



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics

2014 2015

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES



Left to right: Katy Evans Pritchard; Zephyr Teachout; Lawrence Lessig and Charles Fried; Nir Eyal; Frances Kamm, Jeremy Fix, and Zephyr Teachout; Nancy Rosenblum

CONTENTS 2014-15 REPORT ON ACTIVITIES

4	Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellowships in Ethics
8	Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellowships in Ethics
11	Edmond J. Safra Research Lab
18	Appendix I: Fellows
19	2014-15 Reports of the Undergraduate Fellows
25	2014-15 Reports of the Graduate Fellows
32	2014-15 Reports of the Lab Fellows
51	2014-15 Reports of the Network Fellows
79	Appendix II: 2014-15 Edmond J. Safra Research Projects
83	Appendix III: Public Lectures and Events
83	Past Events 2014-15
84	Upcoming Events 2015-16
85	Appendix IV: New Fellows
	2015-16 Edmond J. Safra Fellows
86	Masthead
	Lab and Faculty Committees, Faculty Associates, Advisory Council, Leadership & Staff

EDMOND J. SAFRA UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN ETHICS

Arthur Applbaum, *Adams Professor of Democratic Values, Harvard Kennedy School; Director, Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate program*



1. Take eight to ten talented Harvard College undergraduates committed to the study of ethics. Choose from a variety of concentrations: philosophy, government, social studies, classics, neurobiology, economics, history, mathematics. Pick when neither too green nor too ripe.
2. Mix vigorously with stacks of readings in moral and political philosophy and handfuls of dark chocolate.
3. Heat to a low boil over high-minded discussion for two hours a week.
4. Separate and chill over the summer, seasoned with a few Kissel Grants in Practical Ethics (optional).
5. Repeat steps 2 and 3 as needed until savory senior theses on normative topics bubble over.

This is the recipe we follow to make batches of Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics at the Center. The third class of Fellows graduated this spring, with a mix of juniors and sophomores still marinating in the intellectual juices of the Center and Harvard.

The curriculum of this spring's seminar, *Government 94saf*, focused on freedom in its many variations: inner freedom, outer freedom, and political freedom. We grappled with the concepts of coercion and consent, free will and responsibility, legitimacy and disobedience. Philosophy's new encounter with neuroscience was a theme, as was morality's old and ongoing encounter with law. As the semester progressed, we devoted a good bit of our time in seminar to collaborating on the steps in writing a worthy term paper, from proposal to propositional outline to rough draft. The collegial efforts showed in the resulting finished papers:

Vivek Banerjee, a junior concentrating in Social Studies, wrote "The Force of Forgiveness" for his seminar paper. Vivek argues that the power to forgive the perpetrator restores moral status to the victim. He will use his summer Kissel grant to study 18th century objections to constitutional entrenchment.

Nicholas Bonstow, a sophomore in Social Studies, traced out the implications of Derek Parfit's reductive account of personal identity in his seminar paper, "Ethics and Personal Identity Theory." Nick argues that even if personal identity is discontinuous, we can have duties to and authority over the future selves that share our bodies.

Gene Young Chang offered a closely argued revision of John Rawls's principle of toleration in "Granting Asylum to Refugees from Non-Liberal States." A sophomore concentrator in Social Studies, Gene goes on leave next year to fulfill his service obligations in the South Korean Army.

Zoë Hitzig, a first-semester senior concentrating in Mathematics and Philosophy, investigated different ways to model the convergence of norms in her paper, "Who Is 'We' in Evolutionary Game-Theoretic Approaches to the Social Contract?" Zoë will study the effects of social networks on the evolution of inequality this summer with the support of a Kissel grant.



Left to right: Matthew Lochner, Jesse Shulman, Arthur Applbaum; Fellows with James Brandt; Joshua Blecher-Cohen and Riley Carney

Madeline Hung, a junior in Social Studies, explored the duties of corporations and non-governmental organizations operating in illegitimate states in her paper, "The Democratic Republic of...Nike?" She will use her summer Kissel grant to study how international economic law can be a tool for the fulfillment of basic human rights.

Nancy Ko, a sophomore in History and Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, wrote "Is Privacy a Right? Or Something Else?" for her seminar paper. Nancy argues that the right to privacy, by setting a foundation of social norms, defines what constitutes an unjust violation of other rights.

Garrett Lam, a junior jointly concentrating in Neurobiology and Philosophy, confounded intuitions about moral responsibility and compatibilism in "Autonomy through Heteronomy: Something

for Everyone or Nothing for Anyone." This summer, when he is not using electrodes to find neural correlates of human decision-making, he will be studying the free will problem with the help of a Kissel grant.

Fanelesibonge Mashwama, a sophomore studying Philosophy, wrote "Participation and Disagreement: The Case of Judicial Review." Fanele argues that there always is a reason for regret when decisions about rights are decided in courts rather than legislatures, and that any results-based claim for judicial review is unlikely to pass a test of epistemic modesty.

Priyanka Menon, a junior concentrator in Mathematics, wrote a thought-provoking paper, "Torture," that argues how the essential arbitrariness of the practice renders it incompatible with a rights-respecting state. Priya is spending part of her summer in the archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp with the support of a Kissel grant.

Eva Shang, a sophomore studying Economics, explored the idea of restorative justice in "The Ethical Case for a Victim's Say." Eva argues that giving the victim of crime power in sentencing restores the moral agency and equal standing that the perpetrator's actions denied.

The prior year's cohort of Undergraduate Fellows continued in James Brandt's fall workshop, where the seniors drafted chapters of their theses and the juniors explored future thesis topics.

Joshua Blecher-Cohen, a junior concentrator in Philosophy and Classics, presented a workshop paper on civil disobedience in Plato. He used a Kissel grant last summer to study the legal foundations of civil marriage, and plans to write a senior thesis on the various roles the law plays in Plato's normative projects.

Jesse Shulman, a junior in Social Studies, deepened his explorations into the Effective Altruism movement. With the support of a Kissel grant, he will study the political leanings of America's billionaires.

Joy Wang, a junior concentrating in Physics, continued to pursue her passion for political theory. With the support of a Kissel grant, Joy will spend the summer at the University of Cambridge studying the development of the idea of corruption in political thought.

Six of our Fellows graduated this spring, having produced a collection of senior projects impressive in both quality and variety:

Riley Carney, a Government concentrator, argued in her senior thesis that the basic political liberties of the poor are threatened when income inequality leads them to internalize their subordinated political status. She tested the empirical claim by comparing the use of Boston's 311 hotline in affluent and poor neighborhoods. Riley begins her PhD studies in Harvard's Department of Government in the fall.

Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld, a joint concentrator in Philosophy and East Asian Studies, wrote "Self-Creation and Self-Defense: A New Reductionist View of Personal Identity and its Ethical Implications" under the direction of Frances Kamm. A newly commissioned lieutenant, Sophia continues her studies at Yale Law School before joining the U.S. Army Judge Advocate General's Corps.

Matthew Lochner, a Social Studies concentrator with a secondary in Economics, explores the difficulty and duty of political tolerance in his senior thesis. Through engagement with the views of Habermas and his critics, Matt concludes that tolerance is best understood as a form of good will and empathy. Next year, Matt will pursue an MPhil in Politics and International Relations at the University of Cambridge, where he will study international constitutional law.



Left to right: Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics with Arthur Applbaum and James Brandt

Reed Silverman, a Government concentrator, wrote an award-winning senior thesis under my supervision, “Obligations From Fairness: Expanding the Scope of Fair Play to Include Obtrusively Avoidable Schemes.” The thesis revives Rawls’s fair play argument in a form that is robust against common criticisms. Reed will try his hand at high school teaching next year before continuing studies in law and political theory.

Adam Spinosa, a Government concentrator, wrote an independent study, “Fine Grained Virtue Ethics in Sports,” under my supervision. Using the examples of violence in sports and the use of performance-enhancing drugs, Adam explored whether the goods internal to athletic practice generate special moral permissions or obligations that are not otherwise recognized. Adam joins a real estate investment firm in Miami.

Chloe Reichel, a joint concentrator in Health Policy and Architecture, is the last member of the founding class of Undergraduate Fellows. Chloe wrote a senior thesis on medical decision-making for dementia patients, discovering a gap between bioethics theory and the everyday experiences of proxy decision-makers. She will pursue graduate studies at the Courtauld Institute in London, from where we expect photos of her splashing in the Edmond J. Safra Fountain Court at Somerset House.

In November, we convened a special session of the undergraduate workshop in honor of Mrs. Lily Safra. The topic, “Secrecy and Democracy,” was accompanied by an article on secrecy in government by a former Graduate Fellow, Rahul Sagar, and a case study on Edward Snowden written for the Harvard Kennedy School ethics curriculum.

Since Lily was warned of our practice of cold-calling, she came well-prepared. Since the chef at the Harvard Faculty Club was warned of Lily, we ate better than we deserved.

The Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics has become one of the high points of our year. In February, Arthur Ripstein, professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto, delivered the third annual lecture. Professor Ripstein, a renowned legal philosopher, is the author of *Equality, Responsibility, and the Law*, a book about who should bear responsibility for bad luck, and the magisterial *Force and Freedom*, a close reading of Kant’s political philosophy. His lecture, “Perpetual War or Perpetual Peace?” an interpretation of Kant’s views on war, provoked nearly perpetual discussion after the lecture, over dinner, and over lunch the following day with the Undergraduate Fellows. He then graciously met with the Fellows to discuss their works in progress.

From the beginning, the Undergraduate Fellowship has been a team creation. Eric Beerbohm founded the program before handing it off to me. James Brandt, as kind and patient as he is sharp and deep, assists me in the spring seminar and runs the fall workshop. We’ve been fortunate to have the skilled assistance of the Center’s poet-in-residence, Tara Skurtu, who leaves us to take up a Fulbright Scholarship in Romania. Finally, without Larry Lessig’s complete support for and deep appreciation of what we do, the Undergraduate Fellowship would not have been possible.

Professor Eric Beerbohm, *Director*



This year marked a milestone for the Center. The Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellowship program turned twenty-five. It has produced 145 scholars over that period. They

now hail from universities worldwide, and include alumni like Samantha Powers and Heather Gerken. We celebrated this birthday in our usual, some would say stern, way. We participated in an intense interdisciplinary boot camp with heavy topics. We were joined by the fearless Frances Kamm, who brings a proprietary way of working through one's argument. Her brilliance always gives the Graduate Fellow Seminar life, and her humor was an added bonus.

We participated in an intense interdisciplinary boot camp with heavy topics.

Our seminar had two themes. First, we explored acting and knowing under conditions of structural injustice. Kurt Vonnegut proposed that a saint is a person who behaves "decently in a shockingly indecent society." Our seminar took up this problem. Do our responsibilities change when we find ourselves living under unjust social institutions? Do our obligations of justice become unbearably demanding? Do we need theories custom-tailored to species of social and political injustice? The second literature concerned emerging research on epistemic injustice. Can background social wrongs affect our ability to assert knowledge claims? Can the adoption of the flawed ideology handicap a negatively privileged group's standing in political debate? How does the ideal of integrity function under conditions of grave injustice? In the service of connecting high-level epistemology with immedi-

ate ethical problems, we read draft chapters from Jason Stanley's monumental book, *How Propaganda Works*. The objections from the Graduate Fellows were relayed back to Stanley, who was revising his manuscript at the time. It also didn't hurt having leading philosophers deliver related public lectures. This included Harry Frankfurt, Arthur Ripstein, and Michael Blake, whose book served as the occasion for a day-long symposium.

The spring curriculum emerged organically. After getting to know the Fellows' research well, I searched for a topic that could expose the connective tissue, linking the disparate interests of the group and, if all went well, reveal just how interconnected their rock-bottom concerns really were. In the service of this "reach" goal, we read a series of recent articles on a neglected topic in ethics. What is it to manipulate someone? We all have experienced this wrong. Is it merely a compound infraction? It

feels too real to be something that is reducible to coercion or deception. We spent half of the spring grappling with this intensely personal topic. Perhaps the record-setting snow contributed to the fraughtness of the topic, but some of our Fellows fretted that they had learned so much about the subject, they were struggling to avoid all forms of manipulation

in their ordinary interactions with others. In the spring our seminar did something relatively rare. Inch by inch, we made a little philosophical progress. With discipline, patience, and an admirable command of the literature, the group connected the presumptive wrong of manipulation to their own work. Our approach was abductive. We started with a palpable and intimate injustice, and then searched for the best explanation of what—exactly—makes it so worrisome.

The fellowship program had a suite of "firsts" this year. The first PhD candidate from the Graduate School of Design joined our seminar. **Delia Wendel** hails from the program of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Urban Planning. She is working the problems of rebuilding after the Rwandan genocide. **Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns** is the first



Left to right: Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics with Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm

EED candidate from the School of Education. She works on the development of citizenship competencies in children. Her work brings new meaning to the slogan: “Vote early and often.” One of the highlights of our seminar was Ferráns’ draft paper on moral development, which offered an integrative picture of how we come to figure out right from wrong as we march through our developmental stages.

Michele Rapoport is our inaugural Visiting Graduate Fellow from the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Tel Aviv University. Her work worries about the ubiquity of surveillance, especially in the so-called “smart home.” This year we were fortunate to have another Visiting Graduate Fellow from Stanford, a university with its own distinguished ethics center. **Tomer Perry** is a democratic theorist

with big ambitions. He is only trying to figure out how we ought to make global decisions. His work had fruitful connections to two other Fellows.

Jonathan Bruno is a political theorist working on transparency and its role in our public life. His project tied nicely to Edward Snowden’s fall interview with Larry Lessig and related work on transparency by the Center’s Lab on institutional corruption. Jonathan wrote two new chapters to his dissertation. His inspiration from Jeremy Bentham was clear, and a model of how canonical work in political philosophy can speak to tough problems of the present. His fellow theorist, **Greg Conti**, is a historian of political thought who is fruitfully obsessing over ideological diversity in nineteenth-century Britain. Greg’s project nicely anticipated next year’s theme of the Center, the ethics of diversity.

From philosophy, **Jeremy David Fix** is a metaethicist who thinks that we can get ethical content from asking questions that are deceptively simple: What is an action? What is it to act? One of his paradigm cases of action is the building of a sandcastle. And **Olivia Bailey**, a PhD candidate in philosophy, is a moral psychologist with a keen interest in empathy and those who entirely lack it. Her trio of papers, written over the academic year, draw from virtue theory. In the spirit of the fellowship program, her scholarship faces empirical psychology. Can empathy give us a distinctive form of knowledge? Her papers are sparkled with lively characters—many from case studies, some culled from Bailey’s imagination.

This spring we were joined by general advisors and mentors, including Mathias Risse, Professor of Philosophy and Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School, Samuel Moyn from the Harvard Law School, and Sheila Jasanoff, Pforzheimer Professor of Science and Technology Studies at the Harvard Kennedy School.

Our program was run with verve by our Fellowships Coordinator, Tara Skurtu. She will be taking up a Fulbright fellowship this fall, but we hope she remains the Center’s poet laureate. This year we were blessed to read some of her poetry, which, like the fellowship itself, spoke to deep problems of inequality, but managed to offer a message of hope.

The incoming class of Graduate Fellows is impressive. We are fortunate to be joined by an additional Fellow next year, thanks to the generosity of Eugene Beard. The inaugural Eugene P. Beard Fellow, Zeynep Pamuk, works on the difficult relationship between scientific expertise and democracy. We will have a sociologist working on whether evidence matters to citizens’ ‘truthiness’, a historian on the legal person, a political theorist on the ideology of American slavery, and a bioethicist dealing with rationing drugs for rare diseases. As usual, the topics are never light, but undeniably salient to our ethical life. A full listing of the 2015-16 Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics can be found in Appendix IV.



Left to right: Naushard Cader, Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns, and William English; Hallie Ludsin and Jonathan Bruno; Jeremy Fix

William English, *Research Director*



The Edmond J. Safra Research Lab, launched in 2010 by Lawrence Lessig, concluded its ambitious research project on Institutional Corruption this year. From its beginning, the

Lab sought to address fundamental problems of ethics in a manner that would be of practical value to institutions, governments, and societies around the world. It pursued this goal by convening scholars and practitioners to conduct research on problems of “Institutional Corruption” with an eye towards developing feasible solutions to those problems.

This Lab project was unique in many ways. First, the subject of inquiry—Institutional Corruption—required contributions from diverse disciplinary

From it’s beginning, the Lab sought to address fundamental problems of ethics...

and professional perspectives, and mapped out an important but unique agenda for research and action. Second, the project integrated rigorous empirical research in the service of substantive normative purposes in a manner that is (unfortunately) rare in academic ethics. Finally, in another departure from the academic status quo, the project supported research that promised to yield practical insights and tools to improve real world institutions. Indeed, for the final year, the Lab explicitly courted Fellows whose work aimed to make immediate contributions in addressing current problems. Their remarkable efforts were a fitting capstone to this five-year project.

In 2014-15 the Lab’s fellowship program hosted a talented class of 7 residential Lab Fellows, 18 non-residential Lab Fellows, 52 Network Fellows, and 5 Collaborative Research teams composed of

a total of 12 scholars. The Lab also welcomed the vigorous participation of 4 Investigative Journalism Fellows who held appointments through the Project on Public Narrative directed by Ron Suskind.

The year began with the annual “Research Bonanza,” which featured short, 5-minute presentations from Fellows of all types, followed by a barbecue hosted by the Center’s Director, Lawrence Lessig. The Bonanza not only allowed Fellows to introduce their work to one another in an efficient way, but also sparked numerous collaborations that would take shape throughout the year.

Fellows in town for the Bonanza were able to attend the first public lecture of the year, delivered by Zephyr Teachout, to a packed auditorium in Austin Hall. Teachout spoke about her recently published book *Corruption in America* and her experience campaigning in New York’s gubernatorial race. In her workshop the following day, she

further developed her thesis that America’s founders were preoccupied with the problem of corruption and that modern constitutional jurisprudence has construed anti-corruption principles too narrowly.

As in years past, the cornerstone of the Lab was a weekly seminar in which Fellows and collaborators presented their work and received extensive feedback. The Center’s Director, Professor Lawrence Lessig, launched the series by providing an overview of the concept of Institutional Corruption, highlighting important findings and suggesting possible implications of this research program. He drew particular attention to the distinction between proper and improper dependencies in analyzing the economies of influence that shape how institutions perform.

Carla Miller and I led the second seminar of the year discussing her work crafting ethics offices, policies, and training programs for municipal governments. Carla recounted her own challenges and victories working with the City of Jacksonville and her ongoing efforts to document and translate best practices to other city governments across the

U.S. I reported on our work with the Massachusetts State Ethics Commission aimed at evaluating and improving their conflict of interest law online training program.

In the third seminar, non-residential Lab Fellow Genevieve Pham-Kanter presented her research examining how different kinds of industry ties may bias drug approval advisory committees convened by the Food and Drug Administration. She offered further lessons on how empirical research can help craft policies that mitigate ethical challenges in healthcare at large. Lab Fellow Frank Dobbin led the following seminar, in which he discussed his past research on the failure of corporate diversity programs and outlined an agenda for understanding the strengths and weaknesses of approaches to promoting diversity within academia. Along with his collaborator, Alexandra Kalev, Dobbins aimed to identify practices that universities can follow in order to increase representation of historically underrepresented groups at the highest levels.

The fifth seminar examined whistleblower provisions as tools for regulatory oversight through a joint presentation by Network Fellows Michael Flaherman, Dana Gold, and Barbara Redman. Flaherman discussed recent developments in U.S. law that allow whistleblowers to file administrative claims with the IRS and SEC and, if successful, to receive a portion of damages recovered by the government. He suggested these could have a significant impact on reigning in corrupt behavior and further detailed his work scrutinizing suspect practices in the private equity industry. Gold spoke about her extensive work with the Government Accountability Project, which is the oldest whistleblower advocacy organization in the United States, and she proposed ways to lessen the significant obstacles that whistleblowers still face. Redman discussed the particular challenges that whistleblowers have encountered in the healthcare space and her own studies of research misconduct.

Lab Fellow Richard Painter gave the sixth seminar, presenting key arguments from his book project “No Taxation Without Representation: A Conserva-



Mahzarin Banaji

tive Agenda for Campaign Finance Reform” as well as insights from a second project on the moral responsibilities of bankers. In the following seminar, Network Fellow Scott Methe raised the question of whether public schools are being corrupted by educational products that are sold to school districts with little evidence of their effectiveness. He proposed ways of conducting and publicizing rigorous assessments of such products that would enable school districts to make more informed and effective investments.

In the eighth seminar, Lab Fellow Israel Finkelshstein provided a capacious overview of the virtues of different regulatory mechanisms and then showed how considerations of the political pressures that regulators face can modify our assessment of the optimal regulatory regime. Finkelshstein illustrated these important insights through a discussion of his ongoing study of water regulations in Israel. Network Fellow Wallace Roberts presented the following week on regulatory shortcomings in the U.S. nursing home industry, discussing case studies and his own investigative work in the context of a larger history of the transformation of elder care over the last century. Roberts was joined by Prachi Sanghavi, a PhD candidate in Health Policy, whose research suggested that the quality of emergency medical care in the U.S. has been severely compromised by policies and equipment that run contrary to the best evidence. She sought to understand how political and economic forces kept these dangerous

policies in place, particularly in light of the interests of emergency response personnel and ambulance manufactures.

The penultimate seminar of the fall featured the collaborative research team of Marcia Hams, Susannah Rose, and Wells Wilkinson, who discussed the design and preliminary findings of their evaluation of the effectiveness of conflict-of-interest and teaching policies at academic medical schools. They noted that there is a significant amount of diversity in how medical schools manage conflicts of interest and educate staff and students about them, and their research would be the first large scale study to characterize the landscape and to draw systematic conclusions about the virtues of some approaches over others.

Network Fellow Thomas Groll and Investigative Journalist Fellow Sebastian Jones concluded the semester with an examination of informal lobbying. Groll adeptly summarized different accounts of lobbying prevalent in the scholarly literature, tracing out their stakes and implications. Crucially, Groll's work distinguished between traditional accounts of special interests lobbying and accounts

that focus on "relationship markets," which have become more important with the rise of commercial lobbying firms. Jones argued that lobbying in the U.S. is increasingly disguised as "public relations" work and educational activities in order to skirt disclosure requirements and other limits placed on official lobbying.

The Center sponsored three additional public events in the fall that bore particular significance for the Institutional Corruption theme. John Rogers, the former CEO of the CFA Institute, which set standards for ethics and professional excellence in the investment community, made a case in his public lecture for the role of "Fiduciary Capitalism" in the future of finance. Rogers argued that long term institutional investors have reasons to bring pressure on the wide range of companies in which they invest to insist that they better internalize externalities, and thus promote more responsible, sustainable, and efficient markets over time. Later in the fall, Lawrence Lessig interviewed National Security Agency whistleblower Edward Snowden via video feed in front of a packed crowd in Ames Courtroom at Harvard Law School. Snowden



Members of the 2014-15 Edmond J. Safra Research Lab

discussed what he believed to be the institutional failures of the NSA, as Lessig pressed him to articulate a vision for how technology could be employed a way that provided security while protecting civil liberties.

The semester concluded with a fascinating panel on the topic of “Too Big to Fail or Too Hard to Remember: Lessons from the New Deal and the Triumph, Tragedy, and Lost Legacy of James M. Landis.” The panel was convened in response to non-residential Lab Fellow Justin O’Brien’s new book on the life and legacy of James Landis, former Dean of Harvard Law School and one of the architects of the financial regulations that emerged from the New Deal. Daniel Coquillette, *Charles Warren Visiting Professor of American Legal History*, commented on Landis’ legacy and the founding principles of financial market regulation, while Judge Jed Rakoff of the Southern District of New York and Todd Rakoff, *Byrne Professor of Administrative Law*, discussed enduring challenges in financial market regulation.

Boston weather was not kind to the Lab at the start of the spring semester, as a number of blizzards coincided with Tuesday seminars. Collaborative researcher Christopher Robertson spoke about his project “535 Felons” via webinar, followed by an in-person discussion once weather improved. Using large-scale online mock jury experiments, his work suggested that jury members would judge many common political behaviors as legally corrupt, contrary to the prevailing wisdom of Supreme Court jurisprudence. Robertson discussed the implications for campaign finance reforms.

Lab Fellow Avlana Eisenberg led the second spring seminar, proving a powerful overview of “Incarceration Incentives in the Decarceration Era.” Her critique of mass incarceration paid special attention to the interests that lead public corrections officers and private prison executives to resist prison reforms. In the following seminar, Lab Fellows Ann-Christin Posten and Elinor Amit delivered a joint presentation on the “Social-Cognitive Side of Corruption,” examining psychological mechanisms that underpin corrupt behavior as well as perceptions of corruption.

Approaching the legal system from a slightly different perspective than Eisenberg, Investigative Journalism Fellow Brooke Williams led the fourth seminar, reporting on her nationwide examination of federal prosecutorial misconduct. Working with researchers at the MIT Media Lab and Center for Civic Media, she developed sophisticated techniques to track possible misconduct by prosecutors in the vast majority of cases that never go to full trial. Williams also presented the results of her investigation into how foreign governments attempt to influence U.S. politics by skirting conventional lobbying restrictions. This formed the basis of an article, “Foreign Powers Buy Influence at Think Tanks,” co-authored with James Lipton and Nicholas Confessor, which appeared on the front page of *The New York Times*. The article uncovered the impact that foreign government donations to think tanks had on policy recommendations, and the resulting publicity resulted in a House rule requiring those who testify before Congress to disclose certain foreign government funding.

Collaborative researchers Julia Lee, Francesca Gino, and Bidhan Parmar presented their joint research on “Communicating Ethics in Organizations” in the fifth Lab seminar of the semester. Their numerous studies investigated both how existing beliefs regarding the relationship between ethics and performance can dispose individuals towards unethical behavior and how priming someone to take an “ethics helps performance” mindset can improve behavior. The team also found preliminary evidence that dense social networks can help legitimate and encourage unethical behavior.

Investigative Journalism Fellow Samuel Loewenberg led the following seminar with a discussion of his book manuscript examining the political and institutional barriers to the reform of foreign aid. Loewenberg highlighted many perverse incentives that operate within the aid community, including a bias towards high visibility emergency relief that neglects long term structural investments that would yield greater welfare over time. The investigative lens of the Lab was again turned to domestic matters the following week with a seminar led by



Left to right: Jonathan Zittrain and Lawrence Lessig;
Avlana Eisenberg

Investigative Journalist Fellow Norm Alster, whose work examined the complicated and controversial record of the Federal Communications Commission. Alster documented troubling patterns pro-industry decisions that appeared to preempted public health concerns, which he attributed in part to the revolving door between agency leaders and executives from regulated industries. Alster published his findings, arguments, and suggestions for reform in an e-book released by the Center, titled "Captured Agency: How the Federal Communications Commission is Dominated by the Industries it Presumably Regulates."

One recurrent question raised by the Lab's research concerned the degree to which responsibility for corrupt practices lies with individuals versus systematic incentives embedded in a larger institution. Lab Fellow Andromachi Athanasopoulou

examined the ethical formation of decision makers and asked how we can improve their sense of responsibility, whatever its scope. In the eighth seminar, Athanasopoulou discussed her multi-method research comparing and contrasting how managers and business school professors think about ethical dilemmas and leadership development.

In the ninth seminar, non-residential Lab Fellow Sunita Sah presented experimental investigations examining whether conflict of interest disclosures are actually effective. Although transparency is often viewed as a way to mitigate conflicts of interest, Sah's work suggested that disclosure can sometimes backfire and attempted to identify conditions under which disclosure works as intended.

In a magnificent application of a study design that promised to yield immediate insights for improving the justice system, collaborative researcher James Greiner spoke in the tenth seminar about his randomized trial of legal outreach strategies to those facing consumer debt collection litigation. Many who are presented with a legal challenge are not aware of their rights and the parameters of the case against them, and Greiner's work helped identify better and worse ways to help ordinary people avoid exploitation by unscrupulous debt collection agencies.

The seminar series concluded with a presentation by non-residential Lab Fellow Jennifer Miller concerning her design and implementation of an ethics ratings system for pharmaceutical companies. Her research showed that many companies are deficient in disclosing trial results as required by law—one of many problems that an ethics rating system could call attention to. At the time of her presentation a number of leading companies had expressed interest in cooperating with the rating system, and technical partners had helped automate key aspects of data collection.

Much of what our Fellows achieved over the course of the year was featured and disseminated in venues beyond the weekly seminars. For example, Oz Dincer and Michael Johnston conducted an original study of corruption perceptions across U.S. states, and their blog post and working paper on this subject went viral, gaining coverage in *The Washington Post*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Fortune*. Meanwhile, *The New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and *Time* prominently cited non-residential Lab Fellow Christine Baugh's research, which examined how conflicts of interest have led to poor concussion management in sports. Network Fellow Elizabeth Doty released a working paper co-authored with non-residential Lab Fellow Maryam Kouchaki, examining how organizations keep commitments over time, which was the fruit of a multi-year embedded research effort with a large technology company. The Lab published many other high quality working papers and blog posts, including insightful series on whistleblowing by Network Fellow Kate Kenny. Non-residential Lab Fellow

Katherine Anderson even developed community-organizing tools and led an innovative "DOC and Talk" series pairing documentary film screenings with discussions of Institutional Corruption.

The spring semester also featured three capstone events that illustrated the importance and potential applications of the Lab's research program. Tyrone Hayes, Professor of Integrative Biology at University of California, Berkeley, delivered the final public lecture of the year. He recounted how, as his scientific research began to raise questions about the safety of the widely used herbicide Atrazine, the company that produced it (Syngenta) launched a campaign to discredit him. His ordeal recapitulated many recurrent themes of the Lab's research: financial pressures to bias scientific research, the use of legal threats and character assassination to intimidate whistleblowers, dysfunctional bureaucracies hindered by revolving doors at the highest levels, and massive conflicts of interests among experts.



2014-15 Project on Public Narrative Fellows with Ron Suskind

In March the Lab sponsored its first Hackathon, joint with the MIT Media Lab and Center for Civic Media. This event brought Lab Fellows together with talented programmers and activists to translate the fruits of research into real world digital tools and applications. Put simply, it was a tremendous success. The products of the 48-hour programming marathon included: a browser extension that scrapes conflict of interest disclosures from PubMed articles and prominently displays them in abstracts; a social media platform for boycotts; a searchable database of donations from foreign governments to U.S. think tanks; a machine learning algorithm that gathers data from complex regulatory filings; and a data archiving and visualization platform that showcases how campaign contributions change over time (among many other projects). The last project also complemented a spectacular website built by Network Fellow Solomon Kahn, which provides a powerful way to search and display political donations.

The five-year Institutional Corruption project culminated with a packed two-day conference in early May that showcased the vast range of research and tools produced by the Lab, while reflecting on their larger significance. The conference program featured presentations from some 60 past and present Fellows, in addition to commentary from distinguished scholar and practitioners such as Paul Romer (NYU), Barney Frank (US Congress, retired), Barry Weingast (Stanford), Trevor Potter (former Federal Elections Commission chairman), George Loewenstein (Carnegie Mellon), and Nancy Olivieri (Toronto). Francis Fukuyama (Stanford) delivered a magisterial keynote address, surveying the foundations of political order and the causes of political decay in terms that mapped closely onto research themes of the Lab.

The title of the final conference—“Ending Institutional Corruption”—was, of course, a double entendre, signifying both the aim of the Lab and its conclusion. Like many endings, ours was bitter-sweet, not only because it meant the dissolution of a community but also because much of the Lab’s work was just gaining momentum. The accomplishments of the last five years have been significant,



Julia Lee at poster session

and stand on their own as tremendous achievements. However, the Lab has also delineated a new area of research and sparked collaborations and interests that will bear fruit long into the future. Time will tell what the Lab’s most lasting contributions are, but there is no doubt that it accomplished something unique and important. One hope as a scholarly community going forward is to find ways to keep this conversation alive and to encourage the creativity, enthusiasm, and concern that made the last five years so productive and impactful.

Finally, on a personal note, I am delighted to be joining the faculty at Georgetown University’s McDonough School of Business, where my work will continue to engage problems of Institutional Corruption. I’ll remain profoundly grateful for my time at the Center and for all of the people who made it such productive, informative, and meaningful experience. I’m also deeply indebted to the Center’s staff—Stephanie, Katy, Heidi, Joe, Tara, and Emily—whose dedication greatly enabled my work as the research director.

The Institutional Corruption project was a magnificent example of how academic research can be focused in service of the common good. Although this chapter of the Lab has come to a close, it is satisfying to know that the Center is in the very capable hands of Professor Danielle Allen going forward. I am excited to see how the Lab concept evolves as the Center explores new ways of bringing ethical reflection to bear on society’s most pressing problems.

2014-2015

APPENDICES I-IV



APPENDIX I: 2014-15 REPORTS OF THE UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWS

19

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics 2014-15

Vivek Banerjee, Joshua Blecher-Cohen, Nicholas Bonstow, Riley Carney, Gene Young Chang, Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld, Zoë Hitzig, Madeline Hung, Nancy Ko, Garrett Lam, Matthew Lochner, Fanelesibonge Mashwama, Priyanka Menon, Chloe Reichel, Eva Shang, Jesse Shulman, Reed Silverman, Adam Spinoso, Joy Wang

Vivek Banerjee

My first semester with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been wonderful. I had the opportunity to experiment academically in ways that I wouldn't have been able to without the Center. Professor Applbaum and James Brandt both gave helpful and clarifying comments on my paper topic for the Undergraduate Fellow Seminar, and were encouraging throughout the semester. I had little experience with practical ethics and analytic philosophy before the seminar, and I am grateful that my first foray into those subjects was in the presence of such wonderful and brilliant people. My final paper explored a particular philosophical account of the concept of forgiveness. Without the Center, and my peers in the seminar, I would not have been able to think about and discuss such a topic during my undergraduate career.

This summer I will be on campus conducting research for my senior thesis in large part because of the Center's Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics. I am excited to incorporate some of what I have thought about during the seminar into my senior thesis, and to bring more of the analytical perspective into my largely historical inquiry. I am looking forward to continued affiliation with the Center in my senior year.

Joshua Blecher-Cohen

For the past two years, my affiliation with the Center has allowed me to pursue my interests in ancient philosophy and in contemporary moral and political philosophy. Moreover, I remain grateful for the opportunity to explore both sets of interests in tandem—and at their many productive intersections. One such intersection emerged this fall, through work on a paper examining civil disobedience in Plato, which I presented to the Center's weekly workshop and reading group. On the contemporary side, I spent this past summer studying the normative foundations of civil

marriage with support from a Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics from the Center.

Next fall, I will be writing a senior thesis in the Departments of Philosophy and Classics that will explore Plato's legal philosophy. In brief, I plan to consider a broad swath of the Platonic corpus and examine the various roles law plays within Plato's normative projects. I look forward to discussing this research with colleagues at the Center in the coming months, and especially to incisive feedback from the weekly workshop next fall.

I will be spending most of my summer at the University of Cambridge as a Harvard-Cambridge Summer Fellow, doing research that will ground my thesis project. More specifically, I will be focusing both on Plato's legal philosophy and on relevant work in contemporary philosophy of law.

Nicholas Bonstow

My first year in the Undergraduate Fellowship program meant that I undertook the special course, Government 94saf. This Undergraduate Fellow Seminar was a delight in many senses. Professor Applbaum's seminar gave, in essence, a wonderful 'common core' of ideas for ethical thinking. It afforded us all a common vocabulary and methodology by which to test and think through normative ideas. Notions of coercion, autonomy, free will, responsibility, reason, cosmopolitanism, authority, obligation, and legitimacy were refined in my mind, and as an enthusiastic undergraduate this was an immensely valuable exercise.

The generosity of Professor Applbaum and James Brandt was immense; they were able to provide enthusiasm and encouragement to the roughest idea. I had been struck in particular this semester by the writings of Derek Parfit, a reductionist thinker of personal identity, and spent rather a lot of time stuck in his *Reasons and Persons*. I am

interested in what I think are the overambitious radicalisms of the reductionist position, and I attempted to review and modify the position to meet the demands of much of modern theorizing in my term paper.

Next semester I hope to continue such work and build upon my 'common core' through taking more ethics courses around the university. I look forward to the continued mentorship of Professor Applbaum, and to working closely with James Brandt. I furthermore am very grateful this semester to have met the other Undergraduate Fellows. I have been deeply impressed with their variety of intellectual interests and backgrounds, and their intellectual growth this semester has never ceased to inspire me (and keep me on my toes!).

Riley Carney

(no report)

Gene Young Chang

This past year, I have had a truly amazing experience with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics as an Undergraduate Fellow. The bulk of my experience with the Center was through the Undergraduate Fellow Seminar with Arthur Applbaum. The course has taught me the fundamentals of how to think critically, and pushed me to question some of my long-held assumptions in ways that no other course has done before. Arthur and the Teaching Fellow, James Brandt, were inspired teachers whose enthusiasm for ethics and political philosophy was infectious. I emerge after this year as a more careful, nuanced thinker and writer, and that is almost entirely thanks to the seminar and the fellowship.

My motivation in becoming an Undergraduate Fellow was to join a community of scholars that could push me and help me in my academic career here at Harvard, specifically in pursuing research and writing on practical ethics. It has far exceeded those expectations. The Undergraduate Fellows I met throughout this year have not only challenged me in the classroom, but also proved to be fantastic friends and conversation partners. The fellowship has allowed me to further pursue my studies in

Political Philosophy and provided me with an excellent group of scholars in that field. I am very much grateful to have had this opportunity, and I look forward to the remaining years of this fellowship.

Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld

My final year as a Harvard student and Undergraduate Fellow revolved around my senior thesis, entitled "Self-Creation and Self-Defense: A New Reductionist View of Personal Identity and its Ethical Implications." It was the Center for Ethics that transformed the thesis process from a mere graduation requirement to a rewarding intellectual inquiry. I was privileged to have the incomparable Frances Kamm as my thesis advisor. And I will never forget hours spent with other Undergraduate Fellows in cafes and dining halls, challenging each other to think through our most difficult questions.

I will miss so many things about the Center. I will miss being a part of such a dynamic and free-thinking community. I will miss the intellectual stimulation and camaraderie of our seminars and dinners. Most of all, I will miss the other Undergraduate Fellows, whose creativity I will always admire and for whose friendship I will always be grateful. That said, the E.J. Safra family is far-reaching, and I look forward to connecting with Center alumni at Yale Law School next fall!

Zoë Hitzig

Since joining the Center in January as an Undergraduate Fellow, I feel I have deepened both my approach to ethical questions and my commitment to solving them.

In my own work, I received outstanding mentorship and guidance from Arthur Applbaum and James Brandt in our Undergraduate Fellow Seminar. Both Arthur and James have helped me sharpen my arguments about how, if at all, game theory can be used in social contract approaches to justice. This work is foundational for my senior thesis, which will include a game-theoretic model of the evolution of inequality in addition to these theoretical underpinnings.

The Center has already amplified and reinforced my commitment to ethical inquiry. Speaking to Graduate Fellows has given me a sense of what a commitment to ethics looks like five years down the line, while speaking to visiting lecturers, faculty affiliates, and other research fellows has sketched a blueprint for what that commitment can look like over several decades. The Center is the catalyst that makes these inspiring interactions possible.

I feel very fortunate for these formal and informal interactions at the Center.

Madeline Hung

My first semester as an Undergraduate Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been a transformative experience. In particular, taking Professor Arthur Applbaum's Undergraduate Fellow Seminar has truly changed the way I think. As a Social Studies concentrator in the College with a focus field in "intersections of global justice and international law," I have had a wealth of exposure to sociological, historical, and philosophical approaches to social theory. However, the deductive reasoning and normative argumentation required of the Undergraduate Fellow Seminar posed a new frontier for me. Through the instruction and patient guidance of Professor Applbaum and James Brandt, as well as the contributions of my fellow Undergraduate Fellows, I finally feel that I am able to *ask the right* questions when confronted with problems in the world of political philosophy.

By the end of the semester, I narrowed my interest in global justice and international law into a paper exploring the role of external actors (e.g. multinational corporations, INGOs) in illegitimate states. Specifically, my paper argues that when external actors meet certain criteria, they can be considered "sufficiently governmental" to require some account of political legitimacy to operate legitimately in these legitimacy-free zones. This paper was not only the most enjoyable paper I have yet written in my undergraduate experience, but has also significantly influenced my plans for senior

thesis research. I am now confident that I will write a theoretical thesis, and have also considered shifting my focus from "cosmopolitanism" at large to global corporate responsibility.

I feel that I have grown significantly in my academic pursuits during my time so far at the Center, but even more than this, I have so enjoyed connecting with the Center's community of students, researchers, and professors. I look forward to the fall and the opportunity to get to know these many talented and pioneering individuals even better.

Nancy Ko

What a semester! Though only the first of many with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, this semester proved to be a joy and a wonderful welcome to this community. The historian in me will always treasure Professor Applbaum's applied art history lessons at the beginning of each class, but I was most delighted by the engaging, challenging discussions our class would have around the table as we tried to tease apart any number of concepts from free will to public reason. Professor Applbaum and James both possessed a unique ability to sharpen thoughts and puncture our arguments where they hurt most, and I loved getting to know my fellow Fellows as we weaved—sometimes with difficulty but always in earnest—through catfish and Rawls, frontal cortexes and Frankfurt.

This semester at the Center, my research focused on the right to privacy and its many definitions. In particular I examined the selective disclosure account, which describes the right to privacy as the right to control when and by whom information about ourselves is made known. I also examined the possibility that other rights might emerge from the right to privacy, rather than the reverse. Aside from my work on privacy, I am working on notions of historical representation and the ethics of history. I look forward to returning to the Center in the fall and preparing to integrate my insights into my joint History and Near Eastern thesis.

Garrett Lam

Being part of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics as an Undergraduate Fellow has been one of the most rewarding experiences I've had the fortune of having at Harvard. With it came Arthur Applbaum's weekly seminar (with the wonderful James Brandt as Teaching Fellow), which was an excellent romp through many different topics in practical ethics, each week being filled with spirited, productive discussion and Arthur's good humor. The Undergraduate Fellow Seminar was also a great opportunity to hear about research from the other Fellows, and probably the closest thing to an art history course I will take at Harvard.

Through the Center for Ethics, I've had the opportunity to engage with the topic that most interests me right now—the problem of free will and its relation to neuroscience. We spent time covering free will and the intersection of neuroscience and ethics, a perfect primer for my thesis research, in which I explore the relationship between neuroscience and ethics through neuroscience's implications for free will (or *lack* of significant implications, as I shall argue). The Center has also provided generous support through the Kissel Grant for the philosophical side of my summer research, which will complement my neurobiological research on epilepsy patients targeted toward a better understanding of human decision-making.

In addition, the Center has provided a wonderful host of lectures and dinners, and, above all, a vibrant community of individuals passionate about exploring the most pressing issues in ethics. I was delighted to see many friends at the Center and to get to know many others over the course of the semester. As I continue figuring out the next step for me in a career in ethics (whether law school, graduate school, or some alternative), I know the Center will continue to serve as a hub and an anchor for my explorations.

Matthew Lochner

(no report)

Fanele Mashwama

My first semester as an Undergraduate Fellow with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was deeply pedagogical. My involvement with the Center this semester was primarily through the Undergraduate Fellow Seminar, which Professor Arthur Applbaum coordinated in a penetrating, yet inviting, socratic fashion. The diversity of backgrounds and interest, both personal and academic, amongst my peers ensured that each week's conversation was fascinating and enriching. The class benefited as well from James Brandt's consistently well-considered contributions.

This semester I also had the pleasure of attending a couple of the Center's public lectures. Watching some of the world's best ethicists debate, sometimes energetically, the intricate details of very sophisticated positions, was thrilling.

Going forward I'm keen to continue to workshop my own work with help of the Center's resources. I plan on writing a thesis that challenges the notion of reason primitiveness. I am confident that the assistance of the individuals involved with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics will prove very useful to that end.

Priyanka Menon

My first semester as an Undergraduate Fellow has allowed me to have some of the most intellectually satisfying experiences of my academic career. The lectures and events held by the Center have widened my understanding of ethics and current work in the field, allowing me exposure to the ideas of some of the most brilliant minds currently in academia. As a result of the weekly Undergraduate Fellow Seminar with Professor Applbaum and James Brandt, I have had the opportunity to understand and grapple with debates in contemporary moral and political philosophy, benefiting greatly from the insight and perspective of the other Undergraduate Fellows. Indeed, some of the most meaningful conversations I have had this year have been with the other Fellows in my cohort.

Thanks to support from the Center's Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, I will spend part of my summer doing fieldwork in the archives of the Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, working to understand the effect of the Holocaust on ethics and political theory. Specifically, my work will center on the thought of Giorgio Agamben and critiques of his work. I would not have had the opportunity to pursue this meaningful work had it not been for the guidance and support of Professor Applbaum and the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics as a whole.

Chloe Reichel

It is bittersweet to write this report as I end my third year with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. As Professor Applbaum put it, I am the Fellow the Center has not been able to shake—I have been lucky enough to receive the support and wisdom of the Center and its affiliates for the duration of my time at Harvard! I am very grateful for the impact the Center has had on my academic career here. I have so enjoyed the weekly workshop meetings and the lively lectures and dinner discussions that I attended over the years. It was a special treat this year to meet Lily Safra and discuss the ethics of whistleblowing with her!

This year I completed my senior thesis on medical decision-making for dementia patients. Using qualitative interview data with health care proxies, health care providers, and court-appointed guardians, I demonstrate the gap between the real-life experiences of health care proxies and the ideal theory espoused in the bioethical literature on the topic of medical decision-making for dementia patients. My thesis focuses on the significance of everyday decisions in the context of dementia, an area largely ignored by the bioethical literature. It also highlights the ways in which dementia proxies experience variations on symptoms of dementia throughout decision-making—including confusion, loss of self, and despair—due to the distinct features of dementia as a disease, as well as the structural attributes of the American medical and family systems. This project grew out of the

research I conducted as an Undergraduate Fellow, and was supported in numerous ways by the Center. I am deeply appreciative of the feedback I received from peers, graduate students, and faculty at the Center. This work also would not have been possible if not for a generous Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, which allowed me to devote my summer to thesis research.

I would like to extend a special thanks to James Brandt and Eric Beerbohm, who have given so much to this program over the past few years, and who have personally shaped the way that I think about ethics. I will miss the Center and the community it has fostered at Harvard, but recognize how fortunate I am to have had three years at such a supportive academic home. I am immensely thankful for the time I have had at the Center, and I look forward to seeing the Undergraduate Fellowship program flourish in the future.

Eva Shang

(no report)

Jesse Shulman

(no report)

Reed Silverman

I spent this year writing a senior thesis under the advising of Arthur Applbaum, with assistance from James Brandt and the weekly meeting of my class of Fellows throughout the fall. My thesis focuses on the fair play principle as a possible grounding for political obligation. According to Nozick's famous assertion, it cannot be that we are obligated to contribute simply anytime we receive benefits from a cooperative scheme—i.e., my friends and I cannot just “thrust” some benefit upon you and then demand your contribution. As the modern state clearly benefits people without first giving them the opportunity to request these benefits, there seems to be an insurmountable obstacle to grounding political obligation in fair play. Ultimately, however, my paper is able to find grounds on which to establish obligation to contribute to schemes that provide the individual with benefits he never sought out. If we think of the free rider's behavior

as an act of “advantage-taking,” and provided that the individual benefits on net from the scheme and recognizes this benefit, then we can apply the principle of universalizability as a way to understand his obligation to contribute. This, I believe, makes progress toward overcoming a primary obstacle to the grounding of political obligation in fair play.

Adam Spinosa

(no report)

Joy Wang

The Undergraduate Fellowship program at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics continues to be an integral part of my academic work here at Harvard. As a Physics concentrator, the Center’s many lectures and conferences have been invaluable to my exploration of political philosophy and intellectual history. Under James Brandt’s skillful leadership, the Undergraduate Workshop in the fall served as both a stimulating exploration of topics in contemporary moral and political philosophy and a forum for the development of our own research projects in practical ethics. I am grateful not only for their insights in fleshing out my preliminary thesis work, but also for the rich intellectual community the workshop has fostered.

I spent the summer of 2014 working as a policy intern at the Sunlight Foundation, where I researched transparency in state governments—from executive orders to lobbying disclosure and contributed to work on the implications of mass surveillance for criminal due process in the United States. My practical experience at Sunlight inspired an interest in exploring the themes of secrecy, transparency, and corruption in political and social theory, which I have pursued for the past academic year under the supervision of Professor Richard Tuck. Zephyr Teachout’s fascinating lecture in the fall, “Corruption in America,” provided a provocative history of the place of corruption in American political thought, and has been instrumental in tracing the lines of my thesis project.

Thanks to the generous support of the Center’s Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, I will spend most of the summer at the University of Cambridge conducting research on the evolution of political corruption discourse in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century British and American political and social theory. I look forward to returning in the fall for another exciting year at the Center.

APPENDIX I: 2014-15 REPORTS OF THE GRADUATE FELLOWS

25

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics 2014-15

Olivia Bailey, Jonathan Bruno, Gregory Conti, Silvia Diazgranados-Ferráns, Jeremy Fix, Tomer Perry (Visiting), Michele Rapoport (Visiting), Delia Wendel

Olivia Bailey

This year was a critically important one for me. At the start of the fall term, my dissertation was essentially a confused jumble of unwritten ideas. Now, three of my chapters have acquired extra-mental reality, and two of them have been exposed to helpful, incisive feedback from the other participants in the Graduate Fellow Seminar.

The first of these chapters, which I presented in the fall term, attempts to clarify a folk concept that has been largely ill-treated in philosophical discussion. Some philosophers describe empathy as an absolutely critical feature of our ethical lives, while others doubt that it is of any real moral significance. Often, however, parties to this debate turn out to be speaking past each other; they work with different conceptions of empathy, but don't provide real defenses of those preferred conceptions. I ground my analysis of empathy's nature in an insight from Percy Shelley, who writes: "A man, to be greatly good, must imagine intensely and comprehensively; he must put himself in the place of another and of many others; the pains and pleasures of his species must become his own. The great instrument of moral good is the imagination." Whether or not the phenomenon that Shelley is interested in precisely matches the lay uses of the word "empathy," most people would agree that there is a phenomenon that appears to involve (1) an imaginative encounter with someone else's experiences "from the inside" that (2) implicates the empathizer's own affective life, and that this phenomenon is morally important. My chapter sifts through the different ways in which a mental activity could satisfy these criteria, distinguishing activities that count as empathy in my sense from activities that are like it in some ways. I was fortunate to have excellent feedback on a draft of this chapter from Jonathan Bruno.

Another chapter, presented several weeks ago, discusses the moral significance empathy might have in virtue of its epistemic significance. So far, philosophers have only considered the instrumental moral significance of the epistemic gains empathy can afford: they look at how knowledge afforded by empathy might motivate us to do more good, or help us to act more efficiently. I argue that there is an epistemic good unique to empathy that is of non-instrumental moral worth. We rightly desire for our perspectives to be understood as intelligible, I argue, and without empathy that kind of understanding is not possible. That is a surprising-sounding proposal, and much more work needs to be done in order to defend it, but discussing it in the seminar gave me some ideas about how to move forward with it.

One of the best things about my year was that it gave me the chance to think about important topics in ethics not directly related to my own work. I very much enjoyed our extended discussion of new work on manipulation, a theme for the spring term. It is not a topic I had much occasion to reflect on before, but now I am working on a paper on the subject. I would particularly like to thank Frances Kamm and Eric Beerbohm for their encouragement and their wonderful contributions to the seminar.

Jonathan Bruno

Even for the sociable, dissertation writing becomes an eremitic venture. You are constantly holed away. Your only music is the click-clack of keystrokes, endlessly incanted. Your friends are your thoughts. It is true, and very fortunate, that the thoughts of others sometimes break in, too. But even here we are stenographers of imagined conversations, and the stimulation that results is intellectual, not social. Indeed, the entire project can feel like a lonely struggle for self-mastery; with apologies to Edmund Hillary, it is not the dissertation we conquer, but ourselves. In spite of all this,

and owing to the Center's generosity, I have escaped the snare of isolation this year. The passing months' work has challenged and tested me, and summoned what I regard as genuine scholarly growth. But this progress would not have been possible without my Graduate Fellowship, which came with the most congenial of academic homes. The Center has provided a perfect workspace, a calendar free of other obligations, and an intellectual community of the highest order. It is difficult to express the depth of my gratitude.

A political theorist and legal scholar, I am interested in questions about the practice and ethics of constitutional democracy. My current work focuses on the concept of political transparency. What do we mean when we insist that public institutions should be transparent, and what is the normative basis of such claims? How should we think about transparency's purposes, and how do these relate to practices of deliberation, contestation, and accountability? What are transparency's limits? What is the legitimate scope of government secrecy? These are among the questions my dissertation explores. The spirit of my contribution is friendly: while I offer a revisionary account of democratic transparency, I do so in an effort to vindicate an ideal that suffers from constant oversimplification.

A word about how I have spent my days. The fall semester was devoted to a new chapter on judicial secrecy and transparency. I presented a partial draft of this work at the Center's Graduate Fellow Seminar in November and, drawing on the participants' helpful feedback, managed to complete (and improve) the chapter before the end of the term. In addition, I wrote a separate article assessing proposals to video record and broadcast Supreme Court oral arguments, which has just appeared in the *Creighton Law Review*. In the spring semester, I was occupied with two projects. First, I incorporated into the dissertation's working drafts a new answer to one of my basic questions: what are the best means (beyond conventional disclosure rules) of promoting political transparency? My work on

judicial institutions inspired some fresh thoughts on this subject, and I was able to make significant progress in formulating a novel and, I hope, persuasive answer. Later, I began work on the dissertation's historical chapter, delving deeply into Jeremy Bentham's writings on "publicity." This led to an article on trust and transparency in Bentham's political thought, which I duly disclosed to the Graduate Fellow Seminar in April. The questions and suggestions I received there were again enormously helpful.

It is a pleasure to offer personal thanks to the people who made this year all that it was. The Center's highly professional staff welcomed and assisted me in ways that went beyond the call of duty. For their support and generosity, I thank Stephanie Dant, Katy Evans Pritchard, and Tara Skurtu, along with all the other folks who helped to organize the year's enriching series of lectures and events. For their friendship and encouragement, I thank my intellectual interlocutors at the Center, including Professors Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm, Lab Fellow Avlana Eisenberg, and my co-Graduate Fellows, Olivia, Greg, Silvia, Jeremy, Tomer, Michele, and Delia. These colleagues have been a constant inspiration. Tomer, in particular, has been a cherished (philosophical) gadfly and writing partner; thanks to his support, my keystrokes did not cease even amid winter's worst squalls. Frances' brilliant, searching questions have made me a better thinker, and I am grateful for the lively sense of humor with which she leavened our seminars. Finally, I owe the greatest debt to Eric, a mentor whose gentle guidance and keen philosophical eye have nurtured whatever growth I have undergone as a scholar. Eric has been an impeccable model of intellectual charity and integrity, and his uncanny ability to bridge the gaps between our disciplines sustained every seminar. In this way, Eric catalyzed the intellectual community that shielded me from dissertation writing's isolating side effects, and in fact made this year such a pleasure. 'Thank you' does not even begin to say it.

Gregory Conti

This year at the Center for Ethics has been a fruitful one, and I am grateful to Eric Beerbohm, Frances Kamm, and my fellow Graduate Fellows for an enjoyable and enlightening set of weekly meetings. Apart from the Graduate Fellow Seminar, as a political theorist I was particularly appreciative of the several very strong lectures in political theory given throughout the year. But I was also, and in a quite other direction, happy to have the occasion to consider topics apart from those of my research and to engage in a wider range of scholarly conversations than would have been available to me had I not had been included in the Center's community. In particular, I found the material on manipulation, which was the theme of the second half of the graduate seminar, to be very stimulating.

My dissertation analyzes nineteenth-century British political theory in its attempt to grapple with the topic of ideological and social diversity. The dissertation is divided into two parts, the first addressing this theme insofar as it came to bear on the theory of toleration and intellectual freedom, the second insofar as it influenced debates about representation and the reform of Parliament. Most of my efforts during this year were focused on the latter half: I wrote drafts of three chapters, two of which I presented at the Graduate Fellow Seminar. One of these I have subsequently turned into a freestanding essay on the relationship between democracy and the goal of descriptively representing the diversity that exists in society. In addition, I wrote an essay on John Stuart Mill's and James Fitzjames Stephen's famous debate on the nature and meaning of liberty, and I gave papers in several other forums. I also revised a previously written chapter from the first half of the dissertation about the nineteenth-century argument that freedom of thought and discussion were essential to civil peace. Finally, I supplemented this core of dissertation research by planting the seeds of later projects: first, the study of the history and political theory of Pierre Rosanvallon; second, a broad conceptual survey of changes in the theory of political deliberation from the eighteenth century

through "deliberative democracy" as theorized today. Though these projects are still in their embryonic stages, I believe that I am now in a position to pursue them in tandem with the completion of my dissertation in the upcoming year.

In accomplishing these tasks I have been aided immensely by the Center's institutional and financial support. I hope to be able to repay my debt by remaining involved with the Center in the years to come—especially in this upcoming year, when the theme for the Center's activity, "Diversity, Justice, and Democracy," is one especially dear to my heart.

Silvia Diazgranados-Ferrás

I had a truly wonderful year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, where I found a vibrant community of scholars from diverse disciplinary backgrounds working in the field of Applied Ethics. As a Graduate Fellow, the vast amount of opportunities to attend interesting events and participate in rich and meaningful discussions led me to significant personal and professional growth.

In the Graduate Fellow Seminar, I enjoyed being part of lively discussions around the provocative set of readings on structural injustice and manipulation that our thoughtful director, Eric Beerbohm, put together for our weekly meetings during the first part of both semesters. I thank Eric for also giving us the opportunity to share and discuss our own work in progress with the group, an experience that I found particularly enriching, as everyone in the seminar came from disciplinary backgrounds very different from my own.

During my time at the Center I was able to complete one paper and begin writing a second one. During the first semester, I shared a theoretical paper where I document the tensions that exist in the literature among bio-evolutionary scientists, cognitive developmental psychologists, and socio-constructionist researchers. In the paper, I argue that the divisions existing within these scientific communities can be conceptualized in terms of different levels of analysis, as they focus on different populations and employ different

underlying units of time and space. I use multi-level structures to illustrate how different levels of analysis can be seen as nested within each other, and how different scientific endeavors strive to account for different sources of variability in our moral functioning and present a complex multi-level structure where different paradigms are not seen as incompatible. Special thanks to Tomer Perry for his thoughtful discussion of this paper, to Delia Wendel for comments that led me to consider in more detail the role of places in my models, and to Jonathan Bruno for suggestions that led me to clarify and readjust some key aspects of my paper. With support from the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I presented this paper in November 2014 at the Conference of the Association for Moral Education in Pasadena, California, and submitted it to a journal where it is currently under revision.

I made significant progress on a paper that I shared for the first time with Fellows in the Graduate Fellow Seminar. It documents the civic empowerment gaps that exist between youth of high and low socio-economic backgrounds in Colombia, Chile, and Mexico, using data from the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement. I very much enjoyed the lively discussion that took place around this work and I'm currently integrating the great amount of feedback I got that day from the Fellows. Special thanks to Frances Kamm for feedback that led me to include civil disobedience as a key outcome in this work. To support this work, the Center provided me with additional opportunities to share my ideas at other venues, such as the Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society that took place in Washington, DC, and the Conference of the American Education Research Association in Chicago. In the upcoming academic year, I have been given the exciting opportunity to be a Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics in Tel Aviv. Thanks to Michele Rapoport for encouraging me to apply, and for her openness to discuss her experience as a Fellow at the Center in Israel.

I feel very privileged to be part of such a vibrant community of scholars, and look forward to continue sharing ideas, attending events, and nourishing the relationships at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Thanks for all the warmth and intellectual support!

Jeremy Fix

Because of the generous support of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have made considerable progress this year, the penultimate year of my graduate study. It has given me the time and setting to improve and expand my research, and the freedom from teaching needed in order to prepare myself for the academic job market next year.

I have this year made substantial progress on my dissertation. In the Graduate Fellow Seminar, I presented and received helpful feedback on two chapters: "Intellectual Isolation" in the fall and "The House of Goodness" in the spring. "Intellectual Isolation" is an older paper that I was able to edit and substantially revise with a view towards submitting it for publication and using it as my writing sample for job applications next year. "The House of Goodness" is a new paper that I drafted over the course of the fall and winter. It is my first attempt to defend a view about the nature of normativity that the rest of my dissertation develops. In addition to these papers, I was able to draft "Possibility in The Conditions of Agency," a paper that develops the ideas in "The House of Goodness" and applies them to certain perennial topics of debate in practical philosophy. One of those two papers will form the basis of my job talk next year.

Having the time and resources to dedicate a year to drafting and refining these papers improved the individual quality, but the biggest benefit was being able to write enough of them to see how they fit together as a whole. I often only figure out the important aspects of one paper after I have had time to write other papers on related issues. The details of the parts only become clear when I have a better sense of the whole. Having relief from

teaching responsibilities allowed me to get enough of my dissertation written to understand the systematic view I mean to defend. This led to dramatic improvement in the clarity and quality of all of the chapters, previously written and currently in draft alike.

Thanks very much to Eric Beerbohm, Frances Kamm, Olivia Bailey, Jonathan Bruno, Greg Conti, Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns, Tomer Perry, Michele Rapoport, and Delia Wendel for a collegial and exciting seminar on injustice and manipulation.

Tomer Perry

My year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been one of the most productive years of my doctorate. I drafted, and presented, two dissertation chapters. Thanks to the feedback and criticism of my colleagues at the Graduate Fellow Seminar, as well as Professors Beerbohm and Kamm, I realized I had to split the chapter I was working on into two parts—and thus I found myself writing two chapters at the same time.

While writing at the Center, I revised the focus of my dissertation: as I worked on applying democratic theory to problems of global justice, I realized that I need to focus more on the democracy side than on the application to global affairs, which was my original focus. Without such revision, democratic theory is ill-equipped to deal with many of the vexing questions of justice and rule that arise in the context of global politics. The second chapter of my dissertation thus presents a theory of democratic justice; it shows that justice requires democracy and expands on the demands of democracy. The third chapter of my dissertation lays down the foundation of applying democratic justice to global affairs by presenting a defense of the idea that people who are affected by political decisions should have a voice in them.

My year at the Center has been enjoyable and productive, thanks to the supportive and friendly office environment that it provides. My office space wasn't only convenient and pleasant (with a beautiful 4th floor view), but also stimulating and enriching. There wasn't a day without thought-provoking

conversations that provided unique perspectives on philosophical issues, pressing political matters, and the overlap between the two. My colleagues in the Graduate Fellow Seminar were a unique and interdisciplinary set of professionals whose vast knowledge and wide array of perspectives challenged me continuously to make my work as rigorous as possible while keeping it close to the problems that motivate it.

Michele Rapoport

My year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been an enriching intellectual experience, and one which will undoubtedly continue to impact my work in the years to come. I came to the Center in the final year of my PhD candidacy at the School of Philosophy at the Tel Aviv University in Israel, having been invited to partake in the Graduate Fellow Seminar as a Visiting Graduate Fellow—an experience for which I am exceedingly grateful. For me, this year was an opportunity not only to interact with my erudite co-fellows in the seminar and to enjoy the inspiring and thought-provoking discussions overseen by Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm, but also to participate in a range of lectures and events offered by the Center and by other departments and institutions at Harvard. This was indeed a year of 'intellectual exposure' to people, opinions, ideas, and academic traditions—one that has lived up to everything I thought Harvard would be, and more.

My dissertation focuses on the emergence of the smart home as a domestic setting infused with intelligent technologies that facilitate the performance of domestic operations and affect the living of habitual daily life. I seek to understand the implications of continued visibility that these technologies facilitate, as well as the ways they redefine the corporeality of the body through its situatedness in digitalized environments, the emergence of new spatialities and possibilities for place-making, and re-conceptualizations of agency, labor, free will, and personal autonomy. This year has provided me with the resources and opportunity to add the final touches to my dissertation, and I will be graduating in July.

Coming from a primarily continental tradition in philosophy, this year has expanded my academic horizons thanks to a strong introduction to normative ethics, which has already come into play in my work. Both the reading materials in the seminar and ensuing discussions suggested powerful ways of rethinking and expanding ideas formulated in my dissertation, and have played an important part in the writing of my essay titled “Persuasive Robotic Technologies and the Freedom of Choice and Action,” currently under negotiation for publication. This year has also provided me with the opportunity to present to the Graduate Fellow Seminar my paper on self-surveillance within domestic spaces and to receive valuable input on it from Junior and Senior Fellows, including my guest commentator, Sheila Jasanoff of the Harvard Kennedy School. Their comments have paved the road for further research I intend to conduct on this topic in the future. An additional direction I am planning to pursue, one that was also formulated this year and which I had the pleasure of discussing with Frances, engages in ethical concerns raised in human-technology relations of dominance and control. Both Frances and Sheila were exceptionally generous with their time and insights, and for this I am exceedingly grateful.

Finally, I would like to thank Tara, Stephanie, Katy, and all of the wonderful people who make the Center the remarkable place to think, write, grow, learn, and interact that it is.

Delia Wendel

I spent the 2014-15 academic year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics grateful for opportunities for critical discussion and time for research analysis and dissertation writing. My dissertation research concerns peace-building strategies in Rwanda after the 1994 genocide. I contribute a cultural, historical, and spatial perspective to the study of how individuals live together after mass violence and the ethics of post-conflict rebuilding policies. I began my Graduate Fellowship after two years of fieldwork in Rwanda, where I collected an immense body of unstudied data, including: historical documents and photographs, spatial documenta-

tion of buildings and settlements in the country, survey data conducted in 36 villages with over 600 residents, and ethnographic observations and interviews with a third of these respondents. The Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellowship in Ethics was an unparalleled opportunity to start analyzing these rich resources, begin the writing process, and refine my broader scholarly interests.

In the fall semester, I designed and taught a course for Master’s research degree candidates at Harvard’s Graduate School of Design. My Risk and Resilience Proseminar provided students with an introduction to discourses and case studies of risk and resilience that intersect with key issues in built environment planning and design. I defined ‘risk’ as conditions of vulnerability that arise from events—such as natural disasters and conflicts—and from structural, historical processes such as sociopolitical marginalization and climate change. In turn, ‘resilience’ emphasized built environment strategies that community, international, and State actors engage with in emergency, developmental, and anticipatory contexts to mitigate and limit vulnerabilities. I consider risk and resilience to be dialectically linked as a set of problematics and responses, over time, in space, and activated by particular actors. The course represents the type of cross-disciplinary, theory-practice intervention that I hope to contribute in my future teaching.

I also developed two dissertation chapter drafts, which I subsequently presented for feedback in the fall and spring Graduate Fellow Seminars. These are two of eight chapters that comprise my dissertation; cases studies on memorials, villages, architectural aesthetics, and a radio drama that explores relationships between spaces, conflict, and peace. I first presented a chapter on the imagined spaces of peace and conflict that a Rwandan radio drama has developed as a peacebuilding strategy. My second chapter draft analyzes a government house modernization strategy, and the consequences of forced compliance and the types of aspirations that were represented by the program. Both chapters benefited from seminar discussions on the two broad themes of the academic year, Structural Injustice

and Manipulation. Each of my two case studies tackles structural conditions of inequality and historical, recurring conflicts as context for present-day peacebuilding efforts. The chapters also suggest critical intersections between post-conflict change (as behavior- and policy- oriented strategies) and manipulation, with various moral implications. Perhaps most fruitfully, the seminar discussions helped me to further explore the range of disciplinary approaches to the study of ethical issues, and productive distinctions and connections between philosophy, history, architecture, and anthropology in particular.

I've ended the year grateful for the time and support of the Center, faculty advisors, and colleagues. My progress and critical engagements would not have otherwise been possible. I look forward to following the work of the many talented affiliates that the Center brings together.

APPENDIX I: 2014-15 REPORTS OF THE LAB FELLOWS

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows in Ethics 2014-15 (residential)

Elinor Amit, Andromachi Athanasopoulou, Frank Dobbin, Avlana Eisenberg, Israel Finkelshtain, Richard Painter, Ann-Christin Posten

Elinor Amit

I enjoyed very much my fellowship this year. In particular, the Lab seminars were fascinating and I learned a lot from them. I also continued to work on my main project, which is concerned with the effect of the representational format on resistance to institutional corruption. Finally, new collaborations with other fellows developed to exciting projects that touch my core research interests as well as deep questions regarding the psychological underpinnings of institutional corruption.

My original project was concerned with the effect of representational format on the justification of institutional corruption. I suggested that visual and verbal representations of information have distinctive roles in the support of maintaining vs. changing the status quo. Specifically, people would increasingly support a change in institutionally corrupted practices when the information about the practices is represented verbally, versus visually. However, providing evidence for this hypothesis turned out to be more challenging than I expected. After analyzing a significant amount of data which I had collected, I concluded that the difficulty might stem from the fact that it is hard to represent visually (both internally and externally) institutional corruption cases. If people are unable (or have significant difficulty) representing information about institutional corruption visually, it will be hard to impossible to compare the effect of this type of representation to other types of representation (e.g., verbal).

I therefore turned to test this exact hypothesis. In order to do that, Lab Fellow Ann-Christin Posten and I circulated a survey among the fellows, which included various scenarios of (what we considered as) institutional corruption cases. We asked the fellows to rate those scenarios as good or bad examples of institutional corruption. Nearly 100 fellows replied to our request and so we were able

to select six scenarios that experts on the topic of institutional corruption considered above chance as “good example” for it. Subsequently, we generated six equivalent scenarios that differ from the original scenarios in that they are “real corruption” cases, which involve illegal actions and concrete deals between two parties. We used these twelve scenarios to run several experiments on Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in order to explore various questions regarding the psychological nature of institutional corruption, and how it differs from “real corruption.” For example, does real corruption appear more vivid than institutional corruption? Would you trust the system less after learning about an institutional corruption case or after a real corruption case? Is there a zero sum game between blaming the system and blaming the individual? And what motivates people to act (or not to act) when considering an institutional corruption dilemma? Notably, we are in the process of building a causal model that will “connect the dots” between vividness, perceived legality of the action, moral permissibility, emotional reaction, and most importantly, actual action, such as signing a petition against the (institutionally corrupt) behavior. We are currently at the stage of collecting data and so far have run over ten experiments, with hundreds of participants. We are planning to use our insights in order to write at least one conceptual paper concerning the concept of institutional corruption, how it developed over the past five years, and what are the remaining open questions. In addition, we plan to write at least one empirical paper concerning the results from the experiments that we ran and are still running.

In closing, we would like to thank the Center for supporting us in our research and providing us with such a rich, mind-stimulating environment that enabled us to develop our ideas and be exposed to various perspectives. The five years project of

institutional corruption may be reaching an end, but our work in understanding institutional corruption and fighting it has not. We are committed to completing this mission in the years to come.

Andromachi Athanasopoulou

My year as a Residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been a unique academic experience. The fellowship gave me the opportunity to deepen my understanding and broaden my approach to ethics research and more specifically institutional corruption, work on a topic I really love, become a member of a multi-disciplinary network of researchers with similar interests, develop collaborations with new colleagues, and use several of the academic resources offered within Harvard.

My academic background is in management. I have a deep interest in studying individual behaviors and perceptions of ethics within organizations and how to best develop ethical leaders within the context of management education. My project explores the differences between managers and business school academics regarding how they perceive and cope with moral dilemmas at work. It evolved into a personally very fulfilling project with many interesting and often quite surprising research findings. I started by conducting a literature review at the intersection of business ethics, leadership development and management education, developed the study's research design, conducted qualitative fieldwork—now near completion—while progressing with the data analysis. One of the most valuable opportunities the fellowship offered is the intellectual space to experiment with new research designs. My project is primarily based on qualitative, interview-based research, which is where I have specialized. However, I decided during my fellowship to also try new (to me) methods of data collection: the photo elicitation method (used mostly in anthropology and sociology) and incorporation of quasi-experimental elements. As the data analysis progressed, I decided to complement the findings with online survey experiments. Dr. Ann-Christin Posten, a Lab Fellow, has joined this effort and with her expertise we look forward to seeing the outcomes of this new development.

I have been fortunate to get exposed to an impressive array of projects on ethics and institutional corruption via the Center's seminars, lectures and other academic events. The biggest impact this had on me was furthering my understanding of how ethics (and institutional corruption particularly) is researched in various academic disciplines and contexts. Besides attending all seminars and other Center activities, I had the opportunity to present my work at the seminar series and the "Ending IC" conference. Also, working at Harvard gave me the opportunity to attend seminars at other departments, particularly the Harvard Business School and the Kennedy School. In addition to the work on the project, I was able to complete other work I had started at Oxford, before joining Harvard. This included keeping up with the final stages of the production of an Oxford University Press book on leadership development that I co-authored [this book and a co-authored, peer-reviewed article on corporate social responsibility were published during my fellowship year]. I also co-authored a book chapter on corporate social responsibility and successfully revised an article, now on its second R&R, for the leading peer-reviewed management education journal. Finally, other activities included reviewing for several leading journals and joining the editorial board of the *Journal of Change Management*.

During the fellowship year, I had very helpful discussions and advice from outstanding academics who are affiliated with the Center. I am particularly grateful to Professor Malcolm Salter, Professor Nien-hê Hsieh, Professor Frank Dobbin, Professor Joshua Margolis, Professor Richard Painter and Professor Francesca Gino.

Most of all, though, I want to express my gratitude to the immensely supportive Professor Lawrence Lessig and Dr. Bill English for their academic guidance, Stephanie Dant, always positive and managing the Center at an exceptional standard, Heidi Carrell, always available to provide perfect support on all practical matters, as well as the rest of the remarkable Center staff (Katy Evans Pritchard, Tara Skurtu, Susan Cox, Joe Hollow and

Emily Bromley). Last but not least, I am thankful to my fellow Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows. Everyone has contributed to making this Center the most outstanding environment I have ever worked in.

Frank Dobbin

My proposal was to spend the year examining the effects of university hiring, promotion, work-life, and diversity programs on the careers of male and female, white, African-American, Latino, and Asian-American faculty members at U.S. colleges and universities. The goal is to understand the corruption of the meritocracy in U.S. higher education, which has left us with a faculty that is disproportionately white and male half a century after colleges and universities began to make substantial progress on diversifying the undergraduate body.

Over the course of the year I have been working closely with NORC at the University of Chicago to administer a retrospective survey, conducted by telephone with college and university administrators. We have completed over 400 interviews, and are in the process of working to complete at least another 250 more interviews.

Meanwhile, I have been working with programmers and graduate students to create a career-history dataset covering more than 16,000 faculty members at the colleges and universities that NORC is surveying. The career data, collected in NSF's Survey of Doctorate Recipients, tracks individuals with PhDs between 1993 and 2015. We will merge the career data with the university hiring, promotion, work-life, and diversity program data to identify the college and university practices that help to promote the careers of women and minorities, as well as those that have adverse effects. My team has made significant progress on constructing a career dataset. Over the next few months we will complete the college/university survey and merge the datasets. This fall we will begin to analyze the data to establish what colleges and universities have been doing wrong, when it comes to opening opportunity to diverse faculty, and what they have been doing right. Our hope is to help colleges and universities open opportunity so that the next

generation of students will have a more diverse group of mentors and role models among the faculty.

As this process has progressed, I have been writing a book on a similar topic, but focusing on the corporate world. My coauthor (Alexandra Kalev of Tel Aviv University) and I use advanced statistical techniques to identify corporate practices that help to open opportunity, as well as those that hinder progress. We will submit the manuscript to publishers this summer.

Avlana Eisenberg

In my second year as an Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellow, I was able to continue my research on the prison industry and to delve deeper into the financial and cultural incentives affecting stakeholders in both public and private sectors. I am tremendously grateful to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for supporting this pivotal stage of my research.

This year, I focused on the incentives of two key groups of prison industry stakeholders—public correctional officers and private prison executives—investigating how and why these stakeholders are prone to resist prison reform efforts. I conducted dozens of interviews with prison industry stakeholders, including department of corrections directors, union leaders, private prison executives, and prison reformers. Thanks to the generosity of the Center, I was able to attend the annual American Correctional Association conference, which provided invaluable access to many of these industry stakeholders. My interview-grounded research culminated in a law review article, titled "Incarceration Incentives in the Decarceration Era," which is forthcoming in the *Vanderbilt Law Review*. I am currently completing a follow-up article, tentatively titled "Mass Monitoring," which examines the use of electronic monitoring as an alternative to incarceration at the pre-trial, post-conviction, and post-release stages and its normative implications.

I am also interested in examining the prison industry through a comparative lens, exploring how other countries approach criminal punishment in theory and in practice as a way to better understand the array of reform options possible in the United States. Engaging with academics and practitioners from other countries has proven invaluable to this pursuit, and this year I had opportunities to present my work at conferences in Mexico City and Barcelona and to spend three weeks in Tel Aviv as part of a scholar exchange program between the Edmond J. Safra Centers at Harvard University and Tel Aviv Law School. My time in Israel was particularly generative; I received extremely helpful feedback on my working paper at a crucial stage in the editing process, and the insights I gained about prisons in the international context have already enabled me to refine my agenda for future research.

A highlight of the spring semester was teaching an upper-level Harvard Law School course, “The Prison Industry and Criminal Justice Incentives,” based on my Lab research. Throughout the semester, I was struck by the extent to which my two years as a Lab Fellow have broadened my thinking and palpably enriched my teaching as well as my academic research.

I am forever indebted to Larry Lessig and the incredible team of staff and fellows that have made the Lab a uniquely inspiring and happy workplace.

Israel Finkelshtain

During my year as a Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, my research agenda focused on the political economics of regulations in the areas of natural resources and pollution control. My project combined the development of a normative theoretical model, econometric study and policy simulations via computerized models.

In the theoretical model politicians are portrayed as maximizing social welfare and individuals represented by a lobby group receive an extra weight compared to individuals that are not.

This diverts the politicians from their underlying purpose—maximizing social welfare—and so falls directly under the definition of institutional corruption. I apply the model to compare indirect and direct regulation, the two different control regimes used by the government. Indirect regulation involves the use of taxes, user charges, levies and fines while direct quantitative controls directly cap the amount of a resource that can be used through quotas, standards, and bans. If the government is “benevolent” both forms of regulation will yield the same resource allocation and social welfare level. This means that neither indirect control, direct control nor some combination of the two should be more or less effective. However, when the government is susceptible to political pressure from lobbying this equivalence does not hold. My research project continues in a search to figure out which form of regulation is more effective when the government is under political pressure.

In the empirical section of the project I studied the politics of the Israeli water economy. During the late 1980s, water consumption of the agricultural sector gradually dropped due to significant decrease in the sector terms of trade. I noted that the sharp drop in agriculture profitability caused an unintended shift in the control regime from quotas to prices as the farmers’ consumption of water demand became lower than the quotas that they were allowed. I hypothesized that the uniformity of the market-based price has led to free-riding in the farmers’ organization and much less effective lobbying than under the individual quota system. My detailed econometric study and simulations supported this hypothesis. The conclusion is that uniformity of environmental regulations may be a potential remedy for institutional corruption.

The results of this study were summarized in a paper, which was recently published in the Edmond J. Safra Working Paper Series, and is under revision for possible publication in the *Journal of Environmental Economics and Management*.

I am profoundly grateful for the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for the opportunity to spend my sabbatical year in studying institutional corruption and to enhance my research agenda in this area. Recently, I was engaged in a new project on institutional corruption, where I study the abuse of market power by a dairy oligopoly in Israel and the exploitation of political power by firms in the oligopoly to influence the regulating agency and mitigate price controls.

The Lab's interdisciplinary environment has been a fascinating intellectual experience and important for my work. The feedback that I received at my Lab seminar in November was particularly helpful. I am very grateful to Larry, my fellow Fellows, and the amazing staff of the Center.

Richard Painter

In addition to participating in an excellent series of Lab seminars this year, I have had the pleasure of working on the following projects.

My principal project at the Center has been my book on campaign finance, which was the subject of my proposal to the Center. I will finish the book over the summer of 2015 and hope to publish it shortly thereafter. The book is titled, "Taxation Only With Representation: The Conscientious Conservative and Campaign Finance Reform." This book sets forth specific arguments for why political conservatives should be very worried about our campaign finance system as well as a plan for taxpayer funding of political campaigns that conservatives should strongly support.

I have spent time on several different approaches to public engagement on the campaign finance issue, trying to reach political conservatives in particular with the message that reform is needed. These activities included: establishing and serving as a Director of Take Back our Republic, a group of conservatives and libertarians who support campaign finance reform; participating in a May 23, 2015 panel at the National Press Club sponsored by Take Back our Republic on the infiltration of

foreign money into U.S. political campaigns (the program was attended by Ann Ravel, Chairman of the FEC, as well as by reporters for several U.S. and foreign newspapers); participating in a meeting at the White House in November 2014 on the subject of campaign finance reform and subsequent meetings with current White House staff on topics related to government ethics; press interviews with *The New York Times*, ABC News, Politico, *The Washington Post* and other media outlets on campaign finance related issues; and a May 2015 conference at the London School of Economics on government ethics.

I made final revisions to a co-authored book on ethics in the banking industry, "Better Bankers, Better Banks: Promoting Good Business Through Contractual Commitment," with Claire A. Hill, to be published by the University of Chicago Press in 2015.

I'm working with Network Fellow Professor Miriam Müthel and Lab Committee Member Professor Malcolm Salter on "Internal Initiatives to Improve Bankers' Ethics: An Empirical Study." This project is aimed at discerning and describing what banks are doing to persuade their employees to behave ethically. More specifically, what are banks doing to identify behavior that is ethical as well as problematic and how are banks using promotion, compensation and other incentives to change behavior? We aim to gather information by interviewing managers at major banks in the United States and Europe and by examining written policies and procedures where they are available. We will then write up a description of what different banks are doing.

Ann-Christin Posten

The second year as a Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics made me realize what interdisciplinary work truly means. During this year, it was the first time for me to cooperate with Journalism Fellows, and it was the first time I left my home domain of quantitative research to take

first steps in qualitative work together with other fellows. Beyond this I also found incredible partners in my home field of social psychology. I am deeply grateful that the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics provided me with the opportunity to work with such a variety of skilled people from a wide spectrum of different domains.

But let's start with the beginning: Within my core research area of investigating the antecedents and consequences of trust and distrust, my main research project (mentored by Francesca Gino) revealed novel findings about memory functioning and perception distortions that take place when people are in mental states of trust versus distrust (as it can be easily elicited by corrupt systems). These results were received well in the field of social psychology when I presented the work on various conferences such as the *General Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology* and the *International Social Cognition* conference and in the more interdisciplinary audience of the *Ending Institutional Corruption* conference hosted by the Center. Beyond those large-scale feedback opportunities, I am even more grateful for the support of Lab Committee member Mahzarin Banaji, who allowed me to visit her lab meetings for my two-year period at the Center. During these lab meetings I received invaluable and very detailed feedback on my research and found think-alikes in many respects.

The weekly Lab seminars inspired Lab Fellow Elinor Amit and me to expand our home research tool kit of quantitative research methods to engage in qualitative research and to start exploring what the concept of institutional corruption means. In an incredibly buzzing seminar that enriched us with tremendously helpful feedback we presented this line of research. Most importantly, all of the fellows had previously helped us to identify instances of institutional corruption. (A big thanks to you all for helping us!) After the seminar presentation, Elinor and I received 'hands-on' help from Network Fellow

Miriam Müthel with the qualitative data. The following engaging discussions made us even more enthusiastic to engage in a conceptual approach of clarifying the definition of institutional corruption. On this page, I especially want to thank Lawrence Lessig who took the time to guide us through this project and who continues to do so.

Distinctive for my second year, though, was the collaborative work I engaged in with fellows from a variety of different disciplines. Lab Fellows Jennifer Miller and Elinor Amit and I wrote a book chapter on the way behavioral economics influences bioethics. Journalism Fellow Norm Alster and I ran a study on potential cell phone harm. Economist and Visiting Fellow Eugen Dimant and I experimentally investigated the deterring effects of uncertainty and delay in punishment. And Lab Fellow Andie Athanasopoulou and I started to investigate ethical decision making in the domains of business and academia. This interdisciplinary work made my second year very special.

In a nutshell, this year was incredibly productive for me and nourished my enthusiasm about interdisciplinary work. I am truly grateful for the guidance Lawrence Lessig provided me with, the never-ending support Bill English gave me to realize my research, and the omnipresent on-the-spot help Heidi, Joe, Katy, Stephanie, Susan, and Tara supported me with whenever I needed it.

Reports of the Investigative Journalist Fellows 2014-15 (residential)

Norm Alster, Sebastian Jones, Samuel Loewenberg, Brooke Williams

Norm Alster

My major project for the year, first outlined in my fellowship application, is a study of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) as an example of institutional corruption. The project was eventually expanded to show how the FCC essentially functions as a node on a broader network of corruption—one which allows industry to dominate and often dictate government policy, typically at public expense. I examine the systemic—as well as particular— influences that undermine responsible regulation.

I spent most of my time this academic year researching, reporting and writing on this subject and completed a ten-chapter e-book of roughly 19,000 words in May. Hopefully, this work will illuminate some of the dark corners in which the FCC has functioned as a “captured agency” that largely serves the well-funded purposes of the industries it presumably regulates.

Meanwhile, of course, I attended the Center’s seminars and lectures and thoroughly enjoyed hearing about the work of other fellows. I was especially interested in identifying opportunities to apply novel research methods—or at the least, research methodology that I had not before used. One example is the survey I undertook with Lab Fellow Ann-Christin Posten. When I learned of her extensive experience with online surveys, it struck me that there would be significant value in a survey that probed consumer knowledge of and attitudes towards some of the scientific and political issues central to wireless regulation. We worked on this together and the eye-opening results of the survey are summarized in an Appendix to my e-book.

Overall, I have been delighted at the chance to work with such a high-powered group of academics and journalists on a project as worthy and critical as

institutional corruption. It is with regret that I see the project coming to a close as there is obviously a great need for further work on this subject.

Sebastian Jones

Over the course of the past nine months, I’ve devoted my time as an Investigative Journalist Fellow to researching the ways the world of Washington influence peddling has increasingly come to be driven by firms specializing in public relations (PR) work, rather than more traditional forms of lobbying. The aim was to find ways to understand an industry that is not subject to the sets of disclosure rules that govern traditional lobbying firms, with no requirements to disclose the amounts being spent on public relations activities, who was hiring firms to pursue PR campaigns or what specific tasks were being performed or tactics were being deployed in the aims of influencing public policy.

Thanks to this lack of transparency surrounding the PR industry, much of my work has focused on utilizing sources, documents and public records to understand industry practices and common tactics, to assemble client lists for major firms and to reconstruct specific PR campaigns. The result of this work will be several magazine-length articles to be published in the coming months—pieces that, without giving too much away, will profile specific firms and examine case studies of PR campaigns built around influencing legislation and regulatory action. I am pretty excited about some of the things I’ve managed to dig up, almost all of which have not been reported previously, and am hopeful these stories will give readers an insight into an industry that has managed to generate hundreds of millions in profits while essentially flying under the radar.

I would also like to acknowledge and express my gratitude for the ways the Center has aided my work, both large and small. The research tools that were provided proved essential and invaluable—

tools that working in a modern newsroom (or as a freelancer) would have been almost impossible to obtain or afford and that have formed the basis of some of my best discoveries. The collegial atmosphere where, whether engaging with the Center's staff, other Residential Fellows or Network Fellows, I was able to bounce around ideas, gain insights I would have otherwise missed out on, and, in one particularly helpful instance, generate an amazing reporting lead. The events, lectures and seminars, which provided weekly intellectual stimulation and helped broaden my sense for the world of institutional corruption beyond the confines of my own project.

Finally, I want to especially thank the Project on Public Narrative Director Ron Suskind and my colleagues Brooke Williams, Sam Loewenberg, Norm Alster and Sheila Kaplan for their invaluable advice and support throughout the year.

Samuel Loewenberg

My work examined the entrenched challenges facing foreign assistance for global health and hunger, and looked at opportunities for improvement. I delved into institutional corruption within the aid apparatus, such as the inefficient and costly U.S. food aid program. I then dug into the larger issues of how contradictory and short-term, self-interested motivations undermine the effectiveness of the institution of foreign aid itself. I examined how political and business interests manipulate the aid apparatus for their own strategic, economic, or ideological agendas, and in doing so avoid addressing the underlying social and economic inequalities that underlie chronic malnutrition and poorly functioning public health systems.

Among the overarching dynamics I found were the bias for emergency relief while prevention is often neglected; the politics of scarcity, where critical interventions are under-funded until drastic, expensive action is called for; the failure to address underlying issues of water, sanitation, roads, supply-chains and workforce training and retention; and the current trend for partnerships with the private sector—instead of governments—

as a way to tackle poverty and health issues. The Ebola outbreak in West Africa became an additional focus, as the response starkly illustrated many of these same dynamics.

My work was a mix of original reporting and an in-depth review of a broad range of global health and development literature, histories of U.S. and European disease and sanitation, and contemporary reports and analyses from government and academia. From the World Water Summit in London, I reported on the intersecting and diverging approaches of the public, NGO, and private sectors; from Mexico I traveled with the Harvard School of Public Health to examine inequities in the country's health system; from Washington, New York, Berkeley, and Cambridge I interviewed dozens of former and current officials from Congress, the Administration, international agencies, and corporations, as well as academic experts in global health, economics, food security, and engineering.

My work so far has appeared in *The Lancet* and *Scientific American*, I have upcoming pieces—again in *The Lancet* and The Harvard School of Public Health magazine, and I have several other articles in the works. I am working on a book proposal.

In addition to my research, I continued work on the Global Health Reporting Lab, a project to support journalism on health policy and poverty issues; and I took part in the weekly Lab seminar, which provided me with in-depth insights into institutional corruption from a broad array of disciplines.

Brooke Williams

This year was tremendously productive in meaningful, impactful ways in the collaborative effort to address institutional corruption. My co-authored front-page article in Sunday's *New York Times*, which was largely based my fellowship project, won the Pulitzer Prize for investigative reporting and resulted in a new law requiring those who testify before Congress to disclose money they or their institutions have received from foreign governments that could relate to the subject matter of the hearing. It also spurred discussion globally about

how public policy in the United States and around the world is formed and, in some ways, dependent upon expertise from those who have conflicts of interest. The investigation currently is also a finalist for the prestigious, national Gerald Loeb Award.

This year I also brought the idea of a Hackathon into our discussion of the year-end conference, and it was a tremendous success thanks to Katy, Stephanie, Heidi, Bill, and others at the Center who jumped onboard with amazing enthusiasm. At the Hackathon, with the help of volunteers, I created a new, online tool that for the first time enables the public to search and visualize foreign government contributions to think tanks. Others created equally exciting, useful tools.

I also developed a sound, exciting methodology that includes machine learning and indexing in partnership with the MIT Media Lab and Civic Media Center for my nationwide investigation of federal prosecutorial misconduct and accountability. With the help of Ali Hashmi at MIT and Shawn Musgrave, a journalist who has been my research assistant, I am doing what has never been done before—tracking potential misconduct in the majority of cases that never make it to trial. We are also examining the outcomes of cases in which defendant's alleged prosecutorial misconduct on appeal. Once the data work is complete, I will tell the stories of those affected in a series that will include a searchable database, a documentary and narrative articles that shed light on what are perhaps the darkest corners of the criminal justice system. This is all possible because of the Journalism Fellowship at the Project on Public Narrative.

In May of 2015, I accepted an exciting position as senior investigative reporter and senior trainer at the New England Center for Investigative Reporting at Boston University. While there, I will finish my project on federal prosecutors and also embark on new investigations, bringing all I've learned about institutional corruption with me and sharing that knowledge with my colleagues and students. As a part of my job, I will teach investigative report-

ing to everyone from high school students to college students to mid-career professionals. I will also continue as contributor to *The New York Times*.

I will be forever grateful for this fellowship. What a brilliant and effective idea to involve investigative reporters—storytellers—into the multidisciplinary team. In the past several years, I've learned to think more efficiently and critically about incentives and other dynamics within the institutions I hold accountable, and this will greatly benefit not only my future investigations but also the next generation of investigative journalists. Thank you.

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows in Ethics 2014-15 (non-residential)

Katherine Anderson, Christine Baugh, Xiaogang Deng, Eugen Dimant (Visiting), Oguzhan Dincer, Yuval Feldman, Michael Johnston, Kate Kenny, Maryam Kouchaki, Jennifer Miller, Justin O'Brien (Visiting), Genevieve Pham-Kanter, Lynda Powell, Susannah Rose, Sunita Sah, Mark Somos, Thomas Stratmann

Katherine Anderson

I was honored to be included as a nonresidential Lab Fellow at the E.J. Safra Center for Ethics this past year. My project was titled *The Ethical Spectacle: Applications of Creative Grassroots Activism to the AntiCorruption Movement*. During my fellowship year I developed three artbased community organizing tools tailored to the unique needs of the American anticorruption movement: Sidewalk Movement, The Citizens' Think Tank, and DOCand-TALK Film and Discussion Series. All three tools were implemented within the Represent.Cambridge campaign to pass a municipal anticorruption bill titled the Cambridge Voter Access Act.

Sidewalk Movement is a street performance model based on the Federal Theater Project's Living Newspapers. I held a virtual audition giving preference to dancers, actors and musicians who are Cambridge residents, and chose a high school student, a law student, a professional dancer and a composer to help me write and perform a dance theater piece about money in city politics in Cambridge. We performed the piece in Porter Square MBTA station on April 17th during afternoon rush hour, cycling the five minute performance with the arrivals of outbound trains.

The Citizens' Think Tank is a participatory art project. Each participant illustrates a self-portrait and inscribes a civic desire on a postcard to endorse specific anti-corruption legislation, in this case the Cambridge Voter Access Act. I administered this community art project at the Cambridge Winter Farmer's Market, assisted living facilities, and schools, and collected over 200 postcards that will be collected as a wall montage at a community event in September 2015. After the postcards are publicly shown, Represent.Cambridge will mail them to individual Cambridge City Councillors.

DOCandTALK film and discussion series is an event format that features a documentary selected to demonstrate how progress on a popular political issue is stymied by dependence corruption. Each documentary is paired with an audience-based discussion in which questions are crowdsourced via Twitter and fed back to the audience by a facilitator to cultivate a dialogue about that particular political issue, dependence corruption and local solutions.

Immersed in the intellectual culture of the Edmond J. Safra Research Lab investigating institutional corruption, I was able to base my project's artistic content and event formats on a deep understanding of the most current research on institutional corruption. I am very grateful to Professor Lawrence Lessig and to the entire lab for being open to including a different type of project in the lab's work. Sincere thanks to Lawrence Lessig, Bill English, Stephanie Dant and Carla Miller for your support and enthusiasm. The Center for Ethics is the kind of place where people say YES to risks like... jumping out of their seats in the middle of a formal dinner with distinguished colleagues to dance the twist, the helicopter and the "hipster Egyptian" around the room. Go Lessig flash mob!

Christine Baugh

The work I completed during my second year as a Non-Residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was enriched by the intellectual, material, and financial support the Lab provided. The overarching aim of my projects was to understand how the structural factors in the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) and its member institutions systemically constitute a mismanagement of athlete health, through the case study of concussion. This year was jam-packed with data collection, analysis, and writing and editing manuscripts made possible from both my 2013-2014 Non-Residential Fellowship as well as this year's Non-Residential Fellowship.

In the fall, two of my major research projects were published. The first was an examination of football players' underreporting of concussion and the second was an examination of schools' compliance with the NCAA concussion management policy (the first and only such empirical study of this topic to date). Both of these academic publications were picked up by popular media outlets such as the New York Times, Chronicle of Higher Education, Sports Illustrated, ESPN, the Harvard Gazette, and TIME Magazine, bringing these important studies to the fore of public awareness.

I was also involved in the planning of the Lab's end of the year conference. I felt that this conference truly showcased the amazing breadth and depth of research and impact that the Lab has had during its short and productive tenure. Although the project on institutional corruption is coming to an end I feel fortunate to have been a part of such a dedicated group and a groundbreaking endeavor. It has inspired me both to pursue work through the lens of institutional corruption, but more broadly to keep in mind the importance of translational work—making sure that my current and future work in the academy can and does actually make a positive impact on the world around me. I look forward to seeing how we all continue forward in our goal to make the world a safer, more just, more transparent, better place to live. Thank you for an excellent experience—though I am sure this is just the beginning.

Xiaogang Deng

I feel very fortunate and honored to have had the opportunity to study institutional corruption in China at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for the past academic year. I have had two major research projects during my fellowship year at the Center. The first one is an examination of the relationships between the political institution—the single party state in China, and an important cultural institution—Guanxi networks or informal personal networks; and assess their joint effects on official corruption. The second project evaluates to what extent official corruption and Guanxi networks influence the lives of ordinary Chinese people. Two research methods are used to achieve these goals.

My first research project, "Guanxi Networks and Corruption," uses a social network analysis method to study the role of Guanxi networks in corruption among high level officials. It uses the network theory of social capital's argument that social networks provide critical structural conditions to access social capital or social resources. This theory is especially relevant to Guanxi networks in China because Chinese society is largely a relationally based society rather than an individualistic society in the West. The traditional Guanxi networks reflect social relationships in an agricultural society. However, the nature of Guanxi networks has changed substantially in recent decades. The relationships between people have become more instrumental and profit oriented. This is especially true among high level officials who use their power to abuse the Guanxi network for personal gains during China's rapid economic transformation.

Social network analysis is very labor intensive work and requires a large amount of information in order to discover complicated relationships among corrupt officials. I have collected a large number of high profile corruption cases because much detailed information can be obtained from them in a relatively closed society like China. The preliminary findings indicate that numerous officials establish their networks at different levels of the government to facilitate their family members' and network members' enjoyment of huge economic benefits, at a cost to ordinary people. I selected one high profile case for my poster presentation at the Ending Institutional Corruption conference. I presented my preliminary findings in early April when I was in China and am working on a manuscript requested for submission to a good journal. A publisher has contacted me to write or edit a book on corruption. As far as I know, few studies have applied the New Economic Sociology perspective and the social network analysis method to analyze the relationship between Guanxi networks and corruption in China. The current study intends to fill in the gap and enhance our understanding of official corruption in China.

My second project is titled “Guanxi Networks, Corruption and the Lives of Ordinary People.” Prior studies of corruption primarily use the Corruption Perception Index (CPI) to assess the severity of corruption in each country based on the Western executives and other respondents’ perceived corruption rather than on people’s direct experiences. China was ranked #100 out of 175 countries in the CPI in 2014. As the critics of the CPI pointed it out, the CPI is based on people’s perceptions rather than on direct victimization experiences. This project uses the survey method to address this issue. It is a victim-oriented survey that measures different dimensions of the Guanxi networks and assesses the effects of corruption on ordinary people’s daily lives in China. It is very hard to conduct social surveys in China due to its different cultural and political environment. I initially wanted to use a mail survey, but it did not work out due to the exceptionally low response rates and people’s unwillingness to discuss issues with strangers. I have revised the study plan. Now it is a random sample of at least 300 college students in different universities in Guangzhou, with a population of almost 12 million in 2013. The study is well under way.

Corruption is a very sensitive topic in China. It is a very challenging task for foreign scholars to study corruption in China because the topic directly affects the Party’s positive image in the minds of the people. Any study of corruption must be subject to officials’ intrusive inquiries. I feel very fortunate to have the funding from the Center, and have my Chinese research partner who likes to have academic collaboration with me. Furthermore, the school authorities in China are generally cooperative.

In addition to my research projects, I really have enjoyed my one year fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The Lab Seminars have lit up my intellectual inspiration, have pushed me to think much more deeply about the causal mechanism of IC, and have given me more ideas about future research. My interactions with the Lab Fellows are also intellectually rewarding.

Finally, I want to express the greatest appreciation for Professor Lessig, Professor Williams and the Selection Committee who have given me the opportunity to spend the most rewarding and memorable year in my entire academic career. I also want to express my greatest appreciation for all the staff, Heidi, Katy, Stephanie, and Joseph and others for their professionalism and warm-hearted willingness to help. The wonderful time I spent at the Center for Ethics will stay in my memory forever.

Eugen Dimant (Visiting)

Having started my fellowship as a Visiting Lab Fellow in September 2014, I mainly focused on three research projects. In these projects, I used different methodological approaches in order to understand (I) the role of doping and institutional corruption in sports (survey), (II) the impact of immigrants on a destination-country’s institutional quality and corruption (empirical), and (III) the role of peer pressure in fostering conformity to both ethical and unethical behavior (experimental).

My first project was entitled *The Economics of Corruption in Sports: The Special Case of Doping*, in collaboration with Christian Deutscher. In explaining the athlete’s motivation to use performance-enhancing drugs, we enrich the discussion by adapting insights from behavioral economics. These insights help to understand such an athlete’s decision beyond a clear-cut rationale but rather as a product of the interaction with the underlying environment. We stress that in order to ensure clean sports and fair competition, more sophisticated measurement methods have to be formulated, and the respective data made publicly available in order to facilitate studies that are more extensive in the future. So far, the lack of data is alarming, especially in the area of elite sports where the stakes are high and doping has a substantial influence.

My second project was entitled *A Crook is a Crook... But is He Still a Crook Abroad? On the Effect of Immigration on Destination-Country Corruption*, in collaboration with Tim Krieger and Margarete

Redlin. This paper analyzes the impact of migration on destination-country corruption levels. Capitalizing on a comprehensive dataset consisting of annual immigration stocks of OECD countries from 207 countries of origin for the period 1984-2008, we explore different channels through which corruption might migrate. Independent of the econometric methodology, we consistently find that while general migration has an insignificant effect on the destination country's corruption level, immigration from corruption-ridden origin countries boosts corruption in the destination country. Our findings provide a more profound understanding of the socioeconomic implications associated with migration flows.

My third project was entitled *On Peer Effects: Behavioral Contagion of (Un-)Ethical Behavior*. Contagion effects of behavior play a relevant role when examining the development of crime. Anecdotal evidence suggests that criminal behavior indeed infects initially innocent bystanders. Our experiment contributes to the literature in two ways: for one thing, using a novel approach of inducing and measuring social proximity in the lab, our design allows us to shed light on the spillover-effects of (il)legitimate behavior under varied levels of social proximity. Second, we study whether adaptation to good behavior differs from adaptation to bad behavior. Overall, we observe that the magnitude of behavioral contagion is asymmetric and more likely to appear for bad behavior, while only the spread of unethical behavior is mediated by social proximity.

All three projects have been published and can be found online. The center provided me with an extremely conducive environment to carry out this line of work, and I am really thankful for having gotten this opportunity.

Oguzhan Dincer & Michael Johnston

The purpose of my fellowship was to construct measures of legal and illegal corruption in U.S. states. Using Associated Press news wires, Michael Johnston and I have constructed a new measure of

illegal corruption called Corruption Reflections Index (CRI) covering all 50 states between 1977 and 2014. I have published two working papers using CRI under the Edmond J. Safra Center Working Paper Series. An additional paper is also under review for consideration in a peer reviewed journal. We have also constructed perceptions based measures of both legal and illegal corruption for U.S. states for the year 2013. To construct the perceptions based corruption measures, Michael Johnston and I have identified more than 2,000 news reporters/journalists and prepared a survey aimed at measuring their corruption perceptions in the state where they reside.

We published a preliminary report as a blog post and a full report as working paper under the Edmond J. Safra Center Working Paper Series summarizing the results of the survey. Our survey received a great deal of media coverage including in the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and *Fortune*. The new survey for corruption in 2014 is ready to be sent out to the reporters. Due to the media coverage we have received after the first survey we are expecting a higher participation rate this year.

Without the support I have received from the Safra Center, it would not be possible to construct these measures. It was an extremely time intensive project. Perhaps more importantly, (although I am a non-resident fellow at the Safra Center) I had the opportunity to collaborate with several resident and non-resident fellows to refine my ideas on how to construct these indices. Their contribution to the project was vital.

Yuval Feldman, Maryam Kouchaki, and Francesca Gino

Our project focuses on understanding how employees perceive and interpret ethical codes. Codes are viewed as an important form of organizational discourse, which is crafted, implemented, and interpreted within particular social and organizational systems. Given the mixed results in the existing business ethics literature as to whether

ethical codes are effective in the overall attempt to curb unethical behavior it is important to examine their role. The overall objective of this project is to identify and evaluate factors responsible for a sustainable, shared understanding of ethical codes in organizations. Last year, we analyzed the common language choices among ethical codes of the Fortune 100 firms. We categorized the codes and identified a number of key common themes, such as the use of different types of examples in the codes. In addition, we ran a series of mTurk studies where participants were presented with various statements from the conflict of interest section of corporate ethical codes, both using direct questions as well as asking people to analyze whether they think these particular statements prevent members of their organization from engaging in a series of unethical activities.

This year we have focused on examining the impact of “we vs. employee.” Using multiple methods such as lab experiments, mTurk and oDesk studies, we have examined how people react to the language of the code. In all of these studies, we found that people in the “we” condition were more likely to engage in unethical behavior, measured by their over-claiming the number of successful tasks they have completed. Moreover, accessing corporate misconduct data from manufacturing firms that were part of the S&P 500 between 1990 and 2010, we have found a positive association between the usage of the language of “we” and the number of reported acts of misconduct in those organizations. We are now working on a series of experiments to understand the mechanisms, which might explain this effect.

While conducting our research, we have appreciated the amazing opportunity we were given by being part of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics community. The administrative staff, led by Stephanie Dant, is incredibly accommodating and efficient, which facilitated the cooperative environment of the Center.

Kate Kenny

My fellowship at the Center, engagement with Center members and the resources provided were invaluable to me in developing my research into whistleblowing in the financial services. I am also grateful that I was able to extend my fellowship at the Center to facilitate my recent maternity leave.

Specifically, I was able to complete my manuscript, *“The banking whistleblowers and the next crisis: How truth tellers are silenced, and how they survived,”* a book based on interview data with people who have come forward to report on corruption within this sector, in the last ten years, from a range of different countries including the U.K., U.S., Ireland and Switzerland. I am a business school academic with a specialization in organizational behavior, and this project builds upon my own experience in the study of work and organizations, particularly issues of culture and identity. This book differs from my previous, academic, writings as it is aimed at a more general readership. I am currently seeking a publisher for it.

I found the resources provided by the Center to be very helpful, enabling me to engage a research assistant, and to travel to meet with dissemination partners including *Transparency International* (Ireland), *Public Concern at Work* (UK), and *Whistleblowers UK*, among other activities. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the fellowship however has been the engagement with other fellows; the Center’s email list is a regular source of emerging news on the topic of institutional corruption, much of which was relevant to my project. In addition, I received invaluable help from Center fellows and associates, including Malcolm Salter, Justin O’Brien, and Gregg Fields, all of whom were kind enough to provide feedback on the book. These and other Center members regularly blog on the topic of corruption in the financial sector, and these pieces have been very helpful to me.

In addition to the book, I have developed a number of Working Papers during the year, one for the Center’s series entitled: *“Banking Compliance and Dependence Corruption: Towards an Attachment*

Perspective" (Edmond J. Safra Working Paper Series No. 38). This was published in 2014 in the journal *Law and Financial Markets Review*. I was invited to present this paper at seminars in the U.K., Ireland and Germany. In addition, I am developing a paper on the topic for submission to a high-ranking journal in my field, *Organization Studies*. I have signed a contract with SAGE to publish a book entitled *Business Ethics and Society: Global Challenges and Opportunities* (with Marianna Fotaki and Juliane Reinecke, at Warwick Business School, forthcoming in 2015). During my time at the Center, I was asked to contribute to articles in the *Financial Times*, *The Guardian* and other media publications.

As my two-year fellowship draws to a close, I continue in my full-time position as a Reader in Management at Queen's University Belfast's Management School (QUMS), and as a Research Fellow at Cambridge University's Judge Business School. In addition I continue as a board member at the following journals: *Organization and Journal of Organizational Ethnography*. Finally, I am happy to report that I was successful in receiving follow-up funding to continue this research, this time with a collaborator at Warwick Business School and Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Professor Marianna Fotaki. The British Academy/ Leverhulme Trust pledged approximately £9000 (GBP) for the project: *Speaking out in banking and the financial industry: What makes it possible?* I have also applied for an ESRC transformative grant to study the post-disclosure survival strategies of whistleblowers in organizations.

Jennifer Miller

During my third year with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I validated and debuted my pilot Index ranking the world's largest pharmaceutical companies on key population health, human rights and ethics criteria. I also began transitioning from a pilot stage towards a global governance system. The pilot index ranks all new medicines and vaccines approved by the FDA, manufactured by large companies, on the transparency of their clinical trials and clinical trial results by two

standards: (1) legal requirements and (2) the ethical standard that all clinical trial results should be publicly accessible to contribute to generalizable knowledge.

The Index shows that a significant portion of clinical trials supporting new medicines and vaccines fail to meet legal and ethics transparency standards. While several large companies were superseding legal requirements, others had low rates of transparency. I hope that regular ranking of new drugs on transparency criteria may incentivize companies to improve their compliance with federal law and ethics standards, as well as enhance the integrity and completeness of medical knowledge and in turn improve patient care, speed clinical innovation, and strengthen protections for the people participating in clinical trials around the world.

The pilot is already helping to define what good practices can and should look like for the industry and how to achieve them. Several lower scoring companies have committed to changing their policies and practices thanks to the pilot Index and the learning opportunity it presented for everyone. I am impressed with how easy it can be to create positive change in an industry. It is encouraging and I am greatly looking forward to expanding the scope of the index to address additional research integrity and global health concerns.

With the help of David Korn, I successfully debuted the Index (tentatively called "Open Pharma") and its results to the ranked companies in New York City. We also submitted the rankings for publication in a top medical journal. Thanks to the Hackathon, solid progress automating sections of the data-gathering for the Index was achieved. Several funding sources have been identified; this, along with automation, will help create a pathway towards sustainability for the Index. A website showcasing the rankings is under construction.

The Index has already been featured in NPR, Nature Medicine, Harvard's Multi-Regional Clinical Trials Initiative Annual Meeting, Duke University's

Rethinking Regulation group, Duke University's Global Health Institute, Duke University's Economic and Sociology Group, Duke University's various newspapers and magazines, the Hastings Center Report, and countless other places.

On the side, I served on two taskforces for the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and PCORI, which resulted in two forthcoming papers in the *Journal of Clinical Trials*. The first paper focuses on the ethics and regulatory landscape of managing vulnerable subjects in pragmatic clinical trials. The second paper maps key gatekeepers for pragmatic clinical trials. Additionally, Elinor Amit, Ann-Christin Posten and I co-authored a book chapter on behavioral economics and bioethics, which will be published by Springer. My book chapter on ratings and corporate responsibility was also accepted by Sage Publishing. I also served as the inaugural Lamb Fellow for the Kenan Institute for Ethics and Fuqua School of Business in Duke University and taught a class called "Governance in Healthcare Innovation" for global health, ethics and public policy students.

In July, I will begin a faculty position with the Department of Population Health, Division of Medical Ethics of NYU Langone Medical School. Mere words cannot properly thank the Center, its staff, associates, and fellows—particularly Larry Lessig, David Korn, Mal Salter, and Stephanie Dant—for these last three years. Thank you!

Justin O'Brien (Visiting)

(no report)

Genevieve Pham-Kanter

I feel extremely fortunate to have been part of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics and Lawrence Lessig's Lab initiative for the past four years.

This past year, our last year together as a Lab and my second year as a Non-Residential Fellow, I have been able to continue my research on conflicts of interest in medicine. I have been able to work on developing a theoretical framework for thinking about and interpreting empirical findings, a project begun from my first year as a Non-Residential

Fellow. I have also been able to extend my research on the Physician Payments Sunshine Act and publish an invited commentary on the Act in *PLOS Medicine*.

My collaborations with Boston-area researchers, begun during my Edmond J. Safra Lab residency, have also continued. Eric Campbell (Lab Committee member and professor at Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital), Darren Zinner (Brandeis University), and I published a paper on data sharing policies in the life sciences in *PLOS ONE*, and we have a second paper on data sharing forthcoming in *Academic Medicine*. We also recently published a paper, joint with Jalayne Arias (Cleveland Clinic), on data sharing policies in genetics, in the *Journal of Law and the Biosciences*. I am also continuing work with Sarah Wakeman and Meridale Baggett (both of Massachusetts General Hospital), jointly with Eric Campbell.

I am so appreciative of the Center's intellectual, professional, and financial support, which has transformed my thinking about and research on conflicts of interest in medicine. I am grateful to Lawrence Lessig for his leadership and great kindness, to the wonderful and amazingly efficient staff at the Center (including Bill English, Stephanie Dant, Joe Hollow, Katy Evans-Pritchard, Heidi Carrell), and to my ever-congenial and supportive fellows, all of whom I'll miss as we go our separate ways, carrying the ethos of the Center and the Lab with us.

Lynda Powell

In earlier work, I studied the American state legislatures comparatively, finding that campaign contributions had considerable influence in some legislatures and very little in others. A small number of political and institutional factors explained much of this variation in influence. My current project builds directly on this work by incorporating independent expenditures into the analysis and by focusing in more detail on the internal structures of legislatures—standing committees and chamber leadership organizations. I'll also look more broadly at sources of dissatisfac-

tion with our representative institutions by studying the factors, including campaign spending, that affect issue representation, partisan polarization and gridlock in legislatures. As in my earlier work, my project is based on a legislator survey, on personal interviews, and on the collection of public data on the legislators and on their legislatures. My fellowship provided almost half the funds needed to survey all state legislators and members of Congress, and was crucial in securing the remaining funding. About a quarter of the legislators responded to the survey yielding about 1900 respondents. I am now in the midst of the very time consuming process of collecting and formatting an extensive set of public data on the ~8000 legislators. Statistical analysis and writing will start this fall.

Susannah Rose

This past year as Non-Residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I completed many projects. First is a primary data collection project assessing the financial relationships between patient advocacy organizations and for-profit industry. Industry support of these non-profit organizations may bring about significant benefits to the public; however, in certain circumstances they may have threatened the independence of these non-profit organizations. The final manuscript is being refined and will be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal. I also completed a study identifying key predictors of U.S. physicians' industry financial relationships based upon national disclosure data. This dataset includes the financial relationships of 747,603 U.S. physicians. The first manuscript from this project focused on gender differences in conflicts of interest among physicians, and has been accepted to be presented at a national peer-reviewed conference in October 2015 and has also been accepted as a peer-reviewed publication in PLOS ONE. The third project focuses on developing and testing efficient new disclosure methods among physicians and researchers at a major academic medical center, to determine if these new methods improve reporting accuracy and transparency. This paper has been submitted for peer-review.

Last, I participated in a project spearheaded by Marcia Hams and Wells Wilkinson, which developed an easy-to-use method for evaluating the effectiveness of conflicts of interest management policies at academic medical centers. This project is also in the final phase, with data analysis completed, and the manuscript being prepared for peer-reviewed journal submission.

In addition to my research funded by the Center, I have actively participated in other Lab activities, including visiting the Lab during the year, presenting my work, and continuing key collaborations among the fellows. I also presented my research on PAOs at the "Ending Institutional Corruption" conference in May. Although I am not in-residence this year, I find that the support, information and collaborative opportunities are keys to my research on institutional corruption.

I thank Larry Lessig, Stephanie Dant, Steven Joffe, Heidi Carrell, Katy Evans Prichard, Bill English and the entire Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics community for the support I have received. Even though the Lab has officially ended, I plan to continue my collaborations with many members of the Lab community, including Sunita Sah and Christopher Robertson. Institutional Corruption continues, and so does my research to help end it.

Sunita Sah

My projects during this year, as a Non-Residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, are on the impact of conflict of interest disclosures in varying contexts. I was also pleased to deliver a seminar in the lab on "Effective Disclosure of Conflicts of Interests." I'm delighted to report a grant award from the Greenwall Foundation with Susannah Rose and Christopher Robertson to support our work on "Physician Disclosures in the Real World of Conflicting Interests and Off-Label Prescribing." During this year, I also became a member of the new Human Factors Committee with the National Institute of Science and Technology to work on producing standards and guidelines to reduce error and bias in forensic science.

I've had a successful year for journal publications. Recent publications include, "Nothing to declare: Mandatory and voluntary disclosure leads advisors to avoid conflicts of interest," in *Psychological Science*, (2014), 25(2), 575-584; "The morality of larks and owls: Unethical behavior depends on chronotype as well as time-of-day," in *Psychological Science*, (2014), 25(12), 2272-2274; and "Investigations before examinations: This is how we practice medicine here," in *JAMA Internal Medicine* (2015), 175(3), 342-343. A blog "Morning people are less ethical at night and evening people are less ethical in the morning" was also published in *Harvard Business Review*, (2014, June 23).

On July 1, I will be taking a new faculty position as Assistant Professor of Management and Organizations at Cornell University, Johnson School of Business. I was recently awarded the "John and Norma Balen Sesquicentennial Faculty Fellowship." I will continue my work at Cornell to investigate conflict of interest disclosures and factors that impact ethical decision-making. I will greatly miss the Edmond J. Safra Center of Ethics' Institutional Corruption project but I am grateful to continue projects with the wonderful colleagues and friends I have made over the last few years. I thank the Center once again for supporting my research.

Mark Somos

In keeping with the fellowship proposal, in September 2014 I co-organized a conference on Trust, organized a panel, and presented a paper that sought to connect trust and corruption in seventeenth-century English discourse in order to show that the later Court-Country language of corruption, identified by J.G.A. Pocock and cited by Z.S. Brugman, Larry Lessig, and Zephyr Teachout, was not the sole or even chief source of the Founders' use and understanding of the term. One ramification is that "corruption" applied to the people as well as to entities and politicians, and cases discarded in The Original Meaning of "Corruption" project should be restored and interpreted with an improved under-

standing of the Framers' original meaning. In addition to the conference, panel, and paper promised in my application, I have also been asked to co-edit the proceedings. The volume, with contributions i.a. by John Dunn and Richard Tuck, is expected to appear next year. Several events this year, including Teachout's lecture and Fellows' e-mail discussion about trust and trustworthiness, helped me improve this work.

I also pursued primary research at archives in CA, MA and RI for two book projects, now both under advance contract. *American States of Nature*, for Oxford UP, aims to recover the state of nature as a fundamental notion in the American Revolution, a prism through which scientific and environmental thought can be restored to our understanding of the republic's original design with fidelity to the primary sources and events, and an institutional ethics baseline. Surprisingly, slavery and environmental damage were among the deviations from the uniquely American state of nature baseline that were described as corruption. The other book, *The Republican Patronage of the World: Secularisation, Commerce, and English Soft Imperialism*, is for the History of International Law series of Martinus Nijhoff. It traces a strand of republicanism from Xenophon and Cicero, through Alberti and Machiavelli, to Harrington, Hamilton, and beyond. This strand begins with formulating kalos kagathos as a fighter-farmer-citizen. This citizen is self-sufficient but civic-minded, and an ideal colonist. His greatest threat is idleness. This strand of provincial republicanism reveals that Machiavelli was not blind to economics, but instead of money, his revolved around a theory of labor. After Harrington, commerce replaced agriculture in some formulations, though not of course in Crèvecoeur's or Jefferson's. This tradition, with which the Founders were perfectly familiar, adds nuance to our reconstruction of the Founders' use, i.a. by showing why Hamilton thought that luxury, but not trade, corrupts; Jefferson remained suspicious of both;

and unlike either, Benjamin Rush, Patrick Henry and others believed that working directly, personally with the land is integral to American virtue.

I also proposed working on papers on institutional ethics. In November 2014 I published “The Lost Treasures of Sethos, Enlightened Prince of Egypt” in ed. P. Kitromilides, *Athenian Legacies* (Florence), 271-314, discussing early eighteenth-century experiments with political economy and constitutionalism; and “Beyond Minimalism: Didactic Secularisation in *De Veritate*” in *Grotiana* 35:1, 119-157. Three papers written this year and now forthcoming are “Reason and Scepticism” in eds. R. Whatmore and B. Young, *A Companion to Intellectual History* (Wiley-Blackwell); “Harrington’s Project” in eds. B. Kapossy et al, *Commerce, War and Peace in the Long Eighteenth Century* (CUP); and “Bible Interpretation and the Constitution of the Christian Commonwealth in Hobbes’s *Leviathan* III” (*Storia del pensiero politico*). At least the first and third of these will appear in June, before the fellowship ends. In addition to the Trust conference, I also presented aspects of my research at the Huntington and John Carter Brown libraries.

In sum, I delivered the proposed output of co-organizing one conference, organizing a panel, delivering a paper, and researching papers on institutional ethics, four of which will have been published before the fellowship ends. In addition, I gave two further conference papers, have two monographs in progress, and one co-edited volume, all with due acknowledgements. The Center’s work was very useful in orienting each of these projects, sharpening relevant components—for instance, helping to identify and model sophisticated theories of institutional corruption in native American negotiations with the Colonists—and working towards contributions to IC theory, mostly by broadening its historical baseline to languages outside Court-Country and views of corruption among native Americans and in natural philosophy, public health, commerce, and religion, as they came to bear on America’s original design.

Thomas Stratmann

This has been a very productive year and this would not have been possible without having obtained support through my Edmond J. Safra Fellowship.

This academic year, I examined the sources of institutional corruption by analyzing the financial portfolios of members of the U.S. House of Representatives. I studied whether these legislators, on average, obtain abnormal returns, measured as to whether their wealth is increasing faster than suggested by the average stock market return. I follow legislators over their career and preliminary results suggest that less influential legislators receive lower returns than do legislators who are more influential. Legislators who are more influential seem to receive returns that are above market returns.

I also studied the impact of the *Citizens United* decisions on stock market returns for firms that were contributing to legislators through either PACs, or contributing to 527 organizations. Here, I found that these firms, on average, experienced abnormal returns after the *Citizens United* decision. Abnormal returns are pronounced for firms that are heavily regulated. This paper is forthcoming in the *Journal of Law and Economics*.

APPENDIX I: 2014-15 REPORTS OF THE NETWORK FELLOWS

51

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Network Fellows 2014-15

Ori Aronson, Gillian Brock, Seletha Butler, Hongming Cheng, James Corbett, Lisa Cosgrove, Alexandru Costache, Elena Denisova-Schmidt, Elizabeth Doty, Jingwu Feng, Linda Fisher, Michael Flaherman, Marianna Fotaki, Duncan Friend, Dana Gold, Miguel González Marcos, Paul Gowder, Garry Gray, Thomas Groll, Thomas Hilde, Paul Holden, Solomon Kahn, Aleksandr Khechumyan, Gal Kober, Emily Kroshus, Elvira Leontyeva, Libby Lewis, Jamus Lim, Robert Lucas, Carmen Mailloux, Jonathan Marks, Colleen Mathis, Scott Methe, Carla Miller, Mariano Mosquera, Miriam Muethel, Lise Olsen, Jacob Park, Marine Petrosyan, Christopher Phillips, Dima Qato, Faaiza Rashid, Barbara Redman, Wallace Roberts, Jeffrey Robinson, Justin Schlosberg, Kristián Szabados, Paul Taylor, Nikolaos Theodorakis, Mary Báthory Vidaver, Celestine Warren, Leah Wawro

Ori Aronson

During my Network Fellowship year, I worked on several research projects concerning the politics and economics of court system design. These include: an article exploring the possibility of randomizing forum selection in conditions of concurrent jurisdiction in order to mitigate the undue capacity of sophisticated parties to strategically choose forums for litigation; an article reconceptualizing the role of appellate review as a means for aggregating and disseminating factual and normative information produced by lower courts; and an empirical survey of constitutional adjudication in Israeli trial courts, based on the hypothesis that diffuse, localized, and contextualized modes of constitutional jurisprudence might engender a more pluralistic normative field and counter the elitist trends of centralized high-court constitutional lawmaking. The year-long connection with the Center's network of Fellows has exposed me to the multiple institutional contexts in which centralization of decisional power and structural ossification can lead to a corruption of the public mission of institutions and processes, which remain ostensibly dedicated to the ideal of the rule of law. This comparative perspective was useful when thinking about the potential for modes of corruption of the judicial process that do not affect judicial discretion, but rather the institutional setting against which discretion is exercised.

Gillian Brock

During my year as a Network Fellow I explored various forms of institutional corruption, while also developing an account of solutions and how to

distribute responsibilities for addressing the problems. In addition to publishing several papers, two of which have appeared in the Harvard Working Papers series on institutional corruption, I worked on the draft of a book tentatively titled *Corruption and Responsibilities in a Globalized World*. This manuscript documents the various forms of corruption—especially institutional corruption—that pervade developed and developing countries, discusses what we ought to do to address these corrosive phenomena, and offers guidelines on how we might fairly distribute responsibilities for making progress.

Some of the detailed work that I focused on this year involves fiscal institutions and the duties of tax professionals. My work on abusive tax avoidance and the responsibilities of tax professionals was (jointly) awarded the 2014 Amartya Sen Prize. As I show in that work, tax professionals are deeply implicated in perpetuating corrosive and contagious forms of institutional corruption that easily spread to many other domains. I argue that tax professionals have a robust set of duties to contribute to changing practices, regulations, codes of conduct, and laws. A number of relevant stakeholders have important responsibilities to work towards change. I catalogued some of the principles that should be used to assign responsibilities, and discussed the kinds of responsibilities some of the key stakeholders might defensibly have.

The Ending Institutional Corruption conference was outstanding, and a fitting tribute to the fine work that has been accomplished through the Center. It is a great pity the project is formally ending, as it

seems so much progress is being made and momentum is building towards more breakthroughs. One of the great aspects of being involved with the Center has been the connection with other Fellows via the listserv. It has been fascinating to learn of the innovative work colleagues are doing. More generally, being connected to a community of scholars working on related projects has been invaluable for my work on this project. Not only did I gain a deeper understanding of how Fellows were approaching similar problems in other domains, I also learned an enormous amount about the scope of institutional corruption and plausible remedies that might prove effective in combating it, and also received crucial feedback on ideas as they were being developed. Being a Network Fellow afforded an excellent opportunity to contribute to constructing a body of worthwhile academic and practical knowledge that can have an important impact on combating the multiplicity of forms of institutional corruption that we confront. I hope some form of low-level institutional support might still be possible—at least to keep the listserv going—so we can build on the valuable work so many have done. I am enormously grateful for all the amazingly helpful support from everyone in the project (including Fellows, staff at the Center, and the generous funders) that has made involvement in it so thoroughly rewarding and significant.

Seletha Butler

During my year as a Network Fellow, I focused on two parts of my corporate governance research agenda, resulting in two articles and the completion of a large data collection project. I examined gender diversity (the lack thereof) in corporate America and how gender diversity and feminist theory can curtail corruption within the institution. I also completed research looking at governance within higher education, and on how to prevent power corruption.

In my forthcoming article, “Business Ethics: Conceptualize Governing with the Ethic of Care and Justice,” being published by the *NYU Journal of Law & Business*, I use the feminist theoretical concept—ethic of care—as the foundation of a framework for

sustainable ethical decision making. I commence the article by talking about the historical positive and negative ethical behaviors that existed, juxtaposing that positive ethical flashes in business often are momentary. I acknowledge the vast work done on positive business ethics, but I point out that consistent and sustained positive ethical choices are rare. Because of these issues, I propose a dual system for individual decision analysis for organizational responsibility. I label this dual system, “dual ethical analysis.” The dual ethical analysis, which is conceptual, posits using both the ethic of care—the foundation for individual decision making—and ethic of justice, as the organizational model for individual decision analysis. The dual ethical analysis attempts to establish positive, consistent, and sustainable ethical behavior by individual decision makers. I further argue its importance for corporate governance. One benefit is that it can support an officer or director decision maker in meeting her fiduciary duties’ duty of care. By drawing upon business ethics literature and practical examples, I desire to initiate a conversation about using the ethic of care as a foundation for business decision making.

In another forthcoming article, “Higher Education Governance: Proposals for Model Child Protection Governance Policy,” being published by the *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal*, my industry expert co-author and I develop a framework for a model child protection governance policy for higher education institutions. The framework focuses on a culture of child, institutional, and other stakeholder protection. As higher education organizations face governance challenges from a number of sources (including institutional corruption), the article makes several contributions to organizational governance and ethics, including reform addressing the viability of higher education systems.

For the project titled “A Critical Mass of Women on the Board of Directors as Critical Influencers,” my researchers and I hand-collected and examined voluminous information about the diversity of women on boards of directors and how such

diversity affects such directors' decision making where a critical mass of women on the board exists. We did literature review and practical discussions to assess and argue what constitutes a critical mass of women on a board. We are examining board records to determine the engagement of the women directors when discussing and voting on the identified transactions.

My year's work extends beyond these above-referenced results. By invitation, I presented my research at numerous conferences and programs, where I was the keynote or featured speaker. Many of these events involved a cross section of society—academics, industry experts and practitioners, students, and appointed and elected governmental officials (including the judiciary). I bake my research into my courses at Scheller and my service to non-profit organizations, assisting them with governance matters. In recognition of my societal contributions, I received both the 2015 Leaders and Legends Faculty Award from the Georgia Tech Black Alumni Organization and the 2014 Women Out Front Award.

I strive for and believe that one of the most admirable things about my combination of scholarship, teaching, and service is that I connect the business case and practical application with theory and work to solve modern complex issues with value-add solutions. I express my sincere appreciation to the Center and its participants for this wonderful opportunity, my husband Judge Willie J. Lovett, Jr., former colleagues in industry, and my current and former Deans at Scheller for their support.

Hongming Cheng

During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I assessed the extent of institutional corruption in the food industry in Canada by reanalyzing secondary sources such as regulator data, and through questionnaire surveys and interviews with a sample of people from the food industry, regulatory agencies, consumer organizations, and food safety commentators. I examined the effect of regulatory oversight on the extent of institutional corruption in the food

industry by analyzing the regulatory longitudinal and interview data and proposing a policy reform agenda.

I conducted site visits and interactions with participants in Ontario and Saskatchewan, two major food production provinces of Canada (accounting for most of the production with approximately 63% of sales). Site visits included survey questionnaires with 300 participants and semi-structured personal interviews with a subsample of 50 participants. The survey covered topics including employment history in the food industry, knowledge of food safety issues, and views on the extent, nature, and causes of unsafe food. I am now working on writing the final results of this project.

My main findings are: 1) institutional corruption in the Canadian food industry is done on two general levels: a) on a casual basis, in situations where the opportunity to maximize profits by using inferior ingredients or processing methods occurs, and b) in a calculated way; 2) institutional corruption is conducted on two scales. At one end of the spectrum are "petty" food offenses, usually committed by lower-level staff and smaller businesses; at the other end are cases involving considerably larger sums and conducted by senior food managers and larger businesses. Despite the fact that institutional corruption in the Canadian food industry has reached a point that needs urgent attention, the current self-regulation and government regulatory mechanisms are not able to control the problem.

At the same time, I also completed a book titled *Financial Crime in China: Developments, Sanctions, and the Systemic Spread of Corruption*, which is in the publication stage with Palgrave MacMillan.

I have enjoyed the precious experience with the Center and benefited much from the various discussions with its community of scholars. I have gained valuable insights from other scholars' feedback on my projects and learned about the broad range of institutional corruption activities in different areas. I am thankful to the Center, and hope to get connected in the future as an alumni fellow.

James Corbett

Over the last year, the education, presentations, and Network Fellowship experience with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics have been transformative for both my professional work and research interests. As an executive of a large multi-state health system, the concept of “widespread or systemic practices that undermine the integrity of an institution or public trust in an institution” is of particular concern. Health care continues to undergo great change as a result of the Affordable Care Act (ACA) and new payment structures, and understanding how trusted institutions, such as hospitals, can maintain that trust is of great import. The U.S. is experiencing great growth in what I term “the healthcare conglomerate,” where large multi-state health systems are developing with thousands of employees and millions of patients in locations far removed from corporate headquarters. These new mega health systems necessitate a reframing and broadening of organizational ethics and a nuanced understanding of the ethics of healthcare finance and operations that goes far beyond corporate compliance. My learnings over the last year have resulted in the following presentations: “Health Equity & Population Health in Post ACA America,” at the Health Care Quality and Equity Action Forum; “Aligning Community Health Workers & Health Systems,” at the Patient Navigator and Community Health Worker Summit; “Doing Good Doing Well: Population Health Leadership,” at Harvard School of Public Health; “Justice in Access and Delivery: From Theory to Practice,” at the Labrecque Medical Ethics Symposium; and “E.J. Safra C-Suite Ethics: Designing Ethical Health Systems,” at the Ending Institutional Corruption conference. Lastly, I submitted an article, “Pop Life: The Changing Meaning of Population Health,” to the *Journal For Quality Care*.

Lisa Cosgrove

In April 2015, Robert Whitaker and I published our book, *Psychiatry Under the Influence: Institutional Corruption, Social Injury, and Prescriptions for Reform* (Palgrave-Macmillan). This year I received an NIH RO3 grant (funded by the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality) for “A Cross-Sectional Study

of Clinical Guidelines for Depression: Is guideline quality associated with independence from industry?” I was on the planning committee for and participated in the Ending Institutional Corruption conference. Specifically, Bob and I participated in the “Lightning Rounds,” and I presented “Developing Trustworthy Clinical Practice Guidelines: Challenges and Solutions” at a workshop.

In March I received the Association for Women in Psychology’s 2015 Distinguished Publication Award for my research paper, “Industry’s Colonization of Psychiatry.” I published a peer-reviewed article, “From Caveat Emptor to Caveat Venditor: Time to stop the influence of money on practice guideline development,” in an international medical journal, *Journal of Evaluation in Clinical Practice*. I also published two book chapters, “Quantitative Methods” in *The Handbook of Critical Psychology* and “Curing Financial Conflicts of Interest in Psychiatric Professional Organizations,” published in the *Oxford Handbook of Psychiatric Ethics*.

As I have noted in previous reports, I was fortunate enough to be able to attend some of the weekly Lab Seminars and public lectures, and it is unusual for a Network Fellow to feel so much a part of this intellectual community. As the Lab closes I must say that I am so very grateful to Larry and the Center. I have forged lasting friendships, and my scholarship has been enhanced because of this wonderful community.

Alexandru Costache

An online platform, The Public Procurement Files, was launched in Romania in 2014 by Freedom House Romania Foundation and the news website Hotnews.ro. This platform was a part of a larger project, “Fighting Public Procurement Criminality: An Operational Approach,” coordinated by Freedom House Romania Foundation with institutional partners in Romania, France, and Germany. The aim was to raise awareness of public procurement corruption and institutional corruption in this sector. During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I worked on this project. We analyzed hundreds of public bids and monitored 9 public institutions that have been

sending almost a 1 billion euros each year via public tenders. We focused our research mainly on the local county councils because there is a clear vulnerability of the public budget.

We compiled an exhaustive list of procurement procedures carried out by the institution by extracting the relevant data from the official procurement website. We examined the heads of the institutions on the following criteria: political affiliation, wealth declared, indictments, criminal investigations, and conviction in corruption cases. Then, we analyzed the procurement focusing on the winner of the procedure. We got the relevant data on the shareholders of the companies and investigated them on the following criteria: misuse of public funds, charges in criminal cases or investigations carried out in corruption cases, ties with criminal organizations, ties with politics, whether the companies or the shareholders financed politicians or political parties, and evaluating conflicts of interest. We used public records from the Electronic System for Public Acquisitions, the National Trade Register, National Official Gazette, prosecutor office, and court records.

These procurement procedures were legal, but all the data that we put together have given us a clear view of what Professor Lawrence Lessig defines as institutional corruption: “a systemic or strategic influence which is legal (...) undermines [an] institution’s effectiveness by diverting it from its purpose or weakening its ability to achieve its purpose, including, to the extent relevant to its purpose, weakening either the public’s trust in that institution or the institution’s inherent trustworthiness.”

Our work was mentioned positively in the technical document accompanying the last report from the European Commission to the European Parliament and the Council on progress in Romania under the Cooperation and Verification Mechanism (an EU monitoring program for the judiciary and law enforcement agencies in Romania and Bulgaria): “The results have been used in prosecutions involving prejudice of several million euros. It has also brought to light specific practices which can help to identify or dissuade other cases,” the EU experts underlined about our work.

Elena Denisova-Schmidt

The improper dependences among all of the actors involved in the Russian higher education system support the high level of corruption in this sector. Young people without a higher education have almost no chances on the job market. For this reason, some students pursue a university degree as a mere credential, without regard for how they obtain it. The faculty is under pressure from the administration not to expel students for underachievement. They might comply with this by watering down their requirements, for example, or by ignoring cheating during exams, accepting plagiarism, or sometimes demanding gifts or other services from the students in exchange for preferential treatment and better marks. The administration, in turn, is under pressure from the Ministry of Education. If they expel students, they need to return the financing they received from the state for those students. This is hardly possible, because the budget is already being used to cover personnel and other costs. The situation at private universities, with some exception, might be even worse than at public universities. Students usually choose private schools because the requirements of the public universities are too high.

My project, conducted with Elvira Leontyeva during the academic year, was devoted to remedies for institutional corruption in Russian higher education. We established training materials for students to make them more sensitive to this issue and ran several experiments to test their effectiveness. We developed arguments for faculty and university administration in support of introducing obligatory anti-plagiarism software. We described some best practices for Russian universities to combat ghostwriting and developed guidelines for Western European universities in dealing with students from Russia—students who might have a more tolerant attitude towards academic dishonesty and corruption.

I was a Visiting Fellow at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London, and will spend one month as a Visiting Fellow at the Aleksanteri Institute in Helsinki,

where I will continue my work on remedying corruption in Russian higher education. Moreover, I will lead the Higher Education Corruption Monitor at the Center for International Higher Education in the Lynch School of Education at Boston College.

My time as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has given me numerous benefits, including opportunities to publish and discuss some of my findings, as well as to make my research available to a broader academic community.

Elizabeth Doty

In 2013-2014, Maryam Kouchaki, Francesca Gino, and I collaborated on a project to develop and pilot a Commitment-keeping Employee Survey and a Commitment Scorecard in a Fortune 500 company (which we referred to as DelphiCo).

This year, our focus was on publicizing our findings. In May, Maryam and I published an Edmond J. Safra Working Paper titled, "Commitments, Disrupted: Understanding and Addressing Commitment Drift in For-Profit Enterprises." In this paper, we outline a working model of "commitment drift" and share the results of our efforts to design and pilot a Commitment Scorecard in a Fortune 500 company. In particular, we found that a) leaders valued keeping their word, b) organizational turbulence makes it harder to "connect the dots" to deliver on important commitments, and c) senior leadership support is not sufficient to address short-termism. Feedback from Mal Salter and Bill English was invaluable in helping us see the connections between business promises and larger issues of practical economics.

At the Ending Institutional Corruption conference, Maryam and I led a workshop where participants experimented with one of the tools created during our project ("The Commitment Card"). Participant feedback confirmed that thinking through commitments, "proofpoints," and "signs of drift" seems to be a useful approach to activating values. The conference overall was very useful in catching up on other Fellows' work, especially those who shared our interest in how to support individuals within organizations in pushing back against pressure to compromise.

In addition, I have written several articles and blog posts for PriceWaterhouseCoopers' Strategy & mainstream business magazine on the theme of business commitments and commitment drift, including: "Five Ways to Reverse the Downward Spiral of Distrust," "Integrity is Free," and "Does Your Company Keep its Promises?"

Finally, Maryam, Elizabeth, and Francesca Gino were very pleased that Scot Sonenshein, the Jones School Distinguished Associate Professor of Management at Rice University, agreed to collaborate with us on a follow-on qualitative study of DelphiCo's promises to various stakeholders during 2012-2014. We have reached an agreement with DelphiCo allowing us to analyze a dataset of 1300 internal company documents to understand the enablers and challenges of keeping organizational promises. We plan to complete that analysis and write several academic and business articles in the next 12-18 months.

Once again, I am grateful for the Center's support and the opportunity to collaborate with others concerned about institutional corruption. I offer a special thank you to Heidi Carrell, Katy Evans Pritchard, Tara Skurtu, Stephanie Dant, and Emily Bromley for helping me stay in touch as a Network Fellow, and for ensuring my work met the Center's standards. Finally, I would like to thank Maryam Kouchaki and Francesca Gino. As a practitioner, I am deeply grateful for Maryam's and Francesca's help in orienting me to various quantitative methods, explaining individual, interpersonal, and group-level factors in ethical behavior, providing resources and research assistance, and for recognizing when it was time to consider adding a qualitative study.

As we wrap up, I continue to view business promises and commitments as intriguing focal points for intervention. Going forward, I am interested to see further work on defining and fostering institutional integrity.

Jingwu Feng

(no report)

Linda Fisher

The Network Fellowship has provided an extremely valuable opportunity to advance my ongoing project of analyzing the causes and effects of the foreclosure crisis through an ethical lens. Although I was only in Cambridge twice during the year—having useful discussions and making contacts—I benefited greatly from the Center’s online resources. The depth and breadth of the faculty’s and fellows’ research has given me a helpful framework to think and write about the financial crisis in a more sophisticated and nuanced fashion.

My project is an article examining why financial institutions still refuse to meaningfully modify mortgages so that borrowers can resume paying and avoid foreclosure, a result beneficial to investors in mortgage-backed securities as well as to borrowers themselves. (While my teaching commitments kept me from progressing very far on the piece during the school year, I expect to complete it this summer.) I am finding that, unfortunately, banks have not significantly reformed their mortgage loss mitigation practices since the recession, for both structural and cultural reasons. Conflicts of interest, compensation practices, longstanding cultural norms and short-termism, among other reasons, contribute to modification gridlock. I hope to diagnose the sources of the problem in a fashion that will allow me to identify reforms that are more likely to be effective than those adopted to date.

I first presented my research as a work in progress at a Seton Hall Law School faculty workshop in February, and next at a Washburn Law School symposium on the Future of Housing later that month. In addition, I had a poster presentation at the recent Ending Institutional Corruption conference. My previous article on bank walkaways (stalled or abandoned foreclosures), which also examines financial institution self-dealing, was published in the *UC Irvine Law Review*. I just finished a blog post on the article for the Columbia Law School Blue Sky Blog on corporations and financial markets. In addition to my writing and litigating foreclosure cases involving mortgage modifica-

tions, I have continued to work with the media to expose mortgage fraud and related unscrupulous practices. During this past year, I was quoted in *Sports Illustrated* and *inewssource* (in a piece co-written by Brooke Williams), and am currently working with Reuters and WHYY (Philadelphia NPR station) on related stories.

Michael Flaherman

I have spent my time as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics focused chiefly on researching bad practices of private equity investment managers and working with institutional investors who entrust capital to these managers to improve the likelihood that they will not be taken advantage of by the managers whom they hire.

My tenure at the Center has occurred amid an announcement by the SEC that more than half of the private equity managers audited by the Commission between mid-2012 and early 2014 were engaged in serious violations of law or regulatory violations. This revelation has spread significant alarm among institutional investors in private equity, which has made them amenable to listening to my research findings. I have met with numerous investors in the U.S. and abroad, including leading university endowments, “family offices,” and both large public and private pension plans. I have presented them with information about previously unknown kickbacks that private equity managers receive from the portfolio companies that they manage on behalf of investors, as well as numerous other similarly problematic practices. I have traveled to Europe and throughout the U.S. meeting with investors to share my findings, and have also shared them with interested third parties such as labor unions. Additionally, I have spoken at private equity industry conferences, which has given me the opportunity to share my research with private equity managers themselves. It is my belief that my research has materially impacted the likelihood that private equity investors, a large portion of whom are government bodies such as public pension systems, will be able to defend their interests against private equity managers whom they hire.

The Center has contributed materially to my work in two main respects. First, my affiliation with it brought me into contact with other Fellows, as well as Harvard faculty members whose research overlaps with mine. Interaction with these individuals has informed and improved my own work. Second, my affiliation with the Center has made a crucial difference in the willingness of many private equity institutional investors to meet with me and to consider my findings as credible. This reality has been made clear to me on numerous occasions throughout my work, where individuals have explicitly stated that they would not willingly have met with me but for my Center affiliation.

Marianna Fotaki

During my time as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I continued to work on my three interrelated projects dealing with various aspects of institutional corruption in public and commercial sectors. My aim was to draw lessons from the ongoing projects in which I was involved—both in my own research and in collaborative projects with other researchers—and to develop strategies for preventing and addressing corruption in different cultural and organizational settings. Specifically, I brought together findings from the World Bank-financed PhD work on internal auditing in government agencies in Indonesia (carried by Ide Humantito under my supervision), the British Academy-funded work on whistleblowers in banking and the finance industry in England and Ireland (with Lab Fellow Dr. Kate Kenny), and my pro-bono work for a charity addressing failures of care and patient abuse in the National Health Service (the NHS) in the U.K.

Having the opportunity to join the Center benefited my work in multiple ways. First, I could experience the intellectually stimulating environment firsthand during my visits, through the virtual Lab Seminars, and the regular exposure to cutting-edge research and resources provided by the listserv. This helped me consolidate the findings from my projects, leading to two peer-reviewed articles published in international academic outlets (one on the role of trust in health care in *Sociology of Health*

& *Illness*, the other on organizational ethics of care and compassion in *Organization*). I am currently working on a stream of articles with my colleagues to be submitted to leading journals in the field of Management and Business Ethics (some of these topics featured in my recent blogs are published in the Center's webpage). I was also asked to present this work in international conferences in Europe and the U.S. (Academy of Management, European Group for Organization Studies and others), and was invited to contribute to relevant debates by regulatory bodies (e.g. the Financial Conduct Authority in the U.K.), policy makers, and the media. Second, the wealth of ideas and expertise many Fellows shared with me generously provided me with an inspiration for taking this work further. I have applied for a major grant at a prestigious research foundation in the U.K. (the Leverhulme Trust), to develop a theoretical work connecting various levels of analysis and explaining the processes by which legislation, policies, organizational structures, and cultures can impact various forms of institutional corruption. Yet, the most valued benefit for me is the collaborative networks I was able to create through my engagement with the scholars and practitioners I met during my time as a Network Fellow at the Center. I hope to be able to draw and build on these connections in my research and teaching (including the textbook, *Business Ethics and Society: Global Challenges and Opportunities*, co-authored with Kate Kenny and Reinecke, to be published by SAGE in 2015).

I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for having had the privilege of being part of this wonderful network. I have learned a lot and met great colleagues with whom I will continue to work in the future. My thanks go to the leadership and all the staff at the Center for creating such a unique and supportive space for knowledge exchange. Although the year passed so quickly, and my duties as Professor of Business Ethics at Warwick University did not allow me to participate in all activities as much as I would have liked, this year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has provided me with lasting inspiration for the years to come.

Duncan Friend

My research is focused on influences on decisions made in the construction of government information and their consequences for government and society. During my time as a Network Fellow, I proposed an investigation of possible influence on the shape and availability of government information by third parties who come to depend on it.

As a part-time doctoral student in Public Administration in my fifth year of study—I also work full-time—my progress on the project in the past nine months was balanced with completing my academic coursework last fall and preparing and sitting for my comprehensive written exams this spring. During this time, I completed a paper titled “Data, Dependence, Democracy: Influence in the Secondary Use of Government Information.” The paper builds on research in the fields of Political Science and Sociology to develop a theory of information dependence on which my subsequent work will be based. I also created a survey and obtained approval from the university institutional review board, and began a review of federal policies and programs related to information access as well as a state law pertaining to government records resale. While this work has proceeded slowly due to my other commitments, my efforts are now focused on developing a dissertation proposal that incorporates many of these concepts.

Part of my work studying influences on government information and this idea of information dependence involves both government archives and the role of public values in decisions about information. During my Network Fellowship, I worked with state archivists and a representative of the National Archives and Records Administration to develop a proposal for a conference session on transparency and participation in archival decisions for which I will serve as Chair at the joint meeting of the National Association of Government Archives and Records Administrators and the Council of State Archivists later this summer. And, one of my advisors and I recently had a proposal accepted for an article for a special issue of the *Journal of Public Affairs Education on Information*

Technology and Public Administration Education. That article will focus in part on the importance of teaching about the role of public values in choices about information and technology, a subject directly related to my project.

I am thankful for the opportunity to be affiliated with the Center, and I benefited in numerous ways from this experience. Early on, my participation in the Bonanza held to kick off the year gave me direct exposure to the broad range of perspectives and research questions on institutional corruption, and connections to a supportive and collegial group of passionate scholars pursuing this work. While I was only able to attend some of the online Lab Seminars, the readings and listserv discussions continued to inform my perspective on my research, especially the way in which the influences I am studying can be framed in terms of ethics and Lawrence Lessig’s definition of institutional corruption. Finally, while working at a distance, I found the weekly update showing the diversity of work being conducted by the Fellows humbling, but also inspiring. More than once, I came across venues and ideas for presenting research that were relevant to my work. I hope to remain connected to this community as I move forward in my academic career.

Dana Gold

My work this past year has focused on the role of whistleblowers as a response to and manifestation of institutional corruption—specifically how institutional corruption causes serious problems that are frequently only addressed by whistleblowers, and how the dominant societal paradigm that vilifies rather than values whistleblowers is itself a form of institutional corruption that prevents institutions from course-correcting and, instead, exacerbates both internal and external problems.

My time with the Center exceeded my high expectations. Being able to participate in the early Bonanza pitch session connected me more directly to the life of the Lab, and that running start continued with the fall Lab Seminar presentation, along with Fellows Barbara Redman and Michael Flaherman

("How Regulatory Systems Can Hinder or Harness the Power of Whistleblowers to Address Institutional Corruption"), which was timed to coincide with Larry Lessig's live interview of whistleblower (and GAP client) Edward Snowden. I was able to promote the Snowden event with a Center blog post ("Snowden, Institutional Corruption, & the 'Vilified Whistleblower'"), and both the Blog and Seminar presentation helped me get an early start at pulling together the intersection of the Lab's conceptual understanding of institutional corruption and my own thinking about necessary reform priorities to protect whistleblowers and encourage disclosure in the post-Snowden era. These contributions also prompted connections with Fellows Marianna Fotaki and Kate Kenny, with whom I have since collaborated on a conference and grant proposal, a roundtable presentation at the final conference, and a day spent being interviewed by Marianna for a book she and Kate are writing.

Another highlight was being able to bring GAP's American Whistleblower Tour to Harvard with the Center as a primary sponsor, and to have Bill English and Katy Evans Pritchard as cheerleaders for this event. Dovetailing my work bringing whistleblowers to university settings, with the added lens of institutional corruption, was a memorable gift.

Finally, my presentation at the Ending Institutional Corruption conference, in the "Effective Whistleblower Programs: What Works" workshop, focused on best practices that institutions should adopt internally to promote workplace environments that encourage disclosure and discourage reprisal. This drew heavily on a contribution I made to Network Fellow Carla Miller's excellent ethics training initiatives for municipal employees. GAP now has a new tool to offer as we work not only with Carla going forward, but with federal ethics officers and Ombuds offices who are interested in integrating training about effectively dealing with whistleblowers in the context of promoting ethics and compliance.

I ended my Fellowship year by outlining the book I aim to write, which will weave together examples of real whistleblower stories that bolster specific external and internal reform prescriptions, all within a context of explaining how the pervasive problem of institutional corruption creates the too-vulnerable situation for society and institutions where sometimes the best, and only, defense against wrongdoing is depending on whistleblowers to speak up about problems they witness in the workplace at great personal and professional risk. I could not be more grateful to Larry Lessig and the incredible Center staff for my time as a Network Fellow, and I am hopeful that the powerful connections of people and ideas that the Center created in order to address an only-increasing problem continue to deepen and grow even beyond the end of the Lab.

Miguel González Marcos

During this academic year as a Network Fellow, I researched tax havens extensively and participated remotely in the Lab Seminar. Based on this research, I am planning to draft a paper on the ethics of tax havens. The presentations in the Lab Seminar and the online discussions opened new venues of inquiry for my research. I am now more aware of the challenges brought by the lack of transparency across a variety of industries, which could illuminate issues surrounding policing tax havens. The notion of institutional corruption, as expounded by Lawrence Lessig, has been very helpful in understanding the actors' dynamics in the context of tax havens.

Paul Gowder

I have not, unfortunately, had the opportunity to be involved in the Center's events in person like I had hoped. However, I have been able to remain connected to the Center's work electronically (mainly by constantly being inspired by, and occasionally participating in, listerv discussions), and I have made substantial progress in sorting out some of the concepts that make up the foundation of the idea of institutional corruption.

First, as I have argued, there are two kinds of institutional corruption. The first, Lessigarian, kind, represents what I call a “tainting” sense of corruption: the institution’s motivational structure is undermined by an improper influence. But, there is also a viable second conception of institutional corruption (which I call the “disloyalty” sense) that hinges around the idea of the rule of law. This year, I have developed an account of the social preconditions for the rule of law, and thus for the avoidance of this kind of political-side institutional corruption.

In chapters six, eight, and nine of a book manuscript (which is under contract and will be sent to Cambridge University Press in final form within a few weeks), I make the case for legal institutions that promote widespread public alignment with substantive legal rules and signaling of that alignment by participation in those institutions. Promotion of such institutional forms should, I argue, facilitate the development of the rule of law, and with it, protect against institutional corruption of the disloyalty kind. I have also given a strategic theory according to which the institutional forms that lead to officials being better constrained to act in accordance with existing law will also promote greater substantive equality in the law. The empirical implication of all this theoretical work is that we ought to observe both lowered institutional corruption and more equal law in states that have more public participation in their legal systems. I am now actively looking for data with which to test this prediction for future work.

Second, I have also made some progress on the notion of popular sovereignty, which is relevant to the theoretical foundations of the notion of “improper influence,” and thus institutional corruption of the tainting-kind, in a democracy. In a new (and somewhat in-progress paper) titled “General Will, Causality, Equality,” I argue that popular sovereignty does not actually require the public have forward-looking, reliable, causal control over political outcomes. Instead, what it requires is backward-looking endorsement of those outcomes. However, that endorsement is most likely to be achieved when citizens have

access to participatory political institutions, and when politicians take the outputs of those institutions seriously. The objective with this project is to put democratic theory on a firmer foundation that can account for the well-known problems with the claim that mass publics have to have direct control over political outcomes (such as those generated by social choice theory and the theory of rational voter ignorance).

This has the potential to answer a serious possible objection to the notion of institutional corruption as improper influence; because politicians cannot, practically speaking, be truly accountable to the people, they will necessarily be accountable to someone or something else (we will always live in “Lesterland”). By giving a different account of what it might mean to be accountable to the people, the backward-looking account of popular sovereignty, when finished, should be able to avoid this problem.

Garry Gray
(no report)

Thomas Groll

I would like to thank you for your efforts, and for allowing me the privilege of being a Network Fellow this academic year. I have thoroughly enjoyed being a Network Fellow and benefiting from the very engaging Center community. During my Fellowship year I worked on lobbying and political influence activities from mostly an economics perspective. The Fellowship has allowed me to gain a broader multidisciplinary view, and it enhanced my work greatly.

In the past year I completely revised a previous paper, “Repeated Lobbying by Special Interests and Commercial Lobbyists,” with Christopher J. Ellis; completed two new papers: “Costly Persuasion and Legislative Subsidies,” with Christopher J. Ellis, and “Whom to Lobby? Targeting in Political Networks,” with Anja Prummer; wrote a Center Blog post with Maggie McKinley; and presented two projects at the Center’s Lab Seminar series.

In December I presented a revised version of a paper, “Dynamic Commercial Lobbying” (now titled “Repeated Lobbying by Special Interests and

Commercial Lobbyists”), and a new project, “Costly Persuasion and Legislative Subsidies.” Both works benefited from the comments of the Center’s audience during my one-week stay. During my visit, conversations with Maggie McKinley resulted in a joint blog post project that has focused on the relationships between lobbyists and policymakers.

In February, Maggie McKinley and I published our blog post, “The Relationship Market—How Modern Lobbying Gets Done,” on the Center’s Blog. We have received quite positive comments, and were recently invited to submit a shorter version of this post for the *CESifo DICE Report - Journal for Institutional Comparisons* that is planning a volume on Rent-Seeking.

My work has frequently benefited from the exchanges on the listserv. Other Fellows have provided invaluable discussions, anecdotes and cases, and references that helped tremendously to enhance my work, which started with a perspective of an economist, and now consists of a more multidisciplinary perspective. I greatly appreciate the privilege of being part of the Center and experiencing the sense of community in pursuing the interest in multidisciplinary work on ethics.

Thomas Hilde

(no report)

Paul Holden

I dedicated my year as a Network Fellow, which I held jointly with Leah Wawro, to investigating institutional corruption in transitions from non-democratic to democratic regimes.

The transition from non-democratic to democratic regimes presents unique opportunities to reshape the nature of the state and the role of the security forces within it. In some cases, Leah and I discovered, the opportunity was used fully to bring the defense establishment under effective civilian control, with mechanisms and processes established that limited the scope and impact of institutional corruption. Sadly, in others, the transitional period was marked by the maintenance and reproduction of institutional corruption.

The majority of our work has focused on the differing historical experiences of the transition to democracy in Argentina and South Africa. In Argentina, for a range of important reasons—not least an activist tradition focused on the military—the defense establishment was reined in, and defense spending brought within reasonable limits; Argentina was able to insulate itself effectively from institutional corruption, at least within the defense sector.

I have focused much of my research work on South Africa, where institutional corruption originally stemming from the apartheid period was maintained and reconstructed during the transition. This led to the decision to pursue an enormous purchase of sophisticated weapons, known colloquially as the Arms Deal, which dominated South African politics for over a decade due to both its unpopular nature and its association with repeated allegations of irregularities and wrongdoing.

I have already done a good deal of research on the Arms Deal. However, using the conceptual tool of institutional corruption to guide my approach to the subject has been hugely enlightening. It has allowed me to understand the Deal holistically and explain more finely the various political processes that led to it.

I continue to work on the Arms Deal in South Africa as an activist and researcher. The work I have completed as part of my Fellowship will be invaluable in guiding my future work, and hopefully that of others.

The research that Leah and I have conducted is now included in a Working Paper titled “Ambushing Democracy: Tackling Institutional Corruption in Defense During the Transition to Democracy in South Africa and Argentina.” This paper is currently being reviewed by experts in the field of Defense Politics, after which we intend to seek publication in an academic press.

My time as a Network Fellow has been incredibly fruitful. As I do not work in academia, it has been eye-opening to be able to interface with the very

many brilliant minds involved in the Center's program. The constant stream of impressive Working Papers and Lab Seminars, as well as the informal discussions as part of the Center's listserv, has guided my work greatly and helped to sharpen my analytical tools. I have nothing but thanks and gratitude for being given the opportunity to participate and learn so much from others!

Solomon Kahn

My year as a Network Fellow was extremely rewarding. I built the world's most powerful tool to explore who gives money to politicians. It gives functionality to see the big picture of where a politician raises money, as well as digs into all the details behind those donations.

You can look at any politician from the OpenSecrets data set, which includes data for over 24,000 federal politicians over the past 25 years. You can see how much they raised per election cycle, split out by the industries from which they raised money. You can then see, within each industry, how much money came from various sectors. You can see how much they raised from individuals, pacs, or combined. You can see the data on a total or a percentage basis. Then, within the details, you can see the companies and pacs within each sector that donate to the politician. Lastly, you can see the individual people who donate to that politician.

Beyond just the visualization, this project is going to crowdsource the research for 25 years' worth of campaign finance data. As a public internet project, we are going to allow users to submit all the interesting things they find about a politician, and then show those things on the page of that politician. That research will be the first thing a voter, journalist, or even the politician sees when coming to the page. The project will be completely open source, so other cities and countries can take this code and apply it to their data.

Being at the Center was a great experience for me, because it allowed me, as a technologist, to be exposed to the academic side of institutional corruption in a way that would have been impossible otherwise. I learned so much from the other

Fellows, and was extremely inspired by all the amazing things they were working on.

Aleksandr Khechumyan

The issues of police integrity have long been within my professional interests, which have developed since my work at Police of Republic of Armenia. I have conducted the first police integrity survey in Armenia, involving two police departments in 2008 and producing quite significant findings not only relevant and specific to Armenia, but also to police integrity research in general. Since 2009 an ambitious police reform program has been implemented in Armenia in order to facilitate greater integration with the European Union. To see whether these reforms have had any impact on the level of intolerance within the organization towards misconduct, new research was initiated.

Before being awarded the Network Fellowship for the 2014-2015 academic year, I had already received permission from the Head of Police of Armenia to conduct a large-scale survey with the Armenian Police. In the first 3 months of the Fellowship I administered the survey, distributing questionnaires to 1000 police officers in 9 out of 10 territorial police departments and receiving 969 filled questionnaires. I have analyzed the data and written a book chapter reporting our findings. This chapter is part of a book edited by Professors Kutnjak Ivkovich and Haberfeld titled, *Measuring Police Integrity Across the World: Studies from Established Democracies and Countries in Transition*, which is expected to be published in August 2015 by Springer. Apart from reporting the findings of our research in the book chapter, I have also completed an internal report for the Police leadership, making some policy recommendations. Unfortunately, I have not received any feedback from the police regarding our findings and recommendations. I also gave presentations at the Annual Conference of the European Society of Criminology in Prague and the Annual Meeting of American Society of Criminology in San Francisco. Although a blog post and a contribution to the Working Paper series was also planned, these proved to be impossible due to delays in data analysis.

During the Fellowship year, I greatly benefited from the Edmond J. Safra Center's online activities, such as the weekly Lab Seminars. I especially enjoyed the reading assignments. It was also very interesting to follow the work of other members and associates of the Center, which allowed getting insights regarding the state of institutional corruption across different fields. I will try to integrate some approaches used by other Fellows, and especially Professor Lessig's approach to institutional corruption, in my future research on police integrity. I want to express my gratitude to Professor Lawrence Lessig, Ms. Tara Skurtu, Dr. Mark Somos, Dr. William English, Ms. Heidi Carrell, and all others who made the project on institutional corruption possible.

Gal Kober

(no report)

Emily Kroshus

(no report)

Elvira Leontyeva

During my study conducted this academic year, I dealt with different problems concerning formal and informal rules of the university environment. I was interested in the organization of educational practices, and focused on communication between students and professors in daily university life situations. During my research visit at the Centre of East European Studies at the Bremen University as a DAAD Visiting Fellow, I had the opportunity to compare daily life at Russian and German universities. My observations and interviews were devoted to the practices used by lecturers in the teaching and assessment of students, as well as those used by students (what students do to fulfill the requirements set by the lecturer to pass examinations and receive grades, how long they study on their own, how often they cheat, and whether they help each other).

Also, this academic year I was a member of the Anticorruption Committee at the Pacific National University, and contributed the research experience of this year in my practice activity.

Being a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I had the opportunity to follow the world-leading research stream on the theoretical and practical problems of corruption. It was especially important for my work with post-graduate students who work on the themes connected with corruption.

Libby Lewis

My work as a Network Fellow with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has focused on how private equity firms (among others) exploit the public bankruptcy system as an efficient means to shed pension plans in insider deals.

Pension-dumping in bankruptcy has been around for nearly as long as the Employment Retirement Income Security Act, the law governing private pensions. As Frank Cummings, one of ERISA's early authors, told me, "Congress knew from the start there would be many conflicts of interest" when it passed ERISA in 1974. The conflict between ERISA and the Bankruptcy Code is one that has worsened over time, as a growing number of firms have been able to use bankruptcy to transfer private pension obligations to a government-backed agency, enriching the few at the cost of the many.

In a Working Paper for the Center, I adopted a utilitarian approach to describing institutional corruption by writing a "Bad Man's Guide to Ditching Pensions in Bankruptcy." It lays out how public policies and gaps in the law make it possible for businesses seeking to offload pension obligations onto others to do so. Aiding them are bankruptcy judges, who are diffident to the ideology of the marketplace—even when it means approving insider deals whose terms drive away any market competition.

I've reviewed bankruptcy records in cases of pension-dumping and PBGC's public files. I've interviewed bankruptcy scholars and practitioners, ERISA experts, and bankruptcy judges, and spent hours with various officials at the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp. My time with them gave me a valuable perspective on the effects of institutional corruption on well-meaning public servants who

are caught up in, and must deal with, institutional corruption every day.

My project builds on work by previous scholars who've examined how Chapter 11 of the Bankruptcy Code has been shaped into a tool to forge insider deal—and leave workers, retirees, and other creditors bearing the costs.

After the paper is completed, I'm planning on writing at least one piece for a popular outlet. I'm also intending to write a blog entry for the Center on how the same device used to quickly dump pensions in bankruptcy has resulted in cutting off some accident victims of General Motors' faulty ignition switch problems from compensation for their injuries.

I want to say how grateful I am for the opportunity to be part of the Center, and to be connected with such a rich constellation of minds and spirits.

Jamus Lim

My Network Fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics enabled me to proceed on institutional corruption-related issues on several fronts. These involved ongoing research, new projects, and professional development.

In terms of ongoing research, I invested a part of the time allocated to my Fellowship in revising two papers that I had already begun prior to the academic year. One paper, "Endogenous Transactions Costs and Institutions in the 2007/08 Financial Crisis" (co-authored with Terence Tan), is concerned with exploring how transactions costs both influence and are influenced by the regulatory framework for finance, and how these came together to induce the financial crisis in the United States. Following the revision, the paper has been accepted for publication and is forthcoming in the *Journal of Regulatory Economics*. A preprint was also released as Edmond J. Safra Working Paper no. 63. Another paper, "Institutional Development, Capital Accumulation, and the Emergence of Civilizations" (co-authored with Thorsten Janus), was also revised and presented at the 18th International Society for New Institutional Economics Annual Conference.

I started two research projects that were documented in my proposal for the Fellowship. The details of the (related) projects, bundled under the title "Designing Mechanisms for Resolving Representational Reform within International Financial Institutions," were presented at the Lab's opening Bonanza. The first entails primary data collection to elicit responses on normative standards for representation from Executive Directors on the World Bank's executive board; the questionnaire design is ongoing. The second involves developing a theoretical model for representational reform in the Bretton Woods institutions, using the tools of mechanism design. I was fortunate to secure the advice of Professor Eric Maskin (Harvard Economics), who kindly accepted my request to serve as a mentor and offered invaluable advice on modeling considerations.

Finally, I was also able to strengthen my professional development in a number of ways. My participation in the Lab's various online fora has strengthened my understanding of issues related to institutional corruption; I have also benefited from the networking opportunities of more one-on-one exchanges with other Fellows and members of the broader Harvard community.

Robert Lucas

(no report)

Carmen Mailloux

(no report)

Jonathan Marks

During the last year of the Lab on Institutional Corruption, I spent most of the time working on my book, provisionally titled *The Perils of Proximity: How Public-Private Partnerships Threaten Institutional Integrity, Public Trust, and Public Health*. The book has benefited substantially from two research residencies. I was a visiting scholar at the Hastings Center in New York during the fall of 2014, and a visiting researcher at the Brocher Foundation in Geneva during the spring of 2015. Thanks to these residencies and the continuing support and encouragement of the many faculty, staff, and fellows affiliated with the Lab, I have made steady progress

on the book, and I plan to submit the manuscript for publication in the fall of 2015.

This year, I also gave readers a taste of what is to come with the publication of my article, “Toward a Systemic Ethics of Public-Private Partnerships Related to Food and Health,” in the *Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal*, and my short commentary, “Nutrition and Global Health Policy: A Critical Moment,” in the *British Medical Journal*. Both these pieces highlight the systemic ethical concerns raised by public-private partnerships, particularly those involving multinational food and beverage corporations.

While focusing on my writing, I embraced valuable opportunities to present my work in various locations both nationally and internationally, including the European Consortium for Political Research in Glasgow in September 2014 and the World Health Organization in Geneva in February 2015. The former will result in an edited volume on global food ethics and policy to which I have contributed; the latter gave me the opportunity to hear the views of staff involved in public-private partnerships on a daily basis, and to address their perspectives in the book.

It was a pleasure to serve on the committee organizing the final event of the Lab, the Ending Institutional Corruption conference, under the diligent stewardship of Katy Evans Pritchard. And it was, of course, a real honor to participate in the conference, moderating a panel, presenting my own work, and acknowledging the numerous achievements of the Lab and its director, Larry Lessig. I believe that Larry has inspired a new generation of scholars. He has shown us how to be both passionate and compassionate, while maintaining intellectual rigor, and how to lament the state of things as they are—while fostering hope and possibilities for change.

I am extremely grateful to Larry, the three Research Directors (Neeru Paharia, Mark Somos, and Bill English), the peerless and fearless Stephanie Dant, and her dedicated team of staff. Being part of the

Lab, and of the Center more broadly, has truly been one of the highlights of my academic career. Thank you all!

Colleen Mathis

Independent redistricting is an important reform to combat the institutional corruption inherent when self-interested individuals and parties draw the political boundaries that shape their livelihoods. Despite successful efforts through a citizens’ referendum to create an independent commission to draw these lines, the Arizona Legislature has been able to challenge the commission’s existence all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision is expected in the next few weeks.

My proposal for a Residential Fellowship was to conduct an evidence-based assessment of the performance of independent redistricting commissions, starting with Arizona’s. Since one of the premises of the proposition that Arizona citizens voted on when considering whether to implement independent redistricting was “improved voter engagement,” I wanted to see if this effect could be objectively measured, despite limited data.

When the Supreme Court announced in October 2014 that it was granting certiorari in the case, the stakes and value of such an exercise became even higher. This development, along with other pending litigation faced by the commission, has made it more difficult to perform the research. However, the primary hurdle has been access to data that could inform the analysis. This necessitated a recent change of approach from the one originally outlined in the proposal.

Fortunately, the data needed for this new approach arrived yesterday, and I have lined up a willing PhD candidate at the Harvard Institute for Quantitative Social Science who will help with the statistical analysis portion of the study. The new approach will entail an identification and analysis of precincts that used to be uncompetitive to see if a change in voter engagement can be measured when they became competitive. I anticipate having this work completed by the end of 2015.

Even if the U.S. Supreme Court strikes down independent redistricting for Congressional districts, independent redistricting commissions will still have an important role to play in drawing legislative districts. In any case, the completion of this work continues to be a worthy pursuit as it could be used to inform voters in other states considering independent redistricting.

I remain very grateful to the Edmond J. Safra Lab for providing an interdisciplinary setting for research of ethical issues, and to Professor Lessig for his vision in choosing institutional corruption as the problem to address. My eyes and ears have been opened to the many forms of this problem. As a Network Fellow, gainful employment remained a necessity; so while I haven't been able to take advantage of as many activities at the Lab as I would have liked, I was able to attend lectures and webinars which were both informative and inspiring. I hope the Lab will continue in some form so that my ongoing work will still have a home.

Scott Methe

I spent my Network Fellowship year on three primary tasks: (a) deepening my knowledge of the concept of institutional corruption as applied to American public schooling, (b) preparing for a Lab Seminar presentation, and (c) capitalizing on the networking opportunities to shift my career toward public administration and policy.

In my original proposal, I had hoped that writing a conceptual paper (and logic model) would inform the design of an in-vivo experiment. With regard to the latter, I wanted to know if teachers who received a training package in assessment literacy would be more negatively disposed (compared to teachers who did not receive the package) to corporations that publish testing products that lack evidence. This foundation in attitudes seemed necessary to establish a behavioral model. However, the depth of the first project (concept model) took most of my time, and the experiment was relegated to a pilot project that demonstrated promising findings.

Apart from having three peer-reviewed articles accepted and published during my Fellowship year, my scholarly output involved the following four deliverables: (a) a seminar presentation (and accompanying PowerPoint), (b) a conceptual article linking institutional corruption to the ethics of a free and appropriate public education for all children (rejected at two peer-reviewed journals, with encouraging revision advice), (c) a blog post for the E.J. Safra Center, and (d) a poster describing the logic model that was presented at the Ending Institutional Corruption conference. My plan is to continue to refine and resubmit the conceptual article, and to integrate into the article the narrative pilot findings.

The funding that the Center provided resulted in a quarter-time research assistant, Daniel Claffey, a graduate student whose intellect, passion, and dedication to this project at times greatly outweighed my own. Daniel created a number of works to help us both better understand Thompson's and Lessig's theory of corruption and how it applies to American public schooling. His work ranged from broad literature searches, including tables and figures, to well-described logic models that set the stage for our poster presentation.

The Fellowship—and the opportunities to learn deeply about institutional corruption—stirred within me a new awareness of human rights violations that I had not been able to see in past years. When I began to notice how institutionalized persons (acting, often unknowingly, on behalf of corrupt institutions) view serious violations of human rights as minutiae (e.g., neglecting informed consent when assigning duties to untenured professors), I was unable to remain content with my position at an institution that showed these signs of corruption. As a result, I began the daunting process of changing my career to that of public policy and administration. Specifically, I became interested in running a nonprofit organization that was dedicated to helping teachers learn more about shoddy assessment products and resist the “snake oil” that is peddled by too many corporations. In May of

2015, I resigned from my position as Assistant Professor (and ended a 10-year career in School Psychology) to assume the Executive Directorship of the Helps Education Fund. In this position, I plan to do everything I can to prevent institutional corruption in American public schooling.

Carla Miller

My main goal for my Network Fellowship (2013-2015) was to take the academic research of the Lab and translate it for mass distribution to all government ethics professionals and organizations in the United States. In May, 2015, a website with open-source materials was released for this purpose: www.cityethics.harvard-lab. Here are the topics covered in the website: 1) the first section contains training tools, including an entertaining video defining government conflicts of interest, a course on “The Purpose of Government Ethics,” and a related PowerPoint presentation; 2) a section highlighting academic experts, summarized for practitioners (essays from experts on what they see as the future of ethics training, summarized academic articles and Lab Working Papers, summarized courses and short concept papers by Lab Fellows); 3) a section on conferences and workshops of interest to the government ethics practitioner (for example, a video of the May 2, 2015 workshop on Ethics Training at the Lab’s Ending Institutional Corruption conference); 4) Labcasts and blog posts of relevance to government practitioners (for example, a Labcast on Local Government Ethics Initiatives); 5) a section on curated resources and tools in the field; and 6) citizen resources (such as how to write successful referendums), videos, and links to relevant citizen organizations.

Additionally, in collaboration with Dr. Bill English, I continued the pilot educational program with the Massachusetts Ethics Commission. The Commission is charged with the ethics training of over 400,000 public employees a year; we have conducted 15 training sessions with their staff, surveyed participants, and will have continuing input in the development of their program.

I also continued my work as Ethics Director of a large municipal ethics program. I was able to collaborate with Fellows at the Lab in implementing various projects, most notably with Dana Gold on a whistleblower program. Understanding more fully the importance of institutional nudges to combat institutional corruption, I wrote legislation for my city establishing an Inspector General system which passed into law through a citizen referendum (March 2015). I also drafted an anti-corruption law for Tallahassee, Florida that included campaign finance reform; this citizen referendum was successfully passed in November of 2014. All of this progress was greatly facilitated through my Lab affiliation.

On April 18, 2015, I presented to the Harvard CMEI (Civic and Moral Education Institute) on “Ethics Education and City Governments.” I also organized a workshop on Ethics Education for the Ending Institutional Corruption conference.

It has been a fantastic experience to be affiliated with the Lab, and I am grateful to Neeru Paharia for creating the concept of Network Fellows. I could not have imagined two years ago how much of an impact the Lab would have on my work. I will be inspired by the experience for the rest of my career, and I hope to continue to interact with all of my friends from the Lab for a long time.

Mariano Mosquera

My last academic year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been very productive.

I have been able to translate various theoretical frameworks into practical tools. In particular, the theoretical works I developed during 2013-2014 were redefined as practical tools to fight corruption.

Specifically, two practical tools were developed based on my research on cooperation and negotiation as effective strategies to fight corruption. The first one is an online tool called Medusapp that aims to create integrity and transparency pacts among providers that submit a tender for a public contract. This tool uses a theoretical framework of condi-

tional cooperation, as well as negotiation strategies, to achieve results and methods to discourage corruption. The second tool is a platform called One Transparency. This is a research and information platform that systematizes best practices to fight corruption.

This tool will be further developed over the next years as a significant innovation for transparency methods.

Such tools would not have been possible without the help and support of Harvard University and, especially, the Directors, staff, and the important network of Fellows at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics.

Miriam Muethel

In my second year as a Network Fellow, my research interests focused on banks' efforts to change culture following allegations of institutional corruption. Together with Malcolm Salter and Richard Painter, I initiated a new research project that targets understanding the breadth and depth of banks' culture change in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Germany, after the financial crisis.

Since the financial crisis of 2008, wide-ranging regulations aimed at improving bankers' ethics have been promulgated in the United States and in Europe. On the one hand, academics, regulators, and public officials have proposed many of these measures. On the other hand, banks themselves are examining ways to improve ethical standards within their organizations, and are implementing their own company-tailored change programs.

Our research project aims at discerning and describing US and European banks' measures to induce culture change. What are banks currently doing, and what are they planning to do to persuade their employees to behave ethically? More specifically, how are banks using promotion, compensation, and other incentives to change objectionable behavior? And what are banks' experiences with the changes so far?

We aim to gather information by interviewing managers at major banks in the United States and Europe, and by examining written policies and procedures where they are available. The target of this research project is to compare and contrast different banks' approaches to induce culture change—against their respective institutional background. Our objective is to depict the breadth and depth of the measures taken, and to describe how these measures vary across different banks and countries. We thus strive to reveal the best-practice approaches that tell how and why specific banks might succeed in inducing change, while discussing the changes' impact for the respective banks. Furthermore, we would like to discuss future pathways for banks' culture change based on our findings.

Lise Olsen

As part of my Network Fellowship year, I was able to develop significant new material on the topic of federal judicial ethics for a book-in-progress on recent judicial impeachments, and on our nation's secretive federal judicial misconduct reviews. I wrote a series of articles on the review of a high-profile misconduct complaint filed against former Chief Circuit Judge Edith Jones by a prominent group of death penalty attorneys and legal ethicists. This case was referred to another circuit, and the report issued was detailed—both unusual in a complaint that, in the end, resulted in no disciplinary action.

The complaint alleged Jones had violated judicial canons by telling another judge to shut up, and also, more significantly, expressed views in a law school speech that law students, ethicists, and others complained indicated a prejudice against Blacks, Hispanics, and the intellectually-disabled defendants in death penalty cases she'd reviewed. As part of my research on the complaint against Jones, I also completed a detailed analysis of her death penalty docket, as well as specific cases referenced in the complaint, which I expect to include in my book-in-progress, as well as copies of all the documents related to the judiciary's handling of the complaint.

This research was valuable not only as a case study for my book, but also allowed me to deepen my knowledge and understanding of Jones herself, who was a key figure in the oversight, investigations, and discipline of the two judges I previously researched for my book. Jones was Chief Judge who presided over the investigations of complaints against U.S. District Judges Samuel Kent and Thomas Porteous, both of whom were impeached. The complaints against Kent and Porteous, and Jones' handling of those reviews, form the central subject of my own research.

I'm sure if I had been able to serve as a Residential Fellow, I would have benefited even more from this opportunity. But the Center for Ethics' honorary support has given me the motivation and energy to collect valuable new material and insights into the subject I have been researching since 2007. I will use these gains to revamp and update the existing draft of my book-in-progress. When I publish it, one of the institutions I will thank will certainly be the Center.

Jacob Park

As an academic scholar who specializes in social and environmental finance/investments in emerging markets, I am working on a multi-year research project examining institutional corruption and market transparency issues related to climate change, ecosystem, and natural resources/extractive sectors in African and Asian emerging economies. During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have accomplished two important goals/activities.

First, I co-authored and published an article, "Corporate Sustainability Reporting in South and Southeast Asia: Trends, Practices, and Implications for Investors," in the *Journal of Asian Business*; it examines the social and environmental reporting practices of the ten largest publicly-traded companies in six emerging South and Southeast Asian economies (India, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, and Vietnam).

Second, I wrote a blog post, "The Rise of 'The Rest': Understanding Institutional Corruption in the Context of Emerging Market Economies," which highlights four issues and questions that might lead to a more diverse understanding of institutional corruption as a research topic in emerging market economies. First of all, how do the structure and elements of institutional corruption differ in terms of market economy types and varieties of capitalism? Second, what is the relationship between institutional corruption and the market and political governance of oil and gas/extractive industry-dependent developing countries? Third, how is institutional corruption situated in a rapidly growing emerging country like China? Finally, is institutional corruption research a bit too WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic)?

Although not directly linked to the focus of my Fellowship, I was awarded the Environmental Merit Award from the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (Region 1) for my teaching and research on climate change/environmental governance issues. I also hope to continue my research examining the relationship between institutional corruption and the financial governance of climate change and natural resources as the Coordinating Lead Author (North America) for the U.N. Environment Programme's Global Environment Outlook 6 Report, which is expected to be released in 2017.

Marine Petrosyan

Different aspects of integrity in the overall criminal justice system and the police have been within my professional interests while I worked as a Head of the Department of Psychological Expertises of the National Bureau of Expertises of the Republic of Armenia.

Before being awarded the Network Fellowship, I had already arranged and received permission from the Head of Police of Armenia to conduct a large-scale survey with the Armenian Police in collaboration with Aleksandr Khechumyan. In the first 3 months of the Fellowship I administered the survey, distributing questionnaires to 1000 police

officers in 9 out of 10 territorial police departments and receiving 969 filled questionnaires. In this regard I would like to state that the Police were very cooperative, and facilitated distribution of the questionnaires. Apart from reporting the findings of our research in a book chapter, I also submitted an internal report for the Police leadership and prepared a presentation for the Annual Meeting of American Society of Criminology in San Francisco. I have discussed the findings of the survey during the Istanbul Protocol Training Project on Torture and ILL Treatment Cases, which took place in Aghveran, Armenia. I am currently working on a paper presentation of "Police Integrity in Armenia" for the conference organized by the National Bureau of Expertises of the Republic of Armenia, which will take place this summer.

During the Fellowship year, I greatly benefited from the Edmond J. Safra Center's online activities, such as the weekly Lab Seminar. I enjoyed reading updates and group posts, which gave me an opportunity to follow the work of other members of the Center and enabled me to get broader insights on the state of institutional corruption across different fields. I hope I will be able to use the knowledge I have gained, and especially the approaches developed by Professor Lessig on institutional corruption, in my further research on this topic. I would also like to express my gratitude to Professor Lawrence Lessig, Ms. Tara Skurtu, Ms. Heidi Carrell, and all others who made the project on institutional corruption possible.

Christopher Phillips

(no report)

Dima Qato

As a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have gained invaluable insights on institutional corruption, particularly in relation to pharmaceutical policy and drug safety. The works of Lawrence Lessig, Marc Rodwin, and Donald Light, and the discussions that surround them, have been particularly helpful in focusing my research on public accountability and transparency in the safe use of medications.

I am currently working on several manuscripts that examine trends in the use of "high risk" medications by the public (high risk is defined based on FDA regulatory standards). The underlying assumption of this work is that FDA risk mitigation strategies, such as REMS, often implemented to facilitate the approval of new drugs or to prevent market withdrawal of older drugs with serious safety concerns, have had no effect on the utilization of these medications. Therefore, understanding their utilization patterns is important.

I have also embarked on a research program that examines the corruption of the retail pharmacy sector and the implications it has on medication access and disparities in access. I have published a manuscript on this topic in Health Affairs titled "Pharmacy Deserts are Prevalent in Chicago's Predominately Minority Communities, Raising Medication Access Concerns." I have also authored two op-eds on the topic: "Too Far From the Pharmacy," in the Chicago Reporter, and "The Myth of Accessible Medications," in the The Baltimore Sun.

Faaiza Rashid

(no report)

Barbara Redman

Thank you for the 2014-2015 Network Fellow appointment. The focus of my work has been on institutional corruption in biomedical research, the topic of Working Paper 59, "Are the Biomedical Sciences Sliding Toward Institutional Corruption? And Why Didn't We Notice It?" This paper will appear in the book, Reader on Research Integrity, currently in production. The fellowship helped me to see that the larger patterns of bias, non-reproducibility, and poor governance of research misconduct and individual and institutional conflict of interest occurring in biomedical research are actually a form of legal corruption seriously undermining the societal purpose of producing valid knowledge within the constraints of protecting human and animal subjects. Instead, we have a system of biomedical research that frequently produces data with commercial and other biases; it is so inaccurate that it is ineffective, with harms to the public inadequately documented.

In addition to this general diagnosis of the problems of biomedical research, my work has focused on whistleblowing in cases of research misconduct (fabrication, falsification, and plagiarism of data). This work was presented on October 23, 2014 to the Lab Fellows, and again in a workshop at the Ending Institutional Corruption conference, on May 2, 2015. No study of whistleblowers in cases of research misconduct has been undertaken for two decades, in part because the U.S. Office of Research Integrity has been barred from doing so by legal counsel. An empirical study was conducted with colleagues at the University of Pennsylvania to determine whether research universities would distribute anonymized questionnaires to employees who had blown the whistle in closed cases of research misconduct or human or animal subjects protection. The study has been completed, and it shows that such an approach to obtaining whistleblowers' points of view about violations and on how they were treated by the institution is feasible. We next will interview department chairs in research-intensive universities to determine if and how they settle whistleblower complaints without using the formal regulatory channels.

In addition, the manuscript *No One Likes a Snitch: Science & Engineering Ethics* (Redman, Barbara, Caplan, Arthur), currently in press, undertakes a normative analysis of whistleblower experience in biomedical science.

Other Network Fellows studying whistleblowing have been helpful. So, also, were many of the Lab Seminars, as well as the interview with Edward Snowden, for which I wrote a blog post, "Snowden and Institutional Corruption: What Have We Learned?"

In summary, the year has provided a rich framework of institutional corruption and elaboration on its many forms that has permanently changed my understanding and writing about the poor quality of biomedical research and the burden whistleblowers have been asked to carry to report its many failings. The lack of additional regulatory

approaches, such as audits of research quality and institutional certification of that quality, has been resisted mightily by the scientific community and universities, leaving the impression that all is well when it isn't.

Wallace Roberts

(no report)

Jeffrey Robinson

I became involved with the Center for Ethics and the Lab project on institutional corruption as a result of attending the 2013 conference on Blinding as a Solution to Institutional Corruption. There I realized that my work in creating a platform for blinded expert review in the setting of radiology litigation had more of a theoretical framework than I had appreciated. My goal for the year was to absorb that framework into my company, Cleareview, and to design and carry out an experiment to further our knowledge of expert witness bias.

I designed a study to test the hypothesis that a radiologist would judge the prior actions of a fellow radiologist differently if the reviewing radiologist were a plaintiff's expert or a defense expert. Using Cleareview's database of de-identified radiology exams and a nationwide sample of 170 volunteers, preliminary results show that a radiologist affiliated with the defense was significantly less likely to find the action of the original radiologist to be below the standard of care than a radiologist affiliated with the plaintiff's counsel. Further analysis is underway, and a full report will be submitted to a peer-reviewed journal later this year. I anticipate continuing this line of research even after the closing of the project.

I was also asked to contribute a chapter to the Center's book, *Blinding as a Solution to Bias in Biomedical Science and the Courts: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, edited by Aaron Kesselheim and Christopher T. Robertson. This effort helped me to synthesize the existing literature on blinding in medical malpractice and discuss different ways in which blinding can be used.

Finally, I was able to attend the closing conference, Ending Institutional Corruption. As a Network Fellow in Seattle, I had no direct contact with anyone in the Lab. While the listserv was a great way to learn about some of the activities and people involved in the effort, there still is no substitute for actually physically getting together. It is unfortunate that I was only able to establish some personal relationships at the end of the year, but hopefully this extraordinary community will maintain some kind of cohesion into the future.

Thanks to Larry and the Center, and to Chris Robertson, for your help and encouragement.

Justin Schlosberg

My project for the Lab is part of a broader research program looking at the scope, limits, and future of investigative journalism in western democracies. Following the conceptual framework developed by Larry Lessig, I began by thinking of institutional corruption in journalism not as systemic criminal corruption—of the kind that was exposed in the phone hacking scandal, for instance—or in terms of practices that breach formal codes of journalistic ethics. My focus instead was on the day-to-day pressures that can tip the balance of news coverage in favor of powerful interests, and thus undermine the democratic promise of journalism in speaking truth to power on behalf of the public.

Participation in Lab Seminars—virtually and in person—proved invaluable in designing my case study research. This was based on coverage of the mass surveillance programs revealed by NSA whistleblower Edward Snowden in 2013. The revelation of these programs challenged official national security discourse in respect to both the practice and goals of surveillance. The story itself—centering on the fugitive whistleblower—had intrinsic resonance with the values of watchdog journalism, as well as a good deal of drama and intrigue. This meant that, from the beginning, it was relatively difficult for officials and elites to contain the coverage or repair the narrative according to their agenda.

Nevertheless, preliminary findings suggest that in spite of this, newspapers systematically prioritized elite and official agendas by framing the story primarily around the issue of national security, as opposed to privacy, civil liberties, or democracy. This has provided a solid basis from which to launch a more in-depth 5-year research program that will refine and extend this research to other case studies and samples.

Associated outputs during my Fellowship year have included: a number of blog pieces and articles in *Huffington Post*, *Open Democracy*, as well as the Lab's Blog; an empirical research article published in the top-ranked *International Journal of Press/Politics*; and a book titled *Directing the Flow: Media Ownership and Plurality in the Digital Universe*, that will be published by Routledge in the spring of 2016.

Beyond published outputs, my Network Fellowship has directly informed my work in advocacy and activism. This has included hosting and chairing two panels of national security whistleblowers, including Daniel Ellsberg, Thomas Drake, and Colleen Rowley. I have also been an advisor to the European Endowment of Democracy for a feasibility study on independent media in the Russian language.

I had the privilege of spending a sabbatical semester visiting the Lab during its final two months. Alongside my fieldwork, I was able to participate in seminars, events, and the Ending Institutional Corruption conference. It was a profoundly illuminating and inspiring experience that I hope will lead to further collaboration with other Fellows in this important area of research.

Krisztián Szabados

During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I started researching how institutional corruption affects the operation of some of the well-known NGOs. The outrage that followed the failure of a PR stunt at the Nazca lines in Peru by a respected organization shed light on the extent to which modern media distorted the morals of these organizations.

Modern media, especially the rise of social media, demands new approaches from NGOs if they want to stay visible and achieve their goals. On the other hand, my research shows that applying modern PR, marketing tools, and solutions very often diverts these NGOs from their original goals, and—as we have seen it in the Nazca case—makes it difficult to achieve its purposes.

Unfortunately the year passed very quickly, and, due to an unexpectedly long hospital stay—where I used my time to conduct field research on institutional corruption in the health sector—I was not able to finish my planned research. However, I will continue my research in the coming years and try to set up pragmatic solutions and recommendations for NGOs and government institutions to avoid and combat institutional corruption.

I would like to use this opportunity to express my sincere thanks for having had the privilege of being part of this fantastic group of Network Fellows. I learned so much from other Fellows. I especially admired the outstanding achievements in revealing the failures of the peer-review system in academic and science publications, or how Fellows proceeded in their whistleblower protection activities. But it was the topic of think tank funding that made the greatest impact on me and my future research. It was an experience of a lifetime to watch closely as Fellows revealed how funds from foreign governments influence the activities of the leading think tanks and managed to draw the attention of the leading media to the problem, thus ensuring more transparency in the think tank world.

It was such a wonderful but painfully short year with the Center.

Paul Taylor

In my Network Fellowship application, I proposed to undertake three linked projects. The world had its own ideas and blocked my path, as the world is wont to do. I ended up reaching the destination I had imagined, more or less, albeit by a path that I had not imagined.

My first objective was to complete an essay on the philosophical implications of the institutional corruption (IC) idea for submission to the Working Paper series. I did complete and submit the piece, and saw it published (No. 40, “Institutional Corruption: From Purpose to Function”). It was even, to my delight, discussed at one of the Lab Seminars.

My second objective was to write a journal article deepening the IC argument in one of my previously published essays. This is where the world began to intrude on my plans. As I prepared to work in earnest on this piece, places like Ferguson, MO and Staten Island, NY erupted in protest over, among other things, race-related police violence. I was struck by the relevance of the IC idea to these events, perhaps most obviously in the manifest need for, and refusal to appoint, an independent prosecutor to handle the Darren Wilson indictment. As it happened, the earlier I piece I wanted to expand was about racial justice, so my thinking naturally shifted to this more timely topic, and to ways of engaging with it in a timely way.

This shift from scholarly reflection to timely engagement had two consequences. The first was an opinion piece that got picked up by the online edition of the Philadelphia Inquirer (“The Fire This Time,” April 13, 2015) and circulated a bit to other papers via various syndication networks. The explicit references to IC fell away in the piece’s transition from 800 words to 650, but the IC framing is clear for those who know where to look. The second consequence was a course on the Ferguson upheavals that I developed with colleagues here at Penn State. We devoted about 20% of the course to the thought that U.S. grand jury processes might be deeply corrupt and corrupting elements of our judicial system. It was a hastily assembled experiment, but it was, as a whole, quite successful, and won us a bit of national attention.

My third objective was to develop a blueprint for a methodologically responsible qualitative survey of current and prospective graduate students in U.S. and South African philosophy programs. This project grew out of an earlier piece in which I’d

argued that the remarkable homogeneity of U.S. and South African philosophy departments (around 75% male and 90% white in the U.S.) is a function of institutional corruption. I wanted with this project to move from diagnosis to cure—to locate the points at which we might push back against the institution, using empirically informed interventions in recruitment, admission, and assessment policies. I have been working with colleagues in South Africa and in Chicago on ways to pool our resources and insights to move this initiative forward, and I will soon propose that the American Philosophical Association fund this effort with one of its Diversity Initiative grants.

Nikolaos Theodorakis

During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I conducted research on different facets of corruption, published on relevant issues, and excelled professionally in the field. I feel I learned a lot during my Fellowship, and I will always cherish my time as a Harvard Fellow, amazed by the academic stimuli that the University offers through diverse events, seminars, and talks.

First, I assumed a lectureship and fellowship position at the University of Oxford, whereby I focused on issues of criminal law and public international law. I was a Fellow at Kellogg and Pembroke Colleges, where I taught for the Law Faculty and the Foreign Service Program. My duties included supervising postgraduate students, delivering lectures, marking exams, assisting with interviews, and organizing symposia and conferences.

During my time at Oxford, I was also involved in an E.U.-funded project exploring the contribution of Open Data in Reducing Corruption (TACOD). I was the European coordinator of this four-country project for two of its pillars (law and practice), and eventually co-authored the end report submitted to the European Commission. For the purposes of this project, I organized an international conference in Oxford, launched a large-scale survey, organized interviews, and participated in round tables and stakeholder meetings.

I further authored a book titled *Transparency in Investor-State Dispute Settlement: Law, Practice, and Emerging Tools Against Institutional Corruption*, with the valuable help of my research assistant, Ms. Blanka Glasenhardt. The book was published by the Center, and can be found in the publications section.

Parts of previous research I had conducted at the University of Cambridge were also published in peer-reviewed journals, and some entries are forthcoming in the *Encyclopedia of Crime and Punishment*. As a Network Fellow, I also published a Working Paper called “Finding an Equilibrium towards Corporate Compliance: Solving the Gordian Knot of Trade Violations Eliciting Institutional Corruption,” in collaboration with Mr. Arnoud Willems, Partner and Chair of the E.U. Trade and Customs Practice, Sidley Austin LLP.

In the front of corruption, I was also a peer reviewer and country assessor for Transparency International U.K., and in particular, for the Government Defence Anti-Corruption Index 2015. I explored similar issues of international criminal law while pursuing fellowships at the British Institute of International and Comparative Law, and the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law. Lastly, I recently assumed the position of the Chair of Compliance in “Dialectica,” a strategic consultancy firm, advising it with setting up and enforcing a robust compliance system.

I plan on continuing to decipher issues of institutional corruption and compliance since I aim at launching a project as a Fellow at the University of London on whether corruption can be considered an international crime under the current ICC statute. Lastly, I will be exploring “inter alia,” the contribution of new technologies in reducing corruption, as a Fellow at Stanford Law School.

Mary Báthory Vidaver

This is my second year of affiliation with the Center, which began in September of 2013 when I enrolled as a student in the Lab Seminar, curious to see what insights it might offer to my experiences as a legislative assistant to an elected official in

Virginia. As my final project, I updated an existing dataset and applied the lens of institutional corruption to Community Development Authorities (CDAs), a form of private-public partnership in which private real estate developers access the tax-exempt municipal bond markets to finance the infrastructure portions of their projects. Last spring, the Center published my final class project, “Community Development Authorities: A Further Exploration of Institutional Corruption in Bond Finance,” as a Working Paper.

As a Network Fellow, I have built on that initial work, laying a foundation for development of my own research and expansion of scholarly interest in the subject. In collaboration with Network Fellow Carla Miller, I prepared a two-page Tip Sheet for her Government Ethics Toolkit. Intended for local government officials considering the advantages and disadvantages of a CDA, it summarizes the opportunities for institutional corruption, potential pitfalls, and suggestions for avoiding them. With some modification, this document can also serve as a means for fostering the interest of journalists and decision-makers in the subject.

I updated the dataset through 2014 and added information regarding campaign contributions. To lessen the excruciating effort of updating and maintaining my dataset, I participated in the Center’s Hackathon. MuniMiner, the tool that emerged, automates the collection of data from PDF files. This automation accelerates the collection of meaningful information from the public documents maintained by the Municipal Securities Rulemaking Board (MSRB) and removes a key barrier to scholarly study of these instruments, which is the need to manually input the data from thousands of reports on the MSRB website into spreadsheets or other data processing software. The team participated in the Ending Institutional Corruption conference, and feedback from those who stopped at the table suggests a far greater breadth of uses than just municipal securities. I am now seeking funding for completion and expansion of the tool.

After a Qualtrix tutorial by Lab Fellow Ann-Christin Posten, I distributed a survey to Virginia officials to develop the first full list of the state’s CDAs, to test the hypotheses from my Working Paper, and to gather diverse perspectives on the usefulness and viability of CDAs. The information from the surveys, combined with the updated datasets, will form the framework for a future paper.

Working in local government, it is hard to avoid corruption. Often, such corruption is neither illegal nor unethical, but simply the way things get done. The Lab provided me with a lens through which to articulate the discomfort I derived from the financial and social ties between developers, campaign contributors, and elected officials. Attendance at the Lab Seminars and events, participation in the listserv, review of blog posts and Working Papers, and conversations with other Fellows created an exciting environment that stimulated opportunities for collaboration and identified avenues for future research. What a tremendous group of committed scholars and activists; I am so honored to have been included in their midst, and so thankful for all the help and assistance from the wonderful Center staff.

Celestine Warren

I am thankful to have had another fruitful year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics— this time as a Network Fellow. My experiences this year, with continued focus on science communication and ethics of access to information, have expanded my understanding of practical ethics and provided me with opportunities to publish my findings. Furthermore, my connections with many of the other Fellows have led me to attend workshops and film screenings on topics of relevance to my work. Overall, this community has had an incredibly positive impact on my work.

This fall, I attended numerous Center events and lectures at Harvard. I continued to develop my research in scientific communication by working as a medical scribe at a pediatrics office. In this role, I participated in the transition between paper notes and the Electronic Health Records. I contemplated

the benefits and drawbacks to increased access to medical information, along with the privacy concerns that accompany this change. Through conversations with Fellows—many of them graduate students and professors—I had the opportunity to discuss these observations, and contextualize them beyond one clinic and within a larger world of health policy.

Another project with which I was involved included traveling to Washington D.C. to report on a meeting about research ethics within the standard of care. This project followed up on a controversy from two years ago, in which there was discrepancy between the Office of Human Research Protection (OHRP) and many members of the medical community about the ethics of conducting research for which there are no known outcomes. This topic embodied many of the bioethical concerns I had studied during my coursework, and I felt prepared to address this topic in practical ethics. As a result of this project, I co-authored (with Chana A. Sacks) a perspectives publication, “Foreseeable Risks? Informed Consent for Studies within the Standard of Care,” and it was published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

Curious about how the government addressed ethics, and eager to learn about science policy, in January of 2015 I accepted an internship with the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP). Working in the Technology and Innovation Division, I focused on what role the executive branch could play in encouraging public involvement in scientific projects. Some of my work included organizing meetings on Grand Prizes and Challenges, prompting me to contribute to conversations about what potential concerns there may be with Intellectual Property rights. Another project I focused on was expanding access to STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics) fields for underrepresented groups. This endeavor, highly supported by the leadership in OSTP, gave me perspective about how larger organizations, including the executive branch of the government, could support initiatives to expand access to scientific education. This project in minimizing the

opportunity gap touched directly on ethical questions of resource allocation and opportunity outcomes.

With medical school down the road, I feel grateful to have had support from the Center to pursue my interests in medical communication and gain experience in learning how practical ethics plays out from an institutional and governmental perspective. Given my background, I know I will have an eye for identifying and noticing similar topics in my work as a doctor and beyond. I am profoundly thankful to have been part of this community for the past three years, and look forward to future involvement.

Leah Wawro

I’ve spent the year of my Edmond J. Safra Network Fellowship in partnership with Paul Holden, researching the factors that influence the creation or sustainment of institutional corruption in defense establishments in states transitioning to democracy. It has been a fantastic experience, and has offered me the chance to conduct research that is outside of my day-to-day work at Transparency International (TI) U.K.’s Defence and Security Programme. The time spent focusing on institutional corruption, rather than criminal corruption, has given me a new lens through which to understand and explain the challenges in my work on defense and security sector corruption.

Paul and I concentrated on understanding how states transitioning to democracy can create defense forces that are effective in achieving their fundamental (and limited) purpose of defending the state and its territory, which often means redefining and shrinking their role in political life. We were interested in what forces of institutional corruption can hinder or halt that process.

We focused on two case studies: South Africa as it transitioned away from the apartheid regime, and Argentina when the military junta lost power in 1983. In our research, we identified a number of key factors: whether the military begins negotiations of its role in a new governance system from a point of strength or weakness; whether civil activism is

focused specifically on the military, or on a broader autocratic regime; the extent to which foreign states have an interest in selling, or alternatively withholding, arms to the country in transition; and the importance of the local arms industry. The output of our work is a Working Paper, which we are hoping to have published following review by defense experts.

Towards the end of my Fellowship, I was put in charge of a new team at Transparency International U.K.'s Defence and Security Programme that will focus on corruption, conflict, and instability. Our remit will include building integrity in the defense and security sector in Ukraine and Afghanistan, among other countries. I intend to apply the learning from our work as Network Fellows as we develop programs and work with local civil society partners in these countries.

Finally, it was a pleasure to be able to take part in the opening Fellow Bonanza in September, and to be able to follow the inspiring work of other Edmond J. Safra Fellows in Ethics.

APPENDIX II: 2014-15 EDMOND J. SAFRA RESEARCH PROJECTS

79

Francesca Gino, Joao Julia Lee, Bidhan Parmar,

“Creating Ethics Nudges to Neutralize Institutional Corruption”

James Greiner,

“Potential Corruption in Institutions at the Intersection of Credit and Consumer Financial Distress”

Marcia Hams, Susannah Rose, Wells Wilkinson,

“Measuring the Effectiveness of Conflicts-of-Interest Policies at Medical Schools and Teaching Hospitals”

Maryam Kouchaki, Richard Moorhead, Stephen Galoob, Rachel Cahill-O’Callaghan,

“How Legal Education Changes Lawyers”

Christopher Robertson, “Blinding Science”

Joao Julia Lee, Francesca Gino, Bidhan Parmar

We were extremely fortunate to be part of the Lab. In the past year, we greatly enjoyed the opportunity to be part of a wonderful group of talented individuals, and were able to work on a variety of projects together. We plan to continue to make progress together in the years to come.

The first line of projects we proposed involved a series of randomized controlled trials (RCTs) with organizations. We planned to test whether exposure to positive moral stories actually makes employees more motivated to behave morally, and whether exposure to negative moral stories backfires. We reached out to several organizations (Business Ethics Alliance in Omaha, for example) with a research proposal, and we are currently in the process of discussing the next steps to implement the planned experiments as part of the organization’s existing ethics training programs.

Second, we planned to investigate how to enhance the employees’ ethical behavior by aligning the organization’s performance goals with ethics goals. We have run several experimental studies around the idea that our mindsets on the relationship between ethics goals and performance goals can result in different ethical outcomes. In a study using Qualtrics panels that include full-time employees from various organizations, we found that one’s own beliefs that being honest often hurts performance predicted one’s self-reported unethical behavior at work. In the second study, we manipulated people’s mindsets about whether being ethical leads to better or worse performance outcomes, and

then gave people an opportunity to cheat. We found that those who were instructed to take the “ethics helps performance” mindset were less likely to cheat and break rules. We plan to run additional studies to empirically demonstrate the importance of having an organizational climate that cultivates the employees’ mindset that allows them to integrate ethical and performance goals.

Third, we have examined the relationship between unethical behavior and egocentric social network. While earlier research has shown that a cohesive social network can temper one’s moral behavior through shared norms, our work demonstrated that people cognitively construct their own social network as a way to defend themselves from threatening information. Also, activating a dense network after engaging in dishonest behavior allowed further dishonest behavior in a subsequent task. This working paper titled “Thick as Thieves? Dishonest Behavior and Egocentric Social Networks” is currently being revised to be submitted. We have presented this work at the Society for Personality and Social Psychology conference in February, at the weekly Lab seminar in March, and at the “Ending Institutional Corruption” conference in May. Above and beyond the stated projects, we have been able to make significant progress on various ethics-related projects during the fellowship year.

We are very grateful for all the generous support provided by the Center, and for its wonderful intellectual community that was truly interdisciplinary and innovative. We would like to express

our utmost gratitude to Larry Lessig, Stephanie Dant, Heidi Carrell, and Bill English for all of their kind support and dedication, as well as all other Fellows who provided invaluable insights for our projects.

James Greiner

The Center's support for the Financial Distress Research Project allowed the Project to continue in 2014-2015.

By way of background, the Financial Distress Research Project is a multi-faceted investigation into remedies for possible institutional corruption in personal finance and debt collection among low- and lower-income individuals and families. We define an individual as in "severe financial distress" if she has at least one debt collection lawsuit filed against her, ordinarily in a small claims court. The Project's primary field operation will take place in Maine. The Project also includes a smaller, secondary study in the Boston Municipal Court aimed at inducing debt collection defendants to attend court to contest lawsuits against them.

The Project in Maine has multiple aims. One is to assess whether we can empower individuals to extricate themselves from severe financial distress with a specially constructed self-help assistance packet covering how to litigate a small claims court case, how to negotiate with creditors and to correct mistakes on a credit report, and how (if desired) to file for Chapter 7 liquidation bankruptcy. The self-help packet deploys the state of the art from adult education, behavioral economics, psychology, sociology, public health, and law. It includes illustrative cartoons, simplified text, and other features designed to make it easy to use. The Project will randomly assign some individuals in financial distress to receive this packet while others to receive an offer of assistance from a legal aid attorney. The Project's research team will follow all study subjects with surveys, credit reports, and official records to see whether and how individuals without attorneys encountered difficulties that they could not navigate on their own. In doing so, the Project will investigate possible institutional

corruption among the actors in the debt collection and personal finance industries as they relate to persons in severe distress.

A second aim is to investigate possible institutional corruption in the bankruptcy laws. In 2005, Congress for the first time mandated that any individual seeking to receive a discharge of debts in bankruptcy first undergo two hours of financial counseling, usually delivered by telephone or on the Internet. The stated purpose of the counseling was that it would improve the financial health of persons in financial distress. The Project will assess whether counseling in fact fulfills this purpose by randomly assigning some study subjects who are in severe financial distress (but not yet in bankruptcy) to bankruptcy-style counseling while others receive placebo counseling in the form of a two-hour session on nutrition. In doing so, the Project will investigate possible institutional corruption in Congress in its 2005 decision to impose a counseling requirement.

In the past year, construction of the self-help assistance packet has continued, and the packet is now in an advanced stage. The Project's Pilot, which the Center funded, will begin in late May of 2015. Also, a \$280,000 grant was obtained from the National Science Foundation to support the overall effort.

In addition, the secondary study in the Boston Municipal Court has yielded positive results. A randomized control trial has demonstrated to a high degree of statistical significance that mailing letters to debt collection defendants, letters that contain messaging and presentation style identical to that of the Maine self-help assistance packet, doubles the rate at which debt collection defendants attend court. This result is encouraging.

Marcia Hams, Susannah Rose, Wells Wilkinson

Our collaborative team—Ms. Hams and Mr. Wilkinson, from the non-profit health care advocacy organization Community Catalyst, and Dr. Rose, from Cleveland Clinic—investigated the efficacy of conflicts of interest policies at academic medical centers (AMCs). Financial and other relationships

between faculty and for-profit industry are generally encouraged by AMC leadership, professional medical societies, industry and government as a means to spur innovation and advance medical discoveries. Yet there is also a well-documented risk of institutional corruption, since the pharmaceutical and device industries have been shown to exert systemic and strategic influence within AMCs. This influence can defeat the purpose of what the public believes—and the AMCs themselves assert—to be their collective mission to produce independent scientific research, provide excellent education to the next generation of physicians and deliver the highest quality patient care.

A majority of AMCs have now adopted conflict of interest policies to address potential inappropriate influence. The policies at minimum require disclosure, but often go further by limiting or banning industry provision of gifts, consulting fees, speakers' fees, royalties, samples, grants, travel, entertainment, sponsored continuing education and research funding. These written policies are rated annually by the American Medical Student Association and the Institute on Medicine as a Profession, but currently AMCs report that they have little information on the impact of their policies.

This project was designed to address this gap. We developed and piloted a standardized, publicly available, survey instrument that AMC leaders can use internally to measure faculty/staff relationships with industry, as well as their attitudes about the policies. AMCs can then compare the results with the requirements of their policies and better understand what might be necessary for further education and enforcement.

The survey was designed in collaboration with a workgroup of distinguished compliance leaders from six major AMCs. Community Catalyst was supported for the initial survey development work by the Attorney General Consumer and Prescriber Grant Program, which was funded by the multi-state settlement of consumer fraud claims regarding marketing of the prescription seizure drug Neurontin.

Last October we presented on the survey tool to compliance and medical leaders from twelve AMCs in New England and Pennsylvania at a Community Catalyst webinar. In December we completed a pilot of the survey at three AMCs, working with compliance directors and their teams to tailor and field the survey. Over 1500 faculty and staff completed the survey, and each site did its own data analysis, with our technical support. Pilot site leaders believe the survey was very useful and that the results will be valuable for planning future improvements in policy and implementation. The three pilot sites then shared their data with us, and we have now completed a pooled and comparative analysis of the data. We are in the process of preparing these results for publication.

During the fellowship year, Ms. Hams and Mr. Wilkinson also self-published the tenth module in Community Catalyst's "Conflict of Interest Policy Guide for Medical Schools and AMCs." Our related article, "New Tools for Strengthening Conflict-of-Interest Policies in Academic Medicine," was published in the Jan/Feb edition of the *Journal of Health Care Compliance*. In addition, Ms. Hams and Mr. Wilkinson worked collaboratively with other consumer advocates and several industry representatives to advise the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS) on implementation of the Physician Payment Sunshine Act, which requires the pharmaceutical, device and biological industry to publically report, through CMS, all payments made to physicians and teaching hospitals. We blogged on the CMS Open Payments launch and led a discussion on PPSA at our October webinar for AMC leaders.

Maryam Kouchaki, Richard Moorhead, Stephen Galoob, Rachel Cahill-O'Callaghan

The legal profession is an institution in its own right and lawyers are intimately involved in nearly every major example of institutional corruption. At first this might seem puzzling. After all, lawyers vow to uphold the law, yet many instances of corruption involve exploiting or sometimes violating the law. Literature on the legal profession and legal education generally expresses concern about

the identity and values of lawyers. Our goal in this project is to understand law students' identity, values and moral outlook and to examine how they may differ at different stages of legal education. We invited law students to voluntarily participate in the study online via an email sent to them by their course coordinators. The data we collected is part of a broad study looking at students in United Kingdom and in the United States. We are working on analyzing the data and publishing papers on students' professional identity, values and morals at different stages of legal education. We examine whether the effects on law students are consistent with what Chambliss calls the "ethical fading" or "ethical learning" hypotheses.

We are very grateful to the Center for its support in collecting the U.S. data. We would like to particularly thank Stephanie Dant and Joseph Hollow for their support.

Christopher Robertson

This year, I extended a project that the Center first supported in 2010, a study of how physicians would respond to funding disclosures appended to biomedical journal abstracts. That project culminated in a paper showing that the disclosures could have a very significant and salutary effect. This year, as part of the 'Ending iCorruption' hackathon, I developed a method for actually delivering such disclosures, as a browser extension, which enhances abstracts found on PubMed. The project won first place in the hackathon, and I presented the project at the final conference.

I also continued work on two prongs of a "blinding science" project begun in 2012. First, the book, *Blinding as a Solution to Bias: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, co-authored with Aaron Kesselheim, grew from the symposium hosted at Harvard in 2013. We now have a contract with Elsevier to publish the volume, and approximately fifteen chapters completed, and a final manuscript deadline of September 2015. In addition to supporting the symposium, the Center has funded Kathi Hanna to serve as a developmental editor for the project. Second, we continued progress on a proof-of-con-

cept experiment to demonstrate how a robust blinding procedure could enhance the reliability and integrity of expert witnesses in litigation. We published a review paper in the summer of 2014, but the technical leader on the project stalled implementation. He has been replaced in recent weeks by Network Fellow Dr. Jeffrey Robinson, who has received all of the teleradiology equipment purchased for the project, and we are resuming efforts to get the experiment off the ground this summer, using funds already expended.

With new support this year, I conducted an empirical study of the potential scope of the Supreme Court's "appearances of *quid pro quo* corruption" doctrine, using a large-scale online mock jury experiment, and one of the first-ever in-person grand jury experiments. We found that the public perceives that many common behaviors by Members of Congress and their benefactors appear to be *quid pro quo* corruption, a finding that is contrary to the assumptions of the Supreme Court and many commentators, and potentially opening the door for new and greater forms of campaign finance regulation. I presented this work in a Center seminar in the spring, at a faculty workshop at another law school, and have submitted both peer reviewed and law review manuscripts for publication.

Finally, during the recent year, I served on the steering committee for the Ending iCorruption conference. I also organized one of the workshops for the conference on "Litigation as a Solution to IC," which included presentations by the Honorable Nancy Gertner, Dr. John Abramson, and me. Thank you for your support, mentoring, and encouragement over these five years.

APPENDIX III: PUBLICATIONS

PUBLIC LECTURES AND EVENTS/PAST EVENTS 2014-15

PAST EVENTS

PUBLIC LECTURES

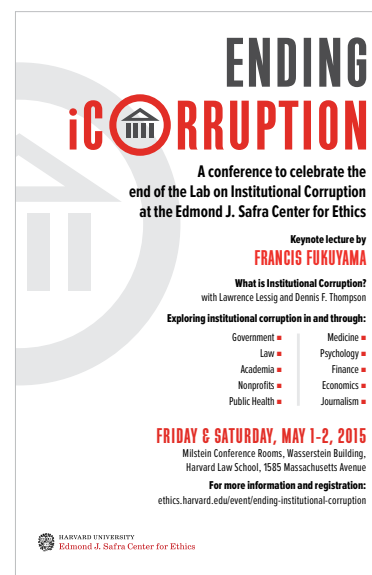
- **Zephyr Teachout**, “Corruption in America”
- **John Rogers**, “Is Fiduciary Capitalism the Future of Finance?”
- **Lawrence Lessig** interviews **Edward Snowden**
- **Lea Ypi**, “Structural Injustice and the Irrelevance of Attachment to Resources”
- **Harry Frankfurt**, “Volitional Rationality and the Necessities of Love”
- **Russell Muirhead**, “Apolitical Animals: From Machiavelli to Morris Fiorina”
- **Tyrone Hayes**, “From Silent Spring to Silent Night: A Tale of Toads and Men”

OTHER EVENTS

- **Third Annual Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics:**
Arthur Ripstein, “Perpetual War or Perpetual Peace?”
- **Symposium on Justice and Foreign Policy**
- **“Ending Institutional Corruption” Conference**

CO-SPONSORED EVENTS

- **Too Big to Fail or Too Hard to Remember: Lessons from the New Deal and the Triumph, Tragedy, and Lost Legacy of James M. Landis**
Co-sponsored with the Centre for Law, Markets, and Regulation at the University of New South Wales
- **Nancy Rosenblum**, “Good Neighbor Nation: The Democracy of Everyday Life in America”
Co-sponsored with the Center for American Political Studies, Harvard University
- **Hacking iCorruption**
Co-sponsored with the MIT Center for Civic Media
- **American Whistleblower Tour: Essential Voices for Accountability**
Co-sponsored with the Government Accountability Project and the Center for Public Interest Careers at Harvard College



Lecture posters

CO-SPONSORED EVENTS/CONTINUED

- **Ethics in Public Life: Good Practitioners in a Rising Asia**
Co-sponsored with the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Harvard Kennedy School
- **The Women Sheriffs of Wall Street: Elizabeth Warren, Sheila Bair, and Mary Schapiro**
Co-sponsored with the Project on Public Narrative

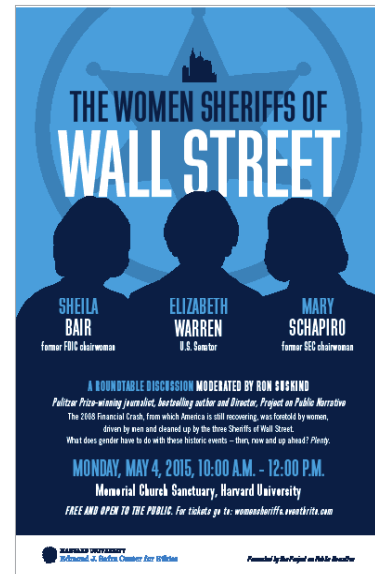
UPCOMING EVENTS 2015-16

PUBLIC LECTURES

- **October 8, 2015:** Ruth Chang
- **October 22, 2015:** Julian Savulescu
- **November 5, 2015:** Jiwei Ci
- **February 15, 2016:** Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics
- **February 25, 2016:** Sheri Fink

OTHER EVENTS

- **September 18-19, 2015**
Workshop on Diversity, Justice, and Democracy
- **November 13, 2015**
Conference with Jiwei Ci
- **April 15, 2016**
Conference on Structural Inequalities in Cities



APPENDIX IV: NEW FELLOWS

85

2015-16 Edmond J. Safra Fellows

Undergraduate Fellows

Vivek Banerjee
Joshua Blecher-Cohen
Nicholas Bonstow
Gene Young Chang
Zoe Hitzig
Madeline Hung
Nancy Ko
Garrett Lam
Fanelesibonge Mashwama
Priyanka Menon
Eva Shang
Jesse Shulman
Joy Wang

Graduate Fellows

Adriana Alfaro Altamirano
Natalia Gutkowski
John Harpham
Monica Magalhaes
Julie J. Miller
Wendy Salkin
Aleksy Tarasenko-Struc
Beth Truesdale

Eugene P. Beard Fellow in Ethics

Zeynep Pamuk

Fellows-in-Residency

Jackie Bass
Elizabeth Beaumont
Marta Jimenez
Calvin Lai
Liav Orgad
Michael A. Rebell
Laurie Shrage
Rohini Somanthan
Gerard Vong
Caleb Young



Lawrence Lessig at “Ending Institutional Corruption” Conference

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Lawrence Lessig

Arthur Applbaum

Nir Eyal

Archon Fung

Frances Kamm

Mathias Risse

Nancy Rosenblum

Tommie Shelby

Robert Truog

David Wilkins

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Max Bazerman

Eric Beerbohm

Eric Campbell

Francesca Gino

David Korn

Joshua Margolis

Susannah Rose

Malcolm Salter

Dennis Thompson

Daniel Wikler

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Allan Brandt

Dan Brock

Norman Daniels

Catherine Elgin

Einer Elhauge

Richard Fallon

Lachlan Forrow

Charles Fried

Howard Gardner

Bryan Hehir

Stanley Hoffmann

Andrew Kaufman

Christine Korsgaard

Lisa Lehmann

Jane Mansbridge

Frank Michelman

Martha Minow

Lynn Sharp Paine

Mathias Risse

Marc Roberts

James Sabin

Michael Sandel

Thomas Scanlon

Elaine Scarry

Amartya Sen

Carol Steiker

Dennis Thompson

Daniel Wikler

CENTER LEADERSHIP & STAFF

Lawrence Lessig, *Director*

Arthur Applbaum,

Director of Undergraduate Fellowships

Ariel Borenstein,

Research Associate to Professor Lessig

Emily Bromley, *Special Projects Coordinator*

Heidi Carrell, *Lab Coordinator*

Susan Cox, *Executive Assistant to Professor Lessig*

Stephanie Dant, *Assistant Director*

William English, *Research Director*

Katy Evans Pritchard, *Program Coordinator*

Joseph Hollow, *Finance and Research Associate*

Tara Skurtu, *Fellowships and Office Coordinator*

All photography by Martha Stewart unless otherwise noted.



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