

CARR
CENTER
ANNUAL
REPORT
2021-
2022



HARVARD Kennedy School

CARR CENTER

for Human Rights Policy

A Year in Review



The world is rapidly changing, and with it, the human rights landscape continues to shift. As these changes continue, so does the work of the Carr Center to bring human rights front-and-center into our everyday lives.

Our 2021-2022 annual report highlights the Carr Center’s growing reach over the past year, thanks to the continued expansion of our programs and the dedication of our faculty, fellows, and students to human rights policy and research. Our new research, publications, books, podcast episodes, and webinars over the course of the year—created in tandem with our faculty and fellows—have reached over 150 countries around the world, bringing the Carr Center’s mission into the homes, universities, and workplaces of thousands.

We’d like to thank the community of people who have consistently made our work possible, despite the strains of a worldwide pandemic: the Carr Center’s faculty, fellows, staff, and Advisory Board; the students of Harvard Kennedy School; and each one of you who has joined us this past year.

To stay updated on the Carr Center’s mission to provide human rights education, research, and knowledge-sharing for all, please sign up for our newsletter, follow us on social media, support our work, and tune in to our upcoming events and podcasts.

Mathias Risse
Director

Sushma Raman
Executive Director



The Carr Center and Institute of Politics co-hosted a forum for International Women's Day, on March 8th, 2022. Panelists discussed the status and human rights of women and girls, focusing on health, gender, child labor, and the closing of democratic freedoms, and featured Sushma Raman, Executive Director of the Carr Center; Dr. Sima Samar, Carr Center Fellow and Minister of Women's Affairs of Afghanistan from 2001-2003; Dr. Zoe Marks, Lecturer in Public Policy at Harvard Kennedy School; and Nicholas Opiyo, Scholar at Risk, Carr Center Fellow, and Ugandan human rights lawyer.



Who We Are

LEADERSHIP

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Faculty Director

Sushma Raman
Executive Director

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Who We Are

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Nonviolent Action Lab*

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Richard Vogel
Bob Wyman

“The amount of programming and benefits that the Carr Center provides is extraordinary, and its work remains intellectually enriching and rewarding.”

Julie Allen
Advisory Board Member

Impact 2021-2022



Metrics for the Carr Center's digital and multimedia platforms

WEBSITE

198.6k+ pageviews from
99.2k+ site users
976k+ all-time page views

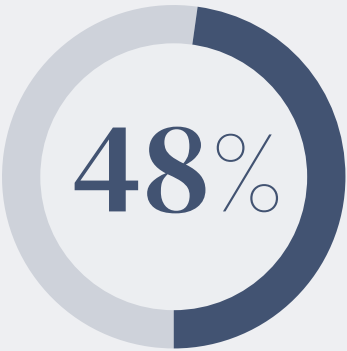
195 { countries

SOCIAL MEDIA (all platforms)

7.2k+ new followers
103k+ profile visits
21.5k+ total followers

NEWSLETTER

8.0k+ subscribers



of our subscribers are highly engaged

PODCAST

12k+ downloads
12 episodes {

6.9k+ listeners from
116 countries {

WEBINARS

56.5k impressions
3.6k+ total followers
589 new followers

Leadership



Mathias Risse

Faculty Director

Q How does the Carr Center fit into the broader human rights landscape? What does the Carr Center provide that makes it unique from other human rights organizations?

Mathias:

Within the human rights landscape, what makes the Carr Center distinctive is that it is part of one of the most distinguished universities in the world — and at the same time, that it is part of the most prominent and visible school of public policy in the world. What this means is that the work we can do here is inspired by cutting-edge work in academia — especially in public policy.

The Carr Center makes the human rights angle visible in that kind of cutting-edge work — so this is, of course, an entirely two-way street. Unlike human rights organizations that work in the trenches, so to speak, human rights work done at universities provides background research and attracts students to this kind of work. A human



Sushma Raman

Executive Director

rights center at a university is also a place where practitioners can come to regroup and reflect, and where we can convene people and organizations who do the work in the trenches.

Sushma:

The Carr Center is unique compared to many human rights organizations. We bring together leading scholars, policymakers, and practitioners to conduct research, organize learning opportunities through webinars and conferences, and train students and the next generation of leaders from around the world. We play a complementary and supportive role in many instances — for example, our work supporting human rights defenders and leaders of human rights NGOs helps them to not only strengthen their skills and capabilities, but also enables them to return to their work restored and rejuvenated.

In other cases, we play a role to move conversations, knowledge, action forward — for example, our work on technology and human rights is forward-looking

and helps bring together diverse sectors and players, such as public interest technologists, human rights activists, technology companies, and ethicists. Our work is connected to both global and domestic concerns, such as our work on racial justice and rights in the US context. I am particularly proud of how our webinars, research papers, podcasts, and other research and communications products are accessible online to tens of thousands of people from around the world.

Of course, being able to lean on the university's intellectual resources and convening power helps amplify our mission and programs.

Q What are some emerging challenges and opportunities facing the human rights movement, and how can the Carr Center be a resource?

Mathias:

From a human rights standpoint, there are always challenges in the world. The human rights movement has a way of looking at the glass as half empty rather than half full.

A typical human rights question is “for whom does this economic and political system/this way of organizing power not work, and what can we do to make this better?” Once you look at the world this way, you see a world full of problems, and they include the rather visible problems that are in the news regularly (such as civilians suffering in wars, migrants being mistreated, police abuse, political opposition oppressed, people lacking the means to make ends meet, etc.) but then also the structural challenges that come from the ways in which the world changes. Here, technological innovation is one major source of anxiety in the human rights movement.

The human rights movement emerged in a thoroughly analog world, but now, digital devices increasingly run

the globe. This will mean that the very content and meaning of human rights will have to be rethought and adjusted. The Carr Center is a resource in these contexts through the classes we offer, the research we do, the events we hold, and the fellowship opportunities we offer. Our mission is to make sure that the world’s problems are also considered from a human rights standpoint to ensure that policy focuses on how individuals are affected — especially the most vulnerable individuals.

Sushma:

Some challenges I see facing the human rights movement are: (1) the need to be strategic and forward-looking, in addition to being responsive and reacting to threats, (2) rising authoritarianism and backlash against democracy, rule of law, and civil society, and (3) challenges posed by environmental degradation and technological advancements.

I address some of these in the book I coauthored with Bill Schulz, *The Coming Good Society: Why New Realities Demand New Rights* (Harvard University Press, 2020). Drawing on our vast experience as human rights practitioners and leaders, we challenge our readers to think hard about how rights evolve with changing circumstances, and what rights will look like ten, twenty, or fifty years from now. Against those who hold that rights are static and immutable, we argue that rights must adapt to new realities or risk being consigned to irrelevance. To preserve and promote the good society — one that protects its members’ dignity and fosters an environment in which people will want to live — we argue that we must at times rethink the meanings of familiar rights and consider the introduction of entirely new rights.

The Carr Center can continue to be a resource by encouraging research, publications, convenings, and discussions around the current state of human rights and future directions and strategies.

Programs

The Carr Center employs a multidisciplinary lens to investigate pressing human rights issues around the world, with programs covering a wide range of human rights-related topics.

> **Technology & Human Rights**

> **Transitional Justice**

> **Nonviolent Action Lab**

> **Racial Justice**

> **Reimagining Rights and Responsibilities in the US**

> **Human Rights Defenders**

Technology & Human Rights



Technological advancements have profound implications for human rights. From a practical perspective, technology can help move the human rights agenda forward. Yet for the multitude of areas in which emerging technologies advance the human rights agenda, technological developments have equal capacity to undermine efforts. Now, ethical and policy-oriented implications must be taken into consideration with the development of new technology.

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**Technology is
indispensable to
make modern
democracy work,
but it is not its
natural ally.”**

Mathias Risse

During the 2021–2022 academic year, the Carr Center's Technology and Human Rights Fellows and Director Mathias Risse authored numerous papers looking toward the future of technology in our society.

PUBLICATIONS

- + **The Fourth Generation of Human Rights: Epistemic Rights in Digital Lifeworlds**
Mathias Risse
- + **Public Health, Technology, and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from Digital Contact Tracing**
Maria Carnovale & Khahlil Louisy
- + **Human Rights and the Pandemic: The Other Half of the Story**
Elizabeth Renieris
- + **The Power of Choosing Not to Build: Justice, Non-Deployment, and the Purpose of AI Optimization**
Annette Zimmermann
- + **Humanitarian Digital Ethics: A Foresight and Decolonial Governance Approach**
Aarathi Krishnan

WEBINAR SERIES

Towards Life 3.0

Guest panelists this past year include:

- + **Jamal Greene**
Facebook Oversight Board Member, Professor, Columbia School of Law
- + **David Kaye**
Director of the International Justice Clinic, Clinical Professor of Law, UC Irvine
- + **Sabelo Mhlambi**
Founder, Bantocracy; former Carr Center Fellow
- + **Tina Kempin Reuter**
Director for the Institute for Human Rights, Associate Professor, University of Alabama
- + **John Tasioulas**
Director of the Institute for Ethics in AI, University of Oxford
- + **Allissa V. Richardson**
Associate Professor of Journalism and Communication, USC Annenberg



A Right to Truth?

The Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, alongside the Program on Science, Technology & Society at Harvard Kennedy School and the Programme on Democracy & Technology at the University of Oxford, convened numerous multidisciplinary panels in May 2022 to offer different perspectives on the fundamental question of whether there is a right to truth.

When truth is defined as trustworthy information that people use to make important decisions about their lives, it is arguably as fundamental to human existence as water, food, and shelter. Yet, the pervasive global spread of misinformation and disinformation has resulted in falsehoods being passed off as truth and inconvenient facts being derided as fake news.

“

We are familiar with a right to truth in a range of specific contexts. In the human rights world we are familiar with it in the domain of transitional justice, where the United Nations human rights machinery has long recognized a right to truth specifically in the context of mass atrocities. And we know of specific rights to truth in other contexts, such as in medical ethics and in the judicial context when oath-taking is involved.

So the right to truth is familiar from specific contexts—but then there is the question of: How broadly an entitlement to truth can we formulate here?

Mathias Risse



PANELIST LECTURE



Mathias Risse

Faculty Director

Transcript

On Why the Truth Will
Set Few People Free:
Understanding the Role of
Untruth in Human Life

Q Can you describe what the right to truth is and in which contexts it applies?

We are familiar with the right to truth in a range of different contexts. Specifically, in the human rights world, we are familiar with the right to truth in the domain of transitional justice and in the context of mass atrocities where the idea is that victims and other members of communities where mass abuses have occurred are entitled to know what happened and who did what to whom.

We also know of a right to truth in other contexts, such as medical ethics and traditional contexts when oath-taking is involved. But then the question is: how broadly can we formulate the right to an entitlement to truth? So, we can ask, is there a general entitlement to an environment where truth prevails? Is there an argument for a default of truth-telling that would then be defeated in particular situations, or is there instead a situation where only under particular circumstances there are entitlements to the truth? So, this is what I am arguing: there's no general entitlement to an environment where truth-telling is called for, there's only these aforementioned specific contexts that we have.

Q Why do you believe that there is no general entitlement to truth-telling?

It's really the value of untruth in human life that speaks against there being a general right to truth. Roughly, the point here is that versions of untruth—and by untruth, I mean all ways of denying truth: it can be outright lies, misleading statements, embellishments, additions, all sorts of things that deviate from accuracy—and it does not take terribly deep reflection to see that versions of untruth are incredibly important in people's lives, they create a kind of shelter in which people's lives unfold. It is important for people to surround themselves with a barrage of untruth that helps them maintain their sense of self.

Nietzsche's most important philosophical work is *Beyond Good and Evil*, and what he's doing there is diagnosing the human condition in terms of what he calls two wills: the will to truth and the will to value. Human tendencies, human inclinations, human habits encompass the will to truth, which is the will to actually understand the world for what it is. And then we have the will to value, which is our inclination to actually make sense of the world in a way that creates some meaning for us, meaning we need to

understand how we fit in, what matters in the world to us, and how we appreciate and esteem certain things and not others. So, people tend to look at the world in ways that often also overestimate their own role in it. But often the will to truth and the will to value will conflict for the typical person, and it becomes the will to value that matters more—to see yourself in the world a certain way.

The phrase “the truth will set you free” has been intriguing for a lot of people, and if being set free is to be oriented in the world, it is not the truth that sets most people free, it is something else. People are inclined to present whatever they believe as truthful and insist that is the truth, but what does set them free instead is to be in a group of certain like-minded company, and to be in that environment of other human beings gives you a basic orientation in life: you know who you are in life, you see yourself playing a role in life, and you have a certain understanding of what the meaning of life is. So, the phrase “the truth will set you free” typically has fairly little to do with the truth. In fact, outsourcing reality to social networks is a genuine human characteristic that does create meaning, but it also makes sense of the enormous prevalence of half-truths.

We are surrounded by half-truths—so there's a basic sense of caring about the truth. Typically, these stories and narratives that people tell themselves about their own lives, or the collective narratives that are being told about the group that they belong to, are not completely misguided. This can be anything from founding myths of countries to stories about great people who we put on pedestals—they're normally grounded in something and are not completely invented. But things are

added to that; half-truths and narratives that people tell ourselves individually and collectively. One such example is what came to Washington on January 6, 2021: there were a lot of half-truths woven together into a larger story that contained a lot of mythical origins and ideas.

Q How do these half-truths proliferate within technology and social media, and what are the consequences of that?

There are many ways of arguing where there really needs to be a right to the truth, and on the other side, one way of thinking about that is to draw attention to the role of repetition in the digital context and within digital life worlds. The possibilities of repetition that digital technology provides is one reason to insist on the importance of truth-telling. Repetition has gotten a lot of attention in this context, because this is one thing that digital technology makes incredibly easy—the copying of things into any number of accounts and spreading half-truth narratives.

Donald Trump is the master of repetition, and he's even on record saying that if you just keep saying the same thing, eventually people—and even skeptical minds—will believe it, because it becomes part of their reality. There are certain things that you just know and believe, such as the sun rises every day, because it has always been that way. So, when somebody keeps telling you the same thing, eventually people will begin to believe it as part of their reality. Because of that, the use of repetition in technology is one strong consideration in favor of why we need a truthful environment, because these digital environments are basically drowning us in junk.

A Right to Truth

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It really comes down to a question of access to and distribution of knowledge. It's not just that people need information to make political decisions; people need robust access to knowledge, which is different from information, in order to live their lives.

Joan Donovan

“

When we try to look into this question beyond Western context to different, very diverse contexts, it becomes even more complex because of different perceptions of what we mean by a political lie. What is the source of lying in different contexts? I think in Russia, the greatest source of misinformation is its own government, right? And it's a very different context from what many other countries live in.

Aliaksandr Herasimenka

“

We're not just talking about a world in which someone generates information and they are in the knower position and it's our duty to root out their biases. It is that, once claims start circulating around the world, people glom onto them for various reasons. And then those reasons become sufficiently powerful so that those people and those institutions develop their own sense of what is rightful claims-making.

Sheila Jasanoff

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If we ask: 'What kinds of content or frames should be foregrounded in news journalism?', that's a different sort of question from: 'Given that somebody says something, how can we check whether it's true?'

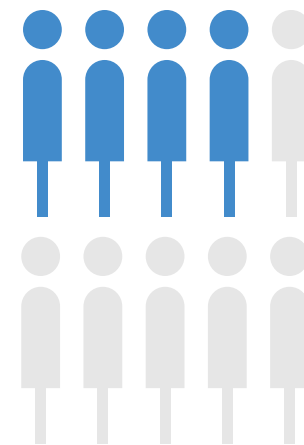
Susanna Siegel

FACTS AND FIGURES



37%

of people across the globe have never used the internet.



40%

of people on the planet are underrepresented in the digital age.

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What does this all mean? The poorest of the poor—including women, rural dwellers, and the elderly—have been left far behind, their perspectives and knowledge cast to the edges of society and overrun by disinformation and ‘fake news.’

Sushma Raman

Transitional Justice



Transitional justice is known as “the judicial and nonjudicial processes designed to reckon with past human rights violations following periods of political turmoil, state repression, and armed conflict.”

The Transitional Justice Evaluation Team (TJET), an international team of scholars and practitioners, researches transitional justice in countries that have undergone a reckoning with past widespread human rights violations by state or armed opposition actors between 1970-2020. TJET collects data on criminal prosecutions, truth commissions, reparations policies, and amnesties established to address past human rights violations.

TJET’s ultimate goal is to answer the question: what works to help societies successfully and stably transition out of periods of armed conflict, autocracy, and widespread human rights violations? The team aims to create victim-centered, evidence-based transitional justice policy that can be applied by practitioners around the world.

RESEARCH TEAM

Kathryn Sikkink

(Principal Investigator) Ryan Family
Professor of Human Rights Policy, HKS

Phuong Pham

Assistant Professor, Harvard Medical School
and Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health;
Director of Evaluation and Implementation
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Geoff Dancy

Associate Professor of Political Science,
University of Toronto

Patrick Vinck

Assistant Professor, Department Global
Health and Population, Harvard School of
Public Health and Department of Emergency
Medicine, Harvard Medical School

LATEST WORK



WHAT IS TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE?

Transitional justice mechanisms are institutions—normally temporary—that are established to provide accountability for core international crimes such as genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes, including acts of political violence against civilians. These mechanisms include measures such as prosecution, truth commissions, and reparations.

**Transitional justice
accountability is the
opposite of impunity.**

Further listening:

Kathryn Sikkink and Patrick Vinck recorded a PolicyCast episode with the Harvard Kennedy School called “How worldwide outrage over atrocities in Ukraine is fueling a new push for international justice.”

Further reading:

“How our response to Russia’s Invasion of Ukraine could help usher in an Age of Accountability,” by Phuong Pham, Kathryn Sikkink, and Patrick Vinck

INTERVIEW



Kathryn Sikkink

Ryan Family Professor of Human Rights Policy

Kathryn Sikkink works on international norms and institutions, transnational advocacy networks, the impact of human rights law and policies, and transitional justice. Sikkink has been a Fulbright Scholar in Argentina and a Guggenheim fellow.

Q Can you explain what transitional justice is and what its practice seeks to accomplish?

The *transition* in transitional justice looks at how countries make a transition from authoritarianism to democracy, or from war to peace, or both. Some countries like Argentina have made the transition from authoritarianism to democracy, and countries like Colombia transitioned from war to peace. As Colombia was already democratic, the transition wasn't from authoritarianism to democracy, but from war to peace. There are also countries like Guatemala that simultaneously transition from civil war to peace and from authoritarianism to democracy.

The *justice* portion looks at how accounts for the past are going to be rendered, and how crimes and violence that happened during the war or the authoritarian regime will be handled. There are many ways of grappling with the past and coming to terms with it, and that's what we're mainly looking at. One of the most common methods have been truth commissions, so we're coding all the truth commissions in the world. Another method is the role of human rights prosecutions, which become the project's centerpiece, because very high-profile people are being criminally tried, prosecuted, and imprisoned. There are also amnesty laws where certain

crimes or certain individuals are protected from being held accountable, so we code that as well, because it interacts with other forms of transitional justice. Lastly, there are also reparations policies. It may be monetary, but it may also be restitution of land or jobs, or it may be rehabilitation that provides medical or psychological assistance to people who have been harmed.

Q Can you describe what a truth commission does and what it often seeks to accomplish?

Truth commissions work with the basic notion that history may repeat itself if the truth is not told. The very process of gathering victim testimony or gathering material from archives and producing a report that lays out what happened has the power to change the path a country's on, so it won't return to that kind of violence in the future.

Truth commissions can be very important for victims, whose voices can sometimes be silenced in these transitions. These commissions take vital testimony that allows those voices to be heard. But some truth commissions rely a lot on archives rather than testimonies, which can exclude vital information. A good truth commission will draw from multiple sources—victim testimony, archives, and sometimes statistics.

Q What questions about transitional justice do you hope to answer through the grant research?

In the first part of the project, we are coding these transitional justice indicators, which gives us a macro-level data about a truth commission, what it looks like, and if it has a reparations policy. Once we have that data, we can do analyses that ask: what difference does this make? Are countries that have truth commissions less likely to see history repeat itself? Many people may assume that truth commissions will ensure that we don't return to these practices, but we don't know if that's actually the case from the social science point of view.

The second part involves two of our PIs, Phuong Pham and Patrick Vinck, who are experts in performing survey research with victims in conflict zones and learning about their attitudes, their beliefs, their needs, and their desires on justice. This is important, because very often it's governments and international organizations that design these policies, without consulting the victims. Sometimes these groups speak on behalf of the victims, claiming that victims have said they want certain forms of justice, but have not consulted victims in a comprehensive fashion. Instead, Patrick and Phuong are performing random large-scale scientific surveys so we can get a comprehensive, representative sample of victims and their desires in transitional justice.

Q When surveyed, what do victims say they would like to see in terms of justice?

When you do these large-scale studies, you find that there's not a single voice of the victims, except for the fact that victims do want to be listened to. There's a lot of complexity in victim attitudes. In Colombia, our survey found that victims want peace, *and* they also want justice. Often, the victims' views are presented in dichotomous ways: "Victims want peace, not justice." While they may want peace first, they do then want justice. The dilemma is that the victims' losses often cannot be replaced, especially if they lost a family member or loved one. Any amount of reparations will not change that, but the victims still want and need reparations for various reasons—maybe because losing a family member means they need economic assistance or psychosocial assistance.

Q Who is the audience that you hope to influence with the results of the research performed by the Transitional Justice program?

Our funding is provided by a grant from the Canadian government—specifically Global Affairs Canada and the Peace and Stabilization Operations Program—and our guidance is not just to code data and produce research, but to share our research with policy audiences. With that, they want us to share our findings with governments, international organizations, and civil society groups. We are focused on updating our data by the end of 2022, but already have had meetings with policymakers to share some of our findings just one year into the program.

Q What do you see as the role of the Carr Center within Harvard and the broader human rights movement?

The Transitional Justice program is a good illustration of the work that the Carr Center can do: We are a research community that not only performs research but is committed to outreach and ensuring that our knowledge gets in the hands of people who are engaged in policymaking. I think this is just an emblematic example of the kind of work the Carr Center has done over many years of performing scholarly research, including creating new data sets and scholarly research and writing, while at the same time also performing outreach to make sure its findings don't just appear in a scholarly journal but become known by the policy world.

The Carr Center has also excelled at professional development. Our Transitional Justice Fellows are a good example of that: We have young scholars and staff members who are with us and who are all committed to their professional development and the idea that they should grow as scholars and researchers through their involvement with our program. In the past year, I've seen this group of young people that we're working with really develop professionally through the work.

This interview has been edited for length.

Nonviolent Action Lab



The Nonviolent Action Lab produces and disseminates up-to-date knowledge on nonviolent action, how it works, and global trends. By studying and amplifying nonviolent resistance and synthesizing lessons learned from movements around the globe, the Lab will make it easier for the public and practitioners to embrace nonviolent action as a means of transforming injustice.

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

On Revolutions: Unruly Politics in the Contemporary World (New York: Oxford University Press, May 2022), with Colin Beck, Mlada Bukovansky, Erica Chenoweth, George Lawson, Sharon Nepstad, and Daniel Ritter.

“Who Protests, What Do They Protest, and Why?” (NBER Working Paper 29987, May 2022), with Erica Chenoweth, Barton H. Hamilton, Hedwig Lee, Nicholas W. Papageorge, Stephen Roll, and Matthew V. Zahn.

“The Patriarchs’ War on Women” *Ms. Magazine*, April 29, 2022, with Erica Chenoweth and Zoe Marks.

“Protests Under Trump, 2017-2021” *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (March 2022), pp. 13–26, with Erica Chenoweth, Tommy Leung, Nathan Perkins, Jeremy Pressman, and Jay Ulfelder.



Erica Chenoweth

Frank Stanton Professor of the First Amendment

Erica Chenoweth studies political violence and its alternatives. At Harvard, Chenoweth directs the Nonviolent Action Lab, an innovation hub that provides empirical evidence in support of movement-led political transformation.

NONVIOLENT ACTION DEFINED

“I use the terms ‘nonviolent resistance,’ ‘civil resistance,’ and ‘people power’ interchangeably. Methods of nonviolent resistance include protests, strikes, sit-ins, boycotts, and other forms of noncooperation, as well as the development of alternative institutions like cooperative markets, mutual aid associations, and underground schools. When people engage in these techniques without directly harming other people, I classify them as engaging in nonviolent resistance. When people apply these techniques in a coordinated way over a concentrated period of time, I call this a nonviolent campaign, mobilization, or uprising.”

Erica Chenoweth

SELECT PUBLICATIONS

“People Around the World Are Protesting the Russian Invasion. Will Their Protests Work?” *The Washington Post*, March 14, 2022, with Erica Chenoweth.

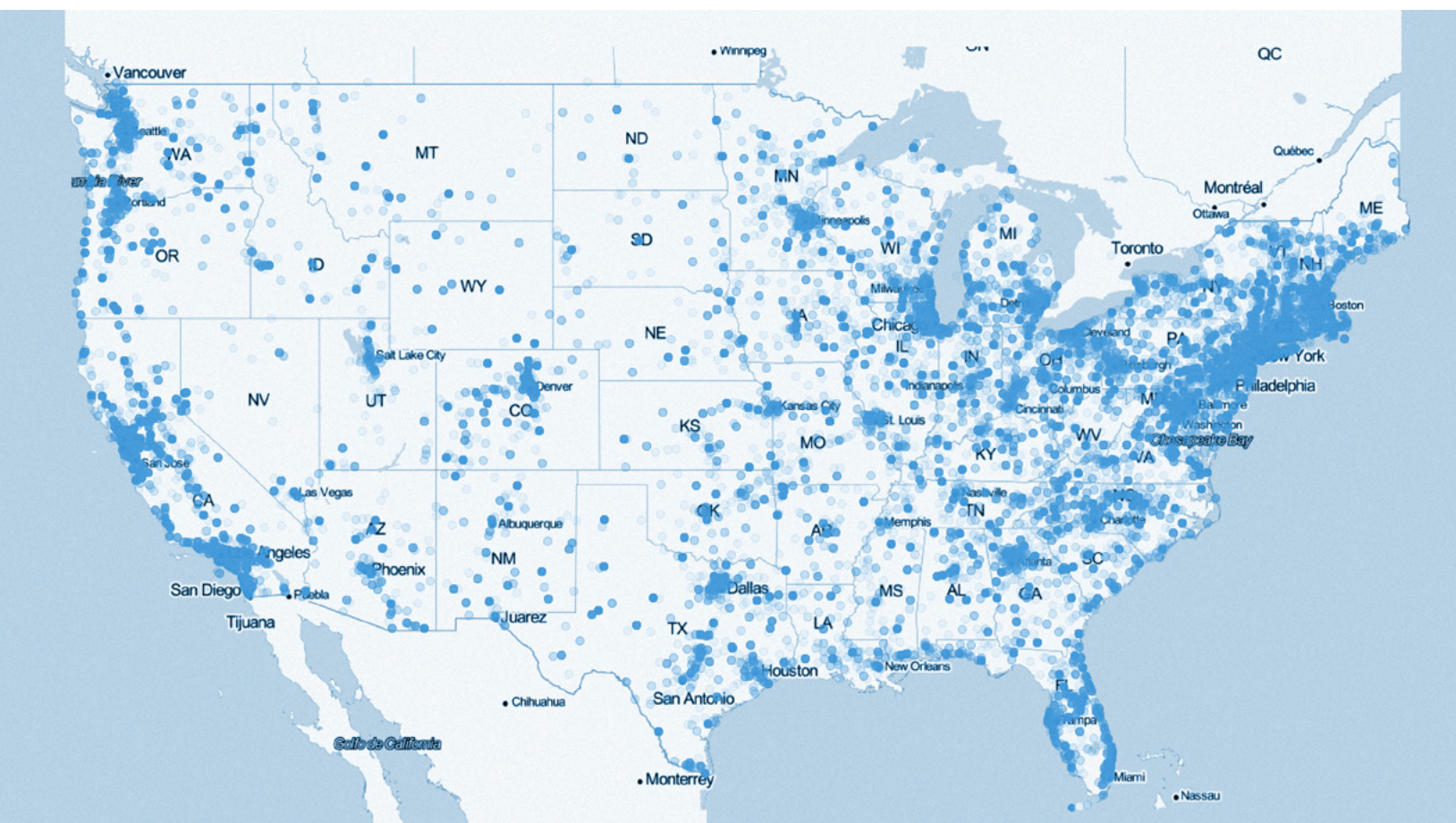
“Revenge of the Patriarchs: Why Autocrats Fear Women” *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2022, with Erica Chenoweth and Zoe Marks.

Civil Resistance: What Everyone Needs to Know Erica Chenoweth. New York: Oxford University Press. (March 2021)

The Role of External Support in Nonviolent Campaigns: Poisoned Chalice or Holy Grail? Washington, DC: ICNC Press (February 2021), with Erica Chenoweth and Maria J. Stephan.

“*Honor Among Thieves: Understanding Rhetorical and Material Cooperation among Militant Groups*” *International Organization*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (Winter 2022), pp. 164–203, with Christopher Blair, Erica Chenoweth, Michael C. Horowitz, Evan Perkoski, and Philip Potter.

BY THE NUMBERS



A map detailing all of the demonstrations, rallies, and protests around the United State since the beginning of 2017

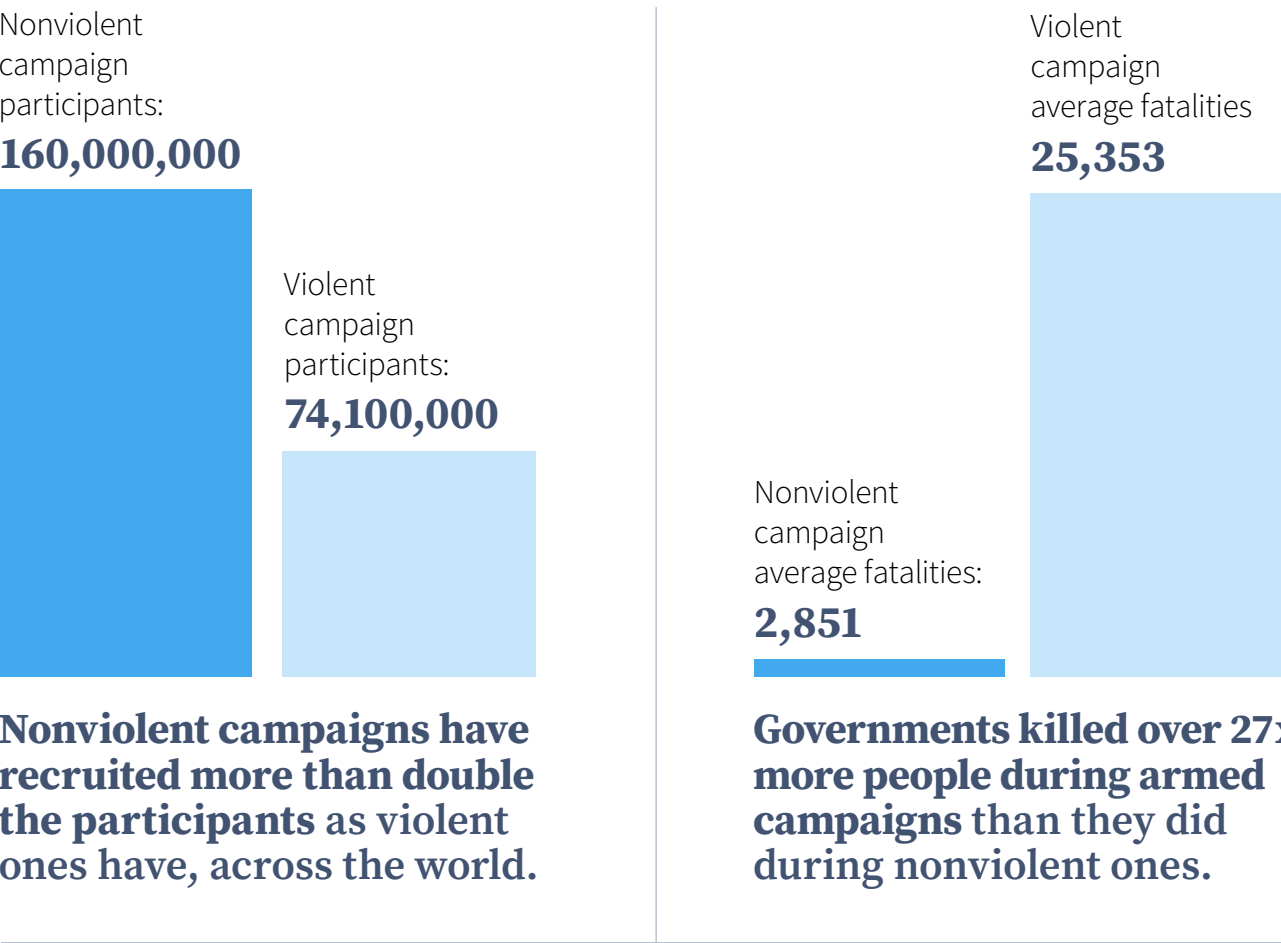
Since January 2017, the Crowd Counting Consortium—a collaboration between the Nonviolent Action Lab and a team at the University of Connecticut—has recorded detailed data on more than 114,000 demonstrations, rallies, and other protest events in the United States.

Data enables the Lab and other scholars, journalists, and activists to conduct careful analysis of protest activity on issues such as racial justice, climate action, COVID protocols, and reproductive rights.

Since 2000 alone, nearly 200 mass protest movements worldwide have demanded the toppling of a government, which are more than there were during the entire 20th century.

BY THE NUMBERS

Between 1945 to 2013...



Racial Justice



“The attacks on critical race theory, Black studies, and ethnic studies are about whose history we center in the discussion of American history. Do we center it on people of color—their experiences, their voices—and highlight the trauma, the suffering, the oppression, and the ways in which there needs to be historical redress today? Or do we privilege perspectives that would deny those realities?”

Karlos K. Hill

100th Anniversary of the Tulsa Race Massacre Webinar

As we continue the centuries-long journey of tackling racial injustice in the United States, the Carr Center's Racial Justice program focuses 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.

“For millions of Americans, the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests came as a surprise—but they weren't. The current transformative moment is built on the legacies and work of previous Black protest movements.”

Megan Ming Francis

Protests & Promises Webinar

INTERVIEW



Keisha N. Blain

Fellow, Carr Center;
Professor, Brown University

Keisha N. Blain, a 2022 Guggenheim Fellow and Class of 2022 Carnegie Fellow, is an award-winning historian of the 20th century United States. She is a Professor of Africana Studies and History at Brown University and a columnist for MSNBC, covering race, gender, and politics.

Q After the 2020 Black Lives Matter protests came a wave of assaults on voting rights that have or will disproportionately affect communities of color. What do you think will be the impact of these changes in the United States?

The current attacks on voting rights are not new—they are, in fact, part of a much longer effort to undermine the Voting Rights Act since its passage in 1965. What history so often reveals is that white backlash generally follows key political gains for Black people and other marginalized groups.

The uprisings of 2020 rekindled the global movement to end anti-Black racism and state-sanctioned violence. The uprisings provided the impetus for a record number of Americans to cast their ballots during the last presidential elections. Lies about election fraud have provided cover for several states to pass draconian voting restrictions that specifically target Black voters and other marginalized communities—and I think these developments serve as a bitter reminder that the fight for voting rights is far from over.

Q Recently, there have been a spate of attacks aimed at removing critical race theory from classrooms in states such as South Dakota and Mississippi. How may this damage the education of young students?

The obsession over “critical race theory” is a new manifestation of a long-standing effort to remove Black history—and the perspectives of Black writers—from the classroom. The recent legislative and executive bans on “critical race theory” are meant to intimidate educators and force them to avoid “sensitive” topics, such as racism, white supremacy, and inequality. The result of these actions is a distorted view of United States history: one that fails to capture the brutality of racist violence, the persistence of structural racism, and perhaps most importantly, how change occurs.

Students need to know United States history—especially the most difficult and painful aspects of this history. Knowledge of the past is necessary to both effectively address the challenges of today and to devise strategies for building a better future.

IN CONVERSATION



Desmond Ang

Assistant Professor of Public Policy

Desmond Ang's research examines the social impacts of police violence, the effects of voter protections on turnout and polarization, and the role of media on racial prejudice.

The Impact of Media on Racial Hate



JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

Q What drew you to your current field of work in economics and the intersection of race, government, and media?

All my research revolves around race, racial discrimination, racial inequality, and looking through these fields through different domains, all of which involve using empirical data to tease out the causes and consequences of racism, the consequences of police violence on students' academic accomplishments or people's voting behavior, and so on. I'm exploring a lot of questions that touch on race in America.

On a personal level, what drew me to this was that I grew up in a part of the US—Virginia, specifically—where my family and I were the only Asian people walking around. There was always this sense of being an outsider, and I think that makes me think a lot about the role that different institutions, media, and people might play in terms of making people feel more or less part of the society, and how that impacts a person's

aspirations, what they decide to do, what they're interested in, and more. A lot of my work derives from thinking about this minority experience and how that can be captured through important economic outcomes like schooling, voting, a person's wages, and other items like that.

Q Your recent paper, "The Birth of a Nation: Media and Racial Hate," documented the impact of media on racial hate by examining the 1915 blockbuster *The Birth of a Nation*, which was a fictional portrayal of the KKK's founding and was rife with racist stereotypes. Can you talk about this paper and its findings?

The Birth of a Nation was an incredibly popular movie and the first American blockbuster; people say that it founded Hollywood and the idea of a big studio making action-packed movies. The movie was incredibly racist and tells a story of the Civil War and Reconstruction following the protagonist of the film who, in the movie, founds the Ku Klux Klan. The film villainizes African Americans, and there are scenes glorifying the KKK lynching somebody, and so on. When it came out, millions of people saw it....Accounting for inflation, it still counts as the third-highest grossing movie of all time.

There have long been narratives that this movie incited people to act on racial discrimination or prejudice they may have already been feeling, or it caused them to become more racist. [We looked at old newspapers to determine] where and when the movie was shown. There were very few movie theaters, so there was this slow rollout as the movie traveled by railroad from town to town. We can see what happens in the wake of the movie's release: a spike in lynchings, as well as a spike in race riots. So, it really did seem to incite these acts of racial hate immediately in its wake.

In the long run, you can see that these areas that showed the movie were much more likely to have a KKK chapter. This is true in the 1920s when the KKK was prevalent throughout the US, and it anecdotally suggests that this was driven by the movie. Even today, the areas that showed the movie historically are much more likely to have a Klan chapter, they are much more likely to have some type of white supremacist hate group located in that county, and they also experienced higher rates of hate crimes than other areas as a result of that.

IN CONVERSATION

Black History Month: Progress, Promise, and the Future



JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

A special episode of Justice Matters in February 2022 focused on Black History Month and featured excerpts from three conversations with a range of speakers from academia and activism. Our guests discussed the historical legacy of enslavement, the periods of progress followed by rollbacks, the promise and peril of the current moment, and how to build more inclusive and just societies for the future.

Featuring

Wade Henderson

Interim CEO, Leadership Conference for Civil and Human Rights

Keisha N. Blain

Award-winning Historian and Author, *Set the World on Fire: Black Nationalist Women and the Struggle for Global Freedom*

Megan Ming Francis

Author, *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*

Reimagining Rights & Responsibilities

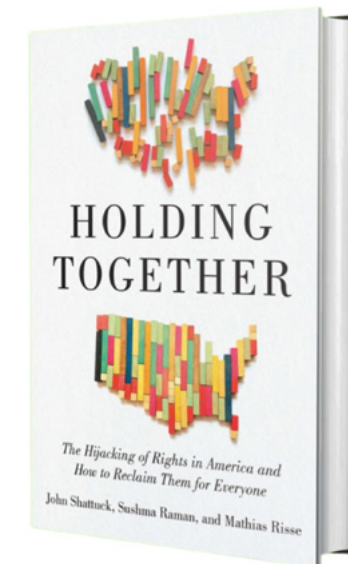


Voters in Des Moines cast their ballots in the 2020 presidential election. Photo credit Phil Roeder.

What are the rights and responsibilities that define the relationship of people to the government and to each other? The Reimagining Rights and Responsibilities project concluded by creating a guide for a nation wrestling with its values, offering an in-depth analysis of the state of rights in America and 80 recommendations to better address failures to protect these rights within fifteen papers that examine a broad spectrum of rights, including voting rights, racial discrimination, immigration, and more.

Throughout the length of the project, the Carr Center conducted two national surveys in 2020 and 2021 alongside the Institute of Politics, which explored American attitudes toward rights and freedoms in the US, and found surprising bipartisan support by substantial majorities of Americans for rights that are now frequently under political attack.

The project has also culminated in *Holding Together: The Hijacking of Rights in America and How to Reclaim Them for Everyone*, written by co-authors John Shattuck, Sushma Raman, and Mathias Risse. The book is about the promise of rights as a source of American identity, the struggle to realize rights by countless Americans to whom the promise has been denied or not fulfilled, the hijacking of rights by politicians who seek power by dividing and polarizing, and the way forward in which rights can bring Americans together instead of tearing them apart.

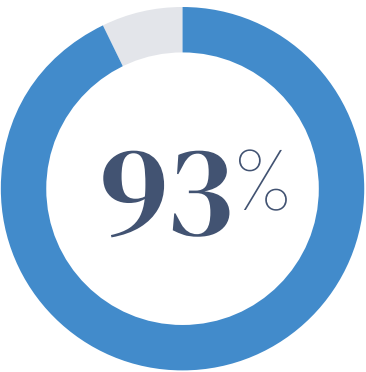


The discipline to craft concrete policy recommendations is the challenge powerfully accepted by this book as it tackles the often-cavernous gap between what is and what should be.

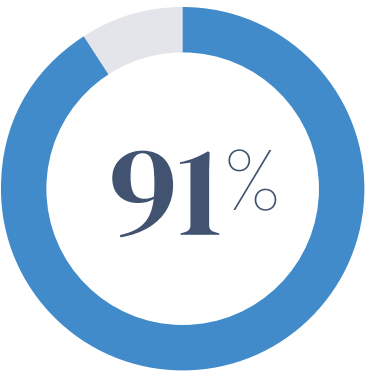
Foreward, Martha Minow

More details on the book are in the Human Rights in Action section of this report.

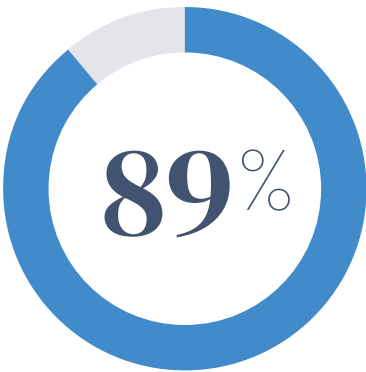
AMERICANS IN AGREEMENT



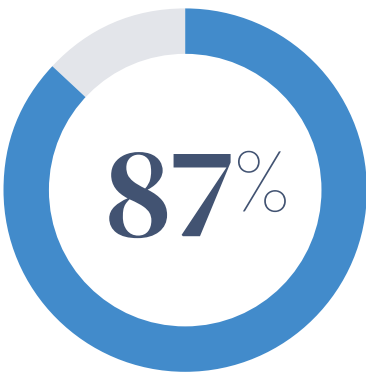
of Americans agree:
**they are fed up
with polarization**



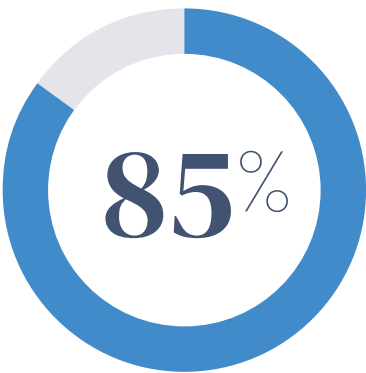
of Americans agree:
**disinformation
is a threat to
our democracy**



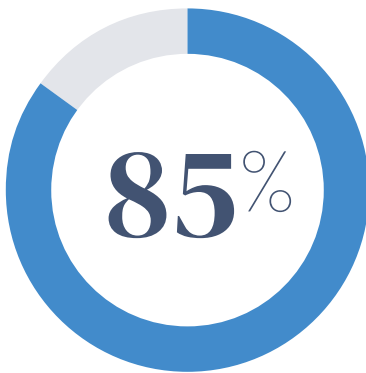
of Americans agree:
**people in the US
should have a right to
quality education**



of Americans agree:
**there should
be national
standards for
voting & elections**



of Americans agree:
**police departments
should implement
transparent guidelines
on when and how
to use force**



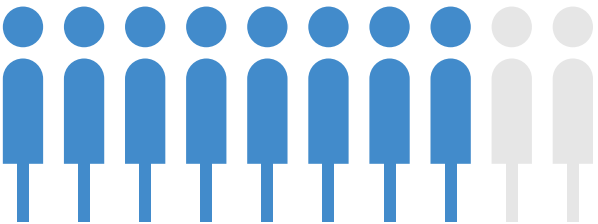
of Americans agree:
**the pandemic has
demonstrated the
need for universal
access to healthcare
for all Americans**

The Carr Center's national survey of American attitudes towards rights and freedoms in the United States found surprising bipartisan support by substantial majorities of Americans for rights that are now frequently under political attack.

The nationwide poll of 2,093 adults was conducted by NORC, an independent research institution at the University of Chicago, in June of 2020. The research was led by the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, with support from the Institute of Politics.

80%

**of Americans feel that
equal access to basic
necessities is very important,
including rights to quality
education, clean air and water,
and affordable healthcare.**



Yet fewer than
20%
**of Americans feel that
these rights are secure.**



Human Rights Defenders



The Carr Center has had a long history of hosting scholars at risk and human rights defenders, including individuals from Afghanistan, Cambodia, Hungary, India, Uganda, and Venezuela who are working to improve human rights in their home country. These scholars stay for a semester or a year at the Carr Center, and are often involved in organizing educational programs and events around the pressing concerns facing human rights defenders and the organizations they lead.

Frontline human rights defenders—those seeking to protect and promote the rights of vulnerable and marginalized communities in the face of state or corporate repression—are increasingly under attack around the world. Such attacks can take many forms: attacks on individual defenders and their credibility, security, and even their lives; closure and censure of civil society organizations and closing of civic space to limit freedoms of assembly, expression, and association; orchestrated and coordinated attacks through social media and other technologies to disempower and harass defenders and spread disinformation; and more.

During the 2021-2022 academic year, the Carr Center hosted Nicholas Opiyo, a human rights lawyer from Uganda, and Sima Samar, former Minister of Women's Affairs in Afghanistan.



Sima Samar

Former Minister of Women's Affairs in Afghanistan

Sima Samar is an Afghan woman's and human rights advocate, activist, and a social worker within national and international forums. She served as the Minister of Women's Affairs of Afghanistan from December 2001 to 2003. Samar was appointed as a member of the United Nations Secretary-General's High-Level Panel on Internal

Displacement in December 2019. In addition to her role as a Panel member, she is a member of the UN Secretary-General's High-Level Advisory Board on Mediation. Previously, she held the positions of Special Envoy of the President of Afghanistan and State Minister for Human Rights and International Affairs. She has also served as Chairperson of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) and as Minister of Women's Affairs and as one of the only two women in the transition government at that time.



Nicholas Opiyo

Executive Director and Lead Attorney, Chapter Four Uganda

Nicholas Opiyo is a Ugandan human rights lawyer commonly known for campaigning for civil rights and political freedoms in Uganda, specifically concerned with electoral law, the restriction of freedom of assembly, and the clampdown on freedom of speech and freedom of

the press. He is also known for representing LGBTQ+ people. He is the current Executive Director and Lead Attorney at Chapter Four Uganda. Until 2017, Opiyo was a member of the Team of Experts for the United Nations Special Rapporteur on the Rights to Peaceful Assembly and Association. He is the Board Chair of Action Aid Uganda, a member of the Human Rights Advisory Board of BENETECH and of the African Middle Eastern Leadership Project (AMEL).

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEFENSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Q What motivated you to become a human rights defender?

“

I personally faced discrimination being a woman and a minority in Afghanistan, so that's why I started in human rights quite early. Women were excluded by the regime in Kabul, and women's rights were used as a tool not to empower women, but only on very superficial issues. That's why I became a human rights advocate. I became Minister of Women's Affairs in Afghanistan in 2001, and also became a deputy to President Karzai at the time. I took it because I wanted to show that, as a woman, I'm capable of doing the job. I moved to Kabul and saw there that, compared to the male deputy for the chair, I was not involved in a lot of things—only if it was women's issues, or they wanted to show that they had a woman in that position. I began calling for accountability and justice, particularly for war crimes and crimes against humanity in Afghanistan.

Sima Samar

“

With the benefit of hindsight now, my human rights work was inspired by my experiences as a child. I was born and raised in northern Uganda in the middle of a very brutal conflict between a notorious rebel group known as the Lord's Resistance Army, and the Ugandan government. I grew up as a front-row witness to heinous human rights violations by both Ugandan government forces as well as rebel forces led by a wanted war criminal, Joseph Kony. That conflict was characterized by abductions of young children into rebellion, young girls were turned into sex slaves—including my own sister, who was abducted and spent eight years in the ranks of the LRA as a 'wife' to a rebel commander. I was among young kids who became known as 'night commuters' who would trek miles to sleep in open public spaces. So, as a child, these experiences set me on a path of exploration: first, of what I could do to help myself and my family, and later, it turned into a desire to help the general population. When I got the chance to go to law school, I dedicated myself to defending human rights, and have done so since I left my last law class 15 years ago.

Nicholas Opiyo

Q What are the ways in which we can empower women on a global scale and improve women's rights?

“

Access to education is the strongest tool to empower women and put them in a position to defend their rights and improve their environment. In my country, women are placed in an inferior position... which promotes patriarchy and increases inequality. Development is not going to take place if half of the population is not included in the conversation. Access to education is key.

Sima Samar

“

Rights must be enjoyed by every member of a society. The reason that we have persistent inequalities and problems in gender equality is that women are economically disempowered. Yet, on days like Women's Rights Day, we measure our efforts toward equality with how many medals we give... For me, the movement has become mild. A lot of the progress we have today was a result of radicalism that drove people out of their comfort zones to change things.

Nicholas Opiyo

Q What must be done to promote human rights for all?

“

Our existence is a right. Access to education, access to food, and access to a particular list of values are human rights. We have to promote that seamless approach for everyone, everywhere. Otherwise, the problem will continue happening.

Sima Samar

“

Oftentimes, in Uganda, there are laws that are very progressive, and which mirror international human rights standards in many respects. But there are differences in what is reflected in the law and the lived realities of the people. There's always going to be backlash if you're pushing against an established system. If you live in fear of backlash, you may not do anything. But you must be willing to pay the price—and there will always be a price for fighting the system.

Nicholas Opiyo

Human Rights in Action

The Carr Center brings its programs and research to life through its various publications and papers, Justice Matters podcast episodes, webinars, and more.

[> Justice Matters Podcast](#)

[> Webinars & Events](#)

[> Publications](#)

Podcast



In the episode "Education and Gender Equality in South Africa and Beyond," Dr. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka discusses her work fighting for the rights of women and children throughout her career in South Africa and the United Nations.

JUSTICE MATTERS

Hosted monthly by Sushma Raman, this podcast explores a variety of human rights issues, from the ethics of artificial intelligence to identifying the underlying sources of systemic discrimination, and investigates these issues both in the US and abroad.



There's never been a single way in which democracy dies. In most of the 20th century, democracy died via a very violent seizure of power. In the last few decades, elected leaders themselves [killed democracy] via the very institutions of democracy.

...unless we actually make deliberate and inherently political choices, we run the risk of simply entrenching the current social status quo [with the deployment of artificial intelligence.]

No one should be above accountability.

Democracy and Authoritarianism

Steve Levitsky

Director, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies

How do democracies die? What lessons can we learn from the past as we seek to build more democratic societies and participatory public spheres? Steve Levitsky, Director of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, discusses the state of democracy in the world today, weak and informal institutions, and authoritarianism and how we can combat it.

The Algorithmic Is Political

Annette Zimmermann

Lecturer in Philosophy, University of York

How do the values being built into artificial intelligence affect our public and private lives now and into the future? Dr. Annette Zimmermann, political philosopher at the University of York, discusses why we should resist the view that AI is value neutral and what it means to democratize AI in a climate rife with misinformation.

Holding Global Leaders to Account

Chile Eboe-Osuji

Former President, International Criminal Court

How can we ensure accountability when international criminal law is violated, and how do we approach seeking justice for past atrocities? In an era of widespread disinformation, what happens when people lack trust in the very purveyors of justice? In this episode, Judge Chile Eboe-Osuji discusses accountability and justice in the global arena.

MEET THE HOST



Sushma Raman

Executive Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy

Sushma brings over two decades of global experience launching, scaling, and leading social justice and philanthropic programs and collaboratives, building capabilities of grassroots human rights organizations and their leaders, and teaching graduate courses in the public policy schools at UCLA, USC, Tufts Fletcher School, and Harvard Kennedy School. She has co-authored two books, *The Coming Good Society: Why New Realities Demand New Rights*, and *Holding Together: The Hijacking of Rights in America and How to Reclaim Them for Everyone*.

Q What drove you to launch the Justice Matters podcast?

My goals were to amplify research and expert knowledge on human rights in an accessible and compelling manner to people around the world, as well as to showcase the diversity of human rights concerns and capabilities. I am really excited to see the organic growth of the podcast over time, now reaching thousands of listeners in over 150 countries.

Q What are a few of the conversations you've had on this podcast that you have felt are the most profound, or the most meaningful to you?

Every conversation has been meaningful and educational for me. It helps me realize the breadth and depth of knowledge, as well as lived expertise among our podcast

guests. Some are well-known and highly regarded academics, such as winner of the Holberg prize, Sheila Jasanoff, and former Dean of Harvard Law School, Martha Minow. Others are human rights defenders and NGO leaders such as Matt Smith of Fortify Rights and North Korean refugee Joseph Kim. Well-known authors such as Steve Levitsky and Keisha Blain help bring their research and writing to life through in-depth conversations. Our episodes on racial justice with experts such as Khahlil Muhammad, Wade Henderson, and Desmond Ang helped illustrate the history of racial discrimination and violence, as well as current efforts to build movements for equity and justice.

Many of the themes discussed in our podcast connect with our research papers, webinars, and newsletters, helping amplify the work of Carr Center affiliates and other experts.

METRICS



Since the podcast began in 2018, *Justice Matters* has had...

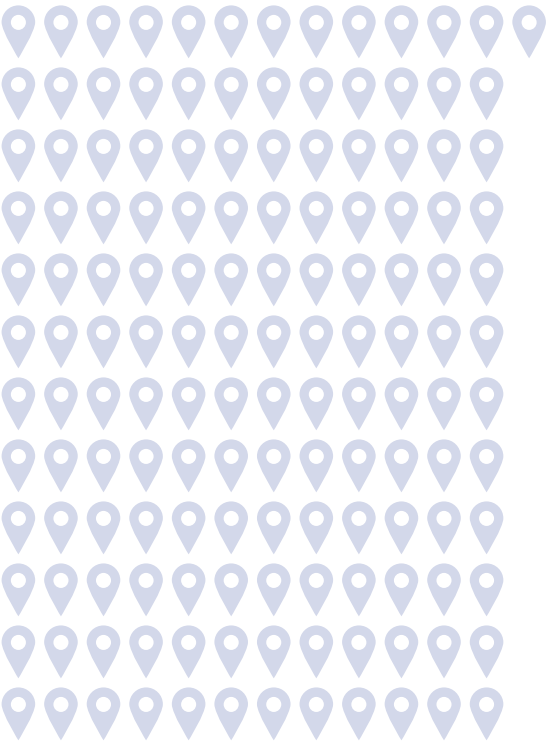
50 podcast episodes



39.2k+ total downloads

21.6k+ listeners from

157 countries



IN CONVERSATION



Philip N. Howard

Director of the Programme on Democracy and Technology, Oxford University

Howard writes about information politics and international affairs, and has won multiple book awards. His writing has been featured in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and many international media outlets.

Disinformation in the Digital Public Sphere



JUSTICE MATTERS

Listen to this complete podcast episode and others at carrcenter.hks.harvard.edu/podcasts

Q How do you define disinformation and misinformation, and how do you connect them to the world of human rights?

I define disinformation as the very purposeful generation of “fake news” and lies with an ideological spin and conspiracies. It’s the purposeful side that makes disinformation distinctive. And I think misinformation is slightly different in that it’s sometimes constructed purposely, but it’s very subtle. It’s not part of a big, manufactured information operation. We often don’t know when it’s definite.

[In action], perhaps it’s a commentary, or a political spin with a slightly doctored photo, and it’s usually not aggressively marketed as disinformation. I think the important distinctions between these two things is that people don’t usually know when they’re sharing misinformation, and disinformation usually has a big organization behind it.

Q When you say “big organization,” what do you mean by that?

Is it a structured organization, or is it really an informal network of people with shared values and perspectives? Perhaps it’s a political agenda? I think it’s often the former. It’s often a formal organization in the sociological sense, with resources and budgets and receptionists and desks and office space, right? These are usually organizations that have hiring plans and performance bonuses. They are often foreign states. So, [it ends up being] military units that have been re-tasked to perform disinformation, or foreign media organizations such as *Russia Today*. Unfortunately, there are our own political parties [that do it as well]. Increasingly, in democracies, we find political parties hiring consultants and PR firms to do the same systematic kinds of information operations that used to be done solely by dictators.

Once in a while, there’s a political candidate or a social movement that manages to tap into it in the other way—a network of actors who come together. They’ve got an ideological package and

“

Increasingly, in democracies, we find political parties hiring consultants and PR firms to do the same systematic information operations that used to be done solely by dictators.

they push it out onto social media. But even then, when we research them, we’re not done. We find that there’s a money trail, right? There’s financing behind these networks, and there often is some kind of social organization that helps give their information operations some real clout.

Q There are different points of connection of disinformation to the human rights movement you’ve touched on here, including the treatment of either minority or marginalized communities and the ways in which they are depicted online. But I imagine that there are other human rights ramifications as well?

I think misinformation is the public policy problem that can complicate all other public policy problems. Anybody claiming that their human rights have been abused could be undermined by a significant misinformation campaign from the nation-state. I think there are many examples now of regional governments using disinformation to trigger attacks on ethnic minorities and to defend political figures who are accused of corruption to bring down their political opponents at election time. Those are modes of interference with our right to vote and our ability to participate in free and fair elections. So, I think I see misinformation as one of the critical issues that affects all other human rights claims.

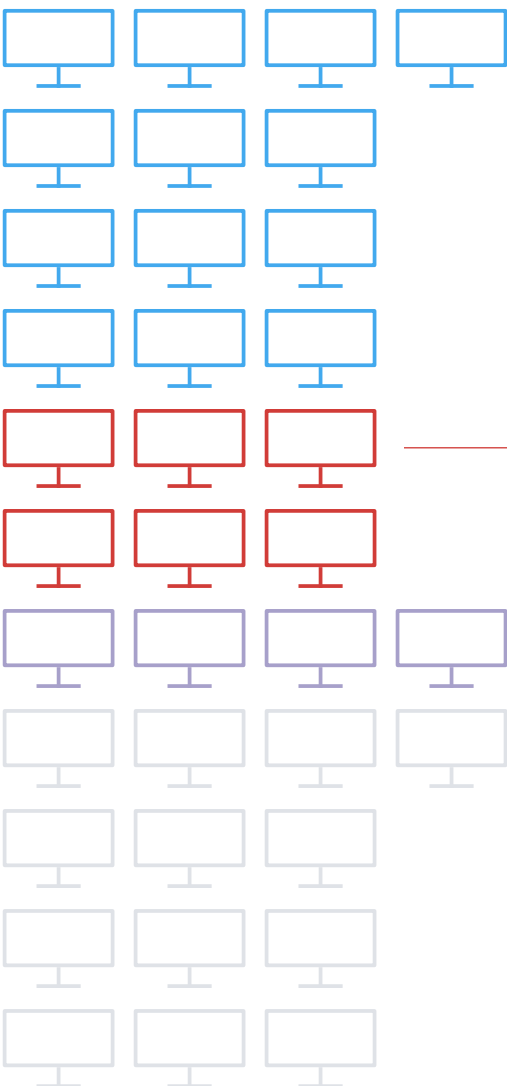
Misinformation is complex, and I think we’re still figuring out how to wrestle with it in a human rights frame. I’d like to touch on the issue of the COVID pandemic, which has been a public health crisis but also a disinformation crisis. I’ve investigated the issues of disinformation surrounding the pandemic and its impact on low income, marginalized communities. We recently did a study on how the major technology platforms profit from COVID-related misinformation, and how the content of COVID misinformation flows across Facebook and Twitter into YouTube and across Reddit over multiple platforms. In this particular project, we wanted to look to see how the major technology providers profit by providing the infrastructural support for websites that target minorities and the poor with misinformation about fake cures like coconut water—which was one of the tropes that was passing around in India a lot last summer. And there is a fairly complex network of websites profiteers who will sell fake cures and t-shirts and baseball hats.

I think this is an example of how important it is to trace the money flow behind this information infrastructure, and I think it’s a good example of how different countries and nation-states do have the obligation to protect citizens, even in other nation-states.

Webinars

35

Webinars released during the past academic year



13

Towards Life 3.0: Ethics and Technology in the 21st Century

This series welcomes a range of scholars, technology leaders, and public interest technologists to address the ethical aspects of the long-term impact of AI on society and human life.

6

Human Rights in Hard Places

Unparalleled insights and analysis from the frontlines by human rights practitioners, policy makers, and innovators.

4

The Fierce Urgency of Now

A series that draws upon the famous quote by Martin Luther King, Jr., when he said, “We are confronted with the fierce urgency of now. In this unfolding conundrum of life and history, there 'is' such a thing as being too late. This is no time for apathy or complacency. This is a time for vigorous and positive action.” The series focuses on the intersection of racial, economic, and social justice in the United States.

32

hours of content created

and shared with the Carr Center's audience, covering a range of topics from digital ethics and the right to truth, to intersectionality and critical race theory.



42,000 views

TOP FIVE WEBINARS



▶ Privacy Is Power

We are no longer treated as equal citizens. We are being treated on the basis of our data, which means we're being treated on the basis of our sex, our gender, our age, and—most importantly—our vulnerabilities.

Dr. Carissa Veliz

Associate Professor of Philosophy,
University of Oxford; Author, *Privacy Is Power*



▶ Critical Race Theory

Racism is not just the moral failing of a few bad actors. To grasp how racism functions, we have to understand that there are systems in place that function to further inequality.

Nicholas Espíritu

Supervising Attorney, National Immigration Law Center;
Fellow, Carr Center



▶ Artificial Intelligence and the Past, Present, and Future of Democracy

Massive deployment of AI actually greatly helps autocracies. Where autocracy is entrenched, technology will tend to help it stay entrenched.

Mathias Risse

Faculty Director, Carr Center for Human Rights Policy



▶ Why We Need AI Ethics

We've been operating on an impoverished conception of what ethics in AI is... no doubt, partly a result of the prominent role of the big tech players in shaping the field of AI ethics so as to limit the threat it poses to their commercial ambitions.

John Tasioulas

Professor of Ethics and Philosophy of Law;
Director of the Institute for Ethics in AI, University of Oxford



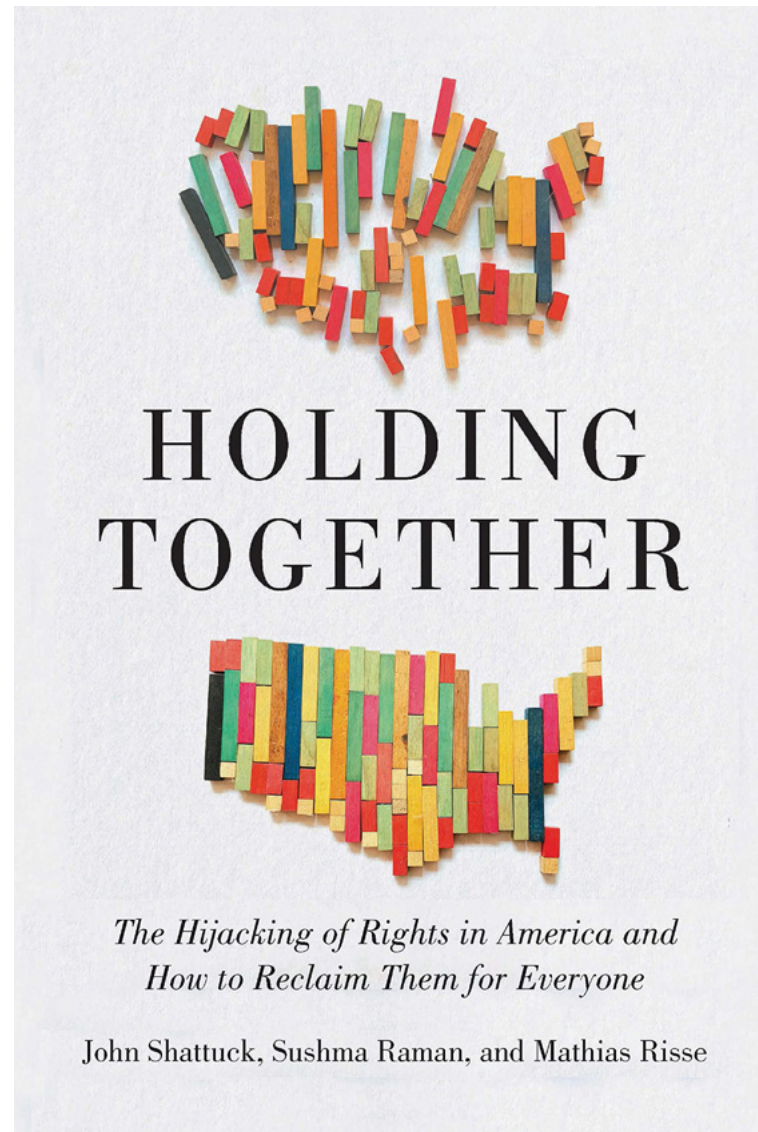
▶ Shrinking Civic Space in Africa: Lessons from Uganda

Countries that had once promised brighter futures have seen a complete decline and departure from the rule of law.

Nicholas Opiyo

Human Rights Lawyer, Uganda

Publications: Books



Co-authors John Shattuck (former Carr Center Senior Fellow), Sushma Raman (Carr Center Executive Director), and Mathias Risse (Carr Center Faculty Director) present a comprehensive account of the current state of rights in the United States—and concrete recommendations to policymakers and citizens on how to reclaim them.

The newly released book *Holding Together: The Hijacking of Rights in America and How to Reclaim Them for Everyone* (New Press, 2022) is about the promise of rights as a source of American identity, the struggle to realize rights by countless Americans to whom the promise has been denied or not fulfilled, the hijacking of rights by politicians who seek power by dividing and polarizing, and the way forward in which rights can bring Americans together instead of tearing them apart.

An overwhelming majority of Americans agree that rights are essential to their freedom, and that rights today are severely threatened. The promise of rights has been reimagined at pivotal moments in American history—can today become another time of transformation?

Drawing on a series of town hall meetings with representative groups of citizens across the country discussing their concerns over rights, new national opinion polls from all demographic groups and political perspectives conducted in 2020 and 2021, and extensive research, *Holding Together* is a road map for an American rights revival.

SELECT REVIEWS

A spirited defense of the political and civil rights that Americans enjoy—and that are constantly being chipped away.”

Kirkus Reviews

There is no better book—a blueprint, really—to guide us into and past the potentially fractious decade ahead.

Arlie Russell Hochschild

Author, Strangers in Their Own Land, a finalist for the National Book Award

A powerful account of today’s rights crisis in America... this book helps us imagine a future of rights for everyone.

Anthony D. Romero

Executive Director, ACLU

The heart of *Holding Together* is resoundingly hopeful. Shattuck, Raman, and Risse provide a timely call to action for everyone who is concerned with closing the gap between our democratic ideals and what is real.”

Wade Henderson

Interim President and CEO, the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights

FROM THE AUTHORS



80% of Americans across the political spectrum said without our rights, America is nothing; rights today are not secure; and Americans have more in common than many think.

John Shattuck
Former Senior Fellow, Carr Center



If we're talking about defending democracy, building resistance, and building voices for change, then we really have to think about local leaders and ways in which to strengthen the infrastructure for civil society in countries where it is under attack.

Sushma Raman
Executive Director, Carr Center

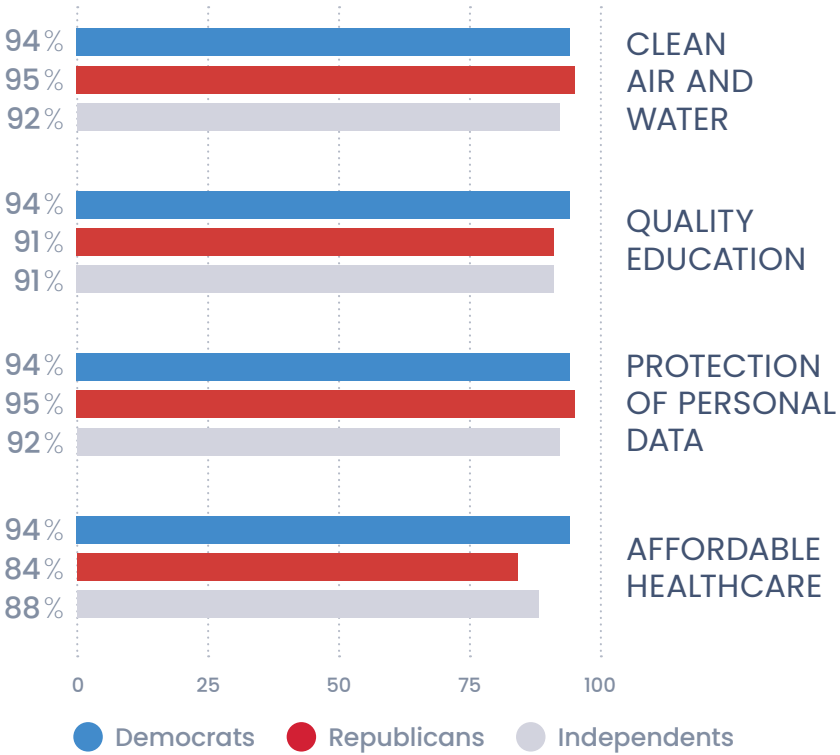


The spirit of holding together and the determination to maintain the political structure regardless of partial interests is the secret for a political entity to continue existing into the future.

Mathias Risse
Faculty Director, Carr Center

EXCERPTS

Americans surveyed in the Carr Center's 2020-2021 polls believe the following to be 'essential' rights:



The chapters of this book demonstrate that Americans today across the political spectrum are well aware that their rights have been hijacked and are being denied. Eight out of ten Americans believe that rights are not secure. There is disagreement about the targets and causes of the attacks, but broad consensus that the system of rights in the United States is endangered.

Today, democratic institutions again are under attack. Voting restrictions have been imposed to suppress voting by people of color and youth who support equal liberty. Press freedom, judicial independence, and law enforcement have come under extreme partisan pressure. Public discourse has been manipulated and degraded. Patterns of authoritarian governance have emerged, characterized by disregard of factual evidence and the rule of law. The assault on equal liberty has been magnified by technological changes in which powerful actors are now seemingly beyond the reach of any accountability to citizens and the government.

The huge gap between public opinion and public policy is a result of the failure of government institutions, especially Congress, to reinforce the values of the majority.

The gaps between Americans' reported views and the laws, policies, and circulating narratives expose unacceptable defects in institutional practices and maybe even in their design in a nation ostensibly organized as a representative democracy. This means the legislatures are not in fact representative of the people.

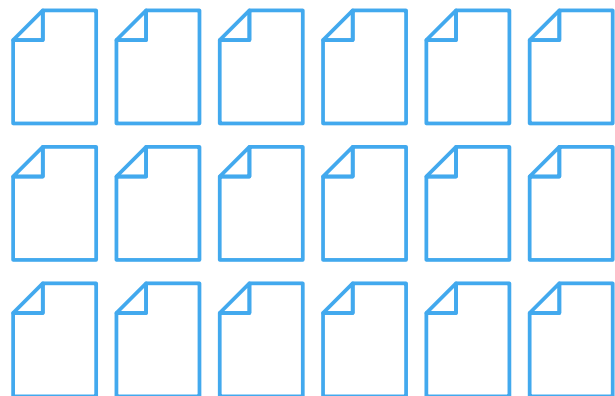
Martha Minow, introduction

Publications: Papers

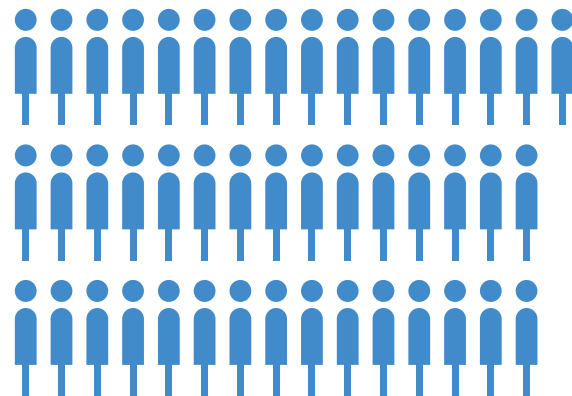
Over the past year, the Carr Center has released 18 new publications by 46 authors, including faculty, fellows, students, and prominent guests from both academia and industry. These publications have explored numerous subjects within the human rights realm from authoritarianism and democracy to artificial intelligence and the right to privacy.

BY THE NUMBERS

18
new publications



46
total authors



A CLOSER LOOK: HUMAN RIGHTS PRIORITIES



Looking Ahead: Human Rights Priorities in 2022

Various authors

The global pandemic brought to the forefront the human rights issues that millions of us struggle with each day, from economic inequality and racial discrimination to the rise of authoritarianism and the threat of new technology and rampant disinformation. In this publication, the Carr Center's faculty and fellows identified the main areas that must be focused on to lay the groundwork for a better world where human rights are made central to our everyday lives.

“

Despite growing global prosperity and over half a century of binding human rights conventions, economic inequality remains pervasive, with the richest and the poorest further apart than ever before.

Jacqueline Bhabha

“

In the United States we are facing pernicious laws—and gerrymandering—that seek to disenfranchise Black people and other voters of color.

Keisha N. Blain

“

It is troubling that, more than 70 years after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, investments in social and economic wellbeing are seen either as charity or as debatable political choices rather than as human rights issues.

Aminta Ossom

A CLOSER LOOK: SURVEILLANCE CAPITALISM



The Fourth Generation of Human Rights: Epistemic Rights in Digital Lifeworlds

Mathias Risse

In contrast to China's enormous efforts to upgrade its system of governance to a new technological level built around a stupefying amount of data collection and electronic scoring, countries committed to democracy and human rights did not upgrade their systems. Instead of adjusting democracy and human rights to the new technological possibilities, those countries ended up with surveillance capitalism.

“

In the part of the world shaped by liberalism, democracy, and capitalism, the main tendency has been to strengthen capitalism rather than liberalism or democracy.

Accordingly, we now find ourselves in surveillance capitalism rather than in democratized, digital lifeworlds with strong rights protections.

A CLOSER LOOK: PUBLIC HEALTH TECHNOLOGIES



Public Health, Technology, and Human Rights: Lessons Learned from Digital Contact Tracing

Maria Carnovale & Khahlil Louisy

To mitigate inefficiencies in manual contact tracing processes, digital contact tracing and exposure notifications systems were developed for use as public-interest technologies during the COVID-19 global pandemic. Effective implementation of these tools requires alignment across several factors, including local regulations and policies and trust in government and public health officials.

“

The privacy of some subgroups, like individuals attending Alcoholics Anonymous meetings or those attending LGBTQIA+ meetings in conservative communities, might be more sensitive than others, and its loss might result in discrimination or social stigma.

“

While the intentions to develop an optimally functioning public health system and maximize utility may be noble, transferring the use of individual data from one setting to another may violate the user's right to choose the purposes for which their data are used in the long run.

People

The Carr Center community includes leading scholars and practitioners from a variety of disciplines who explore issues ranging from artificial intelligence and nonviolent action to racial justice and transitional justice. Our experts embrace backgrounds in diplomacy, business, social responsibility, technology and ethics, and more.

[> Affiliated Faculty](#)

[> Fellows](#)

[> Students](#)

[> Staff](#)

Affiliated Faculty

12
Faculty Committee

41
Faculty Associates

TOPICS OF INTEREST:

include but are not limited to

- + Transnational child migration
- + Refugee protection
- + International security
- + Gender and violence
- + Nonviolent action/civil resistance
- + Racial justice
- + Anti-torture efforts
- + Policing and state violence
- + Authoritarianism
- + Democracy and society
- + Race, gender, and inequality
- + Peace-building
- + International norms & institutions
- + International negotiation
- + Political polarization
- + Voting rights
- + Economic inequality



IN CONVERSATION



Martha Minow

300th Anniversary University Professor,
Harvard Law School

Martha Minow has taught at Harvard Law School since 1981, where her courses include civil procedure, constitutional law, fairness and privacy, family law, international criminal

justice, jurisprudence, law and education, nonprofit organizations, and the public law workshop. An expert in human rights and advocacy for members of racial and religious minorities and for women, children, and persons with disabilities, she also writes and teaches about digital communications, democracy, privatization, military justice, and ethnic and religious conflict.

Q In your most recent book, *Saving the News: Why the Constitution Calls for Government Action to Preserve Freedom of Speech*, you examine the decline in news operations and the amplification of incendiary or unreliable content by digital platforms. What are the implications of such developments for democracies and human rights around the world?

Although my book concentrates on the United States, it also considers developments in other countries, including the impact of US-based digital companies on their ecosystems of information and misinformation.

Without reliable and regular news, citizens are likely to lack information vital to developing and expressing their political views and abuses of public and private power will increase and evade accountability. Misinformation and disinformation can sow confusion and manipulate public sentiment.

Governments controlling information directly violate the speech rights of those they suppress and further undermine the ability of individuals to know, understand, and exercise other human rights.

Q What do you see as the role of the Carr Center within Harvard and the broader human rights movement?

Exemplified by the project on Reimagining Rights and Responsibilities, the Carr Center conducts original empirical and normative research that informs students and broader audiences with knowledge about practices advancing and undermining human rights.

The Center's work every day advances knowledge and practices critical to policymakers, nongovernmental advocates, businesses, and individuals.

NEW TO THE CARR CENTER



Danielle Allen

James Bryant Conant University Professor

Danielle Allen is a political theorist who has published broadly in democratic theory, political sociology, and the history of political thought. She is widely known for her work on justice and citizenship.



Cornell William Brooks

Professor of the Practice of Public Leadership and Social Justice

Cornell William Brooks is the director of The William Monroe Trotter Collaborative for Social Justice. Under his leadership as former President and CEO of the NAACP, the group secured 12 significant legal victories, including laying the groundwork for the first statewide legal challenge to prison-based gerrymandering.



Yanilda María González

Assistant Professor of Public Policy

Yanilda María González's research focuses on policing, state violence, and citizenship in democracy, examining how race, class, and other forms of inequality shape these processes.

Fellows

During the 2021–2022 academic year, the Carr Center hosted fellows who have worked to support the research and activities of the Racial Justice program, the Technology and Human Rights program, the Nonviolent Action Lab, and more.

Each of the Carr Center’s fellowships offer scholars and practitioners the opportunity to work with Harvard’s faculty and students to explore critical human rights issues.

FELLOWSHIPS

Technology & Human Rights

Fellows examine how technological advances over the next several decades will affect the future of human life, and delve into the protections of the human rights framework.

Carr Center Fellowship

This fellowship allows post-docs, scholars, senior leaders in international organizations, human rights defenders, and heads of human rights organizations to write and perform research, audit classes, meet faculty, lead study groups for students, and more.

Scholars at Risk

Artists, writers, and public intellectuals from around the world come to Harvard to escape persecution and continue their important work.

TOPICS OF INTEREST:

include but are not limited to

- + Ethics of artificial intelligence
- + International law
- + Law and justice
- + Non-governmental actors
- + Global supply chains
- + Kleptocracy
- + Freedom and moral agency
- + Misinformation / disinformation
- + Information politics
- + Corporate accountability
- + Transitional justice
- + Civil rights & political freedoms
- + LGBTQIA+ rights
- + Women’s rights
- + Equality and discrimination



The Carr Center provided a needy respite from the frontlines of our work in Southeast Asia. It gave me access to endless resources to explore questions on how to create a more rights-respecting world. Its world-class leadership and faculty not only provide some of the best human rights education, but they also get their hands dirty with human rights defenders globally. That’s a winning combination.”

Matt Smith

Former Carr Center Fellow



Being part of the Carr Center’s Technology and Human Rights Fellowship has afforded us the time, the peer network, and the resources to finally focus on the ideas we have held onto for years.

Teresa Hodge

Former Technology & Human Rights Fellow

SPOTLIGHT: FELLOWS



Chile Eboe-Osuji

Carr Center Fellow

Chile Eboe-Osuji is the former President of the International Criminal Court. Prior to joining the ICC, Eboe-Osuji was the Legal Advisor to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, during which time he anchored the High Commissioner's interventions in cases involving human rights questions. In that capacity, he led the writing of amicus curiae submissions to the European Court

of Human Rights and the United States Supreme Court. He served as principal appeals counsel for the Prosecution in the Charles Taylor Case at the Special Court for Sierra Leone, and has held several posts at the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, including Head of Chambers and Lead Prosecution Trial Counsel.



Megan Ming Francis

Carr Center Fellow

Megan Ming Francis is an Associate Professor of Political Science at the University of Washington. Francis was the founding Co-director of the Race and Capitalism Project and a former Research Fellow at the Thurgood Marshall Institute

at the NAACP-LDF. She is the author of the award-winning book, *Civil Rights and the Making of the Modern American State*. At the Carr Center, she worked on her next book project, *How to Fund a Movement*, which examines the history and future of philanthropy's complicated relationship with social movements.

“

Being a Fellow of the Carr Center has been a truly empowering process in my life. Despite the challenges of an ongoing pandemic, the Carr Center has given me a platform to share 15 years of work to a larger audience and has helped in incubating, innovating, and strengthening my own ideas and work on indigenous governance and peacemaking.”

—Binalakshmi Nepram



Binalakshmi Nepram

Carr Center Fellow

Binalakshmi “Bina” Nepram is an indigenous scholar and human rights defender whose work focuses on deepening democracy and championing women-led peace, security, and disarmament in Manipur, Northeast India, and South Asia. She is the founder of three organizations: the Manipur Women Gun Survivors

Network, the Control Arms Foundation of India, and the Global Alliance of Indigenous Peoples, Gender Justice, and Peace. Nepram has authored and edited five books, including *Deepening Democracy*, *Diversity*, and *Women's Rights in India* and *Where Are Our Women in Decision Making?*.

IN CONVERSATION: SENIOR FELLOW



Justice Luís Roberto Barroso

Carr Center Senior Fellow;
Justice, Supreme Federal Court of Brazil

Justice Luís Roberto Barroso is a Brazilian law professor, jurist, Justice of the Supreme Federal Court of Brazil, and has also served as President of the Superior Electoral Court.

Q Over the years, you've played a significant role in the protection of minority rights in Brazil. Can you describe how you've worked to ensure that those in power better represent the needs and rights of society as a whole?

Initially, when I was a lawyer, I participated before the Brazilian Supreme Federal Court in cases defending women's right to stop their pregnancy when the fetuses were nonviable, the equity of rights between gay couples and heterosexual couples, and affirmative actions in favor of Afro-Brazilians. It was gratifying work, because all of them began as causes with little support and, throughout the years, have conquered public opinion.

In 2013, I was appointed as a Justice of the Supreme Federal Court. As a judge, I had the opportunity to decide cases concerning the validity of racial quotas in the selections for public office, the decriminalization of abortion,

the rights of transgender people to alter their names in the civil registry, the creation of sanitary barriers and priority vaccination for indigenous people during the pandemic, the right of maternity leave for mothers of adopted children, and the Federal Government's duty to make investments against climate change.

In my opinions and lectures, I seek to convince people that these are not progressive causes, but causes of humanity: equal respect and consideration for all people, so that they can flourish and emancipate themselves.

Q With the rise of populist and far-right movements on a global scale in recent years, many populations have lost confidence in their governments, and political systems have lost credibility. Are you seeing this happen in Brazil? If so, what do you think must be done to prevent deepening authoritarianism in Brazil or worldwide?

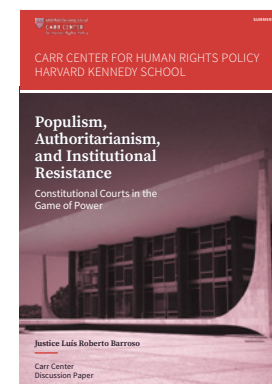
Certainly, the world is going through a phase which has been identified by several expressions, such as "democratic recession," "abusive constitutionalism," or "autocratic legalism," amongst others. This picture is the product of three different phenomena that, when combined, produce the severe erosion of democracy: populism, extremism, and authoritarianism. It is not about an ideology, but a strategy that divides the society into us—the pure, decent, and conservative people—and them—the corrupt, cosmopolitan, and progressive elite. It is a fallacy, a manipulation, because neither the people nor the elite are homogeneous concepts in a plural and diverse world.

The authoritarian extremist populism adopts recurrent strategies, which include: (1) direct communication with its supporters, mostly through social media; (2) the bypass, disqualification, or co-optation of intermediate institutions, such as the Legislative branch, the press, and civil society bodies; and (3) the attack on supreme courts and constitutional courts, which have the institutional role of limiting the power of the political majorities.

Even consolidated democracies, such as the United States and the United Kingdom, have suffered setbacks. And Brazil has not been immune to this tendency. Democracy needs to defeat some of its internal enemies, such as poverty, unjust inequalities, and the State's appropriation by extractive elites who put it to their service. In addition, it needs to raise the new generations' awareness that dictatorships come with intolerance, censorship, and institutionalized violence and that, therefore, it cannot be a legitimate alternative for political life.

FURTHER READING

Justice Barroso's Carr Center Discussion Paper "Populism, Authoritarianism, and Institutional Resistance" is an examination of extremism and the role constitutional courts can play in defending democracy.



Q What must happen at the civic society level to reduce corruption and shift the attitude on corruption in politics? What can be done by those in power who want to crack down on corruption?

Structural, systemic, and institutionalized corruption has always been a dramatic problem for Latin America. We have, since the Iberian colonization, a culture that does not adequately separate the public and private spheres, resulting in the extractive elites' appropriation of the State. This appropriation can occur both through public policies that benefit these groups, as well as pure and simple corruption.

Corruption has many causes. In Brazil, one of these causes is the electoral system, which is excessively expensive. Many of the corruption scandals in the country are associated with electoral financing. Therefore, reducing campaign costs with changes to our political system is, certainly, an important measure. There is another chronic problem in the country, which is an oligarchical pact through which the extractive elites protect themselves and leniently accept the deviation of resources, the payment of bribes, and other reprehensible behaviors.

Unfortunately, the Judiciary is also part of the pact, and treats white-collar criminality as less severe, accepting the procrastination of cases until they are thrown out because of the statute of limitations or nullifying those that come to an end. It is a sad picture of accepting the unacceptable. Not long ago there was an important reaction from society and from institutions. Recently, however, the old pattern of nullifications and friendliness with notoriously corrupt individuals has returned. It is crucial to understand, nonetheless, that history is not linear and that perseverance in this matter is the only chance of victory.

Students



Each spring, a select group of MPP students present their Policy Analysis Exercise (PAE) projects and share their findings and recommendations with our HKS community. Callie King-Guffey discusses her project at the showcase this past April. Photo by Lydia Rosenberg.

Each academic year, the Carr Center works with numerous students who join as fellows, research assistants, grant recipients, and interns. These students support the ever-growing activities and programs of the Carr Center, from research support to scholarly papers that advance our understanding of the state of human rights around the world.

18
students were
funded during
the 2021-2022
academic year

STUDENT SPOTLIGHT



Dawn Kang

MPA/ID '22

Dawn Kang's research interests are in poverty alleviation and migration, especially regarding refugees and asylum seekers in the Middle East. Recent volunteer experiences include working in Lebanon with Syrian refugees and in Mongolia at an international university. Prior to HKS, Dawn worked as an operations analyst on the FX sales and trading team at Goldman Sachs in New York City.



Kevin Lentz

MPP '22

Prior to attending Harvard Kennedy School, Kevin Lentz worked as a Refugee Resources Associate at the International Rescue Committee, where he organized partnerships with local organizations to create programs that provided hundreds of refugee and asylee families with substantial food packages, subsidized housing opportunities, and critically needed material goods.

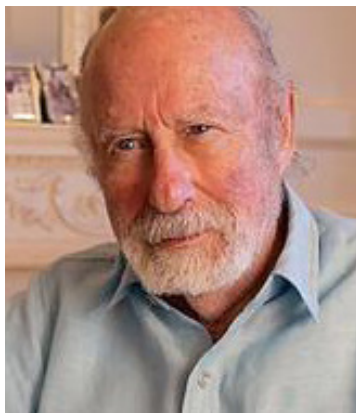


Cina Vazir

MPP '22

Before graduate school, Cina Vazir worked as a consultant at Wellspring Consulting, where he advised nonprofit clients on market entry, program design, and organizational change. He is also a returned Peace Corps volunteer, having worked in Paraguay for two years on sustainable economic development. He received his Bachelor of Arts from the University of Michigan.

REMEMBERING SIDNEY TOPOL Philanthropist and Avid Peacemaker



Sidney Topol

1924–2022

Born in
Dorchester,
Massachusetts,
to Jewish
immigrants from

Poland, Sidney Topol was a successful innovator and entrepreneur for many decades. He spent recent years focused on philanthropy and social justice, with an emphasis on nonviolent social movements and peace in the Middle East.

A few years ago, Topol joined the Advisory Board of the Carr Center, a group of distinguished leaders who provide strategic and financial support to further our work. The Carr Center collaborated with Sidney to launch the Topol Fellows program in support of the next generation of leaders working on nonviolent solutions to complex societal problems.

Topol was kind, funny, smart, and strongly committed to leaving the world a better place. He was a real treasure, cherished by many whose lives he touched in innumerable and profound ways. We hope that his memory is a blessing and an inspiration in a world marred by war and conflict, and we are so grateful that our paths crossed and intertwined in recent years.

TOPOL FELLOWSHIP

The fellowship helps students develop a more robust, evidence-based, comprehensive understanding of nonviolent resistance movements. Students have the opportunity to support data collection at the Nonviolent Action Lab, attend a monthly discussion group on nonviolent action, and attend a global nonviolent action summit.

“
The highlight of my experience as a Topol fellow was engaging in small group discussions with other fellows about nonviolent action movements in different parts of the world, and focusing my independent research on how these movements are shaped in contemporary Latin America.

Mayumi Cornejo
Former Topol Fellow

POLICY ANALYSIS EXERCISE



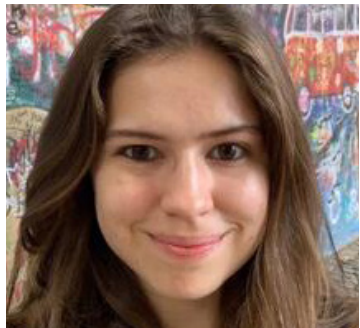
The Carr Center provides grants to support students conducting their PAE on research that has a clear relevance to human rights policy. For the 2021–2022 academic year, the Carr Center Prize for Human Rights was awarded to Callie King-Guffey for her PAE entitled “Does the US Comply with the Convention on the Rights of the Child?”

CRITERIA FOR GRADING STATES:



Staff

The Carr Center's staff members bring a wide range of skills and experience to the Center, helping to manage its events, administration, fellowships, communications, programs, digital media, and more.



Helen Clapp

Research and Faculty Assistant

Helen Clapp joined HKS after completing a Master of Science in International Relations from the London School of Economics. She also worked as a Case Assistant for Foley Hoag LLP within the Global Business and Human Rights practice.



Laryssa Da Silveira

Program Coordinator

Prior to joining the Kennedy School, Laryssa Da Silveira was an intern for UNICEF: USA and a development intern at The Institute of Eastern Mediterranean Studies. She is fluent in Portuguese and Spanish.



Emily Driscoll

Events Assistant

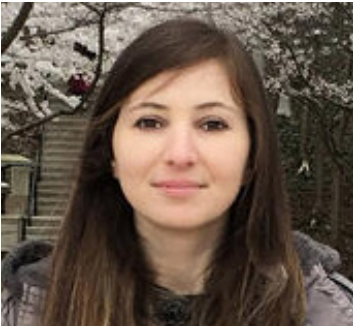
Emily Driscoll graduated from Franklin and Marshall College with a Bachelor's degree in Theater, and has held internships in marketing, hospitality, and content promotion.



Alexandra Gilliard

Communications Manager

Prior to joining the Carr Center, Alexandra Gilliard was the Communications Manager at the Lakshmi Mittal and Family South Asia Institute. She also serves as a Senior Editor for the *International Affairs Forum*, which provides analysis of international issues.



Rachel Harris

Digital Content Specialist

Prior to joining the Carr Center, Rachel Harris was a designer for the HKS Office of Communications and Public Affairs. She has over a decade of experience in communication design.



Jay Ulfelder

Research Project Manager

Jay Ulfelder has two decades of experience working at the intersection of social science and data science, with a particular focus on protest, collective action, human rights, democracy, and forecasting.



Jasmine Walker

Finance and Operations Manager

Jasmine Walker is a Certified Research Administrator with more than 15 years' experience in higher education research administration, and held roles as business manager at the University of Illinois at Chicago, the University of Chicago, and Northwestern University.

Acknowledgements

In addition to the involvement of our faculty, fellows, and students, the work of the Carr Center is also made possible by those who work behind the scenes to carry out the Center's webinars, events, programs, fellowships, media, communications, and more.

Thank you to all of the staff who help us carry out the Carr Center's mission to bring human rights policy and practice to the next generation of leaders around the world.