International Election Monitoring: When It Works, Why It Fails
Two genes do not predict turnout. … The idea that one or two genes could predict something like voting behavior or partisanship violates all that we now know about the complex relationship between genes and traits.

If we want to avoid being held hostage over oil, we should shift our focus away from the Persian Gulf and work with our neighbors to develop even more reliable sources closer to home.

My hope is that the program will show students the very good and consequential work that passionate people in Washington are doing every day to improve people's lives and fulfill the promise of our democracy.
— Associate Professor Kristin Goss, Sanford Insights, p. 3.

The only national organization they approve of is Fox News. Many say they watch Fox six to eight hours a day.

Oh bother! It’s outrageous how many hoops a Russian strongman must jump through these days just to steal an election. It used to be enough to indoctrinate voters into performing their civic duty to vote for the longevity of the regime. Today, alas, ambitious incumbents must give at least some semblance of propriety to their elections.
As veterans of collaborative initiatives know, influence applied at a critical juncture can cause a cascade of positive results. That’s the way I think about a pivotal gift in 2008 from the Oak Foundation. We were able, thanks to Trustee David Rubenstein and others, to match the foundation’s $4.5 million challenge grant, and thereby lay the foundation for Sanford’s role in the Duke Energy Initiative.

With the help of the Oak grant, we established four joint professorships with the Nicholas School of the Environment (NSOE), the Global Health Institute, the Nicholas Institute for Environmental Policy Solutions and (next year) the Energy Hub. Together with NSOE we now have the first joint PhD in the world between a school of the environment and a school of public policy, and next year we will provide fellowships for PhD candidates in energy and the environment (which we see as two sides of the same coin).

Consistent with these developments, our faculty has articulated a number of fundamental global challenges to which we, in collaboration with the broader Duke community, are seeking to respond: How to meet growing energy demand, how to address the environmental effects of acquiring and expending energy, and how to cope with the national security consequences of the competition for energy. The Duke Energy Initiative is a strategic priority for Duke, and the Sanford School is one of several linchpins in this growing, cross-disciplinary effort to find integrated solutions to major policy challenges (page 6).

Finally, as I write this brief note, we are awaiting the selection of my successor as Dean of the Sanford School of Public Policy. I am confident that the next leader of the school will find the school on a sound financial base, led by a vibrant community of scholars, practitioners and students, eager to move ahead with research and innovative teaching on policy challenges that are critical to all of us.

Bruce Kuniholm, Dean
Professor of Public Policy and History
40 Years of Public Policy • The year 2012 marks the fortieth year since Duke University President Terry Sanford charged Professor Joel Fleishman with creating a new, interdisciplinary program in public policy. In the spring of 1972, the Duke University Board of Trustees voted to establish the Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, and the first faculty members were hired, including James Vaupel, Willis Hawley and Bruce Payne. The new Institute’s home was the basement of the Old Chemistry Building. Two buildings, eight directors and one dean later, the Sanford School is thriving, with programs for undergrad, graduate and professional students and about a dozen active research centers.

To commemorate the milestone, the school unveiled an anniversary logo and launched a blog where alumni, staff and faculty can share memories or photos. If you have a bit of history to share, please send it to sanford40@duke.edu.

SOCIAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP INTERNSHIPS IN INDIA
About a dozen Duke students will travel to India this summer to pursue six- to 12-week social entrepreneurship internships with local NGOs. Professor Anirudh Krishna, associate dean for international academic programs, developed the new program with Carmella La Bianca, in the Sanford School’s Office of Career Services. Interns will include undergraduate students, as well as graduate students from Sanford, the Fuqua School of Business, Duke Law School, and PhD programs. Students will work on projects such as developing a business plan for Mirakle Couriers, a company that employs hearing-impaired adults, and researching unemployment trends at AspringMinds, which works with entry-level job seekers.

US NEWS RANKINGS
The Sanford School ranked among the nation’s leading public policy schools in the 2012 US News and World Report ranking of graduate programs. In subspecialties, Sanford was 6th in public policy analysis, 2nd in environmental policy, 6th in health policy and management and 7th in social policy. The US News rankings are reputational, and are derived from responses to surveys sent to deans and directors at both public administration and public policy programs.
First PhD Graduate

This spring, the Sanford School’s first PhD graduate will walk the stage and receive her diploma: Erin Hye-Won Kim. She began the program in 2007, its inaugural year. Kim’s research focused on social policy and she wrote her dissertation on “Public Support, Family Support and Life Satisfaction of the Elderly: Evidence from a New Government Old-age Pension in Korea.” Senior Associate Dean Philip Cook was her advisor. Kim, who earned her MPP at Sanford in 2007, also has an master’s degree in business from the Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology. She taught the undergraduate course, “Population Aging, Family and Policy in the East and West” this spring. She has accepted the position of assistant professor of public policy at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore.

REPORTERS’ LAB

The Reporters’ Lab website launched Feb. 17 as a clearinghouse for open-source software and other tools to help investigative reporters. The lab is an initiative of Sanford’s DeWitt Wallace Center for Media and Democracy and is being led by Sarah Cohen, Knight Professor of the Practice of Journalism and Public Policy. The website was showcased at the 2012 Computer-Assisted Reporting conference in St. Louis Feb. 23-26. Visit the site at www.reporterslab.org.

SAT SMARTSTART

Twenty-nine Durham high school students are getting free SAT preparation this spring thanks to SAT Smart Start, a collaborative effort between Kaplan Test Preparation and two local nonprofits: Movement of Youth and the Emily Krzyzewski Family Life Center.

Duke alumnus Chetan Jhaveri BA’09 conceived of the idea as a way to help low-income students in their college admission process. Jhaveri, along with Tony Brown, director of the Hart Leadership Program’s Enterprising Leadership Initiative, and two of Brown’s students, Dana Weiner and Bhumi Purohit, identified community partners and recruited student volunteers.

The project trains Duke undergraduate students to lead Kaplan SAT preparation courses in lower income high schools. If the effort is successful, SAT Smart Start may expand nationally.

JOURNALISM AWARDS

This year’s 2012 Futrell and Melcher Awards dinner honored Rome J. Hartman III AB’77 and Duke sophomore Lauren Carroll. The annual dinner brings Duke alumni and undergraduate student journalists together and recognizes excellence in journalism within these two Duke communities.

Hartman, executive producer of “Rock Center,” a new primetime NBC News magazine program, received the Futrell Award for Outstanding Achievement in Communications and Journalism for his career achievements in media.

Carroll, a Duke Chronicle reporter, won the Melcher Family Award for Excellence in Journalism for her April 6, 2011, article “Kunshan Campus Takes Shape Amid Doubts.”

Ashley B. Futrell Jr. established the Futrell Award in 1999 in tribute to his father, Ashley B. Futrell Sr. The Melcher Family Award, created by alumnus Rick Melcher ’74, is awarded annually to a Duke undergraduate for the best article published in the past year.

RODARY SCHOLARSHIP

Dr. Young Woo Kang, a former policy advisor of the National Council on Disability, has endowed a scholarship fund for the Rotary Foundation’s Peace Centers.

His sons, Jin-suk (Paul), an ophthalmologist, and Jin-young (Christopher), a senior legal advisor to President Obama, also contributed to the fund. It will support one fellowship at the Duke-UNC Rotary Center for International Studies in Peace and Conflict Resolution.

Kang and his family were honored at a brief ceremony during the Sanford alumni reception in Washington, D.C., on Jan. 9.

Gridlock Series Continues

The Sanford School’s two-year focus on the topic of political gridlock continued this spring with talks by Erskine Bowles and Alan Simpson on Jan. 18; a debate on health care economics with James Capretta MPP’87, former OMB associate director, and Associate Professor Don Taylor on March 14; and a new class.

The course, sharing the series name, “Gridlock: Can Our System Address America’s Big Challenges?” , was taught by Taylor and Associate Professor of the Practice David Schanzler.

Students examined aspects of the U.S. political environment such as hyper-partisanship, media fragmentation, cultural and demographic changes and campaign finance.
Photo Exhibition, ‘Fragments from Another Life,’ Highlights Refugees

Fragments from Another Life, a photo exhibition by photographer Rhonda Klevansky, is on display in Rubenstein Hall at the Sanford School through August. In her series of 44 black and white portraits, Klevansky tells the stories of refugee immigrants from conflict-ridden countries who arrived in the United Kingdom seeking political asylum, personal safety or escape from war.

The portraits were taken between 2000 and 2002 in collaboration with the nonprofit Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, and tell the story of the refugee experience. Globally, hundreds of thousands of individuals are forced or compelled to leave their home countries in search of safety each year.

“I initiated this photo essay in Great Britain with the idea that the work could augment the understanding of refugees and asylum seekers, and counter disparaging perceptions of immigrants often created by newspaper headlines,” Klevansky said.

Refugees escaping from violent countries often find it difficult to secure their own safety and are lucky to carry few, if any, possessions as they flee their homelands. Klevansky sought to connect the viewer with the refugees by taking their portraits with items they were able to bring from their home countries. These range from vases, books of poetry and music boxes to traditional clothing.

Klevansky is a South African photographer, writer and documentary filmmaker whose work has been exhibited in the United States, United Kingdom, South Africa and Chile.

Agim Morina is Albanian and is from Prizreni in southern Kosovo. In 1998 he was arrested while working as a journalist but he escaped through Romania and went to the UK. He took the clothes he was wearing and the leather bag that his father used when he was a forestry conservation officer. (Photo by Rhonda Klevansky)

WHO ARE THE MEMBERS OF THE TEA PARTY?

Tea Party members are mostly over 50, fearful of the demographic changes occurring in America and resentful of government benefits received by people they see as undeserving, according to the authors of a new book on the influential political movement. Harvard scholars Theda Skocpol and Vanessa Williamson interviewed Tea Party members and attended local meetings, seeking to understand the movement’s rapid ascent. On March 15 at Sanford, they discussed the findings presented in their book, The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism. Skocpol is a professor of government and sociology, and Williamson is a PhD candidate. The talk was recorded for C-Span’s BookTV.

“Our big finding is that the Tea Party is not just one thing. It’s the integration of three forces: grassroots protesters; right-wing media cheerleaders — bloggers, talk radio hosts and television; and ultra-right funding and political action groups,” said Skocpol.
KUDOS

Assistant Professor Marc Bellemare was named associate editor at the American Journal of Agricultural Economics for 2012-2015. The AJAE, the flagship journal of the Agricultural and Applied Economics Association and the top journal in its field, has been published since 1919.

Professor of the Practice Tony Brown received a 2012 Ashoka U–Cordes Innovation Award. It recognizes teaching and partnership practices that are innovative, replicable and that make a significant impact on society. He was honored for his course “Social Entrepreneurship in Action,” which has been the launching pad for a number of ongoing on-campus and off-campus organizations over the last 12 years. Brown’s course was one of six winners selected from 80 nominations.

The National Economic Association (NEA) named William A. “Sandy” Darity Jr. the Samuel Z. Westerfield Award recipient for 2012. The award, the NEA’s highest honor, is named after the distinguished economist and former Ambassador to Liberia. Established in 1973, it acknowledges outstanding scholarly achievements and public service by an African American economist. Previous recipients include Nobel Laureate Sir W. Arthur Lewis, Phyllis Wallace and Marcus Alexis. Darity’s Westerfield Lecture, “From Here to Full Employment,” given Jan. 7, can be found on the Sanford website.

Professor Kenneth A. Dodge, director of the Center for Child and Family Policy, has received an award from the Duke Endowment for a project entitled “Prevent Child Abuse and Neglect Initiative.” Total funding will be $1,094,835 over 12 months.

Assistant Professor Anna Gassman-Pines was selected as the first recipient of the Victoria S. Levin Award for Early Career Success in Young Children’s Mental Health Research. The award given by the Society for Research in Child Development (SRCD) recognizes Gassman-Pines’ interdisciplinary work on the effects of welfare and employment policies on the well-being of low-income young children and their parents.

It includes a $25,000 grant to support a reduction in teaching responsibilities to allow her time to submit a grant application to the National Institutes of Health (NIH) in the area of early childhood mental health.

Several Sanford faculty members received promotions and new appointments this spring, effective July 1.

Kathryn Whetten, above, director of the Center for Health Policy and the Health Inequalities Program, was promoted to full professor and Kristin Goss to associate professor. Assistant Professor Hal Brands has a secondary appointment in history and Nicholas Carnes became an assistant professor, both effective Jan. 1.

Two Duke faculty members have new secondary appointments in public policy: Edward J. Balleisen, associate professor of history and senior fellow at the Kenan Institute for Ethics; and Daniel Chen, assistant professor of law and economics.

Adjunct Professor of Public Policy Kip Frey was appointed director of the Law and Entrepreneurship Program at Duke Law School, which offers the one-year Master of Laws degree. Visiting faculty member Michael Stegman joined the U.S. Treasury Department as counselor to Secretary Timothy Geithner on housing finance policy.

A mbassador James A. Joseph, emeritus professor of the practice, was the 2012 recipient of the William C. Friday Award, selected by the senior class of Park Scholars at NC State University. The award honors dedication and excellence in leadership, scholarship, character and service, as well as contributions to North Carolina. Past recipients include William Friday, NC State Chancellor Emeritus Larry Monteith, historian John Hope Franklin, SAS leaders Ann and Jim Goodnight, Geomagic CEO Ping Fu, and Special Olympics of North Carolina CEO and President Keith L. Fishburne. Joseph received the honor on January 25, and gave the Friday Lecture.

Professor of the Practice Anthony So received a $335,000 grant from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. So is the principal investigator of the project, “Reengineering the Value Chain of Pharmaceutical Innovation.” The rate of pharmaceutical research and development productivity has declined over the last 15 years, in part due to the ballooning costs of bringing a new drug to market. The three-year grant will support So’s research on identifying and evaluating approaches for sharing resources, risks and rewards to enhance U.S. pharmaceutical innovation.

Promotions

Several Sanford faculty members received promotions and new appointments this spring, effective July 1.

Kathryn Whetten, above, director of the Center for Health Policy and the Health Inequalities Program, was promoted to full professor and Kristin Goss to associate professor. Assistant Professor Hal Brands has a secondary appointment in history and Nicholas Carnes became an assistant professor, both effective Jan. 1.

Two Duke faculty members have new secondary appointments in public policy: Edward J. Balleisen, associate professor of history and senior fellow at the Kenan Institute for Ethics; and Daniel Chen, assistant professor of law and economics.

Adjunct Professor of Public Policy Kip Frey was appointed director of the Law and Entrepreneurship Program at Duke Law School, which offers the one-year Master of Laws degree. Visiting faculty member Michael Stegman joined the U.S. Treasury Department as counselor to Secretary Timothy Geithner on housing finance policy.

Spring 2012 5
Energy Initiative Marshalls Resources

By Karen Kemp

Paul M. Gross Hall sits diagonally across the street, just a short walk from the Sanford School. Over the last 18 months, the structure has been revitalized as the Duke Energy Hub—an active campus home for the university’s growing strategic initiative in energy.

For Sanford School professors such as Billy Pizer, Alex Pfaff, Marc Jeuland, Stephen Kelly and Subhrendu Pattanayak the hub’s proximity is particularly handy. Sanford is an integral partner in the Duke Energy Initiative, along with Duke’s schools of environment, engineering, business, arts and sciences, and law. The network of partners also includes several campus-wide institutes and research centers.

Pizer joined the initiative last summer from the U.S. Treasury Department. There, as a deputy assistant secretary, he led Treasury’s efforts relating to the nation’s environment and energy policies. His job included overseeing about $400 million in multilateral environmental spending and working with development banks such as the World Bank.

Coming to Duke allowed Pizer to rejoin Richard Newell, a friend, fellow economist and former Resources for the Future colleague who now directs the Duke Energy Initiative. Pizer is a North Carolina native, so it was also a homecoming; he attended the North Carolina School of Science and Math and began his career as a high school physics teacher.

Newell, the Gendell Associate Professor of Energy and Environmental Economics at the Nicholas School of the Environment, returned to Duke in 2011 after leading the U.S. Energy Information Administration (EIA) for two years. The EIA produces official U.S. government energy statistics and analysis.

“I came to Duke in 2007 and came back in 2011 because it was my sense that Duke ‘gets’ it: what it takes to make a difference in this area,” Newell said.

Most university-led energy initiatives have emerged from a purely technical perspective, inside schools of engineering. Because interdisciplinary teaching and research are “real strengths of Duke,” it is strongly positioned to help solve national and international energy problems, he said.

While the United States remains the world’s second largest carbon emitter, the greater challenge is meeting rapidly rising energy demand from burgeoning economies like China and India.

“The pressing questions are how to meet energy demands in ways that minimize environmental impacts, while considering the national security and foreign policy implications of energy choices. These are not trivial challenges,” Newell said. “Integrated solutions are not going to be found by focusing on individual technological, market or policy components in isolation.”

The Energy Initiative is building on Duke’s existing strengths in teaching, research and outreach. Undergraduates can earn a Certificate in Energy and the Environment. The environment and business schools offer master’s degree programs with a focus in energy, and a Sanford program is under consideration. Duke also offers the first PhD program in the world jointly coordinated by a school of the environment and a school of public policy. In the future, short courses and online courses may be developed as well, Newell said.

A speaker series launched this year brought a number of high-profile lecturers to provide insight into current energy policies and innovations. Former U.S. Rep. Bob Inglis (R-S.C.) served as the Nicholas School Visiting Energy Fellow this spring and taught a short course on energy policy.

Through the initiative, a Clean Energy Track was included in the 13th Annual Duke Start-Up Challenge, a student entrepreneurship competition. One of three teams of finalists in the Clean Energy Track will receive $5,000 and become eligible to compete in the $100,000 ACC Clean Energy Challenge this summer.

The initiative’s three-pronged research agenda focuses on technology and systems, marketing and finance, and policy and society. Projects range from applied science—such as capturing sunlight and using it to drive solar fuel reactions or photovoltaic devices—to studying the cost-effectiveness of utility demand-side management programs for electricity energy efficiency. Many research projects are in development, Newell and Pizer said, but natural gas drilling and climate change are clearly on the list.

“We should be able to listen to policymakers’ constraints and design policies that get the biggest bang for the buck,” Pizer said. “Cap and trade is off the table for now, and takes with it many carrots and sticks policymakers could have used. But we still need to make progress.”
Duke in DC Program
Set to Launch Next Spring

next spring, about a dozen Duke undergraduates will head to the nation’s capital for a new Sanford School program that will combine classroom learning with real-world education and interactions with practicing policymakers.

“Duke in DC: Public Policy” will be based in the new Duke University Washington Center at 1201 New York Ave. NW, a few blocks from the Metro Center and McPherson Square subway stations. Students will take four courses, work as interns four days a week and complete a research project.

“I always thought we needed an institutional link to Washington, where a lot of the nation’s policies are made and where we have a whole network of relationships with alumni and others,” said Sanford Dean Bruce Kuniholm. The goal is “not to take Duke to DC but to develop in DC something totally different that can be a galvanizing, transformative experience for students,” he said.

The semester-long program will be led by Associate Professor Kristin Goss, who was a Washington-based journalist before beginning her academic career. Her applied political analysis course will feature prominent speakers from government, media and interest groups. Among them will be Ted Kaufman, former U.S. Senator from Delaware and a Sanford visiting lecturer. Kaufman, who teaches in the law school’s DC program and worked for many years with Vice President Joe Biden, endorsed the program in a videotaped interview.

“There are a lot of Sanford grads in Washington right now and not just in Washington, but also in positions of importance, in the Congress — the House and the Senate — in the administration, in media, in interest groups … who would be an incredible resource,” Kaufman said.

Students also will learn from the experience of former Washington Post Managing Editor Phil Bennett, now Sanford’s Eugene C. Patterson Professor of the Practice and managing editor of the PBS series “Nightline.” In Bennett’s seminar, “The First 100 Days: Politics, the Media and the Making of an Agenda,” students will follow contemporary news events, learn about the history of relations between the government and the press, and meet journalists covering post-election policy and politics in the capital.

Robert Cook-Deegan, professor of the practice and director of Duke’s Center for Genome Ethics, Law and Policy, will teach a research seminar. The students’ independent research projects could take the form of an academic term paper, a literature review for a senior honors thesis, or a significant consulting project for the student intern’s sponsoring organization.

Goss’s second course, “Whose Democracy? Participation and Public Policy in the United States” draws on her own research. It will explore the role of citizens and interest groups in shaping the policy agenda.

One of the goals, Goss said, is to “give students an opportunity to get to know ‘the real DC’ the urban metropolis where everyday Americans live and real social problems exist, as opposed to the ‘political DC’ of national elites and young politicos just passing through.

“Research tells us that Millennials are turned off by politics and don’t see government as a particularly useful mechanism for tackling big problems,” Goss said. “My hope is that the program will show students the very good and consequential work that passionate people in Washington, often operating far from the media glare, are doing every day to improve people’s lives and fulfill the promise of our democracy.”

Some of the added value will come from visits to DC sites and afterhours student interactions. To make that easier, housing for the group is planned in apartments near Capitol Hill or Woodley Park.

Lauren Hendricks PPS’12, president of the Public Policy Majors Union and a former White House intern, was part of the planning group. She began advocating for a DC program during her sophomore year.

“It made sense to me to have one and it baffled me that we didn’t already,” she said. Hendricks believes the DC program will appeal to highly motivated students, especially those aiming for careers in Washington.

Some students might even be able to extend their internships through the summer and pursue longer term, more in-depth assignments. Hendricks said the new program may make the growing public policy major even more attractive to new students.

Although the Duke in DC program is not restricted to public policy majors, students must first complete the major’s core course, Public Policy 155, “Introduction to Public Policy Analysis.”

“I’m convinced the program will be a good thing,” Kuniholm said.
Q&A Turnaround Artist

In the spring of 2007, lawyer and businessman Michael Sorrell MPP/JD’90 was named interim president of Paul Quinn College, a historically black college (HBCU) in Dallas on the verge of collapse. It had mounting debts, crumbling buildings, falling enrollment and was threatened with losing accreditation.

Within a year, Sorrell was named president and had gained national attention for extensive fund-rais ing, instituting a business casual dress code and, in football-crazed Texas, shutting down the football program. Since then he demolished 15 abandoned campus buildings, turned the football field into an organic garden, established new admissions standards and launched a Presidential Scholars Program. The college completed four consecutive audits without findings, had budget surpluses and received full accreditation from the Transnational Association of Christian Colleges. In 2011 the college was named HBCU of the Year.

What’s the next big thing for Paul Quinn College?

Next year, we plan to build a grocery store on campus, staffed by students and open to the community. Students will not only learn about business principles, but about issues of food security. The campus is in the middle of a “food desert;” I didn’t realize how bad the issue was when I accepted the presidency.

As a direct result of the lack of access to healthy food and the stress, the majority of my staff and I gained at least 20 pounds, which I’m proud to say we’ve finally worked off.

After closing the football program, do sports still have a role at Quinn?

Yes. We have track and basketball and are planning to add soccer next year. College sports are important, but in their proper place. Our student-athletes rarely have realistic expectations of becoming professional athletes. However, we fully expect them to be professional men and women for the entirety of their lives.

I love sports; I played basketball at Oberlin. I loved competing and I loved basketball, but I was very clear that if all I was ever known for was my ability to shoot a basketball, I would have led a sad and shallow life.

Are you grooming new leadership for Paul Quinn College?

My master’s memo topic was on mentoring—specifically, the impact of mentoring on the drop-out rates of African-American males in urban school systems. I believe you have to invest in people, trust them to learn from their mistakes and watch them grow.

We have assembled a cadre of young women at Paul Quinn who will be future leaders in higher education and beyond. Among them is Victoria Wilson, a Sanford MPP (2010), who works as one of my special assistants.

Can you give us a preview of your remarks at graduation?

When people ask me, “What can you do with a public policy degree?” I always say, “Whatever you want.” At Sanford, you are educated to make a difference.

A Duke Law degree means you never have to explain to people that you are smart. A Duke public policy degree means you are never overwhelmed. My two years at Sanford were intellectually and physically demanding in ways I had never experienced until that point.

I will tell the graduates that their two years at Sanford will provide the foundation for a career path that few will be able to match. It will be useful in careers both inside and outside of government. The way the policy school taught me to think was helpful to me as a lawyer, in the White House, in sports representation and now in education.
Is there solid evidence that the average temperature on Earth has been getting warmer? In 2006, 77 percent of Americans polled by the Pew Research Center answered “yes” to that question. By 2009 the percentage had dropped to 57, a huge shift in public opinion. The shift occurred among all political affiliations, but was especially dramatic among Republicans, from 62 to 35 percent.

Frederick “Fritz” Mayer, associate professor of public policy and political science, became intrigued about what could cause such a significant change in public opinion in such a relatively short time. As a Shorenstein Fellow at the Harvard Kennedy School last fall, Mayer researched this shift by analyzing the types of stories told by television news channels. He found the science hadn’t changed, but the stories had.

“Stories have the power to shape beliefs, evoke emotions and appeal to values. Narratives matter. Much of politics is a battle of narratives, counter-narratives and counter-counter-narratives,” he said.

Mayer identified and tracked six narratives common in media coverage about climate change. The two most common were: The Climate Tragedy (disaster looms and we must act now); and The Hoax (climate change scientists are frauds; it’s not that bad). The other narratives were He Said, She Said (contest between scientists); Don’t Kill the Goose (climate change is an excuse to regulate); The Denialist Conspiracy (opponents to climate change are corrupted by corporate money) and The Policy Game (focusing on the fate of policy instead of the planet).

He ran keyword searches of the Lexis-Nexis database of news transcripts for ABC, CNN, MSNBC and Fox News from 2001-2010. For the first part of the decade, the amount of climate change coverage on the networks was similar and fairly balanced among the narratives. All of the networks had huge spikes in the number of stories in early 2007, when the film “An Inconvenient Truth” won two Oscars and the film’s producer, former Vice President Al Gore, was jointly nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize with the UN’s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). That month, the IPCC also released its Fourth Assessment Report, a strongly worded report of global warming driven by human activity.

On the cable networks, a second spike came in November 2009 with the release of e-mails by climate scientists hacked from the servers at the University of East Anglia, a major climate research center. This occurred just weeks before the Copenhagen Summit on climate change. The story, dubbed “Climategate,” was picked up by bloggers and spun by critics of climate science as evidence of scientists manipulating findings to support climate change.

“Curiously, the traditional networks, as exemplified by ABC, not only largely ignored Climategate, they gave much more limited coverage of the Copenhagen Summit and produced many fewer Climate Tragedy stories than two years earlier,” Mayer said.

Beginning in 2007, the differences in the frequency of the six narratives among the networks were striking. For ABC News, more than 60 percent of the total stories for the period followed the Climate Tragedy narrative, while on Fox News, the Hoax narrative accounted for 23 percent of the stories. MSNBC had more Denialist stories and CNN had the most balanced mix of narratives.

“A Fox viewer whose entire understanding of climate change came from its broadcasts could certainly be excused for believing that the whole thing was a hoax, concocted by those whose intent was to empower government and limit personal freedom,” Mayer wrote.

Mayer examined whether the recession which began in 2007 could have been the cause of the shift in public opinion, but was skeptical that economic conditions alone could account for the partisan divide in attitudes. Other countries also suffered the recession without a corresponding shift in opinions on climate change.

“Changes in attitudes about the scientists themselves are strongly suggestive of a direct impact of stories that attacked their credibility... Although it is possible that beliefs about scientists also changed because of the economic downturn, a media effects explanation is equally plausible and more parsimonious,” he wrote.
In these news reports and hundreds more like them lie the seeds of Judith Kelley’s research. Reading them, she wondered how foreign observers rose to such influential roles, when elections were traditionally such a bastion of national sovereignty. Why do some countries invite election monitoring organizations, when candidates clearly intend to cheat? Are foreign election monitors accurate and objective? Most important, do they improve the quality of elections?

Kelley spent six years pursuing answers to these questions, funded by a grant from the National Science Foundation. The effort culminated in the publication of her book, Monitoring Democracy: When International Election Observation Works, and Why It Often Fails (Princeton University Press, March 2012).

When she began her research in 2006, she found an area ripe for investigation. The number of major observer missions to elections in non-established democracies went from zero in 1975 to more than 85 in 2004. The number of monitoring groups also proliferated. In the 2008 Georgian election alone, 37 domestic, 43 international organizations and 16 embassies registered to observe. Nevertheless, no uniform standards of practice have evolved in the field. A UN statement of principles for monitoring has been endorsed by a number of organizations, but in practice, many of them fail to live up to the commitments it contains, Kelley said.

In addition, observers’ activities are diverse, and range from providing pre-election technical assistance and training to observing thousands of polling sites.

The proliferation of monitored elections around the world might suggest that democracy is on the rise. In fact, Kelley says, democratic gains made since the mid 1980s are in retreat. By 2010, the world’s electoral democracies had dropped to 115—the fewest since 1995, according to Freedom House, an NGO that tracks human rights and political freedoms. Recent developments in Tunisia and Myanmar appear promising, Kelley

“(Elections) represent that most fundamental exercise of a citizen: the right to express one’s preference, to be counted, to be part of the conversation, to be considered worthy of persuading.”

“I can assure you that we will do our work honestly and with an open mind. We will register the positive aspects of the process, but we’ll also not shy away from pointing out any shortcomings or irregularities we come across.”

—Heidi Tagliavini, head of the OSCE mission to monitor the March 4 presidential election in Russia, Jan. 26, 2012

“To call this an ‘election’ is an abuse of the word; it’s empty talk, and it is certainly not a sign of a serious reform agenda. If they are serious about reform, let them release all the political prisoners and allow independent observers into Syria for a start.”

—Opposition leader Mahmoud Murale, Dec. 12, 2011
Elections—Helps, Why it Fails

said, “but it’s too soon to tell.” Although election monitoring has become a highly touted tool for democracy promotion, the connection between it and actual democratic governance is by no means clear.

As a Dane living in the United States, Kelley noted in the preface to her book that she can fulfill neither the Danish residency requirement nor the American citizenship requirement, and is therefore, “entirely disenfranchised.”

“Perhaps this explains my fascination with elections. To me they represent that most fundamental exercise of a citizen: the right to express one’s preference, to be counted, to be part of the conversation, to be considered worthy of persuading.”

Kelley found the literature was dominated by case studies that arrived at different conclusions about its effectiveness. There were no quantitative or systematic studies that considered whether the practice conformed to political theories, particularly those related to the interaction of international and domestic politics. And when Kelley requested election monitoring reports from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on elections in post-communist countries during the early 1990s, she was surprised to learn she was the first person to ask for them.

Kelley’s research team, which involved many Sanford students, collected data on 1,324 national elections from 1975 to 2004, of which about a third were monitored. They coded more than 40,000 pages of election monitoring documents, such as reports, press releases, and interim statements, collected from well over 600 monitoring missions.

“I made some fairly decent enemies at some of these organizations,” she said. Some, such as the OSCE, were very cooperative, while others resisted inquiries into their practices and motivations. Despite having rights as a European citizen to access reports from the European Union (EU), she exchanged nearly 200 e-mail messages and nearly had to file suit to obtain records she sought. At another organization, a staff member told her by phone, “The report you’re asking for I am holding in my hand, but I am being told to tell you it does not exist.”

In addition to analyzing all the data from the monitoring organizations, Kelley’s research team coded reports from the U.S. State Department on human rights practices, which provided comparable data on elections, some 4,000 pages. Kelley created a scale to assess whether elections had minor, moderate or high levels of problems, and a corresponding assessment of the election as acceptable, ambiguous or unacceptable.
meaning the outcome failed to represent the will of the electorate. She also developed a method for rating the credibility of each organization in relation to other groups. The result of her efforts is the first systematic evaluation, across countries and across time, of the effectiveness of international election monitoring organizations.

One thing she didn’t do during her six-year study of election monitors was join an election observation mission. “I turned down each and every observation invitation,” Kelley said. “I felt I could not be objective. I also felt I couldn’t learn that much on the ground beyond what I could learn from talking to people. I have been invited to some dangerous places, too—Afghanistan, Pakistan—and they were vetoed by my husband and my teenage daughter.”

Kelley says her conclusions are like the classic Western film, “The Good, The Bad and The Ugly”: “The good part is that monitors can improve election quality. The bad part is that most of the time they do not.

The ugly part is that they are sometimes biased and contribute to the false legitimization of governments.” Among her findings:

- In about half the countries that have hosted monitors there has been at least some improvement, but improvements are often short-lived. Even when monitored, politicians cheat 25 percent of the time.
- Monitoring works well in countries already on the road to transition, where there are domestic pressures for change, and where the international community is willing to use its leverage. Without these conditions, even repeated efforts in a country are likely to be futile.
- Elections monitored by the most credible organizations are better and result in greater incumbent turnover. Those monitored by low-quality monitors look similar to elections not monitored at all.
- Monitoring organizations have their own political entanglements, practical constraints, and normative concerns that
dilute their effectiveness and compromise their neutrality. Large, regional intergovernmental organizations (IGOs) have the greatest resources and leverage to conduct effective and professional monitoring, but also have more political baggage and less autonomy. As a result, smaller NGOs are more likely to criticize elections.

A crowded field of monitoring organizations leads to competition for resources, attention, credit and influence. Although fewer might be better, Kelley believes the number will continue to grow.

One of Kelley’s goals is to encourage journalists and government officials, who are trying to determine if foreign leaders are legitimately elected, to take monitors’ reports “with a grain of salt.”

“What’s presented as fact is often opinion, or an incomplete assessment made with limited resources. It is so confounding,” Kelley said. “Some organizations tend to do a worse job than others, but even among the better ones, none are perfect.”

Her work has led her to suggest a number of reforms, including:

- Include a conflict of interest statement with each election observation report.
- Set higher standards for government cooperation before accepting invitations to monitor elections.
- Build capacity before publicly assessing compliance with international election standards. In countries that struggle to assemble voter rolls, ensure the secrecy of the vote or handle other administrative tasks, organizations can assist countries with developing basic capacity first.
- When the election environment is violent, keep a low profile. Public assessments by outside groups can fuel conflict.

What’s presented as fact is often opinion, or an incomplete assessment made with limited resources.”

- Place greater priority on issuing a final, public report in a timely fashion, and post these reports online. The time between elections and final reports is often lengthy, diminishing the effectiveness of the mission.
- Follow up. Monitors often make long lists of recommendations, but when asked to return to the same nation a few years later, they fail to review responses to their own recommendations.

Kelley’s research is beginning to have an impact. Last March, she was invited to Johannesburg, South Africa, to speak at the inaugural meeting of the Kofi Annan Global Commission on Elections. The group’s membership includes Annan, U.N. Secretary-General from 1997 to 2006, and Martti Ahtisaari, former president of Finland, both Nobel Laureates, as well as three other former presidents: Ernesto Zedillo (Mexico), Festus Mogae (Botswana), and Vaira Vike-Freiberga (Latvia). Kelley calls the meeting the pinnacle of her career so far.

“Presenting my research findings to two Nobel laureates, to people who really care about the issue and can influence changes in how election monitoring is done, was an amazing feeling.” On the other hand, her emphasis on effectiveness hasn’t been met with total enthusiasm among monitoring organizations.

“What’s presented as fact is often opinion, or an incomplete assessment made with limited resources.”

- There is not much I have to say that they don’t already know, but there is a lot they don’t want to hear,” Kelley said. She is sympathetic.

“They are well-meaning individuals and this is their livelihood. They live from one funding opportunity to the next, and election to election, so it is difficult to reform their processes, but they are doing a lot to try to reform.”
American neighborhoods are more integrated than they have been since 1910, according to a recent study by Jacob Vigdor, professor of public policy and economics, and Edward Glaeser, professor of economics at Harvard University.

Housing segregation in the first half of the 20th century was driven by a combination of government and market forces, such as federal regulations that discouraged lending to homeowners in mixed-race neighborhoods and restrictive deed covenants that prohibited integration. Between 1910 and 1960, when large numbers of African Americans moved to urban areas, they encountered legal restrictions and discrimination by landlords and local housing authorities that narrowed their choice of neighborhoods. Segregation reached its peak in the 1960s. The federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 and the demolition of segregated high-rise housing projects were turning points in housing segregation.

Gentrification and immigration have increased diversity in formerly all-black neighborhoods, but the movement of black families into the suburbs has been a stronger factor, Vigdor and Glaeser found. Highly segregated cities in the Northeast and Midwest lost population as blacks moved to the growing cities of the Sun Belt, where levels of segregation are low.

It’s not really about upper-income whites aggressively gentrifying black areas and forcing out long-term residents, as some suggest. It’s primarily a story of progress, of black families choosing to leave segregated cities and live in more diverse areas elsewhere,” Vigdor said.

Vigdor and Glaeser reached their conclusions after analyzing data from 13 consecutive U.S. Census administrations. The study used two common measures, the dissimilarity index and the isolation index, to examine data on neighborhoods from 1980 to 2010. The dissimilarity index, the most commonly used measure of segregation since the end of World War II, measures whether two groups are found in equal proportions in all neighborhoods in a city. The isolation index focuses on the tendency for a group member to live where their share of the population is above the citywide average.

“All-white neighborhoods are effectively extinct. A half-century ago, one-fifth of America’s urban neighborhoods had exactly zero black residents. Today, African-American residents can be found in 199 out of every 200 neighborhoods nationwide. The remaining neighborhoods are mostly in remote rural areas or in cities with very little black population,” they wrote.

“Poverty might keep some families out of some neighborhoods these days, but race does not. That is a real accomplishment,” said Vigdor.

However, the housing reforms of the 1960s held out the hope that the end of segregation, which was so pervasive and so clearly unfair, would solve many of the social inequities associated with it. While the shift to more integrated neighborhoods has been dramatic over the past 40 years, it has not been accompanied by any narrowing of the racial achievement and employment gaps.
A Rare Window into an Authoritarian Regime

By Eric Nakano

In the spring of 2003, Hal Brands watched the first accounts of the Iraq War trickle in from the battlefield as reporters embedded with U.S. military divisions recorded the fall of Saddam Hussein’s regime. Now Brands, along with a team of other researchers, has helped to make thousands of internal Iraqi documents and transcripts captured by coalition forces during the ground invasion available to scholars. For historians and other scholars, the collection is a monumental find: the documents are a window into the complex relationships and decision-making processes that characterized one of the world’s most infamous and secretive dictatorships.

Until recently, the documents were off-limits to all but a few researchers. Housed in a restricted-access government network, the records could be viewed only by government officials and a handful of scholars at the nonprofit Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA). The Defense Department had initially released some materials to the public in 2006 but withdrew them amid concerns that some documents might contain sensitive technical information that could aid terrorists. The episode showed the need for a more systematic approach to vetting the documents and making them available to researchers, Brands said.

Brands, an assistant professor at the Sanford School, teaches American Grand Strategy and Cold War history, and typically focuses his research on the history of U.S. foreign policy. After getting his PhD, he took a job as a researcher at IDA, where he began to work on projects involving the Iraqi collection. What he saw excited him.

“There’s nothing else like it in the world,” said Brands. “When dictators are toppled or defeated in war, most of the documents from their personal offices are lost or destroyed. So this is an unparalleled resource, giving us a really unique window into Saddam’s decision-making, his worldview and his relationships with his advisers.”

The documents also have the potential to inform policymakers’ understanding of how authoritarian regimes think and operate.

Brands joined Kevin Woods and other IDA staffers to develop plans to make the documents available to scholars. Particularly in light of the 2006 misstep, it was important to carefully screen the material slated for release. Accordingly, the IDA team devised a series of vetting processes to ensure that the documents made available to scholars do not contain potentially sensitive technical information or information that might endanger innocent Iraqis.

“Before reaching Baghdad because of international opposition to the war, the regime also believed the Japanese Pokémon cartoon character was part of a secret Israeli plot against Iraq, and wanted to build a nuclear weapon as a precursor to launching a conventional war against Israel.”

By mid 2010, the team had begun to make some of the Iraqi records available through the Conflict Records Research Center (CRRC), located at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C. Scholars can schedule an appointment to review the documents.

While the documents largely reinforce Hussein’s reputation as a cruel and calculating dictator, another portrait emerges of a highly dysfunctional regime prone to catastrophic miscalculations and paranoia. Transcripts of conversations between Hussein and senior intelligence officers, for example, reveal that he confidently predicted Iran’s military forces could be easily overwhelmed, which led him to launch an invasion of that country in 1980. The war would go on to last eight years and claim nearly 500,000 Iraqi lives.

And during the U.S.-led invasion in 2003, he and his generals wrongly predicted U.S. coalition forces would halt their offense before reaching Baghdad because of international opposition to the war. The regime also believed the Japanese Pokémon cartoon character was part of a secret Israeli plot against Iraq, and wanted to build a nuclear weapon as a precursor to launching a conventional war against Israel.

“When dictators are toppled or defeated in war, most of the documents from their personal offices are lost or destroyed. So this is an unparalleled resource, giving us a really unique window into Saddam’s decision-making...”

In the 18 months since it was opened, the archive is already having an impact. Scholarly analyses and reports using the documents have found their way to the desks of senior military and intelligence officials. Interest in the collection has steadily increased and researchers, including Brands, have relied on it for published papers. Brands’ papers include “Saddam, Israel, and the Bomb: Nuclear Alarmism Justified?” (with David Palkki) in International Security and “Conspiring Bastards: Saddam Hussein’s Strategic View of the United States” (also with Palkki), forthcoming in the journal Diplomatic History.
Helping Drivers Choose ‘Green’ Oil

The summer before she started at Duke, Rebecca Ward was in Beijing at the 2008 Olympics thwarting fencing competitors with cool competence. Ward came to Duke having won two Olympic bronze medals and a gold medal from the 2006 World Fencing Championships. As a college athlete, she set records for Duke’s single-season (81) and career wins (272) on the way to winning three NCAA Women’s Saber Championships.

At Duke, Ward has proven to be more than a saber elite. Now a public policy senior, she is finishing her Duke career with a different battle in mind: fighting against environmental degradation. Ward grew up in Portland, Ore., a city known for being environmentally conscious. She had always hated waste, and the apathy that many people bring to environmental issues.

Ward applied her interests to her academic career by combining her public policy major with a certificate in energy and the environment and a minor in psychology. She also found time to serve on the First Year Advisory Board and Undergraduate Conduct Board, participate in Brownstone Selective Living Group, and write for Rival Magazine.

In a class taught by Lincoln Pratson, professor of earth and ocean sciences at the Nicholas School for the Environment, Ward discovered the focus for her honors thesis: the explosion of the Deepwater Horizon oil rig in the Gulf of Mexico and the resulting oil spill, the largest in U.S. history. Long after the course ended, Ward continued to follow the progression of the spill very closely as oil gushed into the Gulf at a rate of 30,000 to 60,000 barrels per day, claiming marine life, damaging marine ecosystem, and putting fishermen out of work.

That summer, Ward interned for U.S. Sen. Jeff Merkley from her home state. Ward said she spent much of her time taking calls from indignant Oregon residents who wanted the government to fix the oil spill and to punish rig operator British Petroleum (BP).

Ward returned to Duke resolved to uncover the underlying issues. What were the mechanisms that controlled the oil industry and how could oil companies be punished for environmental negligence? She decided to explore these questions through a public policy honors thesis.

“I wanted to ensure that something like the Gulf spill never happens again,” said Ward. She dove into these questions under the guidance of her thesis advisor and environmental policy expert, Jay Hamilton, the Charles S. Sydnor professor of public policy and professor of political science and economics.

At first, her hypothesis about oil regulation followed traditional laws of supply and demand. Consumers should be able to punish gas companies that make major mistakes by reducing consumption of that good and taking away the firm’s profits.

Student Finds Focus, Future In Multiethnic South Africa

“I should have seen it coming,” public policy senior Dan Forti said.

But when Forti decided to study abroad in Durban, South Africa, he didn’t anticipate it would lead not only to an internship and his senior honors thesis, but that Durban would become his new home after graduation.

Forti spent the fall of his junior year abroad, taking classes on the social and political transformation in Africa, learning to speak Zulu and conducting field research with the School for International Training. But his trip offered more than academic enrichment. Forti found he had never felt more comfortable in a place.

“What I loved about South Africa was that it was very much a strong blend of cultures within a larger community. South Africa has a diverse history in many ways. Right now all of these cultures are overlapping,” said Forti.

Originally from Queens, New York, Forti attended an international school from kindergarten to high school where he learned to speak French. Forti’s early global perspective fueled his interest in international issues, particularly African studies.

At Duke, Forti pursued his passion by minorining in African and African American Studies. His favorite course was “Conflict Resolution in Africa,” taught by Stephen Smith, a visiting Sanford professor and former Africa editor for Le Monde, who would become Forti’s honors thesis advisor. Through his coursework, Forti developed the concrete research, analytical, and writing skills to help him apply his interests to real-world contexts. He describes choosing
Ward soon realized her initial assumptions were inaccurate. She discovered that there is a disjointed connection between individual gas stations and oil wells. About 94 percent of gas stations, such as the BP station on Erwin Road in Durham, are independently operated franchises. In other words, there is no direct link between a particular gas station and the production of the oil sold at that station. Private owners are licensed to represent a particular brand, but the gas sold does not directly affect the namesake oil company, Ward’s thesis explains.

He came back changed,” Smith said of Forti. “He went to a place that changed his perspective, challenged him, and it did him good.”

Forti returned from his second trip abroad with a desire to write a senior honors thesis on African policy. He chose to focus on cessation movements in Africa, specifically drawing lessons from Somaliland as a case study of a successful, albeit non-traditional, movement. Compared to its neighboring regions of south-central Somalia and Puntland, Somaliland has been able to achieve greater stability and independent government although it has not received formal recognition from the international community.

Forti developed a new measure of a successful cessation movement and identified conditions that facilitate or impede success. He identified four factors that helped Somaliland: a sustained conflict, sufficient institutional capacity, international or diaspora support and community investment or buy-in.

Smith called the study “quite original” because international recognition is the typical indicator of a successful movement. However, “recognition would be more of a bane than a boon for [Somaliland] because … the aid would destroy the social fabric… and could lead to state failure,” he said.

Aside from his academic interests, Forti is actively involved with Duke club rugby team. After playing for the first time during his freshmen year, Forti fell in love with the sport and has been on the team for four years. He is currently the president.

“I couldn’t tell you where I’ll end up in 10 years,” Forti said. “I am taking things one year at a time.” His advice for freshmen is, “If you find a major that makes you happy, keep pursuing it. Don’t be afraid of the requirements or courses. I’ve been very lucky to find a field that I really enjoy.”

Ward also learned that current incentive structures allow oil companies to avoid implementing adequate safety precautions, placing the environment, dependent economies and taxpayers at risk.

“There must be a systemic change to how the oil industry views safety and profits as conflicting priorities,” said Ward.

Given these institutional barriers, in her thesis Ward developed an alternative model to return power to consumers and allow them to punish problematic oil companies: Use a rating system, similar to restaurant cleanliness ratings, to give consumers greater knowledge about the eco-friendliness of gas they purchase. Prominently displaying oil safety ratings might enable consumers to make informed choices, reward companies with higher ratings and punish companies with poorer ratings.

“If it were possible to guide consumer choices to those companies with the best environmental and safety practices, oil companies would be forced to internalize a portion of environmental damage into the cost of production,” Ward said.

Such a system could bridge the firm-franchise-consumer divide, and allow the safety practices of a firm to directly impact its profit structure.

Ward acknowledged implementing her plan faces challenges. Passing oil legislation is almost impossible, she said, and the plan might marginally increase gas prices and require stringent enforcement. But she remains hopeful that her proposal might be “a step in the right direction.”

the public policy major as one of the best decisions of his Duke career.

Forti returned to South Africa the summer before his senior year for a policy internship with the African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Dispute (ACCORD), a local NGO. One of his primary research areas was assessing the role of the rapidly growing youth population during and following the disputed re-election of Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki in 2007. Post-election violence left more than 1,200 Kenyans dead and 300,000 people displaced. The head of ACCORD’s Knowledge Production Department, Grace Maina, used his work as a case study for an edited volume on youth and conflict in Africa.

His research was part of what Forti calls a “defining internship” that gave him the confidence and desire to pursue African policy analysis. Forti has accepted an offer from ACCORD to return as a full-time research analyst.
Reflections on Leadership as a Way of Being

This is an edited excerpt from a speech Ambassador James A. Joseph gave to the 2008–09 members of the Emerging Leaders Program (ELP) in Cape Town, South Africa. Joseph’s speeches to ELP participants were published this year by the U.S.-Southern Africa Center for Leadership and Public Values.

ELP was established in 2002 at Duke and University of Cape Town as a joint program for mid-career leaders. In 2007, a second joint program was launched at Southern University in Baton Rouge, La., in response to two devastating hurricanes. Among the 200 influential graduates of the year-long, in-service program are the mayor of Philadelphia, the archbishop of Cape Town, and the president of Hampden-Sydney College. The final ELP class graduated in spring of 2011. Joseph became an emeritus professor in 2011 and efforts are under way to seek new leadership and funding for the program.

Let me now say a few words about the place of the Emerging Leaders Program (ELP) in my own journey. That journey began as an anti-apartheid activist who decided to personally visit South Africa in 1974 to gather ammunition for the war we were waging against apartheid from distant shores. Some well-placed and potentially violent South Africans did not take too kindly to my describing the apartheid state as a pigmentation in which rights and resources were apportioned in accordance with the pigmentation of the skin. This led to threats that were so serious and credible that I barricaded my door in the evenings with furniture from the room I occupied in a lovely hotel on the Durban beachfront. Needless to say, I was as eager to leave then as I was anxious to return in later years.

I tried to get back in to South Africa again in 1976 after the initial Soweto uprising, but I was denied a visa and flew to Lesotho instead to see if I could be helpful to any of the young people going into exile. I found myself in serious trouble again a few years after I made a grant through the Cummins Foundation to support the clandestine filming of the documentary “Last Grave at Dimbaza” which brought the working conditions of mineworkers to viewers around the world.

Representatives of the South African government and the South African Foundation, a propaganda ally of the apartheid state, did everything they could to get me fired; but I was back in South Africa again in 1990 standing outside of Parliament with a “Free Mandela” sign when deKlerk announced that Nelson Mandela would be set free and the ANC unbanned. My journey continued as I led delegations of foundation executives to South Africa to look at how they could support the pre-democracy struggles taking place. The roots of the Emerging Leaders Program are thus very deep.

This third phase of my journey, with ELP, has been to help build a cadre of young value-driven leaders who can contribute both to the transformations taking place and the development of a culture of ethical leadership. This phase has caused me to think deeply, define differently and even teach differently what I mean by leadership.

We now speak of leadership as a way of being with four elements. The first and most obvious is what Daniel Goleman and others describe as emotional intelligence. Goleman concluded that leadership is more art than science and that while the qualities traditionally associated with leadership are important, they are not sufficient. He emphasized the importance of self-awareness, self-regulation, empathy and social awareness.

A second dimension of leadership as a way of being is probably best described as moral intelligence. It is knowing not simply...
what is the right thing to do in our individual existence, but knowing how to apply ethics in our aggregate existence, whether in business, government or the institutions of civil society. It is also the capacity to see ethics as not simply a moral or civic imperative, but as a part of enlightened self-interest. Principle-centered leadership is what the public is now demanding of all of their leaders rather than simply what a few are demanding of themselves.

The third dimension of leadership as a way of being is social intelligence, knowing what paradigm of leadership, what styles and strategies are most suitable to the context. While globalization has changed many of the old patterns and expectations of leaders, there is, nevertheless, an increasing demand for leaders who can cope with the challenge of cultural diversity.

The fourth dimension of leadership as a way of being is spiritual intelligence, an openness to the unknown, the unexpected and the unexplored; a sense, sometimes with considerable certainty but often with lingering doubt, that each of us is a part of something bigger and more mysterious than the self. I have learned much over the years about the importance of being in touch with the inner self and at ease with my own strengths and weaknesses. I have found that I am happiest and most at harmony with myself and others when I practice compassion, forgiveness, tolerance and patience.

It was my good fortune as U.S. Ambassador to South Africa near the close of the 20th century to work with Nelson Mandela, one of the most revered and respected leaders of the modern era. The irony is that after 27 years of incarceration Mandela went from political prisoner to president. He was in prison while the world economy was becoming interdependent. He was in prison while we were developing the Internet. He was in prison while we were becoming addicted to the cell phone. He was in prison while we were being seduced by the notion that experience trumps wisdom and judgment.

But he came out of prison, took over the leadership of his party and his country and never missed a beat because for him leadership was a way of being rather than simply the mastery of a set of specialized functions, management competencies or public experiences. You might keep that in mind as we make choices both in the United States and South Africa about who is best to lead us in the coming years.

James Joseph, right, with his wife Mary Braxton Joseph, shakes hands with Nelson Mandela after presenting his credentials as ambassador, 1996.

“It was my good fortune as U.S. Ambassador to South Africa near the close of the 20th century to work with Nelson Mandela, one of the most revered and respected leaders of the modern era.”


This is a sample of publications by Sanford faculty. For more complete information visit faculty websites at www.sanford.duke.edu
Sanford ABROAD

Sanford School faculty travel worldwide, giving presentations and lectures and conducting research. This map illustrates recent selected activities around the world.
LONDON, U.K.
Bruce Jentleson
Dec. 13, 2011
Talks: "Amidst the Revolutions: U.S. Strategy in a Changing Middle East"
Royal Institute of International Affairs, Chatham House
and "Diplomacy, Force and R2P: Lessons from Libya and the Arab Spring"
University of London School of Oriental and African Studies

BEER-SHEVA, ISRAEL
Tony Brown
Aug. 22-29, 2011
Training: "Changemaker Leadership"
Ben-Gurion University

ANTALYA, TURKEY
Anthony So
Nov. 17, 2011
Talks: "Can Markets Work to Scale Up Access and Rational Drug Use?" and "Jumping into the Pool: Is It the Shallow or the Deep End?"
Third International Conference on Improving Use of Medicine

JOHANNESBERG, SOUTH AFRICA
Judith Kelley
March 4-5, 2011
Talk: "International Election Monitoring"
Kofi Annan Global Commission on Elections

CAIRO, EGYPT
Roy Kelly, Graham Glenday, Sandeep Bhattacharya and Rubino Sugana
Dec. 4-15, 2011
Training: "Public Financial Management and Budgeting Tax Analysis and Revenue Forecasting" for Egyptian ministry officials

LUGANO, SWITZERLAND
James Hamilton
Oct. 25, 2011
Talk: "Rational Choice Theory and Behavioral Economics in Journalism and Mass Communication"
University of Lugano

HELSINKI, FINLAND
James Hamilton
Oct. 13, 2011
Talk: "What’s the Incentive to Save Journalism?"
University of Helsinki

MADRID & BARCELONA, SPAIN
Bruce Jentleson
Oct. 3-6, 2011
Talks: "US Foreign Policy in the Middle East" and "The End of Arrogance: America in the Global Competition of Ideas"
Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue and the Autonomous University of Barcelona

ROME, ITALY
Fernando Fernholz
Oct. 4-5, 2011
Roundtable: "Economic and Financial Analysis"
International Fund for Agricultural Development

BEIJING, CHINA
Richard Hemming
July 21, 2011
Talk: "Sovereign Debt Sustainability in China"
Asian Development Bank

TOKYO, JAPAN
Bruce Jentleson
Oct. 27, 2011
Talk: "U.S. Grand Strategy and U.S.-Japan Relations"
Third Joint U.S. Public Policy Forum

JAKARTA, INDONESIA
Roy Kelly
Sept. 13-14, 2011
Paper: "Strengthening the Local Revenue Side of Intergovernmental Financing, including Property Tax Devolution — The Indonesian and International Experience"
The International Conference on Fiscal Decentralization in Indonesia a Decade after Big Bang

COX’S BAZAR, BANGLADESH
Roy Kelly
Training: "UNCDF/UNDP Workshop on Fiscal Decentralization and Local Governance"

NEW DELHI, INDIA
Anthony So
Oct. 5, 2011
Session Chair and Presenter: "Innovation of Novel Technologies to Combat Antibiotic Resistance: The Role of Developing Countries"
Global Forum on Bacterial Infections

CHRIS HILDRETH/DUKE PHOTOGRAPHY

Professor Anirudh Krishna with Global Semester Abroad students in Udaipur, India.
Crown Lecture in Ethics

The 2003 Nobel Peace Prize Winner Shirin Ebadi will give the 2012 Crown Lecture in Ethics at the Sanford School. Ebadi was the first Iranian and first Muslim woman to win the Nobel. A lawyer and former judge, Ebadi is a champion of human rights, particularly for women, children and refugees, and has provided legal counsel for many individuals and groups in defense of free speech and political freedom. She is the author of several books, including *The Golden Cage* (2011) and *Iran Awakening: One Woman's Journey to Reclaim Her Life and Country* (2007). Co-sponsored by Duke University Union.

The Ambassador Dave and Kay Phillips Family International Lecture

As U.S. Secretary of State under President George W. Bush (2005-2009), Condoleezza Rice was the first African American woman in the post. During Bush's first term, Rice served as National Security Advisor, the first woman to hold the position. Rice is now the Denning Professor in Global Business and the Economy at Stanford University's Graduate School of Business, as well as a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and a professor of political science. She served as Stanford's provost from 1993-1999. Her books include the bestsellers *No Higher Honor: A Memoir of My Years in Washington* (2011) and *Extraordinary, Ordinary People: A Memoir of Family* (2010). She will talk with Duke Professor of Political Science and Public Policy Peter Feaver in Page Auditorium.

STAY CONNECTED sanford.duke.edu
Follow us on Twitter: @DukeSanford  facebook: www.facebook.com/duke.sanfordschool  YouTube: www.youtube.com/DukeSanfordSchool