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A Year of Politics and Policy

The past year at IGS was filled with exciting moments like those above: 25 Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows on the floor of the California Senate, PBS NewsHour journalist Judy Woodruff speaking to the Salon Gala, Senate President Pro Tem Darrell Steinberg with Cal-in-Sacramento intern Emily Ikuta, Assemblywoman Wilmer Amina Carter with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Daniel Chen, SEIU President Yvonne Walker and *San Francisco Chronicle* columnist Debra Saunders talking about California's future, and President Obama with Gardner Fellow Pedro Spivakovsky-Gonzalez. To read about these and other IGS activities, see inside this issue of the *PAR*.

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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 Completes One Great Year, Plans for Another

Jack Citrin



One of the joys of serving as director of IGS is to write these annual updates, providing you a glimpse of what we have achieved in the year just past and what we are planning for the year to come. As always, one of the key focal points for IGS has been the education of a new generation of students. The programs of our **Matsui Center** continued to flourish, providing California's most promising young people with the chance for hands-on experience in government at the federal, state, and local levels. To cite just a few examples, our students spent time interning at the Department of State, the Department of Justice, the Office of the Governor, Democratic and Republican offices in both houses of the California Legislature, and the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. At the same time, through our **Percy and Synar grant programs**, IGS supported innovative research by students at both the graduate and undergraduate level. One student research paper even earned the distinction of publication in our *California Journal of Politics and Policy*.

We also focused on public events. Last fall we led up to the 2010 mid-term elections with a series of events ranging from analytical panels to debate-watching parties to our traditional Election Night party. After the votes were counted and the winners declared we held our quadrennial conference on the California gubernatorial election, which brought together the leaders of the state's political community—campaign managers, pollsters, journalists, consultants, scholars, and others—for a frank two-day analysis of the race. Healthcare reform was the subject of a

major series, while individual events also focused on immigration, the agenda facing California, the state of the Obama presidency, and the future of Bay Area governance. Speakers included former Defense Secretary **William Perry**, former Congressman **Michael Oxley**, and California Treasurer **Bill Lockyer**.

In the spring, the annual **IGS Salon Gala** was, as always, an enormous success. PBS News-Hour Senior Correspondent **Judy Woodruff** gave us a detailed report from Washington, while IGS honored former California Supreme Court Chief Justice **Ron George** with our Distinguished Service Award and venture capitalist **Lisa Suennen** with our Outstanding Alumni Award.

Our affiliated faculty from many disciplines sustain both research and public commentary through seminars on American National Politics; the Politics of Race, Immigration and Ethnicity; Political History; and American Foreign and Defense Policy. These events both present the research of IGS scholars but also bring to campus distinguished scholars and practitioners from throughout the country and abroad.

In the coming year, we'll continue our existing programs of experiential learning, public service, and leading scholarship, of course, but we will also emphasize some topics of particular timeliness. That starts this fall when we will host a conference on the new California redistricting process, including comments from three of the citizen commissioners who drew the lines. We'll continue our examination of health-care reform with a major debate between nationally prominent constitutional scholars, cosponsored with the Commonwealth Club, about the constitutionality of President Obama's "Affordable Health Care Act." Later in the year we'll switch to the 2012 election cycle, hosting events that examine the presidential contest both in California and across the country.

Even in these difficult times, IGS is flourishing. We are able to do so thanks to our distinguished faculty affiliates, our dedicated staff, our inspiring students, and you—our friends and supporters around the world. On behalf of all of us at IGS and at Cal, thank you. I know that the coming academic year will feature even more great successes.

Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows Complete Summer in California's Capital

Almost 30 Cal undergraduates got to see California's political world up close this summer as part of **Cal-in-Sacramento**, one of the biggest programs at IGS. Students gained practical experience by working firsthand in the governor's office, the legislature, state agencies, and even nonprofit groups.

Here is what some of our fellows said about their time in Sacramento:

"My experience in Sacramento was amazing. I learned a great deal about California politics. I completed a variety of tasks for the office, from recommending bill positions to the Assemblyman to corresponding with constituents. Outside of the office, the experience was just as amazing. Everyone in the program quickly became a tight-knit community."

"I would definitely recommend this program to other students, especially students who might not necessarily think of applying since they are not political science majors and/or do not plan on going into government. I was in that category, yet I was able to learn a lot about the public sector and general policy areas that I am interested in pursuing."

"My internship experience was invaluable. Up until this point, I felt that internships barely help you scratch the surface

of day-to-day business in politics. But my internship this summer was incredibly immersive, challenging, and enlightening."

Here is what some of their supervisors said about our students:

"I gave him projects that were complex. He took ownership of them and finalized the projects in a more professional manner than I have seen with any other intern."

"My standards are high, and she has met them or exceeded them in all of the projects given to her over the course of her internship with our office."

Cal-in-Sacramento Placements

Executive Officers

Gov. Jerry Brown – Kyle Simerly, Alex Hirsch, Kris Fernandez
Attorney General Kamala Harris – Jacqueline Barocio, Elodie Grossi, Emily Levett

Senate

Sen. Joel Anderson – Arielle Spinner
Sen. Carol Liu – Michelle Wu
Senate President Pro Tem Darrell Steinberg – Emily Ikuta
Business and Professions Committee – Jonathan Ma
Republican Caucus – Shawn Lewis

Assembly

Assemblyman Luis Alejo – Nick Silvestri
Assemblywoman Wilmer Amina Carter – Daniel Chen
Assemblyman Gil Cedillo – Brian Jimenez
Assemblyman Nathan Fletcher – Andrew Nevis
Assemblyman Warren Furutani – Jofil Borja
Assemblyman Steve Knight – John Kashuba
Assemblywoman Nancy Skinner – Marina Bennett
Assemblyman Donald Wagner – Lauren Lewow

Agencies

Department of Managed Health Care – Anna Situ
Little Hoover Commission – Benjamin Goldblatt
UC Office of State Governmental Relations – Julia Gettle
California Emergency Management Agency – Clayton Koo

Non-Profit

Cal-EPA – Brittany Williams
California Women Lead – Lauren Weiss
Mental Health Association in California – Dao Nguyen

Consulting

Acosta-Salazar – Tamara Gilden
Capitol Impact – Ovsanna Khachikian



Former Senator Dick Ackerman with the 2011 class of Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows at the Capitol



Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Daniel Chen with Assemblywoman Wilmer Amina Carter

Matsui Washington Fellows

State Department, Peace Corps

The **Matsui Center** keeps sending Cal students to Washington to study and intern. Each semester the Center, which is part of IGS, provides scholarships allowing two students to participate in the UC Berkeley Washington Program.

This past spring, Julie Gramlich and Elizabeth Vissers interned in Washington, and this fall Megan Blanchard and Kansola Oshodi will be spending a semester there. In all, the Matsui Center has provided Washington scholarships to 15 Cal students since it was founded in the fall of 2008. Here are some highlights from Julie and Elizabeth.

Julie Gramlich

“I loved my internship at the Peace Corps Headquarters, where I wrote and edited over 100 departing Peace Corps Volunteers press releases that were sent to the local press to be printed. In addition, I examined daily press articles from Google News, Yahoo News, and TV Eyes to compile an email of 25 top news stories to distribute to the 6,000 Peace Corps employees.”

Elizabeth Vissers

“I worked at the U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs, with the Office of Environmental Policy. I cooperated with a team to complete a range of substantive and interesting work pertaining to issues such as sustainable development, green economy, international oil pipelines, and the United Nations Environment Programme. I wrote formal material on a sensitive and important U.S. foreign policy issue, drafted memos and issue papers, analyzed the OECD’s draft reports on green growth and indicators and compiled U.S. comments on them, and created charts, read-outs, and presentations. I also organized large meetings for interagency, civil society, and private sector groups, and created briefing books for the official U.S. delegation to the United Nations Environment Programme Governing Council and Global Ministerial Environment Forum in Nairobi, Kenya. Overall, my internship was an excellent and enjoyable learning experience.”

Matsui Washington Fellow Placements

Spring 2011

Department of State – Elizabeth Vissers
Peace Corps – Julie Gramlich

Fall 2010

Department of Justice – Meghan Ballard
Department of Education – David Velasquez
Christian Science Monitor – Sara Johnson

Spring 2010

White House Office of New Media – Melissa Blaustein

Rep. Alcee Hastings – Conrad Crump

Fall 2009

Speaker Nancy Pelosi – Davi Lang
Sen. Ron Wyden – Elijah Herr

Spring 2009

Rep. Grace Napolitano – Gricelda Gomez
Rep. Zoe Lofgren – Erin Pangilinan
Rep. Mike Honda – Katerina Robinson
Sen. Christopher Dodd – Amanda Kelsey Loh



Julie Gramlich, Elizabeth Vissers

“I loved my internship at the Peace Corps headquarters.”

—Julie Gramlich

Local Government Fellow Gets an Inside Look at San Francisco Politics

Jake Brymner, who is starting his senior year at Cal, spent the past summer as the **Matsui Local Government Fellow** working for San Francisco Supervisor **Scott Wiener**. Here is Jake's summary of his experiences.

Prior to starting my internship, I didn't exactly know what to expect. While it wasn't my first internship, it was my first foray into the world of San Francisco politics and the first time I was involved in local government. Perhaps, if forced, I could have hazarded a few guesses about what my experience would be like: constituent relations, urban policy (and politics), office work, a closer view of how things worked in City Hall, and a crash course on San Francisco. However, I wouldn't even have gotten close about how much I would learn about all these topics.

One of the first impressions my experience left upon me was one of depth. Going from causally observing outsider to under-the-dome "insider" overnight made me realize how expansive the universe of a single city could be. Having the opportunity to directly see the myriad of interests and constituencies represented at City Hall, everyday, put what was previously only a theoretical understanding into practice. It was heartening to see the diversity of San Francisco embodied in its politics and instantly brought back to mind the Federalist Papers readings from Political Science 1: Intro to American Politics.

I also had the chance to see what I had learned from my California Politics course put into action. I was fortunate to have the chance to see a budget process up close, since right when I arrived for my first week, the Budget Committee, on which Supervisor Wiener sat, began finalizing its recommendations. My proximity to the process let me gain an understanding for the constraints on legislators, at all levels, during budget season, and a window into how budgets are made possible politically. I also had my first endeavor in the field of ballot measures when I helped guide several ballot guide arguments through their (often times arcane) submission process.

I couldn't write about my experience without mentioning the amazing people I had the chance to work with. Both of the supervisor's legislative aides were not only helpful and constructive to my own experience, but also vastly knowledgeable about the city, its people, politics, and policies, and, to top it off, fun and easy to work with. I found not only Supervisor Wiener, but all other public servants in City Hall, to be extremely hardworking and capable. Seeing how San Francisco's supervisors worked hard and were able



to come together and talk, if not always agree, was both instructional and inspirational.

Where Are They Now?—Tonia Bui

From time to time, we want to update PAR readers about former IGS students. Former Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Tonia Bui is shown here with Congressman Xavier Becerra, for whom she has been working as a Member Outreach Assistant in the House Democratic Caucus. Becerra is the vice chair of the Caucus. Now Tonia is leaving her position in Congress to pursue an exciting new opportunity -- a program at American University offering a Master's Degree in public policy. Good luck, Tonia!



New Gardner Fellows Focused on Arts, Education, Environment

Three of Cal's most distinguished graduating seniors have been selected to receive **Gardner Fellowships** from IGS, allowing them to work for almost a year in a nonprofit or government agency.

Kelly Fabian, Arjun Ghosh, and Byron Ruby will each receive a living stipend along with travel and expense money so that they can commit themselves to public service for the next 10 months.

The Gardner Fellowship is a joint Cal-Stanford program that honors the career of John Gardner, a graduate of both schools who went on to a long career in public service, including time as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Lyndon Johnson. IGS runs the Cal portion of the program, and each year selects three graduating seniors to receive Fellowships.



Kelly Fabian

Major: Political Science with a minor in Art History

Hometown: Trabuco Canyon, California

Service Interest: Arts Advocacy, Community Arts Organizations

Berkeley Experience: Kelly graduated Phi Beta Kappa. Involved with the Student Advocate's Office since freshman year, she was elected to the ASUC executive position by

the entire UC Berkeley student body. Her passion for social justice extended to a summer internship with the ACLU and a Global Law Brigades service trip to a rural Panamanian village. The political science department has twice recognized her contributions to the school, through the prestigious Travers Undergraduate Scholarship in Ethics and Politics and as a finalist for the departmental citation at commencement. As a sophomore, she was the only underclassman to win the Undergraduate Library Research Prize for a seminar paper about Andreas Vesalius's *Epitome*. Beyond her academic success, Kelly has found ways to express her love for the arts. She taught art appreciation at a local elementary school with Cal Corps' CREATE program, and her year-long honors thesis examined the relationship between government funding and museum exhibitions.

Quote about service commitment: "In times of budget crises, arts programs are often the first to be cut. It was my art classes and my art teachers that anchored and inspired me throughout my life. Through my fellowship I want to work to ensure that the arts remain accessible to future generations."



Arjun Ghosh

Major: Political Science

Hometown: Glendale, California

Service Interest: Public Education Policy

Berkeley Experience: Arjun transferred to Berkeley after spending two years at Santa Monica Community College. Since arriving at Berkeley, Arjun has enjoyed volunteering as a tutor, first at the People's Test Prep Service, a campus organization that

organizes free SAT preparation classes for area high school students, and then with the Teach in Prison program, which sends tutors to San Quentin State Prison to tutor inmates working on their GED and associates degrees. After that Arjun spent a semester in Washington, D.C. interning in the office of the Majority Whip, Congressman Kevin McCarthy. There he worked primarily with the communications staff, drafting press releases, twitter updates, and speeches.

Quote about service commitment: "Growing up here, I was always told by my parents and my teachers that with enough hard work and persistence, anybody could become anything they wanted to be . . . I want to make that true."



Byron Ruby

Major: Political Science and Society and Environment, minor in applied language studies

Hometown: Menlo Park, California

Service Interest: Environmental policy, international and domestic

Berkeley Experience: In addition to music, debate, and foreign languages, one of Byron's central passions is

the environment. He has been working with a professor for the past two years conducting research on the role of environmental regulation in stimulating the development of green chemistry in industry, using rules regarding volatile-organic compound limits in the automotive paint industry as a case study. In the summer of 2010, Byron worked for Representative Eshoo in the House of Representatives primarily to work on legislation related to energy issues and the environment. In his senior year, he joined the Bay-

Area Environmentally Aware Consulting Network (BEACN), an on-campus environmental business consulting group. Byron graduated Phi Beta Kappa with a 4.0 grade point average, earning him highest distinction in general scholarship for both of his degrees.

Quote about service commitment: “There is no paucity of challenges that we as a society face as we move into the twenty-first

century. If we are to serve as leaders in the global community of tomorrow, it is imperative that we begin addressing these challenges today in a way that recognizes the complex interactions and linkages between the global and the local, the public and the private, and the human and the natural worlds.”

Gardner Fellow Works at White House

Pedro Spivakovsky-Gonzalez spent his John Gardner Fellowship working at the White House Council of Economic Advisers, a component of the Executive Office of the President that is charged with providing the president with objective economic advice on both domestic and international policy. Here are excerpts of Pedro’s description of his John Gardner experience:

Working for President Obama and his top economic adviser has been a great honor and a privilege. In particular, the small size of the CEA—roughly 30 people—has allowed me to take on interesting responsibilities and gain valuable insights on the policy-making process, fulfilling many of the Gardner Fellowship goals of observing public service leadership in action. For example, for most of my fellowship, I was the junior staff member working on international economics at the CEA, directly supporting the research of our Senior Economist for Trade and our Senior Economist for International Macroeconomics. This allowed me to work with them closely on most research projects, including the chapter on the world economy in the *2011 Economic Report of the President*, the international sections of the daily economic briefing for the president, briefing materials for principals’ international travel, and the memos required for various meetings with foreign dignitaries and for policy processes in the areas of trade and international economics. It has been very fulfilling to draft memos that would be read by the president, vice president, and others, and to feel a part of the daily work of the Obama Administration.

Highlights included representing the CEA at various trade policy meetings in order to brief my supervisors, and shadowing my supervisors as they met with foreign dignitaries. My most memorable experience, other than meeting the president on a couple of occasions, was when I was granted the privilege to accompany CEA Chairman Austan Goolsbee and a small group of CEA senior economists to the Strategic & Economic Dialogue with China.



Washington intern Pedro Spivakovsky-Gonzalez with President Obama

* * *

Chairman Goolsbee himself made time in his schedule to meet with me and engage in discussions, both specific and broad, about my personal and professional development. In addition, he graciously offered to put me in touch with people that could help in my career decisions and in my continuing process of self-discovery.

* * *

As a graduating senior with diverse interests, there were a number of different possible placement options that were appealing, including in the fields of economic policy making, international diplomacy, and on-the-ground development work. For example, I was also considering placements in the World Bank, the State Department, and the United Nations. In the end, I decided that even if an organization of economists might not be the best placed to understand the idealistic and not-so-easily-quantifiable goals of public service leadership of the Gardner Fellowship, the incomparable level of access it provided would give me the chance to actively incorporate the Gardner ideals into my fellowship and make it a valuable learning experience.

* * *

Years from now I will remember the sense of pride I felt, knowing that President Obama could rely on Austan Goolsbee, and Austan Goolsbee could rely on me, however minor my role. The feelings of fulfillment getting home and thinking I had contributed something to the work of the administration were the most inspiring moments of my fellowship.



Judy Woodruff Headlines Salon Gala

Journalist **Judy Woodruff** delivered the keynote talk at the 2011 IGS Salon Gala, offering attendees an off-the-record insider's glimpse of Washington's power politics. Woodruff, senior correspondent on the PBS television program *The NewsHour*, spoke on "Divided Government in the Age of Obama."

As always, the Gala also featured two awards: former California Supreme Court Chief Justice **Ronald M. George** received the IGS Distinguished Service Award, and National Advisory Council member **Lisa Suennen** received the IGS Outstanding Alumni Award.

Almost 200 people filled the Julia Morgan Ballroom of the Mercantile Exchange Building in San Francisco for the event, which was generously underwritten by National Advisory Council member **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**. At the dinner, IGS Director **Jack Citrin** announced that the alumni award

will now be known as the "Bill & Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award."

The event, hosted by the IGS National Advisory Council, is one of the Institute's major fundraising opportunities of the year, connecting IGS with the California business and political worlds.

Woodruff, the featured speaker this year, has been a Washington journalist for more than 30 years. In addition to her current role on *The NewsHour*, she has been the chief White House correspondent for NBC News, the chief Washington correspondent for The MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, the anchor of the PBS documentary series *Frontline with Judy Woodruff*, and an anchor and senior correspondent for CNN.

George received the distinguished service award in recognition of his long legal career, especially his tenure as chief jus-

Photos: Tim Porter

Top, moving clockwise: Judy Woodruff; Jack Citrin; Chris Edley Jr.; Karen Skelton; Hector Barajas, Duf Sundheim, and David Chai; Ron George; Bill Brandt and Lisa Suennen; dining room at the Gala.





tice of the California Supreme Court from 1996 to 2010. George began his career as a deputy attorney general in the California Department of Justice. In 1972 he was appointed to the Los Angeles Municipal Court by Gov. Ronald Reagan. Eventually, he was named to successively higher courts by Gov. Jerry Brown, Gov. George Deukmejian, and Gov. Pete Wilson, who made him the 27th chief justice of the state Supreme Court in 1996.

Suennen, who received the Outstanding Alumni Award, is a co-founder and managing partner of Psilos Group, a venture capital firm focused on healthcare. She has headed Psilos's west coast office since the firm's founding in 1998. Prior to Psilos, she held various positions with Merit Behavioral Care and Regis McKenna. Suennen holds degrees from UC Berkeley in political science and mass communications.



Student Research at the Heart of IGS Synar-Percy Grants

Two key components of the IGS mission—students and research—come together each year when the Institute awards the Charles Percy and Mike Synar grants.

Named for two distinguished public servants—former U.S. Sen. Charles Percy and former U.S. Rep. Mike Synar—these two programs aid students in conducting research in American politics. Both are made possible through a generous donation from IGS National Advisory Council member Bill Brandt and his wife, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, and are administered through the IGS Center for the Study of Representation.

The Percy grants go to undergraduates researching American politics. Each student can receive up to \$750 for research costs. The Synar grants go to graduate students writing their dissertations on American politics. Each graduate student can receive up to \$3,000.

Below are excerpts from some of the research abstracts describing the recipients' work.

Synar Grants

Catherine Barry

Military Service, the Military Institution, and the Integration of First- and Second-Generation Immigrants

Researchers suggest that for immigrants and the children of immigrants, mainstream institutions play key roles in the production and reproduction of socio-economic, political, and linguistic mobility (or lack of mobility) into the U.S. mainstream. However, they remain divided about the relationships between immigrant status and institutional context on the direction and magnitude of mobility and the mechanisms by which various outcomes occur. Therefore, I broaden the scope of institutional contexts by empirically examining the previously ignored U.S. military institution—the largest single employer in the United States with over 2.4 million active and reserve members. My dissertation, *Military Service, the Military Institution, and the Integration of First- and Second-Generation Immigrants*, tackles two broad, but interrelated questions: How does the U.S. military institution influence socio-economic mobility of immigrants and children of immigrants? And how do immigrants and their children actively engage the military institution in their search for socio-economic mobility?

Ruth Bloch Rubin

The Strategic and Electoral Logics of Subparty Coalitions

What accounts for the ability of some party members to challenge their leaders for control of policy outcomes in Congress, but not others? Key to understanding the power individual members of Congress wield within a coalition is to consider the degree to which those legislators are represented by a formal subparty organization with procedures, powers, and resources akin to those of their official party leadership. My dissertation project concerns the development of these types of subparty organizations or coalitions. Specifically, the project explores the origins and electoral significance of the Insurgent Republicans of the early 20th century, the Southern Dixiecrat Caucus, active during the middle portion of the 20th century, and the contemporary Blue Dog Coalition.

Devin Caughey

Public Opinion, Ideology, and Representation in the One-Party South, 1930s–1960s

My dissertation examines the one-party politics of the American South during the mid-20th century, the decades just before the region's transition to a fully democratic political regime. My research focuses on the sources of ideological differences among southern members of Congress, specifically the degree to which this variation is the result of responsiveness to constituent preferences or of other factors, such as the structure of local political competition. The dissertation addresses important issues in American political development, such as the mass bases for congressional southerners' turn against New Deal liberalism in the



Mike Synar Fellows and Charles Percy Grant recipients with members of the Percy family and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt and Bill Brandt.

late 1930s and 1940s. It also sheds light on more fundamental questions, such as how the representational relationship operates when elections and other democratic institutions are present but highly compromised.

John Henderson

Running on the Brand: Party Reputation in Congressional Campaigns

My dissertation will investigate the choices that U.S. candidates make in their campaigns as strategic members of a collective party organization. Indeed, the project is motivated by a central question: When do congressional candidates run with or away from their party at election time? Due to the lack of historical advertising data, we know relatively little about the kinds of issues and statements candidates typically highlight in their campaigns, especially prior to 2000. Moreover, we have only a limited understanding of the role that parties play in today's candidate-centered, but highly polarized electoral climate. This lacuna is especially troubling since much of the congressional literature relies on essentially untested assumptions about the electoral behavior of congressional candidates in good and bad party years. To shed greater light on this question, I aim to conduct a systematic and comprehensive study of congressional campaign advertising over the last 40 years of partisan polarization.

Percy Grants

Sigourney Jellins

The Tea Party: A New Force in Republican Politics

The 2010 midterm elections heralded the emergence of a new force in the political arena—the Tea Party. My thesis examines what issues unite Tea Party candidates in House and Senate 2010 races and how they differ from Republican candidates. Conducting a content analysis of candidate websites, election databases, and newspaper articles, I find that Tea Partiers and Republican candidates have very similar issue positions. Tea Partiers, however, are more conservative than Republican candidates on social issues like abortion and gay marriage, more extreme on tax reform, and prioritize fiscal responsibility. Given my analysis, I predict that the Tea Partiers will push the Republican Party to the right.

Aditya Ullal

How Do Doctors Organize? A Study of "Organized Medicine" from 2006 through 2010

Decades after Paul Starr (1982) wrote his Pulitzer Prize winner *The Social Transformation of Medicine*, there appear two differing narratives on how doctors politically organize. One story describes a dominant American Medical Association as the leader. The other, more recent, has been a counterplot of specialty societies competing for political access. In response to the limited body of knowledge on the topic, this thesis begins by chronicling decades of writing on organized medicine while the second half presents an update to this writing with an original study. Examining 81 organizations that lobbied over healthcare issues from

2006 to 2010 and fit the bill of "modern organized medicine," the study relies on information from organizational websites and lobbying expenditure data from the Center for Responsive Politics.

Annie Zanolini

Female Gubernatorial Candidates 2002–2004: Utilizing Campaign Advertising to Fight Gendered Perceptions of Viability

Most of the research in gender and politics looks at women in Congress, specifically examining why women are underrepresented in government. One barrier female candidates face is gender stereotyping. Therefore, it is important to analyze the role of gender stereotypes and the barriers that female candidates confront in a gubernatorial election.

Synar Grant Recipients:

Catherine Barry, *Military Service, the Military Institution and the Integration of First- and Second-Generation Immigrants*

Ruth Bloch Rubin, *The Strategic and Electoral Logics of Subparty Coalitions*

Devin Caughey, *Public Opinion, Ideology, and Representation in the One-Party South, 1930s–1960s*

Sarah K. Cowan, *Secrets, Lies, and Wishful Thinking: The Importance of Non-Truths for Sociological Theory and Practice*

John Henderson, *Running on the Brand: Party Reputation in Congressional Campaigns*

Percy Grant Recipients:

Sigourney Jellins, *The Tea Party: A New Force in Republican Politics*

Hae Jin Kang, *Subjects of Statelessness: The Impact of the Humanitarian Response and the U.S. Asylum Process on the Rights of Haitian Refugees*

Annie Powers, *"The Bloody Code": Dueling and the Coming of the Civil War, 1850–1856*

Andrina Tran, *Radicals for Capitalism: Ayn Rand and the Conservative Youth Movement of the 1960s*

Aditya Ullal, *How Do Doctors Organize? A Study of "Organized Medicine" from 2006 through 2010*

Annie Zanolini, *Female Gubernatorial Candidates 2002–2004: Utilizing Campaign Advertising to Fight Gendered Perceptions of Viability*

Panel Dissects Obama Presidency

President Obama has often failed to explain the complexities of his long-term goals to voters troubled by a weak economy, according to a panel of experts at the annual **IGS Review of the Presidency** last spring. “I think part of the problem of the president is that he undertook a very, very ambitious agenda, not just on the economy, but also with healthcare, without fully preparing the country for it,” said **Dan Balz**, national political correspondent at *The Washington Post*.

Jack Pitney, a political scientist from Claremont McKenna College, agreed that communication is a weak point for the Obama Administration.

“The problem, particularly with the health care bill, is that it is extremely complicated with a lot of moving parts,” said Pitney, a former director of research for the Republican National Committee. “Very, very hard to describe in a tweet.” Obama’s health care reform act was certainly center stage at the event, with panelists undecided on whether or not the bill’s passage would pay off for the president.

Claudia Anderson, managing editor of the conservative magazine *The Weekly Standard*, said that healthcare reform did not succeed as the administration’s “linchpin.”

“Although there was great expectation placed on the reform ... it was incomprehensible to citizens,” Anderson said. “The argument that it would save money was hard to believe.”

At a time when the economy is faltering and unemployment is high, the panelists agreed that most Americans would like to see Obama focus more on job creation and economic recovery objectives.

Ann O’Leary, who worked for the president during the election and transition and is now the director of the Center on Health, Economic, and Family Security at the UC Berkeley Law School, defended Obama’s decision to move on healthcare reform immediately. She said it was necessary given the political capital he had at the time, but she too felt it did not strike a chord with the American people.

“I think the problem is that he did it at a time when people were most concerned not about whether they had healthcare, but whether they had any income,” O’Leary said. “They were losing their jobs, the economy was falling apart, and jobs were moving overseas. That’s why it seemed tone deaf to them, it wasn’t their number one concern.” Looking ahead to what Obama should focus on domestically in the coming year, Anderson said he really didn’t have many options.



Dan Balz, Ann O’Leary, Jack Pitney, Claudia Anderson, and moderator Ethan Rarick

“When there’s not money to spend, you have to find things to do that don’t cost a lot of money, and he has found some,” she said. “He moved on Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell and this move on the Defense of Marriage Act. Those were free and I suspect he’ll look to other similar steps he can take to appeal to some part of his coalition.” Balz said that while you could legitimately argue that small investments now will pay off down the road, the reality is that you are asking people to wait a long time for the changes to come about, and given this climate it is a risky endeavor.

Predicting Obama’s chances for reelection in 2012, all of the panelists agreed he will very likely be reelected, albeit for different reasons.

“A couple of things are working in Obama’s favor,” Pitney said. “The economy isn’t great, but it’s better than it was—that works to his advantage. The other thing that works to his advantage is we have a Republican Congress, and there are at least some Americans who take divided government into account.”

O’Leary agreed that Obama would likely be reelected. “The economy is what typically drives voters but the biggest advantage Obama has right now is that there’s not a clear Republican opponent,” said O’Leary.

Balz agreed that at that time, the race lacked a Republican leader, however he cautioned that there is no guarantee it will be an easy race, and given the steps Obama’s Administration is taking they are not anticipating an easy reelection.

“North Carolina will be more difficult,” Balz said. “Indiana and Ohio could well be more difficult too given the state of the economy. So the electoral map is tough, and they know they will have to reengage with the base they had in 2008, which has drifted away and become more disenchanted.”

The event, held March 14, was the 30th anniversary of the Annual Review of the Presidency and as always was co-sponsored by the Institute of Governmental Studies and UC Berkeley Extension.



“I think the problem is that he did it at a time where people were most concerned not about whether they had healthcare, but whether they had income.”—**Ann O’Leary**, UC Berkeley Law School Center on Health, Economic, and Family Security



“The president undertook a very, very ambitious agenda . . . without fully preparing the country for it.”

—**Dan Balz**, *The Washington Post*



For a webcast of this event, go to http://politics.berkeley.edu/ann_review_pres.html

Health Care Policy under the IGS Microscope

In a series of events entitled “Making Health Care Reform Work,” IGS has spent the past year closely examining the challenges of one of the most complex and important issues facing the country.

Generously supported by the **Blue Shield Foundation of California** and **Kaiser Permanente**, the series included events in Berkeley, San Francisco, and Sacramento, and this fall will feature a debate on healthcare reform to be held in conjunction with the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco.

“IGS is committed to addressing substantive public policy issues, and no issue is more important than health care,” said **Terri Bimes**, director of the IGS Center for the Study of Representation and the organizer of the health care series. “Holding some of these events in San Francisco and Sacramento ensured that we could broaden the reach of our programming and take IGS expertise to a wider audience.”

Events during the series included comments from leading scholars, officials from think tanks and foundations, and top administrators from public agencies.

The series started last November with a Berkeley panel called “Assessing Health Care Reform: Promise, Prospects, and Pitfalls.”



Jonathan Oberlander, Sally Pipes, and Alain C. Enthoven

In January IGS worked with the **Philip R. Lee Institute for Health Policy Studies** at UCSF to host an event entitled “Can We Afford Health Care Reform?”

In February the series moved to Sacramento, where, in conjunction with the **UC Sacramento Center**, we sponsored a panel about “The Impact of Health Reform on California.” The Sacramento event included comments from Congresswoman **Doris Matsui** and Sacramento Mayor **Kevin Johnson**, who are both Cal alums.

The 2010-11 portion of the series concluded in March when University of Virginia political scientist **Eric Patashnik** spoke at IGS on “The Politics of Evidence-Based Medicine: Patents, Profits and Partisanship.”

The IGS Health Care series is continuing in 2011-12 with a debate between Harvard law professor **Laurence Tribe** and Cato Institute scholar **Roger Pilon**. **Jesse Choper**, former dean of the Berkeley Law School, will moderate. For more information and to register, go to igs.berkeley.edu.

For more information on past events, including webcasts of some events, go to igs.berkeley.edu/programs/healthcarereform.

“Is the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act Constitutional?”

Thursday, Oct. 26, 2011
Commonwealth Club in San Francisco

Immigration Examined by IGS Conference

IGS turned its focus to immigration during a two-day conference last spring entitled “The Political Incorporation of Immigrants: Progress, Prospects, and Pitfalls in Europe and North America.”

The intent was to create a forum for the exchange of current research by scholars from Europe, Canada, and the United States. Participants included experts from universities such as Oxford, McGill, Georgetown, CUNY, Princeton, Queen’s University of Canada, the American University of Paris, and the Institut de Science Politiques in Paris.

IGS Director **Jack Citrin** convened the conference along with two of IGS’ associated faculty members: political scientist **Taeku Lee** and sociologist **Irene Bloemraad**.

Berkeley cosponsors included the UC Berkeley European Center of Excellence, the UC Berkeley Haas Diversity Research Center, and the UC Berkeley Population Center. The conference



Irene Bloemraad and Taeku Lee

was supported generously by the Consulate General of Canada, San Francisco/Silicon Vally.

“Immigration has become a significant factor in both national and international politics, with implications for national identity, social solidarity, economic development, and national security,” conference organizers noted. “Immigration brings strangers into a political community, posing problems of acceptance and integration. Countries in both North America and Western Europe are addressing these issues, and there now is a burgeoning body of work comparing the political incorporation of immigrants in diverse settings.”

The new academic research, organizers said, “considers both the behavior of immigrants and the reactions of natives, as well as assessing the consequences of alternative government policies addressing the integration of immigrants.”

Panels at the conference examined topics such as the nature of citizenship, national identity, the contentious politics of immigration, anti-immigrant reactions, and multiculturalism.

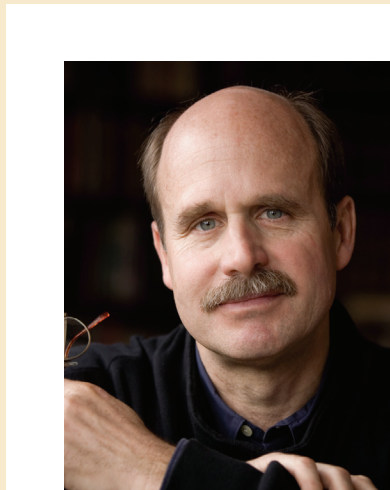
Futurist Paul Saffo Delivers Victor Jones Lecture

Distinguished futurist **Paul Saffo** spoke on “Why the Bay Area Needs to Act Like a City-State” during the sixth annual Victor Jones Memorial Lecture on Metropolitan Governance in February.

Saffo asked whether the Bay Area can follow the examples of Singapore and Hong Kong and chart its own path to regional success, or whether it will remain a region trapped within a dysfunctional state.

Saffo has over two decades of experience helping corporate and governmental clients understand and respond to the dynamics of large-scale, long-term change. He is managing director of foresight at Discern Analytics and teaches at Stanford, where he is a consulting associate professor in the engineering school and a visiting scholar in the Stanford Media-X Program. He holds degrees from Harvard, Cambridge, and Stanford.

The Jones Lecture is an annual event honoring the late Cal professor Victor Jones, a pioneer in the study of metropolitan government and a founder of the Association of Bay Area Governments.



IGS Continues Tradition of Close Look at Governor's Race

When the California gubernatorial election rolls around every four years, IGS takes the lead role in analyzing the process that chooses the state's chief executive.

For the last 20 years, we've organized a quadrennial post-mortem in which the state's leading politicians—including the managers who ran the major campaigns for governor—dissect what happened.

This year was no exception, as about 200 people gathered at the IGS conference Jan. 21–22 for an examination entitled, “The 2010 Governor's Race: The Inside Story.” Separate sessions focused on the primary season and the General Election, while other panels looked at political polling, the changing nature of campaigns, and the underlying structure of the California electorate. Treasurer **Bill Lockyer** delivered the keynote address.

Lockyer made news with some candid comments about the state's fiscal situation and the possibility—at that time—of IOUs if the budget was not approved, but he also discussed the gubernatorial election. Like many speakers at the conference, Lockyer suggested the predominance of Democrats in the state makes it very difficult for Republicans to win statewide elections.

“I believe California has a structural firewall that protected Democrats” in the 2010 election, Lockyer said. “Republicans are

the party of older white voters from inland California, a base too small to win in 21st century California.”

The conference was generously sponsored by **Darius Anderson** and **Platinum Advisors**; **Chevron Corporation**; the **California Association of Realtors**; **Farmers Insurance**; **Remcho, Johansen & Purcell**; **Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Gross & Leoni**; **Susie** and **Steve Swatt**; and **Colleen McAndrews**.

For the first time in the history of the IGS gubernatorial conferences, a major campaign declined to participate. Campaign managers for Republican nominee Meg Whitman announced before the conference that they would not participate, so other leading Republicans were invited to join the Primary Election and General Election panels.

IGS National Advisory Council member and former Republican Party Chairman **Bob Naylor** said that after the tough primary fight against fellow Republican Steve Poizner, Whitman stood little chance.

“I think that when the dust settled in the primary, the Whitman campaign was over,” Naylor said.

Jim Brulte, a former Republican leader in both the Assembly and Senate, agreed with other speakers that built-in factors favored Brown.



“Voters in this state historically take the most experienced candidate when they’re picking a governor, whether that’s a Republican or a Democrat,” Brulte said.

But Brown campaign chief **Steve Glazer** disagreed. “I didn’t feel like the atmospherics were somehow leaning our way,” he said. “I think the winds were in our face. It certainly felt that way for most of the campaign.”

Still, Glazer pointed to Brown’s long track record as a key to the Democrat’s victory.

“We had a candidate who had served in public office for 25 years,” Glazer said. “He had made thousands of decisions at all different levels that people could watch and observe, and people had more than a first impression of him.”

As always, the transcript of the gubernatorial conference is being edited into a manuscript and will be published as a book by the Berkeley Public Policy Press, the IGS publishing imprint. To order the book, which will be published later this year, go to igs.berkeley.edu/publications.



To watch a webcast of the IGS gubernatorial conference and read news coverage of the event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/governor

Photos opposite: Bill Lockyer, Gale Kaufman, Ray McNally; this page: Steven Glazer, Jim Brulte, Jim Bognet and Mark Baldasare, Karen Getman



Election Season at IGS

Election season at IGS is always a busy time—and 2010 was no exception. In the weeks leading up to Election Day, we focused on the California gubernatorial election, the battle for control of Congress, and the rise of the Tea Party movement. There was everything from scholarly analysis to an election-night party, all of it aimed at focusing the Berkeley campus on the 2010 election. We started off in September with a party to watch the first gubernatorial debate between Democrat Jerry Brown and Republican Meg Whitman. We skipped the second debate, which was held on a weekend, but for the third and final match-up the IGS Library was packed again. For the last debate, we even featured a panel of experts beforehand: IGS Director **Jack Citrin**, former Republican Party Chairman **Duf Sundheim**, Democratic political consultant **Katie Merrill**, and former legislator **Ted Lempert**.

Also in October we held a panel on the upcoming congressional elections. How many seats would the Republicans gain? Was the election a rejection of Obama or a reaction to the bad economy? Would it mean anything for 2012? We got answers from two leading academics—UC Berkeley's **Eric Schickler** and **Rob Van Houweling**—and from two practitioners—former Clinton White House operative **Maria Echaveste** and Republican campaign consultant **Bob Wickers**.

We teamed up with the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues to examine the Tea Party movement with a one-day academic

conference featuring political scientists, historians, sociologists and others.

We finished up on Election Night with a party to hear some expert commentary and then watch the returns. As usual for Election Night the IGS Library was decked out in red, white, and blue, including a sign reading, "Eat, Drink and Be Partisan." We also had a Trivia Contest. Think you know politics? Try your luck.





Bob Wickers, Maria Echeveste, and Rob Van Houwelling discuss the congressional elections.

Election Night Trivia

So you know politics? Try these questions from our IGS Election Night trivia quiz. Answers are on page 22.

1. How many people have served as president of the United States during Jerry Brown’s lifetime?
2. Carly Fiorina’s Senate campaign produced an internet commercial featuring what kind of demonic animal?
3. At the time of the election, who had more Twitter followers: Jerry Brown or Meg Whitman?
4. Which California political figure made a 2010 World Series bet with Texas Gov. Rick Perry: a surfboard vs. cowboy boots?
5. How many seats did Republicans need to pick up to take control of the House of Representatives?
6. Who sang “At Last” to Barack Obama at his inaugural ball?
7. What American politician has appeared most often on The Daily Show?
8. Everybody knows Tina Fey imitated Sarah Palin on Saturday Night Live. Who played Hillary Clinton and Katie Couric?
9. In a verbal slip during one of the gubernatorial debates, Jerry Brown said he had his union supporters where?
10. Aside from Jerry Brown, who is the only other person ever elected governor of California three times?
11. Before 2010, in what years was Jerry Brown elected governor?
12. U.S. Senate candidate Christine O’Donnell declared that she was not a “what”?
13. Before 2010, the last time the Giants won the World Series, who was president of the United States?
14. Of the four 2010 top-of-the-ticket candidates in California—Brown, Whitman, Boxer, and Fiorina—which, if any, are Cal alumni?

Matsui Forum Looks at California's Challenges

With last year's gubernatorial campaign in full swing, the 2010 Matsui Forum examined the challenges facing California by looking at the questions that would face the next governor.

At the time, it wasn't clear the next governor would be Jerry Brown, but the panelists weighed in with plenty of advice for whoever might occupy the Capitol's corner office.

The panelists included journalist **Mark Paul**, co-author of *California Crackup: How Reform Broke the Golden State and How We Can Fix It*; **Debra Saunders**, columnist for the *San Francisco Chronicle*; **Yvonne Walker**, president of Service Employees International Union Local 1000, the largest state employees' union; and **Bill Whalen**, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution.

The event was held in conjunction with the California Politics class taught by former Assemblyman **Ted Lempert**, who served as the moderator for the panel. Lempert's students made up a good portion of the audience.

Paul suggested that the first item for fixing California's policy woes is budget reform. The long-term structural budget deficit has to be closed, Paul said, and the "common-sense" way to do that is with both spending cuts and tax increases. He also said public employee pensions have to be reduced, and correctional costs

should be reduced. On the taxing side, he suggested exempting commercial property from some of the protections of Prop. 13.

Saunders noted that voters have unrealistic expectations, in part because both parties promise more than can be delivered. She also agreed that budget reform is key, but said the focus should be on cutting spending.

"Basically, you've got to downsize the state [government]," Saunders said. She said tax increases should be "on the table," but noted that the state's current tax structure is already too volatile.

Saunders also said the state will have to abandon its pattern of groundbreaking environmental regulations, which she said the state's economy cannot sustain.

Walker, whose union is the largest state employees union in the country, said that future governors should review the state's operations in search of ways "to make government work better."

As part of that effort, governors should consult state workers about their ideas, she said.

She also advocated the abolition of legislative term limits.

"I think term limits are the worst thing that ever happened to California," Walker said. Legislators now have less experience than they used to, she said.

Walker also pushed back against the other panelists' advocacy of pension reform.

"I just have to say I want to know where the Cadillac pension is, because I don't have one," she said.

Whalen focused on the political challenges facing the next governor, including the ability to claim a mandate from voters and to attract attention through the media. Both are difficult, he said, in a state as large and fractured as California.

To do those things, Whalen said, future governors must surround themselves with good managers of government, just as Michael Bloomberg did as mayor of New York City.

"Basically, you've got to downsize the state [government]."—Debra Saunders

"I think term limits are the worst thing that ever happened to California." —Yvonne Walker

California's Next Governor:



What Should the Agenda Be?

September 20, 2011

For a webcast of this event, go to politics.berkeley.edu

Oxley delivers Matsui Lecture on Financial Crises

Former Congressman **Michael G. Oxley** delivered the third Matsui Lecture in April, part of his weeklong residency at the Matsui Center.

The author of one of the most important financial regulation laws in American history—the Sarbanes-Oxley Act of 2002—Oxley spoke about the fiscal crashes that ended the dot-com bubble and that once again have plunged the economy into recession.

The twin financial collapses were “the bookends of this incredible decade,” he said, recounting the disintegration of Enron and the immense pressures that followed for financial reform.

In addition to financial topics, Oxley, a Republican, spoke about the changes in Congress, especially in light of his friendship with **Bob Matsui**, a Democrat.

“In the good old days members of Congress talked and socialized across party lines; that’s how we got to know the Matsuis,” Oxley said. “There’s a lot of that missing now for a variety of reasons, but I have to say I look back on those years with a great fondness and a great memory of Bob.”

A former FBI Agent, Oxley was elected to the House of Representatives from Ohio’s fourth district in 1981. He eventually went on to serve as Chairman of the House Financial Services Committee from 2001 to 2006, leading the panel through the aftermath of the tech bubble, the difficult post-9/11 period, and the rash of corporate scandals early in the decade that destroyed investor confidence and sent the markets into a tailspin. Oxley left the Congress in 2007.

During his week at the Matsui Center, Oxley not only delivered the Matsui Lecture, but also spoke to three classes, met with student groups, participated in a formal research program regarding the future of finance, and interacted informally with the entire IGS community.

“Congressman Oxley’s visit was exactly the kind of opportunity the Matsui Lectureship was designed to create,” said Ethan Rarick, director of the Matsui Center. “Our students and researchers had the chance to interact with and learn from one of the leading policymakers in the country.”

Oxley spoke to three classes, in each case engaging initially in a colloquy with the professor and then taking questions from students. The three classes in which he spoke:

Securities Regulation, a class at the Berkeley School of Law taught by Professor Robert Bartlett. Bartlett spoke with Oxley about the process of passing Sarbanes-Oxley, which the students had been studying, and also about the challenges that financial

reform poses, the consequences of Sarbanes-Oxley for U.S. capital markets, and the most notable successes and disappointments of Sarbanes-Oxley.

The American Executive, a class in the Department of Political Science taught by Professor Terri Bimes. Bimes asked Oxley about congressional/presidential relations and his experiences in Congress viewing various styles of executive leadership.

Introduction to American Politics, a class in the Department of Political Science taught by Professor Paul Pierson. Pierson spoke with Oxley about changes in Congress during the course of his tenure, the cause and consequences of increased polarization, and the standing of the Republican Party.

Oxley also had lunch with politically active undergraduates and with the *Berkeley Business Law Journal*, and he was interviewed as part of the “Future of Finance” Strategic Research Program at the Haas School of Business. This program includes videotaped in-depth interviews with international thought leaders in finance, focusing on the future of the global financial system.



To watch a webcast of Congressman Oxley’s lecture, go to politics.berkeley.edu and click on “Matsui Lecture.”

Former IGS Student Publishes Research on Term Limits



Katerina Robinson, who participated in two IGS programs before graduating from Cal, had a research paper published this year in the **California Journal of Politics and Policy**. While at Cal, Katerina was a **Matsui Washington Fellow**, interning for Congressman **Mike Honda**, and she was also awarded a **Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research**. Robinson, who now works in the California Legislature, researched “Shifting Power in Sacramento: The Effects of Term Limits on Legislative Staff.” Below is an excerpt from her study, as published in the CJPP. For the full study, go to www.bepress.com/cjpp.

I show that term limits have indeed had marked consequences on the power of legislative staff. In some ways, term limits have increased the relative power of legislative staff. Term limits have increased the duties of legislative staff from simply gathering impartial information for legislators to teaching and advising legislators on policy issues and taking on more responsibility within the office. Term limits were also followed by the institutionalization of the chief of staff, a professional confidante and personal advisor to the legislator. Moreover, staffers after term limits have more opportunities to rise in the ranks through “job hopping.”

But in other ways, term limits have undermined the power of staff. Term limits have increased job instability, which has significantly reduced the years of service of most Senate staff. In some cases,

term limits have also strained the relationship and loyalty between members and their staff. Thus, I argue that term limits have increased the potential power of staff, but diminished the overall competence of staff.

* *

The last decade has seen numerous efforts to reform term limits in California. One solution to the problems with current term limits would be to combine the six and eight year caps on years of service for each house and allow members to serve a combination of 14 years in one *or* both chambers. This is similar to the “Fresh Start for Term Limits” ballot initiative that will appear on the November 2011 statewide ballot, which reduces the number of years a member may serve in the legislature from 14 years to 12 years but allows the member to serve all 12 years in one chamber. This solution would allow

members time to develop the expertise and knowledge base that they lack under current term limits legislation. With more experienced legislators, the role of staff in policy advising can shrink again to pre-term limits levels. As legislators become more experienced and less dependant on staff, relationships between legislators and staff should improve as well. However, this solution still caps legislators’ experience levels at 12 years and would essentially level the Senate to the Assembly, potentially obliterating another check in the democratic system of checks and balances.

Another solution would be to keep restrictions on years of service in each chamber, but lengthen them from six years in the Assembly and eight in the Senate to 10 years in the Assembly and 12 in the Senate. This solution is more radical, because it allows a potential political career of 22 years for a California legislator, long enough to create the loathsome “career politician” which term-limits advocates fought so hard to eliminate. We must remember, however, that individuals running for office even under today’s strict term limits legislation are largely career politicians, coming up from positions in local government and taking state office for awhile often as a stepping stone to another position in city, state, or national politics. Setting this argument aside, then, this solution offers potentially more experienced legislators without letting incumbency advantage run rampant. This is especially important for the political leadership in both chambers. Staff working under more experienced Assembly and Senate leadership would see their current policy power significantly decrease. However, many of the benefits of term limits may be erased under this model. Legislation would most likely resume the glacial pace of old, and legislator and staff demographics would take time to reflect the ever-changing state demographics.

A third solution would be to keep current term limits intact, but remove the

Trivia Answers

1. 13
2. sheep
3. Jerry Brown
4. Meg Whitman
5. 39
6. Beyonce
7. John McCain
8. Amy Poehler
9. “in my back pocket”
10. Earl Warren
11. 1974 and 1978
12. witch
13. Dwight Eisenhower
14. Jerry Brown

Donation Allows Matsui Center to Expand

A major donation from the **Robert T. Matsui Foundation for Public Service** will allow the Institute of Governmental Studies to renovate and expand the **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, creating improved facilities for Berkeley students.

The Matsui Center will also use the Foundation's gift of \$150,000 to support and expand ongoing programs designed to provide Cal undergraduates with exposure to the practical political world, said Professor **Jack Citrin**, Director of the Institute.

"This generous gift means that the Matsui Center will have a more visible presence within IGS and provide better facilities for students," Citrin said. "At a time of financial challenges for public institutions, this kind of private support is crucial if IGS and the Matsui Center are to continue their mission."

lifetime ban. This would allow ex-legislators to run for office again after a few-years break. This proposal is similar to California's Proposition 131, which was posed as an alternative to Prop 140 on the 1990 ballot. Again, this policy change is more radical than the first because in theory it places no limit on the number of years in total an individual may serve in the state legislature. However, it keeps many of the benefits of term limits in place while allowing more flexibility and experience. This solution, however, would be particularly problematic for staff as job instability would be virtually unchanged. Competence of staff would thus remain low. Additionally, this solution may not solve the problem of excessive staff power. Under this model, though staff may not house the institutional memory of the legislature they continue to represent the continuity within the legislature. This may grant staff similar power as under current term limits legislation.

"We have been impressed with the early growth and success of the Matsui Center, and we wanted to help continue that momentum," said **Brian Matsui**, President of the Matsui Foundation. "We believe this donation will create a facility that presents more opportunities for students."

Both the Foundation and the Center honor the legacy of the late Congressman Robert T. Matsui, a Cal graduate who went on to serve 26 years in the House of Representatives, representing the Sacramento area. The Center, which is a component of IGS, was created in 2008 with the support of Congresswoman **Doris Matsui**, who now holds the seat once occupied by her late husband.

As a result of the planned renovation and expansion, the Matsui Center will roughly double its physical size within IGS. In addition to improving existing staff offices, the Center will add two important facilities:

The Matsui Group Study Room will be available to groups of up to 25 undergraduate students for group study, work on small-group projects, or meetings of undergraduate organizations interested in politics and policy. The Group Study Room will be available for reservation by students, and will have technology allowing for group presentations and on-line work.

The Matsui Distinguished Visitor's Office will serve as a working office for the many distinguished visitors to IGS and the Matsui Center, including the Matsui Lecturer, the Legislators-in-Residence, and visiting instructors.

The renovated Matsui Center will also have signage on the exterior of Moses Hall and a more visible entrance within the building, making it a more pronounced presence for students. The work is expected to be finished later this fall.

In addition to funding the bulk of the renovation project, the Foundation's gift will also provide support for the Matsui Center's student-oriented initia-



Ethan Rarick, Congresswoman Doris Matsui, David Uhlich, and Theresa Salazar (photo: Peg Skorpinski)

tives, such as internship programs in federal, state, and local government, and programs that bring distinguished political visitors to the Berkeley campus.

"We strive to expose Cal undergraduates to the worlds of politics and policy," said **Ethan Rarick**, Director of the Matsui Center. "This gift helps ensure that we can continue, and indeed expand, those efforts."

Matsui Center programs are also funded by other private donors, financial support from IGS, and an endowment created through a Congressional grant awarded for the founding of the Center.

The Matsui Foundation was founded by friends and family of the late Congressman after his untimely death in 2005. The Foundation seeks to promote careers in public service for recent college and law school graduates.

The Matsui Center was founded in 2008 as part of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. The Institute, founded in 1919, is California's oldest public policy research center. The Institute conducts groundbreaking research on politics and policy, houses research and experiential learning programs for both graduate and undergraduate students, operates a public policy publishing imprint, organizes public service programs aimed at the broader community, and includes a library focused on politics and policy.

From IGS—The History of California State University

This year the IGS publications program published a landmark history of the California State University system, *The People's University: A History of the California State University*. Written by Donald R. Gerth, the former president of Sacramento State University and two other CSU campuses, the book was published in cooperation with the CSU Chancellor's Office to serve as the official history of the system. Below is an excerpt from the book's final chapter, "The Promise of the People's University: Promises Realized, Promises to be Fulfilled."



"The Master Plan for Higher Education is a social contract among the three segments of public higher education and the government of the state and the people of California."

In 1960, only a few saw the promise of the California State Colleges. Certainly Governor Pat Brown understood that

there was a potential for change and growth, and that becomes clear in the decision he made in March 1960 to not place the state colleges in California's constitution.

Brown's stand was a great disappointment to both [San Francisco State College President] Glenn Dumke and [University of California President] Clark Kerr, for very different reasons. Kerr wanted to channel and limit the growth and development of the state colleges; he wanted to preserve the role of the University of California as the state's sole public research university, and that meant protecting a monopoly on research and the doctorate by fixing a limited state college role in the constitution. Dumke wanted to provide the freedom of constitutional autonomy for the establishment of excellent public institutions focusing on the liberal arts and professional programs through the master's degree. He had no interest in building a system of research universities, though he did see the role of faculty undertaking scholarship—research and creative activity—as important to the academic strength of the state colleges as teaching-centered and student-centered institutions.

A safe generalization is that none among the architects of the new California State Colleges or the Master Plan had in mind the

California State University of the twenty-first century. What set Pat Brown aside is that he understood the need for making moving room to allow for addressing change. His position was bolstered by the absolute unwillingness of the legislative leadership, most notably Senator George Miller, to allow the state colleges to secure the autonomy that the University of California had.

The task for the 1960s for the state colleges was to build a system, even if Chancellor Glenn Dumke did not want to use the word *system*. The remarkable accomplishment of the 1960s was to be found in surviving the decade, despite all of the turmoil with students and faculty, despite a lack of consistent support from many of the presidents, only some of whom really understood the significance and potential of the system, and despite the pendulum swing of state government from the moderate liberal leadership of Pat Brown to the conservative leadership of Ronald Reagan. The 1960s was a decade for strong leadership. The trustees were fortunate to have strong chairs throughout the decade, and the members of the board, consciously or otherwise, created solidarity.

The board itself would be an interesting study. Many, if not most, college and university governing boards are not unified with a spirit of working together to address issues. The question is not whether board members always or frequently agree; rather, the important point is whether board members work together from whatever points of view. The members of the board were not unified or together in the 1970s or early 1980s, despite some very strong and able trustees. The strength of the early board of the 1960s was regained quickly after a lapse in the 1970s, and has remained constant over the years.

The promise of the California State Colleges in 1960, as the Master Plan was adopted for the people of California, was a very practical one. For years, the California State University—and, earlier, the California State Colleges—have used three words as practical descriptors of the system and of the campuses: access, affordability, and quality. The California State Colleges of the Master Plan offered access, affordability, and increasing quality to programs in the arts and sciences, a sound and sturdy undergraduate education, and study in professional programs, including teacher training through the master's degree. This was not an idle promise. It was real, and it was the most substantial promise that any society had ever made to its people.

* * *

The Master Plan for Higher Education is a social contract among the three segments of public higher education and the government of the state and the people of California. It was designed as a time-limited contract, from 1960 to 1975, and it has lived on.

The Master Plan was a recognition that the most important investment any society makes is in its people: Investment in learning is the creation of wealth. Investment in education is the creation of a good society. In the twenty-first century, higher education is the quintessential common good.

The most important concept in the Master Plan is the differentiation of function. Like many aspects of the Master Plan, the concept was developed within the realities of state government and the existing educational enterprise of the late 1950s, as well as the certainty of population growth in the 1960s and 1970s. The concept of differentiation of function was and is pragmatic public policy making at its best. The Master Plan was not a construct based on theory, but a framework, like a good constitution, built on reality. It has withstood the test of time. One can reason and argue that differentiation of function is an important concept related to social structure and the needs of the contemporary world for higher or further education, for education beyond the secondary schools. In fact, the roots of the concept of differentiation of function go back to the legislative debates inspired by Senator Anthony Caminetti in the 1880s and the first decade of the twentieth century. Caminetti initially tried to bring greater focus to the normal schools, and two decades later he gave leadership to the legislation creating the junior colleges, now the community colleges. Differentiation of function placed the faculty, what were then soon to be nineteen campuses, and the presidents, chancellor, and trustees in a position to build a system then unique in the United States and in the world.

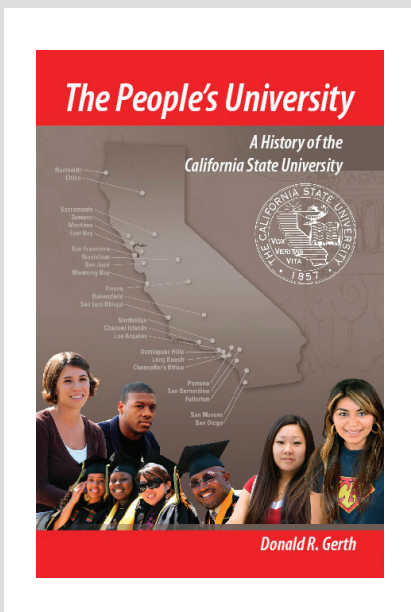
* * *

... The California State University is an important social invention. It is a driver of the California economy, it is among the creators of the culture and the many cultures of the state, and it is

an essential ingredient of the political and social health of the state and its people. An important question addresses the maintenance of the California State University, with its core values and mission, while at the same time, a capacity for adaptation and change as California and the world of California change.

There are some both within and without the California State University who think that the Master Plan was a contest, a zero-sum game, and that the University of California won. But it is arguable that the California State University and the people of California won, if not the “whole thing,” a major vehicle for building the future. The Master Plan of 1960 created a finely balanced structure of higher education, the greatest investment any society had ever made in its own people. The California State University was the new element in that creation. It was not the system in the middle, as some characterized it in the 1960s and 1970s; rather, it became what no single CSU campus could be, an agent for progress in the state and an agent to build for the future. This work should have made clear that the first meeting of the board of trustees on August 12, 1960, reset in motion development of a group of campuses that together made twenty-first-century California possible. The building of the California State University has been complex; it has not been easy, and the problems have been many. The time has come to look to the future.

The California State University is a “world-class teaching and learning university,” and it is at the center of California’s future. There is an enormous responsibility borne by the faculty, the trustees, the leaders, and all the people of “the people’s university.”



Since the adoption of the Master Plan for Higher Education in 1960, one of California’s best ideas of itself as a democratic experiment has been the California State University system. In this comprehensive history, a veteran educator explores how the benefits of higher education have been extended to millions of Californians through a unique system expressive of that hope for a better life that is today struggling to survive as part of the California Dream.

—Kevin Starr

Author of *Golden Dreams: California in an Age of Abundance, 1950–1963*

To buy *The People’s University* or other IGS books, go to igs.berkeley.edu/publications or to **Amazon.com**. The book sells for \$35.



New Members Join IGS National Advisory Council

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

Pamela S. Duffy is a partner in the firm of Coblenz, Patch, Duffy & Bass. She practices primarily in the areas of commercial real estate, land use, and development. She has served as a visiting lecturer at the law schools of Harvard, Yale, and Stanford, among others. She has received numerous awards and honors for her legal work, including being awarded *Best Lawyers'* 2011 and 2010 San Francisco Lawyer of the Year for Real Estate. She has also been selected as one of the *Daily Journal's* Top 100 Lawyers in California, was selected by the *San Francisco Business Times* as one of the 100 Most Influential Women in Bay Area Business for six consecutive years, and was honored in 2007 by *California Lawyer* magazine with a California Attorney of the Year Award. She has been listed by the *San Francisco Chronicle* as one of the top 25 lawyers in the San Francisco Bay Area and by the *Daily Journal* as one of the top 12 land-use attorneys in California.

William E. Grayson is a senior advisor at Bernstein Global Wealth Management, where he provides planning and investment advice for families, trusts, endowments, and foundations. Previously, he was president of Falcon Point Capital and was a vice president at J. P. Morgan. He also practiced law for 10 years, including service as the chief legal officer of a global food, cosmetics, and vitamin company. During the first Bush Administration, he was Principal Deputy General Counsel of the Army, a post in which he had oversight of the Army's 2,700 civilian and military lawyers worldwide. For his service, he was awarded the Outstanding Civilian Service Medal by the Secretary of the Army. He has served on numerous investment committees, including the Archdiocese of San Francisco and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He is a regular television commentator on investing and the markets.

Heather Podesta is the founder of Heather Podesta and Partners, a government relations firm in Washington, D.C. She is a leading legislative and public policy strategist with experience on Capitol Hill, and her firm has been named one of Washington's top 50 governmental relations firms by *The National Law Journal*. She has provided guidance for clients rang-

ing from Fortune 500 companies to nonprofit groups on topics such as education, health care, and tax policy. *Legal Times* named her one of the Top 10 Leading Lawyers in Government Affairs. Podesta previously worked for several members of Congress on the tax writing committees, including the late Rep. Robert T. Matsui, Rep. Earl Pomeroy, and Sen. Bill Bradley. An active Democratic organizer and political advisor to many elected officials in Washington, she is also a trustee of the National Museum of Women in the Arts and serves on the advisory board of the Peggy Guggenheim Collection. She graduated with a B.A. from UC Berkeley.

Christine Treadway is the executive director of the Office of Government and Community Relations at UC Berkeley. In that post, she manages a team of external relations staff who represent the university with policymakers at the federal, state, and local level. She worked previously in Congress, where she was the senior advisor on higher education for the House Education and Labor Committee and was a legislative assistant for the House Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education. She also served as a legislative assistant for U.S. Rep. Pat Williams of Montana. Before coming to Berkeley, Treadway was the director of government and community relations at San Francisco State University. She also served as assistant director of the California State University Office in Washington, D.C., and has worked in campaigns, fundraising, and grant writing.

Dan Pellissier is president of California Pension Reform, a citizen's group that is preparing a pension reform initiative for the November 2012 statewide ballot. He began his 25-year career in public service with a Capitol Hill internship through the Cal-in-the-Capitol program. Most recently, he served as Deputy Cabinet Secretary for Energy and Environment, where he advised Gov. Schwarzenegger and oversaw California's Natural Resources and Environmental Protection agencies. Pellissier also served for six years as Chief of Staff for Assemblyman Keith Richman where he spearheaded fiscal and political reform efforts and helped foster bipartisan cooperation through the Bipartisan Group. As energy policy advisor for Assembly Republican Leader Scott Baugh, he coordinated the Republican's response to the California energy crisis in 2000-01.

Top to bottom:
Pamela Duffy,
William Grayson,
Heather Podesta,
Christine Treadway,
and Daniel Pellissier

Former Secretary of Defense William Perry Advocates for a World without Nuclear Weapons

On October 14, 2010, the Institute kicked off the **Harold Smith Seminar Series** with a prominent inaugural speaker, former Secretary of Defense **William J. Perry**. Secretary Perry screened his documentary, *Nuclear Tipping Point*, to a packed house and stayed for an hour following the film to answer questions from the audience.

Nuclear Tipping Point is a product of the Nuclear Security Project, an organization started by the “gang of four,” Former Secretary of State George P. Shultz, former Defense Secretary William J. Perry, former Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger, and former Senator Sam Nunn.

The film premiered January 27, 2010, and has since received intense attention from the global policy establishment and transformed the debate on nuclear issues. It is a conversation with the gang of four, and each share their personal experiences that led them to believe they needed to take serious steps to achieve total elimination of nuclear weapons.

“If you think of the people who are doing suicide attacks and if people like that get a nuclear weapon they are almost by definition not deterrable. So I think it’s a very dangerous moment,” Secretary Shultz said in the film.

Despite the enormity of the mission ahead, Perry did note some bright points in the last year. “This summer (meaning summer 2010) the senate began hearings on the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty and the first two witnesses were Jim Schlessinger and myself. So we are off and running,” said Perry. Following the talk the Senate ratified the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, the most expansive reduction agreement with Russia in nearly 20 years.

The “gang of four” is in agreement that unilateral movement is the only way forward, however due to potential threats in other countries simply disarming is not a realistic option.

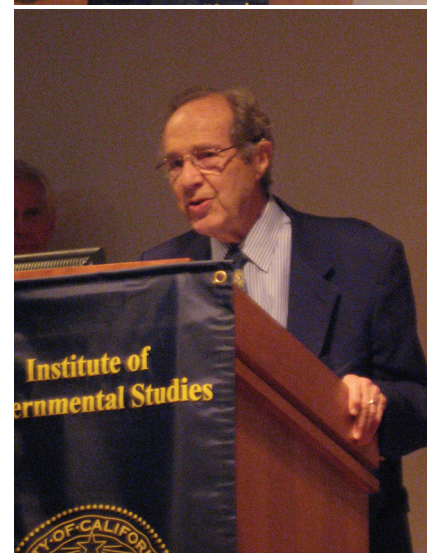
“I am exceedingly worried about nuclear developments in Iran. I believe we have the potential of stopping that program diplomatically, but it would require coercive diplomacy. They are not just going to give it up on jaw-boning,” said Perry.

Perry ended the talk by asking all in attendance to spread awareness of the issue and continue the discussion in their communities.

The Harold Smith Seminar Series is jointly sponsored by the Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS) and the Institute of International Studies (IIS). It focuses on U.S. defense policies with emphasis on the control and management of nuclear weapons. The series is named after Dr. Harold Smith, a distinguished visiting scholar with the Institute of Governmental Studies.

“I am very pleased to have the opportunity, thanks to IGS and IIS, to bring experts to the Berkeley campus for direct discussion with students and scholars of some of the most vital questions facing the world community,” said Smith.

Smith is a Fellow of the American Physical Society and a Commander in the Legion of Honor of France. He has thrice received the highest honor granted by the Department of Defense for civilian service, the Distinguished Public Service Award, as well as awards by the military services and agencies.



*Top: Harold Smith;
Bottom: William J. Perry*

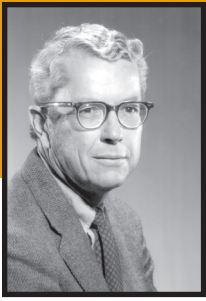
Fall 2010/Spring 2011 Speakers

October 14, 2010: “Nuclear Tipping Point,” **William J. Perry**

December 1, 2010: “Cyber Security: What Policies Can Make A Difference,”
Michael Nacht

February 24, 2011: “Moving American Foreign Policy from Military to Civilian
Leadership,” **Richard Solomon**

March 9, 2011: “Nuclear Power without Nuclear Proliferation,” **Scott Sagan**



Former IGS Director Eugene C. Lee Dies at 86

Professor Eugene C. Lee, whose multifaceted career as a public servant included roles as a distinguished scholar of California government, a leading administrator of the University of California, and the longtime director of UC Berkeley's Institute of Governmental Studies, died Wednesday, April 27, peacefully at home in Sonoma with his family. He was 86.

Lee served as director of IGS from 1967 until 1988, a period during which the Institute solidified its existing reputation for nonpartisan research, helped launch a variety of major new programs, and experienced a sixfold increase in program funding. He also twice served in the UC Office of the President, including service as Vice President – Executive Assistant.

Lee's scholarly output included extensive writing on state, regional, and local governments and on the administration of higher education. His books, either authored or co-authored, included *The Politics of Nonpartisanship*, *The Challenge of California*, *The Multicampus University*, *Managing Multicampus Systems*, and *The Origins of the Chancellorship*.

In 1999, in recognition of his long and varied service to the university, Lee was awarded the Berkeley Citation, the highest honor the campus can bestow.

"As a scholar, administrator, and friend, Gene Lee was a valued member of the IGS community for more than half a century," said the Institute's current director, Jack Citrin. "His contributions in building the Institute continue to benefit all those who are involved in IGS programs—faculty members, visiting scholars, students, and members of the general public. All of us benefit daily from Gene's wonderful legacy at IGS."

Lee's involvement at IGS and Cal continued long after his retirement. He remained a frequent presence at IGS events as recently as this January, when he attended the Institute's conference on the 2010 gubernatorial campaign.

"Gene kindled in me a deep interest in how state government operates in California," said Michael Heyman, who was chancellor of the Berkeley campus during much of Lee's tenure at IGS. "He knew the institutions and the players in Sacramento and shared his knowledge freely. He sparked my intellectual interests in the mechanisms of state and local government, and I learned a lot about how the system worked and who were the important participants. All of this helped me immensely when I became chancellor. But most importantly, Gene was a splendid person whom I enjoyed being with, and I shall miss him."

Lee was born in Berkeley on Sept. 19, 1924. He graduated from UCLA in 1946, and became an assistant to the city manager in San Leandro. Five years later, he called on IGS Founding Director Samuel May to ask if he should remain in local government

or enroll in the inaugural class of the newly created UCLA School of Law. May told him to do neither, suggesting instead that Lee enroll in the doctoral program in political science at Cal and work at the Institute while he was in graduate school. Lee later earned his doctorate in political science at Cal and joined the university's faculty in 1955.

Beginning in 1958 he advised University President Clark Kerr on budgetary matters, and later, after a brief return to full-



Above: Gene in front of the Institute of Governmental Studies, Moses Hall; Opposite page, bottom left: Chancellor Ira Michael Heyman congratulates Gene on his retirement; opposite, bottom right: Gene moderated a panel that included Mervin Field, Charles McDowell, Gloria Berger, and Nelson Polsby; opposite, top right: Gene honored by one of his students

time teaching and scholarship, was named Vice President – Executive Assistant of the University. In that role, he helped plan the reorganization and decentralization of the university, showing “great initiative and much wisdom,” in Kerr’s words.

In 1967, Lee was appointed director of IGS, the state’s oldest public policy research center. Lee later recalled that during his time as director, IGS continued its service to the state’s policymaking community by sponsoring conferences on statewide issues, a forerunner to the California Policy Seminar. IGS also shepherded the creation of a statewide data center and organized briefings for newly elected members of the state’s congressional delegation, a project that resulted in Lee’s appointment as a bipartisan consultant to the delegation.

At the same time, Lee oversaw a continuation of the traditional IGS interest in local and regional government, publishing research on the governance of metropolitan regions around the world and policy issues facing the Bay Area. One of those reports played a critical role in the creation of the Bay Conservation and Development Commission.

During Lee’s tenure, IGS initiated a series of seminars on California art and culture, automated the catalogue records of the IGS Library, developed two public television programs on important public issues, and published major research projects on issues such as the ethics of intensive care for newborns, the impact of Proposition 13, and rural growth patterns and economic development.

All of this activity resulted in robust financial growth for the Institute. Annual funding of IGS programs increased under Lee’s leadership from \$267,000 to \$1.8 million. Lee also played an instrumental role in acquiring a \$2.7 million bequest from the late Professor Joseph Harris, inventor of the Harris Votomatic voting machine. The resulting Harris Endowment continues to play a critical role in supporting IGS programs to this day.

Lee was also the first chairman of the Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy (“The Little Hoover Commission”), and served as a director of the Trust for Public Land and the Cal-Tax Foundation. Other teaching and administrative posts were at University College, Dar es Salaam,

Tanzania, and at the University of Puerto Rico. In 1984–85, Lee was an academic visitor at the London School of Economics and Political Science and at the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy in London.

On the 75th anniversary of the founding of IGS, Lee was asked to write about his long experiences with the Institute. “Seventy-five years and still going strong!” he wrote of the organization he had led. “It is wonderful to have contributed to and to continue to be a part of this exciting enterprise.”

Lee is survived by his wife Joanne Hurley, son Douglas Edwin Lee, daughter Nancy Gale Lee, daughter-in-law Susan Gahry, son-in-law Anoush Zebarjadian, and grandchildren Alexandra Lee and Morgan Lee.

A celebration of Lee’s life was held Thursday, May 12. The family suggests that donations in Lee’s memory be made to the Institute of Governmental Studies, 109 Moses Hall #2370, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720-2370; or The Trust for Public Land, 101 Montgomery Street, Suite 900, San Francisco, CA 94104.



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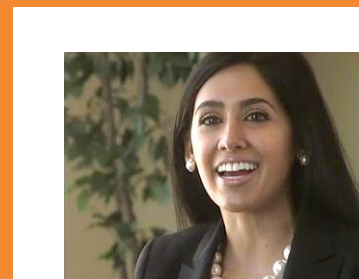
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IGS released a six-minute video, entitled: **The Voices of Tomorrow**, that showcases what the Institute of Governmental Studies does and who we are. Learn about IGS as a place that combines the practical work of politics with the theoretical dynamism that will shape tomorrow's generation of national and state leaders. To view this short video visit: <http://igs.berkeley.edu/friends/video.html>

Why I Give

“I’ve seen IGS work really from both ends of the spectrum. As a student, I saw the programs in place, I utilized the tools. And now being a lobbyist, I get to see IGS in action.”

—**Shaudi F. Fulp** (‘04), Chevron Corporation



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Events This Fall from IGS

For more on these programs, including registration information, go to igs.berkeley.edu

A Brave New World? California's Redistricting Experiment

Nonpartisan reformers, partisan experts, leading scholars, and others examine California's experiment in using a citizen's commission to redraw the state's political boundaries. Three of the commissioners will also participate.

Friday, **Sept. 30**, Noon-5 p.m.
Bancroft Hotel, Berkeley

The Next Use of Nuclear Weapons: Pakistan, Terrorists, and the United States

Scott Sagan, Stanford University
Thursday, **Oct. 6**, 4-6 p.m.
IGS Library, 109 Moses Hall

The Role of Space as Seen by the DoD

General **William L. Shelton**, Commander, Air Force Space Command

Thursday, **Oct. 20**, 4-6 p.m.
IGS Library, 109 Moses Hall

Is the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act Constitutional?

Two leading scholars – **Roger Pilon** of the Cato Institute and **Laurence Tribe** of Harvard – debate the constitutionality of health care reform.

Thursday, **Oct. 26**, 6-7 p.m.
Commonwealth Club, 595 Market Street,
San Francisco

DoD Efforts to Counter WMD

Andrew C. Weber, Assistant Secretary of Defense for Nuclear, Chemical, and Biological Defense Programs

Tuesday, **Nov. 15**, 4-6 p.m.
IGS Library, 109 Moses Hall