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Leaders of Today, Leaders of Tomorrow

IGS brings together Berkeley students and America's policymakers. Here, in pictures from the past year, are examples of IGS programs and events that connected students to policymakers. Clockwise from top left: political consultants **Larry Tramutola** and **Roger Salazar** at our California Votes 2014 conference; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Kerida Moates** with Assemblymember **Catharine Baker**; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Rodolfo Rivera Aquino** with Assemblymember **Tony Thurmond**; journalist **Amy Walter** of the Cook Political Report at California Votes; Gov. **Jerry Brown** with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows at our Matsui Center summer reception; Washington Fellow **Felippa Amanta** with U.S. Secretary of Education **Arne Duncan**; and former Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Disha Banik** with former Texas senator and gubernatorial candidate **Wendy Davis** after Davis spoke at IGS.

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

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DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

The Year at IGS Jack Citrin



One of the joys of serving as the director of IGS is the opportunity I'm afforded for endless intellectual stimulation. I'm happy that this year's *PAR* gives you that same chance, for in the pages that follow you'll find not only the usual summaries of events and programs, but also several longer pieces in which various writers explore important issues with depth and nuance. Each of these pieces derives in one way or another from the Institute's many activities during the past year, and taken together I think they display the great range of thinking, scholarship, and commentary that lies at the heart of IGS:

- **Amy Walter**, the national editor of the *Cook Political Report*, writes on pages 4–5 about the lessons she took away from our California Votes conference.

- **Lord Patten of Barnes**, who served as the Institute's inaugural Underhill Lecturer, offers his view on the so-called British-American "Special Relationship" on pages 6–7.

- IGS Resident Scholar **Tom Mann**, who joined us this year after an extraordinary career at the Brookings Institution, reviews the new book by retired Congressman Barney Frank on pages 8–9.

- In an excerpt from his book *Boom and Bust*, which the Institute published this year, Fresno State Political Scientist **Jeff Cummins** sizes up potential reforms to the California budget, on pages 10–11.

- The results of ground-breaking research on California's new top-two elections system, published in a special issue of our *California Journal of Politics and Policy*, are summarized on page 12 by IGS Associate Director Ethan Rarick.

- Former Texas Sen. **Wendy Davis**, made famous by a filibuster against an anti-abortion bill, addresses gender discrimination in an excerpt on pages 14–15 from a speech she gave at the Matsui Center.

- And last but I hope not least, my own new book, *American Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, co-written with UCLA scholar **David O. Sears**, is excerpted on pages 16–17.

Much else happened at IGS this year. Stories in the coming pages offer more details, but allow me to provide a brief summary. Our academic seminars pursued their traditional missions of education and scholarship, focusing on political history; political research; political psychology; and race, ethnicity, and immigration. Several of our faculty members and graduate students received prestigious awards and honors. Of particular note is the role that IGS graduate students **David Brockman** and **Joshua Kalla** played in discovering and disclosing a serious case of academic fraud. Their commitment to preserving scientific integrity drew national attention from media outlets such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *New Yorker*, and others.

As I mentioned above, our *California Journal* devoted an entire issue to the top two elections system and since then has continued to publish important new peer-reviewed research on topics ranging from water policy in the west to urban politics to healthcare spending growth in California. Just as important, the journal transitioned to a new open-access platform, so that now it can be read by anyone for free. This dissemination of new research remains a key IGS goal, and we're determined to continue the journal's growth in the future.

Our public events addressed a wide range of topics. In January we held our traditional California Votes conference, which is something of a gathering of the herd for the California political community. Other topics addressed by panels and lectures included the implementation of the Affordable Care Act, ranked-choice voting, and the Scottish independence referendum. The Harold Smith Seminar Series examined a variety of national security issues, including nuclear security and the Middle East. The IGS Presidential

cont. on p. 17

Governor Brown Attends Sacramento Reception

You know things are going well when the governor walks into your event unexpectedly. That happened this summer when Gov. **Jerry Brown** stopped by the IGS reception for our Matsui Center summer fellows.

The presence of one of Berkeley's most famous alumni was just one of several great things about the reception, an annual event to honor the students participating in the Matsui Center's two summer programs—Cal-in-Sacramento and the Local Government Fellowships.

Three things stood out:

It takes a village. At IGS, we're proud of all our programs, but we have a lot of help—and a lot of it was present at the reception. The offices that agree to host the fellows take on a big task, and without them, the programs wouldn't exist. It's added work to supervise an intern, but the offices that do it—whether in the legislature, a state agency, or elsewhere—are providing a Berkeley student with a fabulous opportunity to gain real-world experience. A lot of the fellows' supervisors were at the reception, and it was delightful to meet them—and to thank them for helping our students.

Bears have friends. The Cal network is amazing. Not only did the governor come by, but we also had five members of the legislature—Sens. **Ben Allen** and **Bill Monning** and Assemblymembers **Ken Cooley**, **Tony Thurmond**, and **Richard Bloom**. Cooley, a Berkeley alum, gave an inspiring speech about the importance of public service. Judge (and former Assemblymember) **Alyson Lewis** also spoke, and former Assemblymember and current Little Hoover Commission Chairman **Pedro Nava** was there as well. And that's just the elected officials. There were also Cal alums in important positions throughout the policymaking community—senior legis-

lative staff, agency officials, leaders from advocacy groups. Many of them were former Matsui Center Fellows who are now working in public service, and it was great to see the amazing network that Berkeley has among the Golden State's leaders.

Berkeley students are the university's best ambassadors. Time and again, people supervising the fellows noted that the students are doing great work. It's wonderful to know that we can put our students into positions where they will be doing real work, and that they will do it well enough to impress their bosses. □



Governor Jerry Brown with Cal-in-Sacramento fellows



CIS fellows Veena Bhatia and Jessica Paduganan; Carlos Casillas, Senior Legal Analyst at the California Department of Justice; Camille Koué, Matsui Center Staff



CIS fellow Talisha Faruk with Assemblymember Ken Cooley

Voter Apathy . . .

Changing the Way We Vote Isn't Getting More People to Vote

By Amy Walter

California is the closest thing we have to a political lab for engineering a solution for the country's voter apathy problem. From permanent absentee voting to term limits and redistricting reform and now a top-two primary system, California has tried just about every remedy imagined to help boost voter participation in the state. The result: turn-out in the Golden State last year for both the primary and general election was the lowest it has been in recorded history. Did reform fail? Was it a failure of the candidates themselves? Or is there something more that California's lack of voter interest can tell us about why/how reforms to voting systems impact actual voting behavior?

At the California Votes conference organized this past winter by IGS, some of the smartest and most plugged-in political professionals in the state tried to diagnose the state's lack of interest in the 2014 election.

Before we get to the question of why voters didn't turn out, it's notable that California's low turn-out election didn't bring Republicans the success they found in other parts of the country last year. Democrats actually swept all seven of the Golden State's partisan offices and picked up one seat in the House. The joke is that the GOP wave of 2014 stopped at the foot of the Sierra Nevada Mountains. Some have attributed this to the younger and more diverse (i.e., heavily Hispanic) electorate. But the Latino turn-out was just 15 percent—4 points less than it was in 2012. And young people didn't show up either.

Instead, the answer lies in the fact that white voters in the state voted more Democratic than white voters nationally. While just 39 percent of white voters nationally supported a Democrat in 2014, 51 percent of California's white voters supported a Demo-

crat. And, according to **Mark DiCamillo** of the well-respected Field Poll, white voters who live in counties that touch the coast were even more Democratic. About 70 percent of the vote in the state comes from coastal counties and in those counties, said DiCamillo, Democrats took 56 percent of the white vote. The inland counties, meanwhile, behaved much more like the rest of the nation as just 38 percent of white voters supported a Democrat.

Republicans also can't find much comfort in the growing ranks of the independent (or no-party-preference) voters in the state. Political Data Inc.'s **Paul Mitchell** noted that the state's independent voters are "not middle-of-the-road voters." They are more left leaning, younger, and more Latino. In 2014, California independent voters gave Democrats 61 percent of the vote. Nationally, independent voters broke overwhelmingly for Republicans—56 percent to 44 percent.

These are the sorts of numbers that should give any Republican thinking of running statewide—either for the open Senate seat in 2016 or the governorship in 2018—serious pause.

Then there's the question of why voters failed to turn out to vote, despite the fact that the state has done lots to incentivize voting. On the one hand, it's easy enough to say that it's simply a matter of a boring top-of-the-ticket race that generated little light or heat. Gov. Jerry Brown was popular, his GOP opponent was virtually unknown, and voters in the state had little incentive to get out and vote. But competitive House races also saw a big drop in turn-out from 2012, and in some cases, a drop from 2010.

So, if top-two and better redistricting didn't get people to vote, should we assume they've failed? Obviously we have to be careful about using just two election cycles as a statistical basis for anything. But there are some signs that the top-two is both increasing competitiveness, while also doing little to shake up the establishment. **Eric McGhee** of the Public Policy Institute of California found that since the arrival of the top-two primary system in 2012 there has been more intraparty competition. From 2002–2010, an average of 18 percent of incumbents faced an intraparty



Mark DiCamillo, Gabe Lenz, Courtni Pugh, Paul Mitchell

Is There a Solution?

challenge. From 2012–2014, that average was 35 percent. The redistricting year of 2012 skews the overall average (that year 42 percent of incumbents were challenged). But, in 2014, you still saw more intraparty challenges—28 percent of incumbents had a primary—than you did in the pre top-two era.

Even so, this competitiveness hasn't upended the system. No House incumbent failed to make the November ballot or lost to an intraparty challenger in 2014. According to **Courtney Pugh** of Hill-top Public Solutions, 96 percent of all Democratic Party-endorsed candidates made it to the November ballot. In other words, the endorsement of the party is as important as ever, or more so.

Even more sobering was McGhee's presentation showing that the top-two has done little to "moderate" the legislature. First, McGhee cited research done by IGS' **Jack Citrin**, **Doug Ahler**, and **Gabe Lenz** that found that voters were unable to identify the moderates in an intraparty primary, even when the ideological differences between the candidates were stark. There's also no evidence that the candidates are making it easy for voters to make that distinction—or that it matters to primary voters.

Finally, and most importantly, while there are clear signs of moderation in the California Legislature, it's also true that this moderation had been happening before the implementation of the top-two system in 2010. Since 2007, McGhee found, Democrats in the state have been gradually moving to the center. Republicans, meanwhile, remain as conservative as ever.

But perhaps the best explanation for why the top-two and redistricting may not be shaking up the system as much as reformers would like is much simpler: voters don't think voting matters. Pugh recounted sitting in focus groups of Latino voters who wondered, "How does my voting in this election better my life?"

The fact that voters are increasingly detached from policy-making is a deeper and more significant problem. It's not that there's a problem with the system of voting. The problem is the system itself. If people don't trust that the politicians are going to look out for them or understand their day-to-day lives, no amount of change to the way we vote is going to get people to vote.

Amy Walter is the national editor of the Cook Political Report, where this article first appeared. Her column appears every Friday at cookpolitical.com. □



To read more about the California Votes conference, on which this column is based, see pages 32–33.

Old Friends, New World . . .

This spring, Lord Patten of Barnes delivered the inaugural R. Kirk Underhill Lecture at IGS, part of the Institute's growing Anglo-American Studies Program. Lord Patten has served as the leader of the British Conservative Party, the governor of Hong Kong, and now as the chancellor of Oxford University, providing him with both an insider's knowledge of British politics and the international perspective of a diplomat. In his lecture, he spoke about the "Special Relationship" between America and Britain. Here is an excerpt.

...What would I hope for from my old ally across the pond if I were part of the American political establishment? First, as American politicians and businessmen keep telling us, we should remain members of the EU. Rather more than this, we should chuck our present semidetached status and try to take a leading role in shaping the sort of EU that could play a more confident and effective role in the world. This would not only be in the American interest, but above all in our own. . . .

If we were not always grouching and pleading for special favors near the EU exit, we might be rather better in pushing a reform agenda that would suit Europe, suit us, and suit our partners. . . . At the heart of the EU, we could and should remove more of the barriers that have limited competitiveness and the growth of the single market, for example, in services and e-commerce. We must also champion liberalization of trade, pressing for the conclusion of the proposed transatlantic trade deal, which principally targets regulatory restrictions on the flow of commerce. It is also in our interest to complete a single energy market.

This is especially important for our efforts to create a more effective external affairs policy for Europe. Here again a more coordinated and cohesive European effort should be welcome to the U.S. We have been brought up hard against the inadequacies of present efforts to shape a common foreign and security policy by Mr. Putin's bullying and mendacious efforts to recreate a Russian sphere of influence in eastern Europe, beginning with the annexation of the Crimea, the invasion of eastern Ukraine, the destabilization of the whole of that country, and the growing pressure exerted on the Baltic states. . . .

Russia's challenge to Europe's postwar assumptions about peace and stability is so fundamental that it has to be seen as the major foreign and security issue for us. Modern Europe has been

built on belief in self-determination and rejection of any idea that frontiers can be changed by force. . . . One of the great triumphs of the EU has been the stabilization of our continent with the spread of democracy and markets. We must not allow that success to be undermined today by self-delusion and weakness. . . .

It is clear to me what sort of partner the U.S. should want Britain to be, but what of the role that Britain should want the U.S. to play?

The first thing to be said, and it may be uncomfortable for some to hear the message, is that the U.S. is still the only country that matters everywhere on pretty well every issue. Without American leadership, or at least involvement, nothing much gets done. America cannot go home; it may be regarded as bad luck for you but there it is. . . .

Needless to say, the U.S. has to work harder to put together like-minded coalitions and has to avoid, as well, appearing to resent the rise of other countries, notably China. Existing international financial and economic institutions should be adjusted to take account of changes in relative economic strength. . . .

It often seems to your friends that the excessively partisan nature of political debate and governance in the U.S. makes it more difficult for you to negotiate the journey from unipolar arrogance to more inclusive leadership of cooperative ventures. Add the vilification of consensus building in some parts of the political establishment to the way in which your revered 18th century constitution appears to have bequeathed more checks than balances, and it is no surprise that some question whether the democratic system is really the best way to govern a country and cope with its domestic problems and international challenges. . . .

These are not insurmountable obstacles as President Obama seems to have been attempting to demonstrate over trade and Iran. It is just a pity that they make the conduct of foreign policy and the acceptance of the burdens of global leadership so much more onerous.

... the U.S. is still the only country that matters everywhere on pretty well every issue. Without American leadership, or at least involvement, nothing much gets done.

To watch a video of Lord Patten's lecture, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events, and click on "Old Friends, New World."

The U.S. and the U.K.

America needs a UN system that works better. It needs an international rule book that is more likely to be followed if Washington follows it too. It needs partners committed to the rule of law, pluralism, accountability, free trade, and the understanding that so many problems that challenge nation states today can only be tackled successfully by working across borders and by accepting limits on that slippery old concept, national sovereignty.

This opens up a much wider debate. It should be at the heart of the discussions between the U.S. and your transatlantic allies in Britain and the rest of the EU.

What do we believe, in the democracies of the West, is the relationship between foreign policy and human rights? Should it be a western objective to spread democracy? Can it ever be done effectively let alone ethically by force? What are the limits on national sovereignty and do we still buy into the principle of the responsibility to protect? Should America accept—or simply try to share—the responsibility for standing up to threats that others prefer to ignore? How much should the U.S. allow its own diplomatic, economic, military, and political weight to shape the



Lord Patten of Barnes

answers to these threats ahead of or regardless of the opinions and sensitivities of others?

Like most of America's friends, I am not uncritical of a country that I love, a country that we all need. And there's the rub.

Maybe we have reached one of those moments in the history of our planet accompanying a shift in economic power, a moment when everything spins off in a new direction, certainties shredded, direction as yet unknown, bloody Darwinian battlefield or a new understanding of how to muddle along more or less amiably together. If that is so, and even if nothing so dramatic lies ahead, I am certain in my own mind that we shall need your hand on the wheel as often as possible. It's a lot to ask. I'm afraid it goes with the territory. You can't disown your duty. There is only one superpower. And that

is you; you with (I hope) more intelligent and dependable help from us. □

Conference Examines Scottish Referendum

Just a week after Scottish voters rejected a highly contentious proposal to declare independence from the UK last fall, the IGS Anglo-American Studies Program hosted a half-day conference focusing on the election, and on the future of multi-ethnic states around the world.

Held September 26 in the IGS Library, the symposium featured two panels of experts from the U.S., the U.K., and Canada. The first panel dissected the Scottish independence movement, explaining the reasons, consequences, and results of the referendum. The second panel considered the Scottish referendum from a global perspective, comparing it to other secession efforts such as the Quebec sovereignty movement.

Terri Bimes, the director of the Anglo-American Studies Program, said that the conference demonstrated that the program fills a real need on campus.

"Going into the September 18th referendum," Bimes said, "we believed that the no vote would likely win, but thought the conference would be interesting regardless of the referendum outcome."

To see a video compilation of conference highlights, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/scottish-independence.

This spring the Anglo-American Studies Program also hosted a talk by Sir **Julian Le Grand** of the London School of Economics on his new book, *Government Paternalism: Nanny State or Helpful Friend?* □



Jason Wittenberg and Éric Bélanger

Frank: A Life in Politics from the Great Society to Same-Sex Marriage

Thomas E. Mann, one of the country's most distinguished analysts of politics and government, joined IGS this year as a resident scholar. Mann recently retired as senior fellow at The Brookings Institution, where he had a long career as one of Washington's best-known commentators and scholars.

His books with frequent collaborator Norman Ornstein include the bestseller *It's Even Worse Than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism*. Mann and Ornstein were named as being among the 100 Top Global Thinkers of 2012 for "diagnosing America's political dysfunction."

Below is a review Mann wrote recently of Barney Frank's new book, *Frank: A Life in Politics from the Great Society to Same-Sex Marriage*.

It is not obvious that the memoir of a recently retired, 16-term member of the U.S. House of Representatives is a promising candidate for a book review on government reform. Vivid narrative, compelling personal stories, passionate advocacy, and lacerating wit may make for a great read. And Barney Frank's *Frank: A Life in Politics from the Great Society to Same-Sex Marriage* is an enlightening and entertaining romp through a half-century of American politics and policymaking. But what can it possibly offer as a guide to fixing government during an era of polarization, dysfunction, and public disaffection?

The short answer is more than you might think. Frank's life in politics spanned a period in which most Americans lost their faith in government's capacity (or willingness) to improve the lot of working and middle-class citizens but also became more accepting of personal differences, particularly on matters of sexuality. These changes in public opinion were neither gradual nor without intense conflict but a reflection of powerful economic and social forces, pitched battles within and between the political parties, and growing generational differences. Their residue today defines in large part the warring political camps that hinder effective public policy and administration.

Frank himself is a bundle of seeming contradictions. An unabashed liberal adept in the give and take of party politics and the nuances of the legislative craft. A man whose gruff manner and disheveled appearance could not disguise his uproarious sense of humor. A whip-smart Harvard-educated man (BA, ABD in political science, and law degree) with a stronger affinity for the little guys in Fall River and New Bedford than the Boston elites. A powerful debater whose rapier wit intimidated many an

unprepared adversary who at the same time respected those with sincere opposing views, welcomed bargaining with Republicans, and defended the much-maligned Congress. A gay man closeted for decades out of fear that revealing his sexual orientation would destroy his chosen life in politics reaches the pinnacle of his career in public life—the Dodd-Frank financial reform law—while in a highly visible and by all accounts happy and rewarding same-sex marriage.

Frank played a key role in significant achievements on behalf of economic fairness and personal freedom, but he regularly resisted the emotional, ideologically driven, nonnegotiable demands of his allies in favor of painstaking efforts for bankable incremental steps. He had little use for radicals of the left or right. He took as given that a private market economy is essential to prosperity but a competent and sufficiently resourced government must act to protect society from market failures and to provide essential public goods. He spurned the "What's the Matter with Kansas" argument that working-class whites are fooled into voting against their economic interests by Republican appeals to their religious and cultural conservatism. Instead, Frank believes the problem is that the government championed by Democrats has been unable to overcome the decades-long stagnation of wages and declining opportunities for upward economic and social mobility.

Frank's descriptions of his own personal odyssey and his reflections on American society and politics over the past 50 years remind us of the many forces that contribute to success and failure in policymaking and implementation. (It will be obvious to the reader that these summaries are my words, not his.) They also caution would-be reformers on the efficacy of tweaking institutional rules and procedures without simultaneously considering how political actors will respond to them.

- Deep and abiding pessimism about democracy in America is unwarranted and counter-productive. Policy success—in both enactment and implementation—is possible when the context is favorable, an opportunity arises in the political system, and skilled politicians do the difficult work to identify constructive steps and build the necessary support for them. The responses to the 2008 financial crisis in the last months of the Bush Administration and the first months of the Obama presidency are a good example of how the normal barriers to action can be overcome. Building congressional capacity and defending the institutional prerogatives and responsibilities of Congress are important if only for the limited opportunities when constructive action is possible.

- Policy change is usually incremental and follows long periods of incubation and temporary defeat, but rapid shifts in public opinion (e.g., same-sex marriage) and demands for action in the face of crisis (often from elite actors) can precipitate more ambitious responses. Whether incremental or transformational, law-making is an honorable task; those members of Congress who are

Does Barney Frank Have the Answers?

as good as their word and practice the legislative craft skillfully should be praised, not scorned.

- Political parties are the essential building blocks of democracy. The diverse Democratic coalition of northern liberals and southern conservatives made possible nominal party majorities in Congress but often frustrated the policy ambitions of its leaders. During the last years of the conservative coalition, Republican liberals and moderates provided the margin of victory on such issues as civil rights, the environment, and immigration. As the parties became more internally homogeneous and ideologically distinct, cross-party collaboration became much more difficult. And when Democrats lost their long-term domination of Congress, the intense competition for party control of the House and Senate increased purely strategic behavior by the parties and decreased opportunities for substantive lawmaking across party lines.

- The two parties have evolved in distinctive ways over the last decades, further complicating the challenges of governing. Representing a one-party state, Frank had his problems with Democratic radicals and left-wing theorists who came of age in the countercultural and antiwar sixties. This might come as a surprise for someone who favored gay rights and drug legalization and worked for Representative Michael Harrington, a strong opponent of the Vietnam War. Throughout the book, Frank refers to himself as a liberal, never a progressive. His differences with the “new left” had mostly to do with their tactics, insensitivity to the values and reactions of working-class Democrats, and indiscriminate condemnation of military engagement overseas. Those divisions and excesses of the Democratic Party took years to overcome. By the mid-1990s the Democrats had become a relatively unified center/left party, one that supported government, civil rights, and a liberal internationalism. Democrats were willing to work with President George W. Bush, both before and after 9/11, but their eventual opposition to the war in Iraq and return to the majority in Congress after the 2006 elections set up a more confrontational stance with the Republican president. Democrats were remarkably unified during President Obama’s first two years in office, as well as after 2010 with the return of divided party government.

- Republicans became a more conservative party after 1980, as they absorbed the formerly Democratic South, and under President Reagan embraced an agenda of lower taxes and less government, social and religious fundamentalism, and a neoconservative foreign policy. Reagan provided the rhetorical leadership, initial tax and spending cuts, and a tough-minded approach to foreign policy, but proved to be quite pragmatic in the face of increasing deficits, a tougher Democratic opposition, and an opening for nuclear arms reduction agreement with a Gorbachev-led Soviet Union. President George H. W. Bush’s impressive foreign policy

leadership on the successful first gulf war and the end of the Cold War did nothing to assuage the outrage of conservative activists when he broke his “no new taxes” pledge in a deficit reduction agreement with the Democrats. By the time Bush 41 left office, the tax pledge became the centerpiece of the Republican agenda and a litmus test for those running and serving in public office under its banner. Newt Gingrich led the Republican opposition in Congress on a long but ultimately successful campaign to win

a majority in Congress by discrediting Congress as an institution and delegitimizing the “corrupt Democratic majority.” The partisan war against Clinton, bookended by a unanimous Republican vote against his initial budget deficit package and his impeachment by the House, was a precursor to the unified Republican opposition to Obama. Negative conservative reaction to Bush 43, especially to his compassionate conservative rhetoric, expansion of Medicare, massive spending on homeland security, and support of TARP to deal with the financial crisis led the Republicans in Congress to embrace a radical

agenda and an even more confrontational stance with Obama. The Tea Party became the Republican Party. Obama was proclaimed not to be a legitimate president or real American. Government is the root of all problems the country confronts. Climate change is a hoax. Science is a playpen for liberals. Compromise is cowardice.

This asymmetric party polarization has turned divided party government into a graveyard for presidential proposals, especially for Democrats, and an invitation for the opposition party in Congress to damage or nullify legitimately enacted laws during the implementation process. Unified party government with large majorities in the Senate and House can still enact major legislation but the unwillingness of the opposition party to buy into the process and accept the outcome ensures substantial public opposition continuing after enactment and policy instability.

Spirited and biting debate between parties with substantial differences in values and policy preferences can be a strength of the political system if both parties accept the legitimacy of the other and have incentives to engage in genuine deliberation and produce a negotiated outcome. Reforms predicated on blurring differences, identifying a golden mean, restoring civility, or ignoring powerful incentives for strategic disagreement are doomed to fail.

While Frank makes none of these points as explicitly as I do here, I am confident from reading his memoir that he agrees with all of them. He brings life, passion, and humor to these sober observations and demonstrates why politics and government should be and sometimes can be a noble and uplifting undertaking.

This article first appeared on the Brookings Institution’s FixGov blog. □



Thomas Mann

Book Excerpt . . .

Earlier this year the Berkeley Public Policy Press, the Institute's publishing imprint, published **Boom and Bust: The Politics of the California Budget**, by Jeff Cummins, an associate professor of political science at Fresno State University. The book and Professor Cummins have been cited in numerous media stories about California's public finances, and it has been adopted as a textbook for courses on public finance. This is an edited excerpt from the final chapter, "The Fix: Improving the Budget System."

The Need for Reform

The need and urgency for budget reform in California has generally risen and fallen with the boom and bust cycles of state finances. As fiscal conditions have worsened and crisis budgeting mode sets in, discussions about reforming the budget process and tax system have intensified only to dissipate once the budget is adopted or the economy begins to turn around. Despite two tax reform commissions, a failed attempt at a constitutional convention, and numerous propositions to reform the fiscal system during the last crisis budgeting era, California adopted only a few reforms that directly improved the budget. The switch to a majority vote budget has been the single most important change to the budget process. It immediately curtailed the budget gridlock that had gripped Sacramento for the last five decades and placed decision making in the legislature in the hands of one party, which also improves accountability.

With gridlock and structural deficits in check for the time being, this begs the question of whether budget reform is still necessary. If California hopes to avoid future boom-and-bust cycles and the crisis

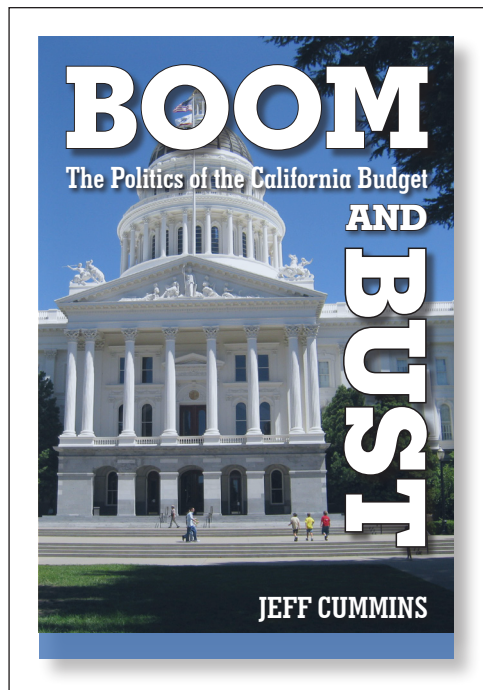
budgeting that accompanies the latter, then there is more that could be done. The general public seems to think so as well. Despite the relatively strong budget conditions in recent years, 52 percent of Californians still viewed the situation as a "big problem," while 38 percent viewed it as "somewhat of a problem," according to a 2014 poll by the Public Policy Institute of California.

If reforms are still necessary, which ones would be the most helpful? To address the boom-and-bust problem, a strong rainy-day fund and tax reform would be the most effective. Both are preventative measures that could blunt the impact of future economic recessions that are inevitable. Rainy-day funds directly address the volatility problem by stashing funds away in higher revenue years so they can be tapped in lower revenue years, but mainly treat the symptom of precipitous revenue downturns rather than the cause. The new rainy-day fund voters adopted in 2014 should ease the bust phase of the cycles, but the reserve is unlikely to be large enough to prevent the need for some major spending reductions. As long-time Sacramento columnist George Skelton put it, "What California should be doing is curing the disease by reforming the tax system, stabilizing it and ridding us of the volatility." Tax reform has the potential to make the revenue system less responsive (elastic) to economic cycles and the potential to produce adequate revenue to meet the state's growing service demands.

Other reforms can improve process efficiency and fiscal accountability and are worthy of consideration in their own right, but probably cannot stabilize the state's finances as well as the two above.

Prospects for Reform

Although the subject of which budget reforms to advance is certainly important, the more important factor in the eventual success of reform efforts may be the vehicles for reform that advocates choose, particularly given the fact that failure is more often the fate of these efforts than success. Previous reform efforts in California and



Can We Fix the California Budget?

other states can shed light on which vehicles may be the most productive avenues for reform.

First, a constitutional convention, while the most comprehensive approach to enact systemwide reforms, is the most unlikely vehicle for significant budgetary reform. The uncertainty in the outcomes of such a convention would strike fear in powerful interest groups whose position in a new system would be unpredictable. In a similar vein, the likelihood that a constitution revision commission could produce sweeping reforms, budget-related and otherwise, that would be *adopted* is low as well for similar reasons. However, if the state's financial circumstances took a turn for the worse and disrupted the delivery of state and local services more severely, then the chances for a successful revision commission would increase.

Despite their low rates of success historically, a new tax commission could serve as a successful vehicle for a revamp of the tax code if it had the proper characteristics and mission. First, the composition of the commission is important because commission members would have to know what the legislature and governor could potentially approve. This means that the governor and legislative leaders from both parties would have to serve themselves or appoint representatives who could negotiate directly on their behalf. Second, the mission of reform would have to be narrow in scope and revenue neutral. Any tax burden increases would have to be offset with lower rates that did not worsen the overall tax burden for middle- and lower-income residents. The goal would be revenue neutrality, and not necessarily more revenue, so that revenue growth could better keep pace with the economy.

Lastly, the approval procedure in the legislature would likely have to be a straight up-or-down vote on the tax reform package. This procedure would forgo the consideration of amendments to

the tax package and attempt to depoliticize the approval process, to the extent it can be. The up-or-down stipulation would provide political cover to legislators who may still oppose specific provisions of the package, but agree the overall package is necessary.

With voters' apparent predisposition against wholesale budget reforms produced by either commissions or conventions, ballot measures are more likely to serve as the primary vehicle. Many significant budget reforms in California have been adopted in this fashion unaffiliated with any commission.

Regardless of the vehicle employed to move budget reforms, previous experience in California and other states suggests several ways to increase the chances for success. First, reforms should be thoroughly prepared and vetted before they are pitched to the public. Second, the timing of the proposal is important because there may be a small policy window to advance the reform or package of reforms. Tax reform, in particular, is probably only feasible under either the best or worst fiscal circumstances and not somewhere in between. A budget crisis would provide the urgency to change the system, while strong economic and revenue conditions could ease the transition for taxpayers to a new system. Third, any serious effort at reform would have to be led by the governor, at the very least, and would probably require the support of legislative leaders as well. Lastly, significant budget reforms, especially of the tax system, need to be treated like a campaign. Reform proponents need to promote a clear message and rationale for the proposal and embark on a statewide campaign to educate voters on the merits. Even after the adoption of reform, particularly involving controversial issues such as taxes, public education efforts should continue for a year or longer to preempt the losing side from instigating a repeal movement. □



Jeff Cummins

The book sells for \$30 and is available on Amazon.

The Top Two . . . So What?

By Ethan Rarick

Of all the recent California political reforms, the top-two electoral system seems the most controversial, and at least potentially, the most consequential. At various times and in various places, it has been described as the state's political salvation, a foolish catastrophe, a way to weaken the two major parties, a way to destroy minor parties, a plot to enhance the moderate Republican agenda, or a tool that will at least occasionally eliminate Republican candidates from statewide races altogether. And then there are those who say it really doesn't make much difference at all.

To shed some light on this important and complicated topic, IGS devoted an entire issue of our *California Journal of Politics and Policy* to the top two. The issue, published this past winter, included six academic research papers and eight commentary pieces by political practitioners.

First, a big caveat: The evidence so far is very preliminary. As we gather more data—and as voters, campaigns, and candidates learn more about the system—we may see different impacts. But for now, preliminary data is all we have, and preliminary data is better than none.

So what's the early conclusion about the top two? It's easier to summarize the academic view than the practitioner perspective. As **Betsy Sinclair** of Washington University, who edited the issue, noted in her introduction to the research papers, the scholars used different methods of analysis but generally reached the same conclusion: Thus far, the top two hasn't made a dramatic difference.

Thad Kousser of UCSD took a careful look at some of the high-profile statewide races in 2014, and concluded that the top two made no difference in the final outcome, generating, as he put it, "much smoke but little fire." **Eric McGhee** of the Public Policy Institute of California examined the fate of the Chamber of Commerce's agenda. He found that legislative Democrats have become more centrist in recent years, but it's not clear that such moderation is due to the top two, or even that the top two had a real impact on the success of the business community in enacting its agenda into law. The other papers examined the 2012 election, also concluding that, as a general rule, there has been relatively little impact from the top two.

Why not? First, voters lack enough knowledge about candidates to pick flexible moderates. **Douglas Ahler**, **Jack Citrin**, and **Gabe Lenz** of IGS asked voters to rank the ideological positions of candidates just before the June 2012 primary. For members of the Califor-



Ethan Rarick

nia political community, here is the most striking finding: Voters could not determine that Abel Maldonado was more moderate than his Tea Party opponent, the rough equivalent of mistaking Nelson Rockefeller for Barry Goldwater, or, to use a more contemporary example, Olympia Snowe for Ted Cruz. There were similar results in other races.

Even if voters could pick out the moderates, few seem willing to abandon their party allegiances to vote for them. **Jonathan Nagler** of NYU found astonishingly low rates of crossover voting in the primary, and in the general, he found that many voters simply didn't vote in races where the ballot listed only two members of the other party. Sinclair, in a paper co-written with her colleague **Michael Wray**, found that voters were trying to get more information—Google searches about the candidates went up in intraparty runoffs—but so far it hasn't translated into different results at the polls.

Can the top two ever make a difference? Certainly. **Andy Sinclair** of NYU looked at a single 2012 Assembly race where it clearly did—Frank Bigelow leap-frogged Rico Oller in a Republican-on-Republican runoff—but this race seems reliant on fairly specific conditions that won't apply to every district.

What about the practitioner view? Compared to the academic research, these boots-on-the-ground politicians generally thought the top two has made more of a difference, although beyond that there wasn't much agreement.

Republicans **Tony Quinn** and **Robert Naylor** were favorable, Quinn arguing that the top two is forcing candidates and legislators to pay attention to all the voters of a district, Naylor contending that now there clearly are more moderates in the legislature. They see the reform as working, more or less, as intended.

Labor's **Sharon Cornu** was equally critical, arguing that we don't need elected officials who are "moderate" only by the standards of a scale shifted far to the right.

Democratic strategist **Darry Sragow** and reform advocate **Zabrae Valentine** cautioned against hasty judgments, while strategist **Shaudi Falamaki Fulp** praised the top two for at least having shaken up the staid nature of California politics.

Democratic campaign consultant **Katie Merrill** raised a fascinating issue unaddressed by others: Is the top two bad for women candidates? Merrill acknowledged it's too soon to know, but she advised us all to keep our analytical eye on the ball over the next few cycles.

Ethan Rarick is the associate director of IGS. This article first appeared on the Fox and Hounds Daily political blog. □

This year, IGS transitioned its *California Journal of Politics and Policy* to an open-access platform, so that the journal can now be read by anyone for free. Please check out the journal's latest contents at escholarship.org/uc/cjpp. The papers on the top two can be read by selecting Volume 7, Issue 1.

Cal Day at IGS

Inspiring young people to enter public service is one of the goals of IGS' experiential learning programs, and this spring some of our former students who went on to work in politics came back to campus for a Cal Day panel that drew a standing-room-only crowd.

The panel included Jake Brymner, who now works for Congressman Eric Swalwell; Ciana Gallardo, who now works for the state's Little Hoover Commission; Sarah Lightstone, who previously worked for the California Foundation on the Environment and the Economy and now works at Google; and Rodolfo Rivera Aquino, who graduated this spring and is now a legislative aide for Assemblymember Tony Thurmond. Brymner and Lightstone were Matsui Local Government Fellows when they were at Cal, while Gallardo and Rivera Aquino were Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows.

All four talked about how their IGS experiences—and their Cal education generally—prepared them for work in public service. By combining educational excellence with the extensive connections of the Berkeley network, they said, Cal readied them for their current roles.

Each year Cal Day draws thousands of people to campus, including many students who have been admitted to Berkeley

and are trying to decide if they will attend. □



Sarah Lightstone, Jake Brymner, Ciana Gallardo, Rodolfo Rivera Aquino

Caroline Hoxby Delivers Baxter Lecture

How can we ensure that low-income students attend the best possible university? Part of the answer may be to simply tell them about the opportunities that are available.



That was the thrust of the message delivered this spring by education policy scholar **Caroline Hoxby**, who delivered this year's Baxter Liberty Initiative lecture, which is co-sponsored by IGS.

Hoxby recounted her research showing that high-achieving students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to attend high-end universities if they are provided with more information about those schools, including the financial aid that might be available to them.

Hoxby teaches economics at Stanford and is the director of the Economics of Education Program at the National Bureau of Economic Research. Before moving to Stanford in 2007, she was the Fried Professor of Economics at Harvard.

Every year the Baxter Liberty Initiative brings to Berkeley a distinguished scholar to encourage dialogue on the ideal of freedom in political and economic life.

Hoxby is a principal investigator of the *Expanding College Opportunities* project, a randomized controlled trial that had dramatic effects on low-income, high achievers' college-going. For work related to this project, she recently received The Smithsonian Institution's Ingenuity Award. Her research in this area began with a demonstration that low-income high achievers usually fail to apply to any selective college, despite the fact that they are extremely likely to be admitted and receive such generous financial aid that they usually pay much less to attend selective colleges than they do to attend nonselective schools. This issue is now being addressed systematically, owing to the project's evidence that individualized but inexpensive informational interventions cause students to take fuller advantage of their opportunities. □

Wendy Davis at IGS...

Former Texas state senator and Democratic gubernatorial candidate Wendy Davis drew a standing-room-only crowd this spring when she spoke on gender equality at an event sponsored by the IGS Matsui Center. Here is an excerpt from her talk.



First, let's take a moment to acknowledge past victories in the women's movement. It can be easy today, particularly with an onslaught of antireproductive rights legislation affecting some of the most personal of a woman's decision-making, to forget that on the long, slow climb toward gender equality, women fought for and have previously gained significant ground.

It was less than a hundred years ago when women earned the right to vote, and 51 years ago when President Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act.

It was only 50 years ago when birth-control became legalized, and only 42 years ago when abortion was legalized.

It was less than 35 years ago when the first female was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and it was less than six years ago when President Obama signed the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act into law.

That's all cause for celebration. But look around and we see there is much work to be done. As we watch and celebrate LGBT advances with more and more states moving to approve marriage equality, and as we witness divisive discriminatory policies like "don't ask, don't tell" being repealed (each after years of hard work and effort that is to be celebrated), gender politics seems to be slipping backward. Women are facing an onslaught of legislation that threatens their reproductive freedoms and access to abor-

tion. We occupy 56 percent of minimum wage jobs (even though we make up only 49.4 percent of the workforce) and governors in states like Texas are vetoing fair pay laws if they ever make it to the governor's desk at all.

All of this without voter backlash that responds in a way that says we disagree with the direction things are heading. Why?

I think that the answer to that is largely connected to and dictated by our own personal experiences and the lens through which we, as voters, view these issues.

My lens was formed and my views were shaped very early by my life experiences. In my memoir, *Forgetting to be Afraid*, I sought to explain the experiences that shaped me—not just those that gave me the strength to be a fighter, but to help illustrate why it was that certain issues hit me deep in the gut and compelled me to respond in a particular way.

I am a living, breathing example of the promise that can be created through gender-equalized opportunities. Informal as they were, they existed at a time when I needed them. I was 11 when my parents divorced and my 9th grade-educated mother, who had never been in the workforce before, was left to financially support four children on her own while my father pursued his dream of starting a nonprofit theater. We were thrown from a blue-collar lifestyle into poverty almost overnight. Watching my mom struggle to put food on the table in a low-wage, fast-food restaurant job made me want more for myself, made me want to assure that I would never be left without an education and the means to support myself. And yet, I too fell in that well of poverty and despair for a time. Pregnant at 18, married for a very brief time, I was left to support myself and my daughter Amber, at the age of 19. With only one semester of college under my belt, I couldn't see a bend in what looked like a long bleak road ahead. My greatest fear was coming true. I was going to live the same struggles that I had watched my mother live. Fear can be a powerful motivator. My fears were reinforced on nights when I would come home to find my electricity had been shut off or when I had to experience the embarrassment of choosing items to put back in the grocery store line because I didn't have enough money for that week's food.

But I am here today because policies that support a woman's ability to move from poverty to stability actually *do* work. These policies and the legislation that support them are not, as some of my former legislative colleagues in Texas and elsewhere believe, handouts. Instead, they are ladders—much needed avenues for women who have found themselves in a hole, at least in part *simply* because they are women. My ladders came in several forms.

One was access to *an affordable* community college education—with grants and low-cost tuition that made it possible even for me to afford—that ultimately became a gateway to my graduation from Harvard Law School 10 years after my community college experience began.

The Gains and Losses of Gender Equality

Another ladder for me came in the form of access to reproductive and well-woman healthcare that I received from a Planned Parenthood clinic near my home. For several years, as an uninsured woman, that clinic was my only source of care. It was the place where I received cancer screenings, diabetes screens, and my annual well-woman exams. Most importantly, it was the place that provided me with the ability to control my reproductive destiny so that, once I put my foot on the path to higher education, I could be assured of keeping it there.

Another ladder came in the form of childcare and the transportation needed to access it. I was fortunate that I had a friend who was willing to keep my daughter at a reasonably affordable cost. I was also fortunate that I had the means of transportation to get her to childcare, and to get myself to work and to school. For many women trying to climb the ladder from poverty to stability today, inaccessibility to child-care and transportation are sufficient roadblocks to hold them down. I

I am a living, breathing example of the promise that can be created through gender-equalized opportunities.



was pleased to hear President Obama talk about access to quality childcare as part of his focus in his recent State of the Union address for this very reason.

Finally, I was fortunate to work in a doctor's office where my employers supported a flexible work schedule for me so that I could attend classes at my community college. Good work-place policies like this could make educational improvement a possibility for women who *are* where I once *was*.

Those years were a tremendous struggle, and they were filled with fear. But I am grateful for the motivation that that fear provided and so very grateful for the lens that that struggle provided me and through which I now view the world.

There are so many women today who can't tell the story that I have the blessed ability to stand before you and tell. Because the kind of ladder-climbing support I had—affordable college tuition,

reproductive healthcare, affordable quality childcare, transportation, flexible work hours—is not there for them as these things once were for me.

Policies to support these ladders, though there is a great deal of conversation about them, are virtually nonexistent. Instead, we find ourselves fighting old fights and in many instances, losing ground. Why is this happening?

Quite simply, support for an agenda that includes these policies has eroded because of the negative association that has been created between the idea of women's advancement and the threat that movement poses to traditional patriarchal notions of a woman's "place."

Playing upon these negative associations, women's reproductive rights and other issues important to women's equality have been hijacked by a far-right agenda that is using those issues as a wedge, whistling to those who will respond favorably to the perceived threats they hope to engender. For these politicians, positioning against advancement of gender equality serves as a means to an end—that end being their desire to hold onto and further their political positions, status, and power. Provoking favorable voting responses by using women's equality as their foil is much more important to them than the fallout they leave behind. □

To watch a webcast of Sen. Davis's speech, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/wendy-davis

Don't Give Away Your Flag . . .

Earlier this year Cambridge University Press published *American Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism*, the latest book by IGS Director Jack Citrin, co-authored by UCLA political scientist David O. Sears. Here is an excerpt from the book's conclusion.

American Identity in the New America

In the long-run, the only viable American identity for the country's increasingly diverse society is the universalistic, civic variant espoused long ago by Jean de Crevecoeur, Alexis de Tocqueville, and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Recent developments suggest the same lesson is resonating abroad, particularly in Europe. Immigration has punctuated cultural homogeneity in most western countries, unsettling ideas about the foundations of nationhood and forcing elites to cope with a new demographic reality. The problem is in some ways more complicated in Europe since immigration is not part of the national narrative and since a large proportion of immigrants after 1980 have come from culturally dissimilar Muslim countries.

Comparisons of public opinion in Europe and the United States show that Americans are more willing to accept religious heterogeneity and less insistent that it is better for a country if everyone shares the same customs. In Europe as in the United States, strong feelings of national pride boost opposition to immigration, and definitions of nationhood based on ancestry, nativity, and religion consistently are linked to opposition to multicultural-

"American identity is not so much waning as changing in tone."



Jack Citrin

ism and anti-immigrant sentiment. In Europe, too, the individual characteristics associated with stronger patriotism, ethnic conceptions of nationality, and opposition to multiculturalism are being older, having less formal education, and right-wing political identifications.

In responding to this demographic change, in the 1980s, European governments adopted the rhetoric and many policy prescriptions of the politics of difference. Yet a series of reports documenting the failure of immigrant integration and then the specter of terrorism has swung the policy pendulum from multiculturalism to assimilation. In 1999, no European country had civic integration policies emphasizing linguistic and cultural assimilation. By now most countries do, as governments are partly motivated by the mobilization of anti-immigrant sentiment by radical right parties. In the American political system, similar nativistic political reactions to liberal immigration policies have emerged at the state level, such as in Arizona and Alabama. The Tea Party movement is hostile to immigration and sympathetic to nativist ideas, and it has become a powerful faction in national Republican Party politics.

Rose-Colored Glasses?

Our analysis has portrayed a rosier future for American unity than the worrisome scenario envisaged by Samuel Huntington, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., and others. This is not to say that dark clouds do not exist. What to do about illegal immigration obviously looms large, with the polarizing effects of the status quo on Latinos versus other ethnic groups. On this and other issues relating to national identity, competing visions of America seem to be increasingly tied to party identification, in our view an undesirable prospect. The presence of cross-cutting cleavages within a consensus on fundamental values leavens national unity and democratic stability. So if the Republicans increasingly become an all-white party and the meanings of Americanism become tightly linked to party affiliation, the foundations of national unity surely become shakier. But the threat comes more from the political and economic inequality of African Americans and other minority groups and party polarization than from the increasing diversity of the population. The evidence is accumulating that today's immigrants are acculturating much as in the past.

National unity often is spurred by war and tragedy. World War II accelerated the assimilation of foreign-born Americans, helped reunite the North and South, and helped push the country toward desegregation. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, similarly sparked demonstrations of loyalty and solidarity that overrode customary social and political divisions. On the first anniversary of September 11, television devoted much of the

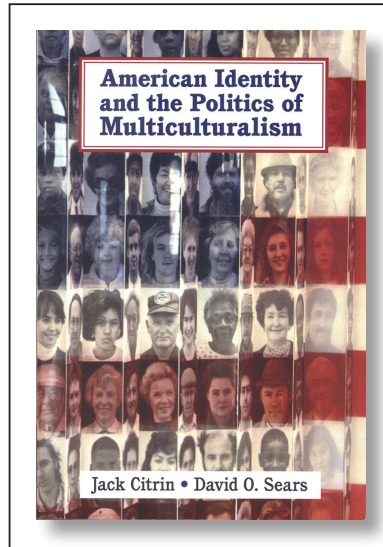
American Identity and the Politics of Multiculturalism

day to memorial ceremonies, reprises of heroism, and vignettes about the families of victims. Quite often, the commercial break in the collective process of national remembering was this pictorial statement from the Advertising Council of America: The Statue of Liberty fills the screen before fading into a montage of faces representing every ethnic strain. There is a recognizable Sikh, Latino, orthodox Jew, Asian, Caucasian, African American, and Arab. One at a time they proclaim, "I am an American." As the verbal mantra fades, the words *e pluribus unum* appear alone on the now-blank screen.

So are all multiculturalists now all assimilationists, both, or neither? If multiculturalism means the need to recognize a new social reality and eliminating discrimination against minority groups, most Americans are multiculturalists. If assimilation means the desirability of immigrant groups learning English and America's civic values, most are assimilationists. De-

finied in this way, it is easy to be both. And it is easy to be neither if multiculturalism means the permanent hardening of ethnic differences and assimilation means stamping out the voluntary practice of cultural pluralism.

As we look forward, then, it seems that American identity is not so much waning as changing in tone. The views of the young vanguard point to a less strident, less chauvinistic patriotism. The changed ethnic composition of society puts nativist and white-supremacist views increasingly on the defensive. And the assimilation of immigrants suggests that the distinctively high level of patriotism in America will endure and the specter of balkanization is a chimera. Don't give away your flag just yet. □



Director's Message from p. 2

Symposium focused on President Obama's standing as he heads toward the final two years of his tenure. On Cal Day, our library was packed with prospective Berkeley students and their parents, who heard a panel of former Matsui Center Fellows talk about how their experiences at IGS led them to their current careers.

Our suite of student programs provided extraordinary opportunities to Berkeley undergraduates and graduate students. The Synar and Percy grants funded student research at all levels. The Howard, Martin, Underhill, and Muir awards recognized student achievement. The Gardner Fellowships offered 10-month national fellowships to three graduating seniors. And the Matsui Center programs provided almost 40 undergraduates with the chance to complete intensive internship programs in Washington, Sacramento, and local governments throughout the state.

There are always changes for any organization, and this year was no exception at IGS. Tom Mann's arrival brought a wealth of experience to the Institute. It would be an understatement to say that Tom was one of Washington's most astute and prominent observers, and he has brought that national profile to IGS. Two of our senior managers departed. Associate Director **Marc Levin** retired after more than 30 years with the university, and Administrative Officer **Barbara Campbell** left to take another position on campus. Both Marc and Barbara did a wonderful job, and I want to wish them both well in their next endeavors. **Ethan Rarick**, the director of our Matsui Center, has taken on the additional title

of Associate Director of the Institute, and my former executive assistant, **Katherine Nguyen**, has been appointed as the new administrative officer. **Whitney Mello** has joined the Institute as my new executive assistant, and we look forward to hiring a director of external programming later this year. In all, I believe these new appointments will allow IGS to continue our tradition of staff excellence.

Finally, I must note the passing of **Merv Field** earlier this year. Merv, who founded the poll that now bears his name, was a legendary figure in American public opinion research and more specifically in California politics, but he was also a particular friend to Berkeley and to IGS. He served as a regent's professor, and beginning in 1956, he lodged the Field Poll's raw data with the university. More recently, we conducted our first IGS Poll in conjunction with the Field Poll. Indeed, a striking sign of the longevity of Merv's career is that he first polled in the election of 1948, and gave his final talk at IGS only a few months ago. Although he never graduated from college, Merv was in the truest sense a scholar—a lifelong student who never stopped learning, thinking, and analyzing. There are no better models for those of us who seek to understand America's public issues, and I will cherish Merv's memory as we carry the mission of IGS forward into the future. □

Gardner Fellows . . .

Every year three graduating Berkeley seniors are chosen to serve as IGS John Gardner Fellows, matching them with a senior-level mentor for a 10-month internship in public service. The Gardner Fellowship, one of the university's premier fellowships for graduating seniors, provides the fellows with the opportunity to explore public service as a potential career.

Danny Murillo

Major: Ethnic Studies

Hometown: Norwalk, California

Service Interest: Education in prison, re-entry & higher education

Berkeley Experience: Danny graduated from Berkeley with a bachelors degree in ethnic studies with a focus on race and prisons. While attending Cal, Danny was a Ronald E. McNair and George A. Miller Scholar. His research interest looked at the disproportionate rate of suspension and the criminalization of black male students in Oakland's public schools. In addition Danny was a Peter E. Haas Public Service Leader at the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, where he was the national policy intern on a community-driven research project that addressed the economic impact of incarceration on communities of color. Danny was also the co-founder of the Underground Scholars Initiative, a student association dedicated to support Berkeley students who have been personally impacted by incarceration. The mission of the Underground Scholars is to create alternatives to criminalization and incarceration.

Other Service Experience: "In the summer of 2013 I became a spokesperson against the use of long-term solitary confinement. I took an active role as media representative during the California prison hunger strike. In October 2013 I participated on a panel discussion with Juan Mendez, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on torture, where we discussed the inhumane treatment of solitary confinement in California prisons."

Fellowship Goal: "As a John Gardner fellow I would like to continue the work I have begun as an undergraduate student at Berkeley, which is to create a space where formerly incarcerated people can transform their lives through education and have the potential to inform incarceration policy and practice nationwide. I envision myself working with a nonprofit organization that advocates for and collaborates with people who are presently and



formerly incarcerated. I want to work with an organization that incorporates education as a re-entry resource for currently and/or formerly incarcerated people."

Post Fellowship Plans: "My post fellowship plans are to pursue a Ph.D. in ethnic studies or American studies with a focus on the racialization of solitary confinement and the criminalization of cultural and political identity within the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation. My plans for employment are to become a professor and participate in the creation of a prison-to-university pipeline within the University of California system. I believe that education is a vital resource to help transform the lives of formerly incarcerated people."

Commitment to Service: "My commitment to service is grounded in my life experience of growing up in communities impacted by economic displacement, gang violence, and structural racism. Claiming this personal history has been a challenging experience; however, I have been able to use my past as a catalyst for self-improvement, collaborative learning, and community organizing. I want to utilize my civic and natural leadership skills to engage in a critical dialogue, through collaborative learning across cultures and communities with the purpose of upholding the human and civil rights of people who are presently and formerly incarcerated."

Danielle Poretz

Major: Theater and Performance Studies; Peace and Conflict Studies; Global Poverty and Practice Minor

Hometown: Santa Cruz, California

Service Interest: Public Arts Engagement and Community Development

Berkeley Experience: Danielle arrived at Berkeley impassioned to work within the arts and public service. She immediately was drawn towards BUILD within the Public Service Center, through which she served as a literacy mentor in various Oakland elementary schools, and Theater for Charity, which uses original theater to raise money for other campus service organizations. Over time, Danielle found more opportunities on campus to combine her interest of public service with the arts through V-Day at UC Berkeley; From the Field to the Table, an Urban Bush Women project surrounding the intersection of food politics and social justice; Open Lab: Identity and Belonging with the Department of Theater, Dance, and Performance Studies; Cal Performances; and her own theater organization, Change Theater Collective. One of the most influential parts of Danielle's Berkeley experience was the Global Poverty and Practice minor, which shaped her beliefs about working with and entering communities and promoting conversation and collaboration within social justice work.

An In-Depth Look at Public Service

Other Service Experience: Throughout her time at Cal, Danielle has volunteered with the San Francisco Mime Troupe, a local theater for social change collective, interned with Young Aspirations/Young Artists Inc. in New Orleans, and in her final year, she rounded out her public service experience in the public sector with an internship in the Office of Congresswoman Barbara Lee.

Fellowship Goal: Danielle is excited to fully submerge herself in the world of art and civic engagement, exploring the work that is being done to promote access within the arts, the ways through which art is being used to change facets of the public sphere, and imagining more possibilities for change within both the arts and the public sphere.

Post Fellowship Plans: Danielle plans to continue her ongoing education within the intersections of art and social justice, while remaining actively engaged in her community.

Commitment to Service: “Service is about participating in the process of building and growing one another as well as the world in which we want to live. Through service we work in community: coming together with our own positions and experiences in order to engage, collaborate, and promote social justice.”



Paras Shah

Major: History; Political Science

Hometown: Mission Viejo, California

Service Interest: Disability rights, transitional justice, international affairs

Service Placement: Human Rights Watch

Berkeley Experience: Paras graduated from Berkeley with honors in history and political science. Over four years he actively participated in student government as a senior associate justice for the ASUC, worked as a resident assistant, and co-directed the Cal in the Capital program. Additionally, Paras served as external vice president of Kappa Alpha Pi Pre-Law Fraternity. He has written for Berkeley’s newspaper, *The Daily Californian*, and conducted research with the UC Berkeley War Crimes Studies Center. For two years, Paras was the co-founder and president of a campus group, Embrace, which fundraised to provide incubators to premature infants in the developing world. Paras is a proud four-time recipient of the California Alumni Association’s Leadership Award.

Other Service Experience: Paras is legally blind and his lived experiences have provided a deep appreciation for our nation’s legacy of civil rights legislation. This past summer Paras interned with the United States Department of Justice’s Civil Rights Division in Washington, D.C., where he assisted in enforcement and implementation of the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). In the past he was a political intern in the District Office of Congresswoman Loretta Sanchez. He enjoys volunteering, sports, and a good book. After graduation, Paras intends to obtain a graduate degree and engage with antidiscrimination policy, human rights advocacy, and international affairs.



Fellowship Goal: Paras’s fellowship goal is to dismantle the stigma that surrounds disability, both in the United States and around the globe, by working with laws such as the ADA and encouraging cross-cultural exchanges to explore the commonalities and intersectionalities of differences across society.

Post Fellowship Plans: When the fellowship concludes, Paras intends to continue a lifelong commitment for disability rights advocacy. He looks forward to graduate school and a career focused on serving others.

Commitment to Service: “To me public service is about empowering others, to walk in their shoes without assumption, but with respect and empathy for the unique and multiple identities and spaces we all hold. The goal is to observe, understand, and act; for I cannot be free until those around me enjoy the same rights and those rights are made real.” □

Seeing the Nation's Capital Up-Close

This year's Matsui Center Washington Fellows interned in the White House and two of the country's most prestigious think-tanks. Here are excerpts from blog posts describing their experiences. To read more of the Matsui Center's blog, go to: matsuicenter.wordpress.com.

Felippa Amanta

White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders

"During my internship I had the honor of meeting Secretary of Education Arne Duncan. Since the White House Initiative on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders is housed under the Department of Education, the interns are also subject to the Department of Education's internship program. The program provides opportunities to attend insightful brown bag lunches with various people at the Department, including Secretary Duncan himself.



Arne Duncan with Felippa Amanta

"We talked about the things that are relevant to us as college students, such as the extreme hike of college tuition, the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) on college campuses, funding and support for Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) recipients, and also the department's plan toward implementing a college rating system. On all of these issues, he admitted there's still big room for improvement.

"He ended on a very inspiring and thought-provoking note for the interns, reminding us to stay grounded and connected to the community because in the end, all the work that we are doing is for the community and for public service."

David Mkrtchian

White House Council of Economic Advisors

"I left the nation's capital in a whirlwind of work that left me exhausted but content. I left D.C. with a desire to return to policymaking soon. One of the most rewarding experiences of my life has been seeing how work can become policy. I also left D.C. with a much greater respect for politicians. Many of them work tirelessly and are subject-matter experts. Furthermore, these politicians are gifted speakers. You never truly appreciate how much a politician dances around landmines while cogently communicating until you are made aware of those landmines.

"My last month in D.C. I had quite a few interesting experiences. I met the former prime minister of Armenia, as well as the chair of the Council of Economic Advisors, Jason Furman. Finally, I was lucky enough to meet the distinguished Congresswoman Doris Matsui. I remain indebted to her and her husband for giving me this amazing experience."



David Mkrtchian in front of the White House

Learning and Working in the Nation's Capital

Brandon Wong

American Enterprise Institute

“AEI has 3 main policy areas—defense, economics, and social policy. I worked in social policy under the education department, conducting research on how to improve No Child Left Behind (NCLB). NCLB was a bipartisan policy signed into law by President George W. Bush in 2002 that was designed to improve student achievement. The law had two basic components: teacher quality and assessment of students. Though NCLB sounded nice on paper, it actually had the perverse effect of making schools worse. The guidelines for ensuring that students were taught by a “highly qualified teacher” (an actual phrase in the law) varied state-by-state and were not all that rigorous. Moreover, a laser-like focus on student assessment came at the expense of schools becoming more akin to memorization factories than to institutions of true learning.

“There are some provisions that are worthwhile, such as requiring that schools publish data by social group, sex, and income level so that we can systematically determine if some students need more attention. However, the law as written must be reformed if it is to actually help students in any meaningful way. It just so happens that Congress needs to reauthorize NCLB, which has not happened in over seven years (clearly, the law was unpopular). The education team and I have been writing a series of one-pagers about different aspects of NCLB, why the law failed, and what could be done to improve it. We will be presenting these one-pagers to Capitol Hill staff for members to consider as they begin their work in the 114th Congress. There is already some activity in this vein in the Republican-controlled Congress, but I sincerely hope that my small contribution could improve the educational landscape for America’s youngest minds.”



Brandon Wong with Rep. Doris Matsui

Summer Dong

The Wilson Center

“The Library of Congress was one of the biggest incentives behind my UCDC application. As my work at the Wilson Center picked up, I became a frequent patron of the LOC. My boss, Richard McGregor, asked me to check out all articles in the *People’s Daily*, the official Chinese Communist Party newspaper, in the early 1960s that talked about Sino-Japanese relations. Sounds like something that would take me a hundred years, right? Well, that would have been the case without the LOC. Fortunately, the LOC had subscriptions to many Chinese-language academic databases that include the digital versions of almost all influential Chinese newspapers. So people may type in keywords, select a time range, filter by sources, and click “search.” Then all is well—except that sometimes the database will only show you the title of the article that contained what you want, not the entire thing. But the LOC never stops surprising you. You can then ask a librarian to bring you the microfilm of that particular month’s *People’s Daily* and you can read it on a special microfilm scanner/projector.

“The LOC has microfilm of every single issue of the *People’s Daily* from the first copy in 1948 to, perhaps, last month. And this, of course, is just a tiny part of the LOC’s treasures. By the mass quantity of its collections and awe-inspiring design of the buildings, the LOC is definitely the No.1 library in the world, and I feel quite fortunate to have been able to utilize the LOC as a solid brick in building my internship and my own research.” □



Summer Dong with Richard McGregor

Matsui Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows . . .

Robert Nuñez

Robert Nuñez is a UC Berkeley senior studying political science and media studies. He interned in the office of Senator Ricardo Lara.

“When we talk about wanting or recognizing the benefits of a more diverse legislature, it’s not just some minority movement, or an issue of pride in which we all want our own team to win. The diversity I have seen in the Capitol is necessary for the health of a democracy in a diverse state like California. If there were a legislature composed completely of conservative white males who understood the issues that my family and I have had to endure, and created effective solutions that allowed my family and me to thrive, then I would be proud to call them my elected officials; unfortunately, as seemingly simple as it is to empathize with a person’s struggles, it’s far more difficult to truly understand what it actually feels like, and act accordingly. I have the privilege of getting to intern for Senator Ricardo Lara, a powerful man of color, and openly part of the LGBT community, who sits on some of the most powerful committees in the legislature, including chairing the Appropriations Committee. The senator, his staff, and many of the other persons of color I have met at the Capitol truly embody a knowledge of the struggles I have had to face. If not by logic, they have been able to understand my issues by heart, by a raw emotional humanity which adds an extra dimension to politics.”



Sen. Ricardo Lara with Robert Nuñez

Kerida Moates

Kerida Moates is a UC Berkeley junior studying political science. She interned in the office of Assemblymember Catharine Baker.

“This summer, I had the opportunity to attend the College Republican National Committee’s 61st Biennial National Convention in Washington, D.C. Not only did I have the opportunity to hear prominent political figures such as Rand Paul, Elise Stefanik, Grover Norquist, and Tom Price, but I also was able to meet other college Republicans from across the nation.

“What I found most interesting about this convention was the presence of not just inspiring political figures, but inspiring women. One of the very first speakers of the convention was presidential candidate Carly Fiorina. In her limited speaking time, there was no uneasiness in her voice as she stated that it was time to bring the conversation of feminism to the Right. It was thrilling, and yet shocking, to witness such a powerful woman embrace the Republican Party. Carly Fiorina was then followed by Elise Stefanik, the youngest woman to ever be elected to the U.S. Congress. Both were followed the next day by Dana Perrino, who is best known as George W. Bush’s White House Press Secretary. After being fed countless stereotypes about the supposed Republican ‘war on women’ by many Berkeley students, it was refreshing to see such inspirational and powerful women in the Republican Party.”



Assemblymember Catharine Baker with Kerida Moates

Inspiration in California's Capital

Laura Jessica Douglas

Laura Jessica Douglas is a UC Berkeley senior studying political science and global poverty & practice. She interned in the office of Assemblymember Sebastian Ridley-Thomas.

“This is your bill. I need you to become an expert on Medi-Cal services for Autism Spectrum Disorder (ASD) in the next two weeks.’ Having no previous experience in the health insurance industry, ASD, or mental health in general, it was a challenge understanding all of the different components of applicable state and federal healthcare insurance law, regulations regarding what services can and cannot be provided through the different Medi-Cal providers, and assessing the cost and scope of expanding the program to those currently not served, all while working with our bill sponsor to navigate the legislative process as we sought to push our bill through the many hurdles of our California Legislature.

“I learned and did so much. My office entrusted me with everything from tracking votes to staffing legislative meetings with constituents to working on my own bills. They taught me the inner workings of the legislative processes, took me around the Capitol to various offices and introduced me to people, and were wonderful in inviting me to the myriad of events, press conferences, and hearings that mark a life in the political sphere.”



CIS Fellows Nour Hamida and Laura Jessica Douglas

Jessica Paduganan

Jessica Paduganan is a UC Berkeley junior studying sociology. She interned at the California Department of Justice eCrimes unit.

“The first day was more than just exciting and stressful, explorative and fun; it was absolutely terrifying, overwhelming, and tiring. My internship at the Office of the Attorney General, eCrimes division is going to change my life. Beyond learning legal terms, writing case briefs, and doing research, I had to read 50 pages a week in outside books that I was tested on weekly. I had to make hard deadlines for memos and briefs that I never had experience with before. I had to learn and do things that I hadn’t done before.

“I knew going into this internship that I would be signing up for an intensive eight-week program that was going to challenge me. But as I got off of the light-rail at the end of the first day, the only words I could think of to describe how I felt were exhausted and terrified. As part of the internship we were reading *One L* by Scott Turow, a true story of a first year at Harvard Law School. In the first 25 pages he describes how overwhelming, stress-inducing, and anxiety-filled those first few days were. To be completely honest, I felt oddly similar. I had four assignments due at the end of the week, a reading assignment and a pre-law quiz before that. It was day one. This was going to be quite a bit of work both physically and emotionally, but I could not have been more excited. This opportunity of a lifetime is more than I could have asked for.” □



Jessica Paduganan (second from left) with DOJ Fellows

Matsui Center... Local Government Fellows

Matsui Local Government Fellows are Cal students who receive a stipend from IGS' Matsui Center to work in local government for a summer, exploring the brand of government closest to average citizens. These students gain valuable experience as they learn more about public service.

Gladys Rosario

Placement: Alameda County Office of Education

Major: Political Economy

Gladys Rosario will be a senior this fall majoring in political economy and minoring in global poverty and practice. She is concentrating on socioeconomic inequality in the United States for her major and education for her minor. She is interested in learning about how to reform education through local government and policymaking, specifically in regard to low-income, immigrant, and minority communities. She has previously interned at the U.S. Department of Education and worked as a literacy tutor at Rosa Parks Elementary. Her current work involves helping the Women's Economic Agenda Project, a nonprofit based in Oakland, mobilize for their political education trainings that take place throughout the Bay Area.



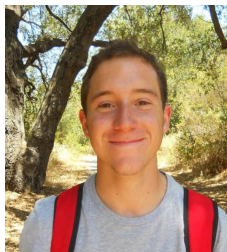
"Last summer I interned at the U.S. Department of Education, and I was able to help their mission move along from a bird's-eye view. At the local level, I can more closely observe the educational process. Advocacy groups, nonprofits, labor unions, and community members are right at the helm of the county's work, and it's fascinating to see how they interact and work together."

Zachary Raden

Placement: West Oakland Environmental Indicators Project

Major: Sociology

Zachary Raden graduated this spring with a degree in sociology, with a focus in social movements and environmental sociology. Passionate about environmental justice and social theory, Zachary aims to address inequalities by working within academic/government institutions and by playing an active role in organizing within disadvantaged communities. He has been active within the various organizations concerning the Gill Tract Community Farm in Albany, such as the Gill Tract Farm Coalition, Occupy the Farm, and SEAL (Students for



Engaged and Active Learning). By expanding outside sociology into the field of environmental science policy management and continuing his role in both academic and environmental organizations, he hopes to bridge the gap between understanding social inequality and alleviating it.

"It became clear to me that my work at the internship would not be predictable, and that it would constantly be changing depending on what was needed, what resources were available, and the current political climate. However, my first task was to define and measure 'social cohesion indicators,' as they could specifically be applied to West Oakland. As a recent sociology graduate, it was music to my ears as it combined my passion for environmental justice with a framework and skill-set of sociology."

Korbi Thalhammer

Placement: Sacramento County Department of Regional Parks

Major: Forestry and Natural Resources

Korbi Thalhammer will be a sophomore this fall in the College of Letters and Sciences. He is focused on conservation and environmental protection and is particularly interested in the intersection of scientific research and public policy.



"As an intern at the Sacramento County Department of Regional Parks, I've been tasked with developing and implementing a system of mapping and categorizing informal social trails in the American River Parkway. The mapping and classification will provide a concrete means of assessing recreational impacts on the parkway's natural resources, which include deer, quail, valley oaks, and other native flora and fauna. The trail assessment will play a major role as part of the resource impact monitoring plan called for in the 2008 American River Parkway Plan. The plan's Resource Policy 3.4 requires that the monitoring plan, which has proved exceedingly difficult to develop, 'clearly define criteria and standards to monitor, evaluate, and protect the parkway's resources.'

"My supervisor has sent me to numerous parts of the parkway to expose me to the dramatically varied landscape and informal trail conditions that exist in the various parts of the river corridor. Trails weave through prickly thickets and curtains of reeds. They cut swaths through otherwise impenetrable walls of star thistle. Trails flow over stretches of rocky riverbeds left dry in these years of drought. It's all of these trails that need to be classified, cataloged, and mapped in order to provide a scientific understanding of where recreation can be encouraged and where it must be curbed for the good of wildlife." □

Obama Unleashed? Or Obama Rejected?

Has President Obama become a lame duck, or, freed from the need to seek re-election, has his second term allowed him to pursue a more vigorous agenda?

That was the basic question addressed this spring by the traditional IGS Presidential Symposium, which as usual drew a large crowd to Banatao Auditorium.

The panel included **Cathleen Decker**, national politics editor at the *Los Angeles Times*; **Steven F. Hayward**, the Ronald Reagan Professor of Public Policy at Pepperdine University; **Thomas Mann**, IGS Resident Scholar and senior fellow in governance studies at The Brookings Institution; and **Ann O’Leary**, senior policy advisor to Hillary Clinton and co-founder of the Opportunity Institute.

The panelists agreed that Obama has been an assertive president. O’Leary cited Obama’s negotiation toward a nuclear-arms limitation agreement with Iran and his executive order raising the minimum wage that must be paid by federal contractors. Hayward mentioned that while Obama’s clean power plan may be challenged in court, it was evidence that the president was exerting greater executive authority over independent federal agencies.

Decker addressed the nuances of the question itself, emphasizing that with the exception of George W. Bush, people have not seen presidents operate in highly polarized times. She suggested that perhaps the real concern is whether, in 20 years, people will view Obama with a gentler eye or will be set in their current views about him.

The panelists then went on to address their hopes and expectations for the current Congress, in which Republicans hold a majority in both the House and Senate.

“There’s a longing in both parties to say, how do we get back to the time where there were serious hearings and things got

done?” O’Leary said. “We truly did have a committee coming together, and it’s true that for the last 10 years that hasn’t happened.”

“What you need is a willingness to receive and consider new information where you consider the other party a legitimate player in the democratic process,” stated Mann. “The fact is, with one party so absolutist and doctrinaire and oppositional, it makes it hard for the system to operate consistently.”

Decker brought up how polarized media and a lack of competitive districts allow everyone to go to their corners and never be challenged in their beliefs, making it much more difficult for people to reach an agreement.

While the panelists reached a consensus that the system is broken and that Obama has been a successful president so far, the experts held different views on whether Obama has been underrated for working in this broken system. Decker said people’s views of the president depend on why they wanted him as president in the first place.

“There’s sort of a division between the people who like the idea of Obama and what he represented and then there’s the people who believed what he said when he was running, and expected him to achieve it all and they think he’s not quite so good anymore,” explained Decker. “Right now he is essentially closing the circle on his promises from 2008. A lot of the things that didn’t get accomplished at the congressional level are what he’s working on with executive action.”

Hayward, Mann, and O’Leary concluded the president’s greatest legacy will be the Affordable Care Act, but Decker believed Obama, the first nonwhite president, will be remembered as the first representation of the new America. □



Thomas Mann and Cathleen Decker



Ann O’Leary and Steven Hayward

Supporting Student Research . . .

Each year, IGS supports research by both graduate and undergraduate students at Cal through the **Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowships** and the **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grants for Public Affairs Research**. Funded through the generosity of IGS National Advisory Council Chairman **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**, these awards allow Berkeley students to meet travel and other expenses as they research American politics.

Synar Grants

Doug Ahler

“Political Perception in the Polarized Era” (Political Science)

Doug Ahler’s research investigates American citizens’ perceptions of mass-level political parties. He shows that ordinary Americans believe Democrats and Republicans to be more socially and politically distinct than they actually are, and that such perceptual errors affect their own political opinions and feelings toward out-party supporters. Doug used Synar funds to conduct a population-representative survey of Americans, with which he found that people vastly overestimate the degree to which Democratic and Republican supporters are composed of party-stereotypical social groups.

Olivia Chilcote

“Beyond Recognition: Native California Identity and the Federal Acknowledgment Process” (Ethnic Studies)

Olivia Chilcote’s dissertation analyzes the connection between the Federal Acknowledgment Process, a standardized process used by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to acknowledge tribes as sovereign nations, and community identity as it materializes in California. This research interrogates what it means to place tribal understandings of identity at the center of federal Indian law and policy and examines how new perspectives on law and policy emerge when community-centered ideas of identity engage legal status. The Synar Grant is helping Olivia complete her dissertation research by supporting her travel to San Diego to conduct interviews with the tribal community.

Laurel Eckhouse

“Police and the Citizen-State Relationship: Accountability Mechanisms, Democratic Control, and Equal Access to Law in the United States” (Political Science)

Laurel Eckhouse’s research asks how accountability mechanisms in policing change police activity and citizen-state relationships. Her dissertation investigates the reciprocal relationship between policing and political engagement, finding that it both reflects and amplifies inequalities in political access. The Synar

Grant will fund a survey examining public preferences about law enforcement activity.

James Lin

“Sowing Seeds and Knowledge: Development Discourses in the U.S., China, Taiwan, and the World 1920–1975” (History)

James Lin’s research explores the dissemination of American science and ideas about development into the Third World. Starting in the 1920s, American agricultural scientists began working on preventing famine in China, where they developed a range of techniques from surveying wild crops, selecting and breeding high-yield varieties, and disseminating those through agricultural extension. These practices would later form the backbone of international development during the Cold War, and they reflect contemporary ideas about how to improve agrarian societies and how to become “modern.” The Synar Grant will help in completing Lin’s dissertation research.

Christian Phillips

“Double Binds and Triple Threats: Race, Gender, and Immigration in American Elections” (Political Science)

Christian Phillips’ research examines the emergence and success of American candidates for state legislatures and Congress, in order to learn whether candidates engage with electoral processes, organizations, and institutions in ways that are distinctive to their gender, race, and demographic context. Her dissertation focuses on the rise of Latino and Asian-American candidates in the last two decades in particular. She is using the funds from the Synar award to conduct in-depth interviews with successful candidates and conduct on-site case study research.

Percy Grants

Rodolfo Rivera Aquino

“Revisiting the Hollow Prize: The Descriptive-Substantive Representation in City Government” (Political Science)

Beginning in the 1970s, minorities gained political incorporation in city government. Lauded as a step towards equality, this prize was made hollow by the economic conditions that besieged cities during the larger part of the 20th century. Rodolfo Rivera Aquino’s research delved into whether minority descriptive representation in city government, during a context of growth, resulted in substantive representation. The Percy Undergraduate Grant allowed him to conduct interviews with public officials and community leaders of both Bakersfield and Santa Ana.

Polarization, Race, Ballot Access, and More

Alex Mabanta

“The Effect of Disability and Gender Perception on Political Trust and Voting in the United States” (Political Science; Rhetoric)

According to the U.S. Census, disabled Americans represent 19.3% of the population and constitute one of the largest minorities. In spite of this, only 11 members have served either house with a disability in the past 100 years of congressional history. This study aims to understand what is motivating underrepresentation of disabled politicians. The Percy Grant enabled survey respondents to be compensated and also funded the broadening of the survey to measure the effect of gender on attitudes held towards disabled politicians.

James McVey

“A Text-Based Approach to Policy Groups’ Influence on the Legislative Process” (Political Science)

James McVey’s research focuses on how policy groups attempt to influence the legislative process. With this project he is looking at testimony presented by various groups before Congress. Using a text analysis approach to this testimony over time allows him to observe how partisan changes in congressional leadership affect the testimony presented by various groups. Observing this along with policy outcomes can bring further understanding of the legislative process and how policy groups attempt to influence that process.

Ava Mehta

“Forming a More Perfect Union: Election Law and Ballot Access in the United States” (Political Science)

Throughout the past decade, state and county legislatures across the U.S. have enacted contentious voting laws that may greatly restrict ballot access. In her study, Ava Mehta examines the extent to which these voter laws affect voter turnout during elections. The Percy Grant has played a most vital role in Ava’s research by enabling her to purchase and learn to use Stata software, which is necessary to run regressions on voter turnout and election data.

Suhasini Ravi

“Analysis of What Consumers of Internet News Are Learning about the Patient Centered Outcomes Research Institute” (Public Health)

An outcome of the Affordable Care Act that was signed into law in 2010 was the establishment of the Patient Centered Outcomes Research Institute (PCORI), a nonprofit organization with the mission to provide patients with comparative effectiveness research (CER) on various treatment options for a given diagno-

sis. The goal of PCORI is to improve the quality of care patients receive and, perhaps, lower the costs associated with ineffective or harmful care. Suhasini Ravi’s project utilized various media sources and the most popular returns on Google News searches to provide an indication of what consumers of internet news are learning about PCORI, and more broadly comparative effectiveness research (CER). Suhasini used the funds from the Percy Grant to support her efforts in coding PCORI media content and establish reliability of her results.

Stephanie Zgouridi

“Zero-Day: The Theory and Politics of Security in America’s Schools” (Political Science; History)

For the last 20 years, school shootings in the U.S. have been on the rise. Rather than discuss policy-related matters such as gun control laws or mental health regulation, Stephanie Zgouridi’s research will focus on the political theories that buoy or justify such policies in the first place. Her work hopes not only to find the most suitable theory by which to begin informing more effective policies, but also to help bridge the growing gap between political theory and political practice. Her grant award will be used to fund a trip to Washington, D.C. in order to visit the Library of Congress. □



James Lin, Alex Mabanta, James McVey, Laurel Eckhouse, Rodolfo Rivera Aquino, Doug Ahler, Ava Mehta, Christian Phillips, Olivia Chilcote

Harold Smith Seminars . . .

The Middle East, Nuclear Weapons, Space, and the All-Volunteer Force

IGS focuses its lens on national security and international affairs through its Harold Smith Defense and National Security Seminar series, and this year that series took in-depth looks at critical issues such as the status of the Middle East and the future of nuclear weapons.

This spring, retired U.S. Army General **John Abizaid** discussed the U.S. role in the continuing conflicts in the Middle East, as well as other areas of concern in current U.S. foreign relations, including China and Russia.

Abizaid, who served in the United States Army for 34 years and was the longest-serving commander of the United States Central Command, began by outlining some of America's main concerns in global relations today. He predicted that future competition with China will not only express itself economically, but also through military means, and that the United States is becoming increasingly concerned with Russia's interest in its neighboring regions, namely Georgia, the Caucasus, and areas of Central Asia. However, Abizaid emphasized the need for a larger role in the Middle East.

"In 2001, there was no doubt we had to get involved in the Middle East because our economic health—and the world's economic health—depended on it," said Abizaid. "Yet the situation in the Middle East today is very different. The United States wants to care about China and Russia but we need considerable power back in the Middle East region."

"There are nine countries with nuclear weapons, and eight of those countries are modernizing their weapons. The United States is the only country not modernizing its weapons."

—Paul Bracken

Abizaid described how Sunni Islamic extremist groups, including Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and Boko Haram, have grown in size, scope, and interests. For the first time, radical Islamic groups control territory, have governance, and may have the means to continue expansion. Abizaid mentioned that in the Sunni Islamic world, people are gravitating toward Sunni extremism because they feel there is nowhere else to turn to have a better future.

"Right now we're in the third inning and this problem of Sunni Islamic extremism has yet to play itself out," stated Abizaid. "I'm not saying Islam has become extreme. I'm saying the extremist power has grown and will continue to be a factor that we need to be attentive to. The question for the United States is: what can we do about it?"

Abizaid said the United States needs to find centers of moderation in the Middle East to work with, stating that there are moderate nonreligious sources of power in the region.

"Sometimes you need to stand for something instead of saying it's all up to them," concluded Abizaid. "We have to make ourselves reliable."

Earlier in the spring semester, Yale political scientist **Paul Bracken** spoke about international order in what he calls the post-Cold War "Second Nuclear Age."

Bracken described the first nuclear age as a time of "head games" between nations, during which no nuclear weapons were actually ever fired. Bracken probed the audience to consider how



Above: David Kennedy, Kevin Chilton, John Abizaid; opposite: Paul Bracken

IGS Looks at Defense and National Security

the world could prevent crisis in the second nuclear age, noting that “we got through the first one with some skill and some luck.”

Bracken then placed some facts on the table, listing the nine world countries with nuclear weapons—North Korea, China, Indian, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, France, Great Britain, and the United States—and providing some details about many of the smaller nuclear-armed states. North Korea currently holds about 15 atomic bombs; China is building certain kinds of ballistic missiles; India has long-range missiles that can reach Beijing; Pakistan is the fastest-growing nuclear power in the world today; Iran has enough uranium to build one or two bombs; and Israel probably has 100 to 150 nuclear weapons.

Bracken described the global nuclear scene to show that the United States is currently the odd one out.

“There are nine countries with nuclear weapons, and eight of those countries are modernizing their weapons,” Bracken emphasized. “The United States is the only country not modernizing its weapons.”

Bracken believes that the world has entered a second nuclear age, showing parallels between former President Harry Truman’s foreign policy attempts and President Barack Obama’s foreign policy attempts. Between 1945 and 1948, President Truman tried to establish an amicable relationship with America’s allies, but by 1948 realized the Soviet Union would not be a partner for peace. In 2009, President Obama called for the abolition of nuclear weapons, but since then these nuclear weapon-holding countries have only improved and modernized their forces.

Bracken reminded the audience to analyze a few questions when examining the second nuclear age, asking whether the lessons from the first nuclear age can be applied to the second and perhaps whether new dynamics would show up in the age to come.

After breaking into a question-and-answer session with the clearly captivated audience, Bracken left his audience with a final word of advice regarding the second nuclear age.

“Don’t look at the likely scenarios only,” Bracken said. “Look at the unlikely.”

The fall semester featured two Smith seminars. Stanford scholar **David Kennedy** spoke about the United States’ all-volunteer military, and his view that the increasing distance between the military and the rest of the society sometimes encourages presidents to use military force more frequently. Retired Air Force Gen. **Kevin Chilton** spoke about national security challenges related to the use of outer space and cyber security. □



Leadership Change . . . Breaking Down Ranked-Choice Voting

Last fall, just as voters in Oakland were about to go to the polls and pick a new mayor, IGS examined the complicated voting system they were going to use: ranked-choice voting.

Oakland first introduced ranked-choice voting (RCV) in its 2010 mayoral election, which saw Jean Quan, a relative outsider, emerge as the winner despite heavily favored Don Perata leading by a sizable margin in the initial tally.

In the 2014 election, which of course was eventually won by Libby Schaaf, voters had to navigate among a large field of candidates using the complex voting system. To shed some light on the complexities, IGS organized a panel including **Corey Cook**, then an associate professor of politics at the University of San Francisco; **Matt Gonzalez**, the chief attorney in the San Francisco public defender's office; **Peggy Moore**, the campaign manager for Schaaf; and **Dan Lindheim**, the former city administrator for the city of Oakland and a member of the IGS National Advisory Council.

In ranked-choice voting (also known as instant-runoff voting), primary elections are eliminated, and voters have the option to rank their top three candidate choices. If one candidate receives a majority of first choice votes, he or she is declared the winner. If nobody gets a majority, the last-place candidate is eliminated, and everybody who voted for that candidate as their first choice will now have their second choice counted. This process is repeated until a single candidate reaches a majority.

Cook noted that in the Oakland system, the counting stops once one candidate reaches a majority, so that in the final results, some votes are still allotted to candidates who are not in the top

two. That means that nobody knows the true final margin between the winner and the second-place candidate, as they would in a traditional run-off election.

"It is an odd thing that we won't know how much someone won by," Cook said.

Another issue Cook raised was that uninformed voting populations potentially negate the benefits of RCV, because they may not know enough to properly rank the candidates.

However, Moore said there is a benefit to RCV, saying that RCV forces nominees to be more active in reaching out to their nontarget communities. She said, "with ranked choice I, [as a campaign manager], have to talk to everyone," because it's no longer just about being a voter's number-one choice. Campaigners and candidates are out there asking people, "Make me your number two or number three," Moore said. □

"It is an odd thing that we won't know how much someone won by."

*—Corey Cook
University of San Francisco*



From left: Dan Lindheim, Peggy Moore, Matt Gonzalez, and Corey Cook

Check Up for Obamacare

IGS Looks at Healthcare Reform

In the 2008 presidential contest, candidate Barack Obama made healthcare reform a cornerstone issue of his campaign, and as president—despite fierce partisan opposition—he was able to sign the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (better known as ObamaCare).

Few policy debates have attracted more energy in the years since the act was signed, and this year IGS turned its attention to Obamacare with a conference, “Check Up for ObamaCare: Implementation and Prognosis.”

Professor **Will Dow** of the Berkeley School of Public Health opened the conference with “A Status Report on the Affordable Care Act” that set the stage for understanding the policy issues, accomplishments, and future challenges associated with this landmark national health care reform legislation.

The first panel, moderated by **Ann C. Keller**, associate professor of health policy and management at Berkeley, featured **Katherine Schwartz** of Harvard, **Richard M. Scheffler** of Berkeley, **Jeffrey Rideout** of Covered California, and **Gary Cohen**, a consultant.

The four panelists discussed the ongoing implementation of Obamacare and how it has been changing the health insurance policies in California and the nation as a whole.

Scheffler summarized the situation, explaining that insurance carriers working with Covered California are now offering narrower networks that exclude high cost providers in an effort to reduce costs. While this could lead to a shift towards lower prices and increased benefits, Scheffler noted that the narrower networks make it more confusing and more difficult for consumers to find providers covered under their plans.

The second panel, “A View from the Trenches,” was moderated by **Lisa M. Suennen** of the IGS National Advisory Council and included **L. Wade Rose** of Dignity Health, **David Douglas** of Douglas Parking, and **Ken Wood** of Blue Shield of California.

Wood confirmed Scheffler’s comments by speaking about Blue Shield’s experience in rebuilding their provider networks. “We decided we wanted to approach all our providers—65,000 providers—and see if they were willing to work with us recogniz-

ing the required lower reimbursement rate to get there . . . and we have 60 percent of our doctors now in a network.”

Douglas contributed a different perspective by describing how his company has benefited from Obamacare. Douglas Parking used to be one of the few parking companies to offer insurance to its employees, but with the new changes, they’ve been able to do away with company insurance policies and now reimburse most of their employees for their own policies. This reduced costs significantly and removed the hassle of paperwork and enrollment periods for the company while keeping it competitive.

In the last presentation of the conference, moderator **John Ellwood** of the Goldman School discussed the public reception and its effects in politics with **Mollyann Brodie** of the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, the pollster **Peter D. Hart**, and IGS Resident Scholar **Thomas E. Mann**.

The common theme of the third panel’s discussion and the conference as a whole was that there are very few people who truly understand the changes. When polled, according to Brodie, it appears that public opinion has not changed much since the Affordable Care Act was signed into law in 2010.

Hart continued this stream of thought, saying that healthcare has taken a backseat in debates and that there are more pressing issues dominating national politics.

Mann described efforts by congressional Republicans to repeal Obamacare as a tactic to mobilize the GOP’s base, influence swing voters, and keep the status of the ACA in doubt.

On moving forward in terms of dealing with healthcare, Rose said that when he was

helping to promote the ACA, one question they asked themselves was, “What is it in the American psyche that has prevented [America] from doing what we know should be done [in healthcare]?”

Rose and his colleagues polled Americans, asking “How do you image health care?” The general response was, “It’s the single physician with a bag and he’s got a white coat. . . . You open the bag and the guy’s got a stethoscope—but he doesn’t have an MRI device, he doesn’t have gene therapy, he doesn’t have electronic medical records. So the reality is that the metaphorical image of health care has to change in order for people to get comfortable with change.” □



“The metaphorical image of health care has to change in order for people to get comfortable with change.”

*– L. Wade Rose
Dignity Health*

California Votes 2014...

The California political community gathered as always at this year's IGS elections retrospective.

The "California Votes 2014" conference continued a quarter-century tradition of in-depth examinations of each gubernatorial election. This time, the two-day event was expanded to take in the entire election cycle in the state—not just the campaign between Gov. Jerry Brown and challenger Neel Kashkari.

The Brown-Kashkari race still featured prominently and was the topic of a two-hour panel that closed the conference, but other sessions examined turnout, the new top-two elections system, the growth and impact of independent expenditure campaigns, the state of the parties, and local ballot measures. Amy Walter, national editor of the Cook Political Report, delivered a keynote address looking ahead to the 2016 election, especially the presidential race.

As usual, the conference drew widespread media coverage and brought to IGS about 250 members of the state's political community. The event was generously sponsored by ALZA Strategies; California Professional Firefighters; Calkin Public Affairs; Fidens Group; Google; KP Public Affairs; Lucas Public Affairs; Nielsen Merksamer; Pandora; Remcho, Johansen & Purcell; Susie & Steve Swatt; and Wells Fargo & Co.

Later this year, IGS will publish a book based on the edited transcript of the conference, which will be available on Amazon.

The discussion of the gubernatorial race described a battle between a veteran governor so seasoned by political experience that he didn't even run a traditional campaign and a newcomer willing to spend millions of dollars of his own money to capture his first elected office.

Kashkari campaign strategist Aaron McLear said the Democratic challenger wanted to return to public service after serving at the U.S. Treasury Department during the Bush Administration. But

the Kashkari campaign knew from the beginning that victory over Brown would be an extraordinary upset.

In fact, Kashkari almost lost in the primary, when conservative Assemblymember Tim Donnelly mounted a vigorous run. McLear maintained that prominent Republicans did not want the party represented by Donnelly in the fall election—they feared he would drag down GOP fortunes across the country, McLear said—and so they mounted an independent expenditure campaign on Kashkari's behalf. At the same time, Kashkari spent his own money to revive his campaign, and emerged as the victor from the primary.

In the general election, Brown was so certain of victory that he campaigned for favored ballot measures rather than for himself—a kind of campaign that might serve as a model for future elections, said Brown strategist Ace Smith. Dana Williamson, the governor's cabinet secretary, went so far as to describe Brown's effort as an intentional "noncampaign."

Below is an excerpt from a *Sacramento Bee* story, reprinted with permission, that identified five lessons drawn from the conference discussion of the gubernatorial race. For another write-up based on the conference, see pages 4–5 for a piece by Amy Walter, "Changing the Way We Vote Isn't Getting More People to Vote."

1. Brown, who held few traditional campaign events and ran minimal advertising in his thumping of Kashkari, wanted to "do a train trip" before the general election, said Dana Williamson, Brown's cabinet secretary. She did not elaborate, but this would have been Brown's take on the traditional bus tour or campaign fly-around, which Brown used in the final days of his 2010 campaign. Brown's advisers scuttled the plan.

"We said that was a bad idea," Williamson said.



An IGS Tradition Continues

2. Kashkari might not have spent a week posing as a homeless man in Fresno had the mayor of that city, state controller candidate Ashley Swearengin, developed a relationship with Kashkari ahead of time, according to Kashkari adviser Aaron McLear. He said Kashkari's team reached out to Swearengin "several times" and didn't hear back. He said Kashkari's campaign picked Fresno because of the city's economic problems and did not give any thought to how highlighting the location might affect Swearengin's campaign.

"If we had established a relationship with (Swearengin), it might be different," he said.

3. Everyone suspected this, but there was more than a medical reason behind Kashkari's argument about whether he should be allowed to stand—not sit—for the only general election debate. McLear, who said at the time that Kashkari had a bad back and would be more comfortable standing, suggested Saturday that a bigger reason was tactical.

"The reason he wanted to stand and not sit on a stool was because he felt like he needed to be more assertive and more aggressive during that debate," McLear said.

Debate organizers resisted, citing production concerns, and the candidates ended up in seats. McLear said after the panel discussion that Kashkari's bad back was also a consideration in his desire to stand.

4. Kashkari, a prolific user of Twitter, was given a list of Twitter handles, including consultants for the opposition, with whom he could not engage in back-and-forth online.

McLear said an early effort to get Kashkari to run tweets by his advisers, however, failed, lasting only about an hour.

5. Also from the Twitter files: The popularity of Brown's dog, Sutter, has rubbed off on other politicians. Kashkari maintained a social media presence for his massive Newfoundland dogs,

Newsome and Winslow. McLear joked, "We saw the Sutter Brown play, and we were just trying to run that same play."

He added, "It wasn't as effective."

—David Siders, *Sacramento Bee*

Photos starting opposite page moving counter-clockwise: Carla Marinucci, Alma Hernandez, Seema Mehta, Tracy Zeluff, Maureen Ervin and Larry Tramutola, Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, Ross Bates, Ruben Barrales, Christy Wilson, Karen Getman, Douglas Rivers, Mark DiCamillo, Mindy Romero, Marty Wilson, Shawnda Westly, Paul Mitchell, Cynthia Bryant, Cassandra Walker Pye, and Laiza Garcia.

Photos: Peg Skorpinski



To watch a webcast of the conference panels, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/california-votes-2014 and click on "Event Videos."



IGS Academic Honors



Graduate Students Win APSA Awards

Two IGS graduate students were honored during the past year with awards from the American Political Science Association. **David E. Brookman** won the Lawrence Longley Award for the best article published in the previous year for “Black Politicians Are More Intrinsically Motivated to Advance Black Interests: A Field Experiment Manipulating Political Incentives,” which was published in the *American Journal of Political Science*. **Janna Rezaee** won the Founder’s Award in honor of David Naveh for the best paper by a graduate student for her paper, “OIRA: The Other Edge of the Sword.”

Other members of the IGS community were also honored by APSA. Professor **David J. Vogel**, who serves as chair of the IGS Faculty Advisory Committee, won the Lynton K. Caldwell Award for the best book on environmental politics and policy published in the last three years for *The Politics of Precaution: Regulating Health, Safety, and Environmental Risks in Europe and the United States*. **Jonathan Koppell** of Arizona State University won the Herbert A. Simon Best Book Award for a significant contribution to public administration scholarship for *World Rule: Accountability, Legitimacy, and the Design of Global Governance*. **Jake Bowers** of the University of Illinois won the Warren Miller Prize for the best article in political analysis for “Reasoning about Interference in Randomized Studies.” **Larry M. Bartels** of Vanderbilt won the Warren Miller Prize for his outstanding contributions to the field of elections, public opinion, and voting behavior. Koppell, Bowers, and Bartels all received their doctorates at Berkeley and were IGS Fellows during their graduate careers at Cal.

Sam Wetherell Wins Underhill Fellowship

Sam Wetherell is the 2015 recipient of the R. Kirk Underhill Graduate Fellowship, which provides a \$30,000 stipend to a

Berkeley graduate student whose research focuses on U.S.-U.K. affairs. The award is part of the IGS Anglo-American Studies Program. Wetherell is working on a dissertation that charts the end of Britain’s social democratic welfare state in the late 1970s and Britain’s transition to a more globalized, flexible, and service-oriented economy through a changing built environment.

Sandra Farzam and Brandon Wong Win Muir Award

Political science majors **Sandra Farzam** and **Brandon M. Wong** have been named the 2015 winners of the William K. (Sandy) Muir, Jr. Leadership Award. The Muir award is given to deserving Berkeley undergraduate students who have demonstrated a high level of academic distinction and a strong commitment to being a leader in campus, community, or public affairs. Both Farzam and Wong graduated *summa cum laude* this spring.

Farzam served in campus leadership positions with the Berkeley chapter of the Model United Nations and founded a new campus club, called Peace Talks, which serves as a debating society for students to find common ground on national and international affairs. She worked for several professors in the Berkeley Law School as a research assistant investigating employment discrimination cases, and she served as an intern for state Sen. Fran Pavley in Pavley’s district office.

Wong spent the spring semester this year serving as a Matsui Center Washington Fellow, interning at the American Enterprise Institute. At AEI he worked on a comparative national study on early childhood education and on a research study exploring the effectiveness of private vocational training academies that teach software programming. In 2014 he was selected as a Matsui Local Government Fellow and spent the summer interning for the Orange County district attorney’s office.



From left: Sam Wetherell, Sandra Farzam, Brandon Wong, Sean Freeder, Aaron R. Hall

Sean Freeder Wins Howard Prize

Sean Freeder won the 2015 David M. Howard Memorial Prize in American Politics. Freeder attended the University of Washington before enrolling as a doctoral candidate in political science at Cal. His dissertation research explores why certain policy preferences are highly correlated with other seemingly unrelated preferences, and the relative degree to which individual moral values, party identification, and social affiliations are responsible for such outcomes. In addition, he has ongoing research projects that assess how to best communicate expert information to the public, the degree to which citizens are able to hold local elected officials responsible for changes in crime rates, and the effect of vote-by-mail policies on voter turnout. The Howard Prize is named after the late Dave Howard, a California political expert and strategist who served on the IGS National Advisory Council. The prize goes to an IGS graduate student studying American politics.

Aaron R. Hall Wins Martin Prize

Aaron R. Hall is the 2015 recipient of the Fred Martin, Jr. American Political History Award. A graduate of Amherst College and Harvard Law School, Hall is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History at Cal. He is working on a dissertation titled: *A Constitutional Sublime: Claiming the Founding in Antebellum America*, which explores the development of constitutional consciousness in early American history. The Martin award is named in honor of Fred J. Martin, Jr., an IGS Visiting Scholar and the author of a history of the election of 1864. Each year the award recognizes an especially distinguished graduate student who is researching American political history. □

IGS Graduate Students Uncover Fraud

Diligent work by a pair of IGS graduate students this spring prompted the retraction of a blockbuster political science study that had been published in the journal *Science* and widely reported in the media.

When published last year, the initial study made national news because the results suggested that gay advocates for same-sex marriage could change voters' opinions about the issue, and that the change would be sustained over time.

But IGS graduate students **David Broockman** and **Joshua Kalla** found apparent flaws in the study's data and contacted the study's senior author, Donald Green, a political scientist at Columbia who had been their mentor when they were undergrads at Yale.

Green reviewed the material from Broockman and Kalla, who had also sought the assistance of Yale scholar Peter Aronow. Green's co-author, UCLA graduate student Michael LaCour, who had provided the data and analysis for the original research, could not provide the data, and Green asked *Science* to retract the study. The journal did so, and Princeton later rescinded a job offer to LaCour, who appears to have fabricated other aspects of his CV along with the data for this study.

Broockman has said he was initially impressed by the study, and that he and Kalla later sought to follow up on it with similar work of their own. But they could not replicate the results, and later found serious irregularities in the original study.

The blog Retraction Watch broke the story in late May, and since then the incident has been reported by many national news outlets, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and *The New Yorker*.

Broockman, who this summer began serving as a faculty member at Stanford, and Kalla, who is still a doctoral candidate at Berkeley, plan to continue their research, and are studying the potential for canvassing to increase support for transgender issues in Florida.

Portions of this article appeared initially on the Berkeley NewsCenter. □



David Broockman



Josh Kalla

IGS Mourns the Passing of **Merv Field**

Merv Field, the legendary pollster with many ties to IGS, passed away this spring at the age of 94. Field, the founder and namesake of the Field Poll, received the Institute's Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award in 2012 for "advancing the spirit of good government and improving the quality of public affairs of California and the nation."

Field also previously served on the IGS National Advisory Council and spoke at the Institute countless times on many subjects. His final appearance at IGS occurred just a few months before his passing, when he appeared on a panel discussing the 2014 elections.

Field had many additional ties to Berkeley. He served as a regent's professor, and beginning in 1956, he lodged the Field Poll's raw data with the university. Now maintained by Berkeley's UC DATA, the Field data are available for research use by students, faculty, and staff of the University of California and California State University systems, and, after a brief waiting period, by members of the general public.

"Merv Field was not only a pioneer in public opinion research, he was also a valued supporter of the University of California and IGS," said the Institute's Director, Professor Jack Citrin. "His commitment to sharing his data with university researchers was just one of the many ways he demonstrated an unwavering belief in transparency, accuracy, and careful analysis. His countless collaborations with IGS proved again and again that he was dedicated to understanding public opinion, and to advancing that understanding among both scholars

and the general public. He was a friend to all of us at the Institute, and we will miss him deeply."

The Field Poll, which has operated since 1947, has long been recognized as one of America's leading measures of public opinion.

In 2010, and again in 2014, Nate Silver's influential *fivethirtyeight.com* web site ranked The Field Poll among the top three U.S. polling organizations in pre-election polling accuracy. Field received numerous awards, including two from the Northern California Chapter of the American Marketing Association. The first, in 1956, was for his "Field Index of Advertising Efficiency," which rated the success of newspaper advertisements in attracting and holding consumer attention. The second, in 1971, was for "Outstanding Service to the Profession of Marketing Research."

In selecting Field as one of 30 men and women who had the greatest influence on California government and politics in the 20th century the *California Journal* observed: "Over the past half century, Field and his Poll have defined California politics: he has been the man who explained Californians to one another and the nation." □



IGS National Advisory Council... New Members

New Members Join IGS Advisory Council

This year four new members joined the IGS National Advisory Council, which provides guidance, support, and advice for the Institute's programs.

Laiza Garcia currently serves as the PAC Director with the California Association of Realtors, handling the political resources for one of the top trade associations in the state. Before joining CRE-PAC, Garcia worked for the New York State Assembly and the Council of State Governments, Western Office. In 2014 she was selected for CalNewsroom's list of the "Capitol's 100 Best & Brightest." Garcia was a protégée of the late Dave Howard, a member of the IGS National Advisory Council before his untimely passing, and she is a strong supporter of the Institute's David M. Howard Memorial Prize in American Politics. The prize, established in 2012, rewards outstanding graduate students conducting innovative research in American political behavior or public policy.



Eugene "Mitch" Mitchell is vice president of state government affairs for San Diego Gas & Electric (SDG&E) and Southern California Gas Co. (SoCalGas), Sempra Energy's California regulated utilities. Based in Sacramento, he is responsible for state governmental affairs for both California utilities. Prior to his current position, Mitchell was regional vice president of external affairs, responsible for public affairs and external affairs activities for SDG&E. Prior to joining SDG&E in 2005, Mitchell served as vice president of public policy and communications at the San Diego Regional Chamber of Commerce. Previously, Mitchell was director of governmental relations for American Medical Response, the nation's largest ambulance transportation firm. From 1996 to 1997, he served as assistant director of governmental relations for the San Diego mayor's office under Mayor Susan Golding, and before that was



director of governmental relations for the San Diego City Fire Fighters Local 145 IAFF.

Chris Patterson is the political director of the California Professional Firefighters, the statewide organization representing 30,000 emergency responders. Patterson directs CPF's strategies related to federal, state, and local candidate elections; manages independent expenditure and ballot measure campaigns; and helps oversee CPF's state legislative program. Prior to joining CPF, Patterson ran his own public affairs business focused on health care, worked as a strategist for the political consulting firm JPM&M, Inc., and served as communications director for the California Primary Care Association. He also served as deputy political director for State Treasurer Phil Angelides' campaign for governor in 2006, and, prior to that, served as a staff aid in Governor Gray Davis's Appointments Office.



Linda Yeung currently serves as the director of People, Performance, and Development at the San Francisco International Airport. Yeung's government, private, and nonprofit experience include serving as deputy city administrator for the city and county of San Francisco, as well as positions in the San Francisco controller's office, Southern California Edison, Rebuild LA, Linda Griego for Mayor campaign, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's Office, and Office of U.S. Trade Representative. Yeung has been honored to participate in the Leadership America program and United Nations Global Platform for Disaster Risk Reduction in Geneva, Switzerland. She was the recipient of the John Gardner Public Service Fellowship from IGS, Coro Foundation Public Affairs Fellowship, Patricia Roberts Harris Public Service Fellowship, and Phi Beta Kappa. She is a graduate of UC Berkeley. □



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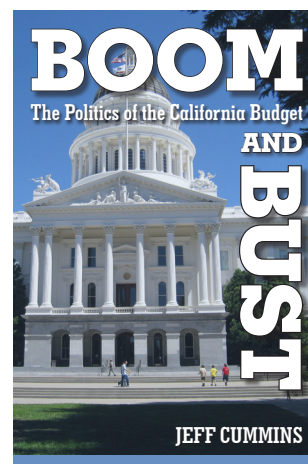
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