'm a pundit. I write a conservative column for the *New York Times*, which is a job I liken to being the chief rabbi in Mecca. I have this show on Friday nights on the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer. We have a segment called Shields and Brooks on the NewsHour. It's the bookish version of TV, and we cater to a certain demographic. If a 93-year-old lady comes up to me in the airport I know what she's going to say: "I don't watch your show, but my mother loves it."

I live in my head, but try to be a little more emotional. I'm the only American man to finish that book "Eat, Pray, Love." By page number 23, I was actually lactating which was amazing. I wrote a book on character a few years ago called *Road to Character*. I learned writing that book that writing a book on character doesn't actually give you good character, and even reading a book on character doesn't give you good character. But buying a book on character does give you good character, and so I recommend it.

All that is to say, I'm solitary. Writing is a lonely activity. It's a solitary activity. And if you succeed, it's weirdly more solitary. My last book did reasonably well, so I was on

book tour for 99 days, and I counted 42 meals in a row that I ate alone at an airport, airplane, or hotel. And so I got completely unmoored from community. I remember about that time Britney Spears went berserk and shaved off all her hair, and I was like, “Yeah, I get that. I could do that.” I was in this culture of solitude, but I’m not alone in the culture of solitude. We live in a society that actually does isolate people. We live in a society first marked by a culture of individualism that says life is an individual journey. If you’ve ever seen that book “Oh the Places You’ll Go”, that’s about the solitary individual going through life, with no attachments, toward success. That’s the book people think is appropriate to give to college graduates. We have a society based on the lie, “I can make myself happy. If I just have one more success, lose one more pound, do one more thing that’s successful, I can make myself happy.” That is a lie. We can only give and receive happiness from each other.

We amplify the individualism of our culture with our meritocracy. The meritocracy is the most powerful cultural influence for thick tranches of our society. It gives you status-markers to attach to so you don’t have to think about who you actually are. It subliminally sends the message that those who are smarter and more accomplished are a little bit better than those who are less. It is a system based on conditional love, the idea that you can earn your way to affection. The meritocracy and individualism create a culture where we’re buffered from each other, we prioritize choice over relationship, privacy over relationship, productivity over relationship.

This happens across the board. It happened to me. In 2013, I went into a ditch. We all have bad periods in our lives. Mine was in 2013. My marriage had ended. My kids had gone off to college. I’m a conservative, but my kind of conservatism isn’t the prevailing kind of conservatism, and so a lot of my social life drifted away. I had long periods alone in an apartment with nobody to talk to. My weekends stretched on in vast expanses of solitude. I was in the best shape of my life because I would just run eight miles every day to pass the time. If you had gone into my apartment in those days, and you pulled open the drawer where there should have been silverware, there were Post-it notes. Where there should have been plates, there were envelopes and stationery. My life had come down to just work. And workaholism is a surprisingly effective way to avoid any spiritual or emotional problem, but eventually you just crash through it. I wandered through that period in a sort of permanent drunkenness, not literal, just those sufferings when you become sort of unbounded. I had a lot of social capital and a lot of financial resources, so I didn’t go on opioids. I didn’t actually contemplate suicide, but that was just because I was lucky. As I was going through this process, a lot of Americans were also going through this process, and are going through it today. I’m a very average person with above-average communication skills. What happens to me generally happens to a lot of people.

We are going through a crisis like I was going through: a crisis of disconnection. 35% of Americans over 45 say they’re chronically lonely. 55% of Americans say no one knows them well. Only 8% of Americans report having important conversations with their neighbors. The fastest growing political party is unaffiliated. The fastest growing religious category is unaffiliated. Suicide rates are up 30% in the course of this century. Teenage suicides over the past 15 years are up 70%. 45,000 people kill themselves every year. 72,000 die of opioid addiction, and opioid addiction is just slow-motion suicide. That’s occasioned with a crisis of distrust. If you asked people a generation ago, “Do you trust the institutions of your society?” 75% said yes. Now

it’s 22%. “Do you trust the people around you?” A generation ago, 60% said yes. Now it’s 32% and 19% of millennials. The lower you get in the age distribution, the more distrusting people are. As Bob Putnam of Harvard says, “That’s not perception, that’s reality. It’s because people are untrustworthy.”

That’s accompanied by a spiritual and moral crisis, which think is at the root of everything. I see it in my students. They graduate from college, they have a career setback, they fail by the measures of the meritocracy, and they crater. Nietzsche says, “He who has a why to live for can endure any how.” But if you don’t know what your why is, when you have the setbacks, you crater. That’s what happens to a lot of my students, and that’s sort of what’s happened to our society.

So I was in my valley, and I learned a few things. The first is freedom sucks. Political freedom is pretty good, economic freedom is okay, social freedom sucks. The unrooted man is the adrift man. The unrooted man is the unremembered man because he’s committed to nothing. Freedom is not an ocean we want to swim in, it’s a river we want to get through so we can commit to something on the other side.

The second thing I learned is when you’re in a moment of suffering, you can either be broken or you can be broken open. We all know people who are broken by the bad things that happen to them in life. They’ve endured some kind of pain and grief, their ego has been attacked, and their first instinct is to cover up, make themselves invulnerable. Your life gets smaller, more afraid. You lash out in anger, grievance, and resentment toward the world. As they say, pain that is not transformed gets transmitted. We live in a society of tribalism which is a broken response to suffering. Tribalism is a desperate attempt to create community, not out of affection out of mutual hatred. Tribalism is always a zero sum, scarcity mindset. Us-them, friend-enemy, build walls, erect barriers. Tribalism is our bad attempt to create community but out of hatred. And that’s brokenness.

Other people get broken open. Paul Tillich, the 1950’s theologian, says what pain does is it reminds you you’re not the person you thought you were. It carves through what you thought was the floor or the basement of your soul, and reveals a cavity below. And it carves through that and reveals a cavity below. When you see deep into yourself, deeper into yourself than you even knew existed, then you realize that only emotional and spiritual food will fill those cavities. What I found, and what I think a lot of people find when they’re broken open, is they come into contact with their heart, their desiring heart. What the heart yearns for most of all is fusion with others, the kind of fusion that Louis de Bernières described in a book called “Captain Corelli’s Mandolin.” In that novel he’s got an old guy talking to his daughter about his relationship with his late wife. He says, “Love itself is what is left over when being in love is burned away. This is both an art and a fortunate accident. Your mother and I had it. We had roots that grew toward each other underground. When all the pretty blossoms had fallen from our branches, we found that we are one tree and not two.” You become aware of that yearning to fuse with another human being and with other people.

The second thing you discover through this period is that you have a soul. Now, I don’t ask you to believe in God or not believe in God, that’s not my department. I do ask you to believe that there’s some piece of you that has no shape, size, color, or weight, that is of infinite value and dignity. Rich people don’t have more of this than poor

people, old more than young. Slavery is wrong because it's an obliteration of another person's soul. Rape is not just an attack on a bunch of physical molecules, it's an attempt to obliterate another person's soul. What the soul does is long for goodness. I've met a lot of people in the course of my journalism career, some of whom have done terrible things. I've never met anybody who didn't want to be good. I've never met anybody whose life didn't fall apart when they couldn't point to some good their life was oriented toward, even if they were lying to themselves.

When you get down to the bottom of yourself, you find that desires of the heart and the soul are the primary desires, not the desires of the ego. That leads to the third realization, which is something I learned from Einstein who said, "The problem is not going to be solved at the same level of consciousness at which you created it." You have to create a different sense of consciousness to get out of the problem of disconnection and solitude. Annie Dillard had a marvelous quote about this: "In the deeps are the violence and terror of which psychology has warned us. But if you ride these monsters deeper down, if you drop with them farther over the world's rim, you find what our scientists cannot locate or name, the substrate, the ocean or matrix or ether which buoys all the rest, which gives goodness its power for good and evil its power for evil, unified feel our complex and inexplicable caring for one another." I just want to emphasize that last phrase, 'our inexplicable caring for one another'. When the film of success, the moral numbness of the meritocracy, the buffer itself of individualism gets swept away, you're left with that. And then you're willing to be rescued.

The thing I learned about for a society or for an individual, you can't pull yourself out of the valley, somebody has to reach in and grab you out. For me, it was a group that Dan Cardinali and I are part of. In 2013, six years ago now, I got invited over to somebody's house named Cathy and David in D.C. It was just a freak thing, those days I was taking every invitation I could get. Cathy and David had a kid in D.C. public schools, and their son had a friend whose mom had some health and drug issues and didn't have a place to live. So they told James "come live with us." James had a friend, and that kid had a friend, and that kid had a friend. So the first day I went over to this house, there were 25 or 30 kids around the dinner table and 15 sleeping around the house. I meet a kid by the front door, and I reach out my hand to shake his hand, and he says, "We really don't shake hands here. We hug here." I'm not the huggiest guy on the face of the earth, but I've been hugging almost every Thursday in the six years since. What these kids do is they demand good relationships. They have a complete intolerance for social distance. They want your love and care, and they want to give it to you. Their influence just changes who you are. They reached down and they lifted me up. Bill Millikan, a friend of mine, has been doing youth work, he's in his 70s. He said, "I've been doing youth work all my life. I've never seen a program change a life. Only relationships change lives."

A-OK, which is this community, lift me up. They are weavers, they're social weavers. There are weavers everywhere. At our project, we go around the country and we find them everywhere. There's Aisha Butler, who was living in Englewood in Chicago, she was going to move out. The day that she was moving out she saw two little girls playing across the street in an empty lot with broken bottles, and she said to her husband, "We're not leaving that. We're not going to be just another family who left that." She created Rage, which is a big community organization. I ran into a woman

named Sarah Atkins in rural Ohio. Her husband killed their kids and himself. She now runs a pre-pharmacy, teaches nursing, and works at a foundation for moms who suffer violence. She says, "I grew from this experience because I was angry. I was going to fight back against what he tried to do to me by making a difference in the world. See, he didn't kill me. My response to him is that, 'Whatever you meant to do to me, fuck you, you're not going to do it.'"

The weavers we met have a bright sadness. They've seen the shadow of the world but they're bright about it. They have a moral motivation. They're not driven by a desire for status, power, or money. They're driven by the desire to be in right relation with each other and to serve some transcendent good. They're 'somewheres,' not 'anywheres'. They planted themselves down. There's a guy I met in Youngstown who just stood in the town square with a sign that read, "Defend Youngstown."

At the root, they're deeply relational. In a culture of individualism and meritocracy, they stand for relation. There's a great group called Becoming a Man, run by a woman named Mary Gordon. What they do is they take infants and moms, put them on a green carpet in an eighth grade classroom, and have the kids put themselves in the mind of the infants. What are they thinking? It's an attempt to develop the theory of mind. There was a kid named Darren who was bigger than everybody else because he'd been through the foster care system. He had seen his mom murdered, and he'd been held back for two years, so he really should have been in 10th grade. He was big and a little scary looking. He wanted to hold the baby, and the mom was a little nervous because he was scary. But she let him hold it and he was great with the baby. And he held it by the windowsill and nuzzled it in his chest and gave it back and asked a series of questions about fatherhood. And his final question was, "If nobody has ever loved you, do you think you can still be a good father?" So what Mary Gordon is doing is she's reaching in and grabbing people like Darren out.

That's what weavers do. And they're not just doing local good. They're culture change. They're rejecting the culture of individualism. They're rejecting the culture of the meritocracy. They stand for relationship. They were formed by relationship. We live for relationship. 'We' precedes 'me'. The problem with relationships is they happen slowly. They take time and they don't scale, but norms scale. If you can change the culture, you can change behavior. If you can change how people think they should live, then you can change the whole society. Society change happens when a small group of people find a better way to live and the rest of us copy them. That happened in the 1960s, it happened with the feminist movement, it happened with a lot of different movements.

What Weave is about is trying to change the culture around the weavers who are already existing. There are millions of them. They're a movement that doesn't know they're a movement. One of the things we try to do is lift them up so other people will be aware of them. The second thing we try to do is synthesize values. We would go to red America. We were just in Nebraska and New Orleans. They all use the same words. Deep mutuality: we're all equal here, we're all broken, radical hospitality, the code of the neighbor and what a neighbor is supposed to do. So we can spread those values.

The third thing most germane to people in this room is how to create the infrastructure of a movement. We had a feminist movement when we had to fight gender inequality. We have an environmental movement to fight pollution. We have

a social capital problem, a community problem. We need a community movement. We don't have the infrastructure of such a movement. What's an infrastructure of a movement require? Well, you need common stories. A movement is a group of people who share a common story. You need common projects. In the book of Genesis, the creation of the universe is covered in nine verses. In Exodus, the creation of the tabernacle goes on for hundreds and hundreds of verses. Why is that? Because the Israelites need to be united into a people, and a people is a group of people who build something together. We need decentralized hubs like this gathering, like Dan's Upwell. Weave is having a gathering. Gatherings that are linked to each other and part of one project. We need training academies. Meeting these weavers is like going into the nursing profession without going to nursing schools. They're just in it because they decide to something. They have no way to actually get themselves trained.

We need more organized donor networks. We need what the civil rights movement called a soap opera every day, a series of little dramas to hold up to the world and show them that's a better way to live, that's how we should all be living. We should all be inviting our neighbors over. What we're asking of America is for them to make a lifestyle choice that reflects a moral and spiritual choice. I wasn't like this five years ago. I didn't believe these things. But I went through a process, and now I do. That may not be the process you all went through. Maybe most people in this room are naturally communal. But a lot of people are not. A lot of people are not behaving the way we want neighbors to behave, and we just have to reset norms.

It requires an ultimate shift in orientation, in the meritocracy and in our culture. We talk a lot about happiness. Happiness is when we win a victory for the self. You get a promotion, your team wins the Superbowl, your self feels expanded. The better thing to shoot for is joy. If happiness is about the victory of the self, joy is about transcendence of the self, where you end and another person begins, where you end and your work begins, where you end and the community begins. The ego begins to dissolve and you become enmeshed in something united. That's the sort of culture change I hope we can see. Thank you very much.

LAUREN SMITH

Good morning, everyone. Thank you, David, for that wonderful address. My name is Lauren Smith, and clearly I won the lottery in being able to moderate this panel, although all the panels have been great. I'm very excited to be able to moderate this panel. One of the reasons that I was so excited is this idea of the new localism and the interconnections that people have at the community level is something that resonates very deeply with me. I'm a pediatrician and former public health official. For a couple decades, I took care of children and families who I only saw in the hospital because the social fabric had either started to unweave, or became frayed, or altogether had a hole that they fell through. So this concept of how meaningful it is to have that social fabric for those families and children, many of whom you all care deeply about as well, the weft and the warp of the social fabric is where they're located. So I really appreciate that.

David, you just shared your reflections on the inexplicable caring for one another and that only relationships change lives. We're very thrilled to have Dan Cardinali from Independent Sector and Ann Stern from the Houston Endowment. I'd love to ask you all to respond to a question around power. Underneath what you were talking about,

and as folks recall, we heard a lot yesterday around the issue of power. How would you all describe how philanthropy can avoid the pitfall of not recognizing the power that it brings to the kinds of weavers that you were talking about? I'd love to be able to hear that, but before we address that, I want to let Dan and Ann give their remarks.

ANN STERN

First of all, I would start with a little bit of background about our foundation, Houston Endowment. We are a private foundation in Houston and we have been there for over 80 years. Our roots are in Houston, our future is in Houston. Listening to David's comments, I think we are a neighbor with our fellow residents. In our 82-year history, we've evolved a lot in response to the region's changing needs and challenges. I give a lot of credit to the foresight of our founder, Jesse Jones, who did not name the foundation after himself and gave no mandate to how the investment was to be allocated across the community. He said, "I'm going to leave that to future generations to figure out what that looks like." And my has our region changed over the past 80-something years.

If you think about our approach, the first thing I would say is Houston Endowment works with others across the nonprofit, public and private sectors to increase the vibrancy of the region and advance equity of opportunity. It's all about being deeply attuned to the needs of our community. It's really about creating connections, fostering trust, and really connecting issues. At the end of the day, the issues we deal with (healthcare, housing, immigration, education) are all interrelated and the way they impact gets amplified sometimes. There is no way that we will drive meaningful change on the issues we care about if we're working by ourselves, and if we are coming up with the solutions by ourselves.

With \$1.8 billion in assets and about \$80 million a year deployed into the community, I would say by far the most value that we have is the reputational asset, the reputational capital, the relationships with people, the deep community engagement, the ability to access people who really understand their communities and have the better ideas about solutions than we ever would. There is lots of potential in that.

The region itself is complicated. It's the fourth largest city in America with nine neighboring counties. It's in one of the fastest growing regions in the country, and incredibly diverse. We are almost equally split in our population between Anglo, Black, Latino, and Asian. One out of four of our residents is foreign born with 33% of those being undocumented. One of the results is a quilt of really interesting neighborhoods, each with a distinct culture, each with distinct assets and challenges. I'm a native Houstonian who really prides myself in getting to live in a welcoming city where you're not asked who your father is, and yet, we have this deep socioeconomic disparity and growing income disparity and growing disparity of opportunity. Four years ago we codified the foundation's mission. After almost 80 years we decided it was time. We called out the vibrancy of the city, but we called out a commitment to change equity of opportunity, to build on it, to remove barriers to it, because how in the world can you have vibrancy without having equity of opportunity? It really links back to our founder, Jesse Jones, who believed, "I will not be successful unless everyone in this community thrives." He really recognized, even back 80 years ago, the interconnectedness of his world with the world of the other people of the region.

The role of Houston Endowment changes depending on the opportunity. We have relationships, we have trust. We don't have a lot of expert knowledge, but we know people who do have that expert knowledge. I would say that as a perpetual institution we just have to keep pushing ourselves to use our reputational assets to bring people together, to convene them, to use our voice, to take on controversial topics. A lot of times we work with people and we have conflicts and they're our neighbors. We will work with them again, and so you have to bring maturity to the process. You have to bring a real listening to the process and understand that even if you feel an urgency and a resolve and a strength of a conviction that you are driving the right thing that sometimes you have to wait until everyone's ready to come along. It's that lovely balance between pushing with urgency and listening and respecting and appreciating where everybody else is coming from.

I'll take a few minutes to mention a couple of the issues that we're working on right now. I won't go into great detail, but happy to talk about these during the Q&A or at lunch afterwards, or even in the weeks to come. I would say the common denominator in our work is not one of these initiatives came to us as a grant application, not one of them. They came about because we had program officers who were engaged in the community, who were listening, who were convening people, who were letting ideas develop among the people who know these issues best. The other thing is that every single one of them involves multiple players across multiple sectors. That's the common denominator.

I have to mention education because when you focus on equity of opportunity, how do you not focus on strengthening the public education system? We've done a lot of work, it's been slow-going. We have state policy that is not very supportive of what we're trying to do. The largest school system in our region is incredibly dysfunctional right now, sad to say. That doesn't mean we can wait until the policy aligns, so we have over 60 organizations who have come together. We've incubated a nonprofit to really lead the establishment by this group of a common vision for the community, which is that every child, in every neighborhood, should have access to a high-quality public education. There are specific strategies, metrics, and goals. It's going to be really hard work, but it is one thing that our foundation can help do is provide the cover for some of the difficult change that needs to happen, and keep that vision in the collective consciousness.

Immigrants are obviously a huge part of our community. They drive our economy. Without them we would not be this vibrant economy that we have been over the last 20 years. In 2016, we convened a group of legal service providers to immigrants to really think about how we prepare for the expected expansion of DACA and DAPA under the Obama administration. That work went on for a couple years. The policy that emerged was very different than we expected it to be, but we were lucky that these organizations had spent two years building capacity, connecting with each other to share best practices, and really reached out to the people in their communities and had become trusted advisors for those immigrants. They became vital, and we saw the strength and power of those connections when Harvey hit, because it's hard to imagine a more vulnerable population during a disaster than this immigrant population, especially the undocumented who did not have access to many resources. There was this collaborative in the shelters providing a hotline, answering

questions about what relief people were entitled to, and actually raising funds from some of our peer funders from across the country who said, "We want to help Houston, and we particularly want to help this population." Those who sometimes had access to no other relief, had relief through this coalition that developed. It's really the value of trusting connections.

That led to more active work in civic engagement. That work has been going on for about six months and is really proceeding beyond our wildest expectations. The city and the county have come together and said, "Let's build on some of this trust that has developed through this immigrant coalition, and let's try to really focus on not getting a significant undercount during the 2020 census." Instead of sending whoever the census-taker is out into these communities, they are identifying community leaders, they are certifying them as census-takers, they are sending them door-to-door among people that they trust. The hope is that we get an accurate census count. This group is also doing a civic health survey. One of the first things they noted was that there is a very low level of trust relative to other cities in Houston, Texas, so there are actually strategies around that. I think it's not surprising when you consider there's not a reason for trust in many of these communities, but how do we build on that?

Finally, I would mention a hyper-local example of this work. There are obviously neighborhoods in Houston that, more than any others, are significantly impacted by some of the challenges that are associated with lack of opportunity. We went in with another foundation about three years ago to a community, with no expectation other than that there was a group of citizens who wanted to lead their organization through economic revitalization. They wanted to do it themselves and they wanted to do it before the community became completely gentrified. We went in, funded technical support for their conversations and their strategic planning. We said, "We're here. We're interested in what you come up with and the solutions that you identify, and we'd love to be part of that." It was a real leap of faith for us. For people who like to control things, it was very difficult to go in with no other idea rather than to learn what was possible. That has led to incredible work by this community group, and the identification of a historic Black hospital that had fallen into bankruptcy. We were able to help return it to the community and provide jobs, and also provide an expansion of mental and behavioral health services for that community.

In closing, localism is powerful. I think when you work in one geographic region you get to develop relations, and build on it for the next time. Every time we come together around an issue there is more power, I think, from trust from the last experience and the relationships that exist. I would also say that we are affected by what happens at the state and national level. As positive as it can be locally, we can't forget that those headwinds can actually undo the work that we're doing locally. So that has to continuously be a prong of the work that we do, focusing on how we enhance the support of the state and national policy to really serve the work that's going on locally.

LAUREN SMITH

Thank you, Ann. That was awesome, and the way that you connected the relationship-building that you did precisely to the changes that you were making really did jive with what David was saying.

DAN CARDINALI

I want to make sure we get a chance to engage with you all, so I'm going to cut to a couple of key ideas. First, just a personal thing. David mentioned in his talk a guy by the name Bill Millikan, and I had the privilege of working with Bill for about 18 years. It is very true that he came up with this very profound insight that it really wasn't programmatic initiatives that changed kids, it was loving relationships in service of really good programs. I think that is the challenge all of us face every day. How do we retain the science and the expertise and the wisdom, both at the local and national level, and imbue it with a kind of first-order commitment to the unfolding of individual human flourishing and collective human flourishing? That then leads to a kind of social change that can address Lauren's question around the right use of power, the right deployment of resources, so that there is a collective unfolding of human flourishing. I think that's our adaptive challenge as we step into this moment.

How did I get there and what are we doing about that? When I was, in a prior life, at community schools, I watched lots of people of extraordinary good will trying to help young people. They were confronting a set of systems, public education, that wasn't always willing to engage and was more focused on its institutionality. Over a 40-year period, I watched civil society and nonprofits organize themselves with business and government and philanthropy, and partner with public education to begin to innovate a way to mitigate the effects of poverty and trauma in high-poverty schools and in kids and families' lives. Public education, a trust, a commitment we make across the country, could better serve all young people equitably. It wasn't just government, it wasn't just philanthropy, it wasn't just business or nonprofits. It was the collective work of remaining hyper-focused on love as a transformative force, and using science to be able to then continually refine how to do that well every day and at scale, up to about 1.5 million students.

When I stepped into this job at Independent Sector, I looked across and saw 1.8 million civil society organizations, mostly nonprofits, many philanthropic institutions, employing 14 million Americans. It's the third-largest workforce in America, leveraging \$650 billion of tax revenue and wages, leveraging \$410 billion of philanthropic giving every year, mobilizing 63 million volunteers, doing things as vast and diverse as you could possibly imagine. Yet we are living in a moment where we feel, as David so beautifully articulated, the fabric, the very sense of our human connectedness, pulling ourselves apart. Is it that we're not telling the right story? Is it that those institutions have somehow become victims of a cultural narrative, and now are replicating the unhealthy practices? How do we catalyze a set of conversations and change our behavior such that that amazing crown jewel in the world, civil society in the US, can consciously take up this work where the human person is at the center of activity and then leverage all the extraordinary assets, the human and financial and collective wisdom, against human flourishing?

Independent Sector was created 40 years ago as a classic membership organization. Today, we're at about 450 members. I'm going to take you through a little bit of a risky story. When I took the job almost three years ago, I looked at our membership. We have 450 members, the large philanthropic and nonprofit organizations. We are the only organization in the United States that are sector-spanning. We have grant-seeking, grant-making, corporate philanthropy, we partner with business. We were routinely representing what was healthy civil society in America. If you actually looked

at the individuals who were making those determinations, it was 30 to 40 people who sat through a membership committee who then kind of named what the public policy issues would be and determined what our conference would be. We were routinely standing and proclaiming that we had our fingers in the pulse beat of American civil society, when honestly it was the furthest thing from the truth.

We had an adaptive challenge to say, how is it that we are charged with this leadership, opportunity and power, and yet we have so abdicated our responsibility to connect to community? What we did was we blew up what was our normal conference, and we said, no longer are we going to go with the sage on the stage, which is perfectly acceptable in some designs, not for us. How do we initiate a continuous engagement process whereby the meaning-making of what is important to civil society can be top-down and bottom-up? Those two sit in a way in which power is mediated such that what's going on in civil society gets named and that then informs our public policy work, and we have a formidable public policy initiative. So we redesigned our conference. We blew up the Independent Sector conference and we renamed it to be Upswell, which is collectively owned by civil society. It is a platform whereby community-based leaders and national leaders can come together in the most non-transactional way to engage with each other around the important issues of our day. That sounds great, but how do you do that? That's the adaptive challenge.

We have three elements. Number one: we are hyper-community focused. Where we're going to be holding the conference, we use that community's collective wisdom through civil society as the case study. It is locally-grounded issues that are raised to national import. We literally hire community organizers in the communities in which we're going to operate, and have them work across a wide range of civil society organizations to determine what is going on. Then we use the wisdom of these large actors that are members of ours to say, "What are some of the tensions we're seeing locally that are relevant nationally?"

Number two: we create social collision. Lauren mentioned power at the very beginning. Power in my mind is a perfectly fine thing, it's a tool and a resource. The individual's disposition to using power is what matters. We designed Upswell so that it is actually a way in which people can come together and be in relationship, in a way that is non-transactional and new. I'll give you an example. We were in a pop-up arts studio in Detroit where Darren Walker sat with a guy who runs a homeless shelter in Traverse City, Michigan. They would never have had an opportunity to connect. That conversation then generated a set of learning for all of us involved that influenced how Upswell unfolds for the future, how both Darren and this leader now do their work.

Number three: skill-building. As I mentioned at the very beginning, leveraging, accelerating, scaling love through science and programmatic work is not for the faint of heart. Those 14 million employees, those 63 million volunteers are hungry for skills and technical expertise to drive their work into community transformation. We embarked on this process, and last year we had 1500 folks, the vast majority of whom were folks of color from the community. Philanthropy played a critically powerful role in democratizing access to that meaning-making. We are in this grand experiment. The hope is that Upswell over time reauthorizes Independent Sector's public policy voice from the 30 to 40 people that were determining the public policy agenda, to

now tens of thousands, ideally millions of folks. Through this engagement process, we determine what are the real obstacles and opportunities facing civil society, and how a national organization, an infrastructure organization, leverages that voice to help facilitate and create social change.

LAUREN SMITH

That was an amazing overview of how you came to craft Upswell. I would love to use that as an opportunity to then jump into some questions with the panel, because I know that you have a lot more that you want to share. You knit back to the question around power so I want to come back to that since that was such an important theme from yesterday and it does seem to be included in what each of you have said. I was wondering if you could each take a moment and share with us how you thought about the sharing of power and authentically being willing to share and cede power with a community.

ANN STERN

I think foundations do have a certain type of power. I think if we try to pretend that we don't, that's not very authentic and we actually give up one of the tools that we have to drive social change. Acknowledge the fact that you do have power and use it as a force for good. That being said, make sure that everything you do is grounded in community engagement and let community inform both inform the identification of the problem and the crafting of the solution. You sort of feel your way along. It's both the bottom-up power and it's the top-down power. Use it, it will vary by situation. I think we spend a lot of time internally talking about how important it is to remember what it feels like when a foundation walks into a room.

One of the things that we're working on right now is moving our headquarters. We're on the 64th floor of an office building, and it became really apparent what it feels like when you're out of the community and you take three elevators and an escalator to get from the parking garage downtown onto the 64th floor of an office building. It doesn't matter what we say when you get there, the message has already been sent. So we have bought land and are building a building that will be not only transparent (we're hoping for a lot of glass) and accessible, but also a place where the community feels comfortable bringing members to convene. I think there are a lot of different ways that you have to think about the messages that you're sending and how to create those connections with people where everybody can play their highest and best role.

DAVID BROOKS

I guess my theory of power rests in a theory of social change. How's the society going to change? To me we're in a moment like the 1890s. We have a big economic transition, lots of immigration, decay of the social fabric. In that era, change happened in three phases. First there was a cultural shift from social Darwinism to the social gospel movement, from a very individualistic movement to more communal. Second, there was a civic renaissance. In the 1890s you had the creation of the Boys and Girls Scouts, Boys and Girls Clubs, the Settlement House movement, the environmental movement, the NAACP. All these things grew up within five years of each other. Third,

they created the Progressive movement. To me, the most important parts of power in our stage of transition are cultural and civic.

How do you create that power? One of the things that's emphasized is cultural power and civic power are not zero sum. They are created. My mentors on this are Peter Block and John McKnight, who say that power is created when you create a new conversation. When you gather a new group of people together, including those who you formerly defined as the problem, you've created power. If you create a collective impact structure, you've created power. To me, the great tragedy of our moment is that we in this room don't have a common identity. We are letting power slip through our fingers every day because we're involved in parallel play. If you created a common identity and a common movement, that would be active power because other people would be forced to reckon with this thing, this entity. But we don't do that because we're busy with our own projects, and that to me is a tragedy.

DAN CARDINALI

Can I build off of that? I agree with David very much and we've had multiple conversations about this. Let's get very brass tacks about what this might look like. All of you who run philanthropic institutions, all of you who run nonprofits, I'm guessing the vast majority have theories of change. I would venture a guess that much of your theory of change was probably driven by getting the smartest consulting firms and the smartest academics to come up with what the lit review has told you to be the most effective multi-prong strategy to move forward. In there now, hopefully, is a box somewhere around community engagement. For some of the more enlightened ones, it cuts across a bunch of theories of change. It's an activity within beautifully architected theories of change with multiple slides. Then we go out to community, and even though the engagement is how we're supposed to do it, it's still kind of this contractor relationship, like, "I need you to eventually have the 'a-ha' that this is what you need to do, and then we'll be able to collectively move in this direction."

I just wonder if we have not idolized, to the point, the theories of change. We live behind a technical competency around community engagement, which actually isn't about sharing power. How radical is it, if we're thinking seriously about meaning making culture change, that we begin to co-design our theories of change around the rate at which community can metabolize social change?, The collective wisdom of community married with the collective power of money and expertise. I led with a story around community to schools for a reason. I believe science and expertise matters immensely. I just think we have so absolutized it. These pristine, very wonderful ideas can go so far in front of our ability to actually implement and engage with people and the messiness of that. Then we're pressured by our boards or by our corporate social return on investment, where we feel this need to just push so hard that we're performatively contradicting our desire to share power by virtue of these structures we've put in place.

I would just challenge us to incrementally or dramatically reevaluate how we construct our theory of change, who gets to be in the co-design, so that we don't go from one guardrail to the other and say, "Community wisdom is the only answer." I ran a network for many years, and there are really bad ideas that folks simply don't know because they haven't had the opportunity to be exposed to some of the best science.

Once they are, and they can get it, they make really good decisions that tend to be highly practical. It's slow and messy. So that would be the challenge I would put forth for us. If we're really thinking about power and community change and creating conversations that lead to cultural change, let's walk the talk.

LAUREN SMITH

I want to follow up on that piece around trust. All of you have talked about the need for collaboration across sectors, and yesterday we heard quite a bit about the eroding trust that people have in the institutions that would likely need to be participating in those collaborations. I'm wondering if you could just share what you're thinking about the twin responsibility of rebuilding trust and relationship at the same time, when the institutions themselves may not have that social capital to be able to invest.

ANN STERN

I think this is where local foundations have a real edge, because what I would hope is that if there are questions or challenges about how we're approaching our work, we would hear it from our neighbors and partners. I think trust ultimately comes down to personal relationships. I can't trust an institution until I can trust the people that I know within the institution, and I understand who they are and where they're coming from. So I think we have a real edge being a local foundation.

DAVID BROOKS

We've spent a year traveling around the country to 42 states visiting community weavers all around. One of the questions I would ask at the dinners is, "At what level of society are you most attached? Is it your street, your neighborhood, your town, your state, your nation, or the world?" Five percent would say the world. "I love all humanity." 95% would say "my town." The town is the mutual affection that they're willing to die for, the guy with the "Defend Youngstown" sign. So you can build trust around a common affection. I think that's buttressed by the work of Raj Chetty and Eric Landberg and all the rest, that the neighborhood is the unit of change. I used to think individuals were the unit of change, but as my friend Mac McCarter, who runs something called Community Renewal International, says, "You can't only clean your part of the swimming pool." You have to clean the whole pool that people are living in because we're so influenced by contagions and norms. When you think the neighborhood is the unit of change, then you realize where power is resting in the neighborhood. How is the neighborhood getting together, who's setting the norms? Are you creating platforms where the neighborhood can get together? This is Klinenberg's research on libraries. That local level is where people actually already have preexisting levels of trust. There's a passage in the book of Job with a phrase I love: "And the sparks fly upward." That's where the local has to start. The trust is not going to be built on the national level. I lived in Washington, D.C., believe me. It's going to come up from the neighborhood, and then it'll grow up through a cultural contagion.

DAN CARDINALI

The only thing I'd add is I think institutions still are alive and well in our lives. If you think of just how many hit the people we know and love. I agree that I think through relationship is where trust is built. David talked about his own personal journey. When you hit the rocks, you are at a crossroad. You can go into despair or you're opened up, you're kind of awoken, and you can step into something. I think institutions facilitate the catching of people when that awakening happens. What are the sets of competencies that aren't about the best Excel sheet, your Microsoft skills? It's about the culture you build in your institutions that enable people to catch that moment. I remember this woman at Independent Sector, her bike was stolen. This was her sole form of transportation. Within an hour, there had been a GoFundMe, and we had gotten her resources for her bike. It was one of those moments where a crisis facilitated a culture and the culture stepped in in constructive way to respond to someone not out there, but in the building. I think that's a terrific opportunity. I just believe institutions really matter, and trust-building is a skill set that we can all cultivate every day.

LAUREN SMITH

Wonderful. Well, I know our time is winding down but I wanted to give each of you an opportunity for one last parting thought, in particular for this audience. What would you have them leave with and thinking about regarding this new localism?

DAN CARDINALI

The fact that this is on the agenda is extraordinarily exciting to me, that there is an openness to not abdicate the power and the institutional nature at the national level, but a groundedness in what is going on in community. My only hope is that we're prompted by the pace of community change in the way we work across our institutions, and that we can be powerful and smart in our national focus around culture change.

ANN STERN

I would go back to something Dan said about just being really skeptical about relying only on theories of change and the science of this. There's so much around trust and the connectedness. I think we all seek scalability and to recognize that scalability with social issues looks somewhat different. You have to be so mindful of context and you can learn from each other and should learn from each other, but everything comes down to the local context and the relationships and trust of the people that are working together.

DAVID BROOKS

We seek to drive cultural change around the weaver lifestyle, the values, the creed, the gospel, the way of living. We want more people to live that way. If anybody knows how to do cultural change, which is a mysterious thing, write to me at david.brooks@aspensinstitute.org, which actually goes to my phone. We just somehow have to do it through it partnership.

LAUREN SMITH

Wonderful. I will close in saying that in hearing all of you speak, I thought of two individuals who are probably never referred to in the same sentence, which is John Dunn and Marian Wright Edelman. For the first one, I think about the quote “no man is an island.” We can update it: no person is an island unto himself, all are part of the continent, part of the main. I think that really speaks around the woes of individualism. And Marian Wright Edelman wrote or spoke, “Service is the rent we pay for living.” That idea of the interconnected service that you all have been talking about really resonated with me. Thank you so much.

FUNDING ACROSS DIFFERENCE



TUESDAY APRIL 2
10:00 AM

CHARLES KOCH
CHAIRMAN, CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION

BRIAN HOOKS
PRESIDENT, CHARLES KOCH FOUNDATION

IN CONVERSATION WITH JANE WALES
FOUNDER, GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM

JANE WALES

We're looking for opportunities, and Charles Koch is looking for opportunities, to work across ideologies to get things done. I asked Brian whether I should call him Mr. Koch because I'm from New England where everyone's first name is Mr. or Mrs., and Brian said, "Well he's from Wichita, where everybody has a first name," so I hope you don't mind that I address you as Charles.

CHARLES KOCH

Well, my wife calls me Chucky, so that works, too.

JANE WALES

That works, too. We'll probably pivot off of remarks made by the earlier panel. You came into philanthropy as a young man. You were 27 years old, I think you said, but with a well-developed political and moral philosophy. Can you describe that philosophy for us, and its sources? What were the origins of this philosophy for you?

CHARLES KOCH

To give a little background, as a kid, I thought I wasn't good at anything except getting in trouble, and I was very good at that. I won't go into details on that, that'd be too boring, but I found that what aptitude I had was in a narrow range. It was for math and other abstract concepts, so I ended up going to MIT and I thought I would study engineering, and I did. I got three degrees in engineering. I found out I was a lousy engineer because although I was good at math and abstract concepts, I wasn't good at building or operating physical things. So, I mainly took courses in theory, which fit my aptitude because I wanted to succeed there. And I became fascinated with the principles of science and the scientific method. Then that carried over after I left MIT and went to work. I developed a passion for not only furthering that understanding, but developing an understanding for what I call the principles of human flourishing. This wasn't just to understand these principles. I wanted to be successful, I wanted to accomplish things. So I had to learn it in a way that would enable me to apply it in a way that would make me more effective.

My studies included the full range of everything I thought would be relevant and would help me, that is the full range of different ideas, different disciplines, different

ideologies. Then I could sort this out and see when a principle would help me or how it needed to be modified. And then I would try to apply it in all the aspects of my life, and see what worked and didn't, and modified it. What I learned from this changed my life and enabled me to accomplish more than I ever dreamed possible. Probably just as important as that, or maybe more important, it gave me a much deeper purpose in life, and a North Star.

It was to move toward a society where everyone has the opportunity to become engaged in a way that they could realize their potential. This would be what I call a society of mutual benefit, where people succeed by helping each other rather than, as is the case too often, by hurting others or taking advantage of others.

JANE WALES

You applied this not only to your philanthropy, but also to your business practice. Say something about that.

CHARLES KOCH

To my business practice and my family. My kids can give horror stories on what they had to endure. But in business, I took these principles and started trying to develop a management framework that we call "market-based management." I then applied that to create what I call virtuous cycles of mutual benefit. I've given talks at business schools about how the way you need to start is to understand and develop the capability to create value for others. The students have argued, "No, you're supposed to be maximizing profit. That's naïve." And I ask, "Well, is that more naïve than thinking somebody's going to want to pay you something, or work with you, if you're not creating value for them?"

A virtuous cycle of mutual benefit is understanding how you can create value for all your constituencies, the first being your customers of course, but also your employees, your suppliers, your communities, and society at large, and become what I call the partner of choice. When all these constituents have a range of people they can deal with, they prefer to deal with you. Then you continually improve, add capabilities, find new opportunities, and so on. Miraculously, all this worked pretty well. I mean, we had a lot of failures. That's the other thing: you've got to be willing to have failures, to experiment, to constantly try new things, and be open to different ideas and different ways of doing things. That's why, at 83, I'm more passionate and working harder than ever because I have these fabulous ideas, I think, which I like to see implemented to benefit other people besides myself.

JANE WALES

In many ways, was your thinking about business a precursor to the concept of "shared value?" You've touched on two levers you use to advance social change. One is your business and the other is your philanthropy. Brian, it's your job as leader of the Charles Koch Foundation to execute on these concepts of liberty and equality. What are the quivers in your bow as you do this?

BRIAN HOOKS

Well, it really comes back to that idea of working with others to create these virtuous cycles of mutual benefit. When we can help to address a problem in society, we don't just address that problem, but we empower people to go on to address problems further. Everything that we do, and we do a whole lot of different things as you say, comes back to partnership, and it's the people that we work with. We are fortunate to be able to work, as many of you are, with literally thousands of social entrepreneurs, people who are discovering new and better ways to solve societal problems. Those social entrepreneurs take many forms. They're all sorts of different people, with all sorts of different perspectives. They include hundreds of business leaders and philanthropists, for sure. Every year, we have partnerships with people in the business and the philanthropic community.

We also have partnerships with people who bring a very different perspective to solving problems. For instance, if you want to address violence in urban communities, we've found the best people to partner with are former gang leaders. We've got programs that support wonderful organizations that are accomplishing incredible things in communities, based on what folks like our partners know that we could never know. If you want to address addiction, we work with people who have experienced addiction. When addressing homelessness, we work with people who have experienced homelessness.

CHARLES KOCH

We come in and tell them how to solve these problems, and people say, "you haven't lived through this," whereas our partners have lived it and overcome the problems. And so people will listen to them, and rightfully so, they shouldn't be listening to me.

BRIAN HOOKS

And that's the key. I'm sure many people in this room have had similar experiences, but the wisdom and the knowledge to help us know where we can actually make the biggest difference, more often than not, comes from the people on the frontlines who are actually experiencing those problems and have that local knowledge. The partnerships that we work with is the common thread through all of the different activities, programs and people that we support. Then, once you have those partnerships in place, you've got to tackle problems from all different angles. What we've found is that really is critical. Rarely have we found a societal problem where there's a single intervention that can solve it and then you're done. I think the previous panel was talking about the need to invest across society, empower people across society, in order to sustainably address any one problem. So we invest across education, communities, and help business to play a more productive role in society, as well as public policy.

JANE WALES

Charles, you say you weren't a great engineer, but you take a systems approach to a problem. Brian, at the foundation you are doing something that so many foundations do, and that's invest in ideas. You used to be part of idea generation; you headed the Mercatus Center within George Mason University. Talk about the role you are playing in seeding ideas and concepts, starting with academia.

BRIAN HOOKS

Sure, I was fortunate to work at the Mercatus Center for 14 years, ran it for the last 10 that I was there. I think of Mercatus, and a lot of the university programs that we support, as embodying this notion of a “republic of science.” When we think of a republic of science, we think of bringing a diversity of perspectives, people, approaches, and methods all together to address problems that matter to people in society. That’s what Mercatus was all about. It was fascinating, when you brought that kind of a group together to address a problem, how much progress you could make.

Indulge me just with one example: My first project at Mercatus, way back in 2000 when I started, was to work with a guy named Doug North. Douglass North was an Economics Professor at Washington University, won the Nobel Prize back in the ‘90s, and our project at Mercatus was to work with Doug on what he thought was going to be his last book. It turned out to be his second-to-last book, he always had more to do than he thought when he started. Doug said to me, as we were putting together these manuscript workshops on his book, “Look, we’ve got to put about fifteen or sixteen people together in the room to help me really improve this manuscript. My one goal is I want to be the dumbest person in the room,” and this is Doug North, it’s a tall order, he’s a pretty smart guy. What he meant by that was, “I don’t want to be surrounded by people who think the same way that I do, or that know the same things that I’ve known, or have experienced the same things that I’ve experienced. I want to be in a room with people who can teach me something, and that I can learn from, because as we bring all of our ideas together, my ideas are going to get better.” This was a ten-year process that Doug went through, we joined him for the last three years of this, and it was fascinating. I think Mercatus embodies that approach in everything that they do, and I certainly learned a lot from that. We support well over 1,000 professors in about 370 universities across the country. When professors come to us with ideas, and they approach it with that kind of intellectual humility, that’s one of the things that we get excited about.

JANE WALES

Now, you do get some pushback. Let me put it differently: Some academics say that under the guise of ideological pluralism, some philanthropists will come in and try to promote an idea that is otherwise not sustainable. It can be demonstrated to be not so good. What do you say to that criticism?

CHARLES KOCH

If we’re supporting ideas that aren’t viable, I want to know because I don’t want to be supporting them either. So if you let me in on that, I haven’t heard those.

JANE WALES

Well, I think what’s most visible are challenges to the scientific consensus on climate change. If the majority of scientists have come to one conclusion, is a minority view really of equal weight?

BRIAN HOOKS

There’s a lot of misinformation out there about our support for university programs. Climate change is actually not an area that we’ve made almost any investments in at the university level because we haven’t really seen an opportunity to make a difference, to add value to that conversation. We’ve supported some programs. We supported a project at Berkeley called Berkeley Earth, with a wonderful physicist named Richard Muller, whose work demonstrated that once you get rid of all the noise, there’s a relationship between carbon in the air and greenhouse gases and warming. We contributed to that project, but that was maybe six or seven years ago, we haven’t done much since. The one thing that all of our programs at universities have in common is they’re always faculty-driven. It’s not up to us to decide which ideas ought to be supportable or rise to the top. We want to empower faculty members who have a new or different way of approaching a societal problem, and then provide them with the resources so they can realize that vision. We’ve gone one step further actually: I think we’re the only major foundation out there that publishes our major university grants online. We do that because we’ve received feedback from the faculty that we work with that when they can find out about cutting-edge work or what’s happening in other universities that they’re interested in, they value that. They can come together with those faculty members at other universities, or they can come to us or their foundations and say, “I didn’t realize people were supporting this work, we’d love to participate.”

A great example of that is the project at Harvard and MIT. You guys can correct me because many of you support universities, I think maybe it’s the best post-doc out there in political science right now. It’s the chance to spend a year at Harvard and a year at MIT, a two-year post-doc, studying foreign policy. The project was brought to us by two professors, one at Harvard and one at MIT, and they said, “Look, we don’t know what foreign policy should look like going forward, but we’re confident that we can do better. We’d like to bring in some of the best and the brightest minds to figure out the answer.” That’s among the best programs. If you start with an answer, why would you support the research?

JANE WALES

Let me take you back to support for research, but in think tanks. You helped create the Cato Institute. Like all Washington, D.C. think tanks, they are feeding knowledge into the policy process. Cato’s influence was significant in the Reagan Administration, for example: advancing various approaches to taxes, to deregulation. Smaller government was very much a theme of Ronald Reagan’s administration. It actually didn’t get smaller, but it was an aspiration.

CHARLES KOCH

Over history, it’s grown about the same rate, whoever’s in charge.

JANE WALES

That’s right. There was another organization that came up, I think in the early ‘80s, and that’s the Federalist Society. Brad Smith mentioned on our first night how singularly successful it has been in a real example of strategic philanthropy. But it

starts with the seeding of ideas. This is a network of legal scholars and practitioners that have a shared, originalist view of the Constitution. What we were told is that four out of five of the Supreme Court Justices were part of its network of conservatives and libertarians. I think I've got that right. Brad made a powerful, important point: the Federalist Society has been given general operating grants. Its supporters haven't tied grants to projects and then put the organization in a situation of having to scramble for funds to pay for their overhead. How important has it been to think long-term, to be patient about the results, but also to give a lot of freedom to your grantees? You find somebody smart, you feel they have a great idea, you fund them, you let them go.

CHARLES KOCH

That's in fact, as Brian described, what we do in all the university programs. When I started doing this in part in 1963, I was talking about some of the ideas we've talked about, so I'd see students who were interested in them, and I'd provide scholarships for them. Then a professor or teacher who saw these kids said, "I'd like to do work in this area," so I started supporting them. Now it's proliferated into 370 universities where we support professors in various ways.

BRIAN HOOKS

Let me give you an example of where this sort of philanthropy plays out, and it's in the area of criminal justice reform. There's a project at Arizona State University with Erik Luna, a law professor that we met maybe four or five years ago at an event that we hosted for several hundred people in New Orleans, on criminal justice. He came to us and he said, "There's been a sea-change in the academic understanding of what it means to administer a good criminal justice system." It's gone from breaking the paradigm between "tough on crime" and "soft on crime," which is sort of a no-win choice, to "smart on crime." There are ways for us to administer a criminal justice system that really helps to protect public safety while giving people the opportunity to improve their lives.

The academics kind of know this. And the policymakers who know it, know it because they've experimented and they've found good ways to improve the criminal justice system. But you don't have a set of common best practices that are actually being implemented as a result of the policy process, although the work is there to inform it. Erik's the guy who saw an opportunity to bring all of the long-term investments in scholarship that many people have been making over the years, including the Koch Foundation, together in a way that could actually bring that kind of knowledge to bear in a way that could improve people's lives.

Today, if you want to know the state-of-the-art on criminal justice reform, whether it's prosecutorial discretion reform, bail reform, sentencing reform, re-entry programs, you don't have to be lucky to be in a jurisdiction that has the experience with that. You can go to Erik's Project at Arizona State University, which the Koch Foundation, in partnership with several other donors, has helped Erik to create, and you can read, not just from Erik's scholarship but literally from over 100 different scholars from universities across the country, on the state-of-the-art. None of that's possible without philanthropists, including Charles but many others, having made those long-term investments in people who had that intellectual entrepreneurial spark where they

said, "I'm sure there's a better way to do this. I don't yet know what it is, but if you'll support my research, I'm passionate about trying to discover something that can help the world."

JANE WALES

I will return to criminal justice reform in a minute. But, when I look at your "systems" approach, it is a combination of seeding ideas, connecting those ideas to policy, and it is in forming—and this is where you started this conversation—a movement of donors and others. I think you referred to it as a "seminar network." And there are mentoring relationships within that network. I think back to what David Brooks had to say about how relationships are what change minds or advance progress. When it comes to that network, what is most visible to the public, or what the media covers most, are the political donations that come from it, including in 2016. But while the President and Vice President have been influenced by these ideas...You were not a big Trump supporter yourself.

CHARLES KOCH

No. In all the years I've been involved, in the 55 years I've been involved in these activities, we only supported one presidential candidate and that was Mitt Romney. It's because he did so many things in his private life to help people, we thought. Then he didn't campaign very well, he didn't campaign on these values that we think he held. So he had some bad campaign advice or something.

JANE WALES

You and he, then, had the same view of Donald Trump.

CHARLES KOCH

My deal is to hate the sin, not the sinner. We want to help save the sinner, right?

JANE WALES

The reason I'm mentioning this is it's back to influence, not only seeding ideas but of bringing ideas to the people who are going to execute on those ideas. President Trump was not your candidate. Yet some of the ideas you have supported—on tax reform, deregulation, judicial appointments—have become part of the political culture that you and your network had helped create. But, back to criminal justice reform.

BRIAN HOOKS

Criminal justice is a great example. This is the most consequential reform to the criminal justice system in, literally, generations.

CHARLES KOCH

There's still hope for immigration reform. But people today put everything in terms of the network. We started that in 2003, and I started in this in 1963, so that was 40 years that I had nothing to do with this. We were working on policies and mobilizing, but nothing touching electoral politics.

JANE WALES

Right. Here you have an enormous issue: mass incarceration, particularly of young men but also young women, in our country. You seized on this issue, it became a central and important issue for you. Tell us why, but also tell us who were your partners and how you found them. This was a great example of folks from across the political spectrum working toward the same goal.

CHARLES KOCH

Well, as I said, when I found out where I had ability, it was in a narrow range. So in my whole life, for me to accomplish anything, I had to get partners who were good at all the things I wasn't, and that is a lot of things. When I found partners, I've tended to be successful, and when I wasn't able to put partnerships together, I haven't been. My philosophy on good partnerships is it requires three things: shared vision, shared values, and having complementary capabilities. I think what's made it [our approach] so much more successful in the last five years than I had been previously is we have narrowed our definition of a shared vision in this social change work, and we've narrowed it down to, "We just need to share a vision on this issue." For many years, I had thought, "Okay, we don't need to agree on everything, but we need to agree on quite a few things." Now we say, "If you will work with us on this one important issue, and you bring complementary capabilities, and we agree with the methodology and share values, then we'll work together." And I think that's what's made all the difference.

BRIAN HOOKS

Yeah, it goes back to partnerships. If you really understand what it means to be true partners: we both bring something to the table, we're all trying to get to the same goal, we bring different ways of thinking about it and different approaches, we're going to be able to accomplish a lot more together than we could on our own.

CHARLES KOCH

When we look at what we're doing, as with a lot of things, we're coming closer to what I think one of the great social entrepreneurs in our history Frederick Douglass' philosophy was on this: "I'll unite with anybody to do right and no one to do wrong." That's kind of where we've ended up, after the long journey and a lot of missteps.

BRIAN HOOKS

This has been a sea-change in the way that we look at the opportunity to engage in the political process, as well. Most organizations, and certainly we did for a number of years, look at the opportunity in politics as a partisan opportunity. You bet on the team that's closest to what you want to accomplish and then you try to work with them to get things done. A couple of years ago, we looked at that and said, "While that's gotten some things done, it's not accomplishing near enough for the country, and it's having all sorts of negative consequences in terms of alienation and polarization." Based on this philosophy, let's unite with anyone to do right and no one to do wrong. We said, "We can do better than that." We've stopped engaging in a partisan way in politics, and now we are working to unite broad-based coalitions

around public policy. I think that gets to your question on what happened recently in criminal justice, but it also is relevant to immigration, K-12 education, all these other opportunities.

CHARLES KOCH

So we say, "Wait, we've got to back off from that and go back to long-term. What's going to move this in the direction that's in harmony with my North Star, and where we all agree we'd love to see society move?"

JANE WALES

I can think of few issues that more clearly speak to your concern about denying people the opportunity to realize their potential than our approach to criminal justice. The idea of incarcerating people for sustained periods, and then denying them housing, employment even their right to vote after they have paid their dues to society has made little sense.

CHARLES KOCH

It even goes back earlier than that. If you're selling pot or something, and you know that you're going to get 20 or 30 years, you run or you may get in a gun fight. If you had a reasonable penalty of some kind, if there needs to be any, then you won't risk your life. We're turning minor misdeeds into draconian situations, not only for their life, but for society. The system today is not making people safer by being tougher, it's making communities less safe.

JANE WALES

Brian referred to immigration, which in many ways, poses a similar set of problems. People who have the potential to add so much to our society, to our economy are being turned away. And, when it comes to asylum seekers, if treated badly, you've undermined their future, as well.

CHARLES KOCH

As I say, one thing I'm good at is abstract concepts. So, what are the abstract concepts here? People ask me what my position is on immigration, and I say I would let everybody in who comes here to contribute, and no one who wants to come here to do harm. See how easy this is?

JANE WALES

But it's hard to tell the difference, isn't it?

CHARLES KOCH

That's right. Well, that's another question. But, I mean, this goes to our whole philosophy of openness. If we want a society that has these virtues, we have to have an open society: open to ideas, people, goods and services, to learn from each other, and have us all benefit.

JANE WALES

One issue is the DREAMers—kids who were brought here as children by their parents illegally, and the question is can they have permanent legal status? Can they have a pathway to citizenship? That's one set of issues. And the other (they come together but they can't be dealt with separately) is the need for comprehensive immigration reform. What has stood in the way? What are the politics of immigration reform, or of both issues?

CHARLES KOCH

I think it's, once again, the political nature of the dynamics. Both parties (not everybody but by and large) may agree that we need these changes in policy to help people improve their lives, but they think it'll help the other party more, so they won't do it. And so, we can't make any progress on policies that a great majority of the American people, and even the majority of the politicians, agree would be the right thing to do. It gets in this political dynamic of this win-lose, as opposed to what we want of society which is win-win.

JANE WALES

There is the Freedom Caucus on the Hill, which sort of stems from the Tea Party if I understand it correctly. Have they stood in the way of immigration reform? Is there an approach that works better for them? What are the politics of this?

BRIAN HOOKS

I go back to what David Brooks said in the last panel: the opportunity here is for a small group of people probably, to demonstrate what good looks like here, and for the rest of us to copy them. That's kind of what we're focused on and that's, I think, what the opportunity is on immigration. I think a lot of different people in public policy, in Congress, in the community, are waiting to see what they can do. The way that we're looking at it is we have an opportunity, again, to unite people of good faith, of different perspectives, on the issue of immigration, and show that path forward. If we look at the numbers, and people here know the numbers as well as I do, the vast majority of Americans believe what is true, and that is that immigration is good. Our country has benefited from it, it's kind of the secret sauce of our country. Immigrants have made us the country we are. Our future depends on doing that going forward.

JANE WALES

Is there a connection between those polls that show majorities and the political process once the issue is taken up on the Hill? Does a member of Congress say to themselves, "Gee, 80% of the public wants this, so I'll do it," or does that member of Congress say, "the folks who voted for me in the primary have pressed me to do it"? We've got some structural impediments to collaborate.

BRIAN HOOKS

That's right, and I think it's a hard task for sure, but it's not nearly impossible. I go back to what's worked. The model of criminal justice reform, in this case, is the model,

I think, we're working for on issues like immigration. Literally, up until the week before the First Step Act passed in December, we were getting calls saying, "This thing is dead, it's not going to pass." And why did it pass? Well, I think a lot of people deserve a lot of credit, people of good faith from different perspectives. But I think a big reason why it passed, and this gets to your question of how to overcome this political inertia, is because we had this broad coalition and a number of different people who could call up the Members of Congress who were tentative or hesitant and say, "Hey, it's going to be okay, I've got your back."

BRIAN HOOKS

We worked hand-in-hand with Van Jones, with the ACLU, with many other people of good faith who come from more of a progressive point of view. We also worked hand-in-hand with people like the Texas Public Policy Foundation, members of the White House staff, and people like Senator Mike Lee, who are about as conservative as they come. They were able to do that, as well, for the people that were tentative. What you get is what is called a "policy cascade," where up until that last minute it looks like an intransigent issue. It looks like an issue where the loggerheads are going to prevail, and all of a sudden you get 87 senators voting for it. How does that happen? You give them permission to do the right thing by showing them that there's a broad base of support that's got their back. I think that's the opportunity on immigration. It's a tragedy that it's gotten to this point, but the opportunity is for all of us to come together and create that permission for people to do the right thing.

JANE WALES

What were the foundations that ended up partnering with you?

BRIAN HOOKS

If I start to list, I'll forget somebody that played an important role. I think the Arnold Foundation certainly had a significant voice in this, Ford, Hewlett. Wonderful partners like the Deason Foundation out of Texas. Again, I don't want to start to list people because I'll miss some.

JANE WALES

It's like the Academy Awards up here.

BRIAN HOOKS

Not quite as glitzy right? But isn't it wonderful that we can't list everyone? It's such a significant group.

JANE WALES

In another unlikely alliance, my understanding is that the Koch Institute has joined forces with the ACLU and others to demand that protesters and activists in Washington pay the Parks Service for the litter that results. Why?

CHARLES KOCH

I don't know. Believe me, they don't check with me on everything, just the philosophical issues.

BRIAN HOOKS

We did. It's right in line with the North Star, it truly is. This is breaking news. This was yesterday. We co-signed a letter with the ACLU and the NAACP just making the point that our society depends on creating the space for different ideas and perspectives to come together, peaceably, and really have it out. And if you can't do that in front of the White House, or if you're relegated to a strip of sidewalk in front of the White House, or if government agencies, no matter who's in charge, have the ability to charge arbitrary fees that are really barriers to preventing people from peaceably assembling and having a rigorous exchange of ideas, who are we as a country? These are easy actions to take in lead with wonderful partners who share vision and values, and we bring complementary capabilities.

JANE WALES

And then you can go back to them on other issues because you've had that experience and the trust that's built. For the folks in this audience, is the opportunity immigration reform, or is the opportunity citizenship for DREAMers? Are these the next two issues that you'll be focusing on?

CHARLES KOCH

There's one other issue that I think it's so corrosive in our country, and that is cronyism, corporate welfare, protectionism. When I say protectionism, I'm not just talking about nationwide, but individuals and organizations. I think this is driven by this short-termism. So many companies are focused on their short-term profit, rather than creating long-term value. This isn't blanket, but it increases the tendency to rig the system rather than to create virtuous cycles of mutual benefit, to create real value and succeed by doing that. This pushes, in general, to a two-tiered society. They undermine innovation, competition, and opportunity for those who start with nothing, and therefore progress in general. To me, it's suicidal for business. For the public to support business and business succeeding, they've got to run the business so it benefits the people. You can't just have it benefit a small group and then take advantage of everybody else. People say, "That's utopian, that's idealistic." No it isn't, it's practical. I mean I hope it's idealistic, I hope they're good ideas. That's why we oppose all of these boondoggles, all of this corporate welfare protectionism, whether it makes us money or not.

For example, what the Republicans were pushing in Congress, this border adjustment tax, would have made us over a billion dollars a year. And guess how? By increasing the cost of goods to the Walmart buyers. Are you all crazy? How is this good for the country? Why would we want a program that makes Koch Industries a lot of extra money by exploiting other people? This is suicide. That's the advantage of having a long-term view, we don't have anybody checking our quarterly earnings. We want this company to exist and prosper for decades to come, and so we take that view. But I would take it anyway, just because I'm kind of a maniac.

JANE WALES

Let me just close with one issue. You are very much shaped by the thinking of our founders. One of the things that George Washington said is that the policy-making process should be like pouring hot tea from saucer to cup, from cup to saucer, back and forth between the House and the Senate, so that passions cool, just as your tea cools, and wisdom prevails.

I was struck this morning, when I read the news, by President Trump pulling back his idea of focusing on Obamacare quickly, and waiting instead until there is a Republican majority in both Houses. Successive presidents have found ways to avoid doing the hard work of political compromise, the hard work of building a consensus. Is this one of the things that you would like to see us return to? In other words, a reduction in the polarization that we may have all contributed to, so that over that long-term we can govern and govern effectively?

CHARLES KOCH

As you know, my thing is all based in fundamental principles. We were supposed to be a country that was founded on the principles of the Declaration of Independence: equal rights applied in a way that everybody could follow their own dream, as long as it didn't violate the rights of others in the pursuit of happiness. I put it in the pursuit of fulfillment or fulfilling their nature, and so on. The extent to which those principles were followed made us the most successful country in history, and the extent they were violated has caused every problem we have. You look back at our history and, of course, terrible consequences up to today. African Americans had no rights, Native Americans had no rights, women only had partial rights, and people think, "Oh, that was just the right to vote." People don't realize that women weren't allowed to go to college, and they had almost no rights versus their husband. Certain immigrants only had partial rights. There was cronyism and protectionism from the beginning, all of which violated the principles in the Declaration of Independence. I mean when you think in terms of concepts, the way I do, you go back and see that. We need a system that will go back and make that come to life so we have a true society of mutual benefit.

JANE WALES

Let me close by saying that Brian and I have gotten to know each other a little bit. The foundation headquarters are based right across the river from Washington, D.C., and we've had the chance to interact. One of the things he said to me was, "My mandate, my job, is to find ways to collaborate across the ideological spectrum." So I urge folks in the audience to think about those issues on which you may see eye-to-eye? You may, as a tactical matter, achieve your objectives because you've entered into what you might consider to be unusual partnerships. That's a little bit of pouring of the tea from cup to saucer. I'll end with that thought. Thank you.

WHEN POLICY FAILS: TAKING ON IMMIGRATION AT THE BORDER



TUESDAY APRIL 2
1:15 PM

LEE GELERT

DEPUTY DIRECTOR, ACLU IMMIGRANTS' RIGHTS PROJECT

CAROLYN MILES

PRESIDENT AND CEO, SAVE THE CHILDREN

MARIA MORENO

PRINCIPAL, LAS AMERICAS NEWCOMER SCHOOL

JONATHAN RYAN

CEO AND PRESIDENT, RAICES

IN CONVERSATION WITH NEAL KENY GUYER

CEO, MERCY CORPS

NEAL KENY-GUYER

This is that great time of day that always follows the lunch slump. That's why we thought we would discuss the boring, easy topic of immigration after lunch. I know you're all going to be a great audience. All your phones are going to go off, and everyone is going to pay complete attention because we got a rock star, wonderful group here. I want to welcome everyone to this session called When Policy Fails: Taking on Immigration at the Border, and I want to also welcome all of those who are watching online, our web audience. Welcome. I want to encourage everyone to tweet out using #GPF19. So thank you, and welcome again.

While I have the stage, I want to acknowledge all of you in the room and the good work that you do to make our world better, and on behalf of all of us, just say thank you. Let me just quickly set the stage for our discussion. As we all know, the politics surrounding immigration policy are tough and they're vexing. As many of you all know who have come to the forum in years past, the forum has focused on the global refugee crisis, but in this case we really want to focus on the humanitarian crisis on the southern border of the U.S., both inside Mexico as well as within the U.S.

Just to remind us all, there are about 45 million folks in this country that are foreign-born, about 11 to 12 million that are undocumented. I think as we all know, and we heard a little bit about this in the discussions this morning, that since George Bush's presidency and through Barack Obama's, there have been many efforts at comprehensive immigration reform. Despite strong bipartisan support and the support of the American people, we've not been able to push that across the finish line. We all know that the current administration, President Trump's administration, has brought a different political tone and have implemented policies that many people would find inconsistent with American values. So we're going to explore all of this.

We're also going to explore the changing face of immigration along the southern border, a move from it being primarily single men from Mexico to now families from the Northern Triangle. We're also going to explore what all of you have read about: a significant uptick in the numbers at the border, especially over the last several months. The New York Times have called this a new kind of humanitarian crisis.

To help us understand all this, we've got a great panel here. Maria Moreno, who's an outstanding educator and principal for the last 14 years at Las Americas Newcomer School. Maria, welcome. Carolyn Miles, who is the president and CEO of Save the Children and, I can tell you, a terrific global leader in the international relief and development space. She is someone I have long admired and a treasured friend. Carolyn, welcome. Jonathan Ryan, who's the CEO and president of the Refugee and Immigration Center for Education and Legal Services, RAICES. He's the winner of the Child 10 Award in 2018. He was one of ten who were awarded for their leadership and protecting children. Finally Lee Gelernt, who's the deputy director of the ACLU Immigration Rights Project. I think we all know Lee is a leading civil rights attorney. He launched the first case against the travel ban and, more recently, against the asylum ban and the challenge against separating immigrant families at the border.

Each will speak for no more than five minutes. We're going to start first with Maria, who will start us where we should, which is really on the needs of children and families. We want to keep the conversation focused there as much as possible. Carolyn will lift it up a little bit for us, describing the humanitarian crisis at the border. Jonathan will describe more of the legal aspect, particularly focusing on what's going on with the detentions and particularly with adolescents. And then Lee will lift it to the higher legal and policy issues.

MARIA MORENO

I run a school called Las Americas Newcomers School in Houston, ISD. We're a part of the public school system. There's 32 different countries represented, speaking 29 different languages. This year we have a large influx of students coming in from the Northern Triangle: Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador. We are finding some students are now also coming from Venezuela and Cuba. I've been the school principal there for 14 years, but my work around refugee and immigrant children has actually gone further back, working 24 years with the Houston Independent School District, working with the high school. There are 72 countries represented there, speaking 42 different languages.

At my school we have grades four through eight, and so you're looking at young children ages nine through fifteen that have made this journey up through Mexico trying to find their families, sometimes crossing with their families themselves. There is a level of trauma that our students have endured in coming here. Our mascot is the rhino because it stands for Really Hungry Individuals in Need of Opportunity, and so it's a really powerful model that we have. It's a mascot that shows the resilience and strength that our kids have when they come. I have a nine-year-old who comes in who is traumatized and reuniting with their mom for the first time. We are sitting down and working and making sure we're not only working on the social, emotional needs of the children but we also have to look at the academics as well.

As we go on through our discussion, I'm hoping to really show and talk about how we support our students. The school was created back in 1988, so this is not something

that's just a fly-by-night thing. We've been around. This is our 20th year, and so we're really excited to see some of the outcomes that have already come out of it. Kids that have gone through our program come back and have done some really great work in the community and are passing it forward, if you will, to helping other kids that have just arrived, and supporting those families as well.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Great Maria, thank you. Carolyn?

CAROLYN MILES

Thank you, and thanks to Maria, who's one of our partners in Houston, for coming today. I wanted to pick up on a point that I think David Brooks hit on earlier today. One of the things I think we need to remember as we think about this crisis here in the United States is that we need to change this narrative about 'the other'. So much of what we talk about now is about 'the other'. And my hope is that children are not a partisan issue. Children are not 'the other', children are children. I really want to frame this around the needs and the rights of children.

I want to go back a little bit to the root causes of a lot of these families coming here to the United States. If you look at the Northern Triangle, there are a couple of things there that you see. First of all, Honduras has the highest per capita murder rate of 0-19- year-olds in the world. This is not a made up thing. These families are escaping this really incomprehensible violence. Not only poverty, but also violence and economic deprivation. There's a coffee rust that has hit this area of the world and has been going on since 2013 or 2014, so there's multi-layers of this. When you hear people say, "This isn't real. This is just people trying to sneak into the United States," know that this is really real. I was in El Salvador not too long ago, and a young boy, a 15-year-old, told me this story of how he was with his friend and they were attacked by a gang. His friend literally died in his arms. This was a 15-year-old. And he said to me, "I'm not sure that I actually will ever survive to be a grown-up in my county." So I want you to keep in mind, this is real. This is why people are leaving. This is not some kind of made-up thing. It's really important for us to remind ourselves of that.

The kinds of things that organizations like Save the Children and Mercy Corps and others do in these areas of origin are youth violence prevention. We do what we call Schools of Peace. We're trying to get kids to be able to push away against gangs, to get families to deal with the violence that's going on there. We have youth empowerment programs. We actually counsel families on the dangers of migration and the dangers of sending their children to the United States on this very difficult journey. I have to say the recent action by our president of cutting off aid in Central America is completely baffling to me. I do not understand it. It is exactly the kinds of services that we need that will help us reduce the migration of families and prevent putting kids into these very, very difficult circumstances. I think there's a huge policy issue here. I definitely don't pretend to know how to solve the immigration problem, but I can tell you that cutting off aid to the Northern Triangle is not a good way to do it.

I wanted to just end on one story that I think demonstrates the issues that children and families are facing. Angelina came to the United States in 2018 with her father,

Diego. Her mom stayed behind with her younger sister. Angelina, who was three at the time, was separated from her father for six months by herself, living in a detention center, living with lots of other children and being cared for. When her father was deported, no one knew where the father had been. Save the Children actually worked with our local partners, and with our partners in the United States, to reunify this little girl with her mom. I've worked for Save the Children for 21 years. I have met tons of separated children and families, and usually that's because a family is fleeing from war or a natural disaster. Our job is to actually put those families back together. I have never seen a government separate children from their families like we are doing in the United States. I think we just have a long, long way to go to make sure that these kids are protected.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Powerful, thank you Carolyn. Jonathan?

JONATHAN RYAN

Thank you, and thanks to the Global Philanthropy Forum for having this important discussion, for inviting me, for inviting us. I've been an immigration lawyer working in South Texas in the detention centers for all of my career, about 15 years. To put a banner over my remarks, I've spoken with young men from Somalia in their 20s and 30s who have fled unbelievable violence, who have seen their mothers and sisters raped and shot dead in front of them, who have fled Al Shabaab and other ills. I've spoken with eight-year-old girls from Central America who have fled abusive parents, danger in their community, and still bear the scars of cigar burns that they would get from their drunken father.

What is remarkable to me over the history of the time that I've done this work is the consistency of the expressions that these folks talk to me about when I meet them in detention. Never mind the fact that they have fled violence that I could not even conceive of. When I speak with them about the scariest day in their life, the worst thing that ever happened to them, with striking and shocking consistency across the board, folks describe their arrival at the United States border as the scariest, most terrifying experience of their lives. They do suffer violence. We are violent with refugees and immigrants, women and children when they come to our border, but it obviously pales in comparison to the violence that they fled. So I wonder, "Why do they describe this as the most horrible day?" It is because they arrive to the United States with that image in their minds that we, for the past 70 plus years at least, have built up around the world of being the beacon of freedom and democracy, a shining light for the entire world to see. It isn't the physical pain or the deprivation at the border that really causes this trauma to these people. It is the destruction of that image of the United States that they had in their hearts and in their minds that really guided them on this flight from terror and this journey towards freedom. That all comes crashing down when they arrive at the U.S. border.

A little bit of process, because I think there's a lot of misconceptions as to what does happen and to whom at the border. The U.S. Border Patrol are charged with the apprehension of individuals who either request asylum at the border or who are apprehended after having crossed into the border. Right now, there's being described

a crisis at the border, and I think we will get into detail. I think we should be very careful with the employment of this term "crisis" because many times we actually play into the narrative that we seek to counter when we accept the premise of these terms. There is a crisis at the border, but it is not our crisis. It is the crisis of these people who are fleeing violence and seeking protection. Our response to it is making that crisis worse, and as the most powerful, richest, "greatest" nation on Earth in the history of Earth, I think it is demeaning to the capabilities of our country when we say that this is a crisis to us, that we are beyond our capacity. I find it interesting that it's often individuals who proclaim great patriotism who are the vessels of this narrative, which actually undermines and lowers expectation as to what we as a country can do.

Whether they hand themselves over at a port of entry or they're apprehended after crossing the river or the desert, they are brought by Border Patrol into what's called a hielera, or the ice box. And this could be a Border Patrol station (often you see that in the pictures released by DHS), or it could appear to be, by reports consistent across culture, age, language, and time, mobile containers that are littered around the southern part of Texas where people are brought. These metal boxes could be refrigerated to as low as 55 degrees Fahrenheit, which is cold in and of itself, but imagine a person who's been walking through the desert in 115-degree temperature, who's sweaty, who's bloody, who might still be wet from crossing the river. To be thrown into that environment is nothing short of torture. Individuals are purported to stay there for two to three days. We have reports of people staying there more than one month. The treatment that they receive is very rough. The words that they're told by the Border Patrol are "Welcome to hell. If you think that what you're leaving is bad, wait until what we have in store for you. If you apply for asylum, then we will keep you in here forever." This is the greeting that people receive when they're coming to the United States. This is our new Statue of Liberty, if you will. Our new Ellis Island is a detention center.

Folks are brought into these hieleras, and this is where the sorting of people begins. They separate families immediately. Fathers and sons are often brought to different hieleras. Children and women are kept in the same boxes. We have reports of women who are pregnant lying on a concrete floor alongside children who are carrying the Sella virus. Of course a woman who's pregnant who is exposed to that could lose her baby, or could cause lifelong mental health damage to that child. From there, children are brought into what are called shelters but are actually detention centers. They're called shelters because they're run by nonprofits, but they're detention centers because the reason that they exist is to keep the children there so that if ICE wants to take them and deport them back to the hell from whence they fled, those so-called shelters are there to keep those children ready for ICE to come and take them.

The adults are sent to for-profit prisons. We have a massive prison industrial complex that is growing in the United States, despite what we hear with regard to the criminal justice system. Immigration is the diversification strategy for these multinational, for-profit prison companies that see immigration as the new boom industry. Single adults could be taken to a prison or what they call a family unit, which in itself is not true because the only people kept in so-called family detention centers are single parents with their children. The married couples are separated. If a father, mother and child arrive to the border, the father will be sent to an adult detention center. The child and the mother may be sent to a family detention center.

The conditions inside of all of these facilities are abhorrent, and the treatment of the vulnerable individuals who are in them, be they children or adults, is nothing less than sick. The medical conditions are subpar. The number one and number two prescribed medications for any ailment, be it a headache or broken bone, is Aspirin or water. We have seen water prescribed for a broken bone in medical records coming out of the Karnes Detention Center. While people are in these detention centers, they must go through multiple hurdles of interviews to be able to prove that they have a claim to ask for asylum here in the United States. We spoke this summer with parents who, within two hours of being separated from their children, were thrust into an office with an immigration officer and forced to explain the worst things in the world that ever happened to them. In the family detention centers, we see mothers brought with their children into these interviews and forced to describe rape, forced to describe assaults, sometimes by their own husbands, the father of the child who's sitting there, and it's the first time that the child has ever heard this information.

We focus very much on the detention center, but the legal case is actually a very long road. Most people who get out from detention have yet to actually appear at court for their final hearing. Something I'd like to talk a little bit longer about is the long road of help. Even though we are focused on the detention and the border issues, which is important, there is much, much more heavy lifting and much for philanthropy to do in the long road of actually following people and walking with them through the long immigration case that's before them.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Jonathan, thank you. Powerful. We'll have a chance to circle back, particularly on the trauma and psycho-social needs of children. Lee?

LEE GELERNT

Thank you, and thank you for having me. I agree with what Carolyn said. We need to get into those countries and get at the root causes. Unfortunately, this administration doesn't look like they're doing that, and it's not going to be a short-term solution. In the meantime, we need to deal over here. What the ACLU does principally is litigation. We have now filed 85 immigration cases against the Trump administration just from the national ACLU. That's excluding our 50 state affiliates and excluding all the immigration cases against states and localities that are now passing anti-immigrant measures because they've been emboldened by this administration. That's obviously a lot, and we are drowning. I think if we had more resources we'd be filing twice as many. It just gives you a sense of what this administration is doing.

I think it's even wearing down the career lawyers at the Justice Department. I'm seeing them all over the country, and the last time I saw them they looked like they were dragging. And I said, "Well, your boss doesn't have to enact so many of these anti-immigrant policies," and he of course said, "Well, the ACLU doesn't actually have to sue about all of them." The thing about it is that these are major changes to our immigration system. They're not tinkering around the edges. We sued over the asylum ban and the separation of families. Now they're returning people to dangerous places in Mexico to avoid further asylums. These are just some of the suits that we've had to bring.

I've been at the ACLU for more than 26 years doing this work, and what differentiates the time now, I think, is that this administration is sort of breaking all the unwritten rules. It used to be that both Democratic and Republican administrations had an unwritten rule: We're not going to go to schools or courthouses to look for people who are out of status. Everybody in prior administrations, Democratic or Republican, knows that if you stood outside an urban school area you could find parents that were out of status, but you just didn't do it because of the cost to the family and the cost to the child not attending school. Family separation is the same thing. I was picking up on something Carolyn said. Family separation is the worst thing I have seen in my 26 plus years at the ACLU, both because it's gratuitous and it's cruel. It's gratuitous for all the reasons that my prior colleagues have said. When I talk to the families who are separated, when they get their children back, I always ask them "Would you have come anyway if you had known your child was going to be taken away?" They just shrug and throw up their hands and say, "What choice did I have? If I had stayed, my child might have been killed. I might have been killed." It was never going to work, and that's something that prior administrations, Democratic or Republican, understood.

One of the big turning points in the public relations battle was when Laura Bush came out and wrote an op-ed in *The Washington Post* and said, "Look, in America we just don't do this." What we now know is the administration separated 2800 families, including little babies. That's what was reported to the court and reported to us as the lawyers in the case. We have now been able to reunite almost all of them or give them an opportunity to reunite. Some have chosen to leave their children in the U.S. because it's just too dangerous to bring them back. Unfortunately what I think a lot of the general public doesn't know is that a recent report has revealed that there may have been thousands more separated who were never reported to us or the court. We recently went back to court and said the government needs to account for these thousands more. The government argued it was going to be too much of a burden to go through all the files because they had no tracking system for the families. The court said, "Look, in a civilized society we just don't forget about little children." And so now this is going to take hold, and we may be looking at another 2,000 families we need to reunite.

But it's beyond the numbers, obviously. It's the little acts of cruelty, and Jonathan mentioned some of it. You know, a four-year-old boy who needed glasses, his family was very modest means. They were able to get him glasses, fortunately, and they also gave him a glasses case. The glasses case became a pivotal part of their life because if he broke his glasses he was never going to be able to get another pair. When they came to take him away, he fortunately had his glasses on but he couldn't get his glasses case. So all day long, all the mother does is worry. Can her little boy see? If they break, are they going to get him another pair of glasses? Another one of our clients was told she had to put her baby in the car seat and strap him in. He was crying, but she couldn't comfort him. She had to close the door, and everyone knows who has a little kid, if you put him in the car seat, they're conditioned to turn their head and wait for the parent to walk around to the driver's seat to get in to drive the car. While the baby is looking and looking, the car just pulls away with his mother standing there. It's just one story after another. A father of a seven-year-old was one of our other clients. He begged to be able to tell his child they're going to take him away. Every parent has experienced that. If something is going to be traumatizing to a child you want to be able to first explain it. They wouldn't even do that. They had to

say out loud in front of the child before the father could talk to the child, “We’re going to take you away and send you away.” Just one story after another.

I know that I was supposed to talk about the larger policy. The reason I’m talking about it is because I think what civil rights lawyers have always known is there’s a limit to what you can do just by abstract legal arguments. Unless you can get people to feel the humanity of the client, you’re not going to change things. I think to an extent there’s a silver lining in family separation: with the help of everyone on this stage we were able to tell those human stories and get public pushback. Not everyone agrees with the ACLU about macro immigration policy, but we were able to cross that line between Democratic, Republican, conservative, liberal. And people like Laura Bush, the Pope, conservative reverends pushed back and said, “Look, there’s some lines we just don’t cross.”

In fact, the president issued an executive order that had a million holes in it, but still it was the only time on a domestic policy he has changed his mind, and it was because of the public outcry. We were able to create a human dimension to it. There’s going to be these larger policy issues and legal cases, but ultimately we’re going to have to be able to tell these human stories, just as Jonathan was doing, about who these families are and what is actually happening to them.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Great, Lee. Thank you, and thank all of you. That was so powerful. Well, let’s get the conversation going now. I’m going to kick it off with some questions, but I would encourage our panelists if you want to get into a conversation with each other, please do, and I’ll do my best to moderate. The first question that I want to start with is really to take us back to the crisis on the southern border. We’ve all noticed there’s a big upsurge in the numbers in the last several months. Shelters, or detention centers as Jonathan said, government service, nonprofits, everyone is reporting being overwhelmed. There was a 31% increase in the number of people intercepted in February compared to January, and by some accounts there may be up to 100,000 people in March. Carolyn let’s start with you, but everyone jump in. Help us understand, why the upsurge right now? Briefly sum up and describe the humanitarian crisis as you see it on the ground.

CAROLYN MILES

Well, I think a lot of it stems from those issues that are happening in those countries. As Maria said, the vast majority of the families that are coming are coming from the Northern Triangle. There was a study actually that UNHCR did, now it’s probably about a year old. They interviewed thousands of children who were on the journey through Mexico. About 48% of them said they had experienced violence already in their home countries, and the other 52% said they were afraid that they were going to experience that violence. That trauma that kids are facing is what, in a lot of cases, is making families make the journey.

I think it was Lee that talked about asking these families “Would you do this again, even though you’ve gone through this horrible experience?” Almost all the families that I’ve talked to said, “I would do it again because it was the choice of whether my child actually had any future at all, or some chance of surviving and getting an

education and actually going to school and being in a place where they were safe.” One of the things you’re seeing now with those huge numbers is that there is an estimated 50,000 unaccompanied children now in Mexico on the other side of the border. Those children are also at great risk. There’s lots of evidence that those kids, especially girls, have undergone sexual violence on the trip there. Organizations are really working on both sides of the border on this protection issue. When they finally do get over the border, I think one of the most important things to focus on is the psycho-social issues. This idea of trauma and psychological first aid that’s needed for these children is, again, really, really real. I think that’s one of the areas we need to focus on as a community in an even bigger way for these kids.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Great. Jonathan?

JONATHAN RYAN

I think it’s very interesting. To build on that, when we talk about addressing the root causes, there’s a presumption that those root causes are uniquely and solely in the Northern Triangle and that it is our job as the better angel to go and to help them solve their problems that they’ve got over there. I think what we fail to discuss in this context is the close relationship between what are currently seen as mostly narcotic criminal syndicates and those paramilitary groups and military groups that survive from the Central American civil wars of the 1980s and 90s and the close relationship between those.

I wonder sometimes that there might be reluctance to really chase those root causes because you may go to Central America only to then have to come back to the United States to find them. I’m an Irish citizen originally. The IRA, known as a paramilitary terrorist political organization, was also the largest narco-trafficking organization in Ireland, but they weren’t called a narco-trafficking organization. It’s about the lens that you look through to describe these groups, and who gets to describe what these groups are.

CAROLYN MILES

Most of that trafficking is to get drugs to the United States.

JONATHAN RYAN

Well, this is the point. These groups are dealing in more money than the GNP of those three nations combined, and, yes, they work lock, stock, and smoking barrel for us. These MS-13 folks, their job is to deliver cheap drugs and cheap sex to the American consumer. Before we really patronizingly start to talk about root causes, we need to look in a mirror and realize what our role in this is.

LEE GELERT

Not to take anything away from these points, but I think we also need to be careful throwing around the word “crisis” because it’s seeping into mainstream media and you hear everyone talking about it. There’s no question that there are

large humanitarian needs, but that's very different than saying the United States government can't handle the flow of migrants now and that they need to take these extreme measures that are antithetic to our values and, we believe, inconsistent with the laws Congress has written in the Constitution. Just to give some examples, when we went in for the asylum ban, one of the government's arguments was there's so many people flooding across the border, and this was before the recent surge. But even with the recent surge we're anticipating 650-900,000 if you really project out, and that's an extreme. Well, in 2000, there were 1.6 million people coming. Far bigger. And the budget now for CBP is \$19 billion. That's well over twice the amount of the budget in 2000, maybe three times. There are now well more than 19,000 agents. In 2006, when the numbers were higher, there were only 7,000 agents.

It just sort of reminds me of the family separation issue. One of the things that everyone says is, "How is the United States government going to handle getting all these families back together?" Well, they certainly had the resources to take them away, and they actually in court had the audacity to say "HHS doesn't have a budget line for reunification. We may have to ask the parents to pay for the travel." My point is simply that if this administration wanted to make something a priority, they have the resources to do it, and the agencies already have the resources. There is no question they could move resources around to process asylum seekers, they're just not doing it. So then you see this crisis build up, and then the mainstream media starts talking about a crisis. I think we all just need to be very careful because that's ultimately going to be the justification for more and more policies that are extreme and that are not going to be helpful.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Right. Good point, all of you. Maria, I want to come back again to some of the trauma and psycho-social needs of children because, however we describe it, we know there's an awful lot of kids who are paying a price for this, and it's impacting them developmentally, socially, and every other way. What are you seeing at your school? Because this is a specialty of yours.

MARIA MORENO

It is a specialty, yes. In going back to Carolyn's point, we just enrolled 50 students in the past three weeks, and one of my little girls just came in. She's a 12-year-old student who is pregnant now because she was raped along her journey coming here. When her mom told me the situation, we gave her wraparound services. You're looking at a 12-year-old, she's a child herself. She doesn't understand what really happened, and she's traumatized. The first thing that we have to do, since we specialize in trauma on our campus, is we have to make this welcoming environment for our kids and our families. My secretary, my person who does all the enrollments, has a smile on their face. It doesn't matter if they're having a bad day. They are there to welcome all kids, all families. If they're illiterate, we fill out the paperwork for them because we want them to feel welcome. If they don't have the paperwork, we'll venture out and find the paperwork so they have everything they need and we're not sending kids away yet again.

We don't even have a time limit. I'll enroll kids at eight o'clock at night if I have to. I'll open up the school seven days a week if I need to. What I do is I make sure that our kids are welcomed and our families are welcomed. It's important to build this consistency, these routines. We want to get our kids back to normal, whatever normalcy is for them, because it's important for them to know that they are embraced and they're welcomed by all of my faculty members. All my teachers are specially trained in trauma. We do cultural sensitivity. A lot of our kids have PTSD, ADHD, ADD. Instead of teachers saying, "You're acting out. You're fidgeting. Get out of my classroom." We don't do that. We don't suspend.

We have lots of wraparound specialists on our campus to make sure that we really embrace and provide the tools that they need in their classrooms. If they're fidgeting we give them fidget items. If they are moving around, we have bands around the chairs so they can put their legs there and kick. I mean, they're just kind of anxious students. Thanks to Save the Children, we have nine social workers on our campus to help with the social, emotional needs. We do group therapy, family therapy, individual therapy. We do lots of case management so that our students can then be able to open up and really help us understand their needs.

We work with lots of different partnerships as far as hospitals if they need a psychiatrist or psychologist. We have a student who came through from El Salvador and his dad had told him that they were going to go into this small area where he couldn't go to the bathroom. So he told the little boy, "From now on, we're not going to eat or drink anything because it's going to be a couple of days before we can get out of this container." When we enrolled the child, it was interesting because he was vomiting a lot in school and he was always crying, and he would always hold his stomach area. And I thought maybe it's just he was nervous. He hadn't been in school in three years, so we would have him come to school for a couple of hours and then go home, that kind of transition. That wasn't working, so we took him to the hospital. We have lots of relationships with medical professionals. Come to find out he had a gastrointestinal situation. He had to be hospitalized for at least a month so that he can get some help, because he was severely constipated and he was in severe pain. I remember he would hold me and he would say, "It hurts. It hurts. It hurts." So I knew there was something wrong with this child.

I have 345 students right now, and I can tell you I have 345 stories to share. We provide clothing for entire families, so if parents are looking for a job they can find a suit. If they have a newborn, you know how quickly you grow out of that. So we really provide at least that support for the families. We actually work with a lot of the universities so that we can leverage more mental health and more social workers on our campus. If you're working on your Masters and you need internship hours or something, we leverage that. We also are helping our future nursing through the Baylor College of Medicine. We leverage them so that they can work with our refugee and immigrant population so they know their social, emotional needs while they're working with our kids. So we really try and embrace our kids as much as possible to ensure that they are ready. I only have a year. My kids stay on my campus for a year, and it's my job to help them, support them, embrace them, and support them so they can move on to a comprehensive middle or high school program where they then can have the voice. I try to empower them so they know how to have those discussions with their counselors and whatnot.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Great. Jonathan and Carolyn, maybe if you guys briefly could address some of the special needs of kids who've been separated from their families and then end up in some of your programs. Lee, you described that in a powerful way that moved our hearts. Carolyn, and then Jonathan.

CAROLYN MILES

There's a Save the Children program called Journey of Hope, which we actually developed after natural disasters for kids that had gone through trauma of a natural disaster. We now do that program everywhere around the world, including at Maria's school. It's actually a training for caregivers. Sometimes children are enrolled, particularly older children, but it's really a program for caregivers. We're doing that program across the border on the U.S. side so that you have caregivers that are prepared for the kinds of things that Maria described and how they can help those kids get back to a normal situation.

I have to say that school is the number one thing that you can do for children who have gone through trauma. Getting kids back into a normal routine and going to school with other children and feeling like, "Okay, there is something normal here about my life." That is probably the most important thing that you can possibly do. A lot of our work in the U.S. for these kids is around training caregivers, making sure that kids can get into school, even while they wait to go to another school or while they're waiting to get to other family members. Just getting that normal routine reestablished is super important.

JONATHAN RYAN

I think as a baseline, be they children who were separated, children who were unaccompanied, children who were held in detention with their parents, I think services must be trauma-informed. They must be culturally appropriate. I think one of the biggest risks that we have with the arrival of Central American refugees to the United States is that they are, both in the detention and in the legal system as well as in the school system, misidentified as Spanish-speaking children because they know a few words of Spanish and the teacher knows a few words of Spanish. But in the 10 years that I've been working specifically with unaccompanied children, we have seen a reversal. Guatemala used to be a distant third in the country representation of children and refugees. It is now a strong first, and many of the people are from those indigenous areas of the country speaking non-Spanish languages, and they're getting misidentified in the school as Spanish-speakers. They don't understand anything that's happening. It's pushing them back and back.

The trauma-informed need access to counseling, and it needs to meet their needs when they are ready for it. I think any kind of system that addresses the needs of these children must be flexible and it must be child-centered. It must be client-centered. I don't think that setting up a process and then grinding people through it is going to work. In fact, it just starts to resemble the exact system that they have just been ground through. The other side of the coin of family detention, quite honestly, is that this is a direct attack on one of the most, if not the most, important relationship that a human being will ever have in her life, which is the relationship with

a mother or father or parent. It occurs during some of the most crucial times of child development. They're kept with their parent in a detention center where essentially there is a flattening of that parent/child relationship. They're all just subjects to the guards, which is very demeaning to the parent and erosive of that parent/child relationship. In the family separation context, because I know and you know who to be angry at because of separation, that child doesn't know who to be angry at other than their parent. You see relationships that have been destroyed through this process that I think we as a society have a responsibility to help repair and rebuild.

LEE GELERT

I agree with that completely. I just recently testified in Congress about family separation. There was a doctor there who described what the children are going through and it's really actually changing their brain. Think about the 15 minutes of your life when you were most anxious and scared. Amplify that, and then think of it going on for six months. You being in that state for six months. That's what it was like for these children. I just want to reiterate, because I think it's so important, what Jonathan just said. The children need so much help, trauma-centered help, but the parents also need enormous help, I just don't want us to forget about that. I mean, the parents are often very young to begin with. The children, one after another, three or four or five years old, being pulled away and screaming, "Mommy, please don't let them take me away," and the parents were just standing there helplessly, sometimes in handcuffs, watching. As Jonathan said, the children are too young to understand that it wasn't the parent's fault. The parent could not help, so the parent is just saying to them "Be brave. Be brave." And the children are coming back when we're reuniting them and saying, "Didn't you love me enough to stop it?" or "Why did you let them take me away?" That guilt is weighing on these parents beyond what you could possibly comprehend. I think when we are trying to get services to these families, we really need to make sure that the parents are getting services as well.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

Great point. I want to turn now, if I can, to the broader conversation regarding immigration. Are there any silver linings anywhere that you're seeing? Are there any effective strategies that any of you have seen for bridging the politics, the bitter partisan divides that we see, for creating more empathy and for meeting the real needs of families and children and upholding their rights? Lee, I'm going to start with you on that because I'd like you also to tell us how the cases are proceeding, and I know there are a lot of people in this room and watching who want to help. Maybe tell us how we can.

LEE GELERT

That's the big question, I guess. From my standpoint I feel like the courts have given me hope. I don't know ultimately how all our cases are going to turn out. The travel ban was a partial success in that we were able to push back, made them change it three times, narrow it, and it took a long time for it to go into effect. We ultimately lost that case in the Supreme Court. We've managed to win regarding family separation and keep the government, so far, from appealing it. We got a national injunction for the asylum ban, the government is appealing it. We'll see ultimately

what happens, but we've had a lot of success in the courts. I think that's important for people to think about. In some ways the system is working. The courts, seeing the legislature and executive branch not stepping in or being the cause of the problem, have stepped up. I think that's been heartening.

But ultimately what I come back to is that there's going to need to be public outcry. I think this is the first time, the closest I've seen in my 25 years plus at the ACLU, of a real civil rights moment around family separation. It's not rising to the level that we saw in the 60s, but I think any civil rights litigator will tell you that real, lasting systemic change can only occur if there's lawyers in court but there's the public pushing back. I think that was the silver lining for family separation, is that we were able to cross that divide by getting the human stories out. I think we lose when we talk about abstraction. I can go on TV or public spaces and talk about the rule of law and the Constitution, but ultimately to cut through the noise you're going to have to have people see these families, see what they're going through, and decide, "Okay, well, there's a lot of things I disagree with about larger immigration policy, but ultimately I don't want to see these children in detention or taken away from their parents," or "I want to see a fair process for people applying for asylum." They really need to know, as Carolyn said, that there are real dangers out and they're fleeing. That's ultimately what I see my job as having to do, is sort of rebut the narrative.

When the president says, "Sure, apply for asylum. Just go to a port of entry and do it legally." That's an intuitively appealing soundbite for a lot of people and they say, "Yeah, what's wrong with that?" But it's our job to get the narrative out that sometimes the ports of entry can be 1,000 miles apart and you're not going to walk with a four-year-old those 1,000 miles if a smuggler brings you between the ports of entry. It's also our job to get the narrative out that at the ports of entry, the government is letting the lines just pile up. I just came back from Tijuana, and the families and little children are in the most dangerous, squalid conditions, and the administration is processing only a handful of claims each day instead of sending asylum officers there to process the claims. Ultimately I think it's about us rebutting the narrative and getting the facts out in a human way. We're going to continue turning to the courts, because the courts, I feel, have been a savior, but that can't be the only savior.

JONATHAN RYAN

After doing this for 15 years, I no longer have to take 15 or 20 minutes to explain to people what I do. I think that that speaks to what Lee was referring to. The silver lining is that there was a massive uprising against this policy, and it's the first time in my career that I have seen so many people across the country vocalize an expression of rejection of an immigration policy based on fundamentally human reasons. You don't have to know immigration law, you don't have to be an international human rights attorney to understand that what happened was wrong. I guess it took them going that extra mile in terms of wrong to wake people up.

I think that there is a tremendous amount of things that people all across the country can do. I think one reason that the groups like RAICES have been able to respond to this is that these are not new things. These are all tactics and ad practices and instruments that have been in place for many years and under many presidencies.

If anything, it was a little harder to organize against them under the previous administration because you were fighting disbelief that this was going on. Now it's all too easy to explain to people that this is going on. What was policies and practices that were on the border and in detention centers along the border were kind of like an art house cinema version, and what this administration is doing is they are bringing it to a cinema near you.

What you are seeing happen along the border is happening in your community. There are families being separated in your hometown. Most people are detained in jails. Immigration's budget pays not just for immigration detention centers put for beds in local city and county jails. It is happening in your backyard, and I think that this is an opportunity for people to take a new look at their own communities that the apparatus that is controlling and hovering over these people, and to take local action. It's not just going into the border. We need that help, but this is happening in your town.

CAROLYN MILES

We have a network of 300,000 advocates across the United States through something called the Save the Children Action Network. This is not an issue that we had mobilized people around until we got to a point where you had family separation and tear gassing of mothers and children at the borders, and we said, "We can't stand by and watch this without activating our advocates." So we did that, and it resulted in 170,000 messages to Congress. We have something set up online that allows you very easily to send a letter to your congressperson and tell them your opinion about what's happening. That was actually the most successful mobilization of that group that we've ever had. It gives me hope that people out there really do care about this issue, and they care enough to actually get involved politically. The second thing I would point to goes back to my first comment about the 'other'. I actually believe that the generation of young people now is a generation that doesn't think about people as the 'other' They really don't think about things in that way. My hope is that by engaging and mobilizing more young people in the United States on these issues, we can also start to change the tide.

MARIA MORENO

I've been at the school for 14 years now and I see kids coming back and visiting. I have a former student of mine who's now a psychiatrist at the Dallas-Fort Worth area who came to this country as an undocumented person, and now here she is as Dr. Hernandez. I was tweeting one day about the school, and a student replies, "I love this school. This is why I learned English. This was the best year of my life." I responded to him, and I said, "You need to come visit me." He came to visit me, and he is a junior at the University of Houston. He is studying to be a math teacher in the middle school level. I said, "Juan, I am so proud of you. I remember when you were here and you didn't know any English. Here you are now, having overcome all these adversities that you've undergone. You have a job at my school. You need to graduate, and I would love to hire my first alumni." He says, "Ms. Moreno, I can't wait for the interview." And I said, "No, honey, you have the job." His counselor calls me and says to me, "I understand that you're going to allow him to do some of those internship hours you have to do." And I said, "Yeah, absolutely. He can come in and do this." And she goes,

“He also told me that he has a job.” I said, “Yeah.” She goes, “An internship?” I said, “No, it is a paid contract with the Houston Independent School District.” So yeah, I’m looking forward to hiring him as my math teacher next year.

NEAL KENY-GUYER

What a great way to end. Join me in thanking this tremendous panel. You guys have been great. You’ve touched our hearts. You reminded us to keep the focus on families and real people. If I may, I would just say for this country I do think that this is going to be one of the defining issues of our time. How we deal with this issue will determine, in many ways, the future character and soul of America. Thank you very much.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT: THE INAUGURAL JULIETTE GIMON COURAGE AWARD



TUESDAY APRIL 2
2:15 PM

MAYA AJMERA

PRESIDENT AND CEO, SOCIETY FOR SCIENCE & THE PUBLIC

MARIANNE GIMON D'ANSEMBOURG

COUNCIL MEMBER, FLORA FAMILY FOUNDATION

JOHN HECKLINGER

PRESIDENT AND CEO, GLOBAL FUND FOR CHILDREN

GAMZE KARADAG

VICE CHAIRWOMAN, MAVI KALEM

LESLI DALILA OVANDO MUÑOZ

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD, ASOCIACIÓN GENERANDO

JANE WALES

A love of children, including a love of her own daughter, but a love of your daughters and sons as well, is what drove Juliette Gimon's passion for philanthropy, and for much of her way too short life. I'm going to talk just for a couple of minutes about Juliette's philanthropy, and her role in the founding of the Global Philanthropy Forum, because we feel her spirit here very much.

I know some of you folks were there that evening, but back in 2001 a group of us came together in the living room of John and Tasha Morgridge, in large part at the behest of their daughter Kate. John had been the CEO of Cisco, and at that point was its chairman. He was deeply philanthropic, and in fact encouraged so many Cisco alums to be philanthropic as well. But Kate, John, and Tasha had something very much on their minds. They were concerned about how little of American philanthropy was going abroad to places where it was very much needed. Most of the people in the room had been both the architects and the beneficiaries of the information age, and the tech-driven globalization that it enabled. We'd all had some role, either been investors or innovators, entrepreneurs or policy makers. And we wanted to see the benefits of globalization more broadly shared, and the dangers associated with globalization mitigated. That's why we came together that evening in that living room, and pledged to work together to try to turn that low level of international giving around.

When it came from going from that living room to building the network and putting together the conference, a lovely young woman who was in the room that night chose to join us and play a central role. I couldn't help but notice her determination. She was about 28 or 29, her sister Marianne can correct me on that. She had a slight French accent, a very graceful way about her, but very apparent grit, which I soon learned about. When she joined in co-founding the Global Philanthropy Forum, Juliette took

on the role as Outreach Coordinator. Let me tell you, if you didn't come to that first conference, you had hell to pay with Juliette Gimon. She had a ferocity about her enthusiasm for philanthropy, for the causes that she and the rest of us embraced, and for sharing that experience with you—and pulling you into that experience.

As part of her own philanthropy, Juliette joined the board of Global Fund for Children, and started a lifelong friendship with Maya Ajmera, the founder of Global Fund for Children. Juliette was with the Global Fund until a couple of years before her death, and unfortunately it was Maya's role to call people like me to let us know that cancer had prevailed and Juliette had died. Maya has also helped to champion the Courage Award that we're about to hear about. But I just want to introduce to you Maya Ajmera, one of Juliette's closest friends and collaborators in this journey of philanthropy. Maya, come on up.

MAYA AJMERA

Juliette Gimon was a confidant, an advisor, a colleague, and most of all, a wonderful friend. She held within her a quiet passion that sought to comfort, to assure, and to elevate all those around her, from her family, to her associates, to countless friends, and to those whom she might never meet or know, but whose lives in some way needed mending. Such passion is rare, and rarer still to be so constant, yet it set the arc of Juliette's life.

I came to know Juliette during the early years of the Global Fund for Children, which I founded in 1994. We were a young organization whose mission of supporting the world's most marginalized children through innovative grassroots organizations captured Juliette's attention. Like the organization, the two of us were young as well. Juliette sought to understand the organization's model, its challenges, and its potential. When she became convinced that it was something that could change the lives of children and young people most of the world chose not to see, she became a champion of the cause. Juliette joined GFC's board when she was just 30 years old, a remarkably young age for such a commitment. In the intervening years, her wisdom, insights, and deep concern for the lives of children helped shape the organization, and pushed it into newer, higher levels of action. In the process, hundred of thousands of young lives across the globe were forever changed.

She assumed the chairmanship of the GFC board in 2006, and for the next five years Juliette was my closest advisor and one of the dearest friends. It was a true partnership. She brought with her the obvious passion for the work, coupled with an analytical approach that challenged us all to improve constantly what we were doing and how we were doing it. She was, as a colleague once said, elegantly tough. Her passion took her to the continent of Africa, to India, to Latin America, and many parts of the United States. Anywhere that would help her understand more deeply the conditions that place those less fortunate where they were, and what she might be able to do to improve their lives.

Always she conducted herself with grace, with gentility, and with compassion. While she was comfortable in the presence of the highest ranks of culture, society, and commerce, I believe she found the most joy in holding the hand of a child, especially that of her own beautiful daughter. I'll never forget: a week after my daughter Talia was born, Juliette called me, and she was just effusive with love and excitement, and

she said, "Maya I can't wait until Flora and Talia are at an age where we can go visit some GFC partners together, and the first place we're going to go is go see the Train Platforms Schools in India."

The places her life took her, the work she pursued, all stemmed, I think, from this central love, this joyful commitment to children, and what their futures could hold. I'm so honored now to introduce John Hecklinger, the president and CEO of the Global Fund for Children, who will tell us more about these extraordinary awards.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Good afternoon everybody. Thank you Jane so much for the opportunity to recognize these amazing leaders here today at the Global Philanthropy Forum, and thank you Maya for your introduction and for your amazing support in making this a reality. Today I am absolutely thrilled to announce the inaugural winners of the Juliette Gimon Courage Awards, made possible by The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and Juliette's many friends and family members, many of whom are here today.

Without further ado: In Turkey, Mavi Kalem has spent nearly two decades mobilizing community volunteers to support impoverished women and children in Istanbul, including rapidly adapting to meet the needs of Turkey's growing Syrian refugee population. Gamze Karadag is Mavi Kalem's Vice Chairwoman, and has been a powerful advocate for women and girls in Turkey since 2005. She has been recognized as a Malala Fund Gulmakai Champion for her work helping Syrian refugee girls enroll and succeed in school.

In Chimaltenango, Guatemala, ASOGEN is the only community-based organization to offer survivors of gender-based violence legal aid, medical services, and psychological support with a special focus on girls who are survivors of sexual violence. In the wake of the June 2018 eruption of Volcan de Fuego, which injured and killed hundreds of community members, ASOGEN provided immediate humanitarian relief, and continues to offer psychosocial support, to children and youth traumatized by the disaster. Lesli Dalila Ovando Munoz is President of the Board and legal representative for ASOGEN, and a committed champion for justice for survivors of gender-based violence.

Of course, we're also joined by Marianne Gimon, Juliette's sister. Marianne is an independent consultant and champion of gender equity international development worldwide, with deep experience in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East with UNICEF, UNDP, Population Council, and many others. Marianne has been instrumental in establishing this annual award, and is a member of the selection committee that had the difficult task of choosing from among the many inspiring organizations nominated for the award.

Marianne, let me turn to you. Juliette's wisdom and passion, and we've heard about her ferocity, helped shape Global Fund for Children, and shape the lives of so many children around the world. Can you tell us a bit more about Juliette: her life, her values, her ferocity, and how we recognize her values in the awardees today?

MARIANNE GIMON

Thank you John. First, I'd like to say that Juliette was a natural defender. She was an instinctive, intuitive person, and children was really her passion, but her fierce defending spirit really came out even when she was a little girl. She defended her siblings. One of my best friends bullied me when I was in second grade after school, and that night, when Juliette heard the story, she called my best friend's mother to have a talk with her. Even my brother once was about to get dunked, and she jumped on the back of one of the guys that was going to do it, so she literally had our back. That really translated later on when she became a fierce advocate for vulnerable children.

She had really strong family values. As a mother she was very engaged and hands-on, as an auntie she was very loving and available, and as a member of our family foundation she was serious, committed, and very involved. I would say that one of her wonderful traits is that she is truly a very loyal person, and she's a good listener, and has a wonderful memory, and that's a winning combination. If you told her your story, she would remember all the details, which sometimes was a little challenging, because she had an elephant memory and could just correct your facts all the time. My sister Natalie would say that Juliette's loyalty is one that's very subtle and constant, rather than a grand gesture. I think that can also be applied in her philanthropy.

Since we're here on the subject of courage, I would like to talk a little bit about Juliette's courage. I think she has the record for climbing the little circuit, which is a hike that's six peaks and 26 kilometers, and she was the first girl ten years old to do it. She had heard that this hike was going on and she told my mom, "I want to go on it tomorrow." My mom was like, "well I don't know if you're in shape," and she just did it. I think everybody here was given a Cotopaxi backpack. I don't know if everyone knows but Cotopaxi is the name of a volcano in Ecuador. Juliette taught English in Ecuador, and she climbed Cotopaxi, which is a really challenging climb. You have to have crampons and ice picks. She was really courageous as an athlete, but in other realms of her life. She was a single parent, and that's a courageous act. That means when your infant is crying in the middle of the night, it's your responsibility, and it's incredibly rewarding, but it's incredibly hard and takes courage. She was diagnosed with fourth stage pancreatic cancer, which has very low survival rates, and being a single parent with that diagnosis is not easy. She was just so courageous.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Thank you so much Marianne. Speaking of courage, thank you so much for sharing stories today. Gamze, why don't we turn to you? Tell us about what courage means to you. Is there a particular experience which took courage to persevere through in your work with Mavi Kalem?

GAMZE KARADAG

Thank you, John. To us, courage means to believe in ourselves, to believe in other people, and believe in our solution for a problem at hand and take action. It means to take initiative to step forward. My organization's motto is "add your color to life." Each of us have different colors. Each of us have different life experiences, knowledge,

skills, and energies. Together we are creating the colorful paint of life. Being together with different colors, we need courage to stand with our different backgrounds. Mavi Kalem supports disadvantaged people, defends their rights, and creates space for people to share their experience and be part of both a solution for their life and solidarity for our lives, for our future.

Sometimes, courage means making difficult decisions. For example, in 2015, to change our organizational structure, we had to break our program and throw out our policy documents because we needed to re-write them to reach bigger donors to continue our work. We also had to re-write Mavi Kalem's child protection policy code of conduct. It was a very difficult decision to take this step forward for my organization. I want to thank Filiz Ayla, one of our directors and one of our founders. She is a very courageous woman, and I am thankful for her leadership which advanced my organization.

To me, courage also means being here with you. At the end of 2016, I lost my husband from a bomb attack in Istanbul. I was pregnant during this. Being here as a single mother and representing my organization is a very important thing in my life. With this experience I learned a lot about how to continue my life with my son. He is only 21 months old, and we came together to the United States alone. We are working with Syrian communities, so I know that after eight years, people still suffer from war trauma. I'm also a survivor of trauma, so I can understand people that are surviving with their trauma. How long it will affect their lives? Five years, ten years, one year, we don't know. It's a process. Thank you.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Gamze's son Deniz is here with a Turkish-speaking babysitter in the hotel today. If you're lucky you'll run into him, he's quite the charming little guy. Thank you, Gamze. Lesli, same question for you. What does courage mean to you, and can you tell us about a particular experience in which it took courage to persevere in your work?

TRANSLATOR

Thank you, John. For ASOGEN, courage means to work, regardless of the risk that it takes to do this kind of work. Courage is also to fight with passion for children's access to justice. It is to work with responsibility, compromise, and devotion, and to overcome all the obstacles and persevere.

We have to work in a context that is very difficult, affected by common criminality, political violence, and violence against human rights activists. Within this context, about four years ago we suffered an attack. Six bombs were thrown at our facilities. Fortunately, no one was inside the facilities at that time. Unfortunately, the authorities dismissed the case. There was no investigation because of a lack of evidence.

This did not stop ASOGEN from continuing with our work. We never stop offering the legal accompaniment that we do. Unofficially, we learned that the person responsible for the bomb attack was a sexual assailant from one of the cases that ASOGEN worked on. Thank you.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Thank you, Lesli. We've heard examples of personal and organizational courage coming from the grassroots. Quick question for each of you: Marianne, what's one thing you'd like to tell folks in the room who are eager to support community solutions that come from the bottom up?

MARIANNE GIMON

From a donor perspective, it's about being a really good listener, and trying to listen to the people that are closest to the problem. You have to listen to them, you have to trust them, and then you have to empower them. It's a two-way street. A lot of the community leaders are curious to hear from us and get our outside perspective, but frankly it's more important for us to listen to their perspective. They know the solutions. They're the ones that care the most and have the most at stake.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Thank you. Gamze, same question for you. What's one thing you'd like to tell people in the room about how important it is to support community solutions?

GAMZE KARADAG

Working with community is a very instructive process and a very valuable experience for us. We are learning from them and creating our solutions together, so it is very important to work in the field with people. They have solutions, and they know more than us because they are living in the community. I would say that to learn and hear community solutions, you could reach out to NGOs who are working at the grassroots level.

When two people get to know each other, and deeply engage in dialogue, they learn about each other. If they take time to get to know each other, they will move past their prejudice so they can build trustful relations with each other. Local and national NGOs need to raise their voices and share their solutions. Thanks to their collaboration, we have this chance to share our solutions and experience with you. Global Fund for Children has supported us for the last seven years. It means a lot to us, they help us to continue our work. In order to build relations and reach philanthropists and donors, we are trying to make our work more visible. We know the community and their solutions, so we can explain. We can defend their rights, and we can share their solutions with you. We are trying to reach philanthropists through crowdfunding platforms such as Global Giving, and I believe that this Courage Award also helps us to reach other donors. Thank you.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Great, thank you. Lesli, what is one thing you'd like to tell everyone today?

TRANSLATOR

I brought with me the voice of my entire work team, and the voice of an entire community who is deeply grateful. Thanks to people like you, we have been able to change the lives of many boys, girls, and teenagers. This award symbolizes our

courage, and is motivating us to continue fighting. I would like to encourage you to continue supporting this cause. Thank you.

JOHN HECKLINGER

Thank you. We didn't get a chance to get into a lot of detail about the work they do, but both of these organizations are doing an amazing job of providing necessary services, but also doing research and advocating for justice right at the intersection of the bottom-up and the top-down. Thank you so much.

DATA & DEMOCRACY - INDEPENDENT MEDIA AND THE CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY



TUESDAY APRIL 2
7:30 PM

PREMESH CHANDRAN
CEO AND CO-FOUNDER, MALAYSIKINI

KAREN EDWARDS
CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, SOAP

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ
FOUNDER, INDIASPEND, FACTCHECKER AND BOOM

MARY FITZGERALD
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF, OPENDEMOCRACY

IN CONVERSATION WITH GIANNINA SEGNINI
DIRECTOR, MASTERS OF SCIENCE DATA JOURNALISM PROGRAM,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

GIANNINA SEGNINI

I want to welcome our distinguished panelists. We have Premesh Chandran, Karen Edwards, Govindraj Ethiraj, and Mary Fitzgerald. We're here today to talk about data and democracy. The panoramas you might know are very depressing, but I'm going to try to keep us out of the depressing side of it. Long story short, what we're seeing is large transnational networks dedicated to undermining the work of independent journalists, such as our colleagues, and in general the work of uncovering the truth, that citizens need and ultimately democracy needs.

We're going to be talking about information and disinformation. What do we know about it? We're going to talk about emotions, because this is not only about fact-checking and facts. These networks are penetrating deep into people's emotions to change their minds and crack the code of humans, as I call it. But let's start first with a brief introduction from all of our panelists, and let's hear about what they've been doing to expose these attempts and these networks, and the solutions they have in different places around the world such as India and Malaysia. Let's start with Mary. Mary, do you want to give us an overview of what you have been doing at openDemocracy and how are you facing and investigating this dark world?

MARY FITZGERALD

Thank you, it's great to be here. openDemocracy has been around for a very long time. It was a radical idea back in 2001, the idea of having an online-only publication. It's now quite vintage. We do a lot more investigative journalism these days, and we've been looking a lot at the transnational money flows that have been supporting causes we're all familiar with, such as the Brexit campaign, Cambridge Analytica, the way that influence and money crosses borders. People often ask, and we were talking

about this before, “Well, who’s behind these misinformation campaigns, and how can we expose them? What about Russia and what about China, how are they hacking our democracy?” And I find this all a little frustrating and unhelpful, because yes of course there are state and non-state actors that are seeking to influence what people see and hear and think. And yes, it’s fairly obvious who some of those are and what some of their techniques are. But actually, the truth is often a lot closer to home.

The story we did last week, which went across the global media, was about how \$50 million worth of dark money over the last 10 years has flowed from the United States into Europe, supporting a range of ultra-conservative campaigns. It’s come from about 12 large U.S.-based organizations, many of whom will be familiar to you. I won’t name them here, but you can look at opendemocracy.net and discover who they are. It’s flowing into all kinds of causes which are supporting and allying with the rise of the far-right across Europe in various ways. I think the activities of some of these groups in Africa and Latin America are familiar to many of us, but they’re now spending more in Europe than they are in any of the other regions, and it’s because they see an opportunity. A number of these groups are growing, increasing alliances with La Lega and other far-right parties in Italy and Fidesz in Hungary and actors in Poland and in Spain. Watch this space, there are going to be more stories coming out before the European elections in May.

We’re not finding big breaches of campaign finance laws or blatant lies being spread around the internet. There is a bit of that, but I don’t think that’s really the power of this. I think that it would be misleading to say that these networks are propagating fake news or putting misinformation into our ecosystem. What they’re doing is framing the narrative in particular ways which suit their interests, and they’re not being transparent about how they do it. In many European countries we have campaign finance laws, we’re supposed to have legal guarantees around transparency. When the money comes from here, frankly, you just don’t have that, right? We don’t have super PACs in a lot of countries in Europe, and it’s a problem that the money coming into Europe comes from a country where there is so little transparency over political funding for political causes.

So I find the discussion about Russian and Chinese influence, and this stuff about Mueller and everything else, frustrating and a little distracting. I think misinformation takes hold when there are low levels of trust in institutions within particular countries, and when there is not transparency and accountability about the powerful institutions that are present in countries and control public conversation and politics. I would urge us all to focus less on misinformation and more on transparency, accountability and accuracy within our own democratic systems and our own public conversation.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you so much for your opening remarks. Now we’re going to hear from Karen, the co-founder of Soap AI. Do you want to tell us what you’re doing and how you’re sharing information with young people in particular?

KAREN EDWARDS

Sure. Thank you very much, and I’m happy to be here as well. You were just describing transparency and how important that is, and describing problems in terms of

misinformation and the spread of that. Those are ancient problems, right? We’ll never really be able to create technologies that eliminate it all, right? We really need, I think, solutions that attempt to do that but that can also help keep people immune from that misinformation in the first place.

That’s what we’re attempting to do at Soap Public Media. We basically try to make it easier for people to make sense of what’s out there and what they’re seeing in the world. I’ll just speak briefly about my own personal motivations for doing this. Last night’s talk was about identity. My identity is such that I’ve grown up in a family where nobody ever agreed on any particular point of view. Half my family’s black, half my family is white, they live in Mississippi, Oklahoma, Arkansas. I’m from Orange County, one of the reddest districts, and I live Silicon Valley, one of the bluest. I think what’s changed and what motivated me to take action now in support of the fourth estate when I think about our democracy is that in the past, my family all had at least a shared understanding that the information they had was truthful. They also had the ability to find the truth, or to find information and look for facts. The problem is that now when I talk to my family and I talk to folks, it’s like everyone is over-loaded and we don’t have trust in our institutions.

70% of people can’t even name a news brand that they consider to be objective and trustworthy. That’s a problem. So there’s a lot of work to be done. I know throughout this room, there are a lot of people who support education, which is great, I like education too. But media literacy is not something that young people just gravitate towards. Nobody wakes up in the morning thinking, “I need media literacy.” But the reality is, all of us are very vulnerable. In a study recently with Stanford students, 60% of the students in the research fell for fake news. People with lifelong experience, not just students, have fallen for or actually shared fake news. 65% of people over 65 have shared fake news. So it’s a problem that’s growing. All of us are vulnerable and none of us really know what to do about it. When we talk to young people, one of the things that we’re hearing is, “Don’t tell me what to think,” but young people are also saying, “Just give me a solution.” If any of you know Common Sense Media, it’s an organization I co-founded with Jim Steyer and a couple folks 15 years ago. One of the things we learned there that I felt strongly about was don’t try to just change the media landscape for kids. Instead, give them a tool or service or solution that they can actually use. That’s really how you can affect change, so we created Soap.

We basically turn news upside down, so we show the issues first. We show seven top issues, and we show them from seven different perspectives. When we say perspectives we think about it as a lens or a different point of view. We listen to about 50,000 human-vetted sources using AI, we listen to what they’re talking about, we surface those voices and cluster those stories by topic. Then we show the user seven stories. And we do three things that are actually media literacy and they don’t know that it’s actually happening. We’ve put these seven issues in context so you can see with our topic bubbles: Is this Brexit deal getting bigger or smaller? Is the Mueller report bigger or smaller? What are scientists talking about? What are business leaders, politicians, celebrities, advocates talking about? So we sort our 50,000 sources by those different points of view if you will, and we let the user make up their own mind about what they think about the issues.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you so much. The first time I heard Govindraj talking about his projects in India, I was mind-blown. It's amazing how he's been reshaping the industry in India by using technology, and also addressing topics that were not previously addressed in India. Do you want to share your projects with us? In particular, how are you dealing with fake news and fact-checking information?

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

Thank you very much, and thank you for that kind introduction and also to GPF for inviting me here. You know, it's an interesting journey from data and evidence where we started, which we continue working on but have added fake news and fighting misinformation as a concerted effort today.

I'll give you two examples here. A few weeks ago there was a video doing the rounds, mostly on YouTube and on Facebook. It showed the cabin of an aircraft, which is obviously in mid-air. The oxygen masks have fallen down, people are trying to grab them, and everything is shaking. Obviously someone is filming this with a cellphone video, and the passengers look very West Asian, many of them seem to be praying. The description for that video was "Here is a video from the Ethiopian Airlines aircraft that just crashed, just before it crashed." This went viral, needless to add, all over the world pretty much. It turned out that when we fact-checked that (we did the usual tools, reverse image searches and everything), we found that that video was a true video, that incident did happen, but it happened on an Afghanistan Airlines aircraft a few years ago. That plane most likely landed safely because we obviously didn't hear about anything after that.

But the way it was positioned and distributed at that time, just after the Ethiopian Airlines crash, obviously created panic and more panic because when you see people going through that, obviously it's pretty stomach-churning. Literally a few weeks later, we had another video which is in some ways the dramatic opposite of that. It looked like you were watching a Call of Duty video game. There was someone with a gun shooting and the camera was obviously on the head. We have a WhatsApp helpline and people were sending us that video and saying, "Could this be true? Could this be true?" They're not asking us "Is it fake?", but they're asking us "Could this be true?" This video was the one which was live-streamed from a helmet camera from the man who shot up the mosque in New Zealand. As you know, most or almost all social media platforms have still not managed to take that video down because it spread so virally, and so many millions of copies have been created that it's next to impossible to stop it.

In some ways these two examples illustrate the nature of the problem as we face it as consumers of the internet, as the social platforms face it because they're not able to control this monster that in some ways they've created, even if they want to, and what we as small independent individual media organizations with small teams scattered around the world are trying to fight. So we started about eight years ago as an entity that was focused on data and evidence. My sort of vision then was that we will only use data to tell stories in public interests, focusing on health, education, crime and gender, with a larger objective of improving the quality of public discourse. The theoretical idea is that if people are empowered with data, then they will hopefully

ask tougher questions of the people they elect, and thus enforce better accountability and governance.

So that was the thinking, and we've continued to do that. We thought first of all that this would be something that everyone would read and it would be popular and so on. It turned out that was a completely wrong idea. No one likes to get up in the morning and read about how people are dying from tuberculosis or cancer or malnutrition in India. So we became B2B, so today we distribute our content to something like 400 publishing partners, TV stations, online dailies, wire services and so on. That's worked a little better because usually when you read from the first page to the last page if it's a newspaper, you read everything from metro, city, international, sport, and then you might also read something that's of public interest.

About late 2016 is when we started realizing that there was something new happening, and it was a little different from the data and evidence framework that we were working in and around. The phenomenon obviously later came to be defined as fake news. By early 2017, it was pretty clear that this was growing, not just in America where obviously there was tension at that time, but also in countries like India. It began on Facebook and then spread into WhatsApp and through 2018 into 2019, it's become a WhatsApp phenomenon. India has over 230 million WhatsApp subscribers, about 560 million internet users, and more than 400 million smartphone users. In India, when people acquire a smartphone, as many millions are doing it in the last few years, it's really smartphone equals internet equals WhatsApp. So they don't even know to some extent what they're exactly consuming and how. And because messages and images and videos come from family members, friends, acquaintances, you believe it.

That's really what triggers the whole cycle of belief, and the inability to be skeptical about the content that's going to you, which is what makes our fight that much tougher. What we are doing today is two slightly different initiatives: There's IndiaSpend, which is the data journalism initiative which continues to grow, where we keep looking for data gaps and we try to plug them. One of the most recent projects that we worked on was a hate crime watch, because we felt like there was a lot of crime in India that was driven by or against religious minorities. We decided to build a map by cataloging all those events as they were happening and make it as real-time as possible. The map and the data has been quoted by many publications in the U.S. and all over the world, because for the first time it showed that you could actually pick up data points that were lying around us and put them together, but when you do that it actually starts to look very frightening.

That's the beauty of data: when you start looking at it, when you assemble it and you start interrogating it (Giannina knows much better than I do), things start to reveal themselves. Coming back to fake news, today we've partnered with Facebook. We were their first partners in India, now they've partnered with a few more people. And the whole idea is to see, as we come to the solutions, how we can suppress the distribution of fake news, if not eliminate it. It turns out that it's only getting worse. In the last year and a half or two years, I've seen how people have used it. It could be actors with bad intent, non-state actors, state actors. People have used every event (man-made disasters, natural disasters, the threat of a war, a terror attack) to actually build narratives around it and then distribute it at very high velocity. And as we've noticed, velocity creates veracity. And as they do that, the challenge for us is, how

do we tackle it and at what speed? All the data and research shows that 20% or less of the people who've seen a piece of fake news will see the counter to it. Even if they see the counter, only a relatively small proportion will actually believe it. For instance, if there was fake news that the Pope blessed Donald Trump to become the President of the United States, even when people were shown the truth or the story which said that there was no way it could have happened, people said, "No, he must have been blessed." That's how it works.

Our current objective is to go after influencers. We believe that you cannot fight this battle at the large level. Of course the platforms are helping because when we put strikes on stories on Facebook, Facebook suppresses the distribution of those posts that have been flagged as false by their users. But if we can hit influencers, and in every country there are lots, we will hopefully make them a little more guarded and maybe shame them into not distributing, or definitely being more alert to, content that might be fake. Regarding that part of the battle, I would say we've succeeded somewhat in India. When I say influencers, I mean people who have millions of followers on Twitter, Facebook and are very active on social media. So that's where the battle is. It's a long one, and the outcome will only be to pick up from where my colleague left off, to spread greater awareness and education. It's not just about media literacy, it's about media wisdom.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you very much. Premesh, Malaysia has been a source of bad news on corruption lately. Last year, you were fighting against legislation that was trying to make this worse in terms of censoring independent media. What can you tell us about that, and what have you been doing to counteract all these government attempts?

PREMESH CHANDRAN

Yeah, thank you and thanks very much for inviting me here. I normally speak at media conferences, it's the first time I'm speaking at a philanthropy event. Quite an interesting discussion, and I've been enjoying the conversation. Just a bit of background: Malaysiakini is 20 years old, we started off in 1999 very early in the internet days as an internet-only media. Those days, Malaysian media was pretty much restricted by the government, but they allowed internet a bit more freedom and that's why we launched an online-only media. It's been a long time, 20 years of reporting. You know, it's always the question of whether you do more investigative reporting, which is very expensive and you come out with one report once a month and not many people actually read those reports at the end of the day, or whether you do daily reporting, day in day out and keep the spotlight on an authoritarian regime and corruption. Malaysiakini chose to do the latter.

We've been publishing daily news every day for 20 years. It's been a long journey, but fortunately last year after 19 years of working, there was a change in government. It was quite remarkable, and actually how that government change came about was really a triumph of journalism, right? I wish we could claim all the credit for it, but we couldn't and we can't. Actually, I'm not sure how many of you heard the story of 1MDB, this huge corruption scandal involving 16 billion U.S. dollars by our Prime Minister, Najib Razak. The first story was broken by an individual, a single blogger

named Clare Rewcastle from London. She's been writing what they call the Sarawak Report. She was born in Sarawak, she's Gordon Brown's sister-in-law, and she's been doggingly reporting about logging and forestry, and corruption in Sarawak. But over the years, she found this data about how the Prime Minister, this guy called Jho Low, and all of the international banks and all of the international lawyers were working together to take money out of Malaysia. She ran that story, it's called the 1MDB scandal. Some of you may pick up the book called *Billion Dollar Whale*, which Bill Gates recently named as his favorite book. It actually puts the spotlight on how the global financial sector is implicitly involved in corruption.

She did a great job, the *Wall Street Journal* picked it up and they did a great job. The Sarawak Report site was blocked from Malaysia, so what we did working with her is every day, day in day out, we kept re-publishing her reports on Malaysiakini, and then translating into Malay and in Chinese so that the information really spread out. The government denied this corruption, it was a multi-billion dollar corruption happening over a five-year period. But eventually, people really found out what was going on and we had a very unorthodox alliance between our former Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir, who was an authoritarian ruler for 22 years who tried to close down Malaysiakini, working with Anwar Ibrahim who he had jailed and was still in jail, forming a new coalition and bringing a new government about. So it was really a triumph about news journalism, activism, bringing the truth to people, fighting a lot of fake news (because of course the government was trying to counter it with a lot of fake news), and really changing the country. It's really one of the things that has happened in a good way, recently, while we see different things happening in the U.S. and in U.K. and elsewhere.

I think that the idea about data and democracy is that you need a bit of both, you need the investigative journalism kind of data, but you also need day-to-day sources of truth that people can rely on to say, "Yes, this is information that I trust, that I am confident with, that I am going to read." That's one thing Malaysiakini did really well in the early stages. Because we had a lack of funds and we did not want to rely on the donor community, we actually built a subscription system in 2002, nearly 17 years ago, and we asked our readers, "Will you pay to read Malaysiakini?" We asked the question: who are we really serving, and who really misses out if Malaysiakini is not around? And we said that's our readers, our subscribers. We asked them to pay and they subscribed, and through this huge base of paying readership was also a form of trust and credibility, so that when other events happened that would require investigative journalism, you did have a source of trust within the country who could validate that information. It's a bit about doing trustworthy journalism and data journalism, and then coming together to change a country.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you very much. So I think we can engage in a conversation, and I have some questions for you, some of them very philosophical. Let's start with trying to understand where we are. Who are the masterminds behind these global campaigns? We know about the Russians, and the Chinese, and we know about Cambridge Analytica, but this is a big industry and who might be benefiting from spreading division economically? Are we talking about five folks or I don't know, 100? Who's behind all this?

MARY FITZGERALD

I can talk a bit about the methods. I think if we knew exactly who was behind this stuff we'd be further along than we are. I talked a bit about some of the organizations that are based here in this country, that are moving a lot of money and power and influence around the world. I think it's also quite useful to look at what's happened over the past few years, not in answer to the question of who's doing what, but who could be doing what now? My colleague in London, Carol Cadwalladr at *The Guardian*, has done stellar work on Cambridge Analytica. We also had a few scoops about some of the work they've done, we've had some whistleblowers come to us.

One of the things that I found most creepy, actually, was the story about what happened in Trinidad and Tobago in 2010. Cambridge Analytica had been hired by the opposition party to do some research and campaigning and advocacy. Trinidad is sort of split between two ethnic groups: one Afro-Caribbean, one Indo-Trinidadian. The incumbent party typically represented Afro-Caribbean Trinidadians and the opposition party that had hired Cambridge Analytica represented the Indo-Trinidadian population, typically. Cambridge Analytica did a bunch of polling and survey and analysis and figured out that Afro-Caribbean youth were less likely to do what their parents told them than Indo-Trinidadian youth. They took this insight and they developed a fake grassroots campaign called the 'Do So Campaign,' which was basically a campaign to encourage young people to not vote. There was graffiti everywhere with all these 'Do So' slogans, and there was all this stuff that went on social media. It looked very grassroots and very authentic and it was sort of seeded with youth groups and within youth networks. Its whole point was, "These politicians are feckless and corrupt. Take a stand, make a protest, don't vote." And so polling day comes along and sure enough, the Afro-Caribbean youth vote was lower than normal, and the Indo-Trinidadian vote wasn't because apparently, according to the narrative of Alexander Nix who was caught on tape saying these things, who's the CEO of Cambridge Analytica, the Indo-Trinidadian youth did what their parents told them and they went out to vote for the Indo-Trinidadian party. The Indo-Trinidadian party won by a very narrow margin, and proceeded to be probably even more corrupt than the government that had gone before. It's quite an achievement.

There were two things about this story that I found really chilling. The first is it's so much easier to persuade people not to vote, or not to do things, than it is to persuade people to do things. And second, of course they were playing on reality which is the endemic corruption of the political class. The reason why this campaign was effective is because they were playing on something they knew to be true. This is Trinidad and this is 2010, but I thought, "How easy would that be to replicate anywhere in the world?" This is voter suppression basically, it's voter suppression through networks. How easy would it be for any outfit to do that? It wouldn't cost that much, there are no laws against it. It's so much easier to persuade people not to vote than it is to make them believe in something, to stand up for something. And you're playing on distrust which actually has legitimate cause.

The thing that I find more useful and interesting as a journalist than who's behind these is what are the methods being used to influence how people think and the conversations they have, and how they influence their peers, and whose agendas do they serve? You don't necessarily have to have a smoking gun, which links the 990 or the flow of money. You can say well, who benefits from this? Who benefits

from the fact that Britain is in complete political meltdown and is sailing off into the middle of the Atlantic? Well, people who want low taxes low regulation, low oversight, Singapore off the continent of Europe. That's not rocket science to figure out who those people are and whose interests they serve. I think often looking at the methods and networks and organizations and people who stand to benefit from a particular method or message, you can find the answers to those questions.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Let's talk about the methods, because that I'm fascinated by. I have to say that when you look at the Cambridge Analytica case, it's so fascinating, it's a piece of art. I know it sounds horrible, but if you examine the methods, they not only were very selective in the kind of behavioral data that they used, but they also worked collaboratively with academics and experts in cognitive learning and they used a multi-variable model to combine all those things, crack humans, and then direct them to make a particular action. If you follow the whole thing, for you guys who work in foundations, when the time comes to evaluate the impact, I would say that they had the biggest impact ever in terms of spreading misinformation. Of course the motives are not what we're trying to do, but in terms of the methods it's not a very expensive operation, so are we talking about a lack of funds or a lack of imagination from our part?

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

A very large consumer product company in India invited me to talk to all their senior managers about fake news and misinformation, because they were on the receiving end of it. I spoke for about 15 minutes, I showed a few slides from case studies that we had done, particularly around products. There was one famous video of someone opening a packet of Pepsi Lays chips, taking out one and putting a lighter underneath and showing it burn, and the voice in the video said that "This Lays chip is burning because there's plastic in it." That went viral, it hit their sales, and it took them a long time to actually come back. It burns because there's starch in it, not because there's plastic. I spoke about this and I showed the slides. This guy stands up and said, "It's a very interesting points that you've made, I think there's a great business model in this," so I said, "That's heartening to hear because we always felt that you can't make any moneyin fighting fake news." He said, "I didn't mean fighting it, I meant creating it."

KAREN EDWARDS

Creating it, yeah. There's these things like "trick all of your friends, create fake news!" There's sites that do that.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

But I think you have to break it down a little more. I think the kind of fake news that affects us most is the communal, social and political, which is also a little seasonal and we are seeing a lot of that right now because we've got elections coming up. But the bigger concern when I talk to people at Google for instance, is areas like health, medicine, finance, history, where the damage can actually be more long-term. Health and medicine, even as I see it, is perhaps the most important. You have a pain in your

side and you start Googling and you find a WebMD page, and this is the genuine stuff right? It says, “Oh it could be anything between a cramp and a tumor in your spine,” right? You don’t know what to believe because you should not be reading it in the first place, and going to your general physician or whatever. For instance, one of the most popular WhatsApp forwards in India in the health space would be “Did you know that Ayurveda (which is a traditional Indian form of medicine) can cure cancer?” Another version of that says, “Ayurveda can cure cancer and here are three Nobel Prize Laureates endorsing it.”

What happens is, I’ve found that most of us will obviously laugh it off and ignore it, but if you have someone in your family who’s suffering from cancer, it will distort the path that you’ve taken, you know? Because a family member will come and they’ll say, “This message has been doing the rounds, it must be true, why don’t we at least check it out?” To that extent, I think the medium to long-term effect is really our ability to reduce or not use the internet for these kinds of issues. Particularly health, medicine, finance and so on. I mean there are lots of finance examples, but that’s another day.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Who can benefit from spreading false information about medicine?

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

I’ll give you an example. There’s a company called Sanofi, it’s a French pharmaceutical giant. They have a product called Combiflam in India, it’s a dual drug tablet. It’s basically one of those things you buy if you’ve got fever and headache and things like that. A WhatsApp video went around saying that this tablet was killing people, so their sales in two big states in India, Bihar and UP, crashed. Millions of tablets’ sales wiped out, just because of that set of videos which said that people are dying from taking Combiflam. We talked to them and we asked them, and then we also asked independent doctors and so on. Sanofi came back finally and said the maximum that they could perhaps see is that one batch of medicine did not have the desired efficacy, but surely no one died, or was dying, and there wasn’t any proof. But the damage was huge. So could it have been done by a competitor? Could it have been done by a mischief-maker? Could it have been done by someone in their supply chain who was pissed off with them for some reason? We don’t know.

But someone benefited from this, and hugely. As you go into each of these areas, you’ll find someone, to your question, benefiting from it. Sometimes it’s pure mischief, and in finance we see that it’s mostly people who are trying to warn people. For example, I write to you saying that I looked at the Citibank balance sheet and I think there’s a problem with it. They’ve given all these big loans, I don’t think they’re going to come back. If you have an account in Citibank, I suggest you close it. That’s me talking to you as a friend, but you circulate it to 10 more people saying, “My friend Govind sent this to me.” And then (and it’s happened in India), it’s reached millions by the end of the week. Suddenly people are calling up the bank and saying, “are you guys shutting down?” This has happened. Not once, not twice, but many times in 2018.

KAREN EDWARDS

Wow. Can I just add: You mention mischief, and a lot of these things do sound in many cases like mischief at some level. But mischief is also profitable right? People place ads or do things to then drive people somewhere else. There’s ads that are being sold through Facebook or Google or whatever, they’re making money. It may not sound like a lot of money to some of us, but people who are looking to try to make money will definitely do it.

I wanted to pick up on the methods a little bit. I think, at least here in the United States, lots of young adults gave up their Facebook when they learned about a bunch of stuff that was going on. Facebook was really where they just stay in touch with their grandparents. Snapchat isn’t necessarily grabbing a bunch of new young users. But the one thing that is starting to happen that I’m hearing about is that some of these ad bots, because they know there’s a bunch of new enforcement and regulation that’s been going on, are now actually going off the social platforms and going onto gaming platforms like Xbox and these other places. They’re able to see which kids are doing violent shooter games, and try to recruit them into ISIS or whatever. They’re going onto Etsy, where people are doing their crochet sales and whatever else. They’re putting stuff out where people are very vulnerable, people who are trying to look for ways to make money and be connected with other people. They don’t necessarily expect that their friends are going to keep sharing, but that they’re going to target people who are going to then share with their friends.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

We’re talking here about independent media, which I think personally is organized and structured responding to a world 500 years ago. You have local, national media outlets covering local news, most of it irrelevant, and few people connecting the dots across borders. Actually, there are not many organizations that work across the world. Whereas you have organized crime and corruption networks collaborating every day, they’re 100% globalized. So what are we doing wrong? What do we need to do to start collaborating, not only among us but also with other disciplines such as scientists and data scientists and psychologists?

PREMESH CHANDRAN

I think we definitely need to track the flow of information. I think WhatsApp can do a lot to actually show what’s happening within groups so that things can happen, that’s one area of activity. Us in the South, we now using technologies coming up every day: Facebook, WhatsApp, everything else. But we don’t really have control over that, or access to those sorts of powers. I think that linkage is really important, and I think that there is definitely room for cross-border journalism. The problem with linking that to, say, philanthropy is that a lot of this investigative reporting takes a long time. You can’t really apply for a grant, wait for a grant for six months, get the money, and then go and do investigative journalism. And many times you won’t come up with anything, or it will take many years to prove a case. So it doesn’t lend well to this one-off philanthropy, unless organizations want to fund investigative journalism very systematically, very broadly over the long periods of time.

I think the number one thing that philanthropy organizations can do is to push for transparency generally. Whenever corruption happens in the South, whether it's mafia or political greed, we generally hide the wealth in the North. We go buy apartments in London, in New York, we buy villas, we buy other asset classes in the North or in Swiss banks. If more of that can come out, then we can definitely fight corruption in a much more systematic way.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

I think the Panama Papers was a good example of collaboration in fact-checking. We have the International Fact-Checking Network, which is quite active now. This morning I got an email from someone in Africa saying there's something going on in Africa, and I forwarded that email. They said, "Here's a video that we are watching, it looks like the people are talking in an Indian language, so can you tell us more?" A lot of the videos that for some strange reason make the rounds in India, and can be really gruesome stuff, originate from Latin America or Southeast Asia, and it's very cross-border. The fact-checkers, because we meet often and we collaborate, are learning to lean on each other.

It's similar to the Global Investigative Journalism Network, which we are both members of. I think the GIJN has brought together journalists cohesively, to work on projects and to sort of kick things off. I think the kind of work that Giannina has done, for instance, shows that there is merit in working cross-border because of, let's say, movement of a container ship going from one country to the other. You obviously need journalistic assets on both sides, so it's a demand and supply. Even as we are trying to keep up, it's clear that the news that's happening is of that global cross-border nature, therefore we have no choice but to do the same.

MARY FITZGERALD

I'd like to echo the point that there are really impressive models of cross-border collaborative investigative journalism (ICIJ, OCCRP, et cetera) and I think that we know what those models look like. There needs to be more of them, they need to be better financed and resourced. As people here on this panel can speak to, they are very difficult, complicated operations to pull off, but it is being done over the past few years. That's quite revolutionary actually. I think that the gap is not so much now in cooperating and collecting the information, but in framing it in a way that resonates beyond our echo chambers and our filter bubbles, ensuring that journalists working on this story are really aware of how to land the narratives with different audiences that have different political persuasions, in different local and regional contexts, and the networks they need to activate and work with in their production of the story as well as the dissemination of it, in order to make sure that we aren't just preaching to the converted.

I'm a massive fan of the work the ICIJ and the OCCRP does, but I'm a journalist, so of course I'm going to be fascinated at how they manage to pull this thing off. I read this stuff endlessly, but I don't know how much that resonates beyond people who already self-identify as interested in this topic and these issues and these methods. I think we have a vast amount to learn here, and actually the skills that are involved in information-gathering and data analysis and tech and cross-border collaboration, are

very different from the ones involved in telling very vivid, powerful, emotive, engaging stories. I don't know if we've blended that well enough yet, and really nailed that one. I'm going to do a shameless plug for the breakfast briefing I'm hosting tomorrow morning, which is talking about a global network of investigative journalists that we're trying to build, which actually takes this problem head-on and tries to re-frame the narrative around a number of the issues that we're investigating. But I really don't think that any one of us yet, any network, organization, or set of journalists has really nailed this one, and I welcome the discussions we've all been having at this conference to try and think about how that works.

KAREN EDWARDS

Yeah, I think it's like you were saying before: it's easier to get people to not do something than it is to get them to do something like vote. And it's easier to tune in to Trump, whether you like him or not, because he takes out all the oxygen in the room and everybody needs to know what he's tweeting about today or what's going on. Whether it's Trump or whether there's just fake information, there's just a lot of noise, period. That is what makes it difficult for people to take the time to really understand what was the Panama Papers all about. What can I do as a citizen? What should I even be looking for? Should I speak up if I happen to notice a group of very wealthy people suddenly moving into my neighborhood and buying up a bunch of real estate? Where do you go? How would you even know?

I think that helping to surface some of the other voices besides just the mainstream news is really key. That's what we're attempting to do at Soap, but I also think that it's upon all of us to help surface other voices and have people really question who the source is and look at things from a variety of perspectives. If you have a varied media diet, that's what's going to help you be immune to some of the bad stuff that's out there.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

I think we have time for one last question. I really want to talk about formats and narrative because we can be boring as hell. I was recently reading my stories from 20 years ago and they were long, long, long, long. And I'm glad that back then there was no internet, because my poor audience had to read all these long boring pieces. Is there room for completely different narratives, like combining investigative journalism and humor or theater or music? Are we fixed in a certain way to tell stories? Is our story-telling not for this modern world? I'm pretty sure you have millennials around you. I have three kids and they consume video like crazy. What can we learn from them, and what other formats or narratives do we have available that we can explore?

PREMESH CHANDRAN

At Malaysiakini, we're trying to do a lot more in video, both 30-second videos as well as three-to-five minute types of videos. We are also trying to build Kini Studios to actually make movies, because we find that news does not move people anymore. You need something more like a movie, which they can relate to, and it's a much deeper thing for them to actually relate to something, to transform them. We are looking at movies as a way to not just present investigative journalism but to actually tell a story and get them to identify with the story.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

I think that long-form investigative journalism still has a market, and it's just about the content. Even within India I know that. There's a magazine called Caravan which does very long pieces, it takes hours to go through them. But they're gripping, and they usually take on subjects which everyone else hesitates to, which is usually anti-establishment among other things. It reads like a novel and it has to do with things that are happening around you. There are other examples as well, but these are far and few between because the resources, talent and skills required to do this is not that much. It's not like there are thousands of people who have the ability to write a 10,000-word investigative piece that takes six months to do, but if you do it, there is a market.

I was talking to an executive from YouTube just a couple of days ago, and we just launched this short video format using data and short clips like the kind that WEF does, the square format on Twitter and so on. I was asking him the current viewership profile on YouTube and so on. He insisted that people are still watching content for long periods. He says, "I know everyone thinks people only watch for 30 seconds and 60 seconds but our understanding, which is based on two billion users who consume YouTube every month, is that people continue to consume long-form. Not just entertainment or music, even non-fiction and current affairs." So people are consuming, it's just that you have to work harder to create that piece of writing or video or whatever to grab people's attention and hold on to it.

KAREN EDWARDS

What we hear from young adults is "TLDR" (too long didn't read). Having a visual approach and being able to put things in context very quickly, so that they understand how this issue relates to that issue et cetera, is important. Infographics have been a tremendous benefit to mainstream news as well, making it fast, simple, easy, get in and get out. And that's tough because we're talking about really complex issues, like the kind of investigative work that you guys do. The key is getting that first initial spark of curiosity. Then we hear something like, "I found out my favorite band leader died, and so I found out about opioids, and I learned about sleep deprivation, and I learned about why mental health care funding has been cut, and then I learned about the Affordable Care Act, and then I wrote to my elected leaders." Young people do care. Young people will take the time to figure stuff out and to follow complex issues, but you've got to allow them to make it. Put them a little more in control as opposed to just giving them a long form to read.

MARY FITZGERALD

There's lots of great ideas that have just been shared and techniques for grabbing people's attention, but I think often the thing that we miss as journalists is that you can put a reader, or an entire readership, or an entire political persuasion off, by your choice of a word. I learned this recently, I call these trigger words. We've done a lot of reporting on Brexit. Is everyone familiar with the term 'Hard Brexit'? We know what that means, right? It's used routinely across the political spectrum in reporting. If you're pro-Hard Brexit you want to leave the EU without a deal, and it's a fairly established position. I discovered only a few weeks ago that people who actually

support Hard Brexit find that term incredibly pejorative, and if they believe that a no-deal Brexit is the best outcome for Britain, they get offended and pissed off when people describe it as a Hard Brexit. "We're not "hard"-anything, it makes us sound extremist."

And so, we can put together this carefully researched, vividly written, powerful story about how the leave campaign cheated and massively broke the law, and has been referred to the criminal authorities for breaking the law in campaigning for Brexit, which is persuasive and which lands in right-wing media as well as left-wing media. But because we've used the word 'Hard Brexit' in the first few sentences, the people that we want to have read it and we want to persuade just switch off. Often it's just about thinking about trigger words, thinking, "How does this play with someone outside of my frame of reference, my echo chamber, my filter bubble?" That kind of education and learning and self-questioning. I am sure there are plenty of words you guys can think of here in the United States which probably have similar effects. You can get a lot of the way there just by ensuring that you're not switching certain audiences off right at the beginning.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you, all of you. This has been an incredible conversation, and I want to break the protocol and see if any of you guys have a question.

AUDIENCE MEMBER

Hi, my name is Lebogang Chaka, I'm from Africa. I wanted to talk about the legislative part of what you're talking about, because most of it is the consumption part. In one of the African countries, South Africa, there was a PR company from London, Bell Pottinger, and in 2016 they had revenues of £27 million. But then they started engaging in polarization, racial PR. It's suspected that it was by the then-President and one of his corrupt business associates from India, the Gupta family. The South Africans rebelled against this, we got certain lords in London and so forth involved. Long story short, Bell Pottinger is bankrupt, it's closed, but could be proved that they were involved in this. What happens when we have situations like this where there is fake news? Shouldn't we also be advocating for policy direction? Legislation where if people are found, there's actually consequences? Because now a country like South Africa is back having racial conversations because fake news was consumed on a mass scale.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

So when you say regulation, do you mean it should come under the purview of law enforcement?

AUDIENCE MEMBER

Yes.

GOVINDRAJ ETHIRAJ

That's very tricky territory, I don't know. I mean, Singapore has just passed a law. There must be at least 10 countries around the world doing this, including India in

some ways. We're just trying to figure out how to control this. India's Information Broadcasting Ministry tried to say last year that all journalists should be enrolled with the government, so as to ensure that those who spread fake news will be separated or gone after, or whatever. And the thing is, journalists are not as responsible for spreading fake news as other people are. I think this is a much larger question. It's obviously about liberty and freedom of speech. The regulations that many countries have passed, are trying to pass, or are discussing are really treading waters which, as a democracy, I would not be comfortable with. I don't know which way it's going to go, because it is a dangerous problem and because we're not finding a solution. Maybe some of these governments and their laws will prevail, but it's very dangerous territory and we don't want to go there ideally.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

It's so dangerous that Premesh had to face that last year, right? When the Prime Minister wanted to pass legislation to send to send journalists to jail?

PREMESH CHANDRAN

Yeah, the former government passed an anti-fake news bill, which allowed them to arrest and detain journalists and editors on the spot for publishing fake news, which was defined by the government, so there's no opportunity to discuss whether it's fake or not in the first place.

MARY FITZGERALD

Yeah, who has the power to decide what's fake news and what isn't? What is factual and what is not factual? That terrifies me. I wouldn't want to put that power in the hands of anybody.

KAREN EDWARDS

I think what's particularly challenging right now is the fox is guarding the chicken coup, meaning the social platforms are 'cooperating' with governments to try to find technical solutions, and they've got tens of thousands of people at YouTube and all the platforms trying to take things down. There's been some healthy legislation around privacy and protecting people's data and avoiding targeting and a bunch of other things, but there have been unintended consequences as well. If anybody's curious I can fill you in on GDPR and how there have been some unintended consequences that actually made it easier for people who are selling hatred, particularly around the racial side. The extreme right, supremacist groups and things like that have used some of the new legislation to work around some of the things that were problems for them before, and they've actually been able to be more successful now.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you very much to all of you, this has been a really great discussion. Thank you all for listening, have a good night.

PHILANTHROPY & CIVIL SOCIETY: KNOWLEDGE MARKETPLACE



WEDNESDAY APRIL 3
9:00 AM

PHIL BUCHANAN

PRESIDENT, THE CENTER FOR EFFECTIVE PHILANTHROPY

CECILIA CONRAD

MANGING DIRECTOR, JOHN D.AND CATHERINE T. MACARTHUR
FOUNDATION

CHUCK HARRIS

CEO, BLUE MERIDIAN PARTNERS

CHARLOTTE PERA

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CLIMATEWORKS FOUNDATION

JANE WALES

Everyone in this room and on this stage is part of a knowledge marketplace when it comes to the practice of philanthropy. In many ways we have a goal to most efficiently connect the knowledge that's resident in philanthropic institution, the sort of supply side, with the demand side of individual philanthropists who want to be their most effective. The question is, how do you do that in a way that is most helpful to all?

We know a little bit about the demand side, in part because of surveys of you but also Phil Buchanan, he makes a living doing surveys. And what we do know is that individual philanthropists and program officers consume knowledge and use knowledge all the time, but that knowledge needs to be curated because there is such an onslaught of information available. There is this need for ensuring that what you're getting is what's most relevant. Secondly, most philanthropists and most members of the GPF, as well as program officers, trust their peers and grantees as sources of knowledge. Those are the two biggest sources. And in a study done on program officers, what they learned is that there is no single source, so more is welcome and more is needed.

What we've had over the years is staffed foundations being willing to share information but with some caveats, which Phil will talk to us about, and re-grantors like Global Greengrants Fund, Global Fund for Women, Global Fund for Children, Give to Asia, and Give to Columbia. These are highly successful re-grantors and they offer an opportunity for individual philanthropists to come in on a strong strategy, leverage others' giving, and learn while they give. But now we've got more renovations, as we have more ultra high-net-worth individuals who are interested in big bets, and so we are going to talk mostly this morning about big bets.

Joining us is Cecilia Conrad of Lever for Change which has grown out of the MacArthur Foundation, Chuck Harris, who leads Blue Meridian, and Charlotte Pera, who leads the ClimateWorks Foundation which was probably the first of this model.

So Phil, I am going to start with you. We are always told by professional foundation leaders that part of their job is to advance field-wide learning. How are they doing?

PHIL BUCHANAN

I think there is a lot of room for improvement. When we have looked at how foundations understand how they are doing, they feel that they are using information to get better, but the area in which they're least likely to share is information about what isn't working. This is also the area in which they're least likely to perceive other foundations as open. There are a lot of reasons for that, including the fact that you can't really know what isn't working unless you set yourself up with a clear definition of what success looks like. Also, folks of course feel hesitant to share because they're worried about their reputations at times. It's difficult to sort out what information is relevant, and to me a big part of that is just the simple fact that assessment in philanthropy is way, way more complicated and difficult than it is in other domains.

My view is over the last two decades, we have fallen prey in the field of philanthropy, and the nonprofit sector more broadly, to this tendency to analogize everything to business and investing, and to operate under the delusion that there will be some universal metric, some analog to ROI, or that we should all be focused on our brands and our unique positioning. All of this, I think, gets in the way of thoughtful assessment and learning because this work is uniquely challenging in all kinds of ways. I think it's great to see collaborative efforts to share knowledge and I also think, historically, nothing has ever been accomplished in philanthropy by a single actor operating alone. We seem to have forgotten that somewhere along the way and maybe we're rediscovering it now.

JANE WALES

What I'm going to do now is turn to you, Chuck. Help us understand the Blue Meridian model. It was developed within the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation, it is now standalone. Tell us its purpose, its method, and where it is today.

CHUCK HARRIS

Thank you, Jane. What became Blue Meridian was a very organic outgrowth of a grant-making strategy that was established at Edna McConnell Clark around the year 2000 by Michael Bailin, that entailed making just a few concentrated multi-year "growth capital" investments, if you will, in the highest-performing youth-serving organizations that the foundation could identify. The notion was to advance capitalize their growth plans, if you will, to create some financial certainty, and to create alignment between the senior team at the grantee organization and at Edna McConnell Clark. There was a business planning effort that was at the front end of every engagement. From a business plan, we would draw out performance milestones that represented what the grantee themselves wanted to get done over the period, and that's what we would be reported on. Our grants were and are unrestricted at the enterprise level. We actually don't track with any precision where the money goes. If the performance measures that they've put forth as their goals are being met, we're good. I think that Mr. Bailin's initial thought was if Edna McConnell Clark came into

these situations and funded 20 or 30% of perceived growth capital needed, that would make it easier for the grantees to find the rest on similar terms. Well that didn't happen.

JANE WALES

Meaning the money didn't come in? Or finding the rest didn't happen?

CHUCK HARRIS

It was finding the rest that our grantees were not actually accomplishing at the rate we hoped, so somewhere around 2006 Nancy Roob, the then and now CEO, decided to learn how to fundraise. It was entirely to get our job done by bringing other people in alongside us. We experimented with different formats but in the end, between 2006 and 2014 or so, in grants that the Clark foundation put about \$150 million into, we brought \$450 million from other funders in. These funders ranged from the federal government to very large foundations to, thanks to the networks of the boards of our grantee organizations, increasingly a number of living donors. And so we've had two or three iterations of doing that. What we discovered was in the best situations, if an organization gets through a five year business plan, they would have generally grown a lot, gotten better at what they do, and be nowhere near reaching their potential. So we would do it again, and in fact in one case, we had three successive planning periods and funding periods, during that time we brought about 53 other funders in.

Long story short, four or five years ago the Clark family and their other trustees decided to pursue a limited life strategy, and to create Blue Meridian as its successor strategy, essentially. So the bulk of the then-billion-dollar endowment has been committed to Blue Meridian, not as endowment but as performance-based grants to whatever we find to fund overtime.

The day that I knew we had something cool to work with was the day that Nancy told me that the trustees said they would put up to a quarter of the endowment into a vehicle that they did not have to control. So our idea is let's stop with this five year business, let's go to the grantees and say, "What's the biggest thing you can imagine accomplishing?", and give them the resources to work on and plan around that for typically a year or so.

We were able to go out to the people we were closest to on a co-investment basis from our prior work and say, "If you would put at least \$50 million in alongside our \$200 million, then we would invite you to both co-create the fund vehicle as well as make every investment decision alongside us going forward. And it turned out that that proposition turned what had been about a \$6 million average income in co-investment into a series of commitments that now range up to \$350 million from individual partners.

We did research together, and we have a unanimous vote requirement among our larger funders who make these decisions. I thought that was the craziest idea I had ever heard when it was suggested, and yet it has worked quite well. I think that is primarily because we start talking about these investment ideas when they are still a gleam in our eye, and it's a couple of years before bringing an investment recommendation forward and it doesn't get that far if the group's not interested.

JANE WALES

It strikes me that one of the impacts of this that may have not been anticipated is that it's urging the grantee to think big in the same space. In other words, think big and you'll be funded big.

CHUCK HARRIS

Absolutely, that may be one of the two or three best things about this is just opening up imagination and ambition, for that matter. We've had a couple situations where the boards involved were not so sure they wanted to go there, but as you might imagine some of them may yet live to regret it, but we are on the path. These plans that are coming back are 10-to-20-year visions for the future, and our notion is that if the work is getting done well, we will have the money to be with them throughout that entire period.

JANE WALES

So I'm going to go jump to you, Cecilia, and start with 100&Change, which we have discussed at earlier GPFs as you were initially designing it. There is a situation in which you are asking for proposals, and it doesn't matter what the issue area is but they needed to be organizations that could absorb \$100 million over five years. Most of us don't dare think that big. Talk a little bit about what was behind 100&Change and then we'll talk about what resulted.

CECILIA CONRAD

100&Change began, really, to solve a problem that we had created for ourselves. We wanted to identify a place to invest a significant amount of resources equivalent to what the foundation was doing in our big bets, but we didn't want to pick what it would be. We wanted to open it up to external voices to help us to define work. So the open call competition, 100&Change, was initially about solving that problem. One of the things that we quickly discovered is that by doing this big open call, we were uncovering all sorts of exciting projects. Like Chuck was saying, we were uncovering what people think about when you give them an opportunity to think big and just open it up and look there. Initially, we thought we were doing this over a three-year period. We learned quickly that was not going to be feasible.

Once we identified our semi-finalists, we also put a lot of resources into helping them build robust plans, kind of learning a bit from what the Blue Meridian model had done. We also, in uncovering that information, felt we had a responsibility to share it with the field at large and other donors, hoping that we would be able to find others who might be interested in some of the projects that did not get our \$100 million because there were many that would not, we only had one \$100 million grant.

It was in that process that we created our Solutions Bank with the Foundation Center (now Candid), where we put all the proposal summaries out there. We learned from that that we needed to think more about how to bring funders along with us on the journey if we were really going to hope to bring them into the fold. And so we have experimented with different ways of sharing that information and of gathering what other people are thinking. I'm going to ask my colleague Jeff to raise his hand because he's been so busy experimenting with Wikipedia-like models and other types

of ways of sharing that information. At one point, we shared the top 200 proposals with an outside group, the Center for High Impact Philanthropy at Wharton School, and let them apply their criteria to vet the proposals, and they produced the giving guide that came out of that. We started experimenting with different ways of making this information of value to the field, and we've generated some research out of it as well.

JANE WALES

So what strikes me about both what you've said and what Chuck has said, is that you've become fundraisers. I know a lot of leaders of nonprofits who would like to go work for a foundation so they wouldn't have to raise funds. I'm now confronted with leaders of foundations who want to become fundraisers. This is not what we expected. It is unintended, unanticipated impact. I'll come back to you on Lever for Change. Chuck has succeeded in helping to make folks think big, and Cecilia is helping these potential grantees actually develop their plan so that they are most effective in their work but also in getting the funding. Charlotte, you work on climate change, so there the requirement is to get people to think long-term. Talk about what was behind the founding of the ClimateWorks Foundation, and what has been the impact in your view.

CHARLOTTE PERA

For those of you who don't know the ClimateWorks Foundation (and I'm guessing many of you in this room may not), we are a philanthropic organization that works globally to advance climate solutions. We do this by making grants, and we also do it by providing a range of services to help the global philanthropic community come together to tackle climate change. We were established in 2008 by 3 foundations, the Hewlett, Packard, and McKnight foundations, who wanted to do something big together on climate. So they pooled resources and made a joint commitment over \$1 billion to create the ClimateWorks Foundation.

The original model with ClimateWorks was that it would focus on making large annual grants to about a dozen organizations working to reduce emissions in China, the US, Europe, India, and then with respect to forest and land-use strategies in Brazil and Indonesia. Then several of those organizations, the grantees of ClimateWorks, would, in turn, make grants in their regions, including the organization I worked for at the time, the Energy Foundation, which makes grants in the US and in China.

I was brought into ClimateWorks in late 2012 essentially to revamp and redesign the model for a bigger, more complex landscape of climate philanthropy and climate action: more funders, more actors, lots of work underway, lots of relationships and broadband interactions across the board. The model really needed an update to reflect that reality, and to ensure that ClimateWorks could serve that bigger, more complex, and still growing landscape, and in that context help philanthropy be as effective as possible in addressing climate change.

So one of the questions Jane had mentioned when we were talking about this a while ago was what problems were our donors looking to solve by creating ClimateWorks? I would say both in 2008 and 2012 the donors were really looking to address the problem of scale. As you all know, climate change is an enormous and

enormously complex global challenge. And meeting that challenge, for example holding global average temperature rise well below 2°C this century (which is the goal embedded in the Paris Climate Agreement that nations agreed in 2015), really requires transformative change across the global economy. We need to change how we generate and use electricity. Fortunately we're making progress there because renewables have become so cheap, but there's a lot more to do. We need to change how we produce and consume food, how we transport people and goods et cetera, et cetera. These are very big tasks and to Phil's earlier point, no foundation can make a dent in this problem by itself. But we strongly believe, and we have evidence of this and others believe this as well, that by working together and being strategic, philanthropy can indeed be a very big player in helping to solve the climate challenge.

ClimateWorks donors, recognizing this, set up ClimateWorks with a great interest in seeing climate philanthropy grow and seeing climate philanthropy be collaborative and affective on a global scale. The way our organization helps is in three ways: We provide global intelligence and insights that is specifically tailored to be helpful to climate philanthropists or to donors who are exploring climate for the first time. We create forums for funders to gather and learn and strategize together, coordinate and collaborate. Third, we provide grant-making services and grant-making platforms to help funders direct funds to strategies and grantees that are high-impact around the world.

Just to speak very briefly to the theme of this conference, because this piece was so timely. Some of you may have seen the piece in *The Economist* a few days ago which was an interview with journalist and author David Wallace Wells, who recently published a book on climate change called *The Uninhabitable Earth*. It's an excellent book and it's quite disturbing, I'm not done with it yet because I'm reading it in sort of psychologically digestible chunks, but I do recommend it. The piece in *The Economist* was titled, "Can Liberal Democracy Survive Climate Change?" And spoiler alert: the answer was essentially who knows? But Wallace Wells shared his view that climate change will affect everything we've come to regard as permanent features and ideological infrastructure in the modern world, and that the systems of the 21st century will almost certainly be defined by climate change.

So in the context of this conference and reflecting on that article, it strikes me that there really is a two-way street here: that success and addressing climate change really requires vital, functioning, liberal democracies, and if we want to maintain or restore vital democracies, we have to dress climate change before climate impacts, and the really deep inequalities embedded in those impacts, start to overwhelm systems and communities and potentially drive a greater turn toward populism and authoritarianism.

JANE WALES

Chuck, I'm going to go back to you for a second because Charlotte mentioned this forum that is designed for learning for those philanthropists who have bought in. You are about to go to Southern California for a forum that Blue Meridian is sponsoring. Talk about the shape of that, why it's done, how it's done, for whom is it done?

CHUCK HARRIS

So this meeting, and several others that we do during the year, are to bring our investment partners together and some of our grantee leaders together. Our partners govern this thing with us so it feels like a board meeting on steroids actually, to some degree. There are 100 pages of material for each one of these meetings, I'm still sore from this round. But really I think what motivates our funders is the interaction between them and us and the group, and the opportunity to see work on the ground and connect with that whenever possible. Actually one of our major partners are the Ballmers, and with the acquisition of the Los Angeles Clippers, Steve made a commitment to invest in the community there, so we are going to see some of their work in Watts and other neighborhoods. We will have several of our grantees coming in who are about to complete the first phase of their work with us to talk about the next phase and get us jazzed to support that as well. We're going to go to a basketball game tonight.

I think underlying your question is for all of our funders, whether it be the Gates Foundation or a fairly newly formed family foundation in Washington DC, the learning journey is a big part of this I think and we've had input from everybody. Everybody has instigated an investment or two out of their own thinking, and happily, with some facilitation, a group of people who are quite accustomed individually to calling the shots in their daily lives have come to recognize each other's strengths and weaknesses and respect those. So it's actually just a fascinating few days, which will be great to get over.

JANE WALES

So your reference to Steve Ballmer makes me think that one of the objectives can be, of these various funds, to bring on new donors. Maybe this money has been on the sidelines as they're waiting to find the perfect issue, the perfect strategy. This opportunity to piggyback on your resolution strategies might unleash some funding, have you seen that?

CHUCK HARRIS

Absolutely, and for me personally, I came out of an investment banking background where I participated in the movement of billions of dollars to some incredibly mundane companies. We know why people do that, but I thought, why couldn't the best in class in this space, which is frankly much more exciting, also pre-fund their growth, just like we do in the business world, rather than hand-to-mouth week-to-week? And it's actually starting to happen, and so the creation of actionable opportunities for all this wealth that either is or isn't on the sidelines, depending on whom you ask, is a major objective and it seems to be working at some level here.

PHIL BUCHANAN

I think it's important for us to remember that, and I don't know if you'd agree or disagree Chuck, while there are situations in which the right thing to do is focus on a particular organization that has something that's working and help it to grow, there are many other situations in philanthropy in which that isn't the right thing to do. I've been working on this book for the last couple of years which comes out mid-April

(that's my brief infomercial), and one of the things I do in the first chapter to try to illustrate this is tell the stories of two different organizations. One is called Bell, they're focused on summer learning loss for low income kids, and they're trying to scale nationally and that makes sense because it's been shown to be effective. Then I tell the story of another organization, also based in Massachusetts, called UTEC, that works with the most violent and at-risk gang members to try to get them out of gang life and get them working at a mattress recycling facility, or a woodworking shop that sells cutting boards to Whole Foods, or a café that's across the street from the courthouse. And people say to them all the time, it works, why don't you big? Because their approach is rooted in the particular community in which they're working, the particular history of gang violence and gang culture, to them scale is going deeper there: dealing with the multi-generational issues, opening up a daycare for the folks who are in their program, and then sharing what they're learning with others doing similar work in different context.

That goes to my fear about the investment analogy. In the business world it's zero sum: we want that organization to grow because we want a return. In our world, a lot of times, scale is about a whole array of very small organizations working in different ways together to make something happen. So I just worry a little bit about our tendency to go big. A few years ago, Peter Sims had a great book, called *Small Bets*, and now we're all talking about big bets, and I was thinking maybe medium bets will be the next thing. We need to remember how context-specific all of this is and not get too romanced by a particular way of doing it without thinking about that. I'm not suggesting that anyone on this panel feels differently, but my worry is that we can all rush off to do it this way while the context might actually call for something different.

CHARLOTTE PERA

To the point about the funders learning together and that making it easier to attract new donors, we've definitely seen that as well, certainly with the funder forums that we support, one of which is the largest funders in the climate space, and it's become a very high trust environment. We've had funders say to us that are new to climate, "We got our funding up to speed so much more quickly because we could come to this group, talk to peers that we trust, learn from them which grantees they're working with, and I wish this existed in other fields." I think for a number of donors, it just gives them more comfort to enter new areas, maybe enter new geographies, if they are in regular touch with peers that can help them think about how to do that. What you just raised, Phil, is a really interesting question, and it's one of the things that we've been kind of working on in the climate space. Big bets are exciting, and when you are talking about climate change, to get somebody in at scale you've got to give them a vision for what could really be accomplished that would matter. So I think there is an interesting opportunity to be aware that getting big things done often does require a portfolio of grants to a lot of different organizations, but if you can roll that up in sort of a framing about how something big can be accomplished through that funding, I think that's a great combination.

CECILIA CONRAD

One of the things that I observed in what came in on 100&Change was that representing this notion of scaling is finding the right partners. What's a little different

in the context of the climate, because ours was so wide open, was that we had to rely on kind of a lead who would assemble the group together, who would then implement the proposed strategy. So rather than us having a portfolio of grantees, in a sense there's a lead organization who is assembling the portfolio and bringing them to the table. But it also uncovered for me that there's a real information problem in the NGO space of people not knowing what other people are doing where they could learn from each other. That's another piece of the information problem that I would love to be able to make some headway in. I had a fantasy at one point of creating a kind of eHarmony, where you could go on and say, "Who else is doing off-grid solar power solutions to electricity?" And it turns out that there are people doing it in North Dakota and there are people doing it in rural parts of India, and other places where it would be great if they could learn from each other.

CHARLOTTE PERA

On the issue of the donors coming together and so forth, we focused initially a lot on sharing the sourcing and the proposals, but I think the other way of drawing in some of the new donors is sharing expertise. Expertise with particular tools, expertise with how to consider proposals, expertise with building plans. So that's one of the things we are starting to experiment with going forward with Lever for Change.

JANE WALES

Phil, your point is really well taken and that was a lot of our thinking behind a conference which looked at a combination of new localism and big bets, and why I also mentioned Global Greengrants, et cetera. But tying this all back to democracy for a moment. Phil, our definition of a healthy democracy is, in part, a robust civil society. What is happening is that, number one, fewer donors are giving more money, which is a real concern since you don't want the middle class out of the world of philanthropy. I worry that it's not only reflecting the concentration of wealth, it may be reflecting the concentration of agency that folks in the middle class will feel that they can't make a difference. And then of course for the nonprofit recipients, when the United Way goes under, that's a bad day.

PHIL BUCHANAN

Yeah, and I think in the nonprofit sector, my worry is obviously it's vast and diverse from Harvard to the homeless shelter, but it's very much a two-tiered or multi-tiered kind of world. I've been spending some time just shadowing leaders of community-based organizations. I recently spent some time with a leader of an arts organization in San Francisco. The challenge of keeping people given what they pay, given no retirement, given I think half of medical is what they pay. A lot of the large foundations support both the larger organizations and small community-based nonprofits. What would it look like if foundations committed to try and do something about that and say, "Actually we will make sure, if you're important enough for us to support, that you pay a sustainable wage so you can retain people." This ED, Julie Phelps of CounterPulse, the organization in San Francisco, she said to me, "foundations will forever be making capacity-building grants if they don't help us retain talent."

I'm all for helping organizations that really should be much larger as organizations get much larger, that makes a lot of sense, but I worry that we will not pay attention to the network of locally-based organizations providing vital services. I spent time at an organization in Houston which is a \$600,000 budget. It's literally the place everybody knows that they go if they're desperate, and they help you. After Harvey, it's where everybody went. \$600,000 budget, nine staff, volunteers. What are we doing to make sure that those organizations also get attention in this conversation about what effective philanthropy looks like?

CHUCK HARRIS

Just for the record I do agree with you completely, Phil, and the vast majority of the organizations that we've looked at are not appropriate for this investment strategy. The vast majority of the donors I've talked to have no interest in joining our collaborative, so the market is speaking. Having said that, we know that there are proven solutions to problems out there and we're just behind the idea of getting those out as broadly as we can in the world.

Jane, in response to one of your questions, I mentioned that opening up imaginations was one of the coolest things that's happened. The other one, and this is even better for me, is the national-regional partnerships that we've entered into. George Kaiser Family Foundation in Tulsa, by choice, orients its giving in Tulsa. The Duke Endowment in Charlotte, by charter, can give only in the Carolinas. They both approached us a couple of iterations ago in this work and said, "Look, we don't care whose idea it is, we just want the best youth-serving organizations in America in our communities. If you guys are finding them, let us know about them, and we can help." The work gets done at the community level. If our national scaling replicating grantees cannot integrate into the fabric of a community and coordinate their activities with other providers, they may as well stay home, and that's what we're seeing here. Both of those partners are building collective impact strategies that range from pre-conception contraceptive availability and advice, up to and through third grade literacy, with nurse home visiting, with a triage at the local hospitals, with significant up-front assessment of what families' needs are, navigation systems, and an integrated data system across the school district, the criminal justice system, and the healthcare system. This is so that ultimately we can know which kid got which dose of which intervention in what order, and hopefully make some sense out of it. And so I think you'll see, very likely, a lot more of that from us because most philanthropy seems to be community-focused and we would love to feed that and the grantees that we're trying grow need it.

CECILIA CONRAD

I wanted to pick up with two examples that I think also link this issue of knowledge hearing, and how it warps in. One of them is a program that the MacArthur Foundation launched about a year and a half or two years ago called Benefit Chicago. This is actually under our impact investing arm, but the idea here is that we had a long history of doing impact investing and community economic development work in Chicago, a successful history of doing it. We partnered with the Chicago Community Foundation and with Calvert to launch this thing where the community foundation was dedicating a portion of its donor advised funds to creating a new

fund, MacArthur was dedicating some funds, and in addition there was, through Calvert, the opportunity to buy a note as small as \$25 to be part of investing in the community. One of the exciting things the director of that program has talked about is this importance of agency, that people in the community, when they walk by a new enterprise, usually a social enterprise, can say, "I helped finance that." So I think this issue of agency is very important, but it's the way of sharing the kind of accumulated knowledge that the foundation had with not just new ultra-high net worth individuals, but really with community members as well.

The other example that I think about along this way is a different form of knowledge-sharing which is trying to draw from the community expertise about what works. This was a fund that we did with other funders in Chicago to address gun violence. There were lots of little experiments going on in neighborhoods. There was one group called Moms on the Block where a group of women just sat out every night in the summer and barbecued on the street, and that had a real effect of depressing violence in their neighborhood. So that's the kind of knowledge you build from the other direction that this fund helped to uncover by giving much smaller grants through kind of neighborhood anchors.

JANE WALES

Cecilia, when I look at 100&Change and now Lever for Change, it's all about multiple streams of information, including from the ultimate beneficiary. Give us a little bit of information on Levers for Change, since we only touched on 100&Change.

CECILIA CONRAD

Okay. So out of the 100&Change experience, we learned a couple things. One, I already mentioned, we learned that this open call can have a generative effect in cumulating ideas and collecting information. Two, we found that there were other funders who were interested in what we were doing. We had a bit of success in this first round, primarily with bringing institutional funders along as sidecar funders for not only the projects that we gave grants to, but also with other projects that did well in our competition and were in our top 200. We now believe we've raised an additional \$245 million for the group of projects from other funders. So we really did well with institutional funders, we had a few individual donors and family foundations, but it led us to think, was there more we could do to help unlock capital from that market?

Lever for Change seeks to build off of that experience in several ways. One is that we're going to be offering, as a service, customized competitions that we will run on behalf of individual donors and small family foundations. These competitions have to build off of our model of openness and transparency. They can be thematic, they don't have to be completely wide open like 100&Change. We have five lined up for this year and going into 2020. They are a range of topics. Most of this initial group is based in the US but we do have someone who's interested in climate issues on a global scale. They started \$10 million dollar competitions and will go up from there, no one's come to match our \$100 million yet. So that's one strand. The second strand is actually from those competitions, we will do what we did with our 100&Change upper-tier: we will invest in strengthening the organizations, helping them build out

plans, maybe do some match-making across organizations, and create a pipeline of projects that we will share with the world. We will also help individual donors and family foundations who may not have their own staff to do whatever additional due diligence, to collect whatever additional information that they have. Quite honestly, for me, that's the real power in this. A competition you should only do every once in a while, because it is kind of a lot of work for everyone involved. But if you're uncovering these ideas, you should just use that to help create a database that can be of service to the community writ large.

JANE WALES

You've also got a new initiative in the area of impact investing, and MacArthur has been such a leader in this space. So say a word about that, and then I'm going to go to Phil next.

CECILIA CONRAD

So, probably the newest announcement out of the foundation is something called Catalytic Capital Consortium, or, as we call it in-house, 3C. This is actually kind of knowledge-sharing in multiple directions again. We have a history of impact investing and we know a lot in a particular area of impact investing, and you saw that represented in benefit Chicago that I talked about earlier. We wanted to do more impact investing, but we recognized that the expertise in other areas lies outside of the foundation.

So we have set up in this a focus, first of all, on what we call catalytic capital. It has to be patient, it has to be risk tolerant, flexible, and it has to accept a concessionary return. Many people when they talk about impact investing, they want to get the same market return that they could get in the market itself, to go back to the business analogy. But here we recognize that there is a need for concessionary capital, and that foundations like ours are the places that should be involved in it.

What we're doing is going out to find partners (our first partner is Rockefeller Zero Gap Fund) where we're putting in \$50 million of our impact investment funds to match what they're doing in this space for catalytic capital. We're expecting to find approximately 5 partners who are in different spaces. We're sort of tagging it a little bit by looking at the SDGs, but it's a way of sharing our expertise, sharing our money, and also building off the expertise that exists outside the foundation.

JANE WALES

So the reason I wanted to turn back to Phil is just to sort of clearly delineate between impact investing, which is its own asset class and its own invention with some really interesting returns at this point, on the one hand, and getting caught up in a metaphor on the other hand. One starts sort of calling grant-making investing to signal that this is long-term or that the impact is long-term, but sometimes we get caught up and start believing our own metaphors, and sometimes it actually doesn't quite work. Does your book address that?

PHIL BUCHANAN

Yeah, I argue that it's not a helpful metaphor. I tell the story of sitting in a class at business school 20 years ago and a "venture philanthropist" came in and the attitude was, and I don't think this is true of everyone, but the attitude of this particular person was nonprofits are poorly led, ineffective, and are in need of aggressive investors, like us, to hold them to account. They proceeded to make grants to organizations and, I think unhelpfully obsessed with this metaphor, reported on absurd metrics like "lives touched," showing the increase, maybe because organizations were handing out lollipops to people, I don't really know. And then later, they had this sort of revelation, and said, "actually it's about systems," whereas you could've asked anyone who'd worked in philanthropy or the nonprofit sector for a while and they would've told you, "of course it's about systems, of course it's more complicated than this."

I do think it's an unhelpful analogy as it's often applied with a tone of paternalism that completely misses the fact that running a nonprofit, particularly a small one, is much more difficult than running an equivalent-sized business for all kinds of reasons, so that's how I feel about the analogies. On impact investing, I think you're right to make that distinction. It's something different, and I think that there are really interesting compelling examples of impact investing, and then I think there's a tremendous amount of hype, some of which has the flavor of that old SNL skit: "it's a floor wax and a desert topping!" To your point about concessionary, if it wasn't concessionary, why wouldn't the investments be made anyway?

So this notion that we can have it all, we can get rich and do good and there are no trade-offs, there are trade-offs all the time, and we see that play out in the headlines, in the business section. I think it's important for foundations to ask, "what are we doing with this endowment, and are there opportunities for us to further our programmatic goals?" It's also important not to lose ourselves in the market-based hype.

CHARLOTTE PERA

The point that I was going to make is this question of return on investment, and I agree it's sort of challenging to figure out when to talk about investment because it communicates to the people you're talking with and how to be clear that it's a different form of investment. In the climate space, there are ways to talk about return on investment that are very measurable and the best metric is reductions in greenhouse gas emissions because that correlates to the problem we're trying to solve so directly. The challenge is attribution and contribution, and this has been a long debate in the climate philanthropy community. In my view, and I think this is sort of widely shared at this point, you just can't assign a direct relationship between dollars spent and an outcome that is a gigatonne scale, or even a 100 million metric tonne scale, reduction in greenhouse gases. Everything that is operating at that scale is a really heavy lift that is the work of many hands. So I think finding ways to tell stories and help philanthropists appreciate how the resources really mattered, but without creating sort of false precision around how they resulted in an outcome, is also very important.

JANE WALES

So I'm going to open it up for a couple of questions, and while you're raising your hands and microphones are coming your way, let me just make two points. One is that there are more such funds, there's one called Co-Impact out of Rockefeller Foundation, et cetera, but we're seeing new ones emerge. My second point is that indeed you really are a part of a knowledge marketplace. We're going to want to come back to you and survey you and get a sense of what the knowledge needs actually are, and we can anonymize the survey. We could get Phil to do it, because he knows how to do surveys. So please, if you're willing to do that, that would be wonderful.

I just want to hang on to Phil's point about salaries. This seems self-serving, and it seems not very interesting, but you really don't want a nonprofit sector that only hires the children of the wealthy. You need to have folks who can bring lived experience into these nonprofits, but they need to not come with a \$100,000 worth of debt. It is not crazy to ask philanthropists to think in terms of an aspect of general operating funds that are really about creating a floor beneath which you do not go. I know it's not sexy, but it could have a transforming effect of the nonprofit world. Please go ahead.

ELIZABETH SEULING

Hi I am Elizabeth Seuling from the Lumos Foundation, I really appreciate this panel so much. I have a question about the future of donor collaboratives. It seems like this is a growing field and we have more and more foundations and individual philanthropists coming together to solve these very big problems. Do you think down the road we're going to see a breakdown of this, and more philanthropists sourcing more locally? Because as we've discussed in at least one of the former panels, global solutions to start at the local level. Thank you.

PHIL BUCHANAN

I'll just say we haven't talked about giving circles, many of which are at the local level, which are also wonderful and much smaller-scale examples of funder collaboratives.

CHUCK HARRIS

This is once again only a piece, but I imagine a future where the people who have already aggregated wealth in particular financial institutions could offer product in this area that could activate giving for folks who feel stuck. Imagine that your wealth advisor, in addition to the reactive philanthropic advice that they might provide if you insist on it, had an array of fifteen different funds that were geographically focused, issue area focused, different terms, different minimums. I just think that's where we're headed, and it's certainly something I've been working on for fifteen years, and I'm starting to see cracks in the armor.

Interestingly with impact investing, at the major investment banks now, if there's a dollar of turn, they're happy to talk about the idea with their clients. If it's pure grant-making they say, "I'm going to stay away from that, I don't understand it." Our point is we think we do to a degree, we'll make the recommendation and we'll take the heat when it goes wrong. There's a whole sector of us set up to do that work. I know this is a little counter to where we are going here, but I do think integration of some of the systems that already exist in our economy could be very helpful to solutions.

JANE WALES

We only have a couple minutes left so I'm going to ask you to give your closing remarks. Go ahead.

CECILIA CONRAD

I'm going to use my closing remarks to address a couple things here. One of the things that we are finding with Lever for Change is that we do have these intermediaries who are interested in creating products, and so I think that's true. I also wanted to raise two things that I'm very cognizant of in terms of thinking about collaboratives and these kind of initiatives. We want to make sure that we create something that doesn't make it more burdensome for the grantees, we want something that's less burdensome. It needs to be kind of a value add on both sides of the market, and that's something that we're seeking to create with Lever for Change is to make sure there's value at on both sides of the market.

I think the other piece of this, which goes back to the concert you had earlier (one that I keep trying to keep watch on), is we don't want to start to find people who are excluded because they weren't inside on the collaborative that was created. I think part of the answer to that is the diversity of mechanisms and the diversity of collaboratives, ranging from the giving circles to the big bets, to make sure that doesn't happen.

CHARLOTTE PERA

I'll try to sort of combine a bit of a response to the question with some closing comments. The transition that ClimateWorks went through in 2012 was essentially from a very formal aggregated model to a much looser kind of coordinating model that was intended to be appealing to a much wider range of donors. The first model had limitations in that regard. I think some of the changes we've already made in the climate philanthropy space makes some of the knowledge and the forums and so forth more accessible to many more types of donors. We need to go even further and spend more time with community foundations and make knowledge more widely available, and we have intentions to do that, but more work to do there.

CHARLOTTE PERA

My closing comment, building on that, would be I was delighted to hear both Larry Kramer and Peter Laugharn on Monday say that the two issues that all philanthropists should at least seriously consider funding are democracy and climate because they're so fundamental. So if there's anyone in this room thinking, "maybe I should think of climate," we are always happy to answer questions or help connect people to other foundations working in similar areas or grantees, so feel free to contact us.

CHUCK HARRIS

I certainly agree that this is a hot topic at the moment, and I've been keeping track of the folks who contacted me since we announced Blue Meridian to say something like, "How did you do it? Could we do it? Would it work in our sector?" Phil, to your point, my consistent advice is if you're going to do it pick another place in the organization life cycle than where we're focused because there's limited opportunity there and

there's so much more elsewhere in the space. Like everything else, a diversity of approaches I think is good, and we'll probably know in ten years or so if this was a bad idea or not.

PHIL BUCHANAN

I would just say nothing really meaningful is accomplished by organizations acting alone in philanthropy. You've got to work together, you've got to, I think, stay grounded and humble in the process. A good way to do that is get out there and spend time not just with nonprofits but with, if relevant, the people whose lives you are ultimately trying to improve, who after all are actually the best experts on what is most helpful. Those would be my closing thoughts.

JANE WALES

We started going around to foundation leaders and asking, "Would you give X percent of program officers time so that individual philanthropists can come in and learn about something and ask questions?" The response I've gotten from now four foundations is, "Absolutely, that's my job," which I think will come as a surprise to most individual philanthropists. Staffed foundations will in fact dedicate some time to answering any questions. My second point is that we are, as I've said, part of a knowledge marketplace, and peer learning turns out to be one of the most effective approaches. So I just ask you to teach, so that Phil can come back next year and say, "Actually the philanthropic sector is incredibly good at sharing knowledge." Thank you so much.

DATA & DEMOCRACY: THE NORM OF TRANSPARENCY



WEDNESDAY APRIL 3
11:00 AM

PATRICK ALLEY
CO-FOUNDER AND DIRECTOR, GLOBAL WITNESS

ESTHER DYSON
EXECUTIVE FOUNDER, WELLVILLE

JOHN GITHONGO
CEO, INUKA KENYA TRUST

GIANNINA SEGNINI
DIRECTOR, MASTERS OF SCIENCE DATA JOURNALISM PROGRAM,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

CHRIS TAGGART
CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, OPENCORPORATES

IN CONVERSATION WITH MARKOS KOUNALAKIS
FOREIGN AFFAIRS COLUMNIST AND VISITING FELLOW AT THE
HOOVER INSTITUTION

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Welcome. We've got quite a panel for you today. It's Data and Democracy: The Norm of Transparency, and we've got a dynamic group, the bios of whom you've got in front of you, so I won't go through their long list of accomplishments and their organizational affiliations during the introductions. Whether you are a philanthropist seeking to advance field-wide learning; a human rights activist working to fair out abuse; a corporate CEO wishing to build consumer confidence and employee pride; a nonprofit leader promoting collaboration and impact; an advocate seeking to persuade; or a democratic leader seeking to govern effectively, transparency is the means to an important end. What we will be focusing on today is the question of transparency.

In this panel we'll hear from these activists, human rights investigators, journalists, data nerds and data aggregators who believe that openness is an imperative if liberal democracy and cohesive society are to succeed. The first person we'll be speaking with this morning is Patrick Alley who is the co-founder and director of Global Witness.

PATRICK ALLEY

Thank you, Markos. What I'd like to do is talk about more trumpets and context on this based on some examples from our work. What we tend to do is to look at corruption issues in resource rich countries. It's not exclusively what we do, but that's largely what we do. Why is it that some of the richest countries in the world in terms

of natural resources, like Myanmar or the Democratic Republic of Congo for example, are in fact amongst the most autocratic, unstable and poor? I want to talk just a little bit about how transparency makes corrupt deals harder to do and make it harder for money laundered from corrupt deals to be laundered.

I just want to give a couple of examples by way of context. We released a report just yesterday talking about one of the vice presidential candidates in Indonesia's upcoming election on the 17th of April, Sandiaga Uno, and how he acquired a coal company called Berau Coal. \$43 million was transferred from that company to another company called Velodrome based in the Seychelles. No one knows who owns Velodrome. We have our ideas, and he might be running for office in Indonesia.

Another deal, something we've been looking at now for probably eight years: Nigeria has been enjoying an oil boom for the last half century, slightly more. 80% of Nigerian people live on less than \$2 a day, it's one of the poorest countries in the world in that regard. How can that be possible? It's because of corruption. We've looked at one particular deal by their oil majors, Shell and the Italian state oil company Eni, who paid a \$1.1 billion bribe to get hold of one of Nigeria's richest offshore oil blocks. That oil block was owned by a company called Malibu Oil and Gas, and it turned out that company was owned by the oil minister at the time who rewarded himself the block. Those deals happened and various players in that Nigerian case are now in court.

Obviously transparency is embodied in one law we and our various NGO allies managed to get onto the US statute books, which was section 1504 of the Dodd Frank Act, which required all oil and mining companies in the world who are listed on the Securities and Exchange Commission to declare what they pay to the governments of the countries they work in. It was one of the first laws, if not the first law, that Trump neutralized when he came in, shortly after Rex Tillerson became Secretary of State, I'm sure that's a coincidence. That law was a very powerful thing.

Just to finish my introduction, where does the money go? We produced another report recently. There are 87,000 properties in the United Kingdom worth around 56 billion pounds that are owned by companies of which we do not know who the beneficial owners of those companies are. We've exposed cases in the past where the son of Colonel Gaddafi had a 10 million-pound house in Hampstead. The National Crime Agency recently investigated the case of Zamira Hajiyeva, the wife of a corrupt Azeri banker and her 11.5 million-pound apartment in Knightsbridge. Places like London, New York, and Paris are havens for money laundering. We're working along with our allies to get European Union legislation to force the foreign owners of those companies to declare who they are. When we're looking at these countries that are having their resources stripped from them, this goes to the heart of democracy. All of this stolen loot washing into our capitals, United Kingdom or whatever, also undermines our democracy. Crime is sitting there. You could be the next door neighbor of a criminal.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Thank you, Patrick. I think we'll look a bit more at this question of what is often commonly referred to as the resource curse. Countries such as Nigeria are rife for corruption when there are these natural resources that are so valuable. Also, I think this question of real estate is an asset for the laundering of funds and other types of

means for transferring illegally-gotten funds. We'll turn now to Giannina Segnini who is the Director of the Masters of Science Data Journalism Program at the Colombia University Graduate School of Journalism, my alma mater. Giannina.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

Thank you, Markos. I think I want to start by talking about how I discovered the power of data 20 years ago, when data was not a big issue. I've been working as an investigative reporter for the last 30 years. I was doing regular investigative reporting: approaching sources as you see in the movies, secret meetings and all that kind of stuff. It was very frustrating because I was always depending on sources, whistleblowers or people who wanted to share something with you.

Then I saw the national budget (this is back in Costa Rica, I'm Costa Rican). There was money to finance a governmental subsidy for homeless people. There was a document saying that there were 200,000 homeless people in the country, which of course there weren't. I mean there's no way you can see all these people, it was not the reality at that time.

We asked for the list. We had to go to court. We got the final list, that's what we called data back in those days. We used an Excel sheet, and we started cross-referencing this list of people with other databases. I remember that I had to use a big, big computer. What we found is that many, many people had up to 25 properties and salaries and they were not homeless. They were using this program as a political weapon pretty much.

When we published, that was astonishing because the president congratulated us, and that never happens. Then after the investigation I was thinking, "You know this thing is really, really powerful." Imagine if I had done it in a traditional way. Let's say that a taxi driver tells me that there are three people who got subsidies and they don't deserve the subsidies. If I go and talk to the administrator and say, "Hey, these people are getting subsidies that they are not supposed to get," what he would say is, "Oh yeah, we're going to fix it," and those are the only ones who have the problems. With data, you can see the complete universe and that's amazing. It's not just facts, it is understanding broader realities.

Now I'm leading the data journalism program and also cross-borders investigative team of Colombia. We're working with partners. A couple of years ago, we did a totally different exercise. We collected more than 125 variables on Donald Trump's business deals across the planet to try to understand the business model. We succeeded, because the use of data allowed us to, for instance, find out that he does not invest a penny, he does not build anything, he didn't take care of any of those deals. He just gets paid upfront to use his name, so those are licensing agreements. More than that, we were able to see how many criminals were surrounding those deals and not just see but prove it. The way the business works is pretty much he first sends his children. We were close to proving that when he sends Ivanka the deal is more likely to happen, and if he sends Eric it doesn't really work out. All those things you can learn from the use of data. To me that's transparency because data is not fragments of information. Data is useless if you don't use it in a way to try to understand broader problems.

Just to end my presentation, I wanted to talk about the project I'm working on right now, and it's about churches and money laundering. There's probably no better way to launder money than through a church. Here in the US you can declare yourself, like I can start "the church of the speaker", and I don't need to register anything in the IRS. We're going to try to apply the same methods to understand how this phenomenon works. Thanks.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Very good. Giannina, it's important that you pointed out that you've worked as an investigative journalist. One of the challenges today is as the journalism business model collapses, the two most expensive aspects of traditional, institutional journalism has been, on the one hand, foreign corresponding, and on the other hand, investigative journalism. There is a challenge today just on the type of work that you and your colleagues have done. Perhaps we can talk about that in a bit as well. John Githongo is next, and he is the CEO of Inuka Kenya Trust. John.

JOHN GITHONGO

Thank you very much. I think I'll segue on what has already been said and just add a bit of context vis-a-vis the whole issue of transparency and democracy, and focus quite specifically on a trend that is quite new. By 2006–2008, through the Highly Indebted Poor Countries initiative, the debt of about 36 countries, 30 of them in Africa, had been written off. Countries like Ghana that had 120% of GDP in debt in 2000 went down to about 12% in 2006. That was replicated across the African continent.

Now in the last 10 years, the debt to GDP ratios have doubled again. The trend that we thought we had resolved is back. The big difference now is that the debt that is being accumulated (now it's over half a trillion dollars) is heavily commercial debt. A lot of it is being acquired by governments in extremely opaque ways from the west. The commercial debt that is not Chinese is usually acquired under British law, under common law, 90% of it. It's acquired opaquely in ways that ordinary citizens don't have access to the very basic information of it. The people of Mozambique woke up to discover that their government had borrowed \$2 billion from the commercial markets in Europe.

As a result, we are seeing a series of debt distress and defaults across sub-Saharan: Djibouti, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, Angola, Madagascar, Congo, Chad, Zimbabwe. Kenya has also been mentioned as a risk. This poses a risk not only to our democracy, but to basic livelihoods. The repayment of commercial debt is taken out of increased taxes to ordinary citizens.

One of the things that we've been fortunately pushing hard for is for there to be a lot more transparency with regard to the acquisition of commercial debt across Africa, and for there to be transparency also in the arbitration and negotiation when countries go into debt distress, and for there to be clauses that stop vulture funds from preying on both countries that have gone into distress. It's belated, Both IMF and World Bank and other multi-action institutions seem to have woken up to this idea over the last 18 months.

Credit Suisse has launched a Transparent Lending Covenant. There's a recognition within the service sector, that is the infrastructure for this debt, that there's a problem

coming. I wanted to put this on the table, and how important it is for the sustaining of democracies that are still developing across Africa, and the risk this debt poses as we're sitting here right now.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Thank you, John. I think that's a really key issue. We often read about debt trap and the ability of other nations to then indenture, in essence, these other countries, it's a question of whether that's a neocolonial type of activity. The question of commercial debt is really what's new here and the ability to get that transparency and to get out those numbers should be much more accessible. We'll see how that affects democracy as well. The next speaker is Chris Taggart, who is the co-founder and CEO of OpenCorporates.

CHRIS TAGGART

Thank you. I co-founded OpenCorporates eight years ago with a simple goal and the idea that companies were really important to the world. They were fundamental to the world we live in today. The public information about them, information in company registers, Secretary of State registers, filings and things like this should be freely and openly available to everybody. This was before the Panama Papers. This was before we knew about 1MDB. This was before we knew about Danske Bank. This was before we knew about how companies were being used to buy political advertising, and so on. My background is as an entrepreneur, originally a journalist and I ended up running magazine companies and had my own magazine company. I knew the world that most people see is not the reality. I think this is one of the fundamentals about transparency and democracy.

One of the real critical issues is what we were talking about, the commercial debt. People are living their lives and have no idea that this commercial debt has been taken on, but they suffer the consequences and they're not involved. Where does this money go? Often this money has just disappeared, using companies to salt away the proceeds in safe countries, in the US and the UK and Canada, and property and other sorts of things. If you asked most people what a company was, they sort of had in their mind this idea of a factory or a shop or some sort of service and so on, delivering goods. But it's never really been quite that, and it certainly hasn't been that way for a long time. What we're talking about is a legal construct that has a legal personality that is sort of like a hack. It's a hack that allows you to transfer assets from one to another to engage into contracts and so on. That's why something like Goldman Sachs has eight or nine thousand different entities in it, because there's benefits from doing that.

There were two things in my mind when we founded OpenCorporates. One was as clear as it is now, but the other one was the datarization of the world. The world is becoming data. In fact, it is data. I mean, when was the last time that you had that almost acquaint interaction with a flinty piece of paper called a map, and looked at that? A one-on-one interaction with an inanimate object? Now what is happening is it's not just about data when we use Google Maps or City Map or something like that on our phones. The data is not coming from Google, it's coming from somebody else who's coming from someone else and aggregated with hundreds of different

contracts behind this sort of stuff in a way that we don't understand, and your data is going the other direction.

But it's also a thing which was a personal private transaction. Private experience has become a transaction, a commercial transaction. So much of our lives now is becoming a commercial transaction and it's going to become even more so. This idea of what companies are and the role they play in the world, that's the ground truth. It's now sort of bubbling through. We're seeing it with Panama papers. We're seeing it with the money laundering scandals. We're seeing it with companies being used to buy election advertising on Facebook. I think it's a little bit shocking that Facebook hasn't really done anything about this. The consequences of not understanding what companies exist, not understanding who's behind them, what they do and who they're controlled by, where the money comes from, is actually a fundamental breakdown of our democracy.

I don't just mean transparency meaning you can look at something. Transparency in a data world means you can do something with it. You can touch it, you can combine this data, you can analyze it, you can find anomalies, and so on. This is what transparency truly means in the modern world. Obviously because of OpenCorporates I'm particularly focused on the transparency of companies. I think in general I don't believe we can have true democracies in a data-led world without proper access to that data, and I don't believe we can also have trust. One of the sudden things I think about regarding where we are with democracy at the moment is how many people are losing trust in democracy. I think that's a direct consequence of this almost instinctive sense that they don't understand the world, and that the world has got rules within it which don't work for them, they're working for somebody else. I think that that's one of the things we we strongly need to fight, not just to make a better society, but to get people's faith back in democracy.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Right, and there's this understanding I think, and maybe it's a false understanding, that the more open the society, the more democratic a society, the more available and transparent the data. But what you're saying is that there are layers and layers of ways of hiding these types of data, even within a transparent, open democratic society. Maybe we can look at this as well as we get into the interaction.

CHRIS TAGGART

Absolutely. I mean it would be great to get to what we think the world is and what the world really is. Also, more importantly, a thing that I think we all find scary is the speed of change of the world and where we will be in five years and 10 years and so on.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Right. Well if there's somebody who can talk about the speed of change and technological development, it's certainly Esther Dyson. I'm sure you're going to talk about some other things as well. Esther is the Executive Founder of Wellville. Esther.

ESTHER DYSON

In the interest of transparency, there's something that's not a secret but you might not all know: the five of us here are all trustees of OpenCorporates. The reason we're all here is precisely because we're not redundant. I used to be a fact checker for Forbes back when they had fact checkers. I was in Wall Street and so I'm totally in sync with what everybody said. I wanted to add a couple of interesting points about transparency and data. To do that I want to echo Charles Koch yesterday: "Hate the sin, not the sinner," but I still am going to ask a question about Donald Trump. That question is, of all the people in the United States, who understand his mindset the least? Not the most but the least, when he gets up at 2 AM and tweets? The answer, of course, is Donald Trump himself.

Part of the importance of transparency is not just being aware of what other people are doing, but being aware of what you yourself are doing. Whether you're an individual or a community or a country, that ability not just for the transparency to exist, but for people to make use of it. To actually have, if you like, the courage, the self-awareness, to understand what's happening. How they themselves are being manipulated, either by their own pasts or perhaps by corporations and governments.

One of the dangers of big data is how much easier it makes it to manipulate people. Here we're focusing more on governments, but I think a lot of things we say about governments now apply to corporations because they have so much power over us. They can't put us in jail, but they can make us make stupid decisions all the time. How many of you ate the muffins rather than the healthy fruit? It's that ability to see the data that's really important. On the other hand, individuals and communities can look at their own data and make good changes.

The other thing I think worth noting about data and transparency is how much both the ability to collect data and make predictions, but also to understand counterfactuals, gives philanthropists the power to do things like social impact investing. You might not be able to get an actual return on something directly, but you can see the return in terms of health of your people or higher productivity for the economy. Then you can go back to government and say, "Perhaps we should do some collective spending for this, that or the other." Ultimately, understanding how the world works, which we do better with data, enables us to think more long-term. Again, manipulators sell out of doing the short-term gratifying thing whether it's collecting votes, making quarterly profits, or eating unhealthy food.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Self awareness, an understanding of perhaps the manipulation of this big data, and how it affects us in our daily lives. Also in the decisions that we're making at a corporate level, investments and the like. This is all very interesting food for thought here, but we've got a lot of different topics, and a lot of different frames that we've presented. Is there anyone who would like to question another on the panel here as we look at these various questions? Whether it's the investigative reporting aspect, or the self awareness concept?

CHRIS TAGGART

I'm hugely in awe of John's work. If people don't know John's work, there's a fantastic book called "It's Our Turn to Eat", I highly recommend that. I'm hugely in awe of all of our trustees, including Jane Wales, who's also a trustee. John, what is actually happening in something like where there's a debt issue? Maybe you could just talk through the process where there's a debt sold to commercial lenders and so on. Where does the money go and how does the opacity enable this? I think the same could be said of something like a 1MDB as well, it's not an unrelated case. How does that trickle down to people's lives in the end?

JOHN GITHONGO

Well in a real case scenario, a group of individuals from New York, London, et cetera (I call them the architects: financial experts, bankers, lawyers, accountants) come together. They walk into a country, go to the Ministry of Finance and say, "Listen, there's so much more you can be doing. The economy is doing very well, and it can do even better with a \$2 billion commercial loan that we can organize for you." A prospectus is developed that pushes that narrative, officials fly out, and negotiations are held. Even the prospectuses that are being put together by governments are not necessarily open to the citizens, or even the parliaments, of the countries that are then acquiring this debt. This paper is acquired and floated in New York or London or wherever, until the government opens accounts in major banks in those countries, and some of the money trickles back.

The problem comes when repayment time arrives. Using the case of Kenya and the whole range of countries that I listed, small, very painful things begin to happen that affect the poorest of society. For example, VAT is imposed and the price of kerosene, which the poor (the urban poor in particular) use to cook, goes up. The price of sanitary pads, everything is paid for by ordinary citizens. This is how we feel the actual pain of making these dollar-denominated payments for this commercial debt, which is very difficult to renegotiate. It's one thing owing money to the European Development Bank, African Development Bank. But here we owe it to very faceless opaque entities that are convoluted and difficult to understand, even for experts in the home country. But ultimately, except for the countries with extractive industry (oil or gold), you tax the poor to pay these debts. The entities that you're paying are completely unapologetic and they really don't care. As I said it's only now, in the last 18 months really, that one senses that IMF has woken up to it, World Bank as well. They've realized this is a crisis that's coming and we are about to see a number of serious defaults that will have political, social and economic implications over the next couple of years.

CHRIS TAGGART

Something like Mozambique and so on, was this consciously done as a way of transferring wealth to private individuals?

JOHN GITHONGO

Mozambique: couple of billion dollars, no one was told about it, parliament wasn't told. It was supposed to fund a tuna fishing fleet. They have very rich fishing grounds

off the coast of Mozambique. That's not what it went to. It went to a whole range of other things in the military, but it still had to be paid back. It forced a country into default and again, it is ordinary citizens who are forced to foot that bill.

PATRICK ALLEY

I just wanted to add something on the issue of debt and debt forgiveness. We looked at a case a few years ago on the Republic of Congo, Congo Brazzaville, where the son of the president was the head of the state marketing on the state oil company. He was siphoning off oil revenues, in fact he was siphoning off oil, and funding a very lavish lifestyle. That country was part of the highly indebted poor country debt relief. They are all the time accumulating more debt, because what they could pay the debt with (their own resources) they're not, they're siphoning it off very often. That brings me to the other point. The reason we found out about that case is because of another not very attractive aspect of this: a vulture fund bought the debt of that country. The debt becomes a commercial opportunity. In a way, it was beneficial for us because the vulture fund gave us all of the information that we were able to publish, but that doesn't really necessarily make what they're doing a very good thing. These are things that help keep poor countries poor, and transparency is a critical part of stopping that.

ESTHER DYSON

This is great, and interesting to listen to, but at the same time in a sense what we're discovering is most of this stuff was known. In addition to the transparency, you need the courage to do something about it. I spent lots of time in Russia. It's not that all these things are a secret, it's that no one has the courage to deal with them. Maybe they hope the IMF will come in and fix things. What do we do once we've done the investigative journalism and then the problems persist? Sometimes you need the courage to do it and then other people will follow you. Someone needs to take that risk, like the people we heard from in the country that shall not be named, because we can't mention it.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Do we have some examples of where that courage has been shown and where the power has then been exerted to in fact counter, and to confront, this question of where we do have the data and transparency suddenly, or we understand the problem?

ESTHER DYSON

Yeah, I mean in the United States perhaps the veterans' administration is a great example, both because it was such a clear problem for so long, and it took so long to fix it. I'm not sure it's totally fixed yet. This is basically corruption and bad service in the organization that serves soldiers.

CHRIS TAGGART

Part of this is, and Giannina I'm sure you have some examples of this, is that being a journalist in the traditional way is about a leak or someone giving you a lead or something, then some anomaly creeps up. The story of the investigation around

1MDB that we had last night is an example of this. You need somebody to be thinking about this and to be looking at it. It might be there, it might be hidden in plain sight. So many of the best journalists and the best stories in the world have been hidden in plain sight. It's the signal to noise: there's something in there, but it's surrounded by all these other things. Just thinking about the debt issue, I'm sure there was a public paper filed in a bond issuance, and there might be something in the SEC, and so on. Often, many of these things are actually available, but they're proprietary. You need to buy them through Reuters or Bloomberg or something like that, and it's got proprietary license on it. It's disconnected, and fundamentally what that does is it silos, it disconnects it from all the other stuff. It makes it difficult for somebody in a country to be able to join the dots and to see this sort of stuff happening. I mean you'd like to think that every time that there was a debt issuance by a bond offering or something like that in a country, there would be a big story on the news about it. People would be saying, "Should we be raising \$2 billion this way? What is the use of it?"

This is why the data angle is so fundamental, because it's what allows us to join the dots. All the data that we have has been from public sources, from registers. We had a Spanish minister resign because there was some information which was always on companies announced in the UK. No one, until it was on OpenCorporates and the Panama Papers came out, could connect those dots together. It was too difficult, you needed to know that there was a story. This is why democracy is genuinely under threat, this is why we need so many things. We need the data. We need the data in a form that we can be connecting with other data and licenses that allow us to do this. We need journalists who are literate in data, who are getting paid in order to be able to do these investigations. We need the data and the tools and so on that allow this data to be connected so that people can see it, not when they dig down this hole and this hole and this hole, but it pops up and they can see it without having to make an effort. The huge tech companies in many ways are not about doing something that's not been done before, but doing it on a scale and with a reduction of friction and with a power to do this that nobody else has. There are ring fences of access to data and the ability, the power, the computing, the patents, the skills to be able to do things with this. I think we need to break down those silos, otherwise we get into a place where not only is the function of democracy no longer working, but people have just lost confidence in it.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

I just want to add something about that. We hear a lot from consultants and experts that we need big data and technology to solve these problems. I don't think that's enough. First of all, big data could be stupid data, so we need relevant data, not big data. Second, we need ideas and collaboration across disciplines because one discipline is not sufficient right now to understand the complexity of the problems of this world. We've been trying to work with not only technical people, but also now I'm working with archeologists and I've worked with geographers. It's fascinating when you come up with a problem and try to understand it using data. You realize that your knowledge or your expertise or even the skills of five data scientists is not how you solve problems or how you understand it. I think it's overrated, the idea

that technology solves everything. It's absolutely amazing to work with technology and be able to do these kinds of discoveries by analyzing data, finding patterns that otherwise you wouldn't be able to see. But the human factor is interchangeable, and I'm glad to witness that every day.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

I'm going to actually try to answer my own question earlier, which is where has there been this transformation and this move? Estonia seems to have come out of this example of being under Soviet occupation and really being a captive state for many years. Today if you go to Estonia, you will find that online is virtually everything you need to know about the country, from a request for proposals to every public expenditure that's made directly into the system. This allows every citizen to check and see, in a very transparent way, how government is functioning and where its coffers are being expended, but it also allows them to do things like learn about their political engagement and participate in the voting system. Maybe we can talk about that, and then I want to go to you Patrick because you have something as well.

ESTHER DYSON

I know the place quite well. I would say it's much more function of the culture than of the technology. Technology was a very useful tool, but it was far more the culture. Just to be candid, the thing about Estonia in particular is, they felt that they had been occupied by Russia. They did not feel complicit in the past. They felt that now they were free to govern themselves, to do all these things that they saw happening around the world, which is to become transparent, to become well-organized and efficient. They were the first place that had SMS parking where you could register your cars parked through an SMS to the city parking system, and so forth. They were also small enough so you could do this with extreme density without having to have it done at great scale. It was a confluence of positive factors that I wish could happen more broadly. They're definitely a model, but it would have been much harder in a much larger country, like for example Poland.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Right, so I hear in your answer not only transparency, but size matters, culture matters and maybe the ability to change culture?

ESTHER DYSON

Yeah, and a strong leader committed to this.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Leadership matters?

ESTHER DYSON

Yeah.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

All right those are all really key and important factors as we look at this question of whether transparency equals democracy, or creates the conditions for continued change towards more democratic systems.

PATRICK ALLEY

I think on that last point, it creates or helps the conditions to get to that point. Like in the case I described of Shell and Eni in Nigeria paying that bribe, if the American law I mentioned had been in place at the time that happened, they couldn't have done the deal that way. It would have been very, very difficult for them to do it. If they did do it and get caught, there were already laws in place that could be used to punish that company, like the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act for example, and the equivalence in different countries.

I think laws are essential. When we're looking at extractive industries, we're talking about one of the biggest industries on the planet, so this is a crucial area. If there are not the requisite laws on the statute books, we need to lobby to get those laws on the statute books, advocates as we say in the states. I also I think that a critical part of this is transparency allows citizens to challenge their government. That's much easier to do in the US or the EU, Estonia. There's a coalition of NGOs which we co-launched along with Transparency International and others back in 2002 called Publish What You Pay. Now there are 750 nonprofit organizations across the world in around countries, mostly rich in natural resources, who are a very active and well-coordinated group to suppress the governments to be transparent.

There's anti-corruption mechanisms like the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, which countries unfortunately are not obliged to join, so some of the worst countries don't. If they do join it, they have to declare what they receive from natural resource revenues, the company has had to declare what they pay, and civil society has a seat at the table to see if the numbers balance. That's proven to be quite effective, although a long way from a panacea. Those kinds of ways of trying to turn transparency into actually a very heavy tool to make sure that people obey the law.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

I just want to very quickly say something because we've been focused on talking about governments, and transparency is broader than that. We need to talk about nonprofits as well, and how foundations and nonprofits have been used to send billions of dollars across borders to finance all sort of things. That's hard to investigate because they're not as accountable as governments should be. There's the private sector, even religious organizations. I think when we talk about transparency, it's much broader than just keeping governments accountable. There's so much to do in terms of regulating other fields.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

I wanted to touch on two things. One is the question of transparency and its role in preserving versus promoting democracy. To what degree do you feel that democracy promotion is part of this transparency movement and need? The second is the question of how this disparity between open societies versus closed societies work.

It seems oftentimes that when you aim at and achieve transparency, it undermines those very democratic structures that are susceptible to this type of transparency versus those closed societies where we don't necessarily have the data. There are no feedback loops, no democratic ability to then do something about that government or those institutions that function within those governments. It seems as if there's an unevenness in how transparency affects, whether it's government or institutions. Maybe you could address this idea of democracy promotion or perhaps this unevenness of application of transparency's effects.

CHRIS TAGGART

Obviously transparency is not a sufficiency at all. Everything can be looking like it is going fine, but it's not. Gradually you're going off the path. You think you're going this way and you're going off the path and suddenly you realized you're in a swamp or whatever. That is, in a sense, what I see as transparency: the thing that allows you to keep on the path or keep within the boundaries.

You can see this is in what's happened in Brazil. I think I probably did the first presentation about open data in companies at an Open Government Partnership event in Brazil seven years ago or so. I remember meeting with CGU then, the Comptroller General of the Union, about anti-corruption. They've done amazing work around networks and corporate structures and so on to plot corruption and so on. There was not much they could do about it, they didn't have enforcement powers. They wanted company information in Brazil. They were desperate for company information in Brazil to be public, because they said that they needed it to be public to have people understand, to have feedback loops, to have something to counteract all of this stuff. Well we've seen what's happened in Brazil: Endemic massive corruption and a complete loss of confidence in government and in government structures there. I think that's the sort of thing that's happening. I think to a certain extent we've seen the same here in the US in terms of the opacity about where the influence is coming from, where the money is coming from, has actually gradually eroded the trust in democracy.

Then when you get transparency, it's not , "Here, you've got transparency." It's like, "Here's one thing, here's another thing, and so on." Shining a light on one thing, rather than creating something larger, it's a bit like walking on a street where none of the street light works. All of a sudden, one light shines and you realize there's a dead body there, someone has been mugged and so on. What you need is the street lights to be working all the time so you can walk down the street in safety. I think that most of the criticisms of transparency in this regard, not that anyone thinks it's a panacea but I do think it is a requirement, is this idea that when you suddenly get a little bit, usually because of a leak or something, then the lack of transparency that's been there all along and the context and fertile ground that's enabled corruption, organized crime, all of those other things, suddenly becomes clear to people. Then that's when they lose faith.

ESTHER DYSON

If I understand the question correctly, there's this transition from an opaque society where people may believe in the fearless leader. They're not starving in the streets and

so they feel things are pretty good and they actually vote for the leader. In a sense it's democratic if you think democratic is only voting. If you're somebody 'enlightened' you think, "Well people must know the truth." In order to get there you go through this valley of cynicism and corruption and often confusion. "Just fake news, don't trust anybody, they're all crooks." Then if you're lucky, maybe you come out on the other side having cleaned it up. I think at this point many, many places in the earth are kind of in this valley where they know things are wrong, but they feel powerless to fix them. That's why somehow you need to overcome people's cynicism and you need both courage and faith.

JOHN GITHONGO

I just wanted to make this point: In the whole ecosystem of processes that combine to make for democracy, especially in developing countries, there is a critical importance of process transparency around elections. I come from Kenya and we felt Cambridge Analytica's presence in 2012. That's where they road-tested some of their techniques. They were involved in the election in 2013. They were involved in the Nigerian election in 2015. They were involved in the election here in the United States in 2016, and they were back in Kenya in 2017. I think one can't overrate how important it is for there to be a level of transparency vis-a-vis these new actors that are brought in by elites to engage in electoral processes and to manipulate them in ways that usually undermine the very principles of which you're holding these events. These are critical events. We say there are parts of the world where you're one election away from being a refugee. They're particularly important, and I would reiterate the point that Giannina made. I always say you can't digitize integrity. There is no silver technological bullet that will solve it. There's a great fad right now of excitement of digital voting et cetera, et cetera. If you give it to a bunch of crooks, they'll impact the elections even more.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Lots of avenues for philanthropic engagement and involvement and investment. Let's quickly wrap it up with Giannina and Patrick as the last word, and then I'll thank you all for being here.

GIANNINA SEGNINI

When I hear Patrick talking about all these NGOs working together, it's like music to my ears because really there is no possibility to understand what's going on in this planet if we don't do cross-border collaboration across disciplines. I can't say it enough. Those guys in New York, who are the architects dealing with the debt, everywhere they are globalized and they're working together. I was in a panel in one of these global investigative meetings. There was a panel about how China is buying countries. I'd done an investigation about what happened in my country: pretty much that the country switched from Taiwan to China. The secret was what the government received. We went to court, we got the documents, and part of the price was a stadium. There were African colleagues also talking about the same issue, and when I mentioned the stadium before the panel when we were talking, one of

the African journalists said, "Oh my God yes, we also got a stadium." He had done more investigative reporting on the stadium and he's telling me, "Yes, they even have a catalog." All the poor countries' leaders go to China, they're well-treated, then they see this catalog full of stadiums. What are we doing addressing these issues alone?

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Patrick why don't you take us to the last word? I want to also just say how great it is that all five of you are working together, that you're bringing your passion and your insights into the OpenCorporates world and into society in general.

PATRICK ALLEY

Well thank you. I have something about your point, and I'll end up with the OpenCorporates point, about open societies and closed societies. I think that we in the west can sometimes be vastly over-smug on how open we think our societies are. The power of the oil industry and the mining industry is vast. The speaker sitting here this time yesterday, Charles Koch, is emblematic of the use of money secretly to actually subvert democracy and get things going his way. That's not a lone example, it happens in the UK, it happens in Europe. The positive aspects of this is that corruption is a globalized industry for that reason. There might be a corrupt deal in Kenya, but the bank is probably in Frankfurt or London or New York and the lawyers that brokered it are in those cities as well. The companies that disguise all this, these secretly-owned companies, could be anywhere but the US is the biggest secrecy jurisdiction in the world. The UK was, we now have a public registry, but we're probably still up there somewhere. That's why OpenCorporates' work is so important. As we've rather glibly phrased it, anonymously-owned companies are the getaway cars to crime and corruption. If we can shine a light on that, get the street lights going, then we make it much, much easier to tackle this issue.

MARKOS KOUNALAKIS

Thank you all for your participation, and join me in thanking everyone.

CITIZEN AGENCY: TAKING A STAND



WEDNESDAY APRIL 3
12:00 PM

PETER EIGEN
FOUNDER, TRANSPARENCY INTERNATIONAL

IVO HERZOG
CHAIRMAN, VLADIMIR HERZOG INSTITUTE

INTRODUCED BY PAULA FABIANI
CEO, IDIS AND BRAZILIAN PHILANTHROPY FORUM

PAULA FABIANI

I'm Paula Fabiani, CEO of the Institute for the Development of Social Investment and of the Brazilian Philanthropy Forum. I have the honor to introduce you to two individuals who have taken a stand. In times when the space for civil society and freedom of speech is shrinking, and in many countries, governance is under threat, the work of Peter Eigen and Ivo Herzog are more than relevant.

Ivo Herzog founded the Vladimir Herzog Institute, an organization that advocates and promotes freedom of speech, strengthening human rights and democracy in Brazil. Ivo's father Vlado, or Vladimir Herzog, was a journalist who was assassinated by the dictatorship of my country in 1975. Ivo took a stand, and created the largest data in use platform of our dictatorship period. He also developed innovative projects with young students, fostering civic engagement and promoting engaged journalism. Sharing the stage with Ivo is Peter Eigen, who I admire immensely. Peter left the World Bank, and created one of the most important organizations in the world that combats corruption by promoting accountability, governance, and transparency. I'd like to invite Peter Eigen to the stage, the founder of Transparency International.

PETER EIGEN

Thank you very much for this kind introduction, and thank you very much for your friendly welcome. I'm very excited to be here because this is an important meeting. I must admit I have been here several times, and each time I'm very inspired, I'm energized, I learn a lot. I wanted to talk about my experiences in running Transparency International and running the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative and a number of similar initiatives, but I noticed that the previous panelist did this so well already that I simply can pick up where they left off.

It is true that civil society organizations are very able to make an impact, to help the world to recover democracy, in particular to help a globalized economy reinstall something which one would call the premise of politics over the market. In other words, a capacity of society to shape what they want to happen in their economy. That premise has been lost. In fact, I would talk about failing governance as far as the global economy is concerned. Therefore, at this final event of this wonderful conference, I would like to appeal to you as very powerful supporters of civil society organizations, and I'm mainly talking about advocacy civil society organizations rather than the very

important service and charitable civil society sector. This support which you have been able to provide to advocacy civil society organizations is, in my opinion, a tremendous value that you contribute and have contributed to creating a better world. This is why I would like to simply summarize what I experienced in terms of the most important elements of a better world, of better governance, of the market economy, which is determined by society rather than society having to adapt to the market.

It is, to me, quite clear that the present focus and reliance of the world on national governments as the main actors of global governance is overstated. It is not adequate anymore, and it has basically led to the failing governments I mentioned in the beginning. Yes, the national governments are, in many ways, a legitimate power which can contribute to a better world, but they cannot do it alone anymore and that is quite clear. There are at least three asymmetries between the capacity of national governments and the market and the world to be shaped, to be supervised, to be governed. One is very obvious: the geographic asymmetry. It is a bit like a referee on a football field who is only in charge of one particular penalty area, while in the other areas on the football field, other rules and other referees are in charge. This is a geographic limitation, which is asymmetric with the tremendous freedom of multilateral organizations and multinational companies, which can operate freely across borders and regions. In that sense, it is a tremendous limitation for national governments to take responsibility.

The second important asymmetry is one of the time horizon of the decision-makers in national government. In particular, in democracy, they have a relatively short time horizon. They think for three years, for five years, for basically the tenure which they have in order to apply again to maintain power, while the problems and the issues of global governance are long-term. If you talk about climate change, about environmental destruction, about over-fishing, about human rights violations, about poverty, these are issues which have a long time horizon. The decision-makers have to have these in the back of their mind as the sanctions for developing their motivation.

The third asymmetry is, of course, the diversity of constituencies. It is quite clear that people in Myanmar have different expectations from their national government than the people of Estonia or Nigeria, and so on. So it is in this context that it's quite natural that nation governments cannot handle global governance anymore, and global governance is very important. It's not only how the world is governed, it goes all the way to the communities. Global governance affects everybody at every level. We need a new paradigm of governance, and part of that paradigm is advocacy civil society.

What we have seen here today, of Global Witness and of Transparency International as it was described by John Githongo and so on, shows that civil society can play an active constructive part. This has been growing. It has started basically in the United States. It has become very strong in London with its civil society hotbed. It is now moving into the rest of the world. Therefore, we can be very proud, and you can be proud, of the support. Here in the room are quite a number of philanthropic organizations who have helped me at Transparency International to get going and to keep going.

We have to recognize there are two major backlashes which are happening right now, two major problems. One has to do with the shrinking space of civil society activists.

This is quite clear and in fact Ivo Herzog, who is going to join me here, is a very good example of what happens to people who speak up to the authorities. His father has been murdered. The shrinking space is very serious, not only in Russia and not only in Ethiopia. Patrick Alley of Global Witness spoke about losing people who are being harassed, imprisoned, or killed. It's even moving into organizations like the German government. Last week we had an attempt of the German Minister of Transport to have the tax privileges withdrawn from our environmental NGO in Germany because they criticized him. He says, "why should we give tax privileges to an NGO which then turns around and criticizes the government?" So even in a relatively civilized German society, this kind of argument comes up.

The second problem is that the fundraising necessity for civil society organizations is a tremendous risk in terms of losing one's credibility, independence, and strength. Therefore, what I thought I'd put forward to you as powerful supporters, as powerful as the air in which we breathe for organized civil society, is whether we cannot try to organize a global light-touch organization. Not quite like the United Nations, but a bit like a United Citizens organization, which will try to take care of these two issues. One is to provide a modicum of financing to advocates of civil society, partly by a Tobin tax, partly by say a 1% contribution from philanthropic activities, partly by asking the development agencies like the World Bank and so on to make contributions in order to overcome this very first step of civil society organizations to form themselves and to have a basis from which to operate.

Of course we would have to make quite clear that only eligible civil society organizations would be able to participate. A speaker said earlier that a civil society is not accountable. This is simply not true. Civil society is extremely accountable, but some of them are not accountable. I remind you of the existence of the Global Accountability Charter of Civil Society which has been issued by the International Civil Society Institute, where many civil society organizations have to pledge to adhere to them. Of course, they have to account to their donors, account to their constituencies.

We should help this organization, which should be run by a small and mighty stakeholder board, protect activists and journalists against the risks of the shrinking space which we are facing right now. This organization would help keep civil society organizations alive and make them powerful, join national governments (not replace them), and draw in the private sector, to together develop a governance worldwide for a better world. This is my short presentation to you and my short recommendation, and it would be fantastic if a powerful group like you would make a beginning and ask for a study of a possibility of creating this United Citizens Organization in order to make sure the role of civil society organizations can be protected for a better world.

Thank you very much. And now I would like to introduce my new friend Ivo Herzog, who will talk to you about a very similar problem.

IVO HERZOG

Thank you. My name is Ivo Herzog. I'm the son of Valdimir Herzog who was tortured and murdered in Brazil in 1975. He was a journalist, he was a Jew. His family fled Yugoslavia during the Second World War through Italy, then came to Brazil. He had seen the worst of humanity in his childhood, and when they came to Brazil; Brazil

was the land of freedom, peace, et cetera. They thought they would be safe and never suffer any sort of violence. In 1975, he was the head of journalism for the public television in Sao Paulo. The dictatorship was trying to be harder because they had lost elections for Congress the year before. So they were arresting lots of people, torturing them, trying to find the underground network of people that were working towards democracy. Through the process, they came and they tried to arrest my father on the 24th, but they were convinced that they shouldn't arrest my father because he had to put the news on the air. My father was never arrested. He presented himself voluntarily on the following day, and less than six hours later, he was dead.

The government tried to sell their version that he had committed suicide. By the Jewish tradition, if you commit suicide, it's the biggest crime you can commit so you have to be buried close to the walls of the cemetery. Henry Sobel, the rabbi at that time, when they saw the condition of my father's body, said, "This person didn't take his life, he was murdered," and gave the order to bury him at the center of the cemetery. His death was a milestone in the history of Brazil, because of the circumstance and who he was. Several universities went on strike. Then on the 31st of October, the seventh day of his death, there was an ecomaniac act in the main cathedral of Sao Paulo led by the Catholic Church, Jews, and Protestants. The police closed the whole street so people couldn't get there, even though there were more than 8000 people that came in silence and went back to their homes in silence. It was a peaceful movement, and history tells us that that day was the beginning of the decline of the dictatorship.

In parallel, I want to give my thanks and honor women, because women have a passion of fighting for their loved ones. My mother dedicated her whole life in the search for justice and the truth. Immediately, although we were in a dictatorship, she opened a process against the government through our legal system. We won in 1978. That process was just to make the government accountable for what happened to my father. Over 43 years later, we still look for justice. Last year Brazil, for the first time in its history, was found guilty for committing crimes against humanity because of the case of my father. Brazil doesn't investigate all the deaths during the dictatorship, saying that they can't investigate because of the armistry that we had in 1979. Brazil is the only country that gave forgiveness to the agents of the government.

One of the issues we have about violence in Brazil, and this craziness in politics with Bolsonaro etc., is that we never made a connection to our past. Hundreds of thousands of Indians have been killed through the history of Brazil and through dictatorship as well. For over 30 years, the history of my father was about his death. In 2008, I decided to put together the information about my father and talk to France. We did a strategic plan for almost a year, and in 2009 we opened the Vladimir Herzog Institute on the date of his birth as a way of celebrating his life. Our mission is to work towards, as Paula said, freedom of speech, democracy, and human rights. All of this is one thing really, if you look in detail.

The Institute began very humble. I remember trying to raise money to hire someone to answer the phone, and now I don't know how many people we have in the Institute. I'm just on the board. We hired a former Minister of Human Rights to be the Executive Director of the Institute. We have three lines of action. One has to do with education, another one has to do with journalism, and the third one has to do with history and memory. We are a reference, as Paula also said, on the recent history of Brazil. We've

collected thousands of points of data about that period, and we put it on our website, which made us an international reference of memory for Brazil. We are part of a global network on memory and we represent Brazil on that network. The Museum of Memory from Chile is another entity in that network, and so on.

The true heroes during the dictatorship are not the people that were assassinated or disappeared. They are the partners, mostly women or girlfriends, who sought justice and truth even though we had an environment of violence and terror. That's why I give my compliments to women, because they are the true heroes and they are the ones that really changed the reality, at least in Brazil. They were the ones ahead of the Armistry Movement and many others. We are putting a book together about that. Two days ago, we launched a book about the children that were kidnapped during the dictatorship in Brazil. People didn't know that that happened in Brazil. They know about Argentina, they didn't know about Brazil, so we put that book out.

We also preserve the memory of journalists. The Vladimir Herzog Journalism Award is going on for over 40 years, even before our Institute. We've created an award for students of journalism to work with their teachers to present articles on human rights. All that material goes into an online database, so you can research about articles that were published 30 years ago and see that very little has changed in several areas.

Finally, the one that gives me pride: the leg of education. I think that's the biggest message I want to leave here. We produce a lot of material to send to schools, and we saw the educational potential that it had. We put together what I call a unit of action with a senior leader, and we do education on human rights. I want to provoke you guys a little bit. What's the goal of education? I've been talking with lots of people in the government, and lots of educators. Why do we educate people? To teach them reading, writing, math, a little bit of science. I believe that the goal of education is to enable someone to be a citizen in a democratic society, to be a political entity in a political society. That means that we have to help our children, our people, understand that society, where we came from, and the issues that we've been dealing with for decades or centuries.

Our education program tries to work a little bit on that. We have a program going on in the city of Sao Paulo that reaches about one million children, 1560 schools, called Respect is Needed. It provides education on human rights where we teach the value of diversity. We teach that instead of getting away from something that is different from you and not trying to hear someone that thinks differently from you, you should hear and you should be closer. The difference is what enriches you as a human being in a democratic society. You're only going to improve your thinking about different matters if you hear someone that thinks differently from you. If he thinks the same, it's the same; nothing's going to change. This is one formal educational program that we have, and we have another one that is not formal. We make a dispute of values with conservative groups. We chose to begin with Evangelical churches, which are huge in Brazil. That program is going on in Sao Paulo, Rio, and Recife, and recently expanded. Inside those conservative groups, we find progressive sub-groups, and we intermediate and help them have a voice inside their own groups. They can make a dispute on values with those conservative groups. Therefore we try to make a more democratic and humane society. Thank you.



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