

# UC Berkeley

## Public Affairs Report

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Photo: Tim Porter

## Peter Hart and David Gergen Speak at Salon Dinner

Two of the country's top political analysts offered a candid assessment of the Obama presidency at the annual IGS Salon Dinner this spring.

Longtime White House advisor **David Gergen** and nationally known pollster **Peter Hart** appeared together at the sold-out event, which was hosted by the Institute's National Advisory Council.

Gergen and Hart shared their observations in a candid, off-the-record discussion that ranged from President Obama's leadership style to the rise of the Tea Party movement.

About 200 people packed the Julia Morgan Ballroom of the Mercantile Exchange Building in San Francisco for the event, which was generously underwritten by National Advisory Council member **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**.

For the first time, IGS also honored two people with awards at the gala. **William K. Coblenz** received the IGS Distinguished Service Award, given in recognition of a career that has "contributed to advancing the spirit of good government and improving the quality of public affairs for our state and nation." **Grant T. Harris** received the Outstanding Young Alumni Award, which recognizes a Cal alum who graduated within the past 15 years and who "has achieved distinction and prominence through professional achievements or public service that advanced international, national, state, or community welfare.

For more on the entire evening—including the presence of a California political legend—see pages 16 and 17.

## IGS Goes Green — PAR Goes Digital

To keep up with IGS, please sign up to receive the new digital version of the *Public Affairs Report*. Go to the Institute's website, [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu), and click on the link to **subscribe** to the digital *PAR*.

Why a digital *PAR*? First, we want to do our part for the environment. Second, in an era of scarce resources, we want to save money whenever possible. So for both reasons, we will be sharply reducing the frequency of the printed *PAR*.

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

Ethan Rarick, Editor  
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# DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

journal, and even creating a new website about constitutional reform in the state. You can read about all this and more in these pages.

Of course, many of these programs were made possible through the continued contributions of the Friends of IGS and the development efforts of the National Advisory Council under the leadership of Chairman Darius Anderson.

I also want to inform you about a few developments for the coming academic year.

I am happy to announce that Professor Terri Bimes has agreed to expand her role at IGS and to assume the position of Assistant Director of Research. In this capacity, she will be instrumental in exploring new research opportunities for the Institute and in organizing and leading a range of conferences that are planned for the coming year.

And I am announcing that Marc Levin's new title will be Associate Director of IGS and Head of Development. Marc has served as Assistant Director for 15 turbulent years, during which his service has been instrumental to the ongoing success of the Institute. In the last several years he has taken on important new responsibilities both in overall management and in development.

I am sorry to say that we lost one of our important staff members this spring when Corey Flynn moved with her family to Pittsburgh. But we were delighted that Jennifer Baires, who previously worked at IGS as the Matsui Center Program Assistant, agreed to replace Corey. We were also delighted this spring when we were able to retain Gleb Podkolzin as the Business Tech Support Analyst.

To keep up with IGS in the future, please subscribe to the new electronic version of the *PAR*, which will be emailed to you several times a year. Simply go to the IGS website, [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu), and look for the subscription link on the front page.

Since our founding in 1919, IGS has been pursuing research, education, and public service. With your help, I know we will meet the current challenges and continue our important work for another 90 years.

## IGS Looks to the Future

Jack Citrin



We are pleased to send you this print edition of the IGS *Public Affairs Report* and summarize the work at the Institute during the 2009–10 academic year.

We experienced an extraordinary year at IGS. Our undergraduate students gained practical political experience by working everywhere from the White House to the state Capitol to San Francisco's City Hall.

Thanks to the generosity of Bill Brandt and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, we expanded our program of research grants to undergraduate and graduate students. Our graduate students and affiliated faculty members conducted innovative research, resulting in numerous publications and national awards.

We staged major events examining the national political scene, the problems facing California, and the unique U.S.-Canadian relationship. We initiated a new lecture series in U.S. foreign and defense policy in collaboration with the Institute of International Studies.

We hosted distinguished visitors such as former Congressman Vic Fazio, longtime presidential adviser David Gergen, bestselling author Mark Halperin, and leading public opinion pollster Peter Hart, a valued member of our National Advisory Council.

And we continued to inform the public debate by publishing books, producing our online

# New Members Join IGS National Advisory Council

The **IGS National Advisory Council** has added nine new members since 2009. "We continue to add new members to the Council on a regular basis," said IGS Director **Jack Citrin**. "We deeply appreciate their willingness to serve, and we benefit tremendously from their time and talents."



**Christopher Carr** is a partner at the law firm of Morrison & Foerster and is the co-chair of the firm's Cleantech Group and Land Use and Environmental Group. Carr has focused his practice on permitting and litigation under the federal Endangered Species Act, the Clean Water Act, the National Environmental Policy Act, and their California counterparts. Carr received his B.A., J.D., and Ph.D. from Cal.



**David Choi** works on jobs and economic development issues for San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom. He was previously chief of staff to Oakland Mayor Ron Dellums, and before that worked for California Gov. Gray Davis, Pennsylvania Gov. Edward Rendell, Washington Gov. Gary Locke, and New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg. He also worked in

the White House during the Clinton Administration. He holds a B.A. in sociology from Cal.



**David DeGroot** is special counsel at Sheppard, Mullin, Richter & Hampton. After graduating from Berkeley Law in 1993, he began his practice as a trial attorney at Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro and then opened his own practice. He joined Sheppard, Mullin in 2001. DeGroot is president of the San Francisco Chapter of the Federalist Society. He previously worked in the New York City Department of City Planning and as a community planner in Flushing, Queens.



**Bevan Dufty** serves on the San Francisco Board of Supervisors representing District 8, which includes Noe Valley, the Castro, Glen Park, Diamond Heights, Duboce Triangle, Dolores Park & San Jose/Guerrero, and Buena Vista Heights neighborhoods. He was first elected to the board in 2002 and reelected in 2006. He holds a B.A. in political science from

Cal, where he was the student body co-president.



**Shaudi Falamaki Fulp** joined the Chevron Corporation in 2009 in the company's Policy, Government, and Public Affairs division in Sacramento. In this role she develops strategies and advocates on a broad range of issues before California policymakers. Prior to Chevron, Fulp was with KP Public Affairs.

She also served as an advisor to Sacramento Mayor Kevin Johnson's transition team. Fulp earned a double major with honors from Berkeley.



**Eric M. George** is a partner at the law firm of Browne Woods George, based in Beverly Hills, where he specializes in civil practice that includes all aspects of litigation related to complex business transactions, intellectual property, real estate, malpractice, civil rights, and constitutional issues. Previously George served as counsel for the U.S. Senate Judiciary

Committee and as deputy legal affairs secretary for California Gov. Pete Wilson.



**Robert W. Naylor** is a partner at Nielsen, Merksamer, Parrinello, Mueller & Naylor, specializing in government law. He previously served eight years in the California Assembly, including three years as Assembly Republican Leader. After leaving the legislature, Naylor served two years as chairman of the California Republican Party. He has been a delegate to

ten Republican National Conventions.



**Karen Skelton** founded the California office of the Dewey Square Group—one of the country's leading public affairs firms that specializes in political strategies and communications, energy, green tech, and environmental policy. Skelton worked in the White House during the Clinton Administration on the political staff and served as director of political affairs for Vice President Al Gore. She received her J.D. from Berkeley Law.



**Susie Swatt** is the communications director for the California Fair Political Practices Commission. She has authored three highly acclaimed reports detailing the influence of money in the political process. Before joining the FPPC, Swatt worked for more than 30 years in the California Legislature.

# A Summer in California's Capitol

More than 30 Cal students headed to Sacramento this summer as part of IGS' **Cal-in-Sacramento** program, learning about the Golden State's political environment firsthand. Students worked in the legislature, the offices of statewide elected officials, state agencies and even a nonprofit organization dedicated to getting more women into elected office.

"Cal-in-Sacramento gives students a chance to roll up their sleeves and get to work in the public policy trenches," said Ethan Rarick, the director of the **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, the branch of IGS that oversees Cal-in-Sacramento. "If you want to learn about policymaking in California—the good, the bad, and the ugly—there is no better place to do that than Sacramento."

Among others, Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows worked this summer for Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Attorney General Jerry Brown, Treasurer Bill Lockyer, Superintendent of Public Instruction Jack O'Connell, Senate President Pro Tem Darrell Steinberg, and Sen. Loni Hancock, whose Berkeley district includes the University. In state agencies, students worked on issues such as transportation, health care, education, and energy.

Cal-in-Sacramento is one of IGS' fastest-growing programs. Applications have tripled in the last three years, and this year the

program was expanded to admit 31 students, eight more than last year.

"Thanks to the generosity of our donors, Cal-in-Sacramento offers an extraordinary opportunity to learn about politics," Rarick said. "Word has spread around campus, and students want to be part of this program."

Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows are always well-prepared: The



Dick Ackerman, Liz Figueroa

semester before their internships they take a course in California politics taught by the IGS Legislators-in-Residence. This year, the course was co-taught by former Sen. **Liz Figueroa** and former Senate Republican Leader **Dick Ackerman**.

It was Ackerman's second year as a Legislator-in-Residence, and Figueroa joined the team this year.

"Joining Cal provided me with an exciting opportunity to work with some of California's brightest young students," Figueroa said. "Working in partnership with Dick Ackerman made the experience even more appealing."

## Cal-in-Sacramento—Where Fellows Worked

### Executive Offices

Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger – Danny Healow  
Attorney General Jerry Brown – Delwin Lau, Yvette Osumah, Bonnie Zeng  
Treasurer Bill Lockyer – Alejandro Ruiz  
Superintendent of Public Instruction Jack O'Connell – Adrian Lee

### Senate

Sen. Loni Hancock – Hanna Snider  
Sen. Carol Liu – Lindsay Walter  
Sen. Gloria Romero – Jesse Sanchez  
Sen. George Runner – Jessica Burns  
Senate President Pro Tem Darrell Steinberg – Giancarlo Leonio, Dao Nguyen  
Secretary of the Senate's Office – Bruce Wilson



Hanna Snider and Sen. Loni Hancock

Figueroa, a Democrat, served 12 years in the California Legislature representing parts of the East Bay. She has served on the California Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board since leaving the legislature. As a legislator, she served as the chair of the Senate Committee on Business and Professions, the Joint Legislative Sunset Review Committee, and the Senate Select Committee on Commercial Technology. She was a member of the Senate Committees on Transportation, Health and Human Services, Insurance, and Industrial Relations. She also served on the Senate Select Committee on Bay Area Transportation and the Senate Insurance Committee's Subcommittee on Managed Care Reform. While in the Assembly, Figueroa chaired both the Insurance Committee and the Select Committee on Aerospace.

Figueroa was named Legislator of the Year by numerous organizations, including the March of Dimes, the American Academy of Pediatrics, the Association of Retarded Citizens, Leadership California, and the California National Organization for Women.

Ackerman is a Cal alum (class of 1964), who later served as a Fullerton City Council member and mayor before being elected to the legislature. He served in the Assembly from 1995 to 2000 and in the Senate from 2000 to 2008. From 2004 to 2008 he was the Senate Republican Leader, participating in budget and other negotiations with the governor and other legislative leaders. During his time in the legislature, Ackerman also served as vice chair of the Assembly Natural Resources Committee, the Assembly Judiciary Committee, the Senate Budget and Fiscal Review Committee.



2009-10 Cal-in-Sac interns with Liz Figueroa and Dick Ackerman on the floor of the state Senate

To learn more about  
Cal-in-Sacramento, go to:  
[politics.berkeley.edu/  
state\\_intern.html](http://politics.berkeley.edu/state_intern.html)

### Assembly

Assemblywoman Wilma Amina Carter – Owen Bubbers  
 Assemblyman Paul Cook – Erika Oblea  
 Assemblyman Joe Coto – Andrew Postal  
 Assemblyman Mike Eng – Jonathan Ma  
 Assemblyman Nathan Fletcher – Brian Beddingfield  
 Assemblyman Paul Fong – Karen Leung  
 Assemblywoman Diane Harkey – Katie Nelson  
 Assemblyman Steve Knight – Chris Odneal  
 Assemblyman Manuel Perez – Nick Huober  
 Assemblyman Anthony Portantino – Leslie Toy

### Agencies

Cal-EPA – Roxanne De La Rocha  
 Business, Transportation, and Housing Agency – Clayton Koo  
 Department of Managed Health Care – Margae Knox  
 California Energy Commission – Alan Miller  
 Little Hoover Commission – Remmert Dekker  
 Department of Education – Lucy Johnson  
 Health and Human Services Agency – Joanna Stedman

### Nonprofit Organizations

California Women Lead – Samantha Harrod

# IGS Research Grants to Honor Mike Synar and Senator Percy

*These projects represent the strong state of American politics research at UC Berkeley.*

Last spring the recipients for the **Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship** and the **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research** were announced for the 2009–2010 school year. For the full list of recipients and their research projects, see the box on page 7.

“The applications for the Synar Fellowship and Percy Grant were both exceptionally strong and diverse this year,” said Professor Terri Bimes, director of both programs. “I am particularly impressed with the range of methods being used, including quantitative analysis, interviews of elected officials and staff, public law analysis, historical archival research, and the use of brain scans to study political attitudes. These projects represent the strong state of American politics research at UC Berkeley.”

The Synar fellowship, a \$3,000 award given to students writing their dissertations on American politics, is made possible by a generous donation from **Bill and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt** (Bill Brandt is a member of the IGS National Advisory Board). The fellowship honors Mike Synar, the former

U.S. Congressman from the 2nd District of Oklahoma from 1979 to 1995. As a member of Congress, Synar was praised for his independent and critical voice and for his dedication to public service. He was first elected to Congress at the age of 28 and sadly passed away when only 45.

The Percy grant, an award of up to \$750 for each undergraduate conducting research in American politics, is administered through the Center for the Study of Representation at IGS and is also made possible by a donation from Bill and Patrice Bugelas-Brandt. Patrice joined Senator Percy’s Chicago Senate office in 1973 and served as his Illinois press secretary from 1974 to 1977. Percy served in the Senate from 1967 to 1985.

**Naomi Hsu**, a Synar recipient from the Department of Sociology, will work on her project, “Forever Non-Voters? Explaining the Paradox of Asian-American Underparticipation in Electoral Politics.” The Synar fellowship, Hsu said, will help pay for travel to southern California, where she hopes to conduct interviews with representatives of nonprofit organizations to

*2009–2010 Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research Recipients with the Percy/Rockefeller Family and the Brandt Family (from left to right): Roger Percy, Andrew Feher, Katerina Robinson, Penny Percy, Mikhail (Misha) Guttentag, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Charles Percy Rockefeller, Rachel Friedlander, Bill Brandt, Divya Musinipally, Joseph Mazzella, Cameron Percy*



gain insight into local-level processes of mobilization and empowerment.

**Alex Theodoridis**, a Synar recipient from the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science will work on his project, “Partisanship and Partisan Identity in Political Cognition.” His research will examine the implications of party identification, with a particular focus on the roots it has in social identity and how it shapes political cognition. He will use the Synar fellowship to fund experimental work in his field. In particular, he can immediately begin trials of the Implicit Association Test, which is designed to measure the extent to which a person’s

sense of “self” is cognitively linked to a political party.

**Andrew Feher**, a Percy Grant recipient and political science major, finished work on his project, “The Politics of Food Safety Regulation: Congress, the President, and the USDA.” Feher used his Percy Grant to travel to Washington, D.C. to interview officials in the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Food Safety and Inspection Services (FSIS), the USDA’s bureau charged with inspecting meat and poultry. His research examines how meat and poultry agribusiness shape public policy and what impact partisan control has on the number of food recalls the USDA issues. He finds that “authors who claim the entire USDA acts on behalf of the meat and poultry industry make a sweeping claim for which little evidence exists.” In addition, he concludes that “neither the Democrats nor Republicans can claim a strong track record as consistent combaters of food safety threats.”

Feher will begin studies this fall in the Ph.D. program in political science at University of Michigan, where he plans to study American politics with a focus on the political economy of agricultural regulation.



2009–2010 Mike Synar Graduate Fellowship Recipients, from left to right: Michael Salamone, Naomi Hsu, Bill Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Alexander Theodoridis, Jackie Bass (not pictured: Daniel Laurison)

### The Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research Recipients, 2009–2010

- **Andrew Feher** (Political Science) “The Politics of Food Safety Regulation: Congress, the President, and the USDA”
- **Rachel Friedlander** (Forestry and Natural Resources) “The American Way: An Analysis of the Farm Bill on the Price and Production of Corn”
- **Mikhail** (Misha) **Guttentag** (Political Science) “Congress, the Court, and the Corruption of Copyright”
- **Joseph Mazzella** (History) “The History of Mexican Immigrant Laborers: Post-WWI through the Bracero Program”
- **Divya Musinipally** (Political Science) “United We Stand: Wire-tapping and the Necessity of the Unitary Constitution in Foreign Affairs”
- **Katerina Robinson** (Political Science) “Power Shifts in Sacramento: The Effects of Term Limits on Legislative Staff”

### The Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship Recipients 2009–2010

- **Jackie Bass** (Political Science) “Things Fall Apart: Prosperity, Faith, and Division within the African American Community”
- **Naomi Hsu** (Sociology) “Forever Non-Voters? Explaining the Paradox of Asian-American Under participation in Electoral Politics”
- **Daniel R. Laurison** (Sociology) “Creating Politics: Viewpoints and Trajectories of Senatorial and Presidential Campaign Professionals”
- **Michael Salamone** (Political Science) “Public Perceptions of Judicial Unanimity and Dissent”
- **Alexander Theodoridis** (Political Science) “Partisanship and Partisan Identity in Political Cognition”



# Three New Gardner Fellows for 2010–2011 Announced

The Gardner Fellowship program was founded 25 years ago as a joint Berkeley/Stanford project honoring one of their mutual alumni: John Gardner, a distinguished public servant and social innovator who, among his many achievements during a long career, served as secretary of health, education, and welfare under President Lyndon Johnson, making key contributions to the development of Medicare. He earned his bachelor's and master's degrees in psychology from Stanford and his Ph.D. from Berkeley.

"The whole idea was hatched at a Big Game," said Terri Bimes, who teaches political science and co-administers Berkeley's end of the fellowship program through IGS.

According to Bimes, Berkeley's then-chancellor, Ira Michael Heyman, sat next to Donald Kennedy, Stanford's then-president, and by the final whistle the two had shaken hands on a plan for a fellowship that would encourage students from both universities to devote their lives to the kind of public service Gardner exemplified.

The Gardner Fellowship began with foundation and university funding, and a succession of Berkeley chancellors and Stanford presidents have supported it since its start. Each year, three about-to-graduate seniors from Berkeley, along with three from Stanford, are selected. They receive a \$27,500 stipend, plus travel and expense money, to cover 10 months working with a mentor in a U.S.-based nonprofit or government agency. IGS is pleased to announce Berkeley's three outstanding Gardner Fellows for 2010–2011.

## Christina Eloisa Markle

*Major:* Anthropology, minor in Public Policy

*Service Interest:* Service-Learning/Civic Engagement or Immigration/Asylum and Latin American-U.S. Relations

*Berkeley Experience:* Christina's service at Berkeley has stemmed from her experiences and leadership training through the Cal Corps Public Service Center for which she has been awarded the California Alumni Leadership scholarship and Bonner AmeriCorps award. In Spring 2009 she founded Inside the Living Room (ILR), an internship program for UC Berkeley students that in its first year has provided

over 1,000 hours of volunteer services to the East Bay Sanctuary Covenant (EBSC), a nonprofit that provides legal and social services to asylum seekers and refugees. She also expanded the program to include directorships for professional development, administration and finance, and public relations. Today, ILR runs academic and professional development workshops including an graduate and undergraduate student panel on current issues in Latin America, a resume workshop, cupcake fundraising for Haiti, and more.

*Fellowship Goals:* Christina would like to gain experience in "service-learning" at a federal level through the First Lady's initiative for civic engagement or in the immigration policymaking process through government or nonprofit agencies.

## Bobby Rosen

*Major:* Political Economy

*Service Interest:* Sustainable Development

*Berkeley Experience:* Bobby graduated *summa cum laude* in political economy with an independent concentration in sustainable development in Latin America. As one of two representatives for the political economy major within the inaugural International and Area Studies Student Representative Council, he helped establish a new level of student involvement in the administration of international and interdisciplinary programs at Berkeley. Before serving as a representative, he volunteered at East Bay Sanctuary Covenant (ESBC), a Berkeley-based nonprofit that provides asylum seekers and immigrants with a host of legal and social services.

He also spent five months studying abroad at the University of Buenos Aires in Argentina, conducting research on the political backlash that followed Argentine President Cristina Kirchner's 2008 decision to increase taxes on a variety of agricultural exports. As a



Pedro Spivakovsky-Gonzalez, Bobby Rosen, and Christina Markle

freshman and sophomore, he was a mentor at Emerson Elementary School, teaching math and reading skills to first and second grade students.

*Fellowship Goals:* Bobby would like to focus on international development. He is particularly interested in health and education reform, and hopes to gain a deeper understanding of the ways in which policies formulated in the developed world are implemented on the ground.

### **Pedro Spivakovsky-Gonzalez**

*Major:* Political Economy, Economics

*Service Interest:* Global Governance/Development Economics

*Berkeley Experience:* Pedro has served as president of the UC Berkeley Model United Nations (UCBMUN), an organization that teaches and provides opportunities for Berkeley students to travel to debate international issues. Pedro's interest in E.U.-U.S. relations has led him to work with the U.S. State Department in Spain and to study in a European Union program during his semester abroad in Germany. Through the UC Berkeley Washington Program (UCDC), Pedro conducted foreign and defense policy research on Iran and Russia with the American Enterprise Institute (AEI), and he is now writing an honors thesis on western media coverage of the 2008 Russia-Georgia war. Pedro has participated in service trips to Costa Rica and New Orleans and has traveled to Ecuador twice to help implement a student-led water and sanitation project in indigenous communities in the Ecuadorian Amazon. He has also served as Commissioner on Labor for the city of Berkeley, advising the city council on labor issues. Pedro speaks Spanish, Russian, French, German, and Galician. He is a 2008 Goldman Sachs Global Leader and a multiple-time Cal Alumni Leadership Scholar. In his spare time, he is an avid soccer player and Elvis Presley impersonator.

*Fellowship Goals:* Pedro hopes to understand the process of high-stakes international negotiation and to gain insights into the implementation of U.S. foreign policy. In addition, Pedro would like to examine the development work and humanitarian relief carried out by international institutions and organizations.

## *Gardner Fellow in a Hotspot*

Less than a year after graduating *summa cum laude* from Berkeley in Peace and Conflict Studies, 2009–2010 Gardner fellow **Sasha Pippenger** found herself living and working behind barbed wire in a guarded compound in one of the world's most dangerous cities—Islamabad, Pakistan.

She spent days behind a desk trying to prod sometimes-recalcitrant bureaucracies into action on behalf of some of Pakistan's three million internal refugees. Humanitarian colleagues were killed by a terrorist's bomb. Walking even one block on foot was out of the question, and she chafed at the restrictions she felt as a Western woman in an Islamic republic.



*Sasha Pippenger, Photo: Peg Skorpinski*

Despite all that, she said her three-month stint in Pakistan was “a dream job,” because she had landed a full-time position doing exactly the kind of humanitarian work she had been looking for.

# Student, Alum Make a Difference Working for Politicos



Sarah Belford, Mayor Gavin Newsom, Jennifer Siebel

**W**hat should a Cal student do during the hot summer days between semesters? Work at a frozen yogurt stand? Hang out with high school friends? **Sarah Belford** had other ideas—like working for the mayor of one of the largest cities in the country. Belford scored a 10-week internship in San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom’s office through the Local Government Internship program at IGS’ Robert T. Matsui Center.

The Irvine junior split her time 40–60 between the mayor’s press office and the legislative affairs office that acts as a liaison with the Board of Supervisors. “It’s really exciting,” said Belford. “My supervisors in each office make sure I get an educational experience out of the internship. So sometimes I will sit in on meetings with the supervisors and take notes.”

One particularly frenzied time in the office occurred when legislation requiring cell phone providers to disclose radiation levels emanating from their devices went before the board. Belford and other interns had to handle a flurry of press activity for the controversial measure. She was also in the office during the famously contentious budget process between late May and July, and she learned some valuable lessons just by observing the back-and-forth between the mayor’s office and the board.

Since the communications office has a small staff, many of whom left to work on Newsom’s lieutenant governor campaign, Belford and other interns were thrown into a number of substantive, challenging job roles. Besides handling press inquiries, Belford was responsible for updating social networking tools like Twitter, YouTube, and blogs, putting together legislation binders for the mayor to read, and tracking press coverage of the mayor’s key issues. She even had enough time to take a summer class in comparative politics to make sure she fulfills all of the requirements of her ambitious double major.

Belford, a double major in political science and business administration

**A** decade ago **Julie Soderlund**, a Cal senior and Travers Fellow, was sure of one thing: she would definitely not be looking for a job in politics. So much for youthful plans. Today she is one of the most sought-after experts in California political campaign communications. She is currently working hard as **Carly Fiorina**’s press secretary to make sure Fiorina takes Barbara Boxer’s Senate seat in the November general election.

Soderlund’s journey from a Cal student who wanted to work in the business world to a savvy campaign specialist was marked by serendipity, a willingness to take on a challenge, a love of the political fight, and a lot of sleepless nights on the campaign trail.

After graduating from Cal with a political science and economics major and

a minor in business administration, the Santa Barbara native thought a job in business might suit her. But first she worked on a congressional campaign in 2000 for Claude Hutchison and spent a year in Mexico doing humanitarian work. After four months at a boutique financial services company in Lafayette, she came to a difficult conclusion: she was dead wrong about working in business.

“It felt very empty to me. So I did what any good Cal student would do—I emailed Dan Schnur.” Dan Schnur, a visiting instructor at Cal based at IGS as well as the newly appointed chairman of the state’s Fair Political Practices Commission, made sure Julie got a foothold in the dogfight that is California politics.

“Julie is a perfect example of how a young person can make a huge impact in politics and public service,” said Schnur.

“She was an outstanding student at Cal and has become one of the most respected campaign and communications experts in the state.”

While she worked at CommandFocus, a political consultancy Schnur co-founded, Soderlund developed an addiction to the adrenaline-pumping lifestyle of the campaign. By 2003 she was swept up in the recall election. And CommandFocus happened to have a lot of connections to both the Schwarzenegger and Peter Ueberroth camps.

“We called our office ‘Switzerland,’ because it was the place where Arnold’s people and the Ueberroth campaign could talk before Arnold even had an office.”

When Gov. Schwarzenegger was elected, she became his assistant (and later deputy) press secretary. “Working for the governor was an experience like none

(through the Haas School of Business), got connected to Newsom's office after talking to internship director Ethan Rarick about her interests and future plans. Next spring Belford will study business and economics at the University of Bocconi in Milan, Italy, as part of Cal's study abroad program.

Her internship experience was so fruitful that she hopes to find more in the next two summers, possibly working for a nonprofit or NGO. One of the highlights of the summer was getting to walk next to Mayor Newsom during San Francisco's famous Gay Pride Parade in June. "Walking down Market Street was pretty cool," said Belford.

Belford said that incoming Cal freshman and sophomores should be thinking about taking advantage of the many internship programs Berkeley has to offer. "You have to try to get as involved as possible, whether that's working for service groups, or getting internships," she said. "Take classes that interest you, and you're bound to find parallels between classes in political science and what you might want to do in your career."

other, just because of who he was and how he came into office," said Soderlund. "We would be working at 6 in the morning and leave 10 or 11 at night. We couldn't hold a press conference for a full year after he was elected because we had too many reporters covering him."

She spent much of her time working on ballot initiatives that the governor supported, but it was in 2006 when she joined his reelection campaign staff that she got a taste for the "big time."

"That's really where I developed an appetite for campaign politics," said Soderlund. "I had never had an experience working on a big campaign, with lots of people who all had different responsibilities. . . . It was an amazing experience, but grueling, too."

Soderlund said she committed to a career in politics when she realized that she could get the best of two different worlds. "I never saw myself as a campaign person or a communications person. I was more interested in policy initially, and I interned at the Federal Reserve to get that experience. But I realized that communications is the intersection of politics and policy. You can play a role in the policy process, but you get the fun part, too. You know, the hand-to-hand combat you do with the press and everyone else."

Soderlund joined the firm of Wilson Miller Communications in 2007 (and was promoted to partner in 2008) but also kept working on campaigns. She's especially proud of the governor's 2008 campaign to pass Proposition 11, the redistricting reform law that requires a citizen panel to draw district lines every 10 years rather than a panel of legislators.

"I was very passionate about (Prop. 11), having watched the governor working with a dysfunctional legislature for so long. The structure of the system is designed for failure, it's not designed around a consensus government. This law is a key development that will help improve that."

Her current stop on the politics train is with Carly Fiorina, who beat Tom Campbell (former dean of Cal's Haas School of Business) handily in the June primary. While Soderlund resisted the idea of joining another arduous campaign that would keep her from having a life in 2010, she was so impressed with Fiorina as a candidate that she jumped at the chance to be her lead spokesperson.

A July Field Poll showed Fiorina statistically even with incumbent Barbara Boxer, a hopeful sign for the campaign. "(Fiorina) is one of the most amazing people I've been able to work with. I was really impressed with how smart she is, how articulate she is, and the reasons she wants to run for Senate," she said.

So what should an enterprising Cal undergraduate do to reach the same level as Soderlund by 2020? She was kind of enough to impart a little wisdom:

- "Take advantage of the opportunities that you have. Don't try to overthink it. Cal students always want to keep ev-

ery option open, but you can't always do that."

- "Work hard. It's an ultimate meritocracy in politics. People who work hard get rewarded."

- "In a campaign you have to be focused on making decisions that will best achieve the goal for the candidate. A lot of people in politics make decisions based on themselves and their own career. If you want to be successful, you have to stay focused on the goal, not your own advancement."

So will we see Soderlund at a high-level position in a national campaign? She has passed on opportuni-



*Julie Soderlund, Carly Fiorina*

ties to move to Washington many times throughout her career, and prefers to stay in her native land for now. "But I never say never," she said. "I'm totally open to whatever comes next."

# IGS Focuses on California Issues

California needs plenty of help these days—and IGS is continuing its traditional focus on government in the Golden State.

The Institute is gearing up for a variety of programs this fall related to the 2010 election, including debate-watching parties, our traditional Election Night bash, and our two-day post mortem that dissects every California gubernatorial election.

Those events build on a series of California-related programs in the past year, including two major conferences last fall and the launch this spring of a new website about California constitutional reform.

“Throughout our 90-year history, California governance has been at the heart of the IGS mission,” said Jack Citrin, director of the Institute. “Last year a variety of programs examined California issues, and we intend to continue that work in the coming year.”

## The 2010 Election

This year’s fall election promises to be critical to California’s future, with both the governor’s office and a U.S. Senate seat up for grabs.

This fall, IGS will hold a series of events on the campaign, including parties to watch the gubernatorial and Senate debates on the big-screen TV in the Institute’s Library. On Election Night, we’ll all gather to watch the returns come in and analyze the outcomes.

Then in January, we will host one of the signature events at IGS—our traditional conference analyzing the gubernato-

rial campaign. An IGS mainstay for 20 years, that event brings together the entire California political community for two days of in-depth discussion about the race, from pre-campaign maneuvering through the primaries and then on to the general election match-up.

At the heart of the conference are panels that bring together the top strategists for all the candidates for a no-holds-barred discussion of the campaign.

After the conference, the transcript is edited into book form published by the Berkeley Public Policy Press, the IGS publishing imprint.

“Every four years, the IGS gubernatorial conference brings together the California political community like few other events,” said Ethan Rarick, the director of IGS’ Matsui Center and the organizer of the conference. “We intend to get to the bottom of why the winners won and the losers lost.”

## What’s Wrong with California and How Do We Fix It?

Last fall IGS sponsored two major public conferences on California issues—one focused on the nature of the state’s problems called “What Ails California” and the other on possible solutions called “Getting to Reform.”

“What Ails California?” was co-sponsored with the Department of Political Science, and was one in a series of annual conferences honoring Charles and Louise Travers, generous donors for whom the department is now named.

This year’s version was organized jointly by IGS and the department, and opened with IGS Director Jack Citrin presenting a research paper on the history of Californians’ views about state government, entitled “California in the People’s Court.”

“I think there’s a crisis of legitimacy, a crisis of confidence,” Citrin said. There is an appetite for change, but “a very limited consensus on what to do.”

Rightly or wrongly, Citrin said, many voters believe government has failed. In fact many of the initiatives often blamed for California’s problems



Jim Brulte

For webcasts of both “What Ails California” and “Getting to Reform,” go to: [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

“represent a repudiation of the establishment by the people,” he said.

The keynote session was a luncheon featuring a conversation between Treasurer Bill Lockyer and former Senate and Assembly Republican leader Jim Brulte, moderated by Cal journalism professor Susan Rasky.

Lockyer and Brulte agreed often. For example, both men said that California’s legislative term limits should be loosened, and both agreed that the state’s boom-and-bust revenue system should be smoothed out so that money is saved in the good years to be spent in the bad years.

Brulte added that he believes Republicans are now more conservative than they used to be and Democrats are more liberal, although Lockyer said it was harder for him to see the leftward shift among Democrats.

The rest of the day was filled with panel discussions about the underlying causes of California’s problems and the possible solutions. Speakers on those panels included Sen. Loni Hancock, Assemblywoman Nancy Skinner, former gubernatorial chief of staff Steve Merksamer, and California Forward Executive Director Jim Mayer.

“Getting to Reform” was a full-day conference at the Sacramento Convention Center focused on the various paths to serious constitutional reform—from a constitutional convention to individual amendments.

The lunch session at that conference featured a discussion between Brulte and Assemblyman Anthony Portantino, moderated by Capital Public Radio Bureau Chief Marianne Russ. Other panels focused on public opinion, the lessons from past reform efforts in California and elsewhere, and the legal issues surrounding a constitutional convention. The day closed with a panel on the next steps to reform. The panelists included Mark DiCamillo of the Field Poll, William Hauck of the California Business Roundtable and Joel Fox of the *Fox and Hounds Daily*.

“Getting to Reform” was the first production of a new consortium formed by IGS and two other distinguished academic centers in the state—the Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford and the Center for California Studies at Sacramento State.

All three organizations came together to work on programming that can address the substantive political and policy issues facing the state.

## Coming Up at IGS

### Sept. 20, 2010: California’s Next Governor: What Should the Agenda Be?

Whether it’s Gov. Brown or Gov. Whitman, what should the next governor do? A panel of experts analyzes how the new chief executive—whoever that is—should tackle the state’s entrenched problems.

### Nov. 2, 2010: Election Night – the IGS Party

Watch the returns with your fellow political junkies. The traditional IGS Election Night Party returns. Free snacks and plenty of talk about politics.

### Jan. 21–22, 2011: California Votes: The 2010 Governor’s Race

By January, we will already know *who* won the gubernatorial election, but *why* did they win it? The traditional IGS post mortem breaks down the race from the inside, with the top strategists from all the campaigns hashing out the details.

As plans are finalized, details on these and other 2010 Election events will be available at [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).



Bill Lockyer

# Annual Review of the Presidency Puts Obama to the Test

A longstanding tradition at IGS, the 29th Annual Review on the Presidency promised to be particularly insightful this year given how much President Obama has on his plate. “Obama Settles In: A Report Card on the New President” on April 12 featured an all-star panel: **Mark Z. Barabak**, national political writer at the *Los Angeles Times*; **Mark Halperin**, editor-at-large and senior political analyst at *Time Magazine* and author of *Game Change: Obama and the Clintons, Palin and McCain, and the Race of a Lifetime*; **Peter D. Hart**, chairman of Peter D. Hart Research Associates and pollster for the *Wall Street Journal/NBC News* poll; and **Steven F. Hayward**, F. K. Weyerhaeuser Fellow, American Enterprise Institute, and author

of *The Age of Reagan: The Fall of the Old Liberal Order* and *The Age of Reagan: The Conservative Counterrevolution*.

The panel put President Obama to the test after 15 months in office, asking whether he has responded adequately to an economy in crisis, whether he fulfilled campaign promises on bipartisanship, and where the focus of his presidency will be after the passage of healthcare reform. Then panelists weighed in to handicap the 2010 November election.

Ironically, Halperin said, Republican Scott Brown’s victory in the Senate race in Massachusetts earlier this year pushed Obama into the correct strategy on healthcare. “Their legislative strategy was perfect,” Halperin said. “They were deferential in public (to the Congress), but behind the scenes they were extraordinarily involved. Their strategy all along was to get a bill that looked more like the moderate Senate bill.”

However, Halperin said, the decision to pass both the stimulus and healthcare bills on a party-line vote may have hurt Obama in the long run. “The president should get a lot of credit, and he was extraordinarily influential in convincing wavering House Democrats. But not doing it in a bipartisan way means he did not fulfill his campaign promise. It was very

unwise and will come back to haunt him.”

While Hayward said he admired Obama’s determination in getting healthcare through, he thinks “the jury is still out” on whether healthcare will be a win for him. “Audacity (the word in the title of Obama’s book) can mean brave and courageous, but it can also mean reckless, presumptuous, and foolhardy. . . . It’s possible that healthcare reform could be Obama’s domestic policy equivalent of the Iraq War.”

Hart, recognized as the room’s polling guru, said the key to understanding the political consequences is looking at the data on enthusiasm, or “in-



Annual review of the presidency panel moderated by Ethan Rarick (center).

tensity measures.” He cited April numbers that showed that 67 percent of Republicans have an interest in going to the polls, while only 46 percent of Democrats do. Among likely voters, Republicans have a 13-point advantage. But he warned that healthcare “is one of those areas that you can’t do instant analysis. We will have to wait six weeks to see how opinion settles.”

While the panel had mostly praise for Obama and the political acumen it took to get two major bills through in his first 18 months, Obama took some hits on how he courted (or neglected) Republicans in the process.

“On substance, bipartisanship is there,” said Halperin. “But he chose not to compromise. Now the cake is baked for this term, he can’t find a way to work with Republicans.... They locked in a culture the president said he would change.”

Hayward agreed that compromise could have been possible. “If you put defense spending in the stimulus bill, you could have gotten 10 Republicans to vote for it. They didn’t follow the Reagan model on this.” On a lighter note, he added a warning to Democrats: “For all you Berkeley lefties, I noticed something on TV the other day—Newt Gingrich is losing weight. . . . He’s gonna run!”

Obama also took some heat for not offering more detail on the mantra of hope and change he laid out during the campaign. “One of the biggest weaknesses for Obama is that, unlike Reagan and Clinton, he has no overarching narrative about where he wants to take the country, and how that connects to his biography and his program. We (the media) let him get elected without having to flesh that out more,” said Halperin.

Hayward disagreed, saying that Obama did have a real story to tell. “I do think that Obama’s ambition is to be the fourth great wave of liberal reform in the country, akin to Progressivism, the New Deal, and the Great Society.”

Halperin mentioned another mistake the Obama administration had made—not having a chief spokesperson to address the economic crisis. “You can’t have the president be the chief spokesperson. He has six different people talking about this, but none are good speakers. Until they find that person, they won’t pivot to the economy effectively.”

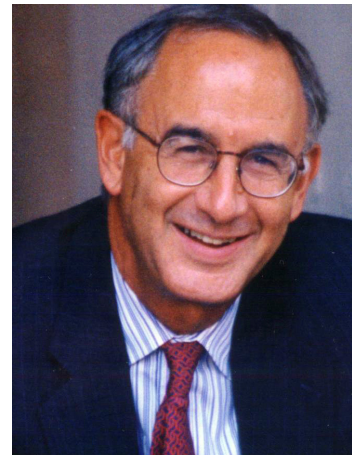
Predictions on the November 2010 election ranged from optimistic to grim for the

Democrats, which face a backlash from people angry about the weak economic recovery. In general the panel thought the Democrats would hold on to the House and Senate, but by slim margins. Seat losses for the Democrats ranged from 20 in the House (Halperin), to more than 50 (Barabak). Ultimately, Barabak said, “it will be a referendum on Obama,” and more than a 30-seat loss will be seen as a rebuke to the Obama administration.

The questions for the panel from the audience were sharp. When asked what Obama’s greatest flaw was, Halperin sat stumped for a while. “I think that he’s never been tested since he got on the national stage about rethinking his assumptions. He chose to stay the course during his campaign. I fear that he may have overlearned that lesson. He always stays the course, but all presidents need to be able to change direction.”

Hart said that focus groups he has run show that many voters think Obama is an up-standing person, but might lack the political skill to get things done in Washington. Obama may be on the wrong end of voter anger toward the incumbent.

“2006 to 2010 is all one election,” Hart said. “It’s a message to Washington, we hate you, we hate what you’re doing, we’ll do anything to change things.”



For a webcast of the 29th Annual Review of the Presidency, go to: [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

Top to bottom:  
Mark Halperin  
Peter D. Hart  
Steven F. Hayward  
Mark Z. Barabak



# Salon Dinner

*IGS Draws Together Big Political Names and Supporters*



Photos by Tim Porter

Above: left, Peter Hart, right, David Gergen

Opposite page: clockwise from top, Peter Hart, Cecily Dumas, and Bill Brandt; Bill Coblentz; Willie Brown; Sarah Anderson and Karen Skelton; Grant Harris and Jack Citrin; Darius Anderson, Willie Brown, and Bill Coblentz

The **IGS Salon Dinner** grows every year—and the 2010 version was the most successful yet.

Each year, the Salon Dinner serves as a major fundraising opportunity for the Institute and as a chance to introduce IGS programming to new supporters. This spring was no exception—with two major national political figures, two new awards honoring public service, and the presence of an array of well-known figures from the California political and business worlds.

The IGS National Advisory Council hosts the Salon Dinner, and this year the event was underwritten by Councilmember **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**. Council Chairman **Darius Anderson** presided.

The evening included a discussion of the national political mood involving **David Gergen** and **Peter Hart**. Gergen is a senior political analyst at CNN and professor of public service at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, while Hart is one of the leading analysts of public opinion in the United States, chairman of Peter D. Hart Research Associates, and lead pollster with the NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* Poll.

Two new IGS awards were given out for the first time. Former Assembly Speaker and San Francisco Mayor **Willie Brown** was on hand to present the Distinguished Service Award to **William K. Coblentz**.





Coblentz, a Cal alum from the Class of '44, is a senior partner at the law firm of Coblentz, Patch, Duffy & Bass. He serves on the board of directors of McClatchy Newspapers and the Koret Foundation. He served as special counsel to California Gov. Edmund G. "Pat" Brown from 1959 to 1961, and later was appointed by Brown to the University of California Board of Regents, where he served from 1964 to 1980. He is also a fellow of the American Academy of Arts & Sciences, has taught at Berkeley, and has been a visiting fellow at Wolfson College, Oxford University.

"I owe a lot to the University of California for virtually giving me a free education," Coblentz said during a video interview played for the crowd. "It's up to all of us who believe in education to join together to support the things that we believe in."

National Advisory Council member **Laurence Pelosi** presented the Young Alumni Award to **Grant Harris**, Class of '98. Harris serves as policy advisor to United Nations Ambassador Susan Rice, and previously served as a member of the Obama/Biden transition team. Before that, Harris was an associate at the law firm of Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton, and served as associate director for African Affairs at the National Security Council and as a special assistant at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations.

At Cal he was president of the student body and was selected upon graduation to be a John Gardner Public Service Fellow.



# Canada Conference Offers a Glance at North America's Future

By Jeremy Kinsman

- **In a changing world that is witnessing the end of America's global dominance, what is North America's future?**
- **What, in fact, does North America mean, besides its obvious geographic location?**
- **Is it really a common home for the citizens of our three countries—Canada, the U.S., and Mexico?**

These are some of the questions that scholars wrestled with at a two-day conference, “North American Futures: Canadian-U.S. Perspectives,” at UC Berkeley, March 12–13. The conference was cosponsored by IGS and the University of British Columbia's (UBC's) Centre for the Study of Democratic Institutions & U.S. Studies Program, along with the UC Berkeley Canadian Studies Program and the Institute of International Studies (IIS).

At this inaugural event, experts from UC and UBC presented a host of material showing there are fewer differences between Canadians and Americans than are commonly believed. As usual, the data shows Canadians are more apt to favor government services because they are seen to have worked. Americans, on the other hand, have a stronger commitment to religion, especially evangelical, as part of their collective identity.

But there are no big cleavages that could block closer integration on vital issues such as the environment, energy, or a common security. So, what stands in the way of our moving forward?

## The Brooders

The Berkeley conference was not lacking for eminent Canadian (and American) doers. The participants included former ministers **Joe Clark**, **Ann McLellan**, **Pierre-Marc Johnson**, and **David Emerson** as well as a binational group of savvy scholars and former ambassadors such as Ca-

nadian **Allan Gotlieb** and the American **Thomas Pickering**.

For his part, Gotlieb, who championed Brian Mulroney's free-trade deal during his period in Washington in the 1980s, despaired that the combined effects of 9/11 and the U.S. financial meltdown has turned America inward and defensive. The recent, so-called thickening of the Canada-U.S. border, he said, has smothered the gains of the 1988 free trade agreement and its 1994 North American (NAFTA) successor. What's more, he went on, Canada has lost strategic significance for Washington, despite the importance of our energy exports. All in all, “we don't see where we are going.”

## Preoccupied America

There was little comfort from this assessment from the American “realists” on the panel.

They argued that the current Obama government, preoccupied as it is with its election promises, along with a dysfunctional Congress, means that now is not the moment to expect political capital to be spent on “non-U.S.” solutions. Still, there was noticeable pushback against this kind of laconic surrender.

David Emerson, Stephen Harper's former trade minister, argued compellingly that strengthening globally efficient North American supply chains, in a re-energized NAFTA, would be a vital element in restoring the competitive position of all three North American economies.

And Tom Pickering, one of the U.S.'s top ambassadors in his day, challenged Canada and the U.S. in particular to come up with a bite-sized list of strategic “project-models” that would be beneficial for both sides.

## Working Together

Pickering's suggestion box included such joint projects as managing the Arctic, developing a complementary energy/environment strategy, building shared-border processing facilities for commercial exchange, and striking, at last, some sort of binding arbitration for our recurrent trade disputes.

On foreign policy, Pickering didn't think Canada and the U.S. had to move in lockstep. But he suggested that a president as committed as Barack Obama is to consulting widely on the international front, should be much more open to Canada's input—provided we can resurrect some



Jeremy Kinsman

*Jeremy Kinsman is director of The Community of Democracies, an international democracy development support project. He was a diplomat in residence at the Woodrow Wilson School of Princeton University and was the 2009–2010 Regents' Lecturer at UCB's Department of Political Science.*

of our established talents for multilateral diplomacy.

Pickering's views seem to mirror what is being said these days in official Washington. The Americans know they have a crowded political agenda. But they also readily see the strategic importance of big challenges, especially those that give credit to a leader with the courage to fight for them, as Obama has done on health care.

The Washington message is that the administration would welcome Canada coming forward with some sort of government-level plan on strategic cooperation. A proposal for a common security perimeter, which would address U.S. concerns as well, would be especially timely given that Canada's pending Afghan pullout next year looms as a political disappointment south of the border.

### Climate Change

Security, though, isn't the only issue where Canada could have an impact in Washington. University of Toronto professor **Franklin Griffiths**, one of Canada's leading experts on the Arctic, made the cogent case for Canada and the U.S. to work together to develop a responsible stewardship of our northernmost frontier.

Apart from enhancing northern security, a joint plan for the Arctic would be an example of how continental partners could become global "first movers" on a key issue of international concern.

But on the overarching issue of the day, climate change, the view was more pessimistic.

The Canadians here observed that Ottawa has no strategy, nor apparent interest, in mitigating climate change in a dedicated way. Despite the fact that it is becoming increasingly clear that the development of Alberta's oil sands somehow has to be reconciled with the growing determination at the state and national levels down here to do something about global warming.

### Continental Identity

Divergent agendas on big issues like climate change, of course, can be seen as a test of how much importance we really feel about our North American identities. We are two countries that have developed through immigration, but we have also grown through different sources. More recently, Canada's population growth is stemming from South Asia and China, while the U.S. is drawing upon its Hispanic neighbors to the south.

The U.S. melting pot is clearly becoming more of a continental, English- and Spanish-speaking mix, even though most people are probably not familiar with the notion of North America as a common home.

The same might be said for Canada's traditional view of sharing North American power with Mexico. Canadians have tended to be overly possessive about our "special" bilateral relationship with Washington and fearful of Mexico's growing influence. But as we talked through the implications of our common, continental problems, it be-



came clear that we Canadians will have to change our sense of our own importance.

As former Liberal deputy prime minister Ann McLellan put it: "What part of the Mexicans' importance to the U.S. don't Canadians get?" I can't speak for everyone, but it seemed to me that, for its part, this conference got the need to strengthen our trilateral relations. Not as an alternative to the separate bilateral ones, but as a complementary effort to give North America some strategic and community dimensions, and to better position all three countries globally.

Today, both NAFTA and Canada's influence in the rest of North America need revival.

It may be true that a small-picture minority government is not yet up to such big-picture tasks. But outside of government, the work on North America has begun.

*This article originally appeared on CBC news March 25, 2010.*

# Fazio Delivers Matsui Lecture to a Packed House

Last year former Congressman **Victor H. Fazio** delivered the 2009–10 Matsui lecture, “How Congress Works: Lessons from the Health Care Debate.” As a member of Congress for 20 years, Fazio outlined how Congress has fundamentally changed between the late 1970s and 2010. Using his trademark humor and clear-eyed analysis, Fazio entertained the audience with anecdotes and observations from a long career in politics.

*“There are elected officials who fail us . . . but it’s amazing the number of people who rise to the occasion, who show courage, who are principled when they could give in to the popular view.”*

*—Former Congressman Vic Fazio*

Fazio described a very different Congress that he saw when he came to work for a congressman in the mid ’60s and when he arrived as a congressman himself in 1978. One lesson he learned, after seeing his boss lose an office over a disagreement, was “don’t be overconfident. Be alert to the political challenges that are ahead of you. If I

hadn’t learned that lesson I wouldn’t have been reelected in 1994, when I won with 48.4% of the vote. . . . God bless the Libertarians!”

Fazio represented a district in the Sacramento area for 20 years, from 1979 to 1999. He served as chairman of the House Democratic caucus, the third-ranking position in the Democratic leadership, and as chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, the political arm of the House Democrats. He is also a former member

of the California Legislature and a former journalist who co-founded the *California Journal*. Fazio is now a senior advisor at the law firm of Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld.

Fazio focused on the healthcare debate last year and what it tells us about the workings of Congress. Fazio has been impressed with Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi’s tenaciousness since she took over in 2006, but he said she takes her cues from an unlikely source: Newt Gingrich. Starting with the Republican takeover of Congress in 1995 when Gingrich became Speaker, “there was no time to fraternize with the enemy, let alone make friends with people across the aisle. It was all about stick with the program. That’s how Republicans won in 1994. That approach allowed the Democrats to gain control in 2006. Pelosi operates in the Newt Gingrich model more than any of her predecessors. Those Speakers gave power to the chairmen and committees. But she governed with a lot of love and a little bit of fear, and was in a position to move toward the center.”

This recent focus on party discipline has damaged the culture of Congress that Fazio saw in the 1970s, when there were many more interpersonal relationships that crossed party lines. “At that time we were much more likely to socialize across party lines. . . . You didn’t demonize your partisan opponents because you knew them too well. These were people you came to know and like. That was changing even in the ’70s, when the Watergate class arrived.”

Technology also changed the way members related to each other. In a time when plane travel

For a webcast of Congressman Fazio’s lecture, go to [politics.berkeley.edu/lecturer.html](http://politics.berkeley.edu/lecturer.html)



Robert T. Matsui

was less common and members went home to their districts for six months out of the year rather than commuting every weekend, members had more of a chance to get to know each other. “More and more you were on the airplane, on the cell phone or Blackberry when you might otherwise have been conversing with someone on the floor (of Congress). And that meant that you had to become more of an individual political entrepreneur rather than a member of a party. You were forced to raise money for yourself rather than rely on the party.”

The outcome of the healthcare bill shows that the Democrats have gotten smarter than the failure of Bill Clinton’s proposal in 1994, which “deflated the Democratic base.”

“I look back and I see a vast improvement. (Democrats) have coordinated the efforts of three committee chairmen, it wasn’t a product of an Ira Magaziner backroom kind of think tank proposal. It was a lot of tug and pull in the legislative process. It has been a weakness and a strength, because it reflects the will of the caucus.”

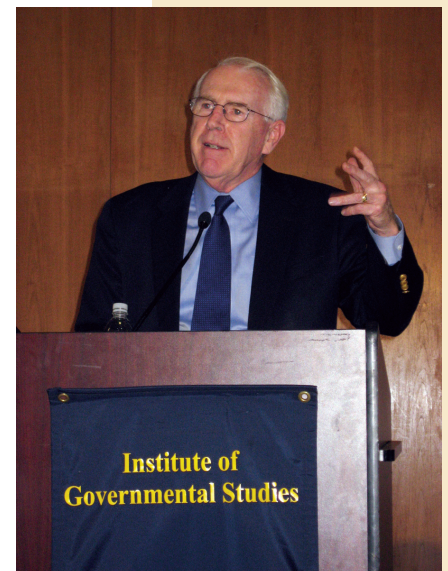
But Fazio took a dim view of the Republicans’ strategy during the healthcare debate: “The Republicans have taken on the Reagan mantra. And I don’t mean Ronald, I mean Nancy: Just say no!”

Fazio ended the lecture returning to a theme he emphasized at the beginning: Congress is a changed institution, and mostly for the better. It has transformed into a collection of individuals that is much more diverse than the mostly white, mostly male institution that he worked in 30 years ago.

“It’s much more like America. And because America doesn’t talk to itself really effectively, we ask our members of Congress to do it, but it’s not all that easy for them, either. . . . There are elected officials who fail us, those who really aren’t up to the challenge, but it’s amazing the number of people who rise to the occasion, who show courage, who are principled when they could give in to the popular view. They are more reflective of the kind of community we have in California and in the country. While I don’t look back with a desire to serve once again, I do look back with tremendous pride and satisfaction, and real recognition

and respect for the people I served with, and the people who come after.”

The Matsui Lecture is delivered each year by a distinguished former member of Congress who spends a week in residency on the Berkeley campus. The lectureship honors the legacy of Robert T. Matsui, a Cal graduate who served in Congress for more than a quarter century, building a reputation for bipartisanship and substantive policy achievement. That legacy is also honored by the University’s **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, a component of IGS that seeks to engage Cal undergraduates in public service through the presence of distinguished visitors to campus, public programs exploring important issues, and internship programs offering experiential learning.



Vic Fazio

# IGS goes online to present California Choices

**IGS** is taking a decidedly Web 2.0 tack to help voters sort through the facts, fiction, and political posturing around the state's ongoing political reform debate. The Institute has collaborated to produce **California Choices**, a comprehensive resource guide with a unique and colorful multimedia presence.

The site, at **www.californiachoice.org**, was produced by a consortium that includes IGS, the Bill Lane Center for the American West at Stanford, the Center for California Studies at Sacramento State, and Next 10, an independent, nonprofit organization established to educate and engage Californians on critical state reform.

"Public education and outreach is a crucial part of the IGS mission," said IGS Director Jack Citrin. "This new website is an innovative and dynamic way for us to connect with California voters and pro-

vide an accurate and nonpartisan resource about issues that are critical to the future of the state."

The staff of the IGS Library provided content for the section of the California Choices site that was dedicated to the June primary propositions. The section gave visitors a look at the summary and analysis of each measure, the arguments for and against each, as well as the text of the propositions and nonpartisan analyses. There also was a brief narrative about each proposition's evolution and a list of major organizations supporting, opposing, or taking a neutral stand on each measure. Plans are underway now for similar content about the upcoming November election.

IGS Librarian **Nick Robinson**, who led the Institute's involvement with the California Choices project, said the site includes an innovative news and opinion "window" for each proposition. IGS collects RSS feeds from political blogs and newspapers throughout California and posts up-to-date news stories and commentaries about each proposition in the windows.



Nick Robinson

Endorsement tabs also provide visitors to the site with a rundown of the positions taken on each proposition by more than 30 labor unions, newspapers, political parties, and nonprofit organizations and advocacy groups such as the California Chamber of Commerce, American Civil Liberties Union of Northern California, League of California Cities, and American Association of Retired People. Links are included for each source, so web visitors can search for additional explanation for the endorsements.

The site also includes polling information and links to additional resources, such as the committees formed to support or oppose each proposition and a list of their expenditures.

Clicking on the "multimedia" tab, voters can find videos—and soon, podcasts—of debates, panel discussions and other presentations about the propositions. "The era of video campaigning through the web has really arrived," Robinson said.

Tracking by IGS of its resource guides back to 2002 shows that its web traffic typically skyrockets the day before the election, and again on Election Day. That happened again this year, with thousands of people visiting the site leading up to the June 8 election. But with the increasing popularity of absentee voting, Robinson said it is more important than ever to get information about election issues out to voters as soon as possible.

	Prop. 13 Seismic Retrofitting	Prop. 14 Primary Elections	Prop. 15 Fair Elections	Prop. 16 Electricity Providers	Prop. 17 Auto Insurance
<b>My Votes</b>	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> neutral	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> neutral	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> neutral	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> neutral	<input type="radio"/> yes <input type="radio"/> no <input type="radio"/> neutral

**Share your votes with a friend**

Your Name:

Your email address:

Recipient's email address:

Message:

(\* indicates a required field)

You can enter multiple email addresses separated by comma.

**Lots of young people** showed up at the polls during the 2008 presidential election, and the inaugural **IGS Matsui Forum** produced a bipartisan consensus that the trend is likely to continue.

**Meghan McCain**, who saw the 2008 campaign from the inside while campaigning for her father, Republican nominee Sen. John McCain, said young voter turnout “is just going to continue on the upswing, we have no reason to believe it won’t.”

Each year, the Matsui Forum will examine a single issue of relevance to today’s students. The event is designed to attract and interest undergraduates, the goal of the Institute’s **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**.

“To launch the Matsui Forum, we wanted to explore the rising prominence of young voters—a topic that drew a lot of interest from both the Berkeley College Republicans and the Cal Democrats, who joined us as co-sponsors,” said Ethan Rarick, the director of the Matsui Center.

# The Next Generation Will They Keep Voting?

Social networking sites played a role. “Working with Facebook and these new technologies people are not only communicating but they are convincing their peers to go to the polls, and you just saw young people show up in record numbers and actually impact the outcome of this election,” Smith said, in reference to the success of the youth vote in the Iowa caucuses last year.

**Randi Zuckerberg**, a spokeswoman for Facebook and the sister of Facebook founder Mark Zuckerberg, said participa-

*Building Tomorrow’s Progressive Majority*, cautioned against overselling the role of technology.

“Facebook is a new public square to meet people, bring them in to your campaign, and get them to do more things offline,” Connery said. “But you have to have those conversations, you have to bring them offline, and the campaign has to treat young people like a valid constituency.”

**Nicole Lapin**, who anchors a show on CNN.com about extraordinary young peo-



About 150 students attended.

Turnout by voters between 18 and 29 increased sharply between 2000 and 2004. **Heather Smith**, the executive director of Rock the Vote, said during the Forum that the increase in those four years was “a trend that was just beginning.”

“The conventional wisdom for decades was that young people don’t matter. You’re apathetic, you don’t count, and you certainly don’t vote. And that’s what the media told you, what candidates told you, and you were all but ignored by the political process,” Smith said.

tion went up 2,500 percent in Iowa thanks to a partnership of Facebook and Rock the Vote.

But McCain pointed to the difference between Obama’s success on Facebook and her father’s.

“My father had 500,000 followers on Facebook and I think Obama had 5,000,000. So there is a disconnect going on,” she said. “Whether it’s the Republican Party’s fault or something else, I don’t know.”

**Michael Connery**, author of *Youth to Power: How Today’s Young Voters are*

*Left to right: Michael Connery, Heather Smith, Meghan McCain, Nicole Lapin, Randi Zuckerberg*

ple, said that technology can make people “feel that they are being listened to.”

“Utilizing some of that technology in the media is only going to increase moving forward,” she said.

For a webcast of this event, go to [politics.berkeley.edu/forum.html](http://politics.berkeley.edu/forum.html)



# Faculty News

Scholars affiliated with IGS have been in the news for award-winning research, new initiatives at the Institute, and their involvement in major public forums and issues.



Top to bottom: Gordon Silverstein, Megan Mullin, Patrick Egan; right, Dan Schnur

## APSA Awards

Several IGS affiliates won the following prestigious awards from the American Political Science Association (APSA):

**Gordon Silverstein**, Assistant Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley, won the Herman C. Pritchett Award for his new book *The Law's Allure: How Law Shapes, Constrains, Saves, and Kills Politics*. This award is given by the APSA's Law & Courts Section for the best legal book published by a political scientist that year.

**Megan Mullin** ('97, MA '00, Ph.D. '05), Assistant Professor of Political Science at Temple University, won the Lynton Keith Caldwell Award for her new book *Governing the Tap: Special District Governance and the New Local Politics of Water*. This award is given by the APSA's Section of Science, Technology & Environmental Politics for the best book on environmental policy published by a political scientist that year.

**Patrick J. Egan** (MA '01, Ph.D. '08), Assistant Professor of Political Science at New York University, won the Carl Albert Dissertation Award for his UC Berkeley doctoral thesis: *Issue Ownership and Representation in American Politics*. This award is given by the APSA's Legislative Studies Section to the best doctoral dissertation in the area of legislative studies issued in the last two years.

## Public Involvement

Longtime Berkeley instructor and former IGS National Advisory Councilmember **Dan Schnur** was appointed by Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger as the chairman of the Fair Political Practices Commission, the state's watchdog for campaign finance rules. Schnur has taught a class at Cal on campaign management for many years, and has many ties to IGS. He is former press secretary for Gov. Pete Wilson and worked on John McCain's 2000 presidential campaign as a senior adviser in communications. "I am truly honored to be appointed chair of the FPPC as California is heading into a general election campaign, and it will be my greatest goal to ensure that the elections are conducted fairly, honestly, and with transparency," Schnur said.

Two former IGS graduate students are involved in the public battle over Prop. 8, the measure approved by California voters last year to prohibit same-sex marriages. **Ken Miller**, now a professor at Claremont McKenna College, testified in defense of Prop. 8. **Pat Egan**, now a professor at New York University, is one of two authors of a major study evaluating Prop. 8 and released under the auspices of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force Policy Institute.



## IGS Initiatives

Two IGS research colloquia will be under new faculty leadership in the coming year. Professor **Irene Bloemraad** of Sociology will take over the Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration Seminar, replacing Professor Taeku Lee, who is giving up the seminar series upon assuming the chairmanship of the Department of Political Science. Professor **Sean Gailmard** of Political Science will direct the Research Workshop in American Politics, replacing Professor Laura Stoker. Professor **David Hollinger** will continue to direct the American Political History Colloquium. Professor **Eric Schickler** continues to lead the American Political Development Seminar.

To expand the Institute's research portfolio, Professor **Jas Sekhon** will be moving to IGS to inaugurate a new Center on Causal Inference and Program Evaluation. This effort will be jointly supported by IGS and the Institute of International Studies, and Professor Sekhon will be announcing a program of speakers and workshops as well as innovative research efforts in the area.

**Max Neiman**, Emeritus Professor of Political Science at UC Riverside, is joining IGS as a Senior Resident Scholar. Neiman has a distinguished scholarly record in the areas of urban politics, state politics, and public policy. After retiring from Riverside, he was a senior scholar and director of the Program for Governance at the Public Policy Institute of California.

## Taeku Lee to Chair Political Science

Professor **Taeku Lee** left his IGS role as director of the Center on Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration to become chairman of the Department of Political Science. Lee, a professor of political science and law, has been at Berkeley since 2002, and before that was at Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government.



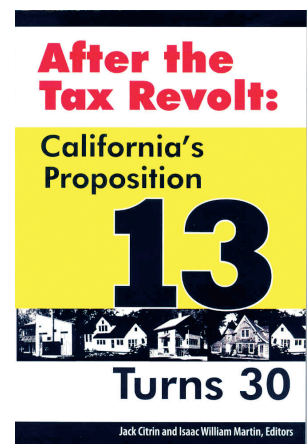
Irene Bloemraad



Taeku Lee

### Book Review

*After the Tax Revolt: California's Proposition 13 Turns 30*, the new book published by IGS and edited by IGS Director **Jack Citrin** (and UC San Diego scholar Isaac William Martin), was reviewed this summer in *Perspectives on Politics*, a journal published by the American Political Science Association. The reviewer noted that Citrin's introduction "provides a useful overview of the fiscal consequences of the California tax revolt." (Book sells for \$24.95 and can be ordered from Amazon.com.)



# New IGS Books Tackle California's Problems

Two new titles from the Berkeley Public Policy Press—the publishing imprint of IGS—take on California's dysfunctional system of governance.



***California in the Balance: Why Budgets Matter*** is budget expert John Decker's analysis of how California government handles fiscal affairs—and how the system might be improved. Decker has worked for years in the legislature and

the executive branch, and is one of Sacramento's most knowledgeable voices on the state budget.



***California's Golden Years: When Government Worked and Why***, by former Assemblyman William T. Bagley. Bagley, a moderate Republican who represented Marin County from 1960 to 1974, argues that the legislature got more done before well-intentioned but misguided

reforms clamped down on the Sacramento social scene, destroying personal ties among lawmakers.

"Our publishing program at IGS is designed to examine timely and important public issues," said Ethan Rarick, director of the Press. "These two books take on two of our state's most important problems—how we spend tax dollars and why the system seems broken." Both books are excerpted here.

Top: John Decker, Bottom: Bill Bagley

## ***California in the Balance***

Though legislators devote considerable time and effort to reviewing the governor's proposals and the state's fiscal condition, the legislature misdirects its efforts on the budget bill, neglecting the fiscal effects of policymaking and emphasizing short-term fiscal goals. The legislature can better use its ample fiscal authority.

The legislature's fiscal powers derive from the authority granted in the state constitution, through which the legislature retains sole authority to appropriate. But, because the constitution does not *require* the legislature to appropriate, its fiscal authority is exercised both when it makes and withholds an appropriation. How it organizes itself, conducts the review, and negotiates the differences matters. The legislature can improve the state's fiscal structure when it better manages fiscal complexity and increases its capacity to develop and negotiate a budget.

Given the complexity of the fiscal environment, a cursory analysis or underdeveloped proposal will rarely serve the legislature's interests. Fiscal problems cannot often be fixed by adding or subtracting from an appropriation. Rather, to make a substantial improvement in the way a program functions or the success of its operations, the program must receive better management or

## ***California's Golden Years***

Subject to a few legislative quirks, quacks, and crooks, the years 1950 to 1974 were the golden years of untarnished productive lawmaking in California.

Most part-time citizen legislators (without term limits) considered their office to be a public service—not a "job." Many were lawyers who practiced law without constant allegations of conflict of interest. A national Ford Foundation-supported group—"Legis 50"—named our legislature number one in the nation in the late 1960s. At that time, 65% of those polled "had confidence" in their state government; most recent polls put it at 11% for the legislature. So sad.

And, pre-Proposition 9, there were absolutely no morning, noon, and night fundraisers held in Sacramento. (Granted, there were—possibly still are—some one-on-one cash transactions.) But absolutely all, 100%, of those insidious \$3,600—today's max—nightly Sacramento fundraisers were spawned by the 1974 passage of the mother of all reforms, Proposition 9.

Prior to the passage of Proposition 1A (so numbered to head the ballot list) in 1966, the state constitution limited sessions to 180 legislative days in the odd-numbered years with a 30-day budget session (the month of March) in between.

revised operating instructions. To make programmatic improvements, the legislature must acknowledge and understand both how the program is administered and its funding requirements.

Preceding chapters discussed the difficulty in evaluating individual appropriations against competing fiscal and political needs. In addition, as the legislature attempts to manage several budget objectives beyond annual balance, the choices become increasingly conflicted.

Complexity is compounded as the legislature attempts to more fully delineate the programmatic responsibilities of state and local governments and to integrate the administration of their shared responsibilities. But when the state stretches the use of state and local revenues, these shared programs become even more precariously financed. Programs become more difficult to manage as the legislature attempts to limit program participation and leverage federal funds. Over time, when the legislature revises program requirements and program administration, it often makes local management and oversight more difficult.

Changes in state-only revenues have further complicated state finances. The legislature and statewide ballots have earmarked state-only taxes or newly levied fees to segregate revenue streams for specific programs. For example, in a statewide election in 2004, the voters approved a proposition to impose an income tax surcharge on the state's wealthiest taxpayers. The proposition directed the revenue to a special fund for the support of local mental health programs, rather than the state's General Fund. The proposition therefore shifted state-administered tax

revenue from state purposes to local purposes. Earmarking like this means that funds have been circumscribed in their use, requiring better methods for tracking the revenue streams. It requires decision-makers to have a more detailed understanding about the limited use of earmarked revenues. It also creates challenges for the legislature, which must use the funds for these limited purposes while trying to ensure that all programs are fully funded.

As a piece of legislation strictly limited to making appropriations, the budget bill has a limited scope. Through it, the legislature and governor provide only broad direction about how the appropriated funds can be spent. The bill lists each entity receiving an appropriation and reflects spending for a single year.

Though it serves as a spending plan covering a 12-month period, it is not a substitute for long-term planning. For the same reason, it is not intended to be an investment plan. The bill's inherently shorter timeframe can affect the kind of decisions made. . . . The complexity and tenuous nature of budget decisions are magnified as budget stress encourages the adoption of short-term and expedient solutions. This complexity can be better managed in two ways:

### 1. Strengthen Fiscal Management Mechanisms

Because it merely authorizes spending levels, the budget bill cannot effectively or directly measure or predict consequences of funding levels. When the legislature attempts to make broad policy changes through trailer bills, or when it tries to dictate

*cont. on p. 28*

Earlier, there were no such budget sessions—budgets carried for two years and the “pay” had been \$100 per month. This was increased, by public vote, to \$500 per month in 1951.

Thus, from 1951 to 1966, legislators were paid \$6,000 per year plus the going state per diem, which was \$19 in 1961, while in session or at “interim hearings.” The state rate at the Biltmore Hotel in Los Angeles was \$8.00 per night and a flight from San Francisco to Los Angeles cost \$15.00 each way on PSA, but members were given 15 cents per mile for all travel, profiting thereby.

The vast majority of legislators had their own businesses or professions. They practiced law. They ran their markets or drug-stores (or spouses did during the sessions). They were insurance agents, dairymen, ranchers, funeral directors, doctors. And they were thus independent.

This group provided collective excellence to the legislature. There were a few, however, who literally lived on the petty largesse of lobbyists—cash contributions, hotel rent paid, and state mileage payments at 15 cents per mile, triple the actual cost.

And, prior to the 1978 passage of Proposition 13 and the resultant advent of Republican ideologues in the Assembly, there

were no party “aisles” and no party-issued positions on bills. In the early '60s, Assemblyman (later Senator) Al Alquist (D-San Jose) and I were seated together. All his life, until passing at the age of 90, he affectionately called me “seatmate.”

**“Trust and longtime friendships trumped ideologies and thus provided the legislative glue.”**

*—California's Golden Years*

With the exception of rare caucus meetings, which resulted in a “caucus position,” members were unfettered and actually cast their own votes. Unfortunately, this open process has devolved down to young caucus staffers issuing daily aye or no voting sheets. Members just fall in line. Party voting is the order of the day, every day. It is absolutely disgusting, when asking a member his or her position on a given bill, to watch

as he or she refers to a caucus voting sheet—sometimes opening a drawer looking for the sheet.

### What Happened to Moderation and Compromise?

Why is there abject failure of the legislative process in Sacramento? What has happened to moderation and compromise?

In 1966, Gov. Pat Brown's last budget was \$4.6 billion. We Republican legislators would object, knock off \$200 mil-

*cont. on p. 28*

specific management outcomes through appropriations, it will diminish its effectiveness.

## 2. Strengthen the Policy and Appropriations Committees

A way of enhancing the legislature's ability to make policy is to strengthen the role and prerogatives of policy committees, especially relative to the budget committee. This can be done by ensuring that the budget process does not set new policy, especially policy that limits or repeals statutory law previously passed through the policy committees. Another way to strengthen policy committees in the budget process is to refer all trailer bills to the policy committees.

What should be the role of the Appropriations Committee in each house? Each year, the Appropriations Committees pass bills that, if implemented, would raise annual state costs by billions of dollars. If the legislature is going to assert its fiscal responsibilities, it may want to use the Appropriations Committees to limit programmatic changes approved in policy committee. The Appropriations Committees should be charged with ensuring that

program changes approved in the committee can be sustained either with a new revenue stream or within the existing revenue structure. . . .

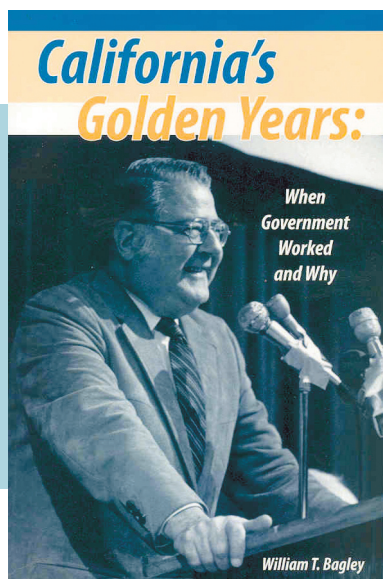
Fiscal decisions have consequences. They can be powerful precisely because they fix a cost to each legislative choice.

They help state leadership evaluate the myriad possible choices and assign them values: How much will it cost? Some of the procedural changes recommended in this chapter would require ratification of a constitutional change in a statewide election. Other revisions could be made by changing internal legislative rules and customs, changes that could be made with the assent of the membership of the houses.

As important as procedures are, however, the content of the budget and the attendant decisions are more important. Governing California is hard. Each economic cycle presents the legislature with a challenge different from what that it faced in the previous cycle. Even within each year, the legislature must evaluate, plan, and provide for the provision of present and fu-

**"The legislature can improve the state's fiscal structure when it better manages fiscal complexity and increases its capacity to develop and negotiate a budget."**

*—California in the Balance*



lion, claim victory and vote "aye." The two-thirds majority vote needed to pass a budget was overcome. We were there to govern.

Four years later, Gov. Ronald Reagan's budget was \$10 billion. I negotiated and authored the governor's \$2 billion tax hike. We were there to govern.

Trust and longtime friendships trumped ideologies and thus provided the legislative glue. There were no partisan aisles in the chamber. We sat together, ate together, and played together.

But by 2000, partisan self-interest was so rampant that members simply vested their seats, heavily right and heavily left, and left no seats realistically contestable and no room for moderation.

There is little substantive debate over the need to revise the present self-serving protective method of drawing legislative districts, as now approved by the recent Proposition 11. That will, to some extent, help end partisan stagnation and gridlock in Sacramento after 2012 and the new census.

But the real and ongoing cause of the present abject failure of California's legislative process is 50 years of living political history, from 1959 to the present, as follows:

- Cross filing: The ability to run in the other party primary was adopted in 1914 as one of Gov. Hiram Johnson's reforms, but repealed in 1959 by a newly elected Democratic majority.

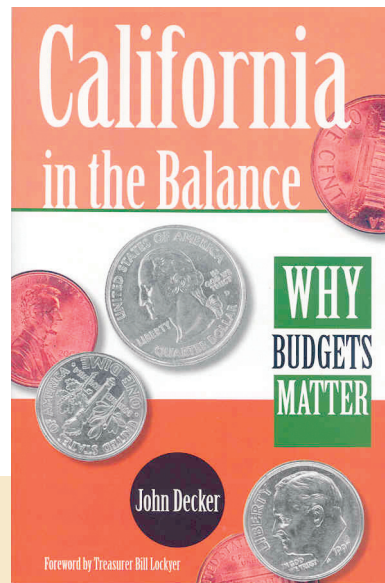
ture public services. Legislators face many conflicting demands on their time and talents.

Public polls and media reports suggest that the institution is in decline. By investing the time and capital in revising the processes and the kinds of decisions made, the legislature can enhance its authority over the conduct of the state's business.

Because the budget is renegotiated every year, the legislature must make decisions each year about not only current services, but must also prepare for the future.

The legislature can improve the way it makes policy and financial decisions. It has the constitutional responsibility and the authority to make institutional and procedural reforms. The choices made in this new way will not necessarily be easier (indeed, the choices may become more complex and difficult). However, if the legislature organizes to enhance its ability to wield this constitutional authority, it will enhance its power.

The state's current fiscal problems are the compounded effect of years of decisions. They reflect a breakdown in consensus about the size of government and the proper amount of governmental services. A more confident legislature may be able to forge a consensus on broad fiscal objectives.



- So-called political reform: The Proposition 9 initiative sponsored by then gubernatorial candidate Jerry Brown was passed in 1974. The political cry to eliminate lobby wining and dining did just that. No more bipartisan lunches and dinners because of a \$10-per-month limit on lobbyist-hosted meals. Over time, members no longer knew each other, no longer learned to trust and work with each other. Collegiality was killed. Lobbying, of course, continued with massive partisan \$3,000-per-ticket contribution events, instead of buying a \$25 bipartisan dinner.

- Proposition 13 in 1978: The tax-limiting initiative brought a new cadre of conservative Republican members who demanded partisan aisles in the Assembly. Theretofore, Democrats and Republicans sat together, enjoyed bipartisan friendships, and worked together.

- The 1990 term limit initiative placed a final nail in any remaining collegial bipartisanship and moderation. One-third of the Assembly membership is replaced every two years; two-thirds in four years.

Any semblance of long-term reciprocal trust and friendship is going. New members seemingly just fall in line and vote by rote.

The ultimate irony of term limits is that you know when the next state Senate vacancy will occur and as an assemblyman or

woman you vote straight party, hard right or hard left, to assure yourself of the upcoming Senate nomination.

This symptom feeds upon itself and prevents present and even future compromises. Gridlock is guaranteed now because the Assembly and Senate districts are all drawn to concentrate the seats together in single-party-dominated enclaves. Compromise has become a dirty word.

To buy these and other IGS books,  
go to [igs.berkeley.edu/  
publications](http://igs.berkeley.edu/publications) or [Amazon.com](http://Amazon.com).

# Friends of IGS Honor Roll

**We want to express our gratitude** to the many supporters who ensure that IGS is able to continue its mission. Despite the difficult budget challenges confronting the university, we are working to maintain our existing programs and in some cases to expand into new areas, and these efforts would be impossible without a broad base of private supporters. Below is the IGS Honor Roll of supporters for 2008–2010.

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