

# **The Stavros Niarchos Foundation Agora Institute**

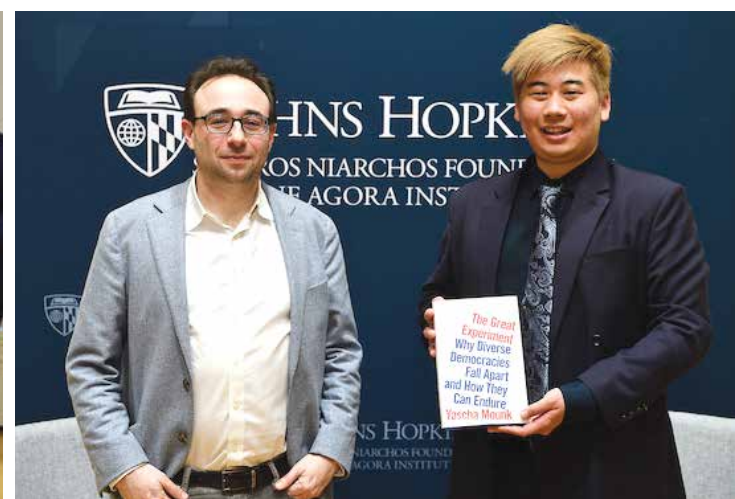
**AT JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY**



**FISCAL YEAR 2022  
ANNUAL REPORT**











**Opposite top left:** SNF Agora hosted a pop-up Q&A on the war in Ukraine on March 3, one week after the Russian invasion.

**Opposite top right:** In November 2021, we celebrated the groundbreaking of our new building and the installation of our new faculty with a champagne toast and fireworks.

**Opposite center left:** In fall 2021, the SNF Agora Institute's endowed faculty were formally installed during one of our first in-person, post-pandemic events.

**Opposite center right:** SNF Agora Senior Fellow Yascha Mounk and SNF Agora Student Engagement Board member Frank Meng discussed Mounk's new book, *The Great Experiment*, during an on-campus event.

**Opposite bottom:** One of the SNF Agora Institute's main public conferences was the Symposium on Civic Health, a complementary event to the annual SNF Nostos Festival.

**This page top:** President Ron Daniels was a guest speaker for Henry Farrell's class, *Democratic Challenges*, which tapped resident expertise to help students better understand challenges facing democracy.

**This page bottom:** SNF Agora faculty member Adam Seth Levine spoke with students during the first annual Democracy Day event in August 2021, which aimed to help incoming students understand their roles and responsibilities as active citizens.

## An institute for its time

During the past year, the SNF Agora Institute has steadily and successfully deepened our work across our three pillars—Discovery, Design, and Dialogue—while also broadening our reach to engage new people and groups and to meet new needs. This work has been facilitated by our strong rooting within the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences—our efforts, faculty, and programs are deeply embedded in, and part of, the core mission of the Krieger School. Progress this year spanned developing the institute's academic profile on and off the Johns Hopkins campus, building our public reputation, growing our partnerships, and pursuing new opportunities for impact.

This past year, we continued to bring in extramural funding, including \$11 million to create a new multidisciplinary Center for Economy and Society; developed and hosted signature programs like our first Democracy Day and the Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival; created a new university debate initiative; launched a themed visiting fellowship program with the Institute for Humane Studies; and established a new Dissident in Residence program with the Renew Democracy Initiative. We also lent our expertise on both of-the-moment crises and more entrenched issues—to fellow scholars; the media; civic groups; and the White House, the U.S. Congress, and other governmental entities around the world.

Supporting scholarship continues to be a central tenet of the Krieger School and the institute, as our faculty and fellows design ways to understand and address issues that threaten pluralistic democracies—like radical partisanship, racial and ethnic discrimination, disinformation, and democratic backsliding—and seek out the tools to re-energize civic engagement and strengthen democratic participation. Through faculty research, communities of practice, case studies, and other programs, our scholars are forming the ideas and testing the solutions that will ensure democracy's resilience in the face of modern challenges.

The past year was difficult in many ways for our country and the world—as we continued to weather the health and social effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, confronted hardship and war, including Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and struggled with increasing political polarization and violence in the U.S. and elsewhere. Nevertheless, SNF Agora remains steadfast in our mission to arm the public with knowledge and evidence-based insights and interventions, and to model the inclusive practices needed for pluralistic democracies to thrive.

## BACKED BY STRONG AND INSPIRING LEADERS

The SNF Agora Institute is guided, inspired, and supported by the dedicated individuals who serve on our board. Our board members give their time and talents, as well as strategic advice from a range of perspectives to fuel our work—and progress would not be possible without them. New initiatives like the Dissident in Residence program have grown out of board collaboration.

In addition, as part of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, we are well positioned to benefit from the vast array of expertise, skills, and insights of Krieger School partners and leaders.

**“Our board is a tremendous group of people. Their advocacy, support, and enthusiasm have contributed so much to our growth and success over the past year. We could not ask for a more dedicated team to back our efforts.”**

**Hahrie Han, SNF Agora  
Institute Director**



## ROOTED IN THE KRIEGER SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

The SNF Agora Institute is deeply rooted in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences. With this school home, SNF Agora is able to draw on the already established strengths of the Krieger School while contributing focused scholarship and research that feeds back into the school's larger mission. This symbiotic relationship is thriving: many faculty members hold joint appointments with both entities, Krieger School students are pursuing special opportunities and trainings through SNF Agora, and research and programming are drawing upon multiple collaborations and connections.

**“The SNF Agora Institute is a dynamic and exciting part of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences. It has been wonderful to see how, throughout the past year, our growing community of scholars has made significant progress towards deepening our understanding of the state of democracy around the world, and the kinds of interventions needed for it to thrive.”**

**Christopher S. Celenza,  
James B. Knapp Dean of the Krieger  
School of Arts and Sciences**

**Left: Russian investigative journalist Yevgenia Albats spoke with board members about lessons to draw from the Russia-Ukraine war and how to safeguard democracy.**



## WE ARE THE AGORA

At the edge of the Homewood campus, where the university meets the local community, an important new fixture of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences is rising: the future home of the SNF Agora Institute. Planned to be completed in fall 2023, the structure is coming to life step by step, with faculty offices, research labs, open workspaces, meeting and classrooms, and convening spaces moving from design to reality. One much-anticipated component of the new building will be

a large open community room that will provide the institute, the Krieger School, and the larger Hopkins community, with a fantastic way to come together in both formal and informal ways.

The SNF Agora team, Krieger School family, Hopkins campus, and Baltimore community eagerly await this resource, which will be LEED certified and landscaped to reflect the region's natural environment. At a groundbreaking celebration last fall, the excitement was palpable as the Johns Hopkins community and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation gathered to mark the occasion.



**Top:** The footprint of the building has emerged.

**Bottom:** Renderings reflect the future building's commitment to convening and community.

### PARTNERS IN THE WORK

The SNF Agora Institute's work is highly collaborative and would not be possible without our partners. Highlighted below are just some of the organizations we worked with this year.

- Baltimore Collegetown Network
- Democracy Moves
- Dragon's Heart Institute,  
Cardiff and Vale University Health Board
- Houston Museum of African American Culture
- Institute for Humane Studies,  
George Mason University
- Keseb
- John W. Kluge Center, Library of Congress
- Center for Creative Citizenship, MICA
- More in Common
- National Constitution Center
- New York Public Library
- New Pluralists
- Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African  
American History & Culture
- Renew Democracy Initiative
- Students Learn Students Vote Coalition
- Urban Rural Action

# DISCOVERY

Discovery—of new ideas, new methods of fostering dialogue and communication, and new ways of understanding democratic decline and resilience. This is what SNF Agora faculty and fellows are charged with. Throughout the past year, this thoughtful and innovative group has made important inroads in these areas, producing scholarship across disciplines; taking part in public and private convenings as experts, teachers, and consultants; and developing partnerships both within and beyond the university.

This past year SNF Agora introduced new ways to support and collaborate with faculty throughout the university, including backing a variety of projects and activities through our faculty grants program, launching a new faculty affiliates program, and partnering with the Institute for Humane Studies to create a themed fellowship for our second cohort of visiting fellows. With these programs in place, SNF Agora's community of scholars is furthering the institute's mission of understanding, defending, and advancing democracy.

## SCHOLARLY AND PUBLIC IMPACT OF OUR CORE FACULTY



**140**

invited speaking  
engagements  
around the world



**218**

consultations and  
trainings with  
government or civil  
society leaders



**9**

scholarly awards  
received



**150**

mentions in top  
10 media outlets  
(8.75 billion  
potential reach)



**2**

books published



**21**

peer-reviewed  
academic articles



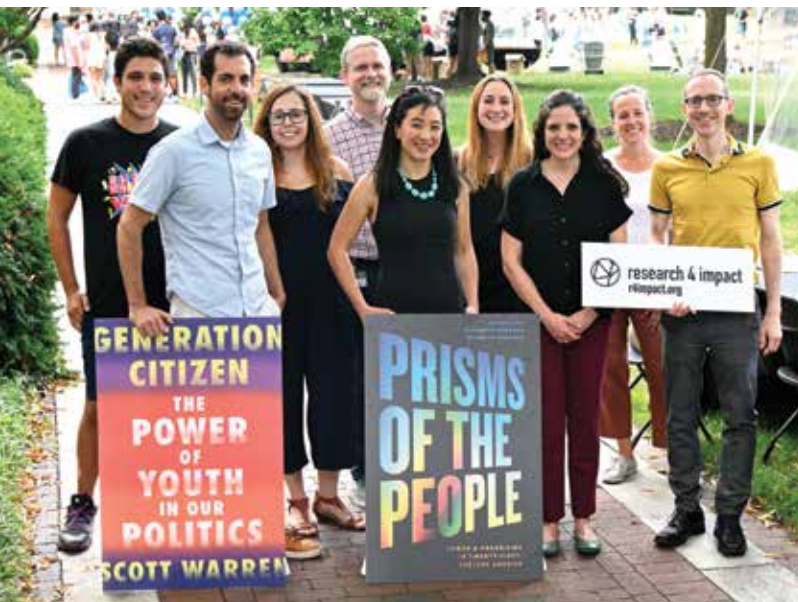
**19**

articles or op/eds in  
mainstream media



**14**

podcast  
appearances



SNF Agora faculty, fellows, and staff celebrated and shared their work with the campus community at the first annual Democracy Day.

“Truly understanding what’s possible—what a revitalized civic infrastructure needs to look like—can only emerge in dialogue with others. As our faculty grows these electric conversations are happening all the time!”

Adam Seth Levine,  
SNF Agora Faculty

## A team of scholars, activists, and educators

With a strong group of scholars—including tenure-line faculty, teaching faculty, and SNF Agora Senior and Visiting Fellows—our impact has grown along with our size. In addition to their research and teaching, SNF Agora faculty and fellows have been invited to speak at convenings around the world, offered consultations and trainings to government entities and civic groups on four continents, and received awards and honors recognizing their academic contributions.

This year, SNF Agora was excited to further expand the institute's academic impact with our new **Faculty Affiliates Program**, which supports work at Johns Hopkins and at other universities that is complementary to SNF Agora's mission. Through this program, affiliated faculty are able to participate in the scholarly life of SNF Agora and, in turn, benefit from collaborating with a wider community of colleagues who share a passion for reinvigorating global democracies and the civic spaces that fuel them. SNF Agora named 13 faculty affiliates in 2021-2022 to work together to solve problems, inform

dialogue, and make connections. Faculty affiliates include scholars from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, Bloomberg School of Public Health, and School of Advanced International Studies, as well as from Oregon State University, Temple University, and Georgetown University.

We also saw work supported by our **Faculty Grants Program**, which we launched last year, become a reality this year. Last spring, we awarded 10 faculty grants, open to faculty across the university, in the amount of \$5,000–\$20,000 each, to be used in the 2021-2022 academic year. The grants supported projects that advanced research and action on a range of topics, including racialized inequality and violence, environmental issues, immigration, and intellectual humility. In spring 2022, we awarded our second round of grants, supporting nine faculty projects—including conferences, qualitative studies, and a multimedia art and storytelling project—that explore threats to global democracy.

---

### THE SNF AGORA IS HER INTELLECTUAL CHRYSALIS

SNF Agora Student Fellow Alexandra Dildine is a Krieger School PhD candidate specializing in American politics whose research agenda is in the formative stages. Where better than the SNF Agora Institute to learn, grow, and contribute as she moves forward in her own work? She sees her time here as similar to being in an intellectual chrysalis—a nurturing and stimulating environment that will lead to transformation.

As a student fellow, Dildine has a number of opportunities to partner with leaders in the field, advance important work, and create new scholarship that may one day be the backbone of her own efforts.

As a member of the P3 Lab, which is led by SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han, Dildine is working on a project that examines how organizations can build social homes—environments that encourage members to go beyond taking action for a specific moment (such as elections) and serve as an epicenter for community relationships, information and resource exchange, and, ultimately, power-building.

Dildine also had the chance to do research in collaboration with the community of practice More in Common; her research focused on how to bring people together across difference to solve public problems.

“It’s very exciting to be part of the SNF Agora Institute’s project to bring together minds from across fields and disciplines, both to tackle the challenges we face in the short term and to support the mission of sustaining a vibrant, pluralistic democracy for the long term,” says Dildine.



Alexandra Dildine,  
Krieger School  
PhD candidate in  
American politics,  
SNF Agora  
Student Fellow



## FACULTY IMPACT AT HOME AND AROUND THE WORLD

One of the ways we assess whether our work is having an impact on the world outside of the institute is by gauging whether and to what extent our faculty are being tapped as experts—by institutions and think tanks, by practitioners and civic actors, by governments and the media.

This past year, with the expansion of our faculty, our impact among civic and governmental entities around the world expanded as well. Our core faculty spoke at 140 events all over the world and offered 218 practitioner strategy consultations and trainings with civil society organizations or government leaders in the U.S., Europe, Latin America, and Australia. Our work attracted the attention of the White House, the U.S. Congress, and Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelensky.

In addition, SNF Agora Institute Director Hahrie Han was selected to join the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. She was also named a Schwab Foundation Social Innovation Thought Leader as part of the World Economic Forum Davos Agenda—recognition that demonstrates SNF Agora’s scholarly impact on the world stage.



**Top:** SNF Agora Institute Director Hahrie Han was named a Schwab Foundation Social Innovation Thought Leader as part of the World Economic Forum.

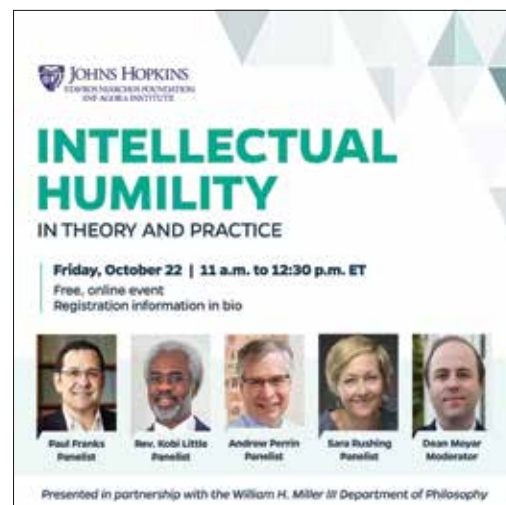
**Right:** A cross-ideological conversation on intellectual humility was sponsored by an AY 21-22 faculty grant.

## FACULTY GRANT PROGRAM: INTELLECTUAL HUMILITY

In October, Dean Moyer, PhD hosted “Intellectual Humility in Theory and Practice,” a virtual event supported by an SNF Agora faculty grant. Moyer is a professor of philosophy and director of graduate studies in the William H. Miller III Department of Philosophy at Johns Hopkins. He moderated a conversation focused on the idea of intellectual humility—the recognition that the things you believe might be wrong—as essential for both democratic cooperation and scholarly inquiry. Speakers included Paul Franks of Yale University; SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Rev. Kobi Little; SNF Agora faculty member Andrew Perrin; and Sara Rushing of Montana State University, author of *The Virtues of Vulnerability: Humility, Autonomy, and Citizen-Subjectivity*.

**“Humility is not just, ‘Oh, I’m wrong. I’d better sit in the corner,’ but rather it’s, ‘I might be wrong. Let me subject my action and my understanding to a careful self-critique.’ It needs to be the foundation for better action, not the foundation for inaction.”**

**Andrew Perrin, SNF Agora faculty, during the “Intellectual Humility in Theory and Practice” conversation**



# Visiting fellows join the SNF Agora community to teach and learn

Our 11 SNF Agora Visiting Fellows in 2021–2022 included a Paris-based journalist who writes about what happens at the intersection of culture, politics, and religion; a social impact leader who looks at how charitable giving affects democracy; and a church leader who explores the theory and praxis of the prophetic ministry tradition—to name just a few. They worked on projects that included teaching, research, writing case studies, organizing public conferences, and leading communities of practice.

In spring 2022, we announced our next cohort of 11 fellows, who will join us during the 2022–2023 academic year. As part of the year’s fellowship program, we are partnering with the Institute for Humane Studies at George Mason University to offer a themed fellowship on “The Search for Truth in a Complex World: Civic and Ethical Dimensions” and with the Renew Democracy Initiative to launch a new Dissident in Residence program.

## VISITING FELLOW CREATES A SUMMIT AND NONPROFIT “OF THE PEOPLE”

During her time as an SNF Agora Visiting Fellow, Yordanos Eyoel organized an international summit with 396 registrants from 48 countries, 25 speakers from 12 countries, and dynamic topics for discussion and debate. Held in May 2022, the first Virtual Global Democracy Champions Summit created a forum for democracy entrepreneurs, activists, academics, journalists, philanthropists, and policymakers to share and amplify new ideas, experiences, and strategies to build inclusive 21st-century democracies.

Concurrent with the conference, Eyoel launched Keseb, a new global nonpartisan nonprofit. Keseb means “of the people” in an ancient South Semitic language, and the organization aims to give citizens the tools and education, particularly in the area of entrepreneurship, to advance democracies that will truly be of the people.

**“For my fellowship, I organized and moderated an online symposium on secularism in France and the U.S., in which nine renowned panelists had a thoughtful debate on a contentious theme. I’m grateful to SNF Agora for the opportunity to develop what I believe is a scalable model for bringing together academics, policymakers, and journalists for meaningful, in-depth conversations on important and timely questions.”**

**Rachel Donadio,  
SNF Agora Visiting Fellow AY 21-22**



**The Virtual Global Democracy Champions Summit created a forum for sharing ideas, exploring solutions, and engaging in active dialogue on the topic of 21st-century democracies.**

## RESPONDING TO THE CRISIS IN UKRAINE

When Russia invaded Ukraine in winter 2022, SNF Agora experts were prepared to assist and inform. Our faculty and fellows were leading voices here on campus, in the halls of the U.S. Congress, and in national and international news outlets, helping students, governments, and the wider world understand the context and consequences of the invasion.

🕒 SNF Agora Senior Fellow Peter Pomerantsev is co-director of Arena lab, which issued its report, **“Ukraine at 30: From Independence to Interdependence,”** in July 2021 to mark and remark upon the country’s 30 years of independence. This report is now particularly timely and poignant given the invasion and what has turned into a months-long struggle for Ukraine’s survival.

🕒 In March 2022, the SNF Agora Institute hosted a **pop-up talk on the Homewood campus** about the unfolding invasion of Ukraine. Johns Hopkins students were invited to attend and ask questions of SNF Agora faculty experts Anne Applebaum, Henry Farrell, and Peter Pomerantsev, along with Chris Beyrer of the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health.

🕒 At a March meeting of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, SNF Agora Senior Fellow Anne

Applebaum was invited to share her perspective and expertise. The topic of her testimony was **“Combatting Authoritarianism: Tools and Responses.”**

🕒 In April 2022, SNF Agora Senior Fellows Anne Applebaum and Peter Pomerantsev **traveled to Kyiv to speak with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky** on what his country needs to survive and the price it has paid. Applebaum and Pomerantsev are both widely esteemed experts on the geographic area; they interviewed Zelensky for *The Atlantic*.

🕒 SNF Agora experts on the region and related issues were **central voices in informing the public at large** during this crisis. Their pieces have been published in *The Atlantic*, *TIME*, *The Guardian*, and *The New York Times*; they have been featured on *CNN*, *NPR*, and *The Argument* podcast.



In March 2022, students were invited to join SNF Agora and other faculty and fellows for a pop-up conversation about the unfolding crisis in Ukraine.



Ukraine President Volodymyr Zelensky (center) is pictured with Anne Applebaum (his left), *The Atlantic* editor Jeffrey Goldberg (his right), and Peter Pomerantsev (Goldberg's right).





The design pillar of SNF Agora's mission focuses on translating our scholarly work into actionable knowledge beyond the walls of Krieger and the university. This involves research labs, where our faculty and fellows create and test ideas; communities of practice, which bring scholars and practitioners together to solve real-world problems; and our case studies and other publications, which are tools that can be used by teachers, trainers, and civic groups to deepen skills and develop insights about how to approach real-world choices and dilemmas.

Over the last year, SNF Agora housed five faculty labs and seven communities of practice, and we published three case studies and two reports. This work helps to bring social science research to bear on core questions about democracy and put tools in the hands of the governments, policymakers, and civil society leaders who are tackling these problems on the ground.

## DESIGN IN ACTION



**5**

faculty labs  
at work



**7**

communities  
of practice  
in progress



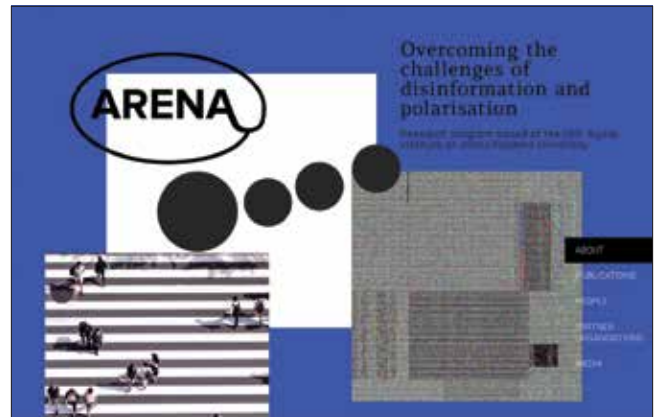
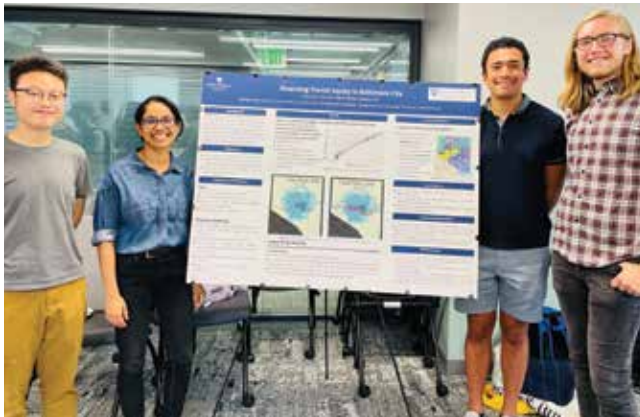
**422**

participants engaged  
with communities  
of practice (from  
54 countries and 9  
U.S. states)



**3**

new case studies  
published,  
for a total of 10  
created  
by SNF Agora



**Top left:** The Data Science for Democracy Workshop was held this year, showcasing just one of the ways communities of practice are actively involving people in new ideas and real solutions.

**Bottom left:** Climb's first program brought 30 Welsh professionals together to gain needed skills in addressing future crises.

**Top Right:** The Arena Lab challenges disinformation and polarization.

**Bottom Right:** SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Sam Novey organized a number of events and programs to encourage participation and thoughtful dialogue surrounding voting, including Party at the Mailbox.

## Labs: creating new knowledge

There are five labs working under the umbrella of the SNF Agora Institute and through collaboration with a number of Krieger School partners. Each SNF Agora lab operates differently but, like labs in the basic sciences, they share a spirit of inquiry and experimentation and a goal of generating new insights and potential interventions.

- **Arena:** Co-directed by SNF Agora Senior Fellows Anne Applebaum and Peter Pomerantsev, Arena creates and disseminates best practices for overcoming the challenges of disinformation and polarization.
- **Hard Histories at Hopkins:** Directed by Martha S. Jones, PhD, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, Professor at the SNF Agora Institute, Hard Histories examines the role that racism and discrimination have played at Johns Hopkins.

- **P3:** Led by political scientist and SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han, P3 focuses on making civic participation possible, probable, and powerful.
- **Mapping the Modern Agora:** Led by Hahrie Han and associate research scholar Milan de Vries, Mapping the Modern Agora harnesses the power of big data and computational social science to map the landscape of civic opportunity and revitalize a culture of democracy.
- **Center for Economy and Society:** Co-led by SNF Agora-affiliated Krieger faculty Steven Teles, Angus Burgin, and Ling Chen, along with SNF Agora faculty member Henry Farrell, CES brings together thinkers on the right and left to identify and address perils facing market democracies.

### CENTER FOR ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

This spring, SNF Agora received \$11 million in funding from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation to establish our newest lab, the **Center for Economy and Society (CES)**. Co-led by SNF Agora-affiliated Krieger faculty Steven Teles, Angus Burgin, and Ling Chen (all three are faculty at the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences) along with SNF Agora faculty member Henry Farrell (who holds a joint appointment at the School of Advanced International Studies), CES is a multidisciplinary center that will bring together thinkers on the left and right to reinvigorate debates about politics and economics and identify new possibilities for change.

The Center for Economy and Society is one of a number of inter-related initiatives funded by the Hewlett Foundation and Omidyar Network. The grants—which together total more the \$40 million and are also funding work at Harvard and Howard Universities, MIT, and the Santa Fe Institute—support the establishment of academic centers dedicated to reimagining the relationships among markets, governments, and citizens. SNF Agora's inclusion in this effort is another sign that our work is attracting attention and gaining a reputation for tackling some of the world's toughest problems.



**Clockwise from top left:** Angus Burgin (history); Ling Chen (political economy); Steven Teles (political science); Henry Farrell (international affairs).

**Opposite:** A cross-section of Marylanders worked together for the Uniting for Action on the Maryland Economy community of practice.



# Communities of practice: information at work

If the SNF Agora faculty labs are where new insights are generated, the communities of practice are the clinical trials, where these new ideas and solutions can be applied to real people, real communities, to gauge results and adjust formulas if needed. There were seven communities of practice this year, all striving to address critical needs in our community.

- **Climb** is fostering a self-sustaining generation of leaders equipped with the tools to combat future public health crises.
- **Data Science for Democracy Workshop** is a two-week intensive workshop to enable aspiring data scientists to gain skills while working on vital problems arising in the study of democracy.
- **Democracy Hackathon** brought 11 students and three faculty members together to use data skills to create voter turnout dashboards and visualizations.

- **Democracy Moves** is building a youth-led, global movement for democracy.
- **New Pluralists** is a cross-ideological group of practitioners, storytellers, researchers, and innovators working to foster a culture of pluralism in America.
- **Strengthening Democracy by Strengthening the Agora** aims to understand how we create collective settings that develop the behaviors and orientations that underlie a culture of democracy.
- **Uniting For Action on the Maryland Economy** brings people with wide-ranging views together to collaborate across divides to address economic challenges in Maryland.

---

## “MARYLAND UNITERS” GATHER IN HAGERSTOWN, BALTIMORE, AND FREDERICK

Throughout the last year, SNF Agora partnered with Urban Rural Action and the Washington County and Maryland Hispanic chambers of commerce on a community of practice called **Uniting for Action on the Maryland Economy**.

A cohort of 29 people—representing a cross-section of Maryland’s geographic, economic, ideological, and racial diversity—worked together to make progress on key goals, including learning to communicate and collaborate across divides, understanding the unique economic challenges in urban and rural parts of the state, and developing projects to tackle specific challenges in partnership with organizations from around the state.

In September, they kicked off their work with a gathering in Hagerstown, Maryland, that focused on getting to know the cohort members and their diverse perspectives and developing skills for constructive dialogue. In October, they followed up with a convening in Remington, a neighborhood adjacent to the Homewood campus, to deepen cohort members’ understanding of the intersections of race and the economy in Baltimore and throughout the state, analyze key problems faced by project partners, and begin designing solutions-oriented projects.

After the kickoff meetings, teams worked together to turn ideas into action, with projects readied for implementation in the spring, and presented at a final gathering in Frederick, Maryland, in June. Projects sought to reduce barriers to employment for LGBTQIA+ individuals; prepare Marylanders for the future of work; support immigrant businesses; promote the role of mind-body wellness in economic wellbeing; and better address youth homelessness in Washington County.



# Case studies: building a library of civic knowledge

During the past year, we expanded our Case Studies on Democracy Library, publishing three additional case studies—bringing our total to 10—with another six cases in the pipeline. Our case studies are being used by groups in a variety of sectors, including colleges and universities, high schools, government offices, and nonprofit and civic organizations.

This spring, we began a peer-review process for our case studies, in support of a new partnership with Project MUSE. Based at Johns Hopkins, Project MUSE is a leading provider of digital humanities and social science content for the scholarly community around the world. Publishing our case studies on this open source platform will increase visibility and make it easier for organizers and practitioners to access our work.

In addition to our case studies, we published two reports authored by SNF Agora fellows. “Ukraine at 30: From Independence to Interdependence,” authored by SNF

Agora Senior Fellow Peter Pomerantsev, and “Democratic Engagement: A Report at Johns Hopkins University,” authored by SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Scott Warren, with assistance from a number of Johns Hopkins students and staff members.



The Case Studies on Democracy Library is publicly accessible and is used by colleges and universities, nonprofits, and civic organizations, among others.

## NEW CASE STUDIES

• **“Public Service–Spirited Media Takes on the Memory Wars,”** by SNF Agora Senior Fellow Peter Pomerantsev, follows a group of journalists and scholars in Ukraine who pioneered a methodology and set of principles for creating media content that offers a way to move beyond disinformation and polarization.

• **“Navigating the Youth Turn in Taiwan’s Labor Politics,”** by SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Scott Warren and Felicia Jing, a PhD candidate in political science at the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences at Johns Hopkins, focuses on a youth labor NGO based in Taipei, Taiwan, and the challenges the organization faced in its larger strategic efforts to organize workers around issues relevant to young people.

• **“The Revival of the Nevada Democratic Party”** was written by political scientists Sam Rosenfeld, associate professor of political science at Colgate University, and Daniel Schlozman, the Joseph and Bertha Bernstein Associate Professor of Political Science at the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences at Johns Hopkins. The study looks at what politicians, party officials, activists, social movements, interest groups, and others can learn from the state level political party, which—in an era when many local and state party organizations have declined—was able to dramatically reorganize and revive to make sustained electoral gains.

# PREPARING YOUTH TO GUARD, GROW, AND SERVE DEMOCRACY

The future of democracies around the world will depend on the youth of today having the interest and the capacity to become active citizens. The SNF Agora Institute—rooted in the Krieger School of Art and Sciences, within a university community, fueled by student ideas and engagement, and guided by dedicated educators—is well situated to help them get there.

☉ SNF Agora partnered with JHU’s Center for Social Concern and the university’s orientation team to offer the **first annual Democracy Day** in August 2021. The event is designed to prompt incoming undergraduate students at Johns Hopkins in both the Whiting School of Engineering and the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences to think critically about their rights and responsibilities as citizens and democratic actors and to engage directly with faculty and community leaders on these issues.

☉ In March 2022, SNF Agora launched the **university debate initiative**, a program that will model the habits and virtues of debate across different perspectives. The initiative will plan and carry out a series of high-profile and smaller debates each year.

☉ **The Student Engagement Board and Student Fellows program** offer ways for young people to get involved with the SNF Agora Institute. **Student grants** enable students and student groups to attend conferences and embark on exciting projects. This year’s projects included tackling health discrimination among Medicaid recipients and creating a civic anti-misinformation chatbot.

☉ During the past year, SNF Agora offered **20 academic courses**, exploring the philosophical foundations and principles of democracy, disinformation, non-violent resistance, and other relevant topics.

☉ SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Scott Warren is helping to create a **youth-led global movement for democracy**. In October, the community of practice Democracy Moves, with support from SNF Agora, hosted Global Youth Activism Amidst Democratic Decay, a three-day virtual conference attended by youth who registered from more than 50 countries.

☉ **SNF Visiting Fellow Sam Novey** hosted a variety of events with SNF Agora, including a “100% Democracy” book talk with authors E.J. Dionne and Miles Rapoport, another “100% Democracy” in New York for students and alumni of Johns Hopkins’ Center for Talented Youth, and the Democracy Hackathon.



President Daniels addressed students at the first annual Democracy Day in August 2021.

“Today is an opportunity for all of you to begin exploring some of the problems facing democracies alongside your professors and to ask the questions of what must happen for democracies to thrive in the years and decades ahead.”

JHU President Ronald J. Daniels  
during his remarks on  
Democracy Day 2021.



# DISCOVERY AND DESIGN WORK

We are excited to see the growth—both in size and impact—of the scholars and practitioners who contribute to our Discovery and Design activities. But just as important to our mission is our Dialogue work, which brings our research and scholarship out of the labs and conference rooms and into conversation with students, policymakers, and the broader public.

SNF Agora is committed to the free exchange of ideas from all viewpoints, and we engage a variety of audiences through our public writing, classes, convenings, and other activities—all with the goal of strengthening citizens' commitment and capacity to participate meaningfully in our democracy.

In the past year, SNF Agora faculty and fellows published, or were written about, in a variety of mainstream publications, including *The Atlantic*, *Foreign Policy*, *The New Republic*, *The New York Times*, *Politico*, and *The Washington Post*. We increased the number of courses offered to Johns Hopkins students, exploring the philosophical foundations and principals of democracy, disinformation, nonviolent resistance, and other relevant topics. And we hosted dozens of virtual, in-person, and hybrid public events, including the first annual Democracy Day, the Global Democracy Champions Summit, and the SNF Agora Symposium on Civic Health, part of the SNF Nostos festival in Athens, Greece.

## SNF AGORA EVENTS AND PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT



**5,213**

attendees



**9,764**

YouTube views



**89**

guest speakers



**42**

events



**4**

public conferences



**76**

countries represented  
in our audiences



Pictured from left: David Holt, mayor (R-OKCTY); Adam Seth Levine, SNF Agora faculty; Giada Girelli, Harm Reduction International; Hahrie Han, SNF Agora director; Sarah Szanton, dean of the Johns Hopkins School of Nursing; and Alister Martin, founder of VOT-ER. The group participated in the panel “How Can Active Citizenship Improve Health for All Members of Democracy?” as part of the SNF Agora Symposium for Civic Health in June 2022.

## Student engagement: teaching by doing

SNF Agora faculty and fellows taught 20 courses for Johns Hopkins undergraduates in 2021-2022. In addition to these classes, we engaged Johns Hopkins students in a variety of events—like Democracy Day and our “100% Democracy” book talk—aimed at cultivating civic engagement among young people in particular. We also worked with our Student Engagement Board to award six SNF Agora student grants. Through all of these activities, SNF Agora is providing a firm foundation for scholars to learn and enact the ideas of democracy and civic engagement.

**20**

**courses offered to  
undergraduates**

**6**

**student grants  
awarded**

**10**

**students serving  
on the student  
engagement board**

**800**

**students participated  
in the first annual  
Democracy Day**



Student Engagement Board member Frank Meng, Class of 2025, worked the SNF Agora table at the Student Involvement Fair in February 2022. Students are involved with SNF Agora through coursework, programming, and board membership.



## LESSONS FROM THE FRONTLINES OF FREEDOM

Johns Hopkins students had the opportunity to learn from pro-democracy activist and former world chess champion Garry Kasparov during the January 2022 intersession course **Frontlines of Freedom**. Kasparov, who is chair of the Renew Democracy Initiative and a member of the SNF Agora Institute Board, organized the class, which looked at American democracy and activism from a comparative perspective and truly brought home for participants the high stakes for democracy and activism faced by citizens the world over.

As part of the class, dissidents from oppressive countries shared their stories with the young Johns Hopkins scholars and led discussions around authoritarianism, the global struggle for democracy, American flaws and exceptionalism, and how to build pro-democracy coalitions. Speakers included Mihrigul Tursun of China, a former Uyghur detainee; Leopoldo López of Venezuela, jailed for political opposition; Masih Alinejad of Iran, a journalist-activist pursued for her work; and Pastor Evan

Mawarire of Zimbabwe, creator of a movement to unseat dictator Robert Mugabe. Mawarire will be the AY 22-23 SNF Agora-RDI Dissident in Residence.

**“The course was really eye-opening, as we were able to meet so many incredible and inspiring guest speakers. They really made me aware of the issues happening around the world and how lucky we are to have the things many take for granted.”**

**Jeffrey Guo, Class of 2024**

## SNF AGORA COURSES

### ACADEMIC YEAR 2021-2022 COURSES

#### Fall 2021

- Intermediate Data Analysis for Social Science and Public Policy
- Nonviolent Resistance in World Politics
- Science and Democracy
- The Politics of Reproduction
- This is Not Propaganda
- SOUL: The Knowledge Economy and Inequality
- SOUL: Social Entrepreneurship, Policy and Systems Change
- SOUL: Philanthropy, Politics, Democracy

#### Intersession 2022

- Frontlines of Freedom

#### Spring 2022

- Intermediate Data Analysis for Social Science and Public Policy
- Political Violence
- This Is Not Propaganda
- Black Political History and Activism in Modern America
- Introduction to Sociology
- Knowledge, Evidence, and Democracy
- Democratic Challenges
- Democracy
- Public Square: An advanced course in reading, writing, and publishing at the highest levels
- Democracy in Crisis
- Democracy by the Numbers

## STUDENT ENGAGEMENT BOARD: YOUNG LEADERS OF DEMOCRACY

As a first-year student, Shreya Sriramineni witnessed many positive changes take place across campus based on the efforts of student government and clubs—and she noticed that many of these initiatives were spear-headed by students like herself. With a strong interest in public policy and science communication, Sriramineni decided to apply for the Student Engagement Board of the SNF Agora Institute in the hopes of being one of those creating a positive impact for the institute, university, and larger world.

Sriramineni's service on the board during AY 21-22 was enlightening, inspiring, and enjoyable. She worked with institute leadership and fellow student board members to launch a new annual essay contest; advised on a number of events and projects; had the opportunity to interact with institute guests, fellows, and faculty; and made some wonderful friends.

Sriramineni plans to pursue a career in national security, and for the foreseeable future wants to continue to participate in student leadership. She cites the lessons she has learned in communication and deliberation during her service on the board as things she will carry with her through her future studies and professional life.

"Academia, private entities, government, and individual citizens must all play a role in the fight for democracy. I'm not only inspired to witness these efforts from the side of academia, but am also grateful that I'm able to interact with the faculty and leadership driving this incredible work. I hope that my service on the board will increase the institute's visibility to the student body and greater public," Sriramineni states.



**Shreya Sriramineni, Class of 2024, Student Engagement Board member**

### SNF AGORA ONLINE COMMUNITY



**2,881**

twitter followers



**596**

Facebook followers



**515**

YouTube followers



**721**

Instagram followers



**4,749**

e-newsletters subscribers



**123,726**

website page views

# Public engagement: written and spoken dialogue

While scholarly publishing is core to our work, at SNF Agora, we also encourage our faculty to engage with audiences beyond academia through public writing—including books, magazine articles, and op-eds—plus social media, mainstream media, and through other public forums to ensure that their work is shared with the wider world.

This past year, as the university—and the world—transitioned back to more in-person experiences, SNF Agora began exploring the best ways to connect with our event audiences. We hosted 42 virtual, in-person, and hybrid academic and public events, including returning in person to Athens over the summer for the SNF Agora Symposium on Civic Health. Our events attracted more than 5,200 attendees plus more than 9,700 YouTube views. Many of our programs were co-hosted with organizations on and off campus—like the New York Public Library, the National Constitution Center, and the Johns Hopkins Center for Talented

Youth—and we look forward to deepening those partnerships in the years ahead.



SNF Agora Senior Fellow Yascha Mounk discussed his book *The Great Experiment* with Jane Coaston, host of *The New York Times* podcast *The Argument* at the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Library in the New York Public Library.

## FACULTY AND FELLOW BOOKS

**Hahrie Han, SNF Agora Director**

***Prisms of the People: Power and Organizing in Twenty-First Century America***

Authors Hahrie Han, Elizabeth McKenna, and Michelle Oyakawa use data from six recent U.S. examples to show that the power of successful movements most often is rooted in their ability to act as “prisms of the people,” turning participation into political power just as prisms transform white light into rainbows.

**Yascha Mounk, SNF Agora Senior Fellow**

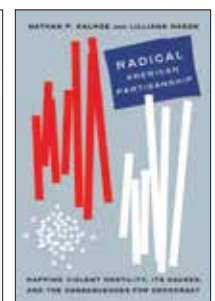
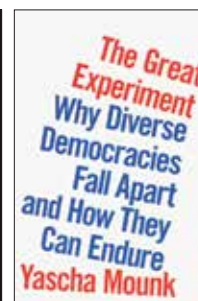
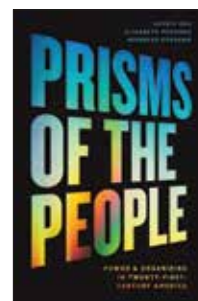
***The Great Experiment: Why Diverse Democracies Fall Apart and How They Can Endure***

Never in history has a democracy succeeded in being both diverse and equal. And yet achieving that goal is now central to the democratic project in countries around the world. It is, author Yascha Mounk argues, the greatest experiment of our time.

**Lilliana Mason, SNF Agora Associate Professor of Political Science**

***Radical American Partisanship: Mapping Violent Hostility, Its Causes, and the Consequences for Democracy***

Lilliana Mason and Nathan P. Kalmoe tackle the question: How did American politics become so divided that we cannot agree on how to categorize an attack on our own Capitol?





# Democracy and Freedom Festival: celebrating the legacy of a defender of democracy

The SNF Agora Institute was honored to host the second annual Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival, which spanned from January to April with a series of events and conversations. Dr. Maya Rockeymoore Cummings created the festival in 2021 to honor the legacy of her late husband, Maryland Congressman Cummings, a staunch defender of democracy and advocate for under-represented Americans. This year's festival included discussions at the Henderson-Hopkins elementary school and the Reginald F. Lewis Museum, as well as an installation of a portrait of Cummings, painted by Baltimore artist Christopher Batten, at the Milton S. Eisenhower Library on the Johns Hopkins University campus.

The festival's keynote event, "Making Your Voice Count: Activism, Voting, and the Democratic Ideal," featured U.S. Congressman Jamie Raskin, chair of the House Subcommittee on Civil Rights and Civil Liberties, in conversation with SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han. They discussed Raskin's book—*Unthinkable: Trauma, Truth, and the Trials of American Democracy*, which describes his personal experience of the January 6 insurrection, days after the loss of his son, Tommy—as well as what is needed to protect U.S. democracy moving forward.

In March, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi joined President Ron Daniels for the program "Democracy: The Role Our Institutions Play." Pelosi, who has a strong record of protecting and expanding voting rights, and President Daniels, who last year authored the book *What Universities Owe Democracy*, held a wide-ranging discussion exploring the role young people play in advocating for social change, hope for bipartisan political progress, and more.

**Top: President Ron Daniels and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi shared a dynamic conversation as part of the second annual Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival.**

**Center: The festival's keynote event featured Congressman Jamie Raskins in conversation with SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han. This portrait of Congressman Cummings was commissioned by JHU and painted by local artist Christopher Batten.**



**Bottom: The Cummings portrait was shared with the Henderson-Hopkins school, and students were given the chance to interact with the artist.**



The SNF Agora Symposium on Civic Health featured keynote speaker Audrey Tang, Taiwan's Digital Minister.

## Your health is connected to your democracy's health

The health of our government has nothing to do with what happens if we catch the common cold...right? The COVID-19 pandemic has made this statement all too clearly false—the health and stability of our governments and our bodies are deeply intertwined. During the June 2022 SNF Agora Symposium on Civic Health at the National Library of Greece in the SNF Cultural Center in Athens, Greece, SNF Agora experts, international leaders, and others delved into this topic.

The event started with a keynote address delivered by Audrey Tang, Taiwan's digital minister for social innovation, followed by a Q&A between Tang and SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han. Following, SNF Agora's Adam Seth Levine moderated a panel discussion—with an international human rights advocate, an emergency room doctor, the mayor of a major U.S. city, and a nursing school dean—exploring ways to foster civic engagement as a means to

improve people's health and wellbeing. The symposium immediately preceded the 2022 SNF Nostos summer conference, which focused on health as well.

**“If we think of democracy as a civic technology, there is a lot of possibility in each of us and all of us to create technology in the service of local democracies.”**

**Audrey Tang,  
Taiwan's Digital Minister**

## Democracy Day: encouraging students to ask the hard questions and get involved

Young people are often told the fate of democracy is in their hands—but not always given the tools to understand what this means or how to meet this responsibility. The first-ever Democracy Day, held when undergraduate students returned to campus for the fall 2021 semester, was designed to encourage first-year students to consider their rights and responsibilities as citizens.

More than 800 students participated in the event, which included a civic engagement fair and 20-minute pop-up seminars on threats to democracy. Each young person was encouraged to consider their role in the future of democracy, no matter their birthplace, major, or background. Johns Hopkins faculty facilitated discussions and student ambassadors helped students register to vote—and 400 did so at the event.



Democracy Day engaged over 800 Hopkins students in activities, workshops, and presentations.

## SNF Agora Conversations

In fall 2021, SNF Agora convened its signature SNF Agora Conversations series on the theme of “Diversity and Democracy.” The conversations focused on diversity and identity and how they shape modern democracy. The first event was a panel discussion entitled, “Race, Identity, and Ideology,” which examined how an oversimplification of racial identity can lead to mistaken assumptions. The second event focused on the book *World as Family: A Journey of Multi-Rooted Belongings* by Vishakha Desai and centered on reframing the idea of what it means to be global.

The Hard Histories Conversations series also continued in the last academic year, with eight seminars and book talks hosted by historian Martha S. Jones, PhD, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, Professor at the SNF Agora Institute and director of the Hard Histories Project. The series explores the histories of Blackness, slavery, and racism in the Maryland area and brought esteemed historians and authors to the Hopkins campus.



Top: Author and SNF Agora board member Vishakha Desai (center) explored topics related to identity in a modern, global world for the SNF Agora Conversations: Diversity and Democracy series.

Bottom: Bloomberg Distinguished Professor Lawrence Jackson, PhD, (right) discussed his memoir *Shelter: A Black Tale of Homeland, Baltimore*, with Martha S. Jones for a Hard Histories Conversation in spring 2022.



## Growing in numbers and impact

The Krieger School of Arts and Sciences and the SNF Agora Institute are excited about the growth of our scholarly community and proud of all we were able to accomplish last year—from the faculty and fellow research that is at the heart of our mission, to our partnerships that have grown in breadth and depth, to the programs and activities that allow us to share our work with audiences beyond the institute.

Yet, we are also aware of how much work is still to be done. In the coming year, in the midst of all of the challenges to democracy we are facing together, SNF Agora will focus on advancing our academic footprint—through new offerings for undergraduate and graduate students and new tenure-line faculty, including within the new Center for Economy and Society; enhancing our public impact—through evaluating our current practices and tools and evolving our public-facing programs for a post-pandemic world; and securing our future—through completing construction on our new building and implementing a development plan that positions the institute for long-term sustainability.



Harkening back to the ancient Athenian agora's boundary stones, SNF Agora invited members of the Johns Hopkins and Baltimore City communities to sign stones that will eventually be on display in our new building. Together, these signatures signify our commitment to strengthening the civic spaces that help democracies thrive.

---

We will undertake all of these efforts with the aim of understanding, supporting, and helping to grow democracies around the world, and of realizing the promise of the ancient agora in modern times. The SNF Agora Institute looks forward to this work.

**SNFAGORA.JHU.EDU**



**JOHNS HOPKINS**  
STAVROS NIARCHOS FOUNDATION  
SNF AGORA INSTITUTE