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Politics and Scholarship at IGS

The 2011–12 academic year saw IGS continue its long tradition of connecting the practical political world with Cal’s trademark scholarship and research. Above, clockwise from top left: Lt. Gov. **Gavin Newsom** speaks to an IGS class; winners of Synar and Percy student research grants; Congresswoman **Doris Matsui**, with Controller **John Chiang** and California Supreme Court Justice **Goodwin Liu**, cuts a ribbon on the renovated Matsui Center; U.S. Sen. **Dick Durbin** along with legendary pollsters **Peter Hart** and **Merv Field** at the IGS Salon Gala; former state Sen. **Dick Ackerman**, an IGS Legislator-in-Residence, tours the Capitol with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows; IGS Director **Jack Citrin** and his former student, Sacramento Mayor **Kevin Johnson**, at the Gala; and Matsui Washington Fellow **Megan Blanchard** enjoys an event in the IGS Library.

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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 regional development.

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DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

An Extraordinary Year at IGS

Jack Citrin



Looking back at the past academic year, I'm struck by the many ways in which IGS accomplished one of its main goals—connecting the leaders of today with the leaders of tomorrow. Take a look at the pictures on the cover of this issue of the *PAR*. There are members of Congress, statewide elected officials, the mayor of a major California city, a justice of the California Supreme Court—and there are the young faces of our students, future leaders who enjoyed a first-hand look at many of the most important issues facing our state and nation, whether by studying in a classroom, conducting research, or working in the nitty-gritty world of real politics. This is precisely what IGS should be doing, and I'm proud that we did it so well this year.

As you can see by reading the pages that follow, our line-up of visitors this year was truly extraordinary. At the annual Salon Gala, U.S. Sen. **Dick Durbin** spoke, while renowned California pollster **Merv Field** and Sacramento Mayor (and Cal alum) **Kevin Johnson** received major IGS awards. When we dedicated our expanded Matsui Center, Congresswoman **Doris Matsui** was the featured guest, along with state Controller **John Chiang** and California Supreme Court Justice **Goodwin Liu**. Our Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows met privately with Lt. Gov. **Gavin Newsom**, state Superintendent of Public Instruction **Tom Torlakson**, and California Chief Justice **Tani Cantil-Sakauye**. Other distinguished visitors included **Justin Yifu Lin**, chief economist of the World Bank; noted political scientists **Norman Ornstein** and **Thomas Mann**; and *Washington Post* political writer **Anne Kornblut**. And we brought together two of the nation's leading constitutional scholars—Harvard's **Laurence Tribe** and the Cato Institute's **Roger Pilon**—to

debate healthcare. Anyone spending much time at IGS this year heard a lot of very smart people talking about very important issues.

As always, our work benefited students. The Matsui Center sent student interns to Washington, Sacramento, and southern California. We bid farewell to five graduate students who received their doctorates and moved on to notable academic positions at MIT, Cal, UC Merced, USC, and Syracuse. Our Synar and Percy grants provided students with the financial resources to study a diverse array of topics, from the human aftermath of the Iraq War to the interaction of American business and labor in the middle of the 20th century.

It was also an extraordinary year for the research program that lies at the heart of the IGS mission. This winter the California Supreme Court cited a paper published by IGS in a critical decision on the state's new system of redistricting. That paper appeared in the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, which we publish, and which produced special issues this year on California electoral reform and the Obama health care reforms. We published two books that touch on issues of core importance to IGS—a history of the 2010 gubernatorial election and a case study on voter mobilization in California. Our seminars and colloquia focused on current research in American politics; political history; foreign and defense policy; political psychology; and race, ethnicity, and immigration.

All of this is possible only because of generous help from our many donors and supporters. At the Salon Gala we recognized **Darius and Sarah Anderson** by naming our Distinguished Service Award in their honor. Darius is the chairman of our IGS National Advisory Council and teaches a course on political leadership. The Andersons' ongoing support of the Institute has been critical for our growth through the years. Later in the spring, we received a renewed multiyear financial commitment from **Bill and Patrice Brandt**, also longtime supporters of IGS. Bill is on the National Advisory Council, and Bill and Patrice founded our student research grants. Let me express my deepest thanks to the Andersons and the Brandts. With their support—and that of the broader IGS community—I know that the Institute will continue to be an exciting and dynamic place to study the ways in which we govern ourselves.

Supreme Court Cites IGS Research in Redistricting Decision

The practical impact of IGS research was evident this winter when the California Supreme Court, in a key decision regarding the state's new system of redistricting, cited a study published by the Institute. The justices cited the IGS study twice in declaring that this fall's state Senate elections will be conducted under maps drawn by the Citizens Redistricting Commission, which was created by voters to take over the role of redistricting from the legislature and governor. A referendum challenging the newly drawn districts has qualified for the November ballot, and proponents of the referendum had argued that this year's Senate elections should not use the new boundaries while they are being challenged.



Eric McGhee

The study, "Redistricting California: An Evaluation of the Citizens Commission Final Plans," appeared in the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, which is published online by IGS. The authors were **Eric McGhee** of the Public Policy Institute of California and **Vlad Kogan** of the University of California, San Diego.

The Supreme Court quoted the IGS study: "Academic observers have concluded that the commission's maps, including the certified state Senate map, 'represent an important improve-

ment on the legislature-led redistricting of 2001. The new district boundaries kept more communities together and created more compact districts while at the same time increasing opportunities for minority representation. . . . These maps . . . have the potential to modestly increase competition in California elections and the responsiveness of the legislative branch to changing voter preferences.'" The high court also cited the IGS study in discussing the history of the redistricting that followed the 1980 census.

McGhee and Kogan found that the commission's maps are less gerrymandered than the districts in place since 2001, and will likely lead to more electoral victories for Democrats. The main findings of the study include:



- The maps give Democrats the opportunity to win several additional districts, particularly in the congressional plan. However, these gains appear to come primarily from reversing some of the most egregious distortions in the 2001 plan, rather than from

any effort on the part of the commission to stack the deck in favor of the Democratic Party.

- The districts drawn by the commission will increase opportunities for minority representation. The new plans create seven new districts where Latinos represent the majority of eligible voters and the first majority-Asian district in California history.

- Compared to maps put into place by the legislature and the governor in 2001, the commission plans generally provide an improvement on various measures voters have said are important.

- Although proponents of redistricting reform have argued that reform would reduce the number of safe districts—those in which one party has a substantial advantage—the analysis finds that the new districts will produce only a modest increase in the number of competitive elections.

For excerpts of more research published this year by IGS in the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, see pages 26-27.

Conference Examines Redistricting Reforms

IGS brought together all the major players in the state's redistricting battle for a conference last fall—"A Brave New World: California's Redistricting Experiment."

Charles T. Munger Jr., who contributed about \$14 million to the campaigns that turned over redistricting chores to the new citizens' commission, said at the conference that he was pleased with the results of his huge donations.

"What has been accomplished by this commission so far is truly an impressive feat," he said. "I feel a little bit like a proud father—I didn't have a whole lot to do with the later stages of the process, but I'm willing to take all the credit."

Three members of the commission also spoke at the conference, describing the complicated and interlocking nature of

drawing 120 legislative and 53 congressional districts. They emphasized the public nature of their deliberations, saying that interested members of the public had a chance to learn about the redistricting process.

Other conference speakers included the Republican and Democratic consultants who worked on redistricting and a variety of scholars who have studied the issue.

To listen to a webcast of this conference, go to: igs.berkeley.edu/events/redistricting.

Gardner Fellows To Explore Public Service

Each year, IGS picks three of Cal's most promising graduating seniors and awards them a Gardner Fellowship, the chance to work for a year in a nonprofit or government agency. The idea is to encourage a life of public service like that of the program's namesake, former Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary John Gardner. Here are this year's winners:

Andrew Flood '12 (History with a minor in Global Poverty and Practice)

Hometown: San Diego, California

Service Interest: Criminal Justice Reform and Indigent Representation

Berkeley Experience: Andrew graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Berkeley with a degree in history and a minor in global poverty and practice. During his junior year, Andrew became extremely interested in issues of mass incarceration and the prison industrial complex. In the summer of 2011, he worked at the Georgetown University Law Center Criminal Justice Clinic as an investigative intern. As an investigator for public defenders, Andrew witnessed firsthand the legal inequities facing low-income families, primarily of color, in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area. As a senior, Andrew volunteered with All of Us or None, a movement seeking to restore rights to formerly incarcerated and convicted persons in the United States.

This past year as a Shinnyo-En Foundation Fellow, Andrew has worked to establish a Volunteer Income Tax Assistance (VITA) site on the UC Berkeley campus to provide free tax preparation for low-income families. In partnership with the United Way of the Bay Area and the Cal Corps Public Service Center, Andrew has served as the site coordinator for the site and helped file over 55 returns and assisted over 100 clients with tax issues. He is excited for the tax site to continue at UC Berkeley and flourish in future years in new partnerships with Residential Life Student Services and campus employees.

Other Service Experience: Andrew worked in the ASUC Student Legal Clinic for four years, which provides free legal aid to members of the Berkeley community. In the summer after his sophomore year, he traveled to Tanzania and Zanzibar for two months to work in rural health care and education. He has also volunteered with the East Bay Sanctuary and Tau Kappa Epsilon.

Fellowship Goal: Andrew would like to gain experience advocating against crimi-

Post Fellowship Plans: Andrew hopes to travel and observe criminal justice issues internationally before eventually obtaining a law degree and practicing as a public defender.

Quote about Service Commitment: "I think that understanding my passions and motivations for service is vital to maintain a sustainable enthusiasm for public service. Through the fellowship, I hope to advocate for individuals facing structural prejudice in our society and to learn from my mentor and coworkers how to effectively engage with service."

Diana Alonzo '12 (American Studies and Spanish Literature)

Hometown: Oakland, California

Service Interest: Youth Engagement in Urban Communities and Nonprofit Management

Berkeley Experience: Diana graduated with a degree in American Studies and Spanish. While at Cal, Diana combined her academic work with her passion for



Left to right: Andrew Flood, Diana Alonzo, and Zarko Perovic

nal justice issues such as the death penalty, inadequate prison conditions, and youth life sentences in order to better understand the systemic problems contributing to mass incarceration.

community building and youth development. She tailored her coursework in the Center for Nonprofit and Public Leadership, Social Welfare, and Peace and Conflict Studies to focus on transformative

alternatives in urban communities. She organized Youth Leadership Now, a small group of young people in West Oakland who sought to address issues facing the community and create solutions. In 2009 and 2010, they received two small grants to launch two community-based video projects.

Diana also created a Youth Leadership Now Program at Attitudinal Healing Connection, an education and social service organization with which she has been connected since high school. Incorporating her work in a Peace and Conflict Studies course, she mapped out a plan for a photography and research program for West Oakland youth. Diana also created partnerships for Youth Leadership Now with the *Oakland Tribune* and the Maynard Institute for Journalism Education, and she received a grant from the Shinn-yo-en Foundation through the Cal Corps Public Service Office.

Other Service Experience: Diana served as an Experience Berkeley Coordinator



at Stiles Hall, managing a caseload of 13 students in the UC application process and their participation in the Experience Berkeley Program. She also was a Media Relations Intern at Strategies LLC in San Francisco, and beginning in 2010 she

served as a member of the West Oakland Mini Grant Committee of the Alameda County Public Health Department.

Fellowship Goal: Diana would like to gain experience working with an organization committed to helping communities impacted by issues such as violence and poverty. She hopes to work in a nonprofit that works in collaboration with other nonprofit organizations.

Post Fellowship Plans: Diana's ultimate goal is to continue working in Oakland to provide youth with meaningful opportunities that empower them.

Quote about Service Commitment: "Having grown up in West Oakland, I am constantly faced with comments like, 'You are going to college—that's good, you are going to make it out of the ghetto.' But on the contrary, my mission is to remain committed to the community that invested in me."

Zarko Perovic '12 (Political Science and Classical Civilizations)

Hometown: Nis, Serbia

Service Interest: War Crimes, Human Rights

Berkeley Experience: Zarko graduated Phi Beta Kappa with highest distinction in both political science and classical civilizations. At the UC Berkeley War Crimes Studies Center, he helped create the Virtual Tribunal—a project that collected all of the information of the Khmer Rouge Tribunal and synthesized it for the benefit of individuals harmed during the Cambodian genocide. During his time at the center, he made notes on the testimony of witnesses, helped design an interactive map of where crimes were perpetrated, and aided in creating a searchable dictionary of key terms to be used by the public.

In addition, he has spent his summers conducting research in the UC Berkeley political science department. In his sophomore year, he analyzed the effect of major media outlets on U.S. Supreme Court decisions and the following year collaborated with senior-level Ph.D. students in

researching the interaction between congressional committees and federal agencies.

Outside of academia, he acted as editor-in-chief of *Caliber Magazine*—a publication that has a circulation of 5,000 and acts as a news resource for the entire UC Berkeley student body. In addition, he has also been a member of the critically acclaimed San Francisco Mandolin Orchestra and has taught elementary school students classical guitar.

Other Service Experience: He has acted as a mentor to incoming Berkeley students through the Big Bear-Little Bear Program, cotaught a DeCal on journalism, organized cultural events with the Berkeley Organization of Serbian Students (BOSS), and, most recently, founded an organization to help the Roma people.

Fellowship Goal: He hopes to learn more about how war crime litigation functions in order to better prepare for his own future within the field.

Post Fellowship Plans: Zarko intends to ultimately go to law school and become a lawyer with an emphasis in war crimes and human rights.

Quote about Service Commitment: "After the bombs have fallen, the rifles have gone silent, and the dead have been laid to rest, there still remains much to be done in war-torn countries. Indeed, making sure that people who have committed atrocities stand trial is essential for rebuilding a broken state and ensuring future stability."

Cal-in-Sacramento— Giving Students an Inside Look at California Politics

This summer another batch of Cal students is getting a front-row look at California politics through the Cal-in-Sacramento program.

The students moved up to Sacramento over the Memorial Day weekend and began their summer fellowships right away. They will intern for eight weeks, seeing the world of California politics and policy from the inside.

Among the places where this year's students are working: the California Department of Justice, legislative offices in both the Senate and Assembly, the Little Hoover Commission, and both Democratic and Republican campaigns.

"Cal-in-Sacramento gives students an extraordinary experience in California's political arena," said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**. "We want to provide our students with practical experience that allows them to learn on the job—and that's what Cal-in-Sacramento does."

Thanks to IGS donors and supporters, students admitted to the program are provided with free housing and light-rail passes, and those with a demonstrated financial need can receive small stipends that help to offset their living expenses. The result is that students can concentrate on their fellowships full-time.

The program's reputation has been growing among Cal students—in the last five years applications have more than tripled. The result is that the program is more competitive than ever, even though more students are admitted.

"We pick students with a demonstrated interest in politics or policy," Rarick said, "and a determination to work hard in Sacramento and take advantage of a great opportunity."

Newsom, Other Leaders Speak to Class

Lt. Gov. **Gavin Newsom** and State Superintendent of Public Instruction **Tom Torlakson** both spoke to the Cal-in-Sacramento class this spring—along with a host of other experts in California politics and policy.

Each year the IGS Legislators-in-Residence, Sen. **Dick Ackerman** and Sen. **Liz Figueroa**, arrange an extraordinary array of speakers for the Cal-in-Sac class. Students have the opportunity to spend two hours with each speaker, interacting with some of the state's most distinguished leaders.

This year, in addition to Newsom and Torlakson, speakers included California Republican Party Chairman **Tom Del Beccaro**, former California Department of Finance Director **Mike Genest**, *Sacramento Bee* columnist **Dan Walters**, and **Dan Schnur**, the director of the Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics at USC.



2012 Cal-in-Sacramento Placements

Executive Officers

Attorney General Kamala Harris, Victims' Services Unit – Zarish Akram, Austin Bergstrom, Silver Lin, Alexandra Ritschard

Attorney General Kamala Harris, eCrime Unit – Michael Cervantes, Kena Patel

Attorney General Kamala Harris, Public Rights Division – Delorean Johnson

Lieutenant Governor Gavin Newsom – Amul Kalia

State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Torlakson – Jon Wainwright

Senate

Sen. Anthony Cannella – Francisco Loayza

Sen. Carol Liu – Sterling Thomas

Senate President Pro Tem Darrell Steinberg – Crystal Huang, Erlin Sweeney

Senate Office of International Relations – Maia Wollins

Assembly

Assemblymember Marty Block – Monica Magana

Assemblymember Paul Cook – John Rees

Assemblymember Paul Fong – Christophe Labelle

Assemblymember Curt Hagman – Grace Meador, Alexander Ouligian

Assemblymember Diane L. Harkey – Joy Chen

Agencies

Little Hoover Commission – Ciana Gallardo

Sacramento County District Attorney Jan Scully – Marissa Boyd

Cal-EPA – Delorean Johnson, Pheonix O'Brien

Nonprofit

California Women Lead – Victoria Pardini

Mental Health Association in California – Briana Escamilla

Consulting

Capitol Impact – Niku Jafarnia

Kaufman Campaign Consultants – Samuel Meyers, Maia Wollins

Campaigns

Peter Tateishi for Assembly – Andrew Nevis

A Republican at Berkeley?

Cal-in-Sac Student Director Says It's Not So Bad

This year, graduating senior **Andy Nevis** served as the student director for Cal-in-Sacramento, helping to run every aspect of the program, including admissions, the spring semester course, and the summer experience in Sacramento.

Nevis was also very active in the Berkeley College Republicans, serving as the group's executive director. As part of the *Daily Californian's* graduation issue, Andy and other student leaders were asked to write about their experiences at Berkeley. Below are his thoughts about Cal.

Whenever I travel to Republican events around the state, the first question is almost always, "So tell me, is it hard to be a Republican at Berkeley?" They assume that my daily life consists of constant liberal brainwashing from professors, hostility from other students, and scoffing from administrators.

I've experienced all of that during the last four years at Berkeley, but that hasn't represented the majority of my interactions on this campus. Instead, I find that most students and professors are genuinely curious to hear a minority point of view. They appreciate the opportunity to hear the conservative position that so many in the nation hold but so few on this campus publicly confess.

In the same vein, I've had tremendous opportunities to interact with individuals who hold perspectives and opinions different from my own. I was interested in politics in high school but rarely encountered anyone with the same interest and intellectual curiosity on the other side of the aisle. When I came to Berkeley, I found plenty. Two months into my college experience, I witnessed hundreds of students celebrate the election of Barack Obama on Telegraph Avenue. For better or worse, I found a school full of intelligent political people.

Looking back, I realize how important this experience has been. One of the biggest problems in American politics is that vot-

ers have self-segregated. Democrats live in the urban areas on the coast, Republicans in rural areas inland. As a result, most voters only talk to people who believe as they do. They don't understand the perspective of those who believe differently and thus punish their elected officials for compromising.

Not only have my years at Berkeley allowed me to see the other side—it's allowed the other side to see me. Working with the Berkeley College Republicans, we have worked hard to create dialogue on this campus. The Increase Diversity Bake Sale was a great example. On the day of the event, I had to walk across campus to turn in a paper. Every single person I overheard was talking about the bake sale and racial preferences. The opinions were varied, but people were talking. Many considered one point of view or the other for the first time.

Personally, I've matured in my political beliefs during my time at Cal. I'm still conservative, but I understand differing perspectives. Before I argue an issue, I think about why a person might hold the opposite view. This makes me a stronger advocate. Instead of speaking from my own ideological corner, I can use my knowledge of other people's perspectives to convince them that they should change their views (or at least respect my own).

This is what Berkeley must encourage if it is to remain the best public university in the nation. An academic institution cannot thrive if the university picks sides and tries to prevent one side from expressing its opinion. Students, faculty, and administrators on campus must encourage those with differing perspectives to speak up. Whether you are liberal, conservative, or in between, you will find it an incredible learning opportunity.

—Reprinted with permission from the *Daily Californian*



Matsui Washington Fellows Experience the Nation's Capital

Each semester, the Matsui Center provides scholarships for two students to participate in the UCDC program, which sends Cal undergraduates to study and intern in Washington, D.C. At the end of the program, each student writes a brief summary of his or her experience. Here are some excerpts from the 2011–12 fellows.



Ryan Barlow, International Affairs and Trade Division, Government Accountability Office:

“I had the privilege of participating in the UCDC Program thanks to the generous support of the Matsui Center. It was one of the most rewarding experiences of my undergraduate education. While in D.C., I interned at the Government Accountability Office (GAO) with the International Affairs and Trade Division.

I worked on a performance review of one of USAID’s signature construction projects. It was very interesting and offered me an inside look at how different U.S. agencies operate. A lot of my role involved background research and bringing together data, but I also had the opportunity to draft several sections for a final product. In addition to my internship, I took advantage of being in D.C. to explore the area and much of the East Coast. It led to many lasting memories. The UCDC program was a tremendous experience, and I would recommend the opportunity to anyone interested in public service, public policy, or politics.”



Megan Blanchard, Institute for Policy Studies

“My participation in the UCDC program was the highlight of my undergraduate experience at Cal. I was able to see the sociology and public policy research I had learned in my first three years of coursework put into practice. As an intern at the Institute for Policy Studies, I assisted a research fellow in her ‘Cities for Progress’ project, which mainly included antipoverty work and federal budget analysis. My office, only a few blocks from the White House, was welcoming and encouraged me to learn and get involved with projects that most interested me. With the completion of my internship, I have gained important professional skills, practical skills, and an understanding on how different policy research think tanks collaborate with other organizations to influence politics and make real change. Aside from the work I did in the office, I got to experience all that D.C. had to offer; I explored the East Coast, met new people, and learned about new opportunities for the future. I would recommend a D.C. experience to any student interested in policy or politics.”



Kansola Oshodi, Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, U.S. Department of State

“A friend of mine recently ascertained the quote, ‘Never succumb to the myth of limits.’ While interning at the State Department, I all at once recognized the strength in these words. The division where I worked is the frontrunner of U.S. efforts to promote

democracy, protect human rights and international religious freedom, and advance labor rights globally. It afforded me the opportunity to observe and contribute to efforts geared towards the very significant work of advocating for the fundamental human rights of all people. I watched people who committed their lives to a set of profound objectives, which extended beyond the requirements of a mere ‘job’ into a purpose greater than themselves. I simultaneously watched as these same sentiments of steadfastness, coupled with a very particular courage, resounded across the world during the Arab “Spring” movements, which left an unmistakable impression on me personally, and undoubtedly the international community. As I watched everyday people challenge the unlikely to prompt power shifts that were inconceivable just a few years ago, the quote rang true. Ultimately, my experience in D.C., first as an intern then as a spectator of this fast-paced culture of young ambition, good food, and a surplus of pencil skirts and leather shoes, was an invaluable one. As the hub of all things politics and policy, D.C. did not disappoint.”

Washington Fellows for Fall 2012

The Matsui Center is proud to announce its Washington Fellows for the fall 2012 semester: **Gina Verraster**, a senior majoring in political science and ethnic studies and **Mei Xuan**, a senior majoring in economics and rhetoric.



Gina Verraster, Mei Xuan

Matsui Local Government Program Expands

This summer the Matsui Center at IGS has expanded its Local Government Fellowship program, for the first time naming two Berkeley students to serve as fellows instead of one.

Local Government Fellows spend a summer interning in a local government office, and receive placement assistance and a \$2,000 stipend from the Matsui Center.

“Before his election to Congress, Bob Matsui began his political career by serving on the Sacramento City Council,” said Ethan Rarick, director of the Matsui Center. “This program gives Berkeley students the chance to experience public service at the local level—perhaps the place where government has the greatest effect on people’s everyday lives.”

The program’s expansion was made possible through the generous support of the Robert T. Matsui Foundation for Public Service, which donated \$150,000 to the Matsui Center. That generous contribution funded the renovation and expansion of the Matsui Center offices (for more on the dedication ceremony, see pages 12–13), and the continued support of the Matsui Center programs.

“In the past, funding constraints limited the Local Government Fellowship program to just one student a year,” Rarick said. “Thanks to the generosity of the Matsui Foundation, we were able to name two fellows this summer, and we hope to keep expanding the program in the years to come.”

This Year’s Matsui Local Government Fellows

Melissa Jeng – Orange County Department of Public Works

Melissa will be a sophomore this fall, majoring in urban studies. Fascinated by issues of urban planning, she will spend her summer as a Matsui Fellow working on planning issues while interning for the Orange County Department of Public Works. Her past experiences include another urban planning internship and travel to rural Taiwan to teach English in a disadvantaged elementary school.

“I am working to become a city planner or urban designer and have held a previous internship at the city of Irvine, where I was able to take part in city planning at the regional and local level.”

Sarah Vasquez Lightstone – San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee’s office

Sarah will be a senior this fall, majoring in political science. Last summer she participated in the Cal-in-the-Capital program, interning for Congresswoman Doris Matsui. This past spring she spent a semester overseas, studying Spanish and European politics at the University of Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain.

“Through the Matsui Local Government Fellowship program I hope to gain a different perspective on the role of local government in the lives of citizens. Through an internship with greater responsibility, I hope to learn about the impact of local government in California as well as the career path I intend to take after college.”



Melissa Jeng, Sarah Vasquez Lightstone

Past Matsui Local Government Fellows

- 2011 Jake Brymner, San Francisco Supervisor Scott Wiener’s office
- 2010 Sarah Belford, San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom’s office
- 2009 Claire Doran, San Francisco Supervisor Bevan Dufty’s office

Synar and Percy Awards Fund Student Research

IGS supports student research through the Charles Percy and Mike Synar grants. Twin programs administered by the IGS Center for the Study of Representation, the Percy and Synar grants fund research by undergraduates and graduate students, respectively. For more on these programs, see page 24. Here are some of this year's recipients:

Synar Grants

Abby Wood (Political Science) is examining how a state government's political breakdown—the division or unity between political parties—can result in stronger whistleblower laws. A lawyer by training, Wood became interested in corruption issues while doing international work with the World Bank, USAID, and the United Nations. Astounded by corruption abroad, she was inspired to turn her focus inward to the United States.



Synar Recipients: left to right: Alexa Koenig, John Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Gene Zubovich, Gregory Elinson, Abby Wood, William A. Brandt, Jr. (Trevor Gardner not pictured)

Alexa Koenig (Law) will use interviews with Guantanamo detainees to analyze the ways that prisoners' identities—gender, nationality, religious or ethnic affiliations—and treatment during incarceration impact their experiences and interpretations of cruelty. Long interested in the perspectives of marginalized peoples, Koenig hopes to consider how the law can be used to prevent prison abuse by pursuing the concept of impermissible cruelty in political-military prisons from the vantage point of former prisoners whose stories are often left untold.

Gregory Elinson (Political Science) is examining the ways in which organized business and labor shaped the development of American law and legal institutions between 1947 and 1970. This was a period in which organized business and labor—that is, business and union labor coalitions—were the nation's major economic-oriented interest groups.

Gene Zubovich (History) is pursuing a largely undocumented facet of social activism in the United States—the emergence of Protestant interest in social issues, particularly in civil rights and desegregation. Zubovich hopes that by charting the emergence, development, and institutionalization of a “liberal Protestant vision” in the 1940s—through conferences, meetings, textual debates and the growth of interracial churches—his dissertation will provide a clearer understanding of a major source of social movements in the 20th century and present day.

Percy Grants

Maia Wollins examined the aftermath of the Iraq war on the lives of Iraqi refugees now living in the U.S. and U.S. veterans who fought in Iraq who live in the Bay Area. Specifically, Wollins explored the way these experiences shaped success in institutes of higher education and professional development. “For the veterans, the challenge is re-entering into the civilian world they came from. For Iraqis, the challenge is entering into an entirely new

IGS Grad Students Move On to Academic Careers

Part of the IGS mission is to prepare the next generation of America's leading scholars. This spring five IGS graduate students received their Ph.D.s in political science and moved on to prestigious positions in academia.

“These fine young scholars are poised to make major contributions to the study of American politics and policy,” said IGS Director Jack Citrin. “We are pleased that IGS has played an important role in preparing them for their careers.”

- **Devin Caughey**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, MIT
- **Katie Galloway**, Lecturer, Media Studies Department, UC Berkeley
- **Alex Theodoridis**, Assistant Professor of Political Science, UC Merced
- **Abby Wood**, Assistant Professor of Law, USC School of Law
- **John Hanley**, Distinguished Post-Doctoral Fellowship, Maxwell School, Syracuse University

civilian world,” Wollins said. “For both there’s this element of integration or reintegration into society in California.” Wollins is collecting stories from members of both parties in the hopes that she can illustrate their common humanity.

Amanda Phatdouang examined the consequences of criminalizing the seriously mentally ill. Many jails must handle people with serious mental conditions such as schizophrenia and manic depressiveness—illnesses they are not equipped to handle. This system, which is difficult to navigate, may also be some individuals’ only chance to receive the treatment and resources they lack. “The sheriff’s office and law enforcement have now become these de facto social workers,” Phatdouang said.

While watching Republican congressional candidates’ campaigns, **Andrew Postal** became fascinated with the way they presented themselves as both black and Republican in a party which a majority of black voters do not support. “I’m interested in the role of the black Republican candidate—how they campaign, how they appeal to voters,” Postal explained. In order to examine this question of how black identity or personal identity



Percy Recipients, left to right: Bill Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt in front of John Brandt, Amanda Phatdouang, Matthew Kintz, Maia Wolins, Nikita Bier, Sophia Wang, Justin Rockefeller, Raina Davis, Gabriel Schwartzman, Cameron Percy, Penny Percy, Roger Percy (Andrew Postal, Robert Shaffer, and Sarah Weiner not picture.)

jibe with Republican identity, Postal looked at campaign materials from races over the past 40 years or so, as well as speeches and news articles.

As a member of the Cal Debate team, **Sarah Weiner** became interested in agricultural issues after her freshman year, when the debate topic was agricultural subsidies. Ethanol subsidies were a relevant subject area, and Weiner was impressed with the interdisciplinary nature of the issues the subsidies touched. In addition to agriculture, Weiner found it important to think about food prices, trade agreements, energy security, and other hot topics while studying the subsidies. Weiner examined where congressional issue frames originate and how they are transmitted through media.

Percy Grant Recipients

Nikita Bier (Political Economy, Business Administration)

Politify: The First Tool to Forecast Your Income for Political Scenarios

Mathew Kintz (Political Science and Psychology)

Assessing the Regulation of Medical Marijuana Dispensaries in California

Amanda Phatdouang (Anthropology)

Deinstitutionalization: The Scope and Magnitude of Criminalizing the Seriously Mentally Ill

Andrew Postal (Political Science and Environmental Economics and Policy)

African Americans and the Republican Party: Bridging the Gap between Race and Partisan Identity

Gabriel Schwartzman (Geography)

American Labor from Left to Right: The Appalachian Pro-Coal Movement

Robert Shaffer (Political Science)

Biodiversity and the courts: Endangered Species Law in the U.S., Australia, and Canada

Sophia Wang (Political Science and Sociology)

Civic and Political Engagement of Chinese Americans in Ethnic Suburbs

Sarah Weiner (Political Science)

Defining Ethanol Policy: The Influence of the Media on Congressional Issue Framing

Maia Wolins (Middle Eastern Studies)

Narratives of the 2003 War: Iraqi Refugees and U.S. Veterans (the NOW Project)

Synar Grant Recipients

Gregory Elinson (Political Science)

Institutionalizing Economic Power: Business, Labor and Judicial Politics, 1947–1970

Trevor Gardner (Sociology)

Sanctuary in America: Local Immigration Enforcement and the Power to Police in the Homeland Security Era

Alexa Koenig (Jurisprudence and Social Policy)

“The Worst”: Institutional Violence, Resistance, and the Law

Abby Wood (Political Science)

Exposing Malfeasance: Government Transparency in the 50 States

Gene Zubovich (History)

Protestant Social Consciousness in the 1940s

Dignitaries Dedicate Renovated Matsui Center



Some of the state's leading political dignitaries, including Congresswoman **Doris Matsui**, visited IGS this spring to dedicate the newly renovated **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**. Joining the congresswoman in the ribbon-cutting were California Controller **John Chiang** and California Supreme Court Associate Justice **Goodwin Liu**.

Thanks to a \$150,000 donation from the Robert T. Matsui Foundation for Public Service, the Matsui Center doubled its physical size, added a group study room for up to 20 undergraduates, and created a working office for distinguished visitors to IGS and the Matsui Center.

The center engages UC Berkeley undergraduates in politics, public policy, and public service through fellowship programs, the presence of distinguished visitors on campus, and public events. More than 100 students have participated in Washington, D.C., Sacramento, or Bay Area fellowship programs established by the Center, which is a component of IGS.

IGS Director **Jack Citrin** said the facility renovations help raise the center's profile and expand ongoing programming that exposes UC Berkeley undergraduates to the real world of politics. Citrin called the center a "fitting and ongoing legacy" for the late Robert T. Matsui, a widely respected member of the U.S. House of Representatives who died in 2005.

Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick** welcomed Congresswoman Doris Matsui, who was elected to Congress after the death of her husband, and escorted her around the center's remodeled spaces before she addressed an audience in the IGS Library.

"Today the Matsui Center takes on the mantle of this work by promoting political engagement and participation, and encouraging more of our young people to action," she said.

While much current political discourse is marked by divisiveness, Doris Matsui said her husband maintained an unshake-



Clockwise, starting upper righthand corner: Congresswoman Doris Matsui; Justice Goodwin Liu; Paul Sweet, instrumental in the creation of the Matsui Center, with Matsui; Reiko Kawakami, longtime staff member to Congressman Robert Matsui, along with her husband, Hachi, and IGS Visiting Scholar Fred Martin; IGS Legislator-in-Residence Sen. Liz Figueroa with Matsui; the dedication ceremony; Controller John Chiang; Matsui and Jack Citrin Photos: Peg Skorpinski

able belief in the goodness of government and the people who serve in it. She called on the Matsui Center to “help foster the type of civility and open discourse that are the basis for good politics and good government.”

Both Matsuis graduated from UC Berkeley, and Doris Matsui noted her husband’s special fondness for the campus. She recalled a November 1997 visit he made to participate in an IGS student-faculty roundtable, a graduate class at the Goldman School of Public Policy, and two undergraduate lectures, before ending the day with a meeting with the chancellor.

“Bob (Matsui) made time for these visits,” she said. “He cared about these visits, because he knew he was making investments in the future leaders who are students here.”

Her sentiments were echoed by Liu, a former UC Berkeley professor of law who interned in Robert Matsui’s Sacramento office the summer after graduating from high school.

Liu called Matsui a “serious policy wonk” whose legislative achievements included the 1988 redress bill for Japanese Americans interned during World War II, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Children’s Health Insurance Program, and other work reflected in his papers, which were donated to The Bancroft Library in 2005.

“Bob understood that effective public servants have to have substance, and the rigorous scholarship and teaching facilitated by the Matsui Center will promote that core value,” Liu said.

The Matsui Center was founded in 2008, after the university received a congressionally directed grant in Robert Matsui’s memory. The Matsui Foundation promotes public service careers for recent college and law school graduates.

Portions of this article appeared first on the Berkeley News Center, and are reprinted with permission.



The Matsui Forum: Ten Years Later, How Did the 9/11 Attacks Change America?

A decade after the single deadliest attack on United States soil, how have the events of 9/11 changed America? That was the central question of this year's **Matsui Forum**, which was moderated by KQED's **Michael Krasny** and broadcast on the station.

The verdict? Even more than Pearl Harbor or the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, the 9/11 attacks stand alone as a seminal moment in the modern history of the United States, one that exerted the most profound effects on the politics, policies, and psychology of America and its citizens.

For **Michael Nacht**, professor of public policy at UC Berkeley, the most fundamental impact of 9/11 is the sense of permanent vulnerability that haunts residents of Main Street and Pennsylvania Avenue alike. "It is hard to see a time when that will disappear," said Nacht. "What happened was unthinkable, but it happened in front of our eyes."

Nacht, a former dean of the Goldman School of Public Policy who served as assistant secretary of defense for global strategic affairs under President Obama, also linked the attacks, and the United States' response, to America's current economic woes. "From what we know about bin Laden and al Qaeda, their aim was to provoke the United States to go into Afghanistan, where they thought we'd be in a quagmire," Nacht said. "They also thought we would so rev up our expenditures that it could really strain or even bankrupt us. Ten years later, we have unprecedented debt, unprecedented deficits, as far as the eye can see—it's not all related to 9/11, but the economic weakness of the United States was greatly accelerated by our response to 9/11," Nacht said.

James Patterson, professor of history at Brown University, added national confusion to the psychological mix, noting the impact of the terrorist attacks lives on in the psyches of Americans who had assumed that the United States was beloved around the world as a beacon of hope and defender of rights.

"The strong messianic sense that we really are doing good things in the world made 9/11 all the more hurtful and confusing," said Patterson, before turning to the pervasive changes wrought on domestic policy in the wake of the attacks. "Within two years we had the Patriot Act, the Department of Homeland Security, the TSA [Transportation Security Administration], which gets \$8 bil-

lion a year, and we had two wars—some of the longest in American history," Patterson said.

Maintaining that the fears raised by 9/11 are "very much still there, just beneath the surface," **Jean Bethke Elshtain**, professor of social and political ethics at the University of Chicago, highligh-



From left: Michael Krasny, Jean Bethke Elshtain, James Patterson, and Michael Nacht

ed the intensification of the long-running isolationism-interventionism debate within American society. On the one hand there was the tendency to draw back in because this is what happens when you muck about in the world, Elshtain said. "The other reaction was that we need to engage the world and we need to do it more knowingly, more tellingly and perhaps even more dramatically and at times more aggressively," she added.

On the question of whether the United States is safer today, Elshtain advised Americans to follow the lead of other nations, such as Britain, that have learned to live with the sense of vulnerability and the ongoing threat of future attacks. "You can never be absolutely secure and you can't demand that of your government," Elshtain said.

For his part, Nacht was heartened by the absence of al Qaeda-inspired ideology from the "Arab Spring" movements sweeping the Middle East. "They want freedom. They want democracy. They want elections. They want jobs. They want governments that aren't corrupt," he said. "This is actually a big ideological blow to al Qaeda that after 10 years you have these amazing revolutions in one country after another and al Qaeda is irrelevant," Nacht added. "That's a good sign for us."

This article, by Rob Hoey, first appeared on the UC Berkeley News Center, and is reprinted with permission.

To watch a webcast of this event, go to politics.berkeley.edu/forum.php

Leading Scholars Debate Affordable Care Act

Two of the nation's top legal scholars debated the constitutionality of President Obama's Affordable Care Act at an event at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco. Attended by about 200 people, the debate concluded a year-long IGS series on the political and economic facets of healthcare reform, sponsored by the Blue Shield of California Foundation and Kaiser Permanente.

Laurence Tribe, professor of constitutional law at Harvard, argued in favor of the Affordable Care Act, while **Roger Pilon**—founder and director of the Center for Constitutional Studies at the Cato Institute, a libertarian think tank in Washington—argued against what he referred to as “Obamacare.”

In his opening statement, Tribe illuminated the economic burden that is placed on taxpayers and insurance purchasers by the millions of uninsured people in the nation. His main argument was that the individual decisions of those who choose not to purchase insurance—or who cannot afford to—cause an undue burden on other citizens, placing these decisions squarely in the public rather than the private arena. Thus, he argued, Congress may regulate this enormous part of the market under the power of the Commerce Clause in the Constitution.

For those who rejected this argument, Tribe also put forward the Necessary and Proper Clause and overall taxing powers given Congress.

“(The Act) does not prevent people from exercising their rights (not to engage in healthcare); it doesn't impose anything on anyone,” Tribe said, adding that to argue against the reforms would be to act “as though we were islands unto ourselves.”

While Tribe couched his arguments in economic terms, Pilon took a different approach. Calling Tribe's promotion of federal regulation “a typical approach of people in post-New Deal thinking,” Pilon argued against Congress's broad constitutional authority to regulate the economy, or society much at all.

Harking back to the New Deal Era (perhaps significantly, the last time the economy has been in a state comparable to today's) Pilon stated that the powers of the federal government were limited until Roosevelt's Progressive Era. “The Declaration of Independence protects our rights as individuals with little constitutional intervention,” Pilon said. “The powers of federal government are few and defined.”

In a microcosm of the national debate around healthcare reform, Pilon and Tribe stuck to their arguments, never venturing too far from their respective spheres of arguments. Cal law professor **Jesse Choper** moderated.

The other events in the healthcare series were held in the 2010–11 academic year, including forums in Berkeley, San Francisco, and Sacramento.

To watch a webcast of this event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/programs/health-carereform/index.html



From left: Jesse Choper, Laurence Tribe, and Roger Pilon



Salon Gala A Night of Politics and Politicians

U.S. Senate Majority Whip **Dick Durbin** of Illinois was the featured speaker at the IGS Salon Gala this spring. Legendary pollster **Merv Field** and Sacramento Mayor **Kevin Johnson** were also honored before the sell-out crowd at the Julia Morgan Ballroom in San Francisco. Cal Chancellor **Robert Birgeneau** attended the event and introduced Durbin.

Durbin, who was first elected to Congress in 1982 and to the Senate in 1996, spoke about the state of the nation's politics, and then engaged in a colloquy with renowned pollster **Peter Hart**, chairman of Hart Research Associates and a member of the IGS National Advisory Council.

Durbin, whose parents were immigrants who worked on a railroad, spoke about the importance of public education in strengthening the United States and its economy.

"Those who say that we ought to cut education say we have no choice," Durbin says. "I think they ought to remember history." The creation of land-grant universities in the 19th century and the passage of the GI bill after World War II played a critical role in the long-term growth of the United States, Durbin said. "We reap the benefits even to this day," he said.

Field, the founder of the Field Poll and the Field Research Corporation, received the Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award, honoring Field's lifetime of work measuring public opinion.

Johnson, who graduated from Cal with a degree in political science, received the Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award. Johnson was elected mayor of Sacramento, his hometown, in 2008.

To watch a webcast of Sen. Durbin's remarks, go to www.uctv.tv and search for "Durbin."

Upper left: Dick Durbin. Below, left to right: Kevin Johnson, Durbin, and Bill Brandt; Karen Getman, Kayla Ungar, Lisa Spiegel, and Liz Figueroa; the crowd at the Gala. Top of opposite page, clockwise: Robert Birgeneau; Mark DiCamillo and Susan Rasky; Reema Dodin and Marc Levin; Betsy Eisenhardt, Ronald George, Barbara George, and Derry Henderson; Peter Hart and Merv Field. Photos: Mona Brooks





IGS Award Named for Andersons

The IGS Distinguished Service Award has been named for **Darius and Sarah Anderson**, two of the Institute’s most vital supporters. The award, which this year went to renowned California pollster Merv Field, is given out each year at the Salon Gala.

“In many different ways, Darius and Sarah have played a critical role in the growth of IGS,” said the Institute’s director, Jack Citrin. “Our success would not have been possible without their wonderful support, and we wanted to commemorate their many contributions by naming this award in their honor.”

The Andersons hosted the first Salon Gala at their ranch in Sonoma, and through the years have donated more than \$400,000 to the Institute. Darius Anderson serves as chairman of the IGS National Advisory Council, and also teaches a course in political leadership at Cal.

Darius Anderson is the founder and CEO of Platinum Advisors, a full-service government affairs firm. He has also spearheaded a series of private/public partnerships in many fields, including the Treasure Island Development Project, and has advised many



of California’s key political and business leaders, including U.S. Sen. Dianne Feinstein, Gov. Jerry Brown, and corporate executives Ron Burkle and Eli Broad.

Sarah Anderson is the proprietor of Chateau Sonoma, an antique emporium specializing in unique furniture and home and garden objects from France. She worked for more than 10 years in the financial services industry, including Kidder, Peabody & Co., Robertson Stephens, and Merrill Lynch. The Andersons also own Ramekins, Culinary School, Special Events and Inn in Sonoma, California.

*Below, from left to right, Darius Anderson and Clint Reilly; Amanda Shone, Tina Shone, and Sarah Anderson.
Photos: Mona Brooks*



North American Futures: IGS Takes a Look at the U.S. and Its Neighbors

IGS turned its focus to international issues in March, when the Institute cosponsored the second North American Futures conference with the University of British Columbia. Held in Vancouver, the two-day event brought together scholars from the United States, Canada, and Mexico to discuss the issues facing all three countries. This was the second IGS North American Futures conference; the first was held in Berkeley in 2010. Below are excerpts from the 2012 conference summary written by **Jeremy Kinsman**, resident international scholar at IGS and a former Canadian diplomat.

Background and Introduction

The first conference focused on disappointment, especially in Canada, with discouraging trends counter to the spirit of NAFTA, and notably the “thickening” of the Canada-U.S. border once the 9/11 terrorist attacks meant U.S. security interests would “trump trade.”

The 2010 conference explored how to reanimate a North American sense of community in the direction of President Ronald Reagan’s injunction that “it is time we stopped thinking of our closest neighbors as foreigners.”

The Berkeley conference urged the identification of cooperative “project-models” on key issues such as the swirl of energy and climate change strategy that could even serve in an exemplary way to make North Americans “first-movers” internationally. The Berkeley discussion recognized, however, that the pursuit of this goal would require the participation of Mexican representatives and experts. Accordingly, the second conference, in Vancouver, included an outstanding field of Mexican experts and scholars.

Together, participants in Vancouver from the three countries deepened discussion of the potential for new and enhanced cooperation at the level of three, although some discussants were unconvinced of direct benefits to Canada from this approach, or of the reality of the “North American” lens through which to view development in the context of globalization. The political agendas of the three countries are more inward than outward, at least as far as trilateral cooperation is concerned. But preponderant judgment is that selective three-way cooperation is an essential supplement to dual/bilateral diplomacy.

The Keynote Opening Panel: A North American Commons?

The three-way keynote panel, meant to highlight the overriding issues, brought Dr. **Bill Graham** and Dr. **Jorge Castaneda**, two former foreign ministers from Canada and Mexico whose terms had coincided with the aftermath of 9/11, together with Dr. **Robert**

Pastor whose own dual experience as White House official and research scholar-author covered the North American relationships comprehensively over more than 40 years.

The central question before the panel concerned the merit and feasibility of using a trilateral lens to view key issues with significant transnational content. The purpose would be to supplement the “dual/bilateral” lens through which the three countries habitually view the Canada/U.S. and Mexico/U.S. relationships, not to replace it. The panel tried to judge if the notion of North America as a common home region resonates sufficiently within the three national communities for a trilateral lens to be politically realistic and practically effective. Are there common identity and value overlaps? Or do defensive interests argue that a bilateral course is preferable?

The panel stressed that if the reality of interdependence is to be reflected in deepened three-way cooperation, political leadership is vital. However, getting the three leaders together has recently proven difficult in part because three-way summits became largely pro-forma events without concrete goals. While a three-way summit is scheduled for April 2 in Washington, it won’t be easy to generate political will at the top for ambitious three-way projects: in the politically charged climate of presidential election years in Mexico and the U.S., rhetorical emphasis is more likely to be on nostalgically imagined national pasts than on new policy initiatives to build a cooperative North American future.

In Canada, both the central manufacturing heartland of Ontario which has been hurt by the U.S. recession and protectionism and the increasingly powerful resource-heavy Canadian West have lost confidence in assured access to the U.S. market. Disappointment over the reliability and accessibility of the U.S. market even within NAFTA has led to a belated emphasis on diversification of trade relationships outside North America. Similarly, Mexico looks to Latin America where Mexican economic performance compares well, including especially to Brazil’s.

Although NAFTA’s early decisive gains have become obscured by the subsequent “thickening” of borders, as well as by the allure of China’s emergence as a trade powerhouse, panelists urged leaders to talk up the benefits to all three economies from going beyond NAFTA, to consider together the benefits of regula-

... if the reality of interdependence is to be reflected in deepened three-way cooperation, political leadership is vital.

To watch a webcast of the conference, go to www.democracy.arts.ubc.ca

tory harmonization, and eventually a Customs Union, which it is estimated could save up to \$500 billion a year in costs of administering rules of origin and other existing trade-distorting barriers.

Leaders are for the most part schizophrenic about North American cooperation. Canadian leaders are always wary of a charge they are risking Canadian sovereignty in dealings with the U.S.

The U.S. political culture abhors the possibility of sharing sovereignty with multinational institutions, though President Obama has seemed to acknowledge the advantages. However, his overwhelming electoral priority is demonstrating job creation and North America has not been presented as an avenue to achieve this goal. While Mexican presidents have habitually been critical of the U.S., much of the edge ended with NAFTA and the Cold War. Still, recent Mexican presidents have been harshly critical of U.S. stances and action on immigration and even over U.S. foreign policy, especially the 2003 invasion of Iraq. President Calderon, while developing a deeper level of bilateral cooperation to support the “war on drugs,” has also been critical of the U.S. for not banning assault weapons and for doing too little to reduce the demand for illicit drugs and the supply of funding for the drug cartels.

Yet, polls repeatedly show that Mexicans admire the U.S. more than any other country.

Mexican-Canadian reciprocal sentiments are positive but wary from the standpoint of Canadian policymakers who have in the last decade maintained that the difficult challenges on the U.S.-Mexico border could “contaminate” discussion of Canada-U.S. border issues if they are discussed trilaterally. Panelists detected a political opening emerging in the need for Canada to engage Mexico as an ally to wrest greater predictability from the gridlocked U.S. political system.

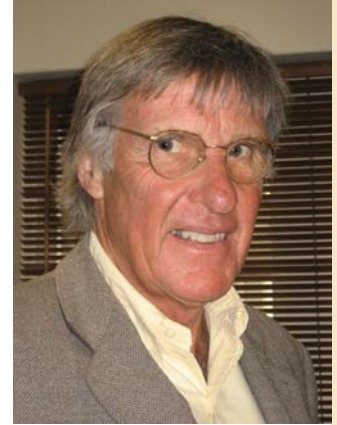
Among the three countries, Mexico has been the boldest in proposing North American initiatives. But without interest and support from the other two partners, the trilateral approach is unlikely to prosper. Greater economic integration promises to be the most effective channel to reduce Mexico’s disparities in economic development that contribute to drug and criminality problems.

A mandatory selling point to all three publics needs to be that greater economic cooperation will improve their competitive positions globally. Indeed, panelists urged a joint approach to competitiveness, including to China.

They also perceived room for more cooperation in foreign policy including on support for human rights and democracy development in the Americas. But generally, the rest of the world does not perceive North America as a unit. . . .

Conclusions: Conference Wrap-up

In attempting to sum up discussion under key questions, the concluding panel confirmed belief in the strength of the case for linking greater integration in the North American neighborhood to the need for North American countries to compete and contribute globally.



Jeremy Kinsman

In Canada, the shift of people and prosperity westward has resulted in a shift of power as well as a shift in attention from Quebec-centered issues with a corresponding risk of isolation of Quebec with uncertain consequences.

The imperatives of active bilateralism in North America and trilateralism can and should be reconciled. The differentiated negotiation of dual bilateral issues is not contradicted by seeking essential cooperation at the level of the three countries.

It is a challenge to leaders to break the political gridlocks that distort the lens through which the neighborhood is viewed, including through a focus on other countries’ negatives as reasons to maintain arms’ length. Domestic politics are preoccupied by the polarization within each country and miss major transborder positive potential, in part because leaders are risk-averse and follow public opinion rather than lead it. In fact, polling indicates pluralities in all three countries believe NAFTA remains beneficial though there are abiding beliefs the other partners benefit more. There is little resistance now on issues of national identity that can be seen to be relatively unaffected by common problem solving on functional issues.

The distinction should be drawn between a “big idea” and a big policy initiative. A big idea can galvanize the ability to accomplish practical measures. The absence of a big idea makes it difficult to accomplish anything.

An overarching necessity is for Mexico’s partners to support Mexico’s “fledgling” democracy.

There is no doubt that another international terrorist crisis or disruption in oil supply would galvanize negative or positive political will for greater North American cooperation in devising common strategies.

There are undoubted foundational cultural and educational opportunities to build public awareness and political will to move on cooperative problem solving. Universities and research institutes have a role, as do parliaments (where there are barely any trilateral connections).

All of the above, including the questions and divisions of opinion tabled by participants over the two days of debate, indicate the relevance of the ongoing agenda for the North American Symposium itself.

IGS Measures Obama's First Term

As President Obama's term winds down, a panel of four experts gathered for the traditional IGS Review of the Presidency to discuss—and debate—his time in office and his chances for reelection.

Andrew Busch, Professor of Government at Claremont-McKenna College, described the Obama presidency as “a mixed bag.” The president's legitimacy has been belittled by challenges to his legislation, such as the current case before the Supreme Court over the constitutionality of healthcare reform. And unemployment rates and other indicators of a healthy economy have not improved enough to instill hope in American voters.

Furthermore, Busch pointed out, recent polls show that voter confidence in the president has slipped.

“From the end of November 2009, President Obama has had an approval rating in excess of 50 percent for four days, in January 2011, and for a month after the killing of Osama bin Laden [in May 2011],” Busch said. “Americans are clearly conflicted—not terribly enthused, on average.”

Paul Pierson, Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley, disagreed. Pierson said that a look at Obama's time in office provides more clues about the flaws in the American political system itself than about Obama's competency as a leader. Partisanship has been so uncompromising that a Republican minority was able to block a popular Democratic president's policy proposals.

“I would give the Obama administration kind of a B-grade—I don't mean a grade-inflation B-grade—I mean a genuine B

grade,” Pierson said. “I would give the American political system a D.”

On the other hand, **John Fund**, a commentator for Fox News and current senior editor of *The American Spectator*, argued that Obama had ample opportunity to make use of the congressional majorities with which he entered office.

“He's been a very active, assertive president; he's accomplished a lot,” Fund said, citing the president's stimulus plan, the healthcare bill, Dodd-Frank, the repeal of Don't-Ask-Don't-Tell, and “a slew of executive orders.”

However, Fund cautioned that the quantity of Obama's legislation was not as important as its quality—which he argued was lacking.

Fund called the healthcare plan “sloppily written,” and said that many Americans believe that the president took his eye off unemployment and the economy in order to pursue the historic piece of legislation.

Anne Kornblut, White House correspondent for *The Washington Post* and author of *Notes from the Cracked Ceiling*, said that while the president's decision to pursue healthcare may have been “baffling,” even to those in his administration, “he wanted to do something big.”

“If he hadn't done healthcare, what was he going to spend his time actually doing on the economy?” she said. “He had time to do both things at the same time.”

She argued that they should turn the discussion from the mixed-bag characteristics of Obama's term to more definitive failures and successes—his inability to make good on his promise of closing Guantanamo Bay, or the death of Osama bin Laden.



To watch a webcast of this event, go to politics.berkeley.edu/ann_review_pres.html

From left: Andrew Busch, Paul Pierson, John Fund, Anne Kornblut, and Ethan Rarick

California Taxes

Panel Examines How the State Gets Its Money



From left: John Ellwood, Tim Gage, John Decker, and David Doerr

With voters facing a November ballot measure from Gov. Jerry Brown to raise taxes, IGS brought together experts this spring to analyze how the state brings in revenue, part of a new series of IGS programs and research on California studies.

John Ellwood, a professor of public policy at Cal's Goldman School, noted that California is a "medium-high tax state" in comparison to other states, ranking about 16th in total state and local taxes as a share of personal income. He also noted that all states have regressive tax systems—meaning that the share of income paid in taxes is higher for poorer people than for richer ones—but that California is far less regressive than most, thanks to a steep income tax for the rich.

That reliance on the income tax, panelists agreed, makes California's revenue more volatile, since wealthy people have large swings in income and can often time their financial activities to lower tax bills.

Brown is asking voters to approve a measure at the November election that would raise sales taxes and income taxes on the wealthy, generating money that would help close the state's budget deficit.

Tim Gage, who served as director of the California Department of Finance under Gov. Gray Davis, noted the "enormous amount" of tax revenue the state lost as a result of the recession, which he estimated at about \$30 billion a year in General Fund revenue.

"I believe state government is underfunded by probably about one percent, or maybe a little more, of total personal income in the state," Gage said, "which would translate into roughly \$14 or \$15 billion on an annual basis. . . . The state needs more resources."

In the long run, Gage said, the state must also seek to reduce the volatility of the tax stream, while better managing the surpluses that accrue during good times.

Dave Doerr, the longtime chief tax consultant for the California Taxpayers Association, said that he believed "the state basically has a pretty sound revenue structure."

"The fundamental building blocks are good," Doerr said, although he agreed that the revenue raised through the income tax is too volatile. On the broader budgetary process, Doerr described the state's general system of writing the budget as "terrible," noting that often legislators do not know what is in the budget bills when they vote on them.

John Decker, a longtime legislative expert on the budget and now the chief fiscal advisor to California Controller John Chiang, discussed the fiscal relationship of the state and local governments.

Decker noted that after the passage of Prop. 13 in 1978, the state government provided local governments with money to offset the loss of their property tax revenues, but he also noted that since the early 1990s, the state has been extraordinarily unreliable about providing that money. When the state budget is in trouble, the state stops providing money to the locals, he said.

"We're just not a steady partner," Decker said, referring to the state. "If this is your relationship to local governments, no wonder they don't like us."

IGS Librarian to Head LAUC

IGS Library Director **Nick Robinson** is the new president-elect of the Librarians Association of the University of California, which includes more than 400 librarians at all 10 UC campuses. Robinson, who has been a librarian at Cal since 1989 and the director of the IGS Library since 2006, will serve one year as president-elect and then become president of the group in 2013.



"Under Nick's leadership, the IGS Library serves as a wonderful resource for faculty members, students, and the public at large," said IGS Director Jack Citrin. "We're pleased that his excellent leadership qualities have been recognized by his fellow librarians throughout the UC system."

The Association advises the University on professional and governance matters of concern to all librarians.

Speakers at IGS —the Chinese Economy, Voter Turnout, Immigration, and More

Throughout the year, IGS hosted a typically wide array of speakers on a variety of topics. In the fall, **Justin Yifu Lin**, chief economist and senior vice president of the World Bank, spoke to 250 people on “Demystifying the Chinese Economy.” In the spring, speakers included *Washington Post* polling director (and former IGS grad student) **Jon Cohen** on national politics, and political scientists **Norman Ornstein** and **Thomas Mann** on their attention-grabbing new book, *It’s Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism*.

Other talks addressed topics ranging from voter turnout to immigration to the politics of Italy. Cal student Noor Al-Samarrai wrote about many of these events for the IGS blog, the Zipline. Below are excerpts of her reports:

How to Increase Voter Turnout

Political scientists and citizens alike know that high voter turnout is the marker of a healthy democracy, but the United States has long been lacking in that arena when compared to other democracies around the world. In the 2008 presidential election, less than 60 percent of the United States voting-age population turned out to vote, compared to an average of 80 percent in other developing countries. Recent work by Columbia Professor **Donald P. Green** in the field of political psychology sheds light on what can motivate people to get out to the polls. “In-your-face social pressure” can push people to vote, said Green.

What does this mean? Green has examined factors influencing voter turnout in a series of field experiments for over a decade. He found that many tactics commonly favored by campaign strategists —recorded phone calls, direct mail—are not as effective as political campaigners claim. What really works, according to

Green’s studies, are strategies that target our deepest desires—to be better than our neighbors.

The study in which Green found the largest increase in voter turnout involved mailing information about one’s voting history compared to that of one’s neighbors. However, this strategy may do more harm than good, putting voters off by stroking competitive spirits a little too hard and appearing overly intrusive.

“If I had to place a bet on what people or campaigns should do (to get out the vote), I’d go for a thank-you,” Green said, suggesting a card expressing appreciation to a voter for taking the time to participate in the democratic process. “You get lots of bang for your buck with little backlash.”

Questioning Immigration, Questioning Citizenship

In 2006, at least 3.7 million people took to the streets across the U.S. to protest the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act, passed by the House of Representatives in December 2005. Many observers believe that the protests resulted in the Senate voting down the bill.

“It was probably *the* harshest piece of (immigration) legislation since 1965 that the House had ever passed. It made living undocumented a crime,” explained UC Berkeley Sociology Professor **Irene Bloemraad**. Currently, living undocumented in the United States is a civil offense, comparable to getting a speeding ticket. If this bill had passed, undocumented people would have faced criminal punishments, such as jail time or deportation.

Bloemraad and fellow Sociology Professor **Kim Voss** recently published *Rallying for Immigrant Rights*, which explores various aspects of the protests. Traditionally, social movements attain success by framing their struggles as appeals to ideas of citizenship and equality while attacking second-class or subordinate status,

The Ascendancy of China’s Economy: Too Big To Fail

World Bank Chief Economist **Justin Yifu Lin** laid out a simple scheme to understand China’s progress from a largely agrarian nation to the “workshop of the world” it is today. Lin proposed that China—which is slated to become the most powerful economy on the planet within the next 20 years—can attribute its extreme growth to its fervent

industrialization process, begun in 1978. Before undergoing reforms, the Chinese economy was state-controlled. Private enterprise was rare, as was foreign trade, and the trifling industrial production sector was state-owned. In 1979, due to export expansion and quick-fire technological innovation, as well as agrarian reform, China started its steep economic accession. While net exports comprised less than 10 percent of the Chinese economy in 1979, China’s trade volume has magnified by 144 times since, Lin said. Today, imports and exports represent 65 percent of China’s total economy.

Throughout the talk, Lin straddled his roles as a prominent member of the

World Bank—which aims to reduce poverty worldwide—and as a Chinese citizen who cares for his country. In 1979, soon after reforms began, Lin left his home country of Taiwan and swam 2,000 meters to mainland China. “It is my belief that returning to the motherland (China) is a historical inevitability,” he said. “It is also an economic choice, reflecting economic interests.”



Justin Lin

To watch a webcast of Justin Lin’s talk, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/multimedia.html

Bloemraad said. “The problem for immigrants, and especially people without documents, is that that frame, which is so powerful in so many contexts, is extremely hard to articulate for an immigrant population,” Bloemraad said.

In order to mitigate these perceptions, which have often manifested themselves in backlash against protesters by members of hardline anti-immigration groups, the idea of family is especially powerful. The idea that “it’s not just an individual you’re sending back to his or her country—you’re tearing families apart—has allowed an opening back to that appeal to citizenship,” said Bloemraad.

Politics, Italian Style

Silvio Berlusconi, who resigned as prime minister of Italy in mid-November of last year, was known to be a controversial leader. He resigned after the loss of his parliamentary majority and amidst a host of financial problems related to the European debt crisis. He remains one of the wealthiest men in Italy. IGS Visiting Scholar **Sergio Fabbrini**, director of Italy’s LUISS School of Government, where he is also a professor of political science

and international relations, explained the assets of the “personalization of politics” that Berlusconi famously undertook.

“Berlusconi presented himself as the founding father of Italian tele-democracy,” or, democracy in which television plays a defining role, Fabbrini explained. “He was the epitome of personalization. He wasn’t the expression of a party. He invented his own party.” Along with his own party, Berlusconi heralded a new politics based on personality, which may have aided in his longevity as a political leader, Fabbrini said.



Sergio Fabbrini

He noted that Berlusconi’s power over telemedia allowed him to continuously criticize established power structures and gave him widespread control of public discourse, which helped him retain popularity and power.

Berlusconi is Italy’s longest-serving postwar prime minister.

Other IGS Speakers and Their Topics:

- Eric Foner:** The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery, September 15
- Victoria Plaut:** What About Me? Perceptions of Exclusion and Whites’ Reactions to Multiculturalism, September 16
- Scott Sagan:** The Next Use of Nuclear Weapons: Pakistan, Terrorists, and the U.S., October 6
- John Mollenkopf:** Immigrants and Racial-Ethnic Cleavages and Alignments in New York City Politics, October 14
- General William Shelton:** The Role of Space as Seen by the DOD, October 20
- David Hall:** A Reforming People: Puritanism and the Transformation of Public Life in New England, October 28
- David O. Sears:** New Directions in Public Opinion Polling, October 28
- Andrew C. Weber:** DoD Efforts to Counter WMD, November 15
- Daniel Tichenor:** Immigration Reform and Political Disappointment, November 18
- Margot Canaday:** The State: Sexuality in Twentieth Century America, January 27
- Panel Discussion on Ballistic Missile Defense,** February 1
- Mark Brilliant:** The Color of America Has Changed: How Racial Diversity Shaped Civil Rights Reform in California, 1941–1978, February 3
- Anupam Chander:** How Law Made Silicon Valley, February 7
- Sergio Fabbrini:** The Resurgence of National Governments?, February 16
- Jon Krosnick:** What Americans Think About Climate Change: A Psychological Exploration, February 17

- Jean Paul Jacob:** A Guided Tour to Possible IT-facilitated Future Scenarios with Global Reach; From Personalized Healthcare to 3D Virtual Worlds Where Social Networks Thrive, March 15
- Robert Jackson:** Canada in Global Politics, March 19
- Jefferson Cowie:** Stayin’ Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class, March 16
- Veronica Terriquez:** The Political Socialization of Youth from Immigrant Families, March 23
- Jon Cohen:** Understanding the Political Landscape: The Use and Abuse of Polls, April 2
- Richard White:** Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of America, April 13
- Cybelle Fox:** Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal, April 20
- Lt. General Ellen M. Pawlikowski:** Contested, Congested, and Competitive: The New Space Environment and Adapting America’s Space Systems, April 25
- James Fowler:** A Massive Scale Experiment in Social Influence and Voter Mobilization, April 27
- Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein:** It’s Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism, May 18

To watch a webcast of the panel on Ballistic Missile Defense, go to www.c-spanvideo.org/program/ballisticmiss

Brandts Renew Pledge of Support to IGS

IGS National Advisory Council member **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**, have renewed their long-term financial commitment to the Institute, pledging at least \$110,000 over the next two years to support student research grants and the IGS Salon Gala.

“The work that IGS does is critically important to the advancement of the understanding of American politics,” said Bill Brandt. “Patrice and I wanted to show our commitment to the



Patrice Bugelas-Brandt and Bill Brandt

Institute, and to Cal’s position as the preeminent public university in the world.”

The Brandts pledged \$25,000 a year for the next two years to support the Charles H. Percy and Mike Synar grants, which fund, respectively, undergraduate and graduate research in American politics.

They also pledged \$30,000 a year for two years to continue to underwrite the Salon Gala, an annual fundraising event that brings to IGS a distinguished speaker on national politics such as U.S. Sen. **Dick Durbin** or former White House advisor **David Gergen**.

Both the research awards and the Salon Gala have been underwritten by the Brandts in the past, part of a multiyear commitment to the Institute that has totaled more than \$370,000 in contributions.

“Bill and Patrice Brandt have been vital to the support of IGS,” said Professor **Jack Citrin**, the Director of the Institute. “In the difficult budgetary climate of the past few years, the generosity of Bill and Patrice has allowed us to maintain IGS programs at the highest level, and even to expand our efforts. We are the

beneficiaries of many wonderful supporters, and are particularly grateful that Bill and Patrice have chosen to continue their devotion to IGS.”

Bill Brandt is president and CEO of Development Specialists, Inc., one of the nation’s leading firms specializing in the provision of management, consulting, and turnaround assistance to troubled or reorganizing enterprises. Widely acknowledged as one of the foremost practitioners in the field of corporate restructuring, bankruptcy, and related public policy issues, his firm maintains offices in both San Francisco and Los Angeles, among many other cities. Brandt joined the IGS National Advisory Council in May 2006.

By gubernatorial appointment, he also currently serves as the chair of the Illinois Finance Authority. This organization is one of the nation’s largest state-sponsored entities principally engaged in economic development and job creation through the issuance of both taxable and tax-exempt bonds for businesses, nonprofit organizations, and local governmental units. The governor has also appointed Bill to the Illinois Broadband Deployment Council, which works to ensure that advanced telecommunications services are available to all the citizens of Illinois.

Patrice Bugelas-Brandt began her career working for Illinois Senator **Charles H. Percy** as his Illinois press secretary from 1973–1977. After leaving Percy’s staff, she managed media relations for Chicago Public Television and later served as the public relations director of the Alliance of American Insurers. Since 1985, Patrice has devoted her time to raising her family and doing volunteer work for Democratic Party causes and cultural institutions in Chicago. Since 2004, and by gubernatorial appointment, she has served as a member of the Illinois Arts Council, working to bring arts education to the public schools of the state. In 2011, she was appointed by the Illinois House to serve on the Offshore Wind Advisory Council in connection with the possible siting of wind turbines in Lake Michigan.

Charles Percy served as a Republican senator from Illinois from 1967 to 1985. He chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for four years and was a tireless advocate of low-cost housing. He died in 2011 at the age of 91.

Mike Synar was an eight-term Oklahoma congressman, and both a close friend of, and inspiration to, Bill Brandt and many others in the political world. He died of a brain tumor in 1996, at the young age of 45.

The Synar Fellowships award \$3,000 grants to selected Berkeley graduate students, while the Percy Grants offer awards of up to \$500 to as many as 10 undergraduates conducting research on American politics.

Both the Synar and Percy awards were created through Mr. and Mrs. Brandt’s initial donation to IGS.

New Members Join IGS National Advisory Council

Four new members joined the IGS National Advisory Council this year, providing the Institute with guidance, advice, service, and support.

Peter Brightbill is Senior Director of Government Relations at Wells Fargo. In this role, he is responsible for managing the organization's state legislative and political agendas in California. Additional responsibilities include providing counsel to the company's senior executive management in public policy, legislative, community and political activities. Prior to joining Wells Fargo, Brightbill served in various management and policy positions in California state government. He also served on the White House staff for two U.S. presidents. Brightbill received his degree in political science from the University of California, Berkeley. He is a member of the University of California Alumni Association and the California Chamber Public Affairs Council and a former member of the John Muir Hospital Foundation Board of Directors.

Stephen D. Burns is manager of California government affairs for Chevron Corporation. He has responsibility for advancing the company's interests in California state politics and public policy, and for supervising a team of legislative and regulatory analysts and advocates in Sacramento. He also is responsible for leading Chevron's strategy development and engagement on AB 32, California's Global Warming Solutions Act of 2006. He has held several other senior policy positions in Chevron, including manager of corporate responsibility, lead policy coordinator, manager of global community engagement, and assistant to the chairman and chief executive officer. Prior to joining Chevron, Burns worked for two years at Enron Corp, and before that spent 11 years in research and policy nongovernmental organizations focusing on energy, trade, and development issues in Asia and Latin America. He also worked for two years on the staff of the chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the U.S. House of Representatives. Burns has a master's degree in public administration from George Washington University, and received his undergraduate degree from the College of William and Mary in 1984.

Kelly Calkin has worked in California politics on the local, state, and federal levels for over a decade. He recently was named Director of Political Resources for PG&E. Before that he served as the political director for the Personal Insurance Federation of California, a Sacramento-based trade association whose members include State Farm, Farmers, Allstate, Progressive, Mercury, and Liberty Mutual. In this role he oversaw PIFC's political department and was tasked with building a comprehensive statewide political program that combined grassroots political action, fundraising, independent expenditures, and statewide election strategy. Prior to joining PIFC, he served as political director for the California Professional Firefighters, where he used political action to further the goals of CPF's 30,000 front-line members. He also owned his own political consulting firm where he managed city council, local ballot, and state Assembly campaigns. He also worked for a southern California member of Congress. Calkin graduated, with honors, from UC Berkeley in political science.

David Howard has over 35 years of experience in political advocacy and community organization, candidate and issue campaigns, as well as government service in the field of community-based human services. Howard is the current Political Affairs Director for the California Association of Realtors, where he manages their federal, state, and local political action committee operations and serves as the co-editor of the *California Target Book*. Prior to joining the realtors' association, Howard was the managing partner of D. Howard & Associates, a full service consulting firm specializing in senior issues. He also served as a vice president at the California Association of Health Plans, and with the AARP as its federal legislative liaison for California. Howard has graduate degrees and certificates from the University of Missouri – Columbia, the University of Michigan, and Ohio State University.



Top to bottom:
Peter Brightbill
Stephen D. Burns
Kelly Calkin
David Howard

IGS Journal Focuses on California Political Reform

This year the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, the online publication of IGS, published a special issue on California electoral reform, edited by three political scientists from California State University, Sacramento: **Brian DiSarro**, **Wesley Hussey**, and **Edward L. Lascher, Jr.**

One of the articles, on California's new system of redistricting, was cited by the state Supreme Court (see page 3). Other articles focused on the state's new top-two primary system, the role of money in lobbying and elections, the initiative process, and public support for voting by mail. Below are brief excerpts from some of these pieces, offering a sampling of the important research that IGS publishes.

The Top Two Primary: What Can California Learn from Washington?

Todd Donovan, Western Washington University

To summarize, when we examine trends in voter turnout, campaign expenditures, candidate ballot listings, and electoral competition before and after adoption of the top two primary [in Washington state]—results are quite mixed when compared to claims made by critics and advocates of the top two. While turnout may have increased after adoption, the substantive magnitude of the effect of the primary system on turnout increase is quite limited. It is likely that some general election state legislative contests that might have otherwise gone uncontested after a partisan primary may have ended up being contested under a top two system.

Part of the very modest increase in candidate spending could reflect this, but again, the substantive magnitude of the increase here is rather small. Ballot listings of “parties” did become much more diverse, and a handful of candidates using nontraditional party preferences were elected. Nearly all these ballot listings were different ways for candidates to state that they preferred the Democratic or Republican parties, and the few candidates elected using alternative party listings were partisan incumbents. The aggregate of all of this did not add up to a legislature that looked different or functioned differently from the legislature elected under a partisan primary. . . .

There are additional reasons to expect weak effects from electoral reforms such as the top two primary—particularly if the goal of reform is to change polarization in a legislature. First, any potential effects of a new primary system may be more apparent over time, as popular incumbents retire and create open seats. Second, polarization may have many other sources that are more consequential than the type of primary being used. Legislators may be quite responsive to their major campaign donors—people and groups with preferences that are quite different than the median voter. Strong, distinctive issue positions may be the most effective way for candidates to build support with voters and with

donors. Voters may be increasingly sorting themselves into homogenous places that make it quite difficult to draw districts that are two-party competitive, regardless of the redistricting practices or primary system being used. Representatives from seats safe for their party tend toward the ideological pole of their party and legislative rules and processes have been shown to place major constraints on the discretion of individual members, reduce the room for compromise, and increase the power of legislative party leaders. This too, can increase party polarization. California may experience more widespread changes than occurred when Washington changed to a top two primary, but the change would have to have far greater effects on candidates and the electorate in California if it is to alter the party system in the legislature.

Power to the People: Checking Special Interests in California

Stacy B. Gordon Fisher, University of Nevada, Reno; Kimberly L. Nalder, California State University, Sacramento; Matthew Lesenyie, University of California, Davis

We argue that the many reforms already implemented have improved the quality and the amount of information available to voters whether they want to participate in the electoral arena or in the policymaking process between elections. Rules governing lobbying, disclosure, and campaign finance have made interest group activity more transparent, and the online publication of that information has made it even more accessible. Recent improvements to leginfo.ca.gov have increased accessibility by providing for direction for users, better user interface for bill searches, and incorporating tools for citizens to contact legislators about specific bills. It is the *connections* between these disparate pieces of information that highlight the relationships that voters are most concerned about, and making those connections is virtually impossible the way information is currently provided. Increasing voter knowledge about the information available and providing them with the tools to fully utilize that information to understand the process should lead to greater voter efficacy and participation at all stages of the process. Our review of the current data leads us to believe that what the public needs is out there, but far too much of it is difficult to find or not in a format that is useful for their needs. Searchability of information across databases is vital if connections between sources of information are to be made and used—not just to reward or punish legislators at election time, but to play an active role *during* the lawmaking stage. While the public may not want to get involved in politics on a constant basis, they do want to know that they can have influence when they choose to participate.

This is a role for government to play. Multiple, nonprofit organizations try to make this data usable for the average person (e.g., maplight.org, The National Institute of Money in State Politics, and many others) but must wait for government entities to publish it before they can collect it all and put it into a useable

format. This means that much of the data is really only accessible after policy has already been made, which simply reinforces the public's view that their interests do not matter. By providing information in a useful and timely fashion, government can better illustrate to the public what they do, why it matters, and how citizens can have a voice. That is a course of reform that has a real chance of empowering citizens and bringing some balance to the process.

The Limits of Citizen Support for Direct Democracy

Joshua J. Dyck, University at Buffalo, SUNY; Mark Baldassare, Public Policy Institute of California

When we ask individuals about a more complete sense of their views on direct legislation, they have good things and bad things to say. Voters think that ultimately people will make better decisions, but they also see flaws in the implementation of direct legislation in terms of how many initiatives they see, their complexity, and the campaigns that surround direct legislation. In terms of scholarly work on direct legislation, many scholars have pointed to the general fact that citizens like ballot initiatives as implicit of the idea that ballot measures have the promise to increase political efficacy and that winning and losing is well distributed in direct democracy contests. This support appears to have been overstated. Simply asking citizens whether or not they favor voting on policy matters taps into a pro-democracy bias in Americans' attitudes towards political institutions. We demonstrate the fragility of the impressive list of findings that claim widespread and monolithic support among citizens in places with and without the ballot initiative in the U.S. states by examining a more complete and detailed set of questions that tap into attitudes about what citizens like and dislike about their current political institutions in the state of California. California voters, as citizens of the state with perhaps the most vibrant ballot initiative culture in the country, have been exposed to myriad ballot measures in practice. The data show that Californians have some affinity for ballot measures, but also express real reservations with the usage of the institution. Thus, the repeated statement in the academic literature that citizens have a love affair with the ballot initiative, and that this is indicative of their satisfaction with the process, is something of a misnomer. . . .

There are important implications of the findings for those groups who would propose to expand or retract the use of direct democracy in policymaking. The fact that the public expresses the desire for constrictive reforms to the initiative process is noteworthy, given the overwhelming amount of data that demonstrates that generally, citizens like direct democracy. . . .

What would these reforms look like? Our data show repeatedly that citizens favor a longer agenda-setting process that involves the legislature. In Massachusetts, which has historically used the initiative process much less than California, initiative sponsors face a two-stage petition process in which they present their initiative to the legislature and it is given time to act. If they fail to address the proposed initiative, proponents can submit a second set of petitions to trigger a public vote. This is one of the more restrictive forms of the indirect initiative that allows legislatures to act by passing the bill in original or amended fashion. Californians strongly support limits on the role of money in these contests, which suggests that bans on paid signature gathering companies, as well as stricter campaign financing rules are favored.

Administering Democracy: Public Opinion on Election Reform in California

Elizabeth Bergman, California State University, East Bay

This research has demonstrated a number of important findings. First, perhaps not surprisingly, precinct voters do not approve of election reforms that make mailballoting more available. Expectancy disconfirmation theory suggests that this result is predictable as people like what they are used to and what they know. Second, precinct voters who have hands-on experience (even when "forced" to do so) with voting by mail express support for the expansion of such systems—surprisingly at almost the same

levels as voters who voluntarily select this option. In the experiment used in this study a significant majority of polling place registrants exposed to the treatment reported their intention to vote by mail in the future. The praxis learning model suggests that people can change opinion

and behavior once they have hands-on experience. Third, these results held across most socio-demographic classifications of voters. Fourth, voter trust in two aspects of the election system (i.e., vote delivery and counting) is important, as increasing levels of trust equated to a rise in election reform approval. Additionally, requiring voters to vote by mail in California did not have negative consequences for voter trust, as trust was found to exceed or be comparable to the findings of two recent studies where mail balloting was optional. Finally, while voters get information about the process of elections from many sources (mostly the media and family, respectively) election officials score high marks as the most reliable source of such procedural information.



IGS regrets to announce the passing this spring of **James Q. Wilson**, one of the nation's leading scholars of American politics and an editor of the *California Journal of Politics and Policy*. Wilson, who taught at Harvard, UCLA, and Pepperdine during his long career, will remain on the *CJPP* masthead as a founding editor.

How Did Jerry Brown Come Back as Governor? IGS Explores the Campaign

After the 2010 gubernatorial election, IGS continued its tradition of gathering together California's top politicians to dissect the campaign. The result was a two-day conference a few months after the election.

Now the edited transcript of that conference—along with other material on the race—has been published as the latest in the Institute's series of books on California politics: *California Votes: The 2010 Governor's Race*.

Below are excerpts from the conference that discussed the general election contest between Jerry Brown and Meg Whitman.

Jim Brulte [former Senate and Assembly Republican leader]: If you look at the history of elections, particularly in California, I think it was always going to be difficult for Meg Whitman or any Republican to beat Jerry Brown. Voters tend to make the same decisions again and again. . . . In California, with the exception of Steve Poizner, we have not elected a non-incumbent Republican statewide in a regularly scheduled election since 1994. And that was an election where Pete Wilson was running at the top of the ticket, it was a great year for Republicans, and Kathleen Brown, to our benefit, decided to run out

of money and come down with television ads the last couple weeks of the campaign. So California is a state that, all things being equal, wants to vote Democrat. That was hurdle number one for Whitman or Poizner or Campbell or whomever.

Second of all, when it comes to electing a chief executive voters are very discriminating. Again, with the exception of Reagan and Schwarzenegger—and I'm not even sure you can use Schwarzenegger because it was a special [election], it was an interesting aberration of an election—but with the exception of those two people who started with near-universal name ID and a positive image, in modern history we've not elected a governor who has not first held statewide office. Earl Warren, Pat Brown, Jerry Brown, George Deukmejian, Pete Wilson, Gray Davis—all held statewide office before they were elected governor. It's one of those criteria that voters look for when they pick a chief executive because they [understand] that governing is hard. And for those who say voters are not discriminating, let me point out how discriminating they are. When you are going to be one-of-one they want that level of experience. None of the last five U.S. senators elected statewide in California held statewide office prior to being elected to the U.S. Senate. When

you are going to be one of a hundred, voters do not expect that level of experience or require it. So I think going into the election, no matter who the Republicans would have nominated, [the nominee was] at a disadvantage against Jerry.

Robert Naylor [former Assembly Republican leader and chairman of the California Republican Party]: I think that when the dust settled in the primary the Whitman campaign was over. They didn't necessarily know it, but there were four fundamental disabilities . . . they had to overcome at that point. One is the immigration issue [that] had been ripped open and that, I think, in California, is just fatal for the Republicans. The second is that they were convinced they had to win the tax-and-spend issue and they hadn't laid a glove on Jerry Brown over the tax-and-spend issue. And they tried and tried and tried through the summer, but the facts didn't support the tax-and-spend attack. I served four years under Jerry Brown's first governorship and he was not a profligate spender or a big taxer. Third, the likability factor had already set in, the unlikability factor [for Whitman]. . . . Then, finally, Arnold was really unpopular in June. We talked about the rest of the country, but the rest of the country was mostly replacing Democrats with Republicans. Here was a Republican trying to replace a very unpopular Republican who became increasingly unpopular the longer the budget dragged on. I just think it was an impossible thing, starting right after the primary.

Steve Glazer [top Brown campaign strategist]: When we moved to the post-primary situation, obviously we had done our research, we had a sense of our strengths and our weaknesses, and we had an ad in the can in case we had to go on the air, but the focus really was about our fundraising. How much money could we raise and how much flexibility did we have to engage with the Whitman campaign were they to come out of the box

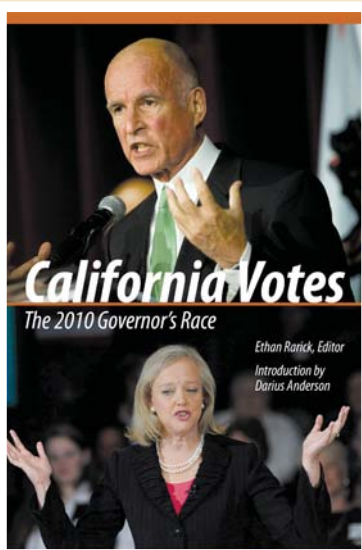


*Top: Duf Sundheim
Bottom left: Roger Salazar,
Joe Trippi*



and attack us? At that point in time our best expectations were that we were going to have about a \$30 million campaign. What that meant was that we had a reasonable level of ads for about eight weeks. If we wanted to stretch it, maybe we could, to 10 weeks. So that calculation meant that we had about two weeks in the summer that we potentially could go on the air and not have a dark week after Labor Day. So a lot of our discussions were about what our resources situation was, and if Whitman went up [on television], could we go up and respond or not? That was the spirit of discussion we had internally. . . .

Keep in mind . . . that we were even in the polls coming out of the primary. The public polls that came out later in June—we were even. This revisionist history like her candidacy was doomed from the start is a little tough to swallow. She had started her initiative with the Latino community by running very creative Spanish ads that got a lot of attention—World Cup TV—very expensive to buy. . . . She certainly was engaged in a serious initiative to go to the center on Latino issues. And so they were doing a lot of things that we certainly were concerned about. It wasn't like her candidacy was flattened and was falling off the cliff.

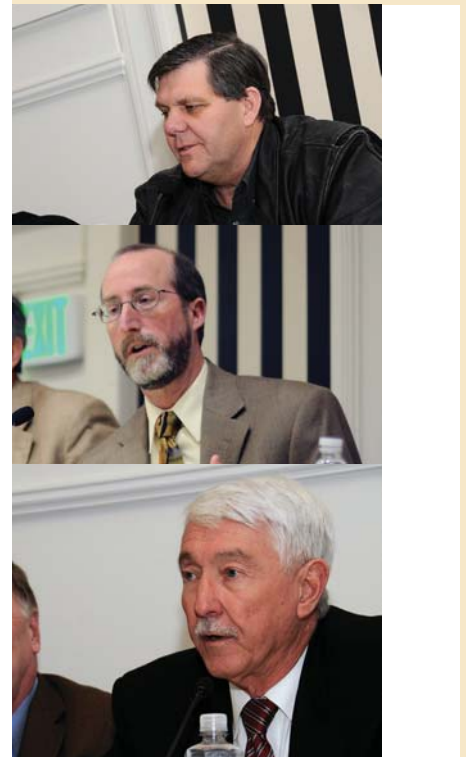


To purchase *California Votes: The 2010 Governor's Race*, go to amazon.com.

Duf Sundheim [former chairman of the California Republican Party]: The period from the primary to Labor Day was very important because from the Whitman perspective, they wanted the race to be about the issues—jobs, the economy. They did not want it to be about character. They felt that they were vulnerable on that because of the no voting and other stuff in her past, especially with the independent voter, her history at Goldman Sachs and stuff like that, so they knew there were some real problems on the character side. So they wanted it to be about the issues. . . . After the primary they did some positive ads. That really didn't give them any traction. There was all the blowback. So the fact that they had spent all that money—Jerry was off on some island during that three-month period—and they wake up on Labor Day and the numbers hadn't moved at all, was a major concern.

Roger Salazar [strategist of the largest independent expenditure campaign on Brown's behalf]: We put together our own plan of what we wanted to do with our independent expenditure group to do the research in March and April and prepare ads by May and stealthily raise money by asking for commitments instead of cash, so that we could spring it on Meg in June if we needed to. There were a couple of other independent expenditure groups that popped up in the meantime that forced us to be a lot more public than we wanted to be about what we were doing. But, again, the entire goal for us was to be ready and have some research-driven ads that would help level the playing field . . . in this campaign and keep it so that when Jerry was ready to do whatever he wanted to do, he didn't have to worry about the summer months.

Joe Trippi [Brown advertising consultant]: The other thing I would say is really easy about working for Jerry is he knows who he is, what he wants to do, and what he wants to say, so you're not trying to work with scripts or anything like that. I mean, the things about living within our means, pushing decision-making closer to the local level, no new taxes without voter



From top: Jim Brulte, Steve Glazer, Robert Naylor

[approval]—that's Jerry. Nobody's writing the script for him to say that stuff.

Glazer: We were up 4 going into the first debate [in late September]. That week of the 28th, we had the Davis debate, then we had a disclosure on Wednesday [about Whitman's former maid], then we had the Fresno debate. And so at the end of that week we were up by 8. There's an argument that said we had a good debate performance. That might have helped things a little bit. Fresno created some more problems for her. And, obviously, the Nicky Diaz thing was a problem. So the factual numbers were, we were up by 4 going into that week and then we were up by 8. . . .

I think if you go back and look at that original announcement video [announcing Brown's campaign], we really stayed on that message all the way through. We didn't really deviate. You will see everything in the campaign in those three minutes from that announcement, and I think it's a credit to Jerry and his thoughtfulness about what he wanted to say.

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—**Duf Sundheim** (IGS National Advisory Council)





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- Thurs., Sept. 27:** Cuba and California: The Opening of Relations to Cuba and Its Implications
- Wed., Oct. 3:** Join us to watch the first presidential debate between President Barack Obama and Republican nominee Mitt Romney (Please note that debate dates may change)
- Thurs., Oct. 11:** Vice Presidential Debate between Vice President Joe Biden and the Republican nominee
- Tues., Oct. 16:** Second Presidential Debate
- Mon., Oct. 22:** Third Presidential Debate
- Tues., Nov. 6:** Election Night at IGS

