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The Year at IGS: Politics, Scholarship, and Students

IGS was a busy place during the 2012–13 academic year. Clockwise from top left: Former Michigan Gov. **Jennifer Granholm** makes a point during our annual panel on the presidency; British Consul General **Priya Guha** speaks at the launch of the new Anglo-American Studies Program; the Matsui Center’s 2013 class of Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows gathers around new Berkeley Chancellor **Nicholas Dirks**; U.S. Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** appears at the annual Salon Gala; two former California directors of finance—**Tom Campbell** and **Tim Gage**—appear at our conference on the state’s governance; Assembly Speaker **John A. Perez** addresses the Cal-in-Sacramento class; Matsui Local Government Fellow **Sarah Lightstone** poses with San Francisco Mayor **Ed Lee**, for whom she interned; and a big crowd gathers outside Moses Hall to watch one of the 2012 presidential debates.

INSIDE

Anglo-American Studies	– 3
New Immigration Poll	– 4
Cal-in-Sacramento	– 6
New Gardner Fellows	– 10
Sen. Feinstein at Gala	– 16
Cuba and California	– 18
Fiscal Crisis Examined	– 20
2012 Election Events	– 22
Matsui Lecturers	– 24
Nobel Laureate Speaks	– 26
IGS Honor Roll	– 30

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

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DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

IGS Embraces Change, Cherishes Tradition

Jack Citrin



Thinking back on the past year at IGS, I am struck by the way in which we combined growth and change with a continued emphasis on our traditional base of expertise. Our growth includes a bold new program on Anglo-American Studies, launched this past spring thanks to a \$1 million gift from the Anglo California Foundation. The gift memorializes **Robert Kirk Underhill**, who graduated from Berkeley in 1928 and went on to found the Robert Kirk clothing store. Underhill was a lifelong Anglophile, and there could be no better tribute to his legacy than this new program.

Another new frontier at IGS was our first experience with online polling. Just a few weeks ago we released a new **IGS Survey**, this time conducted over the Internet rather than by telephone. The poll explored public attitudes about illegal immigration, finding that most California voters support a path to citizenship for illegals, but also believe that illegal immigrants who don't meet the conditions for the path should be returned to their home countries. Professor **Gabriel Lenz** is the director of the poll, which we will conduct annually to gauge Californians' opinions on critical issues and to develop a time-series of attitudes on a number of social indicators.

As we are expanding into these new areas, we have also been careful to preserve and strengthen the programs that serve as the backbone of the Institute. We continue to conduct four stimulating seminar series on domestic and international issues, with faculty, student, and visiting speakers. Our student-research grants provided critical financial support for exploring topics such as the effect of social media on democracy and the impact of immigration on support for the provision of public services. The **John Gardner Fellowships** directed three of Cal's most promising

graduating seniors into year-long appointments in public service. And the Institute's **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service** sponsored more than 30 Cal students in practical political internships.

As usual, we hosted a stunning array of public speakers and events. Let me cite a few highlights. At our annual Salon Gala, Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** spoke about national security issues and received the Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award, while veteran *Chicago Sun-Times* political journalist **Lynn D. Sweet** received the Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award. At the Baxter Liberty Initiative, Nobel Prize-winning economist **Gary Becker** spoke about the value of higher education. Former Michigan Gov. **Jennifer Granholm** was a panelist at our annual presidential symposium. Retired General **James Cartwright** spoke about nuclear weapons policy at the Harold Smith Seminar Series. Assembly Speaker **John A. Perez**, Secretary of State **Debra Bowen**, and new Berkeley Chancellor **Nicholas Dirks** spoke to the Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows. Former Congressmen **Douglas Bereuter** and **James Oberstar** both spent a week as Matsui Lecturers. A day-long conference on Cuba and the United States included scholars and other experts from both countries. And **Mark Zandi**, chief economist at Moody's Analytics, was the keynote speaker at our conference on "California's Fiscal Crisis." As ever, the intellectual environment at IGS was rich and challenging.

Finally, I want to mention one other IGS change in the offing. This fall I will be on sabbatical, and Professor **Laura Stoker** will serve as acting director. Laura, my colleague on the political science faculty, is a distinguished researcher on the development of political beliefs, attitudes, and behavior, and the recipient of many honors. Perhaps most important, Laura is an active and well-respected member of the IGS community, and I know that she looks forward to taking the reins of this dynamic organization. The fact is that IGS is blessed with many assets—our affiliated scholars; the leaders on our National Advisory Council, without whose support we could not sustain the range of activities just described; our students and staff; and our many friends and supporters around the world. With such resources, I know that the Institute will continue to thrive as a place of scholarship, learning, and public service.

Anglo-American Studies Program

Launched with \$1 Million Gift



The “special relationship” between Great Britain and the United States will be explored through research, conferences, and lectures as part of a new Anglo-American Studies Program launched this year at IGS, thanks to a \$1 million gift from the Anglo California Foundation.

The new program will offer an R. Kirk Underhill Graduate Fellowship, and will also support research by faculty members and graduate students, conduct scholarly conferences, and feature an annual R. Kirk Underhill lecture by a leading figure from political or scholarly circles in the United Kingdom.

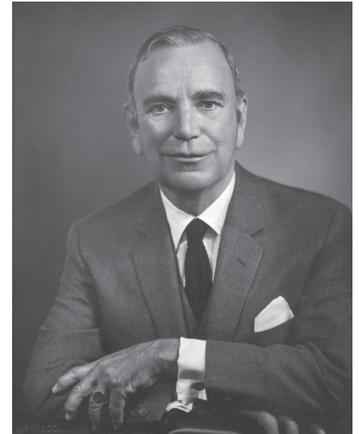
The program was officially kicked off this past spring with an event at IGS featuring British Consul General **Priya Guha**, who spoke about the many lasting ties between Britain and the United States, and Cal’s Vice Chancellor for Research, **Graham R. Fleming**, himself a British native.

Charles G. Stephenson and **Brad Barber**, both Cal graduates and trustees of the Underhill Trust, were instrumental in directing this new gift to Berkeley.

“This gift provides a wonderful opportunity to build on the enormous strength of Berkeley’s scholarship about Britain and its influence on the United States in so many domains,” said **Jack Citrin**, IGS Director. “To deepen this engagement in multiple disciplines and to involve British scholars in this enterprise on an ongoing basis is something IGS embraces as a project that will benefit faculty and students in an enduring way,” Citrin said.



Priya Guha, Graham R. Fleming



Robert Kirk Underhill

The Underhill Trust in 2003 established the Center for British Studies at UC Berkeley’s Institute of European Studies to promote the study of British culture, society, and history. The new Anglo-American Studies Program is designed to expand on that with

comparative and interdisciplinary studies of shared issues such as immigration, welfare, central government fiscal policy, financial regulation, science policy, constitutional law, party systems, foreign policy cooperation, changing conceptions of nationhood in the political domain, in addition to broader studies of reciprocal cultural influences.

Robert Kirk Underhill graduated from UC Berkeley in 1928 with a bachelor’s degree in economics. He was a lifelong Anglophile who founded the Robert Kirk clothing store that specialized in British goods. He also was chairman emeritus of the English Speaking Union in San Francisco, a commander of the British Empire, and a Knight in the Order of St. John, a major international charity. Underhill also started “London Weeks” in San Francisco, a series of trade shows and festivals highlighting the British way of life.

In the past, IGS has sponsored such programs as the Anglo-American Dialogues and an annual UK Seminar to examine developments in British government and society. The late UC Berkeley political scientist Nelson W. Polsby is credited with giving British Studies a big push on campus by organizing two conferences that produced books about the British government and by building strong ties with UK scholars.



A Pathway, with Conditions

By Jack Citrin and Morris Levy

As Congress grapples with a push for the first major immigration reform in more than a quarter century, attention has understandably focused on what Americans think about this important issue.

Too often, however, surveys that take the public's pulse present a simple take-it-or-leave-it option: Do you support a path to citizenship for the 11 million people living in the United States without permission? In reality, opinion is more nuanced.

To gauge attitudes in California—home to more immigrants, both legal and illegal, than any other state—IGS surveyed more than 3,100 registered voters in an Internet poll conducted in early May. Our sample is broadly representative of California's registered voters, who are more likely to be white and native born, older, and more educated than the state's overall population.

We asked Californians not merely about a pathway to citizenship for all illegal immigrants, but about a variety of alternatives, such as citizenship programs only for some illegal immigrants, residency programs that don't lead to citizenship, a policy of returning illegal immigrants to their country of origin, or the status quo. We also asked people what should happen to illegal immigrants who don't meet the criteria for staying here legally.

When presented with just two options—the status quo or a pathway to citizenship for all of the 11 million illegal immigrants who can pass a background check—legalization and a path to citizenship won the support of 58 percent of respondents, while 42 percent preferred the status quo.

When the question included other options, such as a program that would offer legal residency without citizenship, majority support for a pathway to citizenship generally held firm. Furthermore, less than 20 percent of respondents supported “making every effort to return all illegal immigrants to their home countries.”

Data recently released by the federal government indicate that in the fiscal year ending Sept. 30, an estimated 455,000 people were deported, a majority of whom had been convicted of a criminal offense and presumably would not have passed the background check required for legalization.

When the Dream Act was included as an option, the percentage of respondents favoring the status quo was sliced in half, and support for a path to citizenship for all illegal immigrants dropped from 58 to 39 percent, with an additional 39 percent favoring the reform for just the Dreamers.

Even Republicans, who were generally more skeptical than Democrats about a path to citizenship, were often drawn to a program limited to Dreamers. Of GOP respondents, 45 percent backed that idea, with an additional 18 percent favoring a path to citizenship for anyone who can pass a background check.

So Californians are generally supportive of a pathway to citizenship—and overwhelmingly so for those who were brought into the country as children and might be covered under the Dream Act.

But substantial majorities in both parties also said it was “extremely important” that illegal immigrants offered a pathway to citizenship be able to pass an English test and demonstrate a history of steady work. Californians prefer to include in the country those who contribute to the economy and who “fit in.” Furthermore, while only a small minority favored an effort to deport all illegal immigrants, there was a bipartisan majority saying it was important that illegal immigrants who do not meet the criteria for the path to citizenship be returned to their home countries.

A final point: We solicited voters' expectations about the consequences of immigration reform. If millions of people here now are offered a path to citizenship, will illegal immigration increase

or decrease? Will the economy expand or shrink? Will our sense of a common American identity flourish or wither?

On balance, Californians expect an increase in illegal immigration and crime, but on the other hand they expect the economy to be strengthened and, interestingly, they expect the country's sense of a common identity to increase as illegal immigrants become more openly integrated into American society.

Those views do not appear to be set in stone, however. Critics of reform often note that the last major immigration reform, in 1986, failed to stem the influx of illegal immigrants, and we wanted to measure how effective that argument against reform might be. So, for about half the respondents, we prefaced this final set of questions by noting that since the last major reform, the

number of illegal immigrants in the United States has increased from 3 million to 11 million.

What was the result of telling respondents about the historical experience? Both Democrats and Republicans across the board grew more pessimistic about the likely outcome of the reform push.

California's enormous size—one out of every eight Americans lives here and its congressional delegation contains an extraordinary 55 members—means that the state's collective view almost always has relevance for the nation's politics. In the case of immigration reform, California already has made a difference in shaping the legislation now before Congress: Two interest groups with a distinctively California flavor—high-tech and agriculture—successfully pushed for provisions in the bill that would make it easier to obtain visas to bring in and keep foreign workers.

But there are two subtler ways in which the opinions reflected in this poll could make a difference nationally. First, advocates of a path to legalization of illegal immigrants should take heart that a steady majority supports that idea, even when weaker alternatives are proposed, and that among Republicans, a plurality backs the notion that Dreamers deserve a shot at becoming citizens.

On the other hand, reformers should take heed that even in strongly Democratic California, a large majority supports border security, electronic verification, and the deportation of illegal immigrants who fail to meet the conditions for a pathway program. Such reservations in a pro-immigration state probably will be echoed elsewhere in the nation.

The usual impact of public opinion on policy is to constrain rather than direct. Still, as Washington tries to bargain toward reform, the views of Californians, a mixture of firmness and nuance, may be pointing the way.

This article was first published in the San Francisco Chronicle, and is reprinted with permission.

IGS Poll Examines Public Opinion on Immigration

Research lies at the heart of the IGS mission—and this year the IGS Poll continued to serve as a valuable tool for learning more about public opinion in America's largest and most dynamic state.

In both the fall and spring semesters, the Institute polled on one of the most important long-term issues facing the state and nation—immigration. The fall polls also dealt with political races that were about to go before voters.

The most recent IGS Poll was released in June and examined views about various aspects of immigration reform. That was also the Institute's first poll to be conducted over the Internet, which many survey experts see as the wave of the future.

The poll was conducted by IGS Director **Jack Citrin**, Assistant Professor of Political Science **Gabriel Lenz**, and graduate student **Morris Levy**. To read more about the results, see the accompanying article by Citrin and Levy.

The fall semester polls, which were conducted in conjunction with the Field Poll, explored public opinion regarding immigration issues, but also examined the 2012 presidential race, the re-election campaign of Sen. Dianne Feinstein, and propositions dealing with California taxes, the state budget, the death penalty, and the ability of labor unions to spend money on political causes.



Gabriel Lenz, Jack Citrin, Morris Levy

To read more about the IGS Poll and to see the full results, go to igs.berkeley.edu/research/igs-poll

Matsui Center Fellows

Cal-in-Sacramento Sends Students to California's Capitol

The Matsui Center's Cal-in-Sacramento Program enjoyed another successful year in 2012–13, capped off by a summer reception attended by the University's new Chancellor, **Nicholas Dirks**, and the two legislators who represent the University, Sen. **Loni Hancock** and Assemblymember **Nancy Skinner**.

As usual, students participating in the program are spending eight weeks interning in Sacramento, working for Gov. Jerry Brown, other statewide elected officials, the legislature, state agencies, nonprofit groups, and the news media.

Before going to Sacramento, the students enrolled in a spring semester course taught by former Senators **Dick Ackerman** and **Liz Figueroa**.

In addition to learning the basics of California politics and policy from the two former lawmakers, the students heard from an extraordinary array of guests lecturers, including Assembly Speaker **John Perez**; Secretary of State **Debra Bowen**; **Ana Matosantos**, director of the Department of Finance; Sen. **Mimi Walters**; **Steve Glazer**, political advisor to the governor; and others.

Then at the end of the semester, students went to Sacramento to work full-time in their internships. Thanks to the many supporters of IGS and the Matsui Center, Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows receive free housing and transit passes, ensuring that the program is open to all students, regardless of personal financial background.



Cal-in-Sac Alums in Public Service



Many Cal-in-Sacramento alumni from the past few years have gone on to work in public service. Here are some of them with new Chancellor **Nicholas Dirks** at the summer reception. Back row, L to R: **Jofil Borja**, California Department of Public Health; **Kris Fernandez**, California State Teachers' Retirement System; **Ciana Gallardo**, Little Hoover Commission; **Hanna Snider**, Office of Assemblymember Kevin Mullin; **Andy Nevis**, Lucas Public Affairs; **Gordon Li**, Forward Observer; **Dirks**; **Christian Osmena**, California Department of Finance; **Vanessa Wiseman**, Lucas Public Affairs; **Julia Gettle**, California Alumni Association. Front row, L to R: **Chris Odneal**, Assembly Republican Caucus; **Ronald Ongtoaboc**, Assembly Republican Caucus; **Alejandro Ruiz**, State Treasurer's Office; **Francisco Loayza**, Assembly Republican Caucus.



Scenes from the summer reception for Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows and alumni: opposite page: Adrian Diaz of Cal's Governmental Affairs Office with Assemblymember Nancy Skinner; Fellow Jose Alvarado with Sen. Loni Hancock; above: Chancellor Nicholas Dirks with Fellow Oriel Nolan-Smith and Assemblymember Ken Cooley



From the Cal-in-Sacramento course during the spring semester: Secretary of State Debra Bowen; Assembly Speaker John Perez

2013 Cal-in-Sacramento Placements

Executive Officers

Governor's Office of Constituent Affairs – Jose Alvarado
 Governor's Press Office – Janine Shimomura
 Treasurer Bill Lockyer – Eric Wong
 State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Torlakson –
 Briana Mullen
 Attorney General Kamala Harris – Justine Bie, Angel
 Chan, Rachel Yang

Senate

Senator Alex Padilla – Rodolfo Aquino
 Senator Jean Fuller – Keane Ellis
 Senator Richard Roth – Connor Grubaugh
 Senator Mimi Walters – Wenjia (James) Xing
 Senate Office of International Relations – Yuan (Maggie)
 Yao

Assembly

Assemblymember Rob Bonta – Courtney Tran
 Assemblymember Ken Cooley – Oriel Nolan-Smith
 Assemblymember Brian Dahle – Keane Ellis
 Assemblymember Jimmy Gomez – George Vasquez
 Assemblymember Shannon Grove – Jiahong (Ben) Zhang
 Assemblymember Chris Holden – Cara Chang
 Assemblymember Kevin Mullin – Kent Walters
 Assemblymember Nancy Skinner – Jae (John) Ha

Agencies

California Association of Health Plans – Emma Wallace
 Department of Education – Yuan (Maggie) Yao
 Department of Managed Health Care – Ruby Lin
 Little Hoover Commission – Kena Patel

Nonprofit

California Common Cause – Taylor Fugere-Cale
 California Healthcare Institute – Carina Chacon
 California Women Lead – Henna Kaushal
 Mental Health Association of California – Emma Wallace
 Planned Parenthood Legislative Office – Ryan Guaderrama

Press

Capitol Weekly – Alex Matthews

Matsui Center Fellows

Washington Fellows: the Inauguration, Human Rights Awards, and a Letter from Ben Franklin

Each semester the Matsui Center awards Washington Fellowships to two students participating in the UCDC program in Washington. Here are some of the experiences of the 2012–13 Fellows:

Alana Baum, *Institute for Policy Studies*

“The semester I spent in Washington, D.C. was unforgettable. I went to President Obama’s second inauguration, was privileged to hear two Supreme Court justices speak, had a challenging and rewarding internship, and completed research that has opened up a new chapter of my academic endeavors. . . . At the Institute for Policy Studies, I worked as an editorial intern for its op-ed distribution service. I learned how to fact check, copyedit, and work with fellow editors to make our op-eds sharper, stronger, and more effective. My boss even gave me the opportunity to write three articles of my own, an accomplishment I would have achieved with far less confidence had I not been immersed in the world of IPS. Also through my internship, I had opportunities to engage with various other causes that the Institute champions. For example, I donned a full-body walrus suit and participated in an early-morning protest outside a hotel in which corporate executives were meeting to advocate for the Robin Hood Tax and educate passersby about its financial and environmental potentials. These opportunities, and more, are what make Washington such an exciting place to work and study.”

Austin Bergstrom, *National Archives*

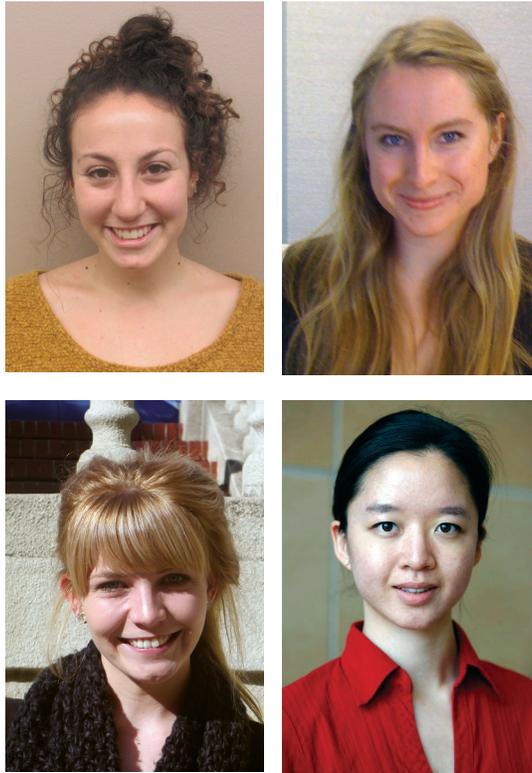
“I spent the semester working with the education department at the National Archives, which was a great way to combine my interests in history and education. I led museum tours, helped pilot activities, and gave video conferences. By the end of the semester I was leading classroom activities on my own and training the new intern. My last day at the Archives I was taken into the vaults (where only select archivists are allowed) and shown a few documents

considered too fragile for the general researching public. Here I saw the journal of the first Continental Congress that revealed the tally of votes for George Washington as the first president, as well as letters from Benjamin Franklin and Harriet Tubman, and even the first edition of MAD comics. However, D.C. was more than just this incredible internship. While there I was able to attend the inauguration ceremonies, a fashion show where I was seated just across the aisle from Senator Feinstein, and the changing of the guards at Arlington National Cemetery. I saw the presidential motorcade more than once. . . . In D.C., everyone is a part of something important, and it’s impossible not to feed off the city’s bustling energy and passion. Of all the great experiences Cal has provided me, this has been by far the most awe-inspiring and memorable.”

Gina Verraster, *Washington Office on Latin America*

“This semester was unforgettable, challenging, and rewarding all at the same time. I interned at the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), a nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting human rights, democracy, and social justice in Latin America. My internship experience gave me invaluable insight into the world of NGOs, and I was fortunate to work with a great group of staff and interns. Although we had to perform the stereotypical intern tasks of making coffee and answering the phone at times, these were only small parts of the program. For the majority of our internship, we helped draft and translate important documents and attended events on interesting current affairs with leaders in the field. One of the highlights of the internship was attending the annual gala, in which

WOLA presented its human rights awards to individuals who have committed themselves to promoting and protecting human rights in Latin America. If I had to describe my UCDC experience in one word it would be ‘growth.’”



Top left to right: Alana Baum, Gina Verraster;
bottom left to right: Austin Bergstrom, Mei Xuan

Mei Xuan, *EMILY's List and the Bipartisan Policy Center*

"I committed to two internships! I walked in to EMILY's List on my first day, expecting to see how the philanthropic division for a Political Action Committee organization is run and to figure out how my personal motivation of promoting women's welfare can be aligned with the political initiatives at the local level. Through my involvements with online research, colleagues, and get-out-the-vote projects on Governor Maggie Hassan's campaign in New Hampshire, I was constantly reminded of how divisive American politics is and how passionate D.C. professionals are. . . . With the Bipartisan Policy Center's Housing Commission . . . the experience was absolutely amazing because I got to work in a completely different dynamic than that of EMILY's List. As a research intern, I learned about and helped to research housing-related domestic policies."

Local Government Fellows: Mayor Lee, LA County, and Water Policy

This summer, three Cal students are working in local government offices throughout California as Matsui Local Government Fellows. This growing program gives students the opportunity to see where government most directly impacts average citizens. Here are some of their experiences and expectations:

Grecia Elenes, *Central Valley Regional Water Quality Control Board*

"I'm learning a lot! This agency is one of nine in the state that deals with regulating and enforcing policies that 'dischargers' must comply with. So far I've worked with the Landfill unit that regulates and enforces their criteria, and I'm currently with the Dairy group. This is something completely new to me because I've worked [in the past] mostly with surface water and the environmental justice aspect of it. Here they're not only working with surface water, but also groundwater and making sure the dischargers are following the rules."

Maria Buxton, *San Francisco Mayor Ed Lee, Office of Economic and Workforce Development*

"I'm thrilled to work in the Mayor's Office of Economic and Workforce Development, helping to attract and retain businesses in San Francisco. The office of Business Development will be an ideal place to experience political economy in action and see how the city's business policies affect the local economy. Above all, I'm excited and honored to be working at the heart of one of California's most thriving and innovative cities."

Tyler Hill, *Los Angeles County Supervisor Mark Ridley-Thomas*

"In deciding to work in the office of Supervisor Ridley-Thomas, I am hoping to embark upon a summer that challenges my way of thinking and requires me to think outside of the box when figuring out ways to better my community. Specifically, I am hoping to learn more about the issues surrounding public safety and education within the second district and ways we can go about implementing reform. I am excited to get to know other advisers within the office and their background and hoping to soak in everything I can during the duration of the summer."



Maria Buxton, Grecia Elenes, Tyler Hill

Washington Fellows for Fall 2013

The Matsui Center is proud to announce its Washington Fellows for the fall 2013 semester: **Trinh Nguyen**, a senior majoring in political science, and **Tara Yarlagadda**, a senior majoring in political science and South Asian Studies.



Trinh Nguyen, Tara Yarlagadda



Students Explore Public Service through Gardner Fellowships

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Graduating Cal seniors hoping to explore a possible career in public service have an extraordinary opportunity to do just that through a John Gardner Fellowship. Each spring IGS awards Gardner Fellowships to three graduating seniors. The fellows receive a stipend and then spend the following year working in public service. Here are this year's recipients.

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Sean Flores

Major: History

Hometown: Chino, California

Service Interest: Community development and civil rights

Berkeley Experience: Sean graduated from Berkeley with a degree in history. While a student at Cal, he became fascinated with issues surrounding crime and factors that perpetuated the growing prison population. In the summer of 2011 he enrolled in the Teach in Prison DeCal, which aims to assist inmates in San Quentin Penitentiary in obtaining an education, in addition to providing skills to avoid recidivism. After becoming president of the DeCal in 2012, Sean managed more than 100 tutors each semester and designed a course on mass incarceration for program participants. "On campus I began to realize the importance of becoming a leader and working toward the eradication of social ills as I was introduced to paradigms concerning public service," said Sean.

.....

Photo above: Sean Flores, former Chancellor Robert Birgeneau, Allyson Little.

As a founding member of Human Rights of the Incarcerated, Sean spread awareness on campus of the cycles of incarceration as well as providing resources to community members.

As part of Alternative Break, Sean developed and taught a 12-week curriculum on current legal and social immigration issues. As a break leader, Flores arranged for 12 students to travel to Phoenix and Tucson and collaborate with grassroots organizations to gain a comprehensive understanding of immigration.

Other Service Experience: During his first semester at Cal, Sean became involved with the Bonner Leadership program. As Bonner Leader, Sean recruited and trained hundreds of volunteers to be literacy tutors for students in the Berkeley Unified School District. In summer of 2012, Flores was selected as a White House summer intern, where he worked for the Business Council.

Fellowship goal: Sean would like to use this fellowship to gain experience in the fields of criminal justice, public policy, and urban planning to familiarize himself with practices and formulas that alleviate both poverty and crime.

Postfellowship plans: Sean plans to attend law school.

Commitment to service: "My personal experience with social inequities has shaped my long-term ambition to change the imbalance of social and economic opportunities not only for those closest to me, but also for future generations as a public servant. I believe the most vulnerable among us deserve the same access to justice, and I am determined to provide that in the very near future."

Allyson Little

Major: Political Economy

Hometown: Oakland, California

Service Interest: Educational inequality

Berkeley Experience: Allyson graduated with a degree in political economy and a minor in education. She can trace her commitment to public service to her parents, who instilled in her a sense of social justice and belief that anyone can make a difference. With this understanding Allyson worked as a resident assistant for two years, focused on building inclusive community engagement and participation through floor meetings and development activities. Her passion for education led her to tutor at the UC Berkeley Student Learning Center and a Berkeley elementary school, through Cal Corps' BUILD program, in addition to an education policy internship at the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, D.C.

As part of the Shinnyo-En Peacebuilding Leadership Program, Allyson cofounded Project Student V.O.I.C.E., a weekly workshop at Berkeley High School focused on voting and political advocacy. Workshop participants research and advocate for issues in their community, receiving resource and strategy assistance from project mentors. "I created Project V.O.I.C.E. as a forum for students to develop confidence in the value of their own experiences and to learn skills to have a voice in policymaking. Simply put, I am leading by empowering others to be advocates and leaders themselves," Allyson said.

Other Service Experience: For two consecutive summers, Allyson interned in Assemblymember Nancy Skinner's office, in addition to serving as campaign coordinator for the Assemblymember's successful 2012 re-election. During her freshman year, she worked with Reading Partners to tutor a fourth grade ESL student.

Fellowship goal: Allyson would like to explore education policy to better understand the roles of different stakeholders and possible pathways for change.

Postfellowship plans: In the future, Allyson hopes to work as a California policymaker and strengthen the state's public education system.

Commitment to service: "Service is about connecting people with the knowledge and opportunities to express their own vision

for a better world. In my view, education is the ultimate form of empowerment, which is why I am so committed to a strong and vibrant public education system."

Stephanie Ullrich

Major: Peace and Conflict Studies and Media Studies

Hometown: Encinitas, California

Service Interest: International development

Berkeley Experience: Stephanie graduated Phi Beta Kappa with degrees in Peace and Conflict Studies and Media Studies and a minor in Global Poverty and Practice. While at Cal, Stephanie has focused on development issues. During her junior and senior year she organized the curriculum for and co-taught Thirst: Global Discourses on Human Rights and Water, a course under International and Area Studies.



In summer of her junior year, Stephanie conducted assessments of 283 households, organized healthcare initiatives, and established a Village Health Team in Iganga, Uganda as a public health intern with the Uganda Village Project.

For more than two years Stephanie was a literacy mentor and site director for Project BUILD, a tutoring program for local elementary school students. As a director, she worked to recruit, hire, manage, and train a team of tutors on targeted reading interventions, in addition to collecting data on the reading activities and achievements of 50 students.

Other Service Experience: Stephanie took part in the student-run Magnolia Project, which provides aid to Hurricane Katrina-ravaged areas. Through this initiative, Stephanie returned to New Orleans three times to facilitate community organization around equitable rebuilding processes and antiracism. During her junior year she became the director of Community Partnerships, and developed a three-week service trip, an eight-week internship, and a semester exchange program with the University of New Orleans.

Fellowship goal: Stephanie hopes to gain experience in the field of international development.

Postfellowship plans: Stephanie intends to work abroad as a development practitioner or engage in more academic research on water and sanitation in the developing world. Eventually she would like pursue a graduate degree in International Development.

Commitment to service: "I view social justice as the opportunity to change power relations so that every person receives the dignity, respect, and basic human rights that they deserve, regardless of ethnicity, class, age, or sex. Service is important to me because it fosters my sense of responsibility to be a socially conscious citizen of this world."

Zarko Perovic was awarded a Gardner Fellowship last year and then spent the year working at the Office of Global Criminal Justice in the U.S. Department of State. Here he is last winter with former Secretary of State **Madeleine Albright** after an event to award the former Secretary the Distinguished Global Citizen Achievement Award from the organization World Learning.



Madeleine Albright, Zarko Perovic

Synar and Percy Grants Support Student Research

Supporting student research is a critical goal at IGS, and each year two programs directly benefit Cal students who are actively pursuing research projects.

The **Mike Synar Graduate Research Grants** are awards of up to \$3,000 for graduate students who are writing their dissertation on some aspect of American politics.

The **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grants** for Public Affairs Research go to Cal undergraduates doing research work in American politics. The grants provide up to \$500 per student to help pay research costs.

Both programs are administered by the IGS Center for the Study of Representation. Here are more details on the student research being supported by IGS this year:

Synar Grants

Stephen Goggin

“Personal Politicians: Cloaking Ideological Extremity with Biography”

Goggin is examining how aspects of a politician’s biography, primarily occupation, shape his or her strategy and priority in office, as well as how citizens think about the candidate. Thanks to the Synar Grant, Goggin has gained access to databases of congressional advertisements, surveys, and experiments that measure opinion of policies and politicians. He will also conduct survey experiments to examine the effects of a politician’s personal information on perceptions of policies.

Travis Johnston

“From Pork Barrels to Policy Pledges: Credit Claiming and the Electoral Connection Then and Now”

Johnston will conduct interviews with congressional staffers to look at the strategic logic behind, and effect of, congressional credit claiming. “Conventional wisdom holds that members of Congress receive electoral rewards from taking credit for localized distributive goods (pork), but relatively little for working on broader national legislation (policy),” said Johnston. He will challenge the idea by looking at both elite behavior as well as the mass-level effects associated with different types of credit claims, not only through interviews but through experiments assessing how different types of credit claims effect constituent evaluations.

Morris Levy

“The Effect of Immigration on Local Public Good Provision in the U.S.”

Levy’s research aims to ascertain the impact of immigration to the U.S. from Mexico on public support for the welfare state and on related local fiscal policies. Levy found that claims of immigration causing reduced support for public spending and taxation often rest on shaky empirical foundations, prompting him to bring more convincing evidence to bear. He used Synar funds to conduct a survey experiment and to purchase access to restricted contextual data associated with respondents in large-scale national public opinion surveys. He also drew from census data in addition to a survey of U.S.-Mexico migrants and historical administrative records from the Mexican federal government.

Katherine Maich

“Struggle, Stability, and the State: A Comparative Study of Domestic Worker Movements in the U.S. and Latin America”

While doing research on unionized housekeepers as a masters student at University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Maich became interested in the social consequences of labor legislation. Through in-depth interviews and ethnographic fieldwork, with the aid of a Peruvian university student, her current research looks at the intersection of the state, gender, law, and the political economy of domestic work in two cases in New York and Peru. “I investigate the outcomes and effects of the law in both sites, questioning how and when the law really matters when attempting to bring a historically marginalized group into political inclusion,” Maich said.

Jen Schradie

“The Iron Law Revisited: Does the Digital Age Enable More Democracy within Social Movement Organizations?”

Schradie will analyze Twitter feeds and Facebook posts to study how the internet affects democratic practices within social movement organizations of different political ideologies and so-



Travis Johnston, Jen Schradie, Bill Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Stephen Goggin, Morris Levy

cial classes. “After following the hype around the Twitter and Facebook revolutions or the utopian claims of how digital activism has transformed social movements, I decided to study how everyday organizations, far from Silicon Valley, are using the Internet,” said Shradie. In addition to online analysis, Shradie will conduct interviews and observations of a case study in the South.

Percy Grants

Astrid Ackerman

“A Comparative Analysis of the Framing of Legal Membership Before and After 9/11”

Ackerman focused on articulations of national membership by American political elites through examinations of two pieces of immigration legislation that aim at granting permanent residence to undocumented migrants: the DREAM Act and the Ag-JOBS Act. The Percy Grant allowed her to present her research at the Harvard College Undergraduate Research Conference.

Reginald James

“Historical Impacts of National, State, and Local Housing Policies and Practices on African-American Residents of Alameda”

First-hand experience prompted James’s research on the racial conflict over housing in the city of Alameda. “A combination of poor code enforcement by the city, exclusionary zoning, housing discrimination, and a lack of affordable housing forced the majority of families, my community, from Alameda,” said James. “My thesis project has contextualized my lived experience.” The Percy Grant allowed James to travel to Washington, D.C. and conduct archival research at the Library of Congress and National Archives in Washington, D.C., and College Park, Maryland.

Aaron Kaufman

“Looking Up Your Representative’s Vote? C for Effort?”

Kaufman examined the effectiveness of various cues that voters use to make decisions, especially interest group statements. The topic is one of increasing visibility as discussions of the California DISCLOSE Act ramp up and special interests continue to gain power. The Percy Grant funded an internet-based survey experiment Kaufman used to measure voters’ ability to infer knowledge about their representatives based on statements provided by interest groups.

Minkyung Kim

“American Gaze at the American Gays: Interest Groups, Media, and the Political Elite’s Impact on American Public Opinion of Gays”

Kim stumbled into her minor—LGBT Studies—and thesis topic in a roundabout way. “I wanted to teach a DeCal about Japanese animation and comic books that featured some very interesting gender relationships. The Gender and Women Studies Department wanted me to minor in GWS or LGBT Studies,” she said. Her research focused on the public opinion of gays and lesbians

in the U.S. and how it changed from 1977 to the present. With the aid of the Percy Grant, she gained access to more than 30 years of Nielsen ratings data and academic databases, though her sources also included celebrity magazines and the Internet Movie Database.



Minkyung Kim, Reginald James, Raquel Pelke, Bill Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Joshua White, Aaron Kaufman

Raquel Pelke

“Female Legislators and the ‘War on Women’”

Pelke explored the legislative “War on Women” and the role that female legislators played in the success of such bills. She became interested in the topic following the 2010 election, which resulted in historic gains for the Republican Party in the state legislature, and concurrent media reports on a rise of antiwomen legislation within the states. Pelke collected data on 33 states from academic works, STATA, and Openstate.org.

Joshua White

“Occupational Hazard: Ballot Occupation as a Proxy for Party in Low-Information Elections”

White explored the role a candidate’s occupation plays in low-information elections. Noting the lack of academic research on his topic, White strove to find the connection between certain occupations, when listed on the ballot next to a candidate’s name, and particular groups. Through the use of an internet-based survey experiment involving 610 respondents, which presented a ballot with artificial candidates and cues varied by treatment group (including occupation and party), White found that Republican and Democratic respondents acted as political practitioners believe: Republicans moved toward business-oriented candidates, while Democratic respondents moved toward socially oriented candidates.

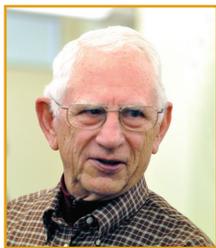
Honoring Student Research

History Student Receives First Fred Martin Prize

History graduate student **Giuliana Perrone** was honored this year as the recipient of the first **Fred J. Martin Jr. American Political History Award**, which will be given each year to a student pursuing research in American political history.



Perrone is working on a doctoral dissertation entitled, “Unfinished Freedom: The Politics of Reconstruction in Southern Courts,” exploring the convergence of law and politics in post-Civil War cases that involved slavery, emancipation, and reunion.



Fred Martin

Over the past 20 years, Martin has been a quintessential friend of IGS—an active visiting scholar, a dedicated benefactor, and a member of the IGS National Advisory Council.

Before his retirement in 1993, Martin served as senior vice president and director of governmental relations at Bank of America. Before joining Bank of America in 1971, Martin worked with the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, the *San Francisco Examiner*, the *Denver Post*, and the Associated Press.

Martin has long been active in California civic and public affairs. During his career, he managed political campaigns, served on numerous governmental advisory bodies, and on boards of directors at many organizations.



New Prize Honors the Late Dave Howard

Last summer IGS lost a friend and the California political world lost one of its most distinguished members when **David M. Howard** died suddenly of cancer.

Howard was a passionate and well-respected political analyst who served as political affairs director for the California Association of Realtors, and on the editorial board of the *California Target Book*. A few months before his death, he joined the IGS National Advisory Council.



David Howard

In Howard’s honor, IGS partnered with his friends and colleagues in the Sacramento public affairs community to create the **David M. Howard Memorial Prize in American Politics**, which will reward exceptionally deserving doctoral candidates who are conducting innovative research in the field of American political behavior or public policy and are affiliated with IGS.

The first Howard Prize went to **David Brockman**, who graduated from Yale in 2011 before enrolling in the political science doctoral program at Cal.

“David is an outstanding student who has already been published in leading journals and has added greatly to the intellectual environment at IGS,” said the Institute’s director, Jack Citrin. “He was the ideal choice for the Howard Prize because he combines creative and rigorous work on public opinion and participation with a deep personal commitment to improving civic engagement. David Howard shared those values.”

Brockman’s research has explored why elected officials act—or don’t act—on items they perceive as important to their constituents. Along with two other young scholars, he is surveying every candidate who ran for a state legislature in the United States in 2012.

To learn more about the Howard Prize or make a contribution to support it, go to igs.berkeley.edu/student-programs/david-m-howard-memorial-prize

New Members Join

IGS National Advisory Council

Two new members joined the IGS National Advisory Council this year, former Oakland City Administrator Dan Lindheim and veteran political attorney Steven Lucas.

Dan Lindheim is an economist, planner, software developer, and attorney. Until 2011, Lindheim was City Administrator for the city of Oakland. He previously headed Oakland's Community and Economic Development Agency. Lindheim previously was a World Bank economist and a senior advisor to Congressman Ron Dellums



and to the House of Representatives Armed Services and District Committees. He also spent more than a decade in the private sector as president and CEO of two leading high tech software companies. Early in his professional life, Lindheim headed a multi-province regional development office for the Chilean Ministry of Housing and Urban Development and taught at the University of Chile. He was also a researcher at the Johns Hopkins Center for Health Services Research and Development. Active in the local community, Lindheim was the chair of the Planning and Oversight Committee for the Berkeley school district, and was co-chair of two successful school parcel tax campaigns in Berkeley. He was a board member of the Berkeley Community Fund and was chair of the Education Committee and foreman pro tem of the Alameda County Grand Jury. Lindheim's degrees from Cal include a B.A. in economics, masters degrees in city planning and public health, and a Ph.D. in city and regional planning. He also has a law degree from Georgetown.

Steven Lucas is a partner at Nielsen Merksamer, specializing in political law, including campaign, election, lobby, and ethics laws in federal, state, and local jurisdictions. He specializes in state and local ballot measures and nonprofit law, and maintains a 50-state national compliance practice in the area of campaign and lobby

law. As a lecturer at Stanford Law School, he has taught "Law and Politics" and "Election Law." Lucas has also served on the faculty of the Practising Law Institute's "Advanced Compliance and Ethics Workshop," addressing national campaign and lobby compliance and pay-to-play issues. Lucas is the author of "Designing a Political Law Compliance System for Broker-Dealers and Advisors" which appears in PLI's treatise, "Broker-Dealer Regulation." Since 2003, Lucas has served on the board of directors of Stillwater Mining Company. Lucas previously served as chairman of the Bipartisan Commission on the Political Reform Act, as president of the California Political Attorneys Association, and on the California Secretary of State's Task Force on Online Disclosure. Lucas has published numerous op-ed columns relating to constitutional and other legal issues in the *Los Angeles Times* and other California newspapers, and has experience working for federal and state public officials and political campaigns. Lucas holds a B.A. from UCLA and a law degree from Harvard.



Salon Gala

Features

Sen. Dianne Feinstein

Sen. **Dianne Feinstein** spoke at this year's IGS Salon Gala, describing her work on national security issues during a long career in the U.S. Senate, and then surprised the sold-out event by making a major financial gift of \$50,000 to the Institute's student internship programs.

Chevron matched Feinstein's gift with a \$50,000 challenge grant that IGS has matched through other fundraising. In all, these gifts will result in \$150,000 for the Institute's valuable student enrichment programs.

"This year's Salon Gala was an extraordinary success," said IGS Director **Jack Citrin**. "Those who attended the event heard one

of America's most distinguished public officials speak and answer questions about critical domestic and foreign policy issues, while at the same time we received exceptional support for the important internship programs that benefit Cal students. I want to personally thank Sen. Feinstein, Chevron, and our other generous donors for assuring the future of these programs."

At the sold-out event, Feinstein also received the Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award from IGS, and veteran journalist and Cal alum **Lynn D. Sweet** received the Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award.

Each year the Salon Gala is hosted by the Institute's National Advisory Council as a major fundraising opportunity for IGS, providing the Institute with an invaluable connection to California's business and political communities.

Feinstein, a former San Francisco mayor who has served in the Senate for more than 20 years, spoke about "The U.S. Senate and National Security," and then was interviewed on-stage by **Roy Eisenhardt**, an interviewer for the City Arts and Lectures series and the Commonwealth Club.

Sweet, the long-time Washington Bureau Chief for the *Chicago Sun-Times*, received the Brandt award for her career in journalism.

Almost 200 people filled the Julia Morgan Ballroom of the Mercantile Exchange Building in San Francisco for the event, which was generously underwritten by the Brandts. **Bill Brandt** is a member of the IGS National Advisory Council.

Feinstein is, of course, one of the most distinguished and pivotal figures in California political history. While serving as the first female president of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, she abruptly became mayor in 1978 when incumbent Mayor George Moscone and Supervisor Harvey Milk were tragically assassinated.

She served 10 years as mayor, and then was elected to the Senate in 1992. She has been re-elected four times since then, and now is one of the most senior members of the Senate. She previously served as the first female senator to chair the Senate Rules and Administration Committee and is currently chair of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, a position in which she is also the first woman. She has a long record of strengthening





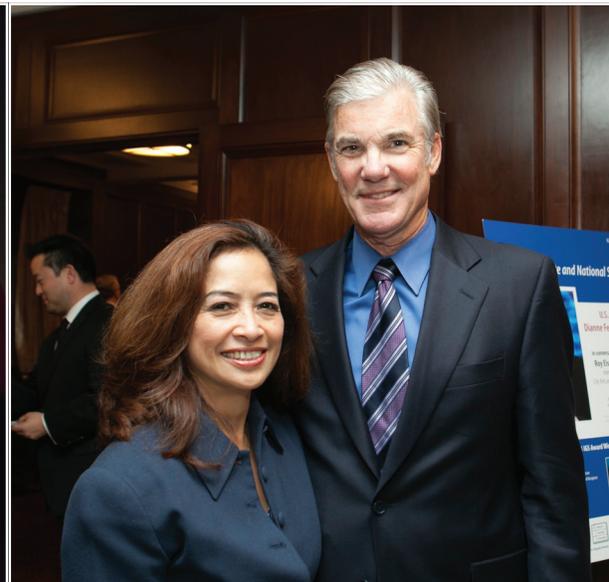
national security, combating crime, protecting natural resources, and raising money for cancer research.

Sweet received her undergraduate degree from Cal before attending Northwestern University's Medill School of Journalism. For the *Sun-Times*, she writes a column, blogs, and files on Twitter. A former fellow at Harvard's Institute of Politics, she was inducted into the Chicago Journalism Hall of Fame in 2007 and was named by *Washingtonian Magazine* as one of the capital's "50 Top Journalists" in 2009.

Eisenhardt has been an attorney, the executive director of the California Academy of Sciences, the president of the Oakland Athletics, and a lecturer at the School of Law at Cal.



Clockwise, from upper left: Sen. Dianne Feinstein speaks before dinner; journalist Lynn D. Sweet (left) receives the Alumni Leadership Award from Patrice Bugelas-Brandt; National Advisory Council member Kelly Calkin, Ken Burt, and Leslie Walker (left to right); Sarah and Darius Anderson; Richard Davis (left) talks with National Advisory Council member Dan Lindheim; State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Torlakson and Mae Cendana-Torlakson; Sen. Feinstein speaks as interviewer Roy Eisenhardt listens; IGS Associate Director Marc Levin, Weili Dai, and IGS Director Jack Citrin (left to right); Ted and Kathleen Janus with National Advisory Council member Bryan Cameron (left to right).



Cuba and California

IGS Examines a Changing Relationship



Barbara Lee

In 2011, President Obama eased some restrictions between the United States and Cuba, offering a slight thaw in this historically uneasy relationship. At the same time, the Cuban government has initiated a new program of modest economic reforms that have the potential to expand business and cultural exchanges between the two nations.

What might these developments mean for the bilateral relationship between Cuba and the United States, and for the relationship between Cuba and California? To answer that question, IGS convened a conference last fall that featured scholars, elected officials, businesspeople, and others from both Cuba and California.

“Cuba and California: The Opening of Relations to Cuba and Its Implications” explored the economic, social, and political developments taking place in Cuba and the role Californians, especially, might play in advancing business and cultural exchanges and initiatives.

U.S. Rep. **Barbara Lee**, whose congressional district includes the university, opened the conference by noting that the conference would “shine a light on a really complex and important issue.”

Lee said she has advocated the end of the Cuban embargo since 1977, and believes it is time to examine a new relationship between Cuba and the United States, including California.

“It’s time for our Cuba policy to move into the 21st century,” Lee said. “We have to work together to move beyond the old notions. . . . We know that Cuba is far from a perfect nation, but America still has not achieved the more perfect union that we all have been fighting for all of our lives.”

The conference’s opening keynote session included a colloquy between **Julia Sweig**, a scholar of Latin America at the Council on Foreign Relations, and **Lisa Garcia Bedolla**, the chair of Cal’s Center for Latino Policy Research.



Sweig noted that some things about Cuba have not changed—there have not been open elections, for example—but in many other ways Cuba has changed dramatically. Privatization of real estate has increased, for example, and other kinds of market reforms have occurred. Sweig described a meeting with former Cuban leader Fidel Castro at which he admitted that “the Cuban Model . . . doesn’t even work for us anymore.”

“When you listen to Raul Castro, sometimes he sounds more like Margaret Thatcher than like Karl Marx,” Sweig said.

There is also, Sweig said, an increasing level of openness in Cuban society, including an internal debate that does not always focus on the American embargo and its consequences.

“What’s refreshing is how introspective this debate among Cubans has become,” Sweig said. “Cubans are talking to one another about themselves without just chucking responsibility about the downside or upside of what they’ve created onto Washington, and that’s extremely, extremely impressive.”

To watch a webcast of this conference, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/cuba



Carlos Alzugaray Treto

ington’s Latin America policy is to repeat the same story that we’ve had for 50 years,” Sweig said.

Carlos Alzugaray Treto, a professor at the University of Havana and a former Cuban diplomat, spoke at a second keynote session in the afternoon, noting that it remains difficult even for respected scholars to travel between Cuba and the United States.

Treto advocated the normalization of Cuban-American relations, describing the current situation as largely the result of American decisions that have often been ineffective. For example, he noted that the United States has long sought to isolate Cuba diplomatically, but has been unable to do so, since there are normalized relations between Cuba and many other nations of the Western Hemisphere.

“The present state of U.S.-Cuban relations is basically defined by events that happened during the Cold War and have nothing to do with the present world,” Treto said.

Like Sweig, Treto criticized President Obama for a failure to make major reforms in the U.S.-Cuban relationship and said that as a result, Obama is now “the owner of a failed policy.”

Treto also noted the many complex ties between the two countries.

“There is no way that our societies can be separated,” he said. “We are neighbors and have so much in common.”

But he also described the vast difference between what he termed the world’s only superpower and a small island nation, which, he said, cannot do any harm to the United States.

Treto described recent reforms in Cuba as falling principally into two categories: economic and political. He said there is a “gradual but relentless” change in the economic system, making the economy more efficient and more market-oriented. At the same time, there is a loosening up of the Cuban political climate, gradually creating greater openness, he said.

Sweig also discussed American policy toward Cuba, and what she described as the failure of the Obama Administration to make major reforms in that relationship, largely due to domestic political concerns and an international focus on issues such as terrorism and the Middle East. She noted that Latin American leaders have insisted that Cuba be present if there are to be future multilateral summits of leaders from the Western Hemisphere.

“To say that Cuba has again overshadowed Wash-

Other sessions throughout the day focused on forecasting Cuban economic reforms, political and social developments in Cuba, and the exploration of new opportunities for Cuba and California. Speakers at those sessions included **Darius Anderson**, the chair of the IGS National Advisory Council who has a long interest in Cuban issues; Cuban music promoter **Bill Martinez**; and **Mark Entwistle**, director and special advisor of Acosta Capital.



Lisa Garcia Bedolla, Julia Sweig



Raúl A. Fernandez, Bill Martinez, Carl Voigt, Darius Anderson, Michael Zuccato

IGS Conference Looks at California Fiscal Crisis

For years California's governments—both state and local—have faced an ongoing fiscal crisis, and last fall IGS took an in-depth look at that problem with a full-day conference at the Brower Center in downtown Berkeley.

The conference brought together leading experts and public officials to examine fiscal issues from various angles, including

the evolving state-local relationship, restructuring proposals for local finance, public-employee pensions, case studies, and related political issues.

Mark Zandi, the chief economist for Moody's Analytics, delivered the keynote lecture, offering a generally optimistic take on the American economy in the long run. Zandi predicted that growth will improve "quite significantly" in 2014 and 2015, and he predicted that by early 2016, the economy will hit full employment.

Furthermore, Zandi said, if national policymakers can reduce uncertainty around fiscal issues by, for example, creating a credible path to long-term deficit reduction, the country's economy is poised for rapid growth.

If policymakers can reduce uncertainty, "I think our economic future is incredibly bright," Zandi said. "We are poised for very, very strong economic growth, and the surprise is going to be how well we do."

Zandi also noted the troubles the economy had endured during the recession. In particular, he pointed to a decline in hiring, which he said had included almost all segments of the economy, all sizes of business, and all regions of the country.

But even at that time—last September—a recovery had begun, Zandi said.

"The economic recovery is struggling—growth has slowed—but I'm confident the recovery will remain intact," he said. California job growth had been better than the country as a whole, and the Bay Area had been better even than the statewide numbers, Zandi said.

One factor still restraining economic growth, he said, was a lingering lack of confidence generated by the financial traumas of the recession. People remained "on edge," and at the first hint of bad news it was easy for businesses to refrain from hiring new people, he said.

The conference was organized by IGS and generously supported by Development Specialists, Inc.; DSI Civic; Stone & Youngberg, a Division of Stifel Nicolaus; and Deutsche Bank. Cooperating organizations included the Association of Bay Area Governments, the Bay Area Council, the California State Association of Counties, and the San Francisco Planning & Urban Research Association.

Panels throughout the day assessed various aspects of the California fiscal crisis.

The first panel was a general overview of the state's fiscal crisis, with panelists including **Peter Detwiler**, who was previously with the state legislature; **Michael Coleman**, an advisor to the Cali-



Mark Zandi



Steve Erie, Chuck Reed, Michelle Wilde Anderson

California Society of Municipal Finance Officers and the League of California Cities; **Tracy Gordon** of the Brookings Institution; and **Scott Pattison** of the National Association of State Budget Officers.

Pattison opened the conference by noting that most states were experiencing a recovery of revenues, but were still not back to prerecession levels. Furthermore, he said, states face many long-term fiscal challenges, including the long-term costs of public employee retirement. Such issues, Pattison said, “are seen in other states, but they seem a little more pronounced here in California.”

Pattison also noted that it is important for states to “avoid bad practices in good times.” Most other states, he said, seek to spend surplus revenue during good economic times on one-time costs, so that increased spending is not built into the state budget. It is important for California to follow similar practices going forward, Pattison said.

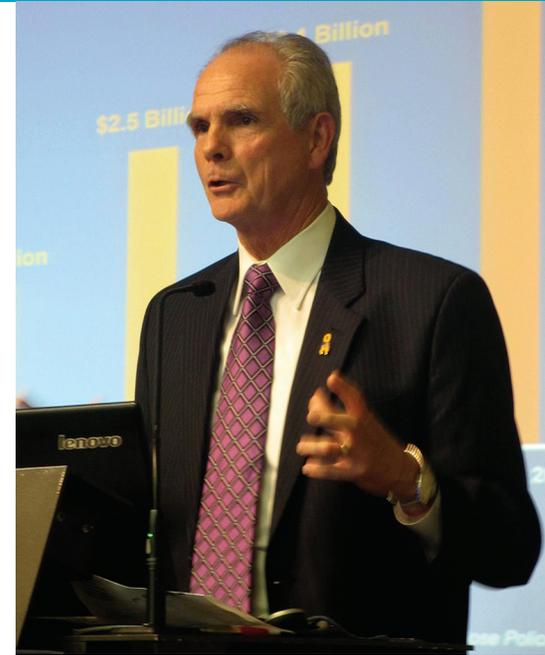
The second panel addressed the “basics of restructuring.” Panelists included **Duf Sundheim**, former chair of the California Republican Party; **Natasha Karl** of the League of Cities; **Michael Sweet** of Fox Rothschild; and **Tom Lockard** of Stone & Youngberg.

The third panel examined the politics and principles of restructuring, and included panelists **Chris Klein** of the U.S. Bankruptcy Court; **Bill Brandt**, president and CEO of Development Specialists Inc. and a member of the IGS National Advisory Council; and **Guy Davidson** of AllianceBernstein.

Public pensions were the topic of the fourth panel, which included **Stuart Drown** of the Little Hoover Commission; **Marty Morgenstern**, secretary of the California Labor and Workforce Development Agency; **Joe Nation** of Stanford; **Eric Hoffman** of Moody’s Investor Service; and **Bob Brownstein** of Working Partnerships USA.

The final panel of the day provided comparative case studies of fiscal crises. Panelists included **Steve Erie** of UC San Diego; public-employees union leader **Rollie Katz**; Riverside Mayor **Ron Loveridge**; and San Jose Mayor **Chuck Reed**.

The moderators of the panels included Berkeley scholars **Max Neiman** of IGS, **Margaret Weir** of the Sociology Department, **John Ellwood** of the Goldman School of Public Policy, **Sarah Anzia** of the Goldman School, and **Michelle Wilde Anderson** of the Berkeley Law School.



*Top: Chuck Reed;
bottom, Tracy Gordon*



To watch a webcast of this event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/fiscalstress

Election Season at IGS

Big Crowds and Big Issues



IGS marked the 2012 election season with events large and small—from a returns-watching party that drew hundreds of students to Sproul Plaza to academic panels that examined pre-election prediction formulas.

The election-related calendar wrapped up with two events on Election Night, both organized by the Institute's **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**.

Hundreds of Cal students gathered on Sproul Plaza to watch the returns on a huge video screen erected just for the occasion. The Matsui Center teamed up with student organizations to sponsor the event, which included free popcorn and cotton candy. The crowd filled the square, cheering wildly when KTVU news did a live shot from the scene.

"IGS and the Matsui Center want to reach out to Cal students and involve them in public issues, and this was a perfect opportunity to do just that," said Matsui Center Director Ethan Rarick.

Meanwhile graduate students and faculty members gathered in the IGS Library to watch the returns—a more subdued environment but one where people were just as interested in the election outcome.

The Election Night parties culminated a busy season of politics at Moses Hall. Hundreds of people gathered for debate-watching parties for all three bouts between President Barack Obama and challenger Mitt Romney, and for the lone debate between Vice President Joe Biden and Republican nominee Paul Ryan. The crowds filled both the IGS Library and the courtyard outside Moses Hall.

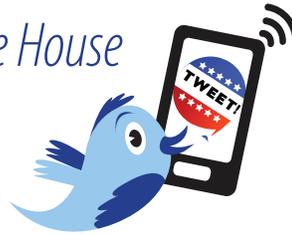
The Matsui Center also organized panel discussions on both the national and the state elections, featuring discussion of election-prediction formulas, polling data, and the history of past elections. A session in the IGS Library the day before the election featured legendary California pollster **Merv Field**, who first polled during the election of 1948 and was still going strong in 2012.

IGS was also active in the online world this election season. The IGS Library staff produced the content for California Choices, a major website offering voters nonpartisan information on the ballot measures that went before voters.

"Election season is always a chance for IGS to engage the campus," said the Institute's director, Professor **Jack Citrin**. "This fall the Institute served as a producer of nonpartisan analysis online, a source for expert discussion and evaluation, and a place to gather and watch major campaign events. We're glad to have played that role in such an important process."



The Matsui Forum: Tweeting to the White House



Daniel Kreiss, Theo Yedinsky, Katie Merrill

To watch a webcast of the Matsui Forum, go to igs.berkeley.edu/matsui-center/matsui-forum

The changing technology of political campaigns was the focus of this year's Matsui Forum, held just a month before Election Day. Campaign veterans **David All**, **Katie Merrill**, and **Theo Yedinsky**, along with University of North Carolina scholar **Daniel Kreiss**, examined how social media and other new technologies have changed—and will continue to change—campaigns. The quick take-away lesson was that social media allows more people to be aware and involved politically, especially those with busy personal lives. “This is a bit of an overstatement,” Merrill said, “but social media has democratized politics.”

Each year, the Matsui Forum—one of the core programs of the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service—examines an issue of timely public interest.

Debate Nights at IGS!
Watch the 2012 Presidential and Vice Presidential Debates Live at the Matsui Center

Wed., Oct. 3: Obama vs. Romney:
Round One
Thurs., Oct. 11: Biden vs. Ryan
Tues., Oct. 16: Obama vs. Romney:
Round Two
Mon., Oct. 22: Obama vs. Romney:
Round Three

Food, drinks, prizes, and more!
6-8 p.m.
IGS Library
109 Moses Hall

Co-sponsored by Berkeley College Republicans, Berkeley Public Service, UC/Cal Public Service, Berkeley College Democrats, Berkeley Republican, and the Center for Public Service. For more information, visit igs.berkeley.edu. Offer at the discretion of the Matsui Center. © 2012 IGS. All rights reserved.



Matsui Lecturers

Congressmen Bring Expertise on Transportation, Global Development

Former Congressmen **James L. Oberstar** and **Douglas Bereuter** served as Matsui Lecturers this academic year, spending a week in residence at the Matsui Center.



Congressman Oberstar talks with Congresswoman Doris Matsui

James Oberstar was here a few weeks before the election last fall, and joined students to watch one of the presidential debates in the Matsui Center. Much of his visit, however, focused not on politics but on transportation policy. Oberstar served as chair of the House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee when he was in Congress and was long known for his leadership on many transportation issues, especially advocacy for the use of bicycles.

So his week at Cal included a visit to the on-campus bike repair shop of BicyCAL, a student-run group that tries to encourage cycling; a lunch with faculty members and graduate students at the Institute of Transportation Studies; and a lecture to a class in transportation and land-use planning.

Many of the same issues were also addressed in Oberstar's main public lecture, "The Seeds of Our 21st Century Transportation Network: A Retrospective of Sixty Years of Policymaking."

Oberstar, a Democrat who spent 36 years representing northeastern Minnesota in the House, also spoke to a seminar on the American presidency, lectured in an introductory course in political science, and attended a brown-bag lunch with the Cal Berkeley Democrats.



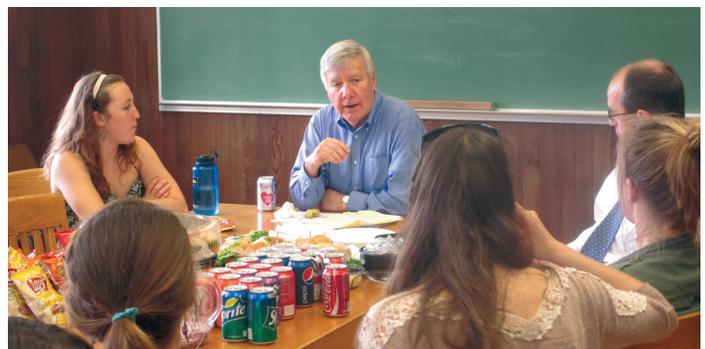
Douglas Bereuter's spring-semester visit also related to the key issues he dealt with while in Congress. Long known for his expertise on both international and agricultural issues, Bereuter's public lecture was entitled "Can the World Feed 9 Billion People? A Global Agricultural Development Initiative."

Bereuter, who served as president of the Asia Foundation after leaving politics, also spoke to classes on northeast Asian politics, the politics of European integration, and Congress. The international flavor of his career was also reflected in the fact that he met with the Society of Hong Kong and Chinese Affairs, and attended a reception with students in the university's graduate program in development practice.

Two of his events related to his work as chairman of the board of the Arbor Day Foundation: He spoke to a course called "Americans and the Global Forest," and he attended a brown-bag lunch with members of the Cal Forestry Club.

A Republican who represented eastern Nebraska for 25 years, Bereuter also had lunch with members of the Berkeley College Republicans, and met with other graduate students, undergraduates, and faculty members during his week at the Matsui Center.

"This is exactly what the Matsui Lectureship is designed to do: zbring to campus distinguished public servants who can share their expertise and experience with a broad cross-section of the university community. Students and faculty members alike benefit from these visits, and Congressman Oberstar and Congressman Bereuter were wonderful examples," said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**.



Berman, Tauscher to be Matsui Lecturers

Former Congressman **Howard Berman** and former Congresswoman **Ellen Tauscher** will serve as Matsui Lecturers during the upcoming 2013–14 academic year.

Berman served in Congress for 30 years, representing part of the San Fernando Valley, before leaving politics earlier this year. Tauscher represented portions of the East Bay in the San Francisco Bay Area for 12 years before being appointed by President Obama as Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs.

Dates and other details of their visits have yet to be determined. For more information, watch the IGS website at igs.berkeley.edu.

To watch a webcast of the Matsui Lectures by Congressmen Oberstar and Bereuter, go to igs.berkeley.edu/matsui-center/matsui-lecture

Nobel Laureate Speaks on Higher Education

Nobel Prize-winning economist **Gary Becker** appeared this spring at the Baxter Liberty Initiative, which is co-sponsored by IGS, speaking about the importance of higher education in improving people's lives around the world.

Becker, who received the Nobel Prize in economics in 1992, spoke to a packed house at the Banatao Auditorium. His talk was entitled "The Worldwide Boom in Higher Education: Increased Gains from College, Rise in Women's Education, and Relative Decline in U.S. Education."

Becker started his talk with a bit of history—outlining for the overflowing room the worldwide trends in people seeking and obtaining advanced degrees.

Even as the cost of college continues to rise in the United States, Becker drove home his

main point: "Education has a big effect, a positive effect, in almost every part of life."

Looking at the unemployment numbers and average pay, Becker said that over a person's life a four-year college degree

will earn them twice as much as someone with only a high school diploma—and it goes beyond pay.

"In addition," Becker said, increased life expectancy "for men and women with bachelor's degrees or higher is significant."

The same basic advantages, he said, also accrue to those in other countries who earn higher degrees.

A college degree, he said, remains the "world's best investment," and he told students that his basic message is simple: stay in school and graduate.

IGS Director Jack Citrin introduced Becker, and Professor **Enrico Moretti** from Berkeley's Department of Economics served as the respondent for the discussion.

Becker is the Rose-Marie and Jack R. Anderson Senior Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution and a professor of economics, sociology, and business at the University of Chicago. His research specializes in human capital, economics of the family, and economic analysis of crime, discrimination, and population.

The Baxter Liberty Initiative is a program in Berkeley's Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science, and is cosponsored by IGS. It was established by UC Berkeley Foundation Trustee **Frank Baxter**, former CEO of Jefferies and Company and former ambassador to Uruguay. Each lecture features an intellectual leader whose expertise and scholarship focuses on the ideal of freedom in political and economic life.



Gary Becker, Enrico Moretti

A Year of Scholarship and Honors

As usual, the year featured a wide variety of academic accomplishments at IGS: conferences, award-winning scholarship and teaching, and the publication of important new books. Below are some highlights.

IGS Assistant Director for Research **Terri Bimes** received a 2013 Teaching Excellence award from the northern California chapter of Phi Beta Kappa this spring. In addition to her duties at the Institute, Bimes is a lecturer in the political science department, teaching courses on the presidency and American political development, as well as the senior honors thesis writing seminar. Phi Beta Kappa presents the teaching excellence awards annually, to recognize the educational and research activities of faculty from the eight northern California colleges and universities with Phi Beta Kappa chapters.

Jasjeet Sekhon and **Devin Caughey** were cowinners of the 2012 Miller Prize, awarded by the Society for Political Methodology for the best work appearing in *Political Analysis* in the previous year. Sekhon teaches in the political science department and is the director of the IGS Center for Causal Inference and Program

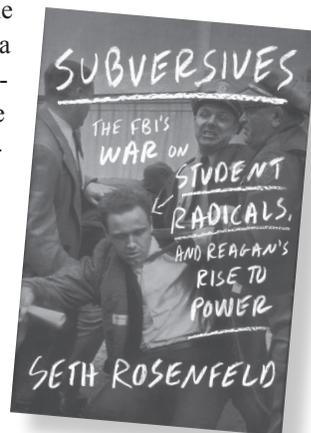
Evaluation. Caughey is a former IGS graduate student now teaching at MIT.

IGS-affiliated faculty member **Irene Bloemraad** and former IGS graduate student **Matthew Wright** received the Best Article Award from the American Political Science Association Migration and Citizenship Section for their article, "Is there a trade-off between multiculturalism and socio-political integration? Policy regimes and immigrant incorporation in comparative perspective," which was published in the journal *Perspectives on Politics*.

Gabriel Lenz, a political scientist at Berkeley and an affiliated faculty member at IGS, published a new book examining the standard assumptions around voter behavior and representation. *Follow the Leader: How Voters Respond to Politicians' Policies and Performance* looks at the way voter preferences shift around periods of political upheaval, and how much weight voters actually give to policy positions.

Lisa Garcia Bedolla, an IGS-affiliated faculty member, published *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*, offering a new theory about why some get-out-the-vote efforts work, and some don't.

Seth Rosenfeld, a former John Jacobs Fellow at IGS, published *Subversives: The FBI's War on Student Radicals, and Reagan's*



Rise to Power. The book chronicles the Free Speech Movement at Cal and exposes the extent of the FBI's attempts to stop it. Rosenfeld spent 30 years researching the story, engaged in multiple Freedom of Information lawsuits in federal court, and pored over hundreds of thousands of FBI internal memos after they were released.

Former IGS graduate student **Brendan J. Doherty**, who now teaches at the U.S. Naval Academy, published *The Rise of the President's Permanent Campaign*, documenting the increased presidential focus on electoral concerns and analyzing the implications.

Taeku Lee, chair of Cal's political science department and an IGS-affiliated faculty member, co-authored two reports released by the National Asian American Survey. The research found that while Asian Americans tend to favor Democratic candidates and take more liberal positions, they do not associate strongly with either party.

Conferences Tackle Democracy and Urban Issues

Two IGS conferences focused an academic spotlight on critical issues: the challenges faced by countries seeking a transition to democracy, and urban and immigration issues in the United States.

The first conference, "Democracy Rising: 2012—Global Prospects, Perils, and Policy Challenges," was a two-day event last fall that looked at the inherent challenges of creating inclusive democratic systems in countries with an authoritarian past.

The second event, "Challenging Urban Borders: The Geopolitics of Immigration and Segregation," featured contributions from young French and American scholars studying urban issues. It was held this spring.

The Future of Afghanistan and U.S. Strategy

With an overflow crowd packing in to the IGS Library, former U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan **Karl Eikenberry** spoke at IGS this spring, the last of the year's lectures for the Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series. (For other lectures in the Smith Series this year, see the accompanying list.)

Eikenberry, who is also a retired U.S. Army Lt. General, spoke about the history of U.S. involvement in Afghanistan after Sept. 11 and what challenges the U.S. faces transitioning out of the country.

Breaking down the U.S. involvement in Afghanistan to three time periods when different strategies were used—from 2001 to 2003, from 2004 to 2008, and from 2009 to the present—Eikenberry focused on the most recent strategy by President Barack Obama to increase troops in the country.

"I was picked to be the ambassador to lead the civilian surge," Eikenberry said of his appointment in May of 2009. "The civilian teams would go in behind the military and help reconstitute governance in those areas and help improve local economies. In Kabul this meant working at the national level to help strengthen key Afghan ministries."

"We weren't trying to do everything," he said, "although we were trying to do a lot."

Although the majority of the talk was filled with possible stumbling blocks in Afghanistan and surrounding countries, Eikenberry ended his lecture on a more positive note. Saying that despite the potential threats of Pakistan, the cost of operating in Afghanistan, political unrest in the area, and the approaching end to Hamid Karzai's presidency, there was still reason to hope things "might not turn out too badly."

Eikenberry said that description of the outcome was based on measuring success as simply avoiding a civil war—"a low bar."

Eikenberry said he was hopeful because of the increasing access to healthcare for people throughout the country, the fact that there are no serious political actors or centrifugal forces in the border countries, and that Afghans have a very vivid memory of the wars they've been through.

"These people have been brutalized, and traumatized," Eikenberry said. "I've never been to a country like Afghanistan, that's faced the troubles that they've been through."

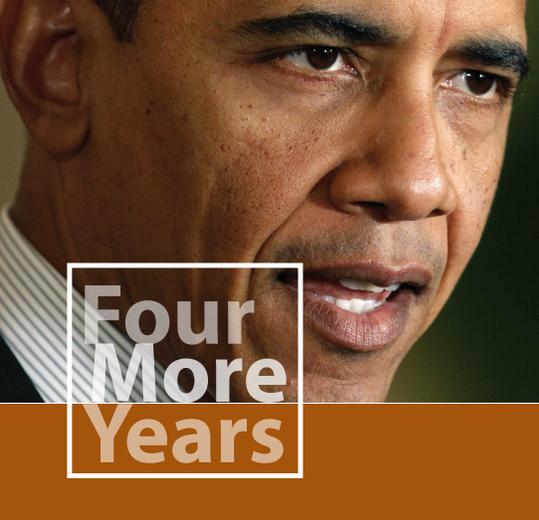
The Smith Series focuses on U.S. defense policies with an emphasis on the control and management of nuclear weapons. This is the third year of the series, which brings distinguished experts to campus to speak and engage in conversation about these vital matters. Smith is a distinguished resident scholar IGS, focusing on the impact of technology on foreign and defense policy.



Karl Eikenberry

Smith Seminar Series 2012–13

- The Future of Afghanistan and U.S. Strategy in Central and South Asia—**Karl Eikenberry**
- Nuclear Weapons in the 21st Century: Can We Get Beyond MAD as the Baseline Strategy—**James E. Cartwright**
- Management of the Nuclear Security Enterprise in the Age of Austerity—**Michael R. Anastasio**
- Time to Attack Iran—**Matthew Kroenig**



Obama's Reelection and Second Term Examined by IGS Panel

On the heels of President Obama's reelection, IGS gathered its annual panel of presidential experts this spring to discuss the 2012 campaign and the outlook for a second Obama term. The panel included former Michigan Gov. **Jennifer Granholm**, who now teaches at Cal; *Los Angeles Times* national political writer **Mark Barabak**; Hoover Institution Research Fellow **Tammy Frisby**, and UCLA political scientist **Lynn Vavreck**.

Vavreck said Obama's victory was in line with standard political science predictors: party identification and the state of the nation's economy. "In 2012 the economy was growing," Vavreck said. "It was growing slowly, but it was growing. There was enough growth in 2012 to predict an incumbent party victory." Though she thought Republican nominee Mitt Romney was a fairly good candidate, Vavreck said only an exceptional candidate could have overcome the underlying factors. "He needed to shift the conversation off of the economy, but instead he focused the campaign on the economy," Vavreck said.

Barabak added that President Obama had structural advantages earlier, including an unopposed primary and what he termed a weak opponent in Romney. "Everything is abundantly clear in retrospect, but you do have to wonder what the Re-

publicans were thinking, when in the era of the '99 percent' they nominate one of the most phenomenally wealthy candidates they ever did," said Barabak.

Granholm said Romney was constantly shape-shifting, damaging his connection with voters. The American people needed a candidate with a more relatable personal story, Granholm said. The former governor suggested the ailing Republican Party must work to appeal to the millennial generation, who may be attracted to certain economic arguments or a libertarian ideology. "I think demography is destiny right now," Granholm said.

Frisby, who was an early Romney supporter, agreed that academic forecasts predicted a relatively close race. "If you were going to have headwinds, Mitt Romney was not the candidate in 2012 to pull that off for you," said Frisby. She added that in an era of weak economic growth and attention focused on the financial sector, the choice of the Republican Party to select a candidate whose entire career had been built in finance was a "bold" choice.

At the close of the event, each panelist was asked how President Obama will be remembered. Frisby focused her assessment on a topic not largely discussed during the evening—foreign affairs. "I wonder whether it's possible that given the tensions in the Middle East . . . the president could end up being shifted to

foreign policy and perhaps that could end up being his legacy going forward."

Barabak said more elections will be needed before Obama's impact becomes clear. "Has he laid a foundation that's going to be built upon, or is it like sand that just washes away from you somehow?" Barabak asked rhetorically.

Vavreck noted that this presidency



Tammy Frisby, Jennifer Granholm, Mark Barabak, Lynn Vavreck

will be remembered for its historical significance—the election of the first African-American president and the Great Recession—but she also said that given the president's relatively young age, "his legacy actually isn't written when he leaves the White House. . . . He goes on to do something phenomenal, but it will be postpresidency."

Granholm was the most optimistic about the president's place in history. "I do think that he is a transformational leader . . . in coming into office and saving the country when it was on its knees," said Granholm. She added that his legacy will solidify in the second term: "I think the sky's the limit."

To watch a webcast of this event, visit igs.berkeley.edu/matsui-center/annual-review-of-the-presidency

Is California Back?

IGS Conference Produces Competing Answers

California may be on the road to recovery, but the Golden State still has a long way to go to regain its past luster, according to many of the participants at an IGS conference held this spring in Sacramento called “California: Are We Back?”

The conference, cohosted with the UC Center Sacramento and held at the center’s conference facility near the state Capitol, included panels on the state’s fiscal health, the recent efforts at political reform, and the changing demography of the state’s electorate. The lunchtime keynote session featured current Democratic Party Chair **John Burton** and former Republican Party Chair **Duf Sundheim**. The event was generously sponsored by PG&E.

After years of constant budget deficits and increasing voter pessimism, California voters approved a tax increase last November that put the state on an improved fiscal footing, and subsequent polls showed an increasing number of Californians who say the state is on the right track. So has California turned the corner?

Opening the conference was a fiscal panel moderated by **Amy Chance**, political editor of the *Sacramento Bee*. Panelists included Deputy Director of Finance **H. D. Palmer**, Legislative Analyst **Mac Taylor**, and two former Directors of Finance—**Tom Campbell** and **Tim Gage**.

Although the panelists generally agreed that the short-term prospects for the state budget had improved, they also pointed to long-term financial obligations that pose potential problems. Campbell and Taylor strongly disagreed about a proposal to require that ballot initiatives spec-

ify a funding source for any new spending. Campbell favored the idea, while Taylor said it would simply tie up more of the state budget.

The second panel, moderated by Sacramento State Communications Professor **Molly Dugan**, focused on the impact of recent political reforms, such as the adoption of a nonpartisan primary system and the creation of an independent redistricting commission.

Trudy Schafer, senior director for programs at the League of Women Voters of California, began the discussion by talking about the league’s involvement in political reform issues, noting that the organization only takes positions on measures it has studied, and on which the membership has agreed on a position.

Thad Kousser, who teaches political science at UC San Diego, presented data showing that the recent reforms have made relatively little difference in the composition of the legislature, although he noted that could change over time.

Mike Villines, a governance fellow at the UC Center Sacramento, described the view of a former legislator, while author **Mark Paul** placed the recent changes in the long-term context of American politics.

The final panel of the afternoon, moderated by **Judy Lin** of the Associated Press, focused on California’s changing demographics, and featured scholars **Jane Junn** of USC and **Karthick Ramakrishnan** of UC Riverside, and political consultant **Mike Madrid** of Grassroots Lab.

Junn compared voting patterns in California versus those in the nation as a whole, focusing on issues of gender and ethnic diversity. Madrid compared the representation of ethnic groups in the California population as a whole to that among voters and various officeholders.

The lunch session featured a lively discussion between Burton and Sundheim, moderated by journalist **John Myers**, that covered everything from the state’s partisan alignment to the current policy issues facing California.z

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Top to bottom: Trudy Schafer, Molly Dugan, Mike Madrid, John Burton, Judy Lin, Duf Sundheim, Karthick Ramakrishnan, Mike Villines



To watch a webcast of this event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/California-are-we-back

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—**Karen Skelton** (IGS National Advisory Council)



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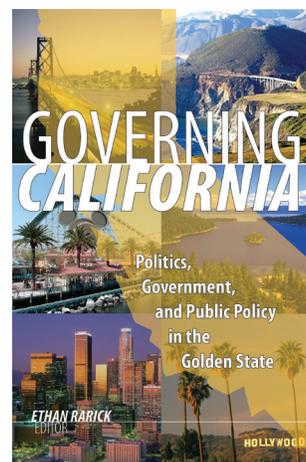
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