

Integrated Country Strategy

FRANCE

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1. Chief of Mission Priorities

France is America's oldest ally and one of our most willing and capable partners. We share common values and benefit from a significant alignment of interests on a broad range of regional and global issues. To achieve our overarching mission of ensuring American security and prosperity, we must remain engaged in close cooperation to face shared global challenges from threats to security from Russia and other malign actors to creating jobs and opportunities for our citizens.

Our goals fall under three broad categories:

- Deepening our engagement with France and Monaco to ensure their foreign policies affecting U.S. and global peace and security, and the safety of U.S. citizens, align as closely as possible to ours.
- Promoting greater prosperity through strengthening economic and commercial ties and by facilitating legitimate travel.
- Addressing global threats to human rights, the environment, and a rules-based international order.

Our partnership will be essential to holding Russia accountable for its invasion of Ukraine, to guaranteeing European political and economic stability, and to ensuring NATO remains the principal security instrument of the transatlantic community and a fundamental institution in the expression of our shared democratic values.

France's military, law enforcement, counterterrorism and intelligence capabilities make it an ideal partner in bringing peace and stability to the Middle East and North Africa and countering terrorism at home and abroad. Our collaboration in the fight against terrorism has proven invaluable, as we also have a paramount responsibility to protect the thousands of American citizens who reside in France and the thousands more who travel yearly. The large-scale global events that France will be hosting within the next three years will raise the focus on the threat of a terrorist attack.

France also shares our concerns about the threats China poses in the Indo-Pacific, and its attempts to seize influence and economic leverage in Africa and Southeast Asia. China's non-market practices related to trade, procurement, and investment more broadly are also areas of common concern. We will need to be ever more watchful to ensure China does not view Russia's invasion of Ukraine as an example to follow or take advantage of the fallout to pursue its own ambitions and increase its non-market practices.

While the conflict in Ukraine has placed an emphasis on our common economic values as we work together to stabilize markets, France itself has at times promoted market protective measures in the name of greater European economic sovereignty, particularly in the digital sector. Nonetheless, France is a valuable partner in addressing global supply chain disruptions and seeks to collaborate with the United States to ensure firms are treated on equal footing. Mission France should continue to ensure that U.S. firms obtain fair and reciprocal market access to one of our largest trading partners and foreign investors.

A fierce defender of the Paris Agreement, France warmly welcomed our return and has cooperated closely on issues such as climate finance, clean energy, and integrating biodiversity with climate. The U.S.-France Clean Energy Partnership launched in December 2021 further underpins our shared interest in accelerating energy transitions to achieve climate objectives. Energy prices, however, already on the rise globally for several months, will become more volatile as France and the EU seek to pivot away from Russian hydrocarbons and could slow our efforts - we will need to work in tandem to minimize the impact on climate objectives.

New sanctions imposed by the West on Russia and Belarus will also have a negative effect on France's economy as markets tighten and specific sectors of the economy lose export revenue. France had already become a leading voice on sanctions policy within the EU and has been enthusiastic about cooperating with us. The new sanctions will generate consequences, including inflation, that the government will need to manage well. We will work closely with France, the EU and NATO to solidify resolve, find ways to mitigate negative market consequences, and manage public reaction.

The U.S.-France commercial relationship (\$120 billion in goods and services) supports millions of jobs in both countries. Our ability to facilitate legitimate travel will thus remain essential to the health of both of our economies, as well as to protecting our nationality security.

Vigorous public diplomacy will be integral to our ability to achieve goals and address global threats. Whether countering disinformation, strengthening democratic institutions and values, or promoting a global agenda to address climate change, public diplomacy provides the essential underpinning to develop objectives, plan our actions and tell our story. Our voice must carry across to diverse audiences and through every possible method of communication. Building consensus in France (from French policy makers, opinion leaders and the public) and in multilateral fora will ensure that we have support for our goals.

None of this can be done without investment in our people. Our underlying strength rests upon a talented and ever more diverse workforce that is – and feels – involved in our success and appreciated for their contributions. We are committed to providing our personnel with the necessary resources and infrastructure to ensure that each one of them has the tools they need to achieve success. We are committed to building a workforce that represents the rich diversity of France and the United States and to accompanying them from the moment of hiring to retirement and to ensuring that they have every opportunity to grow as professionals and be respected and rewarded as such.

Mission France's ICS has integrated diversity, equity, inclusion and accessibility principles throughout. How we behave, how we speak, how we treat each other must reflect the highest ideals of our nation and must imbue every action we take to achieve our goals and objectives.

2. Mission Strategic Framework

Mission Goal 1: Deepen engagement with France and Monaco to maximize alignment and mitigate divergences on policies affecting U.S. peace and security and to strengthen the protection of U.S. citizens and their interests.

- **Mission Objective 1.1:** Increase bilateral coordination to confront threats to global peace and stability and to promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.
- Mission Objective 1.2: Strengthen our military, law enforcement, intelligence, and counterterrorism cooperation to address key security challenges.
- Mission Objective 1.3: Adopt operational innovations and augment cooperation with governments, private institutions, and organizations to strengthen the protection of U.S. citizens and their interests.

Mission Goal 2: Cooperate with France and Monaco to promote prosperity by deepening commercial ties, addressing the climate crisis, and facilitating legitimate travel.

- Mission Objective 2.1: Broaden and deepen trade and commercial cooperation to attract greater investment to the United States, expand U.S. exports, enhance energy security, and build back better from the global pandemic.
- Mission Objective 2.2: Counter coercive, non-market economic practices and protectionist measures, through strengthened cooperation on targeted sanctions, robust investment screening, and the promotion of global cyberspace norms.
- Mission Objective 2.3: Advance the transition to a net-zero emissions economy by
 encouraging renewable energy and clean technology adoption while maintaining energy
 security and conserving biodiversity as a climate mitigation and adaptation tool.
- Mission Objective 2.4: In coordination with U.S. and local partners, enhance our ability
 to facilitate legitimate travel and transportation efficiently and promptly by leveraging
 bilateral security and safety measures and innovating operations.

Mission Goal 3: Leverage our institutional partnerships, shared democratic tradition, and common vision to address global threats to democracy, human rights, the environment, and the rules-based international order.

- Mission Objective 3.1: Build consensus for joint and multilateral action to combat climate change and threats to biodiversity, mitigate global health risks, and broaden science and technology cooperation.
- Mission Objective 3.2: Strengthen our democratic institutions and bilateral
 relationships by inclusively engaging with diverse audiences to advance the rule of law,
 human rights, freedom of expression, liberty, and equality.
- Mission Objective 3.3: Counter disinformation and disruptive technologies that threaten U.S. and European security by fostering dialogue with diverse audiences and engaging government and non-government counterparts.

Management Objective 1: Optimize facilities and communications infrastructure to enhance operational platforms in support of the Mission's foreign policy objectives.

Management Objective 2: Strengthen a capable workforce by augmenting efforts to incorporate and promote Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility (DEIA) principles throughout local and USDH recruitment and life-cycle processes.

Management Objective 3: Reduce the Mission's environmental footprint by leveraging new technologies that maximize environmental protection, energy conservation, and efficient use of resources.

3. Mission Goals and Objectives

Mission Goal 1 Deepen engagement with France and Monaco to maximize alignment and mitigate divergences on policies affecting U.S. peace and security and to strengthen the protection of U.S. citizens and their interests.

Description | France is America's oldest ally and remains among our closest, most trusted, and skilled partners. This mission goal seeks to leverage France's unique combination of soft and hard power to advance our shared democratic values and to confront global challenges threatening our way of life and the rules-based international order. It also seeks to coordinate our bilateral military, law enforcement, and international security cooperation to address threats and to ensure the safety of American citizens living and travelling in France.

Objective 1.1 | Increase bilateral coordination to confront threats to global peace and stability and to promote democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.

- Justification | We share with France a commitment to core democratic principles and to their promotion worldwide: transparency and accountability, judicial independence, robust civil society, rule of law, protection of free speech, independent media, the right to peacefully demonstrate, and other core civil rights and liberties. France is one of very few allies with both the political will and soft power to advance these principles as well as the hard power and security sector capabilities to back them up. France's leadership role in the UN, the EU, the Council of Europe (which France hosts in Strasbourg) and other multilateral fora means it is a crucial partner in efforts to defend the rule-based international order and to demonstrate that democracy can deliver. Our strengthened cooperation will have a multiplier effect as we confront forces working to undermine our shared fundamental values.
- Linkages | This objective responds to calls in the Interim National Security Strategic
 Guidance (INSSG) to "reinvigorate our alliances" and "lead with diplomacy" in order to
 "deter and prevent adversaries from directly threatening the United States and our
 allies, inhibiting access to the global commons, or dominating key regions" and to

"sustain a stable and open interaction system, underwritten by strong democratic alliance, partnerships, multilateral institutions, and rules." It aims to work with France to "recommit ourselves to our transatlantic partnerships," to "forge a strong, common agenda with the European Union," and to "reaffirm, invest in, and modernize the North Atlantic Treaty Organization."

Risks | A political shift could lead France to rethink its role in the transatlantic alliance
and in Europe. Populist political forces could limit French efforts to strengthen Europe.
Efforts to increase European military capacity and strategic sovereignty could
undermine transatlantic cooperation if not properly coordinated.

Objective 1.2 | Strengthen our military, law enforcement, intelligence, counterterrorism, and strategic stability cooperation to address key security challenges.

- Justification | France is our most willing and capable partner in countering shared threats to global security. French leadership and influence in Europe can be a force multiplier for efforts to enhance Transatlantic security and could provide an avenue to deeper EU contributions in areas of shared interest from North Africa to the Indo-Pacific. France provides un-paralleled support to the Defeat-ISIS Coalition and it is in the United States interest to ensure that France remains the counterterrorism and stabilization leader in the Sahel. Our strategies in the Indo-Pacific are broadly aligned. Expanding existing bilateral cooperation to further improve France's operational capabilities would yield follow-on effects in Europe and globally. To ensure our security partnership continues to anchor the bilateral relationship, we should deepen cooperation to better confront threats from state powers and transnational non-state actors in traditional areas such as arms control and nonproliferation as well as emerging domains like cyber, space, quantum, and AI.
- Linkages | This objective builds on the INSSG principles that "our strength is multiplied when we combine efforts to address common challenges, share costs, and widen the circle of cooperation" and that the United States should encourage allies to "invest in their own comparative advantages against shared and future threats." It seeks to

partner with France to "disrupt al-Qaeda ... and prevent an ISIS resurgence," to "renew American nonproliferation leadership" and "address the existential threat posed by nuclear weapons," including by addressing threats from Iran and North Korea and by "pursuing new arms control arrangements." This objective also outlines how the mission will work with France and Monaco to "strengthen our capability, readiness, and resilience in cyberspace" and to "promote shared norms and forge new agreements on emerging technologies, space, and cyber space."

Risks | France's political commitment to counter-terrorism initiatives is underpinned by
public support which could shift. France's legal framework could limit its ability to
prosecute terrorists. Far-left or far-right political forces could seek to blunt efforts to
fight extremism.

Objective 1.3 | Adopt operational innovations and augment cooperation with governments, private institutions, and organizations to strengthen the protection of U.S. citizens and their interests.

- Justification | Mission France works closely with French authorities to meet our highest priority: protecting the safety of the more than 4 Million U.S. citizen visitors and over 300,000 U.S. residents in France. The COVID pandemic has added yet another layer of complexity to the mounting demand for emergency and routine services and underscored our resource (staffing) limitations. Upcoming global events as early as 2023 will increase demand, and the risk of terrorist attacks will further challenge our ability to protect U.S. citizens. To meet our responsibilities, we will expand outreach, leverage existing relations, explore innovative approaches prepare the entire Mission for a possible crisis, and continue to train visa staff to take on U.S. citizens services responsibilities.
- Linkages | This objective supports the INSSG's underlying priority to "defend our people," specifically U.S. citizens travelling to or living in France and Monaco, including through "reinvigorating and modernizing our partnerships" with local authorities. It is also directly linked to the Bureau of Consular Affairs' Functional Strategy (FY2018-2020),

which strategic goal 1 is to "protect the lives and serve the interests of U.S. citizens overseas." It is linked to the State-USAID Joint Strategic Goal Framework FY2018-2022, Goal 1: Protect America's Security at Home and Abroad, 1.5, 'protect U.S. citizens abroad'. It also seeks to ensure equitable access to services for all citizens in line with E.O. 14035.

Risks | France has a strict privacy law that makes it a criminal offense to publish information on a person's private life. Recently, working level contacts have been reading this law so strictly so as to interfere with our ability to assist Amcits. This type of strict interpretation could grow and constitute a serious obstacle to protecting Amcits. In addition, the French government has been unable to contain the growing rash of petty crime affecting Amcits in Paris – if this situation persists, with more and more Amcits returning to travel, Post will face a significant growth in demand for emergency and passport services.

Mission Goal 2 | Cooperate with France and Monaco to promote prosperity by deepening commercial ties, addressing the climate crisis, and facilitating legitimate travel.

Description | France and the United States enjoy a deep and longstanding trade and investment relationship and cooperate to counter some of the world's greatest challenges, including climate change, the growing threat of cyberattacks, economic coercion, and the loss of biodiversity. As the fifth largest source of FDI in the United States in 2020, and with more than 765,100 U.S. workers employed by U.S. affiliates of majority French-owned firms, a strong French economy benefits the U.S. economy and creates employment opportunities for American citizens. The United States should coordinate with France to ensure our sustainable infrastructure development efforts encourage investments at home and abroad in clean energy and water systems, climate-aligned transportation, and telecommunications. Travel restrictions instituted during the COVID pandemic highlighted the importance of visa services to the bilateral relationship with France, particularly in commercial, economic and educational

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sectors. Terrorism, criminal activity and fraud continue to pose threats to our national security and must be addressed in order to ensure only legitimate travel is supported.

Objective 2.1 | Broaden and deepen trade and commercial cooperation to attract greater investment to the United States, expand U.S. exports, and build back better from the global pandemic.

- Justification | Our strong trade relationship with France helps creates well-paid jobs in the United States as France is the United States' third largest trading partner in Europe. In addition, France has made more than \$315 billion in investments in the United States in 2020 alone, which helps support the U.S. economy and jobs. Working together with France to increase the reliance of our supply chains and diversity of sourcing for critical materials helps the United States prepare for global supply shocks caused by phenomena such as the Covid-19 pandemic.
- Linkages | This objective directly links to the JRS Goal 3 in promoting deeper trade, investment and energy cooperation, attracting investment, build stronger, more resilient supply chains and trade ties and build back better from the global pandemic.
- **Risks** | An economic slow-down could temper trade and investment growth, or appetite for greater investments in infrastructure.

Objective 2.2 | Counter coercive, non-market economic practices and protectionist measures, through strengthened cooperation on targeted sanctions, robust investment screening, and the promotion of global cyberspace norms.

• Justification | Malign actors have increasingly taken a non-market approach to the global economy and trade which cause serious harm to workers and businesses around the world. This unfair competition has inflicted damage on our economy and the United States should work to develop tools and collaborate with other economies and countries to counter these aggressive practices. In addition, rogue actors have continued to use cyber and ransomware attacks to target both public and private actors in an attempt to undermine economic and political stability.

- **Linkages** | This supports JRS Goal 3; Promote deeper trade, investment, and energy cooperation, and forge a united front on non-market and coercive economic practices.
- Risks | French commercial ties and dependency on the PRC and Russia limit political will to deter or counter malign activities.

Objective 2.3 | Advance the transition to a net-zero emissions economy by encouraging renewable energy and clean technology adoption while maintaining energy security and conserving biodiversity as a climate mitigation and adaptation tool.

- Justification | The United States and France share the same objectives for mitigating climate change and transitioning toward decarbonized economies. The path toward achieving them will depend on policies that encourage the adoption of cleaner, i.e., carbon neutral or carbon-capturing, technologies and energy networks. By working directly with France, the United States will be better able to achieve its own carbon-neutral goals, advance technology development and adoption, grow the net-zero economy for the benefit of the Unites States, and ensure a transition that maintains energy security. The United States also needs France to partner with to encourage the most greenhouse gas-emitting economies (e.g., China, India, Indonesia, etc.) to adopt renewable energies and transition out of fossil fuels. France links biodiversity conservation to climate mitigation, and the United States shares the goal of putting 30 percent of land and ocean resources into protected management status in order to ensure carbon sinks and adaptation remain top policy priorities.
- Linkages | France shares many of the Administration's goals on support of the Paris
 Agreement. This objective supports JRS Goal 1 (revitalizing alliances and partnerships),
 JRS Goal 3 (Promote deeper trade, investment and energy cooperation) and JRS Goal 4
 (Leveraging Alliances to address global threats and challenges.)
- Risks | Energy price hikes, unambitious national targets for reducing greenhouse gas
 emissions, protectionist policies that prevent the creation and adoption of clean
 technologies, and continuing deforestation and misuse of natural resources all threaten
 to impede the transition toward a net-zero future. The United States must work

together with France to ensure policies are aligned with the goals of the Paris Agreement and with a just and smooth transition to a clean energy future.

Objective 2.4 | In coordination with U.S. and local partners and by leveraging bilateral security, safety measures, and operational innovations, enhance our ability to facilitate legitimate travel and transportation efficiently and promptly.

- Justification | Travel restrictions instituted during the COVID pandemic highlighted the importance of visa services to the bilateral relationship with France, particularly in commercial, economic and educational sectors. Mission France adjudicates over 70,000 non-immigrant visas per year, half of which are for student/exchange visitors and employment-based purposes. The other half corresponds to non-immigrant visas for third-country nationals (TCNs) travelling for tourism. Terrorism, criminal activity and fraud continue to pose threats to our national security and must be addressed in order to ensure only legitimate travel is supported. To meet its responsibilities post will need to work closely with partners and innovate.
- Linkages | This objective directly links to the JRS Goal 3 of promoting deeper trade, investment and energy cooperation, and building stronger, more resilient supply chains and trade ties, as visas provide the mechanism for investors, businesspeople, students and tourists to travel to the U.S. It also directly links to Consular Affairs' Bureau Functional Strategy (FY2018-2020] Strategic Goal 2 "strengthening U.S. border security while facilitating legitimate travel. It links to State-USAID Joint Strategic Goal Framework Goal 1: Strengthen U.S. border security and Goal 2: Renew America's Competitive Advantage for Sustained Economic Growth and Job Creation.
- Risks | Current resource constraints threaten to restrict Post's ability to facilitate travel
 as visa staff is shifted to American citizen services and passport services. As a result, the
 number of visas adjudicated will decrease considerably and stifle economic growth and
 investment in the United States.

Mission Goal 3 | Leverage our institutional partnerships, shared democratic tradition, and common vision to address global threats to democracy, human rights, the environment, and the rules-based international order.

Description | The United States and France benefit from a deep cultural affinity and longstanding friendship. However, despite our shared values, we are not always aligned, and generational shifts mean we must continue to renew the bonds that link us. We must work with France and Monaco to confront shared cross-border challenges that threaten our values, our health and planet. We aim to work together to address these challenges domestically and to cooperate in multilateral fora to ensure third countries contribute to global solutions.

Objective 3.1 | Build consensus for joint and multilateral action to combat climate change and threats to biodiversity, mitigate global health risks, and broaden science and technology cooperation.

- Justification | The first, most important and impactful goal of the Administration's climate policy is to raise ambition worldwide to decrease greenhouse gas emissions and facilitate a clean energy transition. The only way to meet the objectives of the Paris Agreement is through joint action, among heavy emitting nations to mitigate further emissions, and among all nations to adapt to inevitable changes resulting from a changing planet. Conserving biodiversity, preventing the next pandemic, and sharing science and technology information with the aim to advance collective efforts to mitigate and adapt are all linked to climate change, as the changing climate is linked to these other priorities. Building consensus bilaterally and multilaterally is the method by which these current and future problems can be addressed.
- Linkages | This objective supports JRS Goal 1 (revitalizing alliances and partnerships),
 JRS Goal 3 (Promote deeper trade, investment and energy cooperation) and JRS Goal 4
 (Leveraging Alliances to address global threats and challenges.)
- **Risks** | Increasing energy demand and prices both pose risks to security consensus action on climate, biodiversity, and health cooperation and action. In addition, domestic

policies that favor deforestation or permit imported deforestation, and inchoate efforts to support the health response in lieu of coordinated approaches, also threaten efficiently and effectively addressing these issues. Early, consistent, and flexible policy approaches are needed to mitigate these risks.

Objective 3.2 | Strengthen our democratic institutions and bilateral relationships by inclusively engaging with diverse audiences to advance the rule of law, human rights, freedom of expression, liberty, and equality.

- Justification | The democracies of the United States and France were built on the same foundational values. Our two countries have interpreted them differently, however. Polling indicates the French public and influential voices no longer reliably agree that the U.S. shares democratic values with France and officials often use the U.S. social discourse as a counterpoint to "French" values, especially on issues of diversity and inclusion. Building public support for the United States as a key partner to France on the world stage depends on building trust in the United States as a partner and leader in democratic values.
- Linkages | This objective is closely linked to JRS Objective 2.1 Advocate for and reinforce democratic values, norms, and principles – as well as the INSSG commitment to realizing and defending the democratic values at the heart of the American way of life.
- Risks | French intellectuals have accused the United States of importing racism and causing discord in French society through the introduction of diversity measures and cancel culture.

Objective 3.3 | Counter disinformation and disruptive technologies that threaten U.S. and European security by fostering dialogue with diverse audiences and engaging government and non-government counterparts.

• **Justification** | France continues to be a target of disinformation campaigns. U.S.-France cultural and civic organizations need support to modernize in an environment of

increased soft power competition from other governments' cultural centers, sister cities partnerships, and educational outreach.

- **Linkages** | This objective is linked to the INSSG goal to uphold existing and shape new norms in cyberspace as well as JRS Objective 2.3 bolster the resilience of institutions to external malign influence and disinformation.
- **Risks** | Over-stressing these issues risks French narratives that the U.S. is merely competing with foreign powers that do not pose a risk to France.

4. Management Objectives

Management Objective 1 | Optimize facilities and communications infrastructure to enhance operational platforms in support of the Mission's foreign policy objectives.

- Justification | As the pandemic pushed increasing numbers of Department employees around the world into a telework posture, posts everywhere found themselves scrambling to identify and implement secure, cost-effective, and scalable video conferencing solutions. This effort in Paris highlighted the shortcomings our posts have in this area; State Department facilities in France lack fully capable secure and non-secure video conferencing capabilities, hampering our ability to fully support the Mission's foreign policy objectives.
- Linkages | Improved communications infrastructure at post supports all JRS and JSP goals, as it the basis for our conversations with Washington and our partners in the interagency across the full range of topics.
- Risks | While major renovation projects for our facilities in Paris are currently in the
 discussion phase, these will likely not be undertaken for years, leaving us with IT
 infrastructure weaknesses in the meantime. Rather than wait for a solution that could
 be a decade in arriving, post would prefer to proactively plan for the most important
 improvements now.

Management Objective 2 | Strengthen a capable workforce by augmenting efforts to incorporate and promote Diversity, Equity, Inclusion and Accessibility (DEIA) principles throughout local and USDH recruitment and life-cycle processes.

Justification | Diversity, Equity, Inclusion, and Accessibility principles are not only
priorities for the U.S. administration but make good sense from a management
perspective as well. We want to ensure that our personnel practices reflect a
commitment to equal opportunity, inclusivity in assignments and awards, and

- accessibility to our facilities. These measures help strengthen our workforce by valuing the diversity of backgrounds and perspectives found in U.S. and French society.
- Linkages | This objective supports Bureau cross-cutting management objective 5.1, develop and implement a Bureau strategy for advancing diversity and inclusion that includes a comprehensive recruitment and assignment process.
- Risks | If post were not to work actively to support and further the principles outlined in
 this section, we would be sending a clear message to French audiences that the broad
 and deep experience that all our citizens bring to the workforce is not valued.

Management Objective 3 | Reduce the Mission's environmental footprint by leveraging new technologies that maximize environmental protection, energy conservation, and efficient use of resources.

- Justification | Helping solve the problem of anthropogenic climate change will require engagement from actors on individual, enterprise, and national scales. In accordance with administration priorities on greening diplomacy, we understand the role we can play in not just reducing our environmental footprint but in serving as an example of U.S. innovation and leadership in this field as well. Actions in this area can also help make our employees aware of the contribution each person can make in efforts to reduce energy consumption.
- Linkages | This objective supports JRS objective 4.1: secure ambitious climate mitigation
 and adaptation outcomes in support of international climate agreements, including the
 Paris Agreement, and transatlantic priorities.
- Risks | Although an initial investment in energy efficient technologies may be more
 costly than traditional alternatives, the long-term cost of ownership renders them a
 better value over time. It may also be time-consuming for employees to develop habits
 around energy conservation in the home and office, but gradual institutional change can
 bring meaningful results when pursued over time.