

# UC Berkeley

## Public Affairs Report

### Title

Public Affairs Report

### Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1mz473j2>

### Journal

Public Affairs Report, 49(2)

### Author

Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley

### Publication Date

2008-04-01

# Institute of Governmental Studies

Spring/Summer 2008/Vol. 49, No. 2



Top: Former Bush Adviser Matthew Dowd

Bottom: MSNBC host Chris Matthews

Opposite: Congressman David Price

## Presidency Takes Center Stage at IGS

The presidency moved front and center at IGS this year. We took a look at how the incumbent has performed, how nominees are selected, how the voters should decide, and how the campaign has developed.

The focus continues this fall. In September IGS will host a major conference on the powers of the presidency and then follow that with our traditional Election Night party in November.

“The presidential election is the focal point of American politics every four years,” said Jack Citrin, the director of the Institute. “IGS is involved in providing in-depth analysis of the campaign, but also of the broader issues facing the country.”

In March, the annual IGS Salon dinner featured the candid opinions and trademark humor of MSNBC host Chris Matthews, who spoke to more than 200 people at the Pier 39 Theater in San Francisco. For more on that event, see pages 12–13.

In April, IGS hosted a two-day conference on the presidential nomination process. Congressman David Price, a political scientist turned politician, gave the keynote speech, and the panels were filled with other prominent speakers as well. For more on that event, see pages 6–7.

Also in April, the Institute hosted its 27th annual Review of the Presidency. The panel included Matthew Dowd, a former top advisor to President Bush who has since expressed doubts about the incumbent. For more on that event, see pages 14–15.

And throughout the year, we’ve been hosting a series of discussions on major issues that face the voters—and will face the next president. For more on those, see pages 8–9.



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The Institute of Governmental Studies' Public Affairs Report is published four times a year. 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 regional development.

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# SCHOLAR'S CORNER

## *The New Political Geography of California*

*Frédéric Douzet,  
Thad Kousser, and  
Kenneth P. Miller*



California is often viewed as a trendsetter state where change happens sooner, faster, and more radically than anywhere else in the United States. This is as true of the state's demographics as of its politics and popular culture.

For decades, California has attracted migrants from across the country, and it has now also become the primary destination for foreign immigrants to the U.S. As recent immigrants move in, white middle-class residents as well as second- and third-generation immigrants are moving out or changing locations within the state.

With a population constantly on the move, the answers to questions about who lives in California and where they live change dramatically every decade. So do the political consequences of these questions. The formal rules of politics in California, and the United States as a whole, make geography crucial to the political process. With district-based elections and an Electoral College that creates a presidential winner out of a jigsaw of red and blue states, where voters live becomes as important as how they behave. And because California's demographics change so quickly, they constantly redraw the state's political map.

These two principles lead to one lesson for political observers in the Golden State: understanding California's ever-changing political geography is paramount. Our new book, *The New*

*Political Geography of California*, published by IGS, aims to contribute to the understanding of California's political geography through studies of the state's broad patterns, focused portraits of specific regions, and essays on the interaction between geography and the state's political institutions. The project emerged from a colloquium bringing together French and American scholars of Californian politics, generously supported by the Borchard Foundation.

One of the most significant changes in California's political geography has been the emergence in the last generation of an east-west divide, replacing the state's traditional north-south divide.

In 1980, California was a highly competitive two-party state, and to the extent that it had a regional partisan divide, it was largely between north and south. Democratic strength was concentrated mainly in the Bay Area and northern California, with an important pocket of support in Los Angeles, while Republicans dominated the rest of southern California. The lightly populated inland region remained a battlefield between the two parties. Overall, the state leaned Democratic in legislative elections, but Republican in top-of-the-ticket races for president and governor.

Even more notably from today's perspective, Republicans in 1980 were competitive in congressional districts across the state, including many coastal areas. California elected 43 members of the 97th Congress, with Democrats winning a narrow majority (22 vs. 21 seats). Republicans won 14 of their 21 seats in coastal counties.

Just one generation later, the state's political map had significantly changed. By the early 2000s the state as a whole was solidly Democratic. Starting with Bill Clinton's first election in 1992, Democratic candidates decisively won California's vote for president, and after 1994 they won almost all other statewide elections. After the mid-1990s they progressively tightened their grip on the state legislature and the California congressional delegation. In contrast to the evenly divided congressional delegation of 1980,

*Cont. on p. 22*

The **Scholar's Corner** features commentaries in which faculty members affiliated with IGS apply academic research or concepts to issues relevant to the practical world of politics and policy.

# IGS Research Wins Awards

IGS research has been collecting awards this summer.

• IGS Director **Jack Citrin** and three young scholars currently or previously affiliated with IGS—**Amy Lerman**, **Michael Murakami**, and **Kathryn Pearson**—won the Heinz I. Eulau Award for the best article published last year in the journal *Perspective on Politics*. The award is given by the American Political Science Association (APSA), which also publishes the journal.

The award recognized the journal article “Testing Huntington: Is Hispanic Immigration a Threat to American Identity?” which was published in March 2007. Last year the Eulau Award went to **Louise Comfort**, a visiting scholar at IGS.

• **Gerard Roland**, a professor of economics at Berkeley and a member of the IGS Faculty Advisory Committee, won the Richard Fenno Prize from the Legislative Section of APSA. Roland won for his book *Democratic Politics in the European Parliament*, published by Cambridge University Press, which was co-authored by **Simon Hix** and **Abdul Noury**. The book includes research previously presented in an IGS Working Paper.

The Fenno Prize is awarded each year to the best book in legislative studies. IGS-related research has a long history of winning the Fenno Prize. Last year the award went to *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate*, co-authored by IGS Faculty Advisory Committee member **Eric Schickler**. Schickler also won the award in 2002 for *Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*. Former IGS Director **Bruce Cain** won the Fenno Prize in 1988 for *The Personal Vote: Constituency Service and Electoral Independence*.

• Schickler won two awards from APSA. Schickler’s paper, “State Party Platforms and Civil Rights Policy, 1920–1968,” co-authored with Brian Feinstein, won the Party Politics Award honoring the best paper presented on a Political Organizations and Parties Panel at last year’s APSA convention. Another Schickler paper, “Discharge Petitions, Agenda Control, and the Congressional Committee System, 1929–1976,” which was co-authored with former IGS grad student Kathryn Pearson, won the CQ Press Award for the best paper on legislative studies presented at the 2007 annual meeting.

• **Sarah Song**, an assistant professor of law and political science at Berkeley and an affiliated faculty member at IGS, won the Ralph Bunche Award for her book *Justice, Gender, and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, published by Cambridge University Press. The Bunche



Award recognizes the best work exploring ethnic and cultural pluralism.

• IGS Visiting Scholar **Frédéric Douzet** won two French awards for her book *The Color of Power: The Geopolitics of Immigration and Segregation in Oakland, California*, published by Belin. Douzet, who frequently conducts research at IGS, won the Prix Alphonse Milne-Edwards de la Société de Géographie and the Prix Ernest Lemonon de l’Académie des sciences morales et politiques.



Top to bottom:  
Sarah Song  
Eric Schickler  
Bottom row (left to right):  
Jack Citrin  
Gerard Roland

# A Big Birthday in California Politics: Prop. 13 Turns 30



One of California's major political landmarks was the subject of an IGS conference this summer.

"Proposition 13 at 30: The Political, Economic, and Fiscal Impacts" was an all-day conference examining the state's historic property tax limitation measure. The conference was held exactly on the 30th anniversary of the passage of Prop. 13, which was approved by voters on June 6, 1978.

Notwithstanding the 30-year-old topic, the conference broke new ground. A new Field Poll commissioned partly by IGS was publicly released for the first time at the opening session, with Field Poll Director **Mark DiCamillo** describing the results.

The news was generally good for supporters of Prop. 13, bad for its opponents. Asked if they would vote for Prop. 13 if it were back on the ballot, 57% of the respondents said yes, while only 23% said no. DiCamillo noted that the margin was similar to the margin by which Prop. 13 originally passed three decades ago.

Not surprisingly, support was strongest among homeowners, 64% of whom said they support the measure, including 79% of those who bought their current home before 1978.

What about changing Prop. 13? Pollsters found little support among voters for some frequently mentioned amendments. Among the ideas that were rejected by at least two-thirds of respondents were gradually raising the property taxes of longtime homeowners toward parity with more recent buyers, eliminating the cap that restricts local government increases in property taxes to 2% a year, and changing Prop. 13's requirement for a two-thirds vote in the state legislature for any kind of tax increase. The last idea was rejected by respondents even after they were reminded about the state's current budget deficit.

The only potential reform that seemed to generate a significant level of support was the idea of splitting property tax rolls to create different rates for residential and commercial properties. This was framed in two different ways. People overwhelmingly approved of the idea if this were done to lower residential rates. If it meant increasing the taxes of commercial owners, there was narrow approval, 47% to 44%.

The second question divided along partisan lines, with Democrats much more supportive than Republicans.

Six in 10 voters said state and local taxes are too high, while 37% said they were about right. That finding was near the 30-year average from 15 Field Polls since 1977. Although Republicans were more likely than Democrats to believe taxes were too high, a majority of both Democrats and nonpartisans also held that view.

In the midst of the current state budget crisis, the poll also probed public opinion about state spending. Asked about areas in which the state should cut budgets to avoid a tax increase, the state prison system and public assistance topped the list. Asked about areas that shouldn't be cut even if it meant a tax increase, education and health care were tops.

A series of questions asked about potential trade-offs in terms of taxes and services. For example, most people said they were willing to allow the early release of up to 50,000 nonviolent prisoners if this avoided a tax increase of \$100 or \$200 a year. Likewise, most people said they were unwilling to pay an extra \$100 to \$200 in taxes if this meant not releasing 50,000 nonviolent prisoners.

DiCamillo summed up the poll: "There is a strong vein of fiscal conservatism throughout this entire question set. It's obvious that there's strong continuing support for Prop. 13, and there's very little appetite for making significant changes to most of its major provisions."

IGS Director **Jack Citrin** opened the conference by noting that Prop. 13 passed on the anniversary of D-Day.

"In the context of California political history," Citrin said. "There's D for deliverance and there's D for doom. The deliverance party and the doom party formed very quickly after the passage of Proposition 13 and remain entrenched to this day."

Citrin briefly outlined his view of the impacts of Prop. 13. It successfully achieved its main goals of lowering property taxes and creating certainty about future property tax bills. Perhaps unintentionally, it diminished the power of local governments in relation to the state government. It may have slowed the growth of

government, but certainly did not stop it. And it “ushered in an era of plebiscitary government in California.”

Whether those changes are seen as good or bad, Prop. 13 is popular with voters, Citrin said, as evidenced by the newly released Field Poll.

“It is a pretty safe bet to say that Proposition 13 is here for the foreseeable future,” Citrin said. “It is here to stay.”

Throughout the day, Prop. 13 came in for both criticism and praise. Critics included longtime Prop. 13 opponents like *Sacramento Bee* columnist **Peter Schrag** and California Budget Project Director **Jean Ross**, while defenders included **Joel Fox**, past president of the Howard Jarvis Taxpayers Association, the initial backers of Prop. 13 when it was on the ballot.

Academic speakers addressed Prop. 13 from nearly every angle imaginable. Some examples:

- **Isaac Martin**, an assistant professor of sociology at UC San Diego and one of the organizers of the conference, examined the degree to which Prop. 13 caused the spread of similar tax-limitation measures to other states. He concluded the likelihood of a state enacting a property tax limit increased radically after the passage of Prop. 13.

- **William Fischel**, an economist from Dartmouth, discussed the possible connection between the passage of Prop. 13 and the earlier *Serrano* court decision, which required equal funding for school districts.

IGS has several resources for learning more about the 30th anniversary of Prop. 13. For a webcast of the conference and copies of the presentations, go to [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu) and then click on “featured events” under the “news and events” menu. IGS will also publish a book based on the presentations at the conference. For more on the book, watch future issues of the PAR or check the IGS website, [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

- **Terri Sexton**, an economist from Sacramento State, addressed the issue of how Prop. 13, by limiting assessments of older properties well below market rates, may affect the ability of people to move.

- **Steven Sheffrin** of UC Davis examined the fairness of taxation under Prop. 13.

- **Jon Sonstelie** of UC Santa Barbara assessed Prop. 13 and California’s public schools.

Other speakers included **John Fund** of the *Wall Street Journal*, **David Gamage** of UC Berkeley School of Law, **Dave Doerr** of the California Taxpayers Association, **John Kirlin** of Delta Vision, and **Kirk Stark** of UCLA, and **John Decker** of the California

Debt and Investment Advisory Commission.

At lunch, attendees took a fun trip down memory lane, watching a replay of old clips from the CBS Evening News reporting on Prop. 13 at the time of its passage.

In addition to IGS, the conference was sponsored by the Irvine Foundation, the Department of Sociology at UC San Diego, and Stanford University Press.

*Opposite, top to bottom: Jack Citrin, Dave Doerr and John Decker, William Fischel, Joel Fox, Jean Ross, John Fund, Mark DiCamillo*

*Below: Terri Sexton, Steven Sheffrin, Peter Schrag*

*Right, top to bottom: Isaac Martin, John Kirlin, Jon Sonstelie, Kirk Stark, David Gamage*



# How Do We Pick the Candidates?

With the Democratic presidential primary still roaring along full-throttle, IGS staged a two-day conference examining how Americans pick their presidential candidates.

When the conference was planned last fall, the assumption was that by April, both parties would have a presumptive nominee, allowing the scholars and practitioners at the conference to take a look back and figure out what happened.

Instead, when the conference rolled around in the second week of April, Democrats Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton were still battling. That gave the conference a special timeliness, and the

result was a fascinating look at the way Americans choose their Oval Office contenders.

The 2008 campaign came in for close inspection during a panel devoted to this year's race. Longtime Democratic activist **Gina Glantz**, who has worked in many campaigns and managed Bill Bradley's presidential bid, said she believed the Democratic race could have been resolved far sooner had labor united behind a single candidate.

**Bob Wickers**, who served as a senior advisor to the Huckabee campaign, said the Republican Party typically nominates an experienced candidate about whom there is a sense that it was "his turn," and that is what happened this year with John McCain.

*Photos this page: Thomas Mann, Allison Hayward, Gina Glantz, Robert Wickers*

*Opposite page, top to bottom: John Zaller, Duf Sundheim, William Brandt, Barbara Norrander*

*Opposite page, left to right: Jennifer Steen, Christopher Edley, Rick Hasen, Andrew Busch, Ken Khachigian*



## Congressman, Pollster Add Their Views

Congressman **David Price** and longtime national political pollster **Peter Hart** both gave talks at the conference: Price a keynote address at a luncheon open to the public, Hart a private analysis of the mood of the country at a dinner for conference participants and special guests.

Price, a Democrat from North Carolina who is also a former professor of political science at Duke, talked about a much-discussed aspect of the 2008 primary season: the role of so-called superdelegates in the Democratic Party. (He also mentioned that he dislikes the term "superdelegates," preferring the technical name for the group: "party leader/elected official delegates.")

In 1981, Price was the staff director for the commission that created superdelegates, a new category of delegate to the national convention that included members of congress and many local officials, but who were not chosen in a primary or caucus.

During his talk at the IGS conference, Price predicted that these uncommitted delegates would consolidate behind the candidate who emerged from the primary season in front. He was correct, since superdelegates soon began lining up behind Obama.

Price said that was the role envisioned for superdelegates when they were created, that they would confirm the choice of

the voters and be ready to pick someone else if the presumptive nominee died or was ensnared in a horrendous scandal. They were never intended to overturn the choice of the voters, he said.

Price acknowledged that in the wake of the contentious 2008 Democratic race, there would undoubtedly be calls to change the rules regarding superdelegates, but he said he would oppose those efforts.

Price also talked about the calendar of the nomination process. He cochaired a more recent commission designed to improve the calendar of primaries in hopes that the process would start later and be more spread out. Neither goal, he admitted, has been achieved. In fact, the process now starts earlier than ever and is more concentrated on a few key dates.

In his dinner speech, Hart made no bones about the fact that he expects 2008 to be a Democratic year.

Along with extensive polling numbers, the longtime Democratic pollster presented one light-hearted bit of evidence. This year all four Oscars for acting went to foreign-born actors, the first time that has happened since 1964. Hart added gleefully that 1964 was a tremendous Democratic year.

And in an obvious reference to the presidential race, he asked with a grin if anyone could name this year's Best Picture winner. The answer? No Country for Old Men.

Huckabee, by contrast, was an insurgent candidate, although one with a strong ability to use the media to connect with the party's base, Wickers said.

Another panel examined the campaign finance system in presidential elections. **Tom Mann** of the Brookings Institution noted that the federal public financing system has become "largely irrelevant" in presidential primaries, since most top candidates conclude they can raise more money privately and opt out of the public system.

**Richard Hasen**, from Loyola Law School, agreed, noting that this year only the weaker fundraisers stayed within the public system. The end of the public system really came in 2004, he said. That year the limit for the primary election for candidates in the public system was \$50 million, while President Bush and Senator John Kerry each raised roughly \$250 million.

Also on the finance panel, two members of the IGS National Advisory Council—one a Democrat, one a Republican—defended the idea of unregulated donations.

**Duf Sundheim**, the former chairman of the California Republican Party, said he has a "strong bias against regulation and a strong bias in favor of public disclosure." Donors will still contribute, and excessive regulations only make the process more convoluted, Sundheim said. Furthermore, low contribution limits increase the hurdles facing candidates of modest background, and favor wealthy candidates who can make unlimited donations to their own campaigns.

**Bill Brandt**, a major fundraiser for Hillary Clinton and other Democrats, also defended the importance of campaign donations, suggesting that giving money to a political candidate is a good thing, a form of engagement in democracy. Like Sundheim, Brandt said he favors a system without caps on donations, but complete and immediate disclosure.

Examining the overall nomination process, **Andrew Busch** of Claremont McKenna College focused on the "front-loading" of this year's schedule, or

the push to move many primaries and caucuses forward on the calendar. Many people had assumed that such front-loading would produce an early decision and make the later states irrelevant, an assumption that obviously proved false, Busch noted. Another common assumption was that front-loading would create a long general election, although Busch noted that didn't happen this year because of the extended Democratic primary battle.

Looking ahead, parties might conclude that front-loading isn't such a problem, Busch said, but on the other hand some states might move their contests back so as to have a later, more decisive role.

**David Karol**, a member of the Berkeley faculty and one of the organizers of the conference, reviewed the history of the nominating process, especially the post-1968 reforms that increased the number and importance of primaries and caucuses, as opposed to party conventions. In terms of the nation's history, Karol noted, a nominating system dominated by primaries is a relatively new development, in place only since the election of 1972.

Other speakers at the conference included a mix of political practitioners, journalists, and academic experts. **Ken Khachigian**, former Reagan speechwriter and senior advisor to many Republicans, was one of the practitioners. So was former Clinton administration official **Christopher Edley**, who is now dean of the Berkeley School of Law.

Journalists included **Lynn Sweet**, the Washington bureau chief of the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and **Byron York**, the White House correspondent for *National Review*.

Academic experts included **Jack Citrin**, the director of IGS; Berkeley's **Eric Schickler**, **Susan Rasky**, and **Goodwin Liu**; **Allison Hayward** of George Mason; **Barbara Norrander** of the University of Arizona; **Jennifer Steen** of Boston College; and **John Zaller** of UCLA.





### Presidential Series Examines the Big Issues

Throughout the past year, IGS held a series of in-depth panels examining the major issues that will face the next president. Last fall, topics included foreign policy, climate change, and the future of the federal courts. This spring, the series concluded with sessions examining the economy and the federal budget, education, immigration, and healthcare. For details, see below.

#### Education

The biggest challenge facing American schools, according to experts gathered for the education panel, may be the disparity in school quality between affluent children and poor ones, who are often African-American or Latino.

It will be impossible to close the gap in educational attainment between the United States and other nations unless we first close the gap between wealthy and poor children within the U.S., said **Russlynn Ali**, executive director of Education Trust-West, a group that works to improve student achievement. “Far too often,” Ali said, “poor kids and kids of color often get shafted.”

Ali was one of three panelists, along with Berkeley education professor **Bruce Fuller** and Stanford education professor **Linda Darling-Hammond**. Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education cosponsored the event, and education school Dean **David Pearson** moderated.

Pearson opened the discussion by noting that although all the presidential candidates have formal positions on education, they don’t often talk about the topic on the campaign trail. Maybe that’s because there isn’t a lot of good news. Darling-Hammond noted that the United States is below average for educational performance among

developed countries, and our high school graduation rates are essentially flat.

What do other countries do that we don’t? Darling-Hammond listed a series of things: fewer kids live in poverty, there is universal or near-universal preschool and healthcare, schools are funded far more equally, and teacher training is largely free.

To improve American performance, Darling-Hammond said the next president must “create a sense of urgency” about these issues. She also said the country needs a major investment in teacher training, and wider access to preschool must at least be “on the table.”

Fuller noted some of the problems in the ways in which politicians address these issues. For one thing, lots of campaign promises are oriented toward attracting middle-class votes, when the most important educational goal is improving the performance of poor and minority children. For another, many reforms focus on older kids, such as high schoolers, while research suggests that interventions are more effective at a younger age.

#### Healthcare

**Stephen Shortell**, dean of the School of Public Health, opened the health care panel by suggesting there are three basic issues facing the U.S. health care system: access, cost, and quality. In each area there are problems.

The United States is the only developed nation without universal access, he said, and there are 47 million uninsured Americans. Our costs are high: We spend 16 to 17% of our gross domestic product on health care, more than most industrialized nations. And we are coming to understand that the quality of the American healthcare system is not always high, Shortell said. We have high rates of infection, for example, and every year approximately 100,000 people die of a preventable cause, he said.

**Helen Halpin**, a professor at the School of Public Health, described the political landscape of this year’s Democratic campaign proposals regarding health care. She noted there is a broad consensus among Democrats that health care reform must mix together many elements, and she said the plans offered by Clinton and Obama, both of whom were then in the race, were “nearly identical.” Halpin advised the Obama campaign on health care issues.

**Harold Luft**, of UC San Francisco and the Palo Alto Medical Foundation, said the key component of health care reform is to provide coverage for acute cases and chronic illness. To do so, he proposed creating universal pools to provide those two kinds of coverage.

**Mark Peterson** of UCLA asked why this time might be different than past years, i.e., why the country might now embrace reform. He noted two differences: In the past, coverage was expanding, whereas now it’s shrinking. And we have learned in



Top: Russlynn Ali; Middle: Bruce Fuller, David Pearson; Bottom: Linda Darling-Hammond

the last 10–20 years that other countries have cheaper systems that provide better outcomes.

## Immigration

UC Irvine scholar **Frank D. Bean** opened the immigration session by noting the relevance of immigration to the public. In that morning's *New York Times*, he said, there had been four stories dealing with immigration.

"The U.S. really does need these unskilled workers," Bean said. They are needed for economic reasons, he said, but also for demographic reasons, since the United States overall has a relatively low birth rate.



So, Bean asked, why is immigration so controversial? His answer is that the middle class feels pinched economically, and frustration manifests itself as resentment toward immigrants.



The panelists agreed that all three major presidential candidates who were still in the race at that time were generally receptive to some kind of balanced immigration reform. In Bean's words, they were all "fairly pro immigration." Combine that with the fact that the next president is likely to govern with a Democratic Congress, and Bean predicted there might be favorable conditions for enacting some kind of reform. **Peter D. Salins** of Stony Brook University agreed, predicting that immigration reform will be passed in the first or second year of the next president's term.



Top: Peter D. Salins; Middle: Frank D. Bean; Bottom: Philip Martin

But **Philip Martin** of UC Davis said that immigration reform was not likely to be addressed immediately in the new administration. The issue is complex and controversial, he said, and thus all three candidates have been told to "tread lightly" on the topic. Martin also noted that past immigration reforms have frequently had unintended consequences.

Public debate over immigration, Martin noted, is frequently dominated by the extremes. "Having an honest debate about the trade-offs is one of the hardest things to do," Martin said.

Salins began by noting that immigration is good for the country, and he noted that we've had a lot of immigrants in recent years. About 12% of the U.S. population is now foreign-born, the highest proportion in decades.

Public debate over immigration, Martin noted, is frequently dominated by the extremes. "Having an honest debate about the trade-offs is one of the hardest things to do," Martin said.

Proposals to deport most or all of the illegal immigrants in the country are unrealistic, Salins said, denouncing them as "blowing smoke."

The most important goal of immigration policy, he said, should be the "successful assimilation of immigrants."

## Economy and the Federal Budget

Americans need to pay more or spend less. That was the basic message of the session on economics and the federal budget.

The panel featured four fiscal experts with wide experience in Washington, D.C.: **Robert Bixby**, executive director of the Concord Coalition; **Alison Fraser**, director of the Thomas A. Roe Institute for Economic Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation; **Alice Rivlin**, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and former director of the Congressional Budget Office; and **David Walker**, Comptroller General of the United States.

The basic message of all four panelists was the same: When it comes to

public services, Americans must either pay more or spend less. "We're headed into very rough seas that could swamp the ship of state if we don't get serious soon," said Walker.



Alice Rivlin, David Walker, Robert Bixby, Alison Fraser

"The United States has become addicted to debt." Rivlin said she had a "strong conviction that Americans are not facing up to a problem we've created for ourselves."

"There are many solutions, but it won't solve itself, and the longer we wait the more painful the decisions are going to be," she said.

The biggest problem, panelists agreed, is the rising share of the gross domestic product that will be consumed by Medicare, part of what Bixby described as an "unprecedented transition to an older society." Fraser said the growth of Medicare and Medicaid set up a "giant tsunami of spending." The problem can't be solved by cutting other programs, she said, because there is not enough money in the rest of the budget to make that realistic.

The program was cosponsored by IGS and the Haas School of Business, and was moderated by **Tom Campbell**, who was then the Bank of America dean of the Haas School. The session was also part of the nationwide Fiscal Wake-Up Tour organized by the Concord Coalition, a nonpartisan organization that supports fiscal responsibility.

For webcasts of Choosing the President events, go to:  
[igs.berkeley.edu/events/president2008](http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/president2008)

# Strengthening the Public Sector One Fellowship at a Time

For students dedicated to public service, IGS's John Gardner Public Service Fellowship offers one of the nation's finest opportunities to meaningfully engage the world of public service immediately upon graduation. Backed by financial support and the fellowship's extensive alumni network, fellows are catapulted into the nation's highest echelons of public service and are positioned to make significant contributions to the world around them. At a time when public institutions are often viewed with disdain, training the next generation of aspiring public leaders is now more important than ever.

Because each fellow is linked with a mentor who is a distinguished social leader in his or her own right, fellows are offered meaningful opportunities to engage in service and to connect with like-minded individuals who have lifetimes of experiences to share. A rigorous and highly competitive selection process guarantees an exceptional group of fellows each year, and it should come as no surprise that these gifted individuals make enormous contributions to the areas of public service they care most deeply about.

Here's a glimpse of what our fellows have been doing lately: Tracey Ross drafted legislation for Senator Hillary Clinton that improved the quality and nutritional content of public school lunches; Michael Jones participated in the drafting of the United Nation's policy on terrorism at a conference in Austria; and Sandy Tesch organized "Youth Service Day" during her fellowship with Youth Service America, an event that draws hundreds of thousands of volunteers annually throughout the United States to address the varied needs of our diverse communities.

Currently, Kyle Maurer is working with the U.S. Senate Democratic Policy Committee to craft legislative solutions to the housing crisis and to other pressing issues; Jennifer Browning is addressing Africa's numerous development challenges with the United Nations Development Program; and Miriam Solis is working with Commissioner Shaun Donovan at New York City's Department for Housing Preservation and

Development to expand low-income housing opportunities in the city and to reinvigorate public spaces in the New York City suburb of Far Rockaway

IGS's newest class of Gardner Fellows is equally impressive.



**Christina Hisel's** goal of fighting poverty is a natural outgrowth of her previous public service experiences that include helping victims of HIV/AIDS in Kenya and the United States, mentoring Liberian refugees, publicizing the crisis in Darfur, and preserving community health care clinics in Pleasanton. Christina's depth of experiences in public service made her a natural choice to serve in the leadership of the Cal Corp Public Service Center for the past three years. At the center, Christina pioneered a collaborative program between the Berkeley campus and its surrounding communities to establish new public service research and internship opportunities in South Berkeley and Fruitvale. She also worked hand-in-hand with four Chinese scholars to design a U.S.-China exchange program, a sex education center, and a documentary training school. But perhaps Christina's daily efforts one-on-one with an autistic teenager over a three-month period is the most telling aspect of her character. Christina's patience and maturity in this effort speaks volumes about her dedication to others.

**Please help support the Gardner Fellowship Program at IGS** so we can ensure that the most talented and civic-minded students from the nation's premiere public university continue to invest their talents and energy in public service. Go to [igs.berkeley.edu/programs/gardner](http://igs.berkeley.edu/programs/gardner) for additional details.



When the levees gave way and contaminated water drowned the city of New Orleans, **Sasha Pippenger** put her life on hold in service to the struggling residents of that great American city. As a volunteer for the American Red Cross with advanced training as an emergency medical technician, Sasha entered that world of debris, despair, and death to provide as much as she could for those caught in the throes of dire circumstance. For four weeks following Katrina Sasha worked around-the-clock to deliver much-needed food and supplies. She also provided a human touch to the relief effort. In her words, “The residents of New Orleans desperately needed food and water, but what they also wanted was the comfort of knowing that somebody out there actually cared about them.” Having witnessed the connection between global warming and the magnitude of natural disasters firsthand, Sasha later served as a Canadian student delegate to the United Nations climate change negotiations in Bali, Indonesia during the fall of 2007 (she possesses dual citizenship in the U.S. and Canada). In this capacity, Sasha prepared and presented policy solutions to international delegates to untangle the numerous cross-cutting issues involving human rights, equity, and climate change. Sasha is also deeply committed to human rights in Africa and has volunteered with organizations on the continent, mentored Liberian refugees in California, and drafted African conflict policy and advocacy through the International Crisis Group and the Center for American Progress in Washington, D.C.



As founder and director of the Shuar Health Project, **Lia Marshall** managed a 25-member team and a budget of \$100,000 over a two-year period to provide safe drinking water to ten Shuar communities in rural Ecuador. After surveying the needs of these communities, Lia and her team undertook the construction and distribution of 120 safe water containers to collect uncontaminated rainwater for drinking and sanitation purposes. Working with the indigenous leaders and earning the trust of the Shuar locals was the first challenge. The next step was to transport massive amounts of water and concrete miles and miles into the dense rainforests of Ecuador before final construction of the tanks could be undertaken by her team of engineers. Lia’s innovative approach produced dramatic and positive results that can and hopefully will be replicated by like-minded NGOs, especially considering the lethal threat posed by water-borne diseases; bacterial, viral, and parasitic infections continue to plague these populations.



# Chris Matthews Highlights the IGS Salon Dinner

The annual IGS Salon Dinner in March brought together the Institute's friends and supporters to hear television host Chris Matthews analyze the 2008 campaign.

Matthews said he thought the country was eager for change, a fact that gives Democrats a good chance at victory in the fall.

America has a history of "big change elections," he said, citing as examples 1932, 1952, 1960, and 1980. With the exception of John Kennedy's victory in 1960, he noted, those elections have not been close. Voters wanted a new direction and made that statement clearly.

This year Matthews expects a similarly lopsided result, with the Democrats benefiting.

People are unhappy, he said. They feel that "politicians are not doing their job. They aren't getting things done."

The dinner was hosted by IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson; his wife, Sarah; and other members of the council. More than 240 people attended Matthews' talk at the Pier 39 Theater, which was followed by a private dinner for large donors where Matthews took questions from the audience. In all, the event raised more than \$70,000 for the Institute.

Matthews appeared in conversation with Michael Krasny, the host of Forum on KQED radio.

Matthews, who hosts Hardball on MSNBC, predicted that dissatisfaction with the economy will help Democrats. He acknowledged that he was hard on Sen. Hillary Clinton, and frankly admitted that he finds Sen. Barack Obama inspiring: "There is an experience that happens in this campaign that I've never seen before."



*Above: IGS National Advisory Council Chairman Darius Anderson introduces the evening's program*

*Below: KQED host Michael Krasny in conversation with the guest of honor, MSNBC commentator Chris Matthews*

*Opposite (top to bottom): John Cummins, who was about to retire as associate chancellor and chief of staff, and his wife, Peggy, share a laugh with Matthews IGS staff members Anne Benker and Janeen Jackson along with guest Marilyn Jackson*

*Anderson chats with Carrie Goux and Jonathan Spalter*

*The audience enjoys a Matthews witticism*

*Bottom row, right to left: Matthews with IGS Director Jack Citrin*

*Two icons of the California political scene: pollster Merv Field and former IGS Director Gene Lee*

*IGS National Advisory Council member Darek DeFreece and his partner, Alan Croteau*



Sen. John McCain's experience during the Vietnam War continues to influence the presumptive Republican nominee's politics, Matthews suggested. The commentator said he thinks McCain still resents President Johnson for allowing the war to drag on, and still admires President Nixon.

The talk was peppered with humor, including Matthews spicy descriptions of public figures from Anne Coulter ("She's frightening") to Michael Dukakis ("strangely alien").

At one point, Matthews had the crowd in stitches with a description of the difference between Republicans and Democrats. Democrats are fundamentally disorganized, he said. At a movie, they arrive late, wander around looking for the theater, then stumble in amid the darkness. Republicans arrive early and are in their seats before the first trailer, popcorn in hand.

Matthews also engaged in a little personal analysis of the candidates. McCain, he said, has a deep-seated love of country rooted at least to some degree in his experiences as a POW in Vietnam. Obama's focus on unifying rhetoric may stem, Matthews said, from his personal history as the child of a white mother and a black father.

Fielding questions later at the dinner, Matthews offered his opinions on everything from television commentary shows (there should be more diversity of guests) to the views of his old boss House Speaker Tip O'Neill (he was a traditional Democratic Party man).



# Bush under Fire, Friendly and Otherwise

The transition of **Matthew Dowd** from Bush Administration insider to Bush Administration critic has been a national political story with IGS at the center of the storm. It was at an IGS conference more than a year-and-a-half ago that Dowd first hinted at his doubts about the pres-



ident's performance, and this spring at the IGS Annual Review of the Presidency he expanded on those concerns more than ever before.

This year's panel also included **David Kennedy**, a Pulitzer Prize-winning professor of history at Stanford; **Lynn Sweet**, the Washington bureau chief for the *Chicago Sun-Times*; and **Byron York**, White House correspondent for the conservative magazine *National Review*.

Dowd noted that Bush had a 90% job-approval rating after the al Qaeda attacks and the political capital to "move the country" and "transform Washington."

"And by and large, the country was told to go shopping and get back on airplanes," Dowd said. "I think if you took some of the people in the White House and gave them truth serum . . . they would say that was probably one of the biggest missed opportunities in the past 50 years."

Dowd, who joined the Bush team in 1999 and was the chief strategist for the president's re-

election campaign in 2004, suggested that much of the president's problem may be self-inflicted.

According to Dowd, the president, "in his heart," said, "I'm going to take this burden on myself, and I'm not going to ask people to do it because this is going to be on me and I'm going to do it myself. That's part of who he is."

That attitude, Dowd added, extended beyond refusing to call upon nonmilitary families to make sacrifices—such as paying higher taxes—on behalf of the war effort. Bush, he said, disdained state dinners and "speed-traveled" through foreign countries. And he rarely bothered to build social relationships with members of Congress, Dowd said, contacting them mainly to "barter for votes."

This was the last time the annual IGS event was going to be examining the Bush presidency. By the time a different panel is convened next spring, a new president will be in office.

Dowd bemoaned what he called the "missed opportunities" of the Bush presidency and described his former boss as "a high-noon sheriff" unable to find a way to engage the American people in the wake of 9/11 and unwilling to bother with foreign leaders or members of Congress unless he needed their help.

But that wasn't the only friendly fire Bush endured. York, though a conservative, charged Bush with wasting crucial time and political capital pushing Social Security reform after his re-election "while Iraq burns," adding that he "had no idea what to do" about the floundering occupation as recently as late 2006.

York also complained that the commander-in-chief "can't put two sentences together sometimes," and generated laughs with impressions of Bushisms like "Fool me once . . . can't get fooled again" and "You're working hard to put food on your family."

It fell to Kennedy, an Obama supporter, and Berkeley alumna Sweet to find something nice to say about President Bush.

"He does read," allowed Kennedy, recalling how Bush and Karl Rove, his former political adviser, used to compete to see who could plow through more history books. Then, fearing he'd gone too far, perhaps, he added: "How deeply he understands, I don't know."

And Kennedy—who won the 2000 Pulitzer Prize in history for his study of the Great

Photos this page: David Kennedy (above)  
Matthew Dowd (below)

Opposite page:  
Lynn Sweet (above)  
Byron York (below)

For a webcast of this event, go to [www.uctv.tv](http://www.uctv.tv) and search for "Institute of Governmental Studies."

Depression and World War II, *Freedom From Fear*—begged off on an audience member’s invitation to declare Bush the worst president in U.S. history, saying only that he “belongs down in the basement” with the likes of Ulysses S. Grant, Warren G. Harding, Andrew Johnson, and Richard Nixon.

Sweet, a columnist and blogger who has reported extensively on the Obama campaign, noted that Bush’s legacy includes the appointments of John Roberts and Samuel Alito to the Supreme Court and his AIDS/Africa initiative. But the war in Iraq, she said, is “an overshadowing event.”

Dismissing the suggestion that the steady plunge in Bush’s popularity might stem from his problems as a communicator, she added: “When you have a war that’s going on as long as we do, there’s nothing you can do that can change that story line.”

Not surprisingly, the war in Iraq held center stage throughout the evening.

Bush’s weaknesses on the domestic front, York said, “were there all along, because he really didn’t have all that much of a reason to be president” prior to the 9/11 attacks on New York and Washington. “September 11 gave him something to do,” said York, following eight months of what had promised to be “a meandering and pointless presidency.” Still, despite what he called the “enormous failure” to find Osama bin Laden—“a sacred responsibility”—he said Bush would deserve credit if there isn’t another terrorist attack on his watch.

Iraq, he argued, is what turned the tide of popular opinion against the White House. “I think 100% of his problem was [that] he didn’t win,” he said.

Sweet recalled that soon after 9/11, Karl Rove met with journalists at a *Christian Science Monitor*-sponsored breakfast, and was asked, “What should we be doing?”

“And that would have made a good story—Karl Rove, top adviser to the president, says we should be planting victory gardens, or ‘Don’t drive as much, save oil.’ People wanted to be involved. And he said, ‘The president wants you to go about your day—and go shopping,’” she said. “Just the idea that you were starting a war, and no one was asked to do anything in particular different in their life. . . .”

Kennedy was asked to comment on Bush’s efforts to expand executive authority at the expense of other branches of government. “He’s

pushed the envelope, it seems to me,” Kennedy replied. “And if I can make the leap, the effort to concentrate more and more power in the office of the executive, and to enable the executive to act more unilaterally . . . has its analog in the way the Bush Administration has behaved in the international arena.”

Over the course of many different presidencies, Kennedy observed, the historic approach



in American foreign policy was that “we acted multilaterally when we could, and unilaterally when we must. And Bush has reversed that. . . . He’s put at serious risk, I think, the accomplishments of a half-century or more of building and nurturing multilateral institutions.”

To Dowd, the success of Barack Obama’s run thus far for the Democratic presidential nomination is a sign of Americans’ longing—thwarted since the 2000 presidential election—for “a uniter, not a divider,” as Bush once referred to himself.

“Barack Obama would not exist today . . . were it not for the Bush presidency,” he declared.

York chalked up the president’s plunging approval ratings to weariness. Bush “has had an unbelievably consequential presidency,” he said, “and people are tired of all that *stuff*.”

A version of this article appeared initially in *The Berkeleyan*, [www.berkeley.edu/berkeleyan](http://www.berkeley.edu/berkeleyan).



# Statewide Elected Officials Visit IGS

IGS brought two of California's statewide elected officials to campus this spring, giving both Treasurer Bill Lockyer and Controller John Chiang the chance to lecture to a class at Berkeley.

## Lockyer: Politics, Parties, and Books

Speaking to Berkeley's popular California politics class, California Treasurer **Bill Lockyer** covered topics ranging from the nature of political parties to favorite books.

Lockyer, a Democrat who has also been the president pro tem of the state Senate and California attorney general, toured IGS before speaking to the class.

Lockyer, who was first elected to the legislature in 1973, started off by talking about the nature of the two major political parties. Those differences, Lockyer insisted, run far deeper than policy questions. He argued that Democrats tend to see people in more communal terms, tend to believe in a more vigorous use of government to solve problems, and tend to think more people should be involved in making decisions about how to run society.

Republicans tend to see people more as competing individuals, favor less governmental action, and often believe some people are better than others at making decisions and thus should govern, said Lockyer.

Then he threw the conversation open to the students, who asked questions that elicited responses touching on a huge number of topics:

- Lockyer said he wishes in retrospect that he had learned earlier to avoid some political fights. He said as a young man he often felt great anger, a trait he attributed to molestation he endured as a child.

- The legislative and executive branches—Lockyer has served in both—are starkly different. The legislature represents all groups of our society and provides “social glue,” while the executive provides individual leadership.

- Social change tends to come about when economic and social goals are aligned, Lockyer said.

- Politics sometimes attracts people who need and want approval from others, he said, noting that occasionally politics has been called “theater for ugly people,” a line that drew a laugh from the students.

The class itself has a long-standing connection to IGS. Previously taught by former IGS Director Bruce Cain, it is now taught by former Assemblyman Ted Lempert, a former IGS Legislator-in-Residence.

## Chiang: Tying His Life to Politics

State Controller **John Chiang** spoke to the Undergraduate Colloquium in Political Science, a longstanding Berkeley class taught by Alan Ross.

Chiang described how his own personal experiences have influenced his outlook on life, especially the traumatic events surrounding his own childhood and the disappearance of his sister.

Chiang grew up on the south side of Chicago, where his family faced racial epithets, threats, and violence aimed at them because they were Asian-American.

Chiang's sister disappeared from Washington, D.C., in what remains an unsolved crime.

The controller also linked his own family experiences as the son of an immigrant who came to the United States for a better education to the international economic competition that the country now faces.



Bill Lockyer



John Chiang

## Book Talks: *Understanding America and the Latest on Public Opinion*

Two important new books with major IGS connections were the subject of talks at the Institute this spring.

In March the subject was *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy*, a new collection of essays edited by IGS Director Jack Citrin and two former IGS graduate students, Nathaniel Persily and Patrick Egan. Persily is now a professor of law and political science at Columbia, and Egan is an assistant professor of politics at New York University.

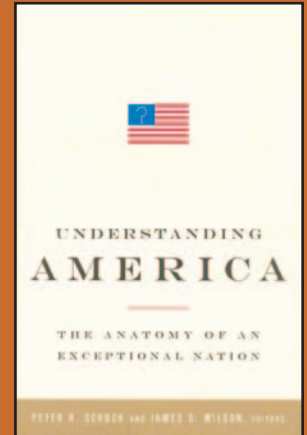
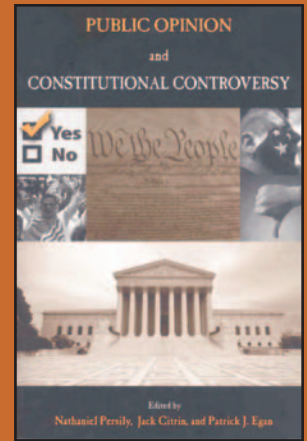
The book, published by Oxford University Press, examines public opinion regarding a wide range of constitutional issues, including abortion, school prayer, the death penalty, gay rights, the right to die, flag burning, and the war on terror. Many of the chapters were written by current or former IGS graduate students, including Alison Gash, Angelo Gonzales, Darshan Goux, Josh Green, John Hanley, Peter Hanson, Matt Jarvis, Loan Le, Amy Lerman, Manoj Mate, Megan Mullin, Michael Murakami, Michael Salamone, Kevin Wallsten, and Matt Wright.

Persily was unable to attend the IGS talk, but Egan and Citrin discussed the book's findings at length, and many of the contributors also attended.

In April the Institute hosted a talk by Peter H. Schuck and James Q. Wilson, two distinguished scholars who co-edited *Understanding America: The Anatomy of an Exceptional Nation*, published by Public Affairs.

The book includes a chapter on political culture by IGS Director Jack Citrin, and another on the American political system by the late Nelson W. Polsby, a former director of IGS. The book is also dedicated to Polsby.

*Understanding America* is intended as a portrait of the United States, especially for foreign readers but also for Americans. Aside from the topics covered by Citrin and Polsby, the varied chapters include examinations of the legal system, federalism, the media, popular culture, religion, the military, the family, immigration, and criminal justice, just to name a few.



Below, left to right:  
James Q. Wilson, Peter H. Schuck

Right, top to bottom:  
Jack Citrin, Patrick Egan



## Website Redesign Gives IGS a New Public Face

The IGS website has a new look. IGS unveiled the redesigned site this spring, capping a six-month-long project to completely revamp the primary public face of the Institute.

“People across campus and around the world rely on the website to learn about IGS events, programs, and research,” said Institute Director Jack Citrin. “The new design makes that process easier, and allows IGS to better communicate with people interested in what we do.”

The new front page provides updated information on the latest developments at IGS, such as upcoming conferences or newly published books.

“We wanted to make it as straightforward as possible for people to find out what’s happening at IGS,” said Deputy Library

Director Frank Lester. Lester spearheaded the redesign effort and now also serves as the IGS webmaster, updating the site frequently with fresh content.

“Websites should welcome users rather than intimidate them, and we think this new design does exactly that,” Lester said. “The design is clean, the colors are bold, and the information is well organized.”

Prominent features on the front page include sections called “What’s New” and “Featured Publications.” Visitors can use a series of drop-down menus at the top of the page to access information by general category, or they can use specific links on the side of the page, such as those for the IGS calendar, the Choosing the President series, or the California Policy Inbox.

The site meets Section 508 web accessibility standards.

Lester worked for months with Elyseum, a San Francisco-based web design company hired by IGS to develop the new site.

Once the design issues were settled, Lester, Library Assistant Paul King, and Library Director Nick Robinson “migrated” the content from the old design to the new, a painstaking process that involved transferring the content of approximately 700 pages.



## Conference Examines Mental Health Policy

IGS returned to an old topic this spring, cosponsoring a daylong conference on the treatment of the mentally ill.

“Protecting and Treating Those Destabilized by Mental Illness: Beyond the Asylum and the Jail,” was a daylong conference at Berkeley’s Wheeler Auditorium organized by IGS Visiting Scholar Fred Martin. The conference followed another IGS symposium examining the same topic in 2002, “Coping with Mental Illness and Crafting Public Policy.”

This year’s event drew together legal and clinical experts to discuss innovations taking place regarding interventions for those with severe mental illness. The goal was to re-imagine procedures for treating and protecting the rights of the mentally ill.

In addition to IGS, the conference was sponsored by the UC Berkeley School of Law, the Semel Institute of Neuroscience and Human Behavior at UCLA, the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco, and the San Francisco Foundation.

For conference documents and webcasts of the sessions, go to: [www.mentalhealthlawsymposium.com](http://www.mentalhealthlawsymposium.com).

## Now Showing—IGS, The Movie

Go to the IGS website, [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu), and you can do more than read about the Institute, you can also watch a movie about it.

Recently posted on the site is “The Voices of Tomorrow,” a short documentary explaining IGS and what it does. The six-minute film highlights several students involved with IGS over the past several years, and features members of the National Advisory Council explaining their support of the Institute.

“IGS is important because of the impact it has on students’ lives,” Council Chairman Darius Anderson says in the film. “It’s all about building future leaders, and that’s what IGS really does. It delivers the best and the brightest into the political process.”

The movie was produced by John Crane Films, a production company based in San Anselmo. It was shown at the annual IGS Salon Dinner, and in addition to being posted on the web, will also be used for other promotional and marketing efforts.

## Student Research on the Vice Presidency Honored

Berkeley undergraduate Blaise Patzkowski was sponsored by IGS when he participated this past academic year in the Presidential Fellows Program of the Center for the Study of the Presidency. Gaining admission to the program was a significant accomplishment, but now Patzkowski has received an even greater honor: He has been chosen as one of the few fellows who will have his research paper published in the center's annual anthology.

Patzkowski, who graduated this spring, was one of 85 students from across the country selected to participate in the year-long fellowship program, which includes two conferences in Washington, D.C.

Fellows write a research paper, and Patzkowski's work—"Classifying the American Vice Presidency: To Which Branch Does the Office Belong?"—was one of only 20 papers to be selected for complete inclusion in the center's book, *A Dialogue on Presidential Challenges and Leadership: Papers of the 2007–2008 Presidential Fellows*.

In the paper, Patzkowski assessed Vice President Cheney's claim that his office is not part of the executive branch, and thus is not governed by President Bush's executive order giving the National Archives oversight authority over members of the executive branch. Patzkowski examined the vice presidency constitutionally and historically, and found that the office has evolved over the course of American history from a largely legislative position to an executive one with some legislative features. He concluded that Cheney should have complied with Bush's order.

In awarding the honor to Patzkowski, who plans to attend law school, the center praised his "exceptional research and writing."



Blaise Patzkowski

## IGS Brings Together Government Librarians

The IGS Library has long served as a leading center for research into topics related to government and public policy, but this spring the library also brought together experts in similar fields from around the state.

In May the library hosted an all-day meeting of the University of California/Stanford Government Information Librarians (GILS). Participants came from eight UC campuses, Stanford, the California State Library, and the California Digital Library.

The GILS group works together to improve collections and access to government information in printed and electronic formats, and to facilitate communication and the sharing of expertise among government information librarians.

The meeting included discussions on the challenges of collecting government information online, including a report by IGS Library Director Nick Robinson on the growing digital collections of the IGS Library.

In partnership with three other UC Berkeley libraries—the Law Library, the Water Resources Center Archives, and the Institute of Transportation Studies Library—the IGS Library is in the second year of building digital collections of California local government documents. Many of these essential documents, including city and county annual budgets and financial reports, now appear in electronic format on the web and are thus susceptible to disappearing as sites are updated, as government agencies themselves are reorganized, or as older file formats become unusable.

The IGS Library has played a leadership role in testing digital collection and preservation platforms, including the California Digital Library's Web Archiving Service and the Online Computer Library Center's Digital Archive and CONTENTdm program.

# HIGHLIGHTS

*IGS finished up the spring semester with an impressive list of speakers.*

## Special Events

**Marc Sandalow**, the longtime Washington bureau chief of the *San Francisco Chronicle*, spoke about his new biography of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, *Madam Speaker: Nancy Pelosi's Life, Times, and Rise to Power*. Sandalow, who covered Pelosi for years, talked about her background in a political family in Baltimore, where her father was mayor, and her march up the Democratic ranks, from fundraiser to congresswoman to the first woman Speaker in American history.

**Walter F. Murphy**, one of the nation's most distinguished scholars of constitutional law, spoke in the IGS Library this spring and offered an unusual combination: constitutional theory and counterfactual history. Murphy is writing a novel that speculates about a counterfactual scenario during the Civil War, and his talk combined an analysis of constitutional law with a discussion of the plot of his novel. He has written about some of the same issues in an article entitled "Lincoln's Constitution" in the *Charleston Law Review*. Murphy is an emeritus professor of law at Princeton. His talk was a special session of the IGS Law, Business, and Politics Seminar.

## Seminars Law, Business, and Politics

**R. Shep Melnick**, Boston College, "Federalism and the Political Parties: Flip-Flop, Fatality, or Reformulation?"

**Lynn Mather**, SUNY Buffalo, "Law, Politics and Business through the Lens of the Patent Bar: A Preliminary Study."

## Institutions and Positive Political Theory

**Hulya Eraslan**, University of Pennsylvania, "Strategic Voting over Strategic Proposals."

**Matthew Stephenson**, Harvard, "Political Accountability under Alternative Institutional Regimes."

**Craig Volden**, Ohio State, "A Theory of Government Regulation and Self-Regulation with the Specter of Non-Market Threats."

**Scott Gehlbach**, University of Wisconsin, "Government Control of the Media."

## Race, Ethnicity, Immigration, and American Politics

**Peggy Levitt**, "Tales from the Field: Reflections on the Challenges of Multi-Sited Ethnography."

**Roger Waldinger**, "Rethinking Transnationalism."

**Claire Adida**, "Too Close for Comfort? Immigrant-Host Relations in Sub-Saharan Africa."

**Christopher Parker**, "Evaluating the Urban Crisis of the 1960s Anew: Was Military Service a Factor?"

**Irene Bloemraad and Naomi Hsu**, "Strange Bedfellows or Compatible Coalitions? Partisan Voting and Party Defection over Immigration Votes in the House of Representatives, 1983–1996."

## American Politics

**David Hopkins**, UC Berkeley, "Geographic Polarization and American Parties."

**Rocio Titiunik**, UC Berkeley, "Drawing Your Senator from a Jar: Term Length and Legislative Behavior."

**Kathryn Pearson**, University of Minnesota, "Party Loyalty, Primary Competition, and Polarization in the House of Representatives."

**Devin Caughey**, UC Berkeley, "The Lure of Lobbying: Assessing the Effect of Post-Congress Employment Opportunities."

**John Hanley, Michael Salamone, and Matthew Wright**, UC Berkeley, "The Republican Schoolmaster Strikes Back: Public Opinion and *Roe v. Wade*."

*Top to bottom:  
Craig Volden  
Christopher Parker  
Walter Murphy  
Marc Sandalow*



## IGS Bids Farewell to Graduates

IGS bid farewell to another batch of students this spring. At a luncheon at the end of the spring semester, the Institute honored departing undergraduate and graduate students with ties to IGS.

### Graduate Students

**Els de Graauw** is headed for a one-year postdoctoral appointment at the Hauser Center for Nonprofit Organizations at Harvard, and then will take up a teaching post at Baruch College at the City University of New York.

**Ethan de Young** is working at Apple Computers.

**Amy Lerman** is headed to Princeton, where she will be an assistant professor of political science.

**Manoj Mate** will spend the next year on a postdoctoral fellowship in comparative law with the UC Berkeley School of Law.

**Michael Murakami** is beginning a one-year postdoctoral fellowship at the Center for American Politics at Yale.

**Kevin Wallsten** has accepted a position as assistant professor of political science at California State University, Long Beach.

### Undergraduates

**Kristin Koo**, who worked in the IGS Business Office, plans to join the Peace Corps after taking some time off for international travel.

**Riva Litman**, who worked in the IGS Center on Politics, is now working as a research assistant at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C.

**Jessica Ravenna**, who worked in the IGS Business Office, is now with Blanc & Otus, a public relations firm in San Francisco.



Top to bottom, left to right:  
Kevin Wallsten  
Amy Lerman  
Els de Graauw  
Jessica Ravenna  
Riva Litman  
Nate Manoj

## Scholar's Corner cont. from p. 2

the delegation elected in 2006 had a wide 34–19 Democratic advantage.

This shift can be readily explained in geographic terms: *Democrats gained dominance over the state's coastal region.* Almost all of the Democratic gains in the past generation have come in the coastal counties—most importantly, but not exclusively, in Los Angeles. Comparing the results of congressional elections in 1980 and 2006 shows that Democrats took control of formerly Republican districts on the North Coast, the mid-San Francisco Peninsula, and Santa Barbara, and now represent all coastal congressional districts north of Ventura County. But the shift in Los Angeles was even more consequential, with large swaths of the county—including the San Fernando Valley, Malibu, Santa Monica, Long Beach, Glendale, Pasadena, Whittier, and much of the San Gabriel Valley and southeastern parts of the county—switching from Republican to Democratic control. By the 2000s Democrats represented almost the entire county, with Republicans relegated to its outer edges in districts that straddled the inland region or Orange County.

Moreover, although Ventura and Orange Counties remained solidly Republican in the 2000s, Democrats made important inroads in San Diego. In 1980 Democrats won no congressional districts in San Diego County but by the 2000s they held two.

The geographic shifts in party strength can be summarized as follows: Democrats have locked up the remaining territory in the Bay Area and the North Coast, turning the area into a virtual one-party region, and they have gained control of almost all of Los Angeles County and made key inroads in San Diego County. Republican strength has moved east. Of the 19 congressional districts Republicans controlled after the 2006 election, 13 were either completely or partially in the inland region.

The shifts have created within California an increasingly prominent east-west partisan divide that in many ways replicates the recent national division of liberal “blue” states on the coasts and the upper Midwest from conservative “red” states in much of the interior West, lower Midwest, and South. Indeed, one might say that California has internally realigned such that its coastal region politically resembles New York state while the interior looks like Texas.

Just like the national red-vs.-blue divide, California's east-west alignment has important exceptions. For example, Democrats retain pockets of strength in the inland region—including areas of the Central Valley, Inland Empire, and Imperial County that have higher concentrations of Latinos—and Republicans remain strong in parts of the southern coastal region outside of Los Angeles. But while these variations are important, the larger trends are redrawing the state's political map along east-west lines.

In legislative and congressional races, Republicans have had limited success appealing to the state's increasingly diverse population and have largely retreated to mostly white districts in the state's south coast and inland regions. If these trends continue, Democrats will control the legislature and the state's congressional delegation for the foreseeable future.

But while Republicans face the prospect of permanent minority status in the legislature, they have retained a share of power in the state, in large part because of the dynamics of “at-large” statewide elections and the availability of direct democracy. Although Democrats currently win many legislative districts with large minority populations and low voting rates, their advantage is diminished in statewide contests where success is tied more closely to voter turnout. Because the California electorate is presently older, whiter, wealthier, more suburban, and more conserva-

tive (at least on some issues) than the state's population, Republicans have found more success appealing to this electorate than competing at the district level in the state's increasingly diverse urban settings.

In the eight gubernatorial elections since 1980 (including the 2003 recall), California voters elected Republicans six times—George Deukmejian twice, Pete Wilson twice, and Arnold Schwarzenegger twice.

Moreover, in the past three decades, Republicans have used direct democracy to override the legislature and establish conservative policies in a number of areas. Citizen initiatives limited taxes; established tough criminal sentencing laws; imposed term limits on elected officials; prohibited race- and gender-based affirmative action in state contracting, hiring, and university admissions; banned same-sex marriage; and sought to deny public benefits to illegal immigrants.

Thus, demographic changes of the past generation have altered California in many ways. The state has become much more densely populated and diverse, and has increasingly segregated demographically both within and between regions. This sorting has had political consequences. Most importantly, Democrats have gained greater control of the coastal region while Republicans have largely retreated and consolidated their strength inland. The Democrats' success in district elections in the more heavily populated coastal region has ensured their control of the state legislature and congressional delegation. But the persistent gap between the state's population and its electorate has at least temporarily preserved for Republicans and the inland region a measure of strength in the direct democracy arena and occasionally in statewide candidate elections.

*This essay is condensed from the introduction and first chapter of **The New Political Geography of California**. To order the book, go to [igs.berkeley.edu/publications](http://igs.berkeley.edu/publications).*



Frédéric Douzet, Thad Kousser, and Ken Miller talk about their book at IGS this spring.

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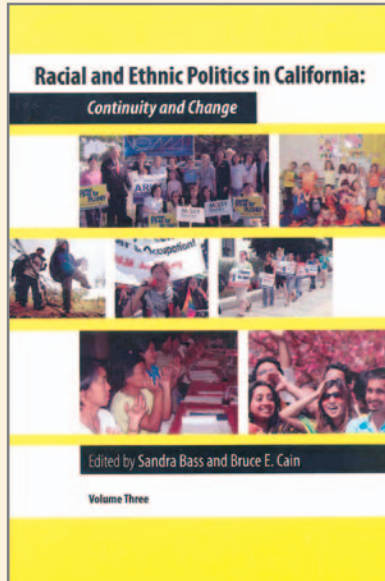
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Vol. 49, No. 2, Spring/Summer 2008

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