

Root of Conflict Podcast

**Episode: African Solutions to African Challenges** 

featuring Ambassador Martin Kimani

interviewed by
Deqa Aden, Josephine Lando, and Nancy Smith

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Reema Saleh: Hi, this is Reema, and you're listening to the University of Chicago Public Policy podcasts.

Reema Saleh: You're listening to Root of Conflict, a podcast about violent conflict around the world and the people, societies, and policy issues it affects. In this series, you'll hear from experts and practitioners who conduct research, implement programs, and use data analysis to address some of the most pressing challenges facing our world. Root of Conflict is produced by UC3P in collaboration with the Pearson Institute for the Study and Resolution of Global Conflict, a research institute housed within the Harris School of Public Policy at the University of Chicago.

Reema Saleh: What are African solutions to African challenges? And how can African agency act as a counterpoint to the divisions and legacy of colonialism? In this episode, we speak with Ambassador Martin Kimani, the permanent representative of Kenya to the United Nations. We talk about his recent speech criticizing the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the failures of Western intervention, and what world building after colonialism can look like.

Josephine Lando: Welcome to the Root of Conflict, the Harris School of Public Policy's leading podcast on war and peace. We're here today with Ambassador Martin Kimani, Kenya's permanent representative to the United Nations since December 2020. Dr. Kimani has dedicated his life to public service and conflict resolution. He earned his masters and doctorate degrees in war studies at Kings College in London, and prior to his UN appointment served as the president of Kenya special envoy for countering violent extremism and director of Kenya's national counterterrorism center. His extensive policy resume also includes experience as Kenya's representative to the UN's environment program, the United Nations Human Settlement Program, and a secretary for strategic initiatives in the executive office of Kenya's president. So without further ado, karibu Ambassador Kimani and asante for being with us today.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Thank you. It's a pleasure being here.

Nancy Smith: Off the bat, I think, you know we're going to ask you about that UN speech that you gave. So for our listeners who may not know, so Ambassador Kimani gave an incredible speech to the UN in February







criticizing Russian aggression in Ukraine as an exercise of imperial nostalgia. So what was kind of your thought process beside these brief but powerful words? And were you surprised at the international response?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Well, thank you Nancy for starting us off at the deep end of the pool.

Nancy: Right in.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: First, the statement that I made was, to be more exact, Kenya's statement. It was a statement by our delegation. And if you... Of course, because of the amount of attention it got, that attention didn't have a context clearly, was not informed by the context that we frequently make such statements that always seek to put Africa's perspective at the center of the debate. Not because our perspective is superior to anyone's, but rather we think that we have something valuable to offer from our experience... That our story has characteristics and underpinnings, political and perhaps even moral underpinnings, that can be useful to the rest of the world as it tries to resolve its conflicts.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: So often in the Security Council and elsewhere, the focus is on conflicts in Africa, and the solutions are often driven by powerful interests outside Africa. And so my speech was really an attempt to say that Africa has something to contribute in the crisis in Ukraine. And that even though it may be geographically distant from us, it is a concern to us and that we find in that war an echo from our own past and that we would hope that our experience is a lesson, not only to others, but specifically to Europe.

Nancy: I think one of the questions I had about the speech was the reference to borders and being able to sort of move on despite some of these inherited institutions from colonialism. So how do you think about borders and African nations, and you know, how to continue to work with them and talking about that and sort of bringing your perspective to the Ukraine crisis.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: One of my, you know, favorite little YouTube videos to show my kids and their friends is this one... it's called something like a thousand years in one minute, right? And it just shows the changing borders over a thousand year period. And I tell them that each of those border changes, cause it's a dizzying succession, right? The majority of countries that have existed in the past no longer exist, right. Of the 193 UN members, I'm sure they're preceded by thousands, if not tens of thousands of nations and other political constructs that may not be the modern state we recognize but has government and people who've decided on that government or been coerced into that nation or that state. And so I tell them that each of those rapid changes they see on the YouTube video either represents a war, a struggle of some kind, some sort of act of exit or entry.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Each of them represents a traumatic break from the history that preceded it. And so we live with borders not only as we have to choose whether they're going to be a stabilizing aspect of our political interaction with foreigners, or they're going to be flash points for conflict with our neighbors. And so we choose for them to be stabilizing. And I think to put it in a much more common idiom, it's like your neighbor in the house next door, maybe the tree used to be in your yard and you like the tree. Do you go in and shoot them and then get the tree? And if so, what about your other neighbor on the other side, who







your bush used to be in there? You know, so I think Africa had borders of such profound absurdity imposed on it. They have very few defenses.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: These, many of them were established far away for very strange reasons. For instance, between Kenya and Tanzania, Mount Kilimanjaro was like a birthday gift to the British queen. And that determined where the line of denotation lay. I mean, it's a bit funny, I think, but it has such profound impact. And so between Kenya and Tanzania, what do we do? Do we just say it doesn't exist? It does exist. And so what I was saying, which obviously you heard, is that we do not discount their absurdity. We do not feel any better about them, but we've chosen the path of peaceful integration so as to erase them. But that begins with respecting them for whatever reasons they came to be in the past.

Josephine: So you're here today to speak about African solutions to African challenges. So I was just curious from your perspective, what makes a challenge African?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Yeah, that's a great question. And I've tried to take time to ponder over it because, one, I use this phrase a lot and practice a lot of my diplomacy around it, reflecting Kenya's way of engaging. There's nothing inherently African about any of the problems, major problems Africa is suffering. Whether it's poverty or conflict, these are human conditions. So what makes them African is the choice itself, say something of words. So rather than Tanzanian solutions to Tanzanian problems, Kenyan solutions for Kenyan problems, it's African solutions for African problems. It has in the phrase an acceptance and a promotion of PanAfrican solutions that takes as its base of action the political will of a united African continent as a counterpoint to this sort of division and breakage of political will in direction that was represented by colonialism. So it is affirming that we are together and that the challenges that face us, we shall solve them together.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: It also, of course, does not mean that I'll be speaking at the Pearson Institute that is trying to bring empirical evidence to policy problems. So it doesn't mean the Pearson Institute, because it's not in Africa, does not have something to say about African challenges or challenges to African countries and peoples. It's just that it ideally would do so understanding how that empirical work would inform action by Africans. I find ownership of your problem is very linked to ownership of your wealth because the solutions to problems are usually what turn those problems into great opportunities.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: So if you have a problem with food security today, your ability to grow your agricultural sector so that you have food security plus more, is the solution for your jobs for improved public services, et cetera. So this struggle to our problems is a very important struggle. The history of how our problems have been utilized by those who are powerful seek to exploit those problems for their own benefit has been to divide us from our problems and to make us passive, suffer us while they take ownership. I speak, for example, of the earlier colonial period, which clothed itself in the guise of providing solutions to what we were suffering.

Deqa Aden: Even at the University of Chicago as a student myself, ethnic fragmentation is one of the main issues that I really studied very in depth in academia. And I think that is maybe a way of making it like, oh, it's an African problem and trying to understand it. But there's also this assumption that these African problems are static. And I mean, speaking for myself and maybe coming from some other land and Josephine coming







from Kenya, we're dynamic. And there is a big gap between my generation than my parents' generation and even my grandfather's generation who were fighting the imperial war and the PanAfricanism. So my question is, do you think in the future with this new generation, with a different conscious, with a different mindset, because the globe's becoming more globalized, I've lived in America and went back home, I've went back and forth. And I think differently than my grandfathers. Do you think there will be a new Africa and a new generation, a new mindset when it comes to the ethnic fragmentation and ethnic conflict, which has been really painted as an African problem?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Thank you for that question, which I find quite challenging. I begin by saying that there's always a new Africa. Africa is the most culturally dynamic and diverse continent in the world. Africa has the greatest collection of languages, and if languages are an expression of culture and perhaps what is appropriately called cultural technology, then Africa surely has the greatest store of cultural wealth on earth. And so that is first to say that the word tribe and ethnicity do not get to the deep and rich, underlying cultural, political, and social tools that are expressed by those words. And so the conflicts that are articulated with words of, let's say, tribal war or ethnic war, are in many ways, radically simplify who those people are and the lives they live and the value of their identities. And perhaps suggest that those identities are consigned to war with each other.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: But perhaps if I am in search of water and pasture, and I move into the area of ethnic group X, and we have a conflict over the water and pasture, that still says nothing about my culture itself. So we must divide the conflicts that have a basic identity from the value of the identity itself. And it's very important because in some strange way, our being more disconnected from globalization means that we retain perhaps cultural technologies in the future will be very important to mankind and to ourselves. So we must resist the attempt to flatten us into just worrying ethnicities. So there's always new Africas, as I said at the beginning. And what I mean by that is that the difference between me and my mother, my mother and her mother, I do not think anywhere on Earth, there have been such dynamic differences generation to generation.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: So it seems to me when I look at my children, that they're already so different to me. And the difference is because they're coping and dealing with a changed world and they're bringing to it the best form of response as individuals that they can have. So I think when you combine that dynamism with the diversity, and then with the multiple tools that carry expression, including a studio like this--when I was growing up, students didn't have access to studios like this--mean that there'll be African cultural expression and ideas that are going to change a lot of the world, not just Africa.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: A good example of that is my household right now is very obsessed with Afrobeat. Yeah, and so that form of music from West Africa, from Nigeria, Ghana, et cetera, is taking the world by storm. But it's not just entertainment, it's underlying what it's expressing. It reminds me of how hip hop, you know, changed so much of the world earlier. So this is just to say, we have to look beyond our immediate suffering and appreciate that there's a lot of wealth that we have to offer ourselves and everyone else.

Josephine: You talk about Africa being dynamic, and there's the beauty in the different cultures like we're such a diverse continent. The reality of Africa being tagged as part of the developing world, is that there's







Western intervention. So according to you, what are the key failures of Western intervention? You can talk about Kenya and the whole of Africa, the greater continent that, and how do we address these failures and move forward beyond them?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Well, I could give a real simple answer. It's hubris. Western intervention is very hubristic. That has been its characteristic because so much of it is based on an appreciation of Western intentions as universally good. And that's a basis of hubris and hubris, whether you are Western or African or Asian, or just an individual, it causes harm.

Nancy: Two, I think institutional expressions of that hubris have been democracy and capitalism. So how do you see those systems as they've been introduced, continuing to influence Kenya, the Horn, the greater continent, and then how do they integrate with maybe some systems that were pre-colonial. And how can we make everything work better, you know?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: That's a too difficult question.

Nancy: Sorry.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: I would need to spend a few years here to answer those questions. I mean, I have no sense that capitalism and democracy are Western, that these are ideas: democracy is a simple idea of participatory government. There are different articulations, elections, and et cetera, but the idea of participatory government is deeply human. And in fact, one can even say it is essential to the small groups of hunter gatherers that, you know, preceded our whole, you know, age. So it is almost an intuitive form of government as of course is, I'm sure, forms of autocracy, especially around centralization and centralization of governance around individuals and families, et cetera. So Africa and my part of Africa that I come from. I come from Kenya, I come from an ethnic group. Is it even right to call it ethnic group? I don't know, a nation called Kikuyu. There are gendered forms of will a way power plays out, but in the whole participation in decision making was a very clear value and process way of doing things.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: So if we are asking about the form of the democracy that is expressed in the modern state as reflected in the sort of Western European, modern state, I think it's a case of making lemonade out of lemons for a variety of reasons after independence. And I think good reasons. We took the shape of the modern state. If you see, it's always a curiosity, all of us have flags for instance. And they all flatter in the wind, outside the UN. I mean, who told us that you have to have a flag, right? Yeah, then we all have ambassadors, right. And they all wear ties. Like there's some performance there. So you have to, without going into those reasons, it has to strike you that modern nation state has a very powerful appeal in this age because dozens and dozens of countries say, when they became independent, didn't say, "Hey, let's reinvent this whole thing."

Ambassador Martin Kimani: They adopted this suit. So it's much like me in the suit I'm wearing. I could look just like the next guy, but what I have to say and how I think and what I do, that's what I would think. And so we have chosen in Kenya, for instance, to embrace electoral democracy. And we've done that, not in understanding that's an ideal form of government, and I'm not going to get Churchillian on you, but it's a... We must somehow resolve the differences between a very great group of people who are brought together







under a colonial regime and now must make life together. And so it behooves us to have clear processes that determine how power is used and how it's transferred for our own sake. That's a lemonade we make out of our lemons. As for capitalism, I've gone through all the phases, you know, I'm 51. So by the time you're 51, you usually basically reside to it all.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Except a few people like Noam Chomsky who still, you know, fighting the good fight. The explosion of wealth in Western Europe, between whether it's 17th century into the Industrial Age, is unprecedented in human history. The average middle class Kenyan has better health than the average European monarch from 200 years ago. And that is because of the powerful growth that private capital has provided. So that's an easy, broad answer, but of course, it comes with a lot more. It comes with a lot more and also with very clear harms that we have experienced and are still experiencing. There's a way that the world's structure of how capital moves vis a vis Africa is structurally undermining of our hopes for wealth and independence. But again, we must make lemonade. It's extremely important just on the basis of responsibility alone to seek to turn disadvantage into at least a neutral situation and hopefully into advantage.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And I think we are smart enough to take the engine of private capital and secure it for better ends. And we've seen it being done, and I think one of the great arguments going on in the world today is between China's almost miraculous levels of economic transformation with China's political model. And I think African countries today have a very rich store of examples from which to draw on. The question is which one do we take and it's a... part of being an African solution to an African problem is coming up with your specific way on how to do it.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Kenya just finished our most influential economic document, which is this white paper we wrote called African Socialism with African Characteristics, which is essentially a capitalist document, but it nods towards collective solutions. At that time, it was written actually quite importantly by the just passed away President Mwai Kibaki. It was an attempt to integrate the engine of private capital with African concerns, whether it succeeded in doing that or not is up for debate. And I think probably it may not have fully gotten there, but it gives you an indication of the policy choices we have to make.

Deqa: I feel like democracy and capitalism became synonymous for development. And a lot of Sub-Saharan African countries have been looked down on, you're not being democratic. You're not being developed. But the democracy we're referring to and the capitalism that we're referring to emerged in a geopolitical context that was not in Africa. If Africa was never colonized, never enslaved, completely left alone to have their own political process, because there is a form of governance that existed for colonial times, which was very participatory... What would it look like? What would Africa look like? And then another sub question which is if we are using these indicators that came from outside of Africa, would Africa really fully catch up because it's not really--indicates that are original to us and authentic to our own political processes.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: You see, this is why the University of Chicago's a very good school. I don't envy your professors at all, this is a tough crowd. What would Africa have looked like? It's such a wonderful question. It's not just hypothetical. It is hypothetical, but it deserves close attention. I grew up loving science fiction. I was obsessed with science fiction. And I like this later thing that has come, like Octavia Butler and just this recognition, in this science fiction, if you look at Isaac Asimov Foundation series. You get the impression there are no black people in the future. Like there are no Africans, yeah. Something has happened







and they've gone somewhere, they're away. So that's with a light touch. I love foundation series, but it's very worthwhile for us to ask that question. And perhaps to even have the historians doing a lot more of the sort of counter what would've happened if the first Dutch sailor to try and land in South Africa was immediately slotted and told you can't land here. And said, no we just want to establish a small port to get fresh...

Ambassador Martin Kimani: No, you cannot land here. Yeah. What would then have happened? Well, I think Africa was already part of the world. Africa is not isolated from the world. Africa is part of a global system of exchange. And so I think we would just have continued going deeper into that globalized... It's not a globalized economy, the way we put it, but certainly the exchange and the travel was there and the understanding of each other. And I think they would've emerged very economic kingdoms and nations. I think there would have probably been dominant military powers that would probably have conquered other parts of Africa. I'm thinking of the Zulu Wars that were so intense that they created, it was called the Mfecane. It created... People will flee all the way from Southern Africa to like Tanzania today. That's how powerful geopolitical impact of this new form of warfare and new form of political organization was.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: So I think we just have developed into a very... It would've been a normal place where the University of Chicago Pearson School would've been studying the roots of the Zulu military organization in relation to the Swahili coast and its attempt to trade. It would just have been what we study in Europe, et cetera. And perhaps I think it would've been a bit for much better world, but I have to say something just in addition to it, which is this sort of lecturing, this sort of idea of how others know and where to be taught these issues. It always strikes me as slightly absurd. And the reason for it is, I went running in a small park in Copenhagen. And there were all these statues of people. I didn't know who these people were, but clearly like in many European capitals, recognizing for some unique contribution to that country's evolution, whether politically or militarily.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And I came back and I met somebody, a friend of mine from Denmark, and he indicated to me... He gave me a lecture. One of these lectures, one gets, and it wasn't badly intended, but it came to me as a flash of insight. And I told him, "Well, I realized you actually really know what you're talking about, but it's not the content. It's that the people who built what you're talking about are dead. They're just statues at the park. You are just born into it, then you went and opened a book and read. So you actually don't know how to build a democracy. Cause you've never built one. you've just, you've gone to school, you've studied how your ancestors built it. You haven't built it. I'm trying to build it. So we're different. It's not that I know more than you, but I'm in the ring."

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Yeah. And so are all our citizens. And so that just puts me in a different vantage point. I'm closer to the statue guy than to you, right. So I think that should bring a lot of humility to our exchange. Sometimes I see Africans, we fly over to a university somewhere to be given capacity building, but what capacity exactly is being transferred? It's okay to call it academic instruction or policy advice. But when you call it capacity building, it suggests a deep exchange of engineering knowledge, but no Western country outside of some of the Iberian states that only recently became democracies in the seventies can truly instruct an African person on how to build a democracy.

Nancy: So speaking of being in the arena, we have some questions about some of your most recent endeavors in the arena.







Josephine: Yeah. Just give us some more information about the building bridges initiative, your involvement in it, and what you see as the future of Kenyan constitutional reform.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Well, I'm a fairly recent arrival to Kenyan's constitutional debate, which is longstanding and perhaps is as old as our republic. So the building bridges for those who don't know who are listening is a process of seeking deep political change in Kenya on the basis of bipartisan accord, by President Kenyata and the Right Honorable Raila Odinga, who is the head of the opposition, and now is a candidate for the presidency. And after our elections in 2017, the electoral result was kicked out by the Supreme Court. We had to go back to repeat the election. That repeat election was boycotted by the opposition. And it led to a great deal of political heat and temperature in Kenya where the opposition was broadly saying that they do not see the present system as being inclusive enough of the Kenyans that they represented in their political coalition.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: I'm not sure all of them agreed, but that was their position. And it reached sort of its dramatic peak in a swearing in ceremony with the Right Honorable Raila Odinga as "the people's president" in January of 2018. And that was a very dangerous moment for Kenya because when you're running democratic systems, exit is always a possibility and a risk and can come with a great deal of conflict and destruction. And those who have lived in countries where the governance has collapsed will tell you that it's easy to break it... very, very hard to reestablish it. So President Kenyata and Right Honorable Raila decided for the good of the country that it was important that their trajectory and where this was headed was very dangerous for our country. And neither of them wanted to have their name on that destructive possibility. So they decided to come together in a handshake.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And I, as a civil servant, working for President Kenyata, I was tasked with, they chose one person each to go and help them in the articulation, just writing the communicate, the way they wanted the analysis of the problems. And they reduced it to nine points. There were nine key problems from division, corruption, et cetera, et cetera, that they thought are at the root of this political crisis. And so leading from that, the handshake happened at early March of 2018. And it was a truly electrified moment in Kenya. It gave a lot of Kenyans a great deal of hope that we had it in us to prevent any disintegration of our quality and that we had it in us to overcome perceptions and realities of marginalization that had been felt by many people for a long time. So it a very hopeful moment.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And it led then to this Building Bridges Initiative, which was a task force appointed by the President of which I was at the joint secretary alongside with Paul Mwangi, who was also a joint secretary and had been appointed by Right Honorable Raila to join me in the write up of what was called a nine point agenda. So the building bridges process went around the country, talking to Kenyan people. It was made up of a diverse group of people. Most of them quite not young that were chosen because they had been there at the very beginning of some of theses and a lot of historical memory. And the idea was to go to the root from where it started, not just how it manifests. It manifests a certain way, but to roll it, actually, it was like a Pearson Institute initiative to get to the root of the matter.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And we went around the country and produced a report. That report led to another report that was now proposed constitutional changes after very, very widespread consultations with experts, with government, with civil society, with experts of all manner capability. And then this







constitutional bill was put to the Kenyan people, whether they wanted to have a referendum, it collected them more than a million signatures. And then it was struck down by the courts, by the high court. It was struck down again by the court of appeal and the Supreme Court just heard not a case about the specifics of it, but some of the things that came out of the rulings of the court of appeal. So that's a very long explanation to say that it was an attempt to fix very deep problems that our country has. And one of them is to lower the level of political contestation, which can get so high that it becomes very risky.

Ambassador Martin Kimani: And that's a thing with democracy. If you look at any successful democratic country in the world, you will see that a lot of its success comes from its ability to generate bipartisan responses. So if there's a war or it's climate change or it's a pandemic, a single party and a single political grouping is very unlikely to solve it successfully. So the greatest problems are solved in a bipartisan manner, or they are engaged in a bipartisan manner. These problems we're dealing with, ethnic fragmentation, the way we deal with each other politically, required a bipartisan solution. So I'm very proud of their attempt, and I think many of those points that were raised will come back in one form or the other.

Josephine: Do you feel like with the upcoming election and the new coalition that's been formed, do you feel like this is a hopeful step towards us continuing in a more bipartisan approach? Or do you feel like we still have so much to work on?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: Well, now here you are drawing me into the waters diplomats should never tread in.

Josephine: They were allowed to be the...

Ambassador Martin Kimani: No, look, I actually appreciate there's an impulse within the Kenyan political leadership, including all candidates for the presidency, that our country needs more unity. They've brought new ideas to how to achieve that unity and how to sequence it. But I think the Kenyans have learned so much in the last 15 years or so. From our crisis in 2008, has grown a very powerful infrastructure of response to division and the risks our democratic country takes. I think today Kenya is a much more resilient democracy, much more able to handle its differences and much more able to hold its leaders to account. That doesn't mean Kenyans are cheering off from the sideline, cause it's one of the curious characteristics of Kenya is a relentless skepticism, which is both good and sometimes not so good. I find myself quite optimistic and I think we're not out of the woods, but I think we are a very different country than we were 15 years ago.

Deqa: We want you to have the last word. And is there anything you would like the audience to know today? Anything, some words of wisdom?

Ambassador Martin Kimani: I just, you know, want to welcome whoever's listening and who is actively working to... Either who's African who's actively working to solve some of the problems, either in the community or the face or continent or those who are not African who have that deep interest. I just want to say that I think there's so much potential to do, to take actions of lasting significance and that they should feel encouraged because a lot of times conversations that are being held are so negative. And so many people who have some of the greatest abilities, especially Africans I meet, are so relentlessly down on themselves and on us. That act of being so down becomes a contributor to the problems itself. So I think you should feel







encouraged and you should understand that in the long sweep of history, we have only come a relatively short time as an independent people that measured against our own history...

Ambassador Martin Kimani: This is a blink of an eye. And that one day a very wealthy and powerful Africa will think back and say, "Can you imagine? There was a time when people came here in ships, captured people like us, put us in ships, enslaved us. Then they came and colonized. Can you imagine such a type?" And there'll be people who are like, that is just a myth, that is fake history. Cause such a thing can't happen to people like us... How? It'll happen, but we have to plant the seeds for that now, even though we will not probably live to see it. We have to plant those seeds and they can be planted in so many places. And those who read science fiction know that you can change the entire galaxy from a university department somewhere because of the quality and clarity of your ideas.

Reema: Thank you for listening to this episode of Root of Conflict, featuring Ambassador Martin Kimani. This episode was produced and edited by Aishwarya Kumar and Reema Saleh. Thank you to our interviewers, Deqa Aden, Josephine Lando, and Nancy Smith.

Reema: Special thanks to UC3P and the Pearson Institute for their continued support of this series. For more information on the Pearson Institute's research and events, visit thepearson institute.org and follow them on Twitter.



