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A Year of Change at IGS

IGS welcomed a new director and launched major new programs in the past year. You can read about those changes in the pages that follow. Above, scenes from the year include, clockwise from top left: Assembly Speaker Emeritus **John A. Pérez** speaks at our Washington conference; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Kevin Figueroa with Senate President Pro Tem **Kevin de Leon**, for whom Figueroa interned; Assem-

blymember **Melissa Melendez** with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Naweed Tahmas; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows Greg Fidell, Leaje Morris, and Dominick Williams with Cal Alumni Association Executive Director **Cloey Hewlett**; California Controller **Betty T. Yee**, who received our Alumni Leadership Award; retiring Sen. **Barbara Boxer** looks over memorabilia with UC President **Janet Napolitano** and new Berkeley Chancellor

Carol T. Christ before Boxer announced the new IGS Barbara Boxer Lecture Series; Matsui Washington Fellow Lydia Xia with former House Speaker **Nancy Pelosi**; former Sen. **Alan K. Simpson** and NPR White House Correspondent **Tamara Keith** snap a selfie before appearing together at the IGS Salon Gala.

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The Institute of Governmental Studies' *Public Affairs Report* is published annually. The University of California's primary center for interdisciplinary research in politics and public policy, the Institute was established in 1919. Its staff includes faculty with joint IGS and departmental appointments, research specialists, visiting scholars, and graduate students. Drawing on the Institute's major reference library, they conduct research in public policy, public administration, American politics, urban problems, federalism, technology and government, and political reform.

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What's New at IGS

This was a year of change at IGS, and in the pages that follow you can read more about the new things happening in Moses Hall.

Lisa García Bedolla was appointed the new director of the institute. García Bedolla is Chancellor's Professor in the Graduate School of Education and has published widely on issues such as Latino politics and voter turnout. Her books include *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles* and *Latino Politics*. She's also the co-author of a volume called *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*. To read more about García Bedolla and her appointment as director, see page 3.

To honor retiring director **Jack Citrin** and to create a new locus within the institute for research on public opinion, IGS also created the **Jack Citrin Center on Public Opinion Research**, a new component center housed within the institute and Moses Hall. Citrin, who retired this year after 10 years as IGS director and more than 40 years on the Berkeley faculty, spent much of his academic career studying public opinion, and the new Citrin Center will continue this work. To support the center's programs, IGS raised more than \$600,000 in commitments toward a new endowment for the center. To read more about the Citrin Center, see page 4.

IGS also created a new lecture series at the institute to honor retiring US Sen. **Barbara Boxer**, who donated her papers to the university's Bancroft Library. The **Barbara Boxer Lecture Series** will be organized annually by IGS. The first lecture, which occurred this past spring, featured Sen. Boxer herself as the inaugural lecturer. She told the crowd that her post-Senate plans changed with the election of Donald Trump as president. For more on her lecture and the creation of the Boxer Lecture Series, see page 6.

Expanding the IGS polling imprint, the institute created a new survey program, the **Berkeley IGS Poll**, which will poll three to four times each year on various California political and policy issues. **Mark DiCamillo**, the former director of the legendary Field Poll, joined IGS as director of the new Berkeley IGS Poll, which includes media partnerships that help ensure coverage of the poll results. This spring, the new poll released two surveys on issues ranging from voter preferences in the 2018 gubernatorial race to Cali-

fornians' access to high-speed Internet service, and more polls are planned for later this year. For more on the new poll, see page 8.

IGS also held our inaugural **Washington, DC Event** this year—a one-day conference last fall analyzing various aspects of the 2016 election. Held at the National Press Club, the event featured politicians, journalists, and scholars and drew a large crowd in the nation's capital. For more on the institute's first foray in many years into Washington programming, see page 22.

The institute's **National Advisory Council** expanded again this year, adding five new members, including leading figures from the business, nonprofit, and political worlds. The Advisory Council plays a critical role in giving counsel to the IGS director and in providing support for the institute's programs. For biographies of the new Advisory Council members, see page 32.

In addition to these new efforts, the institute's other programming thrived during the past year. Retired Sen. **Alan K. Simpson** served as our **Matsui Lecturer** and as the featured speaker at our **IGS Salon Gala** (pages 9 and 10). Renowned scholar **Niall Ferguson** delivered the **Underhill Lecture** (page 13). **Matsui Fellows** completed internships in Washington, Sacramento, and local governments throughout the state (pages 14–19). Three new **Gardner Fellows** began placements that will help them launch careers in public service (page 20). The **Percy and Synar Fellowships** honored student research (page 25) while our **IGS Research Brief** series featured new research by affiliated faculty members (page 26). And our students and faculty members received various awards and honors both from IGS and even from national and international organizations (page 28).

We hope you will read about all of these activities—both old and new—in the pages that follow, and continue your support of IGS and its groundbreaking programs. □

To support IGS and its programs,
please go to give.berkeley.edu/igs

Professor Lisa García Bedolla

Named Next Director of IGS



Lisa García Bedolla, Chancellor’s Professor in the Graduate School of Education, was appointed the new director of IGS this summer, effective July 1.

García Bedolla is a distinguished scholar whose research focuses on how marginalization and inequality structure the political and educational opportunities available to members of ethnoracial groups, with a particular emphasis on the intersections of race, class, and gender.

She was appointed IGS Director by UC Berkeley Vice Chancellor for Research **Paul Alivisatos** and becomes the eighth director of IGS, joining a legacy of over nine decades of acclaimed interdisciplinary research, educational activities, and public service.

“Lisa García Bedolla is an inspired choice to serve as the next director of the Institute of Governmental Studies,” said the Honorable **John A. Pérez**, Speaker Emeritus of the California Assembly and a regent of the university. “She is a distinguished scholar who has considerable credibility with legislators and public servants. The first female and first Latina/Latino person to lead IGS, Professor García Bedolla represents not only the best of California but our future.”

García Bedolla’s vision for fostering IGS scholarship and extending the institute’s impact includes adapting IGS publications to the way policymakers and citizens consume information, deepening ties to local Bay Area governments, and moving deliberately to enlist the support of those who see the urgent need to advance rational, evidence-based approaches to decision making at all levels of government during this pivotal moment in history. García Bedolla received her undergraduate degree from Berkeley and her PhD in political science from Yale. She taught at CSU Long Beach, UC Irvine, and UCLA before joining Berkeley in 2008.

She is the author of *Fluid Borders: Latino Power, Identity, and Politics in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) which won the American Political Science Association’s Ralph Bunche Award and a best book award from APSA’s Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section; and *Latino Politics* (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2009), winner of a best book award from APSA’s Latino Caucus. She also is the co-author

(with Melissa Michelson) of *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), which won APSA’s Ralph Bunche Award and a best book award from APSA’s Race, Ethnicity, and Politics Section. Her work has appeared in numerous academic journals and edited volumes. She has received fellowships and grants from the National Science Foundation, UCLA’s Institute of American Cultures, the James Irvine Foundation, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Huntington Library, and the American Political Science Association.

“The Institute of Governmental Studies is a critical resource for Berkeley, and we are very appreciative that Lisa García Bedolla will bring her energy, depth of experience, and entrepreneurial ideas for change to the position,” Alivisatos said.

García Bedolla succeeds Professor **Jack Citrin**, who retired after leading the institute for 10 years and serving on the Berkeley faculty for more than 40 years. In announcing the appointment of García Bedolla, Alivisatos noted Citrin’s leadership of the institute’s strengthened fundraising efforts, which have raised more than \$5 million to support the institute’s programs. “The Berkeley community is deeply indebted to Professor Citrin for his years of leadership,” Alivisatos said.

Alivisatos thanked the search committee, which was led by Political Science Professor Taeku Lee. □

“Professor García Bedolla represents not only the best of California but our future.”

— **John A. Pérez**

University of California Regent and Assembly Speaker Emeritus

Former IGS Directors

Jack Citrin, 2007–2017
Bruce E. Cain, 1999–2007
Nelson W. Polsby, 1988–1999
Eugene C. Lee, 1967–1988
Dwight Waldo, 1958–1967
Milton Chernin, 1955–1958
Samuel May, 1919–1955

Citrin Center

Honors Retiring Director

Honoring retiring IGS Director **Jack Citrin** and his half-century of service to Berkeley, IGS has created the **Jack Citrin Center for Public Opinion Research**, a new component of the institute that will advance the institute's core research mission.

The Citrin Center will engage in nonpartisan, multidisciplinary research across a wide range of topics, seeking to shed light on some of the most important long-term issues facing California and the nation. The center will engage in cutting-edge research, organize conferences to bring together top scholars, support research conducted by affiliated faculty members and graduate students, and conduct original polling.

Citrin, who has spent more than 50 years on the Berkeley campus as both a student and faculty member, received his PhD from Berkeley in 1970, and during more than 40 years on the faculty focused much of his research agenda on various aspects of public opinion and political identity. He is an internationally recognized expert on topics such as trust in government, the initiative process in California, immigration and language politics, and the future of national identity in the United States and Europe.

Citrin's writings include *American Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, with David O. Sears; *How Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Shape the California Electorate*, with Ben Highton; and *California and the American Tax Revolt*. With Nathaniel Persily and Patrick Egan, he is editor and co-author of *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*. Professor Citrin has testified as an expert before legislative committees and served on advisory committees of the National Academy of Sciences. He teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in American politics and political psychology and in 2004–2005 was a finalist for the distinguished teaching award, the most prestigious honor for teaching on the Berkeley campus.

Citrin became director of IGS in 2007, and on June 29 completed the second of two permitted five-year terms. Under his leadership, IGS expanded its research mission, public events, and experiential learning programs. New components of the institute added during Citrin's

tenure include the **Robert T. Matsui Center**, which engages undergraduates in public service; the **IGS Berkeley Poll**, which measures



At a time of diminishing state support, the creation of the Citrin Center will also advance the institute's private development efforts. IGS has received more than \$600,000 in contributions and pledges toward the creation of a new endowment for the Citrin Center, and an ongoing fundraising campaign seeks to raise additional contributions.

The center will be housed in a suite of offices within IGS on the ground floor of Moses Hall.

The center honors the career and legacy of Professor Jack Citrin, a leading expert on public opinion research who retired as director of IGS and professor of political science on June 29.



public opinion; the **Evidence in Governance and Politics Program**, a major multi-year grant that assesses policy outcomes; the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, a peer-reviewed online journal; the **Anglo-American Studies Program**, an endowed research program on US-UK relations; the **Barbara Boxer Lecture Series**, which honors one of California’s most distinguished public servants; the **California in the Global Economy Program**, which assesses the changing economic role of the state; the **Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series**, which expanded the institute’s purview to national security issues; and several awards and honors recognizing both graduate and undergraduate students. Additionally, the institute added several distinguished senior research scholars during Citrin’s tenure, including **Thomas E. Mann**, **Steven Hayward**, and **Max Neiman**.

Under Citrin’s leadership the institute also vigorously expanded its private fundraising endeavors, creating the annual **IGS Salon Gala** and strengthening its National Advisory Council. Citrin also spearheaded the creation of the **IGS Endowment**, which is now worth more than \$1 million. Total IGS endowments have also grown under Citrin’s leadership, and now exceed \$16 million. The creation of a **Citrin Center Endowment** exceeding \$600,000 is in addition to these existing development efforts.

Citrin’s career and the creation of the Citrin Center were celebrated this spring with a pair of IGS events—a ribbon-cutting for the Citrin Center offices in Moses Hall and a retirement celebration for Citrin at the Faculty Club, which was attended by more than a hundred of his colleagues, friends, and family members. □



Top left, moving clockwise: Daniel Citrin, Matt Thuesen, Sarah Citrin, Jack Citrin, and Bonnie McKellar; Jack and Bryan Cameron; Jack and Katherine Nguyen; Jack with Chancellor Nicholas Dirks. Below, from left: Eric Schickler, Peter Wright, Bob Price, Laura Stoker, and Morris Levy. Opposite page: Ribbon cutting at the new Citrin Center.

To donate to the Citrin Center endowment, go to give.berkeley.edu/citrin



IGS Launches Barbara Boxer Lecture Series

Honoring one of California's longest-serving officeholders, IGS this year started the **Barbara Boxer Lecture Series**, an annual event that will focus in part on women in leadership.

Sen. **Barbara Boxer** opened her namesake series, delivering the inaugural lecture this spring to a crowd of several hundred people on campus.

Boxer told those in attendance that as she contemplated retiring from the Senate in 2016, she assumed she would travel the country and informally advise President Hillary Clinton. But of course that all changed with the election of President Trump in November.

"It all took a turn," said the veteran Democratic lawmaker, who served in the House before being elected to the Senate in 1992. "I was determined not to lose my voice or in any way slow down."

The Boxer Lecture was her first major speaking event since leaving the Senate, and she pulled no punches in criticizing the new president. She said that she initially was hopeful that the presidency would moderate Trump's behavior, but in her view his demeanor and performance grew worse after he took the oath of office.

She urged the crowd to organize and work for change, and even noted her own efforts on social media.

"I figured if [Trump] tweets, I'm tweeting," she told the crowd.



The new lecture series is part of an ongoing relationship between Boxer and the Berkeley campus. Last fall, Boxer donated her congressional papers to the university's Bancroft Library, at the same time announcing the creation of the Boxer Lecture Series at IGS.

"After a 40-year career in elected office, I am so proud to leave my papers to the greatest public university in the world," Boxer said at the time. "I chose UC Berkeley because I got my political start in the Bay Area, because I believe strongly in the power of public education, because my son, Doug, is a proud alum, and because Berkeley agreed to make this a 'living archive' with the annual Barbara Boxer Lecture Series. I hope these archives will provide insights for historians, students, and future generations who want to know what it was like for women when we were just beginning to break the glass ceiling."

News of the Boxer papers and lecture series was announced at an event attended by **Janet Napolitano**, president of the University of California system and a former governor of Arizona, as well as UC Berkeley Interim Executive Vice Chancellor and Provost **Carol T. Christ**, who was subsequently named as chancellor of the campus. The senator's son, **Doug Boxer**, a UC Berkeley alum (Class of '88) and a former member of the IGS National Advisory Council, also spoke at the event.

A former journalist and stockbroker, Barbara Boxer entered politics working as an aide to former US Rep. John Burton (D-San Francisco) in the 1970s. She won her first election in 1976



From left, Stewart Boxer, the senator's husband; Sen. Barbara Boxer; Doug Boxer, the senator's son; and Doug Boxer's wife, Amy Boxer

to the Marin County Board of Supervisors, where she served for six years and became the first woman to serve as president of the board. Boxer was elected to the US House of Representatives in 1982. Ten years later, she became a US senator from California, filling the seat vacated by Sen. Alan Cranston.

During her four terms in the Senate, Boxer burnished her reputation as a powerful advocate for families, children, consumers, California, and the environment, as well as a leader in efforts to rebuild the nation's ailing infrastructure. She wrote landmark legislation establishing the first-ever federal funding for after-school programs, which now serve 1.6 million children. She also passed legislation protecting more than one million acres of California wilderness.

She was the first woman ever to chair the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee, and also served as the vice chair of the Senate Select Committee on Ethics and as a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Jack Citrin, the director of IGS when the Boxer Series was launched, said he was honored to have the institute join with the Bancroft and Sen. Boxer to initiate the series.

"The purpose of this series could not be more timely given the global need for courageous and forward-looking political leadership," Citrin said.

The Bancroft Library already has on display some of Boxer's photographs, campaign buttons, and memorabilia, as well as other materials that the senator said are part of a "living archive" of her career that she hopes inspires and informs students, scholars, and future generations of leaders.

Portions of this article first appeared on the Berkeley News site. It is reprinted with permission. □

To watch a webcast of the inaugural Boxer Lecture, go to www.igs.berkeley.edu/events/an-election-like-no-other-and-what-lies-ahead



From left: Then-Provost (and now Chancellor) Carol T. Christ, Sen. Barbara Boxer, and University of California President Janet Napolitano sign documents donating Boxer's papers to the university and creating the Boxer Lecture Series.

Berkeley IGS Poll

Launched with Mark DiCamillo as Director



IGS expanded its polling this year with the launch of the new **Berkeley IGS Poll**, a quarterly measure of public opinion in the Golden State led by veteran California pollster **Mark DiCamillo**.

The new poll, which involves a mix of methods including telephone and online polling, debuted in March with the release of results on a wide variety of political topics, including Californians' views of President Trump and the early preferences in the

2018 gubernatorial campaign. Subsequent polls have examined topics such as the political future of Sen. Dianne Feinstein, views of the media, "sanctuary cities" policies, and voters' opinions about the overall direction of the state.

DiCamillo, who joined IGS as director of the poll, brings to the institute decades of experience in surveying Californians. He has been actively involved in measuring California public opinion since 1978, when he joined Field Research Corporation, founded by legendary pollster Mervin Field.

In 1993 DiCamillo succeeded Field as director of the highly respected Field Poll and served in that capacity through 2016. He is a recognized authority on opinion trends in California and is the author or co-author of more than 1,000 separate poll reports. IGS scholars have worked with DiCamillo in designing several joint polls.

"The IGS Poll is a significant research tool for examining and studying California public opinion," said **Jack Citrin**, who was director of IGS when the poll was launched. "Mark has long been recognized as one of the state's leading pollsters, and bringing him to the institute will enable our polling program to continue to grow, advancing our mission for both cutting-edge research and public education."

DiCamillo oversees all aspects of the IGS polling program, including the design, execution, and marketing of its polls, as well as the public release of survey findings to the news media. In this capacity, he will work with faculty members and graduate students affiliated with the institute. The Berkeley IGS Poll is housed with the institute's newly created **Jack Citrin Center for Public Opinion Research**.

"I'm thrilled to be joining IGS to further my professional interests in charting the ever-changing and endlessly fascinating

dynamics of California public opinion," DiCamillo said. "There is no better place for me to do this than at IGS, known throughout the nation as one of California's leading public policy research centers. In addition, I'm honored to have the opportunity to interact and collaborate with the many esteemed scholars at UC Berkeley, one of the world's greatest universities."

Since its launch in 2011, the IGS Poll has conducted one survey a year on important issues facing California, including immigration, political identity, state taxes and finance, and ballot initiatives.

Under DiCamillo's leadership, the poll's operations will be renamed the Berkeley IGS Poll and will be expanded significantly. Up to four large-scale statewide polls are planned each year.

In addition to generating data for ongoing academic research and publication, the polls are intended to produce more than 25 separate poll reports on a wide range of political, social, and public policy issues facing California for distribution to the news media and the general public. These reports will include polling results on leading candidate campaigns and ballot measures, a mainstay of DiCamillo's expertise.

DiCamillo is a cum laude graduate of Harvard University and earned an MBA at Cornell University's Johnson School of Business.

Portions of this article first appeared on the Berkeley News site. It is reprinted with permission. □



For results of the Berkeley IGS Poll, go to <https://igs.berkeley.edu/research/berkeley-igs-poll>

Former Sen. Alan Simpson Visits Cal as Matsui Lecturer

Former Senator **Alan K. Simpson** spent a week in residence at Berkeley this year as the **Spring 2017 Matsui Lecturer**, delivering a major public lecture, speaking in classes, meeting with students and faculty, and generally participating in the life of the campus.

The Matsui Lectureship, housed within the institute's **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, brings to campus current and former members of Congress for brief residencies that enrich the experiences of students interested in public service.

Simpson, a Republican, served in the United States Senate for almost two decades, from 1979 until 1997, serving as Assistant Republican Leader to Senator Bob Dole in the Senate from 1984 to 1994. After leaving the Senate, Simpson served as co-chair of the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform, often referred to as the Simpson-Bowles Commission, and as director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government.

"Sen. Simpson is one of the nation's leading public servants and one of its sharpest political analysts," said **Ethan Rarick**, director of the Matsui Center. "We were honored that he brought his thoughtful and candid views to the Matsui Center and the Berkeley campus."

During his time at Berkeley, Simpson spoke to classes on politics and leadership, and to the "Wealth and Poverty" class taught by former Secretary of Labor Robert Reich, a close friend of Simpson's. The former senator also spoke to the Berkeley College Republicans and the Berkeley Law School chapter of the Federalist Society, and participated in the annual Travers Conference organized by the Department of Political Science.

He also delivered the Matsui Lecture, which drew a packed audience, including Congresswoman **Doris Matsui**, who introduced the senator. At that event, Simpson was "In Conversation" with Rarick, discussing the current state of American politics and the political future of today's young people.

"I served in the Congress with Bob Matsui, and my wife Ann and I also knew Doris, who succeeded him in office," Simpson said before arriving on campus. "I am most pleased and excited to participate in a program that honors Bob's legacy of public service. Berkeley is a great university, and I am looking forward to having a spirited time with the students, faculty, and other members of this renowned campus community."

While in the Senate, Simpson served as chair of the Veterans Affairs Committee, and as a member of the Judiciary Committee, the Environment and Public Works Committee, and the Finance Committee. After retiring from congress, Simpson taught at the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

In 2010, President Barack Obama asked Simpson to co-chair the National Commission on Fiscal Responsibility and Reform with Erskine Bowles, Democrat and former chief of staff to President Bill Clinton. Simpson also served as co-chair of the Continuity in Government Commission, and as a member of the Commission on Presidential Debates and of the Iraq Study Group.

Simpson, whose father served as governor of Wyoming and in the United States Senate, is a graduate of the University of Wyoming and of the University of Wyoming School of Law. He was first elected to the Wyoming Legislature in 1964, and eventually served 13 years in the Wyoming House of Representatives, holding the offices of Majority Whip, Majority Floor Leader, and Speaker Pro-Tem.

Simpson and his wife, Ann, live in Cody, Wyoming, where they are actively involved in their community and have three children and six grandchildren.

The Matsui Center seeks to engage undergraduates in politics and public policy through internship programs, direct work with student political groups, and the presence of distinguished visitors on campus. The center was founded within IGS in 2008 to honor the legacy of the late Congressman Robert T. Matsui, a Berkeley alum and one of California's most distinguished public servants. □



To watch a webcast of Simpson's Matsui Lecture, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/matsui-lecture and click on Simpson's talk.

“Where We Go From Here”



Providing an exciting evening as always, this year’s **IGS Salon Gala** featured a discussion involving one of the country’s most distinguished political leaders and one of its leading journalists, and awards to a top California officeholder and a leading Bay Area business and sports figure.

About 200 people attended, mingling beforehand and then sitting down to hear an off-the-record political discussion involving former Sen. **Alan K. Simpson** and NPR White House Correspondent **Tamara Keith**, who addressed the topic, “The State of American Politics: Where Do We Go from Here?” The event was held in the traditional venue, the Julia Morgan Ballroom in San Francisco’s Merchants Exchange Building.

The institute also handed out its two awards to California Controller **Betty T. Yee** and San Francisco Giants President and Chief Executive Officer **Laurence M. Baer**.

Baer, one of professional sports’ leading visionaries, received the Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award. Baer is a key strategist and negotiator of the club’s major business and baseball transactions. He also serves as a board member of KQED, the San Francisco Committee on Jobs, and the Bay Area Council. He is a member of the Boys and Girls Clubs of America Pacific Region Board of Trustees. In August 2016, Baer was appointed by President Obama to the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, serving as a member of its governing board. Baer and his wife, Pam, co-chaired the San Francisco General Hospital Foundation Campaign Committee in support of the new hospital, which opened in 2016 as Zuckerberg San Francisco General Hospital and Trauma Center.

Yee, who was elected controller in November of 2014 following two terms of service on the Board of Equaliza-



tion, received the Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award. As controller, she serves as the state's chief fiscal officer, and also chairs the Franchise Tax Board and serves as a member of the California Public Employees' Retirement System and the California State Teachers' Retirement System boards. Yee previously served as chief deputy director for budget with the California Department of Finance, where she led the development of the governor's budget, negotiations with the legislature and key budget stakeholders, and fiscal analyses of legislation on behalf of the administration. Prior to this, she served in senior staff positions in both houses of the California Legislature. A native of San Francisco, Yee received her bachelor's degree in sociology from UC Berkeley and holds a master's degree in public administration.

The IGS Salon Gala is presented by the institute's National Advisory Council. Proceeds benefit the wide range of IGS activities. □

Counterclockwise, starting at top of opposite page: NPR Correspondent Tamara Keith snaps a selfie with Sen. Alan K. Simpson; California Controller Betty T. Yee and San Francisco Giants President Laurence M. Baer, who both received awards; California Assembly Speaker Emeritus John A. Pérez makes a point to Simpson as Associate Director Ethan Rarick looks on; National Advisory Council member Brad Barber with his wife Cindy; Council Vice Chair Pamela S. Duffy; graduate student Andrew McCall, Assistant Director of Research Terri Bimes, Gardner Fellow Joelle Williams, and graduate student Josh Kalla; guest Jerry Jacoby, Council member Susie Swatt, Steve Swatt, and Matsui Center Advisory Committee member Jeff Raimundo; Yee with Council Chair Bill Brandt and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt; Council member Peter Benvenuti with his wife, Lise Pearlman.

Salon Gala Sponsors

The evening was generously underwritten by Bill Brandt, chair of the National Advisory Council, and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt.

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Conference Examines Higher Education

State divestment in public higher education was the focus of a one-day conference this spring organized jointly by IGS and the Institute of the Study of Societal Issues. Co-sponsored by the Graduate School of Education, the Center for Studies in Higher Education, and the Cal Alumni Association, the conference, entitled *The Future of Higher Education: Creating Opportunity, Assessing Value*, brought together campus leaders, scholars, and researchers from across the country.

Chancellor Emeritus **Robert Birgeneau**'s keynote address shared the findings of the Lincoln Project, which was created to understand disinvestment in higher education across the country. While divestment appears to be irreversible, Birgeneau emphasized finding strategies to improve graduation rates, increase philanthropy, and improve university efficiency to maintain access and excellence for students nationwide. **Carol T. Christ**, Berkeley's new chancellor; **Henry Brady**, dean of the Goldman School; and **Ronald Daniels**, president of Johns Hopkins; joined in a keynote roundtable and lively Q-and-A from the audience.

After lunch, the discussion moved from the economic impact of research universities and the value of higher education to the state and society. UC San Diego Chancellor **Pradeep Khosla** was adamant about the symbiotic role of the research university and the community, using as an example the city of San Diego's embrace of innovation and research and development.

Do students get what they pay for? The day concluded with a panel that considered the worth of higher education to the individual students. Naturally, students want different things from their college experience—sports programs, a place to party, and special services and accommodations, to name a few. The cost of college and the ramifications of student debt were also considered, along with the notion that higher education for some individuals could be a certificate, rather than a degree. The conclusion seemed to be that there is no one-size-fits-all solution when it comes to higher education. □



From left: Chancellor Emeritus Robert Birgeneau; Ron Daniels, president of Johns Hopkins; Then-Provost (and now Chancellor) Carol Christ; and Henry Brady, dean of the Goldman School

British Historian Sees Similarities in Brexit Battle, US Presidential Contest

Speaking last fall at the height of the 2016 presidential campaign, British historian **Niall Ferguson** cautioned that critical mistakes made in the campaign to defeat Brexit in the United Kingdom could be reflected in the Trump-Clinton race, which he said was occurring in “The Year of the Improbable.”

Ferguson made his remarks last fall while delivering the annual **R. Kirk Underhill Lecture** for the IGS Anglo-American Studies Program. His address was titled, “Making Britain Great Again? Lessons for America from Brexit.”

Speaking to a packed house at Sutardja Dai Hall, Ferguson said the faction campaigning to stay in the European Union erred by focusing on an economic crash projected to result from leaving the EU.

The “remain” side also stumbled, he said, by ignoring a cultural trend of growing populism pitting anti-establishment, anti-immigrant rhetoric and blustery leaders like Boris Johnson against cosmopolitan liberalism, multiculturalism, and progressive democracy.

“We weren’t really on the same battleground,” he said of the opposing sides of Brexit.

Ferguson, a Harvard University professor of history and a senior fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution, advised former British Prime Minister David Cameron in the unsuccessful campaign to defeat the Brexit referendum. After his Berkeley lecture, Ferguson later renounced his former position and said he should have favored Brexit.

While delivering the Underhill Lecture, Ferguson recalled gross errors by oddsmakers and pollsters in forecasting the outcome of the Brexit vote and in giving Donald Trump a shot at becoming the Republican Party’s nominee for president.

While largely ignored, Ferguson said, immigration was central to the Brexit vote. With Brexit, Ferguson said, the Remain camp allowed mistruths about immigration to persist unchallenged. Although immigration numbers have risen steadily since the 1980s in the UK, most newcomers have come from countries outside the European Union and have contributed to Britain’s overall economic rebound rather than detracting from it.

Ferguson also noted the anti-Brexit campaign’s decision to ignore growing populism, particularly among older voters. A vast majority of registered voters 65 and older cast their ballots to split from the EU, while a much lower percentage of eligible millennial voters who favored staying in the EU even made it to the polls.

Immigration was central to the Brexit vote, Ferguson said.



Ferguson is the author of numerous books exploring the histories of the United States and Great Britain, most notably *Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*. The first volume of his biography of former US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was published in 2015.

Portions of this article first appeared on the Berkeley News site. It is reprinted with permission. □

To watch a video of Ferguson’s lecture, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/2016-underhill-lecture

Matsui Local Government Fellows . . .

Yvonne Dorantes

Yvonne is a senior majoring in political science and pursuing a minor in conservation and resource studies. Yvonne has developed a great interest for politics and the type of analysis involved in many processes of the legal system. Yvonne was raised on a small ranch in the Salinas Valley, and this has allowed for firsthand experience in environmental health problems, effects of immigration policies, and diverse educational programs. She is interning for Assemblymember Anna Cabello.

“I grew up on a ranch surrounded by 360 degrees of crops; at



many times, the crops that surrounded my house were filled with farmworkers tending the fields, other times, those crops were being sprayed with some kind of pesticide. The Salinas Valley is known as “the Salad Bowl of the World.” Last summer, in Sacramento, I was enlightened by the realization

that the Salinas Valley is so much more diverse than I knew. In addition to the enlightenment of the many issue areas of the Salinas Valley, I learned of the many other issues that compose the diverse state of California.

“However, due to the fact that I realized how much I did not know about my very own hometown (Salinas), I was inspired to give back to my community and, most importantly, have direct encounters with the residents that are affected by the agricultural policies I witnessed being enacted last summer in Sacramento. Every morning this summer, I walk into Assemblymember Caballero’s district office in West Salinas, which is decorated with beautiful artwork from around Monterey County. This artwork makes my relationship with the constituents of Monterey County feel more real. When I look up from my desk, I see a panoramic of a lettuce field. Not that the drive through fields of crops to the office every morning is not enough of a reminder, but this panoramic reminds me of home and where I grew up. This experience as a whole has truly transformed and expanded what I learned last summer about California’s legislative process, but, also about my very dear Salinas Valley.” □

Daniel Paul Fields

Daniel is a rising fourth year interdisciplinary studies field major specializing in immigration and forced migration. Daniel’s interest lies in the intersection between migration and community building, specifically regarding ways to make municipalities more inclusive for all migrants, such as sanctuary city policies and increased access to public services. Daniel is currently interning in the city manager’s office at the city of Brisbane.

“During my first month here with the city of Brisbane, I have worked on several research projects regarding one of the most ambitious and contentious issues that has ever been brought before the Brisbane City Council: development of the Brisbane Baylands. The Baylands is a 660-acre stretch of mostly undeveloped area that borders San Francisco city and county. The San Francisco County Landfill as well as a Southern Pacific railyard operated on the Baylands until the 1960s; therefore, mitigation of hazardous materials is to be a large part of the development process if and when development occurs. Considering that there are over 4,000 residential units proposed in the Brisbane Baylands Specific Plan, there has been a large push by organizations outside of the city for the development project to be approved given the housing crisis in the Bay Area. Furthermore, this area has been designated a “Priority Development Area” by Plan Bay Area 2040. The owner of this land, Universal Paragon Corporation, has been in the process of trying to develop it since 2004. Now that the Final Environmental Impact Report has been approved, and all possible options have been laid out before the council, they are set to begin deliberations this next month. Considering this, it has been a busy time for the administrative officials in the city, including myself. So far, I have completed research projects on hazardous materials mitigation legislation, transportation analysis models, and residential developments built on closed landfills. This experience has been incredibly enlightening thus far, and I am excited to continue pushing forward as the Baylands process unfolds before the city council.” □



Isaac (Zack) Weinberg

Zack is a rising fourth year cognitive science major with computer science and public policy minors. With a strong belief in the importance of leveraging technology to help mitigate economic and social inequalities, he wants to combine evidence-based policymaking with technology to support underserved areas. He hopes to learn about the use of data to develop policy, and about the most pressing policy issues in today's ever-changing digital world. Zack is a current intern at the San Francisco Department of Technology.

“At the San Francisco Department of Technology (affectionately referred to as DT), I am helping to develop San Francisco’s recently outlined digital inclusion plan, aimed at bridging the digital divide and improving access to the Internet for the approximately 100,000 San Franciscans who currently lack access. As I’ve learned more about the digital divide, it has become clear to me, as it already has to others much more knowledgeable on the issue, that lacking home Internet access may be one of the most significant disadvantages a family can have and is not merely the loss of some modern convenience. Consider the following (by no means comprehensive) list of common activities that families on the wrong side of the digital divide cannot participate in:



- Searching for and applying for jobs online (a huge number of employers have moved or are moving to an online-only application process)
- Checking out the latest viral video on Facebook or Instagram
- Completing homework assignments and doing research for essay assignments
- Googling who that actor from that Tim Burton movie was (Hint: it was Johnny Depp, he’s literally in every Burton movie)
- Paying bills and managing accounts through online banking
- Buying that one thing you need and a bunch of things you don’t on Amazon because the shipping is free so why not
- Reading this blog

“Sure, some of the items above are goofy and not necessarily vital to a family. Yet, undeniably, the list above demonstrates that not having Internet access has real economic and social impacts—preventing parents from finding a new job when they fall on hard times, preventing their kids from keeping up in school, and preventing all of them from the joy of reading this blog.

“The bottom line is that if you’re not on the Internet, you’re missing a crucial tool in today’s culture and economy. Going forward, middle-skill jobs are almost exclusively going to require some degree of digital literacy skills. Kids who don’t grow up experiencing the Internet are being put at a massive disadvantage that will be supremely difficult to overcome. For these reasons, digital inclusion efforts like the one DT is developing in San Francisco are crucial. We plan to address as many preventative factors as possible, making access easier and more affordable while offering training to improve digital literacy skills that will help people catch up and stay online.” □

These blog excerpts were taken from the IGS student blog “IGS in the World.” You can read these and other blogs by visiting igs.berkeley.edu

Matsui Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows . . .

Lydia Wang

Lydia is going into her third year at UC Berkeley with a major in business administration and a minor in philosophy. Lydia is working at the California Research Bureau during her time as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow.

“Now, more than halfway through my internship, I still recall that first day like it was yesterday, and it is so hard to believe



that I have less than four weeks left to spend with the most intelligent, creative, and fun-loving group of people I’ve ever met. Though I am now comfortable chatting with anyone in the office (as it turns out, memorizing the names was a piece of cake since our office is so small), I am still amazed every day as I continue to hear their stories.

From public policy to economics, anthropology to health, every staff member comes from such a unique background, and yet their shared passion for the work done at the Research Bureau means that I have never once found it difficult to discuss and collaborate with them.

“On my very first day my supervisor made it crystal clear to me that no question was too simple to ask, yet I couldn’t help but feel a little strange asking the basics of members who are so knowledgeable in their fields. Going into the Cal-in-Sacramento program, I knew that I wanted to find an internship in public policy research. What I didn’t know was what that kind of research actually entailed. Even now, more than a month later, I still have a hard time explaining all that I have had the chance to do at the California Research Bureau in just a few words. Every request that comes through the door from a member of the legislature or from the governor is addressed in a massive team effort, with everyone pitching in brilliant ideas on how to gather data, contact relevant organizations, find published literature, and so much more. Being a part of an agency that values this constant exchange of knowledge and creativity has been immensely gratifying, as training is no longer a dry, formal process. It is quite literally part of the job.” □

Jeff Myers

Jeff is a senior at UC Berkeley majoring in political science and history with a minor in political economy. Jeff is interning in Assemblymember Shirley Weber’s office as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow.

“I’m not used to all-day, every-day work schedules, and it definitely took some adjusting to get the routines down quite right. Now I have my system down—from eating breakfast before dressing up for the day (thereby avoiding any inconveniently timed stains) to going to bed at a consistent, relatively early time. More important than these personal scheduling shifts is the different



Assemblymember Shirley Weber and Jeff Myers

mindset to approach political work than that expected for political science research. Partisanship is not something to be studied, but rather to be lived—or not, when bipartisanship is called for. Tidy models about median voters are replaced with the messy reality of individuals, competing interests, and politics.

“Yet the most moving part of my time here was something far more personal than simply adjusting to a new environment and schedule. Early on the morning of June 17 a container ship collided with the USS Fitzgerald off the coast of Japan. One of the seven dead lived in the district my assemblymember represents, and I volunteered to put together a memorial speech for him. Combing through the two dozen articles written on the incident to get any personal information I could, I started to feel like I knew him in a peculiar way. I did not know him personally and I cannot imagine the grief that his family and friends must feel. Yet writing a so-called “adjournment in memory” for him was the most emotional and compelling part of my time here.

“This internship has pushed me out of my comfort zone in numerous ways, and the result has been personal growth in a corresponding variety of directions. This has been a great way to experience the practice of politics in a way entirely foreign to the lecture hall and has given me insight into whether I would want to continue in this kind of work. But it is more than that. It really is an opportunity to help people, whether indirectly through policy or more directly through more personal means.” □

Naweed Tahmas

Naweed is a rising fourth year at UC Berkeley. He is majoring in political science and is the external vice president for the UC Berkeley College Republicans. Naweed is interning for Senator Jeff Stone.

“As I reach past the halfway point of my fellowship, I reflect on the tremendous opportunities I have been provided. It was on the first day of my fellowship that I had the opportunity to write floor speeches for Senator Stone. I was determined to start my fellowship on a good note. I watched countless videos of Senator Stone’s previous floor speeches until I became familiar with his tone and speaking style. After writing my first floor speech and thoroughly checking for any mistakes, I submitted it to the chief-of-staff for it to be passed off to the senator. The first highlight of my fellowship was standing on the Senate floor watching Senator Stone read the speech that I wrote for him. While it was just a 10-minute speech, it was an honor for me to play a part in our great state’s democratic system.

“After writing speeches for the senator and becoming familiar with his style, I volunteered to write an op-ed for Senate Bill 30 on his behalf. The bill was at the center of national discussion. Should SB 30 pass, it would blacklist California businesses from obtaining state contracts if they bid on President Trump’s proposed southern border wall. It marked another highlight for me when I saw the op-ed published in a local paper and when it was distributed to all Senate Republican staffers. The opportunities in Senator Stone’s office were endless.

“With open access to the senator, I had the opportunity to sit in on all his meetings with constituents, advocates, and lobbyists. With each new meeting came a new learning experience. I learned the intricate details of California’s most prominent industries and some of the hidden problems plaguing the state. One notable example was meeting a group of constituents who are providing veteran and active-duty families with new clothes and school supplies. It was both heartbreaking and eye-opening to learn about the everyday battles of veterans and active-duty service members at home. Additionally, I had the opportunity to meet with advocates from the manufacturing industry and learned how Sacramento is continuing to stifle manufacturing in the state as more and more companies leave California.

“In addition to working with Senator Stone, I also had the opportunity to collaborate with Senator Joel Anderson and Assemblymember Melissa Melendez. I worked with Senator Anderson and his office to host a prominent conference at UC Berkeley. I al-

so had the great pleasure of working with Assemblymember Melendez on her bill titled the Campus Free Speech Act. Melendez also invited me to testify on her bill. In the beginning of my fellowship, my network was the size of an atom, but as I reach the end, my network has expanded to new heights. With each chief-of-staff, aide, and analyst I broke bread with, I learned more about the dynamics of the capitol and the traits of successful staffers.

“Senator Stone and the hardworking staffers in his office have been great mentors to me throughout my time in the capitol. Senator Stone always takes the time to answer my questions and to provide his advice. His great team walked me through the legislative process and the everyday tasks in the office. I was also able to better my communication and interpersonal skills.

“As my fellowship comes to an end and my descent back into the People’s Republic of Berkeley begins, I am grateful for all my experiences in the capitol and the great people I met along the way.” □



*Assemblymember
Melissa Melendez
and Naweed Tahmas*

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Matsui Washington Fellows . . .

Lydia Xia

Lydia graduated with a double major in political science and legal studies. She spent her first three years at Cal exploring the legal field, from her presidency in Law in Practice to working as a JusticeCorps member at the Oakland Superior Courthouse. Lydia was happy to have the UCDC experience as it helped her explore the field of politics beyond her coursework as she researched the causes for political partisanship, specifically the role of money in causing the divide. Lydia worked at the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee Independent Expenditure.

“My time in DC passed like a blink of an eye. It seemed like only yesterday it was August and now the program is about to end in two days. I will admit I’m dreading the end not only because of all the wonders in DC I have yet to experience but also, I have two final papers due in 48 hours. I guess even though I’m some 2,800 miles away from Berkeley, some things don’t change.

“Not much has gone by between now and my last blog post, but between my first blog post and this one, I have certainly changed. In three months I have grown so much personally, from my internship, my classes, the friends and people I’ve met here in DC. At the DCCC IE, I learned not only about campaigns but the gears of polling, strategy, and political advertisements that operate behind the scenes. The countless hours of research and polling that go into a district to capture a certain message that is then placed into a plethora of advertisements shipped out to voters’ TVs and mailboxes. At work, I also became great friends with my supervisor, a few other co-workers, and co-interns. The casual dress code and work environment definitely helps. How casual and fun was it? Other than sharing hilarious political advertisements we didn’t get the joy of making, I was in charge of making a countdown poster every day until election day, which became the meme-a-day poster at the watercooler. I posted *New Yorker* comics, Hillary getting her groove on in Café Havana for Friday countdown days, Biden with ice cream, and a ton of Biden and Obama memes. Just this Monday, a few of the interns at the DCCC and DCCC IE got lunch together before we met Nancy Pelosi!” □

These blog excerpts were taken from the IGS student blog “IGS in the World.” You can read these and other blogs by visiting igs.berkeley.edu

Deena Younan

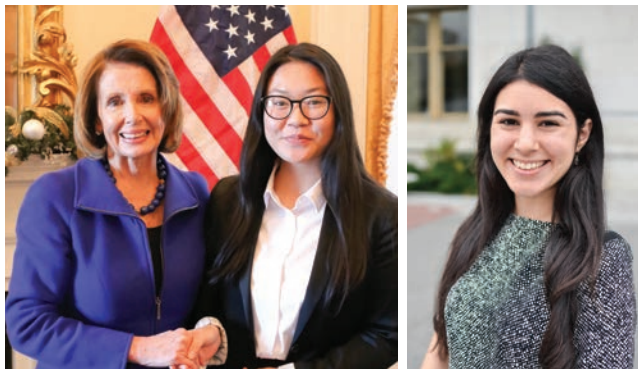
Deena was a third-year student studying political science and legal studies when she participated in the UCDC program as a Matsui Washington Fellow. She is particularly interested in researching financial regulation and corporations’ behavior on Wall Street so she interned for the US Securities and Exchange Commission Office of International Affairs, Technical Assistance Branch.

“On my way from the airport to the UCDC center, I soon realized that I would be spending this fall semester in a totally different part of the country. Being born and raised in southern California, the East Coast looks and feels very different. The amount of greenery was almost unnerving. While I do miss the tall buildings of the San Francisco and Los Angeles area, the charm of the historic buildings of DC is certainly growing on me. So far my roommates and I have explored little of the area; however, we certainly loved the places we’ve been to so far. Hiking in Rock Creek National Park was amazing (and insanely sweaty), and we even saw a live deer! Now that is something you certainly don’t

see back home. I went to visit a close friend in Baltimore, and I was mesmerized during the train ride there. The train tracks cut through a forest, and I felt like I was in an episode of Planet Earth.

“While I’m still settling into the change of scene and getting used to the East Coast mindset (like how people carry umbrellas around with them during the summer),

I’m very excited to go explore the rest of the DC and East Coast area. This isn’t anything like California, but it’s looking pretty great so far.” □



Left: Nancy Pelosi with Lydia Xia; Right: Deena Younan

Meet the Fall 2017 Fellow

Michael Robles will be graduating from UC Berkeley after completing his semester as a Matsui Washington Fellow with the UCDC program. He is particularly interested in pursuing a career that advocates for policy change of the criminal justice system. In the past, Michael has interned in the District Office of Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi and was a student facilitator for Teach in Prison in San Quentin State Prison. □

Julie No

Julie graduated from UC Berkeley in the Spring of 2017 with a major in cognitive science. Julie's time at UC Berkeley allowed her to cultivate a passion to alleviate socioeconomic inequality including education inequality. Her coursework and work experience have inspired her to solve these problems using innovative thinking and empathy for people. During her semester at UCDC, Julie interned at the Department of State, in the Office of the Secretary.

“As an intern in the Department of State, I had the opportunity to attend the 2017 International Women of Courage Award Ceremony at the end of March. The event was hosted by First Lady Melania Trump and Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas A. Shannon. One awardee's story made quite an impression on me. Unlike other awardees, she was not present to receive her award because she was imprisoned for criticizing the government and exposing the dumping of toxic chemicals. Young women, like myself, were not only brave in the face of unthinkable adversity but advocating to rid their environment of this injustice.

It was inspiring to hear their stories and how they chose to react to inequality and challenge in their life.

“My last day of work came too soon, and I was sad that I may never work with my team again.

Each and every co-worker was so welcoming to me from the start, and we had such playful yet professional interactions. DC was the first time I had not lived in California for an extended period of time. It was also the first time I had moved to another city without knowing a single person. I learned a lot about how I get to know others, react to being outside my comfort zone, and balance work and school. I felt sentimental leaving DC and the people that had become a part of my daily life; it was the end of a chapter. Although a part of me did not want it to end, I still am grateful it happened and know another adventure awaits.” □



Left: Julie No; Right: Anya Ku

Anya Ku

Anya graduated from UC Berkeley with a major in political science. She will attend law school at the UC Berkeley School of Law during the Fall of 2017. Anya interned at the renowned Hoover Institution in Washington, DC, where she diversified her intellectual experience beyond the ideologies that she grew up with in Oakland and Berkeley, California.

“With less than a month left until I return home, I have been doing some reflection on my time in DC. As a student who grew up next door in Oakland, and attended Berkeley City College before transferring to UC Berkeley, UCDC has been my only “away-from-home experience.” I was definitely wary of leaving my very comfortable surroundings to fly to the opposite coast—would I like my internship, would I do well in my classes, would I make new friends? That being said, I cannot believe that it has been almost three months since I boarded the plane to DC; my time here has been life-changing, and I am so thankful that I was able to participate in UCDC.

“Growing up in the Bay Area, I was very much in the middle of a liberal bubble. Everyone around me was generally on the same side of political issues, and the lack of representation of the opposite end of the political spectrum made it easy for me to ignore them altogether. Of course, in government classes I had discussed the political divisions within our country, but only from the perspective of an observer. I never felt that I was part of those that I was reading about.

“I have been interning at the Hoover Institution's Washington, DC office, and this experience has been educational, valuable, and rewarding in more ways than I would have imagined. I chose to intern at Hoover because, as a conservative-leaning think tank, I was hoping that I would be exposed to unfamiliar ideas and perspectives that would challenge my political beliefs, allowing me to evaluate whether I held my beliefs because I honestly believed in them, or if I held my beliefs because that was all that I had ever known. Hoover fulfilled that expectation and done so much more. Here, I have been able to learn from the intelligent staff, attend events featuring internationally renowned scholars, and freely investigate topics that interest me. I came expecting to be answering phone calls and making coffee, but instead I was charged with assisting fellows with their research, helping to plan archival displays, documenting and reporting on congressional testimonies, and coordinating events! The past three months have been an absolute whirlwind, but as my time dwindles down I realize that there is still so much to do—museums to see, food to try, events to attend. . . . Hopefully I will have the chance to do it all!” □

Gardner Fellows . . .

An In-Depth Look at Public Service

The John Gardner Fellowship selects six fellows during the spring semester from among the graduating classes at UC Berkeley and Stanford University and provides each a \$30,000 stipend to work in the governmental or nonprofit organization that most closely fits their public sector interests. Fellows are matched with a senior-level mentor during their 10-month fellowship. The goal of the John Gardner Fellowship is to encourage UC Berkeley's and Stanford's best students to pursue a career in public service. Here are profiles of this year's three Gardner Fellows from Cal.

Sagaree Jain

Sagaree grew up in the dynamic immigrant community of the Silicon Valley, listening to her family's stories of anticolonial struggle, rapid political change, and ethnic violence in South Asia. These stories were the beginning of her investment in studying gender and social difference in international terms, and where she learned about the tremendous power of storytelling to confirm shared humanity.



At UC Berkeley, Sagaree studied gender, violence, and reproduction in South Asia, writing a thesis on the history of family planning in India in the 1960s and securing grants from the Department of History and the Center for Race and Gender to conduct archival research. She taught a DeCal on women's literature, was the co-director of CalSLAM Poetry, served as research assistant with the Center for the Politics of Development, and volunteered as an advocate with the South Asian women's shelter Narika. In the summer of 2015, she was awarded the TATA Social Internship Grant to work in Pune, Maharashtra, conducting impact analysis for women's empowerment and employability programs, and learned firsthand about the insufficiency of health and education services for women in the former Third World. At the close of her college career, she co-founded the organization South Asians for Social Justice with a staff of six people, organizing an event series for a community of South Asians interested in social and racial justice. She graduated Phi Beta Kappa, with honors.

Sagaree hopes to spend her Gardner Fellowship year learning about human rights research, especially for South Asian women, and developing a better understanding of how to hold governments accountable to the most marginal people within their borders. □

Michelaina Johnson

Michelaina grew up in the Ojai valley, a verdant, agricultural landscape nestled in the coastal mountains of southern California. The valley imbued in her a deep love for the environment, which became her catalyst for studying environmental and water issues. Michelaina has studied water systems and inequity issues in California, the United States, and Mexico. She has conducted extensive research on water inequity in Mexico and river restoration in California and written multiple papers on the topics, several of which have won campus awards and been published. In Spring 2016, Michelaina interned with the Delta Protection Commission where she learned about the role of policy and community engagement in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Delta. From that experience, she realized the political and economic hurdles that hindered environmental restoration and sought to find a restoration strategy that could meet the human and environmental demands of a landscape. She used her senior history thesis, entitled “Evading Dam-Nation: Land Use History of the Lower Cosumnes River Watershed, CA, 1820–2016,” to learn about how the Cosumnes River watershed became the floodplain restoration model for the rest of California. It earned high honors in the history department and instilled in her a passion for river activism. Michelaina served as secretary and then co-director of the Berkeley Water Group IdeaLab and co-founded a student-run class called “Water Activism and Water as a Human Right.” Concerned about the public’s apathy regarding climate change and scientific misinformation, Michelaina founded the Science Talk at Cal conference, which featured nine speakers from the fields of food systems, water, and climate change who spoke on the challenges of and effective strategies for communicating science to the public.

Michelaina also is a journalist and freelance reporter. Beginning in her freshman year of high school, she reported for the *Ojai Valley News* and *Ojai Valley Visitors Guide* and wrote for *The Daily Californian* in her freshman year at UC Berkeley. She now works as a freelance reporter focused on California’s environmental issues. Her recent articles have appeared in *Water Deeply*, *Bay Nature Magazine*, and the *Stanislaus County Magazine*. □



Thanh Bercher

At UC Berkeley, Thanh majored in public health and minored in the global poverty and practice program, completing a capstone project in a Palestinian refugee camp for which she received several campus grants. For her public health honor thesis, she wrote about the delivery of care for rape survivors in humanitarian zones. Thanh has an impressive list of accomplishments: advocating for survivors of sexual assault, travelling to rural Vietnam to help Hepatitis B patients, helping design the Centre on Women, Peace & Security at the London School of Economics, and working on several social justice projects.

Thanh’s main area of focus and accomplishment at UC Berkeley has been on helping survivors of sexual violence both at the policy and grassroots level. She served as the director of the Sexual Assault Commission, working within the UC system and coordinating with the Title IX Committee. She also worked with student government to expand mental health services for survivors of sexual assault and lobbied to grant disability accommodations for students experiencing trauma. At the direct service level, she has served as a caseworker for the Student’s Advocate office representing students on sexual harassment and discrimination cases.

As a Gardner Fellow, she would like to find a placement that draws upon her background in community health, human rights research, and policy advocacy to address the challenges of refugees seeking asylum, especially women. She is interested in working with an organization that coordinates between government and nongovernmental organizations to advocate for programs that provide mental health and other vital services to refugees. □



IGS Goes to Washington

Bringing the analytical power of the world's best public research university to the nation's capital, IGS hosted a conference in Washington, DC last fall entitled "Election 2016: California and the Country."

The event, which drew a large crowd to the grand ballroom at the National Press Club, included three panels of scholars, politicians, and journalists analyzing one of the most extraordinary campaigns in the country's history.

At a time when some people were questioning the ability of America's political institutions to confront the nation's challenges, IGS Director **Jack Citrin** noted in opening the conference, it is good to remember Lincoln's dictum that "a house divided against itself cannot stand."

Bill Brandt, the chair of the IGS National Advisory Council, also made opening remarks, noting that after an unusual and divisive election campaign, the nation has begun reframing the election "back into the mainstream of American thought"—a process that can only be helped by serious scholarly analysis.

The conference, which was supported by Gold Sponsor KP Public Affairs and Blue Sponsor Remcho, Johansen & Purcell, was the first IGS event in Washington and is part of a new effort to bring the institute's unique mix of scholarly analysis and practical politics to Washington.

The event included three panels, one on the California results and the potential lessons for the nation, one on the media and the 2016 election, and a final roundtable on the prospects for national governance in a Trump Administration and a unified Republican Congress.

The roundtable discussion included both optimism and pessimism about the political future. Despite Trump's lack of public service experience—unprecedented for a new president—IGS Visiting Scholar **Steven Hayward** said the president elect's early cabinet choices differed "not a bit" from what he would have expected from a President Ted Cruz, a sentiment that was largely echoed by moderator **Amy Walter**, national editor of the Cook Political Report (though Walter noted that White House Adviser Steve Bannon is an exception).

Echoing that optimism, **Duf Sundheim**, former chair of the California Republican Party and a member of the IGS National Advisory Council, said he believed that incoming Senate Democratic Leader Chuck Schumer—a powerful figure because of his party's ability to filibuster—was more inclined to cut deals with Republicans than was his predecessor, Harry Reid, and thus it was possible that "the stars are aligning," as Sundheim put it, for productive legislation.

But there was also a negative interpretation, much of it focused on Trump's controversial and divisive personal qualities. IGS Senior Research Fellow **Tom Mann**, an old Washington hand from his long tenure at the Brookings Institution, predicted that the new president would be more likely to look for bipartisan deals than Republican leaders in the House and Senate would be, but Mann also noted Trump's personal tendency to strike out immediately at anyone who doesn't like him.

"This is the United States of America and we're looking like a banana republic," Mann said. Ultimately, he said, the question



From left: Bill Brandt, Brianna Keilar, Jason Johnson, Jim Brulte, Thad Kousser, Kelly Jane Torrance, Steven Hayward

is the durability of American democracy "in the face of electing a demagogue."

Democratic pollster **Peter Hart**, who is also a member of the IGS National Advisory Council, predicted that as president, Trump would pursue an ad hoc approach to problem solving. "There is not going to be a pattern," Hart said. "It's going to be patchwork."

The roundtable also included discussion of the election, with most panelists agreeing that voters were seeking a change.

Sundheim said he was shocked at how many people in his Illinois hometown had voted for President Obama twice but then voted for Trump this time, largely because they had a sense of falling behind and wanting a change. “They don’t necessarily want Trump,” he said, “but they want something completely different.”

Kelly Jane Torrance, deputy managing editor of the *Weekly Standard*, speculated that voters might have wanted a different result than they actually produced. Noting that congressional Republicans out-performed Hillary Clinton, who won the popular vote, Torrance wondered if perhaps voters expected Clinton to win the White House, but were voting for congressional Republican candidates in hopes of producing divided government. At the same time, Torrance also rose slightly to the defense of Trump supporters, saying she disagrees with critiques that suggest racism was the sole reason for voters to back the Republican.

The opening panel of the conference featured a lively discussion of California politics and the implications for the nation’s political future. **Thad Kousser**, a professor of political science at UC

nority communities, something they may not be able to do at the national level because of Republican control. Second, Democrats nationally must “stop the bleeding” among white voters, something they have not been able to do. Third, the rising Democratic tide in California was fueled in part by the speedy processing of naturalization applications under the Clinton Administration, something that may not occur under the Trump Administration.

California Assembly Speaker Emeritus **John A. Pérez** agreed with Kousser that “demography is not destiny,”



San Diego who was a graduate fellow at IGS while completing his doctorate at Cal, began that session by comparing Trump’s 2016 campaign to California Governor Pete Wilson’s 1994 re-election, in which he played on fears of immigration to generate strong support among white voters. Although Wilson won that election, many analysts believe he alienated minority voters in the process, ensuring California’s long-term lurch toward the Democrats. If Trump is comparable to Wilson, Kousser noted, 2016 could portend a period of national Democratic dominance.

But Kousser added three notes of caution for Democrats. First, Democrats began to run up huge California margins among voters of color by delivering policy achievements popular in mi-

adding that Democrats cannot rely solely on increasing diversity of population to eventually hand them victory. He also noted that the California economic recovery of the 1990s failed to bring back many “medium-skill jobs,” producing a working-class anxiety not unlike today’s national mood.

Jim Brulte, chair of the California Republican Party, noted GOP successes in local races in California, but he also agreed that the party must figure out how to appeal to minority voters. “If we can ever figure out how to get it right,” he said, “we will provide a road map for the rest of the country, because the rest of the country is looking more like California.”

Politico writer **Carla Marinucci** discussed the unusual role of California’s tech innovations, noting that some of the advanced technologies so popular in the Golden State can help to produce angst among working-class voters elsewhere, as technological advances and globalization often strip away blue-collar jobs in heartland states.

cont. on next page



Top, from left: Tamara Keith, John A. Pérez, Amy Walter and Tom Mann; Bottom from left: Carla Marinucci, Duf Sundheim and Peter Hart, Lynn Sweet

The second panel of the conference focused on the changing role of the media in the 2016 election. Much of that discussion focused on Trump’s unusual candidacy. For example, CNN Senior Political Correspondent **Brianna Keilar** was asked what the media would have done differently had they known that Trump would be a serious candidate, and she answered that her network would not have aired unfiltered Trump rallies without fact checking.

Lynn Sweet, Washington Bureau Chief of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, said that in her view there were simply many Trump stories that were not covered during the campaign or were covered too late, adding that they should have been done “much, much earlier.” But **Tamara Keith**, White House Correspondent for NPR, said that part of the reason was the need to also cover Clinton, also a controversial candidate with her share of scandals and other stories.

Jason Johnson, a professor in the School of Global Journalism and Communication at Morgan State University, noted that the phrase “the media” can mean many different things to many different people, pointing to the fact that even people who say they dislike “the media” often like some particular journalism organization, whether it’s NPR, Fox News, or *The New York Times*. □

To watch a webcast of this event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/election-2016-california-and-the-country

Celebrating 10 Years of Percy Grants, Synar Fellowships

The rich research tradition at Berkeley extends to students as well as faculty members and other senior scholars, and this spring IGS celebrated the tenth anniversary of two programs honoring student research.

Incoming Berkeley Chancellor **Carol T. Christ** attended the ceremony to mark the Percy-Synar Awards, and to thank **Bill and Patrice Brandt** for their generous donations that have made the grants possible.

IGS launched both programs in 2007 with the support of the Brandts, seeking to support exemplary graduate student and undergraduate student research in American politics. The Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship provides graduate students with a \$3,000 research grant, and the Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research awards undergraduate students with a \$500 grant. Counting this year's recipients, IGS has awarded 50 Synar Awards and 65 Percy Awards.



Synar Award Recipients from left: Alex Roehrkas, Rhea Myerscough, and Sean Freeder



Percy Award Recipients from left: Carly Miller, Erol Morkoc, Carson Turner, Jeff Myers, Daniel Stewart

The Brandts created these fellowships to honor Congressman **Mike Synar** of Oklahoma, Bill's mentor when he first became active in politics and public policy, and their home-state Senator **Charles Percy** of Illinois, for whom Patrice worked as a press secretary. At the ceremony, Professor **Eric Schickler**, a leading congressional scholar, noted that Charles Percy and Mike Synar were both mavericks, choosing to buck the party line and adopt an independent stance—a move that put Senator Percy on President Nixon's notorious black list.

These research grants have had a lasting impact on the research and careers of graduate students and undergraduate students. Alex Koenig, a 2012 Synar Grant recipient, remarked that her Synar grant came at the precise moment she was considering quitting graduate school because of financial challenges. The Synar Grant gave her the funds to finish her research and land a job as the executive director of the Human Rights Center on campus. Mikhail Guttentag, reflecting on the benefits of his 2010 Percy Grant, noted "The grant helped me write my thesis, but more than that, it helped me to see myself as a scholar whose research was worth funding."

This year's Synar and Percy Grant recipients are:

Percy Grant Recipients 2017

- **Carly Miller** (Political Science)
Across the Great Divide: How UC Students See American Politics in 2017
- **Erol Morkoc** (History of Capitalism)
The Berlin Airlift: Commodification of Altruism and the Re-Election of President Truman
- **Jeffrey Myers** (Political Science and History)
Measuring a Gerrymander: Metrics & Implications for Reform
- **Daniel Stewart** (History)
Science and Society: The Vilification of Joseph J. Kinyoun and the San Francisco Plague of 1900
- **Carson Turner** (Political Science)
Does Ranked-Choice Voting Live Up to Its Promises? An Evaluation of RCV in the Bay Area

Synar Fellowship Recipients 2017

- **Sean Freeder** (Political Science)
Malice and Stupidity: Outgroup Motive Attribution and Affective Polarization
- **Rhea Myerscough** (Political Science)
Mechanisms of Inequality: State Politics and Small-Dollar Credit Regulation, 1990–2015
- **Alex Roehrkas** (Sociology)
States of Disunion: The Politics of American Divorce, 1881–1917

IGS Research

Explores Housing Issues

Two IGS Research Briefs published this year explored research by scholars affiliated with the Center for Community Innovation, a component of IGS. The two briefs explored issues related to housing and urban planning, issues of critical importance in the Bay Area and throughout California.

One of the Research Briefs, “Displacement in San Mateo County, California: Consequences for Housing, Neighborhoods, Quality of Life, and Health,” was written by Miriam Zuk, the project director of the Urban Displacement Project at the Center for Community Innovation, and Justine Marcus, a graduate student researcher for the project.

The other brief, “Progress on Implementing SB375: Combating Climate Change and Sprawl through Coordinated Planning,” was written by Elizabeth Mattiuzzi, a postdoctoral researcher at the center.

The executive summaries of the two research briefs are below. The full texts can be found at escholarship.org/uc/igs_rb

Progress on Implementing SB375: Combating Climate Change and Sprawl through Coordinated Planning

City planners are engaging productively with the goals of the regional Sustainable Communities Strategies (SCSs) under California’s Senate Bill 375 (2008), but more staff and technical assistance, particularly for financing mechanisms, is needed. Infill

housing to reduce commute distances is a critical component of addressing regional vehicle miles traveled. Yet, bike and pedestrian infrastructure is communities’ highest priority for retrofitting existing neighborhoods and setting the stage for future compact development. However, in places where cooperation among jurisdictions exists, particularly with leadership

from multicity agencies, multifamily housing is shown to be a higher priority. This suggests a need for finding ways to promote cooperation between cities on SB 375 implementation. One way that this is already happening is through multicity organizations such as county transportation authorities and councils of governments that represent multiple cities and towns within a county. Recommendations include increasing capacity and technical assistance for such partnerships, while expanding funding and incentives for compact development in urban areas and suburbs. □

Displacement in San Mateo County, California: Consequences for Housing, Neighborhoods, Quality of Life, and Health

In metropolitan regions across the country, residents face constrained, expensive housing markets and rising income inequality. Middle- and high-income households are beginning to seek more affordable housing in accessible neighborhoods with traditionally lower rents and proximity to jobs and transportation. Many low-income households are simply unable to secure affordable rents. As neighborhoods change and housing demand shifts, landlords are presented with a new set of financial prospects. Displacement and evictions are central components of this changing landscape, altering the geography of race and class across regions. Recent studies have found a spike in evictions in San Mateo County, disproportionately affecting people of color.

There is relatively little research on the impacts of displacement on households, individuals, and communities. Existing research has shown that evictions negatively affect the health, quality of life, and economic outlook for households, often with long-term consequences. This study contributes to this small but growing body of research, with results specific to local Bay Area conditions. We assess the relationship between displacement and housing costs and quality, commutes, neighborhood location and quality, mental and physical health, and healthcare access. UC Berkeley researchers completed in-depth phone surveys with 100 primarily low-income tenants who received services from Community Legal Services in East Palo Alto (CLSEPA), which serves low-income communities in San Mateo County. Survey respondents live in and/or were displaced from San Mateo County communities. These surveys provide a window into the consequences of displacement for households in the San Francisco Bay Area, with implications for researchers and policymakers both locally and across the nation.



Key Findings

1. Tenants report that, aside from being formally evicted, they were harassed out by landlords, priced out by market forces, and pushed out by poor housing conditions.
2. After being displaced, survey respondents were forced to make difficult and precarious tradeoffs when searching for housing (e.g., substandard housing conditions, crowding, moving far away, etc.), limited by both market forces and exclusionary practices.
3. Approximately one in three displaced households reported some period of homelessness or marginal housing in the two years following their displacement. Several of these households remained homeless even months after they were displaced.
4. After being displaced, only 20% of households reported staying in the same neighborhood (within 1 mile of their previous home). Thirty-three percent of households left San Mateo County, generally moving to the Central Valley or eastern communities in the East Bay.
5. After being displaced, households moved to neighborhoods with fewer job opportunities on average, leading to longer, more costly commutes for households who left the county. These new neighborhoods also had more environmental and safety concerns as well as fewer health-care resources.
6. Displacement was a significant disruption and trauma for respondents and their children. Two out of three children in displaced households had to change schools. □



IGS Awards and Honors

Josh Kalla wins Howard Prize

Joshua Kalla received the **David M. Howard Memorial Prize in American Politics**, which recognizes an exceptionally deserving graduate student conducting research in the field of American political behavior or public policy.

Kalla is a PhD student in political science. His primary focus in American politics is on the use of randomized field experiments conducted in cooperation with politicians, campaigns, and interest groups to study the causal effect of interactions between citizens, politicians, and campaigns on voter engagement, political participation, and opinion change. His research has been published in *Science* and the *American Journal of Political Science* and has been covered by *The New York Times*, NPR, and other outlets.

Jennifer Robin Terry wins Martin Award

Jennifer Robin Terry received the **Fred J. Martin, Jr. American Political History Award**, which provides support to an outstanding graduate student pursuing research on American political history.

Terry is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History and a graduate student in residence at the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues. Her dissertation, “Priceless Breadwinners: The Business of Denying Child Labor in America,” interrogates the intersection of cultural belief and political decision making through an examination of the Section 13(c) exemption to the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act.

Two Students Receive Muir Leadership Award

Grayson Dimick and Eric Yang, who both graduated this spring, received the **William K. (Sandy) Muir, Jr. Leadership Award**, which recognizes exemplary undergraduate students with a demonstrated commitment to public service.

Dimick was a double major in political science and history, with a minor in public policy. She is passionate about fostering dialogue, increasing access to affordable health care, and expanding opportunities for women and children, and has immersed herself in academic and public service opportunities surrounding these issues during her time at Berkeley. She serves as the president of UC Berkeley Model United Nations. In this role, she trains 110 students from 24 nationalities and 38 majors in public speaking and policymaking, and leads teams of Berkeley students to conferences across the US. She also works on campus as a research assistant for the Petris Center for Health Care Markets and Consumer Welfare, where she conducts research on the impact of the

ACA, pharmaceutical pricing, and mental health care reform. In the community, Dimick has focused on expanding the number of women in politics. She interned with Emerge California, an organization that recruits and trains women to run for political office. Additionally, she interned with Congressman Mike Thompson and has conducted research in the political science department on the role of gender and appearance in elections.

Yang majored in political science. He wants to ensure the underprivileged have an equal voice within the legal system. On campus, he was a caseworker for the Associated Students of the University of California Student Legal Clinic, where he did legal



research for clients that needed help on a range of matters including immigration, rent disputes, and criminal charges. He also became certified through the VITA program and helped students and clients prepare their taxes for free. Off campus, he is very involved in domestic violence prevention work. He interned in the Domestic Violence Unit at the San Francisco District Attorney’s Office where he helped assistant district attorneys prepare for their cases against people accused of domestic violence. He also underwent a 40-hour training program to be certified as a domestic violence advocate. He also volunteered at La Casa de las Madres, a domestic violence prevention organization.

Poetry Scholar Named Underhill Fellow

Allison Neal received the **R. Kirk Underhill Graduate Fellowship** from the IGS Anglo-American Studies Program.

Neal is a PhD candidate in English whose research focuses on Anglo-American speech-based poetry composed between 1900 and 1975. By examining how various British and American cultural and governmental institutions sought to consolidate and spread a representative English-speaking voice both domestically and abroad, this project suggests a new approach to the story of 20th century English language poetry.

The Underhill Graduate Fellowship provides \$30,000 to a UC Berkeley graduate student who has advanced to candidacy and whose research focuses on Anglo-American affairs.

Karen Chapple Receives Chancellor's Award

Karen Chapple, an IGS Affiliated Faculty member, was awarded a 2017 **Chancellor's Award for Public Service** in the category of Faculty Research in the Public Interest. The chancellor's awards recognize students, staff, faculty, and community partnerships that embody UC Berkeley's proud tradition of public service and commitment to improving our local and global community.

A professor of city and regional planning at UC Berkeley, Chapple studies the governance, planning, and development of regions in the US and Latin America, with a focus on housing

the presidency, and the Richard F. Fenno Prize honoring work that is both theoretically and empirically strong.

Schickler holds the Jeffrey and Ashley McDermott Endowed Chair in Political Science, and is chairman of the Department of Political Science.

Jack Citrin Receives Harold Lasswell Award

Retiring IGS Director **Jack Citrin** received the 2017 Harold Lasswell Award from the International Society of Political Psychology.

The Lasswell award is given for "distinguished scientific contribution in the field of political psychology." It is named for Harold Lasswell, one of the first to apply psychology to the analysis of politics. Citrin received the award at the ISPP Meeting in Edinburgh, Scotland this summer. □



From far left: Josh Kalla, Eric Yang, Grayson Dimick, Jennifer Robin Terry, and Allison Neal

and economic development. Her recent book (Routledge, 2015) is entitled *Planning Sustainable Cities and Regions: Towards More Equitable Development*. She is currently finishing two books: *Transit-Oriented Displacement? The Effects of Smarter Growth on Communities* (with Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, MIT Press, 2018), and *Fragile Governance and Local Economic Development: Evidence from Peripheral Regions in Latin America* (with Sergio Montero, Routledge, 2018).

Eric Schickler Wins Book Awards

Eric Schickler, an IGS Affiliated Faculty member, received four awards from the American Political Science Association for two books published last year. Schickler's book, *Racial Realignment: The Transformation of American Liberalism, 1932–1965*, received the Woodrow Wilson Award, given annually to the best book on government, politics, or international affairs, and the J. David Greenstone Book Prize, which recognizes the best book in history and politics from the previous two calendar years.

Investigating the President: Congressional Checks on Presidential Power, which Schickler co-authored with Douglas L. Kriner, an associate professor of political science at Boston University, received the Richard E. Neustadt Award for the best book on

Yuval Levin Describes the “Fractured Republic”

Describing American politics as “drowning in frustration and anxiety,” author **Yuval Levin** of the Ethics and Public Policy Center spoke at IGS about his new book, *The Fractured Republic: Renewing America’s Social Contract in the Age of Individualism*.



Levin cited the increasing frustration of American politics as starting long before the 2016 election and said that voters have often responded to their negative moods with a nostalgia that “overwhelms our politics” and is sometimes indulged in by both the left and right.

But he noted the striking changes in American society since the Post-World War II era, many of which he described as positive, such as a vast increase in personal choice in many aspects of life. At the same time, Levin described the society as increasingly “fractured” and “fragmented,” a sign of the growth of individualism, which he described as one of the key driving forces of the second half of the 20th century.

That fragmentation of American society has often produced a kind of alienation among many people, Levin said, and he described a form of “elite disorientation” in which elites were reluctant to hear and to meaningfully respond to many of the complaints



of common Americans. Donald Trump, in Levin’s view, realized there was a way to appeal to Americans’ frustration “simply by listening to it.” But at the same time, Levin said, Trump shared voters’ frustrations more than their aspirations.

How can American public policy respond to this more fragmented society? In Levin’s view, the answer is to reorient our thinking on some policy issues toward a more local and decentralized focus, and usher in “an ethic of experimentation in public policy.” He noted that such a focus would not work in some areas—he said he does not think it possible to fight climate change only through local action—but suggested that we should adopt a “default preference for the local,” thus “moving the center of gravity of our thinking about politics.”

Levin closed his talk by suggesting that this reinvigorated focus on decentralized policy solutions might ultimately create a greater sense of American solidarity or connectedness, counterbalancing the fragmentation of recent decades, but he also noted that he doesn’t have all the answers.

“Experimentation is what you do when you don’t know the answer,” he said. □

IGS in the News

IGS experts are cited frequently in the media. Here are some examples from the past year.

Newly appointed Director **Lisa García Bedolla** was cited in the *New York Times Magazine* about Latino political participation.

National Advisory Council member **David Carrillo** was quoted in the *New York Times* about the unlikely prospects for California to secede from the union.

Affiliated faculty member **John Yoo** was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* about Jeff Sessions’ challenges as attorney general.

Senior Resident Scholar **Thomas Mann** was a guest on KQED Forum to discuss President Trump’s dismissal of FBI Director James Comey.

Assistant Director of Research **Terri Bimes** was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about reality-checking President Trump’s week-one executive orders.

Affiliated faculty member **Karen Chapple** was quoted in the *New York Times* on the rise of accessory dwelling units.

Affiliated faculty member **Taeku Lee** was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* on the surge of Korean-American candidate Robert Lee Ahn in the race for the 34th congressional district.

Affiliated faculty member **Irene Bloemraad** was quoted in *USA Today* about anti-Trump activism in the tech community.

Associate Director **Ethan Rarick** was quoted in the *Sacramento Bee* about Gov. Pat Brown and the death penalty.

Visiting Scholar **Steven Hayward** wrote in the *Daily Californian* on conservative thought and college campuses.

Affiliated faculty member **Daniel Sargent** was featured in a *Washington Post* podcast about the Ford presidency.

Affiliated faculty member **Eric Schickler** was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on President Trump’s legislative agenda.

Affiliated faculty member **Gabe Lenz** was quoted in *MarketWatch* on what matters to independent voters.

Then-IGS Director **Jack Citrin** was cited in the *Wall Street Journal* in an article on the spectrum of political discourse on US college campuses.

Events at IGS

Series on National Security Wraps Up

The institute's **Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series** wrapped up this spring after six years of examining global security issues, with an emphasis on the control and management of nuclear weapons.

The series was named for and organized by **Harold Smith**, a distinguished resident scholar at IGS who focuses on the impact of technology on foreign and defense policy. Smith is a former professor of nuclear engineering at Berkeley and later served as Assistant Secretary of Defense in the Clinton Administration. He serves as an advisor to



Above: Amy Zegart;
Below: Harold Smith

prime contractors, think tanks, and national laboratories. He has thrice received the highest honor granted by the Department of Defense for civilian service, the Distinguished Public Service Award, as well as awards by the military services and agencies.

In May, Smith himself delivered the final lecture in the series, "A Moment in Time:

Newly appointed Director **Lisa García Bedolla** wrote on *The Conversation* that Latino voters respond to outreach, not insults.

Affiliated faculty member **John Yoo** wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* about the power of President Trump to reverse some of President Obama's decisions.

Then-Director **Jack Citrin** was quoted in the *New York Times* on Californians' increasingly partisan opinions on immigration issues.

Affiliated faculty member **Karen Chapple** was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the emerging technology boom in Oakland.

Associate Director **Ethan Rarick** was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* about Gov. Jerry Brown's proposed gasoline tax and vehicle fee increase to fund transportation projects. □

Russian-American cooperation," discussing his role in a project to dismantle nuclear weapons after the Cold War.

Other speakers in the Smith series this year included Josef Joffe, publisher-editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit*; retired Admiral and former National Security Agency Director Bobbi Inman; Amy Zegart, co-director of Stanford's Center for International Security and Cooperation; and Herb Lin, a senior research scholar at Zegart's Center.

The Fraying of Democracy

In the aftermath of the election of President Trump, Brexit, and the upsurge of "populism" in many European countries, an IGS panel examined questions about the fraying of democratic norms and institutions in established Western democracies. Panelists included **Larry Diamond** and **Francis Fukuyama** of the Hoover Institution, **Russell Dalton** of UC Irvine, and **Jeremy Kinsman** and **Thomas Mann** of IGS.



From left: Francis Fukuyama, Larry Diamond, and Russell Dalton

The Future of Polling after 2016

Experts discussed the future of polling, focusing on the response to the presidential polls in 2016. Panelists included **Peter Hart** of Hart Research Associates, **Jennifer Agiesta** of CNN, **Jon Cohen** of Survey Monkey, **Samantha Luks** of YouGov, and **Laura Stoker** of the Berkeley political science faculty.



Laura Stoker

Book Talk: American Justice on Trial

Former Judge **Lise Pearlman** discussed her new book, *American Justice on Trial: People v. Newton*, which compares the explosive state of American race relations in 1968 to race relations today, with insights from key participants and observers of the internationally watched death-penalty trial that launched the Panther Party and transformed the American jury "of one's peers" to the diverse cross-section we often take for granted today. □

New Members Join IGS National Advisory Council

Brad Barber is a retired attorney and development professional with extensive experience in the management of nonprofit and fundraising organizations, and in the planning and implementation of fundraising campaigns. He currently serves as a board member or advisor for several nonprofit organizations. From 2006 to 2012, Barber served as Senior Vice President and Chief Development Officer of Children’s Hospital & Research Center in Oakland. At the University of California, San Francisco, Barber served as Assistant Chancellor and established the UCSF Foundation. Before

working at Children’s Hospital, Barber served as Assistant Vice President for Institutional Advancement at the Office of the President of the UC system. He worked extensively with all UC campuses, their foundations and foundation trustees and campus units such as schools, colleges, hospitals and clinical services, museums, libraries, etc. He took a leading role in the establishment of the UC Merced Foundation, the UC Civil Association (Mexico), and the UC Trust (UK). He also served as Assistant Vice Chancellor for Development at the UC Berkeley campus. During the final phase of the “Keeping the Promise” capital campaign, he was responsible for all fundraising staff at UC Berkeley Foundation. In the past, he has served on numerous nonprofit governing boards, including the international board of the Association of Fundraising Professionals, the Anglo-California Foundation, the Los Alamos National Lab Foundation, and the California Alumni Association. Currently, he serves as an elected director of the Moraga-Orinda Fire District, chair of the Friends of the Bancroft Library and sits on the advisory boards for the UC Berkeley Library, the Anglo-American Studies Program, and the Canadian Studies Program at UC Berkeley. He received a BA in history from the University of California, Berkeley and a JD from Boalt School of Law.

Peter Benvenuti is a business bankruptcy and restructuring lawyer in San Francisco, where he has practiced for over 40 years. He is a partner in Keller & Benvenuti LLP, a five-lawyer boutique formed in 2013. Previously he was a partner at Jones Day (2008–2013), Heller Ehrman (1988–2008), and Dinkelspiel & Dinkelspiel (1974–1988 [associate until 1981]). He represents and counsels all types of parties in business insolvency situations and formal bankruptcy cases, including debtors in possession, trustees, creditors’ committees, lenders, investors, asset acquirers, and parties in insolvency-related litigation. He is currently



From left: Brad Barber, Peter Benvenuti, Annabel Chang

representing New Cal-Neva Lodge, owner of the iconic Cal-Neva Lodge on the north shore of Lake Tahoe, in its chapter 11 reorganization case in Nevada. Notable prior public representations include the principal secured creditor and “stalking horse” buyer of Fisker Automotive, a start-up manufacturer of high-end electric cars, and the chapter 11 trustees of a gaming establishment (Garden City, Inc.) and an international supply chain management business (Software Logistics). He has long been active in professional legal and court-related organizations, including the Bay Area Bankruptcy Forum (chair of the organizing committee and first president), California Bankruptcy Forum (president, 1993–1994), and the Ninth Circuit Judicial Conference (lawyer representative, chair of district delegation, member of various circuitwide committees). He is a fellow of the prestigious, invitation-only American College of Bankruptcy and serves as a “resolution advocate” (mediator) for the local bankruptcy court. He received his law degree from Boalt Hall (1974, Order of the Coif), now known as UC Berkeley Law School. He received his undergraduate degree from Harvard College (AB, 1971, cum laude) where his field of concentration was government.

Annabel R. Chang is a corporate officer with Alaska Airlines and serves as the Vice President, Bay Area. She shapes and executes Alaska Airlines’ strategic external relations, local government advocacy, and community relations efforts in the San Francisco Bay Area. She also provides local support and insight for the company’s sales and marketing efforts in the Bay Area. Prior to joining Alaska Airlines, she served as the director of public policy for Lyft, where she worked on cutting edge public policy work on the sharing economy, tech policy, and autonomous vehicles. Before joining Lyft, she prosecuted cases at the San Francisco district attorney’s office and litigated at one of San Francisco’s

largest firms, Morrison & Foerster. Prior to practicing law, Chang worked as a legislative staffer for US Senator Dianne Feinstein in Washington, DC and served as a Jesse Unruh California State Assembly fellow in Sacramento, California. Chang has a Juris Doctorate from Washington University in St. Louis and a BA in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. In law school, she served as an articles editor at *The Washington University Law Review*. While at Berkeley, Chang worked with Professor Bruce Cain in researching California elections at IGS and served as a teaching assistant for the Campaign Strategy and Management class taught by Dan Schnur.

Joe Garrett grew up just a few blocks from the Berkeley campus, and Strawberry Creek was his and his friends' playground in the 1950s. He graduated from Cal in 1970, got a masters in political science from the University of Washington, and returned to Cal for his MBA in 1976. His career was buying failed or failing banks, recapitalizing them, returning them to health, and selling them. He was president of American Liberty Bank in Oakland and Sequoia National Bank in San Francisco. Today, he heads up Garrett, McAuley & Co., which advises commercial banks, both healthy and troubled. He lives in Berkeley and has served as chair of the Berkeley Housing Authority, commissioner of the Berkeley Redevelopment Agency, and a member of the Berkeley Planning Commission.

Ellen O'Kane Tauscher is an experienced executive, strategic advisor, and seasoned leader who returned to the private sector in February 2012, after more than 16 years of public service in Congress and the State Department. Tauscher currently serves as an independent director of both public and private companies, not for profit and nongovernmental organizations. In 2009, she was nominated by President Barack Obama and confirmed by the United States Senate as Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs. As Under Secretary of State, Tauscher was responsible for successfully closing negotiations of the New Start Treaty with the Russian Federation in March 2010 in Geneva, after months of stalemate. Secretary Tauscher also represented the United States at the Nonproliferation Treaty Review Conference at the United Nations in May 2010, which produced the first consensus agreement in 10 years. Tauscher is a former seven-term Democratic member of the United States House of Representatives, representing California's 10th Congressional district in the East Bay. She was elected on her first run for any elected office in 1996 and served until her resignation to join the Obama Administration. In Congress, Tauscher was a leading cen-



Joe Garrett, Ellen Tauscher

trist Democrat, and the chair of the New Democrat Coalition, a caucus of 65 moderate Democrats in the House of Representatives. Representing the only congressional district that is home to two national nuclear labs, Tauscher served on the House Armed Services Committee for more than 12 years and became the chair of the Strategic Forces subcommittee. She is a member of the board of directors of three public companies: Invacare Corporation; EHealth, Inc.; and Edison International and Southern California Edison. Prior to her work in the public sector, she spent 14 years on Wall Street. At age 25, she became one of the first women to become a member of the New York Stock Exchange. She later worked as an investment banker for Bear Stearns and a subsidiary of Drexel Burnham Lambert. After moving to California, she founded the first national research service to help parents verify the background of childcare workers. □

2016–17 Friends of IGS Honor Roll

Individuals

Mark Aaronson and Marjorie Gelb	Kelly and Leslie Calkin	Anna Ferrari	Marc and Lise Howard	Isaac Martin
Joel and Joan Aberbach	C. Bryan Cameron	Graham Fleming and Jean McKenzie	Leonie Huddy	Eayl Matalon
Richard and Marcia Abrams	Elizabeth Capell	Brian A. Foster	D. Bradford Hunt	Congresswoman Doris O. Matsui
Richard and Linda Ackerman	John Casey	Sean Fox	Julia and Stanley Hunter	Eric McGhee
Demetrios Agretelis	Devin Caughey	Scott Frandsen	Andrew and Gerda Janos	Bonnie McKellar and Jack Citrin
Douglas Ahler	Stephen Chan	Beth and William Freeman	Michael Jones	Kori Meehan
Donna Michelle Anderson	Annabel Chang	Paul T. Friedman	Yvonne Jones	Anu Menon and Akash Garg
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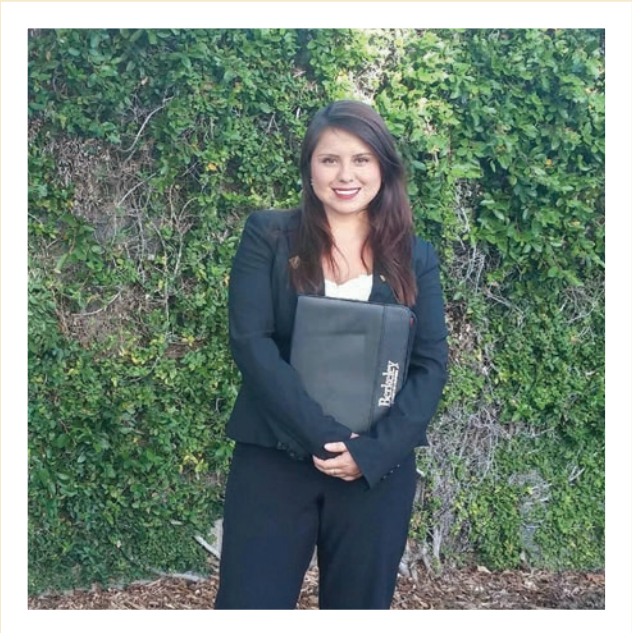
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