SOLUTIONS BEGIN WITH Individuals

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Solutions Begin with Individuals

At the entryway to the Stanley Foundation’s offices in Muscatine, Iowa, are painted the words of our founder, C. Maxwell Stanley: The problems we face are global in proportion, but their solution begins with individuals.

This daily greeting to visitors and employees reminds us that we each have a part to play in the peace and security of our planet and its people. It is an honest statement that we all, at times, find difficult to believe, especially in moments when we feel isolated in our thinking. This is one reason why we at the foundation place so much value on our partnerships and make collective action a cornerstone of our strategy. We know that collaboration across sectors and borders, and at all levels of governance catalyzes our movement toward solutions and the attainment of our vision.

This issue of Courier shares with you some of the impact-driven activities we pursue with others:

In early 2018, visitors and residents in Hawaii received a disturbing emergency alert that a ballistic missile was inbound and that they should take shelter immediately. How can journalists in traditional media and all of us through social media be better prepared for true (and false) messages in the digital age?

The head of humanitarian affairs for the United Nations in the Central African Republic believes “humanitarian action is not a solution to the humanitarian needs” in that country. What does he mean, and what approach has been missing?

Among the most significant hurdles to mitigating climate change has been international agreement on climate finance. Green banks are an innovative and winning solution that the public and private sectors could jointly pursue.

Gender equality in the nuclear policy field has been elusive for systemic reasons that took root during the Cold War. But a new initiative to correct that imbalance and enrich the field is well underway thanks to bold individuals banding together.

And finally, the foundation’s Catherine Miller Explorer Award is given annually to local educators who wish to add a new perspective to their classrooms. Recipients travel abroad as part of the award and we followed them on their journeys.

This summer the foundation will launch a new website and reinvigorate our publications to better align with our policy-action strategy. As a result, Courier will next appear in late 2019. In the meantime, enjoy this and past issues of Courier and our policy content online.

Together,

Mark M. Seaman
Editor and Director of Communications

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This Is Not a Drill

Lessons from the Hawaii False Missile Alert

By Alex Wellerstein
little over one year ago, the Hawaii Emergency Management Agency sent out a blaring alert to untold thousands of people in the Hawaiian Islands: BALLISTIC MISSILE THREAT INBOUND TO HAWAII. SEEK IMMEDIATE SHELTER. THIS IS NOT A DRILL.

This was, it can feel difficult to remember, a time that followed a period of high tension between the United States and North Korea, when leaders of both countries were bragging about their nuclear capabilities and the possibility of war seemed very real.

It was, as it indicated, not a drill. But it wasn’t a real sign of an attack. Though the exact circumstances are somewhat conflicted and unclear even today, it is clear that a Hawaii Emergency Management Agency (HI-EMA) employee—whether because he really believed that an attack was inbound or because he was disgruntled or otherwise confused by the interface—sent the signal in what was quickly realized to be an error. Despite the magnitude of the warning and the possible effects of sending such a thing to so many people trying to live through their Saturday mornings as usual, it took considerable time for a retraction to be sent out on the same system.

In the immediate aftermath of the warning, experts—including myself—opined on the meaning of the alert. Most pointed to this incident as a sign of our renuclearized times and falling in line with the legacy of false alarms in the Cold War. Some asked what would have happened if, for example, the president of the United States had gotten the same alert and acted on it, or if it had come at a time of higher international tension. And many remarked on the fact that the most common sentiment from those exposed to the message was fatalistic ignorance: they didn’t know what to do and they didn’t know whether there was anything they could do if the alert had been real.

As a scholar of nuclear issues, I flew to Honolulu last January to take part in a workshop, co-organized by Atomic Reporters and the Stanley Foundation, titled “This Is Not a Drill,” which brought together experts with a large number of journalists to talk about the false alarm and its lessons, with the hindsight of a year.

From my perspective as a nonjournalist, the discussion was instructive, especially as it brought together old veterans of the trade with the up-and-coming journalists whose reference point for the industry was very different. All agreed that journalism, in this age of dense networks and fast communication, had an important role to play when it came to processing events such as the Hawaii alert, as well as helping the public know
whether to take such things seriously. It was a local Hawaiian news station that first reported that the alert was false, well ahead of official sources.

Personally, much of the value from the experience came from hearing the stories that the residents of Hawaii told about their experiences of the alert. Some of these were formally delivered, such as when we visited the East-West Center and talked to staff and faculty there. Some of it was informal, such as a Lyft driver who took me back to the hotel after a dinner out, and the taxi driver who took me back to the airport. While those encounters are not a scientifically rigorous selection, they do illustrate some of the responses to the alert, aside from the now-famous footage of a father trying to stuff his children down a manhole—which is probably an exceptional response.

My Lyft driver looked like she was probably in her twenties and had lived in Hawaii most of her life. She told me she didn’t think the alert was real because if it was, they’d also sound the tsunami-alert sirens—an interesting assumption. The taxi driver who took me to the airport, by comparison, believed the alert was real (“it was on the TV!”) but was, at least in his recollection, more sanguine about it: “I was sitting in my kitchen, and I had finished a cup of coffee. I thought, ‘I should not have more coffee.’ But then I saw the alert, and I thought, ‘I can have one more cup of coffee.’”

These are only two examples, but they are perhaps revealing. Research has shown that perception of the likelihood of war is part of what leads someone to take an alert like this seriously and that younger people tend to rate the risk of war lower than those who are older. And historical research on false alarms has indicated that the ability to confirm an alert through another source is also important. In this case, the younger woman felt the alert was not confirmed, because of the lack of the tsunami siren, while the older man considered that it was confirmed since he saw it on the television as well. Of course, any recollections are going to suffer from memory biases so far after the fact, but they do align well with what we know about human behavior more generally.

I recently had the chance to review a study of false air-raid alarms from 1960, which looked at how the residents of three American cities responded to unscheduled air-raid alerts in the late 1950s. The circumstances of the three false alerts were very different: in Oakland, bombers were actively spotted offshore and could not be immediately identified, but it was eventually discovered they were American; in Washington, DC, a wire was literally crossed by the phone company, activating the alarm in the middle of the workday; in Chicago, in an ill-conceived attempt to celebrate the White Sox winning the American League pennant for the first time in 40 years, the fire commissioner ran the sirens late in the evening. But in all cases there was no way for the citizens of the cities to know they weren’t false.

Perhaps contrary to our modern expectations, even in the immediate glare of Sputnik, most of those exposed to the alerts did not take them seriously. Even among those who did think they might be indications of a real attack (about a quarter of those surveyed), few actually did anything about it—like take protective action. And those were people who, by and large, had been told what to do: Civil Defense actually existed as a public program, public shelters were marked and well maintained, and some of these people were actually well trained with respect to what they were supposed to do (notably those in DC and Oakland).

The exact reason for nonaction could not be easily identified, but in general, women took the alerts more seriously than men (especially if they had children), and those who were of a “medium” education level (high school but no college) took the alerts more seriously than either the “undereducated” (no high school) or “overeducated” (college). The study authors concluded that those of a higher social class tended to disbelieve that all of their accomplishments could come crashing down around them in an instant, while those of lower social classes tended to be more ignorant about what to do. Overall, those who believed that nuclear war was possible in the short term were more inclined to take the alerts seriously than those who did not.

As with Hawaii, one of the first actions that people pursued was to attempt to confirm or disprove the alert. That meant
turning on televisions if people were home or trying to locate radios. It also meant using telephones to confirm with emergency officials, something that also occurred in Hawaii—many people called 911. As with Hawaii, these confirmation attempts could fail: newscasters often did not know more than the average person in the first minutes following the alert (minutes that could mean life or death were the attack real), and the excessive strain on the telephone service clogged the lines (which for some seemed to confirm the alert as real).

We don’t have as good data on what people did after the Hawaii alert as we might wish we did; we do not even seem to know how many people got the alert—overall, it appears this was a missed opportunity to study American attitudes toward a nuclear war. The reportage seems to indicate that many of those who got the alert took it seriously, or immediately turned to other sources of confirmation, especially social media, to see whether they should take it seriously. It also indicates that many people, perhaps unlike in the most tense period of the Cold War, had no real sense of what they ought to do or whether they could do anything. (The official recommendation is to “shelter in place”; getting inside, preferably a large building or basement, can mitigate the effects of a nuclear explosion, assuming it does not occur directly above you.)

All of this points to interesting perils and promises of social media and ubiquitous smartphones. The false alert was, of course, enabled by these technologies—a possible peril. But many of those in Hawaii, especially younger residents, reported turning to their smartphones for assistance, both in looking up what to do and in trying to confirm or disprove the alert. This new connectivity, far broader than the television and radio of the 1950s, points to future directions for thinking about alerts, real or not.

Social media is a double-edged sword here: never before have so many people been able to instantly communicate with one another. If what they communicate is falsehoods, then a world of falsity results. If what they communicate is truth, then we get a world of truth. In the moments that might determine life versus death, correct action versus wrong, panic versus confidence, having better mechanisms in place for credibly communicating whether a given scare is worth taking seriously and, if it is, what ought to be done could save effort and maybe even lives. The news is no longer a single, one-directional form of information: on social media, we all participate in the curation and even creation of the news of our day. Again, this holds promise and peril, but either way, it is the world we live in, and it complicates older, one-directional models—“here’s what you need to know, here’s what you need to do”—of both risk communication and emergency management that still dominate official approaches.

Unfortunately, the main result of the Hawaii false alarm does not seem to have been a positive one. Aside from the frustrations, anger, and perhaps even medical consequences (as one lawsuit alleges, the plaintiff claims the alert triggered a heart attack) of the false alert, there was another result: HI-EMA has canceled its ballistic missile alert program out of fear that another false positive would do too much reputational damage. While the dangers of a false positive should be taken seriously—at a minimum, they desensitize people to real alerts; at a maximum, they cause unnecessary fear, panic, and perhaps even real physical harm—we do live in a world where the risk that a ballistic missile attack exists is not zero. Wishing the threat away doesn’t help, and neither does the false impression that “there is nothing you can do.” Americans ignore nuclear risks, and nuclear alerts, at their peril.

Alex Wellerstein is a historian of nuclear weapons at the Stevens Institute of Technology, a coprincipal investigator on the Reinventing Civil Defense Project (funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York), and the creator of the online nuclear weapons effects NUKEMAP. His work has appeared in the Washington Post, Harper’s Magazine, the New Yorker, and other outlets. He blogs at blog.nuclearsecrecy.com.

The Stanley Foundation’s media programming supports quality, in-depth, and timely reporting on topics related to the foundation’s three issue areas: climate change, nuclear weapons policy, and the prevention of mass violence and atrocities. In January 2019, the Stanley Foundation and Atomic Reporters hosted the four-day “This Is Not a Drill” journalism workshop in Hawaii, just ahead of the one-year anniversary of the false ballistic missile alert that occurred there. Workshop participants revisited that incident and explored new dimensions of nuclear risk in the digital age.
Beyond State Collapse: A CAR Notebook

The Central African Republic Is Often Described as a Failed State. This Doesn’t Tell the Whole Story.

By Amy Niang

Photos by Will Baxter
A mother and her children sit outside of a church that is providing shelter to people displaced by violence in rural Ouham Pende prefecture, Paoua town, Central African Republic, in January 2018. (Photo/Will Baxter)
The Central African Republic (CAR) carries all the myths and markers of a failed state. Central authority has disintegrated. Competing armed groups have usurped state prerogatives in no less than two-thirds of the country. Law and order has almost entirely disappeared, and impunity prevails. Armed mutinies and factional violence have become endemic while political governance has become almost entirely outsourced.

What is left of the state is a compartmentalized, highly fragmented system unevenly run with the support, and sometimes the supervision, of the United Nations and humanitarian agencies.

For CAR, this is likely to be the new normal for the foreseeable future.

In its 68 years of political independence from France, CAR has enjoyed only short spells of political calm. Over half a dozen coups and countercoups, some botched, others enduring, have installed a situation of stable crisis. Most recently, in 2013, Séléka rebels instigated a coup against François Bozizé’s government, plunging the country into another period of sustained instability and precarious living, from which it has yet to recover.

The leadership of the Séléka was predominantly Muslim, and resentment against them was, in many cases, extended to all of the Muslim minority. Previously, Muslims and Christians had lived together in relative harmony, but now many Muslims have fled the country, and the ones who remain mostly live in segregated zones.

It would take a French-Chadian intervention to restore a modicum of calm before elections could be organized in 2016. But the government that was voted in is largely unable to exercise its sovereignty, leaving the country in a condition of de facto decentralized or deregulated political governance through conflict.

This situation leaves people no other choice than to fend for themselves.

The neighborhood of PK5 in the capital, Bangui, is an example of how communities can organize themselves in the context of an absentee state, in ways both positive and negative. PK5 is host to at least four armed groups but also to dynamic social initiatives that are providing the kind of services usually provided by the state.

According to Ali Ousman, head of the Coordination of Muslim Organizations in CAR, the 2013 crisis precipitated a new entrepreneurial spirit among his community, emerging from the necessity to self-organize. “The crisis has been a trigger for the youth who are both actors and victims,” he said. He spoke outside his office in PK5 under strong midafternoon sunlight, and his words reverberated across the busy streets where young men were offloading the few trucks that are still able to carry merchandise safely to their destinations.

Similar scenes—of people making do and of communities doing what they can to look after themselves—are repeated across the country.
Thus, on the surface, CAR is the quintessential example of the failed state. Yet there is nothing inherently deterministic, natural, or inevitable about this situation. CAR’s political instability is not the result of an inexorable process of degradation isolated from specific historical conditions. The current situation—of independence without decolonization, sovereignty without ownership, and nationhood without a common project—is the outcome of a conjunction of historically specific challenges and haphazard responses. But to merely conclude that CAR is a failed state does not render intelligible the rationalities that constitute the state itself.

Categorical representations are never innocent. They not only generate persistent discursive registers, they also legitimate intervention in the form of intrusive policy treatments. For the failed state construct only tells us what is wrong, not how it is wrong or for whom the state is failing. Proponents of the failed-state thesis across academic, government, and policy circles often find historicized accounts of state rationalities too complex to be of much use for their simplified algorithms.

An Aborted State-Building Process
So what exactly does state failure look like in CAR? This question implies that there was a recognizable state in the first place. In trying to answer this question, one has two options. One can paint a picture of a disastrous humanitarian, psychological, political, and economic situation. This is best exemplified by the fate of entire provinces abandoned to predatory groups and the hundreds of thousands of internally and externally displaced. One can also take a long view, to see beyond the urgency of humanitarianism to look at an extensive history of exploitation, violence, and abandonment.

CAR went from a harsh colonial system of blatant exploitation to a postcolonial regime that systematized political exclusion and material deprivation. In fact, the very process of state building was aborted before it was allowed to begin. To this can be added decades of failed structural adjustment policies, the illegal extraction of CAR’s rare minerals, and the continued effects of the (post)colonial pact, which keeps the country subordinated within the sphere of influence of its former colonizer, France.

France’s role in precipitating state collapse is especially relevant. In 1979, French paratroopers enforced Operation Barracuda to depose Jean-Bédel Bokassa in order to reinstall David Dacko, who had been ousted by the former in a 1966 coup. But Bokassa reigned over CAR because he was able to loot the country’s resources and use the proceeds to buy support. As long as Bokassa supplied uranium to France and diamonds to then-French President Giscard d’Estaing, and remained the goofy, almost caricatured president who safeguarded France’s interests, the French provided full support to his repressive government.

Against this backdrop, it is no coincidence that France played a major role in the recent crisis through Operation Sangaris, which began in 2013 and ended in 2016 amid abuse accusations. Sangaris was France’s seventh intervention in CAR since 1960.

On the streets of Bangui today, another international force is most prominent: the blue-helmeted peacekeepers of the United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in CAR (MINUSCA).

Ordinary visitors may be forgiven for thinking the United Nations has taken over CAR. In fact, it is almost impossible to stand at a major thoroughfare for five minutes without seeing armored vehicles bearing the logo of the United Nations or some other humanitarian agency.

This raises the question: Is CAR governed under a form of multilateral trusteeship?

Modibo Walidou, a law professor, former cabinet minister, and current vice president of the central mosque of Bangui, has considered this question. “I wouldn’t say so,” he said. “It is true that there is something about our present predicament that may make you think that we are under trusteeship. Our army is MINUSCA; our diplomacy is France and MINUSCA; and our finances...well it is MINUSCA that pays the salaries. However, things are more complicated than that.”
Anne Marie Goumba, a member of Parliament, a judge, and a civil society leader, is less nuanced. “A country without an armed force is not a country,” she said. “A country whose security is provided by foreigners is not a country.”

Foreigners are not just providing security, of course. International peacekeepers have been accompanied by an enormous contingent of aid workers and development professionals, there to deliver the intensive care needed to keep people alive.

Humanitarianism thus becomes the first layer of a stabilization course that relies on beefing up the repressive capacity of the security apparatus, a disarmament and demobilization process, followed by the ritual of elections for a return to “normalcy.” This is the typical application of the liberal peace package. The blueprint for that is an old idea according to which conflict prevails where state institutions have collapsed and therefore need to be restored.

But humanitarianism, by definition, is an emergency procedure, a response to crises in which the outlook is necessarily short-termist. Its impact is constrained by the benevolence of fickle donors whose priorities change according to perceptions of urgency, national interest, the geopolitics of resources, and political influence. The humanitarian impulse is therefore no answer to structural problems. Joseph Inganji, the country director of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, understands this all too well. For him, “humanitarian action is not a solution to the humanitarian needs of CAR.”

Despite having been repeatedly failed by their state, many in CAR yearn for its return. But the state they have in mind is not necessarily the state that the international community—relying on its one-size-fits-all prescriptions—is trying to build. For populations torn across religious, ethnic, regional, and political lines, the state that must be built is one that is able to sustain the terms that structure social relations, the capacity for people to articulate autonomous subjectivities, and a culture of good neighborliness and solidarity—in other words, the very possibility of sociality.

It is not enough to simply write off CAR as a failed state. Until the specificities of how and why it has failed are understood, no one can begin to fix it.

Amy Niang is senior lecturer in international relations at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She recently published *The Postcolonial African State in Transition: Stateness and Modes of Sovereignty*.

Will Baxter is a photographer and writer whose work focuses on conflict, climate change, and human rights. His work has appeared in *Newsweek*, Marie Claire, Der Spiegel, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Sunday Times*, Al Jazeera, Internazionale, and other outlets.

The Stanley Foundation’s efforts in mass violence and atrocity prevention consider how all actors, including the private sector and civil society, can effectively engage and collaborate to promote resilience to violent conflict. The foundation’s current work focuses on using evidence to inform action at national, regional, and global levels to create peace and prevent the worst forms of violence.

This story originally ran in South Africa’s *Mail & Guardian* newspaper. It was written as part of Uncovering Security, a media-skills-development program run by the Stanley Foundation, Thomson Reuters Foundation, and the Gerda Henkel Stiftung.
The river islands of Bangladesh are prone to frequent flooding, a result of global warming. To survive, island residents in the Kupgram district build their homes on mobile raised platforms, an adaptation project supported by the Bangladeshi, Australian, and British governments. (Photo/Mahfuzul Hasan Bhuiyan)
Footing the Bill
How Green Banks Could Help Bridge the Climate Finance Gap
By Sohara Mehroze Shachi
When the Paris Agreement on climate change was negotiated in 2015, its framers recognized that the finance sector would be key to implementation. More than three years later, compiling enough funds to back ambitious climate action continues to be a challenge. But one solution may lie in so-called green banks.

A green bank is a public or nonprofit institution that provides low-cost, long-term financing to clean, low-carbon projects such as renewable energy ventures. A small amount of public funds are leveraged to attract a significant amount of private money.

“We need trillions of dollars for climate action, and for that we need to work ever more strongly with the private sector,” said Satya Tripathi, assistant secretary-general of the United Nations Environment Programme, during the 24th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP24) held in Katowice, Poland, last December.

The private sector is often reluctant to invest in the green economy because of prevailing and perceived technology risks, high costs, and lack of a local track record, according to Bettina Bergoo, Green Finance Fellow at the Natural Resources Defense Council.

Green banks use public funds to remove these barriers to private investment by providing information on energy-saving potential, deploying financial products such as loan guarantees that absorb some risks, and coinvesting alongside private investors. Green banks typically mobilize between two and five times the public capital invested, she added.

A Titanic Gap in Funding

The Paris Agreement contains a provision asking countries to scale up financial resources for climate action by $100 billion per year by 2020. During COP24, countries agreed to the Katowice Climate Package, which includes guidelines for establishing new targets on climate finance from 2025 on.

Countries and institutions also made several, more immediate climate-finance pledges at COP24, such as the World Bank’s commitment of $40 billion per year from 2021–2025 to its climate investment program. Major international climate funds such as the UN Green Climate Fund (GCF) received national pledges from Norway of $516 million and from Germany of $1.7 billion—each double the countries’ previous pledges. Germany also committed nearly $80 million to the Adaptation Fund, and the United Kingdom announced a $130 million-plus increase in funding for renewable energy projects in sub-Saharan Africa. An additional $129 million in pledges came from other nations. While these figures and future pledges may appear impressive, they remain well below the $100 billion target for 2020, especially given urgent near-term needs for adaptation financing.

In addition to utilizing international climate finance from bilateral donors and global funds like GCF, climate-vulnerable countries are investing a significant portion of their public finance on combating the impacts of climate change.
Bangladesh, for instance, spends 1 percent of its gross domestic product on climate interventions. The country has set up a climate change trust fund and has dedicated hundreds of millions of dollars in domestic funds to fighting climate change. But the demand for funds far exceeds available climate financing. Recognizing this titanic gap in funding, governments and international climate funds have become increasingly interested in engaging the private sector in climate action by using public funds to leverage private capital investment in climate change projects.

“Companies have been internalizing profits and externalizing losses but should measure their externalities and self-regulate,” Tripathi said. “We need to find the resolute courage within us to behave responsibly.”

Globally, private sector investors—including individuals, private equity firms, pension funds, insurance companies, and sovereign wealth funds—manage trillions of dollars’ worth of assets. But while such private capital exists, it is not going to the right channels, such as climate resilience infrastructure in emerging markets. If these resources can be innovatively channeled to develop climate change projects, that would take care of the climate financing gap. The key question now for the global community is how to unlock these trillions in private capital, and green banks may be part of the answer.

**Green Banks in Action**

In the United States, green banks have been created at the state and local levels. Connecticut Green Bank, established in 2011, was the first. In 2015, Montgomery County, Maryland, was the first local jurisdiction in the United States to create a green bank. New York Green Bank has quickly become the country’s largest. These entities help address gaps in local financing for clean energy projects by providing low-interest loans for solar installations targeted to low-income households. Connecticut Green Bank’s Solar for All program and New York Green Bank’s support of community solar projects in New York State are two such programs. Australia, Japan, Malaysia, and the United Kingdom have also formed national green banks to leverage private investment in clean energy, and globally, green banks have driven approximately $30 billion in clean energy investment.

On a different scale, green banks can make cornerstone investments in green funds that attract other investors, as Australia’s Clean Energy Finance Corporation did when it made a cornerstone equity commitment in the Palisade Renewable Energy Fund, which allows midtier investors that have historically lacked sufficient scalability to be direct investors in large-scale renewable energy projects. Green banks are also well suited to invest in demonstration...
Overcoming Obstacles

One key challenge to mobilizing private funds is the small size of clean energy projects, for example, rooftop solar panels for homes. The investments may not be cost effective and are expensive to underwrite.

“There is a lot of talk about moving away from project-by-project finance and supporting systemic-level transformation, but we don’t see that happening yet,” said Angela Whitney, who leads Rocky Mountain Institute’s work on green investment banks as the manager of global climate finance.

Large-scale investors such as sovereign funds are usually not interested in investing in small, decentralized, geographically dispersed projects because of higher administrative and transactional costs compared to investing in larger projects. Aggregating several small projects is therefore critical and is what green banks can do. A good example is the Connecticut Green Bank’s work on aggregation of commercial energy efficiency projects, Whitney said.

“They bundled a bunch of energy efficiency loans for buildings to diversify risks and attain scale and were able to package that and sell the debt to an investor,” Whitney said.
Currency risks in developing nations is another key issue in mobilizing private funds for climate interventions, as private institutions are hesitant to invest in foreign currencies that are unreliable. So the option of a currency-hedging facility needs to be explored by green banks and may be a challenge they can mitigate, according to Whitney.

Another issue with mobilizing private sector funding for climate action is the long debt tenure.

“Oftentimes private investors want a very short payback period, but energy efficiency and solar projects take time [to be profitable]. So, aligning the debt tenure is something green banks can do” to mitigate that barrier, Whitney said.

The Way Ahead
In September 2019, UN Secretary-General Antonio Guterres will convene a special summit on climate change to reiterate the need for more-ambitious climate action, including solutions for climate finance. The role of green banks will be in the spotlight.

“We don’t see green banks as another checkbox for development finance institutions or microfinance institutions to sign up to as another pledge or commitment, but rather as an institutional mechanism for countries to help achieve their targets for green growth,” Whitney said.

Pursuing efforts to limit climate change to 1.5°C above preindustrial levels as called for in the Paris Agreement requires solving the climate finance gap. The public and private sectors must unite to explore every potential pathway for reaching that goal and together implement the best opportunities. Green banks are one potential catalyst for that cooperation.

Sohara Mehroze Shachi is a freelance journalist based in Bangladesh. She is a graduate of Yale University and her work primarily focuses on climate change and environmental issues and has appeared in DW, OpenDemocracy, IPS, the Huffington Post, Undark Magazine, Reuters, and other outlets.

The Stanley Foundation’s work on climate change policy examines and advances collective action for safe pathways that limit global warming to 1.5°C above preindustrial levels. The foundation is pleased to have taken part in the Green Bank Design Summit and will continue to champion this kind of innovative, impactful activity.
According to a recent report by New America, levels of gender disparity in nuclear policy range from insulated and unwelcoming to more open to ideas and new people, depending on the policy subfield. Women missileers with the US Air Force are bringing fresh perspective to an otherwise male-dominated vocation. (Photo/US Air Force/Airman Collin Schmidt)

Pushing for Parity

Realizing Gender Equality in Nuclear Policy

By Francie Williamson
Ambassador Laura Holgate said it is not uncommon to discover few women in the room at international nuclear policy events. Or to read an article quoting only male colleagues. Or to be watching a television segment on global security and just see men in suits as the interview subjects.

But Holgate, vice president for materials risk management at the Nuclear Threat Initiative (NTI), and others, including Stanley Foundation staff, are trying to fix this disparity through a new initiative, Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy.

The gender initiative replicates work Holgate did while she was US ambassador and representative to United Nations organizations in Vienna during the latter part of the Obama administration. In 2016, the US State Department asked Holgate to start a Vienna chapter of the International Gender Champions, which her counterpart in Geneva, Ambassador Pamela Hamamoto, had kicked off in 2015. Those who join the International Gender Champions, including the leaders of UN missions and affiliates, pledge not to sit on single-gender panels and to make at least two measurable commitments toward achieving gender equality.

When Holgate returned to the United States in early 2017, she started speaking with colleagues about her experience bringing the International Gender Champions initiative to Vienna.

“And we said, ‘What if we did something like that in the nuclear space?’” said Michelle Dover, director of programs at Ploughshares Fund, who worked with Holgate on designing the Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy initiative.

Holgate said it is vitally important for women to be part of the nuclear policy community. “The existential nature of nuclear policy issues—whether you’re talking about non-proliferation, or deterrence, or disarmament, or nuclear security, or arms control—these are at the heart of what can destroy our planet,” Holgate said. “We need all the smart people, all the different ways at looking at these issues in the conversation. When women are not part of this conversation, just like other underrepresented groups, the conversation is not as rich as it can be, and it won’t find solutions that are valuable or implementable or durable.”

The Strength of Stereotypes

Research about women in the nuclear policy field is scant, but anecdotal evidence suggests gender disparity is widespread. According to the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies at Middlebury College, only one-third of the workforce at the US National Nuclear Security Administration is female, only 18 percent of the national delegations at a recent meeting on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty were women led, and only 10 percent of undergraduate courses on issues related to weapons of mass destruction have mostly female students, with women teaching only a quarter of those classes. Also, at two recent nuclear policy conferences, women were just 15 percent of the participants.

Dover said as far as anyone can tell, one reason there are so few women in prominent nuclear policy roles is because there is a strong overlap between the military and hard
science, “both of which are well documented to be very male dominant.”

“There just weren’t that many women in the Manhattan Project,” Dover said. “There were some notable exceptions in leadership. But it’s something that’s carried over into the policy community and into the field today. There’s also this element of war and peace and the archetypal feminine and masculine that has played into what roles people are allowed to play in the field.”

According to a recent report on women in nuclear security from the policy think tank New America—which includes interviews with 23 women who have worked in the nuclear, arms control, and nonproliferation fields, some since the 1970s—to be successful, women have had to pay a so-called gender tax. “In other words,” the report states, “on top of the job’s inherent complications and high stress, women also had to perform the constant mental and emotional calculus that comes with implicit sexism; explicit sexism and discrimination; gender and sexual harassment; and gendered expectations.” This has been a significant barrier for women to enter the field and/or rise up the ranks.

Dover said she joined the nuclear policy field because she found the people within it fascinating and had so much respect for their work. But there are still challenges she encounters, just by virtue of being female.

“I had to adopt a new language. I had to be very deliberate of how I presented myself, very conscious of when I was saying something or doing something that didn’t fit the typical, more masculine model of communications,” Dover said. “Sometimes there are situations I run into where it really can be kind of the old school stereotypical old boys’ club, but that’s changing.”

The New America report echoes Dover’s experience. Many of the women interviewed said adopting stereotypically masculine traits was crucial to success and that appearing too feminine in the national security world was a problem because they might not seem serious enough for the subject matter.

In the report, former US Under Secretary of Defense for Policy Michèle Flournoy calls women’s struggle to be accepted and deemed authoritative in the nuclear field the “consensual straitjacket.”

“I think women are socialized to sort of think outside the box to solve problems, and to make connections, and to work horizontally to build networks and relationships, and to sometimes solve a problem by reexamining the basic assumptions and looking at it differently. And that just was not welcomed very much in the nuclear conversation,” Flournoy said.

**The Importance of Women in Nuclear Policy**

Dover said that if women are involved in nuclear policy, “I think we’re going to get better policies, because if you include different perspectives, you’re more likely to be challenged on your own views, and have to think through what you’re doing, and you have to work harder to find consensus and forge something new.”

Dover said she thinks more women entered more-prominent roles in the nuclear policy field after joining the diplomatic corps and military, and as they have made headway into other professions.

“Actually the [nuclear] freeze movement, which was led by women, was a breakthrough in getting women’s leadership into the field,” Dover said. “But it’s still a place where few women are.”

Holgate said her experience in the nuclear policy field has varied. And she’s not alone. According to those interviewed for the New America report, “the sub-field of nuclear posture and deterrence policy, and on the military side, the people who actually handle the weapons,” is seen as insulated, male dominated, and unwelcoming. Other subfields, like arms control and nonproliferation, are described as “more open to ideas and new people, as well as to women
generally.” Several of those interviewed for the report said that may be because those fields involve the need for negotiation and cooperation, and different perspectives are often welcomed.

Holgate said the gender disparity in nuclear policy is most visible in public events and in so-called “manels,” a term coined for panels comprising only men.

“The research has shown vast underrepresentation of women in national security articles that quote people, or news shows or in talk shows that have guests,” Holgate said. “It’s like there’s a whole missing chunk of talent that is not getting visibility and you see the same men over and over, even on issues that are not necessarily at the heart of their expertise.”

The gender disparity is also more visible in the higher echelons of nuclear policy organizations, according to Dover.

“At the entry level, it’s almost 50-50 actually these days. It’s really balanced. But then if you move up the ladder in organizations, women’s leadership just becomes less and less. When you get to the board level it is generally the worst—fewer than 20 percent representation sometimes.”

Ploughshares provided Holgate with a grant to apply the International Climate Champions model to the nuclear policy field. Over a series of months, Holgate, Dover, and Gabrielle Tarini, a research assistant from Harvard University, held brainstorming sessions with several women from a range of communities within the nuclear policy field, including nongovernmental organizations, activist groups, think tanks, and foundations.

The Creation of the Initiative

Holgate said she and Dover recognized that tackling the gender gap needs to involve the leaders of nuclear policy organizations.

“There had been a lot of work among women in the nuclear policy field, peer-to-peer interactions, mentoring interactions, midlevel women reaching out to young women and so on. But because very few organizations within the nuclear community had women in leadership positions, much less the head of those organizations, I called what we’ve been doing ‘side out, bottom out,’” Holgate said. “We needed to supplement that with top-down efforts to improve gender balance and to really get at the structural issues that can only be done with the support and advocacy and, frankly, championship of heads of organizations, most of whom are male.”
The result, Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy, launched in November 2018. To date, more than 30 organizations, including the Stanley Foundation, have joined.

“It is heartening to be part of a group of organizations committed to breaking down gender barriers and improving gender equality in the nuclear policy field,” said Jennifer Smyser, vice president and director of policy programming strategy at the Stanley Foundation. “We applaud the others involved and look forward to the benefits our collective actions will bring.”

The leader of each organization that has signed on to the initiative serves as champion. The Stanley Foundation’s champion is its president, Keith Porter. “The Stanley Foundation is honored to be part of Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy,” Porter said. “Beyond the fact that gender equality is just and right across all fields, I also believe diverse teams yield the best and most sustainable results. The Stanley Foundation is committed to breaking down barriers and making gender equality a reality in all our work.”

As with the International Gender Champions initiative, all of the nuclear policy champions have signed on to a panel-parity pledge, vowing to avoid appearing on single-gender panels. Champions also are asked to commit to at least three separate pledges to spur more action on gender equality within their organizations.

“One of the reasons this kind of thing can work at a large scale is that the commitments can be tailored to the individual organizations,” Holgate said. “What’s the most impactful thing, or what’s the next set of things that leaders of those organizations can do that will really be meaningful? There’s a certain amount of self-reflection that needs to go on to create really high-quality commitments that, if accomplished, do make a change in that organization.”

The Stanley Foundation’s Role

Porter said he committed the Stanley Foundation to three pledges: create and adhere to a set of principles regarding diversity, equality, and inclusion—including gender—in developing invitation lists for nuclear policy programming events, and ask partners to adhere to them as well for those events planned jointly; achieve an average of 45 percent women’s participation in nuclear policy programming events in 2019 and 50 percent by 2020; and develop guidelines for roundtable chairs and other discussion leaders to encourage balanced participation and use of honorifics during nuclear policy programming events. For example, women are commonly referred to as Miss or Ms. even when they have earned the distinction of a title such as doctor, ambassador, or professor, while men are more often addressed by the correct title.

“We tried to pick pledges that would challenge us and stretch our efforts in new ways,” Porter said.

The nuclear policy champions also were asked to designate focal points within their organizations to track the progress being made on the pledges on a daily basis. According to Holgate, “There needs to be arms and legs inside each organization who are empowered by their leaders to work internally to facilitate the accomplishment of those commitments and work with other focal points to share best practices.”

The Stanley Foundation’s focal point is Nuclear Policy Program Officer Ben Loehrke. “To make progress on today’s global nuclear challenges, we must ensure that our colleagues can equally contribute their drive, knowledge, and skill to the policy discussion,” Loehrke said. “We are proud to play our part, joining more than 30 other leading organizations, by promoting gender balance in the foundation’s nuclear program.”

In addition to its stated pledges, the Stanley Foundation is launching the Accelerator Initiative to help elevate women who are in the early stages of their careers in nuclear policy and/or emerging technology.

Luisa Kenausis, program assistant for nuclear policy at the Stanley Foundation, said these women will be given the opportunity to participate in the foundation’s 2019 nuclear policy programming. Those participating will have the chance “to sit down and have conversations with top experts in the field on a variety of cutting-edge issues,” Kenausis said. “And get their names out there, get their faces out there, and get taken seriously. I think this is really important—especially to people who are early in their career and who are women—to have those opportunities,

“When we’re talking about existential threats to the world, we should settle for nothing less than the best possible performance that we can get. And that means inclusiveness.”

—Laura Holgate
because historically the mantle has been passed down through informal mentorships, which have tended to favor men. So we’re trying to correct that imbalance.”

The Stanley Foundation will provide the women taking part in the Accelerator Initiative the opportunity to write a policy paper with the support of an expert mentor and help the women with the publication process.

Accelerator Initiative participants will be drawn from nominations solicited from partners the Stanley Foundation has worked with closely over the past few years.

“We’re hoping that we can support these women who are new to the field, who are really promising and brilliant, and accelerate their careers as well as accelerating the slow journey toward gender parity in the field overall,” Kenausis said.

The Importance of Mentors
Kenausis herself is early in her career in nuclear policy. She received her bachelor’s degrees in nuclear science and engineering and political science from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 2017 and was a Herbert Scoville Jr. Peace Fellow at the Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation in Washington, DC, before starting at the Stanley Foundation in September 2018.

“I was fortunate that my college education had a good gender balance in most of my classes. But that’s not true at a lot of other universities,” Kenausis said. “And when I was working in DC and attending events on nuclear weapons issues, it was common for me to be only one of a handful of women in a roomful of older men. That was definitely uncomfortable at times.”

Holgate said research has shown that young women are more inspired to be part of a community where they can see other women excelling and leading. She said she hopes to soon see an increased “presence, visibility, and impact of women in the nuclear policy field,” adding that the Gender Champions in Nuclear Policy initiative was specifically designed to be quantifiable.

“We’ll be doing an annual report on the performances against the pledges,” Holgate said. “Are the champions getting the things done that they said they would do? Then the deeper question is, are the things they are volunteering to have measured meaningful? Is the juice worth the squeeze?”

In the end, Holgate hopes to see more women promoted into upper management, see more women on national security shows, and see more women in the room at nuclear policy events.

“When we’re talking about existential threats to the world, we should settle for nothing less than the best possible performance that we can get,” Holgate said. “And that means inclusiveness.”

The Stanley Foundation’s nuclear policy programming aims to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of global efforts to halt the spread and avoid the use of nuclear weapons by advancing governance solutions that manage or leverage disruptive technologies. This includes efforts to develop understanding and awareness of the risks that emerging technologies pose, identifying and promoting innovative ways that they may be applied, informing and supporting nuclear governance institutions as stakeholders adapt to the implications of emerging technologies, and advancing solutions that involve stakeholders at all levels.
In Botswana’s Okavango Delta, Pam Joslyn rode in a mokoro canoe, which is propelled by a pilot using a pole. Joslyn was one of the recipients of the 2018 Catherine Miller Explorer Awards, administered by the Stanley Foundation. (Photo/Pam Joslyn)
Global Journeys Develop New Perspectives

Teachers Enhance Their Understanding of the World through Travel

By Francie Williamson
er legs ached as she climbed to the top of Dune 45 in the Namibian desert. The granite stuck to her shoes as she
navigated along outcrops at Spitzkoppe. And as she crawled on the ground to get close to a cricket that was rubbing its legs
in song, she said, she felt like a four-year-old, “with increasing inquisitiveness and wondering why about everything.”

Pam Joslyn, a high school science teacher in Muscatine, Iowa, is one of three educators who received a Catherine
Miller Explorer Award in 2018, which the Muscatine-based Stanley Foundation has bestowed annually since 2005. The
award, part of the foundation’s efforts to promote global education and global citizenship, allows educators in the
Muscatine school district to travel internationally to a destination of their choosing. Teachers are encouraged to
incorporate the lessons they learn on their trips into their curriculum back home. In 2008, the award was named after
Miller, a longtime Muscatine educator who was an avid traveler and always sought to expand her students’ horizons.

Classroom teachers from the Muscatine school district or the city’s Catholic school, Saints Mary and Mathias, are eligi-
able to compete for the award. At the beginning of the school year, they are invited to enter a drawing. Fifteen
finalists selected at random from the drawing are invited to submit an application, including an essay about where they
want to travel and why. Four independent judges who are not affiliated with the foundation select the three winners.

Joslyn, who chose to go to Namibia as well as Zimbabwe, South Africa, and Botswana, said she wanted to experience
an environment to which she had never been exposed.

“I entered the teaching profession in the hope of helping others understand their own worldview—how and why the
world works,” Joslyn said. “I constantly ask myself how I can inspire them to go and see the world, to understand
how the world works, and to let them know that this is their world too. I encourage my students to embrace the limitless
possibilities that await their future.”

Joslyn said her trip “enhanced my innate desire to understand my own worldview.”

“My perspectives transformed, even on the flight home,” she said. “I sat next to a young student from Uganda studying
civil engineering at Arizona State University. We laughed and shared stories—both of us were particularly excited
to use a washing machine again. She described beautiful sights in Uganda, and I invited her to Iowa.”

A New Adventure

During her trip to Africa, Joslyn said, she “wanted to examine the geology, the flora and fauna, and most importantly,
to meet other people from a different region of the world.”

“I wanted to study the problems of a different culture and observe how they problem solve” she said. “I wanted to
listen to their stories and add to my repertoire so that I can share more of my own.”

Joslyn’s highlights included visiting Robben Island, South Africa, where Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners
were held; viewing wildlife at Etosha and Chobe National Parks in Namibia and Botswana; and standing near Victoria Falls in Zimbabwe.

“The mist continued to rise and fall over Victoria Falls, often followed by a deluge of water, and then the rainbows appeared over the falls, along the cliff’s edge, sometimes starting at the foot of a fellow traveler,” Joslyn marveled.
“I’m Not Much of a Traveler”

“I’m terrified of flying, which obviously makes traveling difficult,” said Laney Berry, a Muscatine elementary school instructional coach who also received a Catherine Miller Explorer Award in 2018. “I think what made me decide to pursue the award was [a desire] to push myself beyond my comfort zone.”

Originally, Berry planned to go to Costa Rica, but the dates for the trip were not compatible with her schedule. Instead, she chose to travel to Belize and Guatemala.

“Belize and Guatemala are close to Costa Rica in Central America and have many of the same biomes and wildlife,” she said. “The fact that we have a lot of families and students that come from Guatemala to Muscatine also influenced my decision to travel there.”

In Belize, Berry had the “magical” experience of swimming beside a green sea turtle for about 10 minutes in the world’s second-largest barrier reef. And in Guatemala, she toured Tikal, an ancient Mayan citadel.

“It was incredible to climb the tallest pyramids in the Western Hemisphere and look out over the canopy of the jungle, while thinking that Mayan kings and queens looked over the land from this exact spot more than 1,500 years ago,” she said.

Berry was surprised at how little she understood her destination before she left.

“I had no idea that Belize and Guatemala had two UNESCO [United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization] sites—I didn’t even know what a UNESCO site was,” Berry said. “I had never heard about Tikal or the Hol Chan Marine Reserve. I didn’t know that the native language of Belize was English. There was so much I didn’t know. I’m sure our tour guide got tired of all my questions.”

“It’s hard to quantify or qualify how much I learned on this journey,” Berry added. “I learned about ancient Mayan history, about animals and plants that live in Central America, about how important it is to people in Belize and Guatemala to be self-sufficient and in harmony with nature.”

During her trip to Belize, Laney Berry, an elementary school instructional coach and one of the recipients of the 2018 Catherine Miller Explorer Awards, took a sunset river cruise to Monkey Island and got up close with wildlife.
Clockwise from upper left: Berry snorkeled in the world’s second largest barrier reef off the coast of Belize and toured a cacao plantation in San Ignacio. She rode on horseback to Xunantunich, an ancient Mayan archaeological site, and climbed El Castillo, a pyramid constructed around 800 AD. (Photos/Laney Berry)
Bucket-List Item Fulfilled
Debra Dunsmore said Australia and New Zealand had always been on her bucket list.

“As Australia and New Zealand were once British colonies, as with the United States, I wanted to study how the three countries’ development has been the same and different,” said Dunsmore, a second-grade teacher at Saints Mary and Mathias Catholic School in Muscatine and the third recipient of a 2018 Catherine Miller Explorer Award.

“I do a Native American unit each year with my second graders, and I also wanted to study how the native cultures, the Aborigines in Australia and the Maori in New Zealand, have survived and then compare and contrast those native cultures to the Native American tribes that I study in social studies with my class.”

Dunsmore said highlights of her trip included visiting the Tjapukai Aboriginal Culture Park and learning about the Aborigine culture, hiking in the Daintree Tropical Rainforest, and visiting two Maori villages, Ohinemutu and Te Puia.

“There were so many surprises, but seeing the natural beauty of New Zealand was fantastic, and visiting the Sydney Opera House in Australia…I was not expecting to enjoy that tour, but it was amazing! It totally surprised me,” she said.
Dunsmore already has brought some of the lessons she learned in Australia and New Zealand to her students.

“My class studies the basic animal groups, and this year, they were able to categorize the unique animals that I saw in Australia and New Zealand,” she said. “However, one of the most important things that I hope to instill in my students is a curiosity to learn and [desire to] experience as many different cultures as they can.

“I have learned so much from each trip that I have taken. The world is an amazing place to explore.”

“I Walked The Walk”

Dunsmore said she believed the experiences she has had traveling have shaped her teaching philosophy.

“I always try to provide as many varied cultural experiences as I can for my students,” she said. “Through these experiences, I hope that my students learn to value diversity.”

Berry also said it is important for children to understand how “diversity is essential to the American way of life.”

“Most importantly, diversity provides us the opportunity to recognize and respect each other as individuals,” she said. “Diversity ultimately makes our institutions stronger by challenging us as humans to be open to new ways of thinking about our world.”

Joslyn said that during her trip, she immersed herself in different cultures, strengthened her personal identity, challenged her values and beliefs, and increased her confidence.

“These are skills that I ask of my students—I walked the walk,” Joslyn said.

According to Joslyn, more than ever, children are being “exposed to predisposed ideas about different cultures through various media, often presenting oversimplified perspectives on world events, conflict, or even racism.”

“Empowering students to negotiate bias and information is critical to helping young Americans become effective local and global leaders,” she said.

A new crop of Catherine Miller Explorer Award winners will depart from Muscatine in the summer. Laura McDonald, a fifth-grade math and science teacher, Kayla Bentz, a second-grade teacher, and high school science teacher Allison Coffman are still deciding on their destinations, but all three said they are looking forward to learning more about the world and bringing it back to their classrooms.

Through its Community Partnerships programming, the Stanley Foundation promotes global citizenship and global education in its hometown of Muscatine, Iowa, and nearby. Community Partnerships programming includes the Catherine Miller Explorer Awards, the Iowa Student Global Leadership Conference, Investigation U., and many other such programs. More information about them is available at www.stanleyfoundation.org.
CONSIDER THIS...

Celebrating Their Contributions to Peace

Two longtime Stanley Foundation staff members, Jill Goldesberry and Dana Pittman, are retiring this spring.

Jill Goldesberry, program officer for community partnerships, joined the foundation in 1984 and served in several positions over her 35 years. Her greatest contribution has been planning regional activities that enhance knowledge of global citizenship and cultures for young people and assisting educators in teaching global awareness in the Muscatine, Iowa, school district.

Dana Pittman, director of finance and corporate treasurer, joined the foundation in 1993. In addition to overseeing investments, accounting, human resources, and other administrative functions, he has been a valued member of the foundation’s leadership team.

Keith Porter, president of the Stanley Foundation, expressed his gratitude to Goldesberry and Pittman for their service to the foundation.

“It is hard for me to imagine the Stanley Foundation without Dana and Jill,” Porter said. “They have been such amazing fixtures in our work. Through their efforts, the foundation has made great strides toward fulfilling its mission. Each in their own way, Dana and Jill have impacted lives and set the foundation on a positive course.”