



HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics

2013 2014

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES



Left to right: Staff members, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics; Tommie Shelby and Jane Mansbridge; Mathias Risse

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This year's report summarizes an extraordinary range of work by the many people who have made the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics such a vital part of Harvard.

The Lab on Institutional Corruption completed its

fourth year of Fellows and events. Once again, the interaction among an incredibly diverse mix produced an outpouring of scholarship. Among the lectures were presentations by Andrew Sullivan, Robert Kaiser, Larissa MacFarquhar, and Jeff Connaughton.

better integrates the work of the Center, and will serve as a better resource for the scholarship we have produced.

As we enter the final year of the Lab on Institutional Corruption, there is still a great deal to complete. We have launched a project on Academic Independence, to provide scholars a simple way to identify themselves as not improperly dependent in their work. And we have begun to prepare a final conference that will draw together the work of the Lab, and suggest directions going forward.

We are grateful to Mark Somos for his work over the past two years as Research Director. Mark has become a Fellow this year to complete his own research, and Bill English has taken his place. Bill and I taught an undergraduate course in Institutional Corruption for the first time last year. As a reward for its popularity, we have been drafted to teach the course again in the spring. Finally, we are especially thankful to Professor Joe Badaracco, who

has stepped down from the Faculty Committee after more than 2 decades of service.

This upcoming year marks my final year as the Center's director. My commitment in coming to Harvard was to lead the Center during the 5 year life of the Lab, and then

move back to the law school exclusively. I will miss being at the middle of this extraordinary institution, but am eager to help the Center transition into its next stage.

Thank you to everyone who has made this year such an enormous success, and especially thanks to our staff, led by Stephanie Dant. I have never worked with a better team before, and I doubt I will ever have the privilege again.

Once again, the interaction among an incredibly diverse mix produced an outpouring of scholarship.

Eric Beerbohm continues to direct the Graduate Fellowship program, with the support of Frances Kamm. Arthur Applbaum took over the direction of the Undergraduate Fellowship program, after it was launched the year before by Eric. We are all grateful to Arthur, Eric and Frances for making both such an important part of the Center's life, and to Mrs. Lily Safra for her support.

The Center launched a new website, thanks to the tireless work by our incredible staff. The site now

EDMOND J. SAFRA UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN ETHICS

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



The undergraduate fellowship program, piloted last year by Eric Beerbohm, has now taken full form. With continuing support from Mrs. Lily Safra, the Edmond J. Safra

Undergraduate Fellowships in Ethics are designed to help Harvard College students develop the analytic skills necessary for tackling critical moral issues in public life. The program offers undergraduates unparalleled access to a vibrant community

...ideas ricocheted around the seminar table...

of faculty, fellows, and scholars who are pursuing research in human values across social sciences, natural sciences, and the humanities.

Eight talented and curious sophomores and juniors from concentrations as varied as philosophy and physics were admitted to the second cohort of Fellows. Undergraduate Fellows now enroll in a for-credit spring semester seminar, *Government 94saf*, where they pursue a challenging curriculum in moral and political philosophy and help each other develop ideas and arguments for their final seminar papers. In the fall semester, they will continue to meet together in an informal workshop to pursue their common interests in ethics and comment on each other's junior and senior year research projects, culminating in an honor's thesis.

I expected a great deal from this group, and they did not disappoint. With the help of our sharp and patient Teaching Fellow, James Brandt, ideas ricocheted around the seminar table. Normative arguments were both challenged and defended by insights from neuroscience and the study of politics.

Friendships were founded, minds were changed, views were deepened. And eight papers were written, ambitious in scope and weighty in name. I am tempted to gather them in a collected volume called *After the Colon: Scholarly Yearning and the Undergraduate Paper Title*. Here now, the 2014 Fellows:

Riley Carney is a junior concentrating in Government. She is particularly interested in the intersection between political psychology and the design of just institutions. Her final paper, "Dollars and Dominance: Class-Hierarchy and the Erosion of Equality," probed some of the empirical manifestations of the social bases of self-respect. In addition to her academic interests, Riley is the published author of a five-book series for adolescents and the founding director of a nonprofit organization for children's literacy.

Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld is a junior and joint concentrator in Philosophy and South Asian Studies. She is particularly interested in exploring

the underlying moral frameworks of Buddhist and Hindu texts. But her interest in the subcontinent is not limited to Sanskrit: she spent last summer teaching ethics classes to children in rural India. Sophia also is an Army ROTC cadet, and her final paper, "Up to the Elbow: Drawing a Line for Dirty Hands with an Account of Democratic Legitimacy," explores some of the moral questions raised by military service.

Joshua Blecher-Cohen, a sophomore, is a joint concentrator in Philosophy and Classics with a secondary field in Government. His research interests focus on ancient jurisprudence, conceptions of the just in Plato, and Greek sexual ethics. He also enjoys shouting orders as the coxswain of men's lightweight crew. His final paper, "More than Misvalue: Why the Modes of Value Argument against Prostitution Cannot Stand Alone," analyzes arguments about sexual commodification with the help of a *reductio* to the commodification of teachers.



Left to right: Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics, Arthur Applbaum, James Brandt, Eric Beerbohm; Undergraduate Fellow Jared Lopez; Undergraduate Fellow Sheyda Aboii

Matthew Lochner is a junior studying Social Studies. Matt is interested in the intersections of philosophy, psychology, religion, and literature. He hopes to write a thesis that addresses the central role played in these disciplines by various forms of the “golden rule,” the ethical claim that we should treat people as we wish them to treat us. His seminar paper, “Willing Trust: Acknowledging the Subject-Subject Divide and Determining the Social Object Together,” begins that project.

Jesse Shulman, originally from Toronto, is a sophomore concentrating in Social Studies with a secondary in Psychology. Jesse is a social entrepreneur active in the effective altruism movement both on campus and in the San Francisco Bay area. He plans to continue experimenting with projects he hopes will add joy to people’s lives. Puzzled by the way that good deeds seem to trigger ancillary obligations one would not otherwise have, Jesse

wrote a final paper entitled “The Contamination of Obligation: The Case of Immigration Policy in Singapore.”

Reed Silverman is a junior in Government whose academic interests focus on fundamental questions in legal and political philosophy. His recent paper topics have included the competing democratic values of accountability and participation, the effects of judicial review on equality and human rights, and the nature of law’s validity. His paper for the fellowship seminar, “Consent and Liability: A Critique of the Fair Play Principle,” is the start of a senior thesis on social contract theory. Outside of the classroom, Reed is active in Hasty Pudding and the Harvard theater community.

Adam Spinosa is a junior concentrating in Government with primary interests in political philosophy, bioethics, the ethics of competition, and law. He studies the intersection of biological enhancement, competition, and democratic institutions, and draws primarily on virtue ethics to provide a perspective for resolving conflicts. He explores these topics in his final paper, “The Noble Goon: Is Violence in Sports Ethically Permissible?”

Joy Wang is a sophomore concentrator in Physics. In addition to her work in experimental physics, Joy is interested in the intersection of law and philosophy. She currently is interested in questions of institutional reform and the nature of agency in modern democracies. On campus, she plays the violin in the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra and sings in the Harvard University Choir, which no doubt influenced the title, if not the substance, of her seminar paper, “A Well-Ordered Harmony: Reasonableness and the Burdens of Judgment in Rawls.”

We bid farewell this May to nine seniors from the first cohort of Undergraduate Fellows. Their far-ranging senior theses, early fruits of the undergraduate program, were given shape and polish by two semesters of study with Eric and James, and realize the hopes that the Center had for these young scholars. I had the joy of being a guest at one of their meetings, so I am not surprised at their accomplishments. These are the Center’s graduating seniors and their honors theses:

Sheyda Aboii, “The City as an Arbiter of Inclusion: Sanctuary Cities and Undocumented Immigration” (Government)

Nisha Deolalikar, “Why We Should Care About Health Care” (Social Studies, Global Health and Health Policy)

Medha Gargeya, “‘Not on a Pedestal, But in a Cage’: Probing the Use of Social Science in Sex Discrimination Decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States 1873-2011” (Women, Gender, and Sexuality)

Jared Lopez, “Look, Don’t Think: A Wittgensteinian Inquiry Into Ethics” (Philosophy)

David Miller, “Departing Downward from Humanity: Moves to Torture by Democracies” (Social Studies)

Lily Ostrer, “The Child is Father to the Man: Head Start, Child Development, and the Politics of Early Intervention” (Social Studies)

William Ryan (Philosophy)

Celestine Warren, “The Functionality of the Medical Journal: A Case Study of The New England Journal of Medicine, 1947-1991” (History of Science, Government)

Oliver Wenner, “The Limit Does Not Exist: Defending the Cartesian Priority of the Idea of the Infinite” (Philosophy)

We also say *Slán go fóill* to the venerated Jean McVeigh, the Center’s Administrative Director for over two decades, who was persuaded to come out of retirement to help launch the undergraduate fellowship program. Tara Skurtu, the Center’s poet-in-residence, takes over Jean’s shepherdship.

One of the intellectual highlights of the year at the Center was the second annual Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics, given by Larissa MacFarquhar. In profile after revelatory profile in *The New Yorker*, Ms. MacFarquhar has, with understanding and empathy, uncovered some of the most inward thoughts of some of the most extraordinary subjects of our times: Barack Obama, John Ashbery, Paul



Left to right: Daria Van Tyne, Graduate Fellow Jonathan Bruno, Undergraduate Fellows Sheyda Aboii and Celestine Warren

Krugman, Paul and Patricia Churchland, and, most touchingly and provocatively for friends of the Ethics Center, Derek Parfit. Her Kissel lecture, “What Is Family, What Are Strangers?” turned from the very great to the very good, exploring ordinary people who follow an extraordinary ethic: people who donate kidneys to perfect strangers; people who give away almost all of their income to charity and regret that they do not earn more so that they could give more; and her main example, a couple who, in addition to their two natural children, adopted another twenty. Her exploration of these impossibly generous souls provoked in us quite a good deal of discomforting self-exploration. Ms. MacFarquhar graced the Undergraduate Fellows with a private lunch the following day, and her frank and disarming reflections on young idealism will not be forgotten soon by our Fellows.

Professor Eric Beerbohm, *Director*



Ethics and history need each other. Historical inquiry is value-laden, and ethical reflection can't sustain itself on thought experiments alone. This year's batch of Edmond J. Safra

Graduate Fellows in Ethics was an experiment in bringing scholars from programs in political theory, ethics and history. The upshot was a yearlong discussion with surprising insights, careful logic, and a healthy back-and-forth between the concrete and abstract.

Graduate Fellows published at a rapid pace...

The Graduate Fellows brought to the table an unprecedented openness to surprising views, and a willingness to try on new theories for size made for a spirit of exchange. Fellows anticipated each other's thoughts—a good omen of intellectual health—and worked to discover the weaknesses in their own views. This year, more than ever, Graduate Fellows published at a rapid pace, in journals including the *American Political Science Review*, *Religious Studies*, and *The Journal of Value Inquiry*, among others.

Immanuel Kant thought that philosophers were harmless. "The class of philosophers," he wrote, "is by nature incapable of forming seditious factions or clubs." This year, some of our Graduate Fellows made clear that their theorizing had a strongly practical side. In the fall, the Center held an event, "Breaking the Silence," in which Graduate Fellow Oded Na'aman discussed his book on Israeli soldier's testimonies about their service in the Gaza Strip.

Our seminar was organized around two problems, one more practical and the other meta-theoretical. In the fall we examined the problem of moral

compromise, in its legislative and interpersonal forms. We considered the relationship between individual and political responsibilities. When are two parties justified in agreeing to terms that neither party takes to be fully justifiable? Are there differences between the conditions for interpersonal and political compromise? Can compromise be justified on non-instrumental terms? In the spring we took up the general form of this problem. How outcome-focused must a political theory be? Are theories that speak to our shared coercive institutions necessarily more consequentialist?

One of our Fellows proposed that directing the seminar demands the "sensitivity of a conductor, finding harmony in what could first appear as cacophony." This year I was greatly helped by the Center's larger programming. There was more harmony between the themes sounded in our seminar and in our public lectures. Richard Tuck's

preview of his upcoming book, *The Sleeping Sovereign*, offered a picture of democracy that some of our Fellows worried was too attenuated. Continuing this theme, Anna Stilz considered a kind of "third rail" problem for democratic theory: territory and its moral limits. A former Graduate Fellow herself, Professor Stilz didn't avoid topics that have been seen as impossible-to-solve.

The problem of our obligations to future generations was the theme of our plenary October seminar, when we were joined by Mrs. Lily Safra, Mrs. Adriana Elia, Dr. Jerome Groopman, Professor Arthur Applbaum, and Professor Frances Kamm, among others. This spring we were joined by advisors and mentors including Michael Rosen, Tim Scanlon, Tommie Shelby, and for a final marathon session, Peter Gordon. It was quite amazing that Peter's broad interests spoke to so many of our Fellows, and we are grateful for his record-setting attendance.

Joelle Abi-Rached, a PhD candidate in the History of Science, is writing a dissertation on the history of madness and the ethic of care that has evolved around it. She works at the intersection of the history and ethics of medicine, and published *Neuro:*

The New Brain Sciences and the Management of the Mind. Abi-Rached credited the “warm ambience of the Center” for helping her considerable productivity this year.

Hailing from philosophy, **Oded Na’aman** is interested in how we ascribe value and come to love. Na’aman’s puzzles aren’t superficial, but go to the core of philosophy as a subject that we live. In the spring, he published an essay on self-sacrifice that received considerable attention on social media channels that philosophy rarely enters. Another Fellow with a distinctive outlook on ethics as a subject that bears directly on our lives is **Ryan Davis**, a graduate student in Philosophy, who is developing a theory of individual autonomy. His exacting view of what counts as an obligation was genuinely provocative. He argues that morality is far less demanding than the stock view in moral philosophy, challenging several generations of Graduate Fellows who have argued for an inflationary conception of demandingness. He published a paper in *Religious Studies* on authority and atonement.

The second half of our Fellows approached their work from a more historical point of view. **Philippa Hetherington**, a PhD candidate in History, examines the emergence of the traffic in women as an international crime and ethical issue. She defended her dissertation in the spring, which looks to become an important book at the border of history and legal theory. Our other historian, **Aline-Florence Manent**, is a graduate student in History who works on the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany and its development into a robust democratic order.

Our political theorists shared a concern for the interplay of history and philosophy. **Tae-Yeoun Keum**, a graduate student in Government, is working on a dissertation about myth and its role in politics. Her project, which goes from Plato to an analysis of contemporary propaganda, challenged the group to see her ambitious tracing of myth across the canon of political theory. Our other PhD candidate in Government, **Charlie Lesch**, is investigating the moral and psychological foundations of social solidarity. One of his protagonists, Walter Benjamin, served as the basis for his publication in a leading political science journal.



Left to right: Tae-Yeoun Keum; Oded Na’aman; Joelle Abi-Rached

Our Visiting Graduate Fellow, **Mark Hanin**, works on metaethics and practical philosophy. He circulated a paper on self-promising, where he raised novel worries about this practice. Hanin also served as the Head Teaching Fellow for the inaugural undergraduate course taught by Professor Lessig and Dr. English on institutional corruption. Hanin was especially helpful in connecting the graduate fellow seminar to larger themes in the course and the Lab.

Erica Jaffe Redner has been an extraordinary administrator of the Graduate Fellowship program for 8 years. This fall she will be entering the University of Pennsylvania’s PhD program in Anthropology. After closely observing the cultural practices of Graduate Fellows over the years, she arrives with some fascinating fieldwork in hand. We are enormously grateful for her stewardship of the program.

Next year Frances Kamm will return from her sabbatical to bring her vigorous interrogation of positions, and her contagious zest for theory. We’ll look forward to having Fellows from two professional schools previously unrepresented, Harvard’s Graduate School of Education and Graduate School of Design. The 2014-15 Fellowship cohort includes quantitative scholars thinking about inequality and democratic theorists worried about transparency in government. The mix of big-n research, thought experiments, and fieldwork should make for a distinctive seminar.

Mark Somos, *Research Director*

The Edmond J. Safra Research Lab, launched in 2009, is an inspired initiative designed to address fundamental problems of ethics in a way that is of practical benefit to institutions,

governments, and societies around the world. As its first undertaking, the Lab is tackling institutional corruption with a five-year project, ending in 2015. Unlike more frequently studied examples of individual corruption, such as bribery, institutional corruption tends to involve practices that are legal. In other words, we are concerned with widespread or systematic practices that undermine the integrity of an institution, or public trust in an institution. The Lab aims to better understand the nature

was designed to foster an innovative research environment where Fellows can weave their ideas into a broader framework, while also being a resource for each other. Fellows engage through a variety of formal and informal activities that range from weekly Lab seminars and public lectures through conferences and workshops to joint research projects. Residential Fellows work on their projects at the Lab, while benefiting from being part of a greater, multidisciplinary and highly interactive community. Established by a generous gift from Mrs. Lily Safra, one Residential Fellowship is devoted every year to an Israeli-born scholar or professional. The Lab also funds Non-Residential Fellows. They pursue institutional corruption research primarily outside the Center, at universities or in industry in the U.S. and abroad.

To this initial division, in 2011-12 we added two new categories. Network Fellows work anywhere

in the world, benefiting from online or personal engagement with other Fellows and contributing to the manifold structures of discourse and cooperation that forge the Lab into a diverse yet united community of practitioners and scholars. In 2011 we also welcomed the first cohort of

Our ambition is to build theory and scholarship about institutional corruption.

of institutional corruption by examining its causes, consequences, and remedies in a wide variety of institutional environments, and using methods from law, public policy, medicine, economics, political science, psychology, sociology, investigative journalism, and other walks of life. Moreover, research at the Lab is conducted with real-world applications in mind. Our ambition is to build theory and scholarship around the idea of institutional corruption, as well as to identify, incubate, and widely share real-world tools and solutions that improve the integrity and trustworthiness of our institutions.

The mainstay of this project is the Lab's fellowship program. The cross-disciplinary format of the Lab

Investigative Journalists to the Lab. In keeping with the five-year project design that moves us increasingly toward applied remedies to institutional corruption, the cohort of six journalists in 2012-13, and five in 2013-14, brought an invigorating perspective that enriched and reoriented several scholarly projects toward more immediate real-life concerns. In 2012 the Lab also responded to growing demand by adding a category for Visiting Fellows—exceptional scholars with external funding who wish to pursue well-defined projects on institutional corruption and require more flexible support than the other, formally structured Fellowships. Not only the types, but the number of fellowships also grew in tandem with the geographic, disciplinary, and organizational

expansion of institutional corruption as an independent field of study. After hosting 14 Fellows in 2010-11, 31 in 2011-12, and 62 in 2012-13, the Lab was pleased to be able to support the work of no fewer than 70 Fellows this year, as well as two collaborative research projects.

The linear increase of projects led to an exponential growth in both quality and quantity of output, and impact. This year alone Lab Fellows built almost a dozen innovative databases and ran well over a dozen large surveys to uncover i.a. systematic industry influence on clinical practice, widespread foreign and domestic lobbying influence on think tanks, financial transactions of members of Congress, and the extent of concussions in college sports and the inefficiencies of purported remedies. This year's cornucopia of research will yield publications, teaching materials, and real-world reforms for many years to come. That said, Fellows and Faculty published seven books, over 120 articles, and three journal special issues this year alone, on aspects of institutional corruption that range from occupational safety in mining through whistle-blowing in the financial sector to ghost-writing scholarly papers for the pharmaceutical industry. In addition to research and publications, members of the Lab gave around 75 interviews and 43 presentations around the world. Fellows and Faculty led 27 Lab seminars, taken for credit by JD, LL.M, MBA, MC-MPA and PhD students from HLS, HKS, Harvard Divinity, and The Fletcher School. For the benefit of the Lab's non-specialist audience, they also wrote 72 blog posts on an impressive array of institutional corruption topics. These we collected and published in two e-books, available via the Lab's website, Amazon, Barnes & Noble, Google Books, and other popular outlets. To build on the popularity of the Lab's e-books among non-specialists, this year we started a new series, entitled *Monographs in Investigative Journalism*. The inaugural volume, by Gregg Fields, received immediate and generous praise from Janet Yellen and Judge Rakoff. In December we introduced another great tool into the Lab's repertoire. Lab



Network Fellows Paul Taylor and Gustavo Maultasch de Oliveira

members engaging each other in recorded conversation, edited and disseminated as podcasts, has become one of the most effective formats for making research projects accessible and exciting to non-specialists. The thirteen Labcasts we produced and published since December proved extraordinarily popular, featuring on the main iTunes page and attracting over 6,000 listeners on SoundCloud. Another ten are currently in development. Another wonderful applied tool that we continued to produce this year is the series of seminar summaries, available online as an enduring and informative record of the presentations. In sum, the Lab's output and growth this year was phenomenal, unparalleled, and attests to a maturity of cohesion and purpose we will always be proud of.

To continue experimenting with new ways of disseminating the Lab's work, last year we launched a Working Paper series and our own imprint on the Social Science Research Network (SSRN), the world's foremost open-access repository of academic studies. The series' research value and reception far exceeded our expectations. In addition to stimulating and supporting Fellows' writing and conversation, the Edmond J. Safra Research Lab Working Paper Series is now the largest in its SSRN category, with 509 papers by past and current Faculty and Fellows of the Center downloaded over 133 thousand times around the world. In the 2013-14 academic year, thirty-six of these Working Papers were suggested, developed, reviewed,

revised, copy-edited and published in-house, with another twelve already in the pipeline.

The same holds for the improved protocols we developed to promote our Fellows' work. This year we started compiling and circulating a weekly summary of the Lab's output within the growing community of former, current and future Lab Faculty and Fellows, in order to provide everyone with easy, direct and up-to-date access to all the Lab's output. This simple new tool proved popular and invaluable for tracking our output and inspiring timely collaborations. Another major accom-

plishment this year was the completion of a two-year consultation and development process with Fellows and Faculty to construct a thematic division that works across multiple dimensions to structure and connect all the Lab's research projects. While institutional corruption had become a mature and independent field of study by the end of our third year, in the fourth we started to establish subfields of institutional corruption in government and law, in public health, academia and non-profits, economics, and in psychology.



Members of the 2013-14 Edmond J. Safra Research Lab

William English, *Research Director*

In another first this year, the Center sponsored a general education course on institutional corruption for undergraduates in Harvard College. The course,

designed and co-taught by Lawrence Lessig and me, received an overwhelming response from students. In addition to a large gallery of auditors, 146 students enrolled in the course, far exceeding enrollment expectations and filling Fong Auditorium in Boylston Hall to capacity. The first half of the class introduced students to fundamental concepts relevant to the design and performance of institutions, while the second half presented and reflected upon a range of case studies. A number of Fellows and faculty affiliates of the Center greatly enhanced the course through their guest lectures, and researchers at the Harvard Initiative for Learning and Teaching studied the course to learn more about pedagogy and student engagement. As part of their final projects, students could opt to produce short videos that identified, analyzed, and proposed solutions for cases of institutional corruption. Many of the submissions were superb and are being posted on the Center's website so they can serve as educational tools for others.

The Lab hopes to combine its focus on education and impact through a collaboration begun with the Massachusetts State Ethics Commission this past year being led by Network Fellow Carla Miller. The State Ethics Commission is responsible for providing ethics training for some 400,000 state and local government employees in Massachusetts. The Commission invited Carla Miller to help run a series of conflict of interest law training workshops into which she introduced concepts of institutional corruption. She and I are currently

in discussions with the Commission to help them revise their online education curriculum and to study its impact on actual behavior. If successful, this could provide insights for ethics training in a variety of domains while also generating accessible content that educates about institutional corruption.

In late spring, the Lab hosted a timely workshop titled "Institutional Corruption and the Capital Markets: Financial Benchmark and Currency Manipulation, Enforcement Strategies, and Regulatory Re-Design." Co-organized with Visiting Lab Fellow Justin O'Brien and the Centre for Law, Markets, and Regulation at University of New South Wales, the event received support from the Australian Research Council and the Centre for International Finance and Regulation. The workshop brought together a unique cross section of practitioners, regulators, and academics to consider pressing topics such as: the proper meaning and scope of fiduciary duty, the psychological foundations of financial crimes, the promise of new whistleblower programs, the role of professional and cultural norms in shaping market behavior, and comparative perspectives on regulatory policies. This was the second of four international workshops, the last of which will coincide with the G20 Leaders Summit in Sydney, and it laid a solid foundation for the remaining two.

The Lab concluded its programming this year by co-sponsoring a conference on "New Frontiers in the Study of Corruption" hosted by the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) in Mexico City. Non-Residential Lab Fellow Irma Erendira Sandoval organized the program, which featured presentations by me and Center colleagues including, Roberto Laver, Avlana Eisenberg, Christopher Robertson, Adriane Gelpi, and Jennifer Miller, and drew a large audience interested in the Lab's work.



Left to right: Lab Fellow Christine Baugh; Network Fellow Roberto Laver; Lab Fellow Jennifer Miller

Somos report, continued...

As the fellowships are the mainstay of the Lab's research, so the Lab seminar series remains the most galvanizing forum for direct interaction within the Lab, and among Lab members and graduate students. **Lawrence Lessig** started our year with the keynote first seminar. He introduced the framework for studying institutional corruption through the extended simile of a compass that deviates from 'true North' under improper influences that corrupt its intended purpose, leading to a loss of independence and, consequently, of trust. Moving to technical definitions, he explained the difference between his and Professor Thompson's notion of institutional corruption as receipt of a benefit directly useful to the institutional purpose, but with the institution providing in exchange a service to the benefactor under conditions that tend to undermine that purpose. Lessig cited Congress as his paradigmatic example, given its deviation

under the corrupting influence of money from the Framers' original design as a body "dependent on the people alone." The second seminar, by **Brooke Williams** and **Ken Silverstein**, focused on the institutional corruption of think tanks. Silverstein summarized his investigations and illustrated the problem through cases of donations that skewed think tanks' ostensibly scholarly findings. He emphasized the need to disclose donations, particularly given think tanks' 501(c)(3) status and the public trust in their studies and testimonies, compared to for-profit consulting, PR and lobbying firms'. Williams presented preliminary findings from her groundbreaking database of donations, exposing \$2.3 billion in donations from foreign governments and corporations over the past few years, and 72 currently registered lobbyists simultaneously employed as think tank scholars. Applied remedies she is developing include a user-friendly website for the database, and a policy checklist for think tanks on ways to avoid conflicts of interest.

The first two seminars, and the first public lecture—by Robert Kaiser—were followed by the "Bonanza," an intense and rewarding event where thirty-two Fellows gave rapid-fire introductions to their projects. The Bonanza afforded Fellows an opportunity to learn about the work of their cohort early on, take note of connections and economies in data collection and research design, and frame collaborations. As hoped, many Fellows formed ties that continued throughout the year, and beyond.

The third seminar, by **Michelle Mello**, offered a comprehensive overview of her research on medical schools' approach to faculty's use of outside time, especially consulting for pharmaceutical companies. Conflicting contractual obligations to academia and industry; more indirect but equally significant risks of conflicts of interest between research and consulting commitments; and the feasibility of regulating, standardizing and overseeing outside time, were the chief elements of her institutional corruption analysis of this widespread and troubling issue. At the next seminar **Justin O'Brien** presented on the burgeoning scandal involving the manipulation of financial benchmarks with a



Investigative Journalist Fellow Brooke Williams

detailed case study on how Singapore had adopted an innovative regulatory design to address the corruption of the Singapore Interbank Offered Rate (SIBOR). O'Brien explained that the critical move was to conceive of the benchmark as a public good. This meant calibrating risk management systems toward protecting the integrity of the rate, rather than minimizing litigation risk. As the benchmark scandal metastasizes, with the EU finding evidence of cartels operating at the highest levels of finance, Singapore offers a model regulatory approach that has the capacity to change practice.

Adriane Gelpi's seminar explored the role of non-expert stakeholders and citizen participation in healthcare policy formulation and priority-setting, chiefly in Latin American countries. Given that partiality can sometimes illuminate otherwise unseen problems through advocacy groups, Gelpi argued for managing rather than excluding stakeholders from deliberation. Adding the financial sector to the range of institutional environments affected by institutional corruption, **Thomas Stratmann** introduced his research on possible insider trading and politically motivated investing by members of the House of Representatives, especially those who sit on committees and have occasional access to better information than most market players. A second strand of his research examines the effects of campaign contribution limits on reducing funding gaps between incumbents and challengers in state assembly races.

Jonathan Marks and **William English** gave a joint seminar on public-private partnerships (PPPs) and broader questions of institutional integrity and public trust. English introduced his research on co-existing adverse and positive links between capitalism and democracy. As different causes of distrust, from incompetence to malice and exploitation, theoretically call for different remedies, English conducted two empirical studies to better understand distrust in institutions. The first, concerning levels and causes of distrust in the professions, suggests that conflicts of interest account for less distrust than perceived incompetence, with exploitation as the leading cause. The second study explored how different types of campaign funding affect an individual's distrust in particular politicians. English identified PPPs as an area particularly rife with public anxiety about politics and economics engaged in mutually corrupting relationships. Marks explained that while PPPs are routinely presented as a win-win, they are particularly problematic in terms of balancing public and private interests. Marks offered illustrative cases and a clear taxonomy of PPPs, designed to diagnose and prevent institutional corruption. In closing, he defined institutional trustworthiness and integrity in terms of reciprocity between an institution's mission and practices, thereby pinpointing the conflicting missions of a public partner in a PPP as the cause of a systemic risk of institutional corruption.

Jennifer Heerwig led the eighth seminar. Using a pioneering, longitudinal dataset she developed, Heerwig offered original insights into the evolution of donation strategies among elite individual campaign contributors, and their effect on political polarization. As the cost of American elections rises exponentially, and both houses of Congress wage permanent fundraising campaigns, it is vital that the strategies and influence of elite donors, often elusive due to the difficulties of disclosing and tracking donations, are added to the well-established study of PACs and small contributors. The next seminar was led by **Marie Newhouse**, who provided an overarching ethical structure for critically evaluating think tank practices

and policies, and improving both individual and organizational integrity. Based on a series of interviews that focus on managers' goals and commitments, a pilot database of policy research products, and a series of semi-structured interviews with elite policy experts, Newhouse contended that setting an ideal of academic integrity for think tanks is unreasonable and misleading, since policy discourse necessarily blends the normative with the empirical. At the next seminar, **Jim Morris's** seminar brought the exposure of American workers to harmful chemicals into the institutional corruption framework. Morris showed and analyzed the mechanisms of large-scale and systematic harm caused by weak enforcement, regulatory capture, persistent industry challenges to the standards and reforms proposed by OSHA, and the industry-funded distortion of science.

Avlana Eisenberg's seminar addressed institutional incentives in public and private sector prisons. Her analysis examined the roles and incentives of criminal justice actors, including correctional officers, sheriffs, and private prison executives. These are some of the stakeholders whose jobs are most dependent on the growth of the prison industry, and who therefore may be particularly inclined to resist efforts to curb mass incarceration. Her incentives-based analysis exposes likely *loci* of resistance to prison reform efforts, as well as unexpected synergies between prison industry stakeholders and decarceration goals. **Christine Baugh** closed the fall series with a seminar on the long-term effects of concussions, and institutional corruption in their prevention and management. While the NCAA requires that member institutions have a plan for educating players about signs and symptoms of concussion, they are not mandated to implement them. Moreover, there is a great variety in the content and quality of such plans, and insufficient research about their effectiveness. Baugh suggested that both rules and the culture need to change in order to establish socially acceptable levels of risk.

A joint seminar by **Maryam Kouchaki**, **Yuval Feldman**, and **Elizabeth Doty** opened the spring

2014 series by introducing a set of collaborative projects on ethical behavior in the workplace that ranged from the analysis and improvement of professional codes of conduct to diagnosing and preventing commitment drift in corporate governance. Kouchaki and Feldman stressed the importance of applying and further developing our current understanding of bounded ethicality, and the variation and salience in language, in attempts to evaluate and improve codes of conduct. One preliminary finding, which illustrates the real-world value of this line of inquiry, is that communicating high trust in employees produces more effective codes. Doty described the employee survey and commitment drift scorecard pilot program she runs at a Fortune 500 firm, and her findings concerning the role of leadership in commitment drift and the culture of promise-keeping. Another joint seminar followed, by **Gregg Fields** and **Malcolm Salter**, who gave a formidable overview of institutional corruption in the private sector. Their presentation touched on the rise of a new speculative financial culture dominated by short-termism due to equity pay and short-term performance and productivity metrics, the relationship between regulatory complexity and gaming in the Volcker Rule, and increasingly unequal income distribution.

The third seminar of spring was led by **Laurence Tai**, who described two projects. The first considered the challenges of using FOIA to inform the public about government activities, and the risks of using information obtained under FOIA to strategically craft media stories that obscure rather than clarify potential cases of corruption and capture. Tai's second project models mechanisms and remedies of regulatory capture that occurs when industry shifts a regulator's preferences—as distinguished from capture due to industry-regulator transfers, or industry's informational advantage. Proposed remedies include limiting rent-seeking, moving the agency's preferences further away from industry's, and making capture less effective in general. Toleration of institutional corruption was the subject of the next seminar, led by **Katherine Silz Carson**. Approaching cheating scandals, fraud, and reports



Network Fellow Jonathan Marks

of sexual abuse in the United States service academies from an experimental economist's perspective, Silz Carson explored the significance of honor codes, the prevalence and consequences of whistle blowing, incentive incompatibility, and the effect of ignoring or tolerating unethical behavior, for institutional corruption. At the next seminar **Dieter Zinnbauer** gave an overview of Transparency International's world-wide efforts, impact, experience, and future research directions in conceptualizing, developing, and implementing methods to measure and track policy capture.

At the sixth seminar **Jennifer Miller** debuted the preliminary results for the ethics rating system she created and piloted on the pharmaceutical industry in order to help stakeholders better understand the degree to which ethics-related standards are implemented by companies, and to incentivize reform within the industry, where needed. Her first pilot ranks the 20 largest drug companies according to their transparency in communicating clinical trial results for newly approved medicines and vaccines. Miller also gave a comprehensive overview of the ethics and governance concerns challenging the pharmaceutical sector, including

concerns about how drugs are tested, marketed, and their global accessibility. The seventh seminar of spring was led by **Paul Thacker**. Based on over 100 anonymous interviews he conducted with Congressional staffers, Thacker offered original insights into the cultural dynamic on the Hill, specifically looking at race, gender, and socioeconomic background. According to published studies and opinions given by staff, women seem to enjoy a good work experience on the Hill, although they tend to be paid slightly less than men. However, very few African Americans gain employment on the Hill, especially in the Senate. Given the low pay but high prestige, staffers tend to diverge from constituents by being wealthier, more likely to be Ivy League graduates, and/or have excellent family connections, often coming from families that contributed to a Member's campaign. The lack of diversity and privileged access among staffers contributes to the institutional corruption characteristic of Congress.

In the eighth seminar, **Kim Pernel-Gallagher** outlined her research on the implications of cross-national policy divergence in banking regulation, specifically on the effect of fiscal ideologies—manifest, for instance, in the securitization and capital adequacy standards adopted in Spain, Canada, and the United States—on the stability and solvency of banks during the financial crisis. Rejecting a straightforward correlation between regulatory capture and policy differences, she established a powerful and nuanced set of interactions between economic ideology, regulatory policies, cultural variation in perceptions of risk-taking, and the extent and areas of failure during the crisis. **Garry Gray** and **Carmen Mailloux** presented their project on how industry connections with universities jeopardize independent research. In the tenth seminar, **James Greiner** introduced his collaborative research project on institutional corruption and its remedies in the areas of debt collection, debt discharge, and consumer financial distress. Among other things, Professor Greiner explored the complex ways that institutions such as issuers of credit, debt buyers, and their attorneys are regulated by Congress and state judiciaries (especially small claims courts).

The eleventh seminar introduced **Talia Fisher's** project on institutional corruption caused by the disparities between repeat players and "one-shotters" within civil litigation systems, particularly Israel's. Although collective deliberation, norm-setting, legitimating judicial power and the state, providing information to the public, deterrence, and dispute resolution are among the baseline functions of the civil litigation system, "one-shotters" (e.g. a car accident victim) are typically at a disadvantage compared to repeat players (e.g. an insurance company), for whom litigation is a normal part of business. Relevant legal fee regimes fail to take into account the disparity not only in resources, but also in informal relationships, accumulated familiarity with the system, and the applicable time horizon for litigation strategy. **Ann-Christin Posten** led the twelfth seminar, presenting her experimental project on how corruption-elicited distrust may result in corruption-enhancing cognitive thinking strategies. The thirteenth seminar, led by **Sheila Kaplan**, started with an introduction to "America: COMPROMISED," the four-part documentary series she is producing for PBS. The series, scheduled to debut on PBS in the fall of 2015, will consist of episodes on institutional corruption in public health, academia, the financial sector, and food. Lab participants enjoyed and discussed Kaplan's trailer for the whole series. Through compelling first-hand accounts, this series will reveal the nature and scope of institutional corruption, and its impact on ordinary citizens. In the second part of her seminar Kaplan presented her work on institutional corruption in the EPA and its effect on public health. After a historical summary, Kaplan explained that despite the EPA's nominal regulatory powers to protect public health and the environment, reports by the GAO and EPA's Inspector General over the past 20 years document profound mission failure. Kaplan traced this failure to improper industry influence through lobbying, revolving doors (of which she documented over 200 cases), and industry's strategic input on regulation via advisory review boards. **Susannah Rose's** closing seminar focused on describing the types of financial relationships that currently exist between patient advocacy organiza-

tions (PAOs) and for-profit companies. She also distinguished between co-existing mechanisms of institutional corruption in this field, allowing one to consider the circumstances in which these relationships can foster innovation and collaboration. Rose also emphasized the circumstances that may increase the likelihood of financial dependence of PAOs on for-profit financial companies that may increase the risk of harm to patients and may impact public trust in PAOs. As always, a lively and rich mapping seminar drew the strands of this year's work together, and clarified the progress that the project as a whole has made.

The above summary does not do justice to the year's work, but I hope it shows some of the ways in which this has been our best year yet. This is not to say that 2014-15, this Lab project's final year, will not be even better. With the largest-ever incoming cohort, and further improvements—a capstone project on academic independence and a celebratory final conference already in the works—we are well prepared to bring the project to a successful conclusion, and make institutional corruption and its remedies a permanent feature of the academic and public discourse. And if gambling extended to academic projects, I'd also wager that by this time next year we will find that we have exceeded others' and our own wildest expectations.

On a personal note, it is with some sadness that this marks my departure as the Lab's Research Director. It has been a wonderful two and a quarter years, and I am excited to continue working on institutional corruption as a Non-Residential Lab Fellow.

2013-2014
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APPENDICES I-IV



APPENDIX I: 2013-14 REPORTS OF THE UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWS**Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics 2013-14**

Sheyda Aboii, Joshua Blecher-Cohen, Riley Carney, Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld, Nisha Deolalikar, Medha Gargeya, Matthew Lochner, Jared Lopez, David Miller, Lily Ostrer, Chloe Reichel, William Ryan, Jesse Shulman, Reed Silverman, Adam Spinoso, Joy Wang, Celestine Warren, Oliver Wenner

Sheyda Aboii

As an Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellow in Ethics this year, I have completed my work on a senior honors thesis in Government exploring the ethical dimensions of sanctuary cities in the United States. With funding supplied by the Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, I was able to conduct over twenty different interviews with recently arrived immigrants, staff members at a local shelter for immigrants and refugees, and other community advocates in a sanctuary city within the state of Texas.

Throughout the development of this project, I consulted my undergraduate peers for feedback, which they graciously supplied without abandon. I also benefited immensely from the input and suggestions that our discussion leader, James Brandt, supplied.

Aside from our recurrent discussion groups, where we Undergraduate Fellows and James convened to hash out a selected reading in applied ethics or practical philosophy, I was able to attend a number of events. These included the post-luncheon discussion with Larissa MacFarquhar, Ron Suskind's "Life Animated" book event, and Professor Thomas Christiano's lecture on "Self-Determination and the Human Right to Democracy." As is evident by my attendance, I have always felt more than welcome at the Center and at Center-sponsored events.

Perhaps the most amazing quality of the Center and its cohort of great thinkers is the facility with which we allow ourselves and others within our midst to think freely and question the world-weary mantra, "That's just the way things are." For a little over a year, I have had the immense pleasure of witnessing the Center's affiliates challenge one another. There is a tendency at the Center to make a valiant effort to think broadly about the stickiest issues facing civil society today.

Although I am due to graduate this year, I know that my experiences as an Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellow will remain with me. Well beyond the shifting of tassels, I will regard my time at the Center as an invaluable formative period of unrestricted thought.

Joshua Blecher-Cohen

In just one semester, my affiliation with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has had a substantial impact on the trajectory of my academic career. As a joint concentrator in Philosophy and Classics, most of my previous work has been focused on the history of philosophy and ancient ethics. Throughout this spring, taking the Undergraduate Fellow seminar with Professor Arthur Applbaum, James Brandt, and the other Undergraduate Fellows strengthened my exposure to current scholarship in moral philosophy. More significantly, the course has encouraged me to begin situating my work on ancient ethical topics in the broader context of contemporary debates.

I have very much appreciated the Undergraduate Fellow seminar, not least for the opportunity and support it has provided in beginning to tackle larger projects in ethical inquiry. Its inclusion as a class has helped me to integrate my affiliation with the Center enthusiastically into my broader life as a student. The class has encouraged all the Fellows to introduce their own views into ongoing ethical conversation, and to substantiate those views with original positive contributions and argumentation.

Thanks to support from the Center, I will spend part of this summer conducting independent research in moral and political philosophy. Specifically, I will be researching political and legal justifications for civil marriage on a Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics in Washington, D.C.

Riley Carney

As an Undergraduate Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have been very fortunate to take part in the seminar this semester. Our weekly meetings were extraordinarily engaging, illuminating, and challenging. I am so grateful to have had the opportunity to work with Professor Arthur Applbaum and James Brandt, as well as with the other Undergraduate Fellows, in such a close setting. Our discussions covered a wide range of topics (some far outside my particular academic interests) and brought to light many compelling questions and areas of ethical inquiry that I had not previously considered nor had the chance to explore. The variety of perspectives and topics were fascinating and also very helpful in forming my own topic of inquiry.

Taking part in the seminar and being part of the Center has helped me to refine and analyze my senior thesis topic from a new point of view. With support from a Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, I will continue to pursue research related to economic inequality, which I began as part of my final seminar paper. The seminar provoked many powerful questions regarding representation, coercion, and the measure of equality, which I would love to explore in greater depth in my senior thesis.

Overall, this semester has been a fantastic experience, both as an impetus for my future academic studies and as an intellectually stimulating opportunity. I am extraordinarily grateful for all of the support that the Center has provided and the amazing guidance of both faculty and staff. I am so honored to be part of this wonderful program, and excited to continue to involve myself in the great community it provides.

Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld

My semester as an Undergraduate Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been tremendously rewarding and a highlight of my time at Harvard. Our seminar with Professor Applbaum was a real delight; each issue we examined invited fierce debate, soul-searching, and, invariably, some humor as well. My favorite aspect of the Center, though, was

getting to know the other Fellows. It is often said that the best part of college at Harvard will be hours spent in the dining hall with peers, contemplating big questions of morality and human existence. Cliché though it may be, I'm so grateful to the Center for finally helping me have that experience.

My academic focus this semester was the morality of leadership. My research centered around the Western philosophical dialogue on "dirty hands," or cases in which a leader must "do wrong to do right." In preparation for my joint thesis in Philosophy and South Asian Studies, I plan to examine the same moral problems through the lens of Sanskrit political treatises. Finally—to add a real-world dimension to my work—I will spend the summer interning for the Office of the Chief Prosecutor of Military Commissions, which is currently prosecuting the alleged masterminds of the September 11th attacks. I look forward to returning in the fall for another stimulating semester with the Center.

Nisha Deolalikar

I have appreciated the opportunity to engage with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics community this year. As a senior Undergraduate Fellow I attended the workshops held by James Brandt, where I had the chance to read and ponder over seminal papers in ethics. This year's workshops built on the discussions from last spring, and I truly feel that overall, the readings have introduced me to a variety of issues in ethics that I wouldn't have considered otherwise. James was a terrific discussion group leader, and I'm glad to have been in his discussion group for the last couple years.

My experiences with the Center have better equipped me to pursue my academic interests at Harvard. I'm a Social Studies concentrator, and I wrote my senior thesis on a topic at the intersection of ethics and health. To that end, being a part of the Center's community has been invaluable, as I was able to foster connections and read papers that have been instrumental to my knowledge of the field. Although I graduated this May, I look forward to engaging with ethical issues and questions in the future.

Matthew Lochner

Taking the Undergraduate Fellow seminar this semester with Professor Arthur Applbaum has greatly expanded my academic horizons. I came into the seminar interested in moral philosophy, social theory, and comparative religion, and was thrilled to find that political theorists ask many of the same questions and strive to solve many of the same dilemmas as thinkers in these other fields. I have found that precisely this realization—that the Center brings to bear a community of interdisciplinary thinkers who approach applied ethics from the most remarkable angles—has inspired my new-found interest in political theory and an epiphany that big ideas can be applied.

This semester I have worked to hone my senior thesis, pursuing a reading and research course with Professor Michael Puett on an interdisciplinary study of the Golden Rule and conceiving a two-level theory of respect for my term paper for the Undergraduate Fellow seminar. Working with Professor Puett has allowed me the creative range to pursue large, abstract thought without disciplinary constraint. My work with the Center has provided a wonderful counterpoint; here I get to consider where such abstractions intersect with the real world.

The community that I have encountered at the Center—both in and outside of class—is one of enthusiastic, curious collaborators who are patient and willing to listen to even the roughest and unpolished of ideas—and generous with their time and feedback. Before turning in my term paper for the seminar this semester, Professor Applbaum met with me for two hours to engage my ideas. Needless to say, I cannot stress enough how much I benefited as a student and how supported I felt that Professor Applbaum would so generously listen to my ideas. My experience has been no different with other Fellows with whom I have traded papers and had long, genuine conversations regarding our thoughts, aspirations, and work. This is the type of intellectual community that any student is fortunate to be a part of. I have had a fantastic fellowship

experience this semester, and I look forward to continuing work with the Center this fall.

Jared Lopez

Being an Undergraduate Fellow for a second year was, once again, one of the highlights of my year. As always, the workshops were intellectually stimulating, the lectures were interesting, and the dinners inspiring. I very much appreciated the opportunity to take part in such a friendly, passionate, and intellectually curious community. As a graduating senior, my experiences with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics will be among those that I cherish most from my undergraduate years.

This past year in particular, I used the fellowship to help me develop and eventually complete my senior thesis, which is an exploration of the ethical implications of Wittgenstein's philosophy of language. The project—the topic of which was inspired by Sean Gray, my Graduate Fellow mentor from the previous year—argues that ethical discourse must pay close attention to the customs and practices that ground ordinary language use. Rather than simply theorize about ethical concepts in an abstract manner, I argue that we must attend to how ethics is embedded in our use of language. The seminar proved invaluable in helping me shape my idea in its early stages, as well as develop and refine it in the later stages of drafting. James Brandt and the other Undergraduate Fellows were extremely helpful interlocutors, pushing me to clarify my thoughts and posing potential ways of framing my argument and ideas.

Looking back, my entire experience at the Center was both extremely enjoyable and thought-provoking. The friendships that I have made and the mentors that I have found over the past two years have formed a key part of my experience at Harvard. Throughout my fellowship, I was challenged, encouraged, and inspired by both the people I met and the ideas we explored. Thank you so much for the opportunity. I am sure it will continue to impact me in ways that I do not yet realize.

David Miller

My involvement with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics as an Undergraduate Fellow this year has included attending several lectures, meals, and most importantly, biweekly seminars with James Brandt. These seminars have been a great opportunity to continue work with students interested in ethics generally, as well as to hear more about other students' specific research interests, particularly around their theses. I greatly appreciated the formal and informal feedback on my thesis provided during these sessions. While my thesis did not explicitly aim to tackle normative questions, it was instructive to be pushed on theoretical and normative elements by such a thoughtful group.

After my summer research in Paris, Belfast, London, and Washington, D.C. (funded by the Weatherhead Center and the Initiative on Global History), I completed and submitted my thesis, "Departing Downward from Humanity: Moves to Torture in Democracies," to Social Studies, and I am continuing my research this fall. I am excited to continue pursuing my interest in human rights and democracy, building substantively off of this thesis research. Starting in October, I will begin work on international law and torture by democracies as the Paul Williams Scholar at Emmanuel College, Cambridge University, in pursuit of a Master of Philosophy in International Relations and Politics.

Finally, on a personal note, it has been a pleasure to meet and become closer with other Undergraduate Fellows throughout the two years of my fellowship. I can happily say that several have become good friends of mine through this experience, and I wholeheartedly thank the Center for its role in promoting these connections.

Lily Ostrer

This past year presented a host of wonderful opportunities to become involved in the activities of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics; one of these was to participate in the Undergraduate Fellow seminar. Our seminar meetings with James Brandt were always illuminating, covering a wide range of topics and exploring different moral and ethical

considerations related to these topics. James was an incredible seminar leader. His selection of pieces provided a great variety in terms of topic and method, and led to fascinating conversations. During the seminars we also had the opportunity to critique each other's work. This was very helpful for me, as I was in the process of writing my senior thesis. The feedback I received from the other Fellows helped me flesh out the ethical dimension of my thesis, which broadly explored the relationship between scientific evidence and knowledge and the development of federal early childhood intervention policy. When I presented a portion of my thesis in our seminar, the comments from my peers were very helpful and gave rise to thoughts about the ethical underpinnings and justifications for federal intervention.

The opportunity to participate in Center events was also incredible. I learned a tremendous amount from the public lectures, and I particularly liked Anna Stilz's lecture, "Territory, Expulsion, and the Right to Return," and Andrew Sullivan's lecture on journalism. Both provided insightful analyses of current social problems and frameworks with which to understand and potentially address these problems. At other Center events I was able to meet and hear from incredible Fellows, professors, and others who have fascinating projects and insights. Overall, I have learned a tremendous amount from the opportunities that I received as a result of being associated with the Center.

Chloe Reichel

My second year as an Undergraduate Fellow has been just as great as the first. Attending James Brandt's seminar over the course of the year has been eye-opening and productive—from reading the latest in ethics scholarship to learning about the work of my peers and receiving feedback on my own writing—the seminar has been an invaluable experience. I also thoroughly enjoyed the events that I attended as a Fellow this year. In particular, I found Larissa MacFarquhar's "What is Family, What are Strangers?" one of the most thought provoking and engaging talks that I have attended in my time at Harvard.

The primary project I worked on this year with the support of the Center was a research paper on medical decision-making procedures for patients with neurodegenerative diseases. The objective of the project is to understand, through interviews with health care proxies and doctors, how medical decisions are made for these patients. The Center has helped me at every turn with this project. In the fall, my peers gave feedback on the initial proposal for my research, and in the spring I presented my findings to the workshop. With the support of James and my peers, I have decided to pursue this project as my senior thesis topic, and with the generosity extended to me through a Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics, I will be able to research this topic full-time this summer.

I consider myself extremely fortunate for the experiences I have had as an Undergraduate Fellow over the past two years. Not only have I learned a great deal about ethics, but I have also had the chance to meet incredible students and faculty, whom I may not have otherwise met. I cherish the friendships I have made over the past two years, and am thankful that I have one more year at Harvard to stay involved with the Center.

William Ryan

This past year I researched the effects of heuristics and its context on moral decision-making and blameworthiness. Advice from and conversations with the Fellows and James Brandt were invaluable, as has been the support from a Lester Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics. This upcoming year, I will be moving to the other side of the theory-practice divide, designing choice architecture for organizations with the TGG Group—a move that was in large part inspired and made possible by my time at the Center.

Jesse Shulman

This semester, the mentorship and seminar of Professor Arthur Applbaum and James Brandt have been my primary engagement with applied ethics. Through the lens of our weekly readings and discussions, I have come, I hope, to a much more nuanced interpretation of political philosophy, the

moral force and legitimacy of government constitutions and policies, as well as a serious consideration of Kantian ethics.

My studies in political philosophy under Professor Applbaum's guidance have materialized into research on drones and the relation of obligation and exploitation in a case for more open borders. This semester, as the one undergraduate cross-registrant in Professor Michael Ignatieff's Kennedy School class, "Sovereignty and Intervention," applying ethical thinking to drones yielded a presentation to Professor Ignatieff and sixty-five colleagues on current U.S. operations and the negative precedent being set by lack of C.I.A. transparency. I also wrote a research paper arguing that decision-making in U.S.-Pakistan drone operations needs to re-orient towards a longer-term strategy and public relations, utilizing regional specialists and incorporating further information it currently lacks.

For Professor Applbaum, I am currently looking at how people avoid or are contaminated by perceived obligation to others, and how these moral considerations have radical consequences for the ways in which we structure our personal relationships, philanthropic enterprises, and national borders. I argue that the perception if an actor performs one good action in two parties interests', that actor enters an obligation for further good actions to the second party not in its own interests, deters the actor from taking the initial action in both parties' interests. Actors should be able to make the initial good action without entering into more onerous, perceived obligations with those whom they would not have otherwise. One high stake to this moral conception in immigration is that high-income countries should open their borders to foreign migrant workers at heavy tax rates to improve both its economy and the foreign migrants' welfare without feeling the deterrent obligation to absorb these foreign migrants as citizens. Simultaneously, I explore the complexities and limits to this radical conception of how to relate to others, particularly the argument for why the consequences of these moral policies—though better for foreign migrants

compared to a non-interaction baseline—might also be judged as exploitative from a “fair interaction” baseline. Such considerations reveal the moral forfeitures required whilst we support the mutually advantageous position I have described above.

On a personal level, I have enjoyed the Center for its community. The other Undergraduate Fellows and Center affiliates at lectures, dinners, and workshops are among the most thoughtful people I have met at Harvard. Meetings with Professor Applbaum for tea or lunch have always challenged me to think deeper and wider than my first ideas. As only a sophomore, I look forward to a continued engagement with the Center and its community for the next two years to come.

Reed Silverman

I had a wonderful experience during my first year as an Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellow in Ethics. My participation in Professor Arthur Applbaum’s seminar during the spring semester alerted me to many problems in contemporary, moral, and political theory that I hadn’t dealt with in the past. I enjoyed debating and learning from my classmates’ perspectives, especially when discussion revealed opposing moral intuitions among those involved. My participation in the seminar culminated with a 20-page paper entitled “Consent and Liability: A Critique of the Fair Play Principle.” The paper involved a meditation on consent as a central yet dubiously founded political ideal in the democratic system, as well as an exploration of Rawls’ fair play principle and the suggestion of an “alternate ending”: that perhaps the voluntary acceptance of the benefits of cooperative society does not assign an individual moral obligation to comply with the laws, but rather, deems him morally liable for a changed normative relationship with his state. I borrowed this latter concept from Professor Applbaum after enjoying the benefit of discussing it with him several times in person.

In addition to participating in the seminar, I enjoyed attending Thomas Christiano’s lecture, “Self-Determination and the Human Right to

Democracy,” as well as the dinner that followed. I look forward to another year of being involved with the Center!

Adam Spinosa

I have been incredibly grateful for the opportunity to be a part of the Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellowship program. The course itself has been incredibly illuminating, and it’s difficult not to appreciate the well-ordered structure of the class. Every class builds on the next one as we move from micro ethical relations to a larger macro picture. In the end, it’s almost surprising how well versed each student is in the important ethical concepts that we struggled with at the beginning, and how well prepared we have become for dealing with larger ethical issues. In addition, the unique response paper format makes sure we are learning and keeping up with the reading every week. The class design is impressive, and it becomes very easy to tackle difficult moral philosophy because of it.

The teaching couldn’t be better. Professor Applbaum and James Brandt have a great way of teasing out unhelpful ethical thinking in order to help refine your own ethical ideas. They never press their own ethical ideas, but really teach you how to think through difficult ethical dilemmas. In doing so, they inspire great confidence in your ability to think. I never truly had a clear framework for working through difficult ethical issues. This class gave me that much needed framework.

In addition to the great teaching and class design, I am incredibly thankful for getting the chance to know and talk to Professor Applbaum, James, and the other Fellows. They are some of the smartest, most genuine people I have met. I am very thankful for meeting them, and I plan to keep in touch.

Joy Wang

I joined the Center this January as one of the members of the newest class of Undergraduate Fellows, and what a wonderful first four months it has been. Our Thursday discussions in seminar with Professor Applbaum and James Brandt have been lively and rewarding in equal measure. Our readings have been varied and engaging, and I espe-

cially appreciated the opportunity to workshop our term papers during the seminar—reading and commenting on my classmates’ work has been just as invaluable as their comments on my work have been for me. My term paper for the seminar, a critique of the idea of reasonableness in Rawlsian political liberalism, benefited greatly from the questions of my peers and feedback from James and Professor Applbaum.

Outside of the seminar, I attended many of the Center’s lectures since the fall, and I particularly enjoyed Richard Tuck’s “The Sleeping Sovereign: How Democracy Became Possible in the Modern World,” and this year’s Kissel Lecture, Larissa MacFarquhar’s “What is Family, What are Strangers?” The Center offers a wealth of opportunities for research and learning, and I am grateful not only for the chance to hear the many guests and affiliates of the Center speak about their work, but also for the incredible community of students and scholars that these lectures and dinners provide.

I will be interning this summer at the Sunlight Foundation in Washington, D.C., through the Director’s Internship Program at Harvard’s Institute of Politics. As a Director’s Intern, I will be doing research on campaign finance reform and open government—a more practical side of what has been until now a largely theoretical education in ethics and politics. I’m looking forward to spending more time with my fellow Fellows and the many other citizens of the Center when I return to campus in the fall, and in the years to come!

Celestine Warren

My involvement this year with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been one of continued intellectual development and growth. Having received a Kissel Grant in Practical Ethics last summer to pursue my work in scientific news reporting, I applied my work to a senior thesis on the history of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. This project, which aligned with my History of Medicine concentration, allowed me the space to focus in depth on the first news outlet for sharing and disseminating

health-related information. Through limiting the scope of my research to this journal’s policies in establishing and maintaining a reputable and respected publication, I studied the channels of authority involved in creating a publication of integrity. This project hinted at the inherent tensions between ethical conduct and objectivity in journalism: the competing pressures behind wanting to be the first to report on a story, as well as the need to verify the information within a piece.

My senior thesis has served as one chapter of a larger project looking at the role of reputation and authority with respect to news outlets. I am left with the lingering questions: why do we believe what we do, what news do we look to, and how do we make decisions about our health and our bodies? At this point, I feel prepared with the skills and know-how to answer them.

Our bi-weekly seminar group was instrumental in challenging and encouraging my work in this realm. The opportunity to share what I was doing with an interdisciplinary group of scholars provided me new insights and directions with which to craft this project. James Brandt gracefully facilitated our conversations while pushing us to think critically about the works we were reading. Furthermore, the opportunity to read and discuss what my peers were working on captivated my interest in fields such as Philosophy and Social Studies, allowing me a window into these disciplines that I have not had the time in my schedule to formally study. I became close and formed long-lasting friendships with my cohort of Undergraduate Fellows. The conversations we had within our organized group meetings often continued outside the formal meetings.

Another major highlight of this year was the lecture series. From hearing Andrew Sullivan’s tirade about advertising in the media to attending Ron Suskind’s moving book reception, I had the pleasure of being exposed to intellectualism and academia outside Harvard. Thriving off of conversations at the subsequent lecture dinners with peers from all

disciplines, I feel that my involvement this year with the Center furthered my thoughts of my own work and the opportunities to pursue it. It is without hesitation I write that my time as an Undergraduate Fellow has, by far, been the most rewarding of my undergraduate experiences. I am extremely thankful for the support of the Center over these past two years, and look forward to continuing my involvement next year as a Network Fellow in the Lab.

Oliver Wenner

It is difficult to succinctly summarize this academic year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics—so much has happened. What remained constant, however, was the intellectual rigor, breadth of challenging questions, and collegial atmosphere that bear the hallmark of the Center. In the true spirit of a liberal arts education, the Undergraduate Fellowship offered a microcosm of intellectual disciplines that, in their application to ethics, challenged preconceived notions and ethical standpoints. Our discussion workshops explored difficult and contemporary issues in moral and political philosophy. We examined the normative implications, if any, of recent work in neuro-scientific imaging on moral theories. While we rarely reached a consensus, the conversations illustrated the importance of bringing together a multitude of academic disciplines to cooperatively search for answers to questions that, in many ways, are of societal concern.

The fellowship extended beyond bi-weekly seminars; the many lectures offered by the Center, the intimate dinners with scholars, policy-makers, and journalists, as well as the mentoring, enabled our discussions to carry on and penetrate all realms of our intellectual lives.

The Center's scholarly resources strengthened my own research in applied ethics. This academic year, I continued making progress in understanding the normative notions that appear to undergird many Israelis' sense of moral obligation to accept military

conscription. Stemming from a normatively-loaded theory of identity, my research investigated whether that theory and its practical identities could withstand the scrutiny of philosophy to yield genuine obligations. *Prima facie* political obligation concerns the individual and the state. Yet, in understanding some Israelis' moral cognition concerning military conscription, it became clear that one must account for perceived (and perhaps real) obligations to one's fellow agents (admittedly, which agents was oftentimes delineated by the political entity that constituted the Israeli state). A great number of questions remain unanswered. However, the Undergraduate Fellows, with the thoughtful and dedicated guidance of James Brandt, provided a forum to explore these questions—for which I am very grateful.

My senior thesis further proves the scholarly capacities of the fellowship: writing on infinity—far removed from applied ethics—I nevertheless sought help from the workshop members. The Fellows provided critical insights that very much aided my own understanding of my thesis and showed me when I needed to supply more details. In conclusion, this academic year has been a highly productive year, offering many opportunities for me to grow intellectually and personally in a collegial environment, while laying a foundation for taking on challenging ethical questions as I now graduate from Harvard.

APPENDIX I: 2013-14 REPORTS OF THE GRADUATE FELLOWS

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics 2013-14

Joelle Abi-Rached, Ryan Davis, Mark Hanin (Visiting), Philippa Hetherington, Tae-Yeoun Keum, Charles Lesch, Aline-Florence Manent, Oded Na'aman

Joelle Abi-Rached

The Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been the perfect intellectual and physical milieu for embarking on my PhD dissertation. Our many thought-provoking discussions during and following the graduate fellow seminars helped sharpen my arguments, and ultimately pushed me to think more deeply about the overarching themes and claims I intend to make in my dissertation. The fellowship provided me with the time and resources to draft two chapters, and I received valuable comments that I now have the luxury of meditating on in remembrance of this exceptional year.

My dissertation examines the history of madness, the ethic of care, and institutional governance in the sectarian and volatile Levantine context of the late nineteenth century through the late twentieth century. The first chapter, which I presented during a spring graduate fellow seminar, draws on a wide variety of primary source material from the nineteenth century to set the stage for the founding of 'Afuriyyeh (Arabic for "the place of the birds"), allegedly the first "modern" psychiatric hospital in "Bible Lands," founded in 1896 near Beirut. This chapter proposes a revisionist history of modernity in the Levant by problematizing the Protestant missionaries' "myth of origin," namely that of bringing both a modern and a more humane ethic of care to the unenlightened Orient.

The second chapter, presented at a fall graduate fellow seminar, is a meditation on the psychiatry, colonialism and postcolonial studies literature. It suggests broadening the historiographical lens on asylums and other similar "moral sites" where behavior and beliefs are shaped according to societal normative concerns and expectations. The chapter also emphasizes and expands on the metaphysical dimensions of missions and the

sacramental nature of their praxis, complicating the history of eastern missions that tend to either praise or condemn them. The "myth of origin" that I debunk in the first chapter is explored here differently. I argue that the real departure from previous charitable institutions existing in the region long before the era of missions and colonialism is rather located in the emergence of a new form of care predicated on the resuscitation (through the marginalization and corruption of the old regime of care) of a new ontology deeply intertwined in the sacred nature of missions at the *fin-de-siècle* Levant.

In addition to these two projects, I continued publishing works related to my interests in the social, political and ethical implications of the neurosciences: a chapter on the genealogy of the neurosciences in an edited book in French entitled *La Vie Sociale Des Neurosciences* (Paris: Armand Colin) and an article on neuropolitics published in *Cambridge Anthropology* (both co-authored with Nikolas Rose).

I feel very privileged to have been part of a group of such outstanding Fellows. Our many discussions under the guidance of Eric Beerbohm, and especially those devoted to our respective projects, were invariably stimulating. Our luncheon with Madame Lily Safra, in which Frances Kamm, Jerome Groopman, Eric Beerbohm, Lawrence Lessig, and Arthur Applbaum also participated, was especially memorable. Above all, I feel most fortunate to have met exceptionally talented, critical, original thinkers (Aline-Florence, Charlie, Mark, Oded, Philippa, Ryan, and Tae-Yeoun: you will be missed!). Hopefully the conversation will continue beyond the warm ambience of the Center.

Ryan Davis

I'm very grateful that I was able to spend the academic year as a Graduate Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Its diverse affiliates and events produced an ideal intellectual environment. Lectures by public figures and opinion makers encouraged me to more broadly consider questions deserving of greater philosophical attention, while talks by moral and political philosophers provided me with helpful models for motivating and structuring arguments. In between events, the Center provided a stimulating environment for academic conversations within and across disciplines.

My primary task this year was the development of my dissertation, which deepens and defends an account of the value of personal autonomy. In the fall, I wrote and presented a draft chapter at the graduate fellow seminar that argued the following: If one accepts a constitutivist explanation about the grounds of moral requirements, then this would also have implications for the content of those requirements. In particular, my chapter suggested that constitutivism would favor a principle of robust non-interference with the choices of others (including one's future self). My discussant, Mark Hanin, pressed me to defend the normative consequences of my account, and to clarify how my picture of autonomy related to the difference between doing and allowing. In the spring, I worked on and presented a second chapter, grounding the value of toleration in personal autonomy. The spring presentation motivated me, very helpfully, to revise and rearticulate the distinction I had drawn between different philosophical accounts of toleration.

In addition to my dissertation progress, I prepared a paper about distributive justice and the World Trade Organization, which is currently under revise and resubmit at International Theory. I also developed a paper connecting a literature on political authority to a question in philosophy of religion. I recently presented it at the Logos Workshop at Notre Dame, and it is forthcoming in *Religious Studies*.

The best part of being at the Center was the community experience. I enjoyed seeing what the other Graduate Fellows were working on, learning from some of their project development strategies, and engaging in fun, vigorous conversations together. I wish to direct special thanks to my officemate, Charles Lesch, whose powerful writing inspired me to rethink my own views on sources of moral motivation. I owe more than a thank you to Professor Eric Beerbohm, whose combination of philosophical acuity and personal warmth created the perfect environment for our meetings. Eric's felicity with the full range of research topics being pursued by the Fellows was instrumental in getting us to engage with each others' projects.

Although I end every academic year wishing I had accomplished more, I am happy to have made progress this year. I am most grateful for the academic, institutional, and personal support I received through the Center.

Mark Hanin

My activities in 2013-14 included research, teaching, and course auditing.

In September 2013, my paper "Ethical Anti-Archimedeanism and Moral Error Theory" was published in *The Journal of Value Inquiry*. It contains the most detailed formulation to date of a new kind of challenge to moral error theory. The challenge, based on Ronald Dworkin's work, is not that error theory is mistaken, but that it may be damagingly question-begging or self-contradictory. This critique grew out of my PhD dissertation, which I defended in 2012 at the University of Cambridge.

I presented two works-in-progress at the graduate fellow seminar during my fellowship year. Both sessions were productive and lively, leading me to think in new ways about my work. My first presentation offered a critique of John Finnis' theistic natural law theory, in which I argued that Finnis' belief that theistic facts are indispensable for justifying the existence and bindingness of objective moral principles is mistaken on substantive moral grounds. The second presentation was a defense of the coherence of self-promises.

I responded to a series of objections to self-promising and developed parallels between other-directed promises and self-directed promises to better understand our moral relationship with ourselves. The comments of Professor Tim Scanlon were especially helpful in sharpening my thinking. I am also grateful more generally for the insights and criticisms of the other Graduate Fellows, with whom it's been a pleasure to engage. Eric Beerbohm's encouragement and efforts to direct and frame our discussions has been remarkably valuable, and I am most appreciative that he included me in this year's cohort.

In addition to my publication and presentations, I was fortunate to be the Head Teaching Fellow for Professor Lessig and Dr. English's inaugural undergraduate course, "Institutional Corruption." My involvement with the course was a wonderful opportunity to meet interesting students, improve my understanding of institutional corruption, and interact with Lab Fellows, many of whom gave superb guest lectures. I was also a Teaching Fellow for "Ethics in Public Life" during my fellowship year, a Harvard Kennedy School course taught by 1989-1991 Ethics Center Senior Scholar Professor Ken Winston to mid-career students. During breaks from teaching, the Graduate Fellowship also enabled me to audit classes at Harvard Law School and Harvard Kennedy School in preparation for my JD, which I will begin at Yale Law School in fall 2014.

I attended a number of Lab seminars throughout the year, as well as all the public lectures hosted by the Center. The wide range of topics and opportunities to speak with so many new people made these events especially enjoyable. A book talk organized by Lab Fellow Sheila Kaplan in honor of Marianne Szegedy-Maszak's family memoir, *I Kiss Your Hand Many Times: Hearts, Souls, and Wars in Hungary* (2013), was particularly memorable.

I am grateful to the Center for its generosity, vibrant academic atmosphere, and spirit of camaraderie. I am very appreciative for the support I received from Stephanie, Katy, and Erica.

Philippa Hetherington

This was my final year of doctoral work in History. As such, my time at the Center was spent finishing my dissertation, which examines the emergence of 'the traffic in women' as an international crime and an ethical issue concerning sexual and migratory consent and the state's claims on its subjects abroad. The opportunity to share my work and receive feedback from the Center community at this crucial juncture was very valuable. The input of the Graduate Fellows in philosophy, political theory and history contributed to my dissertation in ways that I could not have foreseen. I was pushed in our seminar to more systematically consider the implications of my broader theoretical intervention for questions of governmentality and global biopolitics, as well as for the ethical stakes of humanitarian rescue projects. This helped me distance myself a bit from the specificities of my archival material to develop a more rigorous project.

In the fall, I wrote and presented a dissertation chapter on the interwar League of Nations Traffic in Women Committee and their campaign to 'save' Russian women in China in the 1920s and 1930s. I argued that while the Committee's position on the traffic in women was a humanitarian one at its inception, it evolved in a carceral direction that saw emigration and immigration restrictions and even deportations of single women as the best way to protect them from being trafficked into prostitution. Furthermore, the campaign to rescue Russian women in particular, which became a cause celebre in the 1930s (the resonances of which we still see today in movies and novels about 'white Russians' in interwar Shanghai) was a deeply racialized project premised on the desire to prevent sexual interaction between European women and non-European men. Feedback from the Fellows helped me to deepen the foregrounding of my argument about the Traffic in Women Committee's anti-immigration stance as a form of global biopolitical governance, which had previously been only implicit in the story I was telling.

During the spring, I revised and presented a dissertation chapter that discusses imperial Russian western and southern border controls in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this period, the Russian state became increasingly aware that many hundreds of thousands of people were leaving the empire clandestinely (it was illegal to emigrate) through porous borders with German and Austrian empires. At the same time, port officials in Odessa were beginning to raise alarm about women being taken from the Russian empire to the Ottoman Empire across the Black Sea, something they began to categorize as a potential crime of 'traffic in women.' I argue that the Russian state's response to this 'new' crime was closely conditioned by their panic about illicit and clandestine emigration more broadly, which focused on a demonization of 'emigration agents' and traffickers. Early twentieth century interviews with Russian women in Constantinople who were being 'rescued' from trafficking via repatriation by the consulate, however, told a more complex story. For them, the lines between consent and coercion, both in terms of emigration and sex work, were blurred; the stories they told often pointed to direct and indirect coercion (via poverty), but many also insisted that they had made their own choices and were pleased with them (protestations which were ignored by the consulate). At the end of this chapter I attempt to posit a new way of thinking about questions of consent in both migration and sex work that could help us better understand the narratives told by these women. With the help of feedback I received from the Fellows, I revised this chapter further to improve the style and flow, and to tighten my intervention with regard to the shift I identified in the relations between the Russian state and its subjects during this period.

Overall, I found my year at the Center to be a rich and rewarding interdisciplinary experience. Late in my time at Harvard, I discovered that one of the best ways to improve my work as a historian is to think about its relation to the work of fellow humanities scholars engaged in projects a bit further afield. In seminar conversations and over

dinners and drinks with the Fellows, I was consistently challenged to tighten my conceptual frameworks and better articulate my interventions. I will miss Harvard and the Center next year.

Tae-Yeoun Keum

My year at the Center was magical. There was a great deal of horizon-broadening and intellectual enrichment, but the most valuable aspect of the experience was the opportunity to be a part of such an inspiring community. Over seminar lunches and more elaborate dinners, conversations in the hallway and office-wide email exchanges, the academic frontiers being pushed by our very own Fellows were constantly brought to my attention. Ultimately, the environment pushed me to identify more nuanced ways of articulating the themes and stakes of my own work.

My dissertation, provisionally titled "The Mythic Tradition in Platonism: Political Myth from Plato to Ernst Cassirer," asks whether there can be a role for myth in political theory. It explores this question by reconstructing a tradition of political thinkers who were inspired by Plato's use of myth to investigate its political and philosophical potential. My year at the Center has served as a critical time for constructing the broad argument and structure of my dissertation. The necessity of defending it clearly and concisely for an interdisciplinary audience has been invaluable to its development.

In the fall, I subjected my fellow seminar participants to a draft chapter on the myths in Plato's *Republic*. In the chapter, I argue that all three major myths of the *Republic* sustain a common project of defining what nature stands for in Plato's ideal city. This project, articulated in myths, is deeply entwined with the central political-philosophical concern of educating the philosophers of Plato's ideal city. I contend that the myths of the *Republic* demonstrate their potential to create new epistemic spaces that supply the background conditions for becoming a philosopher in Plato's sense.

The fall also found me participating in a conference panel with Graduate Fellow colleague Charlie Lesch.

On this occasion, I presented another dissertation chapter on the German Idealist movement for a new mythology.

During the spring, I presented a draft of a very different chapter on the twentieth century philosopher of myth, Ernst Cassirer. The chapter reconstructs some of the major debates on myth in the early twentieth century, as well as the particular problem of classification that Plato posed to philosophers struggling to distinguish myth from rational philosophy. Cassirer's position on these debates proves much less straightforward than scholars tend to acknowledge: Cassirer's desire to claim Plato for the modern philosophical tradition forces him to make room in his conception of philosophy to accommodate Plato's myths, but in so doing, he carves out a space in his philosophy for recognizing a specifically Platonic approach to reconciling myth with theoretic rationality.

The Center was a stimulating environment in which to think about, write, and present these vastly different chapters as part of a coherent dissertation project. My work and scholarly abilities have been much enhanced by the gentle and incisive scrutiny of Joelle, Eric, Ryan, Mark, Philippa, Charlie, Aline-Florence, and Oded, and the patient guidance of Mark, Erica, Stephanie, Katy, and Tara.

Charlie Lesch

My past year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was an extraordinarily enriching, productive, and rewarding experience. The time and resources afforded me through the Center's support enabled me to make substantial progress on my dissertation, which examines the moral and psychological foundations of social solidarity, and investigates the debt paid by political community to face-to-face, aesthetic, and religious forms of experience.

During each semester, I was able to research and complete a core chapter of the dissertation. In the fall, I wrote a chapter that drew on a new interpretation of Emmanuel Levinas to explore the role of

forms of experience with a religious provenance in shaping ethical life. I presented the chapter at multiple venues, and received a "best-paper" award at one of them. An invitation to present the chapter at an interdisciplinary conference at Harvard Divinity School in particular afforded me the opportunity to meet scholars in a number of other disciplines concerned with the study of religion. During the spring, I completed a dissertation chapter about Jürgen Habermas and the role (and limits) of language for achieving social solidarity. I was also able to finalize my revisions of an article on Walter Benjamin, Kant, and Jewish political theology while at the Center, which appeared in the *American Political Science Review* this past February.

By far the most rewarding part of the fellowship experience was participating in biweekly seminars with the other Graduate Fellows, led by Eric Beer-bohm. I found these sessions absolutely indispensable for developing and refining my ideas, and I owe all my fellow participants a great debt of gratitude for their questions, comments—and especially—their critiques. No one is more deserving of praise here than Eric, whose kind and thoughtful leadership and incisive comments made the seminar simultaneously rigorous and congenial. I also benefited tremendously from the opportunity at a spring semester session to present and observe the discussion of one of my chapters by two of my committee members, Michael Rosen and Peter Gordon. Finally, my exposure to the work of the other seminar participants, and the insight of their invited faculty guests, was deeply enriching. Interdisciplinary forums of this kind are all too rare, and it was a pleasure to encounter such a large range of methodologies, perspectives, and concerns. I believe this experience will serve me invaluable as I progress with my academic research and career.

In closing, I want to express my gratitude to the staff—especially Erica, Katy, Mark, and Stephanie—for fostering such a wonderful place to work at the Ethics Center, and for helping to make my year here such a pleasant and productive one.

Aline-Florence Manent

My year at the Center has been extremely productive and intellectually rewarding. I made substantial progress on my dissertation, which explores the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and its development into a robust democratic order. In particular, I reconstruct the visions of democracy and the state developed by West German intellectuals, politicians, economists, lawyers and statesmen in the aftermath of National Socialism.

Having already defended my dissertation prospectus and conducted preliminary archival research in Germany last summer, I was able to settle down at the Center and write the first chapter of my dissertation this past fall. The chapter examines some of the intellectual discourses that accompanied the founding of the Federal Republic from 1945 to 1949. I focus on a small set of public lawyers and statesmen who actively participated in the construction of the FRG, and whose ideas were illustrative of the wider West German establishment's political and intellectual sensitivities. I argue that these men and women reconceptualized the German democratic polity as local self-government by drawing selectively on Germany's very own intellectual and political traditions, especially nineteenth century Prussian theorists of the administrative state. I was afforded opportunities to present this work at the Graduate fellow seminar and at an interdisciplinary conference hosted by the European University Institute in Florence, the travel for which was made possible in part by financial support from the Center.

The fall also found me further conceptualizing and refining the overall structure of my dissertation. I applied for several competitive travel grants during this period, and will conduct further archival research in Europe next year. In preparation for this archival research, I devoted my time in the spring to outlining the second chapter of my dissertation, which focuses on the intersection of the political economy of industrial democracy in postwar West Germany and its relation to wider

conceptions of participatory democracy. The fellowship afforded me time to conduct extensive background research on debates in German political economy in the 1950s and economic policy discussions related to codetermination in the West German steel industry.

In addition to these dissertation chapters, I was able to develop two closely connected article drafts. First, I extensively revised an existing draft on the thought of German jurist and political theorist Ernst-Wolfgang Böckenförde. I received searching critiques and invaluable comments on this work when I presented it at one of our spring seminar sessions. I also wrote an initial essay draft to be published in a collective volume on Joachim Ritter, a philosopher whose work played a central role in the intellectual history of the early Federal Republic.

The graduate fellowship was an incredible opportunity because it allowed me to dedicate myself fully to the fastidious research my project requires. It also helped mitigate a major pitfall of exclusive focus on one's own research: tunnel vision. In a way, my office at the Center perfectly embodied this balance: though I received a private workspace, its window overlooked the office's communal space. The Center's lecture series, as well as opportunities within the seminars to receive feedback and interact with the work of students in political theory, analytic philosophy, and other areas of history facilitated exposure to a wide intellectual universe, and thus fended off the cloistered mindset that too often results from solitary research and writing. I am extremely grateful to Eric Beerbohm for steering our seminars with the sensitivity of a conductor, finding harmony in what could first appear as cacophony. The Center staff, especially Erica, Stephanie, Katy and Tara, as well as our other Center-mates, provided an exceptionally hospitable environment. Most of all, I am grateful to the other Graduate Fellows—Tae-Yeoun, Philippa, Joelle, Ryan, Charles, Oded and Mark—for their friendship and intellectual companionship throughout the year.

Oded Na'aman

The generous support of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has enabled me to draft three of my four dissertation chapters this year. My first semester was spent writing chapters about regret and being oneself, and the second semester found me writing a chapter about valuing. My working dissertation title is "Existential Reasons: Valuing, Loving, Regretting, and Being Oneself."

In addition to affording me the opportunity to focus on my academic writing, the Center kindly sponsored and hosted a lunch event that I organized to discuss themes generated in *Our Harsh Logic: Israeli Soldiers' Testimonies from the Occupied Territories, 2000-2010* (Metropolitan Press, 2012). The book was produced by Israeli veterans affiliated with the group Breaking the Silence, of which I am a member. My related essay about self-sacrifice was also published by *Boston Review* during my fellowship year in the March/April 2014 issue.

Finally, my participation in the graduate fellow seminar provided me with invaluable advice and criticism, and exposed me to the fascinating work of other Fellows. Professor Beerbohm, who led the seminar, facilitated truly fruitful discussions that benefitted from the interdisciplinary composition of the group.

APPENDIX I: 2013-14 REPORTS OF THE LAB FELLOWS

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows in Ethics 2013-14 (residential)

Avlana Eisenberg, Gregg Fields, Talia Fisher, Adriane Gelpi, Garry Gray, Jennifer Heerwig, Sheila Kaplan, Michelle Mello, Jennifer Miller, Marie Newhouse, Kimberly Pernell-Gallagher, Ann-Christin Posten, Katherine Silz Carson, Laurence Tai, Brooke Williams

Avlana Eisenberg

In my first year as an Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellow, I have been able to continue my work on the design of criminal justice institutions and the incentives of criminal justice actors, expanding my focus to the prison industry. My project uses the Lab's framing of institutional corruption to examine prisons in the United States and the dramatic increase in incarceration over the last forty years. I am extremely grateful to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for supporting my work on this timely issue.

I am interested in many of the same corrupting influences as other Lab Fellows, such as lobbying by interested parties, lack of oversight and transparency, and the revolving door between public and private sectors. The prison industry, however, presents a unique challenge in defining corruption because, unlike many other institutions, its purposes are ill-defined. As a result, I focus on three goals of prison policy that are largely uncontroversial: cost control, humane treatment of prisoners, and reduced recidivism.

I examine how the prison industry often works at cross-purposes with these goals, focusing on the unique role of private prisons and on the interdependencies between public and private prison sectors. This year I have begun to examine the incentives that exist in the prison industry; to do so, I have disaggregated the stakeholders involved, which include prison guards, labor unions, prison managers, sheriffs, and private prison executives, among others. I am conducting interviews of prison industry stakeholders to learn more about their incentives. Using this data, I plan to assess the policy benefits and political feasibility of five categories of possible remedies: regulation, changed contract practices, modified compensation schemes, increased transparency, and shifting social norms.

The Lab's interdisciplinary makeup has been invaluable for my work. My research is intricately connected to developing prison reform literatures grounded in psychology, economics, government, philosophy, sociology, and public health, among other disciplines; having a cross-section of academics, practitioners, and journalists from which to draw ideas has been a great highlight of the year. The feedback that I received at my Lab seminar in December was particularly helpful, as it aided and informed my transition from background research and analysis to the more empirically grounded dimension of my project. I am tremendously grateful to Larry, my fellow Fellows, and the amazing staff of the Center who have opened my eyes to new perspectives and have made this year so intellectually and personally rewarding.

Gregg Fields

During my two years as a Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I produced twenty-nine articles for the Lab's blog, a Working Paper published on SSRN, and three articles for academic journals. My work was compiled as an e-book published by the Center as well.

Personally, I feel that my work contributed to advancing our examination of the phenomenon of institutional corruption. My specialty is financial regulation— particularly Dodd-Frank. I am a financial journalist, not an academic.

Among other highlights, I got to participate in an interview session with Janet Yellen prior to her ascension as Chair of the Federal Reserve. She later emailed me to say that she was looking forward to reading my e-book. I met Ben Bernanke before he left the Fed, interviewed former FDIC Chair Sheila Bair, and talked with former SEC Chiefs Mary Schapiro and Harvey Pitt. I covered a joint appearance by Chris Dodd and Barney Frank and a speech by Frank at a Fed forum.

I provided feedback on innumerable Working Papers by other Fellows, many of whom credited me in their acknowledgements. I also provided feedback to Kate Kenny, a Network Fellow in Ireland, on her book manuscript about whistleblowing.

I helped organize papers that were presented at “Institutional Corruption and the Capital Markets,” a workshop co-sponsored by the Center. The papers comprise a special section in an issue of *Law and Financial Markets Review*.

I was an active participant in the Lab’s podcast series; I conducted roughly half of the interviews for podcasts that we have posted, and have recorded several podcasts that are yet to be released.

I believe that I attended every lecture sponsored by the Center. In all honesty, I did not find them universally interesting, and sometimes I was confused as to what their relation to institutional corruption actually was. It is possible, of course, that the Fellows who conduct research in other disciplines found the lectures more useful.

Maybe it is just the journalist in me, but I think that the Center is yet to clearly and loudly tell its story to the world. I did seek the input of a friend who is a communications consultant on ways in which the Center might raise its profile in the future. I wrote up those suggestions and provided them to the staff for their consideration as the Lab enters its final year.

Talia Fisher

I feel extremely privileged to have spent the 2013-14 academic year as a Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, and to call it my intellectual home. Being part of such a vibrant, multidisciplinary, and committed group of researchers has impacted me profoundly, both as a researcher and as a citizen. The analytical tools and vocabulary developed at the Lab provided me with a richer understanding of the different manifestations of institutional corruption, including my own area of research—the judicial system.

The central players in the judicial arena—judges, juries, lawyers, as well as actual and potential litigants—are subject to various economies of influence which may jeopardize the integrity of the legal process and impede the ability of the judicial system to provide correct and just rulings. My year as a Lab Fellow was dedicated to examining these economies of influence, with a special emphasis on the issue of litigation cost allocation. The underlying assumption was that the legal regime governing litigation costs is of the utmost importance for the very functioning of the judicial system and the ability of civil litigation to carry out its underlying goals. It affects the scope, shape, and outcome of civil litigation, access to justice, as well as the legitimacy of the judicial system. Together with my wonderful colleagues—the late Professor Ted Eisenberg of Cornell Law School, who was my mentor and greatly admired friend, and Professor Issi Rosen Zvi of Tel Aviv University—I have employed empirical and theoretical tools to unravel litigation cost allocation and judicial attempts to mitigate the potentially corrupting effects of litigation fees on the system’s efficacy and accessibility. Fee data are rarely available in the United States or in English rule (“loser pays”) jurisdictions. We chose to analyze fee awards in Israel, which operate by a unique system in which judges are vested with discretion to award fees. We examined 2,641 cases, which constitute nearly all cases terminated by judgment in Israeli district courts in 2005, 2006, 2011, and 2012. We discovered that the Israeli fee system could be characterized as being more American than English, given the many fee denials and that awarded fees were well below client payments to attorneys. We also discovered that Israeli judges attempted to address the corrupting effects of power disparities between the litigating parties by exercising often their discretion to protect losing litigants—especially individuals—from having to pay fees. In tort cases won by individuals against corporate defendants, we found that corporations paid their own fees plus plaintiffs’ fees in 99% of the cases; corporate defendants that prevailed in such cases paid their own fees 48% of

the time. In addition, we discovered an interesting category of “winner pays” cases; these comprise 5.1% of the dataset, which is currently being re-coded for further exploration in the upcoming months. In the near future, we hope to conduct interviews with Israeli lawyers and sophisticated parties to portray a full picture of the litigation cost arena.

Concurrent with the litigation cost project focused on the civil trial, I also have dedicated my time at the Lab to studying the criminal justice system. I have begun to design a qualitative study aimed at examining prosecutorial decision-making in the context of plea bargaining. The object of my study is to unveil the economies of influence affecting prosecutorial decision-making in this arena, with specific focus placed on practices of over-charging. This project is motivated by the assumption that the growing role of plea bargaining in the criminal justice system can be attributed to the rise of prosecutorial power and the unrestricted capacity of the prosecution to charge the defendant.

Though my fellowship year has ended (much too quickly!), I feel that my journey has just begun. What I have learned at the Center undoubtedly will inform and impact my future research in law for years to come. I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to all those who have made this journey possible: Professor Larry Lessig, who was a true inspiration, and whose insights and support I deeply value; Mark Somos, whose door was always open and whose input and consideration were most significant; Stephanie Dant, whose kindness and dedication were beyond words, and who made me feel so welcome at the Center from the outset; Heidi Carrell, who was extremely considerate and helpful; and all the other wonderful academic and administrative staff members of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Last but not least, I would like to thank my RAs, Miguel Colebrook and Caelyn Stephens, for their strenuous efforts and superb research assistance.

Adriane Gelpi

This year marked another fruitful and rewarding period of association with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. In contrast to previous years, in 2013-14 I divided the time between a fall residential Lab Fellowship at the Center and a spring Visiting Fellowship at the new Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Tel Aviv University in Israel.

During the fall semester at Harvard, my main accomplishment was completing and defending my doctoral thesis in Health Policy. The intellectual stimulation and institutional support of colleagues at the Center proved instrumental in providing the conditions that enabled me to complete this milestone. In October I presented the ethics component of my dissertation at the Lab seminar. The feedback that I received during and after this presentation opened up new thoughts on sharpening the analysis at the heart of the paper, and it introduced me to relevant sources of literature to deepen and extend the empirical aspects of the work. My revisions in preparation for the final thesis submission and defense in December benefited greatly from the feedback—both formal and informal—of colleagues at the Center.

In February I had the good fortune to travel to Tel Aviv to spend three months in residence as the first Visiting Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Tel Aviv University. Over the course of the three months in Israel, I benefited from the warm and welcoming atmosphere of the TAU Center.

In mid-February I presented my research on the ethics of deliberative health policymaking at the TAU Center’s first Lab seminar of the spring semester. The ensuing discussion among faculty and Fellows there provided a valuable new set of perspectives and opinions that have helped me to clarify some thorny issues that need to be addressed as I work to revise this paper for publication. Participating in the weekly seminars through the spring enabled me to develop relationships with Tel Aviv colleagues that offered both social and intellectual support.

In addition to revising my dissertation papers, I capitalized on my time in Israel by developing several new lines of research that extend my previous work on deliberation and health policy to the Israeli context. First, I initiated a new project to study Israel's current engagement in reforming its public mental health system. Through meeting with academics of health policy both at Tel Aviv University and at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, I began to gather a range of data that documents these ongoing reforms, including interviews with leading figures involved. The current movement to privatize community-based mental health services is a monumental change to the Israeli system. Not only does this reform represent a major change in the delivery of mental health services (which will require ongoing evaluation of its policy impact), but it also raises important conceptual issues about the role of special interests, economic factors, and political context in priority setting. These latter issues will benefit from applying the theoretical and analytic lens of institutional corruption that has been the thematic focus of the Harvard Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics.

Following my return to the United States, I continue to develop this new project on deliberation in the Israeli mental health system through ongoing collaboration with colleagues at Hebrew University. The eventual goal will be the development of a case study on ethical and empirical aspects of the mental health reform in Israel. As part of my larger research agenda on deliberation and health policy, this Israeli case aims to provide a comparative counterpoint to similar work that I have conducted in Latin America.

In addition to this contemporary study, I also took advantage of my time in Israel to begin an historical examination of mental health care in Israel from the perspective of immigrant psychiatrists in the 1970s—particularly those from Latin America. The research will examine how these psychiatrists had to incorporate the theories and practices of their home countries into the new context of their work in Israel. This largely untold historical case provides an opportunity to consider broader questions of

institutional reform and agenda setting. Aided by connections that I developed with the Association of Spanish-Speaking Mental Health Professionals in Israel (ASHTMI, by its Hebrew acronym), this historical project will be grounded in interviews with leading psychiatrists, psychologists, and other mental health professionals from Latin America who have been working in Israel. In April 2014, I delivered a talk on advocacy and ethics in mental health reform in Mexico at a special session convened by ASHTMI in Tel Aviv.

Overall, my fellowship at the Center in Israel provided an invaluable expansion of my perspectives. This experience has and will continue to enrich my ongoing work, as well as open up new avenues of research that extend it in directions which I hope will lead to improved understandings of the interconnections between democratic deliberation and health policy reform. As always, I remain grateful for the support of the Center—both at Harvard and now TAU—for its unique and deep commitment to work that transcends theory and practice, and in doing so, offers the opportunity to enhance both beyond what more narrowly defined research would allow.

Garry C. Gray

As a 2013-14 Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I conducted research on the social organization of ethics inside the modern research university. Over the course of the year, I gave presentations at the following events: Law and Society Association Conference (Minneapolis), Legal Empowerment, Power, and Regulation Conference (Semarang, Indonesia), and at the Lab seminar (co-presented with Carmen Mailloux). I also gave a guest lecture in the inaugural undergraduate course on institutional corruption at Harvard University taught by Lawrence Lessig and William English. In addition, I published three academic articles over the course of the past 12 months (*American Journal of Sociology*, *Healthcare Management*, and the *Journal of Law, Medicine, and Ethics*). There were many individuals at the Center who provided assistance, support, and guidance during this time, and I am therefore grateful to Lawrence Lessig, Susan Silbey,

Stephanie Dant, Malcolm Salter, David Korn, Carmen Mailloux, Joseph Hollow, Heidi Carrell, Katy Evans Pritchard, Tara Skurtu, and all the Residential Lab Fellows.

Jennifer Heerwig

During my fellowship year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have pursued multiple projects on elite individual donors in federal elections using my original dataset, the Longitudinal Elite Contributor Database (LECD). These projects underline the importance of re-examining the role of individuals in the campaign finance system. My larger research agenda continues to revolve around how these individuals may themselves be a source of institutional corruption despite attention to other organized sources of campaign cash like political action committees (PACs).

In my first project (with Kate Shaw of Cardozo Law School), I have used the LECD to expose the disjuncture between the Supreme Court's rhetoric vis-à-vis campaign finance disclosure in recent decisions—such as *Citizens United* and *McCutcheon v. FEC*—and the current reality of disclosure. By tracking individual donors within the LECD, Kate and I show how donors often have evaded disclosure requirements. We argue that the Federal Election Commission's weak enforcement authority has resulted in a regime of little credibility and hence limited informational value for the American electorate. We argue that, if disclosure is to meet the Court's rhetoric (or inform future campaign finance reforms like public financing), it must be much different and better. This piece is forthcoming in the *Georgetown Law Journal*. Kate and I received invaluable feedback from a number of Fellows on this work.

In related work, I have pushed forward with my book project on the strategies of elite individual donors. To that end, I have re-analyzed and revised several of the constituent chapters of the work. I have also begun supplementing the LECD with additional datasets that will fill out these analyses and provide a more robust portrait of the recipients of contributor donations. For instance, I am cur-

rently preparing a paper on the strategies of elite donors in House elections using the LECD supplemented with data from the Congressional Quarterly Congress Collection. This analysis will test if elite donors have, like corporate PACs, targeted members of powerful, policy-relevant House committees, and how these patterns vary with the industry of the contributor. This analysis will be presented in August at the annual American Sociological Association meeting in San Francisco, CA.

Lastly, I have started a new collaborative project on the political alignments of corporate elites over the past thirty years. This project will be conducted with Josh Murray of Vanderbilt University. We have begun to examine changes in the partisan character of donations from corporate elites compared to "ordinary" donors, and to map how the degree of political coordination between corporate elites has evolved over time. In particular, we are testing recent hypotheses advanced by sociologists that our current climate of political polarization may be explained, in part, by the disintegration of a moderate, cohesive corporate community in the United States.

Sheila Kaplan

This year I completed my research on institutional corruption at the intersection of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Congress, the White House, and regulated industries. I interviewed dozens of present and former EPA employees, lobbyists, and congressional staffers, documented the cases of more than 100 people who have passed through the revolving door between government and industry, and finished my analysis of letters that lawmakers wrote to EPA on behalf of donors. I published a few articles from this work, but have saved most of it for the Working Paper and book I will complete this summer.

My other main project has been the development of a 4-part documentary series on institutional corruption, "America: COMPROMISED, with Lawrence Lessig"—which I have done with donations from foundations and individuals. We have completed a trailer for the series, taped ten interviews,

and secured a place in PBS programming. I will continue to raise money for the project, and will continue reporting, taping interviews, and developing our online program and ethics game. Special thanks go to Lawrence Lessig, Mark Somos, and Stephanie Dant for their incredible guidance and encouragement. We plan to air the series in the fall of 2015.

Michelle Mello

My fellowship year has been immensely enjoyable and has given me space and inspiration to conceive new ideas and avenues of research. Much of this benefit I owe to my interactions with other Fellows at the Center. Although I have been at Harvard for fourteen years, this is the first time that I have had any interaction with many of the Harvard scholars affiliated with the Center, and I have really benefited from considering problems from the perspective of other disciplines and fields such as investigative journalism. I have also had more regular interactions with other legal scholars than before, and have enjoyed the time and opportunity to informally mentor a few of the Junior Fellows.

The Lab seminars have been a valuable component of the year, and have really changed the way I think about some of the topics of my work. Although my project this year is related to medical schools' oversight of faculty consulting relationships, the consistent focus on the theme of institutional corruption in the seminars led me to reconceptualize two other issues in my work as IC issues: disclosure and compensation of medical errors, and overcoming interest group opposition to public health laws that aim to prevent obesity.

The support provided by the Fellowship has given me relief from some of the demands of my soft-money job, and has enabled me to take advantage of several new opportunities to pursue projects relating to institutional corruption:

- I submitted a blog post on clinical trial data sharing for the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation's *Human Capital Blog* that addresses, among other things, claims by pharmaceutical companies that sharing data would pose competitive harms.

- I published a blog post on conflict-of-interest issues in disclosing and compensating medical errors in the *Huffington Post*.
- I published a paper in the *Hastings Center Report* on how the food and beverage industries have captured the frame of the public debate over laws aimed at curbing obesity in New York City.
- I published a paper in *The New England Journal of Medicine* advocating raising the minimum sales age for tobacco products to 21 and discussing pushback from tobacco retailers and manufacturers that is cloaked in the mantle of "consumer freedom."
- I disseminated these ideas in 11 presentations in academic workshops and policy conferences, including one to an Institute of Medicine committee on clinical trial data sharing.
- I convened a group of Harvard scholars, including several Center affiliates, to brainstorm bold ideas for addressing the influence of the pharmaceutical industry over biomedical research, and we pitched our best ideas to a private foundation with which we are now following up concerning possible funding.
- I proposed a new project on clinical trial data sharing to the Center.

These new projects slowed my progress on my main fellowship project relating to medical schools' oversight of faculty consulting agreements with private companies, but my collaborators and I are about to complete one manuscript draft. We intend to submit it to a top-tier medical journal, and are currently revising a second manuscript (led by Stephanie Morain, a former Graduate Fellow) following favorable reviews at a well-regarded health journal. I hope to have a third manuscript ready by summer's end.

Jennifer E. Miller

During my second year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I focused on creating and launching the world's first bioethics rating system for pharmaceutical companies to help fix system failures that are potentially harmful to public health and/or exploitative in nature. After refining my model, I completed the first full pilot of my rating index, tentatively titled Good Pharma, on the 20 largest bio-pharmaceutical companies.

The first pilot ranks companies according to how transparent they are in communicating clinical trial results for their newly approved drugs (aka how "findable" safety and efficacy information is for new drugs). The rankings show that companies' practices vary greatly. One company publically disseminates 100% of its trial results, while another discloses a mere 11% (with others falling in between). The second index ranks companies not just on how "findable" trial results are, but also on their "reliability." The third index ranks companies on specific ethics and exploitation concerns about how trials are conducted in developing countries.

I hope that publicly ranking companies on specific ethical criteria can help define what good practices can and should look like for the industry and signal the degree to which they are being implemented. Ratings also recognize good practices by companies and incentivize better behaviors where needed, contributing to a more trustworthy and ethical healthcare innovation sector.

To further the thinking about the suitability of using ratings to govern the ethics of multinational companies, I co-chaired a conference with Nir Eyal at Harvard Medical School called "Companies' Global Health Footprint: Could Rating Help?" Additionally, I chaired four roundtables with pharmaceutical executives to discuss the state of ethics and trust in the industry. I also published an article titled "From Bad Pharma to Good Pharma: Aligning Market Forces with Good and Trustworthy Practices through Accreditation, Certification, and Rating" in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*,

as well as pieces in the Hastings Center Report and *The Scientist*. In addition, I gave an in-depth interview to NPR.

On the side, I participated in Yale University's conference on Practical Wisdom for Management, gave lectures at Columbia University, Fordham University, and Duquesne University, and moderated a panel for the Lab's conference on Blinding Science at Harvard Law School. Moreover, I served on three workgroups for Harvard's Global Health Institute. The first created an ethics toolkit for clinical research protocol writers and ethics committees, which we submitted for publication in the *British Medical Journal*. The second delineated principles for responsible clinical trial data sharing. The last workgroup (which I co-chaired) identified ethical considerations in using a learned intermediary model to share clinical trial data. The results of the second two workgroups were presented to the Institute of Medicine.

I also published two bioethics-related book chapters: one on the ethics of personalized medicine (for the *Encyclopedia of Bioethics*) and a second on institutional corruption and bioethics (co-authored for the *Compendium and Atlas of Global Bioethics*). Additionally, I have two chapters forthcoming in the *Encyclopedia of Global Bioethics* on behavioral economics, global bioethics, institutional corruption, and global bioethics, respectively. My paper on clinical trials in India and HBS business case on data transparency in the drug industry also continue to advance.

I am profoundly grateful to David Korn, Larry Lessig, Mal Salter, Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant, the Fellows, as well as Heidi Carrell, Katy Evans Pritchard, Joe Hollow, Tara Skurtu, and Ari Borenstein for enabling and supporting the flourishing of all this work. Lastly, I am eternally indebted to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for the time and space to think deeply, broadly, and from a variety of new perspectives on what it means to be an ethical person and to create institutions in which good people can do good things.

Marie Newhouse

I've spent a productive and rewarding academic year working on two different projects at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics! On October 3, 2013, I published Working Paper No. 25, titled "Institutional Corruption: A Fiduciary Theory." This paper has sparked a lively and productive ongoing discussion about institutional corruption's theoretical underpinnings. A modest responsive literature has emerged, with my paper's thesis receiving attention and analysis in three subsequent Working Papers by Fellows Justin O'Brien, Gustavo Oliveira, and Paul C. Taylor. My work on institutional corruption theory has also received wider attention. I was invited to present on the subject of institutional corruption at the Federalist Society's Faculty Division meeting in New York City in January, and I will publish a significantly revised and expanded version of my original paper this month in the Cornell Journal of Law & Public Policy.

In addition, I have made good progress in my work on think tank ethics. Using the keystone concept of integrity, I developed a theoretical framework for analyzing the ethical questions arising from the nature of think tank research, and I presented my findings to my Harvard colleagues at a workshop in November. Also, I have virtually completed the data collection stage of what is, to my knowledge, the first rigorous qualitative empirical study to focus primarily on the ethical commitments of think tank experts: "Survey of the Professional Practices and Ethical Commitments of Think Tank Experts." I am currently coding and evaluating my data, and I presented my preliminary findings to the students in Professor Lessig's course on institutional corruption in April. I will complete another Working Paper this summer, provisionally titled "Voices From the Tank: Findings from the Survey of Professional Practices and Ethical Commitments of Think Tank Experts," in which I will report my findings in greater detail. I intend to subsequently place that paper in a peer-reviewed journal of empirical studies in public policy.

Kimberly Pernel-Gallagher

My second fellowship year at the Lab has been productive and rewarding. The project that I proposed for the Lab Fellowship is also my dissertation, and the Edmond J. Safra Center support has allowed me to make significant progress towards its completion. In my dissertation I undertake a comparative historical analysis of the development of banking regulation, 1988-2006, in three countries where regulators made substantially different policy choices in important domains: Canada, the U.S., and Spain. The overarching goal of this project is to shed new light on causes of institutional corruption in the American system of banking regulation by analyzing the American case in comparative context. This project is also supported by a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation and by the Canada Program Fellowship, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs.

I spent my second fellowship year analyzing data and drafting papers related to this project. This process involved identifying, obtaining, and formatting over 4,000 pages of relevant archival documents. I have systematically coded all of these documents, and I am currently writing up the findings in my dissertation and in two standalone papers. I have also conducted 22 interviews (and counting) with banking regulators, accounting standards-setters, and industry participants in the U.S., Canada, and Spain. This year, I used research funds provided by the Lab to finance my six-day trip to Washington, D.C., where I conducted interviews. The Lab also financed the transcription of these interviews, as well as the purchase of books necessary for the production of this research. I expect to complete my dissertation in March 2015. I also plan to submit two manuscripts based on this research to sociology journals by the summer of 2015.

I presented preliminary findings from this project multiple times throughout the year, including a presentation at the Graduate Student Associates workshop at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs. I also presented at the Lab seminar in April, and I will present this research at two confer-

ences this summer: the Society for the Advancement of Socioeconomics meeting in Chicago and the American Sociological Association meeting in San Francisco. My seminar presentation inspired a provocative and useful discussion about the boundaries of the definition of institutional corruption and its operationalization.

I am exceedingly grateful to the Center for its financial support, which provided the time and resources I needed to pursue an ambitious and important line of research. I am also grateful for the opportunity to work alongside the other Lab Fellows and affiliates. Conversations with experts from other fields, both inside and outside of academia, have brought important new issues to my attention and expanded my thinking on a range of topics.

Ann-Christin Posten

My first fellowship year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics passed in an instant, and everyone knows that you are having fun when time flies. The fun at the Center for Ethics was rooted in a tremendously buzzing and challenging environment that helped me to advance my research projects as well as my personal research skills in various ways. I am deeply grateful to the Center for having provided me with this great opportunity throughout the past year.

I experienced stimulating input from a multidisciplinary and international working environment regarding my research on the antecedents, cognitive mechanisms, and consequences of trust and distrust. In our weekly Lab seminars, I received fruitful input on how the insights I had gained may be used to challenge current organizational and institutional habits corrupting stated missions. Furthermore, some of the Center's lectures, such as the Kissel lecture given by Larissa MacFarquhar, specifically addressed the topic of trust and expanded my horizons. The numerous and exciting dinners provided me with the possibility to get the speakers' as well as our colleagues' input on open questions. Thus, they helped me to develop a more thorough approach to address my research question.

During this fellowship year I established a fruitful cooperation with Lab Fellow Maryam Kouchaki and my mentor, Professor Francesca Gino. In four studies we investigated the effects of corruption and unethical behavior on trust and distrust. By conducting these experiments, we presented initial evidence that bridges the gap between institutional corruption and the basic mechanisms of social cognitive trust research. Further studies are already outlined and ready to run. I presented my research at Harvard Law School, Harvard Kennedy School, Harvard Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Harvard Business School. I also attended and presented my research at conferences such as the General Meeting of the Society for Personality and Social Psychology. During this year, I was a finalist for the 2013 Dissertation Award of the Society for Experimental Social Psychology. Furthermore, I submitted an article to a peer-reviewed journal and published two papers: one in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, and another in the *Journal of Economic Psychology*.

Overall, I had a highly productive year at the Center. This would not have been possible without the help of my supervisor, Francesca Gino, who guided my research throughout all stages. Furthermore, I particularly want to thank Lawrence Lessig and Mark Somos, who enabled me to realize my research ideas, and Ari, Erica, Heidi, Joe, Katy, and Tara, who helped me to overcome all obstacles that a new Fellow from abroad may run into.

Altogether, after having had such an exciting first year at the Center, I am thrilled to continue doing research here for another year.

Katherine Silz Carson

My sabbatical year as a Lab Fellow has been fulfilling and productive. The learning experience and research environment created by the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics through the weekly Lab seminars, public lectures, and interactions with other Fellows were invaluable in helping me to advance my research agenda and expand it in new directions. My primary objective during this fellowship year was to design a set of laboratory economics experiments to study what factors affect

individuals' willingness to hold members of their organization accountable for behavior that may undermine the effectiveness and integrity of the organization. Thus, my fellowship year began with a deep dive into three separate literatures: studies of unethical behavior by experimental and behavioral economists and social psychologists, studies of whistleblowing by psychologists and sociologists, and the literature on the ethics of whistleblowing. I also engaged with other Fellows at the Center on various aspects of my research project, and regularly participated in the Behavioral and Experimental Economics Workshop sponsored by the Harvard Economics Department. I developed a set of designs for a series of experiments that I intend to begin conducting (contingent on funding) when I return to the Air Force Academy in August 2014. I have submitted proposals to two funding bodies (the Horowitz Foundation for Social Policy and the National Science Foundation's Science of Organizations Division) to fund this follow-on work. I expect to learn the outcomes of these proposals in early June.

My primary research area is environmental economics, with a focus on using experimental economics to investigate how the incentive structures of mechanisms that economists use to estimate the benefits from environmental policies and programs can result in biased benefits estimates and inefficient policy outcomes. Before coming to the Center, I thought that, aside from my knowledge of experimental economics, most of my previous work would not be relevant to the work of the Center. I could not have been more wrong. A recurring theme in most of my research is the idea of incentive incompatibility—that is, situations in which what is optimal for an individual is in conflict with what is optimal for the larger group as a whole. These misaligned incentive structures are endemic to the environmental policy problems that I study, and as it turns out, they seem to be a feature of most cases of institutional corruption as well. Currently, I am working on a theoretical piece that builds on the work of other Fellows and applies the ideas of

incentive compatibility from mechanism design theory to the problem of institutional corruption. I plan to develop an experimental research agenda out of this theoretical work.

Outside of my research commitments to the Center, I continued my work in environmental economics. I currently have two papers under review, with a revision requested from Environmental and Resource Economics. In addition, this work has been accepted for presentation at the 5th World Congress of Environmental and Resource Economists this summer in Istanbul, Turkey.

Laurence Tai

During my year as a Lab Fellow, I have been developing two projects that connect regulatory capture to the information that agencies collect and generate. The first project examines what sorts of information show that an agency has been captured, and the second investigates how to improve policy outcomes given that capture is occurring. Regulatory capture can be understood as a phenomenon in which an interest group, like an industry, influences an agency so that its policymaking serves the industry's interest at the expense of the public interest. Thus, research on capture informs discussions at the Lab about institutional corruption.

The first project deals with agency information that journalists obtain from the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA). The design of this project has changed. Initially, the plan was to collect some FOIA documents and evaluate how the news stories that cite them use them. However, this strategy proved to be difficult even in theory; any reanalysis would itself be subject to challenge, and journalistic norms make it unlikely that authors would misrepresent FOIA records. Instead, I am accepting the claims about information in the news stories and trying to determine how they support inferences of capture. Also, the project's scope has changed. Instead of considering many cases across different agencies, the primary piece stemming from this research focuses on three stories involving FOIA documents from the Securities and Exchange Commission. This

paper (coauthored with Daniel Carpenter) was presented in May at “Institutional Corruption and the Capital Markets,” a workshop co-sponsored by the Center.

The goal of the second project has been to develop a game-theoretic model assessing different remedies for regulatory capture, given that this phenomenon is occurring. I have built and solved the model, which defines capture specifically as an industry’s engaging in activities that cause the agency to act as if its viewpoint is closer to the industry’s than before. An essential feature of the model is the distinction between two types of activity that cause capture: regulatory quality improvement, which includes information gathering and serves a public benefit, and rent-seeking, which serves no public purpose. As a result, a remedy for capture that prevents the agency from shifting too close to the industry’s views while preserving regulatory quality is to have a regulator start further away from the industry than the public. Then the regulator can end up more closely aligned with the public; meanwhile, the additional distance will have incentivized additional activity by the industry, including informational improvements. The paper I have written on this model has been presented in various forms at the conferences of the Southern Political Science Association, the Midwest Political Science Association, and the American Law and Economics Association.

The Center has guided and greatly furthered both of these projects. I have benefited from conversations with some of my fellow Fellows; they have shaped the scope and methods in the first project and helped me to gain a better understanding of regulator’s interactions with lobbyists in the second project. Mark Somos was especially helpful in vetting different ideas and supporting my broader portfolio of research. The Lab seminars were also very valuable: not only did I learn a lot about various forms of institutional corruption through others’ projects, but the discussion in my own Lab seminar generated new insights and directions for my work. In addition, the Center has generously supported the conference presentations of my second project.

Brooke Williams

Less than two years ago, identifying private financial interests behind public policy research organizations was a daunting—if not impossible—task. Lawmakers and journalists often relied on think tank research without considering who paid for it and why. But now, thanks to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, the landscape is changing quickly. Donations to think tanks are no longer buried in massive, unsearchable tax filings; they are now in a database, searchable by name, type, amount, and purpose.

In December 2013, Senator Elizabeth Warren sent letters to big banks asking them to disclose their donations to think tanks, writing, “If the information provided by think tanks is little more than another form of corporate lobbying, than policy-makers and the public should be aware of the difference.” I immediately queried the database and saw some of the very details she was seeking. I approached the local, major newspaper, and successfully pitched an investigative story. Now I realize this was a huge accomplishment, as newspapers don’t usually accept big investigative projects from non-staff reporters. And while I expected a warp-speed turnaround (Thank you to all staff and colleagues for your endless support as I demonstrated what it feels like to be a reporter who might get scooped!), something even more exciting developed. We didn’t rush to publish, but instead took steps back to see the bigger picture. I’m currently working with the newspaper as part of an investigative project that has expanded in scope to include additional types of institutional corruption that the Lab examines. It promises to be an important public service and will feature the Lab’s work in exciting ways.

This year the Lab helped me to bring national attention to how and why foreign governments give money to think tanks inside the beltway. I filed public information requests with Ministries of Foreign Affairs around the world and spoke with think tank executives about the details. In one blog item, I quoted an expert in the Foreign Agent Registration Act saying the records I had obtained suggested think tanks might need to register as

foreign agents. Soon, the calls started coming in from media outlets and advocacy organizations. A national radio program asked me to speak about think tank donors, and a reporter from one major, national newspaper reached out to me after hearing about my work from a beltway insider. We are now collaborating on a two-part investigative project based on my work in the Lab fellowship.

This year the Lab also helped me to record and publish podcasts as a part of its popular Labcast series. In the first, veteran journalist Charles Lewis and I explored institutional corruption in journalism and the immediate need for reporters to collaborate globally and hold the powerful accountable. In the second, I interviewed two think tank executives about how they recently began publishing more details about donors, including foreign governments.

Think tanks are increasingly deciding to publish more information about who gives them money and why—thanks in no small part to the Lab, which The New York Times recently cited as a factor in this trend. But while transparency can be a step, it is not the answer. That is why I am also gathering the internal ethics and conflict of interest policies from think tanks and talking with their executives and scholars about how they try to maintain intellectual independence. Suffice it to say, there is room for discussion and many more articles. One major beltway think tank's policies state, hypothetically, that it would be appropriate for a scholar to travel to a major donor's vacation home in Telluride to ski during the holidays—and say a few words about his/her research—because it would be considered appropriate donor cultivation.

Thanks to the Lab, I am identifying the roots of some of this institutional corruption and collaborating with others to seek possible solutions. Stay tuned for a list of ways in which think tanks are changing to earn public trust.

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows in Ethics 2013-14 (non-residential)

Elinor Amit, Christine Baugh, Aleksandr Chakroff, Oz Dincer, Susan Ditzkoff (Visiting), Yoav Dotan, Elizabeth Doty, Yuval Feldman, Katherine Hall, Michael Johnston, Kate Kenny, Maryam Kouchaki, Jeffrey Milyo, Jim Morris, Justin O'Brien (Visiting), Genevieve Pham-Kanter, Marc Rodwin, Susannah Rose, Irma Sandoval-Ballesteros, Miriam Schwartz-Ziv, Thomas Stratmann

Elinor Amit and Alek Chakroff

Our second year as non-residential Lab Fellows at the Center has been a remarkable privilege and an insightful experience. Our goals this year included deepening our understanding of the concept of institutional corruption (IC) and applying it to the specific research questions that we investigate. Our research focuses on the effect of representational format on the justification of IC. A central challenge for individuals and organizations that aim to change institutionally corrupted practices is how to convince the public that a practice needs to be changed. Based on the medium-distance hypothesis (e.g. Amit, Algom, & Trope, 2009), we hypothesized 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 (i.e. will focus on the long-term goal) when the information about the practices is represented verbally, versus visually.

Last year we conducted two preliminary experiments that support this hypothesis. Study 1 showed that visual thinkers tend to have a higher score in a system-justification scale than verbal thinkers (even after controlling for such variables as education and age). Using an experimental manipulation, Study 2 showed that, relative to visual representation of information, verbal representation of information led participants to seek diagnostic information about specific political issues—information that may bolster arguments that question the legitimacy of a corrupted system.

This year we focused on developing a battery of stimuli for our subsequent studies. Specifically, we created a set of short vignettes that encompasses a variety of IC contexts, such as pharmaceutical companies, campaign donations, and forensic science. We piloted these vignettes in 3 different

experiments, and have posted a sample from these vignettes in a national survey that includes thousands of participants—we are expecting to get the results in the next few weeks.

In addition, we are at an advanced stage of designing 3 new experiments that will further explore our hypothesis using various research designs. We expect to run these experiments in the next two months.

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. We look forward to our continued association with the Center.

Christine Baugh

My first year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was a productive one, thanks in large part to the intellectual, material, and financial support that the Lab provided. The overarching aim of my projects was to assess whether the way in which the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) has regulated brain injury in collegiate sports was evidence of the NCAA's corruption as an institution. For me, the fall was filled with data collection for my two empirical studies: the first an online survey of coaches, sports medicine clinicians, and compliance administrators (to understand concussion management practices at NCAA member-schools); the second, an in-person survey of college football players to examine the impacts of concussion management practices on collegiate athletes. Data collection for both studies was remarkably successful, with over 2,800 respondents to the online survey and over 700 football players completing the in-person survey. From these two projects, two manuscripts have been accepted for publication in the fall 2014 concussion

special issue of the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*. I also have three manuscripts under review and several more in progress.

As I reflect on the past year, there are several events that highlight my experience as a Lab Fellow. In December I presented preliminary results from my two survey-based projects during my Lab seminar titled “Concussions and (Possible) Corruption in College Sports.” The seminar was as much a learning experience as a teaching experience, and truly highlighted the benefits of the collaborative and interdisciplinary team that the Lab has to offer. In February I had the honor of participating in the pilot documentary film project on the Lab’s efforts to mediate institutional corruption, spearheaded by Sheila Kaplan. In March I had the opportunity to lecture in Larry and Bill’s undergraduate ethical reasoning core course on institutional corruption; I presented the NCAA as a possible case study. In April I had the pleasure of interviewing Ron Suskind for a Labcast on his new book, *Life Animated: A Story of Sidekicks, Heroes, and Autism*.

Overall, my first year as a Non-Residential Lab Fellow has been a very positive experience. I have truly benefitted from the perspectives of others in the Lab and I hope that my project—which is quite different than most of the other Lab projects—has added to the diversity of topics and perspectives within the Lab and its external audience. I am looking forward to continuing my work in my second year as a Non-Residential Lab Fellow in 2014-2015.

Oguzhan Dincer

The main purpose of my fellowship project is to construct a corruption database. In the construction of the database, I am using the most circulated local daily newspapers in fifteen major metropolitan areas representing the eight political cultures and subcultures in the United States defined by Elazar (1966). On a daily basis, I am text mining these newspapers and searching the words “corrupt,” “fraud,” and “bribe” (and their variants) to identify the news articles covering stories related to corruption. Once I identify the news articles, I am coding

them according to certain parameters. The project is a continuation of the project that I started during the first year of my fellowship, and will end in September 2015. The purpose of my first-year fellowship project was twofold: (i) to construct an indirect measure of legal corruption using data on lobbying organizations and (ii) to construct two new measures of illegal corruption in U.S. states, one of them news-based and the other perceptions-based. To construct the indirect measure of legal corruption, I have used data on lobbying organizations in each state (ranging from 500 in small states to more than 5000 in large ones) from 2006 to 2010 and identified the industry code of each organization according to the North American Industry Classification System. The number of lobbying organizations used together with their diversity will give a measure of “inequality of access” to the policymakers, which in my opinion is one of the primary causes of illegal corruption in the United States.

To construct the perceptions-based corruption index, 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. I have already sent the survey to the news reporters/journalists, and currently I am collecting the responses. I am planning to complete the construction of the Corruption Perceptions Index and make it publicly available by the end of August 2014.

To construct the news-based measure of illegal corruption in the United States at the national level, I have calculated the number of news articles published in *The New York Times* on corruption per year since 1851 via text mining. As stated earlier, I counted the appearance of articles containing the words “corrupt,” “fraud,” and “bribe.” I then deflated these counts by the number of articles containing the word “politic” and its variants (it is an equivalent way of measuring corruption divided by the size of the government). For the state level corruption index I have repeated the same text mining exercise using Associated Press Wires, and I constructed the index covering the period between 1977 and 2012.

Without the financial support that I received from the Center, it would not be possible to construct the database. It is an extremely time-intensive project. Perhaps more importantly, (although I am non-residential Fellow) I had the opportunity to collaborate with several Fellows to refine my ideas on how to construct the database. Their contribution to the project was vital.

Susan Ditkoff

(no report)

Yoav Dotan

I dedicated the second year of my non-residential Lab Fellowship to studying the relationship between corruption, voting behavior, and judicial review. Less than a month before the municipal elections in Israel, the Israeli Supreme Court ruled that the incumbent mayors of three cities should resign, following the attorney general's decision to issue indictments against them for various allegations of corruption. The Court, however, noted that it had no authority to prohibit those three incumbents from putting their names on the ballots for the upcoming elections, and all three announced that they would seek re-election despite the Court's ruling. Surprisingly enough, all three not only sought re-election, but were re-elected (though the margins of their victories were significantly smaller than in the previous elections). This chain of events provided a unique opportunity to study the relationship between corruption, judicial review, voting behavior, and public opinion. I did so by conducting a public opinion poll among voters in two of the three relevant cities (Bat-Yam and Ramat Hasharon). In the poll, a representative sample of voters in both cities (as well as in two similar cities sampled as control groups) were asked about their knowledge regarding the corruption allegations, the Court's ruling, and the impact of the Court's intervention on their behavior. In addition, participants were questioned about their attitude to the Court's intervention in the elections and on their general level of trust in the Supreme Court. The original hypothesis of the survey was that those who voted for the incumbent mayors despite the Court's ruling would be likely to have a lower level of trust in the

judiciary than the general population of voters. The outcomes of the survey are still being processed, but the initial results seem to suggest that the original hypothesis was not corroborated. This means that voters were able to draw a distinction between their political response to the Court's specific ruling and their general level of trust in the Supreme Court—even in the extreme case where the voters overturned the Court's ruling. Accordingly, the survey's outcomes provide potential support for the "diffuse support thesis," which is a leading theory explaining the institutional legitimacy of courts in democracies.

Elizabeth Doty

Once again, working with the Fellows of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has provided the resources, thought, leadership, and feedback to improve our efforts to reveal and address "commitment drift" in for-profit businesses. Maryam Kouchaki, Francesca Gino, and I began 2013 focused on developing and piloting a Commitment-Keeping Practices Employee Survey and a Commitment-Keeping Scorecard in a Fortune 500 company, and publishing our findings in academic articles and mainstream business publications. I am deeply grateful to Maryam and Francesca for their collaboration on this project. In addition, the Lab Fellows have helped us improve our research design and overall approach. I particularly appreciate in-depth conversations with Mal Salter, Bill English, Gustavo Oliveira, Jennifer Miller, and Elinor Amit at some critical junctures in our project.

The aim of our work is to develop real-world solutions that reveal, correct, or prevent institutional corruption by: a) providing practical, relevant tools that appeal to business, b) prompting business leaders to improve commitment-keeping and reduce institutional corruption, and c) increasing awareness of the dynamics that lead to institutional corruption among business professionals. As of May, we were on track to complete our deliverables as planned, having administered the survey, tracked the scorecard, and conducted five feedback sessions involving 188 sales, marketing, and support professionals in our pilot geographic region. We have

developed and tested curricula and tools to help leaders make stronger commitments, track their commitments over time, and hold each other accountable. In addition, we are close to receiving approval to use a major dataset from the pilot company, which will enable us to correlate our survey with related constructs such as employee engagement. Our first article is being edited by *strategy+business* magazine. Finally, we are conducting qualitative interviews regarding how business professionals think about making commitments and keeping them as their context changes. We believe that these will be especially informative, as the company has gone through several leadership transitions during this period. Our hope is to generate new hypotheses regarding the “economy of influence” impacting the “good souls” working in corporations, and determine whether corporations keep their commitments to customers, employees, shareholders, and society.

Thus far, we are finding that business leaders do indeed place a high value on keeping their word as individuals, yet regularly engage in practices that undermine their organizations’ ability to keep its commitments to customers, employees, society, and even shareholders—without anyone doing anything illegal or unethical (strictly speaking). The challenges of institutional memory and “connecting the dots,” combined with “mental models” that emphasize individual accountability for local, short-term goals, are rising to the top as contributing factors.

Throughout our project, the Center has provided a supportive yet challenging environment. The breadth of disciplines among the Fellows has led us to include more factors in our analysis, going beyond incentives to consider the impact of “ethical nudges,” context, decision-premises, and social dynamics. Presenting our work in the Lab seminar helped us better distinguish commitment drift from incompetence, and pointed us to empirical research showing the economic benefits of keeping business commitments. Attending seminars virtually and joining the online debate surrounding Marie Newhouse’s paper on fiduciary duty opened new

questions and prompted us to clarify why we believe for-profit businesses should be held accountable for their commitments to society as a central aspect of their integrity. And finally, we want to thank Mark Somos for the encouragement and “nudges” that helped us to stay focused, Gregg Fields for making podcasts fun, and Lawrence Lessig for continually guiding the Fellows to focus on what will make the most difference in addressing institutional corruption.

Yuval Feldman

This year I was a non-residential Lab Fellow, and I have worked on an empirical project with Maryam Kouchaki and Francesca Gino called “Expressive Effects of Ethical Codes: An Experimental Survey of U.S. Employees’ Interpretation, Understanding, and Implementation of Institutional Ethical Policies.” Our project focuses on understanding how employees in the U.S. perceive and interpret ethical codes. Research on ethical codes suggests that they may play an important role in the overall attempt to curb unethical behavior. 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, an important question is to examine whether or not an organizational code of conduct reduces unethical behaviors. Thus, the overall objective of this project is to identify, evaluate, and rank the factors responsible for a sustainable, shared understanding of ethical codes in organizations. To accomplish our goal, we first 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 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 conducts. We examined how ethical the

workplace appears to people, as well as judgment on what the employee needs to do given various ethical dilemmas. In particular, we have focused on examining the words such as “we” vs. “employee.” We started by examining the effectiveness of the additional information in the code, and found that the length of the code matters such that the additional information can help people to identify a conflict of interest. Next, we turned to manipulation of a number of different factors that we identified earlier, such as “we” vs. “employee,” and found some consistent advantage of using the word “we,” and we have seen as well an advantage of priming trust. Furthermore, we have moved to an oDesk design to examine the influence of the language of code of conduct in a real setting. Importantly, we attempt not only to replicate mTurk design, but also to do it over a period of a few weeks. Participants are required to engage in a few assignments where there was a conflict of interest embedded in their choices. There are obvious advantages to this approach; as we are able to gain better replication of the real-life effect of codes, we can measure real behavior and get the effect of codes over time. We are thrilled to have the opportunity to continue our work next year.

Katherine Hall

Over the last twelve months, I have undertaken research on a number of aspects of global corruption and the role of global lawyers in furtherance of my Lab Fellowship. During 2013 I developed a methodology for identifying global, transnational, regional, and national corporations that has been used to identify corporations operating in key sectors of the global economy, such as banking, pharmaceutical, and mining. I also have developed data on the development of global law firms and on links between the world’s richest individuals and corruption. In 2013 I presented a seminar at the University of Southern Queensland Law School on Lawyers as Global Elites. I also have articles forthcoming on the role of global lawyers in the development of transnational law, and on the narrative of transnational corruption regulation.

Michael Johnston

I have been a non-residential Lab Fellow during the 2013-14 academic year, a status that will carry over into the following year as well. My project for the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics this year has been to collaborate with Professor Oguzhan Dinçer (Illinois State University) on a Working Paper that revisits Daniel Elazar’s enduring typology of political subcultures in the American states. Using a new measure based upon newspaper reports of corruption, the paper finds that Elazar’s categories of Individual, Moralistic, and Traditional political culture still help us interpret contrasts in corruption reports among the various states, and that a fresh look at the ways in which those subcultures mix and interact in many states can tell us a great deal about corruption trends in some of our larger, more diverse and rapidly changing states. In addition to that Working Paper, I have continued my own research on the ways in which the “Influence Markets” syndrome of corruption found in many market democracies is more vulnerable to institutional corruption than widely used corruption indices might suggest.

Kate Kenny

I had been researching the topic of whistleblowing in banking for three years before beginning my fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The fellowship, engagement with Center members, and the resources provided were invaluable to me in developing this work.

Specifically, I was able to complete my manuscript on Whistleblowing in Banking, a book based on data from interviews with people from a range of different countries (including the U.K., U.S., Ireland, and Switzerland) who have come forward in the last ten years to report on corruption within this sector (see project details below). 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. As I near the end of my time at the Center, the completed book is

being reviewed by industry experts and peers, and will be ready for consideration by publishers in the coming months.

I found the resources provided by the Center to be very helpful; they enabled me to engage a research assistant and travel to meet with dissemination partners, including Transparency International (Ireland), Public Concern at Work (U.K.), Whistleblowers U.K., and the Government Accountability Project (U.S.), among other activities. Perhaps the most valuable aspect of the fellowship however has been the engagement with other Fellows; the Lab'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, the help from Fellows, including Justin O'Brien and Gregg Fields (both of whom were kind enough to provide feedback on the book), was invaluable. These and other Fellows 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 was for the Lab's series, "Banking Compliance and Dependence Corruption: Towards an Attachment Perspective" (Edmond J. Safra Working Paper No. 38). This will be published in 2014 in the journal *Law and Financial Markets Review*. I was invited to present this paper at Bradford University Management School in January 2014. In addition, I am developing a paper on the topic for submission to a high-ranking journal in my field, *Organization Studies*. I am finalizing a paper entitled "Media, Elites, and the (Re)imagining of the Global Financial Crisis" for the journal *Organization* (with Naoise McDonagh), and 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 year at the Center, I was asked to contribute to articles in the *Financial Times* and other media publications.

As my year draws to a close, I continue to work full-time as a Reader in Management at Queen's

University Belfast's Management School, 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*, *Journal of Organizational Ethnography*, and *ephemera*, theory and politics of organization (where I am also a Book Reviews Editor). Finally, I am happy to report that I have been successful in receiving follow-up funding to continue this research, this time with a collaborator at Warwick Business School, Professor Marianna Fotaki. The British Academy/Leverhulme Trust has pledged £10,000 (GBP) for the project: "Speaking Out in Banking and the Financial Industry: What Makes it Possible?"

To provide some background, the project "Whistleblowing in Banking Organizations" was inspired by the widespread culture of silence within banking and finance that contributed to the recent economic crisis as professional people failed to speak out about wrongdoing. In response, institutions and governments have called for more open and transparent workplaces within these sectors.

It appears, however, that without a deeper understanding of the processes and practices involved in speaking out, or whistleblowing, the reform of organizational cultures will prove difficult, while the effectiveness of policy responses could be impeded. Existing academic approaches are limited; few studies have specifically targeted the issue of whistleblowing in banking organizations. Even fewer offer analyses across levels, for example linking macro policy developments and other institutional factors, to the meso-levels of organizational culture and structure, and in turn considering these alongside the micro-level of individual sense-making and experience. In contrast, my project examines the perspectives of whistleblowers in banking organizations in relation to their decisions to speak up about perceived problems. It also elicits and examines policymakers' views regarding the implementation of existing transparency policies, and those of decision makers within the sector.

Located within the discipline of organizational sociology, the project applies my research expertise in the study of organizational identity and culture to the issue of speaking out in banking organizations. The data collection process has been ongoing since 2010. Primary data includes in-depth, semi-structured interviews with over twenty high-profile whistleblowers from the banking sector, along with journalists, policy-makers and practitioners. Transcripts from official inquiries into banking, policy documents, media articles, court records, and secondary testimonies have also been gathered, along with observational data from relevant meetings and industry events.

Maryam Kouchaki

My second year as a Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was very productive and busy. I worked on a couple of different projects with Professor Francesca Gino and with Lab Fellows Yuval Feldman and Elizabeth Doty, and we made significant progress. For each of these projects we were able to identify the relevant literature with the help of research assistants, and design and conduct empirical investigations. We presented our work and recent findings in a joint Lab seminar in early February, which provided an opportunity to receive valuable feedback. In addition, my paper "The Morning Morality Effect: The Influence of Time of Day on (Un)ethical Behavior," published in *Psychological Science*, received wide media coverage. A short summary of the paper appeared in the May issue of *Harvard Business Review*. Finally, I presented my work at a number of conferences, and was invited to give talks at several Business Schools.

Additionally, for a second year I was fortunate enough to be involved in the Center's activities and attend some of the weekly Lab seminars; they all were great opportunities for learning, given that the discussions involved complementary theoretical perspectives and methodological strategies. Moreover, the informal conversations and the advice from the Fellows have been invaluable. Importantly, being part of the Center's cross-disciplinary community of scholars has helped me to

greatly deepen my understanding of ethics and morality. I have learned so much from my colleagues, and I am glad I will have the opportunity to continue working with the Center next year. The Center also provided me with the opportunity to be part of a larger Harvard community and a regular member of the lab meetings at Harvard Business School, as well a mentor to a number of intelligent undergraduates.

I am very grateful to the Center for its continuous support. Beginning July 2014, I join Kellogg School of Management at Northwestern University as an Assistant Professor. I hope to bring the insights and experiences gained at the Center to my next position. I am also excited about the opportunity to continue learning and exploring my interest in ethics further as part of the Center in the following year. I would like to particularly thank Stephanie Dant for being so kind and supportive over the past two years. And, finally, once again, I am deeply indebted to my mentor, Francesca Gino, for her continuous care, support, attention, and, intellect.

Jeffrey Milyo

As a non-residential Lab Fellow during this past year, I conducted research on both the measurement of corruption and the efficacy of campaign finance reform in combatting corruption. I also examined whether campaign finance regulations are an effective tool for improving public trust and confidence in government. This work has resulted in several publications and Working Papers under review at scholarly journals.

In "Measuring Public Corruption in the United States: Evidence from Administrative Records of Federal Prosecutions," Adriana Cordis and I demonstrate that previous empirical research on political corruption convictions in the United States relies on seriously flawed survey data from the Public Integrity Section of the Department of Justice. We describe and analyze more reliable data on public corruption based on administrative records from the DOJ. We are able to use this data to debunk widely held misconceptions about political corruption; for example, corruption convictions rarely

involve election-related crimes (including campaign finance violations). Further, we show that the widely touted State Integrity Index is unrelated to actual corruption among state officials.

Cordis and I further demonstrate the usefulness of this improved data on public corruption in “Don’t Blame the Weather: Federal Natural Disaster Aid and Public Corruption.” Previous research using suspect data from the Public Integrity Section found that federal disaster aid led to a spike in public corruption convictions; however, we show that this relationship does not hold up to further scrutiny.

In “Do State Campaign Finance Reforms Reduce Political Corruption?” Cordis and I show that the last several decades of campaign finance reform in the States has had no impact on the incidence of public corruption among state officials. This study is the first systematic and rigorous test of the proposition that contribution limits or public funding have any ameliorative effect on public corruption.

Our findings corroborate other research that I have pursued during the fellowship year. In “Do State Ethics Commissions Reduce Political Corruption? An Exploratory Investigation,” Kayla Crider and I demonstrate that the presence and governance structure of state ethics commissions has no effect on the incidence of public corruption among state officials. In “Corporate Influence and Political Corruption: Lessons from Stock Market Reactions to Political Events,” I review several event studies that reinforce the lesson that money plays a far less important role in determining the content of public policy than popular wisdom would suggest. A similar lesson emerges from my review of the empirical literature on the electoral effects of campaign spending in “Campaign Spending and Electoral Competition: Towards More Policy Relevant Research.”

Finally, I presented new research on the relationship between state campaign finance reforms and public trust and confidence in state government at the annual meetings of the American Law and

Economics Association. In this work, I conduct the first direct test of the proposition that contribution limits and public funding improve public trust in state government; consistent with the findings discussed above, state reforms have no significant effect on public trust and confidence.

I look forward to continuing this line of research in years to come and thereby better informing the recurring policy debate regarding the role of money in American politics and the efficacy of campaign finance reforms.

Jim Morris

My non-residential Lab Fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been extraordinarily productive, allowing me to delve deeply into a subject that I have explored off and on for decades as a journalist: weak regulation of workplace health hazards in America facilitated by industry lobbying and misinformation, and other forms of institutional corruption.

The Lab Fellowship has allowed me to conduct in-person interviews with key figures in the occupational health movement of the 1970s, including former union and government officials who helped launch major crackdowns on workplace toxics. For example, I spoke at length with:

- Steve Wodka, who helped Cesar Chavez document pesticide exposures among California farmworkers in 1969 and went on to become a passionate advocate at the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union.
- John Froines, one of the “Chicago Seven” defendants who later joined the Occupational Safety and Health Administration and became a prominent professor at UCLA, specializing in toxics research.
- Eric Frumin, former Health and Safety Director with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, who helped craft an OSHA standard for cotton dust, source of debilitating “brown lung” disease among countless textile workers.

I hope this month to have an extended interview with Eula Bingham, who led OSHA under Jimmy Carter and undertook an aggressive campaign against carcinogens and other dangerous chemicals (only to see the effort falter under Ronald Reagan).

The Lab Fellowship also has allowed me to unearth fascinating documents at the National Archives in Washington and the Reagan and Nixon presidential libraries in California. These documents show how an agency rich with promise upon its birth in December 1970 was quickly compromised by industry and political forces.

My plan is to prepare a Working Paper for the Center by summer. I hope this paper will become the foundation of a mass-market book, documentary—or both—on what I call a silent massacre: the preventable deaths of tens of thousands of American workers from occupational disease each year. I'm grateful to the Center for giving me the means to research this important but largely overlooked topic in detail.

Justin O'Brien

This has been a very productive year, with a deepening of the institutional relationship between the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics and the Centre for Law, Markets and Regulation at the University of New South Wales. I made a number of visits to Harvard and contributed Working Papers and interviews, and I scoped major grant applications. The undoubted highlight of the year was the international workshop on Institutional Corruption and the Capital Markets, the papers from which will feature in *Law and Financial Markets Review*. My biography on James Landis, former Dean of Harvard Law School, is nearing completion, and I hope to launch it in November.

Genevieve Pham-Kanter

I am so very grateful to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for continuing to support my research in conflicts of interest in medicine. Now a non-residential Fellow, I have been able to expand and extend the work begun during my residential Fellowship, and I am glad to report that much progress has been made this past year on several different projects.

I have been able to continue my project on conflicts of interest among Food and Drug Administration (FDA) advisory committee members. In the first of a series of papers, I report that FDA committee members who have exclusive ties to sponsors of drugs that are under review are more likely to vote, during FDA committee deliberations, in favor of those manufacturers. Individuals with advisory board appointments to sponsoring firms show particular voting bias. Paradoxically, however, I find that members who have non-exclusive ties to both the sponsor and its competitors do not exhibit different voting behaviors from those with no financial ties. These surprising findings suggest that researchers will need to be more nuanced in their thinking about financial ties, and policymakers will need to be more sophisticated in their approach to regulating these ties. This past year, I was able to present these findings at a number of conferences, and the results from this study are now being published in *The Milbank Quarterly* and in a Columbia University Press volume.

I also have been able to start new work in reviewing empirical studies of conflicts of interest in medicine and developing a theoretical framework for organizing our thinking about the empirical literature. The initial review of the empirical work should be complete by the end of this summer.

As a non-residential Fellow I have been able to continue collaborative projects begun during my residential Fellowship. I have continued to work closely with Lab Committee member Eric Campbell of Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital. Our joint projects include survey research on data sharing ethics in the life sciences (with Darren Zinner of Brandeis University and Jalayne Arias of the Cleveland Clinic) and an evaluation of a medical resident training program on substance use disorders (with Sarah Wakeman and Meridale Baggett of Massachusetts General Hospital).

None of this research would have been possible without the financial and intellectual support of the Center. I am genuinely grateful to Lawrence Lessig

for his continued support and faith in my research, Research Director Mark Somos (and his ever able fill-in Bill English), and Center Administrative Manager Stephanie Dant for their tireless efforts in helping non-residential Fellows maintain their ties to the Center and Lab family.

Marc Rodwin

My non-residential Lab Fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics allowed me to engage with a community interested in ethics, institutional corruption, and public policy. I enjoyed interacting with scholars from multiple disciplines as well as with journalists and policymakers. The public lectures and dinner meetings with scholars from outside the University enriched my year, as did the Lab seminars. I particularly enjoyed the seminar of Peter C. Gøtzsche, and organized a dinner for him and Center Fellows. The fellowship also provided funding for a research assistant and access to Harvard libraries.

My work this year extends the research that I started when I was a residential Lab Fellow. I analyzed various ways in which institutional corruption compromises prescription drug policy and public health, and proposed options for reform. A core problem is that government officials, physicians, and the public improperly depend on pharmaceutical firms to perform crucial activities in situations when the interests of pharmaceutical firms diverge from that of the public.

I completed two articles that are currently under review at journals, and a book chapter. One article takes as a starting point the fact that our tort law system provides no remedy for more than half of the injuries due to use of pharmaceutical products, because the injuries are not due to manufacturer or provider fault. I propose the creation of a no-fault administrative system to compensate these injuries. A second article examines the growing use of settlement agreements under which prosecutors impose very large financial penalties on pharmaceutical firms. The article examines the evidence that these penalties do not appear to have deterred pharmaceutical firm misconduct. It explores

whether the use of stronger sanctions, including criminal incarceration of managers and debarment from participation in federal programs, would deter pharmaceutical firm illegal conduct. I co-wrote a book chapter with Hervé Maisonneuve on conflicts of interest in biomedical publications.

I also wrote a Working Paper for the Center that explores proposals to have researchers who are not selected by pharmaceutical firms conduct the clinical trials used to evaluate whether their drugs are sufficiently safe and effective to be approved for marketing (Independent Drug Testing to Ensure Drug Safety and Efficacy). The article has been accepted for publication in a law journal. I posted an article on how to manage off-label drug use in the Health Affairs blog. I continued research on ways to reform the incentives for pharmaceutical research and development.

In addition, I also oversaw the translation into French of my book, *Conflicts of Interest and the Future of Medicine: The United States, France and Japan*. The book was published by the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Santé Publique Press this spring as *Les conflits d'intérêts en médecine: quel avenir pour la santé? France, Etats-Unis, Japon*.

The Center has stimulated my thinking, exposed me to new ideas, and expanded my networks. Director Lawrence Lessig and Research Director Mark Somos have created a nurturing environment for scholars and journalists that will continue to generate returns long after the fellowship ends. The Lab is seeding innovative research and thinking. It has been a great pleasure to participate with this group.

Susannah Rose

This past year as non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I primarily focused upon three research projects. With my collaborators, including former Faculty Fellow in Ethics Steven Joffe, I have completed data collection on a national survey that focuses on important concerns regarding industry financial relationships among patient advocacy organizations in the United States. 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 second project focuses on identifying key predictors of U.S. physicians' industry financial relationships based upon national disclosure data. 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 they improve reporting accuracy and transparency. My collaborators (Guy Chisolm, Cory Schmidt, Mathew Karafa, and Ruchi Sanghani, who is a Network Fellow) and I are preparing the final manuscripts for publication.

In addition to my research funded by the Center, I have actively participated in other Lab activities, which include visiting the Lab during the year, presenting my work, and continuing key collaborations among the Fellows. 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, Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant, and the entire Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics community for the support I have received. In addition to the projects mentioned above, I am collaborating with other members of the Lab community, including Jonathan Marks, Sunita Sah, Christopher Robertson—all colleagues I met through the Lab. I am excited to continue this exciting and projective work to identify methods of identifying and reducing institutional corruption.

Irma E. Sandoval-Ballesteros

During my second year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have continued to work on analyzing the dynamics of institutional corruption in developing countries, with a special focus on Mexico and Russia. Thanks to the generous support of the Center, I have had the opportunity to deepen my theoretical framework and document the empirical linkages between Professor Larry Lessig's groundbreaking conceptualization of institutional corruption and my own concept of "structural" corruption.

One of the most important achievements of this year was the publication of my extensive study of the concept of "structural" corruption as a part of the Edmond J. Safra Working Paper Series, titled "From Institutional to Structural Corruption: Rethinking Accountability in a World of Public-Private Partnerships."

I am particularly thankful to Mark Somos and Professor Philip Heymann for their important comments and encouragement of my work on this essay. The Working Paper has received a great deal of attention through the Social Science Research Network, where it has been listed as one of the top downloads on numerous occasions. I am presently in the process of revising the document based on the comments that I have received from colleagues, students, and other readers, and soon I will be submitting it to various refereed academic journals for their consideration.

This year I have also published a series of five other articles or book chapters based on my research with the Center. These include: "Rethinking Accountability & Transparency: Breaking the Public Sector Bias," *International Law Review*; "Transparency under Dispute: Public Relations, Bureaucracy and Democracy in Mexico," *Handbook on Transparency*; "Hacia un proyecto democrático-expansivo de transparencia", *Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales*; "Economía Política del <Neoliberalismo> y Enfoques Estructurales de la Corrupción", *Sociólogos y su sociología. Experiencias del ejercicio del oficio en México*; and "Concepto de Corrupción" *Diccionario de Justicia, Filosofía y Política*.

In general, my research invites scholars and practitioners to radically rethink the concept of "accountability," and it proposes new solutions to the problem of institutional corruption, particularly in the developing world. I critique both the public sector and the "modernizationist" biases that characterize dominant approaches to the study of corruption. My central argument is that corruption is a matter of political domination, structural impunity (especially for the private sector), and

social disempowerment. The fundamental remedy therefore lies in significant doses of civic and economic democracy. One of my main hypotheses is that we need to build a new “structural” approach to corruption as well as a new “democratic-expansive” understanding of transparency. These two approaches are particularly important in the wake of the generalization of public-private partnerships throughout the developing world.

In terms of empirical work, the financial support from the Center has allowed me to construct detailed case studies of different types of private sector takeovers of public sector functions and the consequences this has on accountability. For instance, some of the cases that my research team has developed are: 1) the “Walmartization” of public space; 2) structural and institutional corruption in campaign finance in Mexico; 3) public-private partnerships in the construction of jails; and 4) mapping money-laundering operations in the Latin American banking system.

I am also exploring the possibilities to link back to the U.S. case from the theoretical and empirical work I have conducted in the developing world. Specifically, given the recent key decisions in the area of election law in the U.S. (from *Citizens United* to *McCutcheon vs. FEC*), it is particularly important to develop robust views of the meaning and the significance of corruption beyond simple appearances. A careful study of the dissenting opinions of U.S. Supreme Court Justice Breyer will be very helpful in this regard.

I am also happy to report that during the upcoming academic year I will have the opportunity to expand on the research that I have developed with the Center while working as a Visiting Scholar in Paris, France at both Sciences Po (Paris School of International Affairs) and the Sorbonne (Paris III). Both institutions have demonstrated great interest in my research on corruption, and the intellectual environment in Paris will be an ideal place to expand the comparative, theoretical, and empirical elements of my work.

Miriam Schwartz-Ziv

This year I had the pleasure of being a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University. I enjoyed this experience very much, since it exposed me to a more critical, and at times more judgmental, point of view than is generally customary in finance, my area of specialization.

During this year, I have worked on two papers. The first, “Does the Gender of Directors Matter?” was completed this year. This paper finds that gender-balanced boards (i.e. boards that have at least three directors of each gender) are approximately twice as active compared to non-gender-balanced boards. In addition, the paper documents that companies with gender-balanced boards exhibit better financial performance.

The second paper I am writing, coauthored with Professor Russ Wermers, is titled “Do Mutual Funds Have a Say on Pay?” In this paper we focus on the say-on-pay vote, which is perhaps the best opportunity shareholders receive to provide feedback to a company’s management on performance. We find that mutual funds tend to govern their companies independently and actively, and use reasonable criteria to do so. However, we also find that the more fragmented the shareholder structure of a company is, the less stringent the governance enforced by the mutual funds. Overall, our paper finds that mutual fund voting on say-on-pay often represents a disciplining force for corporate management.

In summary, this was a productive year, and I hope I will be able to write my current and future papers from a critical perspective as I have learned from my experience at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University.

Thomas Stratmann

I have built a dataset that details a legislator’s purchase of stock or sale of stock of a specific firm. Data include information on the number of shares purchased or sold, the dollar value of the stock purchase or sale, and the trade date. Further, I collected data on Representatives’ committee

assignments and the date on which they joined a committee and left a committee. I also connected firm to committees. For example, I linked banks to the banking committee, and agricultural firms to the farm committee.

One of the findings is that legislators who join a new committee in their mid-career tend to purchase stock of firms represented by that committee. Stocks of these firms constitute a significantly larger share of a legislator's overall stock portfolio after the legislator has joined the new committee. This finding is consistent with the hypothesis that legislators on committees obtain propriety information about some of the firms connected to their committee, and then act on this information by purchasing the stock of those firms.

A second finding relates to excess returns associated with stock purchases by Representatives. Preliminary results indicate that Representatives, on average, receive excess returns from stock purchases that are between 0.1 percent and 0.5 percent within a thirty-day period.

APPENDIX I: 2013-14 REPORTS OF THE NETWORK FELLOWS

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Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Network Fellows in Ethics 2013-14

Meri Avetisyan, Nikola Biller-Andorno, Hans Blom, Gillian Brock, Lisa Cosgrove, Luis De Sousa, Elena Denisova-Schmidt, Amir Farmanesh, Michael Flaherman, Ted Gup, Gal Kober, Chandu Krishnan, Roberto Laver, Donald Light, Robert Lucas, Carmen Mailloux, Carlos Mariano Mosquera, Jonathan Marks, Carla Miller, Mihaylo Milovanovitch, Miriam Muethel, Ghanem Nuseibeh, Gustavo Oliveira, Bart Penders, Thaddeus Pope, Simona Ross, Ruchi Sanghani, Alisha Sett, Paul Thacker, Daniel Weeks, Jay Youngdahl, Dieter Zinnbauer

Meri Avetisyan

Issues of corruption in the education system, especially practices which per se do not violate legal rules and are perceived as routine in institutional cultures, but undermine the integrity of institutions, have long been within my professional interests. I have faced this issue while working as a school teacher and thereafter as a supervisor of pre-service teachers' internships at schools. It motivated me to start searching for ways of exploring and measuring the perceptions of in-service school teachers on professional integrity in Armenia.

My fellowship year began with a great news—the birth of my baby boy, who tries his best to make my research and writing as complicated as possible. While being on maternity leave, with generous assistance from the Lab at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I was able to travel to Armenia for the field research phase, which lasted from October to December. Assisted by an enthusiastic and hardworking research assistant, Varsenik Khachatrian, I gathered anonymous stories on professional experiences from in-service school teachers, especially those on integrity violations. In November I participated in the “Integrity in Action: Education, Social Accountability and Development” conference in Armenia, with a presentation titled “‘Magharich’ or ‘Tips’ to School Teachers: How In-Service Teachers Perceive and Interpret Professional Integrity in Armenia.” The abstract of this presentation was published in the conference proceedings, and was followed by a blog post titled, “A Moral Dilemma (Magharich)” published on the Lab’s blog in December. Since January, I have been occupied with analysis of the data and design of a survey instrument that can serve as an integrity measurement tool for in-service school teachers. The questionnaire is now being piloted and hopefully will

become a useful tool for integrity research in the field of education.

While maternity leave does not help much to continue professional growth, engagement in the Lab’s activities was a great opportunity to be a part of a cross-disciplinary, innovative research environment. During the fellowship I also collaborated with another Network Fellow, Mihaylo Milovanovitch, who is conducting research on issues of integrity in education. We are currently working on a paper titled, “Professional Integrity of School Teachers in Armenia,” which will be presented at the Comparative Education Society’s annual conference in Breisgau, Germany. We intend to publish the full version of this paper in a peer-reviewed journal in the near future.

Apart from starting research collaboration with Mihaylo, I also established a good working relationship with another Network Fellow, Elena Denisova-Schmidt, from St. Gallen University in Switzerland. Elena invited me to a workshop called “Corruption in the Post-Soviet Educational Systems: Causes, Consequences and Control,” where I will give a presentation titled, “Can the Integrity of In-Service School Teachers be Measured? A Pilot Study with Integrity Measurement Inventory.” Last, but not least, I am working on another paper which focuses on the unique phenomenon of “colleague’s child” for publication in the Lab’s Working Paper series (the first draft is scheduled for June 16).

Ideas expressed in the institutional corruption community, and especially Lawrence Lessig’s approach to the topic, have helped me to develop my approach of exploring professional misconduct. I also want to express my gratitude to Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant and Heidi Carrell for their continual support of my research and for coordinating all the

research and activities at the Lab. Finally, it is difficult to overestimate the role of the network as a platform for exchange of innovative ideas and a source of inspiration which served as such not only for one year, but has become a platform for establishing new collaborations for the future.

Nikola Biller-Andorno

During my year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have focused my research on over-treatment, which led to a paper on mammography screening titled, “Abolishing Mammography Screening?” published in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. I have also served as an expert on this issue at various hearings of the Swiss Parliament. In addition, I organized two courses funded by the Swiss University Conference, titled “Incentives for Better Health Care” and “Conflicts of Interest and Corruption: A Health Systems Perspective,” which will take place as part of the Swiss School of Health summer school in Lugano in August. Another Fellow at the Lab, Marc Rodwin, is on the faculty for the course. In addition, together with a staff member of my Institute—Judith Richter, PhD—I developed a project proposal on conflicts of interest in retail pharmacy, which we submitted to the Swiss National Science Foundation. Furthermore, I have given a number of talks to Swiss audiences (mostly physicians and health policy makers) on incentives and conflicts of interest in different institutional settings. Finally, I have been chosen as chair of the working group on medicine and economics of the Central Ethics Committee of the Swiss Academy of Medical Sciences, and am serving as lead author of a position paper, in which conflicts of interest in health care play a prominent role. In all of this, the Network Fellowship has provided me with a crucial sense of being part of an intellectual community that shares my own interests and concerns, and with precious resources in the form of references to current debate, literature, and available expertise.

I would like to use this opportunity to express my sincere thanks for having had the privilege of being part of this wonderful group. My only regret is that the year passed so quickly, and my duties as

director of a dynamic university institute called for my attention too frequently. Still, I dedicated every moment I could spare to the exploration of the important perspective that institutional conflicts of interest provide.

Gillian Brock

During my year as a Network Fellow I explored institutional corruption in public finance, especially in regard to taxation institutions. I developed an account of institutional corruption that starts with the notion of institutional integrity and defines institutional corruption as a state in which institutional integrity has been eroded in a set of relevant dimensions. However, the main focus of my work over the year was to explore the extent to which institutional corruption exists in public finance and to develop useful tools for addressing the institutional corruption that the project exposes.

I documented a number of ways in which a range of improper influences can undermine tax institutions and the even-handedness that should be evident in policy concerning tax collection and disbursement. After diagnosing some of the problems, I discussed aspects of solutions worthy of further consideration, especially those that promote transparency, accountability, and equity in fiscal arrangements, highlighting some of the most promising. I also discussed normative issues concerned with distributing responsibilities for implementing change. Who should do what to remedy defects associated with institutional corruption in public finance? A number of relevant stakeholders have important responsibilities to work towards change. I cataloged some of the principles that should be used to assign responsibilities and discussed the kinds of responsibilities each key stakeholder might defensibly have. I hope to work further on all parts of this large project, especially on the normative issues.

Being connected to a community of scholars working on related projects was invaluable for my theorizing on this project. Not only did I gain a deeper understanding of how Fellows were approaching similar problems in other domains, but I learned an enormous amount about the scope of institutional corruption, 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 multiple forms of institutional corruption that we confront.

So far I have produced at least one substantial article. An overview paper outlining the large project was published in the Lab's Working Paper Series, titled "Institutional Integrity, Corruption, and Taxation". I have had considerable interest in publishing this work, including from book publishers eager to consider book length treatment of these and related issues. During my next sabbatical I hope to work on a longer manuscript detailing the ways in which corruption can be combated and how responsibilities for implementing changes should be distributed.

Lisa Cosgrove

During this academic year I published two peer-reviewed articles, one of which received some media attention. Work that was in-press last year has now been published (noted below), and I have two book chapters that are now in-press. Robert Whitaker and I will complete our book, *Psychiatry Under the Influence: Institutional Corruption, Social Injury, and Prescriptions for Reform* by early summer. I was interviewed for and my work was covered by *Consumer Digest* ("What You Should Know About ADHD"), and in *Esquire* ("The Drugging of the American Boy"). In April I was interviewed for a documentary produced by ZDF (German Public Television) scheduled to air this summer.

Publications include: "Tripartite Conflicts of Interest and High Stakes Patent Extensions in the DSM-5," in *Psychotherapy and Psychosomatics*; "Ethical Considerations in the Development and Application of Mental and Behavioral Nosologies: Lessons from DSM-5," in *Psychological Injury and Law*; "Drug Firms, the Codification of Diagnostic Categories, and Bias in Clinical Guidelines," in the *Journal of Law and Medical Ethics*; "The ethics of pharmaceutical industry influence in medicine" in UNESCO Chair in

Bioethics; "Quantitative Methods," in the *Handbook of Critical Psychology*; and "Diagnosing and Treating Financial Conflicts of Interest in Psychiatric Professional Organizations," in the *Oxford Handbook of Psychiatric Ethics*.

As a local Network Fellow, I was fortunate to be able to attend some of the weekly Lab seminars, the public lectures, and the symposium in November, "When Less Information is Better: Blinding as a Solution to Institutional Corruption." This symposium was particularly helpful for the section "Solutions for Reform" in our forthcoming book. As I have noted in past reports, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation for the staff at the Center for being so kind, helpful, and supportive—for continuing to make the Center a real community. I thank Larry Lessig, Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant, and Sheila Kaplan for their support and very helpful feedback on my work.

Luís De Sousa

2013 was a year of change in my professional life. I moved to Aveiro University at the beginning of the academic year and had to adjust and reschedule some commitments, including my stay at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The less positive aspect of this change was the fact that I had less time to be engaged in research. Despite such constraints, I was able to publish three articles: "Sovereign Debt and Governance Failures—Portuguese Democracy and the Crisis," in *American Behavioral Scientist*; "New Challenges to Political Party Financial Supervision in Portugal," in *South European Society and Politics*; and "Why Voters Do Not Throw the Rascals Out? A Conceptual Framework for Analysing Electoral Punishment of Corruption," in *Crime Law and Social Change*.

This was also a year of change for Transparency International-Portugal, which I chair. We opened a new office and saw our membership grow from 40 (in 2010) to 700 (in 2013), in a context of economic and social crisis. I have recently written expert anti-corruption assessments for the European Commission and the Tunisian and Moroccan governments on behalf of the Council of Europe.

Elena Denisova-Schmidt

In my study conducted this year, I looked into a range of cheating techniques that are widely used at Russian universities, as well as the motives of the involved actors for applying, accepting and/or pretending to ignore these activities. Using quantitative (questionnaires) as well as qualitative (interviews and focus groups) research tools, I collected and reviewed data in selected regions in Russia. The analysis represented the views of all involved parties: university administration, professors, and students. The actions undertaken by these three groups are not illegal per se, but altogether, they weaken the integrity of the university staff and undermine public trust in an important societal institution. The reasons for these activities include drastic funding cuts, a demographic crisis forcing fierce competition for incoming students, and overworked and underpaid professors locked in a system of misaligned incentives and improper dependencies.

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 my preliminary findings as well as to make my research available to a broader academic community. One of my pieces, "Justification of Academic Corruption at Russian Universities: A Student Perspective," published in the Lab's Working Paper series, was named in TOP-13 as one of the most interesting studies on Russia in 2013 by the Higher School of Economics in Russia.

Moreover, over the course of this academic year, I participated as a consultant in the European Commission's FP7 large-scale network ANTICORRP project (Anticorruption Policies Revisited: Global Trends and European Responses to the Challenge of Corruption) and contributed to ethnographic studies of corruption in Russia. Improper dependencies in other educational institutions, as well as ambivalence towards corrupt practices, are the next issues that need to be addressed in my future research.

Amir Farmanesh

I continued my research into Insightica's psycholinguistic analysis of personality signatures and individual traits as they relate to human interactions in leadership, business, ethical, and social contexts. This year, I reached a minimum viable product stage for the automated personality analysis engine based on the insightometrics algorithm I have developed over the years. In the coming year, as the Insightica engine will become available for research, I expect to gain further insights into human personality signatures and the resulting interactions. I hope I can continue my engagement with the research community in the coming year, as with Insightica the potential for large-scale quantified human personality and behavior analysis will become possible, enabling a potentially more in-depth approach to understanding and representing human ethical behavior.

Ted Gup

Regretfully, because of scheduling conflicts—regularly scheduled classes I was teaching—I was unable to attend the regular Lab seminars, but was fortunate enough to be able to come to a number of the late afternoon programs, which were terrific. My work at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics and the interdisciplinary approach that I so thoroughly enjoyed had a marked impact on the way I teach and what I teach, so that I can report that I have done the work of an apostle and spread the word—my students were the indirect beneficiaries of many of the best ideas and insights I gained as a residential Lab Fellow. During my year as a Network Fellow, I continued (until February) working as the investigations editor for the New England Center for Investigative Reporting, during which time a number of investigative projects I edited and oversaw appeared on the front pages of The Boston Globe, on WGBH and elsewhere. My exposure to the Lab and its vision of institutional corruption informed each project, and so I am continually indebted to the Center for its widening my horizons. As for my own writings, I contributed pieces to The New York Times, The Boston Globe, The Guardian, the Chronicle of Higher Education,

etc. Again, the unseen fingerprints of the Center were on the pieces, each one reflecting to some greater or lesser degree the ideas to which I was exposed at there. I have also been engaged over the past half year with putting together a new and ambitious (hopefully not too ambitious) book project which will engage me over the course of the next couple of years. While I am not discussing the exact nature of the book, its themes will most certainly resonate with those of the Center. So again, I find myself saying “thank you.”

Gal Kober

Spending the past year as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been a privilege, and it provided me with an intellectually stimulating environment in which to develop my project on evaluating the impact of studying ethics on developing ethical sensibilities.

My project aims at testing the effect of ethics classes on developing ethical intuitions and reasoned judgments, as measured via entry and exit questionnaires probing specific knowledge and requiring analysis of different scenarios containing possible ethical questions. I started out by considering the different effects following courses framed by a theoretical discussion of ethics in comparison with courses focused on case studies. During my year as a Network Fellow, I designed and taught a new Business Ethics course influenced by these considerations, completed the experimental design for my study (working closely with an experimental psychologist), and deployed a first set of questionnaires. I also began planning for a second phase of my projects: originally it aimed to test ethical reasoning as influenced by taking applied ethics classes taught as humanities classes; in the next phase, I will compare the effects of ethics courses taught in a business program with results from humanities-based applied ethics courses.

Being a Network Fellow allowed me to encounter a wide array of perspectives on institutional corruption, and deepen my understanding of the ways in which ethical standards play out in different contexts. I work in applied ethics in the disciplinary context of philosophy, and have both a

theoretical and pragmatic interest in the effectiveness of ethics education. As a Network Fellow I had the opportunity to consider such questions more deeply. I greatly appreciate the sense of community in pursuing this interest in the practical applications of ethics.

Chandu Krishnan

I have thoroughly enjoyed being a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The experience has been invigorating and intellectually stimulating. I have benefited in three major ways.

Firstly, after serving as the head of Transparency International (TI) in the U.K. for almost a decade working as a so-called “anti-corruption practitioner,” it was good to be exposed to a strong academic environment and a multitude of perspectives on corruption from a wide range of disciplines. I cannot think of many other institutions, where, under one roof, you can be exposed to so many different ways of looking at institutional corruption.

Secondly, the working definition of institutional corruption (based on Professor Lessig’s conceptual approach) has helped to broaden my understanding of corruption—its various manifestations, its causes and its impacts. The greatest value of this definition is that it allows us to understand a wide range of human and institutional behavior that is not necessarily unethical or illegal (in relation to prevailing socio-legal-cultural norms), but causes harm to individuals, institutions and society at large. This approach is particularly relevant to countries where bribery is not the main problem and corruption takes more subtle forms.

Thirdly, the title “Network Fellow” is very apt, because I have had the opportunity to come into contact (physically and virtually!) with several persons and institutions, whose work and perspectives on corruption have helped to enrich my understanding of a very complex and rapidly changing phenomenon.

My output as a Fellow has been rather modest. I undertook research on how countries around the world are coping with corruption in the funding of

political parties and processes. My findings were published as a Lab Working Paper titled, "Tackling Corruption in Political Party Financing—Lessons from Global Regulatory Practices." I also contributed a couple of blogs on issues related to the revolving door between the public and private sectors and election campaign financing.

I have spoken about the work of the Center to several former TI colleagues and I hope that there will be more interaction and collaboration between the Center and TI communities.

Roberto Laver

During my tenure as a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I expanded and deepened my ongoing research and analysis on the strategies of international development agencies for dealing with systemic corruption with a particular focus on the judicial corruption in Latin America. My research includes theoretical as well as empirical work and builds on more than twenty years of practice in international development, rule of law and anti-corruption programs.

Part of my research and analytical work is reflected in two Lab working papers produced during this academic year. The first working paper, titled "Judicial Independence in Latin America and the (Conflicting) Influence of Cultural Norms," was published in January. This paper examines how informal rules or norms constrain the effectiveness of institutional reforms to guarantee judicial independence. The second working paper, titled "Systematic Corruption: Considering Culture in Second-Generation Reforms," was published in early June. This paper looks at systemic corruption from a socio-cultural perspective and makes recommendations on new avenues for reform.

As a Network Fellow, I've been able to participate in most of the Lab's weekly seminars and also the Center's public lectures. While most of the Lab research focuses on U.S. institutions, and my work is primarily concerned with systemic corruption in developing countries. I've hugely benefited from the work of other Fellows as well as the interactive discussions at the Lab sessions. In particular I've

been enriched by presentations and discussions concerned with the dimension of values and norms in institutional corruption.

Donald W. Light

During this academic year as a Network Fellow, I have devoted most of my time to continuing research and writing begun last year as a residential Lab Fellow. I have completed a book centered on a working, root-striker solution to the pharmaceutical companies' widespread institutional corruption of medical research, clinical knowledge, the FDA, and clinical practice. The resulting biased, misleading, and unreported findings stem from companies developing mostly new drugs with few or no clinical advantages over existing ones, and yet posing a 1-in-5 risk of serious adverse reactions from their under-tested risks of harm.

This book also won a contract from a global publisher, Palgrave-Macmillan, who sees an international market for it. The solution (and the book) lie in the ways in which the Mario Negri Institute for Pharmacological Research in Italy has put its principles into action. These principles include: no patenting because it replaces open science and transparency with secrecy and also diverts research away from investigating solutions to unmet needs of patients (unless patentable and profitable); no profiting, because it corrupts good science and research; use of firm rules to keep control of research design, the data, the analysis, and publication; use of firm rules to keep independent of companies, government, and universities; publishing all internationally, especially negative results, rather than hiding them and biasing medical research articles; designing trials to test whether a new drug is clinically superior, rather than using surrogate end points, placebo trials or non-inferiority trials; and taking responsibility for how medicines are used and actively warning against useless and dangerous drugs.

A second project that was started while I was a residential Fellow involves researching for Doctors Without Borders whether prices could be lower for the two new HPV vaccines being sold to the Global Alliance, GAVI, and promoted by them in the world's

poorest countries. The goal, if supported by evidence, is to substantially lower the low world price (about \$15 now) and also the GAVI price. I did this once before, between 2007 and 2009, and within three months of publishing evidence that R&D costs were much lower than claimed by the manufacturers of new vaccines for rota virus, the world low price dropped by 75 percent from about \$28 to \$7, and then soon dropped to \$5 a dose—much more affordable for billions of people in lower and lower-middle income countries.

Research into the manufacturing costs of a vaccine is nearly impossible because companies keep their figures and details so secret. I have organized a small team of student volunteers at Princeton University, and we have assembled an extremely detailed analysis of manufacturing costs by piecing together diverse information. The draft report still needs to be reviewed and revised. Once completed, this research will be one of the few studies ever to shine a light on manufacturing costs, especially of these new generation, complex vaccines. Are high prices an example of institutional corruption? Usually not, but if it's for a medicine that the world's poor need, it's an important moral issue that could be regarded as corrupting the public health needs of three-quarters of the world's population.

Third, the article that summarizes my work at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics last year is being downloaded more and faster (about 100 more each month) than any other article in the special issue of the *Journal of Law, Medicine & Ethics* that the Center put together, and more than any other article in its SSRN class over the past ten years.

Fourth, while at the Center last year, I was invited by a leading oncologist to write about the unaffordable prices being charged by drug companies for cancer drugs, about how they are bankrupting patients (even those insured because of high co-payments), and how they do not represent known corporate net costs for research nor added clinical value. We now have three articles published, and one has gone out to the 36 million readers of the *AARP Bulletin*.

Finally, I have actively contributed this year to the email group discussions concerning how to refine and strengthen the concept of institutional corruption. Writing the book and doing the research on HPV costs have been so demanding that I have not been able to contribute more, though I have planned out three blog contributions. The exchanges and dialogue in this group have been quite helpful in my work, and I hope I can be kept on this list.

Robert Lucas

(no report)

Carmen Mailloux

As an Edmond J. Safra Network Fellow, I spent the past year developing a book on the governance of academic integrity in higher education, with a particular focus on how professors respond to student cheating. Professors operate at the nexus between student learning and the institutional administration of the university. By examining their responses to student misconduct, the book reveals everyday tensions in the promotion of academic integrity and the business of higher education today. My research on institutional responses to student academic misconduct is being conducted in collaboration with Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellow, Dr. Garry C. Gray. We presented our findings in a Lab seminar that we led in April.

Carlos Mariano Mosquera

During this year I made significant progress in my research area thanks to my Network fellowship environment.

First of all, I have been able to work with new concepts and tools associated with institutional corruption. This has been possible through my participation in discussions with experts and the access I have had to outstanding academic materials.

In particular, I would like to highlight the opportunity to study the conceptual relationship between corruption and legality. This relationship is especially important in Latin American countries given the existence of discretionary practices in the determination of public policy objectives and the evaluation of such policies. Thus, I have achieved

my first goal and I have also been able to link the institutional corruption framework with the policy-making process and, on this basis, to start seeking solutions in this context.

Another important finding has been the link between corruption and the rationality of its operation. This conclusion was reached by analyzing both individual behavior and the strategic interaction among actors involved in corruption within the framework of institutional patterns that act as rules of the game.

In this sense, understanding the logic (often implicit) of the determination of corruption in its institutional environment allows us to find a logical solution to fight corruption.

In other words, the tools developed on the basis of theoretical advances are very important since they allow us to visualize institutional designs and anti-corruption public policies as rational strategies to escape from logical dilemmas.

The studies mentioned above have been published in the Lab media, creating important interaction dynamics about their results.

Jonathan H. Marks

I am very grateful to Larry, Mark, Stephanie and all the staff at the Lab for my continued affiliation as a Network Fellow this year. During this period, I revised my Lab Working Paper on public-private partnerships ("What's the Big Deal? The Ethics of Public-Private Partnerships on Food and Health") for a symposium issue of the Kennedy Institute of Ethics Journal focusing on obesity. (It was particularly encouraging to receive an email from Mark telling me that my Working Paper had been the focus of an article in the world's largest English-language newspaper, *The Times of India*.) I also wrote my first essay for the bioethics journal, the *Hastings Center Report*, highlighting several issues at the intersection of law, ethics, and public health resulting from hydraulic fracturing, "Silencing Marcellus: When the Law Fractures Public Health." In this piece, I flag concerns about the way in which the gas industry's interactions with the academy

and legislators is shaping what we know about the public health effects of fracking. I have also been happy to contribute to the Lab's blog. In addition to my blog post written to accompany my Working Paper on public-private partnerships, I also wrote a piece on the systemic ethical issues raised by the ignition switch scandal at GM. These pieces have all helped me to develop my ideas for a book on institutional corruption that I will be working on in the coming year. In this regard, I have also found the analyses in the Working Papers written by other faculty and Fellows affiliated with the Lab to be extremely helpful.

During the last year, it has been a pleasure to participate in events sponsored by the Lab—among them, the conference on money blinds, and the symposium on the ethical issues raised by the potential assessment of the global health impacts of corporations. It was also a pleasure to participate in and present at the sessions sponsored by the Lab as part of the Law and Society Association's annual meeting. In addition, I presented my work on institutional corruption at a variety of other institutions, among them the Center for the Study of Transnational Law in London and Georgetown Business School, as well as other places closer to home—such as the Rock Ethics Institute, and the John Glenn School of Public Policy at Ohio State.

I am delighted to have the opportunity to continue my affiliation with the Lab for the 2014-15 academic year, during which time I plan to complete the book mentioned above. This book will critically examine industry's relationships with the academy using (among others) the food industry and "fracking" as case studies. It will also propose practical remedies to address the issues I raise. Finally, I look forward to helping shape the May 2015 conference, and to toasting Larry—and all the affiliated faculty, fellows, and staff—for the Lab's achievements over the last five years.

Carla Miller

I have been working in the anti-corruption field for 3 decades, starting as a federal prosecutor and now working with cities across the world with my

non-profit, City Ethics. Sometimes it has been an intense struggle, and many times I have felt alone and discouraged. As a practitioner, you are fighting in the thick of it on a daily basis. When I first discovered the Lab's website, I found my home—people who not only understand the struggle but are at the cutting edge of figuring out solutions for it. So in the past year, I have felt like a kid in a candy store. I have been reading papers and blogs, meeting with all of the Lab Fellows and discussing joint projects and coming up to Boston, even when it was snowing and 7 degrees. I believe the interaction with Mark Somos, Professor Lessig and the other Fellows has greatly accelerated my ability to help cities in their fight against corruption.

My main goal is to take the academic research of the Lab and translate it for mass distribution to all ethics professionals and organizations in the U.S. The discussion on institutional corruption is one that should not only take place in academia, but in City Halls, ethics conferences of professionals, and with citizen groups. Progress will only be made with the knowledge and support of thousands of citizens, and they can't fight what they can't define or understand.

This year, in collaboration with Dr. William English, I started a 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 four training sessions with their staff, surveyed participants and will have continuing input in the development of their program.

Another project will be a collaboration between the Lab and the University of Texas, Austin to adapt the "Ethics Unwrapped" video series for public employees and officials. This will be the centerpiece of an ethics training package, including training on institutional corruption that will be available to all cities in the U.S. In order to have a website ready to deliver these training projects, the site "Spiderweb" was launched in October. Those at the Lab perhaps will recall the invasion of spiders on that day.

I also continued my work as Ethics Director of a large municipal ethics program and was able to directly implement concepts developed through my contact with Lab Fellows, such as a comprehensive whistleblowing program. I testified in front of the Florida Senate on institutional corruption and was able to mobilize a statewide group to defeat anti-ethics legislation. All of this progress was greatly accelerated because of my connection with the Lab.

I spoke on institutional corruption at the APPE conference and at the Florida Bar Conference for government attorneys. I am working with the Office of Governmental Ethics in Washington, D.C., the National Council on State Legislatures and the National League of Cities on the development of ethics training programs that include basic information on institutional corruption. I have met with 2 delegations of elected officials from Africa and the Middle East sponsored by the U.S. State Department and briefed them on the work of the Lab. I have continued my work with the National Leadership Academy of China, which has led to one of their professors being accepted as a Network Fellow in the coming year.

I also found it exciting to coordinate information with the Harvard Civic and Moral Education Institute and the Project on Municipal Innovation at the Ash Center at Harvard Kennedy School.

I really wanted to start a project with each of the Lab Fellows, but initially I focused on working with Jay Youngdahl (CFA, Financial Association, training project); Jonathan Marks (Public Private Partnerships, information to National League of Cities, in progress, an application for a grant); Gregg Fields (much appreciated help in getting out my blog posts and podcasting); and Dieter Zinnbauer (Transparency International; international municipal ethics programs).

So much to do, so little time! I admire the work of Professor Lessig who trudged through the snow of New Hampshire to inspire others to fight corruption; the tireless work of Mark Somos in coordinating all of us and to my fellow Fellows, my friends and my inspiration to continue this quest.

Mihaylo Milovanovitch

As an education policy professional, for a few years now I have been devoting time and effort to research on the prevention of corruption in my sector. My fellowship year allowed me to immerse myself in the lively debate of like-minded people associated with the Lab, united in their work towards a better understanding of institutional corruption— its scope, applicability in real life, and effective strategies to address it.

The exchange with (and between) practitioners and researchers in the Lab's network, and the feedback I received at critical points during my fellowship year, connected my research to similar work in other sectors and helped validate it. In particular, I was encouraged in my endeavours to develop arguments in favor of establishing global standards of integral behavior in education, drawing on a model of education system integrity (called INTES – Integrity of Education Systems) that I designed for the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. The initial results are reflected in my first Working Paper for the Lab. I also linked the INTES model to the broader concept of institutional corruption as outlined by Thompson and Lessig, and demonstrated the viability of this link in an integrity assessment of public education in the Republic of Tunisia, presented in my second Working Paper. The final months of my Fellowship are devoted to a third Working Paper that explores the applicability of the Thomson-Lessig model to the sector of education.

Perhaps the most valuable and rewarding aspect of my fellowship with the Lab is the opportunity to network and establish partnerships. I am particularly happy to collaborate with another Network Fellow, Meri Avetisyan, and contribute to her work on the professional integrity of school teachers. A joint paper is in preparation, as well as an assessment of education system integrity in the Republic of Armenia, with a particular focus on professional practices and beliefs of teachers in that country. The outcomes of these collaborative endeavors will be submitted for inclusion in the Lab's Working Paper Series as well.

I am very grateful to Lawrence Lessig, the remarkable team at the Lab (Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant, Heidi Carrell, Emily Bromley, William English and Tara Skurtu), and the members of the Lab's network for making all of this possible and for all the support and guidance they have provided. I am particularly grateful for the inspiration that the fellowship year has given me to continue working on a difficult topic, and for the encouragement to believe that our work can make a difference for the better.

Miriam Muethel

In early 2014, I had the honor to become a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The research project I am currently involved in is titled, "Law Making for Sustainable Corporate Action— Relating CEO Compensation to Companies' Sustainable Corporate Development."

In the aftermath of the financial crisis, the German government revised § 87 AktG 1, which aligns CEO compensation to the sustainable development of corporations in 2009. The aim of § 87 AktG 1 II is to positively influence CEO behavior by aligning financial incentives to a company's sustainable development. In 2013, Dr. Norbert Röttgen (former German Federal Minister for Environmental Issues, and supporter of the law) and Hans-Georg Kluge published a critical evaluation of the law's status of implementation, pointing to challenges in the implementation process. The aim of this research project is to investigate the current status of the law's implementation from a multi-stakeholder perspective, including that of politicians involved in the development of the law, government representatives involved in passing the law, CEOs and corporate board members currently dealing with the law, as well as consultancies involved in the implementation of the law.

In doing so, the research project aims to depict a comprehensive overview of the current status, challenges, and best practices in the implementation of § 87 AktG 1 II. On the other hand, the project also depicts alternative drivers of corporate action towards sustainable development in order to demonstrate the relative importance of the law as

compared to other driving forces of companies' sustainable development. Currently, I am in the initial phase of the research project where I am building relationships to the relevant stakeholders. So far, the research project will be supported (among others) by Dr. Norbert Röttgen (former German Federal Minister for Environmental Issues), by Otto Bernhard (head of the commission that developed the law), and by several German leading companies, such as the Deutsche Telekom (telecommunication) and the Commerzbank (banking). Furthermore, I am currently applying for research funding in order to gain the resources necessary to conduct the research project.

Through the Network fellowship, I will be able to integrate theoretical angles outside my own expertise and thus to set up a truly cross-disciplinary research project. As I am a management scholar the collaboration with experts from the Center will broaden my theoretical viewpoints to include theory of law making and theory of politics into my reasoning. In consequence, the research project will gain theoretical breadth and methodological depth through the collaboration with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics at Harvard University.

Finally, the Network fellowship allows me to become a member of the very engaging Center community. The cross-disciplinary exchange of thoughts and ideas nurtures my understanding far beyond my own work and contributes to my general understanding of ethics.

Ghanem Nuseibeh

My research project, "Institutional Corruption in Large GCC Businesses," focused on family-owned businesses.

The questions that were addressed included: Are there widespread or systemic practices adopted by large family businesses that undermine the integrity of the state? How are those businesses perceived locally and by other stakeholders? What are the business sectors controlled by those businesses and whether other players or competitors have been able to enter those sectors? How will Islamic inheritance laws as those businesses move to

second, third and fourth generations, affect institutional corruption?

The research concluded that there is widespread institutional corruption that is prevalent in many sectors of the economy.

Measures to introduce legislation that aim to eradicate institutional corruption within GCC states were examined and proposed as well as a gradual introduction of such measures. Such measures will need to be introduced gradually to preserve a delicate political status quo that will gradually change as privately owned businesses move to third generations.

A blog post was also posted about Qatar's FIFA 2022 World Cup bid and the degree of institutional corruption in the bid.

Gustavo Oliveira

During my fellowship year, I have worked to broaden my understanding of institutional corruption theory and to develop concrete tools to overcome institutional corruption in Brazilian politics. More tangibly, I have focused on two separate projects: writing an article on institutional corruption from an organizational design perspective and creating the Open Politics ("Política Aberta" in Portuguese) website.

In April I published an article titled "Institutional Corruption as a Problem of Institutional Design: A General Framework" in the Lab's Working Paper series. The discussions at the Lab's weekly seminars and on the email group served as the main inspiration for this paper, which attempts to offer a description of institutional corruption that suits the different organizations and industries to which it is applied. In this perspective, institutional corruption is described as a type of failure in achieving the institutional purpose that happens because of the institutional design, rather than because of unsatisfactory performance. This paper explains the institutional mechanisms that cause this failure, and concludes with some theoretical implications.

The Open Politics website went live in January. It aims to uncover the undue influence of corporate

money in Brazilian politics. In its current phase, the website compares two datasets: corporate donations to political candidates and the amount of public money these corporate donors receive through federal public contracts. It shows, in a straightforward manner, the benefits companies receive by donating money to political campaigns. The website has received wide attention in Brazilian media, and through this project we have been able to partner with different organizations working to help Brazilian citizens understand—and perhaps seek to overcome—the influence of private money in Brazilian politics.

Both projects benefited much from the Center, and I doubt they would be at their current stage without its support. The Center has a unique intellectual life, which made me appreciate not only the different disciplinary approaches to institutional corruption, but also the variety of concrete measures and tools that can be used to overcome the problem. I would like to thank the staff and the Fellows for such a vibrant and enriching atmosphere, of which I am proud to have been a part.

Bart Penders

During the last year, I continued to pursue my research on the role of research integrity in the establishment of both peer and public credibility for science. While many of the concrete outputs of this year were initiated prior to my Network fellowship, the discussions between the Fellows and other Lab members online, as well as the rich exchange of literature significantly contributed to their quality—even if not all of them fit neatly within the institution corruption framework. However, together with two of my colleagues, Kim Hendrickx from the University of Liège in Belgium and Inge Lecluijze from Maastricht University in the Netherlands, I was able to contribute two posts to the Lab's blog that represent current work.

Over the last months, together with three colleagues I was able to assemble a group of experts to critically examine issues of scale and infrastructure in global food systems. This has resulted in the publication of an open-access special issue of the

journal *Limn* in which I feature as both co-author and co-editor. Similarly, I was able to finalize a research project in which I compared the strategies in which academic scientists engineer public credibility for their dietary claims. This analysis was also published last year in the journal *Public Understanding of Science*.

The year itself was devoted to the continuation of a book project called *Healthy Collaboration*, devoted to the ways in which experts in health care collaborate with one another. The normative dimensions of “proper science” and “proper collaboration” feature prominently in the text, which nears completion. In parallel, I initiated a research project on the credentialization of the mode of dissidence in dietary matters, most specifically into a novel dietary craze in the BeNeLux countries, called the “Food Hourglass.”

In addition to these research activities, I revamped a course I have been teaching on research integrity, in which I challenge students to think about institutional structures and institutional corruption in academia (most notably medicine and nutrition science). I also joined a small local advisory think tank meant to stimulate research integrity in our research schools. As a part of this project, we will invite and compare operationalizations of institutional integrity on the department and school level—in order to learn from them, as well as to highlight epistemic differences.

Thaddeus Pope

This year, I was a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. My research examines the ways in which institutional corruption compromises medical decision making for vulnerable populations.

In the fall, I wrote a Perspective article for the *New England Journal of Medicine*. This piece calls attention to how treatment decisions are made for “unbefriended patients.” These are patients with neither decision-making capacity nor any reasonably available legally authorized decision maker. Too often, hospitals and long-term care facilities act on behalf of these patients without the involvement

of any independent, neutral party to check biases, prejudices, or conflicts of interest. I argue for innovative mechanisms that better balance efficiency and fairness.

This New England Journal of Medicine piece builds off my earlier, more thorough examination of the problem in the Journal of Clinical Ethics. And I am continuing my exploration of this under-examined issue. For example, I organized a multi-disciplinary panel discussion on this topic at the 2015 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Law Schools.

In the spring, I wrote an article for the Cardozo Journal of Conflict Resolution, in which I explained how state policymakers are increasingly delegating power to healthcare ethics committees. In Texas, for example, a hospital's own ethics committee can adjudicate clinician-family disputes over life-sustaining treatment. Though nothing in Texas law defines the composition or qualifications of these committees, their decisions are final and unreviewable in court.

Building off the Cardozo piece, I focus specifically on dispute resolution mechanisms for medical futility disputes in an article in the New York Law School Law Review. I was pleased to be able to rigorously debate my arguments and positions in a number of forums this year, including with clinician ethicists at Yale and UCLA.

This year, I also published: two articles on the legality of actively hastening death in JAMA and in the Journal of Clinical Ethics; two entries in the new fourth edition of the Encyclopedia of Bioethics; an article on public health paternalism in the Connecticut Law Review; a legislative guide for the national POLST task force; an article on informed consent in the Journal of Clinical Ethics; an op-ed in the LA Times; and numerous blog posts. I also joined as a co-author on the third edition of the Wolters-Kluwer treatise *The Right to Die: The Law of End-of-Life Decisionmaking*.

Moving away from academic literature to more practical application, this year I continued my consulting and editing role on two new policy

statements for the American Thoracic Society.

One concerns managing conscientious objection in intensive care medicine. The other concerns futility and goal conflict in end-of-life care in ICU medicine. A key goal of both these statements is to protect patients from unwarranted treatment refusals by clinicians and hospitals.

Also blending academic literature and practical application, I received a grant (with a co-investigator from the University of Pennsylvania) from the Greenwall Foundation to draft model guidelines on when hospice workers should report known or suspected assisted suicide by a patient's family or friends. I will be presenting the initial results of this research at the annual meeting of the American Society of Bioethics and Humanities.

I am grateful to the Center for exposing me to literature and arguments that inform my work on end-of-life decision-making. I already know that I will be further drawing on this enrichment as I continue analyzing end-of-life treatment disputes and informed consent.

Simona Ross

Simona Ross aims to understand the influence of institutional corruption and its effects on U.S. foreign policy strategies. Her research focuses on the actors influencing the decision-making process on U.S. foreign policy issues related to international security, humanitarian interventions, military engagement, and peacekeeping. Her latest blog, titled "Does U.S. Foreign Policy Serve the People?" analyzes whether institutional corruption played a role in the U.S. intervention in Libya. Currently, Ross is conducting research for a Working Paper on institutional corruption and U.S. security policy in Africa.

Ruchi Sanghani

It has been both a pleasure and a privilege to be a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics this year. To have the opportunity to be exposed to so many new and innovative ideas, dialogs and debates so early in my career is an absolute honor, and I am truly grateful for the experience. Quite honestly, I was unsure of what

would come of being a Network Fellow; however, this experience has proven to be invaluable to both my research work and my professional development.

Over the course of the past year, my collaborators (Lab Fellow Dr. Susannah Rose, Dr. Guy Chisolm, Dr. Matthew Karafa, and Ms. Cory Schmidt) and I have conducted research projects on physician-industry relationships and the ways in which conflicts of interest (COI) are managed and reported. We have spent the past year collecting and analyzing these data, and are now in the final stages of preparing our manuscripts. It is a very exciting time for our research team, and we hope that these projects contribute to ongoing discussions on COI. I also had the opportunity to present my independent work on prenatal healthcare and home visitations under the Affordable Care Act at the American Society for Bioethics and Humanities conference in Atlanta, Georgia, where I was pleased to see a strong Lab presence.

In addition to my research involvement, I had the opportunity to visit the Lab, and learn more about other Fellows' projects and interests. Though not in residence, I find that the support and information available through the Lab are incredibly helpful to my work, and greater inform my understanding of corruption, particularly within the realm of medicine.

I appreciate the endless support from the Lab, and wish to thank Lawrence Lessig, Stephanie Dant, and Mark Somos for their assistance and coordination of Lab activities. I also want to thank Susannah Rose for her encouragement, wisdom in mentorship, and support, which know no bounds. Her ideas on institutional corruption and COI policy have forced me to make interesting and exciting connections beyond those apparent on the surface. I also thank her for introducing me to the Lab, and sharing her positive experiences with me. Finally, I am grateful for the entire Lab community, without whom important questions on institutional corruption would remain unanswered.

Alisha Sett

In my year as a Network Fellow, I continued work on a writing project about mental healthcare in Kashmir. I was based primarily out of Srinagar, the Indian summer capital, and divided my time between interviewing the patients, psychologists and psychiatrists in the Government Psychiatric Diseases Hospital, the only public institution devoted to mental healthcare, and Kashmir Lifeline, an NGO providing free mental healthcare across the state. The two institutions represented two opposing models of care, the former focusing almost entirely on pharmacological treatment, and the latter giving great emphasis to psychosocial care.

I spent six months in the field in 2013, getting to know the systems, processes and people in these places intimately. Over those months, I benefitted immensely from Skype conversations with several Fellows at the Center whose work is focused on the influence of the pharmaceutical industry on American psychiatry. Having no training in psychiatry myself, these relationships, combined with the online discussions I was a part of, were essential to my understanding of some of the key influences at play in the prescription and treatment cycles I was observing in Kashmir. I am particularly grateful to Mark Somos, for being someone I could always reach out to and who helped me connect with the Fellows I needed to speak to for my work to be more meaningful.

It is important to mention that without my association to the Center, I would have been unable to gain access to the Government hospital, since they are quite wary of outsiders. Harvard's prestigious name opened up many doors and conversations with senior doctors. I was also given access to Harvard's archives and research resources for 3 months, an important benefit since my work was entirely outside of any university context.

I will be returning to Kashmir for another stay this summer, to follow up with many patients, after which I hope the project will be complete and ready for publishing. Though not of the scope I had

initially imagined—given the difficulty of living in Kashmir with the ongoing sporadic violence as well as the emotional turmoil caused by being in these hospitals continuously—I believe it will reveal intimately, among many other things, the far-reaching and global consequences of the embedding of the pharmaceutical industry’s interests in American psychiatry.

Being a part of the Lab community has been a transformative experience. The extended exposure to conversations around institutional corruption has provided a unique lens and language in which to understand the societies of which I am a part. I have recently joined a strategic philanthropy foundation in Mumbai called Dasra that, in partnership with the Omidyar Network, has launched a project called the Governance Collaborative in India. The aim is to support various kinds of organizations working to promote government transparency and accountability across the country. I am part of a team that interviews and selects these organizations, and my learning from the last year is proving invaluable in that process.

I see the knowledge gained from this journey continuing to influence my work for a long time. I am grateful for everything this fellowship has afforded me and will always be proud of my association with so many extraordinary minds.

Paul Thacker

Over the last year, I spent more time researching the background of my book, wrote up a book proposal, and did other writing. In March, I came to the Center and gave a talk about congressional staff and race, gender, and class. Very little data exists on these topics and I gathered my information from a few small sources and from discussions with staff. Race is still a problem when it comes to hiring practices and how that shapes the overall tenor of Congress. Congressional staff is overwhelmingly white. The group that seems to have the least representation is Hispanics. One Hispanic staffer said that by hiring staffers from different backgrounds you get people with different perspectives

and more direct insight into matters. For instance, he felt that he had a better understanding of public housing than someone who had studied the issues in graduate school because he had experienced the issue directly from talks with family members living in Section 8 housing.

Despite public impressions that Congress is a sexist institution, limited data and interviews suggest that Congress might be better than other sectors of the economy. A recent study found that women receive less pay than men in Congress, but another study found that women have higher chances for attaining senior positions than in the private sector. In interviews, some women described sexism, but others did not.

Perhaps the biggest problem is class, or socioeconomic background. Almost no research exists on the socioeconomic background of staff and how that shapes Congress, but dozens of people I interviewed said that is a problem on the Hill. Many people who were interviewed said that Congress is “filled with rich kids.” The major reason for this is because the price of entry is living for six months in Washington without any pay while doing a free internship. By blocking lower class people from jobs in Congress we then perpetuate Congress’ focus on policies that reward wealthier people.

Daniel Weeks

Building on my 2012-13 research into poverty and democracy as an Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellow, I devoted my Network fellowship year to writing and presenting the research for publication while also undertaking full-time work in related fields of poverty, education, and civic engagement. The writings combined academic analysis, storytelling, and participant observations from my several weeks’ of field research conducted on a poverty-line budget by Greyhound Bus (including additional interviews added during the Network fellowship year).

In January, coinciding with the 50th anniversary of President Johnson’s War on Poverty, the Atlantic

published a six-part series of articles from my research focusing on each of the major categories of politically and socioeconomically disenfranchised Americans, and practical steps government can take to equalize political voice and combat institutional corruption. The articles generated significant discussion among the estimated 10 million monthly viewers of TheAtlantic.com, including over 10,000 social media shares and nearly 1,000 direct comments; further discussion was generated via an accompanying NPR interview and Lab podcast and online commentaries.

The research and writing continue with a 100 page monograph surveying poverty and democracy across the United States, slated for publication by the Carsey Institute at the University of New Hampshire in September 2014. In spring 2014, I conducted fresh analysis and interviews on the “working poor” in New Hampshire for Business New Hampshire magazine for publication in the June. Meanwhile, my work on a manuscript is slow but ongoing, and my full-time work with the national service organization City Year, focused on the six highest-poverty elementary schools in New Hampshire, has proved a meaningful application of and complement to my research.

Jay Youngdahl

My initial work as a Network Fellow in the previous year was the paper, “Investment Consultants and Institutional Corruption,” examining the failures and foibles of the profession of investment consulting through the intellectual lens of institutional corruption.

The paper created much conversation. I received many favorable comments and journalistic reviews of the paper, but some investment consultants took offense to my analysis. None, however, would offer a written response.

During this year I presented the paper, in whole or in part, at gatherings in London, Capetown, Vancouver, and locations within the United States.

I am currently working on a second stage to this work, in which I will propose a new paradigm for the investment consulting profession that can meet the needs of investors, without being subject to the debilitating effects of institutional corruption.

In addition, I have been working with several in the Center on a collaboration with the CFA Institute. We met in Cambridge and progress is being made. However, as with many practitioners or their groups, self-reflection of their relationship to institutional corruption may prove to be a difficult slog.

Finally, I am participated in the Lab’s conference on the financial sector and institutional corruption, and will prepare a paper based on my presentation.

Dieter Zinnbauer

I work on emerging issues and innovation for Transparency International (TI), a global NGO network dedicated to tackling corruption. As part of my job I am tasked with exploring new policy issues and opportunities for collaboration. Due to a temporary relocation of my family to Cambridge for reasons unrelated to my fellowship, I was also in the privileged position to be physically present in Cambridge from February to May 2014.

The project for my fellowship revolves around the question of how the concept of “policy capture” could be operationalized in ways that make it suitable to measure, track and compare (over time and across units) at least some central capture elements or risks. The project is admittedly very exploratory and hugely ambitious, thus more intended to instigate a brainstorm on promising avenues for further exploration, rather than arriving at practical answers already. I have carried out a first scan of the pertinent literature, consolidated findings into a stylized conceptualization of policy capture as a multi-layered risk map, and begun to catalogue and map different approaches to assessing particular risks at each layer. I presented a first draft of this in a lunchtime Lab seminar and received very critical, yet extremely useful and welcome criticism that will undoubtedly inform my

further work on this. In addition, whenever time permitted I attended other Lab seminars and public Lab events, and so far also contributed two blog posts to the Lab's blog. Needless to say, I have also sought to network with individual Fellows and find ways to connect their work and interests to the many related activities ongoing in the TI network.

I am deeply grateful for this fellowship opportunity, which has been immensely enriching and inspiring in terms of substantive ideas, new contacts and future opportunities for collaborations.

Working for an organization that has so far primarily focused on conventional forms of corruption, the Lab's focus on institutional corruption has been particularly interesting. It fully resonates with a recognition on the part of TI that a more systematic and sustainable impact on tackling corruption will eventually require a broader focus that also accommodates a number of strategic institutional corruption issues. Thinking about how to strengthen the independence, integrity and public interest regard of professional communities is perhaps the most exciting and enticing route for TI to explore further and partner on in the medium-term future. The library access that the Center kindly extended to me during my physical presence here in Cambridge was incredibly useful, a boon for someone doing research for an NGO that cannot afford access to most academic journals.

Should some form of Network Fellowship program be continued in the future it might be a great idea to make library access a default commitment for participants who do not have comparable access at some other academic institution. Finally, I would recommend to perhaps consider continuing some of the work in specific interest clusters. The exposure to a wide range of topics, approaches and expertise was extremely stimulating, yet one is at times left with the desire to explore some issues in more detail, perhaps in a smaller group, and the facilitation of related interest clusters could be a way to enable this.

A big thank you to the entire Center for Ethics team for a great fellowship year and I truly hope we can find ways of working together in the future. I for sure already look forward to remaining engaged as alumni Fellow.

APPENDIX II: 2013-14 EDMOND J. SAFRA LAB RESEARCH PROJECTS

James Greiner, "Potential Corruption in Institutions at the Intersection of Credit and Consumer Financial Distress"

Christopher Robertson, "Blinding Science"

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

James Greiner

The Center's support for the Financial Distress Research Project allowed the Project to get off the ground in 2013-14.

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 field operation will take place in Maine.

The Project 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.

Most of the past year has been spent in constructing the pro se assistance packet (a task tackled by over 20 law students volunteering 8-10 hours per week each; in preparing for a pilot study, which is currently scheduled for winter 2014-15; and in fundraising. The Center's generous support has allowed preparations for the pilot study to proceed apace. This has led to successful negotiations with many of the key coalition partners needed to field our study. Our fundraising efforts have yielded generous grants from the National Conference of Bankruptcy Judges and the American Bankruptcy Institute.

“Blinding Science”

Christopher T. Robertson

This year, I had the pleasure of being in residence as a Visiting Professor at Harvard Law School, which allowed me to engage more deeply in a broad range of Lab activities. In the fall, as part of the Lab’s Working Paper series, I published “Blinding as a Solution to Institutional Corruption,” showing how blinding can disaggregate a dependency into its corrupting and non-corrupting parts, and thereby provide a workable solution, especially where it is infeasible to simply proscribe the entire dependency. The Lab-supported project had two components: a scholarly conference and book on blinding as a solution to institutional corruption (with Aaron Kesselheim) and an investigation of the potential use of blinding for expert witnesses in litigation (with Daniel Durand, and with Jim Greiner consulting).

For the first component, Dr. Kesselheim and I organized an academic conference on November 1, 2013, titled “When Less Information is Better: Blinding as a Solution to Institutional Corruption.” Established and emerging scholars from across the country, including leaders from the National Institutes of Health and the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy, gave fifteen talks on a wide range of scholarly disciplines: law, medicine, philosophy, statistics, forensic science, organizational behavior, sociology, psychology, history of science, and economics. While this interdisciplinaryity was challenging, we were able to elucidate blinding as a fundamental tool for addressing corruption rather than merely a domain-specific solution. We also succeeded in helping to build a national network of scholars and officials working on this solution to the IC problem.

Following the conference, Dr. Kesselheim and I prepared a book proposal tentatively titled *Blinding as a Solution to Bias*. We proposed to pull together many of the papers that were presented at our conference into a coherent whole, and to supple-

ment them with others. In the spring we received four very positive peer reviews; in May we received an offer of publication from one of the major academic presses. We anticipate spending the next year bringing the book to fruition.

For the second component of this project, Dr. Durand and I have been working to explore the feasibility of using blinding to prevent institutional corruption of expert witnesses in litigation. We pulled together a group of ten leading scholars in radiology and produced a review article, which was accepted for publication in a leading scholarly journal. We also have been working to run a pilot experiment in the field, working with a teleradiology group to implement a robust blinding procedure which blocks not only litigant-induced biases but also hindsight and outcome biases. We are still working to overcome the technical challenges of implementing a blind so robust that experts are unable to distinguish between regular clinical cases and litigation cases.

In other institutional corruption work this year, I presented at several conferences a co-authored paper, “An Empirical Method for Materiality: Would Conflict of Interest Disclosures Change Patient Decisions?” which is forthcoming in the *American Journal of Law & Medicine*. I also published in *Boston Law Review* “When Truth Cannot Be Presumed: The Regulation of Drug Promotion under an Expanding First Amendment,” and a shorter version is forthcoming in a Columbia University Press volume. I also presented my work on institutional corruption at the Law, Science, and Evidence Colloquium at UCLA Law School, the Program in Psychiatry and the Law at Harvard Medical School, and the Forum on Conflict of Interest in Academe at the Association of American Medical Colleges.

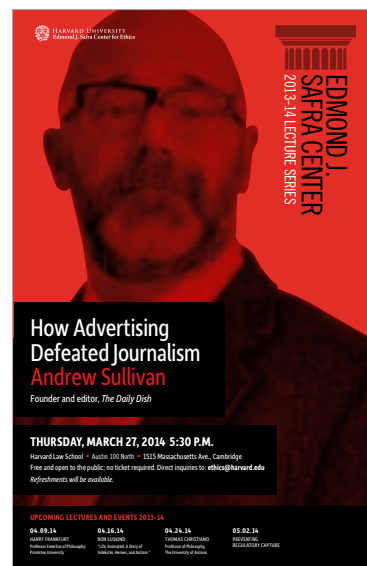
APPENDIX III: PUBLIC LECTURES AND EVENTS/PAST EVENTS 2013-14

PUBLIC LECTURES

- **Lawrence Lessig Interviews Robert Kaiser**
- **David Stockman**, "Sundown in America: The Keynesian State Wreck Ahead"
- **Ron Suskind** and **Gus Schumacher**, "The Right to Bear Arms"
- **Richard Tuck**, "The Sleeping Sovereign: How Democracy Became Possible in the Modern World"
- **Anna Stilz**, "Territory, Expulsion, and the Right to Return"
- **Jeff Connaughton**, "Why Wall Street Always Wins: Washington Before and After the Financial Crisis"
- **Andrew Sullivan**, "How Advertising Defeated Journalism"
- **Thomas Christiano**, "Self-Determination and the Human Right to Democracy"

OTHER EVENTS

- **When Less Information is Better: Blinding as a Solution to Institutional Corruption**
- **Second Annual Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics:**
Larissa MacFarquhar, "What is Family, What are Strangers?"
- **Ron Suskind**, "Life, Animated: A Story of Sidekicks, Heroes, and Autism"



Lecture posters

PUBLIC LECTURES

September 18, 2014: Zephyr Teachout, "Corruption in America"

October 2, 2014: John Rogers, "Is Fiduciary Capitalism the Future of Finance?"

October 20, 2014: Lawrence Lessig interviews Edward Snowden

November 3, 2014: Lea Ypi

November 17, 2014: Harry Frankfurt

March 12, 2015: Russ Muirhead

April 9, 2015: Tyrone Hayes

OTHER EVENTS

November 24, 2014

Symposium on James M. Landis

February 5, 2015

Third Annual Kissel Lecture in Ethics with Arthur Ripstein

February 19, 2015

Nancy Rosenblum, "Good Neighbor Nation: The Democracy of Everyday Life in America"

May 1-2, 2015

Ending Institutional Corruption Conference

Please check our website for updates on the 2014-15 event series.


HARVARD UNIVERSITY
 Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics

2014-15 LECTURE SERIES

CORRUPTION IN AMERICA



ZEPHYR TEACHOUT
 ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF LAW, FORDHAM UNIVERSITY;
 GOVERNMENTAL CANDIDATE, STATE OF NEW YORK

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2014 5:30 P.M.
 Harvard Law School // Austin 111 West 1515 Massachusetts Ave.,
 Cambridge // Free and open to the public; no ticket required.
 Direct inquiries to: ethics@harvard.edu // Refreshments will be available.

UPCOMING LECTURES 2014-15

<p>09.24.14 NANCY ROSENBLUM Senior Joseph Clark Professor of Ethics in Politics and Government, Harvard University</p>	<p>10.2.14 JOHN ROGERS Former CEO, Citicorp</p>	<p>10.23.14 GLENN GREENWALD Founding Editor, The Intercept</p>	<p>11.9.14 LEA YPI Lecturer in Political Theory, London School of Economics</p>
<p>02.5.15 THIRD ANNUAL KISSEL LECTURE: ARTHUR RIPSTEIN Professor of Philosophy, Graduate, Princeton University</p>	<p>02.12.15 RUSS MUIRHEAD Robert G. Grayson Associate Professor of Government and Politics, Barnard College</p>	<p>04.09.15 TYRONE HAYES Professor of Integrative Biology, University of California Berkeley</p>	<p>05.1-2.15 THE END OF THE INSTITUTIONAL CORRUPTION LAB CONFERENCE</p>

APPENDIX IV: NEW FELLOWS

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2014-2015 Edmond J. Safra Fellows

Undergraduate Fellows: Joshua Blecher-Cohen, Riley Carney, Sophia Chua-Rubenfeld, Matthew Lochner, Chloe Reichel, Jesse Shulman, Reed Silverman, Adam Spinoso, Joy Wang

Graduate Fellows: Olivia Bailey, Jonathan Bruno, Greg Conti, Silvia Diazgranados Ferráns, Jeremy David Fix, Tomer Perry (Visiting), Michal Rapoport (Visiting), Delia Wendel

Lab Fellows: Elinor Amit, Katherine Anderson, Andromachi Athanasopoulou, Christine Baugh, Xiaogang Deng, Eugen Dimant (Visiting), Oz Dincer, Frank Dobbin, Avlana Eisenberg, Yuval Feldman, Israel Finkelshtain, Michael Johnston, Kate Kenny, Maryam Kouchaki, Joa Julia Lee, Michelle Mello, Jennifer Miller, Justin O'Brien (Visiting), Richard Painter, Genevieve Pham-Kanter, Ann-Christin Posten, Lynda Powell, Sunita Sah, Mark Somos, Thomas Stratmann

Investigative Journalist Fellows: Norm Alster, Sebastian Jones, Sam Loewenberg, Brooke Williams

Network Fellows: 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, Krisztián Szabados, Paul Taylor, Nikolaos Theodorakis, Mary Báthory Vidaver, Celestine Warren, Leah Wawro

Research Projects:

Francesca Gino, Joa 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: "Measuring the Effectiveness of Conflicts-of-Interest Policies at Medical Schools and Teaching Hospitals"

Maryam Kouchaki, Richard Moorhead, "How Legal Education Changes Lawyers"

Christopher Robertson, "535 Felons: How Jury Experiments Can Define the Line Between Bribery and Everyday Institutional Corruption"

UNIVERSITY FACULTY COMMITTEE

Lawrence Lessig

Arthur Applbaum

Nir Eyal

Archon Fung

Frances Kamm

Mathias Risse

Nancy Rosenblum

Tommie Shelby

Robert Truog

David Wilkins

LAB COMMITTEE

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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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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

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Eric Beerbohm, *Director of Graduate Fellowships*

William English, *Research Director*

Mark Somos, *Research Director*

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Erica Redner, *Graduate Fellowship Coordinator*

Tara Skurtu, *Fellowships and Office Coordinator*

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