Once again, the SNF Agora Institute has had an exciting year of growth in both the depth and scope of its work and in the reach of those impacted by its efforts.

Our core faculty grew to 14, with joint appointments in many departments of our home division of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, including the Departments of Political Science, Sociology, and History, as well as in the School of Advanced International Studies and the Bloomberg School of Public Health. In addition, six new team members joined the staff of the institute, working on multiple fronts to advance SNF Agora’s mission. The application-based Visiting Fellows Program also continues to attract a wide range of talented and innovative practitioners who are eager to be involved in the work of SNF Agora and to link its scholarly community to their endeavors.

SNF Agora’s impact is expanding as its reputation grows through faculty consultations with government and civic leaders in the U.S., Europe, Latin America, and Asia; widespread research and commentary in academic and mass media publications; and meaningful convenings with fellow experts and the general public. And, through the work of SNF Agora labs and communities of practice, the team continues to put ideas into action to understand and support democratic resilience.

Creating new ways to explore and support classic modes of learning remains central to the Krieger School’s and SNF Agora’s mission. Newly launched programs like the civic life minor and the SNF Agora Academy’s pre- and postdoctoral programs will bring more students into the fold, introducing them to SNF Agora’s mission and engaging them to pursue additional knowledge.

With so much interest, talent, and resources, the SNF Agora Institute’s scope and impact are increasingly felt through policy, academic advancement, public engagement, and dissemination around the nation and the world.

GROWING ROOTS, SPREADING WINGS

Top: This year’s Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival offered workshops led by SNF Agora faculty and fellows to members of the Baltimore community.

Center: The work of SNF Agora is firmly rooted in the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences with many faculty, including Krieger School Dean Celenza, contributing to its work, and many undergraduates and graduates benefiting from its offerings.

Bottom: Part of Democracy Day is a large-scale fair that features local organizations, campus groups, and ways for students to get involved in democracy in their communities.

Opposite top: The university’s annual Democracy Day helps welcome first-year students to campus and encourages them to engage in a robust civic life.

Opposite bottom: The SNF Agora Institute once again participated in the annual SNF Nostos Conference, hosting a symposium centered on mental health and democratic agency during the summer 2023 event.
“Agora” literally means “assembly,” and the SNF Agora Institute is succeeding in gathering together the many diverse disciplines of Johns Hopkins. Part of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, the institute includes historians, political scientists, and sociologists. Its faculty also draw links throughout Johns Hopkins with joint and affiliated appointments at the Schools of Medicine and Nursing, the Bloomberg School of Public Health, and the School of Advanced International Studies.

Beyond these formal connections, SNF Agora faculty and staff collaborate through many other avenues, including research labs, courses, events, and more. And they reach beyond campus boundaries to communities and organizations near and far seeking to strengthen civic capacity. Truly the work of understanding and strengthening democracy touches every field, and in turn can benefit from the insights of varying experts and backgrounds.

Whether it be a doctor and a sociologist engaging in joint academic research; a visiting fellow working with Ukraine-based journalists to document Russian war crimes; a local nonprofit leader attending an SNF Agora faculty-led workshop; people from opposing political parties participating together in our events; or an engineering student co-creating policy debates, the SNF Agora Institute illustrates every day the central role collaboration, differing perspectives, and varied partnerships play in the study and practice of democracy.

## Award-Winning Work, Widely Recognized Expertise

The work of SNF Agora faculty continues to be recognized both formally—through awards and accolades—and informally—with increased enrollment, readership, and reach.

During the last year, SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han and her coauthors were awarded the American Political Science Association’s Michael Harrington Book Award for *Prisms of the People: Power and Organizing in Twenty-First-Century America*, which was recognized as “an outstanding book that demonstrates how scholarship can be used in the struggle to making the study of political science relevant to building a more democratic and egalitarian economic, social, and political order.”

SNF Agora Institute Associate Professor of Political Science Dawn Teele, who studies women and politics, was awarded the American Political Science Association’s prestigious Theda Skocpol Emerging Scholar Award.

SNF Agora Senior Fellow Yascha Mounk’s book, *The Great Experiment: Why Diverse Democracies Fall Apart and How They Can Endure*, was included on President Barack Obama’s 2022 summer reading list, was one of Financial Times’ “best summer books of 2022,” and was featured in The New York Times’ “10 New Books We Recommend this Week.”

SNF Agora Institute Associate Professor of History Leah Wright Rigueur’s role as the host of the ABC podcast *Reclaimed: The Story of Mamie Till-Mobley* garnered multiple awards: two Webby awards, for Best Documentary Podcast 2023 and People’s Voice–Best Documentary Podcast; two Signal awards for excellence in podcasting; and an Ambie Award for Best Podcast Host.

Martha S. Jones, the Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, and Professor at the SNF Agora Institute, was appointed in 2023 by President Joe Biden as a member of the Permanent Committee for the Oliver Wendell Holmes Devise at the Library of Congress.
PARDON OUR PROGRESS: LEARNING ZONE AHEAD

The construction site for the building that will house the SNF Agora Institute, among other campus entities, is not only a work zone, but also a learning zone: In spring 2023, a group of Johns Hopkins engineering students visited the site as part of a civil systems engineering course. They were greeted by members of the design and construction team, along with Johns Hopkins Facilities and Real Estate project managers, to learn about the design, architectural, and engineering elements of the project. “Of course, our students learn important engineering fundamentals in the classroom, but there is really no substitute for seeing those fundamentals put into practice in a real project,” Rachel Sangree, associate teaching professor in the Department of Civil and Systems Engineering, noted of the experience.

When construction concludes in 2024, student learning at the site will greatly expand. The building, designed by the world-renowned Renzo Piano Building Workshop, will serve as a living, working illustration of SNF Agora’s mission—it will be open and accessible and offer bridges between ideas and practice. One side of the building will house classrooms and scholarly workspaces, while the other will be a gathering spot for dialogue, conferences, exhibitions, and other programming for the SNF Agora Institute and many other Hopkins groups. A ground-floor café will enable the learning within all these spaces to spill out into conversation, deepening the human connections so vital to the agora.
At the core of the SNF Agora Institute is a group of Johns Hopkins University-based scholars who are charged with catalyzing multidisciplinary inquiry to understand democratic decline and resilience, identify possible interventions, and share that knowledge with the world.

These are the thought leaders who are tapped to explain issues in both mass media outlets and academic journals. They are the experts who provide insight for government officials, local community organizations, national initiatives, and more. And they are the teachers who help guide students into a deeper understanding of important issues, and how to address them, as they develop into active citizens.

SNF Agora’s tenure-line faculty spoke at events all over the world this year, and were called upon to serve as speakers and expert advisers at the Nobel Prize Summit, the Yenching Global Symposium (Beijing), USAID, and the U.S. State Department. SNF Agora faculty and senior fellows are widely recognized for their insights and work, garnering acclaim through awards within their academic fields and recognitions in the public sphere.

SNF Agora was able to deepen its curricular programs on campus, including creating a new minor in civic life, offering 17 academic courses, and developing new pre- and postdoctoral programs through the SNF Agora Academy. Thirty-two graduate and undergraduate students served as student fellows, working with and learning from SNF Agora faculty.

Seven new faculty affiliates—reflecting diverse scholarly interests and perspectives and helping to build bridges with academic departments at Johns Hopkins and other universities—joined the SNF Agora team last year. In addition, SNF Agora awarded eight faculty grants to Johns Hopkins faculty from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, the Bloomberg School of Public Health, the Peabody Institute, and the School of Advanced International Studies to pursue research and other activities that explore issues important to democracy’s future.
FACULTY HIRING

10 existing tenure-line faculty
4 new tenure-line hires

CORE FACULTY IMPACT *

SCHOLARLY IMPACT

30 academic articles, books, and chapters
9 awards and fellowships

PUBLIC-FACING OUTPUT

28 publicly oriented op-eds and essays in mainstream media
23 podcasts and media appearances
137 media mentions** & 7.14B potential news reach***
122 invited speaking engagements
187 expert engagements (strategy consultations, adviser invitations, etc.)

PUBLIC PARTNERS

A wide range of civil society and governmental organizations and leaders in the U.S., Asia, Australia, Europe, and Latin America sought expert advice and partnership with SNF Agora faculty, including: Dumfries House, the U.S. Congress, World Bank Group, and the National Academy of Sciences.

* Based on the work of core faculty.


*** 7.14B potential news reach is based on audience counts for each news outlet, not actual clicks.
 Welcoming new faculty

The SNF Agora Institute is thrilled to have a growing and dynamic faculty community. Our 14 core faculty members work in sociology, political science, political economy, history, and other areas. SNF Agora faculty are highly sought-after experts and are often tapped to provide commentary, insight, and context to current issues and debates in our society.

“My teaching is anchored on three values: big ideas, analytic rigor, and empathy. I hope to inspire students to be curious about big questions, to evaluate claims critically, and to care about the lived experiences of people in near and faraway places.”

Yuen Yuen Ang

Our newest core faculty members, above, left to right:
Yuen Yuen Ang is a cross-disciplinary scholar of political economy, focusing on China and on the themes of development and innovation.

Amy Binder is a sociologist who studies education from a political, organizational, and cultural perspective.

Monica Prasad joins the Center for Economy and Society within the SNF Agora Institute. Her interests are in economic sociology and political sociology.

Louis Hyman, an historian of American political economy and American capitalism, is also joining the Center for Economy and Society within SNF Agora.
Faculty affiliates explore whether a healthy democracy can lead to healthier people—and vice versa

If you are feeling unwell or disconnected, you are unlikely to be able to leave the house to vote, protest, or attend a community meeting. Your voice and your priorities may then be less likely to be heard or addressed through these democratic channels of change. Two SNF Agora affiliated faculty and an SNF Agora faculty member are working to explore this relationship—and to uncover actionable ways to improve it.

The Health and Democracy community of practice is led by Andrew Perrin, SNF Agora Institute Professor of Sociology, and SNF Agora affiliated faculty members Sara Johnson, a professor in pediatric population health and health equity research in the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, and Eliana Perrin, Bloomberg Distinguished Professor of Primary Care at the Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, Nursing, and Bloomberg School of Public Health. They work to explore how health impacts our ability to participate and benefit from democracy and how democracy can in turn benefit our health through policy, laws, education, and more.

The community of practice has already published a paper proposing a conceptual framework for advancing the study of this issue and ways health care providers and policymakers can work together to empower systems and individuals to realize their civic and physical health. Bringing together SNF Agora faculty affiliates from across fields, expertise areas, and perspectives is a key part of what made this work successful and what will keep it moving forward to results.

“Our integrative conceptual framework highlights the interconnectedness of primary care structures, health equity, and civic engagement and supports the crucial role of primary care in advancing both civic and health outcomes.”

Around the country, policymakers who are responsible for shaping programs around public health, environmental protection, and other areas that affect people’s daily lives desire—but often don’t find—collaborations with researchers whose work could help inform their decision-making.

In 2022, Adam Seth Levine (below), SNF Agora Institute Associate Professor of Health Policy and Management who studies the role of science in American life, published a paper called “Unmet Desire” in the online journal Issues in Science and Technology demonstrating this lack of connection between policymakers and scholars.

“The broad message of that paper was that new collaborative relationships between diverse thinkers often don’t happen on their own in civic life, and so we need tools to surface and meet it,” Levine says. His paper advocated using an “unmet desire survey” to discover those policymakers who want to collaborate, and then following up with matchmaking to connect them with researchers.

But how to get his work from an academic journal into the real world? Last June, as part of the White House Year of Evidence for Action, the Federation of American Scientists (FAS) launched a competition to collect ideas for how to create a culture of evidence in the federal government. Levine’s submission on unmet desire surveys was accepted, and he spent months collaborating with a team from FAS, Pew Research Center, and the White House Office of Management and Budget (OMB) to create a policy memo called “How Unmet Desire Surveys Can Advance Learning Agendas and Strengthen Evidence-Based Policymaking.” That paper argued that unmet desire surveys and follow-up matchmaking should be a standard part of the government evidence toolbox.

Levine presented that paper in October 2022 at the White House Evidence Forum, which was attended by leaders from across the federal government, including OMB and the Office of Science and Technology Policy. Many were convinced—Levine has since been engaged in one-on-one collaborations to help tailor surveys for specific agencies. One federal agency, the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, is already putting these ideas into practice, using a survey to support its work on healthy aging. And two foundations have funded unmet desire surveys: The Dana Foundation funded a survey to measure neuroscientists’ unmet desire to engage with policymakers and practitioners, and the Greenwall Foundation funded one to measure policymakers’ unmet desire to engage with bioethicists.

“We as researchers brought knowledge about policy analysis and survey fundamentals, and the policymakers brought detailed knowledge about their present needs, local context, and historical challenges.”

Adam Seth Levine, “Unmet Desire,” speaking of the importance of informal collaborations between researchers and policymakers
Sisters speak and support community-based research initiatives

Ashley Daniels kicked off her tenure as an SNF Agora Visiting Fellow in August 2022 with the first Black Girls Vote Research Network’s (BGVRN) Sister Speak Forum. The event, held on the Homewood campus, brought together Black women scholars and practitioners to foster academic-community collaborations.

Historically, Black women have been underrepresented in research, both as scholars and as subjects. Black Girls Vote is a nonpartisan organization that represents the concerns and interests of Black women and works to give them a voice in the political process; the Research Network is the group’s academic arm. Daniels used her visiting fellowship to pilot the Sister Speak Forum, a community-based research initiative that aims to create stronger intellectual partnerships among Black women scholars and community leaders.

As part of the forum, BGVRN put out a call for applications for Sister Speak Grants, which invited Black women scholars to partner with Black women community leaders or organizations for a community-based research project. Five scholar-practitioner teams were awarded the $2,000 grants in fall 2022.

In April, Daniels hosted a panel discussion with some of the grantees, to share with the university and beyond how community-based participatory research can be a helpful tool in studying and advancing civic engagement for minority communities. She also hosted a second Sister Speak Forum in the spring to showcase the work of all of the grantees.

“It’s not just to mobilize, but also to empower. How are we creating spaces or spheres for Black women to run for office? Don’t just vote for the people in the seat at the table, you need to go get a seat at the table as well.”

Ashley Daniels,
Baltimore Beat, Nov. 2022
In 2016, Evan Mawarire was a clergyman, father, and citizen in Zimbabwe. Frustrated, worried about the future of his children, and desperate for change, he posted a four-minute video on social media asking others to join him in standing up for his country.

They did—his video led to a major political movement, protests, and a surging call for reform. The danger for Mawarire grew as the movement’s impact did, and he was tortured and jailed for his actions. He and his family have now fled Zimbabwe, but Mawarire continues his efforts through work with the Renew Democracy Initiative (RDI). During the 2022-2023 academic year, he joined the SNF Agora Institute community as the inaugural SNF Agora-RDI Dissident in Residence, a placement that enabled him to share his experiences, teach others about the price and value of democracy, and continue to fight for human rights and fair government around the world.

As the dissident in residence, Mawarire hosted three events—one in person on campus and two virtual—and taught an intersession course that enabled students, faculty, and community members to hear his story, learn from his experience living under a brutal dictatorship, and gather insights into what it takes to create a powerful political movement.

“The failure of democracy in our countries helps us understand that a history of success shouldn’t make anyone complacent. All it takes for this tradition to crumble is for one leader or group to seize the reins of power and refuse to move on.”

Evan Mawarire, inaugural SNF Agora-RDI Dissident in Residence

Evan Mawarire (right) taught the intersession course, Frontlines of Freedom, and is pictured with David Smolansky (left), the youngest mayor in the history of Venezuela before he was forced to step down.
Faculty grants: Hopkins faculty bring the ideas, SNF Agora connects with funding

The SNF Agora Faculty Grants program is a robust way to support exciting and interdisciplinary work across Johns Hopkins that aligns with the institute’s mission. Grants during the 2022-2023 academic year were as wide-ranging as they were innovative, supporting a qualitative study on the engagement between public health and religious communities during the COVID-19 pandemic; a conference on data, markets, and privacy; a digital humanities toolkit; and a multimedia art and storytelling project centered on the stories of American Muslim women justice activists, to name a few.

Faculty benefiting from the grants were from the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences, the School of Advanced International Studies, the Carey Business School, and the Bloomberg School of Public Health, and their fields of expertise included health policy and management, psychological and brain sciences, history, political science, economics, international political economy, and Islamic studies.

The SNF Agora-supported project “99 Clay Vessels” brought Muslim women together to reflect on the challenges in their lives and their tools of resilience, culminating in ninety-nine women sharing their stories and creating unique pieces of artwork. The clay vessels represent the principal of diversity—each one is unique while also part of a collection.

Krieger School alum pursues the study of democracy

Devin Green, A&S ’23, began his time at Hopkins, and his work with the SNF Agora Institute, at the height of the pandemic and during a time of political uncertainty. For Green, this challenging time brought lessons keenly into focus and goals quickly to the forefront. He delved deeply into his role as a research assistant in the P3 Lab (the research lab led by SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han), his studies in political science, and the question of the difference between an ideal democracy and the experience of democracy—and how bringing political power to more citizens can impact these areas.

Green explored these ideas through experiential learning, mentorship from SNF Agora faculty members Hahrie Han and Bryce Corrigan, and coursework in political science with support from Vesla Weaver, Bloomberg Distinguished Professor of Political Science and Sociology. In the P3 Lab, he supported projects studying multiracial coalition building, unlikely partnerships between corporations and organizers, and more. Encouraged to attend the annual meeting of the Democracy and Power Innovation Fund, Green learned firsthand from organizers, researchers, and funders about the power of organizing as a political practice.

Through it all, his research skills sharpened and his thinking on questions of democracy shifted, with him ultimately finding inspiration to contribute to the field as an academic. Green is now pursuing his PhD in political science at the University of Chicago where he will study collective action through organizing and the U.S. carceral state.

“My experiences at SNF Agora have shown me that even the most vulnerable citizens of a democracy can build political power to create change, and they are who we should seek out when searching for paths to reach the democratic ideal.”

Devin Green, A&S ’23
A NEW MINOR WITH MAJOR IMPACT

SNF Agora’s new undergraduate minor in civic life received approval this spring from the Homewood Academic Council and officially opened for enrollment in late April 2023.

The minor will equip undergraduate students from all areas of study, including STEM, with the knowledge and skills needed to be effective members of free and open societies in the U.S. and around the world. Through core seminars, electives, and experiential learning opportunities, students will gain experience with democratic dialogue and deliberation, collaboration science, information literacy, navigating difference and domination in pluralistic societies, and other skills needed for flourishing civic lives.

In anticipation of the new minor, SNF Agora political scientists Hahrie Han and Lilliana Mason led the first course, An Introduction to Civic Life, last spring. In the course, students read and discussed materials by civic studies and democracy scholars, building a foundational understanding of civic life across disciplines and perspectives. One student described the debate that took place in the class as “an invaluable experience.”

“...It forced me to critically evaluate something I had believed without question, and to change my views considerably. Consequently, I have begun to question what other beliefs I take for granted and have realized that my knowledge is never perfect, no matter how certain I feel. The debate was an excellent exercise in the civic skills we discussed throughout the semester: the ability to work productively in groups, to conduct research, to speak publicly, to defend one’s ideas against scrutiny, and to accept opposing viewpoints.”

Andy Mejia, A&S '23, Introduction to Civic Life course participant

Investing in the next generation

Johns Hopkins University students are at the heart of the SNF Agora Institute with undergraduates, graduates, and fellows all an active part of its work. This past year, with a broad faculty cohort now in place, we were able to deepen our academic offerings on campus to include a minor in civic life for undergraduates and the SNF Agora Academy for graduate students. Both of these programs offer students a pathway for learning and engaging with the values, ideas, and rigorous scholarship that are central to our mission.
THE SNF AGORA ACADEMY

In early 2023, the SNF Agora Academy launched with the aim of cultivating a generation of scholars whose work is instilled with the values, approaches, and intellectual rigor of the SNF Agora Institute. The academy focuses on incubating new research agendas and mentoring young scholars before, during, and after their doctorate training.

The SNF Agora Academy currently comprises two programs. The postdoctoral program is a one- to two-year fellowship intended to support recent doctoral degree recipients whose scholarship engages with questions and topics directly related to the institute’s mission. Postdoctoral fellows conduct research and either teach a course or participate in an active institute project.

The predoctoral program, funded by the provost’s office, is a one-year fellowship open to students from all disciplinary backgrounds who are interested in studying underrepresented groups while pursuing a PhD in the SNF Agora disciplines. Predoctoral fellows are paired with two faculty mentors and one graduate student mentor and devote 40 hours per week to pursuing multidisciplinary learning.

All SNF Agora Academy fellows are in residence in Baltimore and participate in multiple academic programs with SNF Agora faculty and other fellows each month, including community workshops, academic workshops, and external faculty seminars.

Calls for applications went out in January (postdoc) and February (predoc), and we named our first cohort in the spring.

ONTO THE NEXT CHALLENGE

Last year’s student fellows are on their way to being the next leaders in the field: four fellows pursuing academic careers landed tenure-track positions, another won Stanford’s Strengthening Democracy Challenge, and still others have gained admission to PhD programs at the University of Chicago, Harvard, and elsewhere.

BEYOND THE CLASSROOM

4 undergraduates interned for SNF Agora Visiting Fellows
10 students worked in SNF Agora Labs
835 students attended Democracy Day
32 undergraduate and graduate scholars served as SNF Agora Student Fellows
Why do some communities have very low levels of civic opportunity as opposed to others—and what can we do about it? How can the economy of the state of Maryland better serve all its citizens? Can your general practitioner help you get your voice heard in local government?

SNF Agora scholars collaborate with practitioners to investigate practical interventions and translate academic research into usable data to dig into these kinds of questions. They are looking into not only the “what” of the problems, but also the “why” and the “what next” in order to test actionable solutions—and then adjust as they discover what does and doesn’t work.

In the past year, SNF Agora supported five faculty labs, all led by SNF Agora faculty members poised to make important inroads into the problems facing democracy on the local, national, and international levels. SNF Agora also supported six communities of practice, with two newly launched this year. The community of practice Creating a Conservative Pro-Democracy Agenda was developed in partnership with the think tank R Street and hosted two convenings among leading conservatives from 15 states to work toward developing a pro-democracy agenda aligned with conservative values. The other new community of practice, Health and Democracy, studies the symbiotic relationship between personal health and democracy and has already resulted in a published paper.

Design efforts are not limited to the classroom or lab. The SNF Agora-led Democratic Purposes of Higher Education convening brought together faculty leaders from 16 academic centers and institutes from across the U.S., all seeking to support and strengthen democracy and civic capacity in ways that go beyond civic education. And SNF Agora’s Center for Economy and Society hosted 13 dinners on political economy and national security issues.
FACULTY LABS

5 ongoing labs:
- Arena
- Center for Economy and Society
- Hard Histories
- Mapping the Modern Agora
- P3

COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

6 active communities with
- 2 newly launched:
  - Creating a Conservative Pro-Democracy Agenda
  - Health and Democracy

PARTNERS AND PROJECTS

23 university and community partners including:
- R Street
- Hopkins Votes
- Thread
- Institute for Humane Studies

CENTER FOR ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

3 multiday conferences and 13 dinners
325 attendees total
Attendees came from:
- Government / Journalism / Think tanks / Academia

CREATING A CONSERVATIVE PRO-DEMOCRACY AGENDA

2 multiday conferences
90 attendees total from 15 states
Attendees came from:
- Local, state, and national-level elected office / Think tanks / Nonprofits / Media /
- Funding organizations / Research institutions

RECKONING PROJECT

300 witness statements about war crimes gathered from across Ukraine, including occupied territories
48 news articles and 8 longform multimedia features published in major outlets
A tale of two orphanages

A small but dedicated group of students spent their spring poring over historical documents, including receipts for candy, census records, dental bills, obituaries, news articles, and more. They were enrolled in the course A Tale of Two Orphanages, led by Martha S. Jones, Society of Black Alumni Presidential Professor, Professor of History, and Professor at the SNF Agora Institute. Their mission was to uncover the identity—and the humanity—of the young women who lived at an orphanage that first occupied a location in the city’s Mt. Vernon neighborhood then moved to a building on what is now the Homewood campus of Johns Hopkins (hence “two orphanages” in the course title). The entity was established as part of Johns Hopkins’ original bequest and housed primarily Black girls.

The course is part of the ongoing Hard Histories at Hopkins Project, a faculty lab at SNF Agora examining the role of racism and discrimination at Johns Hopkins and in the city of Baltimore. Each student focused on one aspect of the puzzle, with one delving into the day-to-day lives of the girls who lived at the orphanage while others focused on those who ran the institution, the locations of the asylum, and the girls’ identities.

The student researchers were able to draw several important conclusions from their work, and uncovered many details about the orphanage in both its locations, how it ran, and the lives of those involved with it. In fact, they uncovered the identities of over 200 of the girls who lived there.

What started as a class assignment became meaningful and personal for the scholars. They presented their findings in a webinar format at the end of the course, and each noted how their sense of discovery, empathy, and curiosity was piqued through the research process.

“Learning bits and pieces of information has been like finding gold for us.”

Matthew Palmer, A&S ’23, HUB, April 5, 2023
Conservative conversations on the future of democracy

SNF Agora Fellow Scott Warren (below) leads SNF Agora’s Creating a Conservative Pro-Democracy Agenda community of practice, an effort launched in fall 2022 that aims to protect the basic parameters, rules, and institutions of the American republic.

Because many democracy reform efforts are dominated by progressives, the project’s work has initially focused on the center-right pro-democracy movement. In partnership with R Street, a D.C.–based center-right think tank, Warren has been leading a series of convenings with key actors from within the conservative ecosystem to discuss the imperatives of this work and to create a plan for moving the agenda forward on a local, state, and federal level.

Warren organized two related conferences this past year: “Conversations on the Future of the American Republic” took place in Washington, D.C., in October 2022 and was led by Tim Alberta of The Atlantic and Jonathan Bydlak of R Street. “Candid Conversations on the Future of Democracy” took place in San Diego, CA, in January 2023 and was led by Warren. Together, the events were attended by 90 current and former national- and state-level elected officials, secretaries of state, and local election officials, along with leaders of think tanks and nonprofits, academics, and journalists, representing 15 states from across the country.

In the spring, Warren—along with SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han and SNF Agora Associate Professor of Political Science Lilliana Mason—was awarded a Johns Hopkins University Nexus Award to host another convening for this community of practice in fall 2023 at the new Johns Hopkins University Bloomberg Center at 555 Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C.

“We can’t fix what ails America if only one side of the aisle dominates discussions. In fact, that’s actually part of the problem! Meeting and engaging with other right-of-center thinkers and activists—many of whom I didn’t know—has been enriching, and I’m excited to see where these conversations lead.”

Trey Grayson, Partner, Frost Brown and Todd, Former Secretary of State, Kentucky

“The convenings hosted by SNF Agora and R Street have allowed a nonprofit like ours to identify and connect with other prominent conservatives who are concerned with the health of democracy in our Republic. The gatherings have created a national network that I have leveraged in expanding our reach and influence, bolstering our work in the pro-democracy space.”

Scot Turner, Executive Director, Eternal Vigilance, Former Georgia State Representative
The Center for Economy and Society (CES) is an SNF Agora faculty lab that was founded in 2022 through the generous support of the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation. It is a multidisciplinary research and teaching initiative dedicated to reinvigorating debates about politics, economics, and culture, and to identifying new possibilities for change. Over the past year, CES has advanced that work through a series of convenings meant not only to interrogate the “state of the field” and public discourse, but to bring people from different backgrounds together and generate new research agendas.

Those convenings included three multiday conferences in Stanford, CA, and New Orleans, LA, on “Supply-Side Progressivism,” “Grand Narratives of Postwar Political Economy,” and “Political Ideologies of Silicon Valley”—each of which hosted roughly 20 scholars, practitioners, and policymakers around a well-defined set of questions related to contemporary social, political, and economic issues.

CES also led two dinner series that featured roundtable conversations with guest speakers. Steven Teles, a professor of political science, hosted the series on domestic policy, and Henry Farrell, SNF Agora Institute Professor of International Affairs, hosted one on national security and political economy. Guest speakers included Paul Krugman, The New York Times columnist; Jennifer Harris, special assistant to the president and senior director for international economics at the White House; and Richard Reeves, author of On Boys and Men: Why the Modern Male Is Struggling, Why It Matters, and What to Do about It. Jerusalem Demsas, staff writer at The Atlantic, joined CES this year to co-direct the dinner series and to help plan other activities around supply-side economic reform.

Together, 325 people from a variety of backgrounds and perspectives participated in these gatherings, which offered a pluralistic space where scholars and practitioners with different approaches to the political economy of liberal democracy could work out their disagreements, discover common ground, and build new frameworks for governance.

“The dinners that CES runs in D.C. jointly with the Niskanen Center are a really unusual opportunity for people to talk seriously and at length across ideological lines on difficult public policy questions. They get new ideas into the policy bloodstream in D.C., and build community and connections between people who would not ordinarily have a chance to get to know each other. And they’re great advertising for the university.”

Steven Teles, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Center for Economy and Society
Universities answering the call

SNF Agora has always understood that the questions its scholars are trying to answer and the problems they are trying to solve are too complex to tackle alone. So, in addition to the many collaborations created through research, communities of practice, and other projects, SNF Agora has also sought to create a national and international network of scholars and university centers that, like SNF Agora, seek to build civic capacity in ways that go beyond civic education.

In December 2022, SNF Agora hosted a convening on the “Democratic Purposes of Higher Education” to begin to build that network in earnest. The convening kicked off at the Peabody Library with a conversation between Hahrie Han, SNF Agora director, and Nicholas Lemann, dean emeritus of the Columbia Journalism School and former director of Columbia World Projects, about the role that universities can play in impacting public problems like the decline of democracy.

The following day, on the Homewood campus, leaders from 16 university-based centers in the U.S. and Canada participated in deep conversations about their shared goals and challenges; where they are realizing success and where they are not doing enough; what tools can be used to accelerate or expand this work; and how these tools might be more effective if they work together.

These conversations aimed to understand what models universities can use to support civic life and pluralistic democracy, both intellectually and structurally.

The group emerged with a consensus to continue this work together, and to broaden the network to better reflect the diverse stakeholders needed to succeed. To that end, SNF Agora is planning to host another convening at the SAIS Europe campus in the next fiscal year to bring together U.S. and non-U.S. institutions.

Just say “oui” to mini-publics

When elections are far away on the calendar but citizens demand change, or at least demand to be heard, what can a government do?

A new SNF Agora case study, The Gilets Jaunes Protests, Macron’s Democratic Experiment, and Deliberative Mini-Publics, explores this question. The case study analyzes the so-called “gilets jaunes” (or “yellow vests”) protests in France from 2018 to 2021 and examines interventions by French President Emmanuel Macron to be responsive to their concerns, thereby offering readers an opportunity to learn from, and build upon, the idea of mini-publics.

Mini-publics are government-implemented forums that allow French citizens to get information, engage in dialogue, and make their own suggestions about how to enact social and political reforms. Using the French example, readers are asked to consider: Did they work? What other forms of nontraditional political engagement can be implemented? And, critically—how might we replicate or build on this in other countries?
The university debate initiative

It is easy to talk about hard issues with people who already agree with us. But when it comes to discussing a challenging topic with those who hold an opposing view, most Americans are woefully unprepared and unpracticed in meaningful debate, thoughtful dialogue, and active listening. The university debate initiative, launched last year, aims to address this issue by modeling the habits and virtues of reasoned debate across different perspectives and highlighting the possibility of finding points of agreement, common ground, or respect amidst different views.

Each event features a moderated debate on a specific prompt with live polling designed to determine where the audience falls on the issue at hand, both before and after the debate, as well as how open they are to changing their mind based on the arguments made by the debaters.

“Crucially, Elijah never let ideological division turn into personal animosity. He understood that in a democracy, disagreements about policy are not existential, and that showing respect and care for others is not equivalent to capitulating on core values or principles.”

Johns Hopkins University President Ron Daniels, introducing the initiative’s marquee debate at the 2023 Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival, HUB, February 9, 2023

UNIVERSITY DEBATE INITIATIVE DIRECTOR

Louise Flavahan joined the SNF Agora team in fall 2022 as its first dialogue and debate director and brings a wealth of experience in public policy, communication, and politics. One of her focal points for this role is to ensure that students are central; she has already assembled a student advisory committee and coordinated with a number of student groups on campus.

“To me,” says Flavahan, “the win is not necessarily if students leave knowing how to get up on stage and do a formal debate. The win for me is if they go forward to a dinner or date or family Thanksgiving or job interview, and they’re able to have a productive conversation where they can defend their positions in meaningful ways.”

Louise Flavahan is the dialogue and debate director at the SNF Agora Institute.
THE JANUARY 6TH COMMITTEE
November 2022, Mason Hall Auditorium, Homewood Campus

Debate prompt: How should the January 6th Committee act on its findings about former President Donald Trump?

Moderator: Louise Flavahan, SNF Agora Dialogue and Debate Director

Debaters: Ronald Weich, Dean, University of Baltimore Library
Lisa Graves, Executive Director, True North Research; President of the Board of the Center for Media and Democracy

VOTING RIGHTS

Debate Prompt: Should Congress take action to secure voting rights for citizens?

Moderator: Hallie Jackson, A&S ’06, NBC correspondent

Debaters: Karl Rove, Republican strategist
Symone Sanders, Democratic strategist.

CLIMATE CHANGE AND MIGRATION
March 2023, in partnership with the Johns Hopkins Foreign Affairs Symposium, Shriver Hall Auditorium, Homewood Campus

Debate Prompt: To what extent does climate change force migration?

Moderator: Louise Flavahan, SNF Agora Dialogue and Debate Director

Debaters: Amali Tower, Founder and Executive Director, Climate Refugees
Patrick Brown, Co-director of the Climate and Energy Team at The Breakthrough Institute; adjunct faculty in the Energy Policy and Climate Change Program, Johns Hopkins University

THE SUPREME COURT
April 2023, in partnership with the Johns Hopkins Foreign Affairs Symposium, Bloomberg Auditorium, Homewood Campus

Debate prompt: Are Supreme Court reforms needed or realistic in the current political context?

Moderator: Kimberly Wehle, University of Baltimore Law School

Debaters: Neal Katyal, former acting solicitor general of the U.S.
Jeffrey Rosen, President and CEO, National Constitution Center
The SNF Agora Institute is, of course, at its heart an *agora*. An open forum, physically and metaphorically, aimed at strengthening citizens’ capacity for productive participation and leadership in democracy. Throughout a year of active programming, this capacity-building takes the form of a classroom, a lecture, a discussion, a debate, a dinner conversation, a festival, a news interview, an article, and sometimes even a party.

As part of the Krieger School of Arts and Sciences’ mission, the classroom is a core part of how SNF Agora can share and explore its work. SNF Agora faculty have joint appointments in many departments within the Krieger School, as well as in other Johns Hopkins divisions. The faculty and fellows taught 17 courses last year, exploring the psychology of mass politics, citizenship, habits of a free mind, and disinformation and authoritarianism, among other topics. They are also contributing to the newly launched minor in civic life, which offered the pilot course, Introduction to Civic Life, last spring.

SNF Agora held 51 virtual, in-person, and hybrid gatherings this year, co-hosted by organizations on and off campus—like Baltimore Center Stage, the Center for Advanced Study in Behavioral Sciences at Stanford, the Institute for Humane Studies, and the New York Public Library. But not everyone learns through events, and the SNF Agora Institute meets this need by publishing widely in mainstream outlets including *The New York Times*, *The Atlantic*, and *TIME*, while also having faculty appear as guests on radio, television, and podcasts.

The first in-person Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival was a featured event for the university and Baltimore area, a celebration of democratic resilience and an opportunity for the community to grapple with current democratic challenges. On the international stage, the Symposium on Mental Health and Democratic Agency was held in Athens, once again allowing the SNF Agora Institute to be part of the SNF Nostos Festival’s mission to reach, teach, and engage with participants.

The campus-wide Democracy Day is now a highlighted event on the university calendar. The annual event this year partnered with a number of campus entities and Hopkins community members to introduce students to civic life while providing tools for deeper engagement and activity during their time at school and beyond. Building on this campus-wide momentum, SNF Agora also launched the university debate initiative this year, hosting four debates and modeling possibilities of finding common ground amidst civil discourse.
DIALOGUE 2022-2023

EVENTS

51 events

2,800+ in-person/virtual attendees

UNIVERSITY DEBATE INITIATIVE

4 debate events
275 people participating in live polling*

60% of attendees reported being very open or a little open to changing their minds

18% of attendees actually changed their minds

* Live polling data was tracked for three debate events

ELIJAH E. CUMMINGS DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM FESTIVAL

258 attendees (across both days)
12 from legislative or government offices
70 from civic and nonprofit organizations
26 speakers and presenters

63% said the festival was valuable because they learned from experts and practitioners about how to participate in local democracy

70% said they were able to dialogue with people outside of their usual circles

WEBSITE

122,005 page views
44,462 users
44,030 new users
SNF Agora offered 51 virtual, in-person, and hybrid events during the last fiscal year. Events ranged from intimate dinners to large symposiums; from interdisciplinary conferences to focused debates; and from academic book discussions to wide-appeal celebrations. Captured below are just a few of these events.

**THIS PAGE, TOP TO BOTTOM:**
- One of the SNF Agora Institute’s main public conferences was the “Power and Purpose” symposium, held at the Stavros Niarchos Foundation Cultural Center in Athens, Greece.
- Democracy Day has become a highlight of the year for the entire campus community, enabling first-year students, faculty, fellows, and staff to participate in teaching, learning, and practicing active civic engagement.
- In November 2022, Johns Hopkins students were invited to join Senator Barbara Mikulski (ret.) and Stephanie L. Young, executive director of Michelle Obama’s When We All Vote, for a conversation about election outcomes, with Louise Flavahan, SNF Agora’s dialogue and debate director, moderating.

**OPPOSITE PAGE, TOP TO BOTTOM:**
- SNF Agora Director Hahrie Han was invited to be a special presenter as part of the SNF Dialogues series during the 2023 SNF Nostos Festival in Athens.
- Webcasts enable SNF Agora to bring a wider array of expert speakers to a large audience worldwide.
- Small classrooms, dynamic speakers, and unique intersession courses enable Hopkins students to actively learn and participate in discourse through SNF Agora.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACADEMIC YEAR 2022-2023 COURSES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fall 2022</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Science and Democracy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Citizenship and Society in the United States</td>
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<td>• Democracy by the Numbers</td>
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<tr>
<td>• The Psychology of Mass Politics in the U.S.</td>
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<td>• Habits of a Free Mind:</td>
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<td>The Art of Civil Disagreement</td>
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<td>• SOUL: Democracy in Latin America</td>
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<td>• SOUL: The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism</td>
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<td><strong>Intersession 2023</strong></td>
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<td>• Democracy in America:</td>
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<td>Critiquing Democratic Theory &amp; Practice through Alexis de Toqueville</td>
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<td>• Data-Driven Decision Making:</td>
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<tr>
<td>How Algorithms Change Our World</td>
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<td>• Frontlines of Freedom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spring 2023</strong></td>
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<td>• Introduction to Civic Life</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Social Entrepreneurship and Democratic Freedom</td>
</tr>
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<td>• Fighting the Information War:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democracy, Autocracy, and the Battle of Narratives in the 20th and 21st Centuries</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Data-analysis for Social Science and Public Policy I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Data-analysis for Social Science and Public Policy II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• History Research Lab:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Discovering Hard Histories at Hopkins</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Public Policy</td>
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SNF Agora hosted the first in-person Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival in February 2023. This two-day event brought together scholars, practitioners, artists, and the local community to grapple with democratic challenges and to celebrate democratic resilience. The event honors the legacy of legendary statesman Elijah E. Cummings, a U.S. Congressman and civil rights activist from Baltimore who represented Maryland in the U.S. House of Representatives for over two decades. This year’s theme was “Cities and Citizenship,” with festival events leading participants through an exploration of the challenges cities face at the frontlines of democracy and the innovations they are making to strengthen local government.

The celebration kicked off on the Homewood campus with an evening of the arts hosted in partnership with Baltimore Center Stage, called “Baltimore Butterfly Sessions: Pop the Vote.” The following day, the festival moved to the Reginald F. Lewis Museum in downtown Baltimore, where an afternoon of events was introduced by Baltimore City Mayor Brandon Scott, Senator Barbara Mikulski, and Maya Rockeymoore Cummings, who created the festival in 2021. The program included a mix of substantive dialogue, faculty- and fellow-led workshops, an art installation and hands-on activities, and a shared meal with guided conversation. The event culminated with a debate on Congresses’ role in protecting voting rights, featuring political strategists Symone Sanders and Karl Rove, and hosted by NBC correspondent and Johns Hopkins University alumnus Hallie Jackson. This was the first marquee debate of SNF Agora’s university debate initiative.

This year’s festival drew more than 250 attendees representing 70 civic organizations, along with workers from city government or local elected officials’ offices, high school and college students, members of the media, and the general public. And it built new community bridges, too: More than 70% of the attendees said they were able to dialogue with people outside their usual circles through the course of the festival.

“Not everybody wants to go into politics, and they don’t have to, but everybody can serve. Everybody can do something, everybody can say something, everybody can make something happen. And we would often say that each and every one of us could make a difference.”

Sen. Barbara Mikulski (Ret.)
SNF Agora teamed up with Baltimore Center Stage for “Baltimore Butterfly Session: Pop the Vote,” the campus kickoff to the Elijah E. Cummings Democracy and Freedom Festival.

“Pop the Vote” highlighted the importance of artists and creators in uplifting social activism and civic engagement, and featured musical performances by Scott Patterson and John Tyler and a spoken word performance by 2016 National Poetry Slam Champion Lady Brion (pictured below)—all Baltimore artists. Audience members volunteered to read a selection of civic texts, which included excerpts of writings by James Baldwin, Audre Lorde, and Amanda Gorman, the country’s first national youth poet laureate.

Emily White, founder of the #iVoted Music Festival (and a 2023-2024 academic year SNF Agora Visiting Fellow), offered the keynote address.

“I used to be a tour manager when I was in college and shortly after. I never, in a million years, thought understanding the economics behind venues and shows would help to increase voter turnout, right? If this is a space you’re interested in, civic engagement, think about your backgrounds, your skillsets, your knowledge that’s unique to you, and how you can apply it.”

Emily White, Founder, #iVoted Music Festival
What do Alexis de Tocqueville, algorithms, and Zimbabwe have in common?

All were entry points for students to jump into a deeper understanding of democracy and the role citizens play in shaping it during Intersession 2023. SNF Agora Visiting Fellows taught three courses, each guiding students through an intensive and highly interactive lesson plan over the course of one or two weeks.

In SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Theodore Christov’s course, Democracy in America: Critiquing Democratic Theory and Practice through Alexis de Tocqueville, students were introduced to the political ideas of the author and focused on themes of equality versus freedom, individualism and self-interest, democracy versus aristocracy, and the freedom of press, association, and religion. Ultimately, students were asked whether Tocqueville’s insights about democracy in the U.S. can be universally applied.

In the course, Data Driven Decision Making: How Algorithms Change Our World, students took a very different approach to studying democracy. Guided by SNF Agora Visiting Fellow Yvonne Lee, they were asked to consider the political and social implications of algorithms and their use in government, industry, and civil society. At the end of the course, students were asked to propose solutions and potential regulations to address the identified problems.

Frontlines of Freedom, taught by SNF Agora-RDI dissident in residence Evan Mawarire, brought students on a survey of the global struggle for human rights and democracy. Guest speakers were dissidents who had experienced struggle in Iran, Russia, and China. Students were active participants in the resulting discussions of how oppressive regimes maintain power and suppress civic engagement and what role the U.S. government and other governments have in countering these powers at home and abroad.

Whether through historical literature, technical tools, or first-hand accounts, each course offered students an incredible learning experience and a deeper understanding of democracy and their place in it.

Bringing democratic dialogue and history to your playlist

Podcasts are a truly democratic form of information, education, and entertainment. They can be created by anyone and be accessed by large numbers of people. They bring experts straight into our living rooms; history into our commutes; and lively debate on current events into our jogs, walks, and daily routines. SNF Agora faculty members launched two podcasts this past year, one discussing current events though the lens of democracy and its struggles, and one examining history in the context of individuals and their power to create change.

Leah Wright Rigueur hosted the ABC-produced podcast Reclaimed: The Story of Mamie Till-Mobley, a three-part series that premiered in summer 2022. The podcast tells the story of Till-Mobley, the mother of Emmett Till, who many consider to be the mother of the civil rights movement. Using first-person recollections, reflections from Michelle Obama, and recordings of Till-Mobley, the podcast accomplishes a multi-layered story of a mother’s loss, a terrible crime, and a pivotal act that changed history.

Lilliana Mason’s podcast Is This Democracy? launched in November 2022 and is co-hosted by Thomas Zimmer, a Georgetown University professor with a focus on Transatlantic history of democracy and its discontents. The podcast’s mission is to discuss the ongoing conflict over how much democracy, and for whom, there should be in America. Recent topics have ranged from gun violence to Silicon Valley to cancel culture.
While our faculty and fellows are working to advance democratic resilience today, we are also dedicated to preparing for the future. In the year ahead, we will further expand our student and trainee pathways, shaping the next generation of academic and civic leaders, whose work will be instilled with the values, approaches, and intellectual rigor of the SNF Agora Institute. Having launched our new minor in civic life and SNF Agora Academy, we will be working to empower a community of students with the knowledge and skills they will need to be effective and engaged global citizens.

Understanding that the problems of democracy are beyond any one institute’s ability to solve, we also will be focused on deepening our collaborations as a necessary path to discovering solutions. To that end, we will continue to broaden our academic network through our Democratic Purposes of Higher Education convenings in the U.S. and Europe, as well as through research collaborations our faculty will undertake at Johns Hopkins and beyond. We are especially looking forward to the opportunity to expand our scholarly influence through the new Johns Hopkins Bloomberg Center in Washington, D.C., where we can work with experts and policymakers to bring our evidence-based research and interventions to bear on high-level federal decision-making.

Lastly, we are enthusiastically anticipating the move into our new Renzo Piano–designed building when construction is complete in 2024. It has been thrilling to watch the building take shape, and we are so excited to create a true agora on the Homewood campus. We are eager to invite the Johns Hopkins and local communities, as well as visitors from around the country and the world, into our new space to engage with us—and each other—as we all seek to create a brighter democratic future.