

GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM CONFERENCE 2016 | PEOPLE ON THE MOVE

APRIL 4-6, 2016

REDWOOD CITY, CALIFORNIA



**GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY
FORUM CONFERENCE
2016 PEOPLE ON
THE MOVE**

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This book includes transcripts from the plenary sessions and keynote conversations of the 2016 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. Prior to publication, the authors were given the opportunity to review their remarks. Some have made minor adjustments. 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



“Migration is not just about other people. We are all people on the move,”

- *Chris Stone, President of the Open Society Foundations.*

Chris's remarks riveted our attention at the 2016 Global Philanthropy Forum, at which we focused on “People on the Move” in search of opportunity, in search of safety, and in search of meaning.

First, we explored the phenomenon of urbanization, and the capacity of localities to absorb the influx, as a new middle class emerges in such high-growth economies as China and India. Second, we considered ways to lessen the tragedy of 60-million migrants who, having been forced from their homes, are now in search of safety from persecution, deprivation or war. And finally we sought to better understand the allure of extremist groups for those who feel unanchored and are in search of meaning, of belonging and who make cruel choices with devastating and tragic consequences.

A common thread throughout the meeting was the recognition that the solutions to the challenges faced require the attention of the public, private and civic sector, with the mantle of leadership passing from one to the other according to the task at hand.

According to Chris, while political failures might have prompted the migrant crisis, philanthropy could help mitigate the human suffering and help societies adapt:

“This isn't philanthropy at the margins but philanthropy at the heart of modern society, philanthropy restoring reason after politics has abandoned her.” He called on GPF members to engage in a “global alliance for migration...based on the promise of migration, not the fear of it.”

Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken struck a similar chord, noting the strains placed on the international humanitarian system. He argued that governments have come to realize “the importance—and I would say even the necessity—of harnessing the great reservoir of talent that exists within our innovation and philanthropic communities to meet our most pressing challenges... No single NGO, no single humanitarian organization, no single country can meet the challenges of today alone.” We must join forces.

Participants were seized of the moral imperative of helping those in danger. But they used the sessions to break down the crisis into a set of practical problems to solve. Technology entrepreneur and philanthropist Amy Rao spoke of her experience on the Greek Island of Lesbos where she went to help refugees who had made the treacherous sea crossing in search of safety, education for their children and livelihoods for their families. Oxford scholar Alexander Betts offered a way of providing livelihoods for refugees in the frontline state of Jordan, by creating special economic zones where Syrian migrants could create enterprises, earn livelihoods and contribute to the economies of their host countries without competing with local populations for scarce jobs. Thus they would avoid the physical danger of being smuggled to across the Mediterranean. And Elias Bou Saab, the Lebanese Minister for Education, spoke of ways his ministry might provide an education to the 450,000 Syrian refugee children who he is committed to help educate.

As is always the case, GPF members sought to better understand the underlying causes of the current crisis as well as its cures—so as to contribute to a preventive strategy where possible. They struggled with the political failures of collapsing Syria, a fraying EU, and a frightened US, seemingly unable to accept women and children in desperate need, instead allowing fears of terrorism to overwhelm our sense of obligation, our sense of who we are.

Finally we sought to understand the danger terror groups pose not only to us, but to the innocents who seek refuge in stable states like ours, Canada or Europe. We tried to imagine what attracts new adherents to ISIL, to Boko Haram, or to white supremacist groups here at home, what motivates them to acts of terror. And, we asked whether—in a paradoxical twist—migrants fleeing for their lives, but being turned away from stable societies, might ultimately find a greater welcome among those terror groups that drove them from safety to begin with. Could it be that a migrant policy aimed at protecting us from terror might actually expand the danger? In working groups, Will McCants of Brookings offered philanthropists a thoughtful analysis, differentiating among terror groups, the distinct appeal of each, and the strategies for countering them. Shamil Idriss, President and CEO of Search for Common Ground, reminded us that the reason some join the

ranks of violent extremist groups is that they feel “a sense of alienation, marginalization...a sense of powerlessness in the face of perceived injustice.” He advocated strategies for engaging, rather than shunning those most at risk.

GPF members came ready to learn and left equipped to act. After all, since its founding in 2001, the GPF’s purpose has been to build a peer learning network of philanthropists and social investors committed to taking on hard international problems. It has grown to include more than 1,850 high-net-worth individuals from around the world who are seeking to enhance the efficacy of their giving and impact investing. They hold themselves to account for achieving the results they seek, and learning in the process.

In the following pages, you will read the words of philanthropists, nonprofit practitioners, policymakers, analysts and activists seeking to grapple with some of the hardest problems we face. I hope that their words will inspire, inform and empower—as they did for those in the room.



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SHELLEY STINGLEY

JEFF UBOIS

JANE WALES

ZOUERA YOUSOUFOU

CATHERINE ZENNSTRÖM

2016 CONFERENCE **AGENDA****MONDAY APRIL 4**

7:30 AM BREAKFAST BUFFET
FOYER

10:00 AM SPEED NETWORKING
SALONS 1, 2, 3 & 4
Jump-start the Conference Monday morning with “speed introductions.”

10:45 AM BREAK

11:00 AM PEOPLE ON THE MOVE
BALLROOM

People on the move are challenging class claims, blurring boundaries, redefining nations and asserting their own individual and cultural identities. As a result, labor markets are changing, social orders are evolving and states are transforming. This is a moment of transition. How can we mitigate the inherent dangers in the interregnum and embrace the positive changes, such as the opportunities being brought forth by technology and networks?

WELCOME JANE WALES CEO, Global Philanthropy Forum and World Affairs Council; Vice President, The Aspen Institute @JaneWales

IN CONVERSATION WITH... CHRIS STONE President, Open Society Foundations @OSFChris

12:00 PM LUNCH
BALLROOM

1:00 PM FILLING THE GAPS IN HUMANITARIAN AID
BALLROOM

Over the past fifteen years, the demand for humanitarian aid has increased dramatically. The world currently spends \$25 billion to provide assistance to 125 million people, and according to a UN High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing, another \$15 billion is required to adequately meet the needs of those affected by violent conflict, natural disaster, demographic shifts and rapid urbanization, among other circumstances. As a result, the humanitarian sector is undergoing a period of self-reflection with the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit to be held in Istanbul, Turkey in May 2016. What has been learned and where is the sector heading? What is the role of public, private and social sector actors in filling the gaps in aid? And what is the unique role of philanthropy in both addressing the root causes of humanitarian crises and increasing the pool of available resources?

GUY CAVE Managing Director, Geneva Global @GuyCave2

HADEEL IBRAHIM Executive Director, Mo Ibrahim Foundation @Mo_IbrahimFdn

LONA STOLL Acting Deputy Director for the US Global Development Lab at USAID

MODERATOR PETER LAUGHARN President and CEO, Conrad N. Hilton Foundation @peter_laugharn

2:15 PM BREAK

3:00 PM WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1 · OPPORTUNITY

BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURE FOR GROWTH AND URBANIZATION

SALON 1

According to the UN Population Fund, the world is undergoing the largest wave of urbanization in history, estimating that 5 billion people will be living in towns and cities by 2030. This Working Group will examine innovative strategies for creating the hard and soft infrastructure — from transportation and electricity to legal systems and environmental standards — that allow for economic activity and the integration of and improved quality of life for current and future middle class city dwellers.

FRANÇOISE GIRARD President, International Women's Health Coalition @FrancoiseGirard

JACQUELYN HADLEY Partner, The Bridgespan Group @BridgespanGroup

NIDHI HEGDE Associate Director, Foundation Strategy Group (FSG) @nhgde

PAOLA SANTANA Co-founder and Head of Network Operations, Matternet @PaolaSantanaM

FACILITATOR MARK GERZON Founder and President, Mediators Foundation @Mark_Gerzon

TRACK 2 · SAFETY & SECURITY

PROTECTING AND PROVIDING SAFETY FOR THE MOST VULNERABLE

GRAND SALON

This Working Group will showcase innovative strategies for building institutions and establishing norms that support the most vulnerable among the displaced — including women, children and the ill and injured.

FRANCIS CHARHON Managing Director, Fondation de France @francischarhon

AMY LEHMAN Founder, Lake Tanganyika Floating Health Clinic/WAVE @ltfhc

YANAR MOHAMMED President, Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq @Yanar_Mohammed

GABRIEL STAURING Founder and Executive Director, iACT @gfstauring

FACILITATOR MARTIN HODGSON International Editor, Guardian US @MartinxHodgson

TRACK 3 · MEANING

BREAKING THE BRAND OF EXTREMISM
BLUE ROOM

This Working Group will consider how extremist organizations are succeeding in building movements and amplifying their radical messages, and note strategies for combating these efforts and “breaking their brand.” For example, participants will examine how digital networks, which extend the reach of terror groups, gangs, Islam-o-phobic or white supremacist groups, can be used to counter extremist ideologies and even to predict and prevent violence. The group will consider what is at stake when “free speech” yields to “hate speech” and individual privacy yields to collective security.

SHAHED AMANULLAH Co-founder, Affinis Labs @shahed

SHANNON GREEN Director and Senior Fellow, Human Rights Initiative, Center for Strategic and International Studies @Shannison

HARPER REED Head of Commerce, Braintree @harper

FACILITATOR WILLIAM MCCANTS Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution @will_mccants

BBC WORLD SERVICE SPECIAL RECORDING AT GPF16
THIS IS A CLOSED SESSION.

The Conversation allows only women's voices to be heard on the BBC's global news network — a first. Its presenter Kim Chakanetsa, originally from Zimbabwe, brings a distinctive personality and warm intelligence to the program, which aims to demonstrate how women can be successful in the face of prejudice and tradition — wherever they are from. In this special recording Kim will be connecting with two philanthropists to reveal their paths to success, the personal motivations behind their giving, how they prioritize their donations and the ethical dilemmas that may pose. All this in front of a studio audience.

TSITSI MASIYIWA Founder and Co-chair, Higherlife Foundation @T_Masiyiwa

AMY RAO Founder and CEO, Integrated Archive Systems @11thhourproject

MODERATOR KIM CHAKANETSA Presenter, *The Conversation*, BBC World Service @KimChakanetsa

4:30 PM BREAK

6:00 PM RECEPTION
POOLSIDE PATIO**Hosted by Charities Aid Foundation and CAF America**

We thank Charities Aid Foundation and CAF America for hosting this event. Charities Aid Foundation is a leading international non-profit organization originating in the UK and established in America for over 20 years. CAF works to increase sustainable giving by pioneering effective ways to give and helping non-profits to thrive.

REMARKS

TED HART CEO, CAF America @tedhart

SAMEERA MEHRA Business Manager, CAF Global Alliance

7:00 PM DINNER
BALLROOM**PERFORMANCE BY SOMI**

A few years ago, acclaimed East African vocalist and songwriter Somi decided to move from New York City to Lagos, Nigeria for 18 months in search of new inspiration. The result: a new album she calls The Lagos Music Salon features special guests Angélique Kidjo, Common and Ambrose Akinmusire, and draws its material from the tropical city's boastful cosmopolitanism, urgent inspiration, and giant spirit. Born in Illinois to immigrants from Rwanda and Uganda, the African and Jazz legacies are always crucial to her sound. Widely acknowledged as both artist and scholar, Somi is a TED Senior Fellow, an inaugural Association of Performing Arts Presenters Fellow, a former Artist-in-Residence at Park Avenue Armory, UCLA's Center for the Art of Performance, The Robert Rauschenberg Foundation and Baryshnikov Arts Center. She is also the founder of New Africa Live, a non-profit organization dedicated to celebrating the very best of contemporary African artists working in the performance, visual, and literary arts. Also celebrated for her activism, Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon recently asked Somi to perform at the United Nations' General Assembly. Somi and her band continue to perform at international venues and stages around the world. In her heart of hearts, she is an East African Midwestern girl who loves family, poetry, and freedom.

TUESDAY APRIL 5**7:30 AM BREAKFAST BUFFET & TABLE TALKS****FOYER**

A Conference attendee leads each conversation, facilitates networking and encourages targeted knowledge-sharing. Please see list of topics below or refer to the Conference app.

Coding Your Way Out Of the Refugee Camp

HOST: HUGH BOSELY Executive Director, ReBootKamp

Philanthropy and Government in Partnership: Meeting the Human Challenges in Amazonia, Brazil

HOST: PAULA FABIANI President, Institute for the Development of Social Investment

(Domestic) Politics and (Global) Philanthropy

HOST: MARK GERZON President, Mediators Foundation

Raising a Mobility Sharing Barn: An Open Research Project

HOST: CHRISTOPHER GRASSET Founder, OurOwnIdeas.org

Education in Sub-Sahara Africa

HOST: OLAF HAHN Director Strategic Development, Robert Bosch Stiftung

Corporate Social Responsibility in India: Experiences from the Field

HOST: ANUBHA JAIN Manager, Corporate Philanthropy, Silicon Valley Community Foundation

How Does the MCE Social Capital Guarantee Finance Model Work?

HOST: JONATHAN LEWIS Founder, MCE Social Capital

African Philanthropy

HOST: NDIDI NWUNELI Director, African Philanthropy Forum

Leveraging the Power of Small Businesses to Close the Education and Health Gap in Emerging Economies

HOST: LYNN PIKHOLZ CEO, CapitalPlus Exchange

Survey Results: Funders Don't Ask and Grantees Don't Tell

HOST: MAYA WINKELSTEIN Executive Director, Open Road Alliance

7:30 AM HOW TO AMPLIFY EFFORTS FOR THE SYRIAN REFUGEE CRISIS
GRAND SALON

Breakfast Discussion Hosted by the Clinton Global Initiative

Join the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI) for a discussion on its Commitments to Action model and to learn more about CGI's efforts to address mass displacement, with a particular emphasis on the Syrian refugee crisis. Hear from Donna Shalala and Scarlet Cronin about how CGI can serve as a resource for individuals and organizations who are interested in identifying partners and amplifying their efforts related to this topic.

SPEAKERS

SCARLET CRONIN Associate Director, Commitments Department, Clinton Global Initiative @scarletcronin

DONNA SHALALA President, Clinton Foundation @ClintonFdn

8:30 AM MEETING THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED
BALLROOM

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), in 2014 there were nearly 60 million refugees and IDPs worldwide — the highest number since World War II. What is the social sector's role in meeting the immediate needs of the most vulnerable while at the same time, creating long-term strategies for ensuring the security and well-being of those forced to flee their homes?

JEANNE BOURGAULT CEO, Internews @InternewsJeanne

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA Founder and CEO, Village Health Works @VHW

AMY RAO Founder and CEO, Integrated Archive Systems @11thhourproject

MODERATOR SASHA CHANOFF Founder and Executive Director, RefugePoint @sashachanoff

REMARKS ALEXANDER BETTS Leopold W. Muller Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs and Director of the Refugee Studies Centre, University of Oxford @alexander_betts

FILM PREVIEW

Humanity On The Move seeks to jumpstart an urgent new discussion and call for action in support of refugees and forced migrants around the world. A global media platform and an international broadcast film event, *Humanity On The Move* will capture the astonishing scope of this global crisis and point towards new solutions and innovative breakthroughs, all with a renewed emphasis on our shared human bonds.

10:00 AM BREAK

10:30 AM WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1 · OPPORTUNITY
FINDING PROTECTIONS IN THE GIG ECONOMY

SALON 1

The working poor have always lived in the “gig economy” — piecing together various part-time opportunities to eke out a living, without the benefit of social protections. Now, many low and middle-income workers, parents and part-time students seek the flexibility that the gig economy provides to add to household income and to put unused time and unused assets to work. How can workers gain the flexibility of the gig economy and obtain the protections that traditional middle-income jobs have provided, such as contributions to health insurance and pensions?

SARITA GUPTA Executive Director, Jobs with Justice @saritasgupta

ONNO SCHELLEKENS Managing Director, PharmAccess Group @OnnoSchellekens

FACILITATOR SARA HOROWITZ Founder and Executive Director, Freelancers Union @Sara_Horowitz

TRACK 2 · SAFETY & SECURITY
EDUCATION FOR THE DISPLACED

GRAND SALON

For children and young adults in refugee camps, education is crucial to develop their potential to join the workforce, as well as ensure their safety and rebuild their values and confidence. This Working Group will showcase educational programs that meet the specific needs of those fleeing a crisis.

KEVIN FREY CEO, Right to Play @KevinJWFrey

JAMIE MCAULIFFE President and CEO, Education for Employment @EFEjmcauliffe

SHAI RESHEF President and Founder, University of the People @ShaiReshef

SAKENA YACOOBI Executive Director, Afghan Institute of Learning @AIL_education

FACILITATOR SHAUNA CAREY Program Lead, Amplify, IDEO.org @shauna_ryann

TRACK 3 · MEANING

**COUNTERING RECRUITMENT STRATEGIES —
DETECTING WARNING SIGNS AND
OFFERING POSITIVE ALTERNATIVES**

SALON 4

The radicalization of youth, including in Western Europe, North America and Africa, is rising. This Working Group will highlight strategies for countering recruitment by better understanding the needs and desires of vulnerable adolescents, detecting warning signs and offering alternative opportunities to current and potential recruits. For example, participants will examine community-based initiatives that empower parents, caregivers and teachers to evaluate the vulnerability of teens and effectively communicate with them.

EMMA BARRETT Research to Practice Fellow, Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST), University of Lancaster
@crimepsychblog

MARY MCKINLEY Executive Director, Heartland Democracy
@Heartland_EmpU

GARY SLUTKIN Founder and CEO, Cure Violence; Professor of Epidemiology and International Health, University of Illinois at Chicago School of Public Health @gslutkin

RICHARD WALTON Director, Counter Terrorism Global Ltd

FACILITATOR KARIN VON HIPPEL Director-General, Royal United Services Institute @RUSI_org

TRACK 4 · STRATEGIC PHILANTHROPY

**BALANCING ACT: PHILANTHROPY'S
UNRESOLVED TENSIONS**

BLUE ROOM

Join foundation officers and fellow philanthropists in an exploration of some of philanthropy's unresolved tensions — between solving urgent problems and providing patient capital; between taking risks and driving toward predictable outcomes; between sticking to a strategy and seizing unanticipated opportunities. What is the balance, and how is it achieved?

Laurie Michaels Founder, Open Road Alliance @OpenRoadTweets

Robert Rosen Director of Philanthropic Partnerships, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation @gatesfoundation

FACILITATOR JEFF UBOIS Program Officer, John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation @jeffubois

12:00 PM

LUNCH
BALLROOM

1:00 PM

LEVERAGING CULTURE AND TRADITIONS
BALLROOM

Development that is sensitive to local circumstances builds tolerance for differences, engages many stakeholders and is more likely to succeed and be sustained. How can culture and traditions be leveraged to build inclusive societies? And what is the role of traditional leaders in this process?

REMARKS HER ROYAL HIGHNESS QUEEN SYLVIA NAGGINDA Queen of Uganda Kingdom, Uganda

1:30 PM

BREAK

2:00 PM

**THE SEARCH FOR BELONGING THROUGH VIOLENT
EXTREMIST NETWORKS**
BALLROOM

According to the UN, an estimated 15,000 radicals from more than 80 nations have joined extremist groups. These networks have become increasingly diverse, attracting youth from different religious, cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. This session will consider why this is the case; the threat extremist groups pose to individuals, societies and states; and the ways in which civil society organizations, philanthropists, policymakers and business leaders are working together to advance political pluralism and social tolerance and prevent disaffection and radicalization.

SHAMIL IDRIS President and CEO, Search for Common Ground @SFCG_

WILLIAM MCCANTS Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution @will_mccants

KYAJI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF General Secretary, Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council @Staquf

MODERATOR JANE WALES CEO, Global Philanthropy Forum and World Affairs Council; Vice President, The Aspen Institute @janewales

3:00 PM

BREAK

3:30 PM

WORKING GROUPS

TRACK 1 · OPPORTUNITY

SOURCING AND SUPPLY CHAINS

SALON 1

New technologies and changing business practices are transforming the employment landscape and offering new opportunities to those at the bottom and middle of the pyramid. Impact sourcing (or socially responsible outsourcing) — currently employing nearly 561,000 people worldwide — has the potential to increase the efficiency of global markets, while providing important opportunities to disadvantaged men and women. This new approach to sourcing talent could completely transform the world of work. But will it?

IYINOLUWA ABOYEJI Impact Entrepreneur, Andela @iaboyeji

MARK GUNTON CEO, Enterprise Partnership @MarkGunton_

MADAN PADAKI Co-founder and CEO, Head Held High Services @madanpadaki

FACILITATOR KRISS DEIGLMEIER CEO, Tides Network @kdeiglmeier

TRACK 2 · SAFETY & SECURITY

**MEETING THE NEEDS OF THE
DISPLACED: THINKING LONG TERM**

GRAND SALON

Millions of refugees are currently living in unsustainable conditions: children are out of school, young adults are unemployed and families are not able to support themselves, further increasing their vulnerability. This session will examine solutions to address the long-term needs of the displaced — from legal rights to workforce training to technological infrastructure.

EMILY ARNOLD-FERNÁNDEZ Executive Director, Asylum Access
@asylumaccess

HUGH BOSELY Founder and Executive Director, ReBootKamp @rebootkamp

BRUCE AND MARY LOUISE COHEN Co-founders, Talent Beyond Boundaries @TBBforTalent

SU'AD JARBAWI Iraq Country Director, Mercy Corps @mercycorps

FACILITATOR EDWIN HUIZING Executive Director, HIVOS @hivos

TRACK 2 · SAFETY & SECURITY

**ENVIRONMENTAL MIGRANTS AND
CLIMATE REFUGEES**

SALON 4

A July 2015 report by the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre stated that from 2008 to 2014, an average of 26.4 million people were displaced each year by natural disasters. What is the role of philanthropy in mitigating the dangers of climate change, thereby limiting the number of environmental migrants and climate refugees?

RUPA MUKERJI Co-Head Advisory Services, HELVETAS Swiss Intercooperation @RupaMukerji

URSULA RAKOVA Executive Director, Tulele Peisa

FRANCES VOON Executive Manager, Andrew & Renata Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law, University of New South Wales @fvoon

FACILITATOR BIBI VAN DER ZEE Editor, Global Development Professionals Network, The Guardian @bibivanderzee

TRACK 4 · STRATEGIC PHILANTHROPY

**ACCOUNTABILITY, CAPABILITIES, CULTURE
BLUE ROOM**

This Working Group will explore new expectations of accountability and the role that transparency plays, not only for purposes of compliance and field-wide learning, but also as a prerequisite to collaboration with new players. And participants will discuss the capabilities and collaborative culture required within philanthropies, among philanthropies or as part of a partnership, so as to be poised for influencing or learning from other actors.

DON HOWARD President and CEO, The James Irvine Foundation
@DonJHoward

ROBERT ROSEN Director of Philanthropic Partnerships, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation @gatesfoundation

FACILITATOR FAY TWERSKY Director of the Effective Philanthropy Group, The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation @FayDTwersky

5:00 PM

BREAK

6:00 PM

RECEPTION HOSTED BY PATH

FOYER

We thank PATH for hosting this reception. PATH is the leader in global health innovation. An international nonprofit organization working in more than 70 countries, PATH saves lives and improves health, especially among women and children, by advancing technologies, strengthening systems and encouraging healthy behaviors.

REMARKS

STEVE DAVIS President and CEO, PATH @SteveDavisPATH

7:00 PM

DINNER

BALLROOM

PERFORMANCE BY ROBERT MOSES' KIN

Founded in 1995, Robert Moses' Kin is considered by many to be one of the most prolific and exciting new contemporary dance companies to emerge nationally in the past decade. The company's mission is to produce work which speaks to what is specific and unique in human nature. Robert Moses' Kin uses movement as the medium through which race, class, culture and gender are used to voice the existence of our greater potential and unfulfilled possibilities. Robert Moses' diverse eleven-member company is known for its eclectic movement vocabulary, demanding choreography, ferocious dancing, and provocative themes. Moses' focus on the expressiveness of the human body and his desire to speak with the voices of his African American heritage have produced works with regional, national and international recognition.

WEDNESDAY APRIL 6

7:30 AM BREAKFAST BUFFET
FOYER

7:45 AM BREAKFAST DISCUSSIONS

THE ROLE OF VENTURE PHILANTHROPY

GRAND SALON

Breakfast Discussion hosted by the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation

Join Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation, a global venture philanthropy forum, for a conversation on how social entrepreneurs are tackling some of the biggest challenges in our society. Hear directly from a few entrepreneurs and their different approaches for solving inequities in healthcare.

CHASE ADAM Founder and CEO, Watsi @ChaseAdam17

KRISTA DONALDSON CEO, D-Rev @kmd_drev

PHUOC LE Co-founder, HEAL Initiative @Dr_Le_UCSF

SRIRAM SHAMASUNDER Co-founder, HEAL Initiative @srijeeva

FACILITATOR JIM BILDNER Managing Partner and CEO, Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation @jimbildner

ENGAGING THE TECH SECTOR ON SYRIAN REFUGEE CHALLENGES

BLUE ROOM

Breakfast Discussion hosted by the US Department of State

Join the US State Department as well as guests from NGOs and the private sector in a discussion about how to leverage technology to address challenges related to Syrian refugees, drawing on lessons learned from a number of recent workshops, conferences and hackathons, including State's recent event, co-hosted by the World Affairs Council, Stanford and Google, on "Bridging the Education Gap for Syrian Refugee Children."

9:00 AM THE JOBS CHALLENGE
BALLROOM

People in fast growing economies are experiencing social and economic mobility for the first time, joining the middle class. Producers and makers are finding new markets for their commodities or wares, entrepreneurs are better able to access capital and customers, and job seekers are better able to connect with potential employers. Networks and knowledge are not only enabling economic growth and opportunity, but they are changing the very nature of work. Yet the "jobs challenge" remains so long as there is a short supply of the skills required for the jobs that await. What models exist for closing the skills gap? Moreover, how might employers better signal the skills they seek, and job seekers convey the skills they've attained, sometimes in non-traditional ways? How might each leverage networks to connect to one another?

KARAN CHOPRA Co-founder and Partner, Opportunity@Work @karchopra

JOSHUA OIGARA CEO, KCB Group @JoshuaOigara

SHAI RESHEF President and Founder, University of the People @ShaiReshef

MODERATOR AN-ME CHUNG Director Of Strategic Partnerships, Mozilla Foundation

10:15 AM BREAK

10:45 AM SPECIAL ADDRESS
BALLROOM

REMARKS ANTONY BLINKEN Deputy Secretary of State, United States of America @ABlinken

11:15 AM PHILANTHROPY'S ROLE: SOLVING FOR CRISIS WHILE TAKING THE LONG VIEW
BALLROOM

War, violent extremism and the resulting migrant crisis threaten human security in the Levant and well beyond. In the face of tragedy, private philanthropies and those they support seek to help. Their near-term goal is to alleviate the suffering. Over the longer term they hope to advance economic development and societal resilience so that future crises can be averted. Leaders of philanthropies in the region, Europe and the US will share their perspectives with GPF members. What assets — tangible and intangible — does philanthropy bring to the table?

FAYEEZA NAQVI Co-founder and Chairman, Aman Foundation @Aman_Foundation

DONNA SHALALA President, Clinton Foundation @ClintonFdn

MODERATOR DANIEL SCHWARTZ CEO, Porticus

12:30 PM CONFERENCE ADJOURNS AND LUNCH

EAST BAY CENTER FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

East Bay Center for the Performing Arts is a place-based arts center, whose mission is to engage youth and young adults in imagining and creating new worlds for themselves and new visions for their communities through the inspiration and discipline of rigorous training in world performance traditions. We envision new generations of artist-leaders trained at the Center who are articulate, passionate, and effective at integrating art and positive social change.

Founded in 1968 in Richmond California, the Center counters the image of one of the most poor and dangerous neighborhoods in the country by shining a light on the hidden richness and diverse range of its population's many cultural practices — through music, theater, and dance training and the creation of new artistic works rooted in community life. The Center not only has a celebrated understanding of the complex cultural assets that are present in the community, but is also well-acquainted with the health, safety, and educational challenges of this low-income area. The against-the-odds, recession-era (2009-2011) rebuilding of its historic Iron Triangle neighborhood home — in conjunction with ongoing Richmond

redevelopment efforts — moved the Center from being a deeply rooted community hub to an architectural award-winning catalyst for the physical, cultural and economic revitalization of the city center. One of its key strengths is its recognition that with opportunities to train and participate in the arts, Richmond youth and families both foster their individual abilities to act in the world while strengthening their neighborhood's collective stability and self-determination. The investment in improving the cultural center is an example of redevelopment that provides new hope to a community that needs a chance to reimagine what it can and will be through the strengths and gifts of its young people.

Produced by White Rain Productions

SPEAKER BIOGRAPHIES



IYINOLUWA ABOYEJI

IMPACT ENTREPRENEUR, ANDELA @iaboyeji

Iyinoluwa Aboyeji is an impact entrepreneur with several years of experience running ventures in the education, technology, youth employment and publishing spaces. At age 18, he interned for the World Youth Alliance in the United Nations Headquarters. Afterwards, he went on to run one of Canada's largest student-owned publishing houses, Imprint Publications, as president of the board. Aboyeji helped found and run Bookneto Inc, a social e-learning platform which was acquired in 2013. In 2014, Aboyeji co-founded Andela to find the brightest young people in Africa, train them to be world-class developers, and connect them with employers around the world looking for top technical talent. In 2014, Andela was named by CNN as one of top 10 African startups of 2014 and in 2015, raised over \$10 million dollars in an investment round led by Spark Capital.

Aboyeji holds a bachelor's degree in Legal Studies from the University of Waterloo in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada. Aboyeji is a recipient of several awards and honors including the John C. Holland Award for Youth Leadership (awarded by JC Holland Foundation in 2010), Nigeria's top 20 under 20 (awarded by Ynaija! in 2011), World Economic Forum Global Shaper in 2012, and *Forbes* 30 under 30 Most Promising Young Entrepreneurs in Africa in 2015.

CHASE ADAM

FOUNDER AND CEO, WATSI @ChaseAdam17

Before the age of 21, Adam traveled, worked, or studied in more than 20 countries around the world. He spent time in private sector intelligence in Washington, helped start a national health program in Haiti, and served in the Peace Corps in Costa Rica. He's rarely the smartest person in the room, but he's usually pretty good at figuring out who is.

SHAHED AMANULLAH

CO-FOUNDER, AFFINIS LABS @shahed

A serial entrepreneur who has founded and sold several startups, Shahed Amanullah is the co-founder of Affinis Labs, a Virginia startup incubator for businesses with positive social impacts in global Muslim communities. Through Affinis Labs, he organizes global hackathons to create innovative businesses as well as crafting new media initiatives that drive social impact. He also serves as CEO of LaunchPosse, a DC-based startup that helps people leverage their social networks for entrepreneurship.

Prior to starting LaunchPosse, Amanullah served as senior advisor for Technology at the US Department of State, where he worked in the bureaus of Secretaries of State John Kerry and Hillary Clinton. He also serves as CEO of Halalfire, through which he created *Altmuslim*, an online magazine with 2.5 million annual unique users (acquired by Patheos in 2011) as well as Zabihah, the world's largest Halal restaurant guide with 10 million annual users.

Amanullah has a BS from UC Berkeley (where he served as Student Body Vice-President) and an MBA from Georgetown. He is a 2016 Truman National Security Fellow and has been named three times (2009, 2010, and 2011) as one of the 500 most influential Muslims in the world.

EMILY ARNOLD-FERNÁNDEZ

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, ASYLUM ACCESS @asylumaccess

Emily Arnold-Fernández is executive director of Asylum Access, the leading global refugee human rights organization. After learning that refugees spend on average 17 years in camps, Arnold-Fernández founded Asylum Access in 2005 to create a world where refugees can live safely, move freely, work and send children to school, and rebuild their lives.

Today, Asylum Access has impacted more than a million refugees worldwide, working intensively in 17 offices across seven countries as well as at the global level to dismantle barriers to refugees' economic and civic participation and ensure all refugees have a fair chance at a new life.

Arnold-Fernández's achievements have earned her numerous accolades, including the Equality and Nondiscrimination Award from Mexico's National Council to Prevent Discrimination (2016); the prestigious Grinnell Prize (2013); and recognition by the Dalai Lama as one of 50 "Unsung Heroes of Compassion" (2009). She has been featured in the *New York Times* and published in *Forbes*, among other media.

Arnold-Fernández was selected as a Social Entrepreneur in Residence at Stanford University in Fall 2012, and currently serves on the Advisory Board of Oxford University's Refugee Studies Centre. She holds a juris doctorate from Georgetown University Law Center and a bachelor of arts cum laude from Pomona College.

EMMA BARRETT

RESEARCH TO PRACTICE FELLOW, CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND EVIDENCE ON SECURITY THREATS (CREST), LANCASTER UNIVERSITY @crimepsychblog

Dr. Emma Barrett is a research fellow in Psychology at Lancaster University, UK and part of the Centre for Research and Evidence on Security Threats (CREST). CREST is a national hub for developing and communicating high quality research, to help policy makers, practitioners, and the public to understand, counter, and mitigate security threats.

From 2003-15 Barrett led a government psychology and social science team supporting law enforcement and security organizations. Her research interests include the psychology of terrorism and violent extremist behavior; betrayal, deception, and credibility assessment; investigative decision making; and the psychology of survival and performance in extreme and unusual environments. She is the author (with Paul Martin) of "Extreme: Why some people thrive at the limits", published by Oxford University Press in 2014.

ALEXANDER BETTS

LEOPOLD W. MULLER PROFESSOR OF FORCED MIGRATION AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIRECTOR OF THE REFUGEE STUDIES CENTRE, UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD @alexander_betts

Alexander Betts is the Leopold W. Muller Professor of Forced Migration and International Affairs at the University of Oxford, where he is also director of the Refugee Studies Centre, and a fellow of Green-Templeton College. His research focuses on the politics and economics of refugees. He is the author or editor of eight

books including *Survival Migration: Failed Governance and the Crisis of Displacement* (Cornell University Press, 2013). His work has been published in journals including *Perspectives on Politics, Ethics and International Affairs*, and *Global Governance*. He has written for the *Guardian*, *New York Times* and *Foreign Affairs* and appears regularly on news channels including CNN, Al Jazeera, and the BBC. He has previously worked for UNHCR and as a consultant to a range of international organizations and governments. He is an advisor to the World Humanitarian Summit and is founder of the Humanitarian Innovation Project (www.oxhip.org).

JIM BILDNER

MANAGING PARTNER AND CEO, DRAPER RICHARDS KAPLAN FOUNDATION @jimbildner

Jim Bildner is the managing partner and CEO of the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation where he focuses on investing in nonprofits and social enterprises that are working to solve complex issues including systemic poverty, environmental and conservation issues, food insecurity, access to healthcare, homelessness, community development and second generation strategies to address these issues. Bildner 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. Among his board affiliations, he is a trustee of The Kresge Foundation, The Non Profit Finance Fund, The Public Citizen Foundation, the Health Foundation for the Americas, New Jersey Performing Arts Center, The Newport Festivals Foundation, an Overseer Emeritus of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and a member of the executive board of WBUR (Boston Public Radio) and an Overseer of WGBH Public TV and Radio. He also serves on the boards of Fox Islands Wind, LLC, the EBSF Loan Fund, the Island Institute and Coastal Innovation Loan Fund, TurboVote/Democracy Works Inc., Blueprint Schools, Education SuperHighway, IDEO.org, SIRUM, the Earth Genome, CAST, as a Corporate Trustee of The Trustees of Reservations and on the board of the Lizard Island Research Foundation in Australia. He is a member of Young Presidents/World Presidents Organization and a member of the Chief Executives Organization.

In 2010 he was named Chair of Kresge's Social Innovative Capital Committee and in 2014 became Chair of Kresge's Investment Committee.

His prior experience includes 22 years in the private sector including as a consultant at Deloitte and serving as the CEO of two public companies. Bildner's government service includes serving as a legislative aide and speechwriter in the United States Senate, a run for the NJ State Assembly, election to two terms as a Selectman in Manchester by the Sea and an appointment by the United States Secretary of Health and Human Services to the advisory panel on Medicare Education of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services of the Department of Health and Human Services.

Bildner has written numerous articles, op-ed pieces and commentaries for newspapers, magazines and radio including NPR's Morning Edition, *The Boston Globe*, *The Boston Globe Sunday Magazine*, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, *Hampshire Daily Gazette* and *Inc. Magazine*. A lifelong sailor and pilot, he has published two recent books, *A Visual Cruising Guide to the Maine Coast*, and *A Visual Cruising Guide to Southern New England*.

Bildner earned his AB from Dartmouth College, his MPA from Harvard, his JD from Case Western Reserve School of Law and an MFA from Lesley University. He is a member of the Bar of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In 2008, Bildner was awarded the Dartmouth Alumni Award for service to the college and to his community.

ANTHONY BLINKEN

DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE, UNITED STATES OF AMERICA @ABlinken

Antony J. Blinken was confirmed by the United States Senate as Deputy Secretary of State on December 16, 2014. He was sworn in by Secretary Kerry on January 9, 2015.

Blinken has held senior foreign policy positions in two administrations over two decades. He most recently served as Assistant to the President and Principal Deputy National Security Advisor. In that capacity, he chaired the inter-agency Deputies Committee, the administration's principal forum for formulating foreign policy. During the first term of the Obama Administration, he was Deputy Assistant to the President and National Security Advisor to the Vice President.

Blinken served for six years on Capitol Hill (2002–2008) as Democratic Staff Director for the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Blinken was a member of President Clinton's National Security Council staff at the White House from 1994 to 2001. From 1999 to 2001, he was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for European Affairs — President Clinton's principal advisor for relations with the countries of Europe, the European Union and NATO. From 1994 through 1998, Blinken was Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Speechwriting and then Strategic Planning, overseeing foreign policy planning, communications and speechwriting and serving as President Clinton's chief foreign policy speechwriter. Blinken began his government service at the State Department where, from 1993 to 1994, he served as Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs.

After leaving the Clinton Administration, he was a Senior Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies between 2001 and 2002.

Prior to joining the Clinton Administration Blinken practiced law in New York and Paris. He has been a reporter for *The New Republic* magazine and has written about foreign policy for numerous publications including the *New York Times*, *The New York Times Magazine* and *Foreign Affairs*. He is the author of *Ally Versus Ally: America, Europe and the Siberian Pipeline Crisis* (Praeger, 1987). He appears frequently on cable and network television on behalf of the Obama administration. Blinken attended grade school and high school in Paris, France where he received a French Baccalaureat degree with high honors. He is a graduate of Harvard College *Magna cum Laude* and Columbia Law School.

HUGH BOSELY

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, REBOOTKAMP @rebootkamp

Hugh Bosely is founder and executive director of ReBootKamp (RBK) — a San Francisco based non-profit focused on providing rapid technical training and employment to refugees of conflict. ReBootKamp is the first code bootcamp in the Middle East and one focused squarely on refugee and at-risk populations.

He is applying lessons learned during 30 years of architectural project management to the emergency education environment. He has forged partnerships with governments, NGOs, Silicon Valley and the Middle East tech industry to the end of solving one problem with another — bridging the 2 million tech job skills gap with those forcibly displaced from their borders.

Bosely holds degrees in Philosophy and Architecture and has a deep interest in education and the use of technology to wage peace.

JEANNE BOURGALT

CEO, INTERNEWS @InternewsJeanne

Jeanne Bourgault, the CEO of Internews, an international non-profit organization that works at the intersection of media, information, and development. Internews's purpose is to ensure all people are fully empowered with the information they need to have a voice in their future and to make informed choices for their families and their communities.

Bourgault joined Internews in 2001 and under her leadership, Internews has led the sector in focusing on the need for information amid crises, working to support local news and information access for communities affected by disaster, conflict, propaganda, climate change and closing spaces.

Prior to Internews, Bourgault worked internationally in countries undergoing dramatic shifts in media and political landscapes. She worked in the former Yugoslavia, serving as a strategic advisor for media development programs in post-war Kosovo, as well as manager of community development projects in Serbia and Montenegro through the fall of Slobodan Milosevic. She served for six years with the US Agency for International Development, including three years at the US Embassy in Moscow.

Bourgault speaks on issues of global news, information technology, media development and democracy assistance worldwide, including venues such as the Skoll World Forum, Guardian Activate in New York, the Clinton Global Initiative and the World Economic Forum in Davos.

Bourgault has testified before the Foreign Operations Subcommittee of the US House Appropriations Committee on several occasions. She serves on the Media, Entertainment, and Information Industries Steering Committee for the World Economic Forum, the Steering Committee of the Global Forum for Media Development and World Learning's Global Advisory Council.

She holds a master of arts in International Studies and a master's in public affairs from the University of Washington.

SHAUNA CAREY

PROGRAM LEAD, AMPLIFY, IDEO.ORG @shauna_ryann

Shauna Carey leads IDEO.org's Amplify program, a five-year effort funded by the UK Department for International Development to make international aid more collaborative and human-centered.

Over the past decade, Carey's work has focused on helping mission-driven organizations tell their stories effectively. Prior to joining the IDEO.org family, she spent several years at Room to Read, a global organization dedicated to improving literacy and gender equality in education. She also serves as an advisor for EMERGENCY USA, an international organization that brings health care and medical infrastructure to communities devastated by war.

A proud Banana Slug, Carey holds a bachelor's degree in language studies from the University of California, Santa Cruz. She is addicted to caffeine and "60 Minutes."

GUY CAVE

MANAGING DIRECTOR, GENEVA GLOBAL @GuyCave2

Guy Cave leads Geneva Global's program management and humanitarian response division, and contributes to the company's executive leadership, business development and strategic direction. Cave oversees three teams delivering high impact programs for a range of philanthropic clients. This includes: advising clients, strategy development, and program management, in both development and humanitarian contexts.

Cave has worked in the sector for over 20 years, and has a wide range of experience, including leading humanitarian responses to both armed conflicts and natural disasters, as well as strategic leadership of longer-term development work in a range of geographies. He has lived and worked in Myanmar (Burma), Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal, and Turkey; and has experience of programs across multiple sectors in Africa, Middle East, South and South East Asia, and Eastern Europe and Eurasia.

Before joining Geneva Global, Cave spent eleven years with Save the Children. His last position with Save the Children was as Deputy Regional Director for the Middle East and Eurasia during the first years of the Syria conflict and the regional refugee crisis that resulted.

Cave is a UK-qualified social worker, and holds a masters in Social Work from the University of York (UK), and a masters in Children's Rights from the University of Fribourg (Switzerland).

KIM CHAKANETSA

PRESENTER, *THE CONVERSATION*, BBC WORLD SERVICE @KimChakanetsa

Kim Chakanetsa presents *The Conversation* on the BBC World Service. To mark the show's first birthday, Chakanetsa travelled to South Africa where she recorded a show with 22 young school girls in their final year who were about to set out into the world, together with two dynamic southern African women with a passion for connecting people through technology.

She also recorded a special entrepreneurs edition in Kenya while attending the 2015 Global Entrepreneurship Summit in Nairobi.

She joined the BBC in 2013 as a producer and presenter for the programme *Focus on Africa*.

In July 2015, Chakanetsa travelled to Kenya to cover President Barack Obama's historic visit. She has also covered arts for the World Service including events at last year's Edinburgh Festival.

Prior to joining the BBC, Chakanetsa worked for CNN International in Atlanta as an international assignment editor. She has also worked for the Associated Press and freelanced for Deutsche Welle radio and Monocle Radio.

She previously worked for a political risk consultancy.

Chakanetsa grew up in Zimbabwe. She studied in France, the UK and the US.

SASHA CHANOFF

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, REFUGEPOINT @sashachanoff

Sasha Chanoff has worked for two decades in refugee rescue, relief, and resettlement operations. He is the founder and executive director of RefugePoint, a humanitarian organization that finds lasting solutions for the most at risk refugees. Prior to launching RefugePoint, Chanoff consulted with the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and worked with the International Organization for Migration throughout Africa, identifying refugees in danger, undertaking rescue missions, and working on refugee protection issues with the US, Canadian, Australian, and other governments.

Chanoff has appeared on "60 Minutes" multiple times, is a featured story-teller on NPR's "Moth Radio Hour," and writes and speaks regularly on refugee affairs. He is currently writing a book about defining moral moments in leadership using a US rescue operation to evacuate refugees from the Congo as the basis for his book. With a foreword by David Gergen, *From Crisis to Calling: Finding your Moral Center in the Toughest Decisions* will be published in June 2016 with Berrett-Koehler.

Chanoff has received fellowships from the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation, Ashoka, and Echoing Green, and is a recipient of the Charles Bronfman Humanitarian Prize, Harvard's Gleitsman International Activist Award, and is a 2015 White House Champion of Change. He is a member of the steering committee for New England International Donors, and a human rights adviser to The Leir Charitable Foundations. Chanoff recently served as an adviser to the Warner Bros. film "The Good Lie" starring Reese Witherspoon, and helped establish its charitable initiative, The Good Lie Fund, which he currently advises.

Chanoff holds a BA from Wesleyan University and an MA in Humanitarian Assistance, from the Tufts University Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and Friedman School of Nutrition, Science, and Policy.

FRANCIS CHARHON

MANAGING DIRECTOR, FONDATION DE FRANCE @francischarhon

Francis Charhon studied medicine and specialized in anesthesia. After a career in the hospital environment, he joined Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders) in 1980, at first as president. In 1982, he was appointed managing director of the association and remained in that role until 1991. In 1992, Charhon began to undertake the same responsibilities for Fondation de France. He is also vice president of France Générosités (Union of the charity organizations), president of the French Foundation Centre from 2002 to June 2015, and honorary president since July 2015, and is a board director of the French chamber of social economy since 2014. Charhon has been a member of the monitoring committee of endowment at the legal affairs counsel of the French economic and financial ministries since 2014. Charhon has been the board director of the NGO Convergences since 2015. He's been a member of the French Economic, Social and Environmental Council from 2010 to 2015 and member of Conseil National du Développement et de la Solidarité Internationale (CNDSI) from 2014 to 2015.

KARAN CHOPRA

CO-FOUNDER AND PARTNER, OPPORTUNITY@WORK @karchopra

Karan Chopra is co-founder and partner of Opportunity@Work, a social venture based in Washington DC that aims to re-wire the US labor market in ways that enable more Americans to achieve upward mobility in the workplace.

Chopra's work has focused on building entrepreneurial ventures and ecosystems that increase upward mobility for the poor. Prior to co-founding Opportunity@Work, he was the co-founder and director of GADCO (Global Agri-Development Company), a vertically-integrated agri-food business in sub-Saharan Africa backed by leading financial and impact investors. He led the company from business plan to building and operating the largest rice farm in Ghana, developing a processing center and launching a packaged food brand that contributed to domestic food security in Ghana and impacted the livelihoods of smallholder farmers. GADCO was acquired by a strategic buyer in agribusiness in 2015.

Chopra is also the co-founder of WAVE (West Africa Vocational Education), a social venture tackling youth unemployment in Nigeria. WAVE is empowering West African youth with industry relevant skills and access to jobs while improving outcomes for employers. Prior to this, he was at McKinsey & Company where he was awarded the social sector fellowship. He advised clients across sectors (Fortune 500, governments, leading philanthropic organizations) primarily on market-based and scalable solutions for broad-based economic development and on US education. Prior to this, Chopra was a software developer with Siemens.

Chopra holds a BS in Electrical Engineering with highest honors from Georgia Tech and an MBA from Harvard Business School with high distinction graduating as a Baker Scholar. He was named in the 2014 list of *Forbes* 30 under 30 Social Entrepreneurs by *Forbes* magazine and selected as a New Voices Fellow at the Aspen Institute.

BRUCE COHEN

CO-FOUNDER, TALENT BEYOND BOUNDARIES @TBBforTalent

Bruce Cohen is a co-founder of Talent Beyond Boundaries which is being created to provide a global re-employment solution for skilled refugees.

Cohen served as a top lawyer in the Senate for almost two decades working for Senator Patrick Leahy of Vermont. Described by *The Legal Times* as "one of the most influential lawyers on Capitol Hill", he coordinated the Democratic staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee and worked with his Republican counterparts, the Senate leadership, the House, and the administrations of Presidents Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama. Matters within the jurisdiction of the Committee included nominations of Supreme Court; national security matters, such as the USA PATRIOT Act and the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act; civil rights matters including the Voting Rights Act and hate crimes legislation; the Violence Against Women Reauthorization Act and the Trafficking Victims Protection Act; intellectual property laws, including patent law reform; privacy protection; antitrust, business competition and consumer protection laws; Federal law enforcement and assistance to state and local law enforcement; oversight of various Federal Government activities; and much more.

Cohen graduated from Stanford University, and from the University of California Berkeley, school of law where he was editor-in-chief of *The California Law Review* and Order of the Coif.

Cohen was a 2014 Fellow with the Advanced Leadership Initiative at Harvard University. The Advanced Leadership Fellowship (ALI) is designed to enhance the ability of highly-accomplished leaders to help solve significant social problems. Cohen and his ALI colleagues, Gillian Sorensen and Mary Louise Cohen, began work on Talent Beyond Boundaries during their Harvard Fellowship.

MARY LOUISE COHEN

CO-FOUNDER, TALENT BEYOND BOUNDARIES @TBBforTalent

Mary Louise Cohen is a co-founder of Talent Beyond Boundaries which is being created to provide a global re-employment solution for skilled refugees.

She is a founding partner of Phillips & Cohen LLP, and has represented whistleblowers for more than 25 years in lawsuits brought to remedy fraud against the United States. Her firm has recovered more than \$11 billion for state and federal governments in cases filed under the False Claims Act.

In 2007, Cohen joined with African singer Angelique Kidjo to create the Batonga Foundation to promote and support secondary education for girls in Africa. In 2010, together with her husband Bruce Cohen, and Dr. Aziza Shad of Georgetown University, she founded the Aslan Project to improve survival rates for children with cancer in the developing world.

Cohen graduated *cum laude* from Harvard Law School and obtained her undergraduate degree from the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill.

Cohen was a 2014 Fellow with the Advanced Leadership Initiative (ALI) at Harvard University. The Advanced Leadership Fellowship is designed to enhance the ability of highly-accomplished leaders to help solve significant social problems. Cohen and

her ALI colleagues, Gillian Sorensen and Bruce Cohen, began work on Talent Beyond Boundaries during their Harvard Fellowship.

SCARLET CRONIN

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, COMMITMENTS DEPARTMENT, CLINTON GLOBAL INITIATIVE @scarletcronin

Scarlet Cronin is the Associate Director of the Commitments Department and heads the Response & Resilience track at the Clinton Global Initiative (CGI). In this role, she works with corporate, philanthropic, government and non-profit leaders with an interest in global disaster preparedness, disaster relief, and humanitarian crises, including the Syrian refugee crisis.

Since 2010, she has managed the Haiti Action Network, CGI's group of 50+ members working in Haiti, which addresses issues such as education, enterprise development, health, and water, sanitation, and hygiene (WASH). CGI members have made more than 100 Commitments to Action focused on Haiti, which will be valued at \$500 million when fully funded and implemented. Now in its eighth year, the Haiti Action Network has a significant focus on creating sustainable jobs and encouraging investment in the country. In addition to developing many of these commitments, she organizes regular meetings in Port-au-Prince to discuss project updates and opportunities for partnership.

Previous to CGI, Cronin worked in the Development department of the Clinton Foundation and at the Elie Wiesel Foundation. She graduated from Trinity College Dublin with a BA in European Studies, majoring in History and French.

STEVE DAVIS

PRESIDENT AND CEO, PATH @SteveDavisPATH

As president and CEO of PATH, Steve Davis combines his extensive experience as a technology business leader, global health advocate, and social innovator to accelerate great ideas and bring lifesaving solutions to scale. He oversees PATH's work of driving transformative global health innovation to save and improve lives.

Davis' long-standing commitment to human rights and global development grew from his early work on refugee programs and policies, and from his later focus on Chinese politics and law. He has employed that same passion as a leader and strategist for a range of private and nonprofit companies and international organizations, including as CEO of internet pioneer and global digital media firm Corbis, director of social innovation for McKinsey & Company, and interim CEO of the Infectious Disease Research Institute. Earlier in his career, he practiced law at the international law firm of K&L Gates with a focus on intellectual property.

Davis is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and holds a faculty appointment as a lecturer at the Stanford Graduate School of Business. He currently serves on the boards of InterAction and Global Partnerships, and sits on several advisory groups, including the World Economic Forum's Global Agenda Council on Social Innovation and the Clinton Global Initiative's Global Health Advisory Board. He previously has served on numerous corporate and non-profit boards.

Davis earned his BA from Princeton University, his MA in Chinese studies from the University of Washington, and his law degree from Columbia University.

KRISS DEIGLMEIER

CEO, TIDES NETWORK @kdeiglmeier

Kriss Deiglmeier has more than 20 years of senior executive experience that spans the business, social enterprise, nonprofit, academic and philanthropic sectors. Deiglmeier is the CEO of Tides Network, a global social enterprise. Deiglmeier is recognized as a pioneer in the field of social innovation and has presented internationally on social innovation, social entrepreneurship, design thinking and public-private partnerships as well as guest-lectured at Stanford Graduate School of Business, University of California, Berkeley, Hitotsubashi University, Kyoto University, and Kyushu University. Deiglmeier developed and taught the course, "Social Innovation through Corporate Social Responsibility," at the Stanford Graduate School of Business.

Before joining Tides, Deiglmeier was the founding executive director for the Center for Social Innovation (CSI) at Stanford. She established CSI as a global leader in the emerging social innovation field. Deiglmeier worked as an advisor to the Stanford Institute for Innovation in Developing Economies while living in Myanmar in 2013. In her previous role as chief operating officer for Juma Ventures, Deiglmeier helped raise the profile of the social entrepreneurship field from a niche market to mainstream.

Deiglmeier has written and published leading thought pieces on social impact. She has co-authored a number of articles; including "Rediscovering Social Innovation" published in *SSIR*. Her most recent publication is a book chapter, "Social Entrepreneurship and Social Innovation: What's New, and Why is it Important?" in *The Real Problem Solvers*. In Myanmar, Deiglmeier conceived, created, and led an "Innovation in Action Lab" to equip organizations with design thinking methodologies and tools.

Deiglmeier has served on a number of boards, and advisory groups. Deiglmeier received her BA from the University of Washington, and her MBA from UC Berkeley.

Deiglmeier resides in the Bay Area with her husband, two children and dog, Lucy. A favorite activity is traveling locally, nationally and internationally. Deiglmeier has visited over 35 countries with many more on her "wish to visit" list.

KRISTA DONALDSON

CEO, D-REV @kmd_drev

Krista Donaldson has driven innovation in product design, engineering, and international development for more than 15 years. As the CEO of D-Rev, Donaldson has led the design and scaling of medical devices focused on closing global health inequities. D-Rev's first product Brilliance, radically affordable phototherapy for babies with severe jaundice, launched in late 2012 and to date has treated more than 120,000 at-risk newborns in 40 low-income countries. Over 7,000 amputees in 14 countries have been remobilized with D-Rev's ReMotion Knee and the earlier Jaipur Knee. D-Rev is one of the few nonprofits to have been recognized by *Fast Company* as one of the World's Most Innovative Companies, and by the World Economic Forum as a Technology Pioneer. *Fast Company* has called Donaldson one of 50 Designers Shaping the Future of Design.

Donaldson has a PhD from Stanford University focused on design in the context of international development, and has previously worked at the design firm IDEO in Palo Alto, Kickstart in Nairobi, and the US Department of State in Washington DC and Baghdad.

KEVIN FREY

CEO, RIGHT TO PLAY @KevinJWFrey

Kevin Frey is the CEO of Right To Play International. He oversees the global operations of the organization, while also guiding Right To Play's long term strategic direction.

Frey joined Right To Play from the University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management where he served as managing director of its flagship MBA program. Frey has also held roles including chief business development officer and director, Business Development and International Programs at the University of Toronto.

In addition to his work at the University, Frey is founder and chairman of Teach Away Inc., one of the world's largest international teaching recruitment firms. Teach Away Inc. has governmental and private sector clients in more than 40 countries and has been recognized in multiple rankings by *Profit* magazine as one of Canada's fastest growing companies. Frey is also co-founder of two e-learning companies, Skooli and LearnKit.com.

Frey has an undergraduate degree with High Distinction from the University of Toronto, an MBA from the Kellogg School of Management and Schulich School of Business, and is in the final stages of completing his Doctorate in Business Administration at IE Business School in Madrid. Frey played on the University of Toronto's varsity basketball team and is a nationally-certified "Train to Train" basketball coach. He lives in Toronto, Canada with his wife and three children.

MARK GERZON

PRESIDENT, MEDIATORS FOUNDATION @Mark_Gerzon

Mark Gerzon, president of Mediators Foundation, designs and facilitates decision-making and conflict-resolution processes for a wide range of organizations and governments. He is currently launching the Center for Transpartisan Leadership, which is designed to mobilize a citizen movement to break through the two-party political paralysis and raise the quality of political discourse in America.

Following the publication of his book *A House Divided: Six Belief Systems Struggling for America's Soul* (1996), Gerzon designed and facilitated the first two Bipartisan Congressional Retreats of the US House of Representatives. From 2000 to 2005, he co-facilitated dialogue retreats for Chiefs of Staff from the House and Senate and continues to build bridges across political divides. For the last decade, he has also served as leadership expert with United Nations Development Program in Africa, Asia and Latin America, specializing in catalyzing cross-party political dialogue. He is also the author of numerous books, including *Leading through Conflict* (2006) and *Global Citizens* (2010).

Ever since studying with the renowned psychoanalyst Erik Erikson, Gerzon has been a student of the human identity and the life cycle. His book, *A Choice of Heroes: The Changing Faces of American Masculinity*, was one of the earliest books challenging men to transform patriarchy.

FRANÇOISE GIRARD

PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S HEALTH COALITION @FrancoiseGirard

Françoise Girard has been President of International Women's Health Coalition (IWHC) since February 2012. She is a longtime advocate and expert on women's health, human rights, sexuality, and HIV and AIDS. Prior to that, Girard was director of the Public Health Program at Open Society Foundations, where she was also regional director for Central and Eastern Europe and Haiti. From 1999 to 2003, she was Senior Program Officer for International Policy at IWHC, and thereafter a consultant for IWHC, the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and DAWN, a network of women's rights activists from the global South. She has played a key role in advocacy on reproductive health and women's rights with UN agencies and at UN Conferences.

Girard serves on the Civil Society External Advisory Panel of the UN Population Fund, and on the Advisory Committee of the Health and Human Rights Division of Human Rights Watch. She has contributed many articles to peer-reviewed journals such as the *Journal of Adolescent Health*, *Global Public Health*, and *Reproductive Health Matters*. She has been quoted by Vice News, BBC Radio, NPR, *The Washington Post*, and *The Guardian*, among others. Girard holds an MA in Political Science from McGill University and an LLB from the Université de Montréal.

SHANNON GREEN

DIRECTOR AND SENIOR FELLOW, HUMAN RIGHTS INITIATIVE, CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES @Shannison

Shannon N. Green is director and senior fellow of the Human Rights Initiative at Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS). She brings deep experience in human rights, civil society strengthening, and international development, with over 13 years in the U.S. government, academia, and the nonprofit sector. Prior to joining CSIS, Green was senior director for global engagement on the National Security Council staff. In that role, she developed and coordinated policies and initiatives to deepen and broaden U.S. engagement with critical populations overseas, including spearheading the president's Stand with Civil Society Agenda and young leader initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa, Southeast Asia, and the Western Hemisphere. She was also involved in the White House Summit on Countering Violent Extremism and in efforts to discredit and delegitimize ISIL and counter its propaganda. From 2008 to 2013, Green worked at the Center of Excellence on Democracy, Human Rights, and Governance at the US Agency for International Development (USAID), where she led the development of policies, strategies, and programs to advance political reform and human rights in the Middle East and North Africa. She contributed to USAID's response to the Arab Spring, initiating new programs to support civil society and enhance the transparency and credibility of elections and other political processes across the region. In 2009, Green joined the interagency elections team in Afghanistan, where she coordinated the international election observation effort and put measures in place to enhance women's participation. From 2004 to 2008, she served in USAID's Asia and Near East Bureau, where she was responsible for managing strategic planning, performance reporting, and budget formulation processes and pioneering new development approaches in fragile, conflict, and post-conflict environments. Prior to joining the government, she worked at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for

Scholars in the Environmental Change and Security Project and for nongovernmental organizations combating HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. Green received her BA in political science and history from the University of Georgia and her MA in international peace and conflict resolution from American University.

MARK GUNTON

CEO, ENTERPRISE PARTNERSHIP @MarkGunton_

Mark Gunton serves as CEO of the Enterprise Partnership. Before joining in February 2012, Gunton spent 28 years in business and finance roles in Fortune 500 companies, mostly in the areas of supply chain and logistics. He has previously held global board positions at TNT Express, as CFO and separately as Managing Director of a \$1 billion unit spanning the continents of North America, South America, Africa, and parts of Asia.

Gunton has worked extensively, at operational level, in Asia, Africa, North America, South America, and Europe. He has developed and deployed numerous market entry strategies in emerging markets, including leading four acquisitions with investment totaling \$500 million. He is known for his activities in the areas of corporate responsibility. He is co-founder of the hugely successful roadside clinic network in Africa, the Northstar Alliance. In TNT he also pioneered the school-feeding employee twinning program with the World Food Programme. Prior to TNT, Gunton worked for Dun and Bradstreet and Davy McKee in London, and KFC in Sydney.

He has a bachelor's degree in International Development from the University of East Anglia, UK, and is a fellow of the Chartered Association of Certified Accountants.

SARITA GUPTA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, JOBS WITH JUSTICE @saritasgupta

Sarita Gupta is the executive director of Jobs With Justice and co-director of the Caring Across Generations campaign — a campaign dedicated to changing the way we care in this nation. As Executive Director, much of Gupta's work has focused on defending and expanding the right to organize and collectively bargain; developing a movement building approach to the Jobs With Justice network and innovating new initiatives that speak to the mission of the newly merged organization at the global, national and local levels. She is an expert on the economic, labor and political issues affecting working people across all industries, particularly women and those employed in low-wage sectors.

Under Gupta's direction, Jobs With Justice is leading the fight to protect and expand the ability for men and women to bargain by anchoring strategic campaigns and shaping the public discourse to generate power and opportunities for working people. Jobs With Justice brings together labor, community, student and faith voices at the national and local levels to create innovative solutions to the problems working families face today.

Gupta currently serves on the following boards: International Labor Rights Forum, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, Other Worlds is Possible Giving Circle, the Institute for Policy Studies and General Service Foundation Board of Trustees.

She is a working mother living in the Washington, DC area with her husband and daughter.

JACQUELYN HADLEY

PARTNER, THE BRIDGESPAN GROUP @BridgespanGroup

Jacquelyn leads the Global Development Practice for The Bridgespan Group's San Francisco office. Since joining seven years ago she has advised senior-most leadership during critical decision points in the trajectory of their organizations, and has guided the world's largest foundations and INGOs on major transformations, organization design and cultural change, and effective, agile decision making.

She brings over 20 years of C-level leadership experience with highly-recognized Fortune 500 globally-trusted brands and organizations. Prior to joining Bridgespan, Hadley was SVP of Levi Strauss, based in Brussels, Belgium for five years, with overall responsibility for the billion+ sales and country management earnings for its Europe, Middle East, and Africa business unit, spanning 18 countries. She has extensive global brand building expertise, having also held chief marketing roles at Calvin Klein Jeans and Underwear, Revlon, and Avon.

She has co-authored a number of leading articles, including "Designing for Transformative Scale: Global Lessons in What Works," published in the *Rotman School of Management* magazine, and "Living Into Your Strategic Plan: A Guide to Implementation That Gets Results," published on Bridgespan.org. She has just concluded sector research on "The Changing Footprint of Poverty", focused on the challenges of achieving impact within fragile and urban global contexts.

Hadley has most recently served on the boards of Goodwill, KIPP Bay Area, and the Commonwealth Club. She received her MBA from Harvard Business School with Honors.

TED HART

CEO, CAF AMERICA @tedhart

Ted Hart brings extensive experience in the fields of internet and global philanthropy. As an internationally recognized speaker and consultant on topics related to nonprofit strategy, Hart is an expert in board and volunteer development practices both online and offline. Before coming to CAF America, Hart served as CEO of Hart Philanthropic Services, an international consultancy providing strategic solutions to major nonprofits and NGOs. He coauthored *People to People Fundraising: Social Networking and Web 2.0 for Charities* and was critical in the creation of the online fundraising movement People to People Fundraising designed to give donors the chance to participate in the success of a charity beyond the online gift. Hart was also a leader at the International ePhilanthropy Foundation. Most recently, Ted obtained his Chartered Advisor in Philanthropy certification, aimed at increasing expertise in the impacts of planning for family wealth, charitable giving, and gift planning for nonprofits and is one of only 101 individuals who hold the Advanced Certified Fundraising Executive (ACFRE) designation globally.

NIDHI HEGDE

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, FOUNDATION STRATEGY GROUP (FSG) @nhegde

Hegde works primarily in the Inclusive Markets approach area within FSG. She has worked on the ground in India designing, implementing, and scaling inclusive models working closely with institutions like the Rockefeller Foundation, Michael & Susan Dell Foundation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Her core area of expertise is in researching and understanding low-income customers, and applying those insights to improving business models that serve them.

Prior to joining FSG, Hegde was a member of the Monitor Inclusive Markets team (a unit of Monitor Deloitte) where she worked on building the low-income housing market. As a core member of the housing team, Hegde led a multi-year monitoring and evaluation project to study the unintended consequences (both positive and negative) of the housing solution on new low-income homeowners. She has also been part of the core teams involved in creating influential reports on market-based solutions, financial education for the poor, and impact investing. More recently, she led the research and co-authored the report “Beyond the Pioneer: Scaling New Industries to Benefit the Poor” on accelerating the growth of inclusive business models by addressing the barriers to scale. Hegde began her career in development as a product manager with Ujjivan Financial Services, an urban microfinance organization, where she helped develop and launch the Urban Ultra Poor Program, a comprehensive initiative to help poor women to break out of the cycle of ultra-poverty and become creditworthy.

MARTIN HODGSON

INTERNATIONAL EDITOR, GUARDIAN US @MartinxHodgson

Martin Hodgson is the international editor of *Guardian US*, and has worked for the newspaper since 2007. Before that he was the newspaper's stringer in Bogotá and then a freelancer reporter based in London. Hodgson has reported from Mexico, Haiti, Cuba, Colombia, Venezuela, Iran, the US and the UK, and is currently responsible for the newspaper's coverage of the Americas (excluding the United States). He lives in New York.

SARA HOROWITZ

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, FREELANCERS UNION @Sara_Horowitz

As Freelancers Union's Founder and executive director, Sara Horowitz has been helping the new workforce build solutions together for nearly two decades. A MacArthur Foundation “Genius” fellow and Deputy Chair of the Federal Reserve of New York, Horowitz is a leading voice for the emerging economy. Today, nearly 54 million Americans are independent workers — about one-third of the entire workforce. With a membership of 300,000 nationwide, Freelancers Union is building a new form of unionism through creative, cooperative, market-based solutions to today's social challenges.

DON HOWARD

PRESIDENT AND CEO, THE JAMES IRVINE FOUNDATION @DonJHoward

Don Howard was appointed president and CEO effective October 2014. He served as interim president and CEO from February through September 2014. Prior to that appointment, as executive vice president, Howard directed Irvine's program and grantmaking activities. He helps lead the Foundation's ongoing efforts to deepen, extend, and amplify the impact of our work.

Prior to joining Irvine in 2012, Howard was a partner at The Bridgespan Group for over a decade where he was a strategic advisor to nonprofit and foundation leaders and led Bridgespan's San Francisco office. As part of this work, he managed Irvine's strategic planning process in 2002-2003 that led to the Foundation's development of strategies for Arts, California Democracy, and Youth. Earlier in his career, Howard helped corporate leaders formulate strategy and improve the effectiveness of their organizations as a principal at Booz Allen and Hamilton and later as a managing director at the Scient Corporation.

Howard grew up in Long Beach, in Southern California, before coming to the Bay Area to earn his bachelor's degree in industrial engineering at Stanford University. He later returned to Stanford to obtain his Master in Business Administration from the Graduate School of Business. More recently, he co-developed and taught a class on social entrepreneurship at the Haas School of Business at the University of California, Berkeley.

As a volunteer, Howard has been an activist around HIV and other health-related issues, serving in the past on advisory boards at the San Francisco Department of Public Health; University of California, San Francisco; and the National Institutes of Health. He has acted as an advisor to the boards of several San Francisco community-based organizations. He is currently serving on the board of the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, where he is actively involved in the development of a new community-based approach to improving gay men's health and ending HIV transmission. Howard also has worked extensively outside the United States, including a volunteer posting with a USAID-sponsored initiative to provide business advice to private enterprises in Central Europe.

EDWIN HUIZING

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HIVOS @hivos

Edwin Huizing, is a Dutch National leading the Humanistic Institute of Development Cooperation (HIVOS) since 2013. HIVOS inspired by its humanist values, such as self-determination, pluralism and responsible citizenship, is committed to contribute to achieving the dream of sustainable economies and inclusive societies. HIVOS and its partners have in common the drive to bring about social change. Over the past years HIVOS has moved from a strategy of fund management and re-granter to adopt social innovation as its main strategy rooted in the conviction that new issues are constantly emerging and that answers to social problems can never be final.

Huizing also served as director of the East and South Africa Sub regional office of United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA, 2010-2013), overseeing the implementation of UNFPA's policy, programs and finances and led the UNFPA team in Eastern and

Southern Africa to provide support to the country offices of the sub region and their partners in advocacy, programming, technical, financial areas.

Prior to joining UNFPA, Huizing served as executive director of Dutch Council for Refugees, the largest Dutch refugee supporting NGO, from 2006 to 2010. During that period, he led and oversaw the change process for the organization to become more business oriented. With 7,000 volunteers and 700 staff, the organization delivered services to over 100,000 asylum seekers and refugees annually. From 2001 to 2006, he was the director of operations of Dutch Refugee Council.

He served as country representative of the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) in Mali from 1996–2001. In the aftermath of the 1996 “flamme de la paix”, peace accord, the SNV Country Programme focused on supporting the Government of Mali in the decentralization process, the health reforms and integrated district development. An example of the latter being the programs in the Meneka and Gao region to sustain peace and development.

Between 1989 and 1997, he held several other positions in regional economic and land use planning for the Netherlands Development Organization (SNV) in Botswana, Niger and Mali.

Huizing is married to Muriel and has 4 children between 19–24 years.

HADEEL IBRAHIM

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR – STRATEGY AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS, MO IBRAHIM FOUNDATION @Mo_IbrahimFdn

Hadeel Ibrahim is the founding executive director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, which was established in 2006 to support leadership and governance in Africa. Ibrahim is also co-chair of the board of directors of the Africa Center in New York, whose mission is to promote partnership, collaboration, dialogue and understanding between African artists, business leaders and civil society and their counterparts in the United States and beyond.

Ibrahim sits on the Boards of the Mary Robinson Foundation for Climate Justice, the Clinton Foundation, Synergos Institute, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS), 1:54 Contemporary African Art Fair, and the governing board of the African Governance Institute (AGI).

Ibrahim is a member of the Royal African Society Council and is a Patron of Restless Development, a youth led development agency.

Ibrahim previously served as a member of the UN Secretary-General’s High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing, on the Boards of Refugees International, the Carter Center (UK) and the FT/IFC Transformational Business Awards judging panel.

SHAMIL IDRIS

PRESIDENT AND CEO, SEARCH FOR COMMON GROUND @SFCG_

Shamil Idriss is president and CEO of Search for Common Ground, a global peace-building organization with offices in 35 countries. Search adapts creative approaches to build the trust and cooperation between divided communities that is essential to sustainable development. Search has pioneered the use of media for social change, led a global effort to support youth leadership in peace-building and played a key role in support of the negotiations over Iran’s nuclear program.

Previously, Idriss worked with the UN Alliance of Civilizations first as deputy director appointed by Secretary-General Kofi Annan and later as acting director. Later, as Senior Advisor to the UN, he facilitated dialogue between senior religious and political leaders from the Arab region, Europe and the US before, during and after the “Arab Spring” revolutions.

As CEO of Soliya, Idriss led an effort involving civil society organizations, governments and multi-lateral organizations to establish the field of “virtual exchange,” culminating in President Obama’s announcement in February 2015 of the establishment of the J. Christopher Stevens Virtual Exchange Initiative funded by the US, multiple Arab Governments and the Bezos Family Foundation.

Idriss is a member of the World Economic Forum’s *Young Global Leaders* and recipient of a 2015 Open Society Foundation *New Executive Award*.

SU’AD JARBAWI

IRAQ COUNTRY DIRECTOR, MERCY CORPS @mercycorps

Su’ad Jarbawi is the Iraq country director for Mercy Corps, a leading global organization working to put bold solutions into action — helping people triumph over adversity and build stronger communities from within. In this role, Jarbawi is responsible for managing Mercy Corps’ strategy in Iraq, ensuring that each program operates at the highest quality and standards, leading the response to any new crises and managing a team of 260 staff.

Jarbawi has over 15 years of experience managing humanitarian relief and development programs around the world. Since joining Mercy Corps in 2003, she has served the agency in a number of roles, including as program manager in Sudan, head of office in Haiti and team leader with Mercy Corps’ Global Emergencies Team in Yemen, Mali, Central African Republic and Syria.

From 2007 to 2009, Jarbawi returned to her home country of Palestine where she spent a year working on municipality development projects followed by a year working with the Prime Minister, Dr. Salam Fayyad.

Jarbawi has an MA in International Affairs from Columbia University and a BA in Political Science from Earlham College. She is fluent in English and Arabic and proficient in French.

PETER LAUGHARN

PRESIDENT AND CEO, CONRAD N. HILTON FOUNDATION @peter_laugharn

Peter Laugharn serves as President and Chief Executive Officer of the Conrad N. Hilton Foundation. 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, he 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 Peter holds a PhD in education from the University of London. He was a Peace Corps volunteer in Morocco from 1982 to 1984. Peter 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 National Advisory Board of the Haas Center for Public Service at Stanford University.

PHUOC LE

CO-FOUNDER, HEAL @Dr_Le_UCSF

Phuoc V. Le, MD, MPH, DTM&H is currently an assistant professor of Medicine and Pediatrics at UCSF, and assistant professor of Public Health at UC Berkeley. He is the director of the Interdisciplinary MPH Program at UC Berkeley. Le completed a combined residency in Internal Medicine, Pediatrics, and Global Health Equity at Harvard's Brigham and Women's Hospital and Massachusetts General Hospital. During residency, he worked with PIH to provide equitable health care in Rwanda, Lesotho, Malawi, and post-earthquake Haiti. With Dr. Shamasunder, he co-founded HEAL, a social start-up that aims to make serving the poorest of the poor a first choice among all health professionals worldwide. He continues to work with PIH several months a year.

AMY LEHMAN

FOUNDER, LAKE TANGANYIKA FLOATING HEALTH CLINIC/WAVE @lthfc

Dr. Amy G. Lehman is the founder of the Lake Tanganyika Floating Health Clinic/WAVE, an international organization whose mission is to address the problem of health care access for millions of people who live in the isolated, but strategically critical Lake Tanganyika Basin/Great Lakes region of Central Africa.

The Lake Tanganyika Basin is not only Africa's largest source of available fresh water (and the world's second largest), but is home to enormous mineral resources vital to next generation technologies, newly discovered fossil fuels, and hundreds of endangered species and unique biodiversity. Lehman and WAVE have thus become recognized and sought after as key experts, advisers and partners to actors as diverse as regional governments and local tribes, through to donor governments, philanthropists, nonprofit organizations and multi-national corporations increasingly coming to understand the magnitude of importance of the Lake Tanganyika Basin

across health, energy, environment and economic development disciplines.

Lehman graduated from Choate Rosemary Hall and was chosen as their 2014 Alumni Award recipient. She received both an MD and MBA from the University of Chicago, and additionally trained in General Surgery at the University of Chicago Medical Center and was a senior fellow with the MacLean Center for Clinical Medical Ethics.

She received the 2014 Distinguished Young Alumni Award from the University of Chicago Booth School of Business and was a *Chicago Magazine* 2014 Chicagoan of the Year. She has been honored by *Newsweek* as one of the "150 Women Who Shake the World," and by a number of other publications for her work in the Lake Tanganyika Basin.

TSITSI MASIYIWA

FOUNDER AND CO-CHAIR, HIGHERLIFE FOUNDATION @T_Masiyiwa

Tsitsi Masiyiwa is an African philanthropist and social entrepreneur who has devoted much of her life to empowering disadvantaged children through education and harnessing technology to create employment opportunities for young people.

She is founder and co-chair of the Higherlife Foundation, a nonprofit organization that has invested time, money and resources over the past 18 years in sending tens of thousands of children to school in Central and Southern Africa. Masiyiwa co-founded Muzinda Hub, an entrepreneurship and innovation project based in Harare, Zimbabwe. Muzinda is an incubator lab for youth digital skills development and business mentorship that leverages technology to promote youth entrepreneurship.

For nearly two decades, Masiyiwa has dedicated her life's work to orphaned and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Burundi and South Africa, supporting them with basic education and carrying them through to college and vocational training. She has also been involved in identifying and nurturing young talent by selecting hundreds of gifted African students, and offering them scholarships through high school to university, including top overseas universities such as Yale, Harvard and Oxford.

Her relentless efforts in promoting the use of technology to provide access and empowering children through education led her to create Ruzivo, a free online learning resource covering the key primary school syllabus modules in Zimbabwe. Piloted in Zimbabwe, Ruzivo provides critical access to hundreds of thousands of children through Higherlife Foundation's Learning Hubs spread around the country.

Masiyiwa sits on the boards of PATH and the END Fund. She is also a founding member of the African Philanthropy Forum.

JAMIE MCAULIFFE

PRESIDENT AND CEO, EDUCATION FOR EMPLOYMENT @EFEjmcauliffe

Jamie McAuliffe has over two decades of experience in leadership roles in the non-profit and business sectors. Before joining Education For Employment (EFE), McAuliffe served as Portfolio Manager at the Edna McConnell Clark Foundation to deliver a “scaling what works” grant-making strategy in support of proven youth development non-profits. At the OTF Group, a spin-off of Monitor Consulting, McAuliffe provided strategy consulting to export-oriented small and medium businesses in Brazil. Early in his career, McAuliffe launched new programs at Ashoka, a global organization that invests in leading social entrepreneurs. Between receiving his BA in Philosophy from Georgetown University and an MA in International Studies from John Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies, McAuliffe served as an inner-city teacher with Teach for America and then as a Coro Fellow in Public Affairs. McAuliffe joined EFE in 2010.

At the World Economic Forum (WEF) in Tianjin in 2012, McAuliffe was named a Schwab Foundation Global Social Entrepreneur in recognition of EFE’s pioneering work to tackle youth unemployment in the Middle East and North Africa. From 2012-2014, he chaired the WEF Global Agenda Council on Youth Unemployment and is currently vice chair of WEF’s Future of Jobs Global Agenda Council. McAuliffe is a life member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR).

WILLIAM MCCANTS

SENIOR FELLOW, BROOKINGS INSTITUTION @will_mccants

William McCants is a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and director of its Project on US Relations with the Islamic World. He is also adjunct faculty at Johns Hopkins University and has held various government and think tank positions related to Islam, the Middle East, and terrorism. From 2009 to 2011, McCants served as a US State Department senior adviser for countering violent extremism. He is the author of *The ISIS Apocalypse: The History, Strategy, and Doomsday Vision of the Islamic State* (St. Martin’s Press, 2015) and *Founding Gods, Inventing Nations: Conquest and Culture Myths from Antiquity to Islam* (Princeton University Press, 2011). McCants is also the founder of Jihadica.com, an academic group blog focused on the global jihadi movement. He has a doctorate from Princeton University and has lived in Israel, Egypt, and Lebanon.

MARY MCKINLEY

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, HEARTLAND DEMOCRACY @Heartland_EmpU

Mary McKinley is executive director of Heartland Democracy, a nonprofit based in the Midwest that promotes deep civic engagement. For 10 years, Heartland has worked to develop sustainable community connections, weaving questions of identity and empowerment into an educational curriculum of exploration, discussion, and civic participation.

Since 2014, Heartland has been instrumental in the development of programs to counteract ISIL’s recruitment of young people from the Twin Cities — mainly young Somali-American men. Working with community leaders, educators, parents, youth,

national and international experts, and law enforcement officials, McKinley has incorporated current research and nascent best practices into Heartland’s existing curriculum, finding ways to help Minnesotans address these complex issues. Heartland has been at the center of multiple cutting-edge efforts to address prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation.

Before joining Heartland, McKinley worked for the Open Society Institute in Budapest and Washington. She spent several years at the Aspen Institute working on foreign and defense policy programs, and was associate director of the Markle Foundation’s Task Force on National Security in the Information Age. Born, raised, and educated in the Midwest, McKinley lived in Eastern Europe, Washington, and New York before returning to Minneapolis with her family in 2010.

SAMEERA MEHRA

BUSINESS MANAGER, CAF GLOBAL ALLIANCE, CHARITIES AID FOUNDATION (CAF)

Sameera is Business Manager for Charities Aid Foundation (CAF) — a leading international not-for-profit organization that seeks to create an enabling environment for the development of civil society, through the provision of philanthropy advice and services, and through advocacy. Mehra works with our global alliance of offices and partners in Brazil, Russia, India, Southern Africa, USA, Canada, Australia, and Bulgaria to grow and develop global philanthropy — both in country and cross border. She leads on planning and development support for our offices and on our global knowledge management program. Prior to CAF, Mehra worked in the banking sector at Commonwealth Bank, Australia and ATB Financial, Canada spanning a variety of roles in leadership, project management and change transformation. She completed her masters in International Development at the London School of Economics which included consultancy projects with IBM — Smarter Cities and Practical Action Latin America around Big Data and the value of innovation brokers, respectively.

LAURIE MICHAELS

FOUNDER, OPEN ROAD ALLIANCE @OpenRoadTweets

Laurie Michaels, PhD is an individual philanthropist based in Aspen, Colorado. Prior to founding Open Road Alliance, a private philanthropic fund in 2012, Michaels maintained a practice in clinical psychology.

Through Open Road Alliance, Michaels and her team make charitable and recoverable grants to non-profits in need of contingency funds. Her experience has led her to actively advocate for change within the philanthropic sector by highlighting the need for better risk management in grant making. She is a contributor to the *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, *SSIR*, and *Forbes* as well as a speaker at forums such as Fail Forward, Clinton Global Initiative, and GEO.

Michaels currently serves on the board of directors for PATH and Search for Common Ground. She served on the board of the Aspen Community Foundation for 12 years and had been board chair for four years ending in 2013.

Michaels earned a BA from Williams College. She holds a PhD in Counseling Psychology from Colorado State University.

YANAR MOHAMMED

PRESIDENT, ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN'S FREEDOM IN IRAQ @Yanar_Mohammed

Yanar Mohammed was born in the city of Baghdad in 1960. Mohammed lived under Saddam's Baath dictatorship, witnessed two wars and many years under the economic sanctions. Mohammed graduated from the school of architecture in Baghdad University in 1984, and received a master's degree in 1993. She left Iraq for Lebanon then went on to Canada, where she was able to practice architecture. Mohammed started an Iraqi women's group in Toronto, Iraqi Women's Rights (DIWR) advocating universal rights for women of Iraq. Mohammed co-founded the Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq (OWFI) in Baghdad in 2003, after the war on Iraq. The main focus was mass organizing of women, challenging Islamist and nationalist patriarchs, raising demands of equality, secularism, and ending violence against women.

Mohammed published *Al Mousawat* (equality) newspaper, the first women's newspaper after the outbreak of war in Iraq. Mohammed supervised the opening of two shelters for women in Baghdad and in Kirkuk. The mandate was to save women threatened by honor killings and domestic abuse, but later developed to shelter women escaping sectarian reprisal and young women escaping trafficking. They were the first shelters for women in central and southern Iraq. Mohammed received the Eleanor Roosevelt's Global Rights Award. She also received a V-day award for her efforts to empower women of Iraq. She was short-listed for the 1325 award given by the Netherlands government to women in conflict zones, where only 7 women activists were short-listed from a list of 30 nominees worldwide. Her efforts towards gaining the Dutch MDG3 Fund award gave way to the empowerment of OWFI work and to set up a radio. In 2009, Mohammed launched Al Mousawat Radio (103.8FM) in Baghdad, which was run by OWFI and in collaboration with workers and secular youth groups. Al Mousawat Radio promotes a secular human rights culture with no compromises to local misogynists and religious fundamentalists.

RUPA MUKERJI

CO-HEAD ADVISORY SERVICES, HELVETAS SWISS INTERCOOPERATION
@RupaMukerji

As Co-Head Advisory Services and a member of HELVETAS' Management Board, Rupa Mukerji has been witnessing the 'pull' and 'push' factors of migration. Migration plays a growing role HELVETAS' work in rural economy, water and sanitation, governance, skills development and climate change in 32 countries worldwide. HELVETAS, founded in 1955, is the largest Swiss-based international development organization. HELVETAS USA, a 501(c)(3), is dedicated to strengthening ties with US partners. HELVETAS works along all stages of the migration cycle with both duty bearers and right holders. This allows for comprehensive interventions that consider different vulnerabilities of migrants and their families and triggers the necessary support from state and non-state actors. HELVETAS' approach to migration is founded in the principles of good governance and human rights. Mukerji has been working in the field of development for 27 years, supporting projects across the world. Based out of Switzerland for the past five years, Mukerji is no stranger to migration. She has a background in natural sciences and an MBA. Mukerji was nominated by the Government of India as a Lead Author for the UN's *Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Fifth Assessment Report*. She has worked in both the public and private sectors.

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS QUEEN SYLVIA NAGGINDA

QUEEN OF BUGANDA KINGDOM, UGANDA

Her Royal Highness the Nnabagereka Sylvia Nagginda is the wife of the King of Buganda, King Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II. She is a traditional and cultural leader of the people of Buganda, the largest Kingdom in Uganda occupying almost a quarter of the country with a population exceeding 7 million people, which is equivalent to 25% of the total population. Her Royal Highness is the first Nnabagereka (Queen) in the history of the Buganda Kingdom to set up a fully-fledged Office, a very crucial phenomenon that has greatly complimented the ongoing development work in the Kingdom and Uganda at large.

The Nnabagereka carries out charity work for and through the institution of the Kingdom of Buganda, international, national and local organizations and the Nnabagereka Development Foundation (NDF) which she founded in 2000. HRH works for children, youth and women through the Foundation's support for socio-economic development initiatives including education, health care, community empowerment and the advancement of good cultural values and practices. A pillar for development and held in high esteem, HRH plays a major role in sensitizing and mobilizing the general population on issues of Health; Education Culture Preservation and Sustainable Livelihoods Promotion.

The Nnabagereka is a Good Will Ambassador for the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) in Uganda, a Torch Bearer for the Millennium Development Goals; Ambassador for Mama Club — an initiative of mothers living with HIV/AIDS; a Champion in the Campaign to End Pediatric HIV/AIDS (CEPA) in Uganda. She is also a core member of the African Philanthropy Forum and an Advisory Board member of the Global Thinkers Forum.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

CO-FOUNDER AND CHAIRMAN, AMAN FOUNDATION @Aman_Foundation

Fayeeza Naqvi is Co-founder and Chairman of the Aman Foundation, a private philanthropic trust headquartered in Karachi, Pakistan. Founded in 2008 by Naqvi and her husband Arif, the foundation is dedicated to transforming lives of the underserved by focusing on the key pillars of health and education.

On the health side, the Aman Foundation has long championed the creation of a multitier health system that incorporates community health worker programs, healthcare provision through clinics, and emergency ambulance services. Aman's approach to education harnesses the entrepreneurial spirit of Pakistan's youth and through AmanTech, the Foundation's vocational training institute; they support alignment of Pakistan's labor force with the expectations of the market.

In 2015, Naqvi received the BNP Paribas Grand Prix award, for her philanthropic activity. In 2013 Naqvi signed an MOU with the Gates Foundation and Packard Foundation to launch the US\$15 million 'Sukh' initiative, to provide women with access to family planning. In 2016, she received the Global Humanitarian Award for Woman's & Children's Health, presented by the Bill & Melinda Gates Institute for Population & Reproductive Health at the John Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health for this work.

Naqvi graduated from the London School of Economics and Political Science. She was a founding Director of Saharav Welfare, established in 2000. She is also a trustee of the British Asian Trust and has recently joined the London School of Economics South Asia Centre as a founding partner and board member.

Naqvi is a strong supporter of art across the MENASA regions. She is a member of the Selection Committee for the Abraaj Group Art Prize, a member of the Tate Modern International Council and the Tate Acquisition Committees for the MENASA region.

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

FOUNDER AND CEO, VILLAGE HEALTH WORKS @VHW

Deogratias “Deo” Niyizonkiza, Village Health Works’ (VHW) visionary founder and CEO, is a leading advocate for the most impoverished people in the world. His compassion, expertise, and life experience have made him a key voice in global health and international development.

An American citizen, Niyizonkiza was born in rural Burundi, where he attended grade school and part of medical school and left the country during the catastrophic war that lasted more than a decade and took lives of hundreds of thousands people. He survived not only this man-made tragedy and poverty, but also homelessness in New York City.

Niyizonkiza life journey is told in Pulitzer Prize-winner Tracy Kidder’s most recent work, “Strength in What Remains”, a *New York Times* best seller named one of the best books of the year by *Washington Post*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*.

Despite the hurdles — homelessness, illness, and low-paying work as a grocery store delivery boy — Niyizonkiza eventually enrolled at Columbia University, where he received a bachelor’s degree in biochemistry and philosophy. After graduating from Columbia, he attended the Harvard School of Public Health, where he met Dr. Paul Farmer and began working at the medical non-profit organization Partners In Health. He left Partners In Health to continue his medical education at Dartmouth Medical School.

In 2005, with his unwavering conviction that humanity’s progress should be in how we value and honor the dignity of others including those a world away, Niyizonkiza traveled back to Burundi to establish Village Health Works with the goal of removing barriers to human dignity and progress by creating a healthcare system model in Kigutu, a remote village of Burundi, an East-African country and one of the poorest on the planet. Deo’s passion rallied his native community of Kigutu into action. Thanks to community-donated land, a small amount of seed money from American fellow students and supporters, a community of compassionate volunteers, and Deo’s leadership, the health center opened in December 2007. Niyizonkiza’s success in building an entirely community-driven health and development organization is unprecedented, and makes Village Health Works unique among NGOs.

A frequent lecturer on global health, he is the recipient of multiple awards, including the 2014 Wheaton College Otis Social Justice Award, the 2014 Dalai Lama Unsung Hero of Compassion Award, the 2013 People to People International’s Eisenhower Medallion Award, a 2013 honorary degree from Williams College, the 2011 International

Medal Award of St. John’s University, and the 2010 Women Refugee Commission’s Voices of Courage Award.

JOSHUA OIGARA

CEO, KCB GROUP @JoshuaOigara

Mr. Joshua Oigara is CEO of the largest bank in East Africa with assets of KShs 607 Billion. The Bank has operations in Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi and a representative office in Ethiopia, serving 8 million customers, through 250 branches, 960 ATMs, 12,000 agents and by 7,500 staff. Euromoney Awards for Excellence recognized KCB as the Best Bank in Kenya and recently, S&P and Moody’s assigned KCB B+, B1 ratings, at par with the sovereign rating, reflecting the bank’s credit strength, solid profitability and capital base.

Oigara is passionate about simplifying and enabling access to financial services and championing collaboration and partnerships to drive strategic vision. Through partnerships, the KCB M-PESA product was developed to increase credit access via mobile phones, today used by 4.3 million customers. He was named among the top 100 youngest and influential economic leaders in Africa by the Institut Choiseul, ranking 25th and leading six other under 40-year old Kenyans on the list.

Previously, Oigara held various positions across Africa and today sits on the Board of KCB Group. He is the chairman of Kenya Bankers Association Governing Council and board director of Kenya Vision 2030.

MADAN PADAKI

CO-FOUNDER AND CEO, HEAD HELD HIGH SERVICES @madanpadaki

Madan Padaki is the Co-founder & CEO of Head Held High Services, a rural access accelerator that unleashes the power of the Rubans (a term for the neo rural-urbans) by providing career access to youth, business access to entrepreneurs and market access to corporates. He has also presented this idea of Rubanomics at TEDx Gateway in 2013. He also serves as a senior advisor to Tata Trusts, one of the oldest philanthropic trusts in India and helps the Trusts in strategic areas like knowledge management, etc.

An engineer from NIE Mysore and an MBA from SPJIMR, Mumbai, Padaki had worked with Wipro, Infosys and Mphasis (Japan) — before being bitten by the entrepreneurial bug in 2000 when he co-founded MeritTrac as a pioneering idea in skills assessments. MeritTrac is today one of the largest Skills Assessment companies in Asia and is recognized as a thought-leader in the sector. MeritTrac was acquired by Manipal Global Education Services, one of India’s largest education services company. In 2011, he transitioned to Manipal Education from MeritTrac to head up Strategy, Innovation and International Partnerships before moving out in 2013.

He is a charter member of TiE Bangalore and is an active member of the Governing Council of TiE Bangalore. He is also a Board Member Indo-American Chamber of Commerce, Karnataka and is a founding Partner of Social Venture Partners, Bangalore.

URSULA RAKOVA

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, TULELE PEISA

Since 2006, Ursula Rakova has led Tulele Peisa, a non-profit formed by the Elders of the Carteret Islands, to prepare for the islanders' relocation to the mainland of Papua New Guinea. As early as 1984, the Elders realized that they would need to plan for the eventual disappearance of their seven-island atoll, which lies 50 km off the eastern coast of PNG, due to the impacts of climate change and other geological conditions. Rakova and Tulele Peisa are dedicated to an ecologically and culturally sustainable relocation process, one that includes a pathway to self-sufficiency for the relocated Islanders.

The 2011 Oscar-nominated documentary "Sun Comes Up" gave the world its first glimpse into the challenges facing the Islanders who were called the first-ever community of climate refugees. The 2009 UNPFA/IIED study, Population Dynamics and Climate Change, cites Ursula's innovative leadership: *The work of the group Tulele Peisa ("Riding the Waves on Our Own") in Papua New Guinea (PNG) is truly path breaking and worthy of close inspection by anyone concerned with finding solutions for climate-displaced persons (see the Tulele Peisa website: www.tulelepeisa.org)*. Led by the dynamic Ursula Rakova from the Carteret Islands, Tulele Peisa has set out to find permanent housing, land and property solutions for the 3,000-strong population of the Carterets on nearby Bougainville Island. In 2014, Ursula received a UNDP Equator Initiative Prize in recognition of her work.

Rakova's vision of a sustainable future extends beyond the relocation process. To create a sustainable community, she recognizes that the Carteret people must also be self-sufficient and productive. To that end, in 2014 she formed Bougainville Cocoa Net Ltd, a collaborative of 640 small production cocoa farmers, the majority of them women, which acts as a platform for global export and capacity scaling to meet the international demand for high quality chocolate. It is her intention to fund her continued relocation work and insure a viable future for the Carteret Islanders through the profits from the cocoa exportation, a self-sufficient future that does not depend on international charity.

Rakova holds a bachelor of arts in Social Work as well as a Post-Graduate degree in Social Administration from the University of PNG. Prior to founding Tulele Peisa, Rakova worked with Oxfam New Zealand as a community development specialist.

Rakova has won a number of international awards and has been the subject of prestigious media coverage. In 2015, the Weather Channel hailed her as one of the 25 Smartest Voices on Climate Change. She is a founding member of the international advocacy group Climate Wise Women.

AMY RAO

FOUNDER AND CEO, INTEGRATED ARCHIVE SYSTEMS @11thhourproject

Amy Rao is the founder and CEO of Integrated Archive Systems (IAS), a Palo Alto-based company she founded in 1994. Outside of IAS Amy spends time working on human rights issues, predominantly through her responsibilities as a board member of the Fund for Global Human Rights and as a member of the International Board of Directors of Human Rights Watch. She is also a member of the Executive Committee

for the Silicon Valley Human Rights Watch and chairs both the San Francisco and Silicon Valley annual dinners.

Locally, Rao is the president of The 11th Hour Project, a granting arm of the Schmidt Family Foundation, which she also sits on the Board of. Rao is a co-chair of the Advisory Board for the Dalai Lama Fellows, based in The Presidio in San Francisco and also sits on the newly formed New America Foundation California Advisory Council.

Through her human rights board work she has traveled a number of times to the Democratic Republic of the Congo as well as other geographies that face grave human rights situations including this past year when she traveled twice to Lesbos, Greece as a volunteer to experience firsthand the traumatic and humiliating plight faced by refugees.

Rao works full time and lives with her husband, Harry Plant, in Palo Alto, California. Between them they have five children scattered around the country.

HARPER REED

HEAD OF COMMERCE, BRAINTREE @harper

Harper Reed is an hacker/engineer who builds paradigm-shifting tech and leads others to do the same. Reed loves using the vastness of the Internet to bring people together, whether as CTO of Obama for America, CTO at Threadless.com, or on his own projects. Through the acquisition of his company, Modest, Inc, Reed is helping to define the future of commerce at PayPal. You can often find Reed playing with new technologies, looking for something to hack, or enjoying life in Chicago with his amazing partner, Hiromi and their bizarre poodle, Lulu.

SHAI RESHEF

PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER, UNIVERSITY OF THE PEOPLE @ShaiReshef

Shai Reshef is president and founder of *University of the People* — the world's first non-profit, tuition-free, accredited online university dedicated to opening access to higher education globally. Reshef is an educational entrepreneur, with over 25 years of experience in the international education market. Reshef has been widely recognized for his work with UoPeople, including being named one of *Fast Company's* 100 Most Creative People in Business; awarded an Ashoka fellowship; joined UN-GAID as a high-level adviser; granted membership in the Clinton Global Initiative; granted an RSA Fellowship; selected by The Huffington Post as the Ultimate Game Changer in education; nominated as one of *Wired Magazine's* 50 People Changing the World; and selected as a Top Global Thinker by *Foreign Policy Magazine*. Recently, he was awarded the Prince's Prize for Innovative Philanthropy by Prince Albert II of Monaco. Before founding University of the People, Reshef directed KIT e-learning, the first online university in Europe. His TED Talk: "An Ultra-Low-Cost College Degree" has been viewed by over 2.5 million people.

PETER ROBERTSON

CHAIRMAN, BOARD OF TRUSTEES, WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL @world_affairs

Peter Robertson was vice chairman of the Board for Chevron Corporation, one of the world's largest energy companies, for seven years until April 1, 2009. He joined Chevron in 1973 and over his 36 year career he had a wide variety of responsibilities including the direction of Chevron's worldwide exploration and production and global gas businesses, corporate strategic planning and corporate policy, government and public affairs. He is a senior independent advisor at Deloitte LLP, a non-executive director of Jacobs Engineering Group and Sasol Limited and an advisory director of Campbell-Lutyens.

He is co-chairman of the US Saudi Arabian Business Council, chairman of the World Affairs Council of Northern California and a member of the International House Board at UC Berkeley. He is a past chairman of the US Energy Association. A native of Edinburgh, Scotland, he holds a bachelor's degree in Mechanical Engineering from Edinburgh University and an MBA from the University of Pennsylvania, Wharton School, where he was a Thouron Scholar.

ROBERT ROSEN

DIRECTOR, PHILANTHROPIC PARTNERSHIPS, BILL & MELINDA GATES FOUNDATION @gatesfoundation

Robert Rosen is the director of Philanthropic Partnerships at the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. In this role, Rosen leads a team that oversees the foundation's relationship with philanthropists and charitable organizations across the globe. Previously Rosen served as director of the foundation's Executive Office and in various roles in Communications.

Before joining the foundation in 2007, Rosen served as senior director of the Corporate Finance Practice of the Corporate Executive Board, the international business strategy and research firm. Previously, he served as political director for Senator Edward M. Kennedy and in the White House as Assistant to the President and Director of Advance for President Clinton.

Rosen received a JD from Cornell Law School and a BA from the University of Vermont.

PAOLA SANTANA

CO-FOUNDER AND HEAD OF NETWORK OPERATIONS, MATTERNET @PaolaSantanaM

Paola Santana is an entrepreneur, lawyer and public policy expert. She is the co-founder and COO at Matternet, a Silicon Valley startup creating the world's next generation transportation system using networks of flying vehicles. A Fulbright scholar, GoodxGlobal Tech Fellow, Gifted Citizen awardee, and graduate from George Washington, Georgetown and Singularity University, her work aims to enact comprehensive regulatory frameworks and commercial ecosystems allowing the first networks of flying vehicles for transportation in the world. Previously with the World Bank, the OECD, the Dominican Republic's National Elections Court and Constitutional Court, she has developed striking public infrastructure projects

and designed strategic plans to integrate advanced exponential technologies into E-Government platforms. Santana enjoys exploration, disruptive thinking, philosophy, and the arts, and dreams of advancing the human race forward.

ONNO SCHELLEKENS

MANAGING DIRECTOR, PHARMACCESS GROUP @OnnoSchellekens

Onno Schellekens is the Managing Director of the PharmAccess Group, one of the pioneers of HIV/AIDS treatment in Africa. The PharmAccess Group is dedicated to making health markets work for the poor in sub-Saharan Africa.

PharmAccess mobilizes public and private resources for the benefit of African doctors and patients through loans for healthcare providers (Medical Credit Fund), health insurance, medical quality standards (SafeCare) and private equity (Investment Fund for Health in Africa). PharmAccess is currently pioneering mHealth innovations in Kenya with its partners Safaricom and M-Pesa. These revolutionary developments have the potential to "democratize" healthcare. The organization works with a growing number of public and private partners, donors and investors, which include the Dutch Ministry of International Development, OPIC, Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, IFC/World Bank, African governments, Heineken, Achmea and large international pharmaceutical companies.

Schellekens was one of the winners of the 2008 *IFC/Financial Times* Essay competition with an essay titled 'A new paradigm for increased access to healthcare in Africa'. At the G20 Summit in 2010 the Medical Credit Fund was awarded for its innovative financing model presented by President Barack Obama. In 2014, PharmAccess and its partners were one of the finalists of the OECD DAC prize for 'Taking Development Innovation to Scale' with their program in Kwara State, Nigeria. As of 2015, Schellekens was appointed board member of the Joe Lange Institute.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

CEO, PORTICUS

Daniel Schwartz is a member of the Porticus Supervisory Board since 2011 and Porticus' CEO since November 2015. He is the founder and president of Dynamica, Inc., a philanthropic foundation and multi-family office serving some of the world's leading philanthropists. He is the former executive director of the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity and is a co-creator of Arbinet, one of the world's largest telecommunications bandwidth exchanges.

Listed as one of the country's most influential philanthropists, Schwartz is actively engaged in the nonprofit community and serves or has served on the boards of Synergos, the GAVI Campaign, the Arcus Foundation, the OI Pejeta Conservancy and Sweetwaters Chimpanzee Sanctuary (Kenya), the Rubin Museum of Art in New York, the Young Presidents' Organization (YPO), the Chief Executives Organization (CEO), the Friends of Florence Foundation, Harvard-Radcliffe Hillel, Reboot, Kids in Distressed Situations (K.I.D.S.), A Blade of Grass, and Sing for Hope. He is a member of the Clinton Global Initiative, the Council on Foreign Relations, and of the Synergos Global Philanthropist Circle, a non-profit organization that addresses global poverty and social injustice. He served as a co-chair of the Harvard College Schools Committee in NYC.

A frequent speaker and author in the areas of effective global philanthropy and entrepreneurship, Schwartz has given presentations to audiences at the UBS Philanthropy Forum, the World Economic Forum, McKinsey & Company, Yale College, the Badenweiler Symposium, and at many international YPO conferences.

Schwartz received his Bachelor's and Master's degrees from Harvard University. He was selected as one of Crain's New York Business' "40 under 40" emerging business leaders, and was selected as one of the 100 Global Leaders for Tomorrow by the World Economic Forum in Davos.

DONNA SHALALA

PRESIDENT, CLINTON FOUNDATION @ClintonFdn

Donna E. Shalala is the president of the Clinton Foundation. Previously, she served as president of the University of Miami and Professor of Political Science. Shalala received her AB in history from Western College for Women and her PhD from Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University. She served as President of Hunter College of CUNY from 1980 to 1987, and as Chancellor of the University of Wisconsin-Madison from 1987 to 1993. In 1993, President Clinton nominated her as Secretary for Health and Human Services (HHS) where she served for eight years. In 2008, President Bush presented her with the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the Nation's highest civilian award. A member of the Council on Foreign Relations, she served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Iran from 1962-1964. In 2010, she received the Nelson Mandela Award for Health and Human Rights recognizing her dedication to improving the health and life chances of disadvantaged populations in South Africa and internationally.

SRIRAM SHAMASUNDER

CO-FOUNDER, HEAL INITIATIVE @srijeeva

Sriram Shamasunder MD, DTM&H completed his residency in Internal Medicine at Harbor UCLA Medical Center and is currently an Academic Hospitalist at UCSF. Shamasunder is interested in the delivery of comprehensive health care in resource poor settings. He has spent the last 10 years working several months a year in Burundi, Haiti, Rwanda and India.

He is co-founder of HEAL initiative, a social start-up that aims to make serving the poorest of the poor a first choice among all health professionals both in the United States and internationally. He was awarded the Young Physician of the Year in 2010, by the Northern California Chapter of the American College of Physicians, and is a past Fulbright-Nehru Scholar to India.

GARY SLUTKIN

FOUNDER AND CEO, CURE VIOLENCE; PROFESSOR OF EPIDEMIOLOGY AND INTERNATIONAL HEALTH, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO SCHOOL OF PUBLIC HEALTH @gslutkin

Dr. Gary Slutkin is the founder and CEO of Cure Violence, a physician and epidemiologist at the University of Illinois at Chicago School of Public Health and a senior advisor to the World Health Organization (WHO). Cure Violence is

a scientifically proven, public health approach to violence reduction which uses behavior change and epidemic control methods. Cure Violence has been statistically demonstrated to reduce shootings and killings by up to 41% to 73% by four extensive independently funded and independently performed studies — by the US Department of Justice, Johns Hopkins University, the US Centers for Disease Control, and others. In 2015, Cure Violence was named one of the 20 best non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the world by the Global Geneva — and listed first among organizations dedicated to reducing violence.

The Cure Violence method is working in over 50 communities in 25 cities in the U.S. and in countries on five continents including programs in the UK, Jamaica, Trinidad, Honduras, Canada, Mexico, South Africa and Iraq. Cure Violence is funded by the U.S. Department of Justice, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and multiple national, international and local foundations and city, state and federal governments.

Slutkin is a Professor of Epidemiology and International Health at the University of Illinois at Chicago, a senior advisor to the World Health Organization (WHO), a global Ashoka fellow, and the 2009 Winner of the Search for Common Ground Award. He received his MD from the University of Chicago, Pritzker School Of Medicine, and completed his internship, residency, and infectious disease training at UCSF/San Francisco General Hospital. Before working on reducing violence, Slutkin ran the Tuberculosis (TB) Program for San Francisco (1981- 5); moved to Somalia to work on TB and cholera epidemics (1985-7); and was then recruited by the World Health Organization where he worked from 1987 to 1994 in over 20 countries, including leading the efforts — using behavior change methods — to reverse the AIDS epidemic in Uganda. He was then appointed Director of Intervention Development for WHO (global).

Slutkin's work has been featured in "The Interrupters", a documentary film about the work of Cure Violence, most recently in Nicholas Kristof and Cheryl WuDunn's book, *A Path Appears*, and has won numerous national and international awards including the Attorney General's Award for Outstanding Contributions to Community Partnerships for Public Safety. Slutkin is currently working on a book regarding these new methods for understanding and reducing lethal violence.

KYAI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF

GENERAL SECRETARY, NAHDLATUL ULAMA SUPREME COUNCIL @Staquf

Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil Staquf serves as General Secretary to the Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) Supreme Council (*Katib Syuriah PBNU*). As the world's largest Muslim organization, the Nahdlatul Ulama adheres to the traditions of ahlussunnah wal jama'ah (Sunni Islam), and teaches that the primary message of Islam is universal love and compassion. The organization was established in 1926, in direct response to the Wahhabi conquest of Mecca and Medina the previous year.

Shaykh Yahya was educated and trained in the formal and esoteric (spiritual) sciences of Islam by the late Kyai Haji Ali Maksum (1915-1989) at his pesantren (madrasah) in Yogyakarta, Indonesia. KH. Ali Maksum was himself a direct disciple of Shaykh Umar Hamdan al-Makki (1858-1948) and Shaykh Hasan Masshat al-Makki (1900-1979) of Mecca.

Shaykh Yahya was a member of Indonesia's National Electoral Commission during the nation's successful transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, and served as presidential spokesman to Indonesia's first democratically-elected head of state — Kyai Haji Abdurrahman Wahid, who himself headed the Nahdlatul Ulama from 1984-1999.

With his position in the NU, has been primarily responsible for the expansion of NU operations to North America, Europe and the Middle East.

GABRIEL STAURING

FOUNDER AND EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, IACT @gfstauring

Gabriel Stauring is the founder and executive director of iACT, a Los Angeles-based nonprofit with a mission to provide humanitarian action to aid, empower, and extend hope to those affected by mass atrocities. Previously, Stauring worked as an advocate and counselor for abused children and their families in the US. He graduated from California State University, Dominguez Hills, where he majored in Behavioral Science.

Stauring has been working in eastern Chad refugee camps since 2005, and to-date has visited 11 of the 12 Darfuri refugee camps over 23 trips to the region. While there, Stauring facilitated video conversations between the refugee community and The UN High Commissioner for Refugees, United States Department of State, and several schools. Inspired by his trips, he has spearheaded national campaigns such as the 100-Day Fast for Darfur; Darfur Freedom Summer Vigils; Darfur Fast for Life; Camp Darfur, an educational refugee-camp like exhibit that places Darfur in the historical context of past genocides; and the ethnographic art exhibit MY HOME: A Walk Through Children's Memories of Darfur.

Stauring currently oversees the implementation of iACT's community-based education, sports, and human rights programs in the refugee camps, including Little Ripples preschool education program, Darfur United Soccer Academy, and the Right to Education Human Rights Library. For Little Ripples, he presented at the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) in 2013 and at the ACEI Global Summit on Childhood in March 2016. Stauring is currently on the shortlist for the 2016 Aurora Prize for Awakening Humanity, and is featured in The Enough Moment by John Prendergast and Don Cheadle.

CHRIS STONE

PRESIDENT, OPEN SOCIETY FOUNDATIONS @OSFChris

Chris Stone is president of the Open Society Foundations (OSF). He is an international expert on criminal justice reform as well as the leadership and governance of nonprofits.

Prior to joining the OSF, Stone was the Guggenheim professor of the Practice of Criminal Justice at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government and the director of the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations. Before that, Stone spent a decade as director of the Vera Institute of Justice. He founded the Neighborhood Defender Service of Harlem and served as a founding director of the New York State Capital Defender Office and of the Altus Global Alliance.

Stone received his BA from Harvard, MPhil in criminology from the University of Cambridge and JD from Yale Law School. He was awarded an Honorary Order of the British Empire for his contributions to criminal justice reform in the United Kingdom.

FAY TWERSKY

DIRECTOR OF THE EFFECTIVE PHILANTHROPY GROUP, THE WILLIAM AND FLORA HEWLETT FOUNDATION @FayDTwersky

Fay Twersky is Director of the Effective Philanthropy Group at the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. She oversees five functions including cross-foundation strategy support, evaluation and organization learning as well as grantmaking in support of organizational effectiveness and a strong philanthropic sector. Twersky spent 2010-2011 working in Jerusalem, advising Yad Hanadiv (the Rothschild Family Foundation).

Twersky served for four years as director and member of the leadership team of the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, designing and developing the Impact Planning & Improvement division. She was also a founding principal of BTW - Informing Change, a strategic consulting firm.

Twersky has authored many articles and reports. Recently, she published "The Artful Juggler," in the *Stanford Social Innovation Review* on what it takes to be a successful Foundation Chief Executive Officer. She was principal author of "Listening to Those Who Matter Most, the Beneficiaries and A Guide to Actionable Measurement." Twersky is a member of the board of directors for The Center for Effective Philanthropy and the UBS Optimus Foundation in Zurich, Switzerland. She serves on the Curriculum Advisory Committee for Philanthropy University, a newly launched Massive Open Online Course offered in collaboration with UC Berkeley's Haas School of Business. Twersky holds two bachelor's degrees in Rhetoric and Middle Eastern Studies from the University of California, Berkeley, and a master's degree in City Planning from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

JEFF UBOIS

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Jeff Ubois is a Program Officer at the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, where he is responsible for work in exploratory philanthropy. Previous to his role at MacArthur, Ubois was a consultant to archives, museums, broadcasters, and commercial organizations in the US and EU, including Fujitsu Labs in Sunnyvale, California, the Bassetti Foundation in Milano, Italy, and the Netherlands Institute of Sound and Vision. Prior to this, he was a staff research associate at the University of California, Berkeley, and part of the Preserving Digital Public Television Project based at Thirteen/WNET and supported by the Library of Congress. In the voluntary sector, Ubois served as president of the Berkeley Hillside Club, helping to revive a 110 year-old cultural center, and was the initial convener of the Personal Digital Archiving conferences, now in their seventh year. In the 1990s, Ubois worked in the software industry, co-founding Omniva (funded by venture capital firm Kleiner Perkins), and as a journalist in Washington, Hong Kong, London, and San Francisco covering new technology. He has written for *First Monday*, *D-Lib*, *Computerworld*, *Release 1.0*, *Bloomberg Business News*, *Ferris Research*, and other publications summarized at <http://www.ubois.com>. He serves on the board of the Kahle/Austin Foundation.

BIBI VAN DER ZEE

EDITOR, GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT PROFESSIONALS NETWORK, THE GUARDIAN
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Bibi van der Zee is editor of the Global Development Professionals Network at *The Guardian*. She writes about the environment and food. She is also the author of “The Protestor’s Handbook”, and edited the *Guardian’s US Debt: The American economy in crisis*. van der Zee is a political activist and journalist. She is a regular columnist for *New Statesman* and *The Guardian*.

KARIN VON HIPPEL

DIRECTOR-GENERAL, ROYAL UNITED SERVICES INSTITUTE @RUSI_org

Karin von Hippel became Director-General of the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI) on 30 November 2015. von Hippel joined RUSI after recently serving as Chief of Staff to General John Allen, U.S. Special Presidential Envoy for the Global Coalition to Counter-ISIL. Von Hippel has also worked as a Deputy Assistant Secretary in the Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations and as a senior adviser in the Bureau of Counterterrorism at the US Department of State. Prior to that, she directed the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, and was a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Defense Studies at King’s College London. She has also worked for the United Nations and the European Union in Somalia and Kosovo. Von Hippel has numerous publications to her name, including *Democracy by Force: US Military Intervention in the Post-Cold War World* (2000), which was short-listed for the RUSI Westminster Medal in Military History. She holds a PhD from the London School of Economics, an MA from Oxford University, and a BA from Yale University.

FRANCES VOON

EXECUTIVE MANAGER, ANDREW & RENATA KALDOR CENTRE FOR
INTERNATIONAL REFUGEE LAW, UNIVERSITY OF NEW SOUTH WALES @fvoon

Frances Voon is the executive manager of the Andrew & Renata Kaldor Centre for International Refugee Law at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. The Kaldor Centre is the world’s first research centre dedicated to the study of international refugee law. Through high-quality research feeding into public policy debate and legislative reform, the Centre brings a principled, human rights-based approach to refugee law and forced migration in Australia, the Asia-Pacific region, and globally. It provides an independent space to connect academics, policymakers and NGOs, and creates an important bridge between scholarship and practice.

Prior to joining the Kaldor Centre, Voon worked in refugee operations in Asia, the Middle East and Africa. She previously worked with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Switzerland and South Sudan. She oversaw Jesuit Refugee Services’ work with Syrian, Iraqi, Sudanese and Somali refugees in Amman, Jordan, and the UN World Food Programme’s activities assisting Rohingya refugees and local communities in Cox’s Bazar District, Bangladesh.

Voon completed an MPhil in International Development from the University of Oxford as a John Monash Scholar. She holds a bachelor of arts (Hons) and a bachelor of law from the University of New South Wales.

JANE WALES

PRESIDENT AND CEO, GLOBAL PHILANTHROPY FORUM AND WORLD AFFAIRS
COUNCIL; VICE PRESIDENT, THE ASPEN INSTITUTE @janewales

Jane Wales is CEO of the Global Philanthropy Forum and the World Affairs Council, vice president of the Aspen Institute and host of the nationally-syndicated National Public Radio interview show *WorldAffairs* (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.

RICHARD WALTON

DIRECTOR, COUNTER TERRORISM GLOBAL LTD

Richard Walton is a senior associate fellow at the Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), the UK’s leading think tank on defence and security. He is also a director of Counter Terrorism Global Ltd that advises governments and private companies all aspects of counter terrorism and counter extremism.

A former Commander at New Scotland Yard, he was head of the Metropolitan Police Counter Terrorism Command (SO15) between 2011-2016 and spent the majority of his thirty year policing career in the counter terrorism field. The Counter Terrorism Command has a worldwide reputation for excellence and is regularly deployed internationally in the global fight against terrorism to assist countries in their response and to build their local capacity and capability.

Walton was head of Counter Terrorism for London during the Queen’s Diamond Jubilee and London Olympic and Paralympic Games in 2012.

He has travelled extensively to countries affected by terrorism, providing advice to governments in South and South East Asia, the Middle East and East Africa and speaking at international conferences on the subject of combating terrorism.

He holds an BSc Hons degree in Policing and Police Studies from Portsmouth University and an MSc in International Relations from the London School of Economics (LSE).

Walton is featured in the Debrett’s 500 of the most influential people in Britain in recognition of his contribution to countering terrorism in 2015.

SAKENA YACOobi

FOUNDER AND CEO, AFGHAN INSTITUTE OF LEARNING @AIL_education

Sakena Yacoobi is the Founder and CEO of the Afghan Institute of Learning (AIL). Under Yacoobi's leadership, AIL has developed into a groundbreaking, grassroots organization, providing education, training, healthcare and legal services to 12.5 million Afghans and empowering women, children and communities to live harmoniously and peacefully. AIL was the first organization to offer human rights and leadership training to Afghan women and the first to open Women's Learning Centers. AIL supported 80 underground home schools for 3,000 girls in Afghanistan after the Taliban closed girls' schools. Recently, AIL opened a legal clinic to provide free legal services to poor Afghan women and has been hosting large scale peace conferences around Afghanistan. Yacoobi has also established four private high schools, a radio station and a hospital in Afghanistan.

Born in Herat, Afghanistan, Yacoobi earned a bachelor's degree from the University of the Pacific and master's in public health from Loma Linda University. She has received many honors including five honorary doctorates, the prestigious Opus Prize and the 2015 WISE Prize for Education.

PEOPLE ON THE MOVE



Jane Wales and Chris Stone

MONDAY, APRIL 4
11:00 AM

WELCOME: JANE WALES

CEO, Global Philanthropy Forum and World Affairs Council; Vice President, The Aspen Institute

IN CONVERSATION WITH... CHRIS STONE

President, Open Society Foundations

JANE WALES

As I could tell from the energy in the room, this is the Global Philanthropy Forum, so welcome. Welcome to you and welcome to those who are joining us by livestream. For those of you who are new to us, we're a learning community. We're focused on being strategic, and we are intent on results. Everyone in this room is here to learn from the person sitting right next to them, so please share your knowledge and your learning throughout your work. We'll not only hear from each of you but from each of the agents of change from around the world who is joining us. Those in the room have traveled here from far and wide, from Afghanistan to Colombia. So we have a lot to learn from each other.

If you plan to tweet what you learn, use #GPF16. Follow us on gpf.org. And if you want to get together with each other to delve a little deeper, make sure you use the GPF app, which is on both iTunes and Google Play. If you want to engage and forge partnerships and explore issues much more deeply, what we'll ask you to do is to take advantage of the working groups, as well as the table talks, because that's the time in the GPF conference when people roll up their sleeves side by side, find solutions together, make choices and learn from each other. That's where so much of the action is, so please take advantage of that.

And also introduce yourselves to people from our regional affiliates. Paula Fabiani is here from the Brazil Philanthropy Forum; October 6 is going to be their next conference. Ndidi [Nwuneli] will be here. She leads the African Philanthropy Forum, which will also have a conference in October in Rabat, Morocco.

The reason we're here today is that people are on the move — about 250 million people are on the move right now, and the world is not altogether ready. There are those who are on the move in search of opportunity. They're experiencing economic mobility for the first time. They're moving to cities at a rate of about 1 million a week — in fact over 1 million a week — and by 2030 at this rate there will be 5 billion people living in towns and cities. And while it is a good thing that a middle class is growing, that does not mean our cities are ready. It means that there will likely be real strains on resources, both natural resources and manmade.

Others who are on the move of course we're very conscious of. And those are folks on the move not by choice, who have been driven from their homes. They are in search of security; they are victims of civil conflict, of state failure and natural disaster. They comprise about 600 million people around the world right now. And long after the immediate crisis and long after the individual trauma that they are experiencing, these are people who are going to need the opportunity not only to survive but to thrive and to contribute to community. And the world is not altogether ready.

Finally, people are on the move in search of meaning: restless young men and women are feeling unanchored, unsettled, somehow estranged from the societies in which they live. And they are vulnerable. They are vulnerable to the appeals of ISIS [Islamic State of Iraq and Syria]. They're vulnerable to the appeals of the Ku Klux Klan. So whether the networks that are reaching out to them are Islamist or Islamophobic, they are filling some kind of void. And it's a void we need to better comprehend.

Whether we are talking about people on the move in search of the pull of opportunity or the push of calamity or they are in search of identity, the resulting stresses and pressures we are feeling really challenge the capacity of states to govern and are challenging the capacity of nature to provide.

So that's the problem. What are the solutions? This is where the working groups come in. I should say that while we look at some of these issues as compelling moral issues — which is why we're here today — we are also trying to break them down as practical problems to solve. And you will hear that from all the speakers. They will be putting forth practical solutions.

We're going to hear from Elias Bou Saab, the minister of education in Lebanon after lunch. He is reimagining the school system, reimagining education in Lebanon because with the Syrian refugees in particular the school-age population is doubling. It's doubling. He is absolutely committed to free education for all, and he'll talk about how he is achieving that goal. We're also going to hear from Amy Rao, who is a Bay Area philanthropist who many in this room know. She and others decided not to wait for the EU [European Union] and the US [United States] to get it right, and they went on their own to the island of Lesbos and helped migrants who had made that sea crossing. You'll hear from Alex Betts, who is sitting right in front of me. He is a scholar from Oxford University who has come up with a way in which some Syrians can earn livelihoods without competing for jobs in their host countries — you'll hear about that as well.

Karan Chopra of Opportunity@Work is looking at what we in the wealthy world call the “gig economy” — what those in the poor world have always known as “piece work” — and ask the question: “How do you build in protections with piece work so that workers are not always living right on the edge? And then we're going to close with US Deputy Secretary of State Tony Blinken, as well as three foundation leaders from three parts of the world. All of them are wrestling with the same sets of issues that we're going to talk about for two and a half days. Donna Shalala is based in New York; Fayeeza Naqvi is based in Karachi, Pakistan; Daniel Schwartz's Porticus has offices all around the world, but based in the Netherlands — and they're going to talk about what philanthropy's role is, in particular the kinds of intangible assets beyond grants that philanthropists bring to the table.

But we thought we needed to start with a sense of both the historical context and also the normative frame. It's both about facts and about values, right? These are things that we are going to be talking about today. So we've asked Chris Stone to open the conference. Chris, as you know, heads the Open Society Foundations. He is a former law professor at Harvard with a focus on criminal justice. He headed up the Hauser Center [for Nonprofit Organizations], so he has a deep understanding of the nonprofit world. But he is also known for being one of the smartest guys in philanthropy. Not only is he really smart but he has heart; he's principled and he knows how to get things done. So please join me in welcoming Chris Stone.

CHRIS STONE

Thank you, Jane, and thank you for your leadership. Thanks to everyone for being here and part of this conversation.

A series of migration crises have captured the world's attention, as well as ours over the past two years, at least on the southern border of the United States, in the Bay of Bengal and across the Mediterranean and Europe. But this conference is a useful reminder that migration is not just about other people. We are all people on the move. My hope is this, if we can recognize that migration or people in motion is about all of us, we may find it easier to see beyond the landscape of the despair in so many parts of the world; we can begin to repair the failed migration policies that have left so many bruised, battered and bereft, and we can restore the goodwill toward others.

This talk has three parts: democracy in ancient Athens, the right to international travel and a global alliance for migration.

Athens. Why Athens? The birth of democracy in ancient Athens would not have happened if people were not on the move. In the fifth century B.C. [before Christ], Athens was entering its golden age, and it was golden precisely because Athenians were on the move. In contrast with the fortress of Sparta, a tribal city ruled by traditional chiefs, we learn that Athens built up a merchant class, trading routes and a navy, becoming the first true maritime power as well as the first democracy. Repeated contact and trade with the peoples of the ancient Mediterranean brought Athenians more than wealth. It made them familiar with ideas and cultures different from their own.

Unlike some ancient trading systems that kept merchants sealed off from the cultures of their trading partners, the ancient Athenians created the Delian League, perhaps the first league of cities, eventually numbering close to 150 member cities sharing a navy and trading with each other and exchanging ideas, beliefs and discoveries. Alongside the wealth of trade, Athens acquired a wealth of knowledge. At the height of its powers, Athens was led by Pericles, who converted the league into an empire. Among his other projects, Pericles built the Parthenon atop the Acropolis, with its golden statue of Athena. Pericles expanded the Athenian electoral franchise, insisting that voting rights be extended to commoners, and in both words and deeds he became known as a champion of democracy, although his detractors accused him of populism.

At the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian Wars, which pitted Athens against Sparta, Pericles delivered his now-famous funeral oration to commemorate the fallen soldiers, and today it remains one of the great testaments to democracy. “We are called a democracy,” Pericles told the people of Athens, “for the administration is in the hands of the many and not of the few.” But more than that, Athens provides “equal justice to all.” It chooses public officials “not as a matter of privilege but as the reward of merit.” Athenians, Pericles said, consider a citizen who takes no interest in the state as useless, and while public policies might be crafted by only a few leaders, all citizens could judge them. But most important for us today is that Pericles made migration policy part of his description of Athenian democracy, confident in their own society, he explained, Athenians were welcoming of foreigners. “We throw open our city to the world,” Pericles said, and we never expel a foreigner.

Two and a half millennia later, at the end of the Second World War, the great philosopher of science Karl Popper looked back on the Athens of Pericles and saw the

origin of what he called “open society.” The words of the funeral oration, Popper said, “formulate the [political] program of a great egalitarian individualist, of a democrat who [well] understands that democracy cannot be exhausted by the meaningless principle that ‘the people should rule,’ but that it must be based on faith in reason and on humanitarianism.” Popper regarded the funeral oration as the strongest statement ever made against the paternalist state, and he saw its commitment to democracy rooted in Athenian seafaring trade and the appreciation of other cultures. For Popper, Athens under Pericles provided humanity with its first taste of an open democratic society. By contrast, Sparta remained the quintessential closed tribal society. The difference: sea communication, commerce, individual initiative — all of which Popper argued increase faith in reason. In short, Athenians were a people on the move. This is what Popper meant when he wrote that “the Greeks started for us that great revolution which, it seems, is still in its beginning, the transition from the closed to the open society.”

Consider the right to travel. This is Rockwell Kent, known to some of us today mostly as a great illustrator, although he was also a writer, painter and architect. In addition, Kent was a sincere communist. In the mid-1950s at the height of the McCarthy era and the Red Scare, Rockwell Kent wanted to fly to England to attend a meeting of the World Council of Peace. Asked his reason for travel, he answered, “pleasure and profession.” But [US] Secretary of State John Foster Dulles refused to give him a passport because Kent was a communist. Kent sued and lost in the trial court and lost again on appeal, where the government argued that he had no constitutional right to travel and that Dulles had the discretion to deny passports to communists.

The case reached the Supreme Court of the United States, and the justices needed to decide whether or not there was a constitutional right to travel internationally. At the oral argument, Justice Felix Frankfurter asked Kent’s lawyer, Leonard Boudin, about the source of his proposed constitutional right to travel. “Where does that come from?” Frankfurter asked Boudin.

“Well,” Boudin replied, “I think it probably is simply a liberty within the meaning of the Fifth Amendment.”

The government conceded this point, but here is how the Supreme Court answered Frankfurter’s question about the origin of this right to travel: Yes, Justice [William O. Douglas], writing for the court, agreed, “The right to travel is a part of the ‘liberty’...under the Fifth Amendment.” But he did not stop there. Instead he cited arguments that the right to travel is a fundamental human right. It was recognized, wrote Douglas, “as early as the Magna Carta” and is “part of our heritage.” Douglas acknowledged the rights of those who are today called “economic migrants” when he wrote, “Travel abroad, like travel within the country, may be necessary for a livelihood.” He continued, “It may be as close to the heart of the individual as the choice of what he eats, or wears or reads. Freedom of movement is basic in our scheme of values.”

Justice Douglas went on at length about the right to travel. Driving the point home, he talked about

“...foreign correspondents and lecturers on public affairs [needing] firsthand information. Scientists and scholars [gaining] greatly from consultations with colleagues in other countries.... Then there are reasons close to the core of personal

life — marriage, reuniting families, spending hours with old friends.... An American who has crossed the ocean is not obliged to form his opinions about our foreign policy merely from what he is told by officials of our government or by a few correspondents of American newspapers. Moreover, his views on domestic questions are enriched by seeing how foreigners are trying to solve similar problems. In many different ways, direct contact with other countries contributes to sounder decisions at home.”

With these words the Supreme Court established the human right to travel internationally and decided it was an essential part of liberty. Justice Douglas went on to hold that Dulles could not deny that right simply because the traveler was a communist. The Secretary of State had no authority to withhold passports to citizens because of their beliefs or associations.

It’s no exaggeration to say that philanthropists have made this right to travel meaningful for literally hundreds of thousands of people — and not just for Americans. Philanthropies of every stripe have supported travel of course for students, scholars, scientists, diplomats, artists, journalists and countless others. At the Open Society Foundations, we know that humanity thrives in societies where well-informed, well-traveled citizens participate equally and freely in debates that affect their daily lives. As with Justice Douglas, freedom of movement is basic in our scheme of values.

We began our work at a time when the Soviet bloc kept certain information out and a lot of people in. Ultimately, the wall came down and with it the barriers to the physical movement of millions of people. More recently, in the case of Burma [Myanmar], which suffered under military dictatorship until just a few years ago, the Open Society Foundations supported thousands of Burmese to travel regionally and globally to prepare themselves for a more democratic future. Today I hope we all recognize that movement is, as Justice Douglas wrote, simply a part of liberty, a fundamental human right. Even the smallest travel grant permits the exercise of that liberty and of that right.

But what of the traveler’s right to stay? What if the livelihood of which Justice Douglas wrote in 1958 is not a job back home for which travel is helpful, but a full life and livelihood in a destination country? What if the purpose of travel is not edification but survival? What if the people on the move are fleeing for their lives with their belongings on their backs? It is worth pausing to recall that the right to travel recognized by Justice Douglas in 1958 was not just about study tours and conferences. He included marriage and reuniting families among the reasons to recognize the right to travel. Today, however, these, along with the pursuit of a livelihood and even survival, are stridently denied.

Historically, the United States has led the way in refugee resettlement, taking half of all applications received through the UN [United Nations] Refugee Agency. But something changed last year. The refugees from the Syrian war have received a very different reception, or indeed no reception, in the United States, or virtually none. In the past year, Germany has resettled about half a million Syrian refugees; Canada took almost 30,000. Meanwhile the United States accepted less than 3,000, and the rhetoric of the current US presidential campaign is like a giant billboard to the world to “Keep out.” Today Americans are feeling more Spartan than Athenian, more closed than open, more tribal than democratic, and the same seems true across much of Europe, even in Germany, where a burst of Athenian openness is already fading among many, though by no means all of the public.

How should we understand this new tribalism? It would be a mistake to associate it only with Syria. The US presidential campaign turned ugly on migration long before Syrian refugees were part of the conversation, with candidates openly calling for an end to birthright citizenship. The Syrian refugee crisis is just the current manifestation of an accelerating human migration worldwide. Remember the tens of thousands of unaccompanied minors who appeared last year on the southern border of the United States, fleeing the hyper levels of homicide in Central America? Some of you will recall stories last year of the Rohingya stranded at sea in the Bay of Bengal, denied safe landing in Thailand and Malaysia. Conflict migration, economic migration, climate migration — it's all one; the factors are all mixed up, and there is every reason to believe that the movement of people will continue to accelerate. It's also important to understand that tribalism, that fear and hatred of the other, is an ancient and persistent impulse.

Only a few miles from where we sit today is the Tanforan Shopping Center, built on the site of a temporary internment camp set up at the start of the Second World War, through which thousands of Japanese Americans passed on their way to grim camps set up in the interior. Decades earlier in 1877, an anti-Chinese riot erupted in San Francisco, directed at migrants who ostensibly threatened the jobs of American-born workers. Despite this history and despite the nasty rhetoric of American politics, roughly one-third of the people living here in the Bay Area today were born outside the United States. Migration works here despite the longstanding tribalist, nativist, Spartan impulses all around us.

So, I invite you today to join me in imagining what a new global alliance for migration might look like, an alliance based on the promise of migration, not the fear of it. We've all seen over the past decade, almost two decades now, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS [Tuberculosis and Malaria] helped the world overcome a panic of fear of contagion and worked in solidarity to save millions of lives. A global alliance for migration would be an even bigger challenge because the fear of the other is perhaps even greater than the fear of contagion. But the Global Fund is a useful example, for it reminds us that a global effort can have light governance, not the bureaucracy of the UN; that a global effort can be participatory, with civil society and philanthropy sitting alongside nation states and international institutions; and most important that a global effort can be successful.

Launching a global alliance for migration would stretch philanthropy beyond its former limits, giving it new scope. We would be taking our societies forward, creating a new forum for collective action, establishing a new framework within which to understand the crisis to come and act to meet it. This isn't philanthropy at the margins but philanthropy at the heart of modern society, philanthropy restoring reason after politics has abandoned her. A global alliance for migration could build on solid work already underway. You can think, for example, of Unbound Philanthropy in the United Kingdom, which fuels local groups embracing migrants, including British Future, Central England Law Centre, Just for Kids and City of Sanctuary.

A global alliance for migration would rely on migrants as spokespeople. In France we see examples to project the voice of Arab and African migrant communities in their own words. A global alliance for migration could unite the humanitarian agencies and the development agencies, bridging a divide that has seemed hopelessly wide. And finally, a global alliance for migration could bring global philanthropy together.

We already see an example in Europe with the European Programme for Integration and Migration, an alliance of 11 European foundations supporting advocacy for constructive migration policy in Europe.

This global alliance for migration is not just a slogan in a keynote speech. It's an invitation to action. Yes, we'll need to talk together at this conference to flesh out this and I hope many other ideas. And before any of us launch a global alliance, we'll need to talk with and learn from many others beyond this room. But the point is not to give speeches, to talk, to convene more discussions around the globe. The point is to act and to act boldly to make migration work for the world on a new scale the way it has worked for so many in this room.

Two and a half millennia ago, Pericles understood this principle about talk and action. He knew there were people who talked so much that they never acted, and he knew there were people who acted without the necessary discussion first. But Athenians, he pointed out, had the balance right. "For we," he said in that same funeral oration, "have a peculiar power of thinking before we act, and of acting, too." Let us cultivate that same peculiar power. Let us complete the work of the first democracies fueled by people on the move. Let us make the right to travel meaningful in the spirit that Justice Douglas described. Let us see in today's migration crisis the chance to build an effective, nimble, participatory framework for collective action and let's make the world safe for the promising migrations we know are yet to come.

Thanks very much for your attention.

JANE WALES

So let's devote the lunchtime conversations to this, OK?

Chris, Pericles started by saying that "confident in our own societies, we embrace migration and trade." Have we lost confidence in our own society? Is that what's behind the current rhetoric?

CHRIS STONE

Certainly, it's one reason I found that speech so powerful when I went back to look at it. There's so much fear in the world today, and I think the fear is unnerving a lot of people's confidence in their own democracies. Just last week I was in Dakar, Senegal, and in two different meetings in completely different cities, two different people used the same phrase: They said, "Democracies haven't delivered." I think we face today a series of doubts about not just the economic system but about democracy itself, and I think that's one reason to go back to the history, go back to the origins and try to recover that confidence that Pericles talked about.

JANE WALES

What we're finding also is that in the wake of the Arab Spring, for example, when we thought that this would lead to a new group of democracies, in the end Egypt, at least, has opted for competence first, openness...

CHRIS STONE

Yes.

JANE WALES

...maybe later. Say something about that.

CHRIS STONE

We're seeing huge pushback against openness all over the world, but we're also seeing new openness in places. There is an excitement about civil society even in places like Nigeria or Dakar, where transitions of power have happened more peacefully than people were afraid they might. You still see tremendous hope in Tunisia. You still see new hope in Sri Lanka. I think there are examples of places where there is hope and to some extent confidence in the possibility of democracy taking us forward. And across Europe and across much of Asia and Africa, despite the rhetoric of fear and a lot of the rhetoric of hate, there are millions of people just acting with goodwill, helping migrants, helping each other. There is still a tremendous amount of positive energy. It is the politics and the rhetoric that is so worrying in so many places. And then there are places like Egypt, as you say, which are frightening in many ways.

JANE WALES

So, philanthropy has a role to play often in building state capacity to strengthen a health system, as an example. Are we as successful when it comes to advancing democratic process? This is something that the Open Society Foundations have worked on over the years, actually not that many years, but it's a lot of impact for the number of years. Talk about the relationship between just building capability on the one hand and building accountability and openness on the other.

CHRIS STONE

Some colleagues last week were saying to me, "We've worked so hard on democracy, and the people keep electing the wrong people. What are we doing wrong?" And I think it's useful to remember that democracy doesn't end on the election day, and people have elected wrong people for millennia and chosen poor rulers as well as good ones. The point about democracy isn't that it gets the rulers right, it's that it keeps the rulers in check whether they're good or bad — and that's why democracy needs to be a constant practice, not just an event of an every-five-year or four-year or seven-year election.

What we've been doing at Open Society — and what many in this room and others have been doing around the world for decades — is just trying to encourage that strength in civil society, not just in government, not just in business but throughout a society where people are engaged. People are participating. You know, in Pericles' phrase, the people don't ignore their role in the state even while they are going about their lives. It's a formula for participation, for engagement in issues, and today that engagement anywhere in the world is huge; I mean, the communications revolutions. I don't want to spend too much time on Athens, but the notion that it was sea communication two and a half millennia ago that made democracy possible. What makes the communication that makes democratic practice — not just elections — possible today? There is tremendous reason to think we can do this.

JANE WALES

So, sticking with Athens for the moment but modern-day Athens, starting today Greece has begun acting on an agreement that the EU brokered to expel from Greece various migrants who have not been awarded asylum, sending them to Turkey. Setting aside the question of the humanity of it, is it legal?

CHRIS STONE

I think there are huge legal problems with the EU agreement, but I remember being in Athens three years ago, and the Golden Dawn attacks on migrants in the streets were horrific and terrifying for those of us hoping to see Greece resolve its economic problems through solidarity, not through hate. Today on the streets in Greece, I think there is not that same degree of open, violent hatred against migrants that we were seeing even three years ago. So, yes, there are tremendous problems with migration policy in Europe, and this EU-Turkey deal has a lot of legal and practical and other problems with it. I think there are lots of reasons to condemn aspects of the forced return of migrants, but it's important to understand how Europe has moved and how millions of people in Europe have moved away from a politics of hate and to more tolerance and indeed more solidarity. I think Europe provides a lot of contradictory lessons right now, and we mustn't forget or fail to see all the acts of solidarity, of humanity and of humanitarianism that are taking place across the continent.

JANE WALES

You've been supporting, as others in the room have done, a network of human rights groups, organizations that call out governments when they behave in a closed way. Have we been overlooking efforts to close the civil space in Turkey in our effort to address the migrant crisis?

CHRIS STONE

The closing down of independent media in Turkey and the attacks on journalists are probably for me certainly very worrying trends. Open Society Foundations include a foundation in Turkey that's been working on independent journalists' rights and freedom for years there, and the situation in Turkey remains obviously very difficult for independent journalism. Are we ignoring that? I don't think we're ignoring it. I think certainly the EU has tempered its remarks about and its concerns about Turkey in order to do this deal, and you can understand what [German Chancellor Angela] Merkel is doing. You can understand what the EU is doing. I do think what you can really see — whether it's the EU deal with Turkey or in other aspects of the current migration issues — is that it's not going to work.

I mean, the global governance — whether it's the EU's governance; whether it's the fractured responsibilities across the UN agencies; whether it's the lack of cooperation, until very recently, between the development agencies, the refugee agencies and the labor organizations — it's these pieces that need to come together. Governments need to find ways of working together, and we need to do it over the long term. This is not about solving today's problem or hoping that if we can get the Syrian refugee issues taken care of, somehow we're going to go back to some normal, happy state.

The migration crises are going to continue to occur. They're going to grow in number. They're going to accelerate, and we do not have on this planet a governance structure that's kept up with the rest of our societies. We are united economically. We are united in communication. We're largely united through cultural activities and understanding. But governance has not kept up. And we need to address that, and the series of migration crises are a great reminder and challenge to do that. But we can do it. As I was mentioning with the Global Fund, we've done it on other issues that seemed at the time really daunting, really controversial, engaging a very viscous politics, and yet we've been able to move through it, and I think we can do that for migration.

Right now the enemies and opponents of migration — the people who are caught up in a cycle of hate and fear — have all the good lines: "We're going to build a wall." "We're going to pass a law." "We're going to send people home." We need on the other side something to invest in that isn't just about doing the right thing now — which we have to do — but is about building a different future, building a different structure, building the opposite of those walls, building a global governance that can do it, and philanthropy can make that difference. I think that's what we've learned over the past 10, 20, 30 years. It used to be that international relations were taught as simply the relations between states. Today everybody knows that you can't do international relations without a civil society, without philanthropy, without business and politics and international institutions. We need a structure to deal with migration that recognizes that change.

JANE WALES

So it's a new system of governance that would in essence, involve public-private partnerships throughout, partnering with all three sectors.

I want to turn to exploitation because whenever there is suffering, there is an opportunity to exploit. You think about the smugglers who have taken people's remaining savings and put their lives at risk — in fact in many cases many migrants have died. Talk about not just the smugglers but what is happening as people are desperately looking for work. Are they finding themselves in the shadow economy in which they are exploited?

CHRIS STONE

One of the powerful things about migration as an issue is it combines all the powerful concerns of the day — inequality, religious intolerance, geopolitical imbalances of power — with stories that are hugely compelling, moving, terrifying, but that connects us to the human in all of those big issues. The exploitation is a part of the tragedy and a part of the reality of those stories millions of times every day.

I was talking recently with a colleague who has been working on the border between South Africa and Zimbabwe and would deal with these young kids who would spend whatever money they had left, and trade in other favors, to get the border guards to let them across, only to find themselves living under a bridge in a nearby town and the same border guards coming and arresting them and locking them up the next day. The exploitation of those children; the exploitation of the Tajik workers as they move to Russia to find work there, with no hope in their economy in Tajikistan; in countless ways the workers moving to the Gulf countries from various parts of South Asia — exploitation is built into the migration patterns we see today.

The Open Society Foundations, before I joined, started a program on migration. They started with labor exploitation, not the migrants' rights issues that we see in a lot of the wealthy countries, as you said in the opening, but just the rights of workers who are being moved, often with governments' assistance, from one country to another on the promise of good wages and remittances; but the actual experience so often was one, as you say, of exploitation. So I think there are countless levels on which one can deal with this exploitation of, and migration just comes with the territory.

JANE WALES

I'm going to open it up for questions from the audience, but as you're thinking of yours, we've got mic runners in the audience who will bring the mic to you if you just raise your hand.

JANE WALES

Global governance obviously starts with shared norms. This is an area in which we've worked for many years to develop this notion of responsibility to protect. That is to say, it is the sovereign's responsibility to protect its citizens from atrocity. If it fails, it is not only the right but the responsibility of the international community to step in. This is the second migrant crisis in Europe in the past 20 years. You had the Bosnian genocide. You have the situation in Syria. In both cases we didn't have the consensus to act collectively to end the violence to begin with. If we had a do-over with Syria, could we do it differently? Are we in a position? Do we have the decision-making mechanisms for action?

CHRIS STONE

It's hard to know who the "we" is in that. We know a few things. We know unilateral action is usually a bad idea. We know that the use of force usually creates more problems than we imagine when the bombs start falling. And we've seen — whether it's in Libya or Syria or elsewhere in the Arab region — the problems both of action and of failure to act. I think the challenge is to avoid a binary choice here, to not see this as "invade or not invade." Just as you say summon the collective will to work together to make that phrase "international community" meaningful, as opposed to just whatever powerful state can get that follow-along in a particular week. I think there's no question that the Syrian war was misjudged and mishandled by many leaders — and by many Syrians as well. I think there is more than enough second-guessing, not just among military powers but even among the Syrian opposition, which was unable time after time to bring itself to bear in an effective way in the early stages of discussions. You know, hindsight helps us rethink what we might have done, but I don't think this is a question of "invade all out or not." I think it really is about rethinking how collective action can help.

I do want to say though that the point about responsibility goes with the point I was making before about international relations. It's not just about states. The responsibilities are with people, with businesses, with civil society, with all of us. And if we can understand that responsibility in a broader sense, we can avoid the binary decision of invade or not.

SPECIAL ADDRESS

REMARKS ELIAS BOU SAAB, MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND HIGHER EDUCATION OF LEBANON



Elias Bou Saab

MONDAY, APRIL 4

1:00 PM

ELIAS BOU SAAB

Minister of Education and Higher Education of Lebanon

I was visiting for a conference in the US, and when Jane found out that I was nearby she gave me this opportunity to come and speak here. I was basically at the Clinton Global Initiative University [CGIU], which took place over the weekend not far from here. And I see Donna Shalala here from CGI [Clinton Global Initiative], whom I worked with for many years before I became Minister of Education. The reason I'm saying that is just to give an example of the kind of work I was doing before and what I found when this crisis happened in Lebanon.

At CGIU I went once with President Clinton to New Orleans, where we had to deal with the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina. Usually, you know, after a hurricane or an earthquake, for two or three days everyone rushes and tries to work with the situation and see how they can help. When I took over this position in Lebanon two years ago, the government prior to our government decided to be hands-off — didn't want to deal with the crisis, didn't want to handle the refugee issue — for many reasons: political, religious, you name it.

Lebanon is a country of four million people, as you just heard. Out of the four million, we have all religions represented, and we struggle to have political stability. Our financial situation is not very good. We never have balanced budgets. We have debts that we pay every year. The schooling system, the government system, is weak. The Lebanese students have difficulty getting quality education. So when I came, trying to see how we can help, I was faced with a bigger challenge, which is the refugee crisis.

Lebanon has opened its doors for many years. Prior to the Syrian refugees, we had 500,000 Palestinians who were displaced, and they are living in Lebanon; they left Palestine in the forties and the fifties and moved over, and until now they have been in a situation that is beyond acceptable to anybody in the world. They have no rights and their living situation and conditions are horrible, even as late as this year. UNRWA [United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East], which is helping them with education, was about to shut down their schools and say, "We're leaving you on your own." So the refugees are always left to deal with situations where they don't know what tomorrow is hiding for them.

So in Lebanon, when I took over this post over two years ago, I thought, I have to deal with the Lebanese situation as well as try to help with the crisis, because I was faced with 450,000 school-age children from Syria. Just to give you an example, in the schools that I run in the government system, we have 250,000 Lebanese students in the system — 250,000 — and I'm faced with an additional 450,000 from Syria. So the first thing I thought was, I will go on the Internet and search and see how any country handled such a situation in the past. You probably know the answer: It does not exist. No one has ever had to deal with such a situation.

In the San Francisco Bay Area — just to give you an example of the size of the crisis we have — there are probably 7.5 million people. The land area is also double the size of Lebanon. So if you want to take into perspective what happened in Lebanon, think

of four million people walking into the San Francisco Bay Area needing education and healthcare. They need a house. They need to eat. They need all sorts of help. But the difference is we have a strong economy here [in the Bay Area]. We have a government in place. We have systems that are working. This is something we lack in Lebanon. With this situation, I still said, “We cannot leave these children without education.”

I heard part of Chris’ speech, but I was briefed on other things he mentioned earlier, when he was talking about the ancient Greek history and he was talking about the fact that sometimes taking the refugees into the workforce will help build the economy of any country. And while this is true in some regard, it can be a disaster if you take on the refugees and don’t provide them with education. An uneducated generation, if they are left behind, will be a lost generation. And if they become a lost generation, they will not only affect Lebanon and the region, they will reach Europe, the US, Canada and everywhere else in the world. When we talk about a lost generation, we are talking about children who will see no hope for their lives and for the future, parents who lose hope in raising their children. They will be possible recruits for terrorists. This is the least. We will see child labor, child prostitution, early marriages — you name it.

So, not only are we dealing with putting these children in schools, we have to deal with everything else that comes with it. At the same time, we felt that the work in Lebanon was priority over anywhere else despite the opposition I was receiving there. People thought that by providing education to all was in essence telling the refugees, “You can stay in Lebanon.” Now, if I had said that this was available to them and their families, the political opposition would start blaming a government official for facilitating a way for refugees to remain in the country.

Given the 500,000 taken in in Germany and the 30,000 in Canada and the 3,000 in the US, if I’m not mistaken, it seems that somebody is helping. Think about a country of 4 million that had to take in 1.5 million and 500,000 Palestinians from before. Think about the unemployment rate that doubled in one year. So it is not as easy as one may think. The refugees could be turned into the workforce, and they will help the economy. But there are no jobs. There are no projects for Lebanese [workers, let alone] for the refugees. So one has to look at the situation and try to plan an entire solution. It starts with education and ends with opportunities, jobs and, most importantly, commitment by the international community to be there ready and on time.

The biggest challenge is always the funding that comes from the international community to help in such a situation. They’re always a day late. And when you miss an opportunity like that, when you miss a school year or two or three from any child’s life, it’s highly unlikely that these people will go back to school. So we have to be ready, and we have to be ready in time. This year I can say I was able to take 200,000 Syrian refugees into the system. I still have 250,000 who are still out of school, and the plan is to put them in school by the end of the 2016–2017 academic year.

We are working with the international community and donors; however, when the commitments come, when the donors go and make their commitments at conferences, a few months later you’ll find out that that commitment has gone down to less than half — and that’s if it comes at all. And when it comes, it’s late. They give you [aid] for each year, and some countries cannot operate [by the year]. And we’re talking about big numbers because we are working with governments. They

[Philanthropies] cannot commit more than one year in advance, but I cannot plan a system that is going to take on 450,000 children and put them in school without knowing that next year we will be able to keep them in school, and this is a fear.

We managed to think outside the box. We managed to say, “We have 1,200 schools in the government system that we can operate on a double shift, so we save some of the money and we can use the same school twice. We have many part-time teachers that we are using, and we are giving them extra hours to teach in the afternoon shift.” That’s easy to say and it’s easy to recruit, but what happens after that is you find the complications. Once these students enter the schools, they have different standards from the Lebanese students. The Lebanese students learn in English, Arabic and French. The Syrians only studied in Arabic. So when we mix them together, the host community is affected and then irritation starts. So we had to make sure that we keep the host community the host community. We have to make sure that they are not opposing the [refugees’] stay because that would ruin the entire plan.

We have also had to work with the social and psychological health of these children. For some of them — most of them, I will say — more than 90 percent their parents have never been to school or to university. They don’t understand the importance of education. We had to convince the parents that their children are better off when they go to school. They’ll have a future. They’ll have hope. I was visiting with David Cameron when he last went to Lebanon to check on the situation at school, and some parents were there for the meeting. One of the fathers said to us, “How can I send my children to school? I need them to work. They have to bring money so we can eat. We don’t have food.” And the children — six and seven years old — were working in the fields, harvesting potatoes for two dollars a day. This is just a sample of the problems.

But let me tell you the good side of it. When they go to school, these children see the future. They see hope. When I was visiting one of the schools with Gordon Brown, we asked a seven-year-old girl, “What do you want to do when you grow up?”

She said, “I want to become an engineer.”

And I said, “Why?”

She said, “I want to go back and build Syria when I grow up.”

This is a seven-year-old girl thinking that way. I will say there is only one solution: to deal with this situation. Go back to the source. Stop the war in Syria. Stop the war to stop the bleeding because if we don’t stop the war, we are going to be receiving — and the rest of the world is going to be receiving — more and more refugees, and we have to go look for millions or billions of dollars to deal with that. But we all know that billions were available and ready to arm and pay for the wars that are taking place in many places around the world. Think if that money were used for education rather than for arms. Rather than spending this money on wars and then having to look for tiny bits to try to pay for those people who had to leave their country because of the war, think if this money were spent on education. It would make a big difference.

For those of you who can help and can make a difference, what we need is more lobbying with all the countries, all the governments around the world to help in education, to help in funding education and to make decisions at an early stage, not late into the crisis. If we cannot do that, you will always run into situations where you are a year or two late. Any child who is left out of school for three years, as I

said, is highly unlikely to go back to school. For that reason we need to talk to the governments more. We need to lobby and tell them that a political solution is the first thing anyone should be seeking to any crisis around the world, to stop this mass migration, emigration and refugees leaving their countries. Once that's dealt with, we will be able to find solutions to those [displaced people] that exist in the countries where they are.

Also in Lebanon, we came up with a plan that allows the parents to work so that they don't have to send their children to work on their behalf. We put the plan together. We presented it at the London Donor Conference. But that plan requires job opportunities, funding for projects. In the plan that we put together for education, for example, we have to build several schools to be able to accommodate the rest of the refugee students. Ninety percent of the people who would work in building such schools are the parents of the refugee students, because in Lebanon the workforce mainly is from Syria. So if we have opportunities, if we have funding for such projects, the parents will be able to work. We heard, "Let them migrate and let them mix with the community; let them help in the economy," but that's when you have a healthy economy. But if in the case of Lebanon you don't have that, if you don't have investments, you are struggling. Because the Lebanese don't have jobs, we cannot create jobs for others.

Saying all that, I will end my comments by saying that we depend on the good people like yourselves and the work that you can do around the world to think of these children and think of providing them the opportunity to see life in a different way, away from war, away from killing — and education may give them hope that they will stay in their country, go back to their country and not become a burden on another country.

By the Ministry of Education in Lebanon about a week or two ago, one girl was sitting on the side of the street, and I was passing in the car going to the Ministry. I saw two girls, one eleven years old and one seven years old, and obviously they were begging for money. You can tell, and you find many now in Lebanon and other countries. So I stopped the car and I went down and I looked at them because what caught my attention was one of them had a book in her hand. The book had a page that was torn. I looked at her and I said, "What are you doing?"

She said, "I'm teaching my sister the alphabet." Her sister is seven years old and does not know the alphabet yet.

I said, "Why are you teaching her here on the street? Why can't I take you to schools, because we are providing schools for all the refugees?"

She said, "My father wants us to be here because he wants us to help raise money so we can pay for the house rent" (because they were in the city, not in camps). Then we found the father and we spoke to UNHCR [United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees] and we said, "We will be able to find housing for the children, but you have to promise us that you will not put them back on the street. We will take them to school." So we had to negotiate with the father that, after providing them this opportunity, he wouldn't put them back on the street.

He said, "Well, what about after school? Can I bring them back here?" Because that's the only source of income." Their mother died in the war, so they were there with just the father. The reason I'm saying that is sometimes the parents need to be educated, not just the children.

We face all sorts of challenges when we want to put them in schools. All sorts of challenges: convincing one of the parents, the social and psychological help that they may need, the different backgrounds. Even so, Lebanon is not far from Syria, so you can imagine if these people were to reach Europe or the US or any other country, there will be even more differences, and we will have to deal with those differences.

It's not simple. It's not easy. But we are determined to do it because we believe that every child should have an opportunity to get quality education. I think we all believe that, but we need to translate it and translate it fast. If we miss this opportunity, if we don't act, if we don't act fast enough, we will see an entire lost generation. People say it is very expensive to always be raising money to try to help and provide education to people around the world. As the president of Harvard University once said, "If you think education is expensive, try ignorance."

Thank you very much.

FILLING THE GAPS IN HUMANITARIAN AID



Peter Laugharn and Hadeel Ibrahim

MONDAY, APRIL 4
1:20 PM

GUY CAVE

Managing Director, Geneva Global

HADEEL IBRAHIM

Executive Director, Mo Ibrahim Foundation

LONA STOLL

Acting Deputy Director for the US Global Development Lab at USAID

MODERATOR: PETER LAUGHARN

President and CEO, Conrad N. Hilton Foundation

PETER LAUGHARN

Thank you, Jane. I think I probably speak for everyone in saying that that Minister Bou Saab is an inspiring example of resourcefulness, resilience and responsibility, providing us with a perfect lead in to our topic of “Filling the Gaps in Humanitarian Aid.” I’d also like to welcome our web audience. If you’re live tweeting, please remember to use the hashtag GPF16.

I’m supposed to set the scene, but it’s a scene that you all know. We’re living in an age where crisis and disaster are becoming distressingly common, whether they’re natural or manmade. We’re heading into a new century where climate and environmental crises are becoming bigger, and the conflict-created or manmade disasters have shown no signs of abating. So clearly, we need to be preparing for a rough ride in this century.

Paradoxically, we’re also looking at a 15-year period, during which we’re trying to do some of the noblest things that mankind has ever done: the Sustainable Development Goals [SDGs] give us a real shot at ending extreme poverty and hunger, bringing about gender equality, getting all children into school and other goals that many of you hold very dear. We need to be frank with ourselves. That agenda will not happen unless we address the humanitarian crisis of today and of the future in a frank, forthright and creative manner. In two months, the world will come together in Istanbul for the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit [WHS], convened by UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon. That summit will look at the revitalization of the \$25-billion-a-year humanitarian system, so that it will be capable of responding to crises of today and of the future.

Our panel today will cover the current state of affairs in humanitarian assistance and the role of philanthropy in this complex and turbulent picture. Questions for philanthropy: How do we, as funders, move beyond a sort of morning-after grant making approach, waking up to hear that there’s been a tsunami or an earthquake somewhere in the world, which we need to act upon? For those of us who believe that there is better way to respond, how do we think about the preparedness and resilience that we’ll need in the coming century? How can we be visionary in the long term? How can we be dynamic in the short term? And how can we use our funds and convening power to best effect? I’m sure that our panelists will have some very good suggestions to share with us.

We have a distinguished panel of speakers for this session. At my left is Hadeel Ibrahim, who is the founding executive director of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, which focuses on leadership and governance in Africa. She is also co-chair of the board of

The Africa Center in New York and serves as a member of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Humanitarian Financing, the subject of this discussion. By the way, that panel's report has just been published online, so if you want to download it and take a look later, it's well worth your attention.

Guy Cave, on Hadeel's left, is managing director of the philanthropic consulting firm Geneva Global, where he leads the company's program management and humanitarian response division. Guy has worked in the sector for more than 20 years and for more than a decade with Save the Children.

And on our far left is Lona Stoll of USAID [United States Agency for International Development], who is the acting deputy director for the Global Development Lab, where she focuses on two priority initiatives: Beyond the Grid and Feed the Future. Previously, Lona was the lab's director for the Center for Global Solutions and also a senior adviser to the USAID administrator.

I want to start with Hadeel and ask you, Hadeel, what did you learn from the experience of being on a UN High-Level Panel, and what is it like to serve on a panel?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

OK. Good afternoon, everyone. Maybe I can start with the human question.

PETER LAUGHARN

Yes, of course.

HADEEL IBRAHIM

Certainly, serving on the panel was fascinating, and I think it's very unusual that as a group of independent experts you get the UN opening up the system for you and giving you access and convening people. I think that's the UN's great value-add in a lot of ways — to be a convener. So that was a really fascinating journey because I had always worked on development issues. To spend six months understanding this big humanitarian financing challenge and trying to apply nontraditional thinking around ways to solve was fascinating, so that speaks to that point.

To give a sense of what we learned, let's start with what we were asked to do. The humanitarian assistance budget last year was \$25 billion; the UN piece of that was about \$12 billion. That means humanitarian assistance has now overtaken peacekeeping as the single largest line item of the UN budget. That's the first time that has happened. That \$25 billion is up twelvefold from the beginning of this century, which is a huge increase, and it's one that seems quite difficult to explain, but let me put that in context for you.

In 2014, 53,000 people were displaced every day because of climate — 53,000 people leaving their home every day — and clearly that number hasn't gone down; 42,000 people displaced by violence, and 53,000 displaced by climate every day. Those are extraordinary numbers. That's 100,000 people leaving their homes today, forcibly and every day. The average period that they'll be displaced for is 17 years. That I think was the number that really shocked us as a panel.

So a Syrian walking over the border into Turkey today, statistically speaking, is not going home for 17 years. And to put that in context, that's two years after we're meant

to have achieved the Sustainable Development Goals. We may come back to this later as a panel. We are talking about leaving no one behind over a 15-year horizon with the Sustainable Development Goals, but there are 125 million people — the recipients of humanitarian aid — who will be left behind because we're not attempting to reach them or we're not seriously bringing them into the development universe. I think that's something we should all be thinking about very seriously.

So our challenge was to look at these 125 million people requiring aid and, again, a little more context: If they were a country, they'd be the eleventh-largest country in the world. The eleventh-largest country is actually an invisible country. It's a country of people requiring assistance, who are internally displaced, who are refugees, who are stateless persons, who are not working. That's the eleventh-largest group of people in the world. It's not Mexico. It's not Japan. So these are significant numbers. Now those people we give \$25 billion a year to. What we as a panel tried to humbly submit was that we should be legislating about a dollar a day, so we're still talking within the realm of extreme poverty numbers, but a dollar a day for each of those people — and that's what led us to say that there is a \$15-billion-a-year gap. And we're working off past numbers, so we can assume inflation on all of those figures.

The two things I would like to say I really learned — or would offer as priorities for this group because obviously there are things that are really in the realm of governments, really things that we recommend UN agencies need to do better —but for this group I would suggest two things:

One is bridging the humanitarian/development divide. We were shocked to hear humanitarians saying that the biggest problem they face is the development community — not barrel bombs, the development community. The amount of competition between the two for many complex reasons — and I think Chris alluded to it earlier — is a huge problem. They compete for the same funds, from the same finance ministries, from the same other agencies. So one of the ways I think the philanthropic community could really add value would be by creating the kind of bridging mechanisms that graduate people out of humanitarian fund pots (sorry, a very undignified way of putting it) and transition them into the SDG world.

When you have refugee camps that have been there for 20 years, 30 years, 40 years, 50 years, as is the case now, you have the fourth generation of families being born into refugee camps, and those refugee camps are still serviced by funding that is still single year because it's humanitarian. Refugee camps are humanitarian, so we have to treat them day-by-day as a crisis situation. But once a camp has been there for 15 years, surely there must be some kind of development intervention that's about getting people out of camps. I think Dadaab is either the second- or third-largest city in Kenya. It's a refugee camp, a 20-year-old refugee camp. Why are we not rethinking this, treating this as a city, a city of half a million people rather than a camp of half a million people? So in how we conceive of certain parts of the humanitarian question — protracted crises in particular — there has to be some development thinking. I think this could be a really interesting forum, to start coming up with creative ways to graduate people out of the day-by-day emergency funding of humanitarian aid and into something that looks much more like an SDG story because a lot of these people aren't living in a situation of daily vulnerability. They're in a camp.

The second thing I wanted to speak to is the localization agenda. Of the \$25 billion a year, 0.2 percent of it goes to local and national NGOs [non-governmental

organizations]. That's another shocking figure I think; 0.2 percent of the money we give to help people in crisis is going to organizations of the country, of the community. And the mind boggles. I mean, I've worked in civil society, as have many of you, for my whole career. And we talk about the importance of civil society, but we don't fund them. We would much rather fund an international NGO or a UN agency to do the work; but for myriad reasons, which Guy will also help me expand on, they are the most effective actors on the ground.

Let's think about this as a long-term play. We understand the importance of robust civil society for good governance outcomes, right? So imagine a local NGO that is currently engaged in humanitarian work. What's going to happen when the war stops? They'll naturally be doing more developmental work, and 15 years down the line, when you're into the middle-income stage, maybe they become an advocacy NGO. They are flexible. They are more able. They are more resilient to risk, to shocks. They're more risk-taking. They understand local risk better.

I will never forget going to the Turkey-Syria border and meeting with Syrian NGOs that were trying to receive funding, where funders were saying, "We need a five-year track record before we can fund you." There was no war five years ago! So I think we have to be much more courageous as foundations, at looking at those local NGOs and saying, "That's a part that we can play. We can be those people who reach the first-line respondents and the NGOs on the ground and support them." With your permission, I'll finish there for now.

PETER LAUGHARN

Great, Hadeel. I think you've set Guy up very well.

So, Guy, we'll go from the High-Level Panel to the trenches. You served 20 years in the field: Côte d'Ivoire, Myanmar, Syria. Could you take some of the issues that Hadeel has brought up a little further — the 0.2 percent going to local organizations and the development/humanitarian divide?

GUY CAVE

I'd love to, yes. I think one of the first reflections I'd like to make is how we got here in the first place. I think the humanitarian system — which is enormous, with \$25 billion — wasn't designed for this and it wasn't designed for the current situation. It evolved organically through a lot of very good altruistic initiatives and impulses, and there are many things one would want to change about that for the current situation we find ourselves in and for the years to come. I'd like to focus on one of them; it is around that localization, and it's one of the themes of the report that Hadeel was involved in. It's one of the themes for the summit in Istanbul, and for a crowd like this it seems so obvious and is part of what you're doing all the time.

That 0.2 percent goes to local groups. We talk about it and yet the reality is that it doesn't get better. In every situation I've been in — inside northern Syria, in Lebanon, Jordan, Myanmar after a cyclone, Côte d'Ivoire in a civil war — as soon as you get to a community or an area that's been hit by these various types of shocks and disasters, you find the community, of course, already responding. You know, we have very good humanitarian principles, but the idea of humans helping humans is as old as time itself, and it is evident in every culture and religion and place that you can think of.

So communities are the first responders. Communities are also the ones who are there when everybody has pulled out and funding has dried up. They're the ones who know the situation on the ground the quickest. They don't have to bring in experts to do multi-sectorial rapid assessments and then send a message back and set up procurement and logistics chains. Very often with small amounts of cash and real empowerment — not subcontracting from INGOs [international non-governmental organizations] or from the UN or anybody else, but actual empowerment and cash — they can respond to the immediate needs around them in the community. They're fast and they're flexible and of course they're trusted by the community.

I think the Ebola response was a really good example, which also comes out of the panel, of knowing at what level different people need to respond. There was a need for INGOs and UN specialized agencies, et cetera, to do the medical quarantine work and the medical treatment in the Ebola crisis. But at the community level, there was actually a lot of resentment and rejection and suspicion around people coming from outside the community with lifesaving messages around how you should bury people and how you can avoid contracting Ebola, et cetera. But communities and the Ebola Crisis Fund funded a lot of very local grassroots work spreading that message, and it was immediately more accepted because these groups are trusted by the community.

We talk a lot about humanitarian access, and I remember at the end of 2012, early 2013, when I was in northern Syria with some others to help set up humanitarian work there before it quickly became too dangerous for those of us who were foreigners to do that. Of course already you had people responding and local groups with access to areas that now international agencies can never get safe access to. So we talk a lot about humanitarian access, but it needs to not just be where the international agencies get access but recognizing that you can fund local groups — and they always have the access.

Local response is efficient. It supports local markets. And we need to look at the whole humanitarian system and say, "How do we apply the subsidiarity principle, right? How do we move the response and devolve the responsibility in decision making to the level nearest to the crisis as possible?" We all know that — that it's a good thing — but I'd like to build on what Chris and Jane were saying earlier: What's the role of philanthropy in this? And how can philanthropy coalesce and create a coalition that can then serve as an example to others and to the wider humanitarian system? And it is, I think, very much about philanthropy capital being flexible and fast and not having the bureaucracy, like Hadeel said, around requiring financial records for years and registration and this and that that become blocks.

And philanthropic capital is often more willing to take risks. Maybe you'll fund 20 local groups responding in northern Syria, and with one or two of them you can't ever really be sure what happened, can't be sure of the impact. You know, it was well meaning, et cetera. And that idea of successful failing has become very difficult to do within the UN and INGOs, but philanthropy has a real role there. Philanthropy and the kind of business mindset it has values local knowledge, values efficiency and, importantly, as was also mentioned earlier, it's independent of politics. There's been a lot of political maneuvering caught up in some of the humanitarian response, and philanthropy can avoid that. So for me philanthropy has a real opportunity to fill the gap and push localization. I think the way to do that efficiently is through pooling philanthropic funds for humanitarian response.

There are examples of that I could site. In Myanmar — Burma — which was brought up earlier, after Cyclone Nargis in 2008 a coalition of us got together and funded hundreds of local groups to respond over the immediate phase and the recovery phase. It had an enormous impact and has had an ongoing impact because, as Hadeel was saying, it's empowered civil society. And now that network, which is called Paung Ku, which means "the bridge" or "the connector" in Burmese, is an independent, vibrant part of civil society and of strengthening civil society within the new Burma.

Last couple of things: I think philanthropic capital also has an opportunity to deal with the root causes, to deal with disaster risk reduction, deal with peace building and some of the neglected areas of the world. You know, Central African Republic, Yemen now, South Sudan — these areas that go in and out of humanitarian to development, which I agree is a kind of false and unhelpful dichotomy, and also to fund areas such as education in Lebanon for Syrian refugees that are often neglected in emergency response and yet are so important for the future.

PETER LAUGHARN

Thank you, Guy. I know that both your and Hadeel's emphasis on the grassroots — the community based, the locally based organizations that don't distinguish between the humanitarian and the developmental — will have a lot of resonance with many of the funders in the audience, and I hope we have a robust dialogue on that topic moving forward.

I'd like to pivot from the micro level and turn to Lona at USAID, who has ideas about trends and the future, and innovation and technology. Lona?

LONA STOLL

Great. Thank you. And to ground where USAID is in all of this, last year alone we were part of responding to 65 disasters in over 50 countries and \$6 billion last year alone — and that is out of USAID's \$22 billion budget. And where I sit within the agency is a part of USAID called the US Global Development Lab, which has existed for two years. It seeks to really bring innovation, technology and smart risk taking to produce breakthroughs that help us get to the Sustainable Development Goals and then to think of new ways of partnering as well. So with less than one percent of USAID's budget, we really try to be transformational and in particular work with a lot of the organizations in this room in doing that.

I'd put on the table that when you look to the future to big ideas, one is pulling on what's in the report, and I think what has to be part of this dialogue is: How do we actually shrink the need in the future? How do we look at what at USAID we call, "resilience programming," which is a critical part of this equation? And then the second piece is: How do we actually use innovation, technology, to find new solutions to add to our cookbook that also mean we can solve challenges more cost-effectively and sustainably? I think there is a critical role for philanthropy in both of those.

Let me start with resilience. There's a Chinese proverb I've heard my colleagues at the Shell Foundation use: "The best time to plant a tree is 20 years ago. The second best time to plant a tree is today." We have to start now building more-resilient communities and systems so that the need in the future is less. And there are some concrete examples of things we could mobilize on that get at this.

One that I'd put on the table is digital financial systems. You might know them as "mobile money." There was a study by MIT [Massachusetts Institute of Technology] in 2011 that looked at Kenya — which has M-PESA, one of the most advanced mobile-money systems in the world — and found that during periods of shock, families who were part of M-PESA were able to weather the shock without the seven percent drop in consumption that you saw in families in the same communities who were not part of M-PESA. And so the resilience of people's natural networks matter, and we can enable it through technology and through new approaches. Money can be a critical piece of underpinning how you create resilience.

Another is thinking about insurance in different ways. Technology, satellite data and weather information enable us to help communities invest in ways to create their own resilience. One example is the Global Fund for Disaster Risk Reduction [Global Facility for Disaster Reduction and Recovery]. Just in the past couple of weeks, the Kenyan government has put forward a National Agricultural Insurance Fund [Kenya National Agricultural Insurance Program]. USAID, in partnership with others is working on these kinds of insurance approaches all across Africa, and it's a critical part of this equation.

You can also use satellite data to understand where you're most likely to see shocks in the system in the future and also to help increase the speed at which you can respond when a crisis happens. One example of this kind of mapping for resilience happened around the Nepal earthquakes last year. The GeoCenter in USAID, which is part of the Lab, in conjunction with local universities in Nepal had mapped out where all the critical locations were in Nepal so that when the earthquake hit, the first responders, both local and international, knew where things were and could respond far more effectively. We've also used satellite and weather imagery in places like Ethiopia to look at helping local communities get access to information about where the best places to graze their herds are. And an approach that USAID has taken, in partnership with Project Concern International, is now being scaled with a number of other partners, including Google. They have looked at using satellite weather data and putting it in the hands of local communities that then, through their own local information dissemination process, get it out to herders. They have been able to reduce livestock mortality by 47 percent, and that's critical in places like Ethiopia that are among the chronic places where you see these kinds of weather shocks.

You can also use real-time data systems to rapidly increase the ability to get information to communities and get feedback from those communities to local governments as well as international responders. And the Ebola response is one example of this. And almost more importantly, right now we're working with ministries of health in West Africa to ensure that their health information systems are robust and include real-time data feedback that will both enable greater effectiveness now and mean that there is far more resilience in the case of a future outbreak.

And then finally on this resilience piece, how do we help local individuals and communities who have an idea of how to solve a challenge that the community is facing take that idea and move it forward? I want to build on that in moving to the second big idea that I'd put on the table. To wrap up this section though, we've learned for every dollar we spend on resilience, it gives us three dollars' worth of development impact, so it's also a very cost-effective way of thinking about how we tackle these challenges.

So the second piece is how you use innovation and technology and new approaches to help reduce the cost of these responses and have more sustainable solutions. USAID has put science and technology at the heart of how we think about global challenges, and we really believe that good ideas are everywhere, even if opportunity is not. One of the things we've been doing for the past several years is really opening up problems to good ideas anywhere, so we've launched Six Grand Challenges for Development.

Since 2010 we've doubled the amount of investments we make directly into local governments, civil society organizations and local businesses. In these Grand Challenges, we also have program Development Innovation Ventures. We've found that 50 percent of the applicants who are coming up with ideas have never worked with USAID before. These are often the kinds of local organizations that struggle to figure out how to partner with an organization like USAID, but we've been very deliberate in trying to make the bar they have to meet to partner with us reasonable for the kind of organization they are.

Right now we have a Global Partnership for Resilience [Global Resilience Partnership] with Rockefeller Foundation and the Swedish International Aid Agency that is launching different challenge funds. One that's open right now is for flood-prone areas, and this partnership is overall \$160 million. It's trying to bring innovation and technology to find new solutions to these problems, often by supporting local innovators. We've found that we're very good at bringing in new ideas, and we can do more of that, but we've been able to bring in thousands of new ideas in this way. What's harder is helping them be sustainable.

To illustrate the kind of nurturing that it takes to get them to sustainability and impact, I'll give you the data from Shell Foundation, which has found that it takes five to ten years and \$5 million to \$20 million to get an organization to where they have the customer base and the cash flow—or if they're government, if it's a public solution, from the government buy-in and rollout—to where they sustain without continued support from organizations like philanthropy or donors. So that role of bringing in the early-stage investment, the patient capital, to help these good ideas get to where they have sustained impact is something I think philanthropy plays a critical role in.

That is part of why USAID, along with the World Affairs Council, the Higherlife Foundation and a number of others, have stood up for the African Philanthropy Forum because we also think local angel investors and local philanthropy are critical parts of the solution. And we are really excited to continue to look at how we can play a useful role in facilitating that kind of early-stage, patient capital and thinking about systems and how by working together we can get to sustained impact against these challenges. If you look at them from the SDG standpoint, you have 2.5 billion people who don't have access to sanitation. You have 1.2 billion in Africa alone who don't have access to energy. So these are problems at a magnitude that requires us to figure out how to work together.

I'll close by saying I do think there is a critical role for philanthropy and investing in the systems right now that can build resilience. That's everything from the digital financial services, to weather-based insurance products, to thinking about how technology and feedback loops can feed into this. And there's also bringing new ideas into the mix through early-stage patient capital.

I would love to understand better from all of you where you think USAID's comparative advantage is, so one of the things we're doing, with a colleague of mine, is hosting a breakfast tomorrow. Anyone who's interested in understanding more about how USAID plays in this space is welcome; we're happy to continue the conversation outside the panel.

PETER LAUGHARN

Thanks, Lona, for sharing that really rich set of ideas.

Now, let's move into more of a lightning round of exchange, and then we'll have twelve or fifteen minutes of Q&A from the audience.

Hadeel, I wanted to ask you about the World Humanitarian Summit that's coming up in Istanbul. If you were a betting panelist, what would you bet on as outcomes from the WHS?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

Great question. I think what you can expect to see from the summit — and I think there are some side events on foundations, so some of you may be joining — is movement in two places. On the issue of the grand bargain, and for those who haven't read through the report, which I'm sure is the majority, what we really tried to put forward are ways in which the UN and donors — that whole ecosystem — could improve. I think it was quite a challenging report in that sense. So one of the things we started with was looking at how, if donors such as our friends at USAID made more multiyear funding available with less earmarking, less bureaucracy, donors or agencies such as the World Food Programme could respond by being more transparent and more accountable to get that money? So it's this kind of grand bargain that has at its heart transparency and accountability but also a lessening of bureaucracy.

And many of you know the kind of tyranny of the log frame [logical framework], of having to endlessly reapply and reapply for funding. I think there will be movement on that. The Dutch government in particular has been very enthusiastic about that. The same kind of grand bargain was at the heart of the UN secretary-general's report, which came out just after our report. I think where you can expect to see progress is where the key players are — UN agencies or governments — because frankly they're the kind of people who own a summit process of that type, so they'll all be in the room in Istanbul and able to strike a deal.

Similarly, one of the recommendations we made was about how UN agencies — and some of you will know this from having worked with them — are deeply competitive with one another. And that's largely a function of member states and funding agencies wanting them to compete with each other. In fact, one big donor country said to me, "Yes, we want all these UN agencies to be much more competitive in a private-sector kind of way, and then we can decide which is better and which is worse and fund accordingly." I mean, the idea that the World Food Programme and UNHCR should be actively competitive in how they approach a refugee camp shows that we sometimes have this obsession with applying free-market principles even in places that are basically examples of free-market failure. So I think that was why we basically tried to encourage a move toward what we called "collaborative efficiency."

We think competition in the humanitarian space is inefficient. We think what you need is collaborative efficiency, where we all know what one another is doing. We're all leveraging off what each other is doing. We understand comparative strengths. And I may channel resources toward another NGO because they have more capacity and more experience in that area, and that's fine.

So it will be interesting to see what moves happen within the UN agencies around that and how donors fund agencies in ways that encourage them to collaborate more because it's all incentives, and at the moment the incentives are dysfunctional unfortunately. On that side I think you'll see progress. Is that sufficient progress?

PETER LAUGHARN

What are you most worried about?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

OK. I'm going to be very provocative because I'm among friends.

PETER LAUGHARN

Yes.

HADEEL IBRAHIM

I hope. You asked me, Guy, a very good question, which was: What didn't get into the report that you wanted in the report? which I thought was a fantastic question. We talk about the cost of the [UN] Security Council inaction. And I think there was a lot of discussion and a lot of considerations around what the cost of a Security Council veto on a humanitarian crisis is. I mean, we have given management of the peace and security cluster to the members of the Security Council. That's their responsibility. If they fail to act and millions of people die as a consequence of that, can they be held legally responsible? Can they be held financially responsible? I think that was a really interesting discussion that appeared, and I think it's safe to say that will not happen in Istanbul.

PETER LAUGHARN

I assume we're clapping for Hadeel's bravery and not for that outcome... You were also saying that the appropriation for peacekeeping missions was something like \$200 million?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

Peace building, I think, is around \$200 million. So just to put it in perspective, we can raise \$25 billion a year to clean up some of the mess, but we can't raise \$200 million a year to prevent the mess from actually happening. That's how we structure financing in this space.

PETER LAUGHARN

Which also might be an agenda to take on among people in this room.

Guy, you and I are both recovering Save the Children staffers. Looking at the 0.2 percent that was mentioned before, what is the role of international NGOs in that percentage being so low? And, what can this room do to help international NGOs move forward in that way?

GUY CAVE

That's a great question, and I know the answer to the second one. How can philanthropy model the way to do good, localized humanitarian response? How can we do that? I'm slightly pessimistic about the World Humanitarian Summit. I'm slightly pessimistic about the ability of INGOs to really reform the system and of UN agencies — with their different mandates and different metrics of success for the CEOs of INGOs and the heads of UN agencies — to actually make that change and give up money and give up power and empower local civil society in humanitarian response. Having tried to change that system from within, I think philanthropy has that capacity to really make a big difference and show a way forward that others can then follow.

PETER LAUGHARN

Speaking of ways forward with all due respect and affection for USAID, Lona, it has been hard for USAID to support local organizations in the past. PEPFAR [US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief] awarded massive amounts of money to large organizations instead. If you were to follow the recommendations of Guy and Hadeel, do you think USAID has a dynamic for changing this skewed percentage?

LONA STOLL

Yes. Thank you for that. It has been a critical part of the USAID Forward agenda that was put on the table at the very beginning of this administration, and ultimately at the end of the day we think about it as sustainability. We are all in this business because we want to have an impact on the world. I think going back to the behavior change, a big part of the role for all of us is if you can show that the way you're approaching the problem has greater impact, is more sustainable and is cost-effective, it's much easier to convince even large bureaucracies to move in that direction. And that's a little bit of the model we've taken within the Lab; within the much larger USAID bureaucracy, it is recognizing the passion of the people in the agency and that at the end of the day they want to really feel like they're bringing positive social good to the world as well.

On the question of working through local organizations, I'd say we are funded with taxpayer dollars, and that means there is a whole lot of ornaments on the Christmas tree in terms of various boxes that have to be checked and various things that we are very much held accountable for. The conversation around risk and smart risk is an important one that we have with Congress on an ongoing basis. I'm there a couple of days every week, meeting with different representatives, staff members and senators. And they are very conscious of having to say to the American people that these dollars were spent in a really good, responsible way and know that they're not funding terrorist organizations.

So this is something within the agency. We're framing it around sustainability, and that is a very country-specific question of what the best way is to support there being local organizations, local governments, local actors that can carry

forward the development agenda of that country. And a large part of the financing for development conversation last summer was really about domestic resource mobilization and how you bring in different sources of revenue to solve this problem that are far more sustainable than USAID funds.

I think that has to be part of it: the role of Save the Children, World Vision and the Catholic Relief Services. Often there is a very critical role for them to play in building the capacity of the local organizations, but they should also be working themselves out of a job. What that looks like is very different in each country context. I think if we move to a world where sustainability is one of the core things we're looking at, and we're just as interested in the impact of a project five years after it ends as we are on the day it ends, it will help push some of the kinds of change that we're seeking to achieve. And I would say that philanthropy has a critical role because you're not as beholden to the politics and to Congress in the way some other organizations are. You can play a lead-by-example role in saying, "This is the approach that makes sense in this context, and we're going to lead," and then others can follow in your footsteps.

PETER LAUGHARN

Thanks, Lona. Hadeel, Lona mentioned the risk profile that different actors are willing to take on and clearly staked out the government naturally in the middle. Foundations have the capacity and the potential to take greater risks. How do you think they're doing?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

How do we all think we're doing? I mean, again, let me be the provocateur on the panel. I come from the foundation world. I am of the foundation world. I can see one of my esteemed colleagues from the Clinton Foundation board here in front of me. I've worked in many of the foundations in this room. I'm worried. I'm worried that we're forgetting that our role is to be laboratories for social justice. That's what we're here for. Or if not for social justice, for climate justice. Thank you. Someone agrees with me. But our job is to be a laboratory, and we do not have the same reporting governance requirement that Lona clearly does.

And yet in a lot of the work I did on governance at the more progressive end of the governance scale with the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, I found bilateral donors and international institutions more supportive of the risks we were taking than other foundations, genuinely. It's crazy. So I think at some point while we institutionalize, we professionalize, we recognize that we want to be seen as serious, consistent, thoughtful entities. If we're not willing to take risks and we're not willing to make mistakes, then this might as well be public money.

So I think we have to be much more risk taking. We have to be much more courageous. We have to look at, for example, that Syrian NGO localization crisis and say, "It's our job to fix this." And, yes, some of that money might go astray, but at the end of the day you have to answer only to yourselves. Unlike Lona, you don't have to turn up on Capitol Hill and explain why this bag of rice is in the hands of Al-Shabaab. So it is our defined role. I mean, when you look at the universe, that's where we're supposed to be. And if we take this agenda of only 0.2 percent of humanitarian going to local NGOs, let me make a suggestion for all of us: Why don't we agree an amount, a guideline? Fifteen percent? Twenty percent? It's somewhere to start. It wasn't long

ago that on panels like this, if there wasn't a single woman there, no one would notice; or if there was no ethnic diversity, no one would notice. But now we're ashamed if we don't have diversity, so how about doing that in a localization agenda? You look at your portfolios, you look at how you fund these things, and if twenty percent of the money going to Syria isn't going to Syrian NGOs, you should feel a bit ashamed.

PETER LAUGHARN

I want to end with an open question that any of you can answer. What is your vision of success at the end of the fifteen-year SDG period?

LONA STOLL

One thing I'd say is I think the world is changing in ways we have to grapple with as a community, and that includes where we see urbanization fitting into these kinds of challenges. And the second thing I'd say is about a digital economy. We are seeing a transformation of what underpins broad-based economic growth here in the United States and also around the world, where what is creating wealth is not manufacturing jobs that employed millions of people. So what will the economy of the future look like? And how do we build the rails for that economy today to ensure that women and people living in poverty or in rural communities are not left out of that future? There are some critical underpinning parts of the SDGs that get at how we ensure that the economic growth is broad-based, even as the world around us is changing quite significantly. I'd say that we've solved the question of broad-based economic growth in a way that is very inclusive.

The second thing is, I do think part of what we've been touching on is a paradigm shift in terms of how we think about tackling global challenges. And it has to be far more about our working in collective action approaches and together bringing results, rather than a thousand stove-piped responses. How do we actually recognize what each of our comparative advantages is and bring those to the table? I'd point to things like the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition, some of these global partnerships and what came up earlier today in terms of GAVI [Alliance] and the Global Fund. Like how do we actually work together and find the right balance of collective action approaches and local approaches? To me, it's a really reinforcing set of activities, both at the very local level as well as in terms of our global architecture, that lets us get out of the system that was created 40 years ago and into a system that really recognizes the interconnectivity, the technology changes going on in our world today and the rapid pace of change.

PETER LAUGHARN

Guy?

GUY CAVE

Two quick things. One, in fifteen years' time the kind of virtual country that Hadeel was talking about, and that is in the report: that the SDGs are real for those people in those fragile states, in the neglected places — South Sudan and Yemen now and Syria. That has been made real there, and the global inequality between countries hasn't expanded even further. And I guess a massive investment in peace building would be the second thing I'd love to see.

PETER LAUGHARN

Hadeel?

HADEEL IBRAHIM

Yes, I would say that we've had a luxury in the past of being able to consider ourselves development people or humanitarian people: "I do conservation." "I do climate." And that's now collapsed. I think you can't do any of those things without recognizing the interconnected nature of the ecological, humanitarian and development crisis we face over the next fifteen years. You can't achieve the SDGs in a refugee camp in which you're not even working. You can't achieve the SDGs meaningfully if we don't live up to the Paris [climate] agreement, the cap agreement.

My desire over this fifteen-year SDG period would be for all of us to start thinking of ourselves in much more integrated ways. If you are working on climate, do it in a way that considers the humanitarian dimension or what potential humanitarian add-on you can have. What value-add can you have if you do that project there? Or if you're a humanitarian, how you link to development? I think that kind of interconnectedness, the silos in the real world have broken down. You meet a refugee. You meet a Syrian. Are they a climate refugee? There was a climate dimension to why the war started. There was drought, et cetera. These lines have become largely irrelevant, so how we think about the work we do has to become much more transversal over the next fifteen years around this SDG platform.

PETER LAUGHARN

I think we have a lot of compelling and complementary ideas about what that vision of success ought to be, and we urge everyone to build on that going forward. I'd now like to open up the discussion to questions from the audience.

MEETING THE IMMEDIATE AND LONG-TERM NEEDS OF THE DISPLACED



Sasha Chanoff, Jeanne Bourgault, Deogratias Niyizonkiza, Amy Rao

TUESDAY, APRIL 5
8:30 AM

JEANNE BOURGAULT

CEO, Internews

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Founder and CEO, Village Health Works

AMY RAO

Founder and CEO, Integrated Archive Systems

MODERATOR: SASHA CHANOFF

Founder and Executive Director, RefugePoint

JANE WALES

Good morning. It looks like the table talks and the special breakfast were incredibly well attended. I now realize I didn't need to spend any time yesterday saying, "Make sure you take part in the working groups and the table talks." My challenge now is to get it to come to a conclusion. So I'm really thrilled that there's that level of energy and enthusiasm.

I get to introduce Sasha Chanoff. Let me just say a few words about him. This session is on meeting the immediate needs, as well as the long-term needs, of the displaced. Sasha is a recognized social entrepreneur and someone whose voice and actions in the philanthropy sector, in terms of funding and drawing attention to refugee issues and providing insight and knowledge to others, has been valuable. He is the head of RefugePoint, an organization that has worked with refugees trying to ensure their safety and their long-term success, and the co-author of *From Crisis to Calling: Finding Your Moral Center in the Toughest Decisions*. So, we've asked him to lead this panel. Sasha, would you come up and join me?

SASHA CHANOFF

Thank you. All right. Welcome, everybody, to the second day of the Global Philanthropy Forum.

Welcome to this plenary session: "Meeting the Immediate and Long-Term Needs of the Displaced."

Before we begin our panel discussion, I'd like to direct your attention to the screens on either side of the stage for a special film preview. The company Show of Force is launching a new global media project and campaign, Humanity on the Move, designed to address the urgent challenge of the global refugee crisis through a multiplatform media and communications initiative. This is timely. Humanity on the Move will include a feature-length documentary, an online short film series produced in partnership with *The New York Times* and a digital and social media campaign designed to connect people to opportunities to support refugees, IDPs [internally displaced persons] and forced migrants. A key goal is to help change negative attitudes and reshape perceptions of refugee families and children. Show of Force has a strong focus on innovation in addressing humanitarian issues and is building a coalition of partners, including the UN Refugee Agency, the International Organization for Migration, UNICEF [United Nations Children's Emergency Fund], RefugePoint and other organizations across the world. Here is a preview of Show of Force's and Humanity on the Move film.

These images and pictures and footage are from the front lines of the global crisis. Very broadly, about one in every seven people in the world is a migrant today – almost 1 billion people. We're going to define our conversation a little more precisely around those who are forcibly displaced, and that includes approximately 60 million people. These include approximately 20 million who are refugees and have fled across an international boundary and another 40 million or so who are displaced within their own countries. One of the challenges we have today is that of the length of displacement, which is increasing. Today, the average amount of time that an individual lives as a refugee is nearly 20 years. In Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya, for example, there are more than 10,000 children whose grandparent arrived there as refugees. These children were born there. Their parents were born there. This is an unsustainable situation.

In the year 2000, about \$2 billion was spent on humanitarian aid. Last year about \$25 billion was spent on aid. The humanitarian system is broken. There is no more money to support people. That's in fact one of the reasons why in August 2015, the World Food Programme was forced to cut food rations due to lack of funds, an action that sparked a mass migration of people into Europe because they had no food. Syrians and other refugees saw that there was no hope where they were, so they decided they would rather risk their lives than stay and starve. Beyond the lack of funds though, the nature of humanitarian response, focused on addressing emergencies, is no longer fit for purpose.

The 1951 UN Refugee Convention calls for refugees to have access to opportunities to support themselves, to have access to labor markets, to freedom of movement, and other basic rights that would enable refugees to lead normal lives. But the reality is that since World War II what we do as an international community is to provide tents and food and aid to address the immediate needs of people who have fled war and conflict. The challenge and problem we have is that the emergency response continues indefinitely. It goes on for a year, for five years, for 10 years, two decades and longer. It creates dependency. Refugees in a sense are double exiles. They're exiled first from their homes because of war but they're also exiled from the labor markets and opportunities in the countries to which they have fled. They are forced to stay in camps or into seclusion on the margins of society. We have to find ways to address this and to change this dynamic. We have to change this paradigm of aid to one in which refugees have opportunities to contribute to their new host communities and to normalize their lives.

We can no longer characterize this crisis of forced migration as a refugee crisis. This is a human crisis with a lot of complex dimensions. It's related to climate change. We see that now and historically: whenever there is drought and famine, forced displacement increases. It's a women and girls issue. We see in situations of forced displacement that trafficking and violence against women increases. Yesterday, we heard that a large percentage of women fleeing through Mexico to try to find safety in the US have been sexually assaulted. This is a crisis for children with the lack of education. This is a health crisis. This is a crisis on many dimensions, so we cannot just call this a refugee crisis. It is a human crisis.

And I would say, actually, that at its core it is a moral crisis for us. More than ever right now, I think we will be challenged as individuals around how we want to act. Do we want to act with compassion, with empathy, open ourselves up to others, treat human

beings just as we want to be treated? Or do we want to shut ourselves off? And the way we act we know can influence our families, our communities and how our societies respond. So, this to me is a moral crisis.

I have the honor of sitting here with three distinguished speakers who will help illuminate dimensions of this crisis and our response. These are people who have created hope and opportunity, who have saved lives and who have inspired others. I'm going to keep the introductions short since you can read their bios in the program.

Deo Grati Niyizonkiza. Hello Deo, so awesome to have you here. Deo is the founder and CEO of Village Health Works, providing primary health care services and community development in rural Burundi. Deo's remarkable life has led him from civil war-torn Burundi to the United States, where despite many hurdles, he attended Columbia, Harvard School of Public Health and Dartmouth School of Medicine, after which he returned to Burundi to establish Village Health Works in 2007. Deo, it's so wonderful to see you here again. Deo's story was first made famous in Tracy Kidder's book, *The Strength in What Remains*.

DEO GRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Thank you very much.

SASHA CHANOFF

Jeanne Bourgault is the CEO of Internews, an international nonprofit that works at the intersection of media information and development. Prior to this role, Jeanne worked in the former Yugoslavia, serving as a strategic adviser for media development programs in post-war Kosovo, as well as manager of community development projects in Serbia and Montenegro. She also served for six years with USAID, including three years at the US embassy in Moscow.

Amy Rao, who is a friend to all of us here, is founder and CEO of Integrated Archive Systems, a Palo Alto-based company she founded in 1994. She's also president of the 11th Hour Project, a granting arm of the Schmidt Family Foundation. Through her human rights work she has traveled to the Democratic Republic of the Congo a number of times and twice to Lesbos, Greece, where she has focused on issues facing displaced populations and protecting refugees in emergency settings.

I want to start with Deo here. Deo, would you tell us briefly, before the war started in Burundi in 1994, who were you back and what were your aspirations?

DEO GRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Thank you. Who I was. I was this young boy who was born and raised in rural Burundi, trying to figure out what life can offer, but the conditions I was born and raised in didn't really offer many options. Maybe I should very quickly give you one of my earliest memories growing up, which was my first year of primary school. The classroom was packed with schoolchildren the first day of class, but by the end of the school year it was half empty—half empty because many children died from undiagnosed diseases and others dropped out of school to raise children because their mothers were dead or they were bedridden. So it was not a life in which most of us who were able to survive could ask, "What am I going to do tomorrow?" It was

about “Am I next?” Or “Am I going to do this and that?” So that led me to thinking about what I could learn to save someone’s life, and I ended up being lucky. I went to medical school in Burundi. That is when the horror started in 1993.

SASHA CHANOFF

So you were a medical student with aspirations to build and support your community there.

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Exactly.

SASHA CHANOFF

And then, in 1993, when the conflict started you were forced to flee. Could you share with us one experience that stands out for you during that time in 1993 and '94 when you were fleeing?

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

There are many. Unfortunately, most of these personal experiences are unspeakable. There are no words for them. Some I can try.

I remember this one particular experience that I do know I will carry to my grave. I was on the run for my life and I was exhausted. This is after five days in the bushes. I got into these banana groves and I saw a pile of people — dead bodies. There was this baby next to a person who seemed to be the mother, and I believe that she was the mother. The baby is holding the breast of the mother. The mother had been killed. I looked at this kid and I lost everything I was taught and used to believe about humanity and goodness. I asked myself many questions: “I probably have done something wrong in my life that I am not aware of; am I old enough to have maybe done something wrong? What could this baby have done to deserve this? And if there is such a thing as a good God, why would you allow this to happen?” So the baby is looking at me, and I just collapsed. I fainted. I couldn’t even look at him.

SASHA CHANOFF

Thanks for sharing this experience, Deo. I know that you are a public speaker and you share these kinds of experiences often, but I just want to acknowledge that we here listening to you appreciate and are honored that you are sharing such a personal moment with us. I’m sure it’s not easy for you to share these kinds of experiences.

I know that after you escaped from Burundi you arrived in the US. Could you tell us a little about how you felt in New York when you first arrived and what that was like?

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Two things. One was that when I came to this country, I didn’t speak a word of English. I spoke French, my native language. I was taught that it was the only language, not just the only beautiful language. Here, I found myself in the United States unable to meet anyone who spoke French; which by the way was taught to me as if it was the language of the civilized. And I’m coming from killing fields and

genocide and I ended up in the country of uncivilized people who don’t speak French. It really felt like it was the punishment from hell. It was one thing after another. Here I am: I pour my heart into it, all my education, and everything is upside down. So I came here, and a luggage handler at JFK [John F. Kennedy International Airport] helped me out and I stayed with him in Harlem. Back then, Harlem felt to me like another hell on earth and I ended up homeless in Central Park, this beautiful forest in the middle of Manhattan. But, the forests didn’t mean to me what they mean to the people around here. It reminded me of the forest I was in when running away. I survived the homelessness, and I managed to find a job through someone from West Africa who helped me. I found a job at Gristedes, where I was paid \$15 a day, working from 7:00 AM to 7:00 PM.

SASHA CHANOFF

Deo, I know that when we spoke in preparation for this plenary session, you told me that was the point, here in the US, when you felt more isolated than at any time in your life. Could you tell us a little about whom you met and how you found the purchase to rebuild your life here?

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

I met quite a lot of people, but going back to what you just said, it was at this moment, and many, many other moments, that I regretted my own survival. The isolation, the loneliness — you don’t speak the language and just wonder, “Could I keep up?” So there was a lot of humiliation, and through the process of coping and fighting for myself and through the work I was doing, I met this woman, Sharon McKenna, who introduced me to Charlie and Nancy Wolf, an artist and, as Charlie liked to call himself, a reformed academic sociologist. They opened their hearts and doors for me, and I struggled. It really took a village to bring me back on my own feet.

SASHA CHANOFF

And you not only got back on your own feet, you went to Columbia. You attended Dartmouth, Harvard, and then you went back to support others. So people came into your life at a time of great need, then you went and founded Village Health Works and now you have come into other people’s lives in the time of their greatest need. Could you tell us a little about Village Health Works? We’ll show a couple of slides about your work, as well.

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Village Health Works started 10 years ago, December 2005. And the reason why I went there was to see how Burundi was doing. This picture is one of the patients we helped, a refugee and repatriate who had lost dignity, lost everything that made him feel like a human being. So when people really get together to restore hope and repair human dignity, you can bring someone back to life. This is Frederic. These are children who are lost, who have no one else, but you can see that getting together can really make a difference. And these are children who are like every other child, who have a dream to become contributors to building our world, to making it peaceful; but by accident of birth or God knows what, they end up in this kind of situation. This is

another child who we found in the bushes completely lost, abandoned. All of these tragedies that we hear about, that we talk about — whose fault is that really? We sit, we talk and we don't act with compassion and kindness.

SASHA CHANOFF

Thank you, Deo. I think one of the points you make is the need in Burundi. Yesterday one of the top discussion pieces was how do we get upstream of conflict? How can you act to prevent conflict? And the fact is that bad governance — when people's needs are not attended to, when human rights are not respected in countries — that is one of the drivers of conflict. Burundi is now in conflict again because the president has tried to change the constitution in order to seek a third term, something that we've seen in other countries, as well, and that has sparked protests, outrage and the new conflict. In Burundi, people flee across the border to neighboring countries. They've done that before. And so in the case of Burundians fleeing, when they get across the border they actually know where to go. There are reception centers and camps set up in Tanzania and Rwanda. But in many places around the world, people don't know where to go once they flee their countries.

I want to now turn to Jeanne and ask you to tell us about another emergency, Syrian and other refugees fleeing to Greece. Jeanne, if you would, I'd love you to tell us about Internews' work in Greece in a situation that seems to me very chaotic, with people who are arriving but they don't know where to go or what to do. Could you tell us a little about your work there and how Internews is responding?

JEANNE BOURGAULT

Sure. Thank you. And thank you, Deo, for telling your story.

Two weeks ago I was sitting in Victoria Square in Athens, meeting with a woman I'll call Hafeezah, who had just recently arrived from Afghanistan. Hafeezah is the type of woman we all would love. We'd love to have her up on the stage with us. She was working for an international organization in Kabul, promoting women's rights; two years ago her husband was murdered for his work, and her life with her three children was turned into chaos. As a single mother living in Kabul, she couldn't go back to her hometown. It was too conservative and would not accept her. She was facing increasing threats for her work. So two months ago, she made the really difficult decision to leave, to uproot her life and the lives of her children. She managed to get a flight to Turkey and then three weeks ago took the boat over to Greece — a boat ride that can often result in death — but she put her children on that boat. It's just terrifying.

Hafeezah's now in Victoria Square, where a lot of the Afghan refugees converge in Athens. She's entirely capable of figuring out how to, on a temporary basis, manage her life in Athens, but she has one desperate need, and that need is for information. She needs to know what now? She sits in the square because that's where Afghans are talking. That's where smugglers are coming. That's where some amount of information is flowing. But she needs to know if she is going to be deported. What does the EU/Turkey agreement mean for her? When can she start her journey back to Europe? What now? It's because of people like Hafeezah that I'm here.

Internews is a 34-year-old organization dedicated to ensuring that people everywhere have the information they need to make good choices for their families, to engage

with their community and to hold their governments accountable. Our core work focuses on building local, independent voices for locally relevant and trusted information for everywhere around the world. We do this because experience has shown that when people have information, it's a root solution to advancing social, economic and political progress. But information is also a form of aid, a fact that dramatically plays out in the refugee crisis around the world. I'm hoping our conversation today will help us understand that this somewhat unconventional form of aid should be a basic humanitarian service just like food, water and shelter.

So let's turn to the Mediterranean crisis, and I've got a couple of slides myself. We went to Greece early last fall. When we arrived in there to help fill the information needs of the refugees, we focused on some really, really basic facts. While many travelers were carrying cell phones when they landed, they didn't know what to do. There was no information. They needed basic information like a map that showed them that they landed on an island, that they weren't on mainland Greece. They needed to know where the first point of support would be, which was 60 kilometers up the road, lots of hills, not a very good walk; how much taxis cost; when the buses would arrive. They needed some really, really basic information.

We were able to provide this information via these maps. And while the information was simple, the delivery was really tough. These are not all Arabic speakers. We had Farsi speakers. We had many, many different languages coming; many, many different levels of literacy; many, many different levels of access to technology. But the information itself was fairly basic. The posters were just a start. We knew and we learned and listened and understood that the information flows for refugee populations is primarily through word of mouth and then amplified by smartphones. So much of the information unfortunately becomes rumors and misinformation — and some of it can be quite dangerous, most of it originating from the smugglers in Turkey.

One really insidious example of a rumor that many refugees were told was that when their boats were approaching the Greek shore, they should puncture them because any boats that were viable would be immediately sent back to Turkey. So people were putting themselves in danger because of this rumor. In response to this, we created a program to complement the posters called News That Moves. This is an online information system and a rumor-tracking system that we disseminate in a variety of different ways: online, via mobile apps, on posters, in flyers — sort of every which way that we could get information out. And this was originally to reach the people all the way down the line into Europe.

But, as you know, on March 20 the situation changed. The doors to Europe slammed shut. IDP camps are now becoming detention centers, and the dreams of asylum are now becoming fears of deportation. So given the lack of clarity, the "What now?" question is becoming all the more complicated. It's less about where to go and where to find services and much more about really complicated asylum laws, really complicated and still unclear government procedures, often buried in layers of national law and international law. And there's so much uncertainty that the complexity of information is all the more important.

And we know that the flood of people making these life-changing journeys isn't just across Europe and through the Middle East but also extending to places like South Sudan, the Central African Republic and elsewhere.

SASHA CHANOFF

You're making a point that I think is so important: that we think of the need for tents and immediate food and lifesaving assistance when actually, if you take a step back, what you've said is that information is critical to just getting to those places where people can be helped. And there is another point that you make that I want to highlight, which is that people are now arriving in places where they don't know where to go or what to do. In fact, a decade ago or more, most refugees were in camps. Today more than 50 percent of refugees no longer go to camps. They forgo camps because they see that those places are dead ends, so they end up in cities, in urban areas and in those places there are no systems set up to help them.

RefugePoint has undertaken research in Kenya and what we've found is the first 72 hours of somebody's arrival in Nairobi is like a ticking time bomb. That's the time when unaccompanied children, women and girls and others are most susceptible to trafficking, to dangerous and exploitive situations and relationships. They need information first and foremost, and there are no systems set up to help them get that information. So what you're talking about is fundamental and I think highlights a new dimension of this kind of global crisis and how we have to orient ourselves.

You were going to highlight Internews' work in South Sudan in a situation of internally displaced people, and we'd love to hear more about that.

JEANNE BOURGAULT

Thank you, Sasha, and thank you for making those points.

In South Sudan there are currently 2.3 million people who are displaced by civil war and by devastating food insecurity. After Syria it's one of the highest concentrations of displaced people in the world. The IDP camps of South Sudan developed during the civil war, and they mostly surround the UN missions and the peacekeeping missions there. And unlike in Europe, the IDP camps are static. The camps are completely closed because the people who are in the camps are really, really afraid of the people outside the camps. That's part of the civil war going on. So their information needs are very, very hyper-local, and they are also very complicated given the situation in South Sudan.

There is an extraordinary lack of media in South Sudan. In fact, 34 percent of the people that we interviewed recently never had access to a mobile phone, let alone television, internet or radio. There is extremely low literacy — 26 percent literacy among adults. And as I said, it's for safety reasons that the people are in these IDP camps. The information they need is highly localized. It's incredibly dangerous if anything goes outside the communities themselves, so traditional radio reaching these communities was out of the question. In this environment a program called Boda Boda Talk Talk was born, and that's what you're seeing in the photo here.

Boda Boda Talk Talk is a biweekly audio program that's broadcast by megaphone attached to a quad [motor] bike, which is the boda boda; that's where the boda boda comes from. These bikes rove around the camp, to listening posts and they play the programming on a biweekly basis. The programming itself

includes information about how to navigate life in the camp, but it also includes entertainment. It dispels rumors and basically is aimed at reducing the tension and the pressure in a situation as difficult as a completely closed IDP camp. Boda Boda Talk Talk is produced by community correspondents who themselves live in the camps. And this is a really important point because humanitarian information is most credible, most impactful, when it's produced by the community, from trusted voices of the community, when effective humanitarian information can save lives and begin to prepare people for whatever comes next.

So the issues facing the populations in South Sudan and Europe are really, really different, but they have three big commonalities. The first is, even though we are amazing as international organizations, we know that local communities are the true first responders to any crisis, and information is the lifeblood of their ability to respond. Second, at an individual level, information builds agency and dignity, and it helps people take responsibility for what happens next in their life. And finally, information doesn't just inform in a crisis but it is the primary currency of resolution to a crisis — that communication, the need for building mutual understanding or facilitating reconciliation. It starts there. It starts with information. So for these three reasons, investing in systems that support healthy information flows — strong independent voices supported by appropriate technologies — is so critical in our response today. It's also a human kindness. It helps people gain some control over their future. It helps them answer the question themselves of What now?

Thank you, Sasha.

SASHA CHANOFF

Thank you, Jeanne. Thank you. You're bringing me back to my time in South Sudan and working with the Sudanese Lost Boys in Kenya. There was a wonderful movie about them, the Warner Brothers film, "The Good Lie," that highlights their story. We talk now about losing a generation of Syrians, but we must also keep in mind other countries that face the devastation of conflict. Between 1983 and 2005, during the conflict in South Sudan, a generation of South Sudanese had no access to education.

We're here as a philanthropic community to think about how we might engage, how we might change how the world addresses this growing global crisis. I want to turn now to you, Amy. Your voice is so important, fundamental here really, because we are a community of philanthropists and you are that voice among us. I know that you were in Greece recently. You called me right when you got back. You were so energized and passionate about what you were doing. Can you share with us, first, something about why you went? Who was it that called you and told you that you had to go over, and what did you see there?

AMY RAO

Sure. First of all, thank you so much. I feel so privileged sitting up here with three extraordinary human rights activists, who as your day job get up and make the world a better place. I feel so lucky, so thank you. Your work is extraordinary and I feel lucky that I know all three of you.

What took me to Greece? I'm on the board of Human Rights Watch. I'm a human rights junkie, I guess. I get up every morning fairly early, and Monday through Friday I read what's called the Human Rights Watch Daily Brief. It's published at about 5:30 every morning Pacific Standard Time because it comes out of London. I had been following Human Rights Watch's reporting on the refugee crisis last fall and on one early morning in October, I woke up to an email from Peter Bouckaert, the head of the emergencies division. It was just a couple of sentences, basically saying, "I'm in Lesbos, Greece. There's a small group of volunteer lifeguards here from Barcelona, Spain. They are the only people saving lives out in the water. They desperately need \$12,000 to bring two of their jet skis here. They have no equipment but their wetsuits and their fins. I told them I know someone who could help them, and their eyes filled with tears."

I wrote Peter back right away — you know, what I think most of us in the room would do: "Where do you have wiring information?" And so I started following the work of those Spanish lifeguards. Peter was tweeting about them quite a bit, and he said to me a few days later, "You should come over here and see this because you won't believe what you see." I've gone to the Congo a number of times. I've had the privilege of going to Burundi as well and visiting Deo's site, but I don't normally go into the middle of a crisis. It was October and I said, "What the heck," and I booked a ticket. Peter told me where to go, what airport to fly to: "Rent a car, drive here and you're set." I called a girlfriend who had grown children who I knew could probably go on a whim, and so I went.

I land in Lesbos, Greece at Mytilene International Airport, and I drive to the beach. I get there at about 11:00 in the morning. I couldn't check into my hotel yet and I'm on this beach, where a lot of the photographs that have been on the front pages of the papers around the world were taken of these boats coming in with people in orange life vests. That's exactly what you see. And I remember just driving down this beach road and ahead of me seeing these lifeguards in red and yellow. There were six of them, and I knew immediately, oh those are the lifeguards who needed the jet skis. I didn't know their faces, but I knew their clothes and I recognized them. I got out of my car, and they knew immediately who I was and called my name out. I walked over and introduced myself, and then looked out on the water. There were several boats heading in. This was early on, when there weren't very many volunteers there at all. You just walk in the water, and all of a sudden you're unloading a boat and these lifeguards are handing you small children and infants who are freezing cold.

One other little nugget I want to tell you is that just before we started to unload the boats, the lifeguards pointed behind me, and I turned around and there was a truck pulling two jet skis on a bed. And they said, "You arrived the same time as our jet skis!" This was a Monday morning at about 11:00. The lifeguards explained to me that the beaches are rocky so you can't just take the jet ski and put it right in the water. They said they'd have to have ramps built; they talked to the owner of the little bed-and-breakfast where they were staying on the beach, and he was going to build the ramps. For the rest of the day until about 11:00 that night, I stayed up and helped them unload boats. I was exhausted when I went to bed. I can tell you that the lifeguards stay on shifts because the boats come all night long.

The story that I told Sasha that I want to share occurred on Wednesday, two days later. We'd been unloading boats all day, and at about 3:00 in the afternoon we stopped to have a bit of lunch in the little bed-and-breakfast. We weren't 15 minutes into lunch when the phone rang for one of the lifeguards. They just heard "bodies in the water," so we ran out and got in our cars and drove about 3 kilometers down the road. There were a total of six of those volunteer lifeguards from Barcelona. I was having lunch with four of them. Two of them had been watching for boats coming in, and sure enough a very large two-level wooden fishing boat had basically disintegrated about a kilometer and a half offshore. It was a full moon. It was October 28. It was a Wednesday.

There were hundreds of life jackets just bouncing, bobbing up in the very rough Aegean Sea. Full moons make for really high tides and rough waters, which I was unaware of. And it was really cold. I remember I was in two layers with Polartec on the outside. And because I'd been unloading boats for the past two days, I knew what was out in the water, and I knew that probably a third of those life jackets were children five years and under. And I knew they were drowning as we were watching. We got there to the shore, and maybe it was 30 seconds, I pulled out my binoculars and watched and all of a sudden I heard two cars drive away very quickly. I turned and saw that the lifeguards had left. I remember thinking, Oh my god, they're going to get the jet skis. And my friend Marcia whom I was with said, "They're not going to get the jet skis, Amy; the water's too rough and it's too far out. You can't take jet skis out in this."

We watched as a big Frontex boat came and it passed all the orange life jackets and just continued on. We watched it through our binoculars only to discover that the Frontex boat had no equipment to do open-water rescue, had no tender to drop into the water, had no ladder or life preservers to throw out. And we watched as a couple of little fishing boats pulled up and were helpless. It was about seven minutes between the time when we started watching when we heard the jet skis come. The jet skis each carried two lifeguards. They had a jet ski and a table on the back. It's what you use to pull surfers out of the water.

They stayed out there for almost five hours. They pulled 244 survivors out of the water. All 244 survivors were pulled out by these four lifeguards on these two jet skis. They pulled a lot of people out, and small children and infants who weren't as fortunate didn't make it. The lifeguards were the only people out in the water that day who knew first aid. They were performing CPR [cardiopulmonary resuscitation] and mouth-to-mouth [resuscitation] on the back of the jet skis, on the tables as well as on the fishing boats when they would get on them with the children.

They stayed out there until almost 9:00 that night. By the time the jet skis came in it was pitch dark. They didn't even have lights on their jet skis. They were all hypothermic. It was just a war scene on the water. But I remember thinking how lucky we were that we had those two jet skis. Because of those two jet skis and those four lifeguards, 244 people survived. We'll never have the true number of how many people drowned because when the boat collapsed, the top level onto the bottom level, entire families were probably lost, and those bodies continue to wash up on shore.

SASHA CHANOFF

Thanks, Amy, for sharing that. You had also said that when you came back, one of the needs was for binoculars, some kind of military-grade binoculars. Would you tell us briefly about the company that you connected with? I want to make a point about corporate engagement in philanthropy. Could you tell us what you did, what those lifeguards said they needed beyond the jet skis?

AMY RAO

Yes. Actually, before my first trip, I wrote to Peter and said, “Peter, is there anything I can bring? Is there anything they need?”

He said, “Yes. They need military-grade nighttime binoculars. They can’t see the boats at all at nighttime.” This was about four days before I was leaving, so I did some quick research on the Internet, and lo and behold there’s a company in South San Francisco that makes the night-vision gear for the US military. I called this company in South San Francisco, and over about two and a half days they ended up building me a night monocular. The night monocular enabled the lifeguards to see almost 1 mile out on the water at nighttime with no moon, and you could literally tell if it was a man or a woman, so it’s incredible visibility that they did not have. I carried that with me on the first trip. It was this big suitcase, and I was able to take it only because of an agreement between the US and Greece. It isn’t a piece of equipment you can take into every country.

So I brought it in, and that very night they put it to use. They used that night monocular, and it was a whopping \$8,000. They used that night monocular every single night. I don’t stay up all night when I’m there, but in the morning you would hear the stories of the boats that were rescued because of the night monocular. People had fallen out of boats at nighttime, and because of the night monocular the lifeguards could get out in open water and find these people and they would survive. They posted several pictures and videos of what it looks like to look through the night monocular and see out in the water at nighttime, so you can see these boats and you can find people in the water. It made me feel good because it reminded me of the technology that comes out of the Bay Area that gets used to save lives. And it also shows that these are tiny investments — that you don’t make anyone do any paperwork or send you a grant request for. It’s an immediate need, and you just fill it. The return on investment is enormous.

SASHA CHANOFF

Yes, right time to clap.

We have to expand the boundaries of our response to this crisis beyond the traditional actors, beyond the NGOs, the governments and the UN agencies that ordinarily respond. We have to look at how our response can be more global. One dimension of that is corporate engagement. I wanted you to highlight that because it emphasizes the importance of companies contributing their own skills and expertise to this issue. And this is actually now turning into more of a global movement. The Chobani founder, Hamdi Ulukaya, has the Tent Foundation, and there is a tent pledge where he is galvanizing, inspiring, calling on other companies to join. Many companies have already joined: Ikea, MasterCard, UPS

[United Parcel Service], and others that are finding that their particular expertise relates to conflicts in a specific way. And they can contribute things beyond funding that will actually help benefit all of us.

Amy, in 2014, only four percent of philanthropy in the US went internationally. Your philanthropy is part of that four percent. What is it that you see in others, in international organizations, in individuals, that motivates you to fund. Amy, I think it’s worth pointing out, is a close friend to all of us here onstage. She’s funded each of our organizations. She’s traveled to Burundi. She and I are huge admirers of Deo. Since this is the Global Philanthropy Forum, I’d like to get into a few questions around what it is that you look for when you want to support efforts in the international spectrum because you can’t always get a firsthand impression of what’s happening. So what motivates you to fund internationally?

AMY RAO

It’s really the people. Deo is an easy one. If you read *Strength in What Remains*, you just get your checkbook out and you write a check. I remember reading Tracy Kidder’s book about Paul Farmer, *Mountains Beyond Mountains*, and I was just blown away and had that same response. And then you read Deo’s story and it’s this whole other level of unbelievable respect and you just want to say, “How can I be a part, and how can I help?” So much of the philanthropy in the US is given domestically, and I think that our hearts and our wallets are big enough to do both domestic and international, and internationally your dollar goes so far.

What I look for is that I don’t have to meet you. I just have to hear about you and if I get to meet you, I’m all the luckier. But I think about these people on the stage who would be doing the work they’re doing whether they were getting paid to do it or not. They are so committed to it. They are so passionate about making the world a better place and putting opportunities out there for people all around the world. So I really bet on people. That’s my barometer. I bet on people who are doing incredible work.

I love to fund local, in-country organizations on the front lines because at the end of the day, those are the people who are really leading the children to schools, doing the health care work and helping the refugees understand what their options are and where to go next. It’s the frontline groups. It’s not hard to find out about the frontline groups, and you build this network — and this is a phenomenal place to build that network. You learn from your friends. You learn from your neighbors. You learn from your peers, and you listen. And when you hear about someone doing extraordinary work, you go ahead and take the risk and make the bet and support that work if it’s in an issue area that you care passionately about. You’ll learn more about the work once you start funding them because they’ll reach out and they’ll send you updates.

As I was telling Sasha, as well as Deo and Jeanne, I don’t require a lot of that on the front end. If I hear that you’re doing great work, it’s a need that needs to be met. God bless these organizations on the front lines. You know, get your checkbook out, take the risk and fund them because at the end of the day you know you get to be part of their movement. I’m not a doctor like Deo. I’m not an information specialist with the incredible background of Jeanne. And Sasha understands how to help people gain asylum better than anyone I know. I can’t

do their jobs, but I can help fund their jobs; and when I get to fund their jobs, I get to be part of making the world a better place. So, really I bet on the people. It's not rocket science.

SASHA CHANOFF

So, Amy, you fund quickly and then learn on the go.

AMY RAO

Yes.

SASHA CHANOFF

And you have trusted friends and colleagues.

AMY RAO

Yes.

SASHA CHANOFF

You told me you trusted your Human Rights Watch colleague implicitly. When he said, "Come to Greece..."

AMY RAO

Oh, you just do it.

SASHA CHANOFF

...you went to Greece.

AMY RAO

Yes. I said to Sasha, "If Peter said to me, 'I need you to sell your house tomorrow, and this is where the money needs to go,' I would sell it." You just do it.

SASHA CHANOFF

It's such an interesting and important point, I think, with international funding. I'm on the Steering Committee of New England International Donors based in Boston and we're a network of philanthropists. We've found that we build relationships, trust each other and start funding with one another there. So I think it's such a valuable point to have community around what you do.

I want to keep on this theme of philanthropy, though and I'd like to turn it back perhaps, Deo, to you first and, Jeanne, to ask you to tell us about a funder that you have, or a characteristic of a funder that you have, that you appreciate a lot. What are some of the characteristics — one or two characteristics that make you feel that partner of mine is somebody who understands what I do, who works closely with me and doesn't hinder my work in some ways?

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

Yes, quite. We've been extremely lucky to have wonderful people, and I think what matters to me personally and my team at Village Health Works is actually what we know, and if we wanted to be involved, how do we get involved? There are all these basic things that we actually don't think about, OK? You go to Burundi: poverty. You see people dying and that kind of stuff. And you know exactly: OK, you need funding. You need money. But there is something that is so crucial: it's how you approach someone and shake hands and say, "How are you?" That handshake means so much more than anything else, it is the beginning of something really beautiful that you can actually feel—that the donor and you, the victim, the neediest, you are all human beings and you are capable of changing the situation.

And this is the kind of people we have been so lucky to know, like the 11th Hour Project and Amy and Mascot [Miracles] Foundation and others. We have been so lucky. And there are other people we really want to help. You have a lot of people who are so poor, who are heartbroken, who are desperate and remembering that they too are still human beings like us. They appreciate a conversation that is decent and you just give them a little help so that they can stand up and be on their own and help someone else. It's really more than just giving money. You know, seeing problems and just thinking, Let's do something like this. It's about doing it with kindness and compassion. It means a lot.

SASHA CHANOFF

So it's connecting with people based on mutual values and a mutual sense of what you want to see the world look like.

DEOGRATIAS NIYIZONKIZA

That's correct.

SASHA CHANOFF

Jeanne, can you share some examples of philanthropic partners that you feel are particularly effective with you?

JEANNE BOURGAULT

One of the characteristics that I love about philanthropic partners and one that I've actually heard a lot in this room today is people who are willing to be risk takers. And, Amy, I have to say that I bet a year ago you never dreamed you would be giving jet skis as part of your humanitarian contributions. So I do think that sort of thinking, that creativity and willingness to take risks is such an important point.

We're known as an international nonprofit organization. We work almost exclusively internationally. And a funder in New Jersey heard about some of our work and said, "You know, I've got some issues that I'm grappling with here in New Jersey. I think you could help." And we didn't say, "No, we're not going to work with you because you're local, and we work internationally." They said, "Come to New Jersey. Help us." And I just think that's extraordinary. I think

that that openness and willingness to experiment and take a risk with different partners, different players, or different approaches to achieve what you're trying to achieve is just a critically important part of philanthropy.

SASHA CHANOFF

Great. Amy, did you want to add something to that?

AMY RAO

I just want to make sure that I say when I'm up here that I also feel as someone who gets to give money away that it's not enough just to fund your work. And I talked about this yesterday. I had the privilege of having this wonderful conversation with Tsitsi [Masiyiwa] of the Higherlife Foundation. It's about making sure every day — whether you're on the philanthropy side or the activist side or the people really doing the work in the field — it's about making sure that we're talking about it every day, that we're informed and that we're asking others to join us in the work.

I think it's really important to magnify philanthropy because at the core of philanthropy is incredible work, which is what all three of you do — and so many of the organizations we're hearing from. But how can we really grow the dollars behind you guys so that you can do more work? That is by actively talking about it — inviting people. I'm hosting Sasha for a wonderful dinner tomorrow night in my home. I did two dinners last week. You know, it's taking the time to fill your dining-room tables, or at work, with these great organizations that are doing this work, so that people — your friends and your community — get to know these incredible organizations because people can come in at all levels and fund it. We have to remember that every day it's not enough to write the check but that we take action every day; maybe we send three or four emails about these organizations. We reach out to people. We talk about it with our neighbors and our friends. And everywhere we are, you have to not only fund them but also be an activist for them and spread their mission.

SASHA CHANOFF

I want to pull out one lesson from Bill Draper of the Draper Richards Kaplan Foundation that pushed us to highlight what measures we want to use to evaluate our success and what impact we're making and how we can report on that. I found that once we identified those measures, other funders would then look at us and say, "Just share with me what you've already shared with others." That was very effective. When foundations and funders have their own specific perspective and require detailed and unique metrics and measures that are outside of what the organization regularly reports on, this can be a burden. And yet this seems to be commonplace. If an organization has a way to analyze and report on progress, then ideally these could be used by all interested funders. So it's coming up with the measures that you can use and then highlighting those for everybody. I think an important point, actually globally too, is that we need to have more common measures of success that we can use collectively.

What I'd like to do now is turn it over to the audience.

REMARKS: LEVERAGING CULTURE AND TRADITIONS

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS SYLVIA NAGGINDA, QUEEN OF BUGANDA KINGDOM, UGANDA



Her Royal Highness Sylvia Nagginda

TUESDAY, APRIL 5

1:00 PM

TSITSI MASIYIWA

First I just want to say thank you so much to Jane and the GPF team for the opportunity to introduce someone who is highly respected on the African continent and also dearly loved by many people. She's loved as a woman. She's loved as a mother. She's loved as a wife and as an activist, so it is my real honor to introduce our very special guest to the GPF stage, Her Royal Highness Queen Sylvia Nagginda.

Her Royal Highness is a leader of the people of Buganda, the largest kingdom in Uganda, occupying almost a quarter of the country, with a population of 7 million people. She is also an engaged philanthropist, having founded the Nnabagereka Development Foundation in 2000. At the heart of her work is a focus on issues that affect youth and women, with initiatives that center on education, on health, on community empowerment and also on the advancement of good cultural values and practices. In addition to her work with the Foundation, Her Royal Highness is a Goodwill Ambassador for the United Nations Population Fund in Uganda, a torch bearer of the Millennium Development Goals and also an ambassador of Mama Club, an initiative that serves mothers living with HIV [human immunodeficiency virus] and AIDS [acquired immune deficiency syndrome]. She also joins me as a co-member of the African Philanthropy Forum. Her Royal Highness is a remarkable woman, and we are delighted that she could travel here to share her insights with us today.

Please join me in welcoming Her Royal Highness Queen Sylvia Nagginda.

SYLVIA NAGGINDA

Good afternoon.

Distinguished participants, I would like to start by thanking Jane Wales for inviting me to participate in this very important forum. I feel privileged to be attending this Global Philanthropy Conference here in Redwood City, because the theme, "People on the Move," casts our attention to the unprecedented human migrations taking place around the world where people are running away from devastating wars, and social, economic and environmental upheavals. Since these occurrences have a direct impact on human development and sustainable development as a whole, social investors, development practitioners, and philanthropists need to debate and map out solutions that address these challenges. I was requested by the organizers of this conference to share my thoughts and experiences on how culture and traditions can be leveraged for development.

I will begin by shedding some light on the contribution of culture in human development, and by extension how culture can counteract the worrisome developments that we are witnessing especially as people migrate. Culture gives us the connection to social values, beliefs and traditions. It influences our worldview, provides guidance, allows us to identify with other people, makes us more tolerant of diversity, gives us a sense of purpose, unity and belonging, and enables us to understand our history better. Based on this linkage between culture and human development, I believe that there are key questions that need to be answered by cultural leaders such as myself and others, in relation to the theme of this conference.

The two questions are: one, what is the role of culture and cultural leaders in addressing the development challenges that have emerged globally? Two, how can cultural leaders leverage positive aspects of culture and traditions to counter the socio-economic upheavals and civil strife so that sustainable development responds to local contexts, builds tolerance of diversity and inclusive societies?

Today, even as people move from their original place of birth to settle elsewhere, they still naturally identify with their original culture and traditions as a source of basic identity, and as a rallying point and personification for their political, social, economic and cultural aspirations. Hence, we see communities of nations — also known as ethnic enclaves or culture neighborhoods — being established within countries by settlers. For example, here in the US we have Little Italy, Chinatown, Germantown, Greek town among others.

People's cultural inclinations move with them when they migrate. Cultural neighborhoods provide a secure environment for the immigrant to return to in their new land. Such a setting can serve as a comfort zone within which a day-to-day life not too distant from that of the land of origin can be preserved, and in which the process of assimilating to the new world can be supported and eased.

The urge to form cultural enclaves or neighborhoods stems from the human desire to remain within one's comfort zone. Immersion in a foreign culture, adjusting to a different economic setting — such as a big city from a small village — and perhaps encountering a different dominant language can produce a strong desire to recreate a more familiar environment. Approaching issues from a cultural vantage point appeals to the soul and senses of individuals because they feel that their values are being understood and recognized by others. Appealing factors become easily believable, adoptable and acceptable. For instance, unfortunately, terrorists appeal to the senses of the youth and as a result they manage to recruit and indoctrinate them into their terror groups or cults.

Cultural leaders appeal positively to people's senses in order to propel them to work for themselves and others, to improve their standards of living, children to stir away from harmful behaviors, countries to be more tolerant and inclusive, individuals to be more compassionate and considerate of others, and immigrants to establish productive culture neighborhoods for social and economic welfare outside their homelands.

In Africa, cultural leaders are enablers and catalysts in the development process. They leverage culture to make a difference in the lives of other people by improving their social and economic well-being. Cultural leaders have the authority and ability to mobilize, organize and appeal to the masses. They galvanize people for development, to promote unity and understanding among the population. Therefore, they're very important and effective partners for development organizations, as well as for local and national leadership to effect positive change where it's needed.

We use the cultural voice — the voice emanating from cultural leaders of authority on development matters or the words and expressions that delineate culture as the cornerstone for progress and development. When we address the good aspects of culture using the cultural voice it makes the information credible and easier to adopt because positive cultural voices appeal to people's solicitous senses. Positive culture allows us to identify with others, to have a sense of purpose, belonging and unity and to act positively.

At Nnabagereka over the last 15 years, I have supported the promotion of positive culture that provides development solutions for our people in Uganda, and worked to address the challenges of embracing modernity in a rapidly evolving globalized world, whilst retaining and promoting positive aspects of indigenous African culture, and amplifying the role and significance of culture in solving Africa's development problems and challenges.

In my quest to build tolerance for diversity, I have shared my philanthropic and development work experience with other African cultural leaders, who are responsible for steering their people toward development. In this regard we established the African Queens and Women Cultural Leaders Network (AQWCLN) in 2013 whose aim is to promote positive cultural values and improve the lives of women and children in Africa.

The Nnabagereka Development Foundation, which I founded in 2000, is the primary vehicle through which I carry out my philanthropic work. The vision of the Foundation is to be a leading African foundation advancing positive culture, and providing sustainable development solutions. Its mission is to leverage culture to improve the quality of life of children, the youth and women, while the overarching strategic goal is to improve their economic and social well-being of these three target groups in Uganda.

One of the four strategies that the Foundation uses to implement its programs is capacity building for social transformation through "Obuntubulamu," which essentially means humanness, compassion and caring.

In order to achieve its objectives, our Foundation purposefully ensures that the design and implementation of its development programs are informed by voices that are rooted in culture. The aim is to catalyze a sense of belonging and dignity in our people, and pride in being custodians of the rich Buganda Kingdom's cultural heritage, which has made tremendous contributions to the socio-economic development and the creation of a conducive and enabling environment in Uganda.

Through the Foundation, I have mobilized resources and used them to render support to key human development areas such as: maternal health care, community development, child education, public health, culture preservation and poverty eradication through the economic empowerment of women. I believe there are lessons and good practices in these initiatives of this nature that can be replicated elsewhere in the world.

At the center of our work, special attention is given to the well-being of children, hence the Foundation also promotes the establishment of nurturing and stimulating environments for children, where learning can be promoted and their physical and emotional needs are acknowledged and satisfied. We do this primarily to encourage and propel inter-generational transfer of positive behaviors and attitudes, knowledge, values and life skills that are critical to child development.

The success of our children's cultural program "Ekisaakaate" has perhaps been the most gratifying of my work and service to the education and development of young people. The children's camp draws on our past educational traditions that promoted positive behavior, proper grooming and human values in young people.

Given the increasing decline in morals, standards, dignity, and the falling away of social cohesion in communities, we realized that there was great need to mitigate these disturbing trends. It was essential for us to amplify and to build on our inherited

cultural traditions and values to restore communities and strengthen cohesion.

Essentially in the “Ekisaakaate,” children are facilitated to appreciate and embrace their own cultural identity and tradition as well as respect that of other people. The program has benefitted more than 10,000 boys and girls between the ages of six and 18 over the last 10 years. Daily activities include learning the native language, discipline, etiquette, leadership skills, environment protection, spiritual growth, sexuality education, health, nutrition, fitness and hygiene, domestics, music, dance and drama.

The child education and life skilling work undertaken in this “Ekisaakaate” program is aligned to Sustainable Development Goal number 4, which seeks to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all by ensuring that all learners acquire knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development through appreciation of culture diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development.

I want to conclude by saying that we can and should leverage positive aspects of culture and traditions to counter the ensuing socio-economic upheavals, civil strife and migration challenges encountered once people settle in new places. I believe that the “new normal” will entail borrowing from the old in order for us to move ahead progressively and peacefully. Therefore, philanthropists should play their part by supporting existing and the creation of new programs that integrate the positive elements of culture, and that situate culture as a key framework that defines people’s choices, and use positive cultural voices to appeal to people’s solicitous senses. This is a prerequisite for creation of a conducive environment for the pursuit and attainment of progress and sustainable development.

Thank you.

THE SEARCH FOR BELONGING THROUGH VIOLENT EXTREMIST NETWORKS



Kyai Haji Yahya Cholil Staquf

TUESDAY, APRIL 5

2:00 PM

SHAMIL IDRIS

President and CEO, Search for Common Ground

WILLIAM MCCANTS

Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution

KYAI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF

General Secretary, Nahdlatul Ulama Supreme Council

MODERATOR: JANE WALES

CEO, Global Philanthropy Forum and World Affairs; Vice President, The Aspen Institute

JANE WALES

This is our opportunity to talk about people on the move in search of meaning. And here, the real concern is the question *What is it about young people nowadays?* They feel like there's a hole to fill. They are feeling somehow estranged from the society in which they live, unanchored, untethered and unsettled. And what we're seeing around the world is the simultaneous rise, on the one hand, of the Ku Klux Klan in this country, which has been growing over the past 15 years, and on the other hand, of violent extremist groups such as ISIS. What is their appeal? How do we better understand it? And how do we as philanthropists think about how to fill that hole in a very different way?

We're going to hear from Will McCants, who is at the Brookings Institution. I'm not going to give long descriptions. Will was at the State Department and was a key adviser on this question, and I think what you all know by now is that Will literally wrote the book on ISIS. Pak Yahya of Indonesia, from the NU [Nahdlatul Ulama] party there, had opportunities to work in the United States and with the University of Vienna in Austria. We'll be able to ask him a good deal about Indonesia, of course the largest Muslim country in the world. And then Shamil Idriss. Shamil runs Search for Common Ground, which is an organization that has done an enormous amount of good work in the world of conflict resolution and conflict prevention. And in a prior life, he in some ways invented the world of virtual exchanges, which he has brought into Search for Common Ground as well.

So that we can even understand the nature of the problem, Shamil, I'm going to start with you and ask you about the various myths out there about the motivation for joining these kinds of groups. What is it? We hear other reasons that end up shaping our responses. But then they turn out not to be so.

SHAMIL IDRIS:

Thank you, Jane, very much. As a quick precursor to answering your question, I just wanted to explain a little about what I am and what I am not. I am not a scholar like Will or a religious scholar like Yahya. I run an international nonprofit organization. So what I'll share with you today is drawn from our lessons learned from the local teams that we support and the partners with whom we work in 36 different countries around the world. We are doing work at the local community level with youth groups, working in prison systems and working with governments to try to diversify their

approaches to this issue so they're not just the sharp end of the spear, tough-ended approaches. So that's where the lessons are taken from, that and the field of virtual exchange, which virtually connects young adults across the US and Western Europe with their peers in Muslim-majority cultures. We've learned a lot because you can engage young people in ways that are outside the normal exchange experiences.

So, based on those experiences and also their limitations, first I'll say what I think some of the myths are. There's not as much of a correlation as people oftentimes posit between the degree of religiosity and participation in extremist movements. You often find young people who join ISIS, Al-Nusra Front or any of these groups convert in one week and suddenly are off in Syria fighting, or they haven't had a history of being particularly religious or devout. So there's not as much of a correlation there as people might expect, which is not to say that there's not a theological base to some of ISIS' ideology and what they are trying to appeal to. There very much is.

There's not as much of a correlation as people would anticipate and oftentimes posit between levels of poverty and or joblessness and participation in these groups. I will offer a little bit of additional color to that but in terms of a one-to-one existence, the more unemployment you have, the more participation you have in ISIS just doesn't hold true. And, third, there is not as much of a correlation as people oftentimes posit between lack of education and participation in these groups, particularly among the leadership of some of these groups, which are often quite highly educated. It's a very dangerous space to make any generalizations, which is frustrating for a group like this because generalizations are helpful in determining what are we going to do about it?

So I'm going to make a couple of generalizations with a massive caveat that as I was reflecting about the kind of the work we do, local context is really everything. What causes a young person in Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria to join Boko Haram and a Moroccan in Al Hoceima in northern Morocco to run to Syria, or a young woman in Colorado to go? They are very different. But if it's not primarily those three things, what is it? What we've found — and I think some of the more credible research shows — is that some of the common factors are a sense of alienation, marginalization, humiliation and a sense of powerlessness in the face of perceived injustice. These kinds of emotional experiences, and some of what you might call an "identity crisis," are much closer markers of the likelihood of a young person to look for belonging, as is the title of the session, in a violent extremist movement.

And the last thing I'd point out — which makes it challenging but also gives us clues as to how to address these issues — is that it's not so different from what we've seen drive the recruitment of young people into urban gangs, into child soldier movements and into drug cartels for decades. We actually have a lot of lessons to learn and draw upon. We don't have to think that everything has to be new because this has to do somehow with Islam. Maybe we don't know so much about Islam so we're feeling like, well, we have no clue then. No. We actually know a lot from these other settings, and there are a lot of lessons that are directly relevant to this issue.

JANE WALES

And are some of the tools the same? That is to say, for example, there are various community groups that have been able to work with parents in the city of Los Angeles, or someplace where there is gang violence, to help the parents both to see that their child might be attracted and to find ways to intervene and offer a different path.

SHAMIL IDRIS

Yes. One thing you see with most of those movements is that their starting point for any young person is: "You're powerful. We need you. We have a just cause (whatever it is)" and "You are a driver of change and we need you." And too many of the efforts that are framed around countering violent extremism approach young people as, "You poor young people, you're marginalized. You're alienated. You need our help." And it's not the most empowering thing.

The second thing that you see happening is stuff that seems to talk at young people doesn't go nearly as well as things that give young people a voice. I was talking yesterday in a small group. I'll share it with the full group as well, just because I'll never forget it. It's from Michael Moore's film "Bowling for Columbine." He's trying to find out why there is so much gun violence in America because you have an equal per-capita gun ownership in countries like Canada and Switzerland. So what's going on here? And at one point, he's interviewing the heavy metal rocker Marilyn Manson because the kids who shot up Columbine High School were fans of his music and there was some blowback against his music afterward.

And so Moore asked him, "If you could talk to Dylan Klebold and the other boy who shot up the school the morning of the attack, what would you say to them?"

And Manson didn't miss a beat. He immediately said, "I wouldn't say anything. I'd listen to them. That's what nobody did."

And that, I think, is a profound lesson for groups that work with young people really need to heed. Provide avenues where young people can be heard, express themselves and talk about the things that upset them, and where the goal is not simply to keep this group from becoming violent. It's actually, Let's recognize young people for the powerful change makers that in fact they always have been across history in almost every culture, and let's provide more-constructive pathways for them to act out that change-making passion.

JANE WALES

Will, I'd like to turn to you and narrow the aperture for a moment and focus in on ISIS in particular because you have recently done a study on who is being attracted to ISIS and to some degree why.

WILL MCCANTS

Sure. We just did a study. We were looking at the attack data we have since 2011 and also the data about people who have traveled from abroad to join ISIS, to try to get a sense of what's really driving this movement, and in the beginning I think you should make a distinction between two things in your head. One is what drives someone locally, say in Syria or Iraq, to join and then what drives a foreigner to leave their family, leave their friends, travel abroad and join. Those are two different incentive structures that are driving those things. One has to do with reasons for joining an insurgency if you're part of a war-torn country. There's usually an economic incentive involved. Or you're doing it out of fear. You want to be with the guys, not against the guys, that have the guns — those sorts of things.

When you look at the foreigners, there's a different set of incentives — and some of this really comes out when you look at a combination of factors. There's usually not just one thing that's driving people to join, but a series of things. And in the past, folks who have studied this have identified a few of them. One has to do, as Shamil says, with peer networks. If your peers join a militant underground organization, you are more likely to join up than not. So a lot of this has to do with peer pressure.

In Europe there is a countercultural aspect to this. I mean, nothing is more countercultural today than ISIS. So it is a rebellion against mainstream Muslim values in Europe, and it's a rebellion against mainstream Western values as well. I think this is one reason why you find a lot of new converts joining. They don't particularly know the religious theology very well. They don't know the juris prudence very well, but there is something exciting about rebelling in this way. You also have a lot of criminals who get involved; one reason is of course they want to find some way to justify their criminality through religion. But there is another overlooked aspect, and that is that for many of them this violence is redemptive. They feel guilty about their religious pasts. They feel that it's an opportunity to cleanse their sins in the eyes of God on the battlefield.

But there are also some structural issues that are harder to get at, and the studies in this area have by and large been pretty weak because you are dealing with a small number of people. So it's always hard to derive big conclusions, but our study led us in some strange directions. I will share them with you with the big caveat that some of this we don't understand ourselves; we actually sat on these results for months because we were too hesitant to share them in public.

For some of them, you might suspect it has to do with youth unemployment and urbanization, but it's not a binary. It's not unemployment or not, urbanization or not. It matters if these things are in a certain range, and before or after that range it doesn't seem to have any impact. So for youth unemployment, it was generally between 10 and 30 percent. Before that it didn't matter. After that it didn't matter. Urbanization was between 65 and 80 percent. When these two things interacted with each other they tended to produce even more fighters than if these were separate.

The third thing we found that was driving a lot of the foreigners to travel abroad to fight was the reason why we were reticent to share it, and that had to do with the fact that it mattered a lot whether you came from a French-speaking country or not. And we initially didn't quite know what to make of it. We're still hesitant, but we think it has something to do with the way that French political culture handles secularism. In many countries that were influenced by the French colonial legacy — but also in France itself — secularism means removing symbols of religiosity, and we think that this may in part explain why French-speaking was so correlated with driving foreigners. It didn't have anything to do with the language; it was proxy for something else. But what was fascinating is that these three factors working together in concert ended up explaining a lot more of the travel than otherwise.

JANE WALES

So in essence, if you're saying, "You must not wear the veil," you are disrespecting their own value system and their own religion. It would be as though you said, "You must not wear a cross" or "You must not wear a yarmulke." Am I going too far on this?

WILL MCCANTS

That's exactly right, and the two countries in Western Europe that banned the wearing of the hijab in school are Belgium and France. It's also the case that many of these networks emerge among areas of dense urban populations, where there is a high level of youth employment as well. And I think that's one reason why we have seen this series of attacks over the past few months in France and Belgium in particular.

JANE WALES

I think you described, Shamil, a world that sounds very much like an adolescence period. That sense of not knowing your own place, feeling powerless, feeling humiliated. Where I want to take us, Will, for a moment is to where there may be actual grievances. I'm not saying that this would ever justify violence. But overlays the emotional unease that so many young people have right now — and not only young people but so many people have right now — is a sense of real injustice. Yesterday when I was talking to Chris Stone, I reminded him that this was not the first refugee crisis in Europe involving Muslims, right? We had thousands of Muslims murdered, men and boys, and another 25,000 expelled from Bosnia back in the nineties, and both Europe and the US were very slow to act.

WILL MCCANTS

That's right. And that's one of the major drivers of young people to go travel abroad, and the obvious one that often gets unsaid is the fact that they are reacting to large-scale suffering of their co-religionists. I mean, if you ask foreign fighters who are transiting into Syria, they would answer the same way foreign fighters would have answered back in the nineties with what was happening in Bosnia. They feel that the international community had abandoned their co-religionists, and they were going there to defend them.

JANE WALES

Shamil, are we hearing any of that from former recruits who have since renounced violent extremism?

SHAMIL IDRIS

Well, yes, but more so even than that is the lack of an international response to certain crises. It's the view that, more than that, there is an aggressive assault on Muslim countries and Muslim cultures, driven by the West. And when I was at the UN, we would see that narrative very powerfully articulated in lots of different ways: that as decolonization happened across the African continent, for instance, in the sixties, colonization increased in Muslim societies; that as Western troops and forces left all these other regions, Latin America and elsewhere, they invaded Muslim countries again and again to secure oil, to maintain a certain autocracy and power or whatever else might be.

So we're hearing that grievance around, "Hey, there hasn't been the same kind of responsiveness when there's an attack in Paris and there's an attack in Beirut in the same week." All the world's leaders descend on Paris, and they march in the streets,

and nobody pays any attention to Beirut. So you hear that, but the other thing that you hear is: No. It's more than that. There's actually a proactive assault. And it's a difficult narrative for people to engage with because when you look at issues like troops on the ground — you know, invasions of countries across the Arab world or whatever — it's quite easy to tell that narrative and to tell it very emotionally and to tell it with sufficient statistics and lots of visuals and it's powerful.

JANE WALES

But to be clear, Do you argue that these are causes or these are justifications and...

SHAMIL IDRIS

It's funny. I think it almost doesn't matter. I mean, if I had this conversation before ISIS, when Bin Laden would say, "I saw the towers in Beirut coming down by American-supplied Israeli war jets, and I had the idea of bringing the Americans' Twin Towers down." Okay? So when he says that, whether that was actually his motivation or was just something he knew would speak to a lot of people, the real issue is, well, that speaks to a lot of people. Right? So I don't want to get into, "Well, are people genuinely upset about this or are they using it cynically to recruit people to a movement that has other purposes?" The point is that it resonates very powerfully, that narrative.

JANE WALES

Pak Yahya, it's striking to me that when Will looks at the various sources of both local fighters and foreign fighters, Indonesia is not on the list. Why are so few Indonesians being attracted to jihad?

KYAI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF

First, thank you, Jane Wales, for bringing me here. It's a great honor. It's a tremendous opportunity to learn, meeting so many knowledgeable people in many different fields.

I would say that Islam is not monolithic, it is heterogeneous. There are several different streams of theology, different interpretations of Islam. There's a variant interpretation of Islam and its established traditions. And if I would give a picture of that, there are two ways for Muslims to see Islam. First, is Islam a religion that is meant to alter the world, meant to substitute the existing reality of the world? Or is Islam a contribution to the existing civilizational history of humanity? Now that's the basic view of the way Muslims see their religion.

In Indonesia we have a vast majority of Muslims. We have 85 to 90 percent Muslims. That means more than 220 million Muslims are in Indonesia. But when the founding fathers of our state established Indonesia, they established it not as an Islamic state but as a pluralistic secular state, so this has something to do with the tradition of Islam. The variant interpretation of Islam is that it has been dominant in Indonesia because, in a huge population of Muslim like Indonesia, you can see more easily the relation between the different ways of viewing Islam among the Muslims themselves and the orientation of their way to manifest Islam.

So because in Indonesia we have the full spectrum of Islamic traditions, if you ask about where these people who join the extremist movements come from, in Indonesia, you can easily see a constant domain of tradition of the variant interpretation of

Islam. But we have to be the dominant variant interpretation of Islam. In Indonesia it is the tradition to see Islam as a contribution to the existing civilizational heritage that we have in Indonesia. That makes Muslims have more sense of belonging to their indigenous culture and civilizational heritage and then defends them from the appeal of being lured by extremist propaganda.

But there are people who indeed succumb to the appeal of extremist propaganda. In Indonesia they're few because we — the majority of Muslims— intentionally strive and built mechanisms to block the influence of this extremist propaganda. But we see that in the past few decades, the threat of radicalism — the propaganda of radicalism and extremism in Indonesia — has been getting stronger because there is a global source that supports the propaganda, so what we are thinking now is we need a global effort to deal with it globally.

JANE WALES

What's interesting, picking up Queen Sylvia's [Sylvia Nagginda, Queen of Buganda Kingdom, Uganda] theme, is the notion of belonging to your traditional culture. But another thing about the work you do is that you encourage that sense of belonging to a nation. There's a sense of nationhood, culture and faith, allowing them to be aligned.

Will, I wanted to take you to that sense of nationhood for a moment because one of your findings that you shared with me earlier was that it was easier to recruit from states that were not competent, states that were not providing reliable services. I know, on the other hand, that Hezbollah, Hamas [Ḥarakat al-Muqāwamah al-Islāmiyyah Islamic Resistance Movement], the Muslim Brotherhood — are offering services as well as an ideology. Share with us both that finding but also ISIS' unique appeal in offering a homeland, which makes it quite different from al-Qaeda and other such groups.

WILL MCCANTS

Sure. I have to say that this finding was also frustrating for me because my own bias cuts against these economic or structural explanations for jihadist violence. I tend to dismiss them out of hand, but it was hard to ignore that, when you looked at rates of electricity provision and infant mortality rates and you matched them against the attack data and the production of foreign fighters. More often than not, countries that were better at service provision had lower rates of radicalizations. There was sort of an average across all the countries. We were interested in the ones that were above average or below average. And of the ones that were below average, many of them were better at service provision, and it had nothing to do with the type of government. It didn't matter if it was authoritarian or democratic; what mattered was government service provision.

And so there seems to be a strong relationship between the two. For the Islamic State, part of its unique appeal — in contrast to al-Qaeda — and one reason why it has attracted so many people is that it is holding itself out not just as a homeland for other Sunni Muslims but as the return of God's kingdom on earth. They are unique among jihadist groups in claiming to have reestablished the ancient Islamic Empire, and they also teach that the world is coming to an end soon after its establishment. And for many foreigners who are attracted to the group — not for the locals but for the foreigners — it is a powerful recruiting pitch.

Shamil is totally right. A lot of these people who go there don't know Islamic history or theology very well, but it's the religious vision that is very inspiring. And the opportunity for many, not just in Europe, but in parts of the Middle East and North Africa, to participate in a state-building enterprise, to have a say in how they are to be governed, I think taps into something pretty deep — not just in what motivates youth to activism but also youth living in the Middle East who may have finished high school or college and don't have a lot of opportunities locally. Some of them will go fight for the Islamic State. And even if they don't go fight, they express admiration intermingled with disdain for the Islamic State because they have been able, by force of arms and will to establish a state, to defy the international community and also defy the local authoritarians in the neighborhood.

JANE WALES

So we've identified three problems. One is disaffected youth. Another is Islamism, the combination of politics with an interpretation of the faith. And the third, which we haven't talked about but I'm sure we will, is social media. I want to look at the three problems and see how they can be flipped into solutions.

I want to start, Shamil, with you. What are the roles and the potential roles of young people in addressing some of these dangers and in helping one another?

SHAMIL IDRIS

Separate from this particular issue, young people have a particular association with violence that's just deeply troubling. That's the leading cause of death for young people globally between the ages of 15 and 29. And young people are oftentimes disproportionately engaged, either by being induced or by being forced to participate as perpetrators of violence, so we have what I think is not an overly idealistic perspective. I think it's grounded in absolute reality and reams of evidence that young people are the primary drivers of social change. Older people get the Nobel Prizes, but oftentimes the movements start with college campuses or youth groups, so young people have a tremendous role to play.

The myth or the promise of interactive media for someone like me who believes in the importance of cross-cultural engagement, peace building, this kind of thing — this is really the best time in history to be alive. More and more people every week are able to communicate with one another, and that's just going to grow more and more fantastic. The way this is playing out in this global transitional period of incredible disruption, though, is that oftentimes with new media technologies we can, for instance, subscribe to lots of different sources of information. A lot of us will choose those sources of information that reinforce our pre-existing worldviews. So the followers of CNN and Fox News are living in two totally different worlds, let alone Al Jazeera or whatever.

And, similarly, we can have social networks that will bridge all kinds of differences. You don't see a lot of social networks that actually bridge the religious and the secular, the conservative and the liberal, and I think this is not an issue of Islam or violent extremism. This is just an issue of what's going on as the world adapts to all of these new technologies that are evolving much faster than our frankly political will or human maturity to use them to the best of our abilities.

So, coming back to the positive, we've referenced this field of virtual exchange. The basic concept of virtual exchange, as an example, is that one of the best ways to open up people's minds and perspectives is to support them to study abroad or go on an exchange program. Unfortunately, that's an experience that is really only taken advantage of or accessible to less than 1 percent of the global youth populations. The plurality of young people who participate in those go on exchanges between the US and western Europe, so we're not exactly bridging our biggest cultural divides.

So the notion of virtual exchange is that it takes the scalable reach of new media technologies and these interactive platforms and it says, "Hey, if we integrate with those pedagogy for deep cross-cultural engagement and learning, which we know really well, we know how you can enable an interaction that allows for really profound cross-cultural engagement"; then you can have something special.

What we've seen in the programming that we've done for more than 11 years now of virtual exchanges across these divides, where every single semester these programs that engage young Americans and Europeans with their peers in Muslim majority countries, every semester at least one student in a Muslim-majority country complains to his teacher that he found out that one of the kids is Jewish and what does that mean? Is Israel tracking our conversations? And at least one of the kids in the US or Western Europe says, "I don't think violent Islamism is a fringe thing. I think your religion is inherently violent." And these things being said in a chat room would lead to a nasty, all-out flame war. In a facilitated environment, they actually play out to have an extraordinary educational impact on young people.

That is one example of what I think we need to do, which is to use the extraordinary potential of these technologies and platforms to actually improve cross-cultural understanding, cross-cultural empathy and cooperation. But it's not a kind of *If you build it, they will come*. They have to be imbued. The critical component of that programming I just mentioned to you is not the technical platform. It's important that it has a good one, but it's the facilitation. To facilitate that program for us, you need to go through 28 hours of highly intensive training and mentorship. We are not trying to engage young people to have easy conversations. We're actually trying to create a safe space for young people to have very difficult conversations.

One of the things that we've found that's really powerful — and the MIT neuroscience lab that does the evaluations for us — that I'll just share as a profound learning from this is that the experience for young people of being agreed with is actually irrelevant; it's not the important threshold for a young person to go through in order to open up their mind to other perspectives or even to engage in some self-critical thought or to consider the possibility that their community, too, is contributing to some of the negative things going on in the world. The critical threshold for them to pass is having the experience of being heard and respected. This goes back to the Marilyn Manson quote.

What we've found is a young person in these groups invariably says, and it happens every semester, "I think the 9/11 attacks were fabricated. I think the government of the US and Israel committed them." When that's said — and in some groups we've had people whose parent died in the 9/11 attacks or whatever it might be — and that young person doesn't have the experience [of being heard], they're expecting to be shut down or yelled at. Nobody agrees with them in the group, or oftentimes nobody agrees, but they're engaged with, "Why do you think that? What experiences have

you had? Where are you coming from on that?” It’s incredible how they then move past that space. And similarly for the non-Muslims who say all kinds of things about the Muslim world that are patently false, it’s what they believe. So I think there’s a lot of power, tremendous untapped power, in the use of new media technologies and social media.

And the nice last thing I’ll say on virtual technologies is that last year in February President Obama announced the first dedicated fund for virtual exchanges, which four Arab governments, the US government and the Bezos Foundation have now vested with over \$70 million in support. This will allow the largest increase in people-to-people education, cross-cultural education and exchange in history between the US and Muslim-majority countries.

JANE WALES

You spoke earlier to the importance of voice as well as this actual interaction, actually meeting one another, getting to know the other. You’ve used radio shows, et cetera, in war zones. I know that there is a lot of funding within the United States for those kinds of shows in inner-city situations, for inner-city kids to be able to be their own spokespeople and interviewers of one another. Mention a couple of the examples that you’ve been part of, and then I’m going to turn back to Will.

SHAMIL IDRIS

One of the more powerful ones is the story of Steven Swanky, who is a Sierra Leonean kid. I went to visit our programming in Sierra Leone. We had a team, a longstanding Sierra Leonean team there. Steven was 14 when he started showing up at some of our events and trainings, and he didn’t say anything for eight months. He would come. We were very open. Our team there was very open. So I came and I saw this kid over there and I went to our team and said, “Who is that guy? He hasn’t said anything. He was here the whole time and then he just left. He didn’t participate.”

They said, “He’s been coming regularly, and we’ve reached out to him and we let him know he’s welcome.” Long story short, it eventually came out that Steven had been a child soldier. He’d gone through the UN-run decommissioning process, turned in his weapons and was pretty lost; it took him that long, and this is something with the demobilization, de-radicalization field that I think is really important to understand: Oftentimes people’s whole framework has been deconstructed, the way a cult would deconstruct it, and when they come back, it takes time.

Anyway, Steven became one of the most extraordinary peace-building leaders in Sierra Leone, and we eventually got him his own radio show. We ran a radio station called Talking Drum Studio. And by the age of 15, Steven hosted one of the most powerful programs in Sierra Leone. It was geared toward his fellow former fighters in the bush — about what it was like to come out, what challenges you face, what was there to support you. He directly aided in the demobilization of tens of thousands of young child soldiers in Sierra Leone. That kind of thing is possible, but it takes patience and long-term commitment. It takes listening to the person and not forcing them to talk before they’re ready. There’s a lot of opportunity in this space; it can have very powerful effects, but it’s not a quick fix.

JANE WALES

Not a quick fix.

Will, we often associate these groups with social media, digital media, with some of the most sophisticated means of communication. Shamil’s talking about radio. We heard in an earlier panel about a megaphone atop a motorbike in South Sudan. Is ISIS all about digital media, or are there some more-basic forms of communication?

WILL MCCANTS

No. That’s what the media tends to focus on because of course it’s the easiest to access, but some of their most effective media and their outreach, their propaganda, is pretty low tech. The most effective piece of propaganda they have is actually a news magazine. They distribute it online, but they also distribute it face to face. And it’s effective because they explain where they are attacking and why they are attacking. They give personal stories to illustrate the struggle and the need for more youth to be involved. But one of the most effective techniques that ISIS has at recruiting is not broadcasting big messages. It is one-to-one recruitment, and this either happens through social media on direct message or it happens in person.

And as I said earlier, peer networks are extremely important in getting someone involved in radicalization, and they use those networks to tap into people back home and to bring them to fight on these various fronts. The interventions that I have seen that have been the most effective follow the same playbook: They develop one-to-one relationships with people who have been radicalized, and through patient dialogue over weeks or even years they start to break down this worldview, as Shamil said. That is pretty comprehensive, and it takes a long time to chip away at it. It is very resource intensive.

It would be tough to mount a full-scale effort, but we’re not talking about hundreds of thousands of people who have been radicalized either. The number is not that big. It’s a manageable endeavor, but it just requires putting money against it. And it’s difficult for a government to mobilize in this way because, one, the government’s bias is always toward big messaging campaigns that everybody can see, not these one-to-one things. And also, at least in the United States, it’s very difficult for US employees to talk to active supporters of terrorist organizations. You run up against some laws pretty quickly, so this is the kind of endeavor that, one, is incredibly effective but, two, is resource intensive and hard for the government to do.

JANE WALES

And in the case of Yahya, of your efforts, I think one of the interesting things is that your fundamental message is one of political pluralism, the basis for governance.

KYAI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF

Yes.

JANE WALES

How do you try to get that message out? Then we’ll turn to the audience.

KYAI HAJI YAHYA CHOLIL STAQUF

Thank you. We are working with our government, but the message that we work with the government to convey is to not politicize Islam, to not use it as a symbolic trick on Islam, to not use it for political purpose — because when you do that, you use religion as the fundamental argument for a political purpose, and then everything is absolute and there is no space for dialogue because it's religion. It's absolute. Then joining an extremist group is a mode of action. It's a mode of action that people choose, but the religious view that the extremist group has actually shared is shared broader, beyond the group itself. So there are people who have not yet joined an extremist group but share the very same religious values that the extremist group has. These are people who are vulnerable to the appeal of an extremist campaign.

In Indonesia, for example, we have Muslim people who have much worse public service provided for them, worse than the worst area in Europe. But yet they are in Indonesia; these people are immune to the extremist campaign because they have this religious view that shapes their worldview that naturally rejects the extremist campaign and extremist messages. This is what we are working with our government to strengthen: to acknowledge and embrace our own indigenous culture and civilizational heritage. That's the first point of our campaign.

The second point is to encourage the nation, including the government, to claim the legitimacy of our Islam; that Islam that we have as tradition in Indonesia, and its unique manifestation, is legitimate. It's unique and it's Islamic. It's authoritative. So as the largest Muslim country in the world, Indonesia should claim the right to contribute in determining the face of the whole Islamic world. And the sense of belonging is what we want to share globally with Muslim communities in other places, to attach themselves to their local, cultural and social environment and embrace it — and see Islam as the contribution, not to replace, not to anchor, not to dominate, just to contribute to what that society already has.

JANE WALES

Thank you so much. I'm going to open it up for others.

THE JOBS CHALLENGE



Joshua Oigara and Karan Chopra

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6
9:00 AM

KARAN CHOPRA

Co-Founder And Parter, Opportunity@Work

JOSHUA OIGARA

Ceo, Kcb Group

SHAI RESHEF

President, Univerisity Of The People

MODERATOR: AN-ME CHUNG

Director Of Strategic Partnerships, Mozilla Foundation

AN-ME CHUNG

Good morning everyone; welcome and thanks for being here. I know this is the last day of the conference, but I am so happy to see that the room is still full. I'd also like to welcome our web audience as well, and if you're live-tweeting please use the hashtag #GPF16 if you haven't already.

My name is An-Me Chung and I am the director of strategic partnerships at the Mozilla Foundation. I have spent the majority of my work life in philanthropy. I was at the Mott Foundation and the MacArthur Foundation before this, so I very much understand the importance of having philanthropy be involved in these initiatives to create sustainability and systems of growth.

As you know our session is titled "The Jobs Challenge," and it explores what I think a lot of us are looking at in the philanthropic world; it's really thinking about "How do we increase economic opportunity as well as upward mobility?" This morning's session is about unpacking what the internet and 21st-century skills can do. We're going to spend a good part of the morning asking questions to this esteemed panel, and there will hopefully be back-and-forth conversation among them. We will open it up for Q&A for the rest of you around 10:00, so listen carefully; think about questions that you want to ask, ones that can stump them and get them and you all thinking as well.

The first thing I want to do is give you a few facts about what we're going to talk about today. The good news — and for Mozilla in particular — is that as the internet expands, the internet has made it possible for a lot more people to participate in economies and experience social mobility for the very first time. And like the printing press and the automobile, it's one of these inventions that is catapulting people who had been in disenfranchised regions into the middle class, which is an aspiration for many.

People can produce and create in ways that they couldn't before. They can share it in real time. They can make themselves open and vulnerable in powerful ways that they couldn't do before the internet. Entrepreneurs can connect with capital and markets around the world in a flash and job seekers have the opportunity to really find the kinds of jobs that they've been looking for worldwide — and it doesn't mean that they have to be physically there. It doesn't end there, though, which is what this panel is about.

The internet is not just about buoying the economy, but it is about transforming it. We've got microenterprises that are growing, as well as self-employment. The nature of work is changing, and what we say at Mozilla often is, "In a few years, all

jobs will be digital in some way, shape or form.” So it’s critical that we provide the skills that are needed to be able to read, write, and participate on the web. I think the other big opportunity here is that the internet can increase access and equity for disenfranchised people in a way that was previously not possible. On the other hand, it can actually widen that gap too, and I think that’s something we really need to be thoughtful about.

With these opportunities, we know that the challenges with jobs across the world are still huge, and the World Bank’s data is pretty sobering. One-third of the world’s 1.8 billion young people are either unemployed or not involved in any sort of training or education programs at all. Over the next 10 years or so, about 1 billion of them will enter the job market, and only 40 percent of them will get jobs that currently exist. We still don’t have jobs created yet for the others who need jobs. What can we do to leverage the tools that we have; the internet? Some of this is already occurring to some extent. There are little pockets of communities that are growing including microenterprises. The idea of using free and open-source software, which is a big part of what Mozilla does, is still largely untapped. And there’s an opportunity there. But these are still pockets, little pockets and isolations of great stories, so what does it mean to really scale and sustain?

Today we have a panel that clearly has done a lot of great work in this area. I’m just getting to know them, and from what I’ve read thus far in terms of their accomplishments, I am incredibly humbled and I am very much looking forward to learning from them. They are people on the cutting edge of putting solutions in place. They are leading non-profits and social ventures and clearly are the leaders moving forward from here.

We have Karan Chopra, who is the co-founder and partner of Opportunity@Work. Karan is focused on transforming the US labor market to increase upward mobility. Early in his career, if you can imagine — that must have been when you were, like 12 — he co-founded the Global Agri-Development Company, an agri-food business in sub-Saharan Africa. He also co-founded West Africa Vocational Education, an organization that looks at unemployment in Nigeria. He was named one of Forbes’ “30 Under 30 Social Entrepreneurs” and was selected as a New Voices Fellow at the Aspen Institute.

We also have Joshua Oigara, who is the CEO of KCB [Kenya Commercial Bank] Group. It’s the largest bank in East Africa and serves about 8 million people in Kenya, Tanzania, South Sudan, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi, and Ethiopia. He believes that it’s important to enable financial services for as many customers as possible and has done this through mobile devices. He was also named among the top 100 youngest and most influential economic leaders in Africa by the Institute of Choiseul, another great accomplishment.

Shai Reshef, on my left, is the president of the University of the People. It’s the world’s first non-profit tuition-free accredited online university, which is quite impressive in itself. And for those of you who haven’t seen his Ted Talk, I encourage you to get online and see it. It’s definitely inspirational. Before he founded the University of the People, he directed KIT eLearning, the first online university in Europe. He also was named one of *Fast Company*’s 100 Most Creative People in Business and was selected by the *Huffington Post* as the Ultimate Game-Changer in Education.

Let’s get started on the Q&A right now. I’m going to throw out a question to Karan and ask the other panelists to feel free to jump in and have a dialogue with Karan about this.

The first question is, what role can the employers themselves play in closing the jobs gap?

KARAN CHOPRA

Thanks, An-Me; it’s great to be here with all of you.

I think it’s an extremely pertinent question because as we view the jobs market — and we view it not as a jobs program but really as a market — there is a huge role for employers to play. And I’ll come to it, but I want to drill down first a little bit on what I just said on the jobs market and how we think about this.

Why do we think about this as a market as opposed to a program? First of all, in the US alone our labor market is an \$8.5 trillion market. It’s our biggest market, but it is dysfunctional. It does not work well for about half the labor force, 80 million people just here in the US. I think this is true globally. Every single market failure you can think of manifests itself in the jobs market.

And this matters because as an individual, a job seeker, someone trying to make it, all the investments that you have made in yourself — or that society has made in you — get realized or inhibited in the jobs market. Think about all the investment in primary education, secondary education, tertiary education, on-the-job training, and learning, however you get it. To work, learn and earn to your full potential requires a labor market that is inclusive. So if we take that frame of why that matters, it matters because it’s an issue of individual dignity, right?

Involuntary-joblessness research shows that it can have as great an impact as things like losing a limb or other really catastrophic events for individuals. So these are issues fundamentally of individual dignity and self-reliance, which matter. And taking the frame of our labor market, where on one side you’ve got employers — not just here in the US but across the world — complaining that they need more talent all the time; the barrier to scale is human capital. It’s true in Nigeria. It’s true here. It’s true in Ghana. It’s true everywhere. And on the other side, you’ve got all these people locked out of those jobs. What would it take to fix it?

I would argue that the first step starts with employers. How do you make employers hire based on ability and demonstration of skill, not based on pedigree? Let me give you an example. In the US 2014 Burning Glass data shows that 65 percent of job descriptions for an administrative assistant required a four-year degree. One in five administrative assistants today has a four-year degree. So if you are an administrative assistant in that job today and you see a job opening and you want to go get that job, you can do it. You have the skill. You have the aptitude. You have the motivation to do it. But you will not pass the screening to get that job. So how do we make hiring based on demonstration of ability, not based on pedigree? That comes from the employer side, the demand side of this market; because if you went through training, for example, and you didn’t have the measures that employers hire for and you didn’t get that job, was the training bad? Or was the screening bad? Or did you not learn enough? Who knows today?

These proxies are used by employers for good measure. In the world 15 years ago, when we didn't have the information technology we have today, those were measures you had to use because you cannot interview 2,000 people, 3,000 people to figure it out. You can use proxies. But today we focus a lot on IT [information technology] jobs of all categories. If you want to get somebody to create a website for you, would you rather see the portfolio of their work, a website they've built, which you can easily do today, or would you look for some certification or degree?

There is technology that can help us address this problem, and unlocking that side of the market can unleash massive potential in learning and innovation throughout. Because now if I am a jobseeker and I know that this is something that the employer is looking for, that I can actually demonstrate. And if I go learn it, however I learn it — I learn it online; I learn it from my community; I learn it in college; I learn it wherever — I can showcase that. You now have a pathway to say, "If I do X, I will learn Y, and I can land job Z." But if the job description says, "You have to have done this for the past seven years of your life," [you're out of luck]. The one technology we don't yet have is time machines, so you cannot actually rewind those seven years to go do what it takes, and you cannot spend the next seven years of your life doing those things to go get that.

The second reason why it matters is because we spend a lot of time thinking about financing. The funding — be it philanthropic, public sector, whatever it is — of education and training, including vocational, is a drop in the ocean compared to what employers spend on wages. Employers have capital on their balance sheet that they are looking to invest in human capital. How do you unlock that? To unlock it, you've got to understand the demand side of the market: what employers are looking for. You've got to have the right screens to be able to do it, and then irrespective of the learning, you can add value to it. And if you unlock that potential, it affects everybody who got that job, but it also creates enormous value for our entire economic system and for employers themselves.

I would argue the greatest driver of growth will come from optimizing human capital. We've spent a lot of time optimizing invested capital: plant, property, equipment. What do you depreciate? What do you amortize? Automation, things like that. But if we can figure out how to optimize empty car seats with Uber or empty bedrooms with Airbnb, imagine the value that we can create by optimizing the potential that exists in people. And I would argue that it starts from the employer side of the equation.

JOSHUA OIGARA

Thank you very much, I will add on. In most markets where we operate ourselves, in Africa in the past 10 years, there's been a major revolution, especially a digital revolution. Mobile has transformed the way we see services and knowledge, so there needs to be a shift and a reorientation in the way employers look at resources. For example, 10 years ago elements like mobile money transfer and mobile money itself did not exist in the way businesses were operating. So the kinds of skills that we needed before as employers for our own businesses were actually quite static. The reason why the investment must be made by employers today is that they are shifting the kind of transformation they are looking for in terms of resources.

Part of the scaling that needs to be done is upscaling, new opportunities — actually creating new markets — especially in the markets where we see the role of mobile as

the real catalyst for opening up new opportunities. Most of you have heard about M-PESA, for instance, the case of M-PESA and M-KOPA. This starts to imagine new niches in the market so that this is not just about skills; it also addresses real issues about jobs challenges that we are facing today.

The second aspect is about the micro and small enterprises. Look at the UN report of 2014: over 250 million people in Africa today are between the ages of 15 to 24. In East Africa alone, 2.5 million people come into the job market every year, and therefore globally we need to create between 600 million and 700 million jobs in the next 15 years, by 2030. A lot of that will be based on the skills available. I see a different parallelism myself in the environment you're living in today. Whereas in the previous century we were focusing on skills that were static, in the 21st-century, skills are very dynamic, but they will not be on increasing what we have today as a business. Therefore I think it's a key issue for employers to invest both in terms of their resources as well as the jobs and employees who are coming into the job market. I want to agree fully that the employers can't sit behind and expect a transformation in terms of the job market without investing in it.

SHAI RESHEF

I hope that you forgive me, but I look at things slightly differently. There is higher education, and people have recently been saying, "Higher education does not deliver. It doesn't prepare people for the job market. As such we should ignore higher education and move to training people to be able to do the job."

I think that we need to mix two things. The role of higher education is to create well-rounded people with critical thinking, who have knowledge of the world, knowledge of the history, know a lot. These people should also be prepared for the job market. The fact that higher education or most of it does not prepare people for the job market does not mean that we should neglect higher education. We should do both. We want people to be educated. That's the future of the world. Yes, there is a problem of accessibility and affordability. It can be solved. And actually the internet is a great way to solve these issues, and we should do it.

But at the same time, we should make sure that when people study, they study not only theoretical things but also things that will prepare them for the job market. And it's not either/or because the either/or actually takes us back to many, many years ago when some people were qualified for higher education and some people were qualified for vocational training. And those who were qualified for vocational training were not qualified to study in higher education. These days are over. We should be able to give people both.

The reason we can't do both right now is because higher education is so expensive. But think about it: higher education can cost a fraction of what it costs right now. We at the University of the People do that. It costs \$4,000 for a full BA [Bachelor of Arts] degree over four or as many years that they study. So it can be affordable. It can be accessible because, as we all know, the internet has no limits of seats; but at the same time can prepare students for the job market. You can have people with broad knowledge, well-rounded students, and at the same time make them prepared for the job market.

AN-ME CHUNG

Thank you all for your responses. A follow-up question for you all involves the pieces that you know a lot about – human capital and the need to invest in human capital. With the work that you are doing, what is it going to take to invest in this human capital, particularly for those who are disfranchised? The things that you are talking about, I don't think anyone would disagree on a high level that, yes, we need to do that, but what does that look like practically?

SHAI RESHEF

I don't think it should take much; the internet these days is going very widespread, and it will continue to reach more and more people around the world. People can get the education that they need without a lot of money. As I mentioned before, it costs \$4,000 with us to get a full BA degree. Most people in the world can afford this amount even in remote areas. By the way, we also offer scholarships for those who cannot afford it. But it doesn't have to cost much. And the internet now is going a long way. We do not use the most sophisticated technology that is available out there. We don't use video. We don't use audio. We make sure that whatever internet connection you have, you can study with us. As such you can study with a laptop; you can study with your cell phone — with any kind of connectivity that you have. Therefore to study with us, it doesn't cost a lot. It doesn't require a lot of investment and you can bring a great education to the most remote areas of the world.

JOSHUA OIGARA

I think we've seen a dramatic shift. If I look at the role of mobile devices, especially in Africa, what you find most is the shift in terms of the delivery of information. It has kind of made the world flat. It doesn't really matter in which parts you are if you have access. In East Africa you generally have 98 or 99 percent mobile access penetration, and you can deliver educational content directly to any single person who has a mobile connection. It doesn't have to be the latest phone. It's not a smartphone you require. So that is really happening in the market in terms of who can access that information. And it doesn't have to be at the highest level. We see that happening from the very basic, primary level of education.

I think the greater aspect is to better coordinate the kind of content being delivered and the policy mechanism. I'll give you a true story. Ten years ago you had kids in some parts of Kenya, for instance, who were in the country who had not seen an exam until the exam day. They had no idea what exams looked like because they were so far removed from the center. And yet they are supposed to sit for the same examination as their colleagues. And what the digital revolution has done is that today at a click of a button, they have the same access and amount of information. I see this as a very strategic democratization of access of education. That's really uplifting the platforms for every single child we have in the Continent.

KARAN CHOPRA

To add to that, there are three things we're talking about. One is information problems, and I think technology is the most efficient way to address those information problems. We mentioned the mobile phone. Can I get information? But

also information about what I need to do? What do I need to learn? And if I made that investment, where will it take me? As an individual, I am empowered with the information and the understanding of the pathway. Then I think there are models of Okay, so you have that information. What does financing look like to then access it? And that can become cheaper and cheaper. For financing learning, what financing models are sustainable? Pay for success or tied to employers models, for example, or ways for people to invest in their own learning in a pay-it-forward way. How do we think about that?

If you think about disenfranchised communities, there's a huge role for offline support services to play in those places. It matters in terms of how you are going to get the set of support services — be it some form of mentoring, of which some of it can be online, some of it is offline, some of it is even in the work we do in communities here. How do you mobilize communities? For someone to attend even an accelerated program, they need help with child care. They need help with transportation to get to wherever they need to go. They need help. So when things get tough, who is it that's going to help you get there? There's a huge role for those sets of services to play, but the return on that can be more efficient with the information and financing. And then how do you mobilize that, to Joshua's point, around a coordinated set of initiatives?

I'll give you an example. There's a young woman by the name of LaShana Lewis, born in St. Louis in the US. She went through her education and started a computer science degree and then life got in the way. She had to drop out but she wanted to do IT jobs. That was her passion. That was her interest. She applied and couldn't get in anywhere. So for 10 years, she was a bus driver. Now after that, there was an organization called LaunchCode that said, "Okay, we're giving you the information and if you can demonstrate this skill [this is the information thing, right?], we can help you get placed into a job.

And then there was low-cost learning. They said, "Okay, if you don't have all of it, here's an online/offline model, very low cost, that you can get access to. You find the financing to do it, and then the third piece is around support services. There were CoderGirl meet-up groups that she was a part of. There was a support system, a mentoring network that existed, that Lewis tapped into, which is what civic organizations did. It's not a technology organization that would do that, right? It's a civic institution that plays that role, but it was coordinated. And then they placed her at MasterCard. Now she's a systems engineer there. There is a technology piece. There's a financing piece. But there is also the role of communities and support services. The question is, How do you thread all of that into very well-defined interfaces with each other?

AN-ME CHUNG

Thank you. That's very helpful thinking. Your responses are systems-approach to solutions.

Now I want to dig a little bit deeper and think about this in the global context. There are a lot of cultural barriers that need to be crossed in terms of gaining access and equity, particularly for women and girls. I would like to hear from you all – what do we need to do to open up those opportunities for members of communities that may not be able to access them because of cultural and other reasons?

SHAI RESHEF

I think the online setting is the perfect place to overcome cultural differences. It's challenging. At the University of the People, we have students from 180 countries all over the world, all of them in classes of 20. Every time a student takes a class, we put him or her in a class of 20 students from 20 different countries. A BA is 40 courses; so 40 times we mix them — 20 new students, 20 new countries every time. So you can expose them to different cultures. You want to do that because you want people to become part of the global village, part of the global market, because they're planning on working, and you want to open them up to other ways of thought.

We believe that there is a different or even more important side benefit. We can call it a side benefit. We believe it's the most important thing because when you put people from hostile cultures together, you actually teach them that those they consider to be their enemies outside of the class tend to be the closest to them in terms of culture. Think about Indians and Pakistanis, Israelis and Arabs, Turks and Greeks. You know they hate each other, right? They are so close to each other when you look from the outside. You actually open their minds to show them that they are similar. I believe that learning online is a great way to bring people together.

Now it doesn't come without difficulties. Just think about something very trivial. You have a classroom and you have people talking in the class. Americans talk much more than Japanese, for example, and they dominate the class. How do you make the American be less loud and make the eastern Asian a little bit louder? It's something that takes time. Teach people that you have to talk because if you don't talk, we don't know that you exist. Make sure that people use the right language. Now the right language is something different. It's a cultural thing. What is appropriate? What is politically correct and what is not politically correct is different. What's the attitude toward women? What's the attitude toward anyone who is different?

In our classes one big issue is plagiarism. How do you make sure that people don't cheat? And it turns out that cheating is something that is cultural. What is considered cheating? Copying is not cheating in some cultures. So what we do is, when the students start, the first course is Online Strategies. Every student must take this course, and we teach them what it means to study online, how we expect them to study, how we expect them to behave, and what is right and what is wrong. We make sure that they understand that politics is outside the class because otherwise, you know, it will be a big fight when you put people together from so many countries. But it can be taught. I think that after students realize what is right and what is wrong and they start finding friends from different culture. That's an amazing asset that we give them, and they know how to appreciate it.

JOSHUA OIGARA

I would say they're interesting questions because, ultimately, although we are saying we are very different in our cultures, the aspirations and beliefs of these cultures are actually the same. People are always looking to progress. Before, there was no network or platform where they could see that the real intent of every human being was to come every day and start making progress.

Two distinctions have been very strong of late, whether you're marginalized or of different cultures. I can assure you that across the countries in which we work, there

are as many cultures as anywhere else in the world. So with your networks and platforms, you are able to build collaboration — and that's what was really lacking before. You know, whether you're Muslim or you're Christian or you're Hindu, it depends on where you are. Whether you have personal disabilities, or whether you're a young lady or a young boy, what you get is a chance for you to progress in your own career, in your own education.

I think what we've seen in terms of the platform and this generation, especially now in the past 10 years, is that we are more interconnected than ever before in our history, so we are able to know what is happening. If someone is down in Cape Town, they perhaps know exactly what is happening in San Francisco. Now with the kind of information we have, it's easier to share a common sense of purpose. I think that gives us a new opportunity, delivering those collaborations to build a better sense of knowledge for every single person in the system.

KARAN CHOPRA

I agree with that. I'll make two observations. One is, for example, having done a lot of work with smallholder farmers in Ghana and other parts, certain advocacy policy aspects are needed: access to land rights, for example, access to financing. Those are things you actually need some kind of systemic reform on, you need to be able to provide equal access in those things. So, if you set up an irrigation scheme, why doesn't a female farmer get the same access to land as a male farmer on that scale? Those things have to be addressed, and there's a role for that to play. That's one.

The second thing is, following these examples of the farmers, the most powerful adoption mechanism and way of progress that I have seen is demonstration. If you are disenfranchised, for you to do something different on your farm, the most powerful motivator is to see another farm that has done it and has gotten the results, as opposed to someone telling you that this is the right thing to do. And that's where I come back to the point you made on information.

In a lot of these places, there are now S and S groups, where a woman farmer can find out from another woman farmer what she did to address a certain kind of disease? Where did she sell her crop and for what price? There is power of the network and the information of the network being able to do that. I don't want to minimize this issue around the systems policy advocacy work that also needs to be done, which can't just happen from a network and information system.

SHAI RESHEF

Talking for a second about what the internet enables us to do, it brings people to study who were unable to do so before. And whether it is in some cultures — as you all know, women are excluded from education and definitely higher education — if they are studying online, they can do it from home without disrupting any social or cultural restrictions. They can study at home and become very productive members of their society. In some cultures mothers are not allowed to go back to universities after giving birth. They can study online. So you bring back these people or bring them to a place that they weren't able to go before. We teach only business administration and computer science. In our computer science classes, there are 50 percent more women than the average in the US and the reason is because they can do that.

AN-ME CHUNG

As we dig a little bit deeper into the advocacy and policy piece of this question, Karan, I think you mentioned that there are some advocacy and policy pieces that need to take place globally or within certain countries to make these opportunities more available. Within the work that each of you do, especially in the financial world and the education world, whether it be higher ed or otherwise, what do you think are some of the policies and advocacy pieces that that need to happen in order to expand these opportunities for more people?

JOSHUA OIGARA

I was giving a real example in what we've done ourselves in the financial sector, and it's a really important piece. Kenya's been privileged in terms of thinking a little bit beyond the current regulation and policy on assessments for credit and financial inclusion. Most of us here, I think, have heard about M-PESA for years in terms of providing mobile credit or mobile access to people who traditionally would not have access to any kind of financial resources. Last year we did a partnership between KCB and M-PESA in the market to basically build some mobile credit algorithms and block chain information for any customers who didn't have it. Regulators normally are very much against this policy of financial inclusion, where you are looking at someone's credit behavior, mobile money transfers, and the little savings that they have. And especially for women in Africa, who don't have access to land rights, what this does is democratizes the space for them.

So this algorithm gives you a kind of credit score that is not linked to owning any kind of assets. This requires a policy change, so Kenya's regulators have been able to be challenged to say, "Can you enable this kind of lending program?" And after one year, we had achieved 5 million people signing up for a mobile credit program, with \$100 million dispersed in 10 months. When you look at the size of this kind of loan portfolio, the loan size is about \$50 to \$100 on average, and 44 percent of the people using this are women with smaller businesses. The age profile is below 35, so you're starting to build an engine. Traditionally, they were never qualified for this kind of information from a walk-in financial institution.

The goal today is saying, How do we then provide this kind of platform and information across the region? Most regulators find this policy a little bit on the edge. So it's really creating innovation or reimagining the platform to bring in easy access or services, especially financials, to people who previously could never have them. If you look at where the opportunities are in terms of businesses, open-market systems, this is the area where they're going to find the businesses going forward. We're hearing a lot of people saying, "Yes, we can attempt to do it." But a lot more needs to be done across the eight regulators in Africa that we are working with. The question is, "Should we go or should we not go?" But my view is that nothing can stop the demand for customers who are ready for our solutions, not even regulation, so there is a bigger task and challenge to work collaboratively with the regulators across most markets.

That's our experience in the financial sector.

SHAI RESHEF

In our case I think that the issue of online learning involves two separate things: the formal recognition and the perception. And the perception comes first, because when I announced the university, the reaction was that no tuition-free university can exist without the support of a government. So we said, "Okay," and we showed that it is possible. Then people say, "It will never be accredited." Now it is accredited. People say, "It will never be sustainable." Well, it will be sustainable in a couple of months.

But the perception is that online learning is not legitimate, definitely academic online learning; and if it is, the quality is not there. So we have great professors, presidents of the best universities of the world, volunteering with us — Oxford, NYU [New York University], [University of California] Berkeley, et cetera. We have a partnership with NYU, where our students can continue their studies at NYU. Just two days ago, we announced that our associate degree graduates can continue toward their bachelor's at Berkeley. Obviously, the quality is there, right? If Berkeley checked our standards and decided they were good enough for Berkeley, maybe it's not good enough for everyone, but at least it's good enough for Berkeley. But still people doubt it, so you need to convince people. And it happened because it's new, because there were a lot of players that did not deliver. But it takes time until the perception is there. So we need to have a lot of graduates finding jobs in great places to show that it really works for the perception to change.

Then comes in the government and usually governments follow what people think. We need to find really strong leaders who will check and will say, "I'm going to have a standard and push forward." Because when you think about it, what we built with the University of the People is a model. It's a model to show, first of all, that instead of having 10,000 students, universities can add zero to their numbers and open the gate to 100,000 students. But even more so to developing country's governments because right now those governments take the few millions that they have and they build a Harvard, Stanford, Oxford, right? A few years go by and it's not [completed]. Because you don't build these institutions in a few years, nor with a few million, but the money is gone.

What we said was "use the internet in order to educate every single person in your country with the same amount of money, and think about what a great leap it will be for your country if every qualified student will end up with a quality education and a degree." Leaders need to take a stand, and so far we haven't found the leader who would come and say, "I'll do it for my country." It will happen. It's a matter of time, but how do you expedite it? That's a different question.

KARAN CHOPRA

A few thoughts; one is there are policy things you can do to think about how you invest more in human capital. For example, today the way some of the tax treatments work and the way some of the businesses have to report earnings, it does skew the world toward more and more automation, in that if you invested in something, it would depreciate over five years; it would go on the balance sheet, right? That is opposed to if you spent money training someone for six months to do it. So there are some of those things. There are things around how you do financing of talent that's pay-for-success, or financing of learning that is more pay-for-success around

outcomes than what it is today, but I agree with Shai. I think this is going to come from showcasing innovation. It's going to come in my view from communities, entrepreneurs, businesses, other institutions, proving a model irrespective of the circumstances there and then, demonstrating the impact. That then gets the attention of policymakers on how to do it.

I think there's another important role to play, which is less policy but more the role of philanthropy. Who can play the best role for collective action and for data and information sharing? If I want to set up a training program today, whether it's here or anywhere in the world, what do I have to do? I have to go and recruit jobseekers, students whom I want to help serve. I have to do training really well, and then I also have to go and find individual employers who will hire those students. I have to do the whole stack, and every next program has to do the whole stack themselves. I imagine you had to build a phone, and you had to go source the components and build a retail store to sell it, etcetera. It's extremely hard. So now if you said, "Okay, there is a training program that has 3,000 employers in it". Whose role is it that can say, "Look, here are the employers, here are the skills they are willing to hire for. Here are trusted ways that if you demonstrate that you can do this, they would hire you."? How do you make that information available?

Now as a training provider — whether I'm online, whether I'm offline, whether I'm blended, whatever it is — my goal is to do the best training that is possible and to plug into this. And then you unleash more and more innovation in the space. What is the role of collective action in this? And who is best placed to do it? Often times, it is either governments or civic institutions that are leaders in those spaces, not individual businesses or social entrepreneurs. They just don't have the capacity, the social capital or the incentive to be able to do it.

AN-ME CHUNG

We've talked about a lot of different sectors here, and one of the ones we actually haven't touched on, but which is so critical to this work going forward, are the businesses and industries. They're going to have to be a huge part of figuring out where these jobs are coming from and producing them. Thinking about it within the context of the work that you're doing, what do you think we need to do to engage those big businesses and those entrepreneurs that are not just at the micro level but also at the macro level?

JOSHUA OIGARA

I would say we see real opportunity for creating jobs and assignments where it is really scaling: self-employment and small and medium enterprises. I mean, you talk about large business, but I believe that we must be deliberate ourselves in the markets. When we see new opportunities coming for jobs, nine out of 10 are coming from what you call traditionally informal businesses; these are micro and small, very agile, very dynamic. So even in terms of scaling and providing resources, we have to be very deliberate in how we build those teams.

They can't do it by themselves. They are under the foundations, which you know, I'm with Jane here; we're sitting on foundations as directors. We set up a program to build up smaller businesses — 100,000 smaller businesses in the next five years — and

these are really young startups. Part of building their own skills — upscaling them, networking them, incubating the businesses from a foundation, from a philanthropy arm — is saying, "Can we network and connect you into the marketplace?" I think that nuance must be built up because in that way we are formalizing a sector that is significant — driving up to 40 percent or 45 percent of the GDP [gross domestic product] — for most of the African countries, and then we are making them in a way that creates the opportunity for growth. There has to be a way of interconnecting both the large and the small enterprises, and a lot of philanthropy has to come in to support that aspect of growth and the momentum for jobs.

KARAN CHOPRA

Through our work on Tech Hire, which is an initiative here, we've got now 900-plus employers who have signed up to say they're willing to hire based on ability, not pedigree, for IT roles — and IT roles are across all sectors, right? Two-thirds of IT jobs are not in the tech sector. Think health care. Think banking. Think insurance. In those places everybody has IT needs. There are 700,000 open jobs. Why are they coming to the table? The question of big business is, yes, they have a role to play, although why are they doing it? They are doing it because they have an incentive. The incentive is that their time to hire has gone up significantly over the past five years. Their cost to hire talent has gone up. There are 5 million open jobs right now that they're struggling to fill as businesses; 700,000 of those jobs are in IT.

We're seeing that they're coming to the table. They're coming to the table, but, to Joshua's point, the power is in them coming to the table together because each one individually is not willing to change their practices if the market is not going to move in the same way. It comes back to how you actually mobilize them. Who are the people in the communities who are the leaders? In some places it's an employer. In Kenya, you are leading the way and bringing other employers together. In some places it's a council. In other places it's an industry association, the governor or other government leader, or a civic institution that's doing it. Where are the nodes in the network that can aggregate these employers, and what's the incentive for them to stay at the table?

SHAI RESHEF

I think in the world of higher education, there should be a closer connection between the universities and the job market. I think it's very nice to criticize higher education, but the big companies are not part of higher education, and they should be. When we set up the university, we decided that each program — we teach business administration, computer science and soon health science — will have an advisory board, and the advisory board will have a combination of academics and practitioners, people from the corporations. Together they will decide what the right courses to teach the students are and what they need in order to be prepared for the job market.

Moreover, I think that every student at any university should have the opportunity for an internship to experience what the real world is. I think that it's a good idea to have mentors. In our case we have mentors for our students from the corporate world, as well. You want to bring them closer. Instead of criticizing higher education, change the higher education to make it fit the needs of the 21st-century world.

KARAN CHOPRA

Right, but make it easy for employers and for businesses because businesses don't make decisions sitting around 30-, 40-person tables, talking about collaboration. If you want mentors from them, make it easy for them to plug into it. If you want them to change some of their HR [human resources] practices, look at their existing systems. Go deep, three levels down. This is the screening software they're using. This is the proxy they're using. How do I plug someone in who is low risk for them and make it easy for them to do it? Because if we expect businesses to fundamentally change the way they are operating today, we're not going to get very far.

AN-ME CHUNG

We're going to open it up for Q&A from the audience.

SPECIAL ADDRESS: REMARKS BY ANTONY BLINKEN, UNITED STATES DEPUTY SECRETARY OF STATE



Antony Blinken

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6
10:45 AM

JANE WALES

I have a special opportunity to introduce Deputy Secretary Blinken. Let me just say that back in January, the State Department reached out to us and asked if we'd pull together a session alongside Stanford University, Google and others, a session of folks — innovators and engineers — from LinkedIn, from Google, from Facebook, from Twitter, from Microsoft, from Apple. Got to make sure I get all of those in there. The notion was to spend a day, rolling up their sleeves and saying, "What can we do to make a difference when it comes to the education of refugee children?" And the State Department had found that one of the great motivators for refugees to make that incredibly treacherous sea crossing to get to Europe was a desire to get an education for their kids. So the question is: How can we deliver that? And how can we involve not just the public sector but the private and social sectors as well?

What we didn't know were really three things. One was that we'd have an overwhelming response and that people came ready with ideas and commitment. The second thing we didn't know was that Deputy Secretary Tony Blinken would come out and spend the day with them, rolling up his sleeves side by side, finding solutions together. And the third thing we didn't know was that he would actually leave an infrastructure behind. This to say that Zvika [Krieger] — Zvika, are you in the audience? — is now based in Silicon Valley to help coordinate efforts such as those, so it's been a real sign to us of how personally committed the deputy secretary is and how institutionally committed the State Department is to engage us all.

It's my pleasure to welcome and introduce Tony Blinken, the deputy secretary of state. Prior to being [deputy] secretary of state, he was deputy national security adviser in the White House. He has served as national security adviser to Vice President Joe Biden as well. And he had served on Capitol Hill, with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee back when Joe Biden was the chairman of that committee.

I also got to work with Tony Blinken because we were on the National Security Council together during the Clinton administration. But I think the most important thing to know about him is that he is not just a profound strategic thinker, and not just a highly effective policymaker, but he's just one of those guys who gets things done. So regardless of what his position is, what his title is, that's almost immaterial. He is somebody who believes in what he does. When he says he is going to take something on, he takes it on; and when he takes it on, it happens.

So please join me in welcoming the Deputy Secretary of State, Tony Blinken.

ANTONY BLINKEN

Good morning to all of you. And, Jane, thank you for a truly generous introduction; it's greatly, greatly appreciated. And to you, to the Global Philanthropy Forum, thank you for welcoming me and welcoming my colleagues here.

As Jane said, we had the wonderful opportunity to work together for some years during the Clinton administration, and it's been a wonderful thing to watch as Jane has connected a global community of philanthropists and inspired a new generation

of social investors. And indeed a few months ago, we were able to collaborate here on the workshop that Jane told you about, trying to bring together humanitarians, entrepreneurs, coders and educators to think about how we expand access to education for Syrian refugee children. For me, that day was incredibly powerful because it underscored the importance — and I would say even the necessity — of harnessing the great reservoir of talent that exists within our innovation and philanthropic communities to meet our most pressing challenges. And that's exactly what we've been trying to do with the State Department, not only bringing the department into the 21st century but connecting this community in ways that help us advance a common mission.

When I think about everything that we are trying to do around the world, it's abundantly clear to me that we need this infusion of expertise, of imagination, of resources now more than we've ever needed it before. You've all been talking about this for the past couple of days, but it was just about a year ago when the winds warmed, the water calmed in the approach to summer, and headlines around the world reflected the fact that there was a crisis at sea, as more than 1,300 souls drowned in the depths of the Mediterranean, trying to make their way to Europe. And then for several weeks a record number of men, women and children from Syria, from Afghanistan, from Eritrea, from Somalia, from desperate communities across two continents risked everything to crowd onto these flimsy boats, smugglers, and embark on a crossing to Europe.

Within months, even this exodus was eclipsed. As summer turned to fall, great rivers of humanity displaced by war, enshadowed by suffering, made their way into Europe with their children in their arms and their only worldly possessions on their backs. They echoed the footsteps of 60 million other people across Southeast Asia, across East Africa, across South America, who had fled their homes in recent years from conflict, from violence, from persecution. And, maybe, in their journeys they even traveled along the very same paths that many of our own parents or grandparents or great-grandparents took to find sanctuary from war and a future for their children. They did that for us, and now the question is: What are we going to do for them?

As you've probably heard over the past couple of days, if you put all the refugees and displaced persons in the world today into one country, it would be the 24th-largest country on earth, larger than South Korea, larger than Spain. One out of every 122 people on this planet is forcibly displaced. This is truly a global crisis. We throw around that term easily. This really is one of them. And, of course, there are millions more people on the move who don't fit neatly into any of the categories that we've established who may not fit the legal definition of a refugee. They may migrate to escape poverty or generalized crime or violence, but they find themselves in danger and in need of assistance and protection, as well. There are thousands of unaccompanied Central American children who make the perilous journey north to the United States, or the migrants and refugees from Burma or Bangladesh, abandoned by human smugglers without food or water on the Bay of Bengal or the Andaman Sea. We saw that so acutely last spring. A generation — a generation — of Somali youth have lived their entire lives in the Dadaab refugee camps in Kenya.

This is a great wave of displacement. It's the largest since the Second World War, and it's actually remaking the world that we're living in. It's changing our labor markets. It's putting pressure on local infrastructure and national borders. It's changing the

nature and makeup of our communities. It's affecting our sense of security. Most of all I think it's challenging us to live up to our common humanity.

The last time we faced similar questions of epic political, moral and human consequence in the very heart of Europe, our predecessors went to historic lengths to establish and then guarantee the rights of those fleeing persecution. This was not simply an act of altruism. Having just emerged from a global conflagration, our predecessors knew that we could not simply wall our nations off, cut our ties to each other, reserve our most cherished values only for some. They recognized even then, 70 years ago, that in an interconnected world, global leadership was an investment not only in our shared humanity but also in our common security. And so they built an international order of institutions, of norms, of rules dedicated to peace and dedicated to the progress of all nations. And within that system, they created the world's first legal protection regime for refugees and a global humanitarian system to respond to emergencies and crises.

Today as we see these heart-wrenching images from around the world, there is also something very powerful, and maybe no greater symbol of hope, of compassion, of life than the image of an aid worker's vest, a humanitarian's blue cap, a convoy's red cross or crescent. In support of this mission, the United States has been proud and indispensable in its partnership — and I would argue its leadership — but here is the challenge: the humanitarian system on which we rely for so much and to which we turn when epidemics flare up or wars erupt — that system is under historic strain, buffeted by protracted emergencies, extreme natural disasters and widespread displacement. Simply put, our existing structures and approaches are being overwhelmed by the challenge at hand. So our collective responsibility is to adapt and strengthen the international humanitarian system, honestly confronting its shortcomings while preserving the norms and laws fundamental to its construction, international humanitarian law and principles, civilian and refugee protection and, of course, the foundation of human rights.

The crisis that we are dealing with now is, as I said, global. But what I wanted to do today in the time that I have is to focus in on what's in the headlines around the world, and that's Syria and the utility of thinking about solutions in terms of concentric circles of which the innermost circle is Syria itself. Five years ago — and some of us were just discussing this — Syria was, in effect, a middle-class country: engineers, scholars, shopkeepers, farmers. Today roughly half the pre-war population has fled their homes from violence and deprivation unleashed by the Assad regime. Now, of course, the single most effective thing that we can do to reverse this tide is to end the civil war in Syria, and that's something that the Secretary of State John Kerry is working on almost literally eight days a week.

And now we have the first glimmer of possibility with an agreement endorsed by the United Nations Security Council to pursue a political transition toward a peaceful and more representative Syria. But in the meantime, there are steps that we are taking, and that we have to continue taking, to help alleviate the suffering and reduce the drivers of flight, steps that will lessen the violence and increase humanitarian access. And as I said, we're making progress on both of those fronts. As a result of Secretary Kerry's unrelenting determination, we have a cessation of hostilities that has held for over a month. Its imperfections are great, but it has defied expectations, and far more importantly, it has saved lives and improved the lives of Syrians on a daily

basis. We've now seen a measurable decline in violence across much of the country, in particular, in places with acute conflict. Humanitarian assistance has also arrived now in communities that had been besieged and cut off for years from any kind of assistance: from food, from medicine, from basic sustenance.

Since January, more than 45 convoys of lifesaving supplies have reached 400,000 people who had been out of reach before the convoys started; but there are still many, many towns and cities in Syria that are beyond the reach of the humanitarians, so we'll continue to urgently insist on unfettered humanitarian access throughout the entire country. At great personal risk, we have heroic partners in this effort — UN agencies, NGOs, local organizations — that are doing everything possible to help those Syrians most in need, and they are reaching millions of people every month. But even as we've made this progress, we are deeply, deeply concerned about those areas that we're not able to reach and about the persistent denial of humanitarian aid, literally as a tactic of war, and also about the Assad regime's practice of removing badly needed medical supplies, including surgical kits, from the convoys that are going in, supplies that literally mean the difference between life and death.

So working on that first concentric circle, we're also addressing the second one because when a comprehensive solution is reached in Syria, it will mean more than the end of war. It will mean the beginning of an effort to rebuild the nation, a monumental task that will fall not only to the millions in Syria but to those who have fled to neighboring Lebanon, Jordan, Turkey — that second concentric circle, these countries of first asylum.

Like many of you, I've had the opportunity to visit with refugees in these first-line countries, to listen to them, to hear their stories. And I think probably, like many of you, it resonates on a personal level because so many of us come from similar stories of one kind or another. In the case of my own family, a grandfather who fled the pogroms of Eastern Europe started over with nothing in the United States.

In Beirut, I visited a counseling center run by an extraordinary organization, Caritas [Lebanon], and they were providing services to mothers, fathers and children. And it was interesting because the mothers, fathers and children were divided up into different rooms, receiving counseling, advice and support, and so I went from room to room. The first room I visited had the husbands, the fathers, in it. And if there's one word that jumps out at me to describe the feeling in that room, it is depressed. These were men whose dignity had been stripped away from them. They had been productive members of their communities, of their society back home in Syria, and now here they were, despite the incredible generosity in Lebanon, unable for the most part to work; it had literally depressed them, and you could feel that like a dead weight in that room.

And then I moved on to talk to the women, the mothers, the wives, in another room, and there was actually an incredible crackling energy in the room, but it was one that was born, I think, of almost desperation. And the desperation focused on their kids. How would they be able to provide for them? How would they be able to send them to school? They were fixated on ensuring that their sons and daughters had an education and therefore a future.

And then I spoke to the children. And it's remarkable, as I think so many of you have experienced, because despite the extraordinary hardships that they have endured,

they still retained this infectious sense of hope and optimism. There was in their spirit a sense of incredible resilience, incredible courage and some innate faith that better days somehow were going to come. But in many ways their small shoulders are carrying the heaviest of all the burdens.

Today, roughly 3 million Syrian children across the region are not in school. It's an absence so long for some that they wonder if they've forgotten everything that they once learned. Local communities have generously opened their classrooms to these children, but you know that the level of need continues to vastly outstrip the resources that are available. There aren't enough teachers. There aren't enough schools. There aren't enough classrooms. And those that exist are deteriorating rapidly under the strain of double and even triple shifts.

Compounding this challenge, adults very often don't have legal access to employment, a reflection of how hard it is for local leaders, politicians, to stand up and say they want to give a job to a refugee when their own people don't have one. Without access to work, we know that parents struggle to afford school fees and transportation. Entire families may subsist on the meager wages earned by a child, who can more easily work in the informal economy as a street vendor, as a farm hand, as a garment factory worker. And of course if they're working in those conditions, they're also not in school and they won't gain the skills or knowledge they need to become successful in their own lives, let alone rebuild their country. But that, all things considered, is the least of the concerns that we should have because we know this too; out of school, these children are susceptible to exploitation, to crime, to trafficking, to early marriage, even possibly to the siren call of extremism.

Now the good news for the refugees in the second concentric circle, in these countries of first asylum, is that the violence that drove them to flee Syria in the first place, that at least is gone. But, as Jane said, these other drivers — a lack of access to education, a lack of access to work, that depravation — continue. And that indeed is what is pushing so many to leave not only Syria but also these countries of first asylum and go on to Europe. And, there too, they are again putting their lives at risk on the fierce seas, packed into sealed containers of the truckers and smugglers. But if we can tackle these challenges — these access challenges of education, of employment — we can also lessen the overall crisis and make a difference.

That's why we're working with our partners to expand access to education and employment, to strengthen the resilience of local communities. We've renovated schools. We've trained teachers. We've provided psychosocial care. We've helped schools manage double and even triple shifts. Since the start of the crisis, the United States has provided more than \$5.1 billion in humanitarian aid to the response inside Syria and across the region, in addition to development assistance to Jordan and Lebanon.

It's hard, but our country partners are also doing what they can. Turkey has increased school enrollment from the start of the school year by 30 percent, to 325,000 children. It aims to reach 450,000 children by the start of next year, but that still leaves hundreds of thousands unattended. They've also begun to issue Syrian refugees work permits, allowing thousands access to safe and legal employment. Jordan has promised to double the expansion of double shifts to accommodate 50,000 more Syrian students, and it seeks to expand work authorizations for up to

250,000 Syrians over the next several years. And in Lebanon, the government has proposed a series of investment initiatives to donors that they estimate would create a total of 300,000 jobs, 60 percent of which would be for Syrians, the balance for refugees. They are also aiming for the ambitious goal of getting all children, including Syrian refugees, into school by the end of next year.

But we have to be realistic about the magnitude of this challenge for these countries, and we have to have a certain amount of humility even as we are pressing them to do more. Think about it this way. In Lebanon, depending on how you calculate it, somewhere between a quarter and a third of the population is now composed of Syrian refugees. Equate that to the United States, for those of you who are American. It's as if we were taking in, in the space of just a few years, 50 or 60 million people — and we know the debate that we've had over taking in just a few thousand. You can imagine what that would do in this country. And the challenge is similar in Turkey and in Jordan. But working together, working with them, there are practical solutions that can work, that can be sustainable for the local communities and really help the refugees as well.

That gets us to the third concentric circle that I wanted to talk to you about, and that's the international system itself. Because the truth is the sheer number of people on the move, whether it's from Syria or from other countries around the globe, has forced our traditional systems to stretch perilously close to the breaking point. We're all giving more than we have ever given before, and yet we can't keep pace with growing needs. Built to weather the emergencies of the 20th century, the global humanitarian system that we have today must be adapted to face the challenges of the 21st century. That's the third concentric circle.

This May, we'll have leaders from around the world assembling in Istanbul for the first-ever World Humanitarian Summit, and you've heard something about that over the past couple of days, as well. We're going to look to make some progress on three core objectives.

First, we're going to reaffirm our commitment with a loud and hopefully unified voice to uphold international humanitarian law, to protect civilians, to condemn the willful denial of aid and routine attacks on clinics, on hospitals, on schools, even on humanitarian workers themselves. We do have rules of behavior as a global community. The regard for the sanctity of life remains one of the most fundamental tenets of our basic humanity, and it's lost at our great peril.

Second, we're going to try to reinforce and update the fundamental structure of the humanitarian system to better contend with today's challenges. The system's priorities, its resources, its decisions have to be oriented toward the needs of the world's most vulnerable people, rather than bent by the forces of politics or narrow mandates, and, as you can imagine, that is a great challenge.

Third, we're going to look to build new and greater coherence between our humanitarian efforts on the one hand and our development toolkit on the other hand in order to strengthen resilience to cyclical droughts or recurring natural disasters and to these tides of displaced people. One of the big disconnects in the system is exactly the one between humanitarian response on the one hand and the longer-term development efforts on the other hand. We have to collapse the barriers that exist between them in the way we do things because, like it or not, these problems, these

challenges, are going to be with us and with host communities not for months, not even for a year, but for years and even decades. And unless a host community can see some benefit itself in supporting an influx of people from another country, it's not going to be politically, economically and physically sustainable.

So the development work that we're doing in response to these crises has to address the needs not only of refugees, but also of the countries that they've gone to. There is a way to turn some of this into a win-win proposition. Our experts and agencies are already collaborating in new ways: coordinating budgets, aligning projects, helping host countries include refugees in their own economic development plans. They're engaging the World Bank and other multilateral development banks in the private sector to identify long-term solutions that promote integration and growth.

Despite the truly extraordinary budgetary pressure that they feel and face, middle-income countries like Jordan and Lebanon can't borrow at concessional rates, which are low-interest loans reserved for the poorest countries. So one of the things we're doing now is working with the World Bank to try to develop new types of affordable loans, with donors possibly stepping in to provide loan guarantees or grant financing alongside a loan, to reduce the amount that countries actually have to borrow.

So, even as we're working on this World Humanitarian Summit and toward these goals, we're also preparing for something that will take place in September that President Obama has convened. And that is a leadership summit on the margins of the United Nations General Assembly, to focus on the challenge of the global refugee crisis. And he will be asking governments around the world to step up in three ways. And these are asks that we're already in the process of making and that we hope will culminate in September at the summit.

First, we're trying to broaden the donor base and increase contributions by 30 percent to chronically underfunded humanitarian appeals. We want to get countries that are already doing their part to do even more, and especially we want to get countries that have the means but haven't been participating in the system to actually join in. Humanitarian and education support are unfortunately not one-time costs. Last year's funding gap for basic lifesaving humanitarian aid was a staggering 46 percent. That's the gap between what was asked for and needed and what was actually produced and delivered. Last summer, as the temperatures rose and desperation swelled, UN aid agencies were so short of funds that the World Food Programme was forced to briefly cut rations for refugees. And throughout the year, UNHCR had to operate on just half the budget it requested as it grappled with these staggering and growing needs around the world.

We just can't resign ourselves to these shortfalls. It's not acceptable, and we have to get other countries to step up as we're stepping up ourselves to do more. We need them to pitch in today with the same extraordinary generosity that we witnessed in the aftermath of an earthquake, of a tsunami, of a hurricane, because for a generation of Syrians and a generation of Syrian children, this crisis is a tsunami without the water. It is a five-year hurricane without the wind.

The second goal for the summit that we're bringing together in September is to try to double the number of refugees worldwide who are offered the safety of a permanent home and the chance for a fresh start through legal resettlement and other forms of admission. And this is an area of policy where all of us, including the United States, have to do better, and we're working to do that.

Third and finally, we will try to expand opportunities for refugees to enjoy greater self-reliance through access to education, job training and legal employment, by increasing the number globally of children in school and adults working by 1 million each.

Ultimately, however, no single NGO, no single humanitarian organization, no single country can meet the challenges of today alone. This is a time of unparalleled need, and every single one of us has a role to play and a responsibility to try to respond.

That brings me to the fourth and final concentric circle that I wanted to talk to you about, and that's all of us in this room and all of you. This community, your community, has its roots in two longstanding American traditions that are also shared widely around the world: innovation and philanthropy. Inspired by the benevolence of giants like Andrew Carnegie, Andrew Mellon and Leland Stanford and infused with the entrepreneurial spirit of a new generation of Silicon Valley social investors, this community, your community, proves what is possible when you apply both your heart and your mind to a problem.

And I've seen this in my own travels, going around the world, talking to people in every part of our planet — government officials, individuals from all walks of life. And there's one thing, almost without fail, that attracts people around the world to the United States. It's not always our policies. And it isn't even our politics, hard as that may be to believe. It's a desire that so many of you manifest to aim high. It's our courage to be willing to fail, our commitment to give back, our capacity to translate possibility into opportunity and into reality for all people. In other words, it's the profound attraction of our culture of innovation, entrepreneurship and volunteerism. That's what I hear around the world, every place I travel, and that's precisely the spirit and sense of purpose we need to bring to this challenge today.

The humanitarian crisis we face is in fact so immense that it has the perverse effect of providing almost limitless ways to help, to make a difference. As foundations, as philanthropists, as entrepreneurs, you can take risks and experiment in ways that government and the public sector cannot. You have more flexibility to put resources and expertise into promising ideas and quickly scale proven ones. You can pivot more nimbly. You can cast a wide net, knowing that the search for breakthroughs can also bring failure.

Corporate partners can deepen their investments in education, in training and then in employing this next generation of talent. Community leaders can help schools in their own neighborhoods connect and partner with sister schools in the region. Technology executives can build donate buttons into their webpages, just as Google did in September. Three days later it had raised \$11.3 million for the refugee response. Education firms can work with humanitarian organizations on the ground to provide virtual learning platforms. Students can prototype new ideas like classrooms on wheels or language lessons on podcast. And all of us can look at global problems in new ways, not as challenges over which to despair but as great problems to solve.

I was in Jordan at the end of last year and sitting there with a group of Syrian refugees 15, 16, 17 years old, and we were having a conversation about how they saw the future. And it was quite extraordinary because they, despite their circumstance, had a real vision of what they wanted to do in life. They had goals. They had dreams. And they still had a confidence that they could somehow realize them. One young

woman wanted to be a fashion designer, another, a doctor, a third wanted to be in computers. They all had specific careers, specific goals that they were looking at, and they actually spoke with remarkable clarity and passion about their future.

One of the things I was curious about was their access to computers. And what was interesting was that virtually all of them actually did have access, some at the place where we were gathered, which was a UNICEF-run community center, but also even in their families. Despite their circumstances, many if not all of them had at least one smartphone in their family. So we were talking about that, and I asked how many of them knew what an iPhone was. I had my iPhone, and I pulled it out and said, "Do you guys know what this is?" And of course pretty much all of them did. And they all raised their hands. And then I asked them, "Do you know what company made the iPhone?"

A couple of them said, "Oh, yes, sure, Apple." And then I asked if they knew who had founded Apple. And they paused, and one person actually volunteered, "Oh yes, Steve Jobs." And then I asked them if they knew where Steve Jobs' father had come from. And there was silence, and of course the answer is Syria. Every young person in that room could be the next Steve Jobs. Our job is to help give them that opportunity.

Thank you very much.

PHILANTHROPY'S ROLE: SOLVING FOR CRISIS WHILE TAKING THE LONG VIEW



Fayeeza Naqvi and Donna Shalala

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6

11:15 AM

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Co-founder and Chairman, The Aman Foundation

DONNA SHALALA

President, Clinton Foundation

MODERATOR: DANIEL SCHWARTZ

CEO, Porticus

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Welcome to the plenary “Philanthropy’s Role: Solving for Crisis While Taking the Long View.”

I thank Jane Wales and her colleagues for creating such a welcoming community. This is a lot more than a conference to me, and I’ve been inspired by the degree to which people have been opening up and sharing their personal stories with courage.

I have a confession to make. I’ve been attempting, poorly admittedly, to follow in Tony Blinken’s footsteps since I first set foot in the college newspaper office many years ago, and here I am, decades later, still trying. As I look at our esteemed panelists I am in awe of the caliber of those present — more than a bit intimidating. But it makes me think of the first time I was in a refugee camp as a teenager. I had no intention of getting into this field, but after college I moved to the Middle East and a long journey began.

I was living in Jerusalem and commuting east of Jerusalem, and one day on my school bus, a public bus, the bus stopped and I saw flashes of light. Someone had thrown a Molotov cocktail, doing a lot of damage, and thank goodness not too much damage to me, but I was covered with blood and burning glass. After trying to deal with what I later learned was post-traumatic stress, I found myself a couple of days later, after having not slept, walking to the gates of the refugee camp that was across the street from where the Molotov cocktail was thrown. I was petrified as I walked into that camp, the first of many, many dozens of times. I wanted to do something, but I had no money and no name and no power. I was very thankful for having survived, and without knowing how I decided I would try my best to make a difference and leave the world a better place. So I’m honored to be among the co-panelists and really look forward to the opportunity to trying to learn more and do more.

Over the past two and a half days, we’ve heard about the challenges faced by people on the move — from the refugee crisis to rapid urbanization, to restless young people in search of meaning but tempted by violence instead. We’ve heard inspiring solutions that are being put into practice every day. We’ve heard from government leaders — thank you, Deputy Secretary [of State Antony] Blinken — from noted scholars like Will McCants and from remarkable entrepreneurs like Shahed Amanullah and Sakena Yacoobi. As we begin the discussion, I also invite you, the members of the audience, to start thinking of questions you’d like to ask. Our goal today is a conversation between all in the room.

Now we turn to philanthropy’s role and the intangible assets that philanthropy brings to bear. Fayeeza Naqvi is co-founder and chairman of the Aman Foundation, a private philanthropic trust headquartered in Karachi, Pakistan. Together with her husband,

Arif, she created the foundation in 2008 with the aim of transforming the lives of the underserved by focusing on health and education. In 2013, Mrs. Naqvi partnered with the Gates Foundation and the Packard Foundation to launch the Sukh Initiative, to provide women with access to family planning. In recognition of her work and her contributions to Pakistan's health and education center, she received the Global Humanitarian Award for Women's and Children's Health.

Dr. Donna Shalala is the president of the Clinton Foundation. Previously, she served as the president of the University of Miami. Prior to that she was the president of Hunter College of CUNY [City University of New York]. In 1993, she was nominated as secretary for health and human services by President [Bill] Clinton and served for eight years in that cabinet role. And in 2008, President [George W.] Bush presented her with the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

I have the honor of leading Porticus, which is an international foundation with headquarters in The Netherlands and active programs supporting social justice, human dignity and sustainability in 90 countries around the world each year. I also have the pleasure to serve as the chairman of the GAVI Campaign. We're committed to ensuring that children have the right to survive into adulthood.

Now some questions for my co-panelists, and I thank you.

Mrs. Naqvi, the Aman Foundation does take the long view. It works to advance development and resilience in Pakistan and beyond. What's your strategy, and in what ways is Pakistan emblematic of the very challenges we've been discussing?

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Thank you, Daniel. Before I get into your question, I feel I really need to talk a little bit about Pakistan to give you all some context.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Please.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

In Pakistan, we know a lot about migration and urbanization. Our current population is about one-third urban, and this is going to rise to 50 percent by 2025. Most of this urbanization has occurred due to migration. After all, Pakistan was formed in 1947, and we had millions of migrants who crossed the borders from India to Pakistan. At this point, we have 1.5 million Afghan refugees who are registered as living in Pakistan. We also have hundreds of thousands of internally displaced people who have moved to urban centers from the rural areas. Why? This is all to escape war, insecurity and natural disasters, and to seek new livelihoods, as well as access to basic human services and civil services.

So, in a way, Pakistan is emblematic of the very challenges that we are facing in the world today and what we have been talking about for the past two days. We have high urban unemployment; we have a lack of adequate infrastructure; we have limited social-sector capacity; our literacy rate is below 60 percent. Families have limited access to basic health care services and we have very, very high — I'm sad to say — infant mortality, and maternal mortality rates. About 276 women die for every 1,000

live births in Pakistan. The scope of these challenges is huge for us in the country, and for the world at large, considering that we are 190 million people. And I would like to repeat that number so that it can sink in: 190 million. That is more than half the size of the United States, and it is the size of the United Kingdom, Germany and France combined. So, you can just imagine the issues that we have.

However, this is one side of the story, and, I want to tell you another. We have a very rich culture and history that dates back 3,000 years to Mohenjo-daro. We have produced Nobel laureates, and of course all of you must know of Malala. We have democracy in Pakistan; and we are a philanthropic nation. Pakistan is amongst the top 10 countries in terms of individual giving. We have our challenges, but I think we have to see these as opportunities to make a difference in the lives of people.

So can I talk to you a little bit about the Foundation now?

Our family started Aman Foundation eight years ago, and our vision was to transform lives and to give people dignity and choice. This is something we've talked about in the past few days, and it is very much up there, but we don't realize these are things that all of us here in the room just take for granted. But this is a first. It's just not available over there in Pakistan. So we want to do this by empowering the youth of our nation because we don't want them to fall into the trap of extremism. About 55 percent of our population is under the age of 24. That is an amazing opportunity — to be able to harness the talent to unleash their potential for the country.

Second, we are empowering women to take control of their own destinies. And for me this second point is very, very important because when it comes to women, it's not just about the economic and health issues; it's a basic human rights issue. And we all know that it's very important. I mean, if we have healthy, educated and empowered women, they are going to lead to productive societies.

So we focus on health care and education, as you said. In education, we focus more on the youth, and therefore it's about vocational training. As I said, we have so much of our population under the age of 24; it's really important to not just give them a technical skill; we also want to be able to transform their lives, so we do soft-skills training along with that. And that soft-skills training, includes a second language, computer literacy, hygiene, etiquette: How do you wear a tie? How are you going to get a CV [curriculum vitae] together? And a lot of mental counseling, as well. So far about 10,000 students have passed through our doors, in the past five years, and I'm really happy to see that they're doing well because it's important to us. We do industry mapping, and we align ourselves with the needs of the private sector so that we ensure that there is placement, and we help them with placement.

The health care system we've tried to create is, again, an ecosystem. In emergency services we identified a gap for ambulances. I mean, again, you take it for granted here that an ambulance is going to have lifesaving equipment. In Pakistan, an ambulance is a people carrier. There is nothing else in there. So, we came in with a fleet of 100 ambulances, with lifesaving equipment. Of course, we didn't have trained paramedics, so we started our own in-house training institute, which is called the Urban Health Institute, and we're doing that. We have a telehealth service, which is like a one-stop call to get medical advice for those people who can't make it to a hospital, or a clinic. It's for the urban woman, or it could also be rural; we're trying to take it all over Pakistan, for those who just need to call and ask about things like fever,

diarrhea or dehydration. A lot of mental counseling also happens over the phone, and we have practitioners sitting there in the call centers.

We have a community health worker program, where we've touched the lives of 100,000 people so far. And every six to seven weeks, the community health worker goes back, everything is written on a smartphone. So, if they also call in, we already know the issues, it's a very inclusive system that way.

Then you mentioned the Sukh Initiative, which is our family-planning program with the Gates and Packard Foundations. Again, we are working with a lot of local service providers to be able to provide all the products.

There is also a mental health initiative.

So this is the way in which Aman is inclined to tackle the immediate challenges we have in Pakistan. And we do this today because the long-term future of our country is at stake, and, more importantly, the lives of 190 million people hang in the balance. I know full well that our country suffers from very negative perceptions, but I can assure you that this is far from being the reality on the ground. We should never view the world just through CNN [Cable News Network]. So I invite you all; I invite you to come visit Pakistan, to visit us in Aman, and please let me know because we would welcome partners to join us in a call for action. We need to create a catalytic impact. Things need to be sustainable. They need to be scalable, and then we need to have systemic change. Thanks.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Thank you.

Dr. Shalala, the Clinton Foundation is also focused on long-term development both in the US and abroad, but through the Clinton Global Initiative it can aggregate and guide capital to address some of the immediate needs we've been discussing throughout the conference. Share with us some of the initiatives that are aimed at addressing the migrant crisis in the frontline states like Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, please.

DONNA SHALALA

That was remarkable, by the way. I was thinking as you were talking about refugees that I actually spent three summers early in my career working in the UNRRA [United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration] camp in Saïda, Lebanon, which was a searing experience as part of my own development as a professional.

The Clinton Foundation of course reflects the energy of a remarkable ex-president, which means that no crisis goes unheralded if there is something we can do, whether it's the refugee crisis or the tsunami or Haiti. Long before the earthquake in Haiti, we were working there because of the hurricanes that impacted Haiti, so we had been there since 2008. After the earthquake in 2011, President Clinton joined with President Bush to raise millions of dollars for relief and recovery efforts. In the case of Haiti, we actually stayed. We had been there since about 2008. The president and Mrs. [Hillary] Clinton had gone there on their honeymoon, and they have a deep commitment to Haiti.

So in the case of Haiti, we played an important role, I believe, in providing emergency supplies and the backup for so much of the health system that had actually collapsed

during that time — whether it was trucks or attracting someone to provide cell phones for the workers that were trying to literally rebuild Haiti. We stayed with long-term initiatives. And every single one of those initiatives had to be sustainable. The president and Chelsea [Clinton] are not interested in just going in, providing charity and then leaving. They are interested in economic sustainability.

In the case of Haiti, it was developing supply chains so that we could help the women artisans of Haiti not simply rebuild and do what they wanted to do but also find sources for their products. West Elm was one of our early partners, and it now has serious contracts with women artisans. Some of the papier-mâché products that you see on the West Elm website are made in Haiti, as well as Christmas ornaments and other things. TOMS, the shoemaker, was one of our partners. We have a number of partners that actually contract directly with the businesses and that makes a difference. We often provide the credit upfront so that they can get the supplies and then fulfill those contracts. We also have worked with smallholder farmers in Haiti. I'm giving you an example of where we did both the crisis as well as the long-term commitment.

For the smallholder farms that provide peanuts for the peanut butter factories in Haiti, we developed the supply chain, upgraded the quality of the products by significantly reducing the levels of aflatoxin. And now those farmers are transitioning and starting to build, starting to add products like lime trees. So we'll provide the backup and the expertise in a for-profit setting in which the additional money that we ultimately take off the top is reinvested in those farmers.

Many of these farmers are women. And when I met with them a few months ago, they told me that not only were they going to invest in lime trees but also in animals like goats and chickens. They were sending their children to school for the first time, and I said, "the girls too." Of course I wasn't going to let them off the hook! The girls too.

And they said, "Absolutely." So not only has it increased their income dramatically, given them a business that's sustainable, but we did the whole supply chain, which is very important. It's not just an old-fashioned co-op. It's the whole process that will make these companies and cooperatives sustainable.

The third thing we've done working with women, developing small entrepreneurs with Unilever, which supplies women in the villages with household products that they sell. They take 17 percent off the top. And again the supply chain — the women selling products in their villages — all of them can't go to the market every day, so they run a small shop out of their homes with products supplied by Unilever, and they take a percentage of that off the top. That's a project that we also have in Peru, are introducing in Latin America and will be introducing in Africa. In everyplace we work around the world, once you get beyond the actual crisis, we're trying to develop sustainable enterprises — ones that can survive long after we have left.

In the case of the Syrian refugees, let me just take a few minutes. We've used one of our initiatives, which is called CGI [Clinton Global Initiative], which many of you know. The Clinton Foundation is made up of a series of initiatives. The Clinton Global Initiative has hosted meetings since 2005 and was a convener in developing "Commitments to Action" — specific plans for addressing a major global challenge. CGI was not in this case to deliver the service directly but helped organizations find partners such as corporations and not-for-profits, often unusual partners — to do some good in some part of the world and to have a major impact in the end.

We have started our call to action in the Syrian refugee crisis, and the Jordanian king in particular, who asked the president and the international community to intervene. We have actually been working on the refugee crisis for almost three years now, and over 35 CGI commitments have been made. Thousands of refugees have been impacted in the areas of health and education and energy, and we're pleased to be part of the global network to try to get more resources in. And as Tony Blinken pointed out, this is a very fragmented system that we have. Even the UN agencies are fragmented, but we are doing our part in the refugee crisis to try to bring together partners. They are doing the work. Many of them have been there for many years. Some of them are represented in this room. And what we try to do is help them with the resources but not deliver the services directly ourselves.

So the Clinton family and their foundation work in a variety of different ways, both in our own initiatives as well as in our partnerships with people all over the world. The president's dream is about partnerships. He spent much of his career going to conferences in which people talked and talked. His own conference requires that you make a commitment, and that was actually the genius of the CGI.

Why don't I stop there. I can give people lots of examples, but I think most of you know some of these parts at least. So in other words, we are all over the place.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Thank you. That's great. So, referring to power to convene, do either of you or both of you have some thoughts on what the intangible assets that foundations have that could make a difference in terms of both your foundations and what the rest of us can potentially be doing?

DONNA SHALALA

Everything we've learned is that we have to have partners, that you can't do it alone, that it's hard to do it alone. You have to find friends and partners that can do it with you, that have the same goals, that work out the strategy with you. And sometimes — I didn't give an American example — sometimes just the convening power. You don't have to spend a dime.

For example, CGI members are working to transform the housing market in Detroit, a distressed city in the United States, because the mayor of Detroit came to President Clinton after he had been to see the president of the United States and the governor of his state, both of whom said they'd help. When he came to President Clinton, he said, "I've got a problem. There are thousands of homes that can be bought by people, and we can get them mortgages. What we can't get them is the money to renovate those houses, and the law requires that if you buy a distressed house, you have to bring it up to code within a year. And there is no way to put together a second mortgage because the homes are valued at such a low price, so they can't get a mortgage that's large enough to take that."

So the Clinton Global Initiative literally put five bankers, the regulators and the government people in a room and locked the door and said, "Come up with a solution." And we just announced the solution, done by the banks with backup from philanthropy. The risk is in philanthropy — though it's not a great risk given how the bankers have put it together — in which the first mortgage and the second mortgage

are actually lumped together. The second mortgage is for \$75,000. It's at 5 percent, and the banks are all going to offer the same product to thousands of people who want to buy homes — and the stock actually in Detroit is pretty good. I'm from Cleveland, and I know the Midwest pretty well. The stock are brick homes. They are in good shape. So by combining the two, people will be able to purchase the house at a very low cost and will get the second mortgage to do the renovation. And for the first time, the banks aren't competing against each other. They are all going to offer the same products with the same kind of paperwork, with a PR [public relations] campaign run by the city of Detroit.

All we did was lock them in a room.

I can think of some of these countries, where locking some people in the room might be as helpful actually.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Excellent strategy. Mrs. Naqvi?

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Well said, Donna. And perhaps that's what we should do. We should close these doors and get some commitments, even if it's just coming and visiting Pakistan.

In terms of intangible assets, I completely agree with you. I think it's really important. The way we see it, I feel it's about focusing on three different things. One, you're talking about human capital development, so you are talking about talent management, whether it's internal or external. It's about schooling, education that way, or it's about the people you actually have in your organizations, and also about sharing all that and all of your knowledge with the other sectors.

For example, we do management training programs for our staff. We also run a program called AmanLeaders, which is for graduate students; they come and spend two years with us after graduation — it's like doing a mini MBA [Master of Business Administration degree] in the social sector. And then of course you've got the role models of all of your graduates and people — all the consumers who are availing the facilities, that we are offering. And for building bridges and integrating resources, partnerships between the government, the philanthropists, the foundations and the private sector are very, very important because it's only through collaboration and partnership that we're going to be able to achieve scale and to create that systemic change and sustainability, as you were saying.

And that leads me to capacity building because that's what we're doing. That's what you did in Haiti, and that's what it's all about. As long as we are able to augment what the governments are doing, what other people are doing, and add value, which is going to be exponential, we should be able to effectively deliver and have great quality of services.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

That strategy works. And it feels so consistent with what GPF is doing...

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Yes.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

...where you're taking GPF and franchising around the world for conferences and the like.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Sorry. Could I just add one more thing?

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Please, go ahead.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

Because I think, again, going back to what Donna was saying, it's about the communities taking ownership. You've gone to them; you've heard what they want — now you need to listen rather than just do. Once you speak to them, and you allow them to take ownership of it, they are going to be part of the solution.

DONNA SHALALA

I learned that lesson a long time ago as a Peace Corps volunteer in a mud village in southern Iran. I learned to listen to people.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

So what are the models that you've seen using this partnership approach or creating networks of networks to really do partnership with long-term sustainable goals and achievements?

DONNA SHALALA

Let me take you to Cartagena, one of the most beautiful cities in South America, where the restaurants are world famous and the hotels were importing all of their vegetables and fruits, even though people were growing fruits and vegetables locally. But the smallholder farmers needed to be organized. They needed the supply chain. They had no way, and the restaurants had no way of purchasing from these smallholder farmers. So we organized a supply chain with long-term contracts. We were able to help them get organized — create an actual company to do that — and now many of those restaurants and hotels are locally sourcing all the fruits and vegetables that they're cooking. We'll move on for other products, but it took a certain amount of organization, training, upgrading the quality and getting the full cycle organized so that the restaurant owners were comfortable that they were going to get what they needed, as were the hotels, and they were very proud of the fact that they could locally source these products.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

So in addition to the foundation's assets for deployment and power for convening, which other assets have been helpful? When I think of your voice, leadership, advocacy, the rigor of the evaluation that you are providing, how are important are these in the balance?

DONNA SHALALA

I think when you have a particular person like President Clinton, you have to be careful. People are always asking us whether we'll endorse this or endorse that, so we have to be very strategic in using his voice.

Most recently, we've been having a conversation about the fact that the World Health Organization is changing its protocols on delivering AIDS drugs. We're actually going to have to be able to cover a much larger percentage of those who are ill or may get ill with the existing treatment money, but that requires that people change the order in which they deliver the drugs. It will require retraining of health workers. The sequencing is basically going to change. The question for us in this example is, Should we use the presidents' — more than one president's — voice to talk to the heads of state in the African countries? And we're having a discussion about that, just to alert them that this is possible, that it will actually change our approach to HIV/AIDS dramatically and allow us to use existing resources. That's the kind of conversation we'll have.

We're still interested in changing the world. The president wants to lift people out of poverty. So to do that, we have to be careful not to nickel-and-dime our own organization and to select out those issues that we work on, much like everyone in this room. We have to be strategic about what we do and how we do it because we do have an extraordinary voice and we want to make sure — and he wants to make sure — that he has the greatest impact.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Thank you.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

And I would then say that as a family foundation, we are obviously working with a different set of people — same problems but the numbers are different. So, I think the way one can convene is really about gaining trust. And again, it may seem that obviously, CGI is going to have that trust. However other foundations, like ourselves, need to garner that trust from within the community. And it is only when it comes from within the community — that it will extend to government, other people, and externally, and we will be able to create those partnerships.

We have taken risks so that we can innovate and deliver things, but again that is something that a private foundation can do because it's easier to get on with the job without worrying about answering the 5,000 questions that come with all the multilateral agencies. I don't think it matters if you fail, if you do things, because it's only when you try them out that you know if they are going to work and be the solution.

We are a young organization and, like I said, since we have managed to get the trust of the people, I was in fact speaking with Jane, seeing how it is that we can create a sort of constituency of the philanthropists who are in the different foundations and the government in Pakistan and get us together on one platform so that then again we have a much larger voice...

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Right.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

...a stronger voice to be able to take this forward. I think the other very important thing is the rigor of evaluation. And the way we focus and work within our organization is, we base our strategy on following business principles. I know there were discussions a couple of days ago and people were saying, "Well, we don't know whether that's really the right way forward in this." But I really feel, again, that countries like ours, which are still developing, which are emerging, have great potential, but they need to have these parameters. It's very important. We need to have that focus. We need to have cost optimization; we need to have structured talent management; we need to have a well-defined value proposition, because otherwise we can go all over the place.

One of the biggest challenges that we've faced was actually not wanting to do everything, because then you spread yourself too thin. It's very hard because when you first start off, giving from your heart, and you're giving to individuals, and then you give it to other registered charities or NGOs and then you say, "No; we want to do direct interventions because we want to create that scale." So it's all these things: accountability, transparency — very important.

DONNA SHALALA

Now I agree with that. We have a very sophisticated metrics team so that we can tell people what the impact is of our work and how efficient we've been in providing those opportunities.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

Thank you.

FAYEEZA NAQVI

And it's so hard to actually measure impact. How do we measure impact in so many things when we're talking about, you know, dignity of life? I mean you can say, "Okay — impact in terms of your MCPR [modern contraceptive prevalence rate]; your contraceptive rate has gone up," and this, that and the other. But all the other things are very, very hard to evaluate.

DANIEL SCHWARTZ

So it is. And maybe now is the time. We'd love to welcome questions from the audience.



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