



CARNEGIE
ENDOWMENT FOR
INTERNATIONAL PEACE

2017 James C. Gaither Junior Fellows Conference
Don't Stop Believing: Restoring Civic Norms and Faith in Institutions

Thursday, June 15, 2017

After one of the most contentious U.S. presidential elections in recent memory, increasingly hostile political discourse has made the gap between conservatives and liberals seem more insurmountable than ever. Yet there is a growing sense among Americans of all political stripes that the institutions designed to safeguard democracy and serve the public no longer do so. The next generation of policymakers and advocates must seize this moment to rejuvenate America's civic culture and restore faith in political institutions.

General Information

The Junior Fellows Conference will take place at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, which is located at 1779 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington, DC 20036. The suggested attire for conference attendees is business attire.

If you have any questions, please contact Alexandra Vreeman at AVreeman@ceip.org or +1 202 939 2242.



Agenda

1:00 to 1:30 p.m. **Registration**

1:30 to 1:45 p.m. **Opening Remarks**

Speaker William J. Burns, President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Room Root (2nd Floor)

1:45 to 2:20 p.m. **Keynote Address**

Speaker Heather Hurlburt, Director, New Models of Policy Change, New America

Room Root (2nd Floor)

2:30 to 3:45 p.m. **The Populist Moment: Understanding Citizens' Frustration with American Democracy (Panel)**

A bipartisan and interdisciplinary discussion that aims to analyze the factors driving Americans' waning commitment to civic norms and low confidence in democratic institutions.

Moderator Kyle Kondik, Managing Editor, *Sabato's Crystal Ball*

Speakers Stuart Rothenberg, Senior Editor, *Inside Elections*

A.B. Stoddard, Associate Editor and Columnist, RealClearPolitics

Marcia Johnson-Blanco, Codirector, Voting Rights Project, Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law

Lilliana Mason, Assistant Professor, University of Maryland

Room Root (2nd Floor)



3:55 to 4:40 p.m. From Diagnosis to Treatment: Brainstorming Solutions to Polarization and Disunity (Breakout Session)

Conference participants will be assigned to breakout groups of 8 to 10 individuals where they will both assess the merits of the arguments presented in the preceding panel and use that panel as a launchpad for policy recommendations.

Room See folder for room assignments.

4:50 to 6:05 p.m. American Democracy in Comparative Perspective: Pathways to Democratic Renewal (Panel)

A discussion that brings together democracy experts and civic engagement practitioners that have worked in the United States and in other countries and regions to identify ways the U.S. government and civil society can rejuvenate U.S. democracy.

Moderator Mary Beth Goodman, former Senior Director for Development and Democracy, National Security Council

Speakers Michael Shifter, President, Inter-American Dialogue

Hala Harik Hayes, former Program Associate, AmericaSpeaks

Sarah Yerkes, Fellow, Middle East Program, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Room Root (2nd Floor)

6:15 to 6:25 p.m. Closing Remarks

Speaker Thomas Carothers, Senior Vice President for Studies, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

Room Root (2nd Floor)

6:30 to 7:30 p.m. Reception

Room Root Foyer (2nd Floor)



Speaker Biographies

Opening Remarks

William J. Burns is president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Ambassador Burns retired from the U.S. Foreign Service in 2014 after a thirty-three-year diplomatic career. He holds the highest rank in the Foreign Service, career ambassador, and is only the second serving career diplomat in history to become deputy secretary of state. Prior to his tenure as deputy secretary, Ambassador Burns served from 2008 to 2011 as under secretary for political affairs. He was ambassador to Russia from 2005 to 2008, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern affairs from 2001 to 2005, and ambassador to Jordan from 1998 to 2001.

Keynote Address

Heather Hurlburt is the director of the New Models of Policy Change initiative at New America's Political Reform program. At New America, Hurlburt leads research into how policy advocacy is adapting to be effective in our current environment of intense political polarization, and provides guidance to advocates and funders seeking to navigate politics effectively on behalf of policy solutions. In addition to serving as a special assistant and speechwriter for President Clinton from 1999-2001, Hurlburt previously served as the executive director of the National Security Network, a premier source for internationalist foreign policy messaging and advocacy, and worked on Capitol Hill and for the International Crisis Group. In addition, Hurlburt previously worked at the Carnegie Endowment as the Director of the Face-to-Face Program from 1994-1995.

The Populist Moment: Understanding Citizens' Frustration with American Democracy

Kyle Kondik is managing editor of *Sabato's Crystal Ball*, the University of Virginia Center for Politics' authoritative, nonpartisan newsletter on American campaigns and elections. He is a frequently cited expert on American politics who has appeared on CNN, Fox News, MSNBC, PBS NewsHour and Comedy Central's *Daily Show*. His book on Ohio's presidential voting history, *The Bellwether*, was released in June 2016. Before joining the Center for Politics in 2011, Kyle served as director of policy and research for former Ohio attorney general Richard Cordray and as a reporter, editorial page editor, and political columnist at newspapers in Northeast Ohio.

Stuart Rothenberg is a senior editor at *Inside Elections with Nathan L. Gonzales*. He served for over two decades as the editor and publisher of the *Rothenberg Political Report*, a nonpartisan political newsletter covering U.S. House, Senate and gubernatorial campaigns, and presidential politics. He also was a national columnist for *Roll Call* and for the *Washington Post*.



A.B. Stoddard is an associate editor and columnist at RealClearPolitics. She has covered the U.S. Congress since 1994, for States News Service, the *Hill* newspaper, and as Senate producer for ABC News. She returned to the *Hill* in 2006 as commentator and columnist, where her column won first place from the Society of Professional Journalists, Washington chapter, in 2010 and 2011. Stoddard appears regularly on FOX's *Special Report With Bret Baier*, and CNN's *New Day*, as well as other shows on FOX News Channel, FOX Business Network, and CNN. She is also a host of *No Labels Radio*, on Sirius XM's POTUS Channel. Stoddard began her career as a reporter in northern Virginia at the Potomac News.

Marcia Johnson-Blanco is the codirector of the Voting Rights Project at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. She manages the Project's programmatic and advocacy portfolios, which include leading Election Protection, the nation's largest non-partisan voter protection program; overseeing the work of the National Commission on Voting Rights; promoting election reform; ensuring minority participation in the redistricting process; and assisting those with felony convictions to regain their right to vote. In 2005, Marcia served as the deputy director of the National Commission on the Voting Rights Act which was organized to review the record of discrimination in voting from 1982 to 2005. She also coordinates the Lawyer's Committee's international human rights initiatives including the International Convention on the Elimination on all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and has presented before the reviewing bodies during treaty reviews in Geneva, Switzerland.

Lilliana Mason is an assistant professor in the Department of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland. Her research interests include American political behavior, political psychology, partisan and social identity, and polarization. Specifically, her work focuses on the polarizing effect of partisan sorting, and the consequences of sorting for political behavior in general. Her research has appeared in journals such as *American Political Science Review* and *American Journal of Political Science*. Her new book *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* is due out January 2018 from the University of Chicago Press and focuses on partisan sorting and polarization in American politics.

American Democracy in Comparative Perspective: Pathways to Democratic Renewal

Mary Beth Goodman was the special assistant to former U.S. president Barack Obama and senior director for development and democracy at the National Security Council, where she was responsible for advising the president and national security adviser on global development, health, democracy, and humanitarian issues. She previously worked at the NSC as the director for international economic affairs working on developing policies related to economic governance and assistance for the Middle East and North Africa in response to the Arab Spring. Prior to that, Goodman worked for the Departments of State and Homeland Security, including in a variety of



overseas postings. She also served as a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress, and co-founded The Sentry, a civil society initiative to investigate the connection between kleptocracy, corruption, and human rights abuses in Africa.

Michael Shifter is president of the Inter-American Dialogue, a think tank devoted to enhancing cooperation within the Western Hemisphere. Since 1994, Shifter has played a key role in shaping the Dialogue's agenda, commissioning policy-relevant articles and reports. Prior to joining the Dialogue, Shifter directed the Latin American and Caribbean program at the National Endowment for Democracy and, before that, the Ford Foundation's governance and human rights program in the Andean region and Southern Cone, where he was based, first, in Lima, Peru and then in Santiago, Chile. In the 1980s, he was representative in Brazil with the Inter-American Foundation, and also worked at the Woodrow Wilson Center's Latin American Program. Since 1993, Shifter has been an adjunct professor at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service, where he teaches Latin American politics. He frequently publishes articles and appears in interviews in U.S., Latin American, and European media.

Hala Harik Hayes has more than fifteen years of experience working in the public and nonprofit sector with a particular focus on designing, facilitating, and managing large-scale interactive meetings. She began her career doing citizen engagement with the Neighborhood Empowerment Initiative started by former Washington, DC mayor Anthony Williams. She then joined AmericaSpeaks, where she helped organize and produce a wide range of town meetings and various innovative engagement activities in Washington, DC and around the United States.

Sarah Yerkes is a fellow in Carnegie's Middle East Program, where her research focuses on Tunisia's political, economic, and security developments as well as state-society relations in the Middle East and North Africa. She has been a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Council on Foreign Relations international affairs fellow and has taught in the Security Studies Program at Georgetown University and at the Elliott School of International Affairs at the George Washington University. Yerkes is a former member of the State Department's policy planning staff, where she focused on North Africa. Previously, she was a foreign affairs officer in the State's Department's Office of Israel and Palestinian affairs. Yerkes also served as a geopolitical research analyst for the U.S. military's Joint Staff Strategic Plans and Policy Directorate (J5) at the Pentagon, advising the Joint Staff leadership on foreign policy and national security issues.

Closing Remarks

Thomas Carothers is senior vice president for studies at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In that capacity he oversees all of the research programs at Carnegie. He also directs the Democracy and Rule of Law Program and carries out research and writing on democracy-related issues. Carothers is a leading authority on international support for democracy,



human rights, governance, the rule of law, and civil society. He has worked on democracy assistance projects for many organizations and carried out extensive field research on aid efforts around the world. He is the author of six critically acclaimed books and many articles in prominent journals and newspapers. He is a distinguished visiting professor at the Central European University in Budapest and was previously a visiting faculty member at Nuffield College, Oxford University, and Johns Hopkins SAIS.



Recommended Readings

The Populist Moment: Understanding Citizens' Frustration with American Democracy

- [William Galston, "The Populist Moment," *Journal of Democracy* \(April 2017\)](#)
- [Bill Bishop, "Americans Have Lost Faith in Institutions: That's Not Because of Trump or 'Fake News,'" *Washington Post* \(March 2017\)](#)
- [Lilliana Mason, "Why Victory Trumps the Greater Good in American Politics," *LSE US Centre* \(February 2015\)](#)
- [Sarah Chayes, "It Was a Corruption Election: It's Time We Realized It," *Foreign Policy* \(December 2016\)](#)
- [Ta-Nehisi Coates, "My President Was Black," *The Atlantic* \(January/February 2017\)](#)
- [Clare Malone, "The End of a Republican Party," *FiveThirtyEight* \(July 2016\)](#)

American Democracy in Comparative Perspective: Pathways to Democratic Renewal

- [Roberto Stefan Foa and Yascha Mounk, "The Democratic Disconnect," *Journal of Democracy* \(July 2016\)](#)
- [Thomas Carothers, "Look Homeward, Democracy Promoter," *Foreign Policy* \(January 2016\)](#)
- [Shannon K. O'Neil, "Latin America's Populist Hangover," *Foreign Affairs* \(September 2016\)](#)
- [Sarah Yerkes, "Youth Voting: What a New Democracy Can Teach Us About an Old One," *Brookings: Markaz* \(November 2016\)](#)
- [Ross Douthat, "Can the Democrats Move Right?" *New York Times* \(November 2016\)](#)
- [Heather Hurlburt, "Whatever Happened to Our Transpartisan Future?" *Vox* \(April 2017\)](#)



Directions

Walking

From Dupont Circle METRO Station

Location: Connecticut Avenue & 19th Street, NW; Washington, DC (South Exit)
Approximately two blocks to the Carnegie Endowment

Massachusetts Avenue, NW crosses Dupont Circle. Take the Massachusetts Ave. exit off of Dupont Circle and follow Massachusetts Ave. until reaching 18th Street. Carnegie is the second building on the left after passing 18th Street.

Driving

From Washington Dulles International Airport (IAD)

Take 66 East toward Washington (approximately 28 miles). Keep following until you reach the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge. Cross over the bridge, and this road will turn into Constitution Avenue. Follow Constitution Avenue until it is possible to turn left onto 18th Street. Follow 18th Street to Massachusetts Ave. Turn right onto Massachusetts Ave. Carnegie is the second building on the left.

From Reagan Washington National Airport (DCA)

Take Exit Airport onto 395N and stay in the left lane. Follow the 14th Street Bridge and continue on 14th Street to I (Eye) Street. Make a left on I Street. Continue three blocks and then make a right on 17th Street. Stay on 17th Street until reaching Massachusetts Ave. Turn left onto Massachusetts Avenue. Carnegie is on the right side of the street near the corner of 18th Street and Massachusetts Ave.

From Baltimore Washington International Airport (BWI)

Take 95 South to the Baltimore-Washington Parkway toward Washington. Stay on the Parkway and follow until it is possible to exit onto New York Avenue (approximately 45 miles from BWI). Follow New York Avenue right; follow Massachusetts Avenue under the Thomas Circle underpass. Stay on Massachusetts Ave. until reaching Scott Circle. Proceed around the circle and continue on Massachusetts Ave. You will pass 17th Street. Carnegie is located on the next block near the corner of 18th Street and Massachusetts Ave.

From Route I-270 Northwest/Frederick & Hagerstown, MD

Follow 270 South towards Washington, DC to where 270 forks. Take the 495 Virginia fork. Follow 495 into Virginia and exit onto the George Washington Memorial Parkway towards Washington, DC. Follow this road approximately 10 miles and exit at the Key Bridge exit. Cross over bridge 3/4 of the way, staying in the right lane. There is a discreet exit on the right side of the bridge. Take the exit onto Whitehurst Freeway and follow to K Street (they will run parallel to each other). Follow K Street to 17th Street, NW. Make a LEFT on 17th Street, NW. Follow to 17th and Massachusetts and turn left onto Massachusetts Avenue. Carnegie is on the right side of the street near the corner of 18th Street and Massachusetts Ave.



From Virginia and Points South

Follow 95 North towards Washington. I-95 will turn into 395 North. Stay on left lane of 395, which will turn into 14th Street crossing over to the District of Columbia via the 14th Street Bridge. Follow 14th Street to Thomas Circle approximately 3/4 of the way around until it is possible to exit onto Massachusetts Avenue. Follow Massachusetts Ave. to the next roundabout, Scott Circle. Proceed around the circle and continue on Massachusetts Ave. You will pass 17th Street. Carnegie is located on the next block near the corner of 18th Street and Massachusetts Ave.

Parking

The Carnegie Endowment does not offer on-site parking. Below are local parking garages within a five- to ten-minute walk from the Carnegie building.

Atlantic Parking

1776 Massachusetts Avenue

Open: Monday-Friday

Time: 7:00 a.m.-7:00 p.m.

Central Parking System

1800 Massachusetts Avenue

Open: Monday-Friday

Time: 7:00 a.m.-11:00 p.m.

24-Hour Parking

11 Dupont Circle

Entrance is off of New Hampshire Avenue



ABOUT THE JAMES C. GAITHER JUNIOR FELLOWS PROGRAM

The James C. Gaither Junior Fellows Program at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offers one-year research fellowships to uniquely qualified university graduates to work in tandem with Carnegie's scholars on projects including nuclear policy and cybersecurity, energy and climate change, democracy and rights, geoeconomics and strategy, and regional area studies related to the Middle East, East Asia, South Asia, and Russia. The 2017 Junior Fellows Conference is organized primarily by the current class of Junior Fellows.

The 2016-17 James C. Gaither Junior Fellows are:

Elena Barham	Miles Graham	Bert Thompson
Bogdan Belei*	Jessica Margolis	Alexandra Vreeman*
Jonah Belser*	Benjamin Lee*	Samuel Wojcicki*
Rebecca Brown	David Song	Caroline Zullo
Mariam Ghanem*	David Stack	

*Member of 2017 Junior Fellows Conference Executive Committee

The James C. Gaither Junior Fellows extend special thanks to:

Thomas Carothers
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Larry J. Sabato

Young Professionals in Foreign Policy