



HARVARD UNIVERSITY
Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics

2012 2013

REPORT ON ACTIVITIES



Left to right: Faculty Associate Stanley Hoffmann and Lab Research Director Mark Somos; Graduate Fellows Heidi Matthews and Anna Su; Graduate Fellow Michael Kenneally

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Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics. And finally, we began the important process of identifying the Lab's next five year research project which will launch in 2015.

This year saw important changes. We marked our founding director, Dennis F. Thompson's, retirement with a conference to honor his career. Under Eric Beerbohm's leadership, we launched a fellowship program for Harvard undergraduate students, and enrolled a talented class of 14 as our first cohort of

Without doubt, the problem has become clearer. It has also become more difficult. As we have developed a vocabulary and understanding of the dynamic that "institutional corruption" presents, we have begun to see more clearly how difficult it will be to change the institutional norms and practices that manifest this corruption. By the end of next year, however, we will have something that will capture what we have learned, and map at least some of the work that is left to be done.

This year, we begin the process of identifying the project that will be next. When I began as director, I announced that the Center was beginning an experiment. Periodically, we would identify a practical ethical problem that could benefit from cross-disciplinary research. A "Lab" would then be formed to focus on that problem. The "Lab on Institutional Corruption" was our first. And this summer, Arthur Applbaum has led a group to help identify the project that will be next.

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I am eager for this shift. Of course, no one expected (I hope!) that we would have solved the problem of "institutional corruption" in just five years. But we will have made an important contribution, and I am eager to see the contributions the Center will make in other important areas as well.

With the current project on "institutional corruption," next year marks the penultimate year. I am both excited and anxious. Over the past three years, our Lab Fellows — residential, non-residential, and network — have produced an enormous amount of original research, covering a wide range of institutional contexts. But in the next two years, we need to pull this work together, to present both a map of "institutional corruption," and a strategy for addressing it.

Regardless of the direction of the Center, my own work will continue to focus on one particular aspect of institutional corruption — the corruption of Congress. This year I published a short book, *Lesterland*, that builds upon my earlier book, *Republic, Lost*. I based *Lesterland* on a lecture given at TED, (<http://bit.ly/Lesterland>). Addressing this corruption, of course, is central to the health of our democracy, and the Center has been enormously

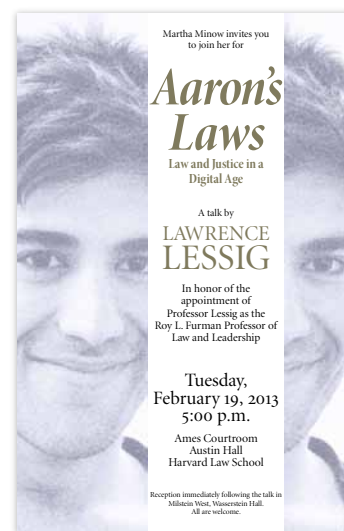
helpful to me in my work, and the work of others on this topic. I am grateful to Mrs. Safra especially for her support that makes our work possible, and to the incredible staff — Stephanie and Mark, in particular — with whom I have been very lucky to work.

...a dear friend
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thousands more...

This year has not been without tragedy, however. In January, we lost a former fellow to suicide — Aaron Swartz. A dear friend to many of us, and an inspiration to many thousands more, we all continue to mourn his death, and the loss it brings. Aaron challenged everyone of us while he was here. His memory will continue to challenge us, and thankfully so.



President Faust and others acknowledge the contributions of the Center's founding director, Dennis F. Thompson



Professor Eric Beerbohm, *Director*



Almost since its inception, the Center has been eager to extend its mission beyond its programming for faculty and scholars, and to provide similar opportunities for the Univer-

sity's undergraduate population. Well aware of the enduring effect that ethics education can have on the aspirations and career plans of younger scholars—already confirmed by the success of the Graduate Fellowship program—the task has been to show that offering similar training to our student population would generate a return on investment at least equal to any of our previous successes.

The goal of establishing an ethics fellowship program for Harvard College students came to fruition in the spring of 2013 with the launch of the Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellowships in

social science should play in moral and political theory. In one of our workshops we discussed Jeremy Waldron's classic paper, "The Problem of Homelessness." One of our fellows, Lily Ostrer, brought her own experience as a volunteer at a homeless shelter to assess the philosophical claims in play. It was one of many moments where the diversity of the interests of the Fellows helped sharpen and check the back-and-forth of reason-giving.

Part of the program's aim is to foster cross-disciplinary connections, and to that end, the Undergraduate Fellows enjoy unparalleled access to the Center's vibrant community of faculty and scholars, and select from a smorgasbord of rich offerings that includes conferences, seminars, small group meetings with senior faculty and Graduate Fellows, and a series of lecture-dinner events with distinguished speakers. In addition, students are given the option of extending their research into the summer through the Lester Kissel Grants in Practical Ethics.

In tandem with the launch of the fellowship program, the Center established the annual Lester Kissel Lecture in Ethics, one aim of which is to present topics that are relevant to the work of the undergraduate population. The inaugural lecture, delivered on February 7, 2013 by Michael J. Sandel, *Anne T. and Robert M. Bass Professor of Government*,

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Ethics, a program created specifically for students interested in pursuing research and writing on ethics issues in the social sciences, natural sciences, and the humanities. At the program's core is a rigorous interdisciplinary workshop series designed to develop the students' competence in modes of inquiry that are critical to addressing the moral issues in public life. The workshops bring both theory and practice to bear on a range of topics that stimulate debate, while allowing the students to develop their own research and writing.

Themed this year around "mortal questions," we considered problems involving killing and letting die, the value of future generations, and what role

attracted an overflow audience that included faculty, students, and members of the Harvard-Cambridge and Boston community. Professor Sandel's topic, "The Perils of Thinking like an Economist," could hardly have been more timely, and garnered many accolades from the audience, including from our new Undergraduate Fellows.

The fourteen talented students who comprised the fellowship program's first class—four seniors, nine juniors, and one sophomore—were phenomenal. The problems in practical ethics that the Fellows explored spanned a remarkable range. **Sheyda Aboii**, a junior Government concentrator interested in immigration, reported that a highlight of her

year was “witnessing the creative choreography of academic minds” grappling with complex issues. **Nisha Deolalikar**, a junior concentrating in Social Studies with a secondary field in Global Health and Health Policy, is interested in the intersection of bioethics and global justice, and found that the fellowship exposed her to “a wide array of questions I would have likely never had the courage to delve into alone.” The range of interactions she experienced in the workshop series, the lecture dinner events, and her encounters with faculty and fellows, “deeply enriched” her understanding of practical ethics.

Medha Gargeya, a junior studying Women, Gender, and Sexuality, brought research interests in freedom of religion, science and the courts, genomics and public policy, as well as gender and mental health in law. She hopes ultimately to think about how the justice system can best serve different populations. **Isabelle Glimcher**, a senior concentrating in Social Studies, explored the relationship between the state and the individual, and the complex intersection of international law, state sovereignty, and international human rights. Her Hoopes Award-nominated thesis reflects on the normative right to reject state citizenship, understood more colloquially as elective statelessness.

Jirka Jelinek, a senior from Eliot House concentrating in Government with a secondary field in Ethnic Studies, brought research interests in conflict resolution, diplomacy, peace-building, humanitarian aid, and “race.” **Adam Kern**, a senior Philosophy concentrator in Adams House, published a paper in value theory and completed a thesis on the reasons for inquiring and what we have reason to inquire about. **Jared Lopez**, a junior Philosophy concentrator living in Eliot House, is interested in using an interdisciplinary approach to tackle the problems of philosophy. **David Miller** is a junior concentrating in Social Studies focusing on human rights issues surrounding terrorism and the American “War on Terror,” with a particular interest in state-sanctioned torture.

Lily Ostrer, a junior concentrating in Social Studies, explored the role of science in policymaking, how a

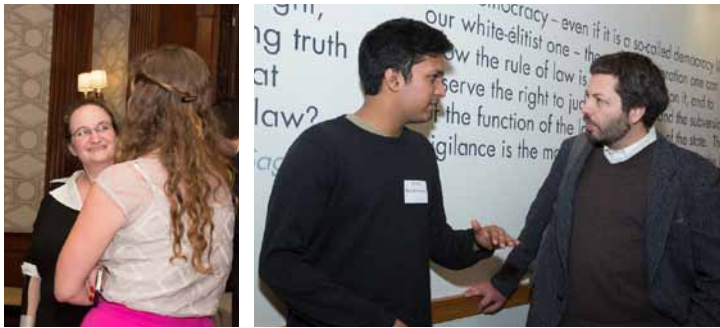


Left to right: Adam Kern and Eric Beerbohm; Jean McVeigh; James Brandt with Undergraduate Fellows Celestine Warren (fully pictured) and Lily Ostrer

society can best promote the health of its citizens, and shared global responsibility to promote social well-being. **Ketan Ramakrishnan**, a senior concentrating in Philosophy, brought interests as varied as moral and political philosophy, the history of early analytic philosophy, epistemology, and jurisprudence. **Chloe Reichel**, a sophomore concentrating in Social Studies, considers the study of ethics in early education, and bioethics, specifically physician-assisted suicide and end-of-life care. As a member of the Harvard Educational Studies Program, she hopes to further develop this curriculum to examine the feasibility and impact of incorporating the study of ethics in urban, public elementary education.

William Ryan, a junior concentrating in Philosophy, is especially interested in developing democracies, environmental ethics, and how ethics applies to institutions. **Celestine Warren**, a junior studying History of Science with a secondary field in Government, is interested in the intersection of science and

EDMOND J. SAFRA UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN ETHICS/CONTINUED



Left to right: Members of the 2012-13 Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellowship program; Graduate Fellow Andrea Tivig and Undergraduate Fellow; Ketan Ramakrishnan and former Faculty Fellow Nir Eyal

public policy, specifically risk analysis and medical decision-making. In addition to fulfilling pre-med requirements, she has focused her coursework on studying political philosophy and ethics. Next year, she anticipates writing a thesis on the topic of medical communication and bioethics. **Oliver Wenner**, a junior studying philosophy, is exploring the intersection of law and philosophy and how to use metaphysical and epistemological tools to examine legal and ethical notions found in public discourse. He has conducted philosophical research in Israel and Palestine on the morality of military conscription and is involved in several organizations, such as the *Harvard Review of Philosophy* and the Suffolk Prison tutoring program, where he teaches ethics seminars to inmates.

The Undergraduate Fellowship program is off to a stellar start, thanks in part to the enthusiastic and gifted students who formed our first cohort. I am

particularly grateful to Mrs. Lily Safra, whose vision has provided the impetus and support for this exciting new undergraduate initiative, and to our graduate student Teaching Fellow, James Brandt, whose input and assistance so greatly enhanced the formation and execution of the workshop. The program's coordinator and developer, Jean McVeigh, brought remarkable creativity and care, and turned an idea into an institution in rapid pace. The Center is so fortunate that Jean has returned to play this critical founding role. While clearly filling a need, we believe the program has already enhanced, in numerous ways, the College experience for our first Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows. Now as members of the ethics community, the students, in turn, continue to bring a fresh perspective to the issues at the core of the Center's research.

The program will continue next year under the capable direction of Professor Arthur Applbaum, whose numerous contributions to the Center include helping to found the Center's Graduate Fellowship program, which he directed from 1990 until 2009. With the ongoing assistance of James and Jean, Professor Applbaum will select the next crop of Undergraduate Fellows in the fall of 2013, and will welcome back the returning Juniors and Sophomores from our inaugural year. We are pleased that our growing ethics community will include a cohort of eager Harvard College students, who will not only draw on the community for support and inspiration, but also will give back in abundance.

EDMOND J. SAFRA GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS IN ETHICS

Professor Eric Beerbohm, *Director*

The Center's 2012-13 Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics, along with Frances Kamm, brought vitality and intensity to our discussions. They were unusually comfortable crossing disciplinary boundaries. This was excellent timing since the point of this year's Graduate Fellow seminar was to challenge the boundaries of theories of law and lawmaking. Our eight scholars managed to straddle the borders of philosophy, politics and law.

Hailing from political science, health policy, philosophy and law, the Graduate Fellows sought out problems and puzzles that can seem intractable from within any one of our methodological comfort zones. We asked: What are the special responsibilities that apply to the process of lawmaking? Is legislated law the paradigm of lawmaking? The exchanges of the seminar reflected the thought that philosophical reflection is "the ungainly attempt to tackle questions that come naturally to children, using methods that come naturally to lawyers."

What are the special responsibilities that apply to lawmaking?

Our seminars were marked by their candor and fruitfulness. While some of our readings in democratic ethics drew sharp criticisms from the group, the spirit of constructive engagement prevailed. We found ourselves surprised by the ways familiar arguments in moral philosophy could throw light on problems in legislative ethics. The other piece of the seminar—the sharing of each other's work—was always enjoyable. The Fellows' circulated chapters were compelling, and the commentators spent a lot of energy trying on their colleague's arguments for size.



2012-2013 Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows, Director Eric Beerbohm, and Senior Scholar Frances Kamm

Sean Gray, a PhD candidate in political science, considered the relationship between our democratic values and the significance of silence. He brought special focus on redesigning democratic institutions to be more sensitive to the distinctively expressive character of citizens who refuse to play a speaking

role in a political community. **Michael Kenneally**, a PhD candidate in philosophy, brought his law degree to use in reflecting on the peculiar problems of intellectual property. Wildly productive this academic year, Michael

took up the point of view of utilitarians and natural lawyers, whose talk of rights was famously mocked as nonsense on stilts. We can only imagine the ire that talk of rights to intellectual property would elicit from the father of utilitarianism, Jeremy Bentham.

Heidi Matthews, an SJD candidate at Harvard Law School, explored international criminal law in its more and less coercive forms. Her work nicely complimented **Anna Su**, also an SJD candidate, who considered the political and intellectual history of the American origins of our contemporary international legal regime on religious freedom. Both of them took seriously the philosophical assumptions



Left to right: Lab Fellow Alison Hwang and Stephanie Morain; Anna Su; Frances Kamm

of legal practice, but from radically different points of view. In seminar Heidi sympathized with critical legal studies and its debunking approach, while Anna showed more loyalty to the positivist tradition of legal theory.

Two of our Graduate Fellows were using source material from democratic practice in New York City. **Hollie Russon Gilman**, who holds a PhD in Government, considered participatory budgeting as a more robust expression of our democratic values. Her project was empirical and normative in equal parts, drawing on extensive fieldwork in Brooklyn's experiments with citizen-led agenda-setting. Stephanie Morain, PhD candidate in the Health Policy Program, investigated the scope of government authority in protecting and promoting public health. Her project seemed ethically urgent in the wake of Mayor Michael Bloomberg's attempts at so-called libertarian paternalism, "nudging" New Yorkers to live healthier lives. Stephanie's attention to the legitimacy of these efforts nicely dovetailed with the problem of migration, which **Andrea Tivig** explored in her dissertation on freedom of movement. A PhD candidate in government, Andrea conceived freedom of movement as a liberal freedom. Her project forces us to reconsider

how cross-border movement is regulated and when cross-border and domestic movement are restricted.

Our clean-up hitter is **Alexander Prescott-Couch**, a PhD candidate in philosophy whose interest in the philosophy of social science served as the glue of our seminar. Alex managed to draw connections between each of the Fellow's projects in ingenious ways. His work suggests that the understanding provided by scientific explanation is of a piece with humanistic forms of social inquiry. His intellectual outlook—one of peacemaker—helped the Graduate Fellows see connections between the empirical ambitions of the Center's Lab and the philosophical aims of its Graduate Fellowship program. This ecosystem is a delicately balanced one, and having Fellows interested in the dual approaches helped make the Center intellectually whole.

Thanks are due to Erica Redner, who has kept us organized for over 7 years now, and who this year served the fellowship program from near and far. One "first" for our seminar was workshoping Frances Kamm's 2013 Tanner lectures just a month before they were given at the University of California, Berkeley. The Fellows managed to anticipate some of the objections that Professor Kamm would receive—and help her preempt some challenges that the audience went on to raise. In the spring we were joined by advisors and mentors including Jenny Mansbridge, Martha Minow, Norm Daniels, and Tommie Shelby. Harvard's bench in political, social and moral theory is deep, and we were well-served by these outside voices. Finally, I want to give special thanks to our Graduate Fellows, who served as mentors for our inaugural team of Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics. It was a pleasure to see them offer their diverse perspectives on the most difficult problems in practical and professional ethics.

A listing of the 2013-14 Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics can be found in Appendix V. These new scholars cover the history of science, government, law, philosophy, and history, and study topics ranging from political mythology to sexual and migratory politics in late imperial and early Soviet Russia, among others. Sadly, Frances Kamm will be away on sabbatical, and thus we will be forced to trek through this ethical terrain without her.

Mark Somos, *Research Director*



The Edmond J. Safra Research Lab, launched in 2009, is an inspired and ground-breaking 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 the problem of 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. 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

Institutional corruption tends to involve practices that are legal

understand the nature 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. Our ambition is to build theory and scholarship around the idea of institutional corruption, as well as to identify, incubate, and share real-world tools and solutions that improve the integrity and trustworthiness of our institutions.

The mainstay of this research project is the Lab's fellowship program. As part of the Lab community, residential Fellows work on their projects at the Lab, while benefiting from being part of a multidis-

ciplinary and highly interactive group. Fellows engage through a variety of formal and informal activities, which ranges from weekly Lab seminars and public lectures through conferences and workshops to joint projects and thematic groups devoted to exploring corruption in a given institutional environment—financial regulation, the pharmaceutical industry, or the consequences of ethically questionable lobbying abroad, for instance. The cross-disciplinary format of the Lab is designed to foster an innovative research environment where fellows are encouraged to weave their ideas into a broader framework, while also being a resource for each other. Research at the Lab is conducted with real-world applications in mind. As the project evolves, the Lab will work to release databases, guidelines, and other tools to the public that work toward solving the problem of institutional corruption in a variety of contexts. Honoring the terms of Mrs. Safra's generous donation, one

Residential Fellowship is devoted every year to an Israeli-born scholar or professional. The Lab also funds non-residential Fellows to pursue institutional corruption research projects 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 may 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 investigative journalists to the Lab. In keeping with the five-year project design that moves us increasingly toward applied remedies to institutional corruption, the six journalists (four at the Lab, two in Washington, DC) in 2012-13 brought a



Left to right: Yuval Feldman and Maryam Kouchaki;
Maggie McKinley; Ted Gup

distinct and invigorating perspective that enriched and reoriented several scholarly projects toward more immediate real-life concerns. In 2012 the Lab also responded to expanding 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 development of institutional corruption as an independent field of study. After hosting 14 Fellows in 2010-11, and 31 in 2011-12, this year the Lab was pleased to be able to support the work of no fewer than 65 Fellows, as well as four collaborative research projects. At the end of the year we were delighted to note that this impressive multiplication of projects led not to a linear, but an exponential growth in both quality and quantity of output and impact. Our Fellows have published well over 70 articles this year. They have also generously contributed [69 blog posts](#) on

an impressive array of institutional corruption topics to the Lab's own website. These we collected and published in our [three e-books](#)—one each semester, and one for the whole year—prompting an enthusiastic reception world-wide and crafting a new audience that surpassed our expectations.

To experiment with other new ways of disseminating the Lab's work, on March 15 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, in order to ramp up our visibility and impact. We named both the series, and the SSRN imprint, after the memory of Mr. Edmond J. Safra. The result, again, exceeded expectations. After five months, the [Edmond J. Safra Research Lab Working Paper Series](#) contains 276 papers by past and current Faculty and Fellows, downloaded over 90 thousand times around the world. The new skills and experience that the Lab's staff has built; the Advisory and Editorial Boards now in place; the design and fine-tuning of the soliciting, developing, reviewing, revising, publishing and promotional processes and standards; the Fellows' and new readers' enthusiasm; and the Lab's transformed brand recognition, are among values we will be able to draw upon as we continue to offer these opportunities, without having to overcome the same start-up barriers again.

The same holds for the improved protocols we developed this year to promote our Fellows' work via social media. Whether tweets, emails to customized lists, and Facebook postings with passages from Fellows' publications in order to make them easy to quote, we continued to multiply and refine the Lab's outreach and promotional tools.

The year kicked off with a spirited opening dinner, followed the next day by **Lawrence Lessig's** keynote first seminar. His parable of Lesterland, where Lesters determine who runs in the general election, brought out salient features of institutional corruption theory, such as the difference between individual and institutional corruption, why any sustainable notion of institutional independence

must address the institution's ability to perform its function reliably free from improper dependences, the place of several understandings of trust, and the "baseline" of U.S. institutions set by the Founders. The second seminar, by **Sheila Kaplan**, presented a case of institutional corruption that affects everyone, namely the environmental and public health effects of improper dependences in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). These range from lobbyists' influence on the votes and oversight committee work of Members of Congress, through strategically depriving the EPA from funding, data, and other resources, to the revolving doors between the EPA and industry, and the legal but deleterious 'bending' from the EPA's mission caused by the resulting system of expectations and compromises.

The first two seminars, and the first public lecture—by Jonathan Wolff—was followed by the "Bonanza," an intense and rewarding event where twenty-four 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 to frame

collaborations. As hoped, many Fellows formed ties that continued throughout the year, and beyond.

The third seminar, by **William English**, spanned the expanse from intellectual history through political theory to political science and economics in order to explore the progression from complexity to rent-seeking, institutional failure, and public distrust. His second presentation described a data-driven inquiry into the value of distinct types of mentorship in law firms for professional ethics; while his third project challenged recent studies that deny the connection between cheating behavior and the size of incentives, and offered new findings on the relative efficacy of pledges and surveillance.

Adding the pharmaceutical industry to the range of institutional environments affected by institutional corruption, **Donald Light** described manifold biases and systemic distortions that lead to an "epidemic of harms." Such include the misrepresentation of medical innovation and the value of new drugs, clinical trials designed to adulterate the probability and evidence of harms, side-effects disguised by manipulated clinical trial data, and the industry's



Members of the 2012-13 Edmond J. Safra Research Lab

means of influencing journals and academics, as well as prescribing practices.

Yuval Feldman presented his experimental projects on individual preferences for vagueness and ambiguous risks over risks with known probabilities, and how they enrich the current understanding of bounded ethicality and the limits of compliance in legal and ethical decision-making. **Genevieve Pham-Kanter** examined evidence for and against the claim that conflicts of interest have influenced the FDA drug approval process. **Garry Gray** presented his research into how industry connections with universities jeopardize independent research. The eighth seminar, led by **Maryam Kouchaki**, focused on both empirical and theoretical findings from a set of experiments centered around the forms, mechanisms and implications of professional self-conceptions. **Jennifer Miller** described her design and plan to implement a third-party ethics accreditation program to address concerns and trust gaps in the pharmaceutical industry. **Brooke Williams** presented her innovative methodology and preliminary findings on how for-profit interests compromise the independence and integrity of think tank scholarship, and influence public policy. **Ted Gup**, another investigative journalist Fellow, closed the Fall seminar series with an account of his interviews with current and former staffers and members of Congress, and the resulting insights on hyper-partisanship and Congressional dysfunction in general, exemplified by the deviation of Congressional oversight from its institutional mission.

Daniel Newman, President and Co-Founder of MapLight, opened the Spring series. He illustrated the capacity of MapLight to identify otherwise hard-to-find instances of institutional corruption by discussing two Californian cases of undue influence on legislation, by the food-processing and the payday loan industries. The next seminar, by **Paul Jorgensen**, similarly showed the value that methodological innovation in data collection and analysis can bring to the study of institutional

corruption. Merging campaign finance data with other demographic, political, and economic data, from 1990 to the present, Jorgensen gave an unprecedented insight into the nature and influence of donors and lobbyists. The inequality of influence was explored by **Daniel Weeks** from an informatively complementary perspective. Weeks shared lessons from his real-life investigation into the relationship between poverty and political voice and engagement, drawn from a series of interviews around the country, conducted while retracing Tocqueville's route by using Greyhound buses and living on a poverty-level \$16 a day. Next, **Daniel Carpenter** presented the results of his collaborative project, with **Lisa Lehmann**, **Eric Campbell**, **Steve Joffe**, and **Alison Hwong**, concerning the strengths and weaknesses of, and opportunities to improve, technologies for managing conflict-of-interest dynamics in medicine, especially in the wake of the Physician Payments Sunshine Act. Participants were introduced to another habitat of institutional corruption by **Jay Youngdahl**, whose illuminating analysis focused on employee benefit fund trustees, and their relationship to investment managers and investment consultants—an ecology not without cognitive capture and effective abdication of trust and fiduciary responsibilities. **Oguzhan Dincer's** seminar began, by contrast, from the macroeconomics of institutional corruption, especially the positive and negative effects of special interest groups, lobbying, and institutional corruption on economic growth. The seventh seminar of Spring was led by **Marc Rodwin**, who offered a very comprehensive overview of the organizational, financial, and legal arrangements in drug research, marketing and regulation, that result in the suboptimal advancement of medical knowledge, drug safety and public health. **Kim Pernel-Gallagher** outlined her preliminary findings on the implications of different regulatory standards in 1988-2006 in Spain, Canada, and the United States, for the stability and solvency of banks during the financial crisis. Rejecting a straightforward correlation between regulatory capture and policy differences,



Image from the Center for Public Integrity's project on Defense Industry Contributions and Influence

she posited a nuanced and granular set of interactions between regulatory capture and other forms of institutional corruption on the one hand, and national variations in perceptions of excessive risk-taking, sources of competitiveness and growth, the proper role of regulators in the market, and the motives of financial actors involved, on the other. **Christopher Robertson** presented the results of a collaborative project, also including **Aaron Kesselheim**, **Dan Durand**, and **James Greiner**, revolving around the concept and useful implementations of blinding as a potential measure to reform litigation, whole fields of medical practice, and their conjunctions. The next, joint seminar by **Lisa Cosgrove** and **Robert Whitaker** explored several interlinked but independently important mechanisms of institutional corruption, from the historical trajectory of the professionalization of the American Psychiatric Association, its increasing reliance on advertisement revenue and donations from pharmaceutical companies, through the absence of biological markers and standardized diagnostic procedures in psychiatry, to the genesis and future of the 2013 DSM-5. The next seminar saw **Ken Silverstein** build a broad yet detailed picture of institutional corruption in the world of think tanks from specific case studies of refusals to disclose donor information, revolving doors, advocacy and promotional events

disguised as independent research, and covert improper dependence on donors and politicians. The twelfth seminar of Spring featured **Mahzarin Banaji**'s explanation of how implicit cognition relates to institutional corruption, and the possibilities and limits of de-biasing; and **Paul Meinshausen**'s account of a series of vignettes and the empirical evidence they yielded on the conflicts of interest that arise in everyday life. At the next seminar, also reporting on a collaborative project with **Michael Jones**, **Dan Kahan** developed climate change and campaign finance as in-depth analyses of cultural cognition, and explained how otherwise elusive effects that feed into institutional corruption can be captured by analytical categories like "cultural toxicity" and "affective poverty," and their associated empirical methodologies. In the first half of the next seminar **Jonathan Marks** gave a pellucid account of interlocking forms of institutional corruption in the food industry, including misleading labeling and marketing, the purposeful exclusion of side effects from the research agenda, to the gaming of provisions designed to ensure accountability and public safety. **Susannah Rose**'s presentation on the relationship between patient advocacy organizations and pharmaceutical companies carefully distinguished between mechanisms of institutional corruption in this field, allowing one to

consider the circumstances in which collaboration and even financial dependence between these institutions does not harm patients' interest, but still undermines public trust.

The *prima facie* hopeless task of synthesizing the whole year's work at the Mapping Seminar produced excellent insights, and provided a considerably more robust and fertile foundation for the forthcoming years.

After the official end of the season, a bonus seminar was jointly offered by Visiting Fellow **Susann Fiedler**, discussing institutional corruption in the professionalization, conduct and publication of empirical science, and by Network Fellow **Alexander Funcke**, who used an epistemological and cultural model of corruption and compliance to translate lessons from the established co-operation literature to the study of institutional corruption.

The third year in this five-year project was pivotal in several senses. In terms of the Lab's mission, the above summary shows that Institutional Corruption is an emerging field no longer. And in the 2013-14 academic year, the Lab's fourth, the incoming cohort of Fellows looks to be no less pivotal or promising. Much like last year's class, but perhaps even more international in location and scope, the incoming group is a fascinating mix of scholars and professionals, and includes postdoctoral fellows, investigative journalists, professors, students, writers, lawyers, policy analysts, and professionals from organizations such as Transparency International and The World Bank. In their "day jobs" incoming (non-residential) Fellows hold positions such as: Director of the Office of Ethics, Compliance and Oversight for the city of Jacksonville, FL; President of WorkLore (a private consulting firm); Executive Director of the Innovation and Good Governance Program at the National University of Cordoba (Argentina); Co-founder and director of Cornerstone Global Associates in the U.K.; and diplomat in the Ministry of External Relations (Brazil). Their projects focus on a variety of new institutions,

including the U.S. Department of Labor, the U.S. Airforce Academy, and the NCAA (among many others) on topics including public trust and confidence in state government, IC in municipal governments, nutrition science, hospital ethics committees, and whistle-blowing in banking organizations, to name a few. Fellows and projects that are international in scope study institutions around the world, including: Argentina, Armenia, Australia, Brazil, Chile, East Africa, Ecuador, the European Union, Israel, Mexico, The Netherlands, and Russia, and they conduct these projects in places just as far-flung, including some of the countries listed above and also: Canada, England, France, Germany, India, Ireland, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, and Switzerland. A full listing of the 2013-14 Edmond J. Safra Lab and Network Fellow can be found in Appendix V.

2020-2023

APPENDICES I-V



APPENDIX I: 2012-13 REPORTS OF THE UNDERGRADUATE FELLOWS**Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics 2012-13**

Sheyda Aboii, Nisha Deolalikar, Medha Gargeya, Isabelle Glimcher, Jirka Jelinek, Adam Kern, Jared Lopez, David Miller, Lily Ostrer, Ketan Ramakrishnan, Chloe Reichel, William Ryan, Celestine Warren, Oliver Wenner

Sheyda Aboii

In joining the Undergraduate Fellowship program at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I did not truly anticipate the vast range of resources and opportunities that would soon be made available. I saw the fellowship as yet another opportunity to try something new on a campus that quite frankly offers an overwhelming array of opportunities. I knew that I was just starting my journey through the field of Applied Ethics, and I wanted to have an experience that would increase my exposure to great works as well as great minds. This, I certainly did gain as an Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellow in Ethics.

In their abundant generosity, the Center and its affiliates made all feel welcome. We were invited to attend lectures, Center-wide dinners, small gatherings with faculty, including one with Professor Arthur Applbaum, and a series of seminars. I recall a memorable moment when I had the opportunity to sit in on the New England Consequentialism Workshop; there I witnessed the creative choreography of academic minds moving back and forth, grappling with the task of developing the tools with which we attempt to understand our complex world.

This furnace of ideas I witnessed at countless lectures and talks but, most significantly, in the eyes and voices of my own peers. Over six workshop meetings throughout the semester, we engaged in collaborative exploration. We discussed representative works, seeking out the insights offered and the remaining puzzles left for others to attempt to answer. And we offered our own works-in-progress, searching for support, suggestion, and further contribution.

I presented a rough sketch for a future honors thesis in Government exploring the bounds of what we might owe to recent immigrants. From the suggestions I received at this formal workshop and in

many informal conversations, I have further coalesced my initial ideas into a foundation for next year's work. And with the financial support of the Center's generous Lester Kissel Summer Grant in Practical Ethics, I aim to press forward.

While I have had many moving experiences at Harvard University thus far, no other activity can quite compare to the purity of pursuit that I have experienced here—the probing of convention, the unfettered posing of questions, the offering of a unique response.

For this I am very grateful and extend warm thanks to Professor Lessig and to Jean McVeigh for welcoming us into the fold; Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt who were available beyond the regular hours of our six workshop meetings and who served as invaluable sources of support; Stephanie Dant for ensuring that we were always well aware of the Center's many events; and Graduate Fellow Andrea Tivig, who graciously offered her time on numerous occasions and continues to be a source of inspiration.

Nisha Deolalikar

I have appreciated the opportunity to engage with the community of Undergraduate Fellows this semester. Our Tuesday discussions exposed me to a wide array of questions that I would have likely never had the courage to delve into alone. Professor Beerbohm and James Brandt were wonderful mentors. They helped us navigate the readings, prompted us with insightful questions during discussions, and offered useful feedback on our individual research projects.

Additionally, I very much appreciated the ways in which the Undergraduate Fellowship program helped facilitate meetings between undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty mentors. I enjoyed my lunch meeting with a Graduate Fellow, with whom I shared similar academic interests, and it was helpful for me to see where she has taken her

career thus far. Additionally, the Center arranged for the Undergraduate Fellows to meet in small (2-3 person) groups with faculty members. Incidentally, the faculty member I met with will be advising my senior thesis, which is a great testament of just how wonderfully the connections through the Center have helped me.

As I prepare to write my senior thesis in Social Studies, I'm grateful to have the Center to reach out to. The experiences I have had as an Undergraduate Fellow have deeply enriched my understanding of practical ethics, which will be invaluable for my remaining time at Harvard and beyond.

Medha Gargeya

Working with the Center this semester has been an incredibly rewarding experience. Never before have I been involved with such a keen group of thinkers interested in thinking critically and solving philosophical and practical problems.

This semester I worked on two projects. The first involved revising a previous paper on justice for transgendered individuals in the prison system. Using Foucault's theoretical framework from *Discipline and Punish*, I considered how the penal system reinforced the gender binary in its legal architecture, police methods of conviction, segregation of transsexuals, tolerance of violence in prisons, and insufficient medical treatment. Hearing the feedback of my peers helped me to consider the nature of who is obligated to whom, and to reflect on questions such as whether the state should help individuals with gender reassignment surgery.

My second project dealt with refining my thesis proposal. I am now writing on the right to privacy in state constitutions. Privacy has always been of interest to me, but reevaluating the theoretical groundwork of why privacy should or should not be a right helped invigorate my largely vanilla notion of privacy (in a depiction largely drawn by *Roe v. Wade*). I hope to use the funds given to me through the Lester Kissel Summer Grant program to further research this topic.

Thank you for a great experience.

Isabelle Glimcher

This semester, my last at Harvard College, I have had the pleasure of being a member of the first class of Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellows in Ethics. This provided me the opportunity to engage with a new community on campus, composed of students and professors. Our biweekly meetings with Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt were incredibly exciting as new intuitions were brought to light, inspiring a nuanced and complex understanding of the given topic for the week. I was incredibly impressed by my peers' sustained engagement with the problems and their dedication to respectful but rigorous debate on the subject of the moment.

This passionate community proved especially helpful to me as I completed my senior honors thesis for Social Studies. My thesis mobilized the theoretical thought experiment of elective statelessness to interrogate the relationship between the citizen and the modern nation-state. I sought to use this concept to consider the modern liberal tension between values of nationalism and cosmopolitanism, exemplified in immigration policy. In opposition to some elements of social contract theory, I posited that a choice cannot be legitimate without an option to reject all outlined options, a "none of the above" option, as exemplified by a declaration of statelessness. I argued that mobilizing this thought experiment could widen political imagination at the international level and perhaps open the door for a more just international migration standard.

This exploration benefited immeasurably from the support I received through my Undergraduate Fellowship at the Center. I had the opportunity to bring my third, and most contentious, chapter to the group and get their feedback. They encouraged me to consider the social debt attached to membership at a more individual level. They also challenged me to think through the moral requirements imposed on individuals through the existence of a choice like declaring oneself stateless, asking if an individual could ever be required to make such a declaration. At a more individual level, I had the incredible opportunity to engage with Professor

Beerbohm regarding his recent book *In Our Name: The Ethics of Democracy*. His argument on dispersed social culpability for injustice and subsequent call for increased engagement with the state convincingly posed one of the most central challenges to my thesis. The chance to discuss the nuances of his ideas and mine in a one-on-one setting was an opportunity I'll never forget.

On a more personal note, the passionate and curious community of the Center has encouraged me to trust my ability to engage with topics in ethical and social theory and thus widened my imagination over the course of a single semester. I only regret that the program began this year so I'll only have the opportunity to be involved for one semester. I look forward to the chance to engage with the Center in the future.

Jirka Jelinek

Coming into the program, I was, frankly, not quite sure what to expect. However, over the past few months, I have taken great joy in participating in the variety of events that the program has to offer, be it our regular workshop sessions, Center lectures, or meetings with Center people and affiliated faculty. More importantly, I think that the program has helped me to improve my writing, challenged me to think carefully about everyday issues, as well as to rigorously apply an ethical dimension to them.

Throughout this semester, I was not actively engaged in a significant research undertaking. Nevertheless, I was able to obtain feedback on one of my previous works, which I might expand on in the future. In that regard, feedback from the program was very useful. In addition, working on and discussing other fellows' papers, both in terms of style and content, turned out to be greatly beneficial to improving my own writing.

Of course, one of the great assets of this program is the variety of ethical questions that one gets to read or hear about and to discuss with other participants. Some of them were fairly new to me; however, even the ones that I was somewhat familiar with took on new meanings once we began to discuss them. The

diversity of fellows' interests and experiences made this particularly rewarding as each one of us would contribute our own unique perspectives.

In addition to these discussions, I very much appreciated the somewhat looser, yet stimulating, format of our meetings and the overall Undergraduate Fellowship program, as both provided an intimate, concentrated, and thought-provoking arena for discussing important issues. Professor Beerbohm and James Brandt also were extremely dedicated and very helpful. Given the smaller size of the program, getting to know the other fellows occurred within a few initial meetings. For the rest of the semester, coming to the workshops felt like meeting up with old friends to talk about 'stuff'—'stuff' in this case being difficult ethical dilemmas and situations. The sense of camaraderie we developed facilitated more open and thus more rigorous engagement with the materials and with one another's work.

Overall, I am really content that I had the opportunity to participate in this program. As a senior, unfortunately I cannot participate further since I will have graduated; however, aside from all the learning points that I mentioned above, I will carry with me the urge to always apply an ethical dimension to issues that I might encounter, particularly as I transition into graduate school and my professional career. My only regret about this program is the fact that it only started in the spring semester and, thus, I could not have taken part in it earlier, particularly during my junior year. It is my sincere hope that this unique and rewarding program will continue to develop in the coming years, enabling more Harvard undergraduates to explore and engage with the significant ethical issues that we face every day.

Adam Kern

The Undergraduate Fellow workshop was one of the highlights of my academic year—always fun, always collegial, and always stimulating. I came to the fellowship with a background in moral and political philosophy. Of course, philosophical thinking about ethics is very important to me, and

I am convinced that it should be more widely and more deeply regarded as important. That being the case, I decided to devote my senior thesis to developing an argument for that claim.

In February, I presented the core of my thesis to the workshop. Even at that embarrassingly late stage in the game, many of my thesis' details were still to be worked out. (I was no Isabelle Glimcher!) The comments and questions that I received at the workshop focused my efforts during the final month of writing. James Brandt and I had an extended back-and-forth about one of the three principles at the core of my account, which led me to develop it to the necessary level of detail.

The other highlight of the Undergraduate Fellowship was the open invitation to the Center's lectures and dinners. The lectures were excellent; the dinners were even better. One that stands out was the dinner following Elizabeth Anderson's lecture on "The Social Epistemology of Morality: Learning from the Forgotten History of the Abolition of Slavery." The questioning, of course, was probing; the discussion was urgent. I will remember more fondly, though, that when I moved to take my seat, I saw that I was seated next to "Charles Beitz." That couldn't be Chuck Beitz, I thought, one of the Founding Fathers of recent work on global justice. As it happened, it was, and we had a wonderful conversation throughout the dinner. He treated me with the respect that he would give a young colleague.

I suppose it is the friendships and unlikely connections, such as that one, which will be the most enduring rewards of the Undergraduate Fellowship. I have only positive memories. I only regret that the program was not started earlier, and that I did not have more time to experience it.

Jared Lopez

My past semester as an Undergraduate Fellow has been extremely rewarding and insightful. Having the opportunity to engage in dialogue with the other Undergraduate Fellows, Graduate Fellows, and faculty members has not only opened my eyes to a myriad of ethical issues and ways of approach-

ing ethical inquiry that I had not considered before, but has also given me a better idea of where my academic interests lie. The workshops were an invaluable experience in this regard as they gave me the chance to explore a diverse set of ethical topics, as well as learn how the current senior Undergraduate Fellows approached and structured their theses. I found it particularly helpful also to have a Graduate Fellow mentor. Speaking with my mentor helped me make connections among my diverse philosophical interests and gave me direction in terms of determining a potential senior thesis topic. In particular, I am interested in exploring topics in discourse ethics and possibly making connections between later Wittgenstein's framework of understanding language and various ethical issues.

One of the many highlights of my fellowship thus far has been attending the various lectures and dinners organized by the Center throughout the semester. All of the events I attended were both inspiring and informative, and I enjoyed the opportunity to meet and interact with some of the greatest thinkers today. I particularly enjoyed having dinner with Professor Frances Kamm and two of my fellow Undergraduate Fellows. The fact that I was able to learn so much within the course of a two-hour dinner reflects the valuable and intellectually exciting experience I have had as a fellow thus far. I am very excited to continue my fellowship next semester and to pursue the project that I hope will begin to take form this summer.

David Miller

My involvement with the Center as an Undergraduate Fellow has included attending several public lectures, having lunch with Professor Applbaum, as well as a Graduate Fellow, and most importantly attending bi-weekly ethics workshops with Professor Beerbohm, James Brandt, and the other Undergraduate Fellows. These workshops have been a great opportunity to meet other students interested in ethics generally, as well as to hear more about their specific research interests and discuss with them key ethical issues and arguments. In particular, I appreciated the emphasis placed on discussing

and presenting student work, usually for about half of the meeting time.

In terms of my own academic work, the fellowship has impacted it in three ways. First, I am very appreciative of the Kissel summer grant, which I will add to my award from the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and the Initiative on Global History. These funds will support my summer research on governmental framing of policies of torture, which I will conduct for eight weeks in London, Belfast, Washington, D.C., and Boston. Second, feedback from Professor Beerbohm and my peers on my presentation concerning my research paper examining the morality of torture from a consequentialist standpoint, was helpful and instructive in tightening my topic, as well as in finding additional sources and considering alternative viewpoints. Finally, the overall discussions concerning ethics have strengthened my interest in potentially adding a theoretical, normative dimension to my thesis, which primarily focuses on a non-ethical discourse analysis.

Lily Ostrer

I had a fantastic experience as an Undergraduate Fellow with the Center this past semester and feel incredibly fortunate to have been given the opportunity to participate. I benefitted immensely from the three different aspects of the fellowship—the workshops with Professor Beerbohm and James Brandt, the public lectures sponsored by the Center, and the opportunity to meet with fellows and others associated with the Center. Overall, the fellowship was an incredible opportunity to consider normative questions and to think critically in ways that are often disappointingly absent in my academic coursework. The conversations I engaged in and lectures I heard have informed my academic work in significant ways and I hope to be able to continue to benefit from the resources offered by the Center.

I particularly enjoyed the workshops with Professor Beerbohm and James Brandt. The readings for the meetings were engaging and interesting, without being too dense or technical; this made our discus-

sions exciting and informative, while also ensuring the workload was manageable on top of my other coursework. I enjoyed engaging in the conversations that were guided by Professor Beerbohm and James, while also hearing my classmates' thoughts. This was a unique opportunity to test out my own ideas and responses to the readings without the pressure of graded coursework, and certainly made me yearn for more intellectual experiences that are divorced from the competitive grading and assessment process. Reading and commenting on my classmates' work was also an extremely useful and rewarding exercise. I benefitted from and enjoyed learning about the work that others were engaged in, and this helped shape my own process of selecting a research topic for my senior thesis. I also benefitted from hearing the comments of the group on work that I submitted for critique.

I very much enjoyed attending the lectures sponsored by the Center, which challenged me to think about a variety of issues that I had not given much consideration to before, and allowed me to apply some of the normative questions presented to the work I have been doing in my classes this semester. I particularly liked lectures given by Michael Sandel and Elizabeth Anderson. I was fortunate to be able to attend a dinner after one of the lectures, which was a nice opportunity to meet fellows and faculty associated with the Center. Also, I was able to meet with one of the Center's Graduate Fellows, Stephanie Morain, and enjoyed hearing about her work and suggestions for projects I could participate in, particularly with regard to my senior thesis. All of these experiences were intellectually fulfilling and helpful in guiding me toward finding questions and types of research in which I am interested in engaging. I am fortunate to have been awarded a Kissel Grant for summer thesis research and am glad I will be able to have support from James and others at the Center as I pursue my own research. I very much enjoyed my experiences this semester and hope that I can stay involved with the program next year.

Ketan Ramakrishnan

My semester as an Undergraduate Fellow at the Center has been wonderfully rewarding, challenging, and fun. I have gained a great deal from interacting with the other Undergraduate Fellows, who have a wide range of interests, skills, and methodological perspectives. As someone who tends to think about moral questions in the abstract manner characteristic of contemporary moral philosophy, it has been refreshing to have my thoughts and assumptions challenged by students who focus on the concrete and historical dimensions of ethical issues. And it has been great to do this in a workshop led by Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt, who are among the very best teachers I have had during my time at Harvard.

Over my four years at Harvard, I have attended various talks and conferences on ethics held by the Center and different academic departments. I have enjoyed interacting with faculty members and graduate students from across the University and beyond at these events. It is one of the great virtues of the Undergraduate Fellowship program, I think, that it has established a framework for fruitful interaction of this kind—among undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members, and visiting scholars—to occur more regularly. In particular, I have greatly appreciated the opportunity to attend Center-sponsored, post-talk dinners this semester, at which I have enjoyed the fascinating discussion and delicious food (quite possibly the best food I have eaten at Harvard!).

I am sad to be leaving, but am glad to have been part of the Center. I hope to find some way of staying involved with the Center and ethics at Harvard after graduation, and I am excited to explore ways of doing so (perhaps an Undergraduate Fellow Alumni Association?).

Chloe Reichel

I am so grateful to be an Edmond J. Safra Undergraduate Fellow in Ethics. My time with the Center has been wonderful thus far, and filled with exceptional support from the other Center fellows and faculty, as well as the thought-provoking lectures

and seminars. Over the course of the semester, I was lucky to attend many of the lectures hosted by the Center, which were great opportunities to learn more about topics in ethics from brilliant leaders in the field.

The Undergraduate Fellow workshop has been an invaluable resource over the past semester, providing me with the opportunity to expand my knowledge of ethics and to learn from my peers. Connecting with a community of undergraduates who are equally dedicated to researching ethical issues has proven to be a great and eye-opening experience.

This semester I decided on the research question that I plan to pursue this summer with the support of a Lester Kissel Summer Grant in Practical Ethics. I will investigate the question of whether military experience has an impact on ethical agency. By interviewing veterans, I hope to uncover different factors that affect ethical decision-making practices. This research will also be informed by broader topics in ethics, such as just war theory and conceptions of ethical agency. The helpful commentary and incisive questions offered by James Brandt, my undergraduate peers, and Professor Nir Eyal, were crucial in refining my research topic and the methodology with which I will pursue this topic. I owe them all many thanks.

The past semester at the Center has truly been a gift to me. I could not have dreamed of a better experience. The community that the Center has provided is unparalleled. I am so grateful to the faculty and staff at the Center, and I am especially thankful to Professor Eric Beerbohm, who has provided my peers and me with this opportunity and shaped the spring semester into an unforgettable academic experience.

William Ryan

These past few semesters as an Undergraduate Fellow have been incredibly intellectually and personally enlightening. This experience has been thanks in large part to Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt, whom I would like to thank for consistently creating engaging and provocative discussions, and going out of their way to meet

with me individually to discuss my research. Of course, my fellow Undergraduate Fellows have also provided incredibly intelligent discussion and make up an intimidatingly sharp and wonderfully friendly and curious group. A special thanks to Adam Kern for discussions of his thesis. Finally, I want to thank Professor Frances Kamm for not only introducing me to the fellowship, but providing motivation and inspiration throughout.

Outside the workshops and Center events, I have made considerable progress on the research for what will become my thesis, a study of either organizational theory or heuristics which I was able to continue this summer with a Lester Kissel grant. I look forward to continuing this research in the upcoming year with the input and guidance of everyone at the Center.

Thanks also goes to Jean McVeigh and Stephanie Dant for their tireless efforts and unending help supporting the program.

Celestine Warren

Participating in the Undergraduate Fellowship program has been a highlight of my academic year. It has been an incredible experience to meet and discuss philosophical works with my peers, as well as to engage with the numerous events and opportunities provided by the Center itself.

One of the most valuable and enjoyable aspects of this fellowship was the opportunity to informally discuss relevant, ethical articles with a group of similarly-minded individuals. Our weekly meetings, headed by Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt, have provided me with a network of peers equally interested in studying ethics. Listening to their opinions on the articles we read has expanded my own understanding and views about topics both with which I am familiar and which I had never considered. Another enlightening aspect of our meetings has been the workshoping process. In my undergraduate coursework, I rarely have the opportunity to learn about what research questions my classmates are pursuing. The opportunity to read and discuss work that my peers have written

has taught me a tremendous amount about research methodology and creativity. In turn, it was a unique and much-appreciated opportunity to discuss my own work with these scholars, who provided me with provocative critiques and supportive suggestions about a paper I am writing on civil disobedience and eco-terrorism. It has been a real joy to form these relationships and I feel very privileged to have become friends with this group of thoughtful scholars, with whom I am now comfortable emailing relevant articles for discussion, or meeting for coffee to discuss research strategies. I cannot thank the Center enough for enabling these rich and intellectual relationships.

Furthermore, I am deeply appreciative of the way this fellowship opportunity has enriched my academic research. I spent the spring honing in on ideas for a senior thesis, and have been highly influenced and inspired by advice I have received from Center fellows. Sparked by my enrollment in former Graduate Fellow Josh Cherniss' seminar on personal morality in the political sphere, I have begun questioning the role of individual ethics and decision-making as part of larger institutions. I am interested in the particular incentives that compel individuals to express themselves in ways that may be misleading or unethical. Having discussed this broad topic with mentors from the Center, I have been able to focus this query into a tangible question of examining journalistic responsibility with respect to disseminating controversial scientific information. I am fortunate to have the opportunity to pursue this topic this summer through meeting with medical journalists from *The Lancet* and the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

The support and mentorship I have received through this fellowship has been unbelievable. The opportunity to attend lectures organized by the Center, as well as the subsequent dinners, has introduced me to an exciting community, of which I am deeply honored to be a part. It has been equally exciting to learn about the myriad ways in which it is possible to pursue the study of ethics from an academic standpoint. The Center has been pivotal in

positively influencing my own research, and I am extremely grateful for the opportunity to be involved in this community.

Oliver Wenner

My time at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been marked by intellectual rigor, insightful discussions, and new friendships. The Undergraduate Fellowship program has been an important intellectual experience that will continue to resonate with me as I continue to explore practical ethics. The friendships forged through challenging conversations extend beyond formal meetings; the Undergraduate Fellowship program now constitutes an intellectual community whose conversations will carry on well after the final workshop.

My research at the Center is concerned with the boundaries of political obligation with respect to military conscription. Put more specifically, I examine what circumstances could yield a justified obligation of citizens to participate in their state's military force. Using the Israeli Defense Forces as a case study, I gathered data from Israeli conscripts, conscientious objectors, and public officials to see what their moral intuitions are. The research has then focused, firstly, on making sense of the data, and secondly, on comparing the data with prominent contemporary ethical theories.

While this project remains essentially theoretical, the interdisciplinary community has aided it tremendously. The many workshops involving the work of other Undergraduate Fellows revealed new directions in which I could take my research. For instance, intense discussions about the "afterlife" and the non-identity problem sparked my interest in looking at political obligation through the lens of role obligations and practical identities. Although the interdisciplinary workshops were challenging at times, I will, nevertheless, continue my intellectual trajectory with greater insights into the immense importance of our conversations. Extending beyond any particular department or style of discourse, our conversations have furthered my

sensitivity to the importance of unifying disciplines in confronting practical problems outside of academia.

Given the potential challenges of conducting interdisciplinary discussions, I wish to express my warmest regards to Professor Eric Beerbohm and James Brandt. While maintaining intellectual rigor, their genuine curiosity, enthusiasm, and humor generated a wonderful atmosphere that defined the Undergraduate Fellowship community. In light of these intellectual and personal experiences, I am truly grateful for having had the opportunity to conduct research with the guidance of the remarkable individuals that make up the Center.

APPENDIX I: 2012-13 REPORTS OF THE GRADUATE FELLOWS**Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellows in Ethics 2012-13**

Sean Gray, Michael Kenneally, Heidi Matthews, Stephanie Morain, Alexander Prescott-Couch, Hollie Russon Gilman, Anna Su, Andrea Tivig

Sean Gray

My year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been extremely productive and rewarding. During the weekly Graduate Fellow seminars, I was exposed to a new way of approaching moral and practical dilemmas in politics. My stay also allowed me the time and space to make significant progress on my dissertation, which has advanced from a rough conceptual sketch to several chapters. None of this would have been possible without an amazing cohort of Graduate Fellows, each of whom brought something unique to our many formal and informal discussions throughout the year. Special thanks must also go to Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm--both of whom were incredibly patient, accommodating, and always eager to offer advice or suggest new ideas.

My dissertation, entitled "Democracy and Silence," focuses on redesigning democratic institutions to be more sensitive to problems of silence in civil society. Political scientists have long correlated decreased political participation with political and social inequality. Where levels of inequality are high, many citizens no longer feel they can effectively exercise "voice" in public decisions through voting. The result is an underclass of silent citizens who are inattentive to political issues, do not weigh in on public affairs, do not debate, protest, or take action, and most importantly, do not express their voice at the ballot box. But my work suggests this is only part of the story: silence is not always a symptom of disempowerment or disengagement--it is also an ubiquitous form of political expression citizens use to convey emotion, demonstrate dissent, facilitate collective actions, and regulate collective activities.

My stay at the Center enabled me to develop these ideas under the supervision of Professor Jane Mansbridge. In the fall semester, I presented an overview paper laying out my dissertation's main

empirical and theoretical claims. The feedback I received was immensely helpful, and enabled me to develop the paper for publication, as well as for later presentations at the Ash Center for Democratic Governance. In the spring semester, my colleagues were generous enough to allow me to present less developed work revolving around questions of membership and inclusion in decision-making across state borders. Professor Archon Fung attended the event, and again, the feedback I received was invaluable.

I want to thank the staff of the Center for being so wonderful during my stay at Harvard--Erica Jaffe Redner, Stephanie Dant, and Jennifer Campbell. When I arrived, I learned that I was the first--and hopefully not last--Graduate Fellow to be admitted from outside the Harvard community. That particular honor is completely due to Eric's generosity, for which I am extremely grateful. Harvard is incredibly fortunate to have such a dedicated group of people working together on ethical issues, and I can only hope that my work will keep me in touch with the many friends and colleagues I have met over the past year.

Michael Kenneally

This past year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been a great gift. As a Graduate Fellow, I was able to devote immense energy to my scholarly projects, and as a result I produced most of my philosophy dissertation and a separate paper that I plan to publish as a law article. In the fall semester, I completed two chapters of my dissertation, which investigates possible justifications for intellectual property rights. Those chapters address intellectual property from the perspectives of two great natural rights thinkers, John Locke and Immanuel Kant. Since Locke and Kant ground rights in very different sorts of considerations, they furnish complementary approaches to intellectual property, but I argued that their approaches justify only a small

subset of the rights that are recognized by contemporary intellectual property law. If the majority of that body of law is justified, I went on to claim, it's because the institution of intellectual property functions better, from society's perspective, than salient alternatives. In the spring semester, I worked on another chapter that defends an account of intellectual property that is functionalist in this way but not strictly speaking, utilitarian. In fact, I argued that contemplating the possibility of a fully utilitarian account of intellectual property actually diminishes utilitarianism's allure to some extent.

Being given the ability to spend so much undivided attention on my writing was indeed wonderful, but the Center also provided other stimulating opportunities. Foremost was the Graduate Fellow seminar, which met weekly under the excellent guidance of Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm to discuss works in moral and political theory, and in the second half of each semester, one another's research. It was helpful to present drafts of my work in this setting and to get feedback from perceptive readers with wide-ranging expertise. I owe thanks to the other Graduate Fellows and to our faculty leaders, not only for their invaluable comments about my papers but also for sharing their own work. I learned a great deal from these exceptional individuals over what felt like a very short time.

Equally enriching were the Center's public lectures and conferences. These events, along with informal discussions afterwards, fostered exchanges between the Graduate Fellows, Lab Fellows, and eventually Undergraduate Fellows by focusing our collective attention on a diversity of pressing issues. The Center's continuing commitment to practical ethics and its more recent commitment to studying institutional corruption combined to yield an embarrassment of riches. This year's terrific lineup ran the gamut from distinguished moral philosophers to high-powered elected officials. Looking back on the year, I am amazed not only by how well these events were planned and executed, but also by just how many of them there were. I think something sponsored by the Center was happening, on average, every other week.

The Center's success in hosting so many terrific events did, however, have one slight drawback, at least for me: it is impossible to go to everything, and one appreciates exactly how much one's missing out when one doesn't. For those of us at the Center only temporarily, we also appreciate how much more we will miss in the future. The Center is a remarkable place, and I am sad to leave it. I will always be grateful for the time I have spent here. Thanks to all the people who have made it possible, especially the Center's generous benefactors and its extraordinarily capable, kind, and dedicated staff.

Heidi Matthews

The institutional support and intellectual context provided by the Center deeply benefited my scholarship during 2012-13. The curiosity, vibrancy, and tenaciousness of the fellows' inquiry during the Graduate Fellow seminar challenged my own work in new and productive ways. Eric Beerbohm's leadership provided an empathetic, yet rigorous example for young scholars. Frances Kamm's particular brand of insightful humor generated a sense of community and common project among the Graduate Fellows, and will be sorely missed.

The working title of my dissertation is "The New Criminalization of Political Conflict: History, Institutions and Consequences." In general, it undertakes a political theory of international criminal law (ICL). It consists of three independent research articles, each seeking to answer a discrete piece of the question: How does ICL, as a technology of global governance, substantively influence, privilege, or outlaw specific forms of political engagement? During my tenure as a Graduate Fellow I produced drafts of the first two articles and mapped the conceptual contours of the third.

I presented the first article, "Democratization as Politicization in International Criminal Law," at the Graduate Fellow seminar in the fall. The seminar readings and discussions on the relationship between various aspects of democratic theory and the law directly inspired this piece, which uses the lens of ICL to contribute to the debate about the alleged 'democratic deficit' in international legal

normativity. I argue that the legitimacy of international law cannot be settled by resorts to variations of the state consent theory, but must be continually reassessed as a political question. The most pressing issue for international law today is how to politicize the international legal sphere. This reverses the age-old question of how to get law from politics by suggesting that we can—and should—get politics out of law. Viewed in this light, the challenge becomes how to describe the shape of the new political relationship created between the bare individual and the institutions of global governance.

The second project, which I presented in the spring, is entitled “Redeeming Rape: Berlin 1945 and the Making of Modern International Criminal Law.” It critically explores the impact of the feminist narrative of the ‘failure’ of the post-WWII trials to adequately address crimes of sexual violence on the development of modern (post-1990) ICL. Using the examples of Soviet rapes perpetrated against German women and the Japanese military ‘comfort women’ system, I argue that feminists working in the area of international rape law reform conceive this ‘failure’ as traumatic not only for women, but also *for the legal concept of rape*, and the international legal imagination in general. This, in turn, has opened up space within ICL not just for rape law reform, but also for major reforms of other wartime harms.

As I enter the final year of my graduate studies at Harvard, I very much look forward to continuing the conversation begun at the Center with Alex, Andrea, Anna, Michael, Sean, Stephanie, Eric and Frances. I am most grateful to the staff of the Center, and the other fellows and associated faculty for creating such a productive and sympathetic intellectual environment.

Stephanie Morain

I am grateful for a fulfilling year as an Edmond J. Safra Graduate Fellow in Ethics. As a doctoral student in the empirically oriented Health Policy program, the Center offered an invaluable community in which to develop and refine the normative components of my dissertation research.

I focused my fellowship year on two dissertation projects exploring questions of good governance in academic and government settings. The first project explores the appropriate scope of government authority in protecting and promoting public health, and how we should understand the limits of government authority in an era of chronic and noncommunicable diseases. The second project examines university oversight of faculty-industry consulting agreements within U.S. medical schools. The rich and rigorous intellectual environment offered by the Center supported my research on these projects in countless ways, through means both expected and surprising.

Through our seminars, my colleagues in the Graduate Fellowship program offered stimulating and rigorous feedback. While I had been framing the first paper as an issue primarily of policy-making in a *liberal society*, our discussions revealed the need to consider these policy cases within the context of a *liberal democratic society*. I am deeply grateful to my peers for their level of commitment and engagement to my works-in-progress. Their comments offered concrete suggestions to re-frame and sharpen the argument in my paper. Furthermore, they offered insights into future connections between my empirical work and issues of democratic theory, which I aim to explore through examination of the role of stakeholder opinion in public health policy-making.

I had hoped that the Graduate Fellow seminar would greatly assist me in my work on the first project, and the contributions of Eric, Frances, and the other fellows certainly met—and far exceeded—these expectations. What I had not anticipated was the degree to which the seminar would also enhance my empirical work. Our seminar offered me an opportunity to explore the underlying normative considerations relevant to my second project at a level far beyond that afforded by the word-count limits in most major medical journals. Importantly, it also encouraged me to think more critically about the connection between descriptive and normative ethics in my future empirical projects.

I am similarly beholden to the Lab Fellows for their support this past year. The academic fellows provided both a methodological resource for survey and qualitative research, as well as a sounding board for navigating the academic job search. The investigative journalist fellows encouraged my commitment to exploring contemporary policy challenges and reinforced the need to ensure academic work reaches beyond the readership of scholarly journals.

I would like to extend my sincere thanks to the Center fellows, staff, and affiliates for what has been an incredibly enriching year. I am grateful for their support over the past year, and look forward to the prospect of ongoing collaborations in the years to come.

Alexander Prescott-Couch

My year as a Graduate Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was productive and intellectually enriching. I greatly benefited from the time, academic resources, and intellectual community that the Center provided. As my dissertation is at the intersection of ethics and philosophy of social science, I especially enjoyed the opportunity to work in an interdisciplinary environment and exchange ideas with the Graduate and Lab Fellows. Moreover, I found the Graduate Fellow seminar an incubator for research ideas as well as a great forum for discussing new research in ethics with those sharing common concerns but coming from different perspectives.

During my year at the Center, I had three goals: make progress on my dissertation, revise existing papers for conference presentations, and come up with new ideas for future research. I'm happy to say that the Graduate Fellowship enabled me to accomplish all three.

My dissertation concerns the relation between the understanding provided by scientific explanation and that provided by humanistic forms of social inquiry, such as history. A central theme is the connection between theoretical goals of scientific inquiry (such as knowledge, explanation, and understanding) and practical goals (such as predic-

tion and control). During the fall term at the Center, I revised two chapters of my dissertation. One chapter concerned "manipulationist" views of causal explanation, views that--roughly--conceive of causes as "handles" for manipulating effects. A second chapter concerned structural explanations in social science, and the relationship between explaining some outcome structurally and ascribing agency and responsibility to human agents that inhabit the structure. In the spring term at the Center, I wrote a draft of a third chapter of the dissertation that examines "rational reconstruction," a kind of intellectual project whose goal is systematic clarification of agents' attitudes and activities that goes beyond description or explanation of those attitudes or activities.

In addition to making progress on my dissertation, I also revised and expanded additional papers for presentation at conferences. First, I revised a paper on Nietzsche's *Genealogy of Morals* for presentation at the American Philosophical Association's Central Division meeting. The paper concerned why the argument in the *Genealogy* takes a historical form: what is the relation between Nietzsche's story of morality's history and his critique of morality? Second, I developed a paper on Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* for presentation at the Princeton Graduate Political Theory Conference. The paper provides a novel interpretation of Smith's device of the "impartial spectator," a device that plays a central role in his moral theory.

Last, participating in the Graduate Fellow seminar gave me a number of new research ideas, and the support of the Center provided me with the time to explore them. I wrote a draft of a new paper on legislative diversity that was inspired by one of our initial readings. I also finished a draft of a paper on the nature of effort.

While I am very thankful that the Center provided me with the opportunity to pursue my research, I am most grateful for its efforts to create an exciting intellectual community devoted to the interdisciplinary study of ethics. In addition to hosting a great lecture series and providing opportunities to

informally talk to leading experts, the Center introduced me to many people I now consider not only intellectual co-travelers but also personal friends.

Hollie Russon Gilman

I feel very honored to have been a part of the vibrant, interdisciplinary, and stimulating community of the Center for Ethics. It was a pleasure to work with the dedicated and diverse Graduate Fellows. The Graduate Fellow seminar was rife with fascinating discussion, engaging projects, and insightful feedback. The community of Graduate Fellows and the Center were an ideal setting for my interdisciplinary project. I especially thank Eric Beerbohm for his intellectual curiosity and leadership.

My dissertation looks at the introduction of Participatory Budgeting in the United States. Participatory Budgeting is a democratic innovation to engage citizens in the process of governance through actual binding decision-making. Participatory Budgeting, a World Bank and United Nations best practice for citizen engagement, has been practiced in over 1,500 cities but has only come to the United States in 2009. My dissertation examines the opportunities and challenges of bringing this democratic innovation from the Global South to the North.

My project naturally engages with political theory, applied empirical American political science, and everything in between. I deeply appreciated the opportunity to present my research to the Graduate Fellows. Through workshopping my theory chapter, I was able to delve more deeply into the connection between Participatory Budgeting and traditional Aristotelian notions of citizenship. Working with the Graduate Fellows helped me crystalize a theory of “existential politics” that I am entranced by: the benefits to the human spirit of citizen engagement. I was also inspired by the depth and scholarly rigor with which my colleagues approached their research and academic pursuits. I was given extremely helpful and constructive feedback and successfully defended my dissertation over this academic year.

I particularly enjoyed the opportunities to engage with the Lab and listen to cutting edge thinkers over an intimate dinner setting. I deeply admire Larry Lessig and the passion he brings to his research pursuits. The Center for Ethics stands as a paradigm of what an intellectual center should be: ambitious, rigorous, and expansive. I hope to bring the spirit of the Center with me throughout my career.

Anna Su

I am enormously grateful for the opportunity to have been part of the Center as a Graduate Fellow. The Center was an ideal setting for many things. It was a stimulating environment within which I was able to complete my dissertation, and it was a focal point for valuable interdisciplinary exchanges on issues that I care about as a legal scholar and historian-in-training. My primary goal for the year was to finish writing my dissertation, *The Law on Religious Liberty and the Rise of American Power 1898-2004*, a political and intellectual history of the American origins of our contemporary international legal regime on religious freedom. Apart from recovering a lost chronology, the project also considered the changing internal notions of religious freedom within American society and how those became translated within the realm of U.S. foreign relations and were eventually exported into the international legal order. Even with a background in legal theory, our weekly seminars, which focused this year on “Theories of Law and Lawmaking,” were eye-openers in terms of different approaches, particularly from the standpoint of philosophy and political theory, on the process of representation and norm creation. More importantly, I was able to receive invaluable feedback on one of my dissertation chapters which I presented during the fall term, involving religious freedom and the project of democratization which followed the U.S. invasion of Iraq. I connected that episode with the creation and operation of the Office of International Religious Freedom within the State Department and how this proved to be the culmination of a centuries-old U.S. attempt to promote religious freedom as law in different ways abroad. The other project I worked on during the year was

a paper on extraterritorial government speech, a more doctrinal analysis of existing jurisprudence on the limits of government expressive activity abroad. I presented my initial ideas on the topic during one of the seminars in the spring term. Professor Mark Tushnet from Harvard Law School participated in the discussion, and I came out of the session brimming with ideas on what direction the paper should take as everybody brought their own expertise to bear on the puzzles I presented, especially concerning unconstitutional conditions and selective government funding. It was a real privilege to get very thoughtful insights from a talented group of fellow graduate students as well as from Eric Beerbohm and Frances Kamm. Eric more than ably steered our weekly discussions into something always fruitful and engaging, while Frances' penetrating comments were always a welcome and much-anticipated treat. In addition, the seminars provided a necessary and welcome respite from the otherwise solitary endeavor of dissertation-writing.

All in all, my fellowship year has been a wonderful one, and I thank my colleagues, Eric, Frances, and of course, the indefatigable staff, who all made the Center such a creative and energizing place to be as a graduate student. Interdisciplinary work is something that happens here on a daily basis and I am certain that my future work will be shaped by the intellectual seeds planted this year.

Andrea Tivig

This past academic year has been immensely enriching and productive thanks to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. During my year at the Center, I made progress on my dissertation project and developed a syllabus for a course on nationalism, which I taught in the Government Department in the spring semester. I wrote a new chapter and significantly revised two previous chapters of my dissertation. My dissertation offers an argument for freedom of movement as a liberal value and explores the similarities in principles between domestic movement and cross-border movement of people, pushing for a reconsideration how cross-border movement is regulated and when cross-border and domestic movement are restricted.

The main focus of my year has been the chapter of my dissertation on freedom of movement that considers domestic movement in federal systems. Federations are useful cases for my dissertation since the boundaries between the federal subunits share many similar characteristics to boundaries between sovereign states, especially with respect to federal subunits being units of the welfare state. I presented a draft of the chapter in the Graduate Fellow seminar in the fall, and then significantly revised the chapter throughout the spring semester in response to the feedback I received. The core of the chapter considers U.S. Supreme Court case law and the normative arguments made about domestic freedom of movement, i.e. the right to travel. The presence of the lawyers in the Graduate Fellow seminar was particularly helpful on this dimension.

My work in the spring semester was devoted to significantly revising two chapters of my dissertation, one of which I presented at the seminar in April. The chapter I presented there involves the foundational account of what makes freedom of movement a liberal value. I offer an argument for why freedom of movement is a liberal value and that it is both an instrumental and non-instrumental value. I appreciated the chance to invite Jane Mansbridge as a guest, and I found the exchanges between her, Eric Beerbohm, Frances Kamm, and the other Graduate Fellows to be extremely helpful in shaping how I will develop the chapter further. I also valued the chance to meet and engage with faculty guests invited by the other Graduate Fellows. The seminar brought professors from philosophy, law, and the Kennedy School together, providing a unique chance to engage with the people you read all the time but have never actually met before.

I am very grateful to Eric Beerbohm, who led the Graduate Fellow seminar, for his comments and thoughtful advice, as well as his open-mindedness and enthusiasm—all of which made the seminars a great place to discuss and develop new ideas and to re-think old ones. I had the unique advantage that Eric was wearing three hats at once: seminar leader, a member of the Government Department, and one

of my committee members. This meant he could incorporate and relate the comments I was receiving at the seminars to feedback I get at the Government Department and from my committee members. This has been immensely helpful and productive for my dissertation project as a whole.

I also appreciated the company of the handful of Lab Fellows who spent cold and dreary winter weekends with me at the Center, meeting for tea and chats in the kitchen, which led to a comfortable and productive work environment. Writing a dissertation can seem a hermit-like endeavor but the office space in the Center offers a lovely counterbalance to that. I thank the staff, especially Stephanie, Jennifer, Joe, and Erica, for making the Center such a hospitable environment.

Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Lab Fellows in Ethics 2012-13

Abigail Brown, Hansoo Choi, Lisa Cosgrove, Sreedhari Desai, Oz Dincer, Yoav Dotan, William English, Yuval Feldman, Gregg Fields, Zach Fox, Adriane Gelpi, Garry Gray, Marie Gryphon Newhouse, Ted Gup, Katherine Hall, Alison Hwang, Michael Jones, Paul Jorgensen, Hyoung-Goo Kang, Sheila Kaplan, Jessica Kennedy, Maryam Kouchaki, Changmin Lee, Donald Light, Jonathan Marks, Maggie McKinley, Jennifer Miller, Kimberly Pernell-Gallagher, Genevieve Pham-Kanter, Marc Rodwin, Susannah Rose, Sunita Sah, Irma Sandoval-Ballesteros, Lisa Shu, Ken Silverstein, J.H. Snider, Paul Thacker, Daniel Weeks, Brooke Williams

Abigail Brown

An early highlight of my third year affiliated with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was the very successful panel on institutional corruption that I organized for the American Public Policy and Management (APPAM) annual conference. We had four Center-affiliated papers that discussed issues relating to program evaluation, psychiatry, food, and the costs of misrepresentation. We were lucky to get top-notch discussants and a session chair who were new to the notion of institutional corruption, and who led an excellent discussion with an involved audience.

My book on auditing continues to progress, slowly but surely. My proposal is under review at Yale Press, and I will be presenting a chapter of the book at the Economic and Business History Society annual conference in a few weeks in Baltimore.

I also had the pleasure of contributing to Lab Fellow Marc Rodwin's heroic symposium volume on institutional corruption in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*. My contribution draws on lessons from the struggles in auditing for independence and applies them to the challenges faced by the medical research ecosystem.

I hope to bring the insights and experiences gained here at Harvard to my next position as Senior Economist at the U.S. Government Accountability Office in July. Institutional corruption presents us with challenges that can be thought of as fraud, waste, and abuse v. 2.0, requiring different instincts and solutions than v. 1.0.

Hansoo Choi, Hyoung-Goo Kang, and Changmin Lee

Our primary project this year as non-residential Lab Fellows at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been to conduct research aimed at empirically examining alleged judicial corruption in Korea. The project is split into two distinctive works, which are still closely related to each other.

The main aim of the first work is to empirically investigate sentencing disparities between white-collar offenders related to a family-controlled business group (known as a *chaebol*) and other ordinary white-collar offenders. In doing so, this work offers a perspective on how the judiciary shapes the incentives of corrupt behavior, especially for hired CEOs in a *chaebol*.

The main motivation of the second work is to empirically address *jungwanyeeo*, alleged corruption in Korea's judiciary stemming from seniority, which is one of the key features of the civil law jurisdictions. This project is of more direct relevance to our mandate as fellows: to research institutionalized corruption.

The fellowship has been extremely helpful to me in the research process by prompting me to write papers and allowing me to update information on cutting-edge studies of corruption from several fields. In particular, we benefited substantially from the debates and comments of fellows through the group mailing lists. Lab affiliates allowed me to sharpen my perspectives on institutional corruption and spurred many new and interesting research ideas.

We are currently writing the final manuscript based on the first project, which will soon be available as a Lab working paper, and will be submitted to an academic journal for publication. The second project will involve starting a separate paper this summer, which will require much feedback and advice from other fellows. We are grateful to have been a part of the Center and really appreciate the faculty and staff there for their continual support. We hope to continue to engage with the Center and the expanding network of Edmond J. Safra Fellows.

Lisa Cosgrove

In addition to working with Robert Whitaker on a book project, *Psychiatry Under the Influence: Institutional Corruption, Social Injury, and Prescriptions for Reform* (we have written four chapters), I completed work on a co-authored casebook (now in press). I also wrote two solicited op-eds for international news magazines. I published a book chapter and a peer-reviewed article, and I have an article in press and one under review. In March I was also interviewed for a BBC documentary on the DSM 5. Robert Whitaker and I also co-authored a working paper, "A Cross-Sectional Study of Clinical Practice Guidelines for Depression: Is Guideline Quality Associated with Independence from Industry?" I was awarded a small grant for this paper, and I plan to use pilot data to submit an application for a larger NIH grant. Colleagues affiliated with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics will be collaborating with me on this project.

I was fortunate enough to be able to attend some of the weekly Lab seminars and Center public lectures; they continue to spark and deepen my thinking—especially about solutions to the problem of institutional corruption in organized psychiatry. As I noted last year, it is unusual for a non-residential Lab Fellow to feel so much a part of this intellectual community; I am most grateful for my being able to continue the friendships that I developed last year and for having the opportunity to forge new ones this year. The informal conversations with the fellows have been invaluable. Hearing and reading the work that is being produced by fellows at the Lab is really inspiring. I would like to thank the

staff at the Center for being so kind, helpful, and supportive—for making the Center a real community. I also thank Larry Lessig, Mark Somos, Stephanie Dant, and Sheila Kaplan for their support and very helpful feedback on my work.

Sreedhari Desai

My final year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Center has been very busy. My paper with Dolly Chugh and Arthur P. Brief, "The organizational implications of a traditional marriage: Can a domestic traditionalist by night be an organizational egalitarian by day?" is currently under its third round of review by a leading journal, *Administrative Science Quarterly*. In this paper, we provide robust evidence that marriage structure has important organizational implications. Specifically, we find that heterosexual men married to women outside of the full-time paid labor force (relative to those married to women in the full-time paid labor force) go to work with attitudes and perceptions that disfavor women in the workplace. They are also more likely to make decisions that prevent the advancement of qualified women. We conducted five studies with a total of 1022 married, male participants. We found that employed husbands in traditional marriages, compared to those in modern marriages, tend to: (a) view the presence of women in the workplace unfavorably; (b) perceive that organizations with higher numbers of female employees are operating less smoothly; (c) find organizations with female leaders as relatively unattractive; and (d) deny, more frequently, qualified female employees opportunities for promotion. The consistent pattern of results found across multiple studies employing multiple methods (lab, longitudinal, archival) and samples (U.S., U.K., undergraduates, managers) demonstrates the robustness of the findings and suggests that self-selection into traditional marriage structures does not fully explain the effect. This work received much media attention from outlets such as *The Boston Globe*, *Forbes*, *CBS MoneyWatch*, *The Times of India*, *Christianity Today*, *The Washington Post*, *The Huffington Post*, *The Atlantic*, *The Australian Financial Review*, and *The Daily Mail*, to name a few.

In another paper titled, “Organizational income inequality: Workers pay in more ways than one,” my co-authors, Donald Palmer, Jennifer George, Arthur Brief, and I examine how organizational income inequality might adversely affect worker welfare. In general, this paper is concerned with the size of the income gap between top managers and rank-and-file workers and the experienced job security of the latter. We focused, in this initial effort, on experienced job insecurity, or what Kalleberg (2009) labels, “precarious work,” because, while such employment is viewed by managers as a source of flexibility, it is seen by workers as uncertain, unpredictable, risky, and thus, undesirable. In this working paper, we present two studies that rely on archival and laboratory data to explore how income inequality affects the psychology of top decision makers such as CEOs and causes them to view workers as dispensable.

In a third paper titled, “Information presentation order in monetary transactions: Suppressing unethical behavior in transactions requiring self-reports,” my co-author and Lab colleague Maryam Kouchaki and I examine the role of order effects in reducing unethical behavior. Recent research on the psychology of money has shown that people often behave in self-interested and unethical ways when they are reminded of money. In three studies, we demonstrate that the order of information presentation can prevent unethical behavior in monetary transactions that rely on truthful self-reports. Study 1, a field experiment, showed that first asking auto mechanics about the time it would take them to perform repairs and then asking them about the cost led to lower good faith estimates for performing the job, as compared to asking the questions in the reverse order. In Study 2, we replicated this effect in the lab, where participants were more honest in self-reporting their earnings when they were asked first to report the time they spent on a task and then asked about the dollar amount earned. In Study 3, we posited and found that the effect of asking first for non-pecuniary aspects of a task, as opposed to asking for the monetary value on unethical behavior, is

moderated by the extent to which an individual’s self-worth is tied to money. Together, the results of these studies demonstrate that information presentation order can anchor attention on non-monetary aspect of a transaction and prevent unethical acts.

In closing, I would like to thank the Center for supporting me in my various undertakings. I am particularly thankful to Stephanie Dant, Max Bazerman, and Mahzarin Banaji for their continued help and mentorship. Also, thank you, Larry, and thank you, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics!

Oz Dincer

The purpose of my fellowship project was twofold: (i) constructing an indirect measure of legal corruption using data on lobbying organizations, and (ii) constructing 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 organizations in small states to more than 5,000 in large ones) from 2006 to 2011 and identified the industry code of each organization according to the North American Industry Classification System (NAICS). I will use the NAICS codes to calculate the diversity of lobbying organizations in each state. The number and diversity of lobbying organizations considered together will give a measure of “inequality of access” to the policy-makers, which, in my opinion, is one of the primary causes of illegal corruption in the United States. This part of the project will be completed by the end of August 2013.

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. The survey was already sent to the news reporters/journalists, and I am currently waiting for the responses. I am planning to complete the construction of the corruption perceptions index and make it publicly available by the end of August 2013. 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. I have searched for the words “corrupt,” “fraud,” and “bribe” and their variants, and counted the appearance of articles containing those words. I have 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 government). For the state level corruption index I have repeated same text mining exercise using Associated Press State Wires and constructed the index covering the period between 1977 and 2012.

Without the financial support I received from the Center it would not be possible to construct the measure of legal corruption in the United States. It was an extremely time intensive project. Perhaps more importantly (although I am a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Lab), I had the opportunity to collaborate with several other Lab Fellows to refine my ideas on how to construct the two indices. Their contribution to the project was vital. I am in the process of writing two papers and planning to submit them to the Lab’s Working Paper Series soon. I am also planning to submit a paper on the relationship between political culture and corruption in the United States to the first print edited volume on institutional corruption.

Yoav Dotan

One of the most elementary vehicles for preventing or limiting corruption in the public sector is the use of a competitive bidding system (or public procurement—PP) as a condition for decisions involving the appropriation of public resources when public agencies purchase (or sell) goods or services. Indeed, within a system that uses PPs as a standard tool for decision-making, the *distortion* of the PP system is usually an essential condition for the existence of corruption. The PP system, however, is not only a vehicle for dealing with corruption. It can also be used as a means for observing the institutional capacities (and deficiencies) of the relevant public organization, in regard to corruption and anti-corruption activity.

The purpose of the project is to test the extent to which distortions in PP procedures can be detected, identified, and measured as indications of corruption levels in public organizations. At the first stage of the research, I interviewed lawyers, bidders, members of contracting committees (equivalent to contracting officials in the U.S.; for the regulation of the U.S. Federal Government acquisition see the Federal Acquisition Regulation and see 48 CFR 1.602-2; FAR § 2.101), and other professionals who are “repeat players” in Israel’s PP system. One of the interesting findings was that the intensity of PP regulation in Israel varies at the different *stages* of the PP procedure.

The procedure can be roughly divided into three main stages: the initial stage of drafting the *solicitation document*; the second stage, when the contracting committee makes a *decision* regarding the winner of the bid; and the third stage, *implementation* of the bidding contract. While the second stage of decision-making is heavily regulated, the initial stage is only partly regulated, and the implementation stage is almost entirely unregulated. Accordingly, the interviews uncovered several techniques that bidders use (sometimes in collaboration with players from the public organization soliciting the bid) to manipulate PP documents at the drafting stage, and/or to bypass the bid’s requirements and the terms of the contract at the implementation stage.

In the second stage of the research, I sought access to some databases that major players in the PP field use. So far, the data to which I was allowed access has proven insufficient to provide accurate data on the impact of corruption on PP practices. Additional FOI applications are still pending.

William English

My second year at the Center was an extremely productive one as I moved closer to completing my three proposed studies, launched a number of new projects, and began working on a book on institutional corruption. Just as in my first year, the Center was an ideal environment in which to work, providing intellectual stimulation, wonderful colleagues, and timely resources.

I gave my Lab seminar in September, which provided an opportunity to develop my theoretical account of institutional corruption and present the most recent findings from my empirical studies. I focused, in particular, on my experimental study testing strategies for eliciting ethical behavior in the face of increasing economic incentives to cheat. A novel protocol allowed me to investigate cheating in a context in which substantial harms were at stake (the health of others). I first showed that simply making an ethical appeal to subjects was as effective in reducing cheating as the standard intervention of an outright pledge not to cheat. Moreover, in addition to documenting other interventions that modestly reduced cheating, I identified forms of surveillance that eliminated cheating altogether, without the need for explicit threats or penalties. These results challenge an emerging body of literature in behavioral economics that has suggested increased monetary incentives do not lead to increased cheating. More importantly, the study identifies new and effective strategies for reducing cheating even in the face of large financial temptations. The full article will be submitted to a top journal for review this summer. My seminar presentation also mentioned another empirical study that examines the character of successful mentoring relationships and their influence on trust in law firms (it will likewise go out for review this summer). Finally, my blog post on cheating was published in the fall and later served as the introductory piece for the Lab's first e-book.

In the winter I designed and piloted a national survey that provided unique insights into how people perceive 18 important professional and political institutions. In particular, the survey investigates rationales for distrust of these institutions, asking respondents whether they attribute bad outcomes to conflicts of interest, incompetence, or malice. It also asks them the degree to which they believe bad outcomes in each institution are due to individual malfeasance or to a dysfunctional institution at large. Finally, it incorporates an experimental treatment that tests whether profession(al)s are less trusted at the group versus

the individual level. Interestingly, the results show that perceptions of incompetence are associated with the highest levels of distrust (even more than malice), while the attribution of institutional rather than individual culpability is also highly associated with distrust (and these effects are independent when tested conditionally on one another). The data allows me to further investigate how these perceptions play out within each institution and how they co-vary with demographic characteristics and beliefs about the influence of money in politics. The results, which I presented at the Southern Political Science Association annual meeting, reveal a complex picture of the sources of distrust that cuts across partisan affiliations, while also suggesting opportunities for mobilizing effective reform efforts. Analysis is ongoing, and I have a proposal under review with the National Science Foundation's Time-sharing Experiments for the Social Sciences program (TESS) to expand the project.

This winter, I also had the opportunity to follow up on a study I published last year concerning the genetic correlates of complex political behaviors. In that article, which was the third most downloaded from the *American Political Science Review* (APSR) over the last 12 months, my co-author (former Graduate Fellow Evan Charney) and I argued that many findings in behavioral genomics are not true, but rather are artifacts of indefensible methodological assumptions. A new wave of data released this fall largely vindicated us, while stoking new controversies. We published a comprehensive reply to our critics in a forum hosted by the APSR this spring, and I presented a condensed version of our findings at the Midwest Political Science Association annual meeting in April.

Throughout the year, I continued working on a theoretical paper entitled, "Institutional Corruption and the Crisis of Liberal Democracy," which explicates the concept of institutional corruption and articulates the danger it poses to the political economy of the West. The full piece is forthcoming as a working paper with the Lab, and an abridged version will be published by *The American Interest*. The framework developed in this article informs my

larger book project on institutional corruption, which will be my main focus this summer. I also continue to work on a project with Lab Network Fellow Oz Dincer examining the institutional conditions under which corruption and lobbying act as complements versus substitutes, drawing on a unique compilation of Global Enterprise Survey data. I remain grateful for the Center's support, which made these projects possible; and I hope to be affiliated with the Center in some capacity as I continue working on these themes in the coming year.

Yuval Feldman

This year has been my second year at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. In my previous year's report I discussed the two wonderful places at which I have had the pleasure of working: the Center and the Implicit Social Cognition Lab, as well as the wonderful people in both the academic and administrative positions. Being a second year fellow gives one a much richer perspective on how to understand the various projects and presentations to which we are exposed. The interaction with a new group of fellows and a new generation of research assistants contributed to that experience. Being a second year fellow also imposes some duty of trying to connect themes from the previous year to the current year.

Research-wise, I have continued to work with Mahzarin Banaji on understanding the interpretative processes through which people reduce the relevancy of various laws that might conflict with their desired actions. In our series of projects, we are examining whether individuals will use perceived vagueness and ambiguity in the language of the law, either strategically or automatically, to promote their various interests (e.g. financial, esteem, organizational). Greg Willard has joined us on this project given the complexity of the data analysis. We are also now analyzing data from a related project, which tries to reevaluate the efficacy of classical enforcement; in particular, it examines the authorities' ability to curb major self-serving biases, even in contexts of limited self-awareness.

I have also continued my project with Henry Smith from Harvard Law School, in which I focus on the broader normative considerations of the optimal design of law, with particular focus on the effect of vagueness on both opportunism and performance. Furthermore, we collaborated on an experimental work in the field, examining people's editing practices under various types of instructions, moral language, and enforcement sanctions. This project was done with Constantine Boussalis, a statistical fellow at the Law school.

An additional project, which focuses on the inadvertent effect of ethicality on innovation and risk taking, is being pursued with Kathleen Vohs and former Graduate Fellow Orly Lobel.

I am also working with two of my former RAs who became my co-authors on a theoretical paper on behavioral ethics and pharmaceutical corruption, which is to be published in a special issue edited by Marc Rodwin. This complements an additional theoretical paper of mine on behavioral ethics' neglected role in Behavioral Law and Economics.

I am able to make progress in so many projects due to a superb group of research assistants with whom I am lucky to work. My research assistants are: Troy Schuler, Sabrina Sun, Daniel Sung, Ming Chuan, Alden Green, and Svilen Buchukova. In our weekly meetings, we discuss readings, brainstorm on designing studies, and work on organizing and writing up all the findings from the last two years.

Gregg Fields

For me, the 2012-13 fellowship's greatest gift was the discovery of new analytical tools. Although I have a degree in public administration and have covered finance for most of my journalistic career, examining regulatory and economic topics through the prism of institutional corruption was enriching and enlightening—but not always easy. If nothing else, I think I'll be a better citizen. But my longer-term goal is to apply my research toward work that illuminates the societal threats posed by institutional corruption.

To be frank, I was a bit intimidated at first. The people here are whip-smart and many are highly accomplished academics and noted authors. Early on, I got some very good advice from two other fellows, Garry Gray and Sheila Kaplan. To paraphrase, it was, simply, this: Get in the game. Ask, listen, investigate. Mark Somos also let me know something that was a relief: Don't be afraid to fail. If you test a thesis and it doesn't turn out the way you thought it would, that's still research, he told me.

The weekly Lab seminars were often about subjects with which I am not terribly familiar. And truthfully I still don't know how to conduct a regression analysis. But the seminars were wildly valuable because, over time, common themes related to institutional corruption emerged, no matter the presenter's particular discipline. So while I couldn't always follow the math or science, I learned to recognize the nexus points where money, power, and politics so often converge to produce institutional corruption. It enabled me to hone my own metrics for analyzing institutional corruption. And this, in turn, helped me keep my writing and research tightly focused on issues the Lab cares most about. I guess it's just the reporter in me, but the achievement I'm most proud of is the writing I did for the Lab's blog and the contributions that were included in the Lab's first e-book.

I learned enough at the Center's public lectures and dinners to earn a degree. To hear John Reed, the former Citibank chief, discuss the corruption that led to the banking crisis, or to talk to Charles Lewis, founder of the Center for Public Integrity, about developing alternate economic models for journalism, provided practical perspective to the theories we debate here. More importantly, speakers like Michael Sandel, who discussed, "the perils of thinking like an economist," demonstrate how the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics is a thought leader on some of the most pressing public policy issues of our time. What reporter wouldn't want to be a part of that?

Just a word about the staff: Excellent. Helpful, knowledgeable, and enthusiastic. (OK— that's four words.)

That's it. My only question remaining question is: how can the year possibly be over already?

Zachary Fox

My year as an investigative journalist Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has broadened my understanding of the means by which industry can influence public policy, while allowing me the opportunity to build a unique real estate database and pursue my project on affordable housing. Fittingly, this interdisciplinary introduction to the study of institutional corruption has accompanied, and encouraged, a broadening of my research.

Initially, I proposed cross-referencing a database of all real estate developments to have received a certain type of funding—low-income housing tax credits—with campaign contributions to governors and state treasurers. Over the course of my research year, I have compiled varying levels of data on nearly 20,000 projects that have received some form of taxpayer support to compare against millions of entries of campaign contribution data maintained by the National Institute on Money in State Politics. The ability to collaborate with other journalists and researchers at the Center, as well as the weekly Lab seminars, shaped these data and introduced nuance to my interpretation. What was initially conceived as an examination of only governor-level contributions now includes measurements of a variety of methods in which developers can wield influence, from lobbying to independent expenditures to contributions for state assemblymen and city councilmen.

However, the presence of real estate developers on campaign contributor rolls is hardly surprising. And it is difficult to identify egregious amounts of subsidy, particularly considering that the tax credit program is just one of many sources that developers tap. It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to show a quid pro quo between campaign contributions and public fund allocation. But the institutional corruption theory can still apply if the agency's mission has

been jeopardized. Therefore, I have identified projects that offer a varying amount of public benefit. I am in the process of conducting project-level financial analysis to show the total level of taxpayer subsidy, as well as interviews with low-income tenants to demonstrate the public benefit received. The results will be presented alongside data on the developer's campaign contributions and lobbying expenditures.

Separately, I have written two papers during my time at the Center, including a submission to the inaugural issue of the *Harvard Journal of Real Estate*, and an entry in the Lab's working paper series that focuses on tax-exempt bond issuance as a class of subsidy and its vulnerabilities to corruption. I will continue that work in partnership with Lab Fellow Oz Dincer for a second working paper in the fall. I have also had the opportunity to audit enriching courses on real estate finance and public policy. It has been an intellectually stimulating and personally rewarding year at the Center, and I would like to thank Larry and the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for a memorable, illuminating experience.

Adriane Gelpi

This year I joined the Lab, a privilege that followed directly after a wonderful experience as a Graduate Fellow. Each year has been exceptional in distinct, yet complimentary ways. The Graduate Fellowship elevated and deepened my knowledge and understanding of ethical theory and practice. By contrast, the Lab Fellowship, with its focus on institutional corruption, has opened my eyes: first, to the conceptual power of institutional corruption as a framework, and then to how this framework could transform my approach to the core problem in my own work—the role of special interests in influencing public policymaking. Over the course of the year, I have made substantial progress on my dissertation, while also developing new avenues for future work.

My research centers on the ethics of priority setting for health-resource allocation. More specifically, what role interested stakeholders, such as patient groups, should play in deciding how to allocate

resources. The Lab fellowship has provided me with a new set of intellectual tools to reframe and analyze this topic. The framework of institutional corruption has led me to imagine this process of influence as one that can lead an institution away from its true purpose. I now view stakeholders in priority setting as problematic for a more well-defined reason: they have powerful, yet often non-financial conflicts of interest that led them to push decision making in their personal favor.

Reframing the issue of stakeholders in priority setting as one of institutional corruption has opened up new directions for research that I am already pursuing. This conceptual breakthrough came as a direct result of the Lab Fellowship. My dissertation examines the normative question of what the role of special interest groups should be in setting priorities. A more applied future goal is to develop procedural recommendations to channel the influence of advocacy groups in helpful ways. This applied project must build on an account of what a process for fair resource allocation looks like, so as to better identify and evaluate deviations from the ideal. I look forward to continue working at the intersection of theory and practice.

The wide range of activities at the Center—from the public lecture series and the Lab's weekly seminar, to informal conversations with colleagues—combines to create a laboratory in the truest sense: a place to incubate, explore and examine, and test ideas. More fundamentally, the constant during my two years at the Center has been the gift of amazing colleagues—challenging, provocative, and wide-ranging in their intellects, and always warm and collegial in their personal interactions. This combination makes the Center a heady and stimulating environment; one in which I am grateful to have been able to participate.

Garry Gray

My second year as a residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been rewarding. I have once again benefitted from the Lab's weekly seminar discussions that involve alternative disciplinary views, theoretical lenses, and

methodological strategies. My project, which involves examining the social organization of ethics inside the modern research university, is progressing in a solid manner. I am in the process of developing grounded theoretical explanations of the processes of taken-for-granted ethical behaviors among academic faculty and staff. There are many economies of influence operating simultaneously across our roles as teachers and researchers. My project examines both the funding environment of academic research and also the everyday routines of teaching, research, funding, and ethics. Through in-depth interviews with professors across various disciplines of a university, I am now in a position to provide an account of how funding environments intersect with micro-level behaviors inside institutions.

Similar to my first year, my time at the Center has also been deeply enriched through my interactions with other Lab Fellows, with whom I had opportunities to develop research collaborations. Over the course of the year, I have worked with Lab Fellow Mike Jones on analyzing interview data with elite stakeholders in campaign finance in order to develop a manuscript on the role of narratives in regulation. This work will be presented at both the Law and Society Association Conference in Boston and at the International Conference on Public Policy in Grenoble, France. I also spent time this year co-organizing (with Mark Somos) a series of five interdisciplinary panels consisting of the work of twenty Lab Fellows on the theme of institutional corruption for the Law and Society Association Conference in Boston. Furthermore, I have occasionally assisted Lab Fellow Sheila Kaplan with the development of an ethics series designed for television.

In addition, I have been involved in several presentations (as either a presenter or co-author) at the following conferences this year: Institute for Work and Employment Research; MIT Sloan School of Management (with Susan Silbey); American Sociology Association (with Susan Silbey); the Society for the Advancement of Socio-Economics; and the 3rd World Conference on Research Integrity. Finally, I

also published a paper, "Insider Accounts of Institutional Corruption: The Social Organization of Unethical Behavior," in the *British Journal of Criminology*.

I am very grateful to Lawrence Lessig and the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for continuing to provide me the opportunity to participate in the Lab's quest to make visible the various everyday systems that divert good individuals from their intended roles. I want to also thank Stephanie Dant and Susan Silbey for providing both assistance and guidance during my second year as residential fellow at the Center.

Ted Gup

It has been a pleasure and a privilege to be at the Center for Ethics this past year. I have had many and varied experiences as a journalist, but I cannot recall a year in which I was exposed to so many new and stimulating ideas. Frankly, I learned as much from my colleagues as from my research project. It is a rare and precious thing to be exposed to such interdisciplinary exchanges on a regular basis. I suspect it has altered the way I view not only my topic but also my role as a journalist. In a fight one boasts that one gives as good as one gets. I can't pretend that I contributed as much as I reaped from the experience but I found myself routinely engaged, challenged and provoked in ways that will benefit me for years to come. For that I am most grateful. I am grateful too for the collegiality that was so much a part of the Center experience. I didn't know exactly what I was getting myself in to as an investigative journalist Lab Fellow. I wondered whether, lacking a graduate academic degree (other than a JD), I would be accorded equal status at the table. Never was that an issue.

My project focused on the intersection of partisanship and oversight. I wanted to examine the degree to which partisanship has distorted or hijacked the Congressional oversight function. Americans know about the legislative paralysis that afflicts Congress and its inability to produce a budget or resolve other critical issues—infrastructure, environment, public safety, financial regulation, campaign reform, etc. But few Americans give much thought

to the oversight function, though historically it has been a principle, if not the principle, agent for exposing and addressing government corruption, in all its many guises—waste, fraud, abuse, inefficiency. In pursuit of my topic I interviewed current and former members of Congress, staffers, historians, journalists, political scientists, and others. The picture that emerged was, frankly, rather dark and depressing. Oversight has indeed become just one more weapon in the partisan armamentarium used to discredit the opposition. Neither side is above placing partisan advantage over public good. As I see it, the only antidote for all this is simple, but as yet, beyond our reach as citizens, and that is campaign finance reform.

During the course of the year I wrote several pieces, some directly related to my Lab work, others an outgrowth of the seminar discussions and collegial exchanges. Two such pieces appeared in *The New York Times*, one on the topic of abusive secrecy, the other on the pernicious alliance between drug companies and physicians, and the permissive attitudes towards drugs that now pervades society. I also wrote two blogs for the Lab. The first focused on Congressional partisanship, the other on the limited impact of disclosure and transparency. A final paper reflecting my work on partisanship and oversight is to be published on the website of *Mother Jones* magazine. Perhaps more importantly there are other pieces in the pipeline that are in various stages of readiness. I have a feeling that my Lab work will continue to be a font of articles and essays for some time to come. My time at the Center has helped me contextualize the work I have been doing for years, to hold it at a greater distance and see more clearly how it fits in to a broader picture.

Katherine Hall

As a full-time academic at the Australian National University, my focus during the first year of being a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Center has been setting up the empirical component of my project. This project builds upon research undertaken for my doctorate that analysed the effects of the increasingly competitive and client-focused environment within large Australian and United States

law firms. My doctoral research drew upon theoretical and empirical research in cognitive, social and organisational psychology to reveal the pressures on lawyers to engage in “ethically grey” behavior on behalf of commercial clients and included a detailed discussion of the role of professional, organizational and personal rationalizations in facilitating and mediating such conduct.

In my project with the Lab, I am building upon this previous research to consider the issue of resistance to ethical change. This project focuses upon identifying the main factors that influence large commercial organizations when making decisions on compliance with ‘system-based regulation’ of transnational anti-corruption. It involves a survey instrument being sent to large global law firms operating in Australia aimed at identifying the extent to which lawyers working within these firms are advising their clients on due diligence aspects of Australian, U.K. and U.S. anti-corruption legislation, the response by clients to this systems-based regulation, and the firm’s own anti-corruption compliance processes. The project also involves follow up interviews with lawyers working within this area to explore these issues in greater detail.

I now have contacted the ten global firms operating in Australia, with eight indicating a willingness to take part in both the survey and interview components of the research. In addition, over half of the firms have now distributed the survey to their staff, with results being collected through Survey Monkey. In April of this year I also visited the Center and had the opportunity to take part in a Lab seminar as well as a Business Ethics Roundtable in which members of the Center participated. This visit substantially benefitted my research due to the collegiality and intellectual support I received. I am also in the process of completing two journal articles on the issue of resistance to ethical change and the role of compliance-based regulation in transnational anti-corruption regulation.

In the second year of my non-residential Lab Fellowship I will be focusing on data analysis and disseminating the results of this research through

conferences, journal articles and a second visit to the Center. I sincerely thank Larry Lessig for the opportunity to be a fellow at the Center and Stephanie Dant for ensuring the smooth running of the Fellowship.

Alison Hwong

As an eternal student both figuratively and literally—as I make progress through two graduate degrees, I felt fortunate to join the vibrant intellectual community at the Center this year to explore issues of disclosure of industry payments to physicians. My interest in this topic began as a first-year medical student, when a group of classmates and I called upon Harvard Medical School to strengthen its conflict of interest policies. Our actions were part of a larger movement across the country for greater transparency and ethical guidelines concerning relationships between industry and academic medicine. To take part in this discussion at a center that focuses on studying these phenomena was a true privilege.

My project examines the effects of disclosure of industry payments to physicians on the patient-doctor relationship. Last June, Center affiliate Dr. Lisa Lehmann and I published an article on the Health Affairs blog, which discussed a patient-centered approach to mandated disclosure of industry payments to physicians. We have since been finalizing a paper on how disclosure websites frame the narrative of physician-industry ties, and how these narratives may affect patients. And this spring, after a busy year of teaching, classes, and another dissertation project, I will (finally!) launch an experimental study on patient trust.

I am particularly grateful for conversations, formal and informal, at the weekly Lab seminar, as well as the invigorating energy of other fellows who continue the good fight in understanding the roots of institutional corruption. The Center provides a space in which rigorous scholarship and civic responsibility (in the form of activism) can symbiotically progress. This is a model for the role of the academy in society, and has allowed me to see that I can combine research and social activism

throughout my career. Finally, I am glad to have made connections with other fellows working on similar projects, especially Sunita Sah at Georgetown University. Many thanks for inspiration from Genny Pham-Kanter, Jennifer Miller, and Don Light, as well as for the organizational genius of Stephanie Dant and the guiding mind of Larry Lessig. I look forward to continue working with Dan Carpenter, Lisa Lehmann, Eric Campbell, and Steve Joffe in the coming year.

Michael Jones

The two years I spent as a residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics were foundational in allowing the team of researchers I am working with at the Cultural Cognition Project to develop a hypothesis, collect data, and perform preliminary analysis. During those two years we made considerable gains in our attempts to better understand how the general public processes factual information about campaign finance. With the support of the Lab we were able to conduct a battery of elite interviews, conduct four focus groups, field three nationally representative surveys, and conduct several experiments.

Over the past year as a non-residential Lab Fellow, I have been diligently attempting to analyze and publish some of our findings. In April of this year, my analysis of focus group data showing that groups use cultural cognition mechanisms to sort and process campaign finance information was presented at the Annual Midwest Political Science Association Meeting in Chicago. This piece has also been slotted for publication in an edited volume to be published next year by Palgrave Macmillan titled, *The Science of Stories: Applications of the Narrative Policy Framework*. Working in conjunction with Lab Fellow Garry Gray, we have prepared two manuscripts analyzing elite interviews to determine the stories they tell about campaign finance reform and their regulatory influence. These papers will be presented at the Law and Society Conference in Boston and at the 1st International Conference on Public Policy this summer in Grenoble, France. We anticipate publishing at least one of these in the Lab's Working Paper series. Finally, a third paper

is in the works that will assess the influence of cultural cognition on Larry Lessig's proposed Grant and Franklin solution to campaign finance. We intend to submit this manuscript for inclusion in the upcoming edited volume on institutional corruption.

We have just begun to scratch the surface of the story our data will tell. We look forward to exploring the possibilities and anticipate many publications from the trove of data made possible by our benefactors at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics.

Paul Jorgensen

My overarching goal is to describe and explain electoral coalitions within Congress, from 1980 to 2012, and to determine the policy effects of these coalitions. The best theory to help answer this question is the *investment theory of politics* developed by Thomas Ferguson. He and I, with the help of Jie Chen at the University of Massachusetts, Boston, continue to work closely to complete this endeavor. His theory requires information that is difficult to extract, which is why I have taken this opportunity to not only improve the accuracy of available campaign finance data, but also to give it context with political and economic data obtained through several sources. In my second year as a Lab Fellow, we have started to produce analysis that has received a warm reception at conferences and in the media. My progress could not have happened without the resources of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, and the incredible network of people connected to it. Together, we are pushing the boundaries of campaign-finance knowledge.

During the 2011-12 academic year, I spent most of my time improving donor identification within the campaign finance data. Using donor-matching algorithms, I was able to match donors who may appear to be different people across multiple transactions by assigning individuals and groups unique identification numbers. Using new data management techniques, I was able to recover donations that have otherwise gone unnoticed. Identifying the economic interests of these donors is also difficult, with 20-30% of the occupations

listed as *blank*, *retired*, or *homemaker* in any given electoral cycle. To help solve this problem, I gathered information from various corporate registries to conduct a second round of donor matching—in essence, merging corporate information with the campaign finance data. The results of this analysis will be one part of a larger paper we will present at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association.

In campaign finance data, the most reliable measure of a donor's geographic area is zip code; however, zip codes alone are not a useful unit for political geography. To link campaign donors to a useful political-geographic unit, I linked zip codes to congressional districts and census tracts. To my knowledge, this linkage has never been completed successfully because of overlapping boundaries, especially in urban areas. I commissioned Harvard's Center for Geographic Analysis (CGA) to mitigate this problem by measuring the overlap using population size, and accounting for changes in map boundaries from the mid-1970s to 2011. This work will allow the merger of campaign finance information with data from the Census Bureau. CGA also produced congressional district adjacency matrices (a 1 or 0 indicating if different congressional districts share a boundary), which allows me to run spatial regressions accounting for the correlation of donations deriving from proximate districts. I have now combined this data with campaign finance records, and will produce new analysis over the summer. I have already used the adjacency matrices to produce spatial regressions of money and election results across time. This relationship is more linear than the academic community first thought, and my co-authors and I have published these findings with one media outlet and reproduced the findings with more rigorous analysis in a conference paper for the Institute for New Economic Thinking.

During the 2012-13 academic year, I spent most of my time analyzing this data. My co-authors and I created several stories for AlterNet that have become academic manuscripts and working papers. We produced a paper for the 2013 meeting of the

Institute for New Economic Thinking in Hong Kong entitled, “Party Polarization and Industrial Structure in American Politics Now—A Preliminary Quantitative Assessment,” and will present analysis at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association entitled, “Who’s Watching the Watchdog? The Federal Election Commission, Missing Data, and Campaign Finance.” This second paper will become part of the Lab’s Working Paper series, and will also be included in the Lab’s edited volume. In this paper, we chronicle the numerous compliance and governance issues surrounding the Federal Election Commission and the enforcement of campaign finance regulations.

Sheila Kaplan

This year I had the honor of working with Professor Lessig, Mark Somos and my colleagues at the Center to develop a multi-part narrative television series for PBS, highlighting the causes and results of institutional corruption. Our goals are to bring the research of the Lab’s scholars and investigative journalists to a wider audience, to create a framework with which the public can think about institutional corruption, and to show how such corruption impacts both individuals and our democracy.

We will accomplish this by telling compelling stories with strong characters who will reveal the forces that pushed them into corrupt acts, and in doing so, provide a window into the larger issue of institutional corruption. Our subjects will include: public health, the environment, banking, sexual abuse, food marketing, the impact of outside funding on academia, and the influence of money on politics.

In November, Professor Lessig and I met with the president of PBS, Paula Kerger, and a senior vice president, Beth Hoppe, to discuss the project. They were enthusiastic, and, since then, we have been working closely with them, along with public affairs director Andy Halper, to develop the show for their prime-time schedule. In January, we brought in a PBS-recommended production company to help develop the show. We handed in our first full-length treatment in March, and we are now immersed in a

revision—which is part of the typical development process. I met with Andy Halper in late April to discuss the revisions. I plan to submit the next draft to PBS by the end of May.

At the same time, we are also engaged in fundraising. Although we have not gotten any firm commitments yet, we have had very encouraging conversations with the MacArthur Foundation, Open Society, and others. In the interest of bringing in additional money, we are now opening talks with HBO, Showtime, BBC America, and Netflix.

This year I was also able to finish the research on my earlier project, documenting the economy of influence at the intersection of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Congress, and American industry. By carrying the research over into this academic year, I had time to obtain, under the Freedom of Information Act, several thousand letters written to EPA by lawmakers. I analyzed these letters to determine how much money businesses donated to lawmakers who went to bat for them with EPA. This analysis, plus my 200-plus interviews with present and former EPA staff, lobbyists, congressional aides, and others on subjects such as the revolving door, distortion of science, and other hallmarks of institutional corruption, will make up the monograph I will submit by late August. I am grateful for the opportunities provided by the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics.

Jessica Kennedy

My year as a non-residential Lab Fellow was designed to allow initiation of the theory component for a project on hierarchies as mechanisms of socialization, with the possibility of continuing this project next year as a Lab Fellow in residence.

This year I reviewed literature in organizational behavior, sociology, psychology, and criminology on the socialization construct and began to connect it with exchange theory to explain how advancing in a hierarchy creates a system of exchange that could result in the acceptance of institutional values. After reviewing the literature and discussing it with colleagues, I still believe this argument

has significant merit but see a critical obstacle to publishing this in an organizational journal: the organizational literature conceptualizes socialization largely as the learning of knowledge and skills, and, to the extent that socialization includes value acceptance, these values are largely assumed to be job-relevant and functional. Therefore, the paper requires an additional logical link establishing that organizational values for which individuals are socialized can be misguided and corrupt in order to have implications for institutional corruption. I am still developing the theory to account for this, and am considering drawing more from criminology literature to justify the theoretical propositions.

I also included some measures in existing laboratory experiments to check for increased acceptance of group values following a promotion in a simulated hierarchy. These measures did not show statistically significant results. However, they were not measured intra-individually, and the studies were not explicitly designed to test this relation. Until I better understand the relation, my plan is to examine them in the laboratory context rather than an organizational context.

Largely for personal reasons, I have decided to remain at Wharton next year. It was a very difficult decision. In light of these study results, I plan to continue building the theory but to delay further empirical exploration until the theory seems quite sound. When I publish the theoretical paper, I will acknowledge my affiliation with the Center that supported and encouraged my inquiry.

Maryam Kouchaki

My year as a residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was an exceptional and wonderful experience for many reasons. In addition to the intellectual challenges it brought, it was stimulating and provided a unique opportunity for me to not only make significant advances on my work exploring professionalism and moral behavior, but also to finish various projects and start a number of new research projects with other fellows at the Center. The fellowship provided me with both time and resources that allowed me to make

significant progress researching whether a professional self-conception can make individuals more unethical. During the year, I collected additional data and was able to complete and refine a draft of my paper, which came out as the fourth paper under the Lab's Working Papers series. It was listed on SSRN's Top Ten download list for *ERN: Other Organizations & Markets: Decision-Making in Organizations (Topic)*, *ORG: Ethics in Decision Making (Topic)*, *Organizations & Markets: Decision-Making in Organizations eJournal*, and *POL: Moral & Ethical Practices (Topic)* and *Strategy & Social Policies eJournal*. I will present this work at two conferences in the coming months, first at the Law and Society Association Annual Meeting as part of a Lab panel, and then at the Academy of Management Annual Meeting.

In addition to working on my fellowship project, I published two peer-reviewed articles and had a number of projects invited for resubmission at top tier journals in fields of management and psychology. My article "Seeing Green: Mere Exposure to Money Triggers a Business Decision Frame and Unethical Outcomes," showing how mere exposure to money—even simply using money-related words—will trigger unethical behavior, was published in *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*. Additionally, my paper "The Burden of Guilt: Heavy Backpacks, Light Snacks, and Enhanced Morality," written with Lab Committee member Professor Francesca Gino, was accepted for publication at the *Journal of Experimental Psychology: General*. In this paper, we show that the physical experience of weight is associated with the emotional experience of guilt and thus that weight intensifies the experience of guilt.

My time at Center has been particularly fruitful and helped me to develop research collaborations with Lab Fellows Yuval Feldman and Elizabeth Doty on two different projects, and I am very excited about the work that lies ahead of us. I am sure the ties I have formed this year will lead to many future collaborations.

Finally, the Center provided me with the opportunity to be part of the larger Harvard community.

The Center's events, Lab seminars, and talks at the Harvard Business School have been all a source of continual insight and inspiration.

I am very grateful to the Center for its support, and to everyone who has contributed to the weekly Lab seminars with useful comments and discussion, generous advice, and sincere interest. I had the privilege to share my time here with an extraordinary group of fellows under Larry Lessig's leadership and Mark Somos's direction. Their intellectual insights, interdisciplinary focus, and enthusiasm for understanding institutional corruption improved my work, challenged me to think differently, and opened my eyes to new subjects, questions, and methodologies to which I would not have otherwise been exposed. I am grateful to every one of the amazing fellows in my cohort that I had the honor of getting to know and working alongside. I would particularly like to thank Mark Somos for his kindness and thoughtfulness; he was invaluable in guiding me through this fellowship. Thank you to Stephanie Dant for being so supportive and helpful. And finally, I am deeply indebted to my mentor, Francesca Gino, for her continuous care, support, attention, and, intellect.

Over the last year, being part of the Center's cross-disciplinary community of scholars has helped me greatly deepen my understanding of institutional corruption. My experience as a fellow has left me with an abiding interest in understanding and addressing corporate corruption, and this interest forms the basis of my research agenda. I am excited about the opportunity to continue learning and exploring these issues further as part of the Center in the coming years.

Donald Light

After working for years on institutional corruption in health care and prescription drugs with no kindred spirits in my department and school, I am deeply grateful for the gift of working with a community of kindred spirits and talented researchers who support each other in this controversial field. The beautiful office, special office-mate, wonderful facilities, and helpful staff enhanced further the opportunity to deepen my investiga-

tions into why most drugs approved over the past 30 years provide few advantages for patients to offset their risks of harm and why prescription drugs have become a major cause of hospitalizations and death.

The year began in high gear since I gave my Lab seminar in early October and received many comments, challenging questions, and criticisms from other fellows and faculty. Mark Somos urged me to understand more fully how institutional corruption (IC) could and could not be applied to my project, and with his tutoring I worked on a draft and ever-better revisions of a paper that became the Lab's second Working Paper on strengthening IC theory. In the process, I had valuable conversations with Larry, Dan Wikler, Eric Beerbohm, Elizabeth Doty, Bill English, and especially Malcolm Salter, whose work on institutional corruption in business is especially relevant to IC outside politics in ways that complement Larry Lessig's IC theory.

I became convinced that IC could generate important work and become an influential concept in sociology. To that end, I have organized a session at the American Sociological Association that is focused on applied economic sociology, and the organizers of the third international Pharmaceutical Lifecycle Conference in Amsterdam were persuaded to devote a session to IC. A blog on why IC needs to partner with moral philosophers in establishing the baseline for legitimating corruption and for developing reforms to restore integrity complements the Working Paper, and a second blog explains the importance of tracking and analyzing the countervailing powers that shape the dynamics of institutional corruption in a domain.

In terms of publications, a major paper appeared in the *BMJ* on the myth of the innovation crisis and the paucity of new drugs that are better for patients. More than 9,000 people downloaded the paper, and there ensued a chance to demythologize corrupted facts by the industry's powerful U.K. trade association. The complement to this article documents the epidemic in harmful side effects and analyzes how IC has corrupted the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) away from its mission to protect the public.

This article took two months in the spring and will be published in the Lab's special issue of the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics* on IC and pharmaceuticals. My history of how IC developed is making progress, greatly aided by historical books from the Widener, Baker, Science, and Law libraries.

A review in *Health Affairs* provided another opportunity to inform a large audience about how the industry has corrupted diagnostic classifications and medical practice, a theme being developed by Lab Fellows Lisa Cosgrove, Sergio Sismondo, Marc Rodwin, and Marc-André Gagnon. The Center's research project and article in the *New England Journal of Medicine (NEJM)*, showing that doctors distrust company-sponsored trials led the Editor in Chief to downplay the study. The Journal accepted a letter citing evidence that doctors' distrust is warranted. It has accepted a second, forthcoming letter on the corruption of the FDA. Such letters are a strategic way to reach large audiences, especially the *NEJM*.

Early on, I realized the importance of focusing on how to contain or reduce IC. While many good reforms are urged, few get anywhere; but in the meantime, no one is investigating models of whole research institutes and health care systems that have fended off or controlled corrupting influences for years, with impressive results. I spent some of the year organizing a research proposal and getting permissions to do business-school case studies of them, and I think they are the exemplars we are all looking for.

This project is the latest in a series of reform campaigns against IC and inequality in health care that have preoccupied my time since the 1970s and for which the American Sociological Association will bestow the Distinguished Career Award in Applied Sociology this August.

Jonathan Marks

I am very grateful to the Lab for its continued support and collaboration in 2012-13—and in particular, for sharing the cost of six-months' additional salary for our post-doctoral fellow, Christopher Mayes. This support enabled Chris to

work with us on a report of last year's symposium at Penn State on institutional corruption and industry-sponsored food research, which is now available on the web.

During this time, I also worked with Chris and my food scientist colleague, Don Thompson, to produce a draft entitled, "The Rhetoric and Practice of Food Industry Participation in Public Health Policy: Case Studies from Britain, Australia and the United States," (currently under review) that applies the lens of institutional corruption to critique the role of industry in the development and implementation of public health policy related to obesity in the United States, Britain and Australia. In that piece, we highlight a number of systemic concerns—among them, the preclusion of policy options (most notably, increased regulation), the marginalization of stakeholders, the discounting of relevant evidence, and distortion in the development and implementation of policy. Even when these effects cannot be conclusively demonstrated, concerns about such effects may serve to erode trust and confidence in both policymakers and the policy-making process.

In addition, our team worked with Leland Glenna (a colleague at Penn State who attended our symposium last year) and another veteran Lab Fellow, Susannah Rose, to develop an NSF grant proposal entitled "Institutional Affiliation, Funding Sources, and the Norms, Values, and Practices of Food and Nutrition Researchers" (Leland Glenna PI, Jonathan Marks co-PI). In this proposal, currently under review, we are seeking \$500,000 to conduct empirical research exploring norms of independence and attitudes toward industry funding among food and nutrition researchers.

I also produced two sole-authored pieces related to the food industry project this year. The shorter piece, "Objects Closer Than They Appear: Regulating Health-Based Advertising of Food," had a regulatory focus and was published in the *American Journal of Bioethics*, the highest impact bioethics journal. The longer piece, "What's the Big Deal? The Ethics of Public-Private Partnerships on Food and Health,"

is being published first as a Working Paper for the Lab's series (and shortly thereafter, it will be revised for journal publication). In the piece, I employ the institutional corruption framework to draw attention to the systemic effects of public-private partnerships. I also demonstrate how prevailing analytical approaches fail to address these systemic effects. I conclude by critiquing the partnership as a default model for engagement with the food industry, and urge public officials to explore other approaches for meeting public health goals.

This year has also brought a number of opportunities to present and discuss my work on institutional corruption with both academics and policymakers. I presented my work on institutional corruption and the food industry at the annual meeting of the Association of Public Policy Analysis and Management, the principal public policy conference in the United States. I also participated in a symposium on obesity interventions at Johns Hopkins University in November in which I drew the attention of policymakers to systemic concerns arising from potential partnerships with industry. In addition, it has been a pleasure to continue to support the Center's events. I very much enjoyed presenting at the conference on institutional financial conflicts of interest that the Center co-sponsored at Harvard Law School in March. And it will be a pleasure to round out the year leading the penultimate Lab seminar with my colleague, Susannah Rose, addressing the ethical and policy implications of food industry participation in research and policy.

I also look forward to presenting on institutional corruption (with a number of other fellows) at the Law and Society Annual Meeting in Boston.

It has been a real pleasure to be associated with the Lab as its work on institutional corruption grows. Going forward, I plan to continue working on the food industry and institutional corruption, and would be delighted to do whatever I can to support the work of the Lab and to ensure its continued influence in the policy sphere. Finally, I have greatly enjoyed my affiliation with the Center and

the Lab. I am most grateful to Larry Lessig, Mark Somos, and all the Center staff—led by the indefatigable Stephanie Dant. I wish you all the best for the coming year!

Maggie McKinley

During my year as a non-residential Lab Fellow, I have completed Phase One of the Language of Lobbying Project—a multi-year qualitative and quantitative study of federal tax lobbyists in Washington, D.C. While based in D.C. full-time, I have conducted over a thousand hours of data collection with over sixty professional lobbyists and studied two schools where they train students in the profession and practice of lobbying. Phase one has included three sample sets: First, I conducted interviews and intensive ethnographic work at a school where they train students to lobby—which contained a clinical component for students to represent clients as advocates on the Hill—as well as some comparative work with a school that trained students on the business side of running a D.C. firm. Second, I opened the project to a broad swath of professional lobbyists including association representatives, in-house counsel, contract and firm lobbyists, from both parties and a range of specializations to participate in two to four semi-structured interviews and complete a questionnaire gathering demographic data. Lastly, I worked closely with my professional tax advocates with whom I conducted ethnographic work and requested questionnaires, as well as having them to sit for semi-structured and open-ended interviews regarding their professional lives, the lobbying community, and their advocacy efforts during the ethnographic period. During the project, I have observed and recorded pitch meetings, constituent maintenance meetings, fundraisers, hearings arranged by my participants, colleague meetings, coalition meetings, conferences, drafting negotiations with the Hill, casual meetings between staffers and participants, and more.

The project will allow, for the first time, the everyday practice and culture of the lobbying community to be described by issue and over the span of the legislative calendar, and will hopefully add nuance

to future studies of federal lobbying and allow a deeper understanding of past quantitative data. From these data, I have already begun to draw the contours of a new model of what legislative advocacy is in the context of Congress, the constitutionality of that practice, and how it should be regulated in the future. Moreover, I have worked collaboratively with a number of other scholars and organizations to design citizen legislative advocacy software, design and conduct a state-wide study—survey and focus group—of the state of Maryland into how citizens might better engage with the legislative process through technology, develop models to clean and analyze the lobbying disclosure data, built databases and graphical models of fiscal cliff lobbying, and have begun to refine the algorithms behind natural language processing models in order to analyze the congressional record.

Although my fellowship period has been spent in Washington, D.C., participation on the Lab list-serv has provided constant support and connection to my fellow Lab-mates over the course of the year. The Lab Fellows have proven themselves a collegial and knowledgeable cohort, and the cross-disciplinary nature of the Lab has improved my work by providing new perspectives on everything from D.C. culture and lobbying practice to behavioral economics and organizational research. In Washington, D.C., I have especially appreciated the small community that has formed of journalists and social scientists with a specialization in Congress, lobbying, and D.C.-based organizations; I will remember fondly our days working together at the Press Club. During my visits to Cambridge, my research was enriched from attendance of the Lab seminar presentations, as well as informal support from our qualitative methods working group and many delightful coffees and dinners. Lab events were on-point and inspirational, and the dinners that followed never failed to foster new connections with relevant scholars in philosophy and political science. In short, the interdisciplinary nature of the Lab and its community of fellows were invaluable this year!

Jennifer Miller

I am deeply grateful to the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics for a highly productive, collaborative, and thought-provoking year. Thanks to the Center's stimulating lectures and input from faculty and fellows, I made great progress on my tool to improve the bioethical performance of pharmaceutical companies.

First, I pivoted from developing an *accreditation* system to piloting a scorecard for drug companies as a means to better incentivize and evaluate their bioethical performance. This included abandoning a pass-fail scoring system in favor of recognizing levels of quality by gold, silver and bronze ratings. Second, I narrowed the *scope* of the scorecard by 75%. I originally aimed to address four areas of stakeholder concern: (1) clinical trial design and management; (2) dissemination of clinical trial results; (3) marketing practices; and (4) the accessibility of medicines. I am now prioritizing only one: data sharing and disclosure of clinical trial results. Third, I am more robustly asking how risks of capture and gaming of regulatory systems might apply to and be avoided in my rating system.

I also introduced the rating concept into the trade and scholarly literature through op-eds in *Nature Medicine*, *About Pharma and Medical Devices* (in English and Italian), and the Lab's blog. A more in-depth piece titled "From Bad Pharma to Good Pharma: Aligning Market Forces with Good and Trustworthy Practices through Accreditation, Certification, and Rating," is forthcoming in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*. This paper was inspired by the economists at our Center persistently asking why any company would voluntarily improve its ethics and undergo increased scrutiny in a rating system. I catalogued at least five incentives from other industries participating in ratings. The *Nature* op-ed proved most helpful, as some companies who read it directly reached out about the rating pilot. Other outlets such as *Pharmalot* (thanks to Lab Fellow Paul Thacker) and *Pharma Marketing News* wrote about the initiative.

Semi-structured interviews of pharmaceutical executives are underway to map how they perceive their bioethical and reputational challenges. Lab Fellow Maggie McKinley provided helpful suggestions for structuring the interviews which I debuted at the Economist and Biotechnology Industry Association conferences in London and Chicago respectively.

Additionally I am organizing two conferences thanks to the Center. One with Center affiliate Nir Eyal, of Harvard Medical School, is called “Companies’ Global Health Footprint: Could Rating Help?” The second is a roundtable with pharmaceutical executives to discuss my ratings pilot. Ray Gilmarin (Harvard Business School fellow and former CEO of Merck) and Lab Committee member Mal Salter (Harvard Business School) are graciously joining the roundtable discussions. I will also participate in conferences held by the *Law and Society Association*, by Yale University on practical wisdom in management, and by the bioethics division of the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

More generally, I have finalized two book chapters and several articles on bioethical topics and joined workgroups within the larger Harvard community, including the Petrie-Flom Center and Global Health Institute. The first book chapter is on the ethics of personalized medicine for the *Encyclopedia and Bioethics*. The second is on corruption. I also published a critique of irreligious bioethics in *The American Journal of Bioethics*. Lastly, I am finishing a paper on clinical trials in India and drafting a business case with Harvard Business School faculty about data transparency practices in the drug industry.

I am eager for an even more productive next year at the Center, as I will not be teaching a Fordham University MBA class on healthcare, globalization and the market. I am profoundly grateful to the Center for enabling the above mentioned progress and expanding my abilities. Thanks in particular to Lab Committee member Dr. David Korn for his pivotal comments on my rating model, Larry Lessig

and Mark Somos for their willingness to let me run half-baked ideas and questions by them, and to Stephanie, Heidi, Joe, Ari, and Katy whose behind the scenes work helps us all flourish.

Marie Newhouse

I have had a fascinating and productive first year at the Center for Ethics, where I am pursuing a project about think tank ethics and governance. In the last few months, I have conducted interviews with dozens of current and former think tank executives and policy scholars in order to learn more about current think tank policies and the perceived ethical challenges of think tank work. I have also done significant philosophical research in order to develop a conceptual framework for understanding the distinctive ethical challenges that arise in this sphere.

In February, I launched a new blog called “The High Horse” about think tank ethics and governance, and I have been pleased and flattered by the attention that it has drawn to my project. The High Horse has received informal praise and positive feedback from journalists at *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Bloomberg*, *National Review*, and the *Washington Examiner*, and from think tank scholars and executives at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Mercatus Center, the Manhattan Institute, and the Cato Institute.

My peers at the Center have been invaluable sources of information and guidance as I pursue my project. Our qualitative methods working group provided me with encouragement and assistance in developing a semi-structured interview questionnaire for think tank scholars. Journalism Lab Fellows Ken Silverstein and Brooke Williams have enlightened me regularly with their investigative work on think tanks. Our weekly seminars never fail to offer valuable information and perspectives.

I am currently in the process of writing two working papers—one about think tank ethics and one about the evolution of the concept of “institutional corruption.” I will present some of my think tank ethics research at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association. I am looking forward to

continuing my two-year book project on think tank ethics and governance in the coming year.

Kimberly Pernell-Gallagher

My fellowship year at the Lab has been an extremely satisfying and productive experience. The project I proposed for my Lab fellowship is also my dissertation, and the Center's 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. I recently received a Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant from the National Science Foundation for this project.

I spent the majority of my fellowship year collecting and analyzing data related to this project. This process involved identifying, obtaining, and formatting over 3,000 pages of relevant archival documents. I have started to systematically code these documents using the qualitative analysis software Atlas.ti. The data collection process also involved travel to Madrid to interview Spanish bankers and banking regulators and to visit the archives at the Bank of Spain. Thanks to the generous support of the Center, I spent thirteen extremely productive days in Madrid in March. I plan to travel to Canada this summer to visit the archives and conduct interviews there.

I presented preliminary findings from this project multiple times throughout the year, including a presentation at Harvard's Weatherhead Center for International Affairs and a presentation at the Lab seminar in April. My seminar presentation inspired a provocative and useful discussion about the boundaries of the definition of institutional corruption and its operationalization. After this presentation at the Lab seminar, I completed a draft of the first chapter of my dissertation, which traces the

divergent development of the regulation of bank loan loss provisions in all three countries. I also spent this year preparing a different manuscript for academic journal submission. This paper identifies the organizational processes that drove the spread of CDOs, complex financial products that played a central role in the global financial crisis of the late 2000s. The manuscript is currently under review at a peer-reviewed journal.

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. My own work can only be better for it.

Genevieve Pham-Kanter

My second year as a residential Lab Fellow has been productive and rewarding. The Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics has been a supportive and stimulating research environment, and I feel fortunate to have had the opportunity to spend two years there. I have been able to complete preliminary papers on my primary Center-funded project and have developed a number of other collaborative projects on conflicts of interest in medicine and regulatory policy.

The purpose of my primary project is to carefully evaluate evidence for whether the financial interests of Food and Drug Administration (FDA) advisory committee members influence the drug approval process. Primary data collection, with the help of several excellent and tireless research assistants, was completed last year, and my second fellowship year focused on checking data quality, conducting analyses, and writing papers. In the first of a series of papers, I find evidence that members who have exclusive ties to the sponsor are more likely to vote in favor of the sponsor, but 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.

I also published a paper that reviews state physician payment sunshine laws and analyzes the legal and regulatory implications of the federal Physician Payments Sunshine Act. This paper, co-authored with former Harvard Law School student, Igor Gorlach, was published in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*.

Through the Center, I have been able to begin several collaborative projects. These past two years, I was fortunate to have had the opportunity to work closely with Lab Committee member Eric Campbell of Harvard Medical School and Massachusetts General Hospital. He and I co-authored two papers, one published in *JAMA Internal Medicine* on physicians' acquiescence to patient demands for brand-name drugs, and another, published in *Substance Abuse*, on medical residents' self-perceived preparedness to treat substance use disorders. We were also, along with Darren Zinner of Brandeis University, able to field a survey on data sharing ethics in the life sciences. Finally, I was able to begin collaborative work with Lab affiliate Dan Carpenter in the Harvard Department of Government on FDA decisions and pharmaceutical innovation.

My research work has benefited immeasurably from being at the Center, working and talking with other fellows; from the moral, intellectual, and professional support and inspiring leadership of Lawrence Lessig; and from the able and dedicated support of Research Director Mark Somos and the staff, especially Stephanie Dant. I am grateful for the Center's show of support for my work at this early professional stage and hope that this faith in my research will bear fruit in future years.

Marc Rodwin

This year I was a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. The fellowship allowed me to engage with an interdisciplinary community of scholars interested in ethics, institutional corruption, and public policy. It was a pleasure to work with my able and engaging colleagues from a variety of academic disciplines, as well as with journalists and policymakers. The Lab seminars, public lectures, seminars and dinner meetings

with scholars from outside the University enriched my year. The fellowship also provided funding for a research assistant.

My research builds on work that I started when I was a residential Lab Fellow last year. This research examines a variety of ways in which institutional corruption compromises drug policy and public health. I explored options to reform the pharmaceutical industry and drug policy. I found that a core problem is that the United States has created a system that makes government officials, physicians, and the public improperly dependent on pharmaceutical firms to perform crucial activities where their interests diverge from that of the public.

As part of my research, I investigated the causes and consequences of off-label drug use— that is, physicians prescribing drugs for purposes that the FDA has not authorized drug firms to market the drug for. Sometimes off-label drug use makes sense, but studies show that seventy percent of off-label uses lack significant scientific support. We currently lack a system to track off-label prescribing or evaluate its safety and effectiveness. Drug firms have strong incentives to encourage off-label uses and no incentives to discourage the practice. My research proposes new ways to manage the practice and reforms that would eliminate the incentive for drug firms to encourage off-label prescribing. Part of this research will be published in an article titled "Rooting out Institutional Corruption to Manage Inappropriate Off-label Drug Use" in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics* this summer.

I also conducted research showing how institutional corruption affects numerous aspects of pharmaceutical policy from drug development to industry sponsorship of continuing medical education. A summary of the research will be published this summer in an article titled "Five Uneasy Pieces of Pharmaceutical Policy Reform," in the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*.

I also conducted research on articles that will explore other aspects of institutional corruption in the pharmaceutical industry. One article examines

ways to compensate drug injuries. A second examines ways to reform incentives for research & development. A third proposes reform of post-marketing drug safety and pharmacovigilance.

I also organized a group of Lab Fellows to contribute to a symposium issue that I am editing, titled, "Institutional Corruption and Pharmaceutical Policy." The journal will publish fifteen articles on this theme in vol. 41, no. 3, in August 2013. This project was particularly interesting because it brought fellows together to work on a common project. In addition to scholars who have previously written about pharmaceutical issues, the symposium includes scholars who have written about institutional corruption in other areas. Three scholars are using their insights on institutional corruption related to accounting/auditing, behavioral law and ethics, and funding of electoral campaigns to illuminate pharmaceutical policy. In editing the articles, I sought to highlight connections among the contributions of different authors and how their individual work illuminates the key themes in institutional corruption.

I enjoyed participating in the Lab seminar on institutional corruption. The seminar also provided useful feedback on my work in progress, which I presented in April.

Professor Lawrence Lessig's early work on the internet revealed how it can create networks, expand access to knowledge and resources, and promote the common good. As director of the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, he continues this project by creating networks of scholars among the multiple independent schools at Harvard University, schools that typically work in separate spheres. He has also built networks between Harvard and other universities. Under Professor Lessig's leadership, the Lab is seeding innovative research, and I think it is likely to create new intellectual and policy agendas. It has been a pleasure to watch Professor Lessig spur dialogue, prod thinking, and support Lab Fellows, faculty and staff.

Susannah Rose

This past year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics was extremely exciting and busy. With collaborators, including Lab affiliates Dr. Christopher Robertson (University of Arizona) and Dr. Aaron Kesselheim (Harvard Medical School), I completed one project on a randomized trial investigating the impact of different forms of conflicts of disclosure on physicians' perceptions of the methodological rigor of clinical drug trials. This study was published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* and has sparked vibrant debate regarding the role of industry funding for clinical research.

In addition to this research project, I am actively collecting and analyzing data on several other research projects. The first is an exciting primary-data collection project 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 analyzing public industry disclosures regarding conflicts of interest among physicians in the United States, and the third project focuses on assessing new disclosure methods among physicians and researchers at a major academic medical center. My collaborators (Dr. Guy Chisolm, Ms. Cory Schmidt, and Ms. Ruchi Sanghani—who will be a Network Lab Fellow next year) and I are currently analyzing the data and preparing the first manuscript for publication.

In addition to my research funded by the Center, I have actively participated in other Lab activities, including visiting the Lab during the year, presenting my work, and continuing key collaborations with 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. Partly as a result of these collaborations, and specifically with Lab Fellow Jonathan Marks (Penn State), I have

expanded my research into conflicts of interest and the food industry. This collaboration has also resulted in my co-authoring two grant proposals submitted to the National Science Foundation. I have also completed a manuscript based upon my work on non-profit organizations, to be published by the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*. In addition, I presented my Lab-funded research at numerous national conferences during the past year. Most recently, I presented at the Forum on Conflicts of Interest in Baltimore, sponsored by the Association of American Medical Colleges.

I greatly appreciate Larry Lessig's support for my research and professional development. His ideas regarding institutional corruption have fundamentally changed the way that I view my research involving conflicts of interest, and I am grateful for his insights and advice. I also want to thank Ms. Stephanie Dant and Dr. Mark Somos for their continual support of my research and for coordinating all the research and activities centered at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Importantly, I am grateful for the entire Lab community of scholars, researchers, staff, and fellows—if it were not for this vibrant and supportive group, much of the innovation work conducted by these brilliant people would not exist. I happily look forward to another year as a non-residential Lab Fellow and to maintaining my connection to this incredible group of people.

Sunita Sah

My projects during this year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics are on the acceptance of conflicts of interest, the impact of disclosure on group decision-making, and the impact of the types and magnitude of different conflicts of interest. I was also pleased to contribute, "Physicians Under the Influence: Social Psychology and Industry Marketing Strategies," to the special edition of the *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics* on pharmaceutical corruption, and a post for the Lab's blog, "The Burden of Disclosure: What You Do Know Can Hurt You."

I'm delighted to report new collaborations with other researchers also affiliated with the Center. For example, I am working with Alison Hwang and Lisa Lehmann on how industry disclosures on public websites impact patient trust, and with Aaron Kesselheim and Christopher Robertson on a symposium on blinding. I also look forward to contributing to the Lab's television series for PBS organized by Sheila Kaplan later this year. It has been extremely rewarding to be part of the Center and to work with many talented colleagues.

During this year, I also started a new position as Assistant Professor of Business Ethics at Georgetown University. Although this role restricted visiting the Center as often as I would have liked, I was able to attend some of the Lab seminars via Skype. They were, as always, tremendously interesting and inspiring.

I have had a successful year with publications. Recent first-author journal publications include, "The Burden of Disclosure: Increased Compliance with Distrusted Advice," in the *Journal of the Personality and Social Psychology*; "Investigation Momentum: The Relentless Pursuit to Resolve Uncertainty," in *JAMA Internal Medicine*; and "Cheap Talk and Credibility: The Consequences of Confidence and Accuracy on Advisor Credibility and Persuasiveness," in the *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*. A book chapter, "Confessing One's Sins but Still Committing Them: Transparency and the Failure of Disclosure" also appeared in *Essays in Behavioural Public Policy*, published by the Cambridge University Press in 2013.

I have finished the majority of the data collection for my disclosure and group decision project and look forward to presenting these results later this year. I am also investigating professionals' sense of entitlement to accept gifts and questionable compensation. This project focuses on physicians and will be expanded to include business executives and, in collaboration with Lab Fellow Jonathan Marks, other health care professionals. As well as working on how the magnitude of conflicts of interests affects professionals and consumers, I will

be conducting further research this summer and next academic year to determine the situations in which disclosure works well and when it can backfire. The majority of this year has focused on research design and pilot testing as well as data collection. In the upcoming year, I will continue with data collection, analyses, and manuscript writing. I am excited about my ongoing projects and thank the Center once again for its support and collegiality.

Irma Sandoval-Ballesteros

During my first year as a non-residential Lab Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I have focused on analyzing the challenges of outsourced opacity and corruption in new democracies, with a particular focus on Mexico, Russia, and Brazil. I have made significant progress in the development of my theoretical framework and in the collection of empirical data. I have also presented papers related to my research at numerous public venues.

I consider my most important achievement this year to be the development of my theoretical approach with regard to “structural corruption.” My objective is to fully debunk and overturn the focus on bribes and bureaucratic reform that typically characterize studies of corruption in the developing world. In its place, I am building a new framework for understanding accountability failure which, on the one hand, focuses on how the central functions of the state are co-opted and put at the service of particular interests, and on the other hand looks just as much to the private sector as to the public sector as the locus of corrupt practices.

In order to develop my approach I have conducted an extensive literature review of the most important debates and discussions in the area of corruption control in the developing world. I have also examined the various models of institutional capture normally used for understanding regulatory failure in the “developed” world. My initial conclusion and hypothesis is that we can significantly move the discussion forward by having both bodies of literature more seriously engage with the other.

For instance, studies of institutional capture in the “developed” world would greatly benefit from the lessons and methods normally used to study institutional failure in the “undeveloped” world. An example of this, for instance, is Lessig’s use of the “gift economy” concept to understand politics in Washington. The opposite is also the case. Students of the developing world should pay much closer attention to structural imbalances of social power and the influence of money in politics. This is something that is often left aside in typical studies of bribes and bureaucratic reform.

In terms of empirical work, this year has also been productive with regard to mapping the numerous conflicts of interest that prevailed during the so-called “liberalizing” economic reforms in Mexico during the 1990s, and comparing this process with those that have been present in other countries, such as Russia and Brazil, which share similar historical legacies of corrupt institutional practices and present parallel challenges with respect to the outsourcing of public services. The innovation of my research is to re-conceptualize these conflicts of interest, and outright corrupt practices, not as unwanted side-effects which “distorted” the otherwise clean process of economic liberalization, but as a central constitutive element of and political backbone for these reforms. I conclude that “neoliberalism” is not an economic orthodoxy with political consequences, but fundamentally a political project played out through economic policy initiatives.

In addition to tracing the historic process of reform, my research team is now examining how this legacy of politically driven economic policy continues today. In Mexico, Russia and Brazil, for instance, the institutional effects of the arrival of democratic politics has not been reflected in a positive impact on corruption and accountability. On the contrary, the same authoritarian ways of managing government affairs have remained intact. Indeed, in some respects, “structural corruption” has gotten even worse. As a result of the fragmentation of the authoritarian institutions in these countries, an ominous dynamic of “double fraud” (in some ways parallel to Polanyi’s “double movement”) has

emerged: a financial-structural fraud intertwined with a political-electoral fraud. In these new and vulnerable democracies which are infamous for their iron, centralized control over politics, economics, and society, this double fraud is responsible for impeding social and economic progress.

My research team is presently conducting a detailed and comprehensive analysis and comparison of the vote buying operation that was deployed during the past 2012 presidential election in Mexico. In this past electoral process, independent civil society groups at the domestic and international level such as *Alianza Civica*, *Contamos*, *Fundar*, and international electoral observers from the United Nations and the European Union had reported that almost one third of the electors (28 percent of the voters) were forced to vote for the State-party of current President Enrique Peña Nieto. In addition, my research has allowed me to map the sophisticated financial and electoral mechanisms through which political and economic actors alike disregarded the campaign spending limit established by the law and triangulated huge amounts of cash to their political campaigns through financial institutions now publicly related to money-laundering operations such as HSCB, Monex, and Soriana.

This structural corruption of electoral politics is linked in a self-reproducing cycle to the growth of public-private partnerships (PPP) and conflicts of interests. When powerful interests determine politics, they demand retribution after elections. Their increased power then allows them increased political leverage in the next election.

We are therefore collecting information on how PPPs work in Mexico, Russia, Brazil, and other new democracies, as well as in other more established democracies in Europe and the United States. The public security and energy sectors are particularly strategic in this regard.

We are also conducting extensive primary and secondary research on specific cases of conflicts of interest at the highest levels of government in Mexico, Russia and Brazil. In all of these countries, top officials are not required to divest from prob-

lematic investments, nor are they required to make public their assets declaration, though conflicts of interest are frequently revealed through journalistic research, public scandals, and citizen complaints.

The empirical research we have conducted so far has revealed that in general, government institutions and the law itself seem to have a contradictory nature in countries with a legacy of "structural corruption." In Mexico and Russia for example, the governing class has historically given great value to institutional development and autonomy of the state. In that regard these countries have inherited institutions which are "strong" technically speaking, in so far as they are powerful, relatively autonomous, and generally respected by society. Historically, however, the principal function of these institutions has not been to resolve social problems, nor work in the public interest. To the contrary, their role has been to favor particular interest groups, guarantee political stability, and promote the political careers of top bureaucrats, who today, thanks to the revolving door syndrome, become in growing numbers top entrepreneurs or CEOs of privatized firms.

In terms of public presentations, I have presented my initial findings in the following important forums: "Bribes Without Borders: The Challenge of Fighting Corruption in the Global Context" at the International Law Review Symposium at American University; "Corruption in Mexico," for the television broadcast "Inside Story Americas" by Al Jazeera; "Mexico's Future: In Search of a New Democratic Equilibrium" at a symposium at American University's Center for Latin American & Latino Studies; at a conference on "Latin America and the Global South" in the Department of History at Pomona College; "Transparency and the Struggle for Accountability in Mexico" at the National Endowment for Democracy and the International Forum for Democratic Studies in Washington, D.C.; and "Outsourcing Opacity: New Challenges to Public Accountability in Latin America" at the XXXI International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association in Washington, DC.

During the following academic year, I plan to complete the research outlined above, and complement it with a focus on the actors systematically excluded by those institutions and reforms which facilitate and build on the endemic “double fraud” mentioned above: society and social movements. My initial hypothesis is that the most effective strategies to confront “structural corruption” in new democracies, as opposed to simple bureaucratic corruption, are those which are firmly grounded in the participation of society. Non-profit organizations, social movements, investigative journalists, and normal citizens are often much more aware of and capable of documenting abuses than bureaucratic agencies.

Lisa Shu

I research the cognitive architecture of morality through examining the antecedents and consequences of ethical decision-making. I investigate basic phenomena in the laboratory and their implications in organizations through testing strategies and policies that can curtail individual dishonesty and creating environments and organizations that foster ethical behavior.

Funding from the Center has enabled me to engage in an ongoing collaboration with a multinational firm with over 50,000 employees, wherein I am investigating the impact of framing on subsequent behaviors of moral relevance—e.g. expense report claims, sick days requests, and inventory shrinkage. Framing and decision making are intimately intertwined. Through examining the ways in which decision frames magnify or diminish pre-existing judgment biases, I had the opportunity to apply a behavioral ethics approach to tackle institutional corruption from an empirical standpoint. I hope the findings will help us better understand the link between individual decision-making and institutional corruption, and how interventions working on the individual level interact with forces external to the individual.

During my fellowship year, my collaborators and I published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* a demonstration that even the simplest

of changes can improve honesty—for example, by having people give their signature before they fill out a form, rather than after. Partnering with an automobile insurance company, we distributed two different forms to their customer base. Half the customers received a form where their signature was required at the beginning, and the other half received a form where their signature was required at the end. The forms were identical in all other aspects. We discovered that customers who signed at the top of the form revealed more usage of their cars (through reporting higher mileage) compared to customers who signed at the end. Thus, the simple change in signature location encouraged more truthful reporting in this insurance context.

This work has spurred organizations and governments to reconsider the design of their most important forms. The power of such an intervention is precisely due to its minimal nature. It does not impose on individual freedom, nor does it require new legislation, and the costs of implementation are immaterial compared to the magnitude of impact. These findings have already compelled several governments to consider changes to their actual tax collection systems. In the past year, I have had the privilege of advising tax officials on ways to implement minimal interventions that can profoundly impact behaviors of ethical and economic significance.

My conversations with numerous faculty and fellows affiliated with the Center have helped to both broaden and deepen the ways I think and talk about my work. I look forward to continuing these conversations by collaborating with and contributing to the community of minds at the Center.

Ken Silverstein

I spent the first few months of my fellowship trying to figure out how to tackle the gigantic issue of institutional corruption at think tanks, and narrow the topic down into manageable, distinct categories. Since then, I have focused on three (still broad) issues: think tank donor programs, which reward major funders with a variety of perks; the role of lobbyists at think tanks; and the way in which

corporations and other donors increasingly use think tanks to supplement the advocacy they have traditionally carried out through campaign contributions and retaining PR and lobby shops.

A number of magazine stories are currently in the works. Two have already been published. The first, “Chuck Hagel’s Think Tank, Its Donors, and Intellectual Independence,” was co-authored with Lab Fellow Brooke Williams (with whom I’ve closely collaborated) and published in the *New Republic*. It focused on the Atlantic Council, its major donors, and the specific sort of benefits they have received from the think tank in exchange for their money.

The primary example looked at how the Council hosted a conference, paid for by oil giant Chevron-Texaco and the government of Kazakhstan, which lauded crooked Kazakh dictator Nursultan Nazarbayev, who has declared himself president-for-life. The country’s rubber-stamp parliament has granted him the permanent right “to address the people of Kazakhstan at any time” and to approve all “initiatives on the country’s development.” Yet the Atlantic Council conference featured a cast of pro-Nazarbayev speakers, including keynoter Kenneth Derr, who was CEO of Chevron when it forged a partnership with Kazakhstan in the 1980s, and is now the country’s Honorary Consul in San Francisco. According to a conference transcript, Derr said, “Under President Nazarbayev’s extraordinary leadership, Kazakhstan is now independent, secure and extremely prosperous.”

The second story, also published in the *New Republic*, was entitled “The Great Think Tank Bubble.” It looked at salary inflation at think tanks and how that has intersected with think tank fundraising. As the piece argued, there are plenty of well-respected scholars at prominent Beltway think tanks, but supporting large organizations (in the case of the Brookings Institution, with a \$410 million annual budget) requires the same ceaseless fundraising that politicians conduct when running for reelection—and the same sort of ignoble temptations. “Think tanks are competing with consulting firms, law firms, Super PACs, lobbyists and advo-

cacy groups,” I quoted James McGann, director of the Think Tanks and Civil Societies Program at the University of Pennsylvania, as saying. “That puts pressure on think tanks to be more responsive to donors.”

In April I discussed my research with other fellows at the Center. In May, I gave a presentation about my work at the Annual Meeting of the Law and Society Association in Boston. I have a second year as a fellow and during that time I plan to publish additional works of journalism and complete my monograph for the Lab. I’m also working with Brooke and Lab Fellow Marie Newhouse, who is also researching think tanks, on solutions (or at least mechanisms for restraint) to the problem of institutional corruption at think tanks. There’s a long way to go but I am confident our collective work on think tanks will be groundbreaking and have impact.

J.H. Snider

My work focuses on open government, government ethics, and democratic reform. During the fall I wrote a *Huffington Post* op-ed evaluating the first year of the White House’s new “We the People” petition website, which is one of the Obama Administration’s featured open government initiatives. This led NPR’s *All Things Considered*, which has the largest news audience of any broadcast channel in the U.S., to interview me about the strengths and weaknesses of the new website.

During the fall I served as Maplight’s partner for Maryland, providing campaign contribution and related information for Maryland’s seven referendums. Maplight’s President and co-Founder, Daniel Newman, is also a fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. This experience provided me with insight on some of the failures of Maryland’s open government laws, and I testified to that effect at various Maryland General Assembly hearings during both the fall and spring.

After the November 2012 presidential election, I wrote a series of op-eds in *The Hill* and *Huffington Post* on presidential inaugural pork. I explained why the handling of inaugural ticket sales by both

Congress and the President was both misleading and a misuse of public resources for political purposes.

In September, *The Baltimore Sun* ran an op-ed of mine on the arbitrary enforcement of the ambiguous majority clauses in Maryland's Constitution. During the previous two years, I had written a half dozen related op-eds in *The Washington Post*, *Washington Examiner*, and *The Baltimore Sun*. This one focused on the majority rule that would determine the outcome of the upcoming gambling referendum in November—by far the most expensive political campaign of any kind in Maryland history. When the referendum lost, the losing party filed a lawsuit on the constitutional meaning of the relevant majority clause in Maryland's Constitution. Maryland's Office of the Attorney General and leading lawyers in Maryland filed hundreds of pages of briefs in the case. Suddenly, one of the most obscure issues in constitutional law and democratic reform—the proper majority denominator for constitutional amendments—became front page news throughout the state.

In January, *The Baltimore Sun* published an op-ed of mine critiquing the vague laws in Maryland concerning misuse of public resources for political purposes and the potential this creates for arbitrary enforcement and political abuse. I argued that such vague laws should either not be enforced or rewritten to reduce judicial and state prosecutorial discretion.

During the year, I used Harvard's incredible library resources, including its excellent reference librarians, to become a leading expert on the history of ambiguous majority clauses. The research is part of an extensive case study I'm writing on the 150-year history of the clause in Maryland's Constitution concerning the convening of a state constitutional convention. The case study will illustrate how incumbents, in the face of popular opposition, can successfully subvert democratic reforms they strongly oppose.

My primary work for the Center focused on think tank corruption, and in particular on how to conceptualize plagiarism and its meaning in contemporary Washington, D.C. think tanks. I presented these findings at the World Conference on Research Integrity in early May. I argue that think tanks are neither fish nor fowl. They may pretend to follow academic research norms but in fact have strong incentives not to. Plagiarism is such an ill-defined concept in the think tank world that it is hard to condemn practices that would be unacceptable in an academic setting. I argue for a new approach to combating think tank plagiarism, one that focuses on strengthening the legal and technological foundations for social sanctions against it. I also wrote a general op-ed on think tank corruption for *Politico*, endorsing the clichéd view of think tanks as embodying advocacy rather than academic research norms.

Throughout the year, I also pursued my long-term project on next generation open government based on standardized metadata for democratic accountability. In late April, this culminated in a three minute web-based video, submitted to a contest on democratic reform, that I hope will popularize these ideas through viral distribution. It will be months before I know whether this effort at popularization was successful.

Paul Thacker

I started off the fellowship year slightly ahead of schedule. My plan is to interview 100 Congressional staffers and write a book about their experiences working in this powerful, yet secretive institution. Before beginning the fellowship, I had already interviewed several dozen people. The problem was: how to get more interviews?

Congress is incredibly secretive. For example, during my project, the congressional reporter for NPR resigned because she felt she was not truly reporting because nobody would talk to her. She felt that she was just restating talking points.

To solve this problem, I started sending email blasts to hundreds of my contacts to generate leads. It

certainly helped that I was able to say that I was doing a project for Harvard and that I was not just some random guy writing a book.

As I continued gathering interview subjects, the Center supported several trips I took to interview former staffers. These interviews were extremely important because staff who have left Washington are much more open about their experiences, and personal interviews are always much better than talking with someone over the phone.

I also got support from the Center to launch a website about my project. It is serving as a holding place for me to mull my thoughts over what people are telling me and to help me flood Google with blog posts that will eventually drive traffic to my book.

Finally, I could not have done this project without the Center paying to transcribe my interviews. I now have over 100 people who have agreed to sit down and talk with me. This is close to 200 hours of recorded interviews, meaning a couple thousands pages of transcripts. I have also collected hundreds of documents that I found while digging through the Senate and House archives. Nine months into my project, I am well on my way to getting this book completed.

My hope is that this book will give people a better understanding of the legislative branch by seeing the place through the eyes of the people who work there. Congress currently has some of the lowest ratings of just about any topic or institution in this country, including, according to one poll, roaches and the Canadian band Nickelback. I don't necessarily have a problem with that. I would just like to direct people's anger in a positive direction, helping them to understand the problems the institution faces and possible solutions, based on the opinions of the people who understand it better than anyone else.

Daniel Weeks

I was privileged to spend my fellowship year researching the relationship between poverty and democracy in the United States. Building on past experience and motivated by a desire to understand

and communicate the human consequences of institutional corruption and political inequality, I undertook qualitative and quantitative research into the state of poverty and political participation in America, and investigated a range of democratic process reforms aimed at equalizing political voice and representation. A book manuscript and various shorter publications based on the research are currently in the works.

The qualitative research component of the fellowship consisted of dozens of interviews and participant observations with a diverse array of Americans across the country living below or near the poverty line. In order to gain a more personal understanding of the conditions under which these citizens live, I traveled through nearly thirty states by Greyhound bus over the course of five weeks, observing a poverty-line budget of \$16 per day. The recorded interviews and countless informal conversations regarding the life experiences of low-income Americans, and the formal and informal barriers they face to meaningful political participation, provided a rich context and body of evidence for understanding and explaining the institutionalized nature of poverty and political inequality in the U.S. Interview subjects represented a broad cross-section of working poor, disabled, minority, immigrant, homeless, and disenfranchised populations ranging in age from eighteen to seventy years.

The quantitative research component involved a detailed review of the existing social science literature on American poverty and socio-economic inequality; political participation and representation; elite/interest group mobilization; and democratic process reforms. The literature review was followed by original analysis of poverty, participatory, and representational trends in public opinion/survey data, political finance and lobbying disclosures, and government data collections from the Census Bureau, Department of Justice, Department of Housing and Urban Development, and other sources. A final round of quantitative research consisted of case study analysis of the political economy of healthcare, education, and housing

from the perspective of low-income citizens who are presently underserved in these spheres. Case study research, including analysis of the policymaking process and special interest mobilization, was supported by a talented undergraduate Research Assistant, Elvira Sihvola, who studies the social sciences at Harvard College.

Major fellowship outputs included a Working Paper, “Democracy in Poverty: A View from Below” for the Lab’s series; three draft chapters of my book manuscript and three more chapters in progress as of May; a Lab seminar presentation in February; a presentation at the Law and Society Association Annual Meeting in Boston; articles from the “field” in *Sojourners* and the Lab’s blog; and other media publications in the works. In addition, the large body of qualitative and quantitative research includes interview transcriptions and analysis, field research reports and multimedia collections, custom datasets and data analysis/graphs, and detailed chapter notes and outlines. While the manuscript is still in progress, contacts have been made with potential publishers and allied organizations, and a book proposal is presently being considered by prospective agents. I have secured additional funding from the Carsey Institute at the University of New Hampshire (UNH) to continue work on the manuscript into the fall of 2013 and to produce a UNH monograph based on the final work.

As a campaign finance reformer long engrossed in the day-to-day affairs of political advocacy, public communications, and non-profit management, I am deeply grateful for the opportunity afforded by the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics to step back from activism for a year and investigate the deeper issues underlying my work. I am particularly grateful to the Center staff, director, and community of fellows for providing invaluable input and assistance—as well as daily doses of inspiration from their respective projects on the email list and blog—during the course of my fellowship year. I look forward to continued collaboration in the years ahead.

Brooke Williams

Companies and foreign governments are paying think tanks to promote their interests before policymakers and the public under the guise of charity and independent research. Once considered universities without students, many think tanks now behave instead like lobbying firms—but without the stigma or the public disclosure requirements. They quietly collect money from companies and foreign governments in exchange for policy papers, media appearances, and meetings with lawmakers, among other things, leaving the public in the dark about the private interests behind their seemingly independent research.

Thanks to this fellowship, I am cracking open this secretive system. There are some 1,800 think tanks in this country, and I have made significant progress conducting interviews and collecting data to shed light on their donors, conflicts of interest, and impacts to the public. It is a gigantic task and would be next to impossible without the support of the Lab.

A significant portion of my project is dedicated to collecting and linking data, which I will make available and searchable online in the coming year. Thanks to the help of Lab Coordinator Heidi Carrell, I am in the process of finding a student developer to work with me this summer to build a website for this project with open-source tools. But publishing data alone is unlikely to make a difference, so I’ve spent equal time this year conducting interviews and digging into anecdotal evidence of this institutional corruption to tell narrative stories and show why we should care.

This year I created a database to link and analyze donations to think tanks, congressional testimonies, lobbying disclosures, and policy papers, among other things. For donations to think tanks, I have mined thousands of pages of tax filings for 100 corporate foundations, as well as for pass-through groups such as Donor’s Trust. To find foreign government donors, I have interviewed insiders and mined hundreds of records at the Foreign Agents Registration Unit. I imported think tank

data and linked them to lobbying disclosure data, revealing dozens of think tankers who are simultaneously registered to advocate for private interests. In some cases, as Lab Fellow and journalist Ken Silverstein and I wrote in an article for the *New Republic*, the work scholars do for think tanks is directly related to or could benefit their corporate lobbying clients.

In November, I conducted a Lab seminar and received valuable feedback from my colleagues there, which helped me to more precisely shape the scope of my project. In March, with the help of Research Director Mark Somos, I published a Working Paper under the Lab's SSRN imprint. I was grateful to have Lab Fellow and journalist Gregg Fields to provide an insightful, helpful review before publication. I have also been collaborating extensively with Lab Fellow Ken Silverstein. After Chuck Hagel's nomination as defense secretary, we published an article examining how the think tank he chaired claimed to be intellectually independent but was dependent on money from donors, such as Kazakhstan, that stood to benefit from its work. We also wrote an article about donor programs describing how think tanks sell influence.

I am presenting initial findings at the Law & Society Association's Annual Meeting in Boston. I've also found the Lab's blog to be a great place to share my research and reporting with the public. With the help of Professor Lessig and Lab Coordinator Heidi Carrell, I have sent letters to think tanks asking them to voluntarily disclose any corporate and foreign government donors. I published one blog item on this effort and will be writing more as responses come in.

The Lab has enabled me to organize get-togethers for fellows based in Washington, D.C. to discuss our projects. I have also been thrilled to participate in many of the weekly Lab seminars via Skype, travel to Cambridge for key events, seminars and lectures, and otherwise be a part of this amazing community as we document, examine, and propose solutions to institutional corruption.

APPENDIX I: 2012-13 REPORTS OF THE NETWORK FELLOWS**Reports of the Edmond J. Safra Network Fellows in Ethics 2012-13**

Elinor Amit, Pavel Atanasov, Rifat Azam, Michael Blanding, Eli Bukspan, Jennifer Bussell, Elizabeth Doty, Mirko Draca, Alexander Funcke, Roman Galperin, Yehonatan Givati, Nancy Lubin, Juan Pablo Marín Díaz, Michael Morisy, Mahdi Naamneh, Daniel Newman, Clayton Peoples, Sebastián Pérez Saaibi, Fabio Polverino, Mildred Schwartz, Rebecca Shapiro, Heather White, Matthews Winters, Jay Youngdahl

Elinor Amit and Alek Chakroff

Spending the past year as a Non-Residential Fellow at the Center has been a remarkable privilege. Our goal this year was to begin the research of our Lab proposal, which focuses on the effect of representational format on the justification of institutional corruption. 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 (vs. visually).

We found initial support for this hypothesis in three experiments we conducted. Experiment 1 showed that visual thinkers tend to have a higher score in a system-justification scale than verbal thinkers (even after controlling for variables such as education and age). Using an experimental paradigm, Experiment 2 showed that relative to the visual representation of information, verbal representation of information facilitates seeking diagnostic information about acute political issues, a behavior that is a precondition to questioning the legitimacy of a corrupted system. We were invited to present these preliminary results in a Lab panel at this year's Law and Society Association Annual Meeting in Boston.

The Center was a great resource for developing our understanding of the outstanding issues that are associated with the problem of institutional corruption. The weekly seminars were remarkably intel-

lectually stimulating and enabled us to learn about the many faces of institutional corruption. We especially liked the interdisciplinary approach of the Center, which was insightful. The discussions between the fellows during the seminar meetings and in informal discussions outside the seminar meetings were especially helpful and provided an intellectual and social anchor to a year otherwise devoted to the solitary work of conducting research. The Center listserv was another useful venue for exchanging ideas and learning about current incidents of institutional corruption, as well as for informative and critical discussions on a daily basis. Finally, we owe special thanks to Mark Somos, who helped us develop our questions and experimental stimuli.

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.

Pavel Atanasov

In the months after graduating from my PhD program in Psychology in June 2012, my work took a turn away from ethics and institutional corruption and into the issues of geo-political forecasting. This turn has limited my involvement with projects related to the Center. However, I followed the email exchanges and read a few of the manuscripts from the weekly Lab seminars. These provided me with an array of testable psychological hypotheses regarding the relationship between pharmaceutical manufacturers, physicians, and patients.

In terms of related projects, I recently submitted a manuscript on mammography recommendations by obstetricians and gynecologists to the *Journal of Healthcare Quality*. The study examines the links

between personal practices and patient recommendations and confirms that physicians generally practice what they preach: physicians who undergo mammograms more often are also more likely to recommend them to younger women. However, there are differences in recommended rates of screening: physicians are twice as likely to recommend annual mammography screening as they are to practice the procedure. The differences cannot be explained by defensive medicine practices. More than 90% of physicians also continue to recommend breast self-examination, which does not have a proven effect on cancer survival or general mortality. These results suggest that physicians sometimes overprescribe procedures in the absence of any incentives from big pharma, hospitals, or other vested interests; perhaps sometimes it is just difficult to explain to a patient that a procedure is useless and should not be performed.

Thank you for the honor of selecting me for the Network Fellowship. I hope that my work will soon become more relevant to the goals of the Center. I will follow-up with any manuscripts of relevance to the study of institutional corruption that I produce in the future.

Rifat Azam

During my Network Fellowship I examined institutional corruption in tax practice and reform in Israel. In the first pillar of my project, I examined the process and the details of negotiating and signing tax deals to settle tax disputes. It seems that the data I gather concerning these deals and tax litigation support our hypothesis that the tax cut in deals is higher than the tax cut in litigation. It also seems that the tax cut rate is higher as the amounts in dispute increase. This means that a big advantage is given to big firms in tax deals. In the second pillar of my project, I examined tax reforms. I have focused on the work of the Sheshinski Committee that examined the tax policy on oil and gas resources in Israel. In this case, the influence of the media and the politicians intensely served capital and private firms' interests. Recent developments on the issue following the appointment of a new minister of finance and minister of energy revealed the potential danger of corruption in the matter.

During the year, I conducted interviews with the relevant personnel but a lot of work needs to be completed before conclusions can be drawn.

The Center and the fellowship contributed to my understanding of institutional corruption and to the performance of my research and I am so grateful for that. My exposure to the research of other fellows contributed a lot to my own research, and I found the online interaction with the Center community very useful.

Eli Bukspan During the past year I concentrated, professionally and academically, on several topics that are both directly and indirectly linked to the main themes of the Lab at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics.

On the professional side, together with Professor Kasher, the leading subject matter expert in Israel, I drafted an ethical code for the largest Israeli health insurer and provider (which is among the largest globally). This work was informed by many discussions held among the fellows on topics involving the pharmaceutical industry, which also significantly contributed to my research and helped to crystalize my work product.

On the academic side, I completed a research paper entitled "Ethics in the Discipline of Financial Intermediaries." Here, similarly, the network discussion and related material shared among the fellows on the topic of financial industries contributed significantly.

During the past year, two of my articles were accepted for publication: "Extreme Makeover-Contract Edition: A New Home for Human Rights and Social Responsibility (Lessons from Israel)" *Intercultural Human Rights Law Review* (2012); and "Trust and the Triangle Expectation Model in Twenty-First Century Contract Law" in the *DePaul Business & Commercial Law Journal* (forthcoming 2013).

Currently, I am undertaking research that will offer a new legal/philosophical model, which will assert that human rights codified in state constitutions apply not only to government agencies, but also to corporate entities and their agents.

In addition, I have focused on researching the relationship between corporate governance issues and directors' ethics. In particular, this research concentrated on the structure and nature of activities that make corporations susceptible to ethical failure on a large scale, and even catastrophic failure at the local and global levels. My research follows, *inter alia*, Professor Lessig's definition of institutional corruption by aiming to prevent improper dependencies by directors and enhance the effectiveness of these fiduciaries, and in turn, boost the public's trust. This research project adds a necessary complimentary layer to the extensive literature, which discusses the appropriate corporate governance infrastructure and approach.

I benefited tremendously from my association with the Center and its Network Fellowship program. In particular, I enjoyed the lively and instructive discussion among the fellows on the topics of corruption and ethics, which are of particular interest to me. I look forward to continuing my association with the Center and the fellows even beyond this year, and I hope that I will also have the opportunity to visit.

Jennifer Bussell

In my research this year as a Network Fellow, I continued work on a project to understand the nature and causes of variation in corruption within India. During the year, the primary elements of this project included the revision of a typology of corruption, the completion of politician, bureaucrat, and citizen surveys in two additional Indian states, and the writing of three working papers on the basis of this data.

I have modified the corruption typology developed last year to focus on the role of individuals and groups who offer bribes to government officials and their intermediaries. This typology was used to structure research questions in my Indian surveys, the results of which suggest that the typology, which differentiates among three main forms of corruption, is quite promising for helping to distinguish among different kinds of corrupt behavior and their motivations.

Over the year I also completed an initial survey of politicians, bureaucrats, and citizens in Bihar, India, which was initiated in the 2011-12 academic year, and expanded the survey to include two additional states, Jharkhand and Uttar Pradesh. All three states are in the Hindi-speaking region of northern India. The politician portion of this project represents, to my knowledge, the first ever effort to randomly sample and survey politicians at all five levels of elected office in Indian government, from village councils to the national parliament. This resulted in an overall sample of 2,250 politicians, including 200 politicians in the state and national assemblies.

Based on the results of these surveys, I have written three working papers: one focusing on the organization of corruption and the distribution of individual bribes among multiple actors; a second on the strategies citizens use to access state resources outside the official process; and a third on the motivations for politicians to provide constituency service to citizens. I presented this work in multiple forums over the year, including the McGill University Development seminar, the Yale Program on Democracy workshop, and the Midwest Political Science Association annual conference. I am also scheduled to present at the upcoming conference "Westminster Model of Democracy in Crisis? Comparative Perspectives on Origins, Development and Responses" at Harvard University.

Each of these activities has benefited from my continued association with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. It was wonderful to meet many of the new fellows at the beginning of the year in Cambridge and to see those individuals who have continued with the program. In addition, the vibrancy of the Center's email list has been a continual source of inspiration throughout the year—there are so many diverse and exciting projects being conducted by the fellows of the Center, and this work serves to motivate my own research as a part of the community. The continued inclusion of a range of researchers doing work on related but diverse topics, as well as the addition of many more journalists to the community, has been invaluable to my continued progress on this project.

Elizabeth Doty

Joining the Center community this past year as a Network Fellow has been an accelerant, an encouragement, and a prism for sharpening my thinking. I am particularly indebted to Malcolm Salter, Francesca Gino, Maryam Kouchaki, Donald Light, Abigail Brown, William English, and Jay Youngdahl for their valuable questions and guidance. One of the high points of 2012 was attending the Lab's Bonanza and discovering that there were others working on the same mission. Though the opportunities to interact have been limited, I have gained immensely from these conversations.

For the past seven years, I have been exploring questions related to "commitment drift" in business. My aim has been to find a framework for exploring institutional integrity that sparks interest among business people, without sidestepping questions of institutional corruption. In 2005 when I first began interviewing professionals about pressure to compromise at work, I found many people interested in the personal dimensions of integrity and values in business. Now, thanks to the Lab's pioneering work (and, unfortunately, the despair of many people over systemic dysfunction in Congress), I find many more people interested in the institutional aspects of the compromises my participants described.

Based on thoughtful feedback from Mark Somos, I decided to focus my efforts this year on developing and piloting a "Commitment Drift Scorecard" and publishing an article entitled, "How does a Business Keep a Promise?" Thanks to a new collaborative partnership with Maryam Kouchaki and Francesca Gino, we have advanced on both fronts, and even begun work on a project proposed and approved for 2013-14: a Promise-Keeping Practices Employee Survey.

Looking back, there have been three highlights this year. First, thanks to Francesca Gino's generosity in obtaining two research assistants and Maryam Kouchaki's leadership as they conducted a literature review, we have made significant progress in mapping "commitment drift" to related constructs

such as institutional corruption, occupational crime, organizational trust, and breach of psychological contract. As we are now defining it, commitment drift overlaps with institutional corruption, but also includes breakdowns that we would not ordinarily consider morally wrong. This means that assessing commitment drift can help a business meet its own interests, while making it easier to broach the topic of institutional corruption.

Second, I have made significant progress on the article, and should be ready to submit a draft for editorial review by a mainstream business publication within the next two to three weeks. As I have gotten feedback on the draft, I have found that the concept of a "promise-keeping organization" seems to connect with business leaders' values on accountability and responsibility – yet opens the door to more candid conversations about the challenges in practice, including the challenges of bounded ethicality, acculturation, complexity, coordination, and change. Business leaders who understand the concept seem to feel both more empowered and curious to learn more.

Finally, I have just received confirmation that a Fortune 500 company will pilot our "Promise-Keeping Capability Assessment." This assessment, which replaces the originally-envisioned Commitment Drift Scorecard, will use leadership surveys, minutes of CEO staff meetings, a review of company measures, and several focus groups to create a snapshot of the company's promises to employees, customers, investors, and society—and its ability to keep them. The idea is that the measures we include in the assessment can be incorporated into the company's ongoing measures and scorecards. In addition, as part of this pilot, we have begun a research partnership with a nationally recognized employee survey firm, and completed a draft of a Promise-Keeping Practices Employee Survey. During 2013-14, Maryam, Francesca, and I plan to test this Capability Assessment and Employee Survey with other companies and publish our findings in an academic journal and mainstream business publication.

Mirko Draca

In the past year I have continued my work on the empirical analysis of the U.S. Federal Lobbying industry, which has involved detailed database construction. The main piece of final output produced this year was the publication of the paper “Revolving Door Lobbyists” in the *American Economic Review* (December 2012). My work on this paper in its later stages was partially supported in my earlier Lab Fellowship. The paper received wide media coverage and has already received 25 unique citations.

In other work, I have continued to build a linked database of lobbyists, Congressional Staffers, and political outcomes. A number of projects are in progress at different stages, including:

“Is There Power Behind the Throne?”—a project using comprehensive Congressional personnel data to track the influence of individual senior Staffers on outcomes at the level of Congressperson. For example, this study measures the impact of individual Staffers on legislative productivity and effectiveness. This is important for measuring the ‘political capital’ possessed by Staffers that is often transferred into the private sector via the revolving door.

“Is the Revolving Door Spinning Faster?”—a project, again using comprehensive personnel data, to analyze how increases in lobbying spending have affected Congressional staff turnover, specifically involving exits from political employment into lobbying. Recent turnover trends show evidence of potential reporting evasion, whereby lobbyists are conducting paid lobbying work but not declaring the revenues. That is, lobbyists have begun to deregister as official lobbyists (as defined by the 1995 Lobbying Disclosure Act) in response to new regulations introduced as part of the Honest Leadership and Open Government (HLOGA) act in 2007 and 2008. In other work, my research team and I have been experimenting with computational methods from natural language processing to analyze text and language data on speeches and debates in the Congress across all policy issues.

Specifically, we have been using the “Capital Words” database of Congressional debate, assembled by the Sunlight Foundation.

The support of the Center has been invaluable in providing me with access to a network of scholars on U.S. institutional corruption. In particular, it has been extremely useful to have access to the insights of the journalists and fellows on the Center’s roll call. As a U.K.-based researcher, this provides institutional knowledge, feedback, and ideas that I could not obtain otherwise.

Alexander Funcke

As a Network Fellow at the Center during the last academic year I have worked towards formally describing aspects of cultural change in relation to corruption— and strategies to stifle corruption informed by these ideas. Prior to my fellowship with the Center I considered culture—conventions and norms—of systemic petty corruption. At the Center I was able to familiarize myself with the related yet very distinct field of institutional corruption. This has allowed me to explore analogue ideas. The cultural perspective limits the study of corruption types to those that hinge on behavioral conventions and norms. These types of contexts are, however, not uncommon for both systemic petty corruption and institutional corruption. There is an extensive game theory literature on how cultural coordinations and, thereby, conventions become established. During the last year I have instead asked under what conditions an existing coordination can be made to change or will naturally change. At the core of the dynamic is belief formation; henceforth, the problem transforms into one of epistemic game theory. In my descriptive effort I have studied how assumptions about the process affect the outcome at the population level. One such process involves beliefs formed from prejudice; another involves cognitive bias. Apart from the descriptive work, I have looked at ways for a principal to instill a behavioral convention among agents playing against each other. One idea I explored shows that it is at least theoretically possible to reduce the epistemically complicated problem of norm change. I do this using a system

of fines and rewards that makes obsolete the empathic ability of the players. This is achieved by making their actions' payoffs independent of the choice of the others.

A second problem for any principal who wants to instill a re-coordination by changing legislation occurs if a discrepancy between legislation and enforcement is too wide; or, in other words, if the meta-convention of respecting legislation is weak, any updates of legislation are less likely to affect the state of affairs.

Finally, I look at corrupt institutions and how they are not only problematic in themselves, but as conventions which tend to affect other institutions, making it harder to fix institutional corruption as a whole.

Roman Galperin

This year I have made great progress with my study of the U.S. tax preparation industry. For much of the American population, for-profit tax preparation firms implement fiscal policy in the context of conflicting incentives. Therefore, the study is important not only to those interested in the effects of tax policy, but also to those interested in the topic that is central to much of the research at the Lab—how individuals and organizations handle persistent conflicts of interest.

I collected and analyzed qualitative and experimental data on how individual workers in tax services firms—tax preparers—make routine decisions in their work. I found that the decisions are guided, in a non-trivial way, by the preparers' perceptions of how important their routine work is for the economic and social well-being of their clients. Far from being clerical workers in for-profit service firms, tax preparers embrace the complexity of their role as professionals and as agents of social control embedded in a business setting. This phase of the study resulted in a working paper that I presented at MIT, Stanford, Cornell, NYU, and Johns Hopkins University, as well as at several academic conferences.

Participating in the Lab's online discussions helped me launch the second phase of the tax preparation industry study, which involved requesting, negotiating, and receiving from the IRS a dataset with a unique level of detail on the industry. The new data will allow me to generalize the findings about the behavior of individual workers in the industry to the level of markets and states, connecting the behavioral mechanisms with the policy outcomes.

While most of the discussions at the Lab focused on substantive issues of institutional corruption, the discussions on the practical aspects of designing studies and negotiating access to data were particularly instrumental for me. The immense collective experience and expertise of other fellows in negotiating data access, and their diversity of disciplinary backgrounds helped me in this difficult process. My own successful experience with negotiating access to an important dataset then allowed me to contribute practical advice to the discussion board for other fellows at the Lab who face similar challenges.

Nancy Lubin

Since the early 1970s, much of my professional work—as an academic, Congressional staffer, and head of a research and consulting company on the former USSR—has focused on 'corruption' in formerly Soviet Central Asia, and, for the past 20 years, on the impact of U.S. and international assistance in the region. Over this time, I have consistently found that while international assistance is designed to address deep-seated societal ills in these countries, far too often it has inadvertently exacerbated the corrupt and authoritarian systems it intended to reform.

My previous books and articles have highlighted two points: First, that well-designed and well-implemented programs can be successful even in deeply corrupt and authoritarian states. But second, that far too many assistance programs in Central Asia fail, not only because of the difficulties of working in this part of the world—a region affected by widespread bribery and corruption—but because of institutional factors and structural deficiencies that pervade policy-making and foreign assistance communities in the United States.

Using Central Asia as a case study, I spent my year as a Network Fellow working to complete a book manuscript on institutional corruption in the foreign aid community. Drawing on decades of on-the-ground research, interviews, public opinion surveys, and my participation in multiple assistance projects and evaluations, the book discusses how corruption works in this part of the world; where foreign assistance has worked and where it may have backfired; and recommendations—for lawmakers, policymakers, practitioners, and the general public—to address the way foreign assistance is conceptualized, designed, and administered.

I have received numerous grants and fellowships in support of this book over the past several years, for which I am deeply grateful. I also greatly appreciate my affiliation with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics as I complete the final stages of the book, given it is one of only a small handful of institutions that so uniquely focuses on systemic corruption and solutions. I was delighted to be invited to present a summary of my project at the beginning of the academic year; it triggered an interesting interchange with other fellows and experts with different approaches to problems of this kind. The Lab likewise funded some of the research assistance needed to support the project. My only regret is that, as a Network Fellow, there was limited opportunity to spend more time at the Center and draw more informally on the expertise of others involved in these issues. This is understandable, as the Network Fellows are spread far and wide, but I hope there will be a way to bring the various fellows together in the future, as the network of those involved in this kind of important research continues to deepen and grow.

**Juan Pablo Marín Díaz and
Sebastián Pérez Saaihi**

Aentropico is a datadriven startup whose main objective is to democratize sophisticated predictive analytics tools by making them accessible to solve problems in the real world. As part of our mission, we participated in the “Systems to Monitor Institutional Corruption” Innocentive challenge posed by

the Lab in 2011. We strongly believed that a Network Science approach could shed new light on the difficult problem of understanding and coping with institutional corruption.

Luckily, we won this challenge and were subsequently invited to be Network Fellows this past academic year.

During the beginning of our fellowship we managed to nudge several actors in the Colombian government as well as in the private sector towards a more open and accessible data platform for inter-institutional transactions. The government pursued this direction by launching the Colombian Anti-Corruption Observatory. Our goal for the rest of 2013 is to use the collected data to build Colombia’s very first monitor for institutional corruption.

At Aentropico, we’re truly convinced of the power of clear, actionable data. We partnered with La Silla Vacía, an independent web journalism outlet that describes itself as an “informative and interactive medium for people interested in Colombian political current issues, focusing on ideas and interests which underlie the big decisions taken in the country.” Our first collaboration resulted in a piece (in Spanish), exposing and explaining the most important connections within the 50 largest companies in Colombia. Furthermore, we published an analysis on how the techniques of Complex Networks could be used to understand institutional corruption in the Lab’s blog.

We are also currently working with other fellows to launch an observatory for the network of Conflict of Interest Policies (COI Network) among academic institutions. This is a fundamental public tool that will enable academic institutions and citizens to get better information on available conflict of interest policies. We see this as a starting point for similar web-based, datadriven tools to raise the prevailing social norm on several aspects of institutional corruption. Our tenure as a Network Fellows has been essential to enriching and improving Aentropico’s workflow, and has paved the way to constructing a better, more accessible data science for all. We believe that projects like the COI Network

will mark the beginning of a more data-driven Center, and a more sharply focused research methodology.

Discussions with the Lab's Research Director, Mark Somos, and others have been invaluable in contributing to the Lab's ultimate goal: finding practical tools to understand and mitigate institutional corruption. We benefited much from discussing the various themes of institutional corruption with people at the Lab.

Michael Morisy

My past year as a fellow has been incredibly rewarding and enriching, and has been instrumental in my ability to grow the investigative, anti-corruption journalism and services that MuckRock.com offers. MuckRock is a tool that makes it easy for anyone to easily and quickly file, track, and share public records and Freedom of Information Act requests. By the numbers, the project has grown by incredible leaps and bounds. Some key growth points between the beginning of my appointment as a fellow and today's date, include: Prior to September 2013: We had filed 679 requests; we now have filed over 4936 requests. We had published 16,158 pages of previously secret government documents; we now have published over 108,392 pages of never before published information. We had 166 registered users; and now, we have helped over 750 individuals, organizations, and groups with their requests. We tracked and shared transparency data on 209 government agencies; we now track data on over 2,241 government agencies at every level in every state of America. More importantly, this work has had a broad impact by boosting transparency at all levels of government while helping thousands to learn more about their fundamental access rights. While our work has done much to expose everything from corruption in Afghanistan to waste here at home, I am most proud of our work with the Drone Census. Bolstered by the Lab's support, we engaged in one of the largest-scale participatory public records projects ever, filing almost 400 requests asking local, state and federal agencies about their use, plans, and policies around

domestic unmanned aerial vehicles. The results were stunning. Police departments secretly bought drones without political oversight, agencies lied about plans, and other agencies violated clear FAA regulations. We exposed the corrupting influence of manufacturers who work closely with Homeland Security and local agencies to develop contractual arrangements specifically designed to avoid public scrutiny, and the damage caused by anti-terrorism initiatives that funnel money towards flashy and wasteful technology-driven initiatives while failing to fund basic training and equipment. This work has been recognized by our peers: Over 350 news articles have been written about the work that the Center has so critically supported, and new policies, systems, and oversight are now in place, not just in regards to drones but also a host of other important civic and national issues in which we have helped the public to engage. I am proud to be associated with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, and cannot thank the Center enough for putting its trust in a young, disruptive start-up. I can only hope I have shown that the trust was well founded.

Mahdi Naamneh

My research project, "Lobbying the Knesset of Israel: Corrupting Independence," aims to show that lobbying plays a great role in corrupting the Knesset's work and its discretion. It discusses major consequences of this institutional corruption, inter alia: The "Israeli customers' boycott" and the "2011 Israeli social justice protests."

My Network Fellowship at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics had a deep impact on me. It provided me the essential intellectual instruments to research this topic and gave me new perspectives to consider.

During my fellowship I had the chance to visit the Center; to meet other fellows; and to participate in the Center's activities, Lab seminars, and public lectures. This experience took me one step closer to strengthening my analysis: I was exposed to new research methods and new ideas, and developed an innovative approach to my topic.

As a result, after heading back to Israel, I was able to rethink and criticize my own claims right after finishing my work. I rebuilt my thesis and reconsidered my research methodology. I included new data that I previously could not make use of. I anticipate that my final work will be finished by the end of August 2013.

An example of how my research has been informed and shaped by the Lab can be seen in how I formulated research questions when examining the 2013-14 economic plan recently put forth by the Finance Ministry in Israel. To date, the plan includes an NIS 6.5 billion cut in government activity this year (2013) and an NIS 18 billion cut next year (2014). As part of the Arrangements Law, the plan also includes a series of economic steps advanced by the Finance Ministry. My research questions draw on institutional corruption to ask: Where was the major momentum of the plan cuts put? Why and how was it planned? What consequences associated with lobbyism will appear at the end of the day? How could such data prove other claims with regard to lobbyism?

After having the privilege of becoming a Network Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, I must emphasize the great benefits and the advantages provided to any researcher in the institutional corruption field. Finally, I would encourage Network Fellows to visit the Center's office to experience the work environment, meet other fellows, and take an active part in its work.

Daniel Newman

MapLight has had tremendous success over the past year in reaching the public with our money and politics findings in the news. In 2012, we reached 99 million people with our data—nearly doubling our audience reach from 2011.

In addition, we completed an unprecedented six projects shining light on the November 2012 election, including:

Voter's Edge, our online voter guide, which provided nonpartisan, comprehensive information on

ballot measures in eight states and 17 cities and counties. Voter's Edge received 625,000 page views from more than 93,000 unique visitors in the months preceding the election. In addition, our information on the money behind ballot measures reached over 13 million people via over 600 news outlets, including the Wall Street Journal, The Economist, and La Opinión.

Politicash 2012, our free mobile app, tracked money flowing into the presidential race, including the shadowy sums going into the campaigns of the candidates' affiliated super PACs. The app garnered praise from Mashable, Mother Jones, among others and had 3,000 downloads by Election Day.

Our Influence Tracker widget, launched in partnership with Wired.com, revealed each federal candidate's top 10 contributors. Over 70,000 unique visitors viewed the widget, which was cited in stories by CBS San Francisco, the Boston Herald, Corporate Counsel, and more.

Interactive visualizations made the scope of super PAC influence on the election more accessible than ever: "The Five Million Dollar Club" compared the totals and geographic origins of contributions to super PACs that raised over \$5 million, and "Leaders of the (Super) PAC" showed the top-funded super PACs' comparative contributions received over time, broken down by weeks and quarters.

The MapLight Money and Politics Database, an easy-to-access, downloadable database of MapLight-enhanced FEC campaign finance data, was available for free public use.

Our latest Remote Control report examined the geographic origins of contributions to Senate candidates for the 2012 election. Key findings include that, over the past three election cycles, 60% of all Senate candidates (108 out of 180) raised half or more of their campaign funds outside their home state.

Our research over the past year also helped journalists, citizens, and nonprofit organizations pursue better accountability from government. For exam-

ple, MapLight data fueled the online organizing network Courage Campaign's "Foreclosure Flashlight," an advocacy webpage promoting a package of legislation instituting significant mortgage and foreclosure reforms known as the Homeowners' Bill of Rights. The Foreclosure Flashlight spotlighted the 19 California legislators who would cast the first votes on the legislation, connecting their mortgage industry campaign contributions and votes on past homeowner protection bills with the number of foreclosures in their home counties, and urged citizens to contact their legislators. This past July, the Homeowners' Bill of Rights was signed into law. Finally, MapLight was recognized for the strength of our work with a MARS: Best Reference Web Site of 2012 Award from the American Library Association. They remarked that the MapLight site "is well-designed and easy-to-use, and is an excellent resource for researching the influence of campaign contributions and promoting government transparency and accountability." My tenure as a Network Fellow has enriched MapLight's work, paving the way for future accomplishments. Discussions with Clayton Peoples and other fellows, and my presentation and discussion as part of the Lab's seminar series have been invaluable in mapping future directions for MapLight's research that will build upon our past success.

Clayton Peoples

It has been another wonderful year for me with the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics. Last year, I had a Non-Residential Lab Fellowship with the Center to examine how contributors impacted the bills that led to the Global Financial Crisis. This year, I had a Network Fellowship to continue my work on campaign finance issues and begin collaborations with Dan Newman at MapLight. My activities with the Center this year fall into three categories: presentations, writings/publications, and new lines of research.

I gave three presentations related to my work with the Center over the past year. First, I gave a presentation in August at the American Sociological Association annual meeting. The response was very

positive (in fact one of the attendees wrote a positive review on the Anti-Corruption Research Network blog facilitated by Transparency International). I gave another presentation related to my work with the Center at the Pacific Sociological Association conference in March. This, too, was positively received. Finally, I gave a talk at Brigham Young University in April in front of an eclectic audience of faculty, graduate students and undergraduates. The talk received very positive feedback and heightened awareness of campaign finance issues.

I have been involved in a number of writings and/or publications related to my work with the Center. I wrote a piece published in December on the Lab's blog entitled, "What Can \$6 Billion Buy?" (a reference to the \$6 billion spent on federal elections in 2012). Shortly thereafter, the same piece was included in the Lab's first e-book, *Striking at the Root*. I have also been working on other pieces, including an article that is currently in revise-and-resubmit status at *Sociology Compass*.

Last but not least, I have been exploring new lines of research as part of my fellowship with the Center. In particular, I have been working with Dan Newman and others at MapLight to access campaign finance data, which will then be analyzed in new and innovative ways. Although progress on these new lines of research has been a little slower than initially hoped (which is no one's fault—just a matter of clearing earlier projects, etc), there is great promise for producing findings that will raise the public's awareness of the problems in our present campaign finance system. I anticipate that initial findings will emerge this summer, so stay tuned!

The fellowship with the Center has been instrumental in helping facilitate my work. Through the Center, I have made connections with scholars who are working on similar issues, albeit in other disciplines, and this was really only possible through the Center. Additionally, I have been able to stay apprised of cutting-edge work in the field

through Center e-mails, the Lab blog, and other Center communications. I hope to maintain contact with the Center and its affiliates in the coming years to stay current on new research related to institutional corruption.

Fabio Polverino

I have undertaken independent research as a Network Fellow for the 2012-13 academic year. Although this year the activity of the Center focused on institutional corruption in the pharmaceutical and healthcare industry, among other topics, I dedicated my efforts to institutional corruption in the media industry, and broadcasting in particular. This topic is very relevant to my country (Italy), where a duopoly between private and public broadcasting has long been (and still is) an issue.

I spent the first part of my research period reviewing constitutional jurisprudence shaping Italian media law in advance of legislative intervention. At this stage of my research, the ongoing debate on the Lab's blog helped me to find a (workable) definition for institutional corruption and understand the negative (and yet underestimated) impact of corruption on economy and society. I am now researching legal materials from the U.S. and U.K. legal systems, which will help me understand, using comparative tools, the interplay between media ownership rules, market competition, institutional corruption, and freedom of speech.

Being connected to the Center was crucial for my research, as it helped me frame the questions at the core of my research. I found intuitions by other fellows extremely inspiring. They provided many examples of assessing institutional corruption in the pharmaceutical industry in the U.S., and I attempted to apply the same analytic methods to the media industry.

I also had plans to visit Boston to meet the other fellows and to share my work, but unfortunately, I had to change my plans because of Hurricane Sandy. I hope there will be other opportunities to connect, at least virtually, to the Center and to share interesting considerations on ethics and business.

In the end, I am very happy about this experience and I hope other academic institutions in other countries will follow the trail blazed by the Center. As to my future plans, this experience has given me great enthusiasm and I am now considering joining a PhD program.

Mildred A. Schwartz

A single, state-supported university dedicated to health care is my venue for examining how changes in higher education, both generally and in the education of those in health services, have interacted with governments at all levels to foster incentives and opportunities for corrupt practices. Details of the university's actions are put in the context of what other universities have done under similar circumstances to paint a picture of a more general institutional corruption.

In the past year I have continued to collect documentary data, conduct interviews, and begin writing the first draft of approximately half of the anticipated book. The book lays out multiple instances of the university's illegal and unethical behavior before it was placed under the supervision of a federal monitor. I search for explanations of how and why such corruption developed by relying on theories adapted from organizational analysis. Those theories lead me to examine the organization of the university, both in its core and in its relations with others in its field, to uncover sources of vulnerability. One critical issue is how and with what effects both corrupt and normative behavior can co-exist in the same institution.

Since I work largely on my own, this year's fellowship has been valuable for a number of reasons, and I expect even more benefits will emerge before the book is completed. Most generally, it has given me contact with a community of scholars from other fields and with other interests who have introduced me to information and perspectives that I would not otherwise have expected to be helpful. I have already incorporated in my writing a sizable number of references from articles and blogs by other fellows. My attendance at the one-day conference in February enabled me to put faces to names.

I am using contacts made with fellows to prevail on them to read some of my draft writings. To this point, I have not felt far along enough in my thinking to prepare the kind of blog or article that others have done so successfully. The fellowship offered some compensation for the limits of being a lone researcher/writer without a sounding board for testing my ideas, but perhaps I could have taken greater advantage of opportunities to interact with others. Yet, receiving all the emails and notices of what others were accomplishing did spur me to continue my research and writing. There is no question that I will be able to sincerely acknowledge the importance of the Center and its fellows when the book is completed.

Rebecca Shapiro

Over the past year, I have devoted significant time to work on my joint project (with Network Fellow Matthew S. Winters) on citizen attitudes towards political corruption in new democracies. Focusing empirically on Brazil, the first part of this project relied on a nationally representative survey experiment to examine the conditions under which voters might give their support and votes to corrupt politicians. In article entitled "Lacking Information or Condoning Corruption: When Do Voters Support Corrupt Politicians?," forthcoming (July 2013) in *Comparative Politics*, we share results from our survey that suggest that, contrary to popular perceptions of widespread corruption-tolerance, the vast majority of Brazilian voters are quite likely to condemn corruption, even when politicians otherwise perform well. These results point to the importance of investigating the conditions under which citizens are likely to actually act on those anti-corruption attitudes in the voting booth.

Matthew Winters and I spent part of this past academic year developing a survey that will help us examine this issue in greater depth. In August 2012 we traveled to Sao Paulo to conduct a series of focus groups to help us understand how citizens learn about, think about, and evaluate political corruption, especially in local politics. Insights from these focus groups have led us to focus in particular on

how the credibility of accusations of corruption and the specificity of any link between accusations and top elected officials may affect voters' willingness to punish corruption. Once again using experimental techniques, a survey exploring these dimensions is set to go to the field in May 2013.

In a separate paper in this project, "Politician Performance and Partisan Engagement: The Unexpected Consequences of Corruption," we also explore the possibility that corruption information not only changes voter choice, but also partisan preferences. Using our original survey, we show that, among highly educated respondents, information about corruption prompts greater levels of engagement with the partisan political system. In particular, learning information about corruption seems to spur some Brazilian respondents who were formerly not sympathizers of any one party to newly engage with a political party not linked to corruption. The fact that revealing corruption information can actually lead to greater partisan engagement, rather than alienation, may be an unanticipated benefit of newly implemented information-provision laws in Brazil. In the future, it would be useful to know whether this positive externality of information provision holds true in other young democracies, as well. This paper is currently under review at an academic journal.

Heather White

I've spent most of this year at the Center researching a book that I am writing with Network Fellow Michael Blanding. The book contract developed as a result of coverage I received in a *New York Times* article looking at the human costs incurred in China in the production of Apple iPads and iPhones. My role as an independent expert based at the Center has given me a unique platform to call attention to the failures of U.S. corporations to adequately monitor their supplier networks overseas.

Michael and I developed a collaboration during the first month of our arrival at the Center. With recommendations from Sheila Kaplan, an investigative journalist also at the Center, we expanded our

list of potential funders and secured support for a video project to accompany the book and a series of articles through The Nation Institute, the Fund for Investigative Journalism, and the Asia Society in New York. Working with a director in Beijing, I collaborated in creating a short video that will be posted online later this year at chinafile.org.

An area of focus in my research is conflicts of interest in the social auditing industry that undermine American corporations' efforts to monitor their global supply chains. Last year I circulated a questionnaire inquiring about corruption and manipulation of audit results. American compliance inspectors and managers were reluctant to acknowledge that corruption is a factor in the continuation of low standards in factories producing consumer products for the U.S. market. Interviewees also were reticent to discuss the conflicts of interest and lack of accountability that pervade the commercial monitoring industry, unless they felt certain of their anonymity.

Participants basically had no explanation for the continuation of 'sweatshops' in developing countries manufacturing for the U.S.'s most profitable corporations.

That situation changed with the spectacular auditing failures in the past year leading to the factory fires in Bangladesh and Pakistan. The fires that occurred in facilities audited numerous times resulted in hundreds of lives lost in both countries. Their cover having been blown by recent events, participants are willing to speak more candidly now that monitoring's credibility has effectively collapsed. I have recently been told of specific examples of social monitoring firms and accreditation groups directly manipulating audit results and working at odds with stated objectives of improving workplace standards.

Footage of surrounding factories revealed that despite 10 years of scrutiny by American brands of their Bangladeshi suppliers, not a single 6-8 story factory had an exterior fire escape. I contributed to

a piece in the New York Times online in which 'experts' are now willing to concede that the industry is failing to live up to even the most rudimentary standards of worker protection.

Foreign inspectors are willing to speak openly about corruption and the roles played by US and European brands in perpetuating an ineffective system that puts millions of dollars into compliance firms annually. NGO advocates insist the money would be better spent providing support directly to workers in the factories.

Matthew S. Winters

During the 2012-13 academic year, I continued my work with Network Fellow Rebecca Shapiro on how voters react to political corruption. Our earlier research had focused on whether or not voters are willing to tolerate corruption among politicians who are otherwise performing well in terms of delivering public goods and services. We traveled to Sao Paulo, Brazil, in August 2012 to hold a series of focus group discussions with voters about how they view political corruption in conjunction with other aspects of political performance. As with our earlier research, to be published this year in *Comparative Politics*, we found that Brazilian voters were strongly opposed to corruption. These focus group discussions helped us to design a follow-up survey that will be conducted nationwide in Brazil in May 2013. This new survey engages with two broad issues: how voters respond to corruption information coming from governmental versus partisan sources and whether or not voters attribute responsibility for corruption within city administration to the elected head of the city.

We also spent a portion of the 2012-13 academic year analyzing the original survey to better understand how information about corruption affects voters' willingness to declare a partisan identity. We found limited evidence that Brazilian voters abandon their partisan identity when confronted with information about a corrupt politician from their preferred party. We find evidence that some highly educated respondents who might otherwise

opt out of partisan politics are persuaded to express their support for an opposition party when given information about a corrupt politician from another party.

Finally, I completed revisions to my article manuscript about corruption in World Bank-funded development projects, and the article is scheduled to come out in *International Studies Quarterly* in 2014. In that manuscript, I show that corruption is less likely in development projects when those projects are targeted at a more circumscribed set of end users.

Being a Network Fellow exposed me to a broader understanding of corruption than that which I employ in my own work. I appreciated being able to engage with some of the conceptual debates on the Lab's e-mail list about what qualifies as institutional corruption. I also appreciated being exposed to an exciting stream of research on ethical issues about which I might otherwise not have been aware.

Jay Youngdahl

I came to the Center through my work with Professor Archon Fung. Professor Fung works with the Initiative for Responsible Investment (IRI) at the Hauser Center at Harvard Kennedy School, where I am a Senior Fellow. My major work as a Network Fellow with the Lab at the Center for Ethics has been the presentation and production of a paper examining the failures and foibles of the profession of investment consulting through the intellectual lens of institutional corruption.

The financial crisis of 2007–09 has had painful effects on the fortunes of many. Analyses of the continuing effects of a difficult investing environment have largely focused on factors such as the roles of failed and complex financial products, inadequate credit rating agencies, and ineffective government regulators. Nearly unexamined, however, is a key group of actors in the financial landscape: investment consultants. Investment consultants stand as gatekeepers between large investors, such as private and public retirement

funds, and those from 'Wall Street' who design and sell financial products. Investment consultants hired by these asset owners practically control many investment decisions. In the future as retirement matters become increasingly individualized, the profession will become more important for those planning their retirement. Yet, as a whole, this profession has failed to protect asset owners in the recent financial crisis and has yet to engage in serious self-examination. Much of the reason for the failure can be traced to institutional corruption, which takes the form of conflicts of interest, dependencies, and pay-to-play activity. In addition, a claimed ability to accurately predict the financial future, an ambiguous legal landscape, and a tainted financial environment provide a fertile soil for institutional corruption.

In the field of responsible investment, I work as an academic as well as a practitioner. I serve as a public trustee on the \$600 million Middletown Works Hourly and Salaried Health and Welfare Fund, which provides health insurance to over 6500 participants. In addition, as a lawyer, I have represented multi-employer benefit funds for over twenty-five years. At the IRI we are engaged in a number of projects relating to the encouragement of practices of responsible and sustainable investment. As part of this work, the Director of the IRI, David Wood, and I have been working on a project of participatory action research with Trustees who serve on governing Boards of large pension and employee benefit funds—the Trustee Leadership Forum for Retirement Security. Thus, I am interested in academic work that can be fruitfully applied to the real world problems that are faced by those who work in responsible investment. After reviewing the work of the Center and speaking with Professor Fung, it became clear to me that the lens of institutional corruption could be of help to those with whom I work at the IRI. In studying these matters and in considering proposals for change, my work could benefit from interdisciplinary help in thinking through these issues with those who work on institutional corruption in other settings.

While I already knew of the Center's intellectual heft, the most pleasant attribute of my work at the Center has been the collaborative nature of the engagement. Other fellows and Center staff were quite helpful to me as I thought through the issues and crafted my work. They shared their time often. Especially useful was the diversity of intellectual and practical backgrounds of my colleagues. I learned from the work of others, their presentations, and lively email exchanges. A number of their ideas and work have been folded into my own work.

APPENDIX II: EDMOND J. SAFRA LAB RESEARCH PROJECTS

"A Culture of Dependence: Defense Industry Contributions and Influence"

Center for Public Integrity, Washington, D.C.

"Generating Evidence from Psychology and Neuroscience on Causes, Consequences, and Change – The Recognition and Perception of Conflicts of Interest"

Mahzarin Banaji and Paul Meinshausen

"Cultural Cognition and Public Campaign Financing"

Dan Kahan

"Blinding Science"

Christopher Robertson

"A Culture of Dependence: Defense Industry Contributions and Influence"

Center for Public Integrity

With funding from the Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, the Center for Public Integrity (CPI) launched its "Gift Economy" project to shine a light on how the flow of money from defense contractors to key lawmakers has tainted--and in some cases corrupted--decision-making on key national security and defense budgeting issues.

CPI purchased from the Center for Responsive Politics (CRP) a unique subset of Federal Elections Commission campaign finance data and congressional lobbying data from the Senate Office of Public Records. CRP extracted from these data contributions and lobbying efforts only from companies and other entities that constitute the 100 top defense contractors, as designated by the Pentagon. This subset allowed CPI to track contributions and lobbying by these contractors. It also gave CPI the ability to drill down to examine both activities while Congress debated crucial defense appropriations.

The first analysis from these data produced an investigation into how one contractor, General Dynamics, lobbied Congress and doled out contributions to key members while they considered the fate of the M1 Abrams tank. Although the Pentagon has more than enough Abrams tanks – even mothballing some not currently needed – and is on record about wanting to curtail the program, General Dynamics continues to crank out these

weapons at a plant in Ohio. With the data, CPI showed how General Dynamics' lobbying and contributions intensified around key members leading up to key hearings and votes (the company's contributions spiked from an average of \$7,000 a week to nearly \$50,000). As a result, General Dynamics and the Ohio delegation got what they wanted (preventing a freeze on M1 refurbishment from 2014 to 2017, which would have saved \$3 billion and allowed the Pentagon to redesign the bulky vehicle from top to bottom), even at a time when public opinion is galvanized against wasteful federal spending.

The story about General Dynamics' actions ran on the CPI website, as well as in the McClatchy newspaper chain, NBC News, *The Huffington Post*, and *Mother Jones*. In each venue, it had a huge resonance. It attracted thousands of Facebook "likes" and generated hundreds of tweets. In all, it had around one million readers according to our page view tracker—with nearly 600,000 on NBC's website alone (more than the entire readership of the daily *Washington Post*). The trade publication DODBUZZ tweeted a link to the story with the following description: "Ever wanted to see how the military-industrial-congressional complex works? Read this excellent story." Another tweet by the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists read: "Excellent. The Gift Economy at CPI...Series on top defense contractors who finance election campaigns of lawmakers."

CNN ran a news segment about the story that quoted one of the authors of the investigation, which in turn inspired a Daily Show segment for

which we supplied key information. In short, it percolated through multiple media, making clear that there is a strong audience for journalism about the problematic ways in which Washington decides to spend its money.

Going forward, CPI has continued to update the databases using CRP community data. This will allow for more investigations into the influence of defense contractors, including an upcoming story centering on a major nuclear weapons-related project at the Energy Department's Savannah River Site. The project has been kept alive by key lawmakers who benefitted from a contractor despite exceeding its budget by billions of dollars.

Additional stories drawing on the database are in the planning stages, and will illuminate the influence that contractor contributions have had on decision-making about four other types of weapons systems. These stories will be aided by the hiring of a data specialist whose main task will be to process and analyze these data. Our intent is to reveal—through a close analysis of the donations, their timing, and the actions of the recipient—the “political influence” strategies of key contractors, as we did with General Dynamics.

Eventually, through CPI's increasing data capacity, our intent is to publish the database online through an interactive web interface, which would allow journalists and citizens of any stripe to search and analyze defense contractor influence-buying related to individual weapons systems and major sectors of the industry.

“Generating Evidence from Psychology and Neuroscience on Causes, Consequences, and Change – The Recognition and Perception of Conflicts of Interest”

Mahzarin Banaji and Paul Meinshausen

Conflicts of interest are an important example of “the influence within economies of influence” that the Center's Lab has identified as the core of institutional corruption. Conflicts of interest are generally described as situations that put a person's professional or ethical obligations in conflict with personal interests. In the past year we have made considerable progress in developing methods for experimentally investigating how people recognize and think about conflicts of interest.

In this line of research we have hypothesized that certain conditions and aspects of conflicts of interest systematically cloud our ability to identify, recognize, and avoid or appropriately respond to them. We formulated our initial hypotheses through an extensive survey of real-world instances and cases of conflicts of interest. Sources such as the U.S. Office of Government Ethics' annual Conflict of Interest Prosecution Surveys, surveys of hospital and university conflicts of interest policies, and media stories provided material we used to identify the set of conditions and features that plausibly influence people's perceptions and responses. However, testing and exploring these hypotheses, in social psychology in general, has been limited by the difficulty of experimentally reproducing features of conflicts of interest in the lab and in the minds of our research participants.

For both theoretical and practical reasons, we ultimately decided to use vignettes and short textual and narrative representations of conflicts of interest as our experimental material. Vignettes have certain strong advantages as a way of exploring conflicts of interest. When constructed well, vignettes can faithfully represent many of the ways that professional members of the institutions we're concerned with might encounter conflicts of interest in their professional capacities. During the summer and latter half of 2012, we developed an initial set of vignettes and piloted them using

in-person surveys in public parks in Washington, D.C. and in Boston. These initial in-person studies allowed us to both collect our original data as well as gain further insight into how participants would respond to the research materials.

Using the findings and participants' interview feedback from these initial studies, we refined our research material and began running web-based experiments with larger participant samples. In the last year we ran over nine separate experiments with over a thousand participants. Several of our findings surprised us, including the result that a subject's intentions in a conflict of interest situation seemed to have no observable effect on respondents' ethical judgments of those situations. Some of these findings have led us to seriously question some of the initial assumptions we made, and have been made throughout the literature, about how people think about conflicts of interest. We presented the findings of our nine experiments in a Lab seminar and received a wealth of helpful feedback that we have been using to make a few extensions to our experimental approach and to test a few additional hypotheses. During the rest of the summer we plan to implement those extensions and prepare an initial paper presenting our methods and findings for publication.

The past year has been a valuable opportunity to spend the time and effort needed to develop the methods necessary to experimentally study conflicts of interest. By understanding how people actually represent conflicts of interest, we hope to understand this complex process as it lives in human minds where it influences what we think is right and wrong, and whether we tolerate or challenge institutional corruptions.

"Cultural Cognition and Campaign Finance Reform Project"

Dan Kahan

The "cultural cognition & campaign finance reform project" (CCFP) is a Center-funded research initiative aimed at promoting public *engagement* with the issue of election financing. There is, in fact,

widespread, bipartisan public support for reforming election financing. Ample research, corroborated by CCFP studies, demonstrates that. But people really don't *care* very much about this issue. Identifying communication dynamics that can be used to overcome this deficit in concern—in part by enabling people to recognize how integral campaign financing is to the sorts of issues (from health care to gun control, from family values to tax reform) that they *do* care about most intensely—is the central objective of CCFP.

Since its inception in 2010, CCFP researchers have conducted over half a dozen empirical studies on nationally representative samples. Early studies were used to formulate "dispositional profiles" that can be used to identify how discrete segments of the population would likely respond to information relating to campaign financing. Such profiles feature "cultural orientations"—like hierarchy and egalitarianism, individualism and communitarianism—but also characteristics such as political sophistication and cognitive reflection that bear on how readily people seek out information and how they make sense of it. Experimental follow-ups were then used to test hypotheses about the impact—cognitive and emotional—of different informational themes and formats on individuals sharing one or another of these dispositions.

Over the last 12 months, CCFP has developed and refined prototypical "narratives" tailored to the dispositional groups. The strength of these narratives—in variously engaging certain groups and suppressing or even repelling others—has been validated with behavioral measures of the willingness of subjects to evaluate information on campaign finance reform in a reflective and open-minded way. The studies have also measured the impact of narratives on public assessments of the importance of campaign financing—not so much relative to other issues of concern to them, but as a *component* of those issues.

These studies are intended to furnish critical guidance to communicators promoting public engagement with campaign finance. The studies

identify broadly defined communication themes that interact in particular ways with specific cognitive mechanisms among different groups in the public. Using the narratives as models, *field communicators* can endeavor, with evidence-based methods akin to the ones used to construct the models, to identify real-world communication materials that reproduce in real-world deliberative settings the effects that CCFP has successfully created in the lab.

Working with the Center, CCFP will develop materials that enable field communicators to realize and extend the value of the CCFP research by these means.

“Blinding Science”

Christopher T. Robertson

My “Blinding Science” project proposal included two components: a symposium and an experiment. Each focuses on blinding as a solution to institutional corruption. I have also published several other articles relating to institutional corruption.

First, with Aaron Kesselheim, I am organizing a multidisciplinary symposium, and potentially a book, focusing on blinding as a solution to institutional corruption. We have scheduled the symposium for this coming fall, November 1-2, 2013, and have been working this year to recruit and confirm a strong group of participants and arrange the logistics for the event. We now have a tentative schedule of speakers who will cover a wide range of topics, from blinding in biomedical science and forensic science, to blinding of judges and politicians. As a preview, I led a Lab seminar session on blinding in April 2013.

Second, with Jim Greiner and Dan Durand, I am conducting an experiment to develop a new gold-standard for blinding of litigation science, drawing from the blinded assessments of multiple physicians per litigation case, reviewing the case in their regular clinical workflow. Such a method could be used by litigants to establish the standard of care in

medical malpractice litigation and thereby avoid the institutional corruption of biased courtroom science. Our robust blinds, which prevent a rater from even knowing the purpose of the rating, will also prevent other psychological biases (e.g., hindsight). So far, our team has been working to refine our experimental protocols, recruit physician raters, negotiate a contract with their practice group, and create a population of medical cases for testing. We have identified cases of extremely subtle pathology that can nonetheless be examined in a relatively short amount of physician time (given budget constraints). Our collaborators at a major academic medical center searched their internal quality control database of over 50,000 cases and selected and then anonymized 16 CTs of the chest and head in which the initial radiologist (either a senior resident or board certified fellow) had failed to detect pathologies. Dr. Durand is currently working with the physician group on data transmission protocols that will allow the cases to be presented in a fully blinded fashion in the clinical workflow of a team of 20 teleradiologists. We anticipate fielding the experiment this summer.

Third, I have continued to work on several projects related to institutional corruption. Focusing on papers actually published this year: Susannah Rose, Aaron Kesselheim, and I published “Effect of Financial Relationships on the Behavior of Healthcare Professionals,” in the *Journal of Law, Medicine, & Ethics*. With Aaron S. Kesselheim, Jessica A. Myers, Susannah L. Rose, Victoria Gillet, Kathryn M. Ross, Robert J. Glynn, Steven Joffe, and Jerry Avorn, I published “A Randomized Study of How Physicians Interpret Research Funding Disclosures” in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. David Yokum and I published “The Effect of Blinded Experts on Jurors’ Verdicts,” in the *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*. Aaron S. Kesselheim, Kent Siri, Puneet Batra, Jessica M. Franklin, and I published “Distributions of Industry Payments to Massachusetts Physicians,” in the *New England Journal of Medicine*. I have several other pertinent works in progress.

APPENDIX III: 2012-13 SELECTION OF PUBLICATIONS BY FELLOWS

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APPENDIX IV: PUBLIC LECTURES AND EVENTS/PAST EVENTS 2012-13

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PUBLIC LECTURES

- **Jonathan Wolff**, "Social Equality and Severe Disadvantage"
- **Henry S. Richardson**, "Moral Entanglements in Medical Research, Other Professions, and Everyday Life"
- **John Sarbanes**, "Building a Grassroots Democracy"
- **Norman Ornstein**, "America's Dysfunctional Politics: Where Do We Go (And Where Should We Go) From Here"
- **Martin Gilens**, "Affluence and Influence: Economic Inequality and Political Power in America"
- **John S. Reed**, "Shareholder Value vs. Values – Comments from a Business Person"
- **Elizabeth Anderson**, "The Social Epistemology of Morality: Learning from the Forgotten History of the Abolition of Slavery"
- **Charles Lewis**, "Legal Corruption and the Mercenary Culture"

OTHER EVENTS

- **Inaugural Kissel Lecture in Ethics:** Michael Sandel, "The Perils of Thinking Like an Economist"
- **"War on Whistleblowers"** Film Screening

CO-SPONSORED EVENTS

Office and Responsibility: A symposium in honor of the career and contributions of Dennis F. Thompson

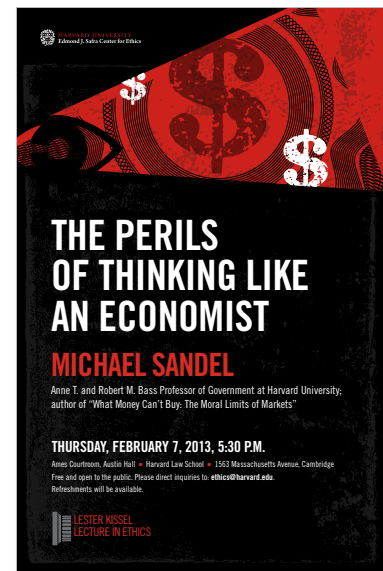
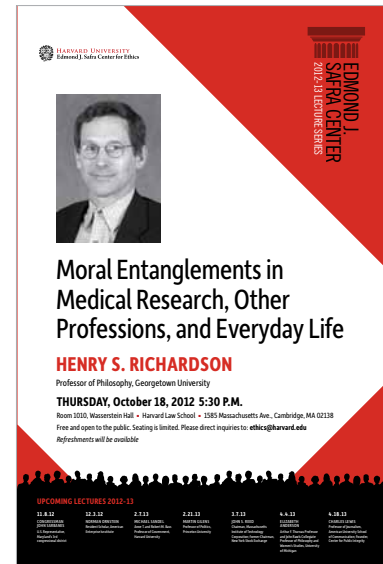
Co-sponsored with the Department of Government and FAS Dean's Office

Institutional Financial Conflicts of Interest in Research Universities

Co-sponsored with the Petrie-Flom Center for Health Law Policy, Biotechnology, and Bioethics

University Coverage in Developing Country Health Systems: Ethical Issues

Co-sponsored with the Division of Medical Ethics; Department of Global Health and Social Medicine; Petrie-Flom Center for Health Law Policy, Biotechnology, and Bioethics; Harvard Global Health Institute; Department of Global and Public Health, University of Bergen



Lecture posters

What Are Foundations For?: A Debate About Philanthropy and Democracy

Co-sponsored with the Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, Boston Review Magazine, and the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations

Lawrence Lessig and Bob Massie, "The Role of the Internet in the Creation of a Just and Sustainable Economy"

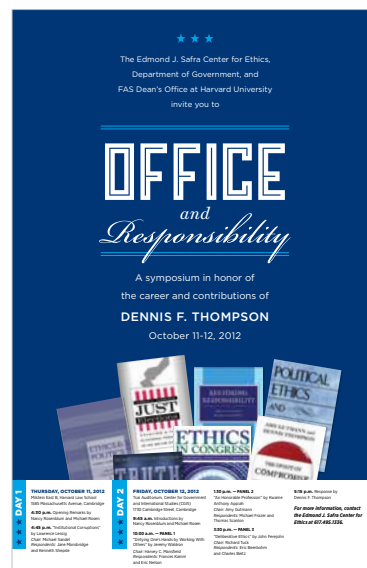
Co-sponsored with New Economics Institute, Cambridge Forum, Global Development and Environment Institute at Tufts University, Purpose, and Transition to a New Economy

"Political Philosophy for 21st Century Europe: A Workshop with Philippe Van Parijs"

Co-sponsored with the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies, Department of Philosophy, and Department of Government at Harvard University

NEW ENGLAND CONSEQUENTIALISM WORKSHOP (NECW)

- **Peter Vallentyne**, "Resourcism for Advantage and Wellbeing" (by Peter Vallentyne and Bertil Tungodden)
- **Gillian Brock**, "Emigration, Losses, and Burden-Sharing: Which arrangements are fair?"
- **Gustaf Arrhenius**, "Inequality and Population Change"
- **I. Glenn Cohen**, "Rationing Legal Services"
- **Toby Ord**, "Moral Trade"
- **Jennifer Hawkins**, "Well-Being, Time, and Dementia"
- **Sarah Conly**, "One Child: Do We Really Have a Right to More?"



Conference posters

APPENDIX IV: PUBLIC LECTURES AND EVENTS/UPCOMING EVENTS 2013-14

90

PUBLIC LECTURES

September 26, 2013: David Stockman

October 17, 2013: Gus Schumacher

October 30, 2013: Richard Tuck

November 14, 2013: Anna Stilz

February 19, 2014: Jeff Connaughton

March 27, 2014: Andrew Sullivan

April 9, 2014: Harry Frankfurt

April 24, 2014: Thomas Christiano

OTHER EVENTS

September 18, 2013: "Lawrence Lessig Interviews Robert Kaiser"

November 1-2, 2013: "Blinding Science" Conference

December 9, 2013: "Companies' Global Health "Footprint": Could Rating Help?"

February 5, 2014: Second Annual Kissel Lecture in Ethics with Larissa MacFarquhar

Please check our website for updates on the 2013-14 event series.



APPENDIX V: NEW FELLOWS

2013-2014 Edmond J. Safra Fellows

Undergraduate Fellows: Sheyda Aboii, Nisha Deolalikar, Medha Gargeya, Jared Lopez, David Miller, Lily Ostrer, Chloe Reichel, William Ryan, Celestine Warren, Oliver Wenner (*These are returning fellows; incoming fellows will be selected in November 2013.*)

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

Lab Fellows: Elinor Amit, Christine Baugh, Aleksandr Chakroff, Oz Dincer, Susan Ditkoff (Visiting), Yoav Dotan, Elizabeth Doty, Avlana Eisenberg, Yuval Feldman, Gregg Fields, Talia Fisher, Adriane Gelpi, Garry Gray, Katherine Hall, Jennifer Heerwig, Michael Johnston, Sheila Kaplan, Kate Kenny, Maryam Kouchaki, Michelle Mello, Jennifer Miller, Jeffrey Milyo, Jim Morris, Marie Newhouse, Justin O'Brien (Visiting), Kimberly Pernell-Gallagher, Genevieve Pham-Kanter, Ann-Christin Posten, Marc Rodwin, Susannah Rose, Ken Silverstein, Katherine Silz Carson, Ron Suskind (Senior Scholar), Laurence Tai, Miriam Schwartz-Ziv, Thomas Stratmann, Brooke Williams

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

Research Projects:

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

Christopher Robertson, "Blinding Science"

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Mark Somos, *Research Director*

Ariel Borensztein, *Executive Assistant to Professor Lessig*
Heidi Carrell, *Lab Coordinator*
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