



Here at New America we are many different things...



Think Tank



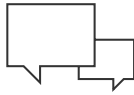
Civic Enterprise



Research Institute



Technology Lab



Public Forum



Media Platform



Venture Capital Fund
for Ideas

...and we bring together many different people...



Thinkers



Dreamers



Doers

*But all our work is inspired by a common purpose: renewing American politics, prosperity,
and purpose in the Digital Age. We'd like to invite you to...*

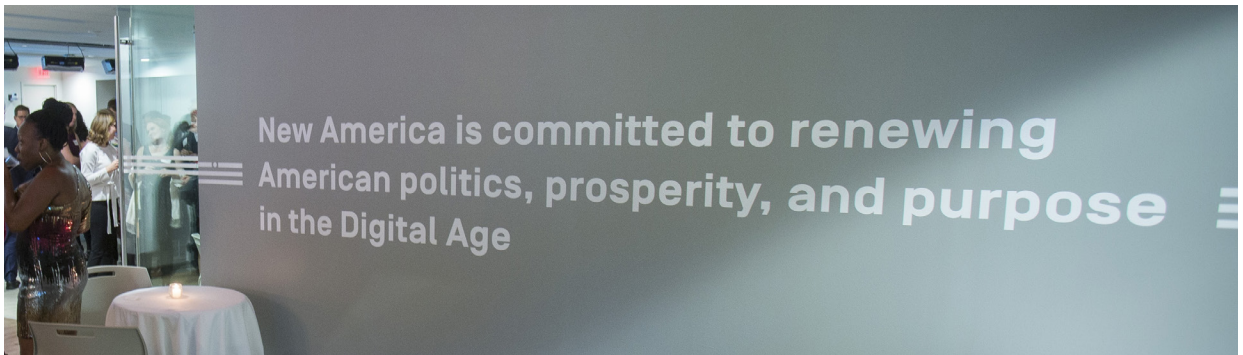
Join the Effort

Inform the Work

Follow the Best Minds

Share the Ideas

*In the following pages, we hope you'll read about our work and be inspired by the great staff,
dynamic board, thought-provoking fellows, and passionate supporters who are at the forefront
of solving our nation's most challenging policy and practical issues. And then... get involved.*



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Letter from the President



Dear Friends and Supporters,

We're on the move! In so many ways. New America is committed to renewing America in the digital age and in 2015 we lived that mission. We moved physically; we moved towards bigger and more innovative ideas; and we moved forward with our initiative to reinvent the think tank.

Our head office in Washington, D.C. physically moved to the top four floors of the old American Bar Association building at 740 15th Street NW. We're a block from the White House, with a wrap-around terrace, a roof deck with a view of the Mall, and fun and

inspiring details throughout. The space is amazing; it embodies who we are and where we want to go and inspires us to get there. The feel combines D.C. think tank with California tech start-up; one colleague described it as "scholarly but hip!" The sense of possibility is enormous; we now have room to grow, to convene, to meet and collaborate, to become much more of a community.

We've moved in New York as well, from our space in SoHo to a set of offices at 5th Avenue and 21st Street, right in the heart of the Flatiron district and around the corner from Civic Hall, a civic technology hub and wonderful event space. As a Civic Hall founding

member, we hold our events there and participate in the energy of Silicon Alley. Beyond technology, **Suzanne DiMaggio** is also building a unique foreign policy program in New York. The **U.S.-Iran Initiative**, which she leads, helped pave the way for the landmark Iran nuclear agreement. Indeed, our April 2015 event with Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif was a major milestone in public diplomacy.

We continue to do what we think we do best: collecting data; analyzing and critiquing present laws, regulations, and policies; and proposing new ones. You will see some of our most important achievements throughout this report, but let me preview a few here.

- The **Open Technology Institute (OTI)** played a crucial role in helping to keep the Internet free and open for millions of Americans by ensuring the passage, in February 2015, of the strongest net neutrality rules in U.S. history. We led a broad coalition of industry and civil society groups in favor of net neutrality and were cited extensively in the FCC's Open Internet Order.
- Our **International Security** program continues to provide must-read analysis on the key security issues of our time. Our *ISIS in the West* report, released after the Paris terror attacks, provided groundbreaking analysis of the thousands of Westerners drawn to join ISIS and other Jihadist groups.

- Our **Education Policy** program published two books charting how the full span of education—from birth to adulthood—can better harness technological innovation to teach the skills of the future. **Lisa Guernsey's** *Tap, Click, Read* shows how digital technology can boost children's literacy, and **Kevin Carey's** *The End of College* presents a bold model of higher education that uses new technologies to be more inclusive.
- The London-based *Prospect* magazine awarded us its 2015 U.S. Think Tank of the Year award in the social policy category.

Our fabulous fellows also continue to write compulsively readable books. The 2015 crop includes **Levi Tillemann's** *The Great Race* on building the car of the future; *The Powerhouse*, by **Steve LeVine** on the evolution of battery technology; **Julian Zelizer's** account of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society, *The Fierce Urgency of Now*; and **Anya Kamenetz's** *The Test*, exploring the fascination with standardized testing in public schools. Earlier books by fellows also garnered impressive honors: **Anand Gopal's** *No Good Men Among the Living* was a finalist for the 2015 Pulitzer Prize in nonfiction and **Sheri Fink's** *Five Days at Memorial* won the 2015 PEN/John Kenneth Galbraith Award. My own book, *Unfinished Business: Women Men Work Family*, was a finalist for the FT-McKinsey Best Business Book of the Year award. And Future of War Fellow **David Kilcullen** won the Walkley Award—Australia's Pulitzer Prize—for his essay "Blood Year."

On the program side, we moved in many new directions. Our **Cybersecurity Initiative**, jointly directed by OTI and the **International Security** program, held its first annual conference in February 2015. February also saw our first Future of War conference, in partnership with Arizona State University, which attracted wide participation from the military services as well as academic and policy thinkers. Several months later we welcomed **Byron Auguste** and **Tyra Mariani** as they founded **Opportunity@Work**, aimed at “rewiring the American labor market” by providing Americans with the skills they need to land well-paying jobs in 35 cities and communities across the country. Our Breadwinning and Caregiving program, now under the baton of **Brigid Schulte**, renamed itself the **Better Life Lab** and reinvented its mission through a series of exciting new projects. We launched the **Women in Cybersecurity** project and watched **Bretton Woods II—Tomicah Tillemann**’s effort to create a vast pool of capital for global impact investing and development finance—take off!

At a deeper level, we are committed to advancing our mission of renewal with innovative policies and practices. Last November OTI senior advisor **Ben Scott** and I published a *Washington Monthly* article entitled “Reinventing the Think Tank.” We compared the Progressive movement’s vision of technocratic, top-down policy research with a more dynamic and iterative twenty-first century model of bottom-up public problem solving. To make this vision a reality, 2015 saw us laying the groundwork for the opening of **New America CA** and **New America**

Chicago, as well as deepening our work at **New America NYC**.

We’re also expanding our reach through new and expanded editorial products. We launched two major new channels: Polyarchy, run by our **Political Reform** program, on Vox.com, and Context on Medium.com. *The Weekly Wonk* became the *New America Weekly* and celebrated its 100th edition. We held 182 public events, ranging from book launches and policy summits to technology expos and hackathons. We doubled our NewAmerica.org web traffic to 4.5 million page views. And our Twitter and Facebook followings grew by 36 and 24 percent respectively.

Finally, we have added several new board members: *National Review* editor **Reihan Salam**, Fresno Mayor **Ashley Swearengin**, and *New York Times* columnist **David Brooks**. Our founding commitment to political heterodoxy—an institution in which it is not possible to predict our positions from our politics—is stronger than ever.

In sum, New America is growing, moving, and shaking. But our core is the same: a fabulous and fascinating group of people committed to a new America. Thank you for your friendship and support; may it continue and expand!

With pride and gratitude,



Anne-Marie Slaughter
President and CEO



Top: New America's staff and fellows at our 2015 holiday party. Photo: Mark Finkenstaedt/New America



Middle: The entrance to New America's new D.C. office. Photo: John Cole

Bottom: Anne-Marie Slaughter in conversation with Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations Sheba Crocker. Photo: New America



Reinventing the Think Tank

Many Americans believe the political system is broken and, when it does work, it does not work for them.

A hundred years ago, government was in a similar crisis. To address it, reformers enacted a sweeping platform of legislative changes. They also created the nation's first policy research organizations. Soon known as think tanks, these organizations offered nonpartisan, independent analysis to policymakers and delivered expert counsel and innovative ideas. That approach remains important; indeed, many other countries are now copying the American think tank and public policy school model. Over time, however, many U.S. think tanks have come to reflect the partisanship, compartmentalization, and money that have distorted and paralyzed our politics in the twenty-first century.

In 2015, New America proposed a new model of civic enterprise

One hundred years later, we need a new process of public problem-solving that recognizes the value of genuinely independent research and analysis but is also creative, collaborative, and inclusive. For a Washington institution, that means

getting outside the Beltway, engaging with the problems of communities *in those communities*, and looking for the same kind of innovation, iteration, and entrepreneurship in the civic sector that we see in the private sector.

In 2015, New America proposed a new model of civic enterprise: “civic” because it engages and empowers citizen efficacy, and “enterprise” because of the energy and innovation involved in actually making change on the ground. While think tanks connect government to ideas and solutions through policy proposals, a civic enterprise experiments with ideas and solutions to public problems on the ground through direct action, collaborative policy processes, or artistic expression. It also seeks to engage citizens directly, publishing ideas and stories in the forms most likely to spark debate and encourage readers to keep reading, clicking, and ultimately responding.

Civic enterprises will come in many forms. **Opportunity@Work**, one of New America's programs [see page 59], embraced the label to describe its nontraditional methods. It is working in more than 35 cities to bring together



employers, educational institutions, job seekers, and civic groups to rewire the American labor market.

For New America, reinventing ourselves as a civic enterprise means building a network and a narrative of national renewal. We are building hubs across the country, starting with New York, the Bay Area, Chicago, and the District of Columbia, and then expanding to smaller cities. A New America city is a city that brings together community leaders from different sectors and political parties, builds a tech economy, and harnesses a new generation of diverse talent.

In the spirit of civic enterprise, New America is experimenting and testing ideas in our initial hubs. We are guided

by a strong commitment not only to researching and studying what public problem-solvers are doing on the ground, but also to supporting them directly and connecting them to one another. Initial grants from the Ford, Knight, MacArthur, and Packard foundations and the Omidyar Network, as well as a major vote of confidence from the Hewlett Foundation, have allowed us to move our ideas from paper to practice. We embrace and elevate big ideas, thinking hard and independently about what should be done. By collaborating directly with policy innovators, we gain a better understanding of which policies are sustainable and scalable. It's the next logical step in the evolution of the civic enterprise.



Megan Garcia launches New America CA on June 17, 2015. Photo: New America

Working Toward the Next Social Contract: Our Work in 2015

The American social contract—the implicit division of obligations among individuals, families, employers, communities, and government—has long needed an update. Policies, programs, and assumptions designed for the single-earner families and industrial workplaces of the postwar era are consistently failing to provide security and opportunities for families today. New America took up the mission of designing a new social contract in 2007 and was the first organization to frame its vision in these terms. The five-year initiative that followed generated vital ideas that continue to shape debate and policymaking.

In the years since that initial work, the need for new policies and practices, not only in government programs but in the workplace and at home, became more acute. The financial crisis of 2008 and the long recession that followed left in their wake a labor market that looks very different from that of the mid-2000s. Wages stagnated even for workers with college degrees, raising the possibility that automation will take its toll at all levels. The continued march of extreme inequality raises questions about how to ensure that the gains from productivity reach ordinary workers. Radically new models of work, sometimes referred to as the “gig” or “patchwork” economy, pose new tests to traditional models of employment and security. As the Internet became the primary channel of communications, networking, and work, access to appropriate technology

has become a fundamental condition for full participation in the economy and democracy.

New America’s researchers and writers continue to grapple with these policy challenges. The idea that our social contract needs renewal drives our work, from framing the cross-programmatic **Family-Centered Social Policy** initiative to informing the work done across New America’s many programs and topics.

First, the old social contract too often fails to ensure a level playing field for people and communities. For instance, without the principle of the open Internet, we would undermine the principle that people should have equitable access to information and tools key to active citizenship. For this reason, our **Open Technology**

Institute [OTI] led efforts to secure the passage, in February 2015, of the strongest network neutrality rules in U.S. history—a victory that will ensure the Internet remains free and open for millions of Americans.

Second, the old social contract assumed the worker was the sole provider and therefore the most important signatory in the household. The new social contract needs to embrace the whole family by recognizing the social and economic value of both care and competition. This need to change the conversation around care is the assumption underlying the pioneering work of our recently relaunched **Better Life Lab**,

and our CEO **Anne-Marie Slaughter**'s new book, *Unfinished Business*.

Third, the Next Social Contract needs to address anew the assumptions and practices that set the conditions of work and life. This is the motivating assumption for the **Center on Education and Skills for a New America**, which focuses on improving access to education and training for all Americans. It also informs **TechHire**, the flagship project of New America's **Opportunity@Work** initiative, which we launched with President Obama in March 2015, and is helping to find innovative new pathways to pair employers and workers with the right skills.

Keeping the Internet Free and Open

The promise of a free and open Internet where individuals are able to decide for themselves what they see and do online without interference from Internet service providers is a cornerstone of the OTI's policy work.

When the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) responded to comments from over four million Americans and adopted the Open Internet Order in February 2015, we celebrated. The passage of the strongest network neutrality rules in U.S. history represents countless hours of work by our team to help shape this vital order.

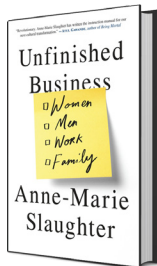
While helping to lead a broad coalition of industry and civil society groups, OTI filed comments and met with the

FCC more than any other civil society organization. Through the work of our **Wireless Future Project**, we ensured that the order applied to mobile wireless networks—closing a loophole from an earlier set of rules—and addressed interconnection, the locations where Internet traffic is mutually exchanged across separate networks managed by a variety of Internet service providers, for the first time in FCC history.

As the FCC moves toward implementation of the order, we have continued to engage and intervene to preserve net neutrality. In May 2015, in response to an industry lawsuit against the FCC to overturn the Open Internet Order, we formally intervened in the case to defend net neutrality and the

FCC's authority. While a ruling is not expected until well into 2016, our action helped ensure that the FCC was not left to defend the order in court alone. OTI also worked to stop a six-month effort in Congress to use the FCC's

funding legislation as a means to block implementation of the order. Our efforts have helped keep the Internet free and open for millions of Americans, but our work on net neutrality is far from over.



Changing the Conversation about Care

For generations, “care” has been defined in narrow terms, and balancing work and caregiving has been seen as solely a women’s problem. New America’s **Better Life Lab** argues that must change.

Continuing the conversation after **Better Life Lab** director **Brigid Schulte**’s 2014 book *Overwhelmed: Work, Love, and Play When No One Has the Time*, **Anne-Marie Slaughter**’s new book *Unfinished Business: Women Men Work Family* has amplified national dialogue

about these issues. Many of its insights resonated right away with readers and the media alike: liberating men to be lead parents, closing the gulf between too many women at the bottom and too few women at the top of the economic ladder, and fulfilling feminism’s promise of gender equality by recognizing the social and economic value of care *and* competition.

Slaughter toured widely in support of the book, meeting and hearing the



Anne-Marie Slaughter onstage during Fortune’s Most Powerful Women Summit with Kristin van Ogtrop.
Photo: Paul Morigi/Getty Images

stories of men and women across the country whose lives have been affected by a lack of public policy or employer support for necessary care work in their lives. At *Fortune*'s Most Powerful Women summit in Washington, D.C., she argued we need to celebrate the dads who stay home and take on the role of lead parent. *Unfinished Business* has already had a major impact on readers in the

worlds of business and tech. Hundreds of thousands have read Slaughter's featured Weekend Essay on LinkedIn, "To Make Big Change, Start Small: Have the Conversation with Your Boss," and her book was named one of the best books of 2015 by the *Economist*, the *Financial Times*, NPR, and the *Washington Post*.

Hiring for Potential, Not Just Pedigree

In today's competitive and technology-based global economy, education and skills are more important than ever before. But the rising cost of higher education is making it hard for many Americans to acquire the skills and credentials they need to succeed. And while the field is rife with new approaches to teaching and learning—whether it's skills bootcamps, digital credentials, or new work-based learning models—our policies have not caught up and are stifling innovation.

We launched the **Center on Education and Skills for a New America (CESNA)**, led by **Mary Alice McCarthy**, to imagine new ways that students can acquire the skills and education they need to find rewarding careers, and the policy reforms necessary to scale them. CESNA will focus on programs marginalized from mainstream education policy, but which are meeting the needs of growing numbers of students and employers, including career and technical (vocational) education, apprenticeships, and job training programs.

One area where more opportunities are needed is the growing sector for information technology skills. By upgrading hiring practices to enable nontraditional hires, employers can capitalize on candidates educated through accelerated training programs and other methods of learning.

Opportunity@Work helps employers and employees seize opportunities through the TechHire initiative, launched by President Obama in March 2015.

As part of TechHire, we have created a nationwide learning network of 50 communities to empower Americans with skills to meet employer demand for well-paying tech jobs. In 2015, more than 500 employers signed up to participate, including Capital One, CVS, HealthPartners, Foursquare, Mastercard, and Procter & Gamble.

Opportunity@Work serves as a central hub for TechHire, coordinating with and between stakeholders and sites, and ensuring that we all work together to put people back to work.

2015 Annual Conference

At our 2015 annual conference we explored the “New America”—a new reality in this country in which communities do not wait for federal solutions, but instead combine old traditions of civic spirit with new technology and ideas to solve problems locally. Featured speakers included mayors, educators, police chiefs, community organizers, technologists, and civic innovators. Gov. John Kasich (R-Ohio) and Sen. Cory Booker (D-N.J.) delivered keynote remarks. The conference captured the spirit of change emerging from communities’ renewal across the country.



Right: Founder, Chairwoman and CEO of Care.com Sheila Marcelo

Middle row, from left: Rep. Tulsi Gabbard; President of the Ford Foundation Darren Walker; Executive Chairman of Alphabet, Inc. and Chairman of New America Board of Directors Eric Schmidt; President of Arizona State University and New America Board Member Michael Crow

Bottom row, from left: Chief Economic Advisor of Allianz and New America Board Member Mohamed El-Erian; Sen. Cory Booker; Executive Director of Ariadne Labs and New America Board Member Atul Gawande; Photos: New America





Top row, from left: Opportunity@Work Director Byron Auguste speaks at the SG50+ Conference (Photo: Institute of Policy Studies, National University of Singapore); New America fellow Jay Newton-Small speaks at the United States Studies Centre at the University of Sydney's Public Knowledge Forum (Photo: Murray Harris); Director of Cybersecurity Initiative Ian Wallace speaks at NATO CyCon in Tallinn, Estonia (Photo: NATO CCD COE)

Middle row, from left: Director of New America NYC and the U.S.-Iran Initiative Suzanne DiMaggio ahead of a New America "In Conversation" event with Iranian president Hassan Rouhani (Photo: Yana Paskova/Getty Images); Director of Asset Building Reid Cramer (Photo: New America)

Left: Director of Political Reform Mark Schmitt (Photo: New America)



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Asset Building

Public policy often fails to provide sufficient pathways for low-income households to accumulate the savings and assets necessary to support the social and economic development of children, families, and communities. The Asset Building program aims to significantly broaden access to economic resources through increased savings and asset ownership, in turn providing families with enhanced economic security, a direct stake in the commonwealth, and the means to pursue their aspirations.



As a leading member of the YouthSave Consortium, we helped facilitate the opening of more than 130,000 savings accounts

Demonstrating the Value of Children's Savings Accounts

The American Dream is built upon the enduring values of equal opportunity and personal responsibility, but ensuring this dream remains attainable depends on America promoting these values among rising generations. In 2015, Asset Building demonstrated how children's savings accounts can be crucial vehicles to support these objectives, and why policies should be designed both to encourage more accounts to be opened, and to minimize the number of accounts that become dormant.

Our work has inspired and supported the development of state and local efforts to expand the use of children's savings accounts. We are now working to study those efforts, highlight promising initiatives, and use the lessons learned by program operators to improve public policy. And at the federal level, Asset Building helped incubate the USAccounts proposal in November 2015 by Reps. Joe Crowley [D-N.Y.] and Keith Ellison [D-Minn.], which would establish a progressive, universal system to advance youth savings.

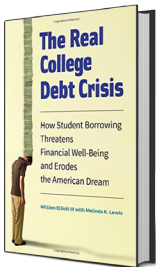


Tackling Millennial Challenges: The Sharing Economy and Student Debt

Deepening the public conversation around the economic plight facing the millennial generation, Asset Building collaborated with the *Washington Monthly* to produce a package of articles that examined the contemporary relationship between young adults and money. The cover story, by New America fellow **Monica Potts**, offered a critical assessment of the “sharing economy” and how it emerged among young people as a means to cope with the effects of the Great Recession.

Another major financial hurdle for millennials is student debt, which often

follows students well into adulthood. To explore this critical issue and find new solutions, Asset Building fellow **William Elliott III** co-authored *The Real College Debt Crisis*. The book showed that while education is often called the great equalizer, college debt has exacerbated economic inequality and contributed to the racial wealth gap. At New America events in New York City and Washington, D.C., we explored the implications of the book, and an encouraging alternative approach: creating a progressive college savings system that deposits Pell Grants into a savings account early, in order to build assets and expectations among young students.



Promoting Emergency and Retirement Savings

A key determinant of a family’s financial health is the extent to which they can access liquid savings without penalty. Our May 2015 report, *Flexible Savings*, raised awareness of the role emergency savings play in promoting financial security and identified a series of policy interventions to promote emergency savings. This work helped provide support for the introduction of a legislative proposal, led by Rep. José Serrano (D-N.Y.), to create the Financial Security Credit, which would encourage deposits to flexible savings accounts by low- and moderate-income earners by providing a “saver’s bonus” at tax time.

Another significant driver of wealth inequality is the reality that half the

workforce does not participate in any retirement savings plan. In the absence of federal policy, some states have pursued their own solutions based on our proposal to make automatic enrollment the default option for retirement savings plans. These initiatives, called Secure Choice by the vanguard states of California and Illinois, could transform the U.S. savings policy landscape. In 2015, we further elevated the discussion of state-based automatic IRA programs through a report, event, and convening. The Department of Labor published federal guidance and a proposed rule, which, when enacted, will provide states with clear guidance on how to set up their own automatic enrollment plans.



Better Life Lab

The Better Life Lab, formerly the Breadwinning and Caregiving program, leads the national conversation about the evolution of gender roles and norms, family policy, and how we work and live. We envision an America that promises real choices, without penalty, for men and women at work and at home—real choices leading ultimately to real gender parity; stable and healthy families and communities; thriving, sustainable, and innovative businesses; and a time for all people to lead richer and fuller lives. The Better Life Lab is a team of writers and policy entrepreneurs finding creative solutions to public problems; digging deeply into research, data, and reporting to connect the dots; and telling the compelling stories that enlighten, inspire, and serve as calls to action for policymakers, the business community, and the general public.



Brigid Schulte, author of *Overwhelmed: Work, Love, and Play When No One Has the Time*, became director of the Better Life Lab in 2015, while former director Liza Mundy works on her book about female codebreakers during World War II.
Photo: New America

Mapping Child Care Infrastructure by State

High quality child care is difficult to find, much less afford, across much of the U.S., which has major ramifications for children, working parents, businesses, communities, the economy, and the future of the country. In collaboration with Care.com, Child Care Aware, and A.T. Kearney, the Better Life Lab is developing an interactive index of states by the cost, quality, and accessibility

of child care. Our research will help identify the gaps in the caregiving landscape in order to push child care to the forefront of cultural, economic and policy discussions. The project, part of a larger collaboration and campaign to elevate the value of care, envisions expanding in the future to map gaps in elder care, as well as analyze care issues internationally.



Taking the Initiative: Expanding the Conversation around Gender Dynamics

Broadly Speaking is the Better Life Lab's popular ongoing salon series of events at **New America NYC**. These often standing-room only events included a discussion co-hosted by the Royal Norwegian Consulate General about the changing roles of women within extremist groups and in the fight against them; **Liza Mundy** in conversation with *New York Times*' Sarah Maslin Nir about her groundbreaking exposé of nail salons; and a roundtable discussion on corporate board quotas with Better Life Lab Advisory Council Chair **Heidi Miller**.



Innovative Programs to Support Working Families

As part of New America's cross-programmatic **Family-Centered Social Policy** initiative, we visited organizations across the country that are implementing novel programs to support parents and children. The goal was to find potential policy innovations that could scale nationally. On December 15, we convened a family-centered social policy roundtable to draw on the expertise of practitioners

in the field as well as local and federal public policy entrepreneurs from across the country. In 2016, an interdisciplinary group of New America scholars will author a new vision for the future of policies that support twenty-first century families.

More information on **Family-Centered Social Policy** can be found on page 32.



Tech Meets Policy: **Women in Cybersecurity**

In November, we launched the **Women in Cybersecurity** project, a cross-programmatic effort from Better Life Lab, the **International Security** program, and the **Cybersecurity Initiative**. **Elizabeth Weingarten** and **Megan Garcia** published a research paper, *Decrypting Cybersecurity's Gender Gap*, and the Better Life Lab hosted a convening of female cybersecurity professionals at the Hewlett Foundation in Silicon Valley. Participants shared ideas and solutions to bring more women into the cybersecurity workforce.



Bretton Woods II

New America's Bretton Woods II initiative, under director **Tomicah Tillemann**, investigates how pension funds, endowments, sovereign wealth funds, and family offices can use targeted investments in social impact to reduce volatility and improve risk-adjusted returns. Bretton Woods II is developing the analytics, advocacy efforts, and financial tools needed to deploy a percentage of the \$25 trillion controlled by these asset holders to support long-term investments in development, social impact, and good governance, that address root causes of volatility.

The team collaborates closely with the World Bank, Edelman, the State Department, McKinsey & Company, and the ONE Campaign. Bretton Woods II's work was also featured at the flagship event of the World Bank's Spring Meetings with UN Secretary Ban

Ki-Moon and World Bank President Jim Kim, the Global Citizen concert in front of an audience of 250,000, the UN Addis Conference on Financing for Development, and major meetings of sovereign wealth funds hosted by the Sovereign Investor Institute.



Tomicah Tillemann speaks at the World Bank's Changing the Conversation on Development Finance event in April 2015.
Photo: Flickr/World Bank Photo Collection

Cybersecurity Initiative

The Cybersecurity Initiative, a joint initiative between the **International Security** program and the **Open Technology Institute**, was launched at its first annual conference in February 2015. The initiative, led by **Ian Wallace** and **Ross Schulman**, addresses the wide-reaching implications of cybersecurity policy.

Cybersecurity principles touch all industries. To help us understand and communicate the importance of cyber issues, we recruited 24 cyber fellows from disparate disciplines—from biology and computer science to international relations, philosophy, and law. Our media partnerships with *Slate*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Defense One*, and *Just Security* ensure that our messages reach broad audiences.

We held convenings on cybersecurity issues including the representation of women in the field, medical device security, and the role of the Department of Homeland Security. Our monthly Business-Policy Roundtable brought together providers and practitioners of cybersecurity with leading thinkers in cybersecurity policy. At two of our roundtables, Deputy Secretary for Homeland Security Alejandro Mayorkas



Peter Singer, senior advisor and fellow, moderates a discussion on cybersecurity in pop culture.
Photo: Gabrielle Demczuk/New America

and **Byron Auguste** of **Opportunity@Work** provided their insights on the intersections of cybersecurity and national security, and cybersecurity and the workforce. In November, we launched the **Women In Cybersecurity** project at a convening at the Hewlett Foundation in Palo Alto, California. Participants discussed issues facing women in the cybersecurity industry and brainstormed solutions.

As cybersecurity issues become more pervasive in society and policy, independent analysis and clarity in terms and concepts is essential in improving policymakers' and practitioners' ability

to govern and act. Over the past year, we produced policy work on the value of encryption for secure computing, and began to explore how software vulnerabilities are found, bought, and sold by government, private sector, and security researchers. We created an online database featuring nearly 1,000 terms and definitions related to cyber and information security and authored two papers on the ever-evolving role of computer security incident response teams. We also briefed policymakers at home and abroad, and presented our research at conferences in the United States, Estonia, India, Poland, France, and the Netherlands.

Mapping the Initiative



Education Policy

New America's Education Policy program uses original research and policy analysis to solve the nation's critical education problems, serving as a trusted source of objective analysis and innovative ideas for policymakers, educators, and the public at large. Our work encompasses the full range of educational opportunities: Our teams of analysts develop solutions to major policy issues in early education, preK-12, and higher education, and we have specialized units working on key areas to address the United States' skills deficit, like early learning technologies and workforce development.

Early and Elementary Education Policy

Researchers and policymakers are increasingly focusing on children's experiences in their early years and grades. New America's **Early and Elementary Education Policy** team has gained a reputation as a strong, independent voice for high-quality early learning research across the spectrum of birth through age eight. Our policy papers and briefs have helped drive debate on crucial policy issues confronting the nation's early and elementary education system, and our proximity to Capitol Hill has enabled us to build relationships with congressional staff and government leaders who benefit from our analysis of federal policy issues.



Moving Young Learners Forward

For the past several years, New America has looked at ways in which early education could be included more robustly in a reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the federal law authorizing spending on K-12 education. In a policy brief, *Moving Young Learners Forward*, **Laura Bornfreund** and **Conor Williams** set out a series of specific policy interventions that could better support

young learners. In December 2015, a bipartisan coalition of lawmakers in Congress passed reauthorizing legislation called the Every Student Succeeds Act, which included several New America ideas, including enabling federal charter school dollars to be used for pre-K programs, and allowing funds to support joint professional development between early childhood and early grade teachers.



From Crawling To Walking: Reforming Early Education, Birth Through Third Grade

States and localities have the potential to become laboratories for change by experimenting with policy ideas and adopting those that succeed. In our 2015 report series, *From Crawling to Walking*, New America embarked on a project to identify the birth through third grade policies that are improving outcomes in states and school districts across the United States. We examined the practices that have helped Minnesota and Massachusetts raise their learning standards. We reported

on how building a strong workforce of educators could help California to do the same, and investigated San Francisco Unified School District's plan to shrink its stubborn achievement gap by aligning the pre-K and K-3 grades. Our research culminated in a report that ranks states on 72 indicators of birth through third grade policies that support early reading and highlights which states are failing to take the necessary steps to develop children's literacy.



Taking the Initiative: Identifying the Practices that Help Dual Language Learners

Since its January 2015 launch, the **Dual Language Learners National Work Group** has rapidly developed into a leading source of information for educators, administrators, and policymakers working with multilingual students. In its first year, the work group published three profiles of local efforts to support multilingual students' success, two short briefs on key policy levers for improving how schools serve these students, and more than 70 blog posts analyzing new developments in the field. It capped the year by convening a group of educators, administrators, and researchers to share knowledge and lessons learned from these profiles.

Throughout 2015, experts from the work group met with Secretary of Education John King, other members of the Department of Education's leadership team, analysts from the White House's Domestic Policy Council, and members of the White House's Initiative on Educational Excellence for Hispanics.

PreK-12 Education

While the question of how to improve public schools has devolved into polarizing debates over the years, New America's PreK-12 team has cut through the din by taking a research-based and solutions-oriented approach that is grounded in principles of equity. Students from all backgrounds can succeed if they have well-prepared teachers with high expectations of their students' (and their own) performance, and are supported by a system that starts in early years and connects seamlessly to higher education. In 2015, the team addressed two primary areas of work critical to the success of students: ensuring schools are helping prepare students for college, careers, and civic life; and improving the quality of educators' preparation.



Helping States Find More Comprehensive, Evidence-Based School Performance Measures

Over the past decade, there has been growing consensus that school accountability systems focusing solely on students' scores on standardized tests are insufficient for measuring other elements critical to, or indicative of, student success. The question that remained was which other measures could play a role in assessing how well schools and educators were supporting students to succeed in college, career, and civic life. Building on early education research, **Melissa Tooley** and **Laura Bornfreund**'s paper, *Skills for Success*, provides policymakers with recommendations for answering this question, as well as as insights into

which skills are necessary for student success, and suggestions for policies and practices to support schools in developing these skills. In particular, the report highlighted school climate surveys as holding great promise in assessing key aspects of schools' abilities to support students' skills for success. Following the release of our report, school climate surveys became one of the suggested school accountability measures in the Every Student Succeeds Act legislation that President Obama signed into law in December 2015 to replace the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.

Raising The Bar for Teacher Preparation Programs

Teacher preparation programs play a key role in raising standards of education in the United States. When the Department of Education proposed new regulations to monitor

the quality and impact of teacher preparation programs in February 2015, we recommended strong, fair, and clear reporting and accountability requirements. Our formal comments

submitted to the Department of Education built on recommendations from our policy paper, *Time To Improve*,

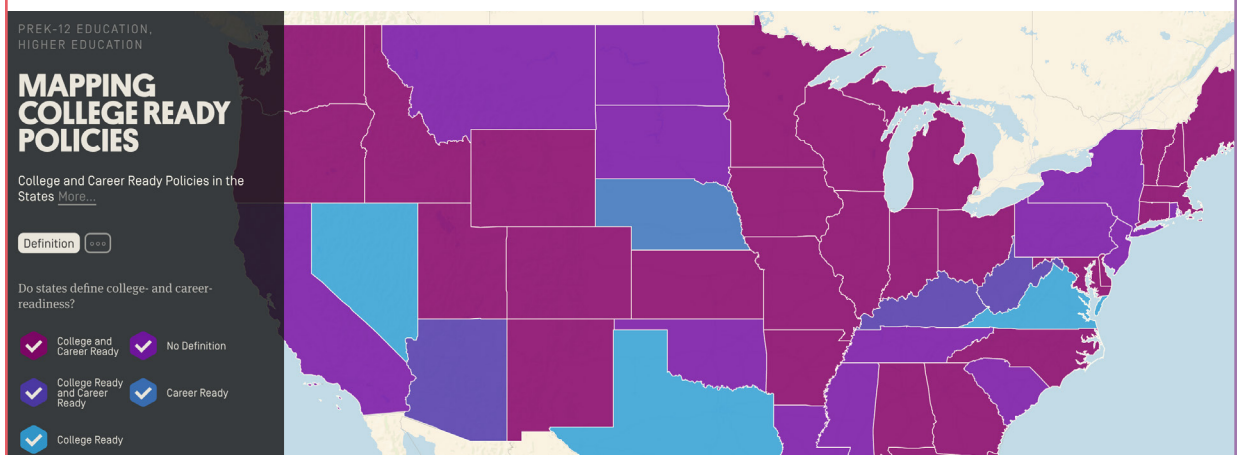
which proposed a new federal approach to address issues with educator preparation and advancement policies.



Tech Meets Policy: Mapping College Ready Policies

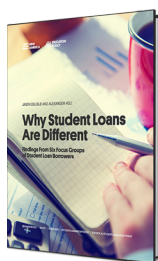
Lindsey Tepe and **Abigail Swisher** launched a comprehensive policy database called Mapping College Ready Policies. The database serves as a leading resource for policymakers, researchers, and the public on college- and career-ready policies at the federal and state levels. Nationally, the tool analyzes states based on seven key research questions, including each state's standards and assessments, admission policies, and course placement procedures. The tool has been updated to reflect the state policy landscape for the current school year, tracking the ongoing work of states to bring these policies into alignment.

Building from this work, in June 2015 we hosted a public convening, "Making College Ready Matter," to launch the project and build public awareness about the database. The event featured remarks from Delaware Governor Jack Markell, and drew a diverse group of education policymakers, thought leaders, researchers, journalists, and members of the public.



Higher Education

Since college has never been more important or more expensive, higher education has received unprecedented federal and media attention in recent years. New America's higher education team comprises the most trusted thought leaders in higher education, and is regularly called upon by the administration, Congress, presidential candidates, leaders in the field, and the press to provide analysis and perspectives on the most pressing issues in higher education.



Finding Solutions to the Student Debt Crisis

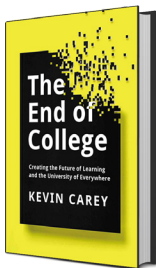
While media reports often focus on college students with high debt loads, research shows that most borrowers actually default on small balances. In our *Why Student Loans Are Different* report, **Jason Delisle** and **Alexander Holt** conducted a series of focus groups with struggling borrowers, exposing some of the underlying reasons so many people fail to make payments on their student loans. Delisle and Holt then worked with a consortium of policy researchers and employers on *The Case for Payroll Withholding*, a report examining whether student loans could be automatically withheld from paychecks. This work serves as the most extensive report to date on the viability of this promising option.

Delisle and **Kim Dancy** are also scrutinizing one of President Obama's key 2008 campaign pledges: a much larger tuition tax benefit. Delisle and Dancy's research in *A New Look at Tuition Tax Benefits* uncovered some of the unintended consequences of the new tax benefit, in the process demonstrating how it has instead been a boon to students attending for-profit schools.

Skyrocketing college costs have brought unprecedented attention to higher education, but the conversation often starts and stops with the trillion dollar student debt. There are other questions that matter—questions that **Amy Laitinen** has been asking and pushing the federal government to answer. While it is undeniable that college is worth it *on average*, the real questions are which college, in which program, at which price? Thanks to the efforts of the private higher education lobby, detailed in our report *College Blackout*, the federal government is prohibited from collecting and connecting data that would answer these questions. Our team has worked to reveal how the higher education lobby actively evades transparency and accountability. A recent piece for the *New America Weekly* by Laitinen and Holt showed that the key congressional committee on higher education essentially outsourced the writing of a Senate report on the regulation of the higher education to the industry's main lobbying organization.



Kevin Carey speaks during the Aspen Ideas Festival 2015. Photo: Leigh Vogel/WireImage



Creating the Future of Learning and the University of Everywhere

The combination of skyrocketing tuition and the technological revolution has created a higher education environment ripe for change. In his new book, *The End of College: Creating the Future of Learning and the University of Everywhere*, **Kevin Carey**, director of New America's Education Policy program, sees a future beyond our current understanding of college. The

new "University of Everywhere" would bring higher education to students around the world, save billions in tuition dollars, and better align the education of a new generation with the jobs of tomorrow. Carey forecasts that institutions will either change fundamentally, by bridging personal interaction with more cost-effective online learning, or fail.

Visualizing the Higher Education Industry

The role of the higher education industry in shaping how the federal government accredits and subsidizes colleges is widely misunderstood. In an interactive map, **Amy Laitinen** and **Kim Dancy**

visualized the vast and well-organized network of higher education lobbyists, helping to show why institutions often have the upper hand to set agendas on Capitol Hill.



Tech Meets Policy: Innovations to Improve Community College Graduation Rates

More than 40 percent of America's undergraduate students attend a community college but less than half earn a degree within six years. In our *Community College Online* report, **Rachel Fishman** showed how information technology has the potential to support community college students through flexible degree paths, and recommended a series of policy reforms. In April, New America hosted an interactive technology expo where participants could get hands-on with many of the technological innovations featured in Fishman's report.



Taking the Initiative: Flipping the Higher Education Paradigm

For as long as there have been colleges and universities, there have been battles about what constitutes higher education and what is "just training." In a policy paper, *Flipping the Paradigm*, **Mary Alice McCarthy** scrutinized the "education versus training" debate and possible ways beyond it. McCarthy's analysis exploded myths about when, where, and how learning can happen and what can serve as a foundation for a bachelor's degree. She also proposed a set of concrete reforms that can open up higher education and training and make both more accessible to everyone who needs them.

The **Center on Education and Skills for a New America** also partnered with the Business Roundtable to pull together a broad and bipartisan coalition to identify effective higher education reforms that restore economic and social mobility for all Americans. The group's *Seven Principles for Reform* proposes changes to the Higher Education Act that would make college more affordable, equitable, innovative, and in-tune with the needs of students and employers in today's technology-driven global economy.

Learning Technologies Project

The digital age brings a profusion of new challenges and opportunities to the field of education. Today, the vast majority of American children are growing up hearing, seeing, and interacting with all kinds of digital media and communications technologies every day. New America's **Learning Technologies Project** looks at ways to ensure these technologies are improving educational opportunities and outcomes for learners of all ages, especially those from low-income backgrounds.



Promoting Twenty-First Century Early Literacy

With young children gaining access to a dizzying array of games, videos, and other digital media, will they ever learn to read? In October 2015, New America's **Lisa Guernsey** launched a book, website, and set of videos in conjunction with Michael H. Levine and partners at the Joan Ganz Cooney Center at Sesame Workshop. *Tap, Click, Read: Growing Readers in a World of Screens* outlines a new vision of literacy and technology, one in which children are introduced to media designed to promote literacy. The project takes readers through homes, classrooms, e-book publishing, futuristic laboratories, and the app marketplace to show how educators and parents can help children grow into strong, passionate readers using media of all kinds.

A growing number of early learning programs are experimenting with digital media and online tools to engage with parents, strengthen community programs, and support ties between home and classroom learning. Throughout 2015, New America's **Learning Technologies Project** and the Cooney Center collected information on dozens of these programs. The result is Integrating Technology in Early Literacy (InTEL), an interactive database and map that provides a bird's-eye view of innovations across the United States. In 2016, the map and lessons learned from these initiatives will be part of a summer institute for state and local leaders.

Leveraging the Internet for Learning

Ensuring that learners of all ages have access to high quality digital materials and networked communication platforms is another important means of boosting literacy. In 2015, our team worked with the **Open Technology Institute** to identify policies that

boost broadband access in a wide range of learning environments. Our research highlighted the importance of upgrading the Federal Communications Commission's E-Rate program to better serve schools, families, and communities.

Family-Centered Social Policy

As the twenty-first century economy is remade through technological innovations and global competition, parents face new challenges in participating in the workforce and providing opportunities for their children. These changes have upended the traditional assumptions about what defines the family and what families need to thrive in the modern era. Rather than compensating for the challenges presented by these changing conditions, current social policy often reinforces existing advantages and disadvantages, driving inequality across generations.



The Family-Centered Social Policy initiative is a collaborative effort launched by New America in 2014 with support from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation to help reimagine social policy for the twenty-first century. The initiative's primary objectives include assessing current conditions, exploring alternatives, and proposing forward-looking reforms to inform policy design and public discourse. The initiative brings together experts from various New America initiatives: **Asset Building**, the **Better Life Lab**, **Education Policy**, **Open Markets**, and the **Open Technology Institute**.

In our first report, *Strengthening Ties: The Case for Building a Social Policy Centered on Families*, New America analysts investigated barriers to family prosperity generated by economic, demographic, and technological changes. The focus areas of the report included the changing roles of women—and men—in the workplace, the rise of single parenthood, the rising cost of living, generational downward mobility, the reduction in the number and quality of jobs, the decline of family businesses, and pressures created by digital technologies.

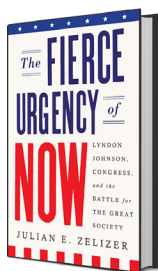
Fellows Program

The New America Fellows Program brings on thinkers—journalists, producers, practitioners, and scholars—whose work enhances the public debate about the most pressing problems of our time.

In an age where the 24-7 news cycle dominates journalism and academia is becoming ever more esoteric, our fellowships provide opportunities for talented individuals who need support to pursue more ambitious endeavors including books, films, photo essays, longform storytelling, and policy projects. Our work is designed to reach broad audiences and change the way we think.

Spurring Broad Public Conversation through Great Books

In 2015, four current and former fellows published books written during their time at New America:



The Fierce Urgency of Now

by Julian E. Zelizer (January 8, 2015)

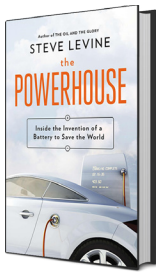
During his presidency, Lyndon Johnson spearheaded the most transformative agenda in American political history since the New Deal. In *The Fierce Urgency of Now*, **Julian E. Zelizer** recounts the full story of Johnson's battle for the Great Society, animating the spectrum of forces at play during those turbulent years. The *Washington Post* called the book "insightful," and highlighted how Zelizer "briskly dispels nostalgia for a time when politics were supposedly easier."



The Great Race

by Levi Tillemann (January 20, 2015)

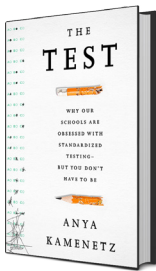
The Great Race tells the story of the battle between automakers for market dominance and the race to build the car of the future. **Levi Tillemann** illustrates the contentious path to that future, and how a small group of technology buffs and regulators from California could prove to be the ammunition the United States needs to win the race. In its review of *The Great Race*, the *Wall Street Journal* praised Tillemann, saying he was "ideally cast to guide us through the big ideas percolating in the world's far-flung workshops and labs."



The Powerhouse

by Steve LeVine [February 5, 2015]

A worldwide race is on to perfect the advanced lithium-ion battery, which will power the electric car, relieve global warming, and catapult the winner into a new era of economic and political mastery. In *The Powerhouse*, **Steve LeVine** tells the story of a group of geniuses trying to solve this monumental task of physics at a secure federal laboratory outside Chicago. In its review, the *Wall Street Journal* praised the book, saying it provided “a fascinating insight into the challenges of scientific advancement, especially the difficulty of translating victories in the lab to the demands of the mass market.”



The Test

by Anya Kamenetz [January 6, 2015]

In the last 20 years, schools have dramatically increased standardized testing. In *The Test*, **Anya Kamenetz** explores all sides of testing in American schools. The *Boston Globe* wrote that Kamenetz’s “journalistic talents coupled with her role as a mother of a student on the brink of testing humanizes this book, making it a perfect entry for parents who are too deep in the muck of testing to have the clarity of distance.”



Honoring Innovative Work: Our 2015 Fellows Awards

Anand Gopal’s 2014 book *No Good Men Among the Living: America, the Taliban, and the War Through Afghan Eyes* won the 2015 Ridenhour Book Prize, an annual award honoring a work of social significance with investigative and reportorial distinction. *No Good Men Among the Living* was also a finalist for the 2015 Pulitzer Prize in nonfiction and the 2014 National Book Award for nonfiction.

Sheri Fink’s 2013 book *Five Days at Memorial: Life and Death in a Storm-Ravaged Hospital* won the 2015 PEN/John Kenneth Galbraith Award—a biennial award for a nonfiction book with “notable literary merit and critical perspective and illuminating important contemporary issues.”

Fink was also part of the *New York Times* reporting team that won a Pulitzer for its coverage of Ebola outbreak in West Africa.



Jeff Goodell, *Rolling Stone* contributing editor and a New America fellow, interviews President Obama in Alaska.
Photo: Pete Souza/White House



Highlights in the Media

In the past year, fellows have also collectively made hundreds of appearances in major media outlets—as authors of stories, op-eds, and regular columns, featured experts in broadcast and print, directors of documentaries, and finalists and winners of awards—expanding the reach and impact of the ideas that New America generates. Notable examples include:

- **Jeff Goodell's** September 2015 *Rolling Stone* cover story, for which he interviewed President Obama in Alaska on climate change.

- **Hao Wu's** documentary *The Road to Fame*, which received wider release in 2015, with its U.S. broadcast premiere on PBS in December.

In addition to this publicly-featured work, the Fellows Program has been supporting progress on more than 40 books, two documentaries, and one musical production that we expect to be released in the coming years.

2016 Fellows

As a result of expanded outreach efforts and our increased visibility as an organization, the Fellows Program received a record 310 applications for our most recent class of fellows—more than double the number submitted in any previous year. From this competitive pool, we selected 21 individuals to be part of the largest and most diverse class in New America history. Below are all New America fellows, including returning fellows.



Rania Abouzeid
New America Fellow



David B. Auerbach
New America Fellow



Brian K. Barber
New America Fellow



Andrew Bolden
New America Fellow



Jason DeParle
Emerson Fellow



Jesse Eisinger
New America Fellow



Andrea Elliott
Emerson Fellow



Virginia Eubanks
New America Fellow



Franklin Foer
New America Fellow



Mei Fong
New America Fellow



Jeff Goodell
New America Fellow



Robin V. Harris
New America Fellow



Hua Hsu
New America Fellow



Kevin Huffman
New America Fellow



Greg Jacobs
New America Fellow



Trymaine Lee
Emerson Fellow



Christopher Leonard
Schmidt Family Foundation Fellow



Yascha Mounk
Carnegie Fellow



Jay Newton-Small
New America Fellow



Alexis Okeowo
New America Fellow



Donna Patterson
Carnegie Fellow



Monica Potts
New America Fellow



K. Sabeel Rahman
New America Fellow



Janell Ross
New America Fellow



Scott Silverstone
Carnegie Fellow



Bina Venkataraman
Carnegie Fellow



Zheng Wang
Carnegie Fellow



Josephine Wolff
New America Cybersecurity Fellow



David Wood
New America Fellow



Joshua Yaffa
New America Fellow



Julian E. Zelizer
New America Fellow

Future Tense

Future Tense, our “Citizen’s Guide to the Future,” is a partnership between New America, Arizona State University, and *Slate* magazine. Celebrating our fifth year in 2015, we aim to connect policymakers and academics to smart, engaged citizens who are not necessarily specialists in a given field. In 2015, we explored the impact of emerging technologies on society and policymaking through the Future Tense channel on *Slate*’s website and a range of live events.



Future Tense received 24.2 million pageviews on *Slate* during 2015

Future Tense builds on the best traditions of New America, acting as a bridge between the worlds of policymaking, academia, and media. It is a powerful platform for New America to advance its mission of curating thought about the promise (and perils) of new technologies, and how they should be governed.

In 2015, Future Tense was a must-read for commentary on the net neutrality debates and climate change. The channel provided robust coverage of cybersecurity, space exploration, and the interplay between popular culture and science. In 2016, Future Tense will launch a new course-like feature called “Futurography,” which will provide a monthly deep dive into one topic, starting with geoengineering and artificial intelligence.

Future Tense hosted 22 events in 2015 in Washington, D.C., and New York City, ranging from full-day conferences on “The Tyranny of Algorithms” and “The Giant Leap: The Race to Mars and Back” to evening cocktail hour events that asked “Will Libraries Outlive Books?” and “Will Technology Take All our Jobs?” We also hosted the popular “My Favorite Movie” nights with Frances Córdova, head of the National Science Foundation, and Kathryn Sullivan of the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Next year, events will be held in California and Arizona as we seek to engage a broader audience in our conversations about today’s emerging technologies.

International Security

The International Security program, led by New America vice president **Peter Bergen**, provides evidence-based analysis of international security issues challenging American policymakers and the public, including the rise of political Islam, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the activities of U.S. Special Operations Forces and the CIA outside of traditional war zones. The program's flagship annual Future of War conference also examined the consequences of emerging technologies, such as drones, cyberattacks, and space-based weaponry.



New America Vice President and Director Peter Bergen introduces a panel at New America's 2016 Future of War conference titled "From the Streets of Raqqa to the Beltway: How Will The Wars Of The Future Be Reported?"

Photo: Gabrielle Demczuk/New America

Tracking the Impact of Homegrown Terrorism

In the wake of shootings at a Charleston church, a Colorado Springs Planned Parenthood clinic, and a San Bernardino workplace, International Security's dataset on homegrown extremism provided contextual data to supplement numerous articles and news reports. Our research, which found that right-wing extremists have killed more Americans than jihadists in the years since 9/11, was cited by the *New York*

Times on at least seven different occasions following the attack in San Bernardino. And in the days following the Charleston church shooting in June, our datasets became a critical resource to evaluate the comparative risks of homegrown and foreign terror sources. Our homegrown terrorism dataset webpage received nearly 400,000 views in 2015.



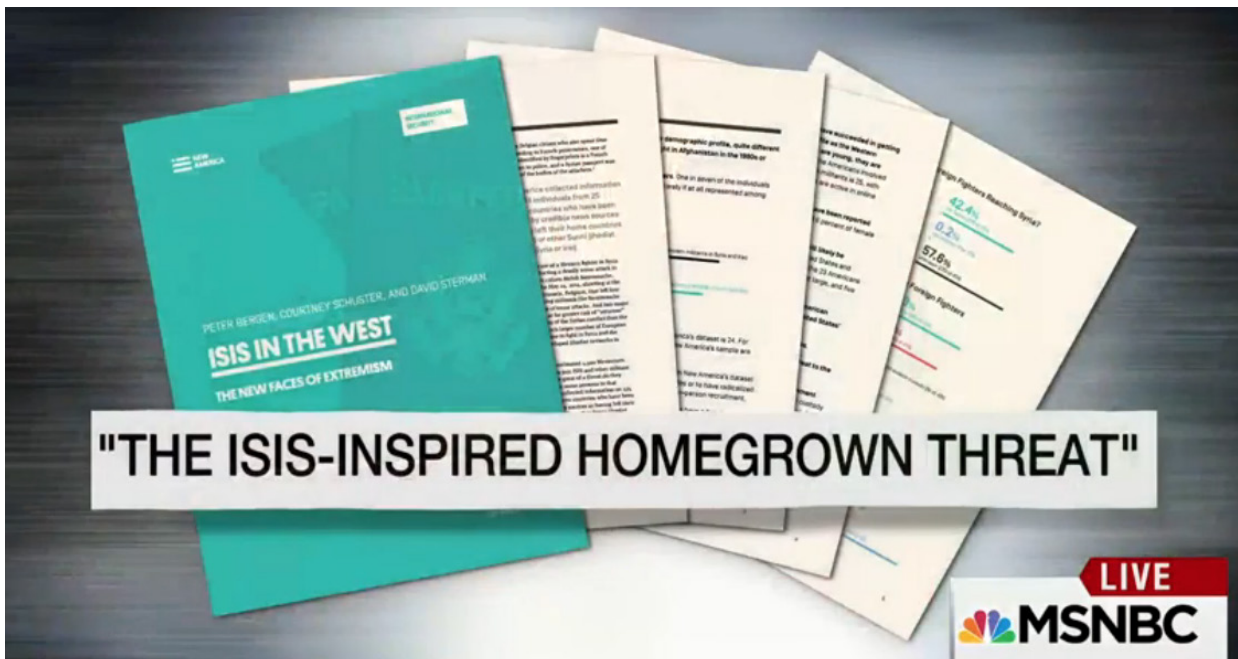
Peter Bergen, David Sterman, and Courtney Schuster's op-ed for CNN.com on *ISIS in the West* garnered 1.8 million readers



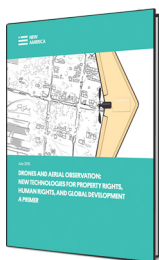
Understanding ISIS's Influence in the West

As the international fight against ISIS has grown, the threat to the West has evolved to include the fear of direct attacks against civilians in Europe and the United States. Through the radicalization of Western-born people at home or abroad, ISIS has attempted to spread its extreme ideology. In November, **Peter Bergen, David Sterman, and Courtney Schuster** released a study on ISIS operatives in the West. The report, *ISIS in the*

West: The New Faces of Extremism was released days after the attacks in Paris, and aimed to answer two questions: Who are the estimated 4,500 Westerners drawn to join ISIS and other militant groups in Syria? And how great of a threat do they pose? The report was cited in dozens of stories in U.S. and international media outlets, and thousands of people viewed the policy paper on the New America website.



MSNBC cited *ISIS in the West* in a broadcast. Video still: MSNBC



Building the Definitive Drones Resource

Early in President Obama's first term, the number of CIA drone strikes in Pakistan and Yemen rose dramatically. In the absence of transparency on the part of the federal government, New America's International Security program created an online database to collect information about strikes in Pakistan, Yemen, and Somalia. With data now stretching back to 2002, our databases have become the authoritative source of drone strike statistics, with scholars and journalists citing our data in more than one hundred published articles in 2015.

Our focus on drones as a tool of the future does not begin and end in the military realm. In July, New America published a 50,000-word primer on civilian drone use for property rights, human rights, and global development, edited by International Security fellow **Konstantin Kakaes**. The primer, which includes research by field analyst **Faine Greenwood**, provides nuts-and-bolts advice and policy guidance to bring civilian uses to the forefront of the drone conversation.



Taking the Initiative: Helping Secure the Iran Deal

New America's **U.S.-Iran Initiative**, directed by **Suzanne DiMaggio**, embraces a combination of policy dialogue, research, public events, and private roundtables, with the aim of generating analyses and recommendations in support of improving relations between the two countries. The project's centerpiece is a long-running Track 2 dialogue that DiMaggio established in 2002. It brings together influential and knowledgeable Americans and Iranians to explore possible grounds for constructive engagement and to develop mutually acceptable strategies for addressing issues like Iran's nuclear program, regional security, and U.S.-Iran relations. This process is widely recognized as a trusted forum for formulating ideas, vetting proposals, and forging relationships over time.

In 2015, the U.S.-Iran Initiative helped pave the way for the successful conclusion of the landmark Iran nuclear agreement. Our April 2015 event, featuring Iranian Foreign Minister Javad Zarif, received widespread national and international press attention and served as a milestone in public diplomacy. As the groundbreaking nuclear deal took final form, the initiative looked ahead, focusing on sustaining the accord and expanding engagement on other issues, including a post-deal U.S.-Iran security agenda. Also in 2015, DiMaggio built on the Track 2 process developed through this effort to lay the groundwork for two new initiatives—a U.S.-China Dialogue on Myanmar and a U.S.-DPRK Dialogue.

Iranian Foreign Minister Mohammad Javad Zarif in conversation with *Washington Post* columnist David Ignatius at a New America event in New York City. Photo: Yana Paskova/Getty Images



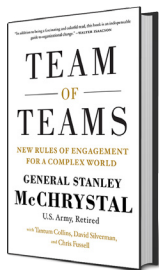
Understanding the Future of War

In partnership with Arizona State University, the **Future of War** project pulls from law, technology, political science, history, policy, the military, and the media to address the changing nature of how wars are fought. In 2015, the Future of the War project held its first annual conference, with more than 400 attendees. Notable speakers included Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.),

Gen. Raymond Odierno (Ret.), Adm. Michelle Howard, and Lt. Gen. H.R. McMaster. CNN, our media partner for the conference, provided moderators including Wolf Blitzer, Jake Tapper, and Barbara Starr, to facilitate discussions of future global warfare. The conference received media coverage in Reuters, *Foreign Policy*, *Defense One*, *Time*, and CNN, among others.



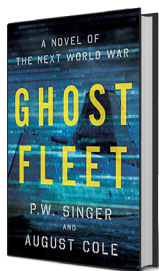
Gen. Raymond T. Odierno (top left), Sen. John McCain (top right), and Adm. Michelle Howard (bottom) discuss the future of global warfare at New America's 2015 Future of War conference. Photos: New America



Team of Teams

by Gen. Stanley McChrystal and Chris Fussell [May 12, 2015]

Chris Fussell published *Team of Teams*, co-authored with Gen. Stanley McChrystal, on how the networked methods used by Joint Special Operations Command in the war on terror hold lessons for all businesses, nonprofits, and other organizations. The book shows how the “team of teams” strategy—open communication and decentralized decision-making—Gen. McChrystal employed fighting Al Qaeda can improve management in civilian organizations too.



Ghost Fleet

by Peter W. Singer and August Cole [June 30, 2015]

Peter W. Singer published *Ghost Fleet*, a novel he co-authored with August Cole about the future of warfare in a fictional World War III. *Ghost Fleet* received many strong reviews from national and international outlets, including the *Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, *USA Today*, and the *Military Times*, among others. It was included on the Marine Corps Commandant’s professional reading list—the official list of recommended and required reading for all Marines.

Peter W. Singer speaks at the U.S. Naval War College in June 2015. Photo: Edwin Wriston





Peter Bergen speaks during a House Homeland Security and Foreign Affairs Committee joint hearing on November 18, 2015. Photo: Al Drago/CQ Roll Call

Providing Expert Analysis

International Security program analysts have been instrumental in policy discussions through published research, congressional testimony, and meetings with policymakers. **Peter Bergen** testified before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and a joint hearing of the House Committees on Foreign Affairs and Homeland Security about ISIS. **Jeffrey Eggers** testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee on improving the Pentagon's development of policy, strategy, and plans. **Peter W. Singer** testified to the Senate Armed

Services Committee on the future of war and lessons from his book, *Ghost Fleet*.

In 2015, Bergen met with high level officials more than a dozen times, including meetings with U.K. Joint Intelligence Committee Chair John Day, Pakistani Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, Air Force Secretary Deborah Lee James, the National Security Council's Senior Director for Counterterrorism Jen Easterly, and House Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs senior staff.

New America NYC

New America NYC brings together big ideas and lively conversation in the unique setting of New York City. Two New America programs are based at New America NYC: our **U.S.-Iran Initiative**, directed by **Suzanne DiMaggio**, which works to shape conversations around the Iranian nuclear negotiations; and **Resilient Communities**, which works with local groups and leaders to help communities address large-scale systemic challenges, adapt to climate risks, and grow opportunity and equity.

Screening Socially Conscious Films

Social Cinema @ New America

brings together a diverse, thoughtful audience to preview the most anticipated nonfiction films from a rich, international, artistic community. The screenings, which precede intimate Q&A conversations pairing the film's

directors, producers, and subjects with New America journalists and policy experts, have addressed topics as far-reaching as the environment and climate change (*Merchants of Doubt*); inequality, poverty, and the state of the economy (*Inequality for All*, *Rich Hill*);



Rabbi Andy Bachman; Reverend Rob Schenk; Lucia Kay McBath; Abigail Disney, director of *Armor of Light*; and Eric Ruben join a conversation about the current political stalemate on gun control. Photo: New America



Former Mexican President Vicente Fox discusses the future of the Mexican economy at a World Economic Roundtable forum. Photo: New America

surveillance, privacy, and technology [*The Internet's Own Boy*, *(T)error*]; and foreign policy and the costs of globalization [*The Look of Silence*,

We Come As Friends]. **Social Cinema @ New America** screens the best dramatizations of our country's most timely cultural and political issues.

Convening Financial Thought Leaders

The 2008 financial crisis has had lasting effects on the world's financial health. New America NYC's **World Economic Roundtable**, curated by **Sherle R. Schwenninger**, set out to understand the consequences of the Great Recession on the domestic and global economy. The Roundtable hosted 18 discussions, during which business, media, and policy communities worked to advance the discussion of reforms that will bring the crisis to an end, and lead to new global economic growth.

The program of presenters included: Lord Adair Turner, former chair of Britain's Financial Services Authority, on how to manage the world debt

overhang; Vicente Fox, former president of Mexico, on the North American regional economy and Mexico as a manufacturing powerhouse; Kenneth Courtis, former vice-chair of Goldman Sachs, on the dangers of competitive devaluations; Chris Weafer of Macro-Advisors, on Russia's economic pivot to Asia; and Rajiv Chaudhri, founder of Sunsara Capital, on the new economics of abundance.

The Roundtable also hosted a series of discussions on the now-emerging third leg of the world economic crisis, which is centered on China and the growth space of emerging market commodity producers.

Open Markets

The Open Markets program, directed by **Barry Lynn**, helps citizens ensure that the political economy of twenty-first century America promotes an open and democratic society that guarantees equal liberty, opportunity, and security to all. New America works to help citizens understand they have a right to and an interest in keeping markets open and competitive, and the power to do so. Our network of allies extends into the economic and legal academies, federal and state regulatory agencies, the national security and trade policy communities, and among entrepreneurs in numerous economic sectors. Members of our team even directly participate in government. In 2015, Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid appointed our **Phillip Longman** to serve as a Commissioner on the VA Commission on Care.

Applying a New Lens to Inequality

While policymakers and scholars have devoted volumes of research to the growing influence of the “one percent,” some of the most important dimensions of inequality have been largely neglected. In 2015, **Phillip Longman** published two groundbreaking articles in the *Washington Monthly*, applying a new lens to the problem of economic inequality. In “Wealth and Generations,”

Longman showed vast differences in the economic trajectories of Americans of different generations, revealing a new phenomenon in America: generational downward mobility. In “Bloom and Bust,” he highlighted the emergence of regional inequality and the major role of geography in determining economic fortune.

Analysis at the Intersection of Trade and Security

Smart trade strategy is intertwined with national security. In 2015, we published two major articles on the political and economic dangers posed by the current structure of international industrial systems. **Barry Lynn**'s essay in *Harper's*

magazine, “The New China Syndrome: American Business Meets Its New Master,” showed how U.S. companies like Ford and Apple are making big concessions to the Chinese government in order to keep business. Another

essay by Lynn, titled “Shock Therapy: Building Resilient Industrial Systems,” argued against concentrating industrial capacity and manufacturing with any one company or location. Armed

with this research, the Open Markets program initiated high-level meetings with national security experts from the U.S., U.K., and Japanese governments to discuss these issues.

Mapping the Concentration of Economic Power

Americans face the greatest concentration of economic power since the Gilded Age, with many basic business activities in the U.S. all but closed off to the individual entrepreneur. In 2015, we reported on the sources and effects of concentration in the agriculture and retail sectors, helping forge a pioneering coalition between ranchers, the Humane Society, and unionized food workers. Our work on the agriculture sector, together with **Christopher Leonard** of the **Fellows Program**, was a fundamental resource

for a segment about the chicken industry on *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*.

In partnership with individual authors and booksellers, we also wrote an extensive position paper, detailing Amazon’s monopoly over books, which we sent to the Justice Department. The letter resulted in a lead business story in the *New York Times*, and led to follow-up meetings between authors and Justice Department officials as well as Federal Trade Commission investigators.



John Oliver cited the work of New America fellow Chris Leonard and the Open Markets program. Video still: *Last Week Tonight with John Oliver*

Open Technology Institute

New America's Open Technology Institute works at the intersection of technology and policy to ensure that every community has equitable access to digital technology and its benefits. We promote universal access to communications technologies that are open and secure, using a multidisciplinary approach that brings together advocates, researchers, organizers, and innovators.

2015 was a historic year in OTI's evolution, full of major victories and profound changes. OTI's in-depth analysis laid the groundwork for major changes on technology issues, from local municipal broadband networks to global Internet governance. We helped build and lead the coalitions that turned the prospect of the FCC issuing a strong net neutrality rule from an impossibility into an inevitability, convinced Congress to pass the first major surveillance reform law in decades, and ensured that the White House did not propose legislation that would undermine the encryption technology that keeps all of our data and communications safe.

OTI collaborated with the **Education Policy** program at New America to promote broadband access in America's schools, and, as part of the newly launched **Cybersecurity Initiative**, helped to develop the policy ideas that will help us maintain our cybersecurity in the years to come.

In June 2015, policy director **Kevin Bankston** became program director after his predecessor **Alan Davidson** joined the Commerce Department as Director of Digital Economy.

Promoting an Open Internet

Network neutrality, the principle that individuals should be able to decide for themselves what they see and do online without interference from Internet service providers, is an essential component of an open Internet. It will help promote innovation and competition, and protect consumers by

banning the blocking, throttling, or paid prioritization of third-party applications, content, or services. 2015 was a landmark year for network neutrality, with the FCC's adoption, in February, of the Open Internet Order, a regulation requiring network neutrality among broadband Internet access providers.

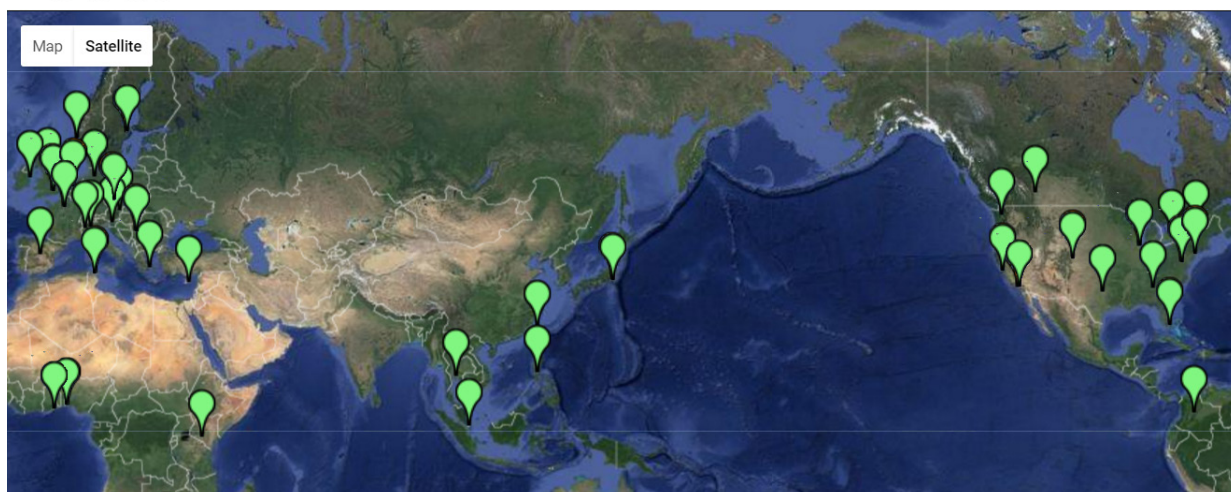
Led by **Sarah Morris**, OTI played a central role in informing the public and policymakers before, during, and after the announcement.

Technology policy recommendations are only as good as the data that back them up. In the fight for network neutrality, OTI's work with the **Measurement Lab Consortium [M-Lab]**—the largest collection of open Internet performance data on the planet—provided crucial evidence that the service of millions of Internet users was being degraded, likely due to business disputes between their ISPs and other interconnecting parties. The data was released in M-Lab's technical report, *ISP Interconnection and its Impact on Consumer Internet Performance*, which was cited

extensively in the Open Internet Order and was also influential in blocking the proposed merger between Comcast and Time Warner Cable. The data generated for this report allowed OTI to share quantitative research that underscored its comments to the FCC and the successful push to have interconnection included in the Open Internet Order. OTI continues to defend the Open Internet Order by acting as an intervenor and defending the Order from threats in Congress and a lawsuit filed by ISPs at the D.C. Circuit Court.

In addition, through the work of **Wireless Future Project**, led by **Michael Calabrese**, OTI demonstrated the need for the Order to apply equally to both wired and wireless networks. As more Americans access the Internet

MLAB



Map of current M-Lab server sites globally.



President Obama shares our *Cost of Connectivity* charts. Video still: WhiteHouse.gov

primarily through their phones and cellular devices, the right to an equal and open Internet must apply however consumers connect. By illustrating the technical and legal difficulties if net neutrality rules are applied differently to mobile networks, the **Wireless Future Project** successfully proved that not including wireless in the Open Internet Order would harm consumers and deepen the digital divide.

OTI provided further context to the net neutrality debate by compiling concrete data on Internet accessibility through

our *Cost of Connectivity* reports, which assess the cost and speed of broadband Internet access in 24 cities in the United States and abroad. In 2015, OTI's third *Cost of Connectivity* report found that a lack of competition in the broadband space causes the majority of U.S. cities surveyed to lag behind their international peers for both prices and speeds. The report was cited by President Obama in the White House *Community-Based Broadband Solutions* report and subsequent speech about the importance of investing in high-speed broadband.



Tech Meets Policy: Fostering Community Engagement

Openness online includes the need to empower communities to engage with technology on their own terms. With that in mind, OTI partnered with civil rights organizations to expand our work on data, discrimination, and police technologies, with a focus on body-worn cameras. While much of the nation looks to police body-worn cameras as a quick fix, OTI asked, “What institutional and regulatory choices do we need to make now, before police body-worn cameras become the status quo?” In May, OTI co-organized a roundtable on body-worn cameras, civil rights, and public safety, and in December, we co-facilitated a private mock community meeting, testing a new curriculum to engage grassroots activists in body-worn camera debates nationwide.

Protecting Internet Security

Internet security and privacy have important implications for education, economic growth, and freedom of expression online. Consumers have a right to access an Internet that is not just open but secure—including protection against privacy violations by government and service providers, and access to strong encryption to protect themselves. Following the Edward Snowden revelations in 2013 on mass surveillance by the National Security Agency (NSA), OTI took a leading role in establishing civil society’s approach to the complex policy issue of surveillance, and in coordinating civil society’s collaboration with the Internet industry.

The Stronger Internet coalition, a group of public interest groups, tech companies, and civil society groups, grew out of that effort and has flourished into a setting for frank and constructive dialogue between civil society and industry. Despite the wide diversity of stakeholders, the coalition, now helmed by **Ross Schulman**, had to speak with one voice in order to obtain meaningful new restrictions on the NSA. The work and coordination between OTI and the coalition bore fruit in June 2015, when Congress passed the USA FREEDOM Act, the first major surveillance reform legislation in decades and the first step toward reining in the NSA.

2015 saw a dramatic escalation in the debate over the role of encryption technologies. OTI worked to ensure protections for strong encryption by authoring op-eds and reports and testifying before the House of Representatives in April. We authored a paper analyzing the global nature of the market in encryption tools.

2015 saw a dramatic escalation in the debate over the role of encryption technologies

We also organized a letter from an unprecedented alliance of tech companies, privacy advocates, security experts, and policy experts, demanding that the White House oppose government-mandated surveillance backdoors and support strong encryption. This letter, and a subsequent White House meeting in November, demonstrated that the unified Internet community would broadly oppose any effort by the

government to weaken the security of our digital devices and online services, and directly contributed to the White House's decision not to pursue legislation on the issue.

OTI played a central role in analyzing the various iterations of the Cybersecurity Information Sharing Act (CISA) and its proposed amendments. OTI's analysis found that CISA would not have prevented any of the most high profile cyberattacks of the last year, and that it would endanger the information of millions of people. We engaged with civic groups, security experts, and tech companies to combat CISA. Our efforts included sending a letter signed by 71 groups and experts to the White House encouraging President Obama to veto CISA, a day of blogging by the coalition, and education of congressional staffers. In the end, CISA became as controversial in Congress as it had always been to the privacy community. Though the bill eventually passed at the close of the year, OTI's interventions ensured that some of the most problematic provisions were removed.

Defending Consumer Privacy

A secure Internet depends on strong consumer privacy and copyright law that keeps up with the pace of technological innovation. In recognition of OTI's leadership on communications privacy issues, **Laura Moy** was asked to chair the joint FCC and Federal Trade Commission consumer privacy working group. Moy also twice testified before

the House of Representatives in 2015: in favor of strong data security and breach notification protections for consumers, and in opposition to legislative proposals that would eliminate key legal protections for phone, cable, and satellite records. OTI joined with other consumer and privacy advocates to coordinate activities educating key

Hill staff on the issue. After significant engagement by OTI, Congress did not pass any legislation that would weaken existing data security and breach notification protections in 2015.

OTI has pushed to update the out-of-date Digital Millennium Copyright Act [DMCA], a law which extends the reach of copyright law and heightens the penalties for copyright infringement

on the Internet. Its broad mandate has subjected a wide range of activities to unnecessary litigation, including vulnerability research and patching. That's why OTI, working with a coalition of allies, has demonstrated the need for exemptions to the DMCA, including exemptions that would allow security researchers to find software vulnerabilities without fear of prosecution.

Ensuring Equitable Access to Technology

Ubiquitous, fast, and affordable wireless broadband access via Wi-Fi and other unlicensed technologies is critical, particularly as a growing share of young, low-income, and minority communities

are relying on mobile devices and Wi-Fi as their primary or only Internet access. In order to narrow the digital divide and create a path to universal, equitable access to affordable wireless



Robyn Greene speaks on the Congressional Internet Caucus Advisory Committee panel "Cyber Security: Will The Sharing of Threat Information Secure The Homeland or Erode Privacy?" Photo: Flickr/Internet Education Foundation

broadband connectivity, OTI's **Wireless Future Project** (WiFu) campaigned for increased open spectrum for unlicensed public sharing, which is vital to keeping wireless communications easily accessible and open to innovation. OTI has worked to protect and expand the spectrum available for unlicensed and shared, opportunistic use and ensure that wireless providers do not work in a way that would undermine.

Equitable access to technology cannot be solved only at the policy level. Solutions also require working closely with those communities most impacted by the digital divide. With that in mind, OTI hosted two projects designed to support greater access

to digital technologies: the Community Technology Partnership and the Circumvention Tech Festival.

OTI formed the Community Technology Partnership with the Detroit Community Technology Project to provide small grants to support community organizers around the world and address critical digital justice issues in their towns and neighborhoods. The project was built upon a community toolkit developed as part of the **Commotion Wireless** project. In 2015, the project provided grants to groups building community-controlled communication infrastructure as a means of developing community self-reliance and strengthening community media. OTI provided 11 SEED grants to civil society organizations in Belarus,



Kevin Bankston on a panel about cybersecurity in pop culture. Photo: Gabrielle Demczuk/New America



Rebecca MacKinnon launches the 2015 Corporate Accountability Index at Civic Hall in New York City. Photo: New America

the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Nicaragua, Timor Leste, Nigeria, India, Myanmar, and Brazil. Recipients included community radio stations, youth media groups, community development organizations, art and tech collectives, health cooperatives, and schools.

The **Open Internet Tools Project** at OTI hosted the Circumvention Tech Festival in Valencia, Spain. Open source secure

communication tools empower Internet users to connect on their own terms. With this in mind, the festival supported the creators and communities behind open source communications tools by uniting the communities of users and supporters. This first Circumvention Tech Festival brought together more than 600 individuals from 43 countries and 78 cities to share stories, and participate in workshops and hackathons.

Informing and Educating Decision Makers

In 2015, OTI launched two new initiatives designed to educate and train two of the biggest players at the nexus of policy and technology: companies

and governments. As gatekeepers to what is seen, read and regulated on the Internet, it is vital that both tech companies and governments be

informed of how their decisions impact the civil and political lives of people all over the world.

Internet and telecommunications companies share a responsibility to respect human rights. While some companies have moved toward greater transparency in some respects, there is still a lack of standards on corporate best practices for respecting human rights online. In November, the **Ranking Digital Rights** project launched the first annual *Corporate Accountability Index*, ranking 16 of the world's largest Internet and telecommunications companies according to 31 indicators focused on corporate disclosure of policies and practices that affect users' freedom of expression and privacy. The index helps identify how—and whether—companies are making tangible efforts to respect users' rights and highlights circumstances where laws and regulations help or hinder companies from doing so. The data produced by the index is also intended to inform the work of human rights advocates, policymakers, and responsible investors.

Led by **Rebecca MacKinnon**, the index is the product of more than two years of rigorous research, consultation, and testing, including a pilot study conducted in 2014 with the investment research firm Sustainalytics. The

inaugural *Corporate Accountability Index* was covered in the *Guardian*, the *Wall Street Journal*, NBC News, and other outlets. The index results and data, as well as a full list of funders, partners, and updates, can be found at **RankingDigitalRights.org**.

Just like the pace of technological change itself, the number and complexity of tough tech issues facing policymakers are increasing exponentially. However, very few congressional staffers have the technical capacity and training needed to design public policy that can guarantee all Americans are able to succeed in the digital economy. In an effort to address this technical deficit, OTI launched **TechCongress** in November. This bipartisan initiative gives talented professionals working at the intersection of technology and public life the opportunity to gain first-hand knowledge of federal policymaking and shape the future of tech policy through a nine-month Congressional Innovation Fellowship with members of Congress or in congressional committees. TechCongress is incubated at the Open Technology Institute, and is led by **Travis Moore**, former Legislative Director for Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.). The first class of Congressional Innovation Fellows began serving in Congress in early 2016.

Opportunity@Work

Most policies that aim to improve employment outcomes focus on the supply side: education and job training. They do not, however, address demand-side reforms, which means that we have not changed how employers recruit, hire, train, and promote. Common employment practices inadvertently limit the collective talent pipeline and create skills mismatches with economy-wide ripple effects.

It does not need to be this way. By rethinking the traditional ideas of hiring by credentials, Opportunity@Work aims to rewire the demand side of the U.S. job market and implement new methods for matching talent to jobs. This lies at

the heart of New America's strategy to rethink the think tank: Opportunity@Work is prototyping solutions, testing them in the field, and accelerating policy change by demonstrating what is possible.



New America Vice President Tyra Mariani speaks at an event on the integration of work and life. Photo: New America



Byron Auguste speaks at the SG50+ Conference. Photo: Institute of Policy Studies, National University of Singapore

Co-founded by **Byron Auguste**, **Tyra Mariani**, and **Karan Chopra**, Opportunity@Work builds on the many existing efforts to improve employment outcomes. We are working to streamline and scale the adoption of existing tools, methods, policies, and practices; to establish pathways into high-value work through high-quality training; and to create a more inclusive job market.

Additionally, we're working to channel private, public, and social investment into programs, tools, and resources that improve the skills and earning power of the unemployed or underemployed; and we are acting as a social investor in helping to design and launch a more accessible labor market.

Rewiring Rhode Island's Job Market

Growing national employment will come from improving the way employers find and hire workers at the state and local level. Opportunity@Work is building a prototype for a rewired job market in

Rhode Island as part of Governor Gina Raimondo's flagship Real Jobs Rhode Island initiative. Rhode Island is set to place 2,000 job seekers in IT jobs across industries in five years.



Taking the Initiative: The Promise of TechHire

Launched by President Obama, the **TechHire** initiative is Opportunity@Work's flagship project, pairing employers who need jobs done with workers with the right skills. There are hundreds of thousands of IT jobs open in a wide variety of industries, and we're working with partners in national, state, and local governments and businesses to make them attainable to hundreds of thousands of people (in particular people of color and women, who are underrepresented in professional computing jobs) across the country.

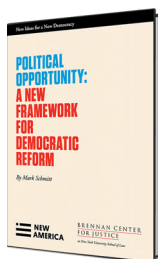
Opportunity@Work also facilitated face-to-face problem solving among leaders from what are now 50 TechHire communities at the White House TechHire Community Action Summit in Baltimore in November 2015. Secretary of Labor Tom Perez and Chief Technology Officer Megan Smith announced at that event new federal and local initiatives on economic development, technology, and the workforce—including a \$100 million TechHire grant competition specifically focused on helping communities expand access to IT job opportunities to disconnected youth and workers with disabilities.

United States Chief Technology Officer Megan Smith and Opportunity@Work co-founder Tyra Mariani address a group of representatives from over 35 TechHire communities during a community action summit in Baltimore on November 17, 2015. Photo: Johnny Shryock



Political Reform

On every dimension—elections, legislation, and in the states as well as in Washington, D.C.—government increasingly fails to play its role in finding pragmatic solutions to known problems. Democracy is pulled and paralyzed by money, partisanship, and the permanent campaign culture. Our institutions are not up to the challenge. The Political Reform program at New America seeks to develop new strategies and innovations to repair the dysfunction of government, restore trust, and rebuild the promise of American democracy by working towards an open, fair democratic process with equitable opportunities for full participation. Through research, analysis, media outreach, and convenings, Political Reform complements and challenges the work of other organizations on jurisprudence, policy design, advocacy, messaging, and coalition building.



New Frameworks for Democratic Reform

How can the political system be made fairer, empower the voiceless, and begin to offset the political influence of wealth? In *Political Opportunity: A New Framework for Democratic Reform*, program director **Mark Schmitt** set out to find a useable framework for political reform. Challenging conventional assumptions about political inequality and corruption, the paper called for the creation of structures that ensure opportunities for people, organizations, and ideas currently shut out of the political process.

After the release of *Political Opportunity*, Political Reform explored several of

the paper's ideas in-depth. *Small-Donor Empowerment: A New Menu of Options to Strengthen the Voice of Citizens* examined the principal models for empowering small donors in the political process, weighing their strengths and weaknesses to help state and local advocates design reforms and creative solutions. We also commissioned Alexander Hertel-Fernandez to write *Who Owns Your Politics?*, which explored barriers to political opportunity caused by political coercion in the workplace, and the questions raised when employers impose their own political preferences on employees.



Heather Hurlburt during the 2015 Future of War conference. Photo: New America

The Political Reform program has also been working to raise the profile of congressional capacity issues, building

a bipartisan network of organizations and members who care about the institution.

Investigating Strange Bedfellows and Transpartisanship

While congressional gridlock is nothing new, it has become increasingly pronounced in recent years. The *Strange Bedfellows* policy paper series by our **New Models of Policy Change** project, directed by **Heather Hurlburt**, examined how some policy entrepreneurs have engaged in transpartisanship—an approach to advocacy in which, rather than

stemming from political elites at the center, new policy ideas emerge from unlikely corners of the right or left and find allies on the other side.

The project explored successes, failures, and key figures of transpartisan approaches through a series of case studies: In *How Conservatives Turned Against Mass Incarceration*, we

investigated how conservatives shifted views on criminal justice reform; in *The Sequester, the Pentagon, and the Little Campaign that Could*, we examined the unlikely political coalition that helped secure the steepest drop in defense spending since the end of the Korean War; in *Spreading the Gospel of Climate*

Change: An Evangelical Battleground, we explored an effort to leverage evangelical Christians to pass climate change legislation; and in *Parallel Play in the Education Sandbox*, we studied the alliance of political polar opposites against Common Core standards.

Exploring Big Ideas and Citizen Engagement

In August 2015, we launched Polyarchy, a dedicated blog channel on Vox. Primary authors **Mark Schmitt** and **Lee Drutman** explore how the political process can better engage and respond to the public through expanded participation, competition, and income equality. They write about fostering citizen engagement and bringing new ideas into the political process. The blog

features frequent guests posts from New America fellows such as **Yascha Mounk** and **Hollie Russon-Gilman**, and looks for approaches that are realistic but ambitious. In addition to writing for Polyarchy, Schmitt and Drutman have been featured in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *Slate*, *Politico*, and many other publications.



The Business of America is Lobbying

by Lee Drutman [April 16, 2015]

In April, **Lee Drutman** published *The Business of America is Lobbying: How Corporations Became Politicized and Politics Became More Corporate* [Oxford University Press]. The book received wide attention, most notably inspiring a column in the *Economist*. Fareed Zakaria named it his book of the week in August. The book described the growth of corporate lobbying in Washington, and offered some specific proposals on how to blunt the potentially harmful impacts. One of the suggestions, investing in congressional staffing capacity, was also the subject of a full-length article Drutman published in the *Washington Monthly* with Steve Teles, “A New Agenda for Political Reform.”

Resilient Communities

Whereas government typically operates in verticals defined by issue areas like housing, education, or health, resilience is grounded by policy horizontals. Resilience aligns and leverages priorities across issues to build community, relationships, and increased quality of life and opportunity for residents. New America launched Resilient Communities in September to help communities and local leaders protect and improve assets, infrastructure, and systems, as well as to ensure fair access to food, water, sanitation, health, housing, transportation, energy, and communications.

Our mission is to help communities address large-scale systemic challenges and anticipate risks while working toward immediate, everyday benefits. We work with policymakers, grassroots groups, local businesses, municipal governments, community organizers, and researchers to support

resilience initiatives that build from existing assets, local practices, and relationships. We nurture the public conversation about how to engage residents in the tough decisions and complexity of issues facing communities everywhere.

Bringing Wi-Fi To Hurricane Sandy-Affected Neighborhoods

In April 2015, New America was awarded up to \$4.2 million through the New York City Economic Development Corporation's (NYCEDC) Resiliency Innovations for a Stronger Economy (RISE) competition to implement resiliency technologies at Hurricane Sandy-impacted small businesses. Our winning application, **Resilient Networks for RISE : NYC**, is a suite of local wireless networks and

training programs designed to increase broadband connectivity and resilience in six neighborhoods across the city's five boroughs. The project is designed to address the interrelated impacts of climate change and long-term challenges faced by underserved communities, including limited connectivity and a lack of job opportunities. NYCEDC's **RISE : NYC** program is funded by a Department

of Housing and Urban Development Community Development Block Grant for Disaster Recovery.

We are conducting our work in collaboration with Sky Packets (one of the country's leading installers of neighborhood Wi-Fi networks), coalitions of community-based

organizations, and dozens of local small businesses. In addition to setting up Wi-Fi coverage in six Sandy-affected neighborhoods in all five boroughs, we will support training programs aimed at boosting digital literacy and providing technical skills to low- and middle-income residents who will build and maintain the networks.



Tech Meets Policy: Identifying Regional Opportunities for Resilient Communications Networks

Silicon Valley could be on the cutting edge of building resilient communications networks to better prepare for and mitigate disasters. **Greta Byrum** has led a planning and discovery process with the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (SVCF) to assess options for resilient communications infrastructure throughout the region. The outcome of this partnership will better prepare Silicon Valley residents for interrelated risks including drought, fire, earthquake, and storms, given the area's increasingly stratified economy, its housing crisis, and its overtaxed transportation system. Our work is helping SVCF connect area technologists, local first responders, and community anchor institutions to ensure that nobody, especially members of vulnerable communities, is isolated in a disaster. We are supporting the development of a plan and resources for emergency and contingency planning, and helping to define the role of a community foundation in building risk preparedness and holistic community health.

New America Weekly

The *New America Weekly* is a digital magazine publishing New America staff, fellows, and outside experts. The *Weekly* brings the best writers and ideas to readers all over the country (and the world—our email subscription list includes individuals throughout North America, Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa) for conversations you won't hear anywhere else.



The *New America Weekly* ended the year with 17,000 subscribers, up 47 percent from 2014

Impact

The *Weekly* runs stories on everything from early education literacy to foreign policy; from cybersecurity to political reform; from American elections to discrimination in schools. New America is growing, and the diversity of narratives and voices we publish is growing as well.

So, too, is our readership. Subscription to the *New America Weekly* grew by almost 50 percent in 2015. Our syndication partners now include the *Atlantic*, *Quartz*, *Pacific Standard*, *Slate*, the *Week*, *Voice of America*, the *National Review*, *Time*, and more. Partner outlets syndicated 110 *Weekly* articles in 2015.

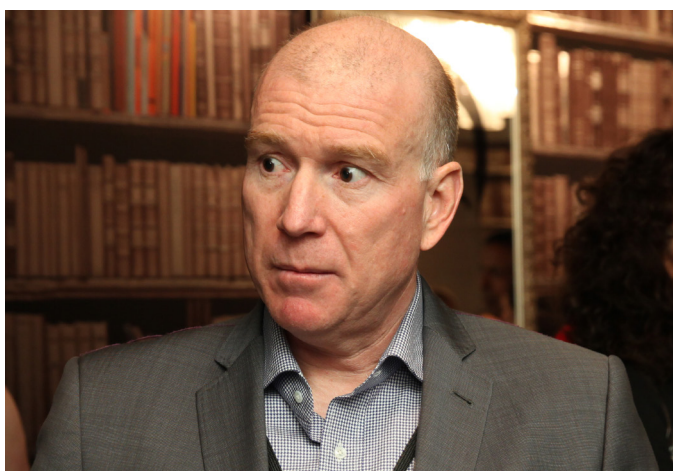
But it is not enough to bring more of New America to the country—we're also aiming to bring more of the country to New America. To this end, we have begun a local journalism initiative, through which we syndicate roughly one article a week from one of a handful of local journalism nonprofits. As New America rethinks the think tank, the *Weekly* is rethinking how and what think tanks contribute to the evolving editorial landscape.



Top row, from left: Journalist and New America Board Member Reihan Salam (Photo: New America); Author, Journalist, and New America Board Member Kati Marton (Photo: New America); Director of Investments at Omidyar Network Peter Rabley (Photo: New America);

Middle row, from left: President and CEO of Lumina Foundation Jamie Merisotis (Photo: New America); Vice Chairman of Investment Banking at Barclays Barbara Byrne (Photo: New America);

Left: Founder of LinkedIn Reid Hoffman (Photo: Flickr/Fortune Brainstorm TECH)



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Our Donors

New America's work is supported through the generous contributions of individuals, foundations, corporations, and governments. Donors connect with New America's board, programs, and fellows around core issues and efforts through seven councils. Our President's Venture Fund, Leadership Council, and Corporate Circle members support organization-wide efforts, while program council members help establish ambitious new objectives, examine issue priorities, help connect networks and partners, and advise on sustainability practices for issue-specific policy solutions.

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Board Spotlight



David Brooks

David Brooks became an op-ed columnist for the *New York Times* in September 2003. He is currently a commentator on PBS *NewsHour*, NPR's *All Things Considered* and NBC's *Meet the Press*. He is the author of *Bobos In Paradise: The New Upper Class and How They Got There* (2000) and *The Social Animal: The Hidden Sources of Love, Character, and Achievement* (2011). In April of 2015 he came out with his fourth book, *The Road to Character*, which was a *New York Times* bestseller. Mr. Brooks also teaches at Yale University, and is a member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.



Reihan Salam

Reihan Salam is executive editor of *National Review* and a policy fellow at the National Review Institute. He is a contributing editor of *National Affairs* and a columnist for *Slate*. With Ross Douthat, Mr. Salam is the co-author of *Grand New Party* (2008). Previously, Mr. Salam was an associate editor at the *Atlantic*, a producer for NBC News, a junior editor and editorial researcher at the *New York Times*, a research associate at the Council on Foreign Relations, and a reporter-researcher at the *New Republic*. He lives in Brooklyn, N.Y.



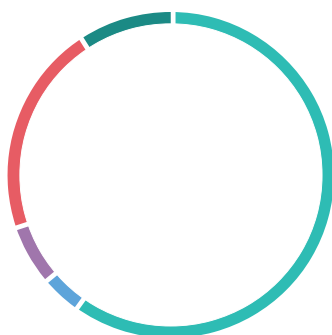
Ashley Swearengin

Mayor Ashley Swearengin took office in 2009 at one of the most challenging times in Fresno's history. She has worked to return the City of Fresno to financial health while at the same time focusing on long-term efforts such as downtown and community revitalization, homelessness, and adult education. Mayor Swearengin was named one of California's top 10 mayors by *Capitol Weekly*. During her time in office, she has helped the City of Fresno build a reputation as a city on the move. She also led the effort to pass historic proposals that provided Fresno residents and businesses with a safe and reliable water supply and a blueprint for future investment and development.

Financial Statement

New America's 2015 operating budget was **\$25.8 million**. New America operates without an endowment and raises its annual budget each year.

Revenue



60%

Foundations



4%

Government



6%

Corporate



21%

Individual

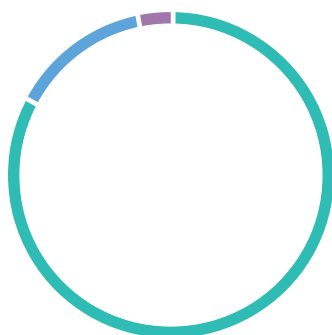


9%

Other



Expenses



83%

Programs



14%

General Operating



3%

Fundraising



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For more information about getting involved or supporting New America visit newamerica.org/contribute or contact **Meredith Hanley**, Director of Development, at 202.596.3367 or hanley@newamerica.org.

