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An Exciting Year at IGS

Scenes from the past year at IGS, clockwise from top left: Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows **Jessica Del Castillo** and **Disha Banik** at the Cal-in-Sacramento spring reception; Republican strategist **Steve Schmidt** speaking at the 2015 IGS Salon Gala; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Yvonne Dorantes** with Assemblymember **Rudy Salas**, for whom she interned; *Chicago Sun-Times* Washington Bureau Chief **Lynn Sweet** speaking at the annual Presidential Symposium; Obama Administration Adviser **David Axelrod** speaking at the Salon Gala; IGS National Advisory Council Vice-Chair **Pam Duffy** (right) with journalist **Thuy Vu**, recipient of the Institute's Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award; and Assemblymember **Sebastian Ridley-Thomas** (center) with (from left) Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows **Courtney Sarkin**, **Jennifer Lang** and **Katrina Nham**, and **Victoria Anderson** of the Assemblymember's staff.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY
INST. OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES
109 Moses Hall #2370
Berkeley, California 94720-2370
510 642-1473
FAX 510-642-3020
<http://igs.berkeley.edu>
igs@berkeley.edu

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

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DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

The Year at IGS Jack Citrin



Looking back over the past year at IGS, I'm struck by how busy the Institute has been. I'm always proud of our multifaceted programming, but this year seems to have been particularly productive. Research by our faculty members and graduate students drew national attention, our experiential learning programs for undergraduates enjoyed record numbers of applicants and participants, and our public events—both on campus and elsewhere—featured some of the country's most distinguished officeholders, commentators, and scholars. You can read about all of this in the coming pages, but I wanted to touch upon a few highlights now.

Research lies at the heart of the IGS mission, and during the past year our community of scholars produced pathbreaking research on many topics. Among the most notable was a study produced by IGS Graduate Fellow **Josh Kalla** and former Graduate Fellow **David Brockman** showing that door-to-door canvassing can significantly increase support for equal rights for transgender people. This important finding, which could have broad implications for efforts at voter persuasion, was published in *Science*, and covered in *The New York Times*, the *Atlantic*, and elsewhere. Other published IGS research this year examined issues such as the state's top-two primary system, the public perception of the two parties, voter turnout, ballot initiatives, and the emergence of Latino and Asian-American political candidates. And of course our ongoing seminars offered research presentations on American politics and political history, national security issues, and race, ethnicity, and immigration. On all of these topics, we are shedding light on some of the country's most important questions of politics, policymaking, and institutional design.

The **IGS Poll** continued to thrive as one of our most important research tools. Last summer we polled on a wide variety of important issues,

including taxes, sanctuary cities, marijuana legalization, and the minimum wage. In addition to raising the Institute's public profile and providing a valuable snapshot of California public opinion, the Poll also generates important data for subsequent academic analysis, fulfilling our research mission and providing great opportunities for our graduate students. Using data from the previous year's poll, we also produced a new IGS Research Brief summarizing Californians' opinions about income inequality.

Our research agenda is growing. This year we added a major new program, the **Evidence in Governance and Politics** project (EGAP), which is headed by Professor **Susan Hyde**, a distinguished new colleague who joined our political science department from Yale. EGAP expands on the Institute's traditional focus of research that addresses practical issues of governance.

The experiential learning programs we offer for students were more successful than ever. The biggest of these programs, our **Matsui Center Cal-in-Sacramento Program**, received more than 140 applications and admitted 40 students—both record highs. Our **Local Government Program** grew to six fellows, our **Washington Program** offered students the chance to work in the nation's capital, and our **Gardner Fellowships** gave recent graduates a year-long, intensive opportunity to be mentored by a leader in public service. Our Matsui Center experiential learning programs will benefit from a major new financial commitment from **Arlene and Vic Willits**, and I want to thank them both for their generosity. The students in all these programs blog for our website, and in the pages that follow, you can read excerpts of those blogs, getting the students' perspective in their own words.

We also aid students in their own research efforts. Each year the **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grants for Public Affairs Research** and the **Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowships** provide stipends to students at IGS so that they can pursue important research projects. It's a great joy to advance the careers of the next generation of leading researchers, and I want to thank **Bill Brandt**, chair of the IGS National Advisory Council, and **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt** for their generous support of these programs, and for so much else that they do to help the Institute.

A highlight of our public programming was this year's **IGS Salon Gala**, which featured a truly fascinating discussion featuring Republican strategist **Steve Schmidt** and Democratic consul-

cont. on p. 37

IGS Welcomes New Research Program on Evidence and Governance in Politics

IGS is pleased to welcome the **Evidence in Governance and Politics** (EGAP) research network, a major program that aims to advance evidence-based policymaking in the United States and abroad, and to improve the quality of empirical research in the social sciences.

EGAP was established in 2009 and previously housed at Columbia and Stanford Universities, and moved to IGS this summer. It will be administered by IGS for at least the next three years and is supported entirely by more than \$10 million in grant funding from the United Kingdom Department for International Development, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and others.



Susan Hyde

“IGS is first and foremost a research center, and we are so proud to add EGAP to the Institute’s research agenda,” said the Institute’s Director, Professor **Jack Citrin**. “This distinguished program does marvelous work in conducting top-flight academic research that addresses the practical needs of policymaking.”

EGAP is led by Professor **Susan Hyde**, who this summer joined Berkeley’s political science department from Yale University, and who serves as EGAP’s executive director.

“The EGAP team is thrilled to be moving to UC Berkeley, where we look forward to contributing to and learning from the vibrant academic environment at IGS and at Berkeley,” said Hyde.

As a cross-disciplinary network of researchers and practitioners in many universities both in the United States and abroad, EGAP focuses on experimental research on problems of governance, policy, development, and institutions. The network’s scholars and institutional members seek to forge partnerships between researchers and practitioners committed to understanding the politics of global development.

EGAP members are designing and implementing field experiments throughout the world. From impact evaluations of antipoverty projects in developing countries, to get-out-the-vote campaigns for national elections in the U.S., to anticorruption campaigns in Brazil, the project’s work addresses today’s most important questions in the field of government and politics.

Research results are shared with policymakers and development agencies through regular policy fora, biannual meetings, and policy briefs.

The EGAP Board includes IGS-Affiliated Faculty Member **Thad Dunning**, who teaches in Berkeley’s political science department.

The EGAP staff now based at IGS includes Managing Director **Ingrid Lee**, Membership and Meetings Manager **Oriel Nolan-Smith**,

and Senior Methods Manager **Matt Lisiecki**, who is currently working remotely from New York. **Gareth Nellis** is a postdoctoral scholar who will be starting in Berkeley this fall. **Jaclyn Leaver**, who has worked closely with IGS from her position in the Center on the Politics of Development here on campus, has a major role in EGAP as the senior research manager. **Katherine Nguyen** is taking on the role of financial coordinator of EGAP, though she will also continue with her myriad other duties as the administrative manager of IGS. □

IGS Publications Digitized

Over 400 items published by IGS between 1930 and 2007 are now freely available in digital format thanks to a partnership between the IGS Library and the University Library Applications and Publishing unit.

The digital files are discoverable in OskiCat, the University Library’s online catalog, and will also be submitted to the HathiTrust Digital Library for preservation. Included are a number of important Working Papers by IGS faculty and researchers.

The digitization of these publications is a major milestone toward the IGS Library’s goal of making the intellectual legacy of the Institute freely available for scholars and students worldwide. □

Major Bequest to Benefit Matsui Center

Longtime university supporters **Arlene and Vic Willits** have made a generous bequest to the **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, reflecting their deep commitment to the center's mission of providing public service opportunities for Berkeley undergraduates.

The gift, part of a larger bequest to the university included in the Willits' estate plan, represents the largest commitment to the Matsui Center since the initial congressional grant creating the center in 2008. The gift will support student summer internships through the center.

"This extraordinarily generous promise to the center will allow us to sustain and expand our efforts to ensure that some of America's brightest young people have the opportunity to experience public service," said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**. "Arlene and Vic have long been dedicated to the center's mission, and this gift is only the latest proof of their dedication."

The Willits met while they were students at Berkeley and are devoted supporters of the campus. Arlene Willits serves on the Matsui Center's National Advisory Committee, and the Willits recently completed a multi-year pledge toward the Matsui Center's Local Government Fellowship program. They have also been generous donors to the Matsui Center's parent organization, the Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS).

"IGS thrives due to the tremendous support of our donors," said Professor **Jack Citrin**, the director of the Institute. "Arlene and Vic typify the finest qualities of Cal alumni—they are believers in our mission at IGS, in the special role of the Berkeley campus, and in the transformative nature of higher education. We are privileged to call them our supporters and friends."

"This wonderful gift will help talented Cal students explore careers in service at all levels of government, just as my late husband, **Bob Matsui**, was inspired to do as an undergraduate," said Congresswoman **Doris Matsui**. "Arlene and Vic have been leaders in supporting the Robert T. Matsui Center and its mission, and this new commitment builds on all they have done to help make the center an important and vibrant part of UC Berkeley by promoting the value and dignity of participation in public life."

The Willits' connection to Cal extends back for many years. Vic received his B.A. in 1962 and his Ed.D. in 1968. Arlene received her B.A. in 1963 and her M.A. in 1967. After graduation, Vic pursued a career in college administration and teaching, much

of it at Chabot and Las Positas colleges in Hayward and Livermore. Arlene participated in the Coro Fellowship Program in Public Affairs after graduating from Berkeley and later devoted her professional life to working with local governmental agencies as a facilitator, trainer, mediator, and consultant.

Both Arlene and Vic have been active in the California Alumni Association, with Arlene having served on the board of directors and Vic having served on the scholarship committee. In 2008, Arlene received a Trustees Citation from the UC Foundation, partially in recognition for her leadership role in her Class Reunion Campaigns, and in 2013 she was awarded the UC Berkeley Wheeler Oak Meritorious Award. Arlene and Vic have two grown daughters, Kristan (who is also a Cal grad) and Mari, as well as two grandsons.

The Matsui Center was established in 2008 as a lasting legacy to the late Congressman Robert T. Matsui, who graduated from Cal in 1963 and eventually served more than 25 years in Congress before his untimely death. Congresswoman Doris Matsui, who was subsequently elected to the same seat, has been a strong supporter of the center. The Matsui Center seeks to engage Berkeley undergraduates in public service through internship programs, public events, and the presence of distinguished visitors on campus.

The Matsui Center is a component of the Institute of Governmental Studies, which was founded on the Berkeley campus in 1919 and is California's oldest public policy research center. The Institute, which is nonpartisan, maintains a broad-based, interdisciplinary program of research, education, student fellowships, publishing, and public events. □



IGS Research: A Way to Reduce Transphobia

A widely reported study this spring by IGS Graduate Fellow **Josh Kalla** and a colleague showed that door-to-door canvassing reduces transphobia dramatically, and with lasting results—just one of many topics on which the Institute did ground-breaking work in the past year.

The study by Kalla and former IGS Graduate Fellow (and current Stanford faculty member) **David Broockman** was published this spring in the journal *Science*, and was covered by *The New York Times*, the *Atlantic*, *This American Life*, and many other news organizations.

Canvassers—both transgender people and nontransgender allies—had 10–15 minute conversations with voters and encouraged them to reflect on personal experiences and those with LGBT people. The result—with methodology akin to a clinical trial—showed that 1 in 10 voters changed their attitudes. This reduction in prejudice is comparable to the decrease in prejudice against gay and lesbian people that took place from 1998–2012.

“A 10-minute conversation is super novel in the world of politics,” Kalla said. “And if some stranger knocks on your door on a Saturday morning and speaks with you about transgender prejudice—it’s something that sticks in your mind. It’s a unique experience.” Even so, Kalla was startled by the dramatic results: “Given how much antitransgender prejudice there is you expect there to be a lot of stigma. The fact that empathy reduced prejudice really did surprise me.”

The study followed earlier work in which Kalla and Broockman discovered that they could not replicate the findings of a major study on the ability of canvassers to change attitudes on same-sex marriage. Their detective work, which eventually also included Yale political scientist Peter Aronow, led to the retraction of the original study.

As a result, Kalla, Broockman, and Aronow all received one of the inaugural Leamer-Rosenthal Prizes for Open Social Science, which are supported by the John Templeton Foundation and awarded by the Berkeley Initiative for Transparency in the Social Sciences.

“Senior academics have recognized their courage in going public with their findings, an act that can be risky for young re-

searchers,” the Berkeley Initiative for Transparency said in announcing the prize.

Seven other prize recipients were also honored with Leamer-Rosenthal Prizes, which were created to recognize a commitment to openness, integrity, and transparency among social science researchers. Each individual winner or group of winners receives a \$10,000 award.

Along with Kalla and Broockman’s findings on transphobia, the team led by Professor **Jas Sekhon**, an IGS Faculty Affiliate, developed a new methodology—taking well-known principles of different parts of experimental design—to conduct large-scale field experiments with a high degree of accuracy at a fraction of the cost. Broockman and Kalla began this work together when Broockman was still a graduate fellow at IGS. (For more on this, see page 38.)

Kalla hopes their methods can serve as a prototype. “It’s important to recognize that this is only one study and replication is incredibly important. We really hope that other people can take



Josh Kalla

the experimental methodology and use it widely. I would love to see more people working in this field and figuring what are other ways to reduce prejudice.” Another goal is to better understand what leads voters to change their minds—regarding candidates, party identification, or social and political positions.

One of the most enjoyable aspects for Kalla is the hands-on aspect of working with real political groups. “I learn so much about how political people view voters and how voters view themselves, more so than you can tell from just reading a survey or an article. As much as my methods are all experimental, I learn so much talking to the real voters. Outside of the experiments I love doing the canvassing—seeing how all the pieces fit together.”

Kalla has always been interested in politics, even as a child. During the spring of his freshman year at Yale, he took a class about the use of field experiments in political and social science and was hooked. “The thought of running a rigorous experiment in political science, and learning something true about the world, was just so cool,” he said. He went on to work as a research assistant for Professors Don Green, a former student of IGS Director Jack Citrin, and Alan Gerber, which further sparked his interest about using field experiments to answer “big, fundamental questions about American democracy.” □

To see details on other IGS research from the past year, see pages 6-7.
To read the full paper by Kalla and Broockman, go to
science.sciencemag.org/content/352/6282/220.full.

Research at IGS

Research from IGS this year shed light on a wide variety of topics, from the nature of partisanship to how people think about immigration. Here are highlights from some of the research studies produced or published by IGS and its affiliated researchers this year.

Do Open Primaries Improve Representation?

California's new top-two primary system did not lead voters in 2012 to pick ideologically moderate candidates for Congress and the state Senate, according to research published this year by IGS Director **Jack Citrin**, **Doug Ahler**, and IGS Affiliated Faculty Member **Gabe Lenz**.

The three published a new study in *Legislative Studies Quarterly*, "Do Open Primaries Improve Representation? An Experimental Test of California's 2012 Top-Two Primary."

The paper involved an experiment conducted just before California's 2012 primary election, the first held under the new top-two system adopted by voters in 2010. The researchers found that voters failed to distinguish moderate and extreme candidates, and as a consequence actually chose more ideologically distant candidates on the new ballot. □

Do Political Party Stereotypes Fuel Partisanship?

Public perceptions of Democrats and Republicans are not very aligned with reality, according to a study by IGS Graduate Fellow **Doug Ahler** and social scientist **Gaurav Sood**.

Ahler and Sood published new research on people's misperceptions of political party composition. By asking people to estimate the share of supporters of one party or another who belong to different groups—for example the percentage of LGBT Democrats and the percentage of Republicans making over \$250,000 a year—Ahler and Sood found that Americans considerably overestimate the share of party members belonging to party-stereotypical groups. The study found that misperceptions are made about both one's own party and the opposing party, but that misperceptions are more pronounced with the opposing party.

For example, while Democrats overestimate the percentage of Democrats belonging to a union by 25.2 percentage points, Republicans overestimate the percentage by 33.5 points. On the flip side, Republicans' perceptions of the percentage of fellow Republicans who earn at least \$250,000 per year are 13.2 percentage points more accurate than Democrats', on average. Party-affiliation aside, Ahler and Sood found that on average, people think that 32 percent of Democratic supporters are LGBT, when in reality it's only 6 percent, and that 38 percent of Republican supporters earn over \$250,000 per year, when in reality it's just 2 percent. □

Hispanics, Asian Americans Face Election Barriers

Asian Americans and Latinos hold fewer than 2 percent of the 500,000 seats nationally in state and local offices, even though they make up more than 20 percent of the U.S. population, according to a study conducted by IGS Graduate Fellow **Christian Dyogi Phillips** in partnership with The New American Leaders Project.

Phillips is a doctoral candidate studying the emergence and success of Asian-American and Latina/o candidates in the United States. The study involved a large sample of Asian-American and Latina/o state legislators to help answer some of the longstanding questions about underrepresentation and the challenges people face in running for office.

Sayu Bhojwani, the president and founder of the New American Leaders Project, told *The Washington Post* that "Part of the reason for the representation gap [is] because the existing and traditional parties are not reaching out and encouraging Asians and Latinos and Latinas to run."

The report also highlights the gender gap in state legislatures, with women holding 24 percent of the lawmaking jobs and men holding 76 percent.

Despite the data, Bhojwani told *The New York Times* that there are encouraging signs. "What we see from this report is that Asian Americans and Latinos face barriers, yes, but that despite this, they run and win." □

How People Think about Immigration

Many Americans form their views about illegal immigration largely through a sweeping judgment about the entire issue, rather than an assessment of individual immigrants and the traits they might bring to the country, according to a study published by IGS Director **Jack Citrin** and two former IGS graduate fellows, **Matthew Wright** of American University and **Morris Levy** of USC.

The paper, published in the journal *Political Behavior*, analyzed two recent surveys to examine how Americans think about both legal and illegal immigration. The authors tested the relative importance of two different modes of evaluating immigrants. One is "attribute-based" judgment, in which respondents weigh immigrants' desirability based on individual characteristics such as human capital, race, language ability, and so on. The second is "categorical" judgment, which disregards the specific factors altogether.

When evaluating whether illegal immigrants should have a "path to citizenship," 40 percent of respondents provided a categorical answer about all illegal immigrants, either rejecting or accepting all illegal immigrants regardless of those immigrants' ethnic, linguistic, or socioeconomic attributes, the authors found.

The most common categorical response—a wholesale rejection of all illegal immigration—is tied to support for abiding by the law, according to the study. When assessing legal immigration, people are much less likely to make a sweeping categorical judgment about the entire issue, the study found. □

Competition May Lead to Lower Rates

Competition among insurance companies may help lower rates for consumers buying policies under the Affordable Care Act, according to a study by IGS Graduate Fellow **Sam Trachtman** and other researchers.

Trachtman and co-authors **Paul D. Jacobs** and **Jessica S. Banthin** published their study in the journal *Health Affairs*, finding that the presence of one additional insurer in a county reduced premiums for “silver plans” by between 1.2 percent (for the average cost plan) and 3.5 percent (for the benchmark plan).

“These findings suggest that increased insurer participation in the federally run marketplaces reduces federal payments for premium subsidies,” said the article’s abstract. □

Lessons from the Trans-Pacific Partnership

The Trans-Pacific Partnership is a “broadly gauged bargain about critical rules of the market,” IGS-affiliated faculty member **John Zysman** wrote in a new discussion paper on the international trade agreement.

Zysman, the co-director of the Berkeley Roundtable on the International Economy (BRIE), says that the TPP raises a critical question: Do we want marketplace rules to be determined by international treaties or by domestic political transactions?

Zysman concludes that the TPP “involves further moves toward setting domestic marketplace rules by treaty rather than domestic processes.” □

The Limits of Judicial Persuasion and the Fragility of Judicial Legitimacy

Experimental research has yielded findings that are largely optimistic about the Supreme Court’s powers to move public attitudes. But left largely unexplored is whether the Court’s pronouncements simultaneously cause the Court to lose support among those who disagree with it.

IGS Director **Jack Citrin** and former IGS Graduate Fellow **Patrick J. Egan** explored these questions in an IGS Working Paper using a two-wave survey experiment with a nationally representative sample of Americans. They found that learning of the Court’s rulings moves opinion toward the Court in an unmistakable fashion in only one out of six cases studied (the decriminalization of same-sex relations in *Lawrence v. Texas*). More significantly, they find strong evidence that unpopular Court rulings result in a loss of legitimacy for the Court—but only among conservatives. These findings suggest that in contemporary American politics, the persuasive powers of the Court are more limited and the institutional legitimacy of the Court more fragile than implied by previous work. □

The Influence of Independent Groups on Ballot Initiative Voting

IGS-affiliated faculty member **Joel Middleton** and his collaborator, **Todd Rogers** at the Harvard Kennedy School, published a paper in *Political Behavior* entitled “Are Ballot Initiative Outcomes Influenced by the Campaigns of Independent Groups?” The paper evaluated the effectiveness of a nonprofit group that wanted to sway voters on 10 ballot initiatives in the 2008 election in Oregon (out of 12 total on the ballot).

The nonprofit, Our Oregon, sent persuasive ballot guides to nearly 90 percent of households in the state. To examine the impact, Middleton and Rogers used a randomized controlled experiment, whereby some precincts were randomly assigned to a control group that did not receive the ballot guides, and other precincts were assigned to receive the guides.

The results suggest that these guides can have surprisingly large effects. The ballot guides moved the vote margin by about 4 percentage points in the intended direction in each of 10 ballot measures. This suggests that, on each of the measures, perhaps 1 in 50 people switched their vote specifically because they received the treatment.

This study shows that not only can ballot initiative campaigns influence an individual citizen’s vote on a specific ballot initiative, but that these campaigns can actually affect whether a ballot initiative becomes law. □

Why Does Moving Reduce Voter Turnout?

Residential mobility has substantial negative effects on voter turnout, but existing studies have been unable to disentangle whether this is due to social costs, informational costs, or convenience costs that are related to re-registration.

A new paper published in *Political Behavior* by IGS visiting student researcher **Jonas Hedegaard Hansen** analyzes the relevance of the different costs by studying the effect of moving and reassignment to a new polling station in an automatic registration context and using a register-based panel dataset with validated turnout for 2.1 million citizens.

The negative effect of moving on turnout does not differ substantially depending on the distance moved from the old neighborhood, and it does not matter if citizens change municipality. Thus, the disruption of social ties is the main explanation for the negative effect of moving on turnout. Furthermore, the timing of residential mobility is important as the effect on turnout declines quickly after settling down. □



Salon Gala

Gives the Insiders' Perspective on 2016



The IGS Salon Gala is always a highlight of the Institute's programming, and this year was certainly no exception. Political consultants **David Axelrod** and **Steve Schmidt** dissected the 2016 political landscape, while former Berkeley Chancellor **Robert J. Birgeneau** and KQED journalist **Thuy Vu** received awards for their service.

About 200 people attended, mingling beforehand and then sitting down to hear Axelrod and Schmidt in an off-the-record conversation with **Amy Walter**, the national editor of the Cook Political Report. The event was held in the traditional venue, the Julia Morgan Ballroom in San Francisco's Merchants Exchange Building.

Both Axelrod and Schmidt have served as top advisors in the White House and on the presidential campaign trail. In 2008 Axelrod was the chief strategist for the Obama campaign, while Schmidt played the same role for Sen. John McCain.

Birgeneau, the ninth chancellor of UC Berkeley, received the **Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award**. An internationally distinguished physicist, Birgeneau is a leader in higher education and is well known for his commitment to diversity and equity in the academic community.

Vu, who graduated from Berkeley in 1992, received the **Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award**. Vu is a five-time Emmy award-winning journalist, anchor, and program host who's covered everything from presidential debates to culinary creations. She hosts KQED Newsroom, a news analysis and interview program.

The IGS Salon Gala is presented by the Institute's National Advisory Council and celebrates members of the Berkeley community and the Institute's continued status as



an elite research center and home to programs that engage students in public service. Proceeds benefit this wide range of IGS activities.

This year's gala produced proceeds of more than \$72,000 for IGS programs, the most successful year in the history of the event. □

Counter-clockwise from upper left: Steve Schmidt, David Axelrod, Amy Walter speak at the event; National Advisory Council member Duf and Cheryl Sundheim; National Advisory Council member Susie and Steve Swatt; National Advisory Council Vice-Chair Pam Duffy and member Tom MacBride; Steve Schmidt, IGS Director Jack Citrin, Amy Walter, and National Advisory Council member Katie Merrill; journalist Thuy Vu receiving the Brandt Alumni Leadership Award from Bill Brandt and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt; Nancy McFadden, Olivia Morgan, Karen Skelton, and Dixie Noonan; former Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgenau, who received the Anderson Distinguished Service Award; and Thuy Vu.



Salon Gala Sponsors

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

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George Miller, Jane Harman

at IGS as Matsui Lecturers

Two of the most distinguished former members of Congress visited IGS this year as Matsui Lecturers. Former Congressman **George Miller** was on campus in the fall, speaking on the topic, “Is the American Dream Still Alive? Congress, Labor and Income Inequality.” Former Congresswoman **Jane Harman** spoke during the spring semester on “Global Threats Facing the Next President.”

While in residence at the Institute’s Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service, both Miller and Harman, who represented California when they were in Congress, also appeared at other campus events, such as lecturing to classes or meeting with student groups.

“The Matsui Lectureship brings distinguished public servants to the Berkeley campus, and there could not be two finer examples than Congressman Miller and Congresswoman Harman,” said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**, who moderated both talks.

At the lecture, Miller spoke on several topics including education reform, minimum wage, Occupy Wall Street, and the current state of Congress itself.

To Miller, Occupy was a clear indicator that financial inequality was something very much on the mind of Americans. Miller also revealed his frustrations with Congress’s inability to pass any sort of innovative legislation on the matter.

“It’s a question of fairness,” Miller said.



Miller served in the House of Representatives for 40 years, from 1975 until 2015, representing portions of Contra Costa and Solano counties. During his tenure, Miller worked with seven sitting U.S. presidents and became the fifth most senior member of the House of Representatives. While in Congress, he served as chairman of the House Committee on Natural Resources and established and chaired the Select Committee on Children, Youth, and Families.

Harman served nine terms in Congress, developing a reputation as one of the House’s leading experts on national security and foreign affairs. She served on all the major security committees—Armed Services, Intelligence, and Homeland Security—and has long been recognized as a national expert at the nexus of security and public policy issues.

She is now the director, president, and CEO of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C.

In her talk, Harman highlighted four “big-picture risks that should shape the next president’s foreign policy.” She identified these as miscalculation, which can turn a local conflict into a global one; partisanship, which threatens the sort of “effective, informed, functioning Congress” critical to foreign policy; ignorance, which makes it harder to find policy expertise; and the influence of big money in politics, which skews the debate on foreign policy and other issues. □



To watch video of Congresswoman Harman and Congressman Miller speaking, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/matsui-lecture



John Gardner Fellowship Program and the State Department Form Partnership

The **John Gardner Fellowship Program** and the **State Department** signed an agreement this spring officially recognizing the Gardner Fellowship and easing the process of placing Gardner Fellows at the department.

Ambassador **Arnold Chacon**, Director General of the Foreign Service and Director of Human Resources, signed the agreement on behalf of the State Department, and described the agreement as “a win-win for the State Department and the John Gardner Fellowship.” The State Department obtains the services of young fellows, who are dedicated to making impactful and meaningful change. Gardner Fellows, in turn, receive the opportunity to experience first-hand foreign policymaking.



Jack Citrin, Arnold Chacon, Thomas Schnaubelt

The Gardner Fellowship is a program jointly operated by Stanford and Berkeley. Each year six fellows are selected—three from Stanford and three from Berkeley. IGS runs the Berkeley portion of the program.

The State Department has been an excellent leadership training ground for Gardner Fellows, including **Matthew Colford**, whose fellowship was at the U.S. Mission to the U.N. At the ceremony, Matthew thanked his mentor **Jeremy Weinstein**, for teaching him both about the substance and the process of policymaking.

Also in attendance at the ceremony were **Jack Citrin**, the director of the Institute of Governmental Studies; **Thomas Schnaubelt**,



John Gardner

the executive director of the Haas Center for Public Service; **Erika Fernandez Zamora**, Gardner Fellow 2014; **Drew Flood**, Gardner Fellow 2012; **Megan Swezey Fogarty**, previous administrator of the John Gardner Fellowship Program at Stanford and current deputy executive director, Haas Center for Public Service; along with **Leslie Garvin** and **Terri Bimes**, the current administrators of the John Gardner

Fellowship Program at Stanford and UC Berkeley respectively. Bimes is also the assistant director for research at IGS.

Last fall the Gardner Fellowship held its 30th anniversary dinner at the Berkeley Faculty Club. **Robert C. Orr**, dean of the University of Maryland School of Public Policy, United Nations

Gardner Fellow Selected as Soros Justice Fellow

Congratulations to **Danny Murillo** (Gardner Fellow Class of 2015) on being selected as a Soros Justice Fellow. As a Soros Fellow, Murillo will work to empower formerly incarcerated students by creating a network of people throughout California who have successfully made the transition from incarceration to higher education. This fellowship will build on his work as a Gardner Fellow at both the Vera Institute of Justice and at the Rutgers University’s NJ-STEP program as well as his work in co-founding the Underground Scholars Initiative, an organization dedicated to supporting students who have been personally impacted by incarceration. □



Former Gardner Fellows Win Funding for Humanitarian Projects

Former John Gardner Fellows **Kati Hinman** and **Megan Majd** have received Projects for Peace awards to help them fund international initiatives focused on conflict prevention, resolution, and reconciliation.

Majd will be traveling to Turkey to work with Syrian refugee women and children. Her project will help them integrate into Turkish society through Turkish language programs and the building of a community center and a craft collective, providing the women a path to financial sustainability and self-sufficiency.

Hinman will be working in the Dominican Republic to develop a community garden and sustainable small farming business for members of an impoverished community in Muñoz, Puerto Plata.

Projects for Peace was created in 2007 through the generosity of **Kathryn W. Davis**, a lifelong internationalist and philanthropist. Projects for Peace funding supports projects aimed at building sustainable peace around the world. □

under secretary-general, and special advisor to the UN secretary-general on climate change, received the inaugural Outstanding Mentor Award from the Gardner program.

Orr was appointed dean at Maryland last year after serving for a decade as assistant secretary-general for policy coordination and strategic planning at the U.N. He has mentored four Gardner Fellows, providing the Berkeley and Stanford graduates with professional guidance and intellectual nurturing during their fellowships.

“John Gardner was a giant in public service who mentored generations of leaders in American public life,” Orr said. “I am deeply honored to receive this award in his name.”

“Mentors are critical to the success of the Gardner Fellowship,” said Bimes.

In his role at the United Nations, Orr served as the principal advisor to the secretary-general on counter-terrorism, peacebuilding, women’s and children’s health, sustainable energy, food and nutrition, institutional innovation, public-private partnerships, and climate change.

He joined the United Nations from Harvard University, where he served as the executive director of the Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at the Kennedy School of Government. Prior to his service at Harvard, he served as director of the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington, D.C.

Gardner Fellows are selected each spring to serve with a distinguished leader in their field for 10 months after graduation. Each fellow is matched with a mentor who is a distinguished leader at the placement organization and agrees to guide the fellow’s professional development.

The program honors John Gardner (1912–2002), who served six U.S. presidents, including as secretary of Health, Education and Welfare under President Johnson. He chaired the National Urban Coalition and founded the White House Fellowship Program, Common Cause, and Independent Sector. □



Kati Hinman, Megan Majd

To read about the experiences of this year’s Gardner Fellows, see pages 20–21.

Research Briefs from IGS Address Housing Issues

IGS published two research briefs this year on housing issues, reflecting the importance of that issue in the Bay Area and the work of a newly affiliated faculty member, Professor **Karen Chapple**.

Chapple is a professor of city and regional planning, specializing in housing, community, and economic development, as well as regional planning. She affiliated with IGS this past year.



Karen Chapple

One of the research briefs, “Housing Production, Filtering and Displacement: Untangling the Relationships,” was written by Chapple and **Miriam Zuk**, who is the project director of the Urban Displacement Project, of which Chapple is the principal investigator.

The other brief, “Financing Ancillary Apartments on Residential Properties: Challenges and Solutions,” was written by **Jake Wegmann**, who is now an assistant professor in the community and regional planning program at the University of Texas, and who previously studied under Chapple at Berkeley.

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

Housing Production, Filtering, and Displacement: Untangling the Relationships

Debate over the relative importance of subsidized and market-rate housing production in alleviating the current housing crisis continues to preoccupy policymakers, developers, and advocates. This research brief adds to the discussion by providing a nuanced analysis of the relationship between housing production, affordability, and displacement in the San Francisco Bay Area, finding that:

- At the regional level, both market-rate and subsidized housing reduce displacement pressures, but subsidized housing has over double the impact of market-rate units.
- Market-rate production is associated with higher housing cost burden for low-income households, but lower median rents in subsequent decades.
- At the local, block group level in San Francisco, neither market-rate nor subsidized housing production has the protective power they do at the regional scale, likely due to the extreme mismatch between demand and supply.

Although more detailed analysis is needed to clarify the complex relationship between development, affordability, and displacement at the local scale, this research implies the importance of not only increasing production of subsidized and market-rate housing in California’s coastal communities, but also investing in the preservation of housing affordability and stabilizing vulnerable communities. □



Financing Ancillary Apartments on Residential Properties: Challenges and Solutions

The Underground Housing Market in California's Metropolitan Regions

Low- and middle-income renters in urban and suburban regions of California face a more severe lack of affordable housing than their counterparts almost anywhere else in the United States. As a result, a large underground housing economy has arisen in certain areas. It takes a variety of forms (sometimes referred to as Accessory Dwelling Units, or ADUs) in residential neighborhoods, including garages converted to living spaces, single-family houses partitioned into multiple units without permits, and recreational vehicles parked in driveways serving as quasi-permanent dwellings. As an example, from 1981 to 2000, an estimated 55 percent of the housing units added in 10 cities in Los Angeles County were attributable to the underground housing market, i.e., were unpermitted.

The Hidden Impacts of California's Underground Housing Market

While the underground housing economy can be viewed as a solution to a seemingly intractable problem, it imposes major impacts of concern to local communities and to the California state government. These include environmental stresses; life-safety and health risks from construction that does not comply with building codes; a strain on infrastructure and public facilities; insecure tenure for both homeowners and renters; and political invisibility for tenants who live in fear of their homes being discovered.

The Blocked Market for Financing Small Apartments on Existing Residential Properties

There are at least three ways in which the existing residential finance system constitutes a “blocked market” for financing residential properties that include ADUs:

- Homebuyers seeking to finance a purchase on a property that includes an ADU cannot borrow against the ADU's expected rental income.
- Homeowners interested in adding ADUs to their residential properties cannot obtain construction loans on the strength of the expected rental income from the ADUs.
- Since 2009, it has become much more difficult for homebuyers to finance the purchase of a home that includes existing unpermitted living space.

How the State of California Can Unleash a “Race to the Top” among Cities and Counties for Safe, Affordable Housing in Residential Neighborhoods

Building on already existing residential mortgage programs, the state of California could add new loan products designed to address the blocked market described above. These would be intended to assist with:

- Purchasing residential properties with existing ADUs
- Purchasing residential properties with existing unpermitted space, which could then be upgraded to code-compliant ADUs
- Constructing code-compliant new ADUs

To maximize the impact of limited funds, the loan programs could be made available to local jurisdictions on a competitive basis. To gain funds, localities would need to demonstrate the implementation of land-use reforms and programmatic efforts that collectively encourage ADU production and the upgrading of unpermitted living spaces. These would include:

- Loosening zoning restrictions on ADUs
- Implementing amnesty programs to regularize unpermitted dwellings
- Instituting a system of graduated building permits to encourage homeowners to comply with building codes over time
- Shifting code enforcement from a punitive to a compliance-oriented approach

Such a suite of reforms could encourage a burst of economic activity via the upgrading of existing housing and the construction of small-scale new housing within California communities suffering from a lack of affordable rental housing. □



Cal-in-Sacramento Experiences Record Year

The Matsui Center's **Cal-in-Sacramento Fellowship Program** continued its growth this year, with high-water marks for both applications and admissions. Cal-in-Sacramento also added a spring alumni reception as the program seeks to build a stronger alumni network.

The program drew a record 142 applications last fall, and then admitted 40 students, more than at any time since Cal-in-Sacramento became part of IGS more than a decade ago.

"We are always thrilled to provide invaluable public-service opportunities for more Berkeley students," said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**.

The program also had two key public events this year, a new spring alumni reception in Berkeley and our traditional summer reception in Sacramento, which is cosponsored with the Cal Alumni Association and the campus Office of Government and Community Relations.

The Berkeley event drew alumni from every decade of the program's existence, from the 1970s through today. The Sacramento reception was attended by four Assemblymembers: **Sebastian Ridley-Thomas, Ken Cooley, Richard Bloom, and Evan Low**. □

To read more about the experiences of this year's Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows, see pages 24–25.



From top: CIS Fellow Natalie Ruiz with executive director of the Cal Alumni Association and former CIS fellow Cloey Hewlett; Former CIS Fellow Clayton Koo; Former CIS Fellow Corina Monzon; CIS Fellows Courtney Sarkin and Kat Nham with Assemblymember Evan Low



2016 Cal-in-Sacramento class



The IGS Poll

Explores Public Opinion

The IGS Poll continues to be a major tool for research about public opinion and for increasing public awareness of the Institute. In the past year, the poll produced a major sounding of public opinion on a variety of issues, and we used poll data to produce a new research brief on opinion about inequality.

This summer, after this issue of the *PAR* went to press, the Institute conducted a new poll focusing on ballot measures in the November election.

Earlier this year data collected from the poll led to the publication of two new research briefs: “California Politics and Policy,” and “Californians’ Beliefs about Income Inequality.” The full text of all IGS research briefs is available at escholarship.org/uc/igs.

“California Politics and Policy” summarized the findings of the IGS Poll from last summer, which found that Californians strongly supported a higher minimum wage and the legalization of recreational marijuana, but had mixed views about extending the higher sales and income tax rates enacted by Proposition 30. Since the poll was taken, the legislature and Gov. Jerry Brown agreed to raise the minimum wage, but this fall the voters will face ballot measures on marijuana legalization and extending the Proposition 30 taxes.

Respondents strongly supported legalizing marijuana for recreational use, while imposing government regulation on the drug “similar to the regulation of alcohol.” Overall, 62 percent of respondents were in favor of that idea. Democrats were overwhelmingly in support, independents narrowly so, and Republicans were strongly opposed. A clear generational difference was also apparent, as young adults were most strongly in support, while those over 65 were the only age group in opposition.

Respondents were also asked whether the state should extend higher temporary tax rates imposed by Proposition 30, which voters approved in 2012. That measure increased the statewide sales tax and income taxes on high-income earners, but the higher rates are scheduled to end over the next few years.

Although all the respondents were asked about extending the Proposition 30 tax rates, half were also told that due to the state’s improved economy at the time the poll was taken, experts had predicted that state revenue was likely to increase even if the Proposition 30 surcharges were allowed to expire. Among those who were only asked the basic question, support for extending the higher rates was strong, 65 to 35 percent. But among those who

were also told about the state’s better financial situation, a narrow majority opposed the extension, 51–49 percent.

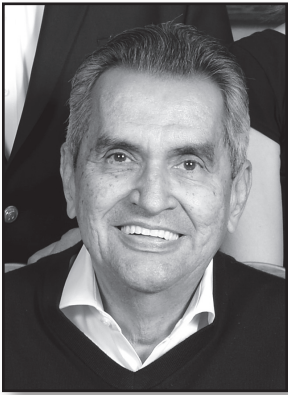
A pending ballot measure would extend the income tax rates for the wealthy, but not the sales taxes, which are paid by all. The survey question only dealt with both kinds of taxes as a combined package, rather than separating them into two distinct issues.

The survey also examined other California political and policy issues.

- Even when told that the state faced a \$59 billion backlog of road repair projects, most respondents were opposed to higher gas taxes or higher vehicle registration fees to fund improvements.
- Strong cross-partisan majorities said terminally ill patients should be allowed to voluntarily end their own lives by taking drugs prescribed by a physician.
- Strong majorities in both major parties and among independents opposed “Sanctuary City” policies.

The other research brief, “Californians’ Beliefs about Income Inequality,” summarized the findings of past IGS polling on that issue, concluding that Californians overwhelmingly agreed that income inequality in the United States was growing, but were far less in agreement about the causes or potential solutions. Democrats and independents were far more likely than Republicans to say the government should do “a lot” or “some” to address the issue, while GOP respondents were more likely to say the government should do “not much” or “nothing.” □

For ongoing poll results, please go to igs.berkeley.edu or follow us on Twitter at @BerkeleyIGS.



Change from the Inside

The IGS publishing imprint, the Berkeley Public Policy Press, has published *Change from the Inside: My Life, the Chicano Movement, and the Story of an Era*, the memoir of former California legislator and Los Angeles City Councilmember **Richard Alatorre**, co-written with Marc Grossman. Below is an excerpt from the book's Foreword.

Of the close friends I grow up with on the tough streets of East Los Angeles, many never reach their potential or accomplish much with their lives. A number of them start out in juvenile probation camps, graduate to the state Youth Authority, and then go on to just about every prison mankind ever builds. Some die violent deaths or meet their ends from drinking and narcotics.

I spend more than four decades in social and political activism, almost 30 of them in politics as a California state legislator and a Los Angeles city councilmember.

Often, I ask myself, why me? Today, I feel blessed to have achieved what I did despite the temptations of the neighborhoods where I'm raised.

I am around five years old when my mother, father, sister, and I move from Boyle Heights to the Belvedere neighborhood of East L.A. The people who immediately have the most influence over me are our next door neighbors—a big family named the Galindos—and, next door to them, another big family, the Cercedeses. Felix Galindo, at six, is my friend; I spend the most time

with him even though I am younger. I am also close to Manual Cercedes, who at eight is a little older than Felix.

The two boys always protect me, maybe because I'm younger and live next door. Since they are both good athletes, they teach me sports: how to catch and throw a baseball, and how to play football, basketball, and kickball. Felix is pretty good at basketball. Manual's game is baseball; he can really hit. They are the friends I hang around with until I start playing basketball on the school playgrounds.

All the things you learn in adolescence I learn from Felix and Manuel, before adolescence. The three of us do everything together.

Felix is smart, streetwise, a good-looking guy. It is a tragedy that he never realizes his promise given everything he has going for him. I, too, could easily become another victim of my place and time. I experiment with grass, marijuana, but it doesn't settle well with me, so I stay away from it.

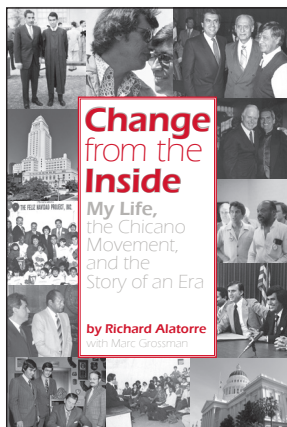
Felix also raises pigeons. I get a bird too. We fight them, pitting one against the other by putting them together in a cage. Sometimes they leave each other alone, but if one tries to assert himself, they battle it out and only one prevails. We learn the same lesson on the streets where we live. . . .

. . . So now I look back on it all and ask the question, why me? Only one insight makes any sense: Although my life goes down a very different path than many of my friends, we really aren't much different. I certainly never think I am any better than they are. We band together at a young age out of camaraderie and devotion, relying on and protecting each other to survive in a rough place. Those experiences color our lives from then on.

They also shape my motivation for seeking a career in public life; my political career begins by getting involved in student government, just as my gang association ends. I sense from an early age that politics is about power: Who gets it? How much? How effectively do you use it and for what purpose?

I learn from my father growing up that Mexican Americans are often poorly served by the American political system, from the local to the national levels. Yet I come to believe in that system, but not blindly or naively. Power accrues to those who know how the system works and who work hard to make it respond to their needs. Essential to achieving power are a clear vision of where you are going, the commitment to work tirelessly for that vision, and the internal fortitude to sustain yourself during the struggle.

Therefore, I always believe the measure of a politician is what he or she accomplishes rather than what he or she says or how he or she says it. The contemporary fascination in American politics with image over substance and words over actions often



puts me at a disadvantage and leads people to underestimate me since I am not seen as performing very well during debates or in front of audiences. Others are seen as more accomplished than me when it comes to those things.

From a personal standpoint, I don't have any worries. That's the nature of the political game that I choose as my life's vocation. But I like to think I best most of my colleagues behind the scenes in the day-to-day nitty-gritty of cutting

deals, leveraging influence, counting votes, and forging compromise, which is where the real work of politics, at least legislative politics, takes place.

Too often reporters, pundits, and most ordinary people view the work of politicians—sometimes dismissed as “back-room” politics—as something undesirable and unseemly. What I do regret is the diminishing appreciation of how exciting and constructive politics can be. You can accomplish much for the public good. How ironic that the critics and commentators who don't dare expose their own personal lives to public scrutiny are so quick to pass glib judgment over those who choose to follow the path of public service.

So I always believed the goal of politics is to do something good for people. Achieving that goal requires the skills of negotiating and compromising with other politicians whose personal or constituent interests are not always the same as your own. That recognizes plain reality, the world as we find it. I am always impatient with so-called gadfly or maverick politicians who clamor about how they want to “empower” the people or with good-government do-gooders who brag about how “accountable” they are to the voters. Because they operate from an idealized illusion of reality, my experience is that their methods of political practice are less honest and more dangerous than those who deal and compromise for the sake of solving a real problem, righting a genuine grievance, or fulfilling an authentic social need. Because gadfly or good-government politicians also frequently can't be trusted to keep their word or fulfill a commitment, they can become ineffectual.

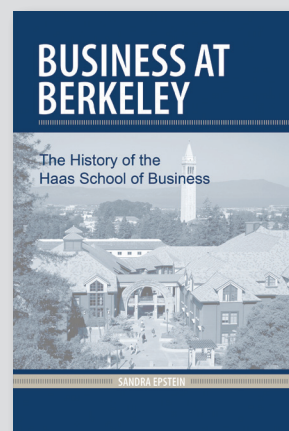
This book is about the improbable odyssey through American politics and government of one politician who proudly embraces the label. It also chronicles the journey over several decades of a community that is finally gaining maturity and strength and coming into its own in the political arena. Mostly, it's about how one politician learns how to make things happen and get things done, and why. □

Business at Berkeley: The History of the Haas School of Business

Berkeley Public Policy Press also published *Business at Berkeley: The History of the Haas School of Business*, by Sandra Epstein. The book tells the story of Cal's Haas School, founded in 1898 and the second oldest business school in the country. The school's upward trajectory from a “College of Commerce” to its top-ranked position today owes as much to its place as it does to its people and culture. Its affiliation with Berkeley has ensured rigorous academic research while its location at the heart of Silicon Valley and the San Francisco Bay Area has placed it at the forefront of innovative developments in business, technology, and society. Providing access to leading business education and research is a hallmark of its public mission.

Epstein conducted dozens of interviews with the primary players, including the business school deans who were insiders to complex decisions that led Berkeley-Haas to where it is today. She has an ear for the telling anecdote, an eye for the essential character qualities of a long-beloved faculty member, and a touch with words that brings to life each era. Highly readable and meticulously researched, this guide to the ongoing life of UC Berkeley's Business School will delight and entertain readers as it takes them through the years of what American undergraduate and graduate business education has grown to be.

Epstein is a former research associate at the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, a former administrative analyst in the UCOP Office of the President, and the former COO of the Jewish Home in San Francisco, a 430-bed skilled nursing facility. She is the author of *Law at Berkeley: The History of Boalt Hall*, which was also published by IGS.



To purchase *Change from the Inside* or *Business at Berkeley*, go to [Amazon.com](https://www.amazon.com) and search for the title.

Gardner Fellows . . .

An In-Depth Look at Public Service

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

Lernik Begian

Lernik was born in Karaj, Iran (her family had to leave Tehran because of the Iraq War bombings). In Iran, a woman's testimony in court is legally worth half a man's; a woman can never become a judge; and a woman cannot leave the country without her father's permission, or if married, her husband's. As a young girl, Lernik wanted to pursue a career in law to change the Iranian legal system, but there was little opportunity, especially as an ethnic Armenian born to a Christian family.



Lernik and her family moved from Iran to Glendale, California in 2010 where she enrolled in Glendale Community College for two years, starting her education with an ESL III level of English knowledge. At Glendale Community College, Lernik co-founded the Law and Politics Advocacy Club, which organized political events, promoted school policy reforms, and funded scholarships.

Lernik transferred to UC Berkeley in her junior year. At UC Berkeley, she focused her studies on political science and international relations but also took classes on racial and ethnic politics, game theory, and economics. Not shying away from taking some of the toughest social science classes at Cal, Lernik excelled at her studies, receiving a 3.97 GPA.

Outside of the classroom, Lernik joined the Justice Corps program, interned at the Superior Court of California, and volunteered at the Department of Public Social Services. She helped low-income litigants complete legal forms, provided them with important legal information and referrals, and also helped with translation (she is fluent in Farsi and Armenian). These public service opportunities gave her first-hand experience with the inequality of legal and public resources in the United States, an issue that she is dedicated to improve.

For her Gardner Fellowship, Lernik would like to deepen her understanding of the U.S. legal system, with a particular interest in criminal justice reform and women's issues. □

Cameron Silverberg

Cameron learned about the value of public service from his grandfather, Michael Silverberg, who fought for civil rights as a young attorney in the 1960s and then later fought for better health care for people suffering from mental illness. Michael's story imparted a life-long lesson upon Cameron: that when we see injustice, we ought to become part of the solution.

Throughout his college experience, Cameron was guided by this lesson as he dedicated himself to public service, with a particular emphasis on foreign policy. For two consecutive summers, he worked as an intern



for United States Senator Barbara Boxer, where he supported the office's foreign affairs team by writing memorandums and conducting policy research on countries across the world. Cameron built upon this experience by studying abroad in the spring semester of his junior year at the University of Hong Kong, where he focused his studies on human rights and democracy in East Asia. His academic experience culminated in his senior thesis, which analyzed China's relationship with Africa and the implications that it may have for democracy on the continent.

In addition to his work on foreign policy, Cameron was appointed by the Berkeley City Council to serve as a mental health commissioner. As a commissioner, Cameron lobbied the city council to put more resources into Berkeley's Mobile Crisis Team—a group of psychologists sent to help city residents facing mental health emergencies. He also co-founded the Center for Integrative Outreach, an organization at UC Berkeley that works to build coalitions between student-run community service organizations. For his record of public service and academic excellence, Cameron was awarded the Travers Undergraduate Scholarship in Ethics and Politics, as well as the Cal Alumni Association Leadership Award. Cameron graduated from Berkeley in May 2016 with highest honors in political science and highest distinction in general scholarship.

As a John Gardner Fellow, Cameron hopes to be placed in a government agency dedicated to foreign policy. He is particularly interested in offices that work to protect human rights in East Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa. □

Courtney Tran

As the child of Vietnam War refugees, Courtney is passionate about the plight of displaced people. Her interest stems from the parallels she sees between her family's story and that of refugees, asylum seekers, and IDPs worldwide. She believes that countries capable of offering sanctuary to those who need it are under moral obligation to do so. At the same time, however, she understands the costs, risks, and complications often involved in resettling displaced people. She is committed to finding informed, sustainable, cooperative, well-executed, and above all compassionate solutions, not only to the current displacement crisis in the Middle East but also to the growing problem of displacement worldwide.



Courtney entered the University of California, Berkeley as a Regents' and Chancellor's Scholar, and graduated in 2016 with high honors in political science and international relations. At Berkeley, she served as president of the Law in Practice Club, worked as a research assistant on projects in political science and sociology, and edited the *Berkeley Undergraduate Journal*. Through Berkeley's UCDC program, she spent a semester in Washington, D.C. researching terrorist use of social media. Her interest in international affairs led her to complete two study abroad programs: first in international security and intelligence at the University of Cambridge, and later in international relations and global studies at the University of Geneva.

During the last four years, she also interned with Survival International, where she had the opportunity to study tribal groups at risk of displacement, and with the International Rescue Committee, where she aided refugee resettlement in the Bay Area. In addition, she interned at the director's office of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars and the Office of California Assemblymember Rob Bonta.

As a John Gardner Fellow, she hopes to work with an organization that advocates for displaced people's rights and conducts research on the issues they face. □

Matsui Washington Fellows . . .

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

Ellie Householder

Ellie Householder graduated from UC Berkeley in 2016, receiving a degree in American studies. While in Washington, D.C. she interned with the U.S. Department of Education as a Matsui Washington Fellow.

Blog Excerpt

“As I’m writing this, I’m in Jersey City in a hotel with my family with a perfect view of the Manhattan skyline. This little vay-cay that I’ve attached to the end of my time in D.C. has made me realize that this program is about so much more than just my own experience—its about opportunity for me and my family. Before coming to D.C. neither my family nor I had ever been anywhere east of Arizona. To be quite honest, I couldn’t even tell you what states bordered D.C., let alone the cultural and historical significance of places like New York and Philly. Now that I’ve been here, I’ve been able to share the experiences that I’ve learned, like how the party presidential primaries work and how to master multiple metropolitan public transit systems. Not only that, but this program has given me the skills and knowledge to be truly competitive in the job market postgraduation (a mere month away for me). Meaning that the economic future for my family and me is just that much brighter: a priceless benefit and privilege of participating in the UCDC program.

“I guess this is all to say that my time in the UCDC program has been dynamic. I came into it scared with a million questions and no real idea of what it would even be like. I can say now with confidence that it exceeded my expectations. I learned SO much through the classes I took and had the opportunity to really expand my writing skills. Working for the Department of Education has given me a practical understanding of how bureaucracies work. . . . And then there are all the unexpected lessons, like how to open your heart to new experiences and try things you never dreamed were possible, like traveling the East Coast by yourself with nothing but a fresh pair of socks. Being the youngest in my family, and the first to go to college, I have also been able to share these things with my family. I guess I’m finally realizing what a big deal this all is, and that feels truly spectacular.” □

Gurchit Chatha

Gurchit Chatha graduated from UC Berkeley in 2016, receiving a degree in political science. While in Washington, D.C. he interned with The Brookings Institution as a Matsui Washington Fellow.

Blog Excerpt

“With all the amazing things I’ve been able to experience in D.C., I’ve also had some significant moments of reflection.

“I come from a financially teetering family—we’re privileged enough to not fall below the poverty line, but we’ve also bore the burden of financial insecurity characterized by the lower-middle class experience. My parents immigrated to the U.S. from India and Liberia in the mid 1990s, working blue-collar jobs before saving to start their own travel agency. Things were swell for a couple years, but following 9/11, our lives became a tad complicated. As Sikh Americans, not only were we forced to cope with being profiled as terrorists, but also my parents worked tirelessly to save a tanking family business.

“Fast forward eight years or so and here I am for the first time in my life soaking up all the joys of anxiety-free spending (shoutouts to the Matsui Center, Cal, and every other generous donor that continues to support me). Whereas I grew up thinking that asking for \$5 for a quick bite at McDonalds would cause my parents to go bankrupt, I now find myself indulging in \$25 meals without a blink of an eye. Whereas I grew up running short on excuses to explain to my friends why I couldn’t hang out after school, I now find myself seamlessly mingling with the very cliques I envied. Whereas I grew up trying to empathize with the homeless man huddled in the overpass on Rinaldi and Laurel Canyon Boulevard, I now find myself unquestioningly refusing to spare change to the nearly 1-in-5 D.C. residents crippled by poverty.

“It seems that when my anxiety decided to depart, a bit of my identity and compassion couldn’t resist tagging along either. So, what are the implications? As I continue my journey in D.C. and beyond, I’ve duly taken note of the cautions accompanying the ascension of society’s ladder. There is a very real possibility that the anxieties, hardships, and struggles I grew up with will play a smaller and smaller part in my life as I continue developing professionally. However, the burden to recall and implement lessons from my experiences still remains. I remain committed to pursuing a career in public service, while striving to remain connected with the realities of millions.” □



Elizabeth Householder and Gurchit Chatha

Ozichi Emeziem

Ozi Emeziem graduated from UC Berkeley in 2016, receiving degrees in comparative literature and ethnic studies. While in Washington, D.C. she interned with the Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law as a Matsui Washington Fellow.

Blog Excerpt

"There is something oddly terrifying about becoming a 'grown up.' As a kid, I aspired to it. It is access to an unknown world and it is enticing. With each year, I suddenly get closer. My responsibilities expand, my knowledge grows, my dependence lessens. Yet, excitement soon evolves into fear as I realize that things don't 'just happen.' By college, I diagnose myself with a phobia for change, stagnation, and failure.

"D.C. is my chance. There is a magic about the city, a flair that words cannot justly describe. When walking the streets, purpose becomes evident—you are in a place of wonders. A friend describes it as a movie set; it's not real and is meant to serve moments rather than be the place where one chooses to settle down. . . . It has given me the right moments to move forward in my life with a zest for opportunities and action.

"I am terrified of adulthood. But this is not an end, it is merely the beginning." □



Ozichi Emeziem and Lucy Song

Lucy Song

Lucy Song is a senior at UC Berkeley, studying history and public policy. While in Washington, D.C. she interned at the Wilson Center as a Matsui Washington Fellow.

Blog Excerpt

"While I think there is a lot of pressure for students to decide on their career and academic paths upon the completion of the UCDC program, one of the most important takeaways for me this semester is to not worry about having to plan my life out down to the smallest details. When I informally interviewed professionals in the think tank world and other industries, it seemed like all of them got to this point in their careers not through exquisite planning but rather more through seizing spontaneous and promising opportunities—flexibility to change is what all of them had in common. Therefore, my new goal when I get back to Berkeley is to live more in the moment, stress less, work hard, and keep an active eye out for interesting opportunities in my areas of interest.

"Finally, as cliché as it sounds, it is the people that make a place so memorable. And during my short time in D.C., I am very thankful to have worked directly with two fellows at the Wilson Center who are amazing mentors. I also met great friends through my internship and UCDC. My professors this semester have made my experience here academically stimulating, and my UCDC advisor was extremely helpful for both career and academic inquiries. If it weren't for the support I had and relationships I've built with these people, my time in D.C. would not have been half as special!" □

Meet the Fall 2016 Fellows!

Lydia Xia

Lydia is a fourth year pursuing a double major in political science and legal studies. She spent her first three years at Cal exploring the legal field, from her presidency in Law in Practice to working as a JusticeCorps member at the Oakland Superior Courthouse. Although these experiences brought her much personal growth, she realizes a career in law may not be for her. Lydia is looking forward to finally exploring the field of politics beyond her coursework. While she is in D.C. for



Lydia Xia and Deena Younan

the fall 2016 UCDC program, she will be researching the causes for political partisanship, specifically the role of money in causing the divide. She is excited for the new experiences awaiting her in DC. "I am really thankful to the Matsui Center for providing me with this amazing opportunity."

Deena Younan

Deena is a third-year student studying political science and legal studies. She is particularly interested in researching financial regulation and corporations' behavior on Wall Street. Through the fall 2016 UCDC program, she hopes to intern at the Securities and Exchange Commission and observe the practice of balanced regulation first hand. She would like to thank the Matsui Center very much for providing her with this exciting opportunity! □

Matsui Cal-in-Sac Fellows . . .

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

Courtney Sarkin

Courtney Sarkin is a first-generation college graduate and triple major in legal studies, gender and women’s studies, and molecular and cell biology. She worked in California Senator Carol Liu’s office as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow.

“On my first day at the Capitol, one of the legislative aides in our office showed me the bill room, the Senate and Assembly floors, and the Legislative Counsel office. I traveled down to the Senate floor as often as I could that first week. I was completely in awe watching the senators speak so passionately about their legislation. Within the first two weeks, I had submitted a Senate Concurrent Resolution (SCR) to Leg Counsel, which I was lucky



Cal-in-Sac Fellows Courtney Sarkin and Kat Nham with Assemblymember Evan Low

enough to introduce on the Senate Floor the next week, created a fact sheet for my SCR, updated all of the committee membership vote sheets, completed summaries and vote recommendations for bills to be heard in the Human Services and Insurance committees the following week, hosted a couple of meetings with lobbyists, and co-staffed SB 1014,

an amazing bill by Senator Liu regarding parental leave for pregnant and parenting students in school. When I think about my time here so far, I’m amazed at how much I’ve learned. “On June 20, just about a week ago, I was standing in the Senate chambers when the Women’s Legislative Caucus, composed of some of my favorite women senators (Carol Liu, Hannah-Beth Jackson, and Holly Mitchell), read the Stanford survivor’s letter to Brock Turner out loud to the Senate. I, like many survivors, wish I didn’t relate so much with those words. In that instant, I was reminded that moments I spend here should not be wasted. The hotly contested issues debated within these chambers that have such an impact on Californians’ livelihoods certainly deserve every moment of my time. Thinking back on the tragic massacre of the LGBTQ community in Orlando, it’s hard to find quite the right

words to describe the overwhelming feelings I have about the deadliest mass shooting in U.S. history. The day after, I answered phone calls from constituents urging my senator to vote “no” on antigun legislation working its way through the Public Safety Committee the next day. The world is hurting. I’m left wondering what actions I can take to help my communities. I believe healing occurs when we actively love. In order for me to actively love, it’s important for me to dismantle the interlocked oppressions through big steps, like legislation, resources, and protests; but it’s also the small acts of kindness, acceptance, and unconditional affirmation of our identities and experiences that matter.”

Jessica Del Castillo

Jessica Del Castillo is this year’s Cal-in-Sacramento Student Director. She is a transfer student majoring in political science and legal studies. She worked in the Office of the Federal Defender of the Eastern District as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow.

“I came to Cal as an independent transfer student from southern California with few opportunities for entering law or politics. This summer, I am a paralegal intern in the Office of the Federal Defender of the Eastern District, thanks to Cal-in-Sacramento. I can say first hand that Cal-in-Sacramento truly changes lives. By providing housing and a light rail pass for every participant, Cal-in-Sacramento eliminates many financial obstacles, allowing students to participate in unpaid summer internships that encourage public service. Thanks to Cal-in-Sac, I did not have to choose between working to support myself and the opportunity to gain relevant professional experience.

“Completing Cal-in-Sac alongside my peers has given us all insider’s knowledge on what it’s like to work in different parts of state government. Through conversations with other fellows I can find out what it’s like in the California Legislature, the Governor’s Press Office, the Senate Pro-Tem’s Office, or the District Attor-



Cal-in-Sac Fellows Luz Murillo and Jessica Del Castillo (center) with other Federal Defender’s Office interns

ney's Office, to name a few. I appreciate the thoughtful talks we have about work duties and real-world issues during group dinners. The program has given me invaluable networks and memories that have transformed my experience and focus at Cal, and has also furthered my goal of becoming the first lawyer in my family."

Kat Nham

Katrina Nham is a second-year majoring in American studies with a concentration in politics and underserved groups. She worked in the Office of Assemblymember Sebastian Ridley-Thomas as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow and has been selected as next year's student director.

"Just a couple weeks ago, I was nervously tugging at my blazer, hands clammy, and mind racing with so many thoughts and possibilities about my first day at my internship in the office



Assemblymember Sebastian Ridley-Thomas with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Kat Nham (middle)

of Assemblymember Ridley-Thomas. Deep down, I knew this anxiety was far more than just first-day jitters. It was anxiety rooted in a dream I think about every day. For the longest time, I have imagined putting on my slacks and blazer and hustling to work in a Capitol building. I have been so adamant about my career path and my passion without any real taste of it, at least outside of student government and suburban school board politics. So as I crossed out the days and the moments ticked by until I got a taste of the real deal, part of me was panicking. What if it wasn't all that I imagined it to be? What if it wasn't the whirlwind of meetings, critical thinking, and positive change I wanted it to be? In two months, my passion, my entire life plan, and a crucial part of my identity, could unravel itself in one fatal swoop.

"But it hasn't. And I am fairly certain, more than ever, that it won't. You see, every time I turn the corner onto N St. and see the awe-inspiring and imposing bright white building of the California State Capitol it is a rush of adrenaline, a surge of passion that I had only once dreamed of. I live for the policy discussions, combing through analyses, thinking critically about political implications, sitting in hearings, and taking meetings. My coworkers continually inspire, mentor, and draw the best out of me. I love being surrounded by individuals driven to make their version of positive change, whatever that may look like, regardless of how long it takes."

Calixtho Lopes

Calixtho Lopes is a junior transfer at UC Berkeley studying political science and ethnic studies. He worked in the office of California Senator Tony Mendoza as a Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow.

"In today's public schools, there is not enough focus placed on civic education and preparing our youth for democratic participation and citizenship. Many young adults between the ages of 18 and 24 are politically and civically disengaged. There is a great need for programs that provide youth with the opportunity to work with each other and with policymakers to impact issues that affect them directly. Which is why it was so wonderful to have been part of the staff that helped coordinate Senator Mendoza's Young Senators Leadership Program this year.

"I was beyond excited to see the many students of color that participated. It is important to note that many of these students, like myself, come from a low-income or disadvantaged community where opportunities like these don't come by very often. Out of the group that attended, only six students had visited Sacramento before. Seeing the joy reflected in their faces was priceless. Having had the chance to interact with many of them, I am sure that in that cohort there were many future leaders learning about career paths critical to the future of our state. I am looking into the possibility of helping to coordinate the next incoming class, and continuing the efforts to preparing future leaders." □



Calixtho Lopes

Matsui Local Government Fellows . . .



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

Melody Gu

Melody Gu is a 2016 UC Berkeley graduate with a degree in urban studies and a focus in transportation planning and geospatial information sciences. She is interning in the Southern California Association of Governments as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.

“On June 13, I attended the USC-SCAG 27th Annual Demographic Workshop as part of my internship at the Southern California Association of Governments. More than 100 planners, policy-makers, and academic researchers attended to discuss how we can better plan and adjust policy to the urban preferences of rising millennials.

“As each presenter ran down the basic facts, my coworkers and I kept repeating, ‘me, me, me, that’s me. . . .’ Most of my fellow interns fall into this generation, ranging from 22 (me) to 34, and are still struggling to find a full-time job; we’re scraping by with internships and entry-level positions. Furthermore, many of the interns also have master’s degrees, yet still live with their parents. If you’re reading this, whether you’re a parent of a millennial or a millennial yourself, there is no reason to be too self-critical or anxious. These characteristics are common and denote a larger demographic and economic issue.

“Despite these disheartening statistics, the opportunities are finally beginning to grow, and housing opportunities are also beginning to resume. In other words, there’s hope for us. For those in my generation reading this, I’m living at home and am struggling to get even an entry-level position. However, I’m hopeful for my future and am excited for what I can do and what’s to come.”

Dalia Nava

Dalia Nava is a third-year political science major and Chicano studies minor. She is working in the offices of Oakland City Councilmember Noel Gallo and the San Francisco Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.



Melody Gu,
Dalia Nava,
Sonnie Beth Martinez

“Summer 2016 has been and will continue to be one of the most challenging and rewarding experiences thus far. I was given the opportunity to simultaneously work for the San Francisco Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs and for the Office of Oakland City Councilmember Noel Gallo, representative of District 5. In addition to working full-time in the Bay Area during the weekday, on weekends I will be participating in the University of California, Irvine Pre-Law Outreach Program. The weekly overnight commute from Berkeley to southern California and back is the only downfall about this entire experience.

“At the Office of Civic Engagement and Immigrant Affairs, I work to serve San Francisco’s immigrant communities through a project-based immigrant-serving public organization. Additionally, I will receive leadership development and professional skills training. With Councilmember Noel Gallo’s office, I assist constituents with casework and also plan to do a lot of community engagement and outreach. Although it is just the beginning of my summer, I continue to learn so much about the disadvantaged communities in the Bay Area and the very important role that local government plays in these people’s lives.”

Sonnie Beth Martinez

Sonnie Beth Martinez is a third-year political science major and Chicano studies minor. She is working in the Los Angeles Mayor’s Office of Public Engagement as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.

“At the Los Angeles Mayor’s Office of Public Engagement, they really emphasize advocacy. On my first day in City Hall I was asked to think about a problem that I see in the city of Los Angeles and figure out a way to fix it or make it better. I, along with the other interns, were asked to advocate for change in the city of Los Angeles, and the change could be in any area we felt necessary. So I brainstormed all day and came up with a project revolving around food insecurity in Los Angeles. I proposed a press conference and kick-off event promoting summer meal programs and providing resources to Angelenos on the mayor’s website. As I do more research I am becoming more familiar with the issue itself, and I have learned that

a lot of the resources and programs available are being underutilized.

“I had only been in the office for two weeks and I am already in charge of my own project and meeting with many stakeholders. I am so excited to see what the rest of the summer has in store for me!”

Araceli Hernandez

Araceli Hernandez is a third-year political science major. She is working in the office of Los Angeles Supervisor Sheila Kuehl as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.

“Being in Supervisor Kuehl’s office has been an incredible experience so far. The people in the office are extremely knowledgeable about their areas of work and seem very committed to change. The office is working to make sure constituents can utilize and benefit from the services that the county offers. I have also been impressed by the questions that are asked by office members in meetings. I wish that constituents could see their interests being represented.

“If someone would have told me that in one week I would have attended four meetings, a historic permanent housing groundbreaking event where I sat behind prominent elected officials, and listened to the Los Angeles city attorney speak, I would have laughed. However, instead of laughing, I was impressed. My first week interning in the office of Los Angeles County Supervisor Sheila Kuehl was beyond anything I could have imagined.”

Ellie Householder

Ellie Householder is a 2016 UC Berkeley graduate with a degree in American studies and a focus on politics, policy, and justice. She is interning in the Antioch Unified School District as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.

“Having just recently finished an internship at the machine that is the U.S. Department of Education, it is surprisingly refreshing to be in such a small local education agency, especially one that used to be my school district. However, there is one question that has bothered me. People keep asking me “why are you here?” In most instances, this question is asked after I give a brief overview of my education and professional background (which

is fairly extensive). My interpretation of this question is that I am somehow “too good” to be working at this level of education. On the one hand, this is flattering. But on the other hand, it is quite concerning. Why can’t someone like me work here? Shouldn’t qualified individuals be seeking these types of jobs?

“This question made me think maybe I should be doing something more “worthy” of my time, that is until I met Jason Murphy, the director of educational services at AUSD and a UC Berkeley alum. Mr. Murphy asked me a very simple question: “well, do you want to fence, or do you want to brawl?” He explained that working at places like the Brookings Institute is similar to fencing. It is this meticulous act of research, writing, and overall academic practices. Working as an administrator in a local school district is like brawling. It’s being able to navigate the political system and make legislation actually work in implementation and practice. Now, I’m not going to pretend like this 15-minute conversation somehow helped me discern what it is I want to do with my life (I’m still very confused). But what I do know is that there are right questions that you can ask someone, and for now I definitely want to brawl.”

Matthew Lewis

Matthew Lewis is a fifth-year political science and sustainable and equitable cities major. He is working in the office of Berkeley City Councilmember Jesse Arreguin as a Matsui Local Government Fellow.

“This summer I’m interning for Berkeley Councilmember Jesse Arreguin. I’m primarily working on issues of affordable housing, which is really great because that’s one of my top interests. One of my first assignments was to research different short-term rental laws in different cities, and I’m really proud of the work I did on that. I’ve also been doing outreach to help the councilmember find qualified persons to appoint to the city’s various boards and commissions. Because many of these appointees are students, it gives us an exciting opportunity to make our voice heard and influence city policy. I’m glad to know that my internship will have an impact even after I’ve left.” □



*Araceli Hernandez,
Ellie Householder,
Matthew Lewis*

Panel Examines Obama Legacy, 2016 Election

President Obama will leave office with a legacy of significant accomplishments, but also with a vestige of disappointment among voters who once invested too much hope in his historic victory, according to panelists at the 35th annual IGS/Matsui Center Review of the Presidency.

The panelists—**Tom Mann** of IGS, **Julia Azari** of Marquette, **Lanhee Chen** of the Hoover Institution, and **Lynn Sweet** of the *Chicago Sun-Times*—agreed that many voters expected too much of Obama when he was first elected in 2008.

Perhaps because of his campaign rhetoric, perhaps because of growing political dysfunction, or perhaps because of Obama's status as the first African-American president, voters hoped for someone who could transform American politics and heal bitter partisan divides. But that cannot be accomplished by any one president, since much of the partisan rancor of American politics is based in our institutional designs and ideologically divided and nationalized parties.

Still, Obama accomplished much during his presidency, including the economic stimulus at the beginning of his first term, an

expansion of health insurance coverage, and a variety of changes implemented through executive power, such as enactment of many provisions of the DREAM Act, environmental reforms, and the provision of paid sick leave for employees of federal contractors.

Chen, who disagreed with many of Obama's policy prescriptions, said that sometimes his conservative colleagues say that Republicans do not want to elect a conservative version of Obama, but he notes that actually that is exactly what the GOP should do, given the president's widespread policy achievements.

The panel also discussed the 2016 election, including the surprising phenomenon of Donald Trump's candidacy. Panelists agreed that Trump is in many respects an anomaly, but they also noted that his support reflects a frustration on the part of many voters with politics as usual.

None of the panelists was willing to predict the outcome of this most unusual campaign. □



Panel (from left): Ethan Rarick, Julia Azari, Tom Mann, Lanhee Chen, Lynn Sweet

To watch a webcast of this event, go to [igs.berkeley.edu/
events/annual-review-of-the-presidency](https://igs.berkeley.edu/events/annual-review-of-the-presidency)

IGS Honors Winners of Percy Grants, Synar Fellowships

The impact of prison realignment policies and the role of stereotypical gender appearance in campaigns are just two of the research topics supported by IGS this year with the **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grants for Public Affairs Research** and the **Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowships**.

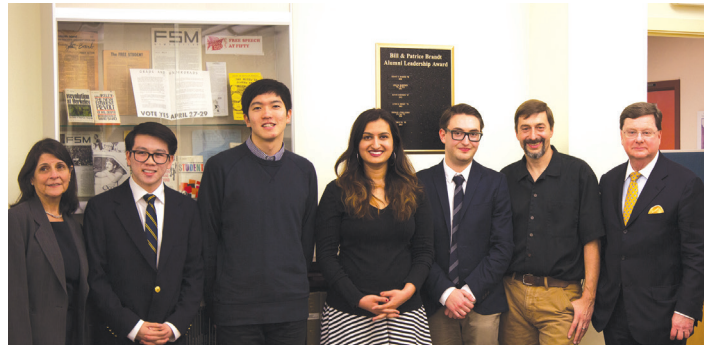
The two programs are made possible through the generous support of **Bill Brandt** and **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**, who attended a ceremony in the IGS Library on Feb. 19 to distribute the awards.

The Percy Grant awards six undergraduate students with a \$500 grant each to help conduct American politics research. **Urvashi Malhoutra**, a senior majoring in political science, plans to use the grant to help purchase STATA, a statistical modeling software program, to help with her data analysis of the impact of California's prison realignment policy on county crime rates, which opponents said would rise significantly with this new policy. She also plans to use the funds to pay for travel to interview local officials, police chiefs, and parole officers across California to find out their views of the best practices counties can adopt to keep both violent and property crimes low.



Jake Grumbach, Brendan Shanahan, Rachel Bernhard, Gabrielle Elul, Aaron Hall

The Synar Fellowship awards \$3,000 each to five UC Berkeley graduate students. **Rachel Bernhard** plans to use the grant to conduct surveys in California and Oregon to examine how voters respond to female candidates in low-information races, where voters often know much less about the candidate and cannot use partisan identification as a heuristic. These kinds of races may prompt voters to rely more heavily on gender stereotypes to evaluate leadership potential. Oregon provides an especially interesting case because all voting is conducted through the mail, and candidates supply a photo for the ballot. In her research so far, Bernhard finds that Republican women and men are hurt more than Democratic women and men when they appear too feminine. □



Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Alan Yan, Gyu Choi, Urvashi Malhoutra, Kevin Reyes, Tom Holub, Bill Brandt

Percy Grant Recipients

- Gyu Choi**—The Supreme Court, Public Opinion, and the Affordable Care Act
- Hanna Haddad**—Defining Arab American Political Attitudes
- Tom Holub**—Remembering the Alamo: Demographic Change and Texas Politics
- Urvashi Malhoutra**—The Great Shift: Analyzing the Effect of Public Safety Realignment on Crime Rates in California Counties
- Kevin Reyes**—Programming Strategy: Defense Policy, Computer Science, and the Strategic Defense Initiative, 1983–1989
- Alan Yan**—Examining the Effects of Opinion Leadership on Legislation on the Municipal Level

Synar Fellowship Recipients

- Rachel Bernhard**—Well-Behaved Women: The Penalties of Femininity in Politics
- Gabrielle Elul**—Who Governs the Federal Reserve Banks? The “Forgotten Minority” and the Politics of Central Bank Appointments
- Jake Grumbach**—Upside Down Federalism: The Nationalization of State Politics
- Aaron Hall**—A Constitutional Sublime: Claiming the Founding in Antebellum America
- Brendan Shanahan**—Making Modern American Citizenship: Aliens and Citizens in the United States, 1882–1952

Book Talks at IGS

Authors were a regular presence at IGS this year, as the Institute sponsored talks by, among others, the columnist E. J. Dionne; law professor and blogger Rick Hasen; scholar Christopher Achen; and the authors of *Game Changers: Twelve Elections that Transformed California*.

Game Changers Examines Key California Elections

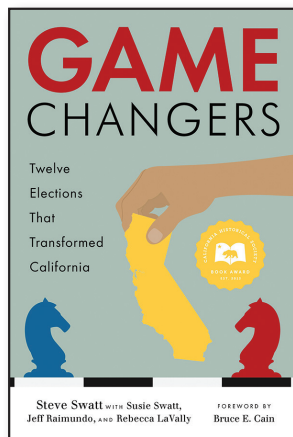
Can voters truly change things by going to the polls? The answer is yes, according to the four authors of *Game Changers: Twelve Elections that Transformed California*, which won the California Historical Society Book Award in 2014.

Steve Swatt, Susie Swatt, Jeff Raimundo, and Rebecca LaVally wrote the book, which describes 12 key elections that changed the state's political trajectory, including the elections of Hiram Johnson, Earl Warren and Pat Brown as governor, and the passage of campaign finance reform, Proposition 13, and legislative term limits.

In such critical elections, voters have repeatedly made a lasting difference in the state's politics, Steve Swatt said in introducing the talk. Each of the four authors then talked about one segment of the book, including the approval of the bond issue that built the Los Angeles Aqueduct to bring water from the Owens Valley, the role of the *Los Angeles Times* in the nationally prominent 1934 gubernatorial election, the election of Earl Warren as governor, and the 1980 election that changed the nature of campaigns.

The talk was attended by Ted Lempert's California Politics class, which uses the book, and by members of the public.

The authors have many ties to IGS. Susie Swatt, who held key staff positions in the legislature for many years, serves on the IGS National Advisory Council. Raimundo, a former journalist and campaign consultant, serves on the Matsui Center National Advisory Committee. □



Rebecca LaVally, Steve Swatt, Susie Swatt, Jeff Raimundo

E. J. Dionne Chronicles the History of the Right

The history of modern conservatism is a story of disappointment, partly because for the past half-century Republican politicians have been forced to make promises they could not possibly keep, celebrated columnist E. J. Dionne said during an IGS book talk in February.

Three core promises demanded of all Republican politicians include vows to reduce the size of government, reverse the cultural changes in American society, and reverse the demographic changes that have produced far greater ethnic diversity, said Dionne, a syndicated columnist for *The Washington Post* and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution.

But those promises can't be kept, Dionne said, because most Americans like the benefits provided by government and the rights revolutions of modern cultural change, and because demographic changes cannot be stopped. The result is a frustrated conservatism that often refuses to compromise, a brand of ideological purity inconsistent with the American system of separated powers, Dionne said.

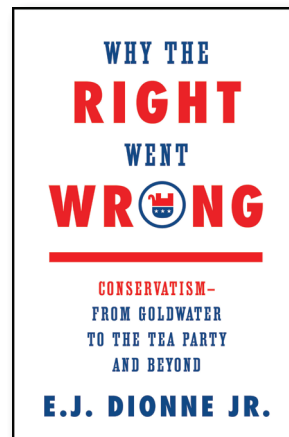
Before a packed room at the Alumni House, Dionne spoke about his new book, *Why the Right Went Wrong: Conservatism—From Goldwater to the Tea Party and Beyond*, a *New York Times* best-seller.

Although careful to note that the American political scene needs a conservative voice, Dionne described a modern Republican Party that has been purged of moderates and liberals and turned its back on the Main Street conservatism of Dwight Eisenhower.

Can a more balanced conservatism be revived? Dionne said that perhaps a third straight presidential defeat would spark a Republican reassessment, much as three straight Democratic losses in the 1980s produced the moderate liberalism of Bill Clinton.

Regardless of what happens in this year's presidential race, Dionne made plain his preference for a less angry and pessimistic conservatism, a conservatism more in line with the buoyant optimism of Ronald Reagan.

"This new conservatism at times really doesn't seem to like the United States of America as it exists in 2016," Dionne said. "I don't think this is good for conservatives. I want conservatives to hope again." □



Can the Supreme Court Save America from Plutocracy?

UC Irvine law professor and election-law blogger **Rick Hasen** scheduled his IGS book talk long before President Obama nominated Judge Merrick Garland to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the timing of Hasen's talk last March turned out to be perfect.

Just hours after Obama's nomination of Garland, Hasen spoke about his new book, *Plutocrats United: Campaign Money, the Supreme Court, and the Distortion of American Elections*. Arguing that massive campaign contributions create gross political inequality that distorts politics and policy, Hasen argued that we should change the U.S. Constitution to allow contribution limits. But to do that, he didn't push for a constitutional amendment, but rather for a Supreme Court reconfigured through the sort of natural turnover evidenced by Merrick's nomination.

Hasen, who spoke at an event cosponsored by IGS and the Berkeley Law School, teaches election law at UC Irvine and also writes the popular Election Law Blog, which is widely read for its coverage and commentary regarding legal issues related to American elections and politics.

Hasen argued that mega-donations skew politics and policy outcomes toward the preferences of the very wealthy.

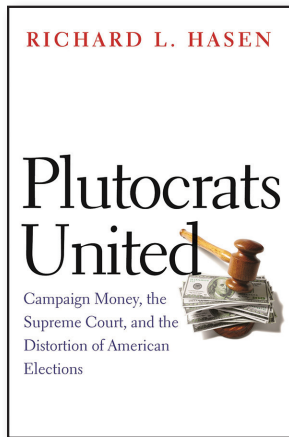
"I'm not against lots of money in politics," said Hasen. "I'm against lots of money coming from too few donors."

He noted that often candidates with the most money lose, and furthermore that the problem with money in politics does not generally include politicians taking bribes. Rather, the problem is that through massive donations from single individuals, economic inequality is transformed into political inequality.

To rectify that, Hasen proposed limiting individual spending to \$25,000 per person, per cycle, even for wealthy candidates funding their own campaigns. But the Supreme Court's current constitutional interpretations, Hasen noted, make it impossible to limit individual spending so severely. Which is why Hasen looks to the inevitable change of justices to produce a new constitutional scheme.

Hasen also supported the idea of giving everyone a \$100 voucher which they could use to make a political donation to the cause of their choosing.

"I think if you give someone \$100, you are saying, 'You have a stake in this election,'" said Hasen. □

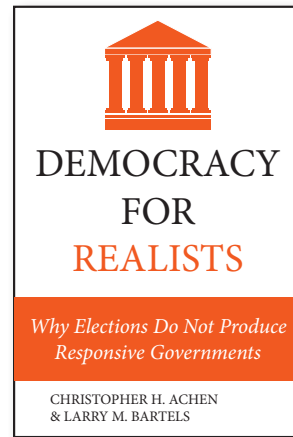


Democracy for Realists

Also speaking at IGS this year was Princeton political scientist **Christopher Achen**, co-author with **Larry Bartels** of *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government*. Achen outlined the argument of the book, which contends that the traditional conception of voters as rational, attentive decision-makers does not hold up against empirical evidence.



Instead, Achen said, voters are best understood as members of partisan groups, which influence their perception of candidates, issues, and even simple facts. According to Achen and Bartels, perceived social identities drive voting decisions, rather than rationality. □



Can Madison's Constitution Survive Our **POLARIZED POLITICS?**

The potential conflict between America's modern, polarized political parties and the country's two-century-old constitutional system was the focus of a two-day conference April 29–30 organized by IGS-Affiliated Faculty members **Paul Pierson** and **Eric Schickler**, two of the country's leading political scientists. The Hewlett Foundation sponsored the event.

The conference included leading scholars from across the country, who gathered at the Faculty Club to examine the “mismatch between modern American political parties and the constitutional setting in which they operate,” in the words of IGS Senior Resident Scholar **Tom Mann**.

Much of the discussion focused on the fractured power and multiple veto points of the American political system, and how such a system interacts with modern parties, which have become more ideologically homogeneous, more ideologically distant from one another, and more closely divided in electoral support.

In the country's separation-of-powers system, parties traditionally had to compromise to govern, engaging in cross-party coalition-building and cross-party voting in Congress. With a system in which voters can divide power and in which there are many levers for political minorities to exert influence—as distinguished

from a parliamentary system in which the winners of an election have far more freedom to simply implement their policies—polarized parties make it hard to get things done, noted multiple panelists. The result can be many of the problems we see in modern American politics, such as policy gridlock, budgetary delay, a degradation of democratic discourse, and even a decline in the effectiveness of government, noted **William Galston** of the Brookings Institution. **Sarah Binder** of George Washington University presented data about the general increase in congressional gridlock from 1947 to 2014, and noted that polarization has shifted lawmakers' priorities from institutional to partisan loyalty.

Part of the problem may stem simply from the intense electoral competition of the past 35 years, noted **Francis Lee** of the University of Maryland. Lee noted that the period since 1980 has been one of unusually even partisan balance in the battle for control of Congress and the presidency. Such even competition elevates the intensity of competition—almost every election could swing control of the country's politics—and that in turn makes it less likely that the minority party will “get its hands dirty” and actually help to govern, Lee said. Rather, out-of-power parties will try to strike a clear distinction with the governing party, includ-



Paul Pierson (left); Sarah Binder and Eric Schickler (right)

Examining the “mismatch between modern American political parties and the constitutional setting in which they operate...”

ing the use of obstructionism and inflammatory rhetoric, in an effort to win the next election. Such close competition has also driven the nationalization of American political parties, Lee said, since individual congressional elections could sway control of the House or Senate.

Conference participants also focused on the ways in which polarization challenges the legitimacy of the American political system. **Nancy Rosenblum** of Harvard argued that there is now a “delegitimizing mindset,” which does not accept the legitimacy of the opposite party, refuses to let the opposition effectively govern, and essentially rejects the idea of agreeing to disagree. Rosenblum argued that this “delegitimizing mindset” is especially strong among Republicans, perhaps because they have isolated themselves more than Democrats through the creation of conservative media channels, a narrative of victimization, and a greater insistence on ideological purity within the party. She also speculated that Republicans may feel humiliated by what they see as American military setbacks overseas. Another possible explanation for the greater presence of a delegitimizing mindset in the GOP is Lee’s observation that the modern Republican Party has most often been a party of opposition.

Panelists differed somewhat as to the severity of the problem. No one believed that the current crisis approaches a true constitutional crisis such as the run-up to the Civil War, but **Francis Fukuyama** of Stanford did see the potential for a “slow and steady decay in the effectiveness of government.” Galston said he believes that the worst condition for the American political system is the presence of parties that are “deeply divided and closely divided,” a description of the current situation

Several participants noted that the discussion of current polarization often compares today’s parties to those of the era after World War II, a time of what **John Ferejohn** of Stanford identified as the “textbook Congress” in which a strong seniority system ensured the existence of powerful and independent congressional committees. Historian **Robin Einhorn** of Berkeley went farther, noting that so much of modern American thinking—about more than

just politics—uses the postwar era as a baseline, when in fact that period was “so unusual” because “all other claimants to power in the world had committed suicide twice in the first half of the 20th century.”

The conference opened with a comparative panel, noting the rarity of two-party presidential systems among developed nations. Most of the world’s richest nations employ parliamentary systems of government, and most of the presidential systems in mid-level economies have more than two parties, panelists noted.

There was relatively little discussion of specific amendments to the constitutional system, but one proposal was outlined by **Terry Moe** of Stanford. Responding not to polarization but to the inherent weakness of the presidency, Moe suggested that the constitution be amended to give presidents “fast-track” authority, under which the chief executive could propose items to Congress and force Congress to hold an up-or-down vote on the president’s proposal. Other conference participants generally thought that Moe’s proposal would not be adopted, relied too heavily on the wisdom of presidents versus that of Congress, or at least needed significant revision.

Other conference participants included **John Carey** of Dartmouth, **Zachary Elkins** of the University of Texas-Austin, **Jonathan Rodden** of Stanford, **Richard Bense** of Cornell, **Daniel Schlozman** of Johns Hopkins, and **Nolan McCarty** of Princeton. In addition to Pierson and Schickler, panel chairs included **Sarah Anzia**, **Sean Farhang**, and **Terri Bimes**, all of Berkeley. □



Should the **United Kingdom** Leave the **European Union**?

With two major British elections in the past year, the Institute's **Anglo-American Studies Program** had a busy season of analyzing politics in the U.K.

This spring, the program sponsored a panel discussion on Brexit, the referendum asking voters if Britain should remain in the European Union. Held at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco in mid-May, a little more than a month before the vote, the event included **Doug Rivers**, chief scientist and director of YouGov PLC and a Stanford political science professor, and **Barry Eichengreen**, a UC Berkeley economics and political science professor, and was moderated by **Richard Waters**, West Coast editor of the *Financial Times*.

Reviewing the consequences of Brexit, Eichengreen contended that “the U.K. has the best of both worlds right now, in that they have access to the Euro single market, but did not adopt the euro currency.” If the U.K. leaves the European Union, he said, “the U.K. would have the best of neither world.”

Rather, Britain would have to renegotiate trade agreements with the E.U. and if the past experiences of Norway and Iceland hold, agreements would require adoption of many of the same provisions that the Leave campaign found problematic, Eichengreen said. A Brexit departure would also hamper the U.K.'s special relationship with the United States, an idea that Eichengreen described as a “frail reed to hang the future on.”

Visiting England, President Obama stated that the U.K. is stronger as a part of the E.U. than standing alone. Although both Rivers and Eichengreen agreed that Obama's entrée into the Brexit debate was heavy handed, they shared his position that a U.K. outside the E.U. would be less important geopolitically and economically to the U.S.

The Brexit talk was co-sponsored by the British Benevolent Society, the Center for British Studies, the Institute for European Studies, and the British American Business Council.

Last fall, the Anglo-American Studies Program organized a review of the then-recent British election, in which the Conservatives won a surprise victory; the Scottish Nationalist Party dominated Scotland, taking over what used to be safe Labour seats; and the Liberal Democratic Party suffered severe losses.

Many of the minor parties surged ahead in this election. The Scottish Nationalist Party, UKIP, and the Green Party all increased their vote share percentage. As explained by Mark Shepherd, the SNP experienced the most growth, going from 6 members of Parliament in 2010 to 56 in 2015. The only minor party that experienced a severe dip in its vote share percentage was the Liberal Democratic Party, which ended the night with 8 MPs, a decrease of 49 seats from 2010. According to **Jane Green**, **Ed Fieldhouse**, and **Chris Prosser**, coalition expectations increased voting for the minor parties.

Of course, the flip side of the SNP doing better was that the Labour Party did worse than expected. Labour has lost its stronghold in Scotland, with the SNP winning 56 out of the 59 seats in Scotland. As Mark Shepherd explained, many Scottish voters view the Labour Party as too far right and preferred the SNP.

The election review was co-sponsored by the British Politics Group and the Center for British Studies. Papers from the conference are available at <https://igs.berkeley.edu/events/the-2015-british-general-election-parties-politics-and-the-future-of-the-united-kingdom>. □

Academic Awards and Honors

Each year IGS awards a series of student prizes to support and recognize the scholarship and leadership of Berkeley students. These awards provide a stipend for the deserving students.

Undergraduates **Madison Chapman** and **Alexander Mabanta** were recognized with the 2016 **William K. (Sandy) Muir, Jr. Leadership Award**. The award, established in memory of Professor Sandy Muir, is given to two graduating seniors in the political science department with exemplary academic achievements and a demonstrated commitment to public service. Both Chapman and Mabanta are fine examples of scholar-leaders, and we are excited to see what they do next.

The year's **Fred Martin Award**, given to an outstanding graduate student working on American political history, went to **Brendan Shanahan**. Shanahan's dissertation, *Making Modern American Citizenship: Aliens and Citizens in the United States, 1882–1952*, argues that modern American citizenship emerged through a series of debates over political and employment rights, and alien registration laws.

Michael Dougal, a PhD candidate in American politics and political methodology, was awarded the **Dave Howard Prize** for exceptional work in the field of American political behavior. Dougal's dissertation develops methods of text-based machine learning to assess political coverage and better understand the ability of the media to monitor elected officials on behalf of voters.

The **R. Kirk Underhill Graduate Fellowship** was awarded to **Samuel Garrett Zeitlin** for his work on Anglo-American affairs. Zeitlin is a PhD candidate in political science; his research focuses on the political thought of Francis Bacon.

The IGS community also received many awards at the 2015 American Political Science Association conference.

IGS-affiliated faculty member **Sarah Anzia** was awarded the **Best Book Award** on urban politics published in the previous year and the **Virginia Gray Best Book Award** for the best political science book published on the subject of U.S. state politics or policy in the preceding three calendar years for her book *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups*.

Rebecca Hamlin, former IGS graduate fellow, received the **Best Conference Paper Award** for the best paper on law and courts presented at the previous year's annual meetings of the American, international, or regional political science associations for her paper "The Human Rights Act and the New Immigration Politics in the United Kingdom." Hamlin also received an honorable mention for the **Best Book Award** for best book on migration and/or citi-

zenship published in the previous year for her book *Let Me Be a Refugee: Administrative Justice and the Politics of Asylum in the United States, Canada, and Australia*.

G. Bingham Powell, former IGS-affiliated faculty member, received the **George H. Hallett Award** for his book *Elections As Instruments of Democracy*. The Hallett Award is given to the author of a book published at least 10 years ago that has made a lasting contribution to the literature on representation and electoral systems.

Rocio Titiunik, a 2007 IGS Synar Graduate Research Fellowship recipient, was awarded the **Harold F. Gosnell Prize** for the best work of political methodology presented at a political science conference in the previous year for her paper "Robust Nonparametric Confidence Intervals for Regression-Discontinuity Designs."

Michele Margolis, a former IGS graduate fellow, earned the **Aaron Wildavsky Dissertation Award** for best dissertation on religion and politics successfully defended within the last two years for her paper "The Intersection of Religion and Politics: A Two-Way Street."

IGS-affiliated faculty member **Amy Lerman** was awarded the **Best Book Award** on urban politics published in the previous year for her book *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*.

2007 IGS Synar Graduate Research Fellowship recipient **Kevin Wallsten** received an honorable mention for **Best Conference Paper** in the area of information technology and politics in the previous calendar year for his paper "Persuasion from Below? An Experimental Assessment of the Impact of Anonymous Comments Sections on New Reader Attitudes."

Devin Caughey, a 2010 IGS Synar Graduate Research Fellowship recipient, was awarded the **Best Paper Award** for best paper on state politics and policy presented at the previous year's APSA annual meeting for his paper "Dynamic Representation in the American States, 1960–2012." □

Pictured below, left to right: Martin Award recipient Brendan Shanahan; IGS National Advisory Council member Kelly Calkin, Howard Prize recipient Michael Dougal, and IGS National Advisory Council member Katie Merrill; Underhill Fellowship recipient Garrett Zeitlin; Pauli Muir (center) with Muir Leadership Award recipients Madison Chapman and Alex Mabanta



Smith Seminar Series Examines Strategic Stability

The Institute's **Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series** examined a variety of national security and global issues this year.

Speakers in the Smith Series included Dr. **Brad Roberts**, director of the Center for Global Security Research at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory; Admiral **James O. Ellis, Jr.**, a former Commander of the United States Strategic Command; and Dr. **Josef Joffe**, the Publisher-Editor of *Die Zeit*.

Roberts kicked off the series last fall with a lecture on "Extended Deterrence and Strategic Stability in Northeast Asia," sharing valuable insight on the nuclear landscape of northeast Asia and providing key points from a paper he wrote for the Ministry of Defense think tank in Japan. The paper drew from knowledge Roberts gained while he was the director of the Nuclear Posture Review in 2009 and the Ballistic Missile Defense Review.

Roberts acknowledged the complicated issues surrounding nuclear weapons in Asia today.

"After all, 20 years ago, with the Cold War rapidly receding in memory, the nuclear business was also rapidly receding," he said. "You could think of the nuclear shadow going in retreat for a number of reasons."

With the buildup of nuclear weapons in several regions such as India, China, Iran, Pakistan, and North Korea, other countries feel compelled to keep up in order to maintain a position of defense. There are also several anxieties amongst allies concerning the stability/instability paradox leading to smaller conflicts correlating with the accumulation of nuclear weapons as seen in the India/Pakistan relationship.

In addition, Roberts highlighted the Obama administration's strides towards strengthening extended deterrence and assurance to our allies and the subsequent steps taken to achieve this goal.

Roberts closed the discussion with an open Q & A with the audience.

Later in the year, Joffe spoke on "The End of the 'End of History' and the Return of Power Politics," and Ellis spoke on "Nuclear Energy: The Power, Peril and Potential of the Genie in the Bottle." □



From top: Brad Roberts, Josef Joffe, and James O. Ellis

New Members Join IGS National Advisory Council

This year three new members joined the IGS National Advisory Council, which supports the Institute's mission with guidance, support, and advice.

Tom MacBride is a partner at Goodin, MacBride, Squeri & Day, and has practiced law for 40 years with an emphasis on proceedings before the California Public Utilities Commission. He served as president of the Conference of California Public Utility Counsel in 1997–98, a position he also held in 1982–83. MacBride has participated in a number of successful legislative initiatives to reform CPUC procedures, and served as chief financial officer of the California Public Utilities Commission Foundation from 2010–2012, as well as on the board of directors of the foundation. From 1977–1981 he served on the board of directors of the Cal Alumni Association, and was vice-president from 1980–1981. He graduated from Berkeley in 1971 and Hastings College of the Law in 1975.

Jon Ross is a partner at KP Public Affairs and a registered lobbyist and lawyer. He has specific expertise in financial services law and regulation, and has played a leading role in managing the financial services industry's response to a number of critical issues, including legislative efforts to regulate financial privacy, credit card marketing, and outsourcing. Ross has also lobbied on a host of issues important to small businesses. He leads the firm's lobbying effort for financial services clients, is the firm's principal advisor to the California Restaurant Association, and lead lobbyist for the Hertz Corporation and Google. Prior to joining KP, Ross was a partner at the San Francisco law firm of Landels, Ripley, and Diamond. He graduated from Berkeley with a degree in political economy of industrial societies, and received a law degree from the University of Santa Clara.

Alan Unger has over 40 years of experience working with public- and private-sector organizations, managing projects and providing strategic planning and guidance in the areas of public policy, marketing, and communications. He worked with a number of California public affairs and governmental organizations including the Canadian Foreign Ministry's San Francisco Consulate. For four years he directed internationally recognized civil society, public-education and information programs in the former Soviet republics of Ukraine, Moldova, and Russia. He has worked on a number of presidential political campaigns and in Congress as well as state and local efforts. He and his wife, Ruby Unger, established Unger Educational Media, which has produced eight award-winning educational films over the past 20 years. He has long been involved at IGS, where he helped establish a North American Futures symposium series and organized a major conference titled Democracy Rising. □



Tom MacBride, Jon Ross, Alan Unger

Director's Message from p. 2

tant **David Axelrod**, moderated by journalist **Amy Walter**. Aside from providing the audience with a deeply interesting evening, I'm happy to say the Salon Gala also raised a record amount for our student programs, ensuring great opportunities for future generations of Berkeley students. Other outstanding public programming this year included campus visits by two of the most distinguished former members of Congress, **George Miller** and **Jane Harman**. Our traditional presidency panel featured top scholars and journalists, we gathered leading thinkers from many disciplines to closely examine the status of the Madisonian constitutional system and our modern political parties, and our **Anglo-American Studies Program** studied the various convulsions of British politics in the past year. Our **Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series** featured top leaders and analysts on those issues, including **Dr. Josef Joffe**, **Adm. James O. Ellis, Jr.**, and **Dr. Brad Roberts**. Again, you can read more about all of these events in the pages that follow.

Such a summary merely scratches the surface of the Institute's activities during the past year, and I hope you'll read the

rest of this issue of the *PAR* to get a fuller sense of our accomplishments. And yet as busy as we have been, I know the next year will be fuller still. With the United States now in the midst of an extraordinary presidential election, and with California voters facing their own long and complex ballot, we will have much to think about.

The achievements of the Institute would not be possible without the extraordinary efforts of a truly devoted and exceptional staff and the support and guidance of the entire **National Advisory Council**, and I take this opportunity to thank them for all they do. This will be my last year as director of IGS; my second of two permitted terms as director will end next summer. I'll have more to say in next year's *PAR* as I look back at my tenure and hand the reins to a new director, but in the meantime, I hope you will join me in looking forward to another exceptional year of study, analysis, and discussion amid the vibrant intellectual community that is IGS. □

Refining Persuasion Experiments—from Vaccines to Voting

IGS-affiliated faculty member **Jasjeet Sekhon** and IGS Graduate Fellow **Josh Kalla** are pioneering powerful new statistical approaches and computer algorithms to improve and streamline persuasion experiments that are being used by a growing number of political campaigns, public interest groups, and academics to better understand how citizens can be persuaded on issues of public importance.

By Wallace Ravven

One of the largest experiments ever conducted on people was carried out during the 2012 presidential campaign. Barack Obama's canvassing teams tested different persuasion scripts on millions of potential voters and donors. Later, when they canvassed again, they used only the proven winners to convince people to vote for Obama.

Most persuasion experiments are now being conducted online by advertisers and marketers to devise the best way to influence buying behavior. But a growing number are being run by political campaigns, public interest groups, and academics to better understand how citizens can be persuaded on issues of public importance.



Jasjeet Sekhon

Persuasion experiments are a fairly new component of elections and public opinion surveys, says Jasjeet Sekhon, professor of political science and statistics and an affiliated faculty member at IGS. He should know. He and his graduate students are pioneering powerful new statistical approaches and computer algorithms to improve and streamline surveys.

They have devised strategies to greatly reduce the sample size needed in the experiments without compromising reliability. This in turn cuts down the time and cost of the field research, bringing it within reach of organizations on tight budgets. The refinements have been particularly helpful to public health campaigns and clinical research.

Sekhon is working with public health officials to boost acceptance of vaccines. He also develops and evaluates persuasion tactics to help move the dial on public acceptance of climate change.

"Most of the work we do is with nonpartisan, nonprofit organizations, and companies" Sekhon says. "My grad student Josh Kalla has worked some with partisan political campaigns in the past, so he has a lot of experience in this area." Kalla is an IGS Graduate Fellow.

Sekhon's innovative research was recognized this year with a **Signatures Innovation Fellows Award**, a new UC Berkeley program for visionary faculty entrepreneurs, intended to bring new technologies to the market.

"Right now, it takes a lot of human effort to implement our experimental design and our statistical and computational methods," he says. "Our goal is to develop software to make this easy for organizations big and small to implement. The current focus is on persuasion experiments, but the methods and design have all sorts of applications, such as online marketing experiments."

The reason persuasion campaigns can work, he says, is that people often have conflicting ideas.

"They may consciously believe in equal rights for gay people, but also have an emotional prejudice. Or they may believe in the benefits of modern medicine and the public good, but fear vaccines or not trust doctors and the government.

"In persuasion campaigns you have a dialogue, and try to get people to link the policy issue or medical treatment to their pre-existing belief. In the case of vaccines, the goal would be to have people who believe in the public good see that not vaccinating their own child puts other children at risk."

Late last year, a paper in the journal *Science* reported that attitudes toward same-sex marriage could be significantly changed just from short conversations with gay canvassers. Kalla and then-fellow grad student **David Broockman** thought the study's numbers didn't add up. After they flagged the study, other inconsistencies emerged, and in May, *Science* retracted the scientific paper. The flap over the bogus study made *The New York Times* and other outlets around the country. (For more, see page 5.)

The gay marriage persuasion experiment may have looked too simple to believe, but Sekhon has devised sophisticated statistical tools that allow researchers to better design and analyze these experiments. In one scientific paper, "How to Measure Persuasion 98% Cheaper and 90% Faster," Sekhon, Kalla, and Broockman seem to have turned conventional polling wisdom on its head. The long-accepted way to measure the presence of a certain trait in a population—whether it's the response of patients to an experimental drug or the effectiveness of different persuasion scripts—relies on large numbers of randomly selected targets.

But Sekhon's team devised algorithms and new statistical methodology that allow experimenters to gain reliable assess-

IGS in the News

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

Director **Jack Citrin** wrote about Brexit, national identity, and economics for *The Washington Post*.

National Advisory Council member **Peter D. Hart** commented on the presidential election for *The Wall Street Journal*.

Resident scholar **Thomas Mann** was quoted on President Obama's State of the Union address in *U.S. News & World Report*.

Assistant Director for Research **Terri Bimes** was interviewed by **KTVU** before the Republican National Convention about the party's platform.

Associate Director **Ethan Rarick** was quoted in a *Newsweek* profile of Gov. Jerry Brown.

Affiliated faculty member **Irene Bloemraad** was a featured guest on KQED Forum to discuss Justin Trudeau's election as Canadian prime minister.

Affiliated faculty member **Lisa García Bedolla** was interviewed on **NPR** about the Spanish-language Republican response to President Obama's State of the Union address.

A study by affiliated faculty member **Gabriel Lenz** on the potential effects of an election-year recession was cited in *Salon*.

Affiliated faculty members **Eric Schickler** and **Sean Gailmard** were quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* about the FBI investigation of Hillary Clinton's emails.

Graduate Fellow **Doug Ahler** was quoted in *The Washington Post* on polarization and perceptions of President Obama.

Affiliated faculty member **Karen Chapple** was quoted in the *Sacramento Bee* on conflicts between California's tax policies and climate change policies.

Director **Jack Citrin** was quoted in *Time* on the likelihood of Gov. Jerry Brown signing aid-in-dying legislation.

National Advisory Council member **David Carrillo**, who also leads the California Constitution Center at the UC Berkeley School of Law, was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on a proposal to let noncitizens vote in school board elections.

Associate Director **Ethan Rarick** was quoted in *The Guardian* on the continuing split in the GOP.

Assistant Director for Research **Terri Bimes** was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on Donald Trump's fundraising efforts.

Resident scholar **Thomas Mann** was interviewed by the German media organization *Deutsche Welle* about Donald Trump's firing of his campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski.

Director **Jack Citrin** was quoted in the *Sacramento Bee* on the impact of the Bernie Sanders campaign.

A study by Graduate Fellow **Josh Kalla** and former Graduate Fellow **David Broockman** on the effectiveness of deep canvassing in changing prejudicial attitudes received widespread national coverage, including in *The New York Times Magazine*, *Vox.com*, *The Atlantic*, and *Scientific American*.

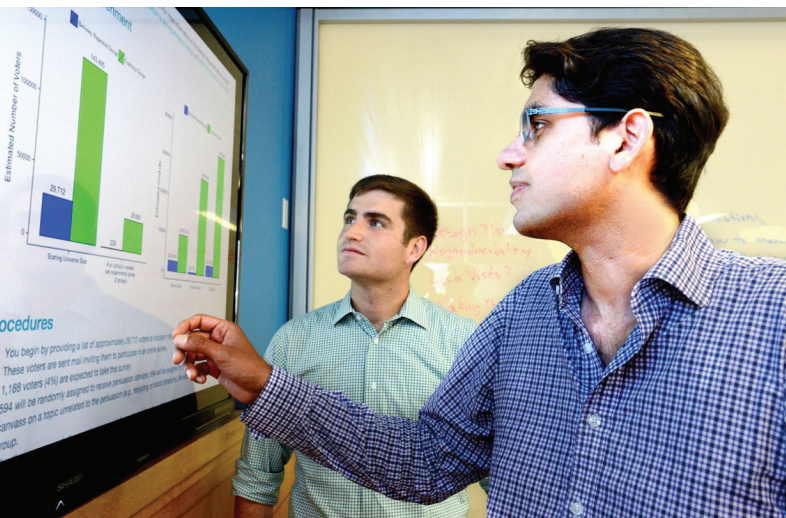
Affiliated faculty member **Sean Gailmard** was quoted in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the results of the Iowa primaries. □

ments on people's attitudes by tapping a fairly small number of respondents of the larger population, and only those who had previously been identified by an earlier survey. In other words, using these new strategies, a small, nonrandom sample could yield precise results that would have otherwise required a much larger, randomly selected sample. As their paper's title claims, this can provide a much cheaper and faster way to get to the desired end point.

"These kinds of face-to-face persuasion experiments have only been carried out in the past few years," Sekhon says. "We are throwing a lot of statistical algorithms at the problem. They are the key for getting these efficiency gains."

By making persuasion experiments much easier to carry out, these potent tools will no longer be limited to organizations with deep pockets. Strike another blow for democracy.

The Signatures Innovation Fellows Program supports innovative research by UC Berkeley faculty and researchers in the data science and software areas with a special focus on projects that hold commercial promise. This article first appeared on the website of the office of the UC Berkeley Vice Chancellor for Research. □



Josh Kalla and Jasjeet Sekhon

IGS-Affiliated Faculty . . . Leading the Way in Research

This year the IGS website began publishing conversations with the Institute's affiliated faculty members, highlighting their work and their ties to IGS. Conducted by **Charlotte Cowden**, the Institute's new director of external programming, these interviews will continue to appear on the website throughout the coming year.



Below is one example—Cowden's interview with sociologist **Irene Bloemraad**, who is professor of sociology and the Thomas Garden Barnes Chair of Canadian Studies. She is also a senior fellow with the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research and served as a member of the U.S. National Academies of Sciences committee reporting on the integration

of immigrants into American society. Her research interests include immigration, political sociology, race and ethnicity, social movements, and nationalism.

What are some of the larger themes and questions that inform your work?

Most of my work is interested in the challenge of reconciling diversity and democracy. In democratic countries, we prize the idea that we have government by and for the people, and people should have a say in how decisions are made. But at the same time we know that a majority may make a decision that may impact a minority. Who is a member of our political society, what kind of voice do we give immigrants, what kind of actions should we take on their behalf, and where do we draw these lines? What kind of obligations do you have to people who have just moved to or don't live in your country?

You were recently one of over a dozen scholars convened by the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine to pull together a report entitled *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society*. Can you discuss your role in that project?

One of the main reasons I was invited to join the panel was my work on immigrant political integration, which is understudied in academia. Among sociologists, the focus has been on social and economic integration. Do immigrants learn English? How do their kids do in educational institutions? Sociologists have been quiet on political integration. In political science, the longstanding concern has been minority politics. Because that focuses on broad racial categories, other aspects of the immigrant experience are overlooked a little bit. The presumption is that racial minori-

ties are citizens and can vote. The reality is there are those who are noncitizens and don't have access to the franchise. I was invited to the panel due to my expertise related to naturalization and citizenship.

What were some of the most interesting findings from the report, or from your work more broadly?

One of the things that I am always struck by is that the U.S. has a very strong narrative as a country of immigrant integration and looks proudly on its history and culture of integrating immigrants. When asked, 80 to 90 percent of immigrants want to become U.S. citizens. But if you actually look at the numbers, barely half of immigrants have actually become citizens. Excluding those with limited legal status, only 60 percent of people who are eligible have gotten citizenship. I think this is a failure of public policy and civil society: the numbers are quite low.

The U.S. lags far behind Canada and Australia in the percentage of immigrants who have become citizens. Cost figures into it, but it's not just a simple case of cost vs. benefits. In my research, I argue that the path to Canadian citizenship is part of a larger public policy issue, which includes symbolic and community support and a language of multiculturalism and inclusion. Immigrants in Canada feel like they *should* become citizens and are given assistance to do so, through community organizations for example. Until recently, Congress didn't give money to help with integration or citizenship efforts in the U.S. In general, there is a positive rhetoric towards naturalization here, but it isn't backed up with support to assist that.

Generally, what are some of the challenges you face, data related or otherwise? How does that influence your research methodology?

It is very hard to get administrative data from USCIS (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services), especially around naturalization. You can see in the report that the academy asked repeatedly for information that was not provided. Among academic data collection efforts—national election surveys or the federal current population surveys—the questions used to identify immigrants or the children of immigrants tend to be poor or nonexistent.

A lot of my research is mixed methods—I am a firm believer in data triangulation. Statistics can give you important information. But it's very hard to show the mechanisms that go behind statistics. What's going on in people's brains? For example, immigrants in Canada have become citizens much more quickly. When you ask people "Why do you want to become a citizen?" you get instrumental reasons or an emotional response—but that doesn't actually tell you the *process* by which they become a citizen. When you interview people they can walk you through that process. In asking procedural questions I saw in the Canadian case that immigrants can move quite quickly from the idea to the acquisition of citizenship. In the U.S. you can see the lag time from idea to acquisition wasn't because immigrants were opposed, it was because there were obstacles to the process.

What do you enjoy the most about the work that you do?

I really enjoy the interface between research and teaching on one side and public knowledge transfer on the other side. My research is on immigration, and one of the very exciting things about

being faculty at UC Berkeley is that two-thirds of our undergrads are either immigrants or the children of immigrants. Students are living this experience—I can share my knowledge and research. I can also check in with them and see if I am out of touch: whether it's students with H1B visa parents, undocumented students, refugee students. I get great satisfaction engaging research and teaching in such a tight manner.

One of the things I appreciated that came with the privilege of serving on the National Academy of Sciences panel was the broad reach of the report and the ability to get information out to the public about crime and immigrants. Recently, for example, I was up in Sacramento giving a briefing; it was exciting to share this research with those in the senate and legislature. I'll also be doing a webinar for the California Department of Education.

Can you speak a little about your forthcoming work?

While I am on sabbatical in Europe I hope to finish writing up results from a project, partially supported by IGS, around the political socialization of mixed-status families living here in the Bay Area. In political science there is a long tradition of thinking about young people becoming politically active based on what their parents did. Interestingly, in the case of immigrants—especially those noncitizens coming from nondemocratic regimes—how can kids learn from parents? Is it possible that kids are teaching their parents what they learn in school? Do they encourage

their parents to vote and become citizens? Going to Europe will be particularly interesting because of the refugee crisis. I am also thinking of a new project related to human rights claims, public benefits, and immigration. This paper is based on an IGS poll from a few years ago where **Kim Voss** and I asked different survey questions to registered California voters to see what kind of framing shapes thinking on immigrant rights.

Can you speak about your role at IGS and how you are part of the IGS community?

I came to Berkeley as an assistant professor straight out of graduate school, and now I am a full professor; I have gone through the whole academic ladder at Berkeley. IGS was very important in supporting me as a young scholar, helping me apply for grants to do my next projects. The Race, Ethnicity and Immigration Colloquium has also been a wonderful opportunity to meet colleagues across campus, and when I led the colloquium for two years, I was able to invite scholars in to talk. As I mentioned, thanks to recent IGS surveys of California registered voters, we were able to ask questions that lead to the publication of a paper, co-authored by **Fabiana Silvia**, a graduate student in sociology, and my faculty colleague Kim Voss. I really appreciate how IGS supports graduate students, including the Synar fellowship, which a number of my students were fortunate to win. □

Charlotte Cowden Joins IGS

Charlotte Cowden joined IGS this year as director of external programming, pursuing opportunities to strengthen the Institute's relationship with external partners, including fundraising and other development activities, conferences, and other events, and the administration of research grants and other external relations. She also administers the new student award programs that IGS initiated in recent years. Cowden previously served as associate director of global and executive programs at the Goldman School of Public Policy. Prior to that, she was the assistant director for strategic planning at the Institute for East Asian Studies. She earned a Ph.D. in Chinese history from UC Berkeley. □



For more conversations with IGS-affiliated faculty members, go to igs.berkeley.edu/research

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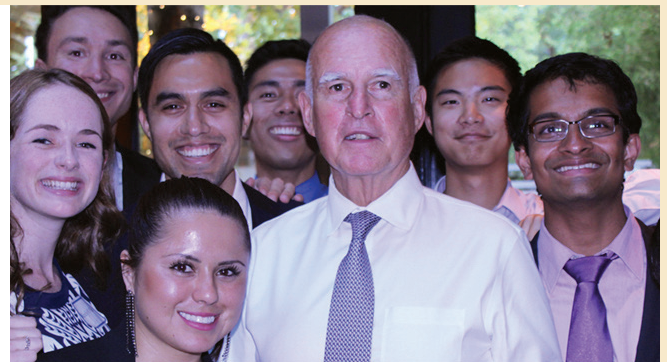
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