

# CARR CENTER ANNUAL REPORT 2019-20



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# WELCOME

Dear friends of the Carr Center,

This past academic year, we've seen significant economic anxiety, political uncertainty, and public health failures besiege communities and societies around the world. We've also witnessed acts of solidarity and kinship—the Black Lives Matter protests sweeping the United States, the rise of social movements holding authoritarian leaders to account, and communities offering mutual aid to vulnerable people impacted by the pandemic.

We are keenly aware of how important human rights are during this time, as well as the need for human rights centers to be both responsive to the current moment, and focused strategically on the horizon. Over the past year, we have focused on building a center that aims to do both, and we've created and expanded a number of our programs in doing so. The Carr Center's Technology and Human Rights program, led by Mathias Risse and Sushma Raman, examines the ethical and rights implications of technological advancements on the human rights framework. Through the program, we've been honored to host events like that featuring Ruha Benjamin, author of *Race after Technology*, who spoke to the concept of viral justice: the impact of the pandemic and policing and associated technologies on Black people. The program has also amplified the work of its inaugural year of Technology and Human Rights Fellows, working on topics such as challenges to privacy in an era of big data, the implications of Facebook's global Oversight Board on disinformation, and how to tackle content moderation of hate speech.

The Carr Center's project on Renewing Rights and Responsibilities in the United States, led by Mathias Risse and John Shattuck, finalized its research and policy papers assessing the rollback of rights domestically, and what can be done to renew our collective commitment to equality, liberty, and justice. The report and set of recommendations, along with the results of a nationwide poll and three local townhalls, were released this fall.



At a time when current Black Lives Matter protests are estimated to be the largest recorded in U.S. history, the Nonviolent Action Lab—launched and led by Erica Chenoweth—examines the strategies and tactics of nonviolent social movements to effect change. The lab also hosted its second round of Topol Fellows, a group of five students working on nonviolent solutions to social and political conflict.

In addition to our three core programs, we've launched work around the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on human rights and on racial justice. Our monthly podcast *Justice Matters*, weekly newsletter, and social media channels reach thousands of followers around the world, and we've hosted large-scale events with leaders such as UN High Commissioner Michelle Bachelet, gun reform advocate Shannon Watts, North Korean refugee Joseph Kim, and *Surveillance Capitalism* author Shoshana Zuboff.

Our work wouldn't be possible without the people involved—our staff, faculty, fellows, students, advisory board members, and other donors. We'd particularly like to thank Doug Elmendorf, Dean of the Kennedy School, Vin Ryan, chair emeritus of the Carr Center's advisory board, and Mike Decker, current chair, each of whom has played a pivotal role in supporting the Carr Center's strategic growth.

We'd like to hear your feedback on this report. And we hope that you remain engaged with our work in the coming months. After all, human rights are not just about institutions, laws, and policies. They are about people coming together, hoping to make the world and their communities a better place—more just, more equitable, and more peaceful.

Best wishes,

**Mathias Risse**

Faculty Director;  
Lucius N. Littauer Professor of  
Philosophy & Public Administration

**Sushma Raman**

Executive Director

# PEOPLE

## LEADERSHIP

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### **Mark Latonero**

Research Lead, Human Rights and AI on the Ground Initiatives at Data & Society

### **Laurin Leonard**

Executive Director, Mission: Launch; Co-Founder, R3 Score Technologies

### **Sabelo Mhlambi**

Computer Scientist and Researcher

### **Desmond Patton**

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## CHARLIE CLEMENTS FELLOW

Aniko Bakonyi

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WHAT IS THE  
HUMAN  
IN AN AGE OF  
TECHNOLOGICAL  
CONVERGENCE



09

# PROGRAMS

# TECHNOLOGY & HUMAN RIGHTS

Many of us have at one time or another been required to fill out a survey—answering questions that force our cultural identities, gender expressions, experiences, and intricate histories into overly-simplified categorical boxes. Some don't think twice when they check a response: yes or no, male or female, black or white. Others, like Teresa Hodge, dread these surveys.

Several years ago, Teresa Y. Hodge was online applying for a job, and after entering a few personal details, a check box appeared on her screen: "Have you ever been convicted of a crime?" Having recently served a 70-month prison sentence for a white-collar conviction, Hodge clicked "yes."

"I recall like it was yesterday; just taking the deep breath, checking the box. And the moment I did that, the screen went black," said Hodge, who along with her daughter and business partner Laurin Leonard, are Technology and Human Rights Fellows at the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. "And then it said: 'Something you said has disqualified you for this opportunity.' Well, it was really obvious what had happened."

In the seven years since she was released, Hodge and Leonard have been on a mission to infuse human rights considerations into the space where technology meets people—specifically those with histories of incarceration. As part of the initial cohort of Technology and Human Rights Fellows, Hodge and Leonard wrote a paper touching on artificial intelligence, human rights, criminal background checks, and what they call "algorithmic justice."



The two women say one-in-three Americans, approximately 70 million, currently have an arrest record, conviction record, or both. By the year 2030, that number is expected to be 100 million. And those people invariably find that the algorithm-driven measurements used by banks, educational institutions, and potential employers to gauge their reliability—credit scores and criminal background checks—are not their friends.

“Algorithms have been used to deny bail. They’ve been used in the courtrooms to validate long sentences,” Hodge said in a recent interview. “In general, algorithms have been used in a very punitive and harsh way.”

The algorithmic bias woven into even the most common electronic assessments tends to disproportionality impact already marginalized communities—often people of color—trapping them in a cycle that limits upward mobility.

Teresa and Laurin’s project represents just one of the many bold, boundary-pushing projects supported by the Carr Center’s Technology and Human Rights Fellowship. The fellowship, which brought together 15 fellows in a virtual network, allowed emerging scholars and practitioners to work on a range of cutting-edge concerns at the intersection of technology and human rights, including algorithmic bias, surveillance in humanitarian settings, the inherent racial and gender bias integrated into artificial intelligence technology, and the role of social media in gang violence.

The Carr Center’s Technology and Human Rights Program—developed during the commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights—examines how technological advancements affect the future of human rights. In addition to the fellowship program, which this year attracted 140 highly qualified applicants, the Center publishes a series of research papers, convenes leaders across sectors, hosts a weekly talk series called “Towards Life 3.0: Ethics and Technology in the 21st Century,” and organizes an annual conference.

In addition to our robust fellowship program and regular discussion series, the Technology and Human Rights Program has hosted 20 events ranging from a discussion with Shoshana Zuboff on the age of surveillance capitalism, to Ruha Benjamin’s conversation on the intersection of race and technology: “The New Jim Code.” In the last year, the program has published more than 20 papers, and our faculty and fellows’ research has been featured in news outlets including *The New York Times*, NPR, *Salon*, and *ProPublica*, to name a few. As the program continues to examine how new technologies both advance and hinder the human rights agenda, the rise of artificial intelligence and machine learning, in particular, necessitate interaction, collaboration, and coordination with leaders in academia, business, technology, and government. The Carr Center is proud to build research, knowledge, and collaboration among these leaders.

“Being part of the Carr Center fellowship is invaluable. It has afforded us the time, the peer network, and the resources to finally focus on the idea that we have held onto for years.”

- TERESA Y. HODGE

“The Carr Center is building a bridge between ideas on human rights and the practice on the ground. Right now we are at a critical juncture. The pace of technological change and the rise of authoritarian governments are both examples of serious challenges to the flourishing of individual rights.”

- MATHIAS RISSE

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## Human Rights, Artificial Intelligence and Heideggerian Technoskepticism: The Long (Worrisome?) View

Faculty Research Working Paper Series

Faculty Director Mathias Risse writes: My concern is with the impact of Artificial Intelligence on human rights. Currently the human-rights movement is rather unprepared to deal with the resulting challenges. Greater focus is needed on social justice/distributive justice, both domestically and globally, to make sure societies do not fall apart. [I]n the long run, we must be prepared to deal with more types of moral status than we currently do and that quite plausibly some machines will have some type of moral status, which may or may not fall short of the moral status of human beings. Machines may have to be integrated into human social and political lives.



# HIGHLIGHTS



## CAN FACEBOOK'S OVERSIGHT BOARD WIN PEOPLE'S TRUST?

**Harvard Business Review**

Technology & Human Rights Fellow Mark Latonero looks into how Facebook's goals of managing hate speech and disinformation through a global Oversight Board may be at odds with Freedom of Expression.



## FROM RATIONALITY TO RELATIONALITY

**Carr Center Discussion Paper Series**

Technology & Human Rights Fellow Sabelo Mhlambi explores how the Sub-Saharan African philosophy of ubuntu reconciles ethical limitations of artificial intelligence.



## REIMAGINING REALITY: HUMAN RIGHTS AND IMMERSIVE TECHNOLOGY

**Carr Center Discussion Paper Series**

Technology & Human Rights Fellow Brittan Heller examines the human rights implications of virtual and augmented reality, and immersive technologies.



## THE AGE OF SURVEILLANCE CAPITALISM

**Towards Life 3.0: Ethics & Technology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century**

Shoshana Zuboff shares insights from her latest book, "The Age of Surveillance Capitalism: The Fight for a Human Future at the New Frontier of Power."

# 14

“Until we confront and adequately address bias in these systems, I don’t feel comfortable with them being used as a tool for prevention.”

- DESMOND PATTON

As law enforcement utilizes social media to anticipate and monitor criminal activity, current AI tools tend to identify the language of African American and Latinx people as gang-involved or otherwise threatening, while consistently overlooking posts of white mass murderers.

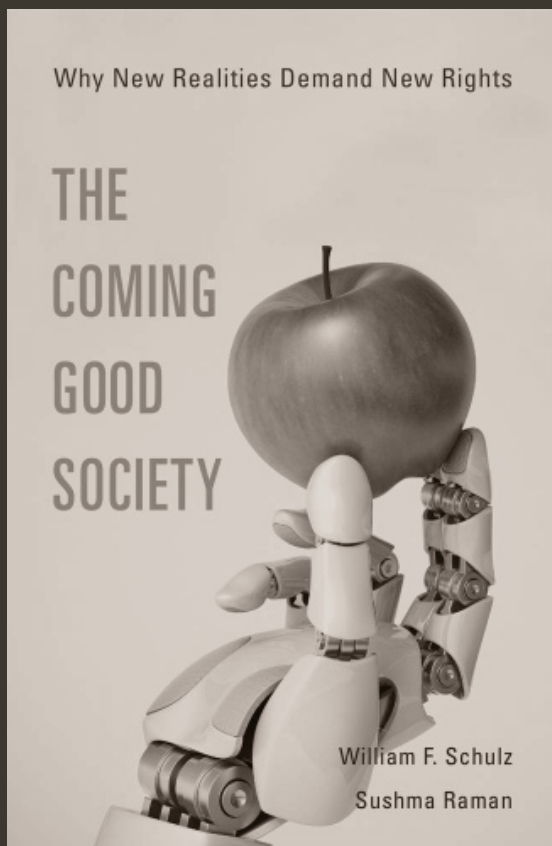
Technology and Human Rights Fellow Desmond Patton uses computational data to study the relationship between youth, social media, and gang violence, and has voiced concern that tools proposed by the current White House Administration will disproportionately identify black and brown people as potential shooters —not because it would have race as an explicit factor, but because of the bias woven into AI tools, specific words and images on social media posts are miscategorized as threatening.



Patton’s talk, *Can AI Solve Gun Violence or Is It a Part of the Problem?*

“We may be tempted to view the right to privacy as a far less important right than, say, the rights not to be tortured, “disappeared,” or executed extrajudicially. Any yet violations to privacy often go hand in hand with violations of bodily integrity or broader political rights.”

- SUSHMA RAMAN



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## THE COMING GOOD SOCIETY: WHY NEW REALITIES DEMAND NEW RIGHTS

Drawing on their vast experience as human rights advocates, Sushma Raman and William Schulz challenge us to think hard about how rights evolve with changing circumstances, and what rights will look like in the years to come. In their new book, Raman and Schulz argue that rights must adapt to new realities or risk being



# RENEWING RIGHTS & RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE U.S.

In the wake of the Second World War and the Holocaust, the international community came together to create a new system of international human rights law. The effort was inspired in part by the system of rights provided in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights. Today, however, the U.S. is widely regarded as a human rights violator. What happened? What can be done to renew the system of rights in the U.S. and the responsibility of the U.S. government to enforce rights and U.S. citizens to respect them?

In the fall of 2019, the Carr Center launched a project to answer these questions. Under the leadership of Mathias Risse, Lucius N. Littauer Professor of Philosophy and Public Administration and Carr Center Director, and John Shattuck, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, the Renewing Rights Project prepared a nonpartisan, evidence-based report and agenda for the U.S. government in 2021 for the domestic renewal of rights and responsibilities.

The project is based on the proposition that rights define the relationship of citizens to each other and to the government. As a constitutional democracy built on ever-increasing ethnic and racial diversity, the U.S. depends on a system of rights and responsibilities to bind the nation together and define the identity of its citizens. Without rights, there is no democracy, only factions competing for conquest and dominance in geographic and political space.

As the Covid-19 pandemic continues to cause enormous economic, social, and political upheaval, it affects the way Americans think about their rights and their relationship to each other and to the government. In addition, the rise of civil society movements to address issues of racial injustice and inequity in the U.S. is creating new perspectives on rights and responsibilities in the country. The project report analyzes the impact of the pandemic and these civil society movements. It presents a portrait of the state of civil rights and civil liberties in the U.S. on the eve of the presidential election, and a set of practical recommendations for a rights agenda that could be implemented by the executive branch, the Congress, and the states.

The Renewing Rights and Responsibilities team has researched sixteen topics in six broad categories: democratic process, equal protection, freedoms of speech and religion, due process of law, rights of privacy, and economic sustainability. The report also includes a brief history of the rights struggle, voting rights, money in politics, civic education, racial discrimination, women's rights, LGBTQ rights, disability rights, freedom of speech and media, religious freedom, hate crimes, criminal justice, immigration, gun rights and public safety, personal data and surveillance, and sustainability.

In partnership with the Kennedy School Institute of Politics and its Polling Director John Della Volpe, the Renewing Rights and Responsibilities project conducted a national poll and three town hall meetings in the spring and summer of 2020. The three town hall meetings were held in Phoenix, Detroit, and Atlanta. The Renewing Rights and Responsibilities project builds a comprehensive portrait of Americans' attitudes on the condition of rights and responsibilities in the United States at a time of increasing political challenge and growing opportunity for transformation.

“When you’re talking rights, it isn’t just something that somebody in power gives you. It isn’t just something that you take. If you’re going to have a right, you’ve also got a responsibility that goes along with that right.”

- PARTICIPANT FROM  
ATLANTA TOWN HALL

# HIGHLIGHTS



## COLLEGE STUDENTS DON'T TURN OUT TO VOTE. HERE'S HOW TO CHANGE THAT

**Los Angeles Times**

Kathryn Sikkink maps out a strategy to improve voter turnout among college students.



## THE NRA'S WORST NIGHTMARE

**Justice Matters Podcast**

Shannon Watts, founder of Moms Demand Action, discusses gun violence and policy with Executive Director of the Carr Center, Sushma Raman



## GEORGE FLOYD AND THE HISTORY OF POLICE BRUTALITY IN AMERICA

**The Boston Globe**

Masters in Public Policy student Kadijatou Diallo and Carr Center Senior Fellow John Shattuck discuss the history of racist policing and violence against African Americans in the U.S.



## RIGHTS IN PERIL: KEY INSIGHTS FROM FOCUS GROUPS IN AMERICA

**Town Halls**

The Carr Center's Renewing Rights and Responsibilities Project gained insight on public opinions surrounding American rights and values through three town hall meetings in Detroit, Phoenix, and Atlanta.



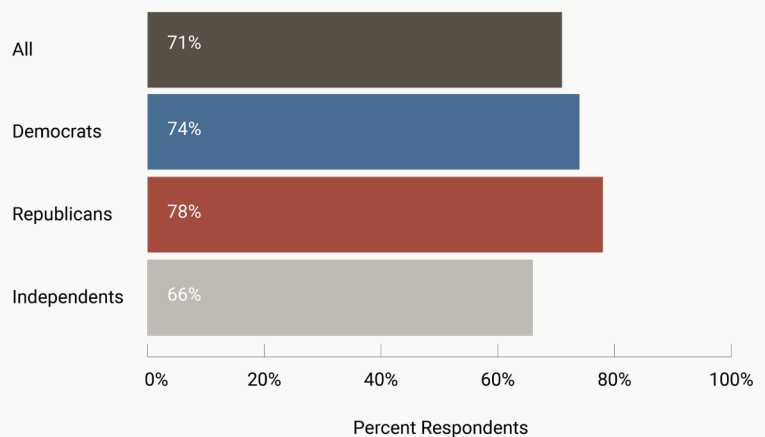
# NATIONAL POLL TAKEAWAYS

In an election season marked by fierce partisan division, majorities of Americans of all political stripes express strong support for rights that reach well beyond those guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution, including the rights to affordable healthcare, clean air and water, a quality education, and privacy of personal data. The national survey of 2,093 adults, conducted in July, informed a larger series, “Reimagining Rights and Responsibilities in the United States,” overseen by Carr Center Director Mathias Risse, and led by Project Director and Carr Center Senior Fellow John Shattuck. The poll reveals surprising bipartisan support for expansive views of American rights and shared values.

## 71% OF AMERICANS AGREE THAT THEY “HAVE MORE IN COMMON WITH EACH OTHER THAN MANY PEOPLE THINK.”

At a time of deep partisan and demographic divides related to the 2020 election, more than two-thirds of Americans surprisingly agree that they “have more in common with each other than many people think.” Central to this perspective is a consensus of Americans across the political spectrum concerning the importance of rights and freedoms, even those that are under political attack.

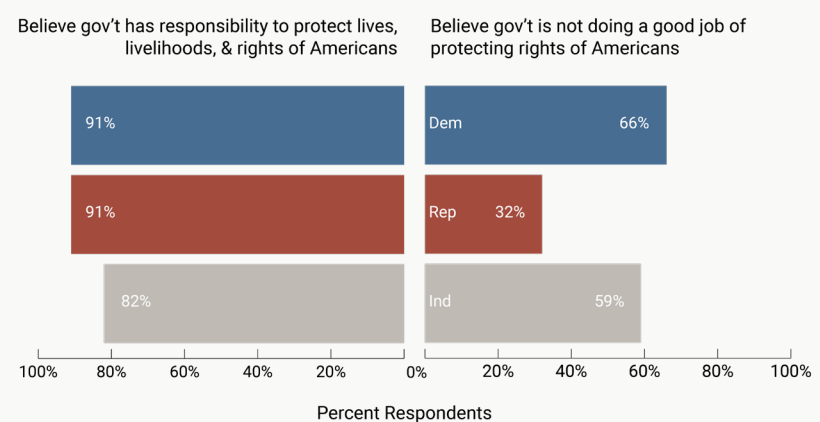
**Percent of respondents who believe “Americans have more in common with each other than many people think.”**

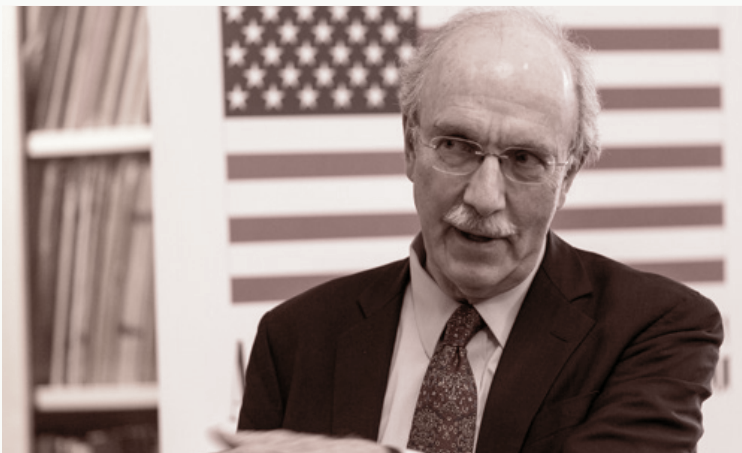


## 54% BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT IS NOT DOING A GOOD JOB PROTECTING THE RIGHTS OF AMERICANS.

Nearly 87% agree that “the government has a responsibility to protect the lives, livelihoods, and rights of all Americans,” but a majority (54%) believe the government is not doing a good job of doing so. The level to which Americans believe the government is not doing a good job of protecting rights varies considerably across partisan lines.

**Percent of respondents who believe the government has a responsibility to protect Americans, versus percent who believe it’s “not doing a good job” at doing so**





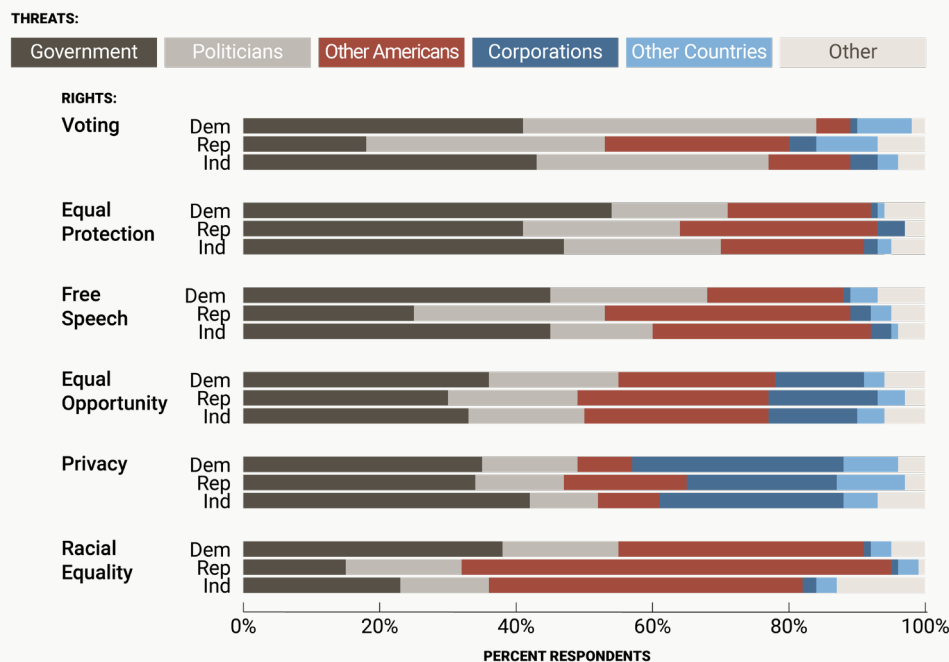
“The polling results show that Americans value their rights but know they are threatened. When rights are threatened, democracy is endangered by attacks on the very values Americans believe they have in common with each other.”

- JOHN SHATTUCK

**MORE PEOPLE BELIEVE THAT THEIR RIGHTS ARE “NOT VERY SECURE” THAN ARE “VERY SECURE.”**

In most cases, the government and politicians are considered the greatest threats to rights. Among those who believe a specific right is not secure, there is bipartisan agreement on the top two or three threats to the rights which have super-majority bipartisan support (over 90%).

**Percent respondents, by partisan group, who believe the following causes pose the greatest threat to each right:**



“Study after study show there’s ample evidence of decades-long erosion of rights and continued *de facto* racial discrimination in nearly all aspects of American society, not just towards African Americans, but Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asians.”

I’m the RA for the Racial discrimination section of the Renewing Rights & Responsibilities project, and working on this has been sobering and eye-opening. The more I dove into the research, I was astounded by how entrenched racial discrimination is. I’ve learned that there is still a lot to accomplish such as strengthening anti-discrimination legislation and changing American’s attitudes and behaviors towards racial minorities in this country. I’m grateful to be a part of this project and feel better equipped to advocate for more racial equity and opportunity.



Kadijatou Diallo, RA, MPP Student



“The discourse of human rights often omits the language of political and ethical responsibilities, and that absence constrains the effectiveness of rights movements. We who believe in human rights need to begin talking and thinking explicitly about the politics and ethics of responsibility.”

- KATHRYN SIKKINK

# NONVIOLENT ACTION LAB

In response to the murder of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, thousands of Americans took to the street to protest, condemning the violence against Floyd and anti-Black racism. Across the globe in Hong Kong, protestors had been fighting against the sweeping extension of mainland China's power since June of 2019, developing invaluable new strategies for 21-st century social resistance. Through social media, tactics used by protestors in Hong Kong were able to spread across the globe, such as diffusing tear gas with traffic cones and water bottles and wearing generic, all-black clothing to conceal their identity. Today, we see matching protest images not only between Hong Kong and the United States, but also in Greece, Lebanon, Chile, and Catalonia.

The 2010s witnessed a surge of nonviolent resistance movements across the globe, with 2019 surely to be remembered as the year of civil resistance. Over the course of the last decade people are rising up against their governments, demanding national leaders step down, the end of factory farming, and racial and economic justice to name a few. Why are global protests becoming more and more common and how will technology such as social media and surveillance affect these movements?

Erica Chenoweth has examined hundreds of campaigns over the last century for the Nonviolent and Violent Campaigns and Outcomes (NAVCO) data project—the world’s most comprehensive dataset identifying mass movements around the world from 1900-2001. Her research has shown that nonviolent campaigns are twice as likely to achieve their goals as violent campaigns. More importantly, it underscores the true impact nonviolent campaigns can have to produce political change: protests engaging 3.5% of the population have never failed to bring about change.

The Carr Center’s Nonviolent Action Lab serves as an innovation hub for scholars and their research, including Erica’s work maintaining the NAVCO data project. Nonviolent resistance can be a highly effective pathway to defend democratic values and institutions, while also creating transformative change in many domains. Yet many people remain skeptical about the power of nonviolent resistance to effect change. Part of the reason for this skepticism is that information about the power of nonviolent resistance—and up-to-date data demonstrating its power—is inaccessible to many people in the world. The Nonviolent Action Lab seeks to produce and disseminate up-to-date knowledge on nonviolent action, how it works, and global trends in success and failure. Systematically studying and amplifying nonviolent action makes it easier for the public and practitioners to embrace it.

“Research shows that youth-led movements and student-led movements are much more likely to be nonviolent and more likely to succeed. So that is a really promising part of today’s movement landscape.”

- ERICA CHENOWETH  
VOX

# HIGHLIGHTS



## THE FUTURE OF NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE

**Journal of Democracy**

Erica Chenoweth examines the recent decline of civil-resistance campaigns and argues recent setbacks, like the pandemic, have served as a much-needed reset for movements around the world.



## INDIA'S COVID DEMOCRACY CRISIS: LOCKDOWN OF LABOUR & LIBERTIES

**Topol Fellow Discussion Series**

In response to the public health crisis of COVID, India has imposed one of the most stringent and ill-prepared lockdowns in the world, leading to a humanitarian disaster. From experiences rooted in rural communities and courts, a panel of speakers bring light to this urgent humanitarian and democratic crisis.



## BLACK LIVES MATTER MAY BE THE LARGEST MOVEMENT IN U.S. HISTORY

**The New York Times**

According to research conducted by Erica Chenoweth and the Crowd Sourcing Consortium, 15 million to 26 million people in the U.S. have participated in George Floyd protests.



## PEOPLE POWER IN THE FACE OF AUTHORITARIANISM IN NICARAGUA

**Topol Fellow Research Discussion Series**

This panel discussion with Nicaraguan human rights defenders about the trials, triumphs, and future challenges of people power in Nicaragua in a context of democratic decay, decreasing civic space and authoritarianism since the return of Daniel Ortega to power in 2007.





# HUMAN RIGHTS & THE GLOBAL PANDEMIC

With more than 20 million Covid-19 cases confirmed around the world and more than 700,000 recorded deaths, the pandemic has generated indiscriminating loss, hardship, and heartache around the globe. Its devastation, however, is only magnified in disenfranchised and marginalized communities. Discrimination in health care systems, disparities in access to and utilization of care, financial and economic hardship, housing circumstances, and many other factors make Covid-19's wake of destruction disproportionate among communities of color, low-income groups, and immigrant populations. In New York City, the rate of virus-related deaths for Black and Latinx communities is twice that of whites. Native Americans in the Phoenix area have been infected at four times the rate of neighboring white communities. And while undocumented populations serve on the frontlines of Covid-19 as essential workers, their lack of access to resources and fear of leaving a paper trail makes it difficult to count them at all. The virus hasn't just revealed the socio-economic disparities plaguing the U.S., it has deepened them.

The Carr Center's Human Rights and the Pandemic Program has furthered the discourse, research, and attention paid to Covid-19's impact and intersectionality with global issues like racial and socioeconomic disparities, surveillance technology, migrants and refugees, social movements and civil resistance, authoritarianism and democracy, and principles of non-discrimination. Between our online webinars and events, contributions to major news outlets, Justice Matters podcast episodes, and regular Covid-19 Discussion Paper series, the Carr Center faculty and fellows continue to address the pandemic's intersection with the greater human rights agenda.

**“To protect our collective right to health in the current pandemic situation, we need to balance our individual rights with collective responsibilities... We need to place more emphasis on the responsibility of all actors, and not just states, to take action together to make sure rights are enjoyed.”**

**- KATHRYN SIKKINK**  
Open Global Rights





“In far too many places, the balance has gone completely in favor of states usurping power and diminishing people’s rights far beyond what is essential to deal with the Covid-19 crisis. So many governments are using this opportunity to delegitimize human rights concerns and the needs of marginalized communities, whether migrants, daily wage earners, or refugees.”

- SALIL SHETTY



“Some have been saying that COVID-19 does not discriminate, but this is not accurate. While Covid-19 can affect anyone, pandemics disproportionately devastate marginalized communities... Our responses must utilize an intersectional framework, understanding how people’s intersecting identities impact the resources, relief, and care they can access.”

- LAURA CORDISCO-TSAI



“Combating misinformation and disinformation is a tough challenge for technology companies at the best of times, and Covid has made it harder in at least two ways. First, the stakes have never been higher, as misinformation and disinformation about the virus can quite literally kill. Second, human moderators have been idled by physical distancing measures, which means that companies are relying more than ever on automated systems to identify and combat ‘information disorders.’”

- VIVEK KRISHNAMURTHY

# RACIAL JUSTICE

As tens of millions of protesters and activists around the globe raise their fists in unity, demanding justice for Black and Brown communities, we see images that—if not for the sea of masked face coverings—could just as easily have been captured from the civil rights movements in the 1960s. Today’s Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement echoes much of the sentiment, strategy, and calls to action that we’ve seen for more than a century in the United States. While the mechanisms may have changed in recent decades, forces of segregation, police brutality, economic inequity, mass incarceration, and greater systemic racism continue to disenfranchise communities of color today. And just as civil rights era activists demanded justice for Black lives on a global scale, particularly in places of colonial rule, the current BLM movement is tying national concerns in the United States to the larger, global, human rights agenda.

BLM activists have made clear that issues of systemic racism extend beyond the borders of the United States, and as such, solutions require an international effort.

As we continue the centuries-long journey of tackling racial injustice, the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy launched its Racial Justice program in August of 2020, focused on reimagining systems, institutions, and movements to promote racial and economic equity for all. The program strengthens discourse connecting domestic civil rights to global human rights frameworks, and brings together faculty, fellows, students, and the broader University community to collaborate.

“Many of us are still taught to think of racism as an aberration, a glitch, an accident, an isolated incident, a bad apple, in the backwoods, and outdated, rather than as innovative, systemic, diffuse, an attached incident, the entire orchard, forward-looking even viral.”

**- RUHA BENJAMIN**

Panelist for Carr Center  
Racial Justice webinar

In its inauguration, the program welcomed two leading scholars, Dr. Keisha N. Blain and Dr. Megan Francis, as Carr Center Fellows. As an award-winning historian of the 20th century United States with broad interests and specializations in African American History, the modern African Diaspora, and Women's and Gender Studies, Dr. Blain will spend her time as a fellow completing a book on Fannie Lou Hamer's political ideas, which will be published by Beacon Press in 2021. Dr. Francis, an award-winning author specializing in the study of American politics, with broad interests in criminal punishment, Black political activism, philanthropy, and the post-civil war South, will use her time at the Center to work on her next book project 'How to Fund a Movement,' which examines the history and future of philanthropy's complicated relationship with social movements.

We look forward to the robust discourse, body of knowledge, research, growth, and collaboration that will emerge from this program in the coming year.

# HIGHLIGHTS



## RACE AFTER TECHNOLOGY: THE NEW JIM CODE

### Keynote Address

Ruha Benjamin spoke on the intersection of race and technology in her keynote address, and described a range of discriminatory designs that encode inequity.



## POLICE BRUTALITY IN THE U.S.

### A Conversation with the UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary or Arbitrary Executions

Agnes Callamard, UN Special Rapporteur, discusses the demand on the U.S. government “to take decisive action to address systemic racism and racial bias in the criminal justice system by launching independent investigations and ensuring accountability in all cases of excessive use of force by police.”



## EXPLAINING THE DREAM

### Justice Matters Podcast

Alan Jenkins, Professor of Practice at Harvard Law School, joins host Sushma Raman to talk on the importance of communication as it intersects with race, the law, and social justice.



## THE STRUGGLE FOR BLACK LIVES

### Carr Center Discussion Series

A virtual discussion series that delves into topics including a “Third Reconstruction: a fundamental reconsideration of our Constitution, systems, institutions, and practices;” legacies of social and civil rights movements; the historic killing of black people by police and vigilantes; and how we can envision a more just future for all.

# HUMAN RIGHTS IN PRACTICE

# REFUGEES & IMMIGRATION

Every day around the world, people make the difficult decision to leave their home and their country for a better future. Whether those journeys are made to pursue an education, find better employment, or escape persecution or violence, they are often dangerous and uncertain. The Carr Center supports researchers and their work to protect the rights of refugees, asylum-seekers, and migrants.

On the Justice Matters podcast, Sushma Raman hosted several human rights practitioners fighting for the rights of people on the move, including Jonathan Ryan, CEO and President of RAICES, who discussed how we might reinstate American values at the U.S. border and Joseph Kim, a North Korean Defector and Assistant & Expert In Residence, Human Freedom Initiative, George W. Bush Institute, who shared his personal and policy-oriented accounts of circumstances in North Korea.

Jacqueline Bhabha, Professor of the Practice of Health and Human Rights at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health and Jeremiah Smith Jr. Lecturer in Law at Harvard Law School, published an op-ed for *The BMJ* that addressed steps to mitigate the spread of COVID-19 in Greece's Moira refugee camp, one of Europe's largest migrant camps. And Carr Center Fellow Matthew Smith, co-founder and Chief Executive Officer of Fortify Rights, wrote several articles for *Time Magazine* and *Mekong Review* calling for the international community to protect the Rohingya and hold perpetrators accountable in Myanmar.



# HIGHLIGHTS



## NOTES FROM A NORTH KOREAN DEFECTOR

### Justice Matters Podcast

Joseph Kim, a North Korean Defector and Assistant & Expert In Residence, Human Freedom Initiative, George W. Bush Institute and Lindsay Lloyd, Director of the Human Freedom Initiative at the George W. Bush Institute, share personal and policy-oriented accounts of circumstances in North Korea.



## THE URGENT NEED TO TRANSFER VULNERABLE MIGRANTS FROM EUROPE'S LARGEST MIGRANT HOTSPOT

### BMJ

Jacqueline Bhabha and Vasileia Digidiki discuss the current Covid-19 situation in Greece, the migrant hotspot Greek islands, and what the EU should be doing to help the crisis.



## GENOCIDE'S STRAW MAN

### Mekong Review

Matthew Smith, Carr Center Fellow and Chief Executive Officer of Fortify Rights, challenges a claim that human rights organizations are to blame for the Rohingya Crisis.



## BUILD BRIDGES, NOT WALLS: MIGRATION ON THE US-MEXICO BORDER

### Human Rights in Hard Places Speaker Series

Jonathan Ryan, CEO and President of RAICES, discusses the intersection of immigrants' rights, the weaponization of technology, and the private prison system.

# LGBTQ+

In July 2020, the Supreme Court delivered a major victory to LGBTQ+ workers in the United States. The court ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits sex discrimination, applies to discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity. Speaking with *The Harvard Gazette*, Tim McCarthy, Adjunct Lecturer in Public Policy, acknowledged the historic moment but also underscored its limitations: "People can't be denied a job because of their sexual and gender identity. But they can be denied access to health care, housing, and other rights." McCarthy anticipates further challenges are likely to come on the basis of religious freedom.

Outside the United States, LGBTQ+ people face discrimination and human rights abuse in every country of the world, ranging from loss of jobs and housing to extreme violence and murder. The Carr Center invited Victor Madrigal-Borloz, UN Independent Expert on Protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI), to campus in the spring of 2020 to share the findings of his research. Madrigal-Borloz gave a talk as part of the Carr Center's Human Rights in Hard Places event series and joined Sushma Raman on the Justice Matters podcast to discuss the ramifications of systemic discrimination against LGBTQ+ communities.



# HIGHLIGHTS



## SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION AND THE LGBTQ+ COMMUNITY

### Justice Matters Podcast

Victor Madrigal-Borloz, UN Independent Expert on Protection against violence and discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity, discusses the ramifications of systemic discrimination against LGBTQ+ communities.



## HARVARD EXPERTS CALL RULING ON LGBT RIGHTS A LANDMARK

### The Harvard Gazette

Timothy McCarthy and other Harvard faculty members in law and gender issues declared Monday's Supreme Court ruling protecting gay and transgender workers a landmark for LGBT rights.

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“There must be a universal acknowledgment that #LGBTQ+ lives have dignity, and this conviction must be implemented into our public policy, schools, workforce, and institutions.”

- VICTOR MADRIGAL-BORLOZ

# GOVERNANCE & CORRUPTION

Poor governance and corruption have a two-way causal relationship, feeding off each other in a vicious cycle. The negative consequences of poor governance and corruption are well-researched and far-reaching, damaging public services such as health care, education, and law enforcement and undermining democracy, the rule of law, and economic development. As the world battles a global pandemic, corrupt leaders of many countries have the opportunity to further enrich themselves at the expense of human health and safety.

Judge Mark Wolf, with Richard J. Goldstone, wrote an op-ed for *The Boston Globe* calling for the establishment of an International Anti-Corruption Course to punish and deter kleptocrats who enjoy impunity in the countries they rule. Additionally, the Carr Center hosted Senior Fellow Luis Roberto Barroso on the Justice Matters podcast to discuss the intersection of human rights and corruption in Brazil. Barroso also wrote a Carr Center Discussion Paper on how the Law has attempted to deal with some of the main afflictions of our time, facing demands that include the need to avoid the perversion of democracy by populist and authoritarian adventures.



## CORONAVIRUS PRESENTS BONANZA FOR KLEPTOCRATS

*The Boston Globe*

Judge Mark Wolf and Richard Goldstone describe why the coronavirus provides compelling proof that the world needs an International Anti-Corruption Court: to punish and deter kleptocrats who enjoy impunity in the countries they rule.



## TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, DEMOCRATIC RECESSION AND CLIMATE CHANGE: THE LIMITS OF LAW IN A CHANGING WORLD

*Carr Center Discussion Paper*

Brazil Supreme Court Justice and Carr Center Senior Fellow, Luís Roberto Barroso, notes that in a complex, plural and volatile world, the law's limits and possibilities are shaken by the speed, depth and extent of ongoing transformations, its resulting ethical dilemmas, and the difficulties of forming consensus in the political universe.

# LEADERSHIP & PRACTITIONERS

In her remarks before the Commission on Unalienable Rights, Martha Minow stated: “No one nation alone can achieve all it takes to realize human rights; nations, like individual people, are independent but also dependent on others to learn and to achieve their ends.” The Carr Center shares the views expressed in Minow’s statement and embraces a dual mission: to educate students and the next generation of leaders from around the world in human rights policy and practice; and to convene and provide policy-relevant knowledge to international organizations, governments, policymakers, and businesses.

This past academic year, the Carr Center hosted leaders and practitioners from around the world to discuss strategies and tactics to address current-day human rights and humanitarian concerns. Human Rights leaders, including Kerry Kennedy, President of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights, and UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, joined Sushma Raman on the Justice Matters podcast to discuss the progress and challenges faced while leading a human rights organization. Additionally, the Carr Center’s Human Rights in Hard Places talk series offered unparalleled insights and analysis from the frontlines by human rights practitioners, policymakers, and innovators. Shannon Watts, the founder of Moms Demand Action, was one such frontline practitioner who led a discussion on gun violence and policy.

# HIGHLIGHTS



## A PUBLIC ADDRESS BY MICHELE BACHELET, UN HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

### Harvard Kennedy School Forum

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Michelle Bachelet, delivers a public address on global human rights. In celebrating the 71st anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Bachelet discusses the progress and challenges in her home country of Chile and around the world.



## FIGHTING HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

### Human Rights in Hard Places Discussion Series

Amnesty International USA's Executive Director, Margaret Huang, discusses the organization's fight against human rights abuses worldwide, including campaigns here in the U.S. against police brutality toward protestors (Ferguson, Baltimore, and Standing Rock Reservation) and opposing the Trump Executive Order banning refugees and immigrants from 6 Muslim countries.



## HUMAN RIGHTS CHALLENGES & THE HEROES WHO ARE CREATING CHANGE

### Human Rights in Hard Places Discussion Series

Kerry Kennedy outlines how her nonprofit organization is addressing some of the most pressing human rights concerns of our time. Between transforming agricultural labor laws to promoting freedom of the press, Kennedy discusses the amazing work of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights.



## THE NEW GEOPOLITICAL ORDER

### Carr Center Talk

Career diplomat and former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, argues the world's people deserve better. The new geopolitical environment taking shape in many parts of the world tends toward increasing authoritarianism and nationalistic competition. Inwardly focused governments are pursuing individual agendas, and eventually, these differing agendas will collide.





“My motto—not just from my days as a journalist, but also in life—has always been ‘Show, don’t tell.’ ”

- SAMANTHA POWER

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# **THE PATH AHEAD**





As we adjust to the realities of online work and learning, the Carr Center remains dedicated to tackling long term solutions as well as the fiercely urgent questions of today. During a time of multiple pandemics—health, racial, economic—we recognize that our mission to build a more just, peaceful future is more vital than ever. Protecting the rights of the most vulnerable during politically and economically uncertain times is imperative.

In closing, we would like to share a reflection and an ask. In a time of physical distancing and economic and political uncertainty, let us focus on social solidarity—not just within our families and immediate communities, but with those who are most dispossessed, the most vulnerable, and the most marginalized. Very often, those with “no rights to have rights” are most affected during times of natural disasters and human-made crises, and it is incumbent upon each of us to “expand our circle of concern” and express social solidarity. As always, the standpoint of human rights must pay particular attention to the most vulnerable in society. For more on the Center’s work during this time, please visit our website, follow us on social media, and remain in touch. We express our deepest gratitude for your engagement with and support of the Center and its mission.



# FROM THE DEAN

The work of the Carr Center is central to the work of the Kennedy School. The School is trying to make people's lives better, and the foundation for better lives must be basic human security and justice. If we try to build the rest of the structure for better lives without attending to the foundation of security and justice, we will not get very far.

Focusing on human rights brings us back to our moral core and on what is just and not what is convenient. Focusing on human rights makes us stand up for our values and for principled public leadership—and stand up against corruption, bias, and abuses of power that harm people. And when we go back to our moral core, we help others to do the same—to stand up for fairness and against abuses.

Finally, the Carr Center's work is so crucial to the Kennedy School because we have a great opportunity right now to make an important difference in human rights. With a high level of attention across the world on people's rights and violations of those rights, with new tools available for recording and analyzing violations, and with new ideas being developed to advance human rights, we can make an important difference now. We intend to do that.

**DOUGLAS W. ELMENDORF**

Dean of Faculty, Harvard Kennedy School  
Don K. Price Professor of Public Policy

A decorative graphic consisting of numerous thin, vertical, dark red lines. These lines are arranged in two main horizontal bands: one at the top and one at the bottom of the page. The lines are closely spaced and extend across most of the page width, with a few lines continuing vertically down the right side of the page.

**JOIN  
US**



“I decided to get involved with the Carr Center because I strongly believe in its mission and leadership. As the country grapples with the legacy of racial discrimination, Debra and I are particularly proud to support the Carr Center’s work tackling racial injustice and promoting racial and economic justice for all.”

- **MICHAEL B. DECKER**  
Chair, Advisory Board




**[carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu](http://carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu)**

There are so many ways to get involved with the Carr Center's research, events, faculty, fellows, and students. Whether you sign up for our newsletter to stay up-to-date on regular publications and events, or support our student and faculty-led research through donations, we encourage you to reach out and learn how to get involved today.

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