



Building a New America

**New America's
2016 Annual Report**

Mapping Our Work

To build a new America, our community of thinkers, writers, researchers, technologists, and activists are working on projects spanning the country that affect the lives of millions. Here are some of the highlights:

1 Why Pre-K and the Early Grades are Different: Through a blog series, we explored teacher evaluation in seven states, and how classroom observations, student-growth measures, and student surveys are being used in early grades.

2 Promoting Fast, Affordable Internet in Washington State: We partnered with the City of Seattle to create an accurate map of residents' broadband quality to help inform future broadband infrastructure investments.

3 Principal's Corner: Elementary school principals from five different cities shared their recommendations with us about what should take place in pre-K and early grade classrooms, and how school districts can build principals' expertise.

4 Stronger Teaching and Caregiving for California's Youngest: We studied communities in Fresno, Oakland, and East San Jose as part of our research into teacher preparation.

5 Boosting Retirement Savings for Millions: We proposed a system of portable retirement accounts which California Gov. Jerry Brown signed into law in 2016, automatically offering retirement savings accounts to nearly seven million Californians.

6 Putting Cybersecurity on the Big Screen: Peter Singer, Emeфа Agawu, and UCLA convened Hollywood writers, producers, and executives in Los Angeles to workshop representations of cybersecurity in media.

7 The Future of War: New America partnered with Arizona State University on the Future of War project, bringing together experts to understand and address the changing nature of armed conflict and systematic violence.



8 The Care Index: We published the Care Index, a data and methodology collaboration with Care.com, which illustrated the U.S.'s patchwork system of child care. Our subsequent *Care Report* humanized the data, focusing on four states as case studies, and proposing thoughtful policy solutions.

9 How to Fix Remediation at Scale: We reviewed how community colleges in Colorado, Georgia, Indiana, Tennessee, and West Virginia revamped remedial coursework.

10 Parallel Play in the Education Sandbox: Through case studies of Indiana and Oklahoma, we investigated how Common Core—developed by a bipartisan coalition—became a hot-button issue.

11 Weather Eye: A data visualization project, led by Sharon Burke and Emily Gallagher, identified the ten U.S. counties at especially high risk of severe weather to better understand how communities are dealing with weather disasters.

12 Leading Technology Conversations at SxSW: New America drove the conversation around policy and technology at the 2016 SxSW conference with Travis Moore, Greta Byrum, and Rebecca MacKinnon all speaking at the event.

13 Pluralism on the Prairie: Conor P. Williams reviewed the best practices of Minnesota's education policies designed to support Dual Language Learners, and what other states could learn from their example.

14 Expanding to Chicago: In September, we launched New America Chicago—the fourth city in our growing National Network—to elevate new voices solving public problems outside the Beltway.

15 "The Real Reason Middle America Should be Angry": A cover story in the *Washington Monthly* told St. Louis's story of deindustrialization, and how the city fell prey to predatory monopoly because of decisions made in Washington.



16 Slowly But Surely: We studied the evolution of early learning in Indiana, a state where half of all children ages 0-5 live in low-income families, and the state's possibility of pre-K expansion in upcoming years.

17 War and Tweets: We examined the importance of policies that support and encourage civic resilience by taking a closer look at the Pulse nightclub shooting in Orlando, in a report, *War and Tweets*.

18 How Everything Became War: Rosa Brooks's book *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything* delved into the fading distinction between war and peace at the Pentagon.

19 Improving Federal Transparency on Drones: We encouraged the Obama administration to be more transparent about the CIA's drone strikes, helping to encourage the administration to release more information about civilian casualties.

20 Building Congressional Capacity: Lee Drutman launched a bipartisan effort with R Street to encourage Congress to reinvest in its own staff capacity.

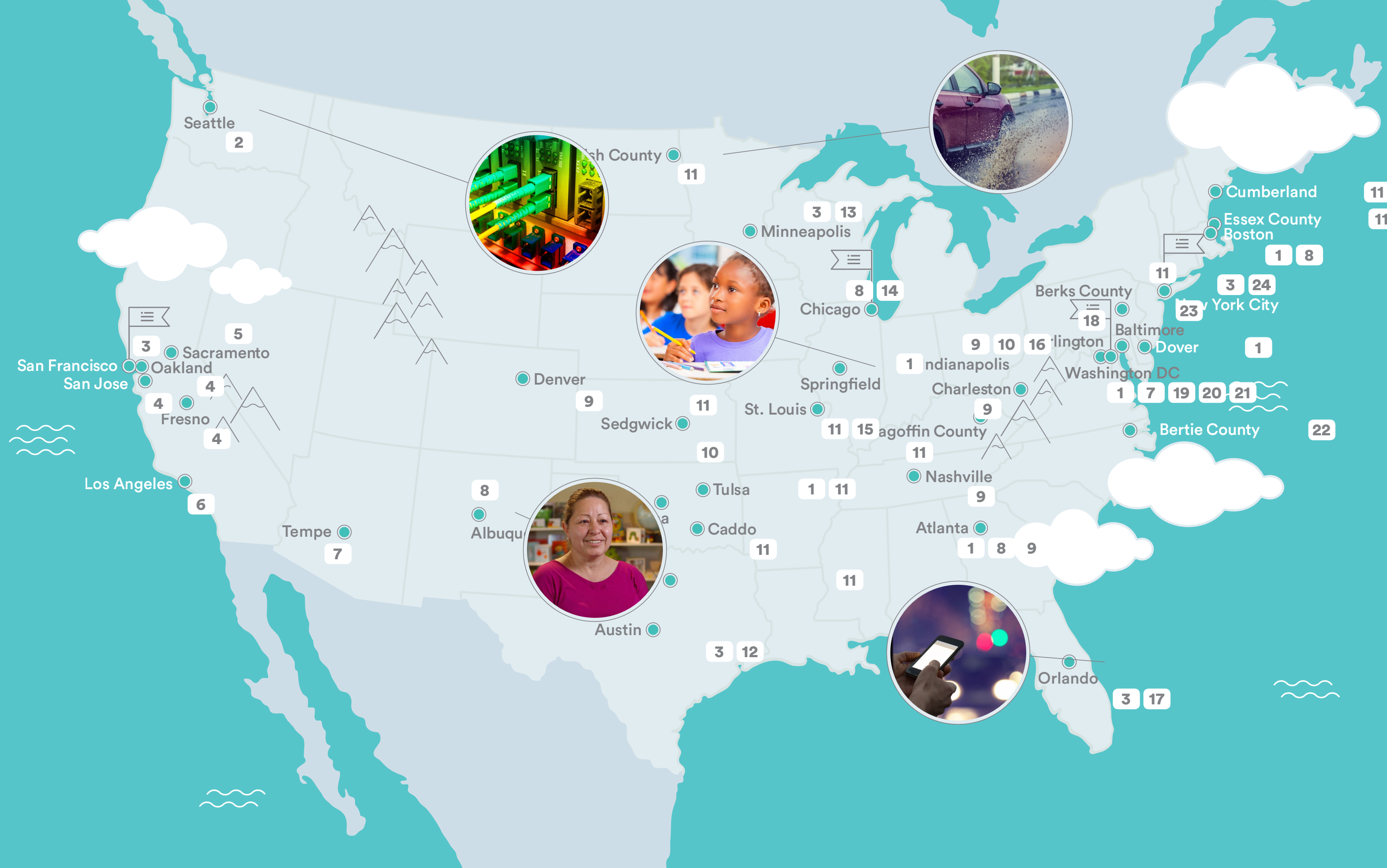
21 Building a Tech-Savvy Federal Government: TechCongress, a fellowship program incubated at the Open Technology Institute, embedded its first fellows in congressional offices working on healthcare and cybersecurity.



22 If You Build It: Our popular film screenings in 2016 included *If You Build It*, which follows two designer-activists working with high schools in North Carolina using a "build with, not for" approach to class design that elevates local voices.

23 Challenging the Unwarranted Use of Cell Site Simulators: We joined a complaint against the Baltimore Police for using cell site simulators to track phones without a warrant, and called on the FCC to require police departments to obtain a license before using these devices.

24 Developing Community-Owned Wireless Networks in New York City: We helped design and build community-owned and operated networks in six New York City neighborhoods affected by Superstorm Sandy.



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New America By the Numbers

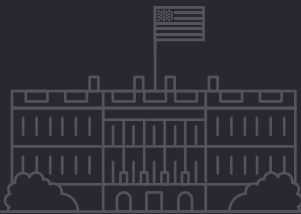
2,048
Media
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890
Published
Op-Eds

18
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News Editorials

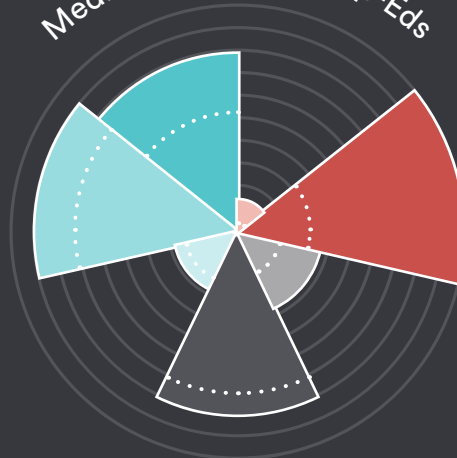
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Steps from the White House

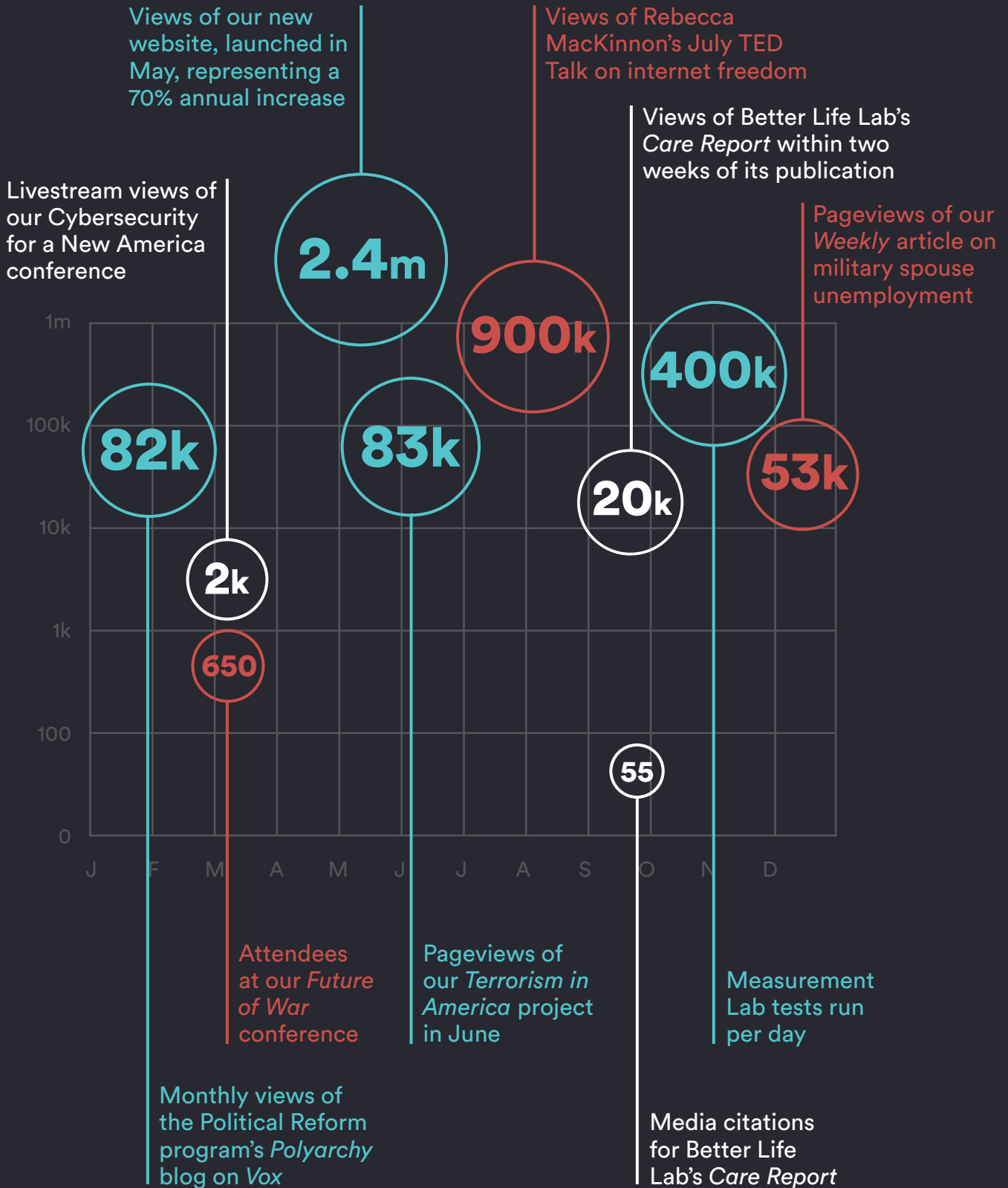


Media Citations and Op-Eds

- New York Times**
60 citations
32 op-eds & articles
- Washington Post**
83 citations
22 op-eds & articles
- Wall Street Journal**
26 citations
7 op-eds & articles



- Financial Times**
4 citations
12 op-eds & articles
- Slate**
37 citations
79 op-eds & articles
- The Atlantic**
22 citations
21 op-eds & articles
- Politico**
83 citations
11 op-eds & articles





1

Letter from the President

Anne-Marie Slaughter addresses the 2017 class of fellows and supporters at the annual welcome event. Photo: Erick Gibson

Dear friends and supporters:

We need a new America, now more than ever. The upheaval of the 2016 election continues, with Americans deeply divided and seemingly less and less capable of seeing and hearing each other as fellow citizens. We are responding to the deeper forces of technology, demography, and geography that have upended traditional ways of life in so many communities across the country. And yet from that division and those forces comes great opportunity for creativity and renewal.

New America was founded in 1999 precisely to grapple with the economic, social, and cultural upheaval that we knew the Digital Age would bring about. Digital technology makes so many things possible that have never been possible before. But it also renders many livelihoods and lifestyles obsolete. Vast wealth is created, but how should it be distributed? Virtual connection is instant and ubiquitous, but how can we restore physical connection? The people at the top have the world at their fingertips; the people at the bottom and in the disappearing middle have lost the path forward for themselves and their children. How can we restore the certainty that hard work—in school and on the job—will reap the reward of a better life?

One of our new board co-chairs, **Reihan Salam**, described New America's work as "capacity-building for democracy." His co-chair, **Jonathan Soros**, agreed, making the point that democracy depends on strong institutions—schools, businesses, civic organizations, hospitals, houses of worship, political parties, and local government—that need to be renewed and rebuilt. To build that new America, we need three crucial ingredients: new ideas, new technology, and new voices.

First, our program staff and fellows generate important new ideas, independent of ideology:

- Our Education Policy program published *Starting from Scratch*, a set of proposals to overhaul our higher education funding

system and transfer government funds to colleges and universities rather than to students. They propose that federal funding should be conditional on how well colleges have set up their recent graduates for success.

- **Lee Drutman** of our Political Reform program team makes the case for "political dynamism." He rejects the utopianism of ridding ourselves of interest and faction and argues that the cure for what ails our politics is "more politics," driven by citizen participation and political entrepreneurship.
- Our Better Life Lab is changing the frame for work and family issues by focusing on gender-neutral child care policy. In September we issued the *New America Care Report* and the Care Index—a data and methodology collaboration with Care.com which ranks states across the country on the accessibility, affordability, and quality of childcare.
- The International Security program tracks all terrorist attacks within the United States since 9/11 and demonstrates that the death toll from jihadist terrorism "has been quite similar to other forms of political—and even non-political—violence Americans face today." We need layered strategies of safety and resilience against multiple kinds of threats.
- Our extraordinary national fellows published nine books in 2016, including **Mei Fong's** heart-wrenching and eye-opening *One Child*, about China's one-child policy, **Rosa Brooks's** expert take on our constant state of war in *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*, and **Jay Newton-Small's** *Broad Influence*, which showed the transformative power of women in politics. **Lauren Redniss**, from the 2017 class, was awarded the MacArthur "Genius" grant for her innovative visual nonfiction work.

How can we restore the certainty that hard work will reap the reward of a better life?

Second, if we desire a new America with strong and flexible families, an open and secure society, and a just and educated democracy, we cannot build it with ideas and policies alone, no matter how innovative. We can best build a new America by marrying these policy ideas with new technological solutions. To this end, New America's engineers and designers are hard at work on problems like unmapped internet speeds. And through initiatives like the Open Technology Institute's (OTI) TechCongress, we're embedding technology experts into congressional offices to help fill the technical knowledge gap on the Hill and improve policymaking.

Beyond OTI, New America CA Fellow **Eric Liu** worked with the California attorney general to launch a database to collect data on police use of force across the state—the first such database in the country. CA Fellow **Marci Harris** founded POPVOX, which aims to improve civic participation through technology. And our Early and Elementary Education initiative and the Learning Technologies project have released a toolkit of free materials for parents, educators, and leaders on how to effectively integrate available technology into children's learning. More broadly, with generous support from the Ford Foundation and Reid Hoffman, we are connecting educational programs, career paths, and fellowship support for a generation of public interest technologists.

Finally, a new America must hear from and engage new voices, from all sectors of American society, across the political spectrum, and all parts of the country. To achieve this, we are actively building a New America National Network. In New America

NYC, our Resilient Communities program is engaging with New York community groups to provide guidance on how to build resilient wireless networks. New America CA is in full swing, supporting seven civic entrepreneurs doing work that resonates in California and beyond. **Dan Lurie**, a veteran of politics and community development, is building New America Chicago. Back in D.C., the Early and Elementary Education team produced reports on support for dual-language learners in Virginia, Minnesota, and New York and successful pre-K programs in Indiana and California.

At the board level, we honored **Eric Schmidt** at our annual conference for his eight years as board chair and his 15 years of board service. Reihan and Jonathan took over as co-chairs in May, representing quite different parts of the political spectrum. We also welcomed new board members **David Brooks** and **Robert Abernethy**.

Our work has never been so important. We will resist attacks on our democracy and uphold fundamental American and universal values. But we will also offer an affirmative vision of what a new America can look like and support work across the country to bring it about. Join us in building a new America. We do not have a moment to lose.

Sincerely,



Anne-Marie Slaughter
President and CEO



2

New America's National Network

In our New York office, we supported the Global Nomads Group's launch of a new virtual reality lab, which uses virtual reality to help make people better global citizens.
Photo: New America

The policy decisions made in Washington affect states and communities in deep, divergent ways. To craft good policy means understanding—and being present in—those communities.

At New America we recognize that the vast majority of the “new” America is not located in Washington, D.C., and that this means our work cannot be isolated there either. In addition to the research and writing our analysts and fellows do around the country, our teams in New York City, San Francisco, and most recently, Chicago, are dedicated not only to doing work that is relevant to their communities, but to working with people in their own communities. These are not branches or outposts of New America—they are every bit as much New America as is our office in D.C., and are vital to our vision of renewing all of America.

New America NYC has become the go-to place for reinventing policy conversations to include a larger network of problem solvers. In a diverse, creative city, to be a fixture in the policy landscape also means being a fixture in technology, sustainability, finance, and twenty-first century diplomacy.

Our Resilient Communities program, with the support of the New York City Economic Development Corporation's RISE : NYC program, has been working to codesign and build community-owned and operated wireless networks in six New York City neighborhoods that were affected by Superstorm Sandy. Our World Economic Roundtable and Innovative Finance initiative are experimenting with new ways to track the future of entrepreneurship and innovation across the nonprofit, private, and public sectors. The U.S.-Iran Initiative continues to advance facilitated

Laura Weidman Powers (left), co-founder and CEO of CODE2040 and a 2016 New America CA fellow, discusses how to achieve a more diverse tech industry at a New America event at Bloomberg Beta.
Photo: New America



dialogues between key American and Iranian stakeholders, helping to address issues like Iran's nuclear program, regional security, and larger U.S.-Iran relations.

With these programs, alongside an active, standing-room only public events series, the New York City hub has become an accelerator in New America's long-term vision of becoming a civic enterprise with local roots and national impact. We welcomed **Elana Broitman** as

the new director of New America NYC, who will bring expertise in legal and technological fields, international security, and significant New York government experience to our office.

Our San Francisco office, led by **Megan Garcia**, welcomed our first cohort of seven New America CA fellows in April. Each fellow is a California-based social entrepreneur with innovative ideas and a proven track record of addressing some of California's most difficult

The vast majority of the “new” America is not located in Washington, D.C., and our work cannot be isolated there either

Eric Liu (left) and Marci Harris participate in a workshop on personal branding and communication as part of their fellowship with New America CA. Photo: David Hughes





New America's Suzanne DiMaggio hosted the first of two historic debates with candidates for the role of United Nations Secretary General at our New York event space. Photo: Adomako Aman/New America

public problems. With a focus on storytelling, this fellowship aims to inspire new and broader audiences to get involved locally and make an impact that extends across the country.

Less than a year into the program, the CA fellows have already forged important relationships, hosted several events, and appeared in the media more than a hundred times. This summer each of the CA fellows offered personal narratives and described why their work is important in our *New America Weekly* digital magazine. In 2017 we will continue to forge new partnerships in California, and will welcome our second class of fellows.

Finally, in 2016, we were joined by **Dan Lurie**, senior fellow and director of the recently launched New America Chicago. A Chicago native and Obama administration veteran, Lurie

is exploring how the work of New America's programs and experts can support the local approaches to social problem-solving from leaders in Chicago and the Midwest. Lurie is also charged with finding new approaches for how policies at the local level can shape national policymaking—part of New America's recognition that American renewal is taking place from the bottom up.

Meet the California Fellows



Mia Birdsong
Co-Founder of
Family Story



Natalie Foster
Advisor to Aspen Institute's
Future of Work initiative



Mario Koran
Reporter for
Voice of San Diego



Eric Liu
Founder of
Bayes Impact



Marci Harris
Founder of
POPVOX



Anne Stuhldreher
Director of Financial
Justice, City and County
of San Francisco



Laura Weidman Powers
Co-Founder and CEO of
CODE2040



Learn more about our California
Fellows at newamerica.org/ca

3

Our 2016 Annual Conference

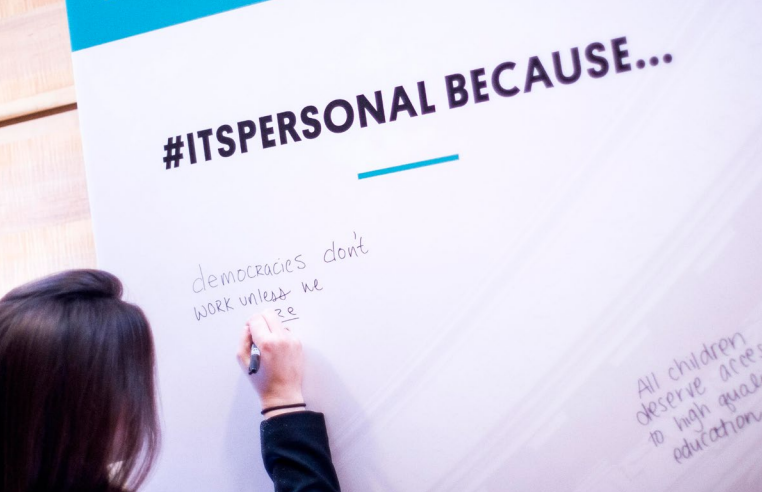
There is an unspoken social contract between America's citizens and their government, one in which business and nonprofit institutions also play their parts. The purpose is to preserve American democracy, reinforcing its support structures and connecting it to each of us. Whether or not we see it on a daily basis, the policy decisions made at the local and national levels impact our personal lives. This—the idea that policy is personal—unified New America at our 2016 annual conference.

In our two-day conference, we featured discussions about designing social policies that help families, debated the disconnect between

policy and cultural expectations, considered the role of new technologies in learning, and tried to reconcile the technological and cultural barriers to civic participation.

We also welcomed Sens. Jeff Flake (R-Ariz.) and Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) to the stage. Flake's call for immigration reform to boost economic prosperity and Warren's admonition of the gig economy for not sufficiently protecting its workers spurred discussion and debate over the two days of the conference. Warren's remarks at our conference were cited in various news outlets including the *Atlantic*, the *Hill*, and *Politico*.





Right: Speakers at New America's 2016 Annual Conference included (from top to bottom) Sen. Jeff Flake, New America board member Ashley Swearengin, Sen. Elizabeth Warren, and *New York Times* columnist Tom Friedman.

Above: New America staff discuss wireless access scenarios at the 2016 annual conference.

Photos: Gabriella Demczuk/New America





4

The Shifting Definition of Work

The SHIFT Commission, with Bloomberg Beta

As part of our efforts to reimagine America's social contract, New America and Bloomberg Beta partnered in the summer of 2016 to create SHIFT, a commission on work, workers, and technology—co-chaired by **Anne-Marie Slaughter** and head of Bloomberg Beta Roy Bahat—to examine how the evolution of work is changing society.

SHIFT commission Executive Director **Kristin Sharp** facilitated a series of scenario-planning exercises with small groups of tech and business CEOs to explore how artificial

intelligence, the on-demand economy, the aging workforce, and other technological and cultural changes will transform the way we work.

SHIFT met five times in 2016, bringing together more than 100 technology, business, social advocacy, and policy leaders to discuss these important issues, and—upon its conclusion in 2017—will release a description of the most common scenarios, as well as findings and recommendations.

Below Left: Michael Bloomberg, former mayor of New York City, joined the SHIFT Commission (led by Kristin Sharp, left) to discuss the evolution of work. Photo: Craig Warga

Below Right: Technology, business, advocacy, and policy leaders participated in scenario planning on the future of work as part of the SHIFT Commission. Photo: Craig Warga



5 Better Life Lab

At a time when all families face tough choices around how they work and live, New America's Better Life Lab reframes many gender issues as care issues, digs deeply into research and data, and tells compelling stories that enlighten, inspire, and serve as calls to action. We work towards real choices, without penalty, for people of all genders that will lead to gender parity; stable and healthy families and communities; thriving, sustainable, and innovative businesses; and the time for all people to lead richer and fuller lives.

Elevating the Conversation Around Child Care

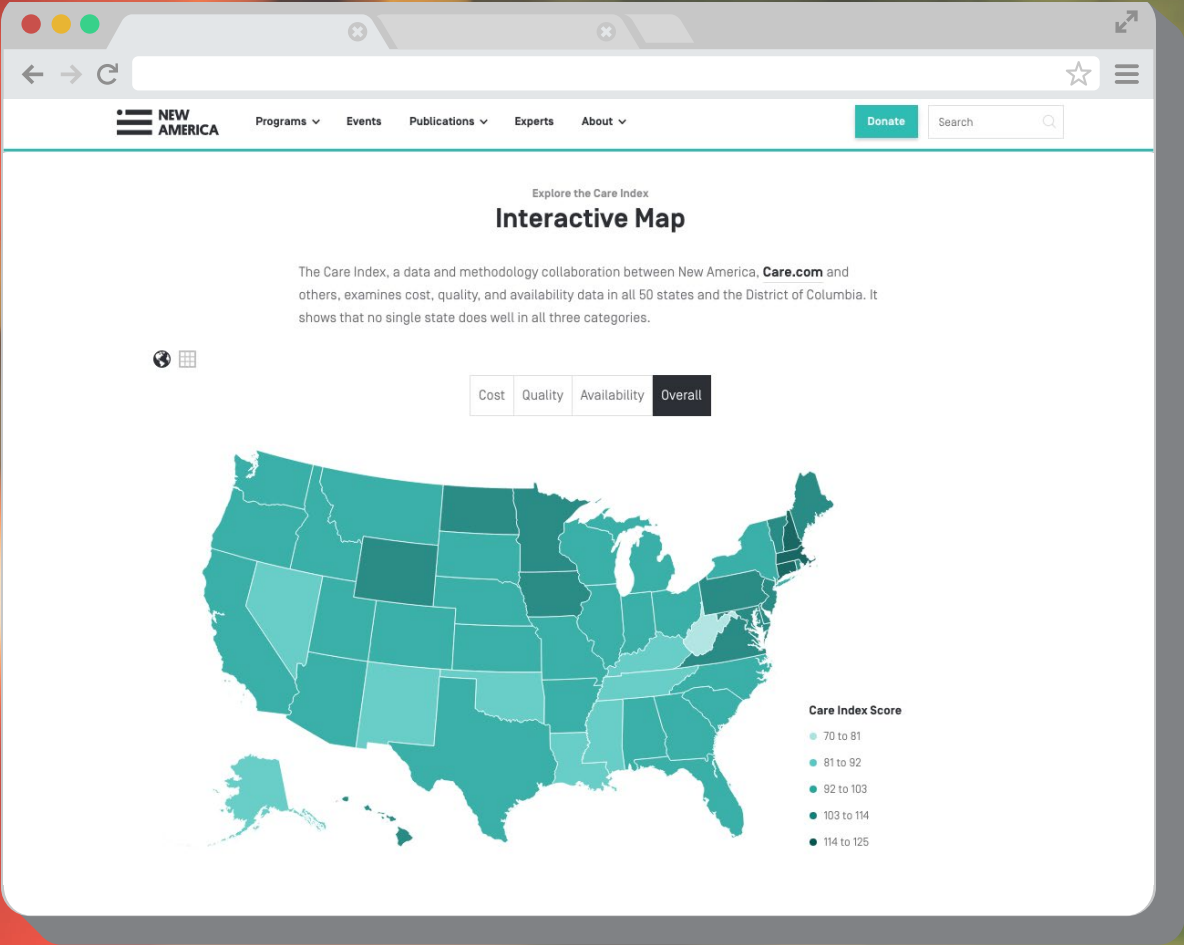
Child care can be one of a family's biggest expenses. The *New America Care Report*, released in September 2016, illuminates the gaps in caregiving across the country through compelling stories and interactive maps on the cost, quality, and availability of child care in America. The report brought to life a revealing dataset based on the Care Index—a data and methodology collaboration between New America and Care.com—which measures cost, quality, and availability of child care in every state.

The *Care Report* gained traction in public conversation in a big way, generating coverage in CNN Money, *Slate*, *Fortune*, *Time*, *Bloomberg News*, *Refinery29*, *Business Journals*, *New York Magazine*, the *Huffington Post*, NPR, the

Washington Post, the Diane Rehm Show, and many local news outlets. The *Atlantic* published on its website three stories from the report about child care in Georgia, New Mexico, and Massachusetts, written by program director **Brigid Schulte**, **Alieza Durana**, and Nan Mooney. Melinda Gates and Ivanka Trump were among many on social media to share the report. The Clinton campaign cited our cost figures on their website.

Representatives from the Trump and Clinton campaigns shared their candidates' plans for addressing child care at the report's launch event. With the media elevating the discussion, we are fostering new ideas and conversations around the critical issue of child care.

The Care Report illuminates the gaps in caregiving across the country through compelling stories and interactive maps



Explore our interactive New America Care Report map at newamerica.org/carereport



Above Left: The Better Life Lab team interviewed hundreds of families, experts, and childcare providers for the *New America Care Report*, including Stephanie Dziedzic, a working mom struggling to find affordable, quality care for her daughter Gianna. Photo: Long Story Short Media

Above Right: Sheila Lirio Marcelo (left), founder, chairwoman and CEO of Care.com, and Ai-jen Poo (right), director of the National Domestic Workers Alliance and co-director of Caring Across Generations, spoke about the immediate need to improve access to child care at the launch of the Care Index at New America. Photo: New America

Telling the Story of Unpaid Work

Through original research and journalism, the Global Gender Parity Initiative (GGPI) aims to broaden how policymakers and the general public understand unpaid work. GGPI, with Politico Focus, mapped the media consumption habits of international decision makers, and examined their understanding of gender inequality and unpaid work in the U.S. and

around the world. We found the population surveyed cited the lack of reliable data on unpaid work as a barrier to measuring its value. Project director **Elizabeth Weingarten** is also working with journalists in sub-Saharan Africa to produce stories about what happens when countries don't measure and value unpaid work in communities.

Fighting for Representation in Security

In *Not Secondary, But Central*, GGPI and the New Models of Policy Change project, housed in our Political Reform program, examined whether and how gender inclusivity shapes American national security policy. Through partnerships with the Center for a New American Security, the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, and the Texas National Security Network, our team polled the general public and elites on their views of the relationship

between gender and national security policy. The team also commissioned Politico Focus to conduct in-depth interviews to gain a deeper understanding of how policymakers perceive gender inclusion. In 2017 our team will produce content based on that research and a toolkit for the inclusive security advocacy community to explore how to maximize impact during the presidential transition period.



Above Left: Lew Daly, director of policy and research at Demos; Sanjay Reddy, associate professor of economics at The New School for Social Research; and Anu Partanen, author of *The Nordic Theory of Everything: In Search For A Better Life* discuss what we can learn from Nordic countries when it comes to being happier people. (Left to right) Photo: New America

Above Right: Aparna Mathur (left) of the American Enterprise Institute and Anu Madgavkar (right) of the McKinsey Global Institute appeared on a New America panel discussing global lessons and laws around paid leave. Photo: New America

Starting Conversations

Our events featured a wide range of organizations including McKinsey & Co., UN Women, the World Bank, the Women's Bureau, Etsy, and Pinterest, and individuals like behavioral economist Iris Bohnet, political scientists Jennifer Lawless and Danny Hayes, *Slate* editor Jessica Winter, as well as representatives of both presidential campaigns.

In New York, Better Life Lab Fellow **Katherine Zoepf** continues to host Broadly Speaking, an event series to expand our national conversation about contemporary gender dynamics and other labor and social issues. Partners have included the Royal Norwegian Consulate General, *Pacific Standard*, and the Cultural Services of the French Embassy.

Recent events have included conversations about parental leave, Advisory Council member Andrew Solomon's research on prenatal depression, universal childcare, female political leadership, and the rights of Muslim women living in the West who choose to veil. This year Zoepf authored her first book, *Excellent Daughters*, about the lives of women in the Arab world.

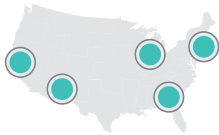
We've also started a newsletter and social media presence to build a community, awareness, and ensure that our data, research, and storytelling continues to reach our readers.

Changing the Workplace

Along with partners from a behavioral research team at Ideas42, we're examining ways to improve work-life balance and health by identifying how employer policies may negatively influence work-life balance and how to design policy changes to solve for them. Through storytelling and behavioral science, we're questioning how technology has blurred

the lines of when we are "working" and when we are not, and how additional pressures to achieve work-life balance differ depending on factors such as gender, marital status, and socioeconomic status.

Through storytelling and behavioral science, we're questioning how technology has blurred the lines of when we are "working" and when we are not



Better Life Lab on the Ground

In reporting for the *New America Care Report*, we interviewed dozens of parents and caregivers in Georgia and Illinois, visited schools and the organizers of a movement for caregiver pay in Massachusetts, and spoke with legislators, home-visiting professionals, and family child care providers in New Mexico.

We expanded our reach to the West Coast to examine issues of paid leave, the gig economy, and diverse families in California. Over the summer, we convened a lively event with startups across the Bay Area, looking at

how even small companies with even smaller budgets can make paid leave policies work. In the fall, we partnered with Pinterest and Paradigm for a roundtable on how policy could encourage sharing and collecting company workforce data to identify and prevent systemic bias. We also hosted the West Coast launch of the *New America Care Report* in November, connecting the conversation to child care innovation in California, and illuminating the way forward for building a child care infrastructure in the United States.

6 Bretton Woods II

Bretton Woods II, led by **Tomicaah Tillemann**, is working to revolutionize social finance, driven by the belief that large, long-term asset holders—a group that collectively holds over \$25 trillion—have a financial stake in advancing solutions to major global challenges. We develop tools and policy solutions that help asset allocators channel resources toward investments that encourage social stability and better governance. In doing so, they can help create a landscape that will generate better risk-adjusted returns.

Mobilizing a Trillion Dollars

As part of our outreach to asset owners and policymakers, we partnered with the U.S. Department of State to create the Trillion Dollar Challenge, a public-private partnership working to mobilize the assets of institutional investors in alignment with the principles of Bretton Woods II. We also jointly developed a toolkit that will enable ambassadors around the world to host events and advance policies that increase capital flows toward the UN Sustainable Development Goals. A team of leading minds from the private sector, government, and civil society developed the challenge—the first step in fully operationalizing our impact model.

Former Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken formally launched the Trillion Dollar Challenge on the margins of the UN General Assembly at the 2016 Concordia Summit, which convened over 2,000 attendees and 300 speakers. Following the launch, the *Boston Globe's* lead editorial endorsed the Bretton Woods II program and highlighted research showing that, on average, companies prioritizing investments that deliver social, environmental, and governance benefits tend to outperform their peers.

Companies prioritizing investments that deliver social, environmental, and governance benefits tend to outperform their peers

We joined the National Democratic Institute and the Bitfury Group to launch the first-ever accelerator for advancing social impact through the use of blockchain technology

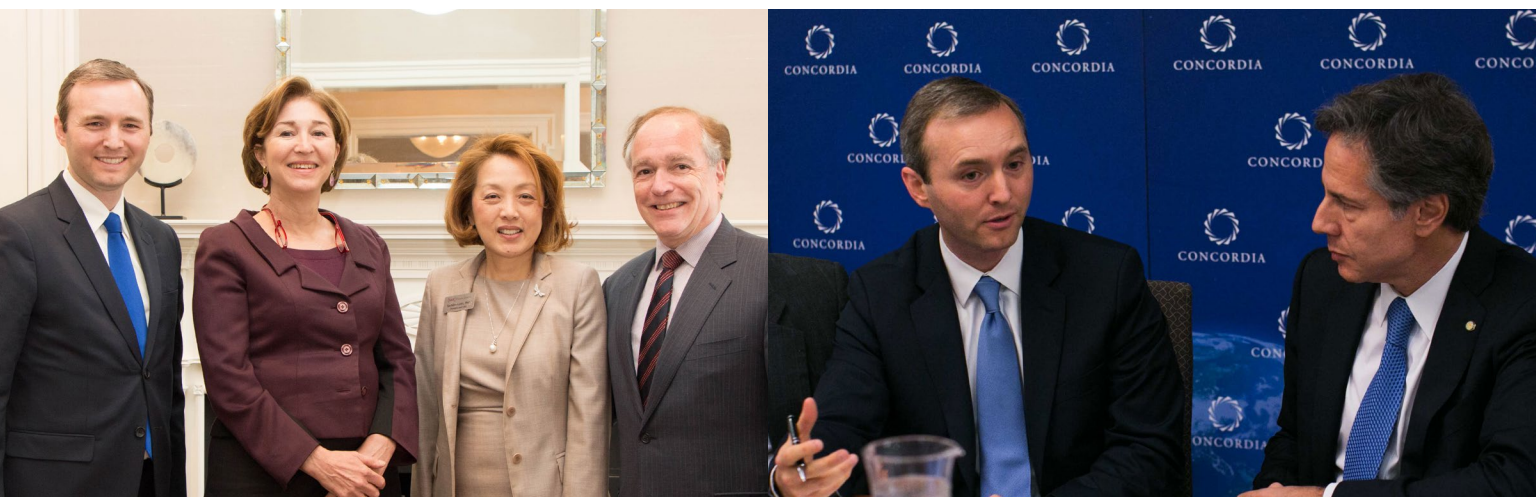
Unlocking the Potential of Blockchain

Too often, poor governance and corruption limit the effectiveness of investments in sustainable development or keep capital on the sidelines altogether. To address this challenge, we joined the National Democratic Institute and the Bitfury Group—the world's leading full-service blockchain company—to launch the first-ever accelerator for advancing social impact through the use of blockchain technology. The Blockchain Trust Accelerator is working with public servants, technologists, donors, and civil society organizations to deploy blockchain-based pilot projects that address social and governance challenges.

The accelerator's current pilot projects include the creation and deployment of property registries, voting systems, and government reform initiatives. Its work has been highlighted by *Forbes*, CNBC, and Bloomberg. In September, we hosted former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and technology leaders in San Francisco for a discussion on how blockchain can help strengthen democracy and combat corruption.

Below Left: Tomicah Tillemann, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Sachiko Kuno of S&R Foundation, and J. Peter Segall of Edelman at an event with the Embassy of Singapore, about Bretton Woods II's proposal of a new business model for social finance. (Left to right) Photo: New America

Below Right: Tomicah Tillemann (left) speaks with Former Deputy Secretary of State Antony Blinken (right) at a meeting about innovative finance at the 2016 Concordia Summit. Photo: QuynDuong



7 Cybersecurity Initiative

The internet has connected us, but the debates that surround the security of our networks are too often disjointed or inaccessible. The Cybersecurity Initiative, led by **Ian Wallace** and **Ross Schulman**, looks at issues from fresh perspectives, emphasizes cross-disciplinary collaboration, commits to quality research and events, and seeks to promote diversity in all its guises.

Elevating New Voices

Our inaugural national cybersecurity fellowship drew to a successful close this summer, with fellows producing policy papers on cybersecurity topics including artificial intelligence, ethics, and the Internet of Things. Simultaneously, we recruited for and began a second year of the fellowship, continuing the practice of bridging the gap between technologists and policy analysts with high quality, multi-disciplinary research. We focus

on elevating new voices that otherwise might go unheard by bringing experts with a diverse range of experiences to the cybersecurity policy conversation. Our team members focus on subjects ranging from protection of industrial control systems to mitigating the risk of cybersecurity breaches in small businesses to assessing Chinese cyber governance.

Below Left: Dave Weinstein is a Cybersecurity Initiative fellow and chief technology officer of New Jersey. Photo: New America

Below Right: Katie Moussouris, a fellow with the Cybersecurity Initiative, speaks at the 2016 Cybersecurity for a New America conference. Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New America

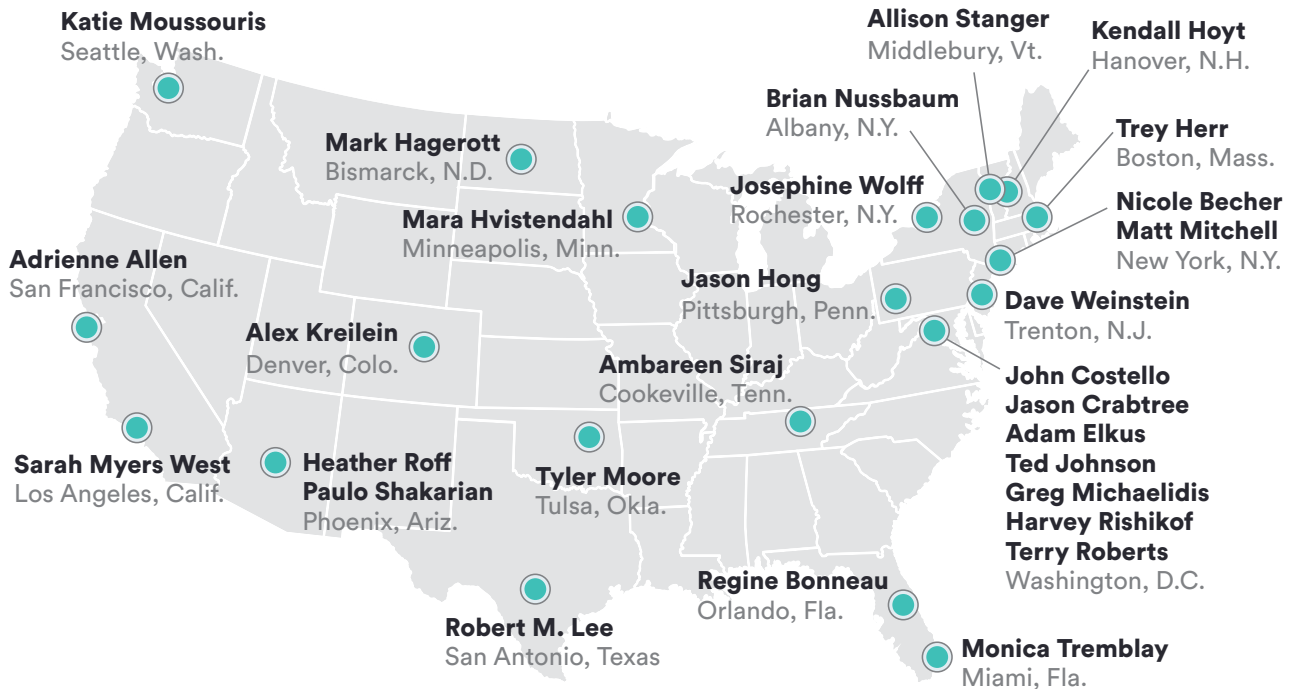


Cybersecurity Initiative on the Ground

Foreign threats and the federal government's responses dominate cybersecurity headlines, so it is easy to forget that the evolving cybersecurity threat ecosystem has broader implications around the country. State and local entities play crucial roles in cyber-securing the nation in ways that are still poorly understood. Together with New America's National Network efforts, we've set out to illuminate

this policy space. In 2017, the Cybersecurity Initiative plans to publish a book explaining cybersecurity policy from the state and local level. To inform our forthcoming work, we've conducted dozens of in-depth interviews with key actors situated within state and local governments and in the private sector, and have travelled around the country to observe trends that impact cybersecurity.

Mapping our Cybersecurity Initiative Fellows



Bridging Physical and Digital Lives

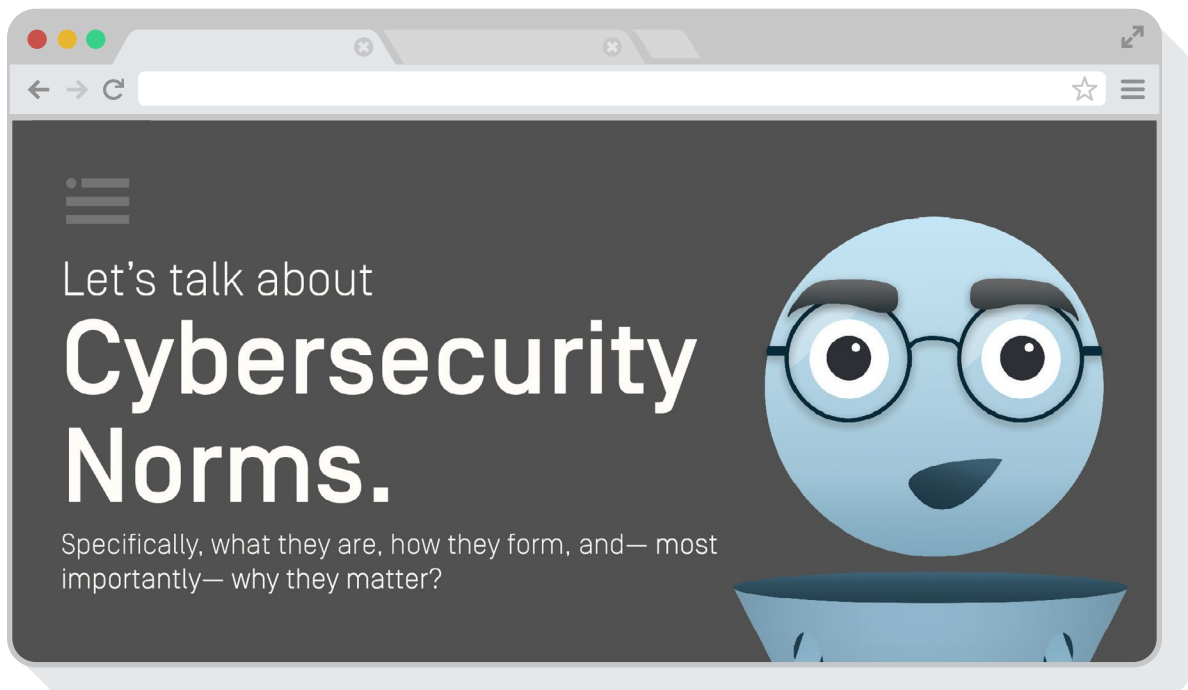
Born out of our work on gender diversity in cybersecurity, we launched Humans of Cybersecurity, a project that emphasizes and engages with the broad range of individuals in the cybersecurity workforce. We foster strategic partnerships with industry leaders, produce cutting-edge workforce research, and

champion diverse voices on cybersecurity in media. As a central component of this work, we created the #HumansofCybersecurity tag on Medium, where we feature stories of the people and ideas that are changing our digital lives and how we think about the human face of cybersecurity.

Communicating by Cartoon

In 2016 we released the first two editions of the *Professor Cy Burr's Graphic Guide to Cybersecurity* series. The illustrated comics are a collaboration between Cybersecurity fellow **Dan Ward** and policy analyst **Robert Morgus**, with graphic design by Breck Wills and Hannah

White. The graphic guides communicate pressing cybersecurity policy ideas and issues in a fun, engaging way, with the first two editions tackling simplicity in cybersecurity and international cyber norms.



Read Prof. Cy Burr's Graphic Guide to International Cyber Norms at newamerica.org/cybernorns

8 Education Policy

The American education system has failed too many of our country's young people—turning them off learning, leaving them with a deficit of skills, and burdening them with debt. Disparities fester and diversity is seen as a challenge instead of an opportunity. New America's Education Policy program is dedicated to solving these problems with an eye toward equity, openness, and innovation, from early learning to primary and secondary education, college, and the workforce.

Transforming The Role of Early Educators

New America's Early and Elementary Education Policy team, led by director **Laura Bornfreund**, focuses on access to high quality early learning from birth through third grade. We launched a blog series on *Stronger Teaching and Caregiving for California's Youngest*, which debuted with profiles of three California communities—Fresno, Oakland, and a school district in East San Jose—that are working to provide stronger teaching and caregiving in the state by 2025. Our *EdCentral* blog ran monthly articles about collaboration between family child care providers and the school districts, plus improvements in teaching for dual language learners.

Until recently, principals have been largely overlooked, with most attention focused on improving teacher quality. In a series of briefs, *Principal's Corner: Perspectives on Teaching and Learning in PreK-3rd Grade*, we conducted focus groups of elementary school principals in five U.S. cities to explore their role as leaders in early education. We found that while principals recognized Pre-K and the early grades are important, they lacked the tools needed to promote high-quality teaching during these years.

Embracing Bilingual Learning

New America's Dual Language Learners National Work Group focuses on how to improve outcomes for dual language learners (DLLs), children from birth through age eight who begin learning English while still developing proficiency in their native languages. For this group of children, the national shortage of multilingual teachers poses a major problem. Multilingual paraprofessionals can help fill the gap, but

they must surmount financial, academic, bureaucratic, and linguistic obstacles to becoming certified. In June, we published a policy brief, *Multilingual Paraprofessionals: An Untapped Resource for Supporting American Pluralism*, explaining these challenges while examining existing research on paraprofessionals. Our report was discussed as part of a White House Domestic Policy Council meeting on DLLs in Miami the same month.



Above Left: The Education Policy program's Shayna Cook, Laura Bornfreund, and Abbie Lieberman at the 2016 New America Annual Conference. (Left to right) Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New America

Above Right: Lisa Guernsey introduces a panel on the next social contract in education at the 2016 New America Annual Conference. Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New America

The work group, led by **Conor P. Williams**, also published three policy papers based on on-the-ground reporting—highlighting recent policies for DLLs in New York state, Minnesota, and Harrisonburg, Va. And as part of a new content

sharing agreement with Univision, some of our op-eds and blogs are now cross-posted on Univision.com with translation of some pieces into Spanish for wider dissemination.

Harnessing Technology to Promote Equity, Family Connections, and Open Resources

Through digital media and the internet, there are more opportunities than ever before for learning. Yet too often, publicly funded information is impossible to access. In a new report, *The Case for Open Use Policies: Realizing the Full Value of Publicly Funded Information*, our Learning Technologies project explained how to move the federal government toward stronger open use policies. These policies would allow people to download, copy, keep, analyze, or reuse information produced by the federal government and information produced with federal funds.

Digital media also enables families of young children to connect to resources in new ways. Our team began to document how and where these new tools were being used by launching the Integrating Technology in Early Literacy map, a new data visualization tool, which was later featured in *American Educator*, *School*

Library Journal, and *EdWeek*. In August 2016, in partnership with the Joan Ganz Cooney Center at Sesame Workshop, we hosted a two-day summit, “Language Development and Family Engagement in the Digital Age,” bringing together innovators from across the country.

The book *Tap, Click, Read: Growing Readers in a World of Screens*, by Education Policy program deputy director **Lisa Guernsey** and Michael Levine, was expanded into an interactive website at tapclickread.org. It now features five mini-documentary videos and 14 free downloadable resources for educators, family engagement specialists, and community leaders like mayors and school board members. Events in Chicago, Pittsburgh, and Silicon Valley promoted the new website and engaged community leaders in applying lessons in their local schools and libraries.

Making Higher Education More Accessible and Effective

In February 2016, New America's Higher Education team, directed by **Amy Laitinen**, published a paper on how to fix the broken funding relationship between the federal government and states in higher education. In *Starting from Scratch: A New Federal and State Partnership in Higher Education* we recommended scrapping the current model and creating a new federal and state partnership that would produce more affordable, socioeconomically diverse college campuses—rewarding schools that keep tuition affordable for low-income students with more funding, not less. The team hosted a debate-style event on whether additional federal funds for higher education should flow directly to students or through states to colleges. The debate was broadcast on C-SPAN and members of our team were invited by bipartisan Senate HELP Committee staff, as well as the National Governors Association, to talk about the ideas in the report.

In March 2016, we published *Undermining Pell Volume III: The News Keeps Getting Worse for Low-Income Students*, looking at low-income students at more than 1,400 four-year colleges. The report examines U.S. Department of

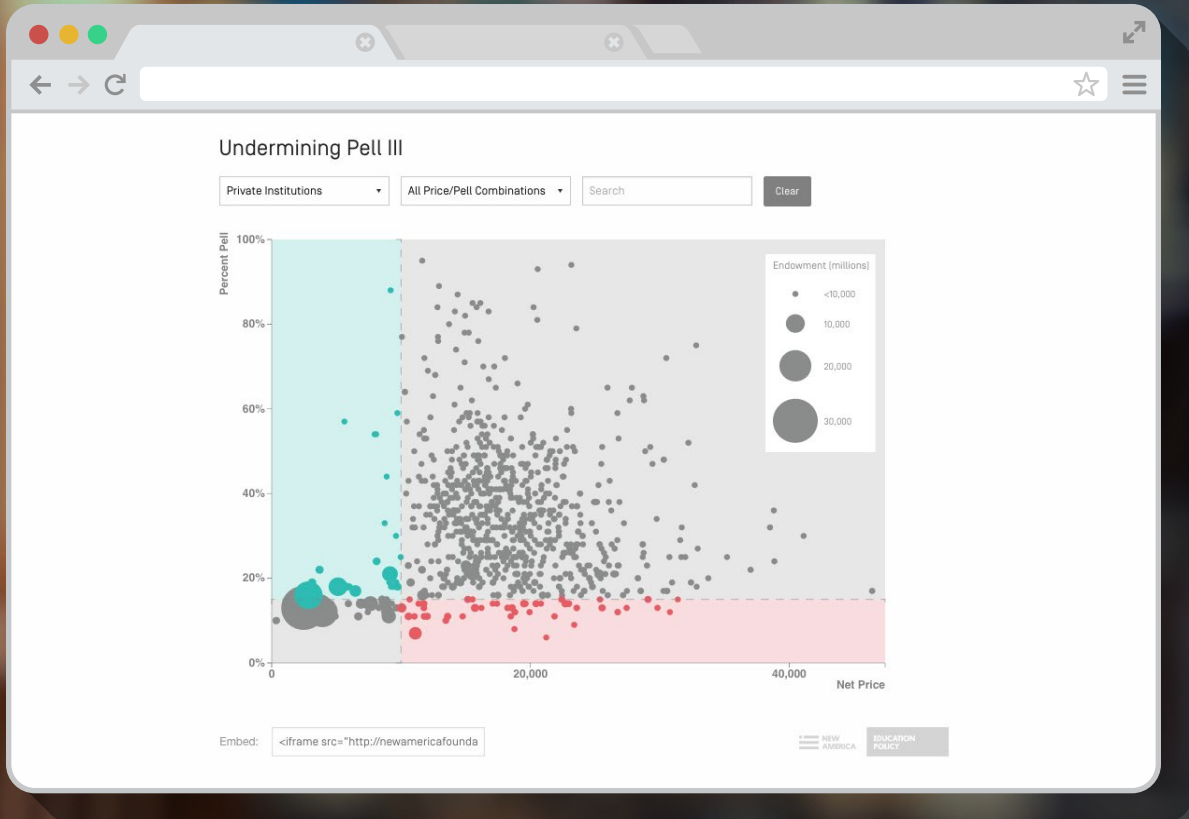
Education data showing how much money students and their families have to pay for college after all grant and scholarship aid is deducted from the listed price. We found that colleges are increasingly using financial aid to recruit wealthy students, and our findings were covered in the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, *ProPublica*, and other news outlets.


In a blog series, *Fix Free College*, we looked at the Clinton campaign's higher education proposal for free tuition at the nation's public colleges and universities for families earning under a set income. We explored how a well-designed plan could increase access and affordability for students while a poorly designed plan could lead to ballooning costs, restricted access to low-income students, and a decrease in quality and diversity. Another series, *More Than Tuition*, explored some of the key questions and concerns associated with calculating cost of attendance, which measures the total education and living expenses for a student at a particular college or university. Work from this series was cited in the *New York Times*, culminating in a well-attended interactive panel event and multiple speaking engagements.

Exposing Abuse at For-Profit Colleges

This year ITT, one of the nation's largest publicly traded for-profit higher education companies, collapsed as a result of the type of recruiting abuses that Senior Policy Analyst **Stephen Burd** has exposed in his years covering this lucrative and controversial

industry. Burd's investigative reporting over the past decade helped pave the way for a Senate investigation of the for-profit higher education industry and the Obama administration's efforts to rein in the sector.



 Explore our Undermining Pell interactive data visualization at www.newamerica.org/underminingpell



Above Left: David Leonhardt, columnist for the *New York Times*, moderates a discussion on next generation universities with Hilary Pennington from the Ford Foundation, Tina Gridiron from Lumina Foundation, Alison Griffin from USA Funds, and Kevin Carey, New America’s director of Education Policy. Photo: New America.

Above Right: Paul Glastris, Editor in Chief at *Washington Monthly*, Bridget Burns, Executive Director for the University Innovation Alliance, Amy Laitinen, director for Higher Education at New America, and Charles Isbell, Professor and Senior Associate Dean at the Georgia Institute of Technology, discuss higher education innovation.

A New Look at Teacher Quality and College-Ready Tests

Too many education debates focus only on rating a teacher’s current abilities, with little attention on how to help teachers improve. Our PreK-12 team, led by **Elena Silva**, published *Beyond Ratings: Re-envisioning State Teacher Evaluation Systems as Tools for Professional Growth* which shows how teacher development is missing from the narrative on teacher evaluation and illustrates what states are currently doing to help local education agencies better connect evaluation with systems that support teachers’ improvement. In *No Panacea: Diagnosing What Ails Teacher Professional Development Before Reaching for Remedies*, we identified what prevents teachers’ professional development from reaching its full potential. Findings from the reports were mentioned in the *Atlantic*, *LA*

School Report, and *Pacific Standard*, and were called upon as resources during several state-level educator quality workgroups in 2016.

Another measure of quality is college-readiness. Every year, students across the country are finding that they fail to meet minimum requirements. Our data visualization project, *Mapping College Ready Policies 2015-16*, tracked how postsecondary transition policies do—or do not—align with “college ready” expectations in the states. More often than not, the array of assessments and varying prerequisite coursework leads to unnecessary confusion—and to nearly a third of all students needing to enroll in remedial classes upon arrival to campus.

Using Data at the College Level

Predictive analytics, the use of historic data to predict trends and behavior patterns, is a growing practice in higher education. In *The Promise and Peril of Predictive Analytics in*

Higher Education: A Landscape Analysis we described how predictive analytics are used in higher education to identify students who need extra support, steer students into courses they



Above Left: Mary Alice McCarthy, Cassius Johnson of Year Up, Angela Hanks of the Center for American Progress, Thaddeus Ferber of the Forum for Youth Investment, and Crystal Bridgeman of the Siemens Foundation discuss strategies to help young adults build skills through apprenticeships. Photo: New America

Above Right: New America Fellow and *New York Times* staff writer Nikole Hannah-Jones (center) joins Education Policy’s Ruby Takanishi (left) and author Dana Goldstein (right) in New York to talk about school segregation. Photo: New America

would do well in, and provide digital tools that can personalize the learning process. We also outlined ethical concerns in using data to make predictions and its impact on underrepresented students. Our ideas were featured on NPR and in various media outlets including *Inside Higher Ed*, *EdSurge*, and *Business Insider* and will be featured at SXSWedu’s 2017 annual festival.

In 2008, the private higher education lobby convinced Congress to ban the creation of a federal student data system, depriving the public and policymakers of information about

which schools are doing the best job serving students. Our brief, *Is Stitching State Data Systems the Solution to the College Blackout?* explored the idea of “stitching together” state-based federal data systems to shed light on national college outcomes. We continue to be seen as the leading proponents of and experts on a federal student unit record system, and over the past year have been consulted by congressional offices of both parties about this issue as well as by the trade and political press, including *Politico*, *Roll Call*, *CQ*, *Inside Higher Ed*, and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Overcoming the Credentialing Trap

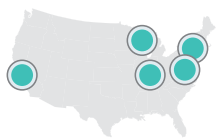
For two years the Center on Education and Skills at New America (CESNA) has worked to demystify the role of credentials in higher education and our labor markets. Through blog posts and speeches at organizations like the National Governor’s Association, the Heldrich Center on Workforce Development, the Association of Career and Technical Education, the National Association of State Directors of Career and Technical Education consortium, the Atlantic Council, and others, CESNA, under the leadership of **Mary Alice McCarthy**, has built awareness of how credentialing policies hinder stronger connections between learning and the labor market.

In an effort to restore year-round Pell Grants, we advised lawmakers working on the reauthorization of the Perkins Career and Technical Education Improvement Act. Year-round Pell could pay for students’ bills in the summer and at other non-college-times, encouraging participation in youth apprenticeship in American high schools. Our work and research has been featured on Marketplace and cited in *Forbes*, the *Hill* and *Inside Higher Ed*.

First Things First: Creating the New American Primary School

In August 2016, Early and Elementary Education Fellow **Ruby Takanishi** published *First Things First! Creating the New American Primary School*. The book calls for a different way of organizing the American primary school, starting with pre-K. Takanishi's book launch at New America's D.C. office was followed

by a panel discussion at New America NYC featuring former New America fellow and best-selling author Dana Goldstein and current Fellow **Nikole Hannah-Jones**.



Education Policy on the Ground

New York

The DLL National Work Group published *From Blueprint to Building: Lifting the Torch for Multilingual Students in New York State*. The paper, the first of a series of three, has been widely shared among New York policymakers and was recently included in Board of Regents testimony before the New York State Assembly.

Minnesota

The DLL National Work Group's second report, *Pluralism on the Prairie: Helping Minnesota's Dual Language Learners Leap Forward*, dissects how the state's reforms—among the most comprehensive, research-based, and forward-thinking in the United States—have not been so effective due to only partial implementation.

Virginia

The final report, *A Critical Mass: Creating Comprehensive Services for Dual Language Learners in Harrisonburg*, offers lessons from the city's programs and supports for a student

population that has more than tripled in the last decade. And as enrollment numbers for dual language learners grow at above-average rates across the southeast, the report offers a clear pathway to success for these students in surrounding states and communities.

California

We launched a series of profiles and blog posts, centered around Fresno, Oakland, and San Jose, as part of a new initiative to encourage stronger teaching and caregiving for young children over the next 10 years.

Indiana

The state of Indiana has slowly begun to build pre-K offerings by investing in pilot programs in a handful of counties. Our brief, *Slowly But Surely: How Indiana is Building a Pre-K Program*, discusses the evolution of early learning in the state and makes recommendations on how state leaders should improve and expand on what they have begun.

9 Family-Centered Social Policy

Family-Centered Social Policy (FCSP) is a cross-programmatic effort to create a more equitable, inclusive, and cohesive system of social policies by placing the families most underserved by our existing approach at the center of the policy discourse and policy design.

Envisioning a New Social Policy

Over two years, the Family-Centered Social Policy Initiative, co-directed by **Rachel Black** and **Laura Bornfreund**, has investigated the failure of social policy to deliver on our country's promise of equality of opportunity for all members of society. We took a hard

look at how policy affects all types of families, not just nuclear, two-parent households or those already advantaged by higher levels of education, income security, and accumulated wealth. We audited policies in financial security, education, child care, and workforce



FCSP Policy Director Justin King and co-Directors Rachel Black and Laura Bornfreund discuss with an event attendee ways that California could elevate representation of a broader set of families. (Left to right) Photo: Christopher Howard

development, and consulted with policymakers at federal and municipal levels, community-based service organizations, families on the receiving ends of these policies, and other stakeholders. Our findings were distressing: Social policy does not disrupt patterns of economic and social inequity—it replicates them. As a result, we have separate and unequal sets of social policies that amplify advantage and disadvantage, enabling the transmission of inequity from generation to generation within a family.

In May 2016, our paper *Designed to Thrive* proposed a new model that applies human-

centered design to social policy. This process puts families marginalized by our current approach at the center of policy design, using considerations of what would work best for them to construct a policy that serves everyone. The outcomes of these families provide essential feedback on the effectiveness of the policy design, and signal when changes are needed to improve performance. As a result, policies using this framework affirm the universal dignity and value of all families, rather than sort different families into different tiers of support based on arbitrary ideas of “deserving” and “undeserving.”

Debunking the “Welfare Queen” Myth

An article adapted from our paper *Inclusion by Design*, about how our framework could be applied to welfare policy, was published in the *Atlantic*. “The ‘Welfare Queen’ is a Lie,” showed how the stereotypes personified in the “welfare

queen” myth represent decades of racial bias. This harmful myth continues to be more dominant in the minds of policymakers and the public than the reality of the families touched by these policies.



Family-Centered Social Policy on the Ground

Our work has helped spark the development of a new wave of state-based efforts to promote retirement savings among workers excluded from the employer-based system of pensions and 401(k) plans. In 2007, we proposed that California adopt a system of portable retirement accounts called “Golden Dream Accounts.” After years of engagement and

support with our team, California Governor Jerry Brown signed an updated version of that plan, now called California Secure Choice, into law in September 2016. California will now begin implementing a plan to automatically offer retirement savings accounts to nearly seven million working Californians.

California Governor Jerry Brown signed an updated version of our plan into law, to automatically offer retirement savings accounts to nearly seven million Californians

10 Fellows

Excellence and originality in public policy analysis are difficult to achieve. New America's Fellows Program finds talented journalists, scholars, analysts, and storytellers and helps them do their best work with financial support and a challenging intellectual environment. Our aim is immediate policy impact as well as the creation of books and other major works that attract large audiences and stand the test of time.

We help academics write persuasively for the public and help journalists transcend the news of the day. We bring in documentary

filmmakers, photographers, novelists, and others working in forms that diverge from the traditional think-tank formula, which allows us to express new ideas and reach new audiences.

In 2016, New America named 23 new fellows. They are at various stages in their careers. Some are writing their first books. Others are well-established in their careers, like **George Packer**, who is writing his eighth book, and has already won the National Book Award. At any given time we have about 40 individuals affiliated with the Fellows Program.

The 2017 class of New America Fellows. Photo: Erick Gibson



Books Released in 2016

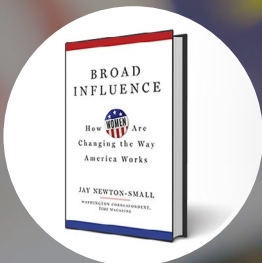


Find out more about our fellows' books at newamerica.org/fellows/books



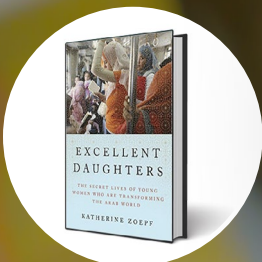
One Child by Mei Fong (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, January 2016)

As China ended its one-child policy after more than three decades, **Mei Fong** documented the effects it had on Chinese society. *One Child* explored crucial questions for China's future: whether the policy has made an entitled or risk-averse generation; how the country will support itself when one in four are over 65 years old; and how much the policy will hinder China's future growth. The *New York Review of Books* called *One Child* "searing, important, and eminently readable."



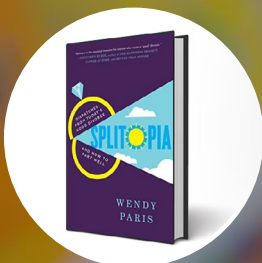
Broad Influence by Jay Newton-Small (Time, January 2016)

In an important year for women in politics, *Broad Influence* showed readers how women have been transforming government, politics, and the workforce. **Jay Newton-Small's** interviews with female leaders from both sides of the aisle, including Nancy Pelosi, Valerie Jarrett, and Cathy McMorris Rodgers, demonstrated how women in government work to effect change. *Kirkus Reviews* said *Broad Influence* is a "thoughtful, often inspiring debut book."



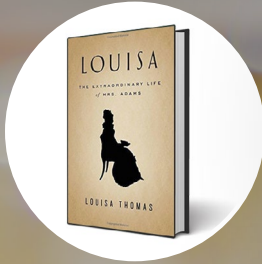
Excellent Daughters by Katherine Zoepf (Penguin Press, January 2016)

Excellent Daughters brought readers a new understanding of how Arab societies are changing, with special emphasis on the evolving role of women. From the Arab Spring to driving protests in Saudi Arabia, **Katherine Zoepf** told the stories of women at the forefront of change in the Middle East. The *New York Times Book Review* described the book as "shocking and moving," and praised Zoepf's "open and inquisitive mind."



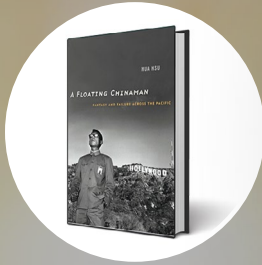
Splitopia by Wendy Paris (Atria Books, March 2016)

Splitopia explored the concept of the "good divorce" through the personal experience of author **Wendy Paris** and in-depth research and interviews. The book urged readers to look at marriage and divorce in a new way, supporting loving families over legal status.



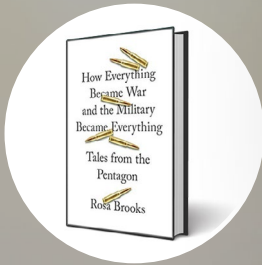
Louisa by Louisa Thomas (Penguin Press, April 2016)

In this intimate biography of Louisa Catherine Adams, wife of John Quincy Adams, **Louisa Thomas** presented the story of the critical role Louisa Adams played in the success of the sixth U.S. president, along with the role of statecraft and personal geopolitics during a pivotal time in American history. The *New York Times Book Review* said the book “manages the difficult balance of exploring [Louisa Adams’s] life as the partner of a prominent public man without letting him hijack the narrative.”



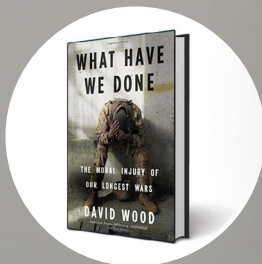
A Floating Chinaman by Hua Hsu (Harvard University Press, June 2016)

A Floating Chinaman recounted the rivalries of a group of writers in 20th century America, all vying for the title of leading China expert. **Hua Hsu** told the story of H. T. Tsiang, an eccentric Chinese immigrant who wrote skeptically about U.S.-China relations. The *New York Times* called *A Floating Chinaman* a “smart new book” that “illustrate[s] the ‘trans-Pacific imagination’ that has united, and divided, China and the United States.”



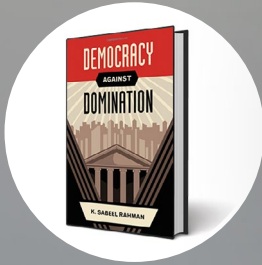
How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything by Rosa Brooks (Simon and Schuster, August 2016)

As war evolves to a near constant condition, the U.S. military has undertaken new responsibilities and roles. **Rosa Brooks** explained this shift, and warned of potential consequences to American values, laws, and institutions, as well as to international rules and organizations in *How Everything Became War and the Military Became Everything*. The *New York Times* described the book as “a dynamic work of reportage, punctuated by savory details... It delights.”



What Have We Done by David Wood (Little Brown and Company, November 2016)

As Americans pay more attention to PTSD among combat veterans of modern wars, **David Wood's** *What Have We Done* examined a lesser-known but more common affliction: moral injury. *Kirkus Reviews* described the book as “a wide-ranging study of the moral costs of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq” and “a welcome contribution to the field.”



Democracy Against Domination by K. Sabeel Rahman (Oxford University Press, November 2016)

Democracy Against Domination presented an alternative method for governing the economy that counteracts corporate domination and expands citizen participation. Drawing from the experience of the Great Recession, **K. Sabeel Rahman** argued for progressive economic policy and institutional reforms that would make the economy more equitable and accountable.

Advancing New Ideas and New Voices

In the past year, our fellows published hundreds of articles and op-eds in major national and international media, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, the *Guardian*, *New Yorker*, *New York Magazine*, CNN, the *Atlantic*, *Time*, *Foreign Policy*, *Slate*, *Bloomberg News*, and numerous other outlets. In the *Washington Post*, **Souad Mekhennet** has written numerous articles showing Americans what life is like under ISIS, from the perspective of people who have lived it. **Tim Shenk** wrote about Donald Trump's intellectual history for the *Guardian's* "Long Reads." **Joshua Yaffa** wrote for the *New Yorker* on the promise, hope and failure of political reform in Ukraine.

After being named a New America fellow, **Lauren Redniss** was awarded a MacArthur "Genius" grant for her innovative work which, in the MacArthur Foundation's words, seamlessly integrates "artwork, written text, and design elements in works of visual nonfiction." And **Nikole Hannah-Jones** continued her sharp, poignant writing in the *New York Times* on race, school segregation, and the difficult conversations we must have with each other on these topics as Americans.

Our fellows published nine books in 2016, on subjects including China's one child policy, women's role in the Arab spring, Chinese-American identity in the early twentieth century, the changing roles of America's military, a biography of Louisa Adams, the wife of John Quincy Adams, and an analysis of how women are changing American politics and public life.

Some of these books will not change policy overnight. Others have a more immediate impact. But all of them will shape policy and public opinion over the longer term. In an era when book publishers are giving smaller advances, academics are pressured to silo their work from their peers, newspapers and magazines have fewer and fewer resources for in-depth projects, the public still has a desperate need for accessible and entertaining works that synthesize and explain the complexity of the world. The Fellows Program meets this need, helping to fill a gap in American public life.

Below Left: Trymaine Lee, a 2016 fellow, speaks about the true costs of gun violence in the United States at New America's annual conference. Photos: Gabriella Demczuk/New America

Below Right: Fellows program director Peter Bergen at a gathering of 2017 New America fellows. Photo: Erick Gibson.



11 Future Tense

Future Tense, the “Citizen’s Guide to the Future,” is a partnership between New America, Arizona State University, and *Slate* magazine. Via regular live events and a channel on *Slate*, we help the public chart a course through our fast-changing technological climate, connecting policymakers and ordinary citizens with experts and academics.

Future Tense launched 2016 with Futurography, a series of month-long courses on critical topics in emerging technology. Starting in January with geoen지니어ing, we have since looked into cyberwar, self-driving cars, nanotechnology, and more. We cap each month with a quiz and a survey, giving readers a reason to engage with the full series. With this project, we seek to go beyond breaking news, giving readers access to the insights of experts and scholars in each of these fields—and the resources to participate in the conversation. Futurography will continue in 2017, with courses on cybercrime self-defense, the new space race, and other topics.

Future Tense also published on a wide range of other issues in 2016 through our *Slate* channel, which featured articles about everything from video game history to aviation technology, receiving more than 2.4 million pageviews a month. We’ve discussed the entanglement of social media platforms with electoral politics, cybersecurity best practices, and encryption debates—all while helping our readers make sense of DDoS attacks and data leaks as they’re happening. Our 22 events in New York City and Washington, D.C. this year included book talks with Fred Kaplan and Oliver Morton and film screenings with former New America board member Francis Fukuyama and U.S. Surgeon General Vivek Murthy. We organized debates on whether technology would make ownership “obsolete” and engaged with timely topics such as whether we can genetically engineer away Zika. We plan to further expand our reach with an event in Mexico City on whether technology will make us freer, as well as many more at home, continuing to shape how lawmakers, academics, and everyday citizens think about and interact with technology.

Below Left: Andrés Martínez, director of Future Tense at New America, introduces a panel on designing a modern election for the twenty-first century. Photo: New America

Below Right: Michael Bennett of Arizona State University, Walé Oyéjidé of Ikire Jones, Ytasha Womack, author of *Afrofuturism*, and Aisha Harris of *Slate* discuss depictions of people of color in sci-fi and pop culture at a Future Tense event. Photo: Adomako Aman/New America



12

International Reporting Project

It has never been more important for the public to receive in-depth, factual news about important international issues. Now in its 19th year, the International Reporting Project, led by **John Schidlovsky**, provides opportunities for the world's best journalists to report on key issues around the globe. A pioneer in nonprofit journalism, we have awarded reporting grants to more than 600 journalists around the world who have filed award-winning stories from more than 110 countries.

In mid-2016, IRP moved to New America from its previous base at the Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Without missing a beat, we then awarded fellowships to 16 top journalists around the world. Eleven of those fellowships have gone to journalists to report on gender and LGBTI issues in Brazil, Indonesia, Japan, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Mauritius, Pakistan, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, and Tanzania.

In addition, we sent five journalists to report from Marrakech, Morocco at the global climate change conference, the COP22 UN Framework

Convention on Climate Change. Dozens of their stories and posts have appeared on NPR, *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Guardian*, PRI, the South African Broadcasting Corporation, and elsewhere. In December, two of these journalists spoke at a New America event about the impact of the U.S. presidential elections on the future of climate change negotiations.

IRP alumni continue to win numerous accolades for their work during their fellowships and in their post-fellowship careers. In 2016, two IRP alumni won Pulitzer Prizes—Kathryn Schulz of the *New Yorker* and Joby Warrick of the *Washington Post*. Two other IRP alumni were named as 2016 Pulitzer Prize finalists. Among the many well-known journalists who have been IRP fellows are Jill Abramson, former executive editor of the *New York Times*; Raney Aronson-Rath, executive producer of "Frontline" and Steve Inskeep, co-host of NPR's "Morning Edition." We are also proud to count two of our former IRP fellows as current New America fellows: **Azmat Khan** and **Alexis Okeowo**.

Below Left: IRP director John Schidlovsky introduces a panel on climate change reporting. Photo: New America.

Below Right: The IRP team in Morocco for the COP22 Climate Change Conference. Photo: Tomas Ayuso/IRP.



13 International Security

International security issues were at the forefront of public life and politics in 2016. ISIS conducted major attacks across the globe while facing territorial setbacks, the United States suffered the deadliest terrorist attack on its soil since September 11, 2001, and more state and non-state actors developed armed drones. New America's International Security program is leading the way in providing evidence-based analysis of these challenges.

Assessing the Terrorist Threat

As the threat of terrorist activity at home and abroad evolves and becomes more complex, the International Security program has conducted in-depth research to try to understand the “who?” and “why?” behind terrorist groups.

Our homegrown extremism and drone databases are widely considered authoritative resources on these topics and have been cited by ABC News, the *Atlantic*, *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Christian Science Monitor*, CNN, the *Economist*, *Foreign Policy*, the

Guardian, *Huffington Post*, *McClatchy*, NBC News, *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, NPR, *Politifact*, *Time*, *Washington Post*, and *Vox*.

In conjunction with the 15th anniversary of September 11th, 2001, we re-launched our database of terrorist attacks and plots in the United States with new interactive visualizations and downloadable datasets. In the accompanying policy paper, *Jihadist Terrorism 15 Years After 9/11: A Threat Assessment*, **Peter Bergen** analyzed the jihadist threat to this country and its likely trajectory

To assess the threat of jihadist attacks in other Western countries, we examined more than 600 cases of Westerners publicly accused of joining jihadist militant groups in Iraq and Syria

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Origins of Jihadist Terrorists Since 9/11

New America's International Security program tracks the origins of jihadists who commit fatal terrorist attacks in the United States. Of the twelve terrorists to commit deadly attacks since 9/11, all were U.S. citizens or legal permanent residents of the United States at the time of the attack:

0

Fatal Attacks in U.S. Committed by Jihadist Terrorists from Trump Visa Restricted Countries

12

U.S. Citizens and Legal Permanent Residents of the United States Responsible for Fatal Jihadist Attacks in U.S.

Birth State of Jihadist Terrorists Responsible for Fatal Attacks in U.S.

- Ali Muhammad Brown was born in the U.S. and lived in Washington
- Naveed Haq was born in Ohio
- Syed Farook was born in Illinois
- Alton Nolen was born in the U.S. and lived in Oklahoma
- Carlos Bledsoe was born in Tennessee
- Nidal Hasan was born in Virginia
- Omar Mateen was born in New York

Trump Visa Restricted Countries

- Tamerlan Tsarnaev was born in Russia
- Ozhokhar Tsarnaev was born in Kyrgyzstan
- Hesham Hadayet was born in Egypt
- Mohammad Abdulazeez was born in Kuwait
- Tashfeen Malik was born in Pakistan

NEW AMERICA
newamerica.org/terrorism



Explore our Terrorism in America After 9/11 project at newamerica.org/terrorism



Peter Bergen interviews then-President Barack Obama on the fifth anniversary of the raid on Osama bin Laden for the CNN special “We Got Him.” Screenshot: CNN

in the coming years. To assess the threat of jihadist attacks in other Western countries, we also examined more than 600 cases of Westerners publicly accused of joining jihadist militant groups in Iraq and Syria. The resulting report, *ISIS in the West*, was cited widely in the media, including in the *Guardian*, the *Associated Press*, *Time*, and *Christian Science Monitor*. Lastly, using leaked ISIS personnel

documents, we studied the demographic data of more than 3,500 fighters on a sub-national level. One finding in particular—that more than 100 Chinese nationals had joined ISIS from a single region in northwestern China—was covered in *Foreign Policy*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*, among other outlets.

Analyzing the Future of War

Advances in technology and changes in international relationships have significant effects on how wars will be fought in the future. In partnership with Arizona State University, the Future of War project has continued its work in this area. In March, we held our second

annual Future of War Conference, which was attended by high-level representatives from military, government, industry, academia, and media. Army Chief of Staff Gen. Mark A. Milley, Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Robert B. Neller, Chief of Naval Operations Adm. John

M. Richardson, and Air Force Chief of Staff Gen. David L. Goldfein spoke during the conference.

We also continued our research on the effect of armed drones in modern conflict. We tracked imports and exports of armed drones across the world in our “World of Drones” database. We maintained comprehensive databases of covert U.S. drone strikes in Somalia, Yemen, and Pakistan. And we published an essay on the presidential policy guidance regarding the use of drones, written by **Luke Hartig**, an International Security program fellow who helped design the policy in the White House.

Our program was one of several groups putting pressure on the administration to be more transparent about the CIA drone program. Before and after President Obama’s announcement earlier this year of the number of civilian casualties from covert U.S. drone strikes, our data was the go-to source for media citations.

Speakers at New America and Arizona State University’s 2016 Future of War Conference included (clockwise from top right) Gen. Mark A. Milley, Chief of Staff of the Army, Gen. Robert B. Neller, Commandant of the Marine Corps (seen in conversation with Peter W. Singer), Lt. Gen. H. R. McMaster, and Maj. Gen. Margaret Woodward (Ret.). Photos: Gabriella Demczuk/New America



Books Released in 2016

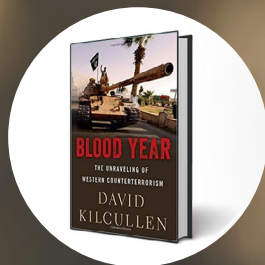


Find out more about International Security books at newamerica.org/international-security/books/



United States of Jihad by Peter Bergen (Crown, January 2016)

Since 9/11, more than three hundred Americans have been accused of jihadist terrorism crimes. **Peter Bergen** investigated who these people are and the threat they pose. Former Secretary of Homeland Security Janet Napolitano described the book in the *New York Times* as “the best one-volume treatment available on the current state of jihad in America.”



Blood Year by David Kilcullen (Oxford University Press, March 2016)

In 2014, ISIS seized a third of Iraq’s territory, the Israeli-Palestinian peace process ground to a halt, and Russia invaded Crimea. **David Kilcullen** provided a far-reaching analysis of these and other setbacks to the international order in a book that won Australia’s prestigious Walkley Award.



The Morning They Came For Us by Janine di Giovanni (Liveright, May 2016)

The Syrian war has stretched on for years with no end in sight. **Janine di Giovanni** conveyed the terror and brutality of the war through the stories of individuals affected by the war, giving what the *New York Times* described as “visceral understanding of what it is like to live in wartime Syria.”



The Master Plan by Brian Fishman (Yale University Press, November 2016)

For many people, ISIS burst on to the scene in 2014 with its seizure of the Iraqi city of Mosul. **Brian Fishman**, one of the few experts following the group before its recent advances, drew upon never-before-seen documents to tell the group’s forgotten history and what it means for the war in a book that “needs to be read by policymakers and average citizens alike,” according to former CENTCOM commander U.S. Army Gen. John P. Abizaid.



Above Left: Lawrence Wright, Pulitzer Prize-winning author and New Yorker staff writer discusses his book, *The Terror Years: From Al Qaeda to the Islamic State* at New America. Photo: New America

Above Right: General (Ret.) David H. Petraeus (left) discusses national security challenges in America with International Security program director Peter Bergen.



International Security on the Ground

After the attack at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando—the deadliest terrorist attack in the United States since 9/11—**Sharon Burke** and **Alyssa Sims** traveled to Orlando to interview local officials and media about the city’s response as part of a study of civic resilience to terrorism. Orlando Mayor Buddy Dyer spoke with Burke and Sims for a subsequent

published report and participated in the report’s launch event in Washington, D.C.

We sponsored numerous events with New America NYC, including a discussion between **Peter Bergen** and General (Ret.) David H. Petraeus in June about the national security challenges the next president will face.

Using Diplomacy to Build New Dialogues

Director of the U.S.-Iran Initiative and Senior Fellow **Suzanne DiMaggio** directs a series of policy dialogues that provide a neutral forum for candid, informal talks on matters of significance to U.S. foreign policy, especially where formal government-to-government relations are inadequate or not possible. Our U.S.-Iran Initiative combines policy dialogue, research, private roundtables, and public events, with the aim of exploring possible grounds for constructive engagement and developing mutually acceptable strategies for

addressing a range of issues. It represents one of the few consistent bridges for unofficial bilateral dialogue on nuclear issues, regional security, and U.S.-Iran relations. In 2016, DiMaggio built on the “Track 2” process developed through this effort and launched two additional initiatives—a U.S.-China dialogue on Myanmar and a U.S.-North Korea dialogue. Through these projects, we communicate insights, analyses and recommendations to policymakers and experts in Washington and counterpart capitals.

14 Open Markets

Economic concentration poses a great and growing threat to America's prosperity and even our democracy, and affects the wellbeing of workers, entrepreneurs, innovators, communities, farmers, and consumers. New America's Open Markets program works to address these threats through cutting edge journalism, historical analysis, and direct outreach to policymakers in the United States and Europe.

Alerting the Public to the Dangers of Monopolies

In June, we hosted an event on Capitol Hill at which Sen. Elizabeth Warren (D-Mass.) delivered a speech raising awareness of the threat economic concentration poses to our nation. We also worked with Republican and Democratic members of the Senate Subcommittee on Antitrust to prepare three hearings on America's monopoly problem.

We detailed how monopoly affects our communities, and how previous generations regulated monopoly, in articles in *Washington Monthly*. We published content and were quoted in the *New York Times*, the *New Yorker*, the *Atlantic*, *Vox*, *Bloomberg*, the *Wall Street Journal*, *Politico*, *Harvard Law Review*, *Yale Law Review*, the *Financial Times*, and more.

Sharon Burke and Barry C. Lynn discuss the U.S. relationship with China at New America's "Trade, War, and China in the 21st Century" event. Photo: New America



Framing Next-Generation Competition Policy

We worked with the White House on the executive order “Steps to Increase Competition,” released in April 2016. We also worked closely with political economic reformers to write a strong antimonopoly statement that was adopted as part of the Democratic Party platform. Abroad, we met

in Brussels with Europe’s top antimonopoly enforcers Margrethe Vestager and Linsey McCallum and worked closely with the European Data Protection Supervisor to organize a number of events, and prepare their opinion: “Coherent Enforcement of Fundamental Rights in the Age of Big Data.”

Bettering Trade Strategy to Protect U.S. Security

In December, at the invitation of Rep. Brad Sherman (D-Calif.), Program Director **Barry C. Lynn** testified before the Asia-Pacific Subcommittee of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs on threats to national security and President Obama’s pivot to Asia.

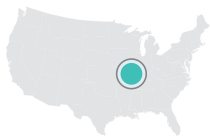
In September, we hosted “Trade, War, and China in the 21st Century,” a symposium looking at the deteriorating relationship between China and the United States, together with New America Senior Advisor **Sharon**

Burke. The event, covered in the *Washington Post* and elsewhere, featured the first public policy discussion in Washington of the potential dangers of China’s fast-growing influence over the content of Hollywood films. A bipartisan group of lawmakers then released a letter on this issue, which led the Government Accountability Office to commit to investigating whether the Committee on Foreign Investment in the United States should more closely review Chinese investments in U.S. media.

Protecting the Veterans Affairs Hospital System

In July, the VA Commission on Care published its final report, which strongly recommended against privatization of the Veterans Affairs Hospital System. **Phil Longman** of Open Markets, appointed to the commission by former Sen. Harry Reid, was the lead author

of the final report. The report marked a major turnaround for most members of the commission, who initially strongly supported plans to privatize the VA system. An editorial in the *New York Times* on the commission’s decision praised the final report.



Open Markets on the Ground

Our team researched, wrote, published and edited a series of articles in the *Washington Monthly* on the political economy of St. Louis and Heartland America. The articles detailed how consolidation can severely reduce the diversity and vibrancy of local business and result in the stripping out of local wealth. The

articles were reprinted in the *Atlantic* and the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, and led to widespread coverage in other publications, including an Al Jazeera documentary. The articles were also the subject of much attention by the St. Louis business community and the St. Louis Federal Reserve.

15 Open Technology Institute

As every aspect of our lives—our private lives, our work lives, our civic lives—moves online, unfettered access to an internet that is both open and secure has never been more important. New America's Open Technology Institute (OTI) works at the intersection of technology and policy to ensure that every community has equitable access to the benefits of the internet and other digital technologies.

Protecting an Open Internet

Defending a free and open internet, where access is not controlled or limited by internet service providers, is a cornerstone of our work. Led by OTI's Director of Open Internet Policy **Sarah Morris**, we engaged as an intervenor on behalf of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to protect the FCC's robust net neutrality rules and successfully defend the 2015 Open Internet Order in the courts.

The successful fight to preserve the FCC's 2015 Open Internet Order, which guaranteed net neutrality for all Americans, was bolstered by countless hours of OTI's strategic leadership and legal analysis. In 2016, we joined two dozen companies and public interest organizations

as formal intervenors in court to defend the order against an industry-led lawsuit, and led the coordinations of this diverse coalition of net neutrality supporters. In May, the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld the order in its entirety, including the strong rules for mobile networks and protections against interconnection disputes—issues OTI played a leading role in advocating. We provided sustained thought-leadership throughout the process of drafting motions and a consolidated intervenors brief, leveraging our depth of knowledge on all facets of the FCC's order to ensure that the intervenors provided a unique complement to the FCC's own court filings.

The successful fight to guarantee net neutrality for all Americans was bolstered by countless hours of OTI's strategic leadership and legal analysis



Sarah Morris speaks about the ABCs of the new digital citizen—Adoption, Broadband and Connectivity.
Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New America

Beyond the United States, we supported European regulators as they successfully implemented their own net neutrality rules. We provided comments and best practice recommendations to the Body of European Regulators for Electronic Communications, resulting in strong European Union-wide net neutrality guidance.

Our fight to ensure affordable and accessible internet for all did not end with the victory for net neutrality. OTI's long history of engaged leadership, thoughtful research, and coalition-building resulted in the FCC's adoption of landmark consumer privacy rules to protect against internet service providers' misuse of data about customers' internet habits, leadership that was reflected by OTI being the most cited public interest group in the

FCC's order. In 2016, we also saw a historic decision by the commission to include standalone broadband service in the Lifeline program that has long helped low-income consumers afford phone service. This decision was informed by OTI's work with a broad coalition of public interest, racial justice, and grassroots advocates. To promote equitable access to fast and affordable internet service at the local level, OTI partnered with the city of Seattle to create an accurate map of their residents' broadband quality and help inform future broadband infrastructure investments. OTI also successfully convinced the FCC and Department of Justice to impose serious conditions on several telecommunications mergers that threatened internet competition.



Above Left: OTI Director **Kevin Bankston** interviews Edward Snowden in a live video call at Georgetown University. Photo: New America



Above Right: Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.) speaks at a New America event on government hacking. Photo: New America

Promoting a Secure Internet

A free and open internet must also be a secure internet—secure against thieves, hackers, harassers, spies, and overreaching governments. Strong encryption technology is critical to our cybersecurity, as well as to the economic security of the U.S. internet industry, and to the security of civil liberties and human rights here and abroad. In 2016, led by OTI Director **Kevin Bankston** and Senior Policy Counsel **Ross Schulman**, OTI continued to drive the opposition to dangerous proposals from the FBI and in Congress to mandate that technology companies have “backdoors” to enable government surveillance in all their encrypted technologies, a move that would critically undermine our security. On this issue and others, we have actively voiced our support for strong, rights-respecting cybersecurity policies through oft-cited independent research, convenings, legislative and executive branch outreach, and op-eds. We hosted several events on the future of hacking in government investigations, including a C-SPAN-televised event featuring Sen. Ron Wyden (D-Ore.), and published major papers

such as *Bugs in the System: A Primer on the Software Vulnerability Ecosystem and its Policy Implications*, providing recommendations to policymakers about how they can help ensure that software vulnerabilities are discovered and patched sooner.

In addition to our work targeted at policymakers, we collaborated with internet companies through our “Stronger Internet” coalition to promote surveillance reform and protect encryption, while also pushing companies to improve their policies around security, transparency, and accountability. For example, we’ve helped set standards for internet companies’ practice of issuing “transparency reports” about the government requests they receive for user data. In May, we released the *Transparency Reporting Toolkit: Survey & Best Practice Memos for Reporting on U.S. Government Requests for User Information*—and it’s already had impact. Twitter adopted many of our best practices when they released their transparency report in September.

Twitter adopted many of our best practices when they released their transparency report in September

Embedding Technologists in Congress

Digital technology is the infrastructure of our lives, underlying every issue and in every congressional committee's jurisdiction. Modern government requires in-house tech expertise. In 2016, TechCongress—a project to embed technologists in congressional offices—launched its first class of Congressional Innovation Fellows, with two fellows serving in central roles in Congress. **JC Cannon** served on the House Ways and Means Health Subcommittee, working on health record privacy and interoperability. **John Costello** served on the House Oversight and Government Reform IT Subcommittee, working

on encryption, government data breaches, and IT standards across the government. In addition, TechCongress founder **Travis Moore** was selected to join the Points of Light Civic Accelerator, which supports startups in the public interest space. Moore was also invited to speak at SXSW in 2016 on “The Emerging Millennial Consensus on Tech Policy.”

TechCongress recently held recruitment for a second class of fellows, receiving nearly 200 applicants. Its next four fellows will start in Congress in 2017.

The results of the Corporate Accountability Index received global media attention and have already had a measurable impact on company policies and practices

Ranking Digital Rights

The Ranking Digital Rights project launched the research cycle for the 2017 Corporate Accountability Index, which evaluates and ranks the world's largest internet, mobile, and telecommunications companies' commitments, policies, and practices affecting freedom of expression and privacy. This will be the project's second Corporate Accountability Index, building on the inaugural index launched in November 2015. A team of 28 researchers based around the world have contributed to the research for the 2017 index, which will evaluate 22 companies. The results of the 2015 Index received global media attention and

have been cited in advocacy campaigns by groups such as Access Now and have already had a measurable impact on company policies and practices in areas such as transparency reporting, data protection, content restriction, digital security, and remedy. **Rebecca MacKinnon**, director of the Ranking Digital Rights project, traveled and spoke widely throughout 2016 on the project and more broadly on internet freedom, including a talk at the 2016 TEDSummit on how we can fight terror without sacrificing our rights.

Opening Wi-Fi for All

The Wireless Future (WiFu) project at OTI, led by **Michael Calabrese**, continues to press for more public spectrum for shared and unlicensed access, promotes municipal Wi-Fi, and enhances mobile competition to achieve universal and affordable wireless broadband for all Americans. In January, we published *Spectrum Silos to Gigabit Wi-fi*, a report arguing to open the 5.9 GHz “car-band” for high-capacity Wi-Fi. The launch event of the report was covered live by C-SPAN, and was shared widely in relevant policy circles. At its April 2016 meeting, the FCC adopted the final order to implement the Citizens Broadband Radio Service, which we first proposed in

2011. The order created a framework for open, dynamic sharing as a model for a “shared spectrum superhighway” that can transform mobile bandwidth scarcity into abundance. Simultaneously, WiFu led an effort to prevent the wireless industry from disrupting Wi-Fi by using unlicensed bands as “free” licensed spectrum. WiFu also led a successful effort to maintain the minimum number of unlicensed TV White Space channels after 2016’s TV incentive auction. We were heavily cited in trade publications, including *Communications Daily*.

Measuring Internet Speeds

Supported by OTI and led by Technology Projects Director **Georgia Bullen**, the Measurement Lab (M-Lab) platform and corresponding toolkit for measuring internet performance was introduced to millions of users in 2016 when it was included as a Google search OneBox feature. Now, when someone types “How fast is my internet” in their search bar, they see an option to run an M-Lab test right in their browser. This has resulted in a 172 percent increase in the number of tests run on the M-Lab platform in 2016. M-Lab has now run

over 210 million tests since 2009, and although all of that data is publicly available, it’s not easily accessible for most people. M-Lab worked with data visualization firm Bocoup to create new interactive, accessible displays of the data so that anyone can now search for local information about internet providers and speeds, download the data themselves, and compare locations across the world. M-Lab continues to expand across the globe, preparing to launch more than 100 new sites in 2017.

If you search for “how fast is my internet” on Google, M-Lab will let you run a speed test on your computer. Screenshot: Google

The screenshot shows a search result for "Internet speed test". The title is "Internet speed test" with a share icon on the right. Below the title is a description: "Test your Internet speed in under 30 seconds with a test performed by [Measurement Lab](#). This test typically transfers less than **40 MB of data** for most users, but may transfer more on fast connections." At the bottom left is a link labeled "About" and at the bottom right is a blue button labeled "RUN SPEED TEST".



Open Technology Institute on the Ground

WiFU - NYC Wireless

Cities across the country are exploring solutions to provide access to affordable, reliable, high-speed broadband service to every business and resident in the city. The Wireless Future project hosted an event in New York to highlight the city's ambitious initiative to connect all of their residents with fast and free Wi-Fi. On the same day, the New York City mayor's office sent a letter to the FCC highlighting its concerns about the potential harms that wireless industry LTE-U will have on Wi-Fi, which could include slowing or even shutting down public Wi-Fi systems, shrinking access, undermining digital equity, and scrapping hundreds of millions of dollars marked for improving New York's social, digital, and economic equity. We are collaborating with other cities—and organized a similar event in Atlanta—to continue to broaden this conversation and share best practices for creating connected cities.

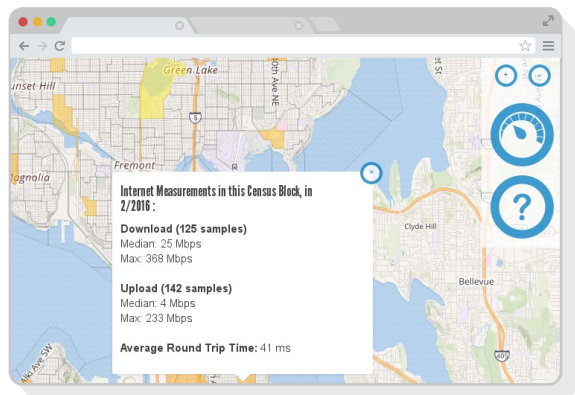
Fighting Unwarranted Surveillance

The extensive use of new surveillance technologies by the law enforcement community has raised many concerns about privacy, particularly for vulnerable communities. On August 16, OTI—along with Color of Change and Center for Media Justice, and represented by Georgetown's Institute for Public Representation—filed a complaint with the FCC against the Baltimore City Police Department (BPD) for their extensive and racially biased use of fake cell towers (sometimes called Stingrays) to locate and track cell phones. Our complaint alleged that BPD's use of these devices violates the Communications Act because the devices transmit over licensed spectrum, and we called on the FCC to require BPD and all local police departments to obtain a license before using such devices. The complaint received widespread attention and led to follow-up

complaints from the ACLU and others. It was covered by the *Washington Post*, *Baltimore Sun* and over 20 other outlets.

Mapping Local Broadband Quality

Communities around the country are beginning to take a hard look at what value their citizens are actually getting from internet service providers. In late February, the City of Seattle launched a new broadband map and speed test, intended to get people in the community to measure broadband speeds and quality across the city. Seattle wanted to build a public engagement tool to generate community interest in broadband and to help drive internet service providers to expand fiber coverage in the city. The Seattle broadband map uses internet speed and performance data from M-Lab to map the quality of broadband access in the city. Following the launch in Seattle, OTI started working with Washington Technology Solutions, a consolidated technology services agency under the state CIO, and staff in Stevens County, Wash., to replicate the Seattle project in the primarily rural Eastern Washington county. OTI has also been in conversations with other municipalities around the country, including Louisville, Ky., Portland, Ore., Baltimore, Md., and others interested in exploring opportunities to implement similar crowd-sourced inputs.



16 Opportunity @Work

In a fast-paced and ever-changing world, Opportunity@Work—cofounded by **Byron Auguste, Karan Chopra, and Tyra Mariani**—aims to ensure that the labor market benefits all Americans.

Too many Americans who have the abilities and potential to be successful find themselves without on-ramps to career pathways. Our goal is to expand career opportunities so that all Americans can work, learn, and earn to their full potential by transforming hiring practices, expanding learning pathways, and pioneering talent financing.

Finding Talent in Unlikely Places

Our flagship initiative, TechHire, applies these ideas to the tech industry, which currently has over a half million unfilled jobs. TechHire recodes the American economy by helping employers find outstanding tech talent and job seekers start technology careers. TechHire

has grown into a national movement of 71 U.S. cities, states, and rural regions with over 1,000 employers, about 200 partners and training providers, and more than 4,000 people placed into tech jobs.

Leading the Charge on Workforce Training

At the White House's South by South Lawn convening, former U.S. Chief Technology Officer Megan Smith and Ryan Burke, a senior advisor in the National Economic Council, welcomed TechHire Managing Director Tess Posner, TechHire Rhode Island Director Damian Ewens, Senior Manager Jen Hetzel Silbert and a national gathering of employers utilizing TechHire to find top tech talent across the

country. Employers discussed how they could use new skills-based hiring practices to employ otherwise overlooked tech talent. They also shared their own experiences, challenges, and best practices as TechHire participants as well as opportunities for further scaling and accelerating the movement in their respective communities.

TechHire has helped place more than 4,000 people into tech jobs

Opportunity@Work Co-Founder
Byron Auguste at the 2016 New
America Annual Conference.
Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New
America



Opportunity@Work on the Ground

Opportunity@Work-sponsored TechHire Rhode Island (THRI) made a tremendous impact in the tech industry in 2016. THRI worked alongside training providers such as General Assembly (GA) to develop future initiatives that equip Rhode Islanders of all backgrounds with the skills needed for a growing tech industry. GA's program (offered free of cost) provides a flexible path for Rhode Island residents training for full-time employment as entry-level web developers. In addition, THRI expanded the network of TechHire employers to include GE

Digital, which committed to add a hundred new tech jobs in August 2016. In less than three weeks, over a third of GE Digital's entry-level hires were sourced via THRI. Joe Carey, senior technical talent partner at GE Digital, praised the movement, saying "the partnership with TechHire Rhode Island helped us reach candidates that we had not found through our traditional recruiting methods."

17 Political Reform

The 2016 election cycle tested the resilience of U.S. democracy in unforeseen ways, and New America's Political Reform program responded with real-time analysis. Deep mistrust of government—always an underlying fever in American politics—all but consumed the process in 2016. Suffocating ideological polarization between Congress and the president was less about ideas than the politics of identity, pitting the pluralism of a rapidly diversifying country against the angry populism of those left behind. In line with our mission of bringing new ideas and fresh perspectives to the work of reforming American democracy, the Political Reform program—directed by **Mark Schmitt**—responded to each of these developments, renewing our commitment through new long-term projects and partnerships.

Making Connections Across Party Lines

Post-election realignment has created favorable conditions for new and existing “transpartisan” partnerships, which cross party lines and challenge gridlock at the local and national levels. Our New Models for Policy Change project, led by **Heather Hurlburt**, studies the conditions under which these coalitions succeed or fail—information that will be indispensable in the future. In

2016, we produced a practitioner's handbook for coalition-building, partnered with the Stanley Foundation to better understand how businesses and civil society organizations are tackling polarization globally, and analyzed how cross-party divides will reshape trade and security policy in the years ahead.

Building Congressional Capacity

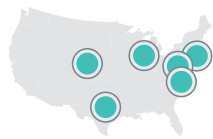
Observers across the political spectrum agree that Congress's capacity to perform its core functions—designing responsive policy solutions and providing capable oversight of the executive branch—has been eroded. In response, we launched the Legislative Branch Capacity Working Group, led by senior fellow

Lee Drutman, in partnership with the R Street Institute. This working group will help us build a community of policymakers, academics, and advocates interested in solving such issues as congressional capacity and the lack of diversity among congressional staff.

Taking on Today's Issues

Our real-time analysis dove into the issues of race, gender, and identity in politics, focusing particularly on the ways in which these new dividing lines could shape future realignment. Our “Women’s Decision” event series—in partnership with *Quartz* and organized by **Alieza Durana** and **Chayenne Polimedio**—paired political consultants with police chiefs, journalists, and soldiers to discuss the issues

that would compel women to vote in 2016, and what will drive more women to enter races as candidates in the future. In *Polyarchy*, our channel on *Vox*, as well as in op-eds in the *New York Times*, we took on topics such as congressional staff diversity and staff pay, the rise of Donald Trump and the threat of autocracy, and how to come together in the wake of the great political realignment.



Political Reform on the Ground

Transpartisan partnerships at the state level are challenging gridlock at the national level, and **Heather Hurlburt’s** research on the topic has grown into a clearinghouse for connecting local and federal work. We brought evangelical

organizers from Texas and school reformers from New York to Washington, D.C., partnered with national security experts in Chicago and Austin, and met with coalition-builders in Colorado and North Carolina.

Lobbying Book Wins Dahl Award

The American Political Science Association awarded **Lee Drutman** the 2016 Robert A. Dahl Award for his book, *The Business of America is Lobbying*. The award is given annually to an untenured scholar who has produced the

highest-quality academic work on the subject of democracy. Earlier in the year, the *New York Review of Books’* April 7 issue featured a lengthy review of Drutman’s award-winning book.

Below Left: Mark Schmitt, director of the Political Reform program, speaks at New America’s 2016 Annual Conference. Photo: Gabriella Demczuk/New America.

Below Right: The Political Reform program’s Heather Hurlburt and Lee Drutman in discussion at a Political Reform program event in Washington, D.C. Photo: New America



18 Resilient Communities

Many vulnerable communities on the frontlines of climate change also face profound economic challenges. Yet these same communities are also home to strong social networks. Resilient Communities is based at New America's first regional hub in New York City, where we work with local partners and city agencies to support vital social infrastructure, advancing community technology as a platform for preparedness while strengthening and building the local relationships that increase resilience.

Partnering with Local Communities

Resilient Communities worked with six New York City organizations to implement the design phase of RISE : NYC, a \$4.2 million project funded through the Department of Housing and Urban Development via the New York City Economic Development Corporation. In August 2016, we began a collaborative process of developing shared principles for our Resilient Networks with our partners.

This first step became the foundation for engaging and training local communities to design, build, maintain, and use their own wireless communication infrastructure for preparedness.

To date, we have trained ten community leaders from six Hurricane Sandy-impacted neighborhoods on wireless networking

Below Left: Community coordinators pre-designing their Wi-Fi networks for each of their communities. Photo: New America

Below Right: Community coordinators learn how to make their own ethernet cables during their tech training session. Photo: New America





Above Left: Greta Byrum (right), director of the Resilient Communities program, moderates a discussion about digital and environmental justice in an era of climate change with New York, Philadelphia, and Detroit community leaders including Dabriah Alston, Danny Peralta, and Bryan Mercer. (Left to right) Photo: New America

Above Right: The Resilient Communities team with local partners at a program convening in November. Photo: New America

hardware and software, and supported their organizing and outreach efforts in service of their organizations' missions and goals. These leaders have recruited 50 local residents to pass on the skills they have learned and have also brought dozens of small business on board to serve as hardware installation sites for our Resilient Networks. As a node within a local network, small businesses

benefit from advertising on the network and increased foot traffic, in addition to emergency communications during disasters. Our work has been the subject of a long-form piece in *Next City* and has also been covered in *Fast Company*.

Leveraging Networks for Positive Change

While Resilient Communities has been busy implementing RISE : NYC in six New York City neighborhoods, we've also brought together broader conversations. In October 2016, we hosted three of our RISE partners in conversation with allied local groups from Detroit and Philadelphia at an event titled "Digital and Environmental Justice in the Era of Climate Change." This event brought together groups both familiar and new to digital and climate justice work to compare experiences and share lessons. As one participant put it, "Whether it's a superstorm or long-term decline, there is a social and community aspect to resilience, and the process of defining working principles fundamentally serves as a jumping off point for recovery." Another panelist pointed out: "whether one is

working in environmental or digital justice, the important thing is to create stories and own your narrative."

Resilient Communities Director **Greta Byrum** was a Loeb Fellow at Harvard's Graduate School of Design this year, building visibility and impact in the field of planning and design for urban risk and resilience. She gave a keynote on Future Cities at Moogfest in Durham, N.C., spoke at Perry World House at the University of Pennsylvania, the Digital Inclusion Summit in Kansas City, and SxSW 2016, and is serving on the Telecommunications Committee of the National Institute of Standards and Technologies Community Resiliency Panel.

19 Resource Security

The Resource Security program, under the leadership of Senior Advisor **Sharon Burke**, examines changing demands for global natural resources and what those new demands mean for U.S. security. For too long, Americans have made an artificial distinction between “hard security” and “human security,” treating one as necessary and the other as nice to have. That distinction is increasingly blurred as new technologies and rising global population reshape U.S. national security and prosperity. The U.S. government remains optimized for warfighting in the industrial age, so our work focuses on defining policies and ideas to promote security building in the information age.

Preparing for a Changing World

Extreme weather events are on the rise across the country. We combed through U.S. government databases to identify county-level “disaster impact zones”—the communities hit hardest by extreme weather events. By using data visualizations and reviewing historical weather events, we hope to connect individuals

with shared memories of repeat disasters and help them understand the social and financial cost of climate change. Our next step is to investigate how these disaster impact zones currently prepare for and react to extreme weather events.

Below Left: Sharon Burke (left) discusses Air Force energy policy with former Air Force Secretary Deborah Lee James. Photo: New America

Below Right: Bob Perciasepe, Ellen Williams, Vicki Arroyo, and Scott Fulton discuss climate change and the Paris Pledge. Photo: New America





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Sharon Burke advised on the production of—and appeared in—*Years of Living Dangerously*, an Emmy award-winning series on climate change, featuring Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger. Screenshot: National Geographic

Defining Resource Geopolitics

The links between natural resources, governance, and global relations are shifting in the digital age. To broaden public understanding of this shift, we sponsored events and published on energy security, climate change, critical minerals, water, food, and more. We aimed to change policy and influence public opinion around these issues through film screenings for the general public, an invite-only workshop for practitioners and data developers, and conversations with key political figures. Our senior fellows, **David Abraham**, a critical minerals expert, and **Nadya Bliss**, director of the Global Security

Initiative at Arizona State University, defined the public conversation through articles and leadership in their fields. We also advised executive and legislative branch officials on energy security and climate change issues.

20 The Weekly

The *New America Weekly* is a digital magazine that tackles pressing policy challenges of the day, introducing big ideas from diverse new voices you won't find anywhere else. New America staff, fellows, and outside experts have all contributed, writing articles for an audience of more than 22,000 subscribers all over the world—a 25 percent increase since 2015. Our readership has grown to more than 250,000 page views in 2016. More than 80 *Weekly* articles have been syndicated by our partners, including the *Atlantic*, *Quartz*, *Pacific*

Standard, *Slate*, the *Week*, *Voice of America*, the *National Review*, and *Time*. We've also continued to build our national media network, helping great local policy journalism reach new audiences through syndication partners.

The *Weekly* remains a channel dedicated to publishing and promoting new voices and diverse perspectives—in 2016 nearly two-thirds of our articles were written by women, and over a quarter were authored by people of color.

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Silent Sacrifice: Military Spouse Unemployment in America:

“Many Americans know little about the nearly one million military spouses who proudly support their military service members, often silently sacrificing their own employment as a result.”

Universal Basic Income and the New Corporatist Democrats:

“If massive corporations serve the needs of individuals, and those people rely on Basic Income to live, then what is left to hold a community together?”

Women and All Their Fake Free Time:

“Unpaid work may not be the next great social movement, but it's too important to not start moving.”



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From Our Board Chairs



Reihan Salam

“ Since its founding, New America has been home to innovative policy thinkers across the political spectrum, who’ve played an outsized role in setting the national agenda. Working alongside Jonathan Soros and the entire New America team, I’m eager to help build on this legacy.



Jonathan Soros

“ New America holds a unique position at the intersection of innovation and practical policy. Together with co-chair Reihan Salam, my goal is to help create a space for rigorous, inclusive debate that will continue to address the challenges of our rapidly changing society.

Meet Our New Board Members



Robert J. Abernethy is chairman of American Standard Development Company and managing director of Metropolitan Investments. Abernethy received a BA from Johns Hopkins University, an MBA from Harvard Business School, certificates in real estate and construction from UCLA and was formerly the controller of the technology division of Hughes Aircraft Company.

Abernethy is a member of the advisory council for the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, and is a member of the boards of trustees of Johns Hopkins University, Davidson College, and Loyola Marymount University. He serves as vice-chairman of the Atlantic Council and is on the executive board of the International Refugee Assistance Project. He is also a member of the Chairman's Forum of the Council on Foreign Relations and the State Department Advisory Committee on International Economic Policy.

Abernethy is a member of the board of trustees of the Brookings Institution and serves on the boards of the RAND Corporation Center for Global Risk & Security, New Leaders Council, Truman Center for National Policy, Integrity Initiatives International, and the Los Angeles World Affairs Council. He serves on the UCLA Arts Board, UCLA Health Systems Board, and the board of directors of the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health. He is also vice chairman of the Music Center of Los Angeles.

Abernethy served as commissioner of California Transportation Commission, Los Angeles Telecommunications Commission, and Los Angeles Planning and Zoning Commission and was director of the Los Angeles Metropolitan Transportation Authority and Metropolitan Water District. He was a member of the California State Board of Education and of the California Arts Council.



David Brooks became an Op-Ed columnist for the *New York Times* in September 2003. He is currently a commentator on "The 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* and *The Social Animal: The Hidden Sources of Love, Character, and Achievement*. In April of 2015 he came out with his fourth book, *The Road to Character*, which was a number one *New York Times* bestseller. Mr. Brooks also teaches at Yale University, and is a member of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences.

Mr. Brooks graduated with a bachelor of history from the University of Chicago

in 1983. He became a police reporter for the City News Bureau, a wire service owned jointly by the *Chicago Tribune* and *Sun Times*. He worked at the *Washington Times* and then the *Wall Street Journal* for nine years. His last post at the *Journal* was as op-ed editor. Prior to that, he was posted in Brussels, covering Russia, the Middle East, South Africa and European affairs. His first post at the *Journal* was as editor of the book review section, and he filled in as the *Journal's* movie critic. He also served as a senior editor at the *Weekly Standard* for nine years, as well as contributing editor for the *Atlantic* and *Newsweek*.

22 Our Donors

New America invests in new voices, new ideas, and new technologies to address the next generation of challenges facing our country. Our partners, councils, and circles of donors represent an innovative group of generous private sector and philanthropic leaders. Program and Network Advisory Council members hail from across the country, expanding New America's intellectual reach in key regions and on key areas of business, technology, media and culture. They help generate ideas and provide counsel on substantive and regional objectives, examine issue priorities, offer insight on industry trends, and advise sustainability practices to usher in a new era of policy and practice solutions.

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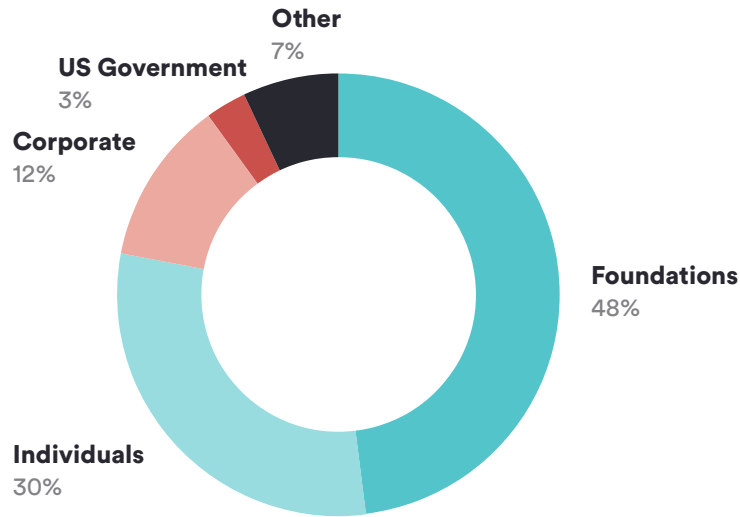
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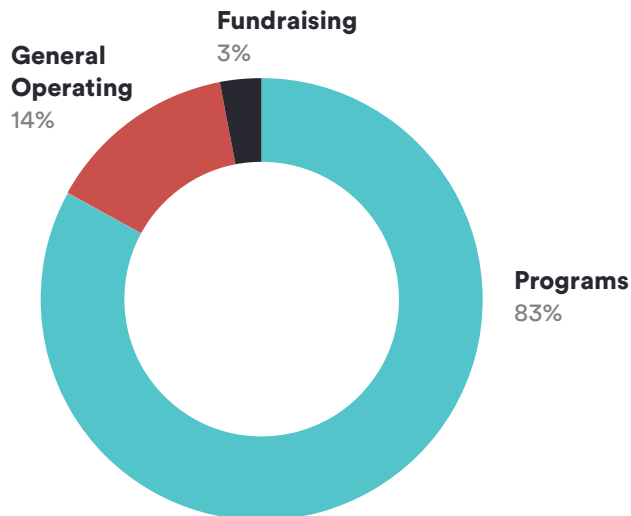
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\$35 million



¹ Preliminary and unaudited.

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