

# UC Berkeley

## Public Affairs Report

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# Institute of Governmental Studies

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## New IGS Journal Tackles Issues Facing California

IGS launched a new publishing venture this winter, an online journal that addresses the most complex issues confronting California, yet does so in a way designed to appeal to academic and nonacademic audiences alike.

*The California Journal of Politics and Policy* went live on the web in February, and has already published articles on redistricting reform, the legal issues surrounding same-sex marriage, California's fiscal condition, and other topics.

Anyone can read the *Journal* for free at [www.bepress.com/cjpp](http://www.bepress.com/cjpp), or there's a link to the *Journal* at the IGS homepage, [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu).

"We hope the *Journal* fills an alarming gap in the public discourse of our state," said Jack Citrin, director of IGS and one of three editors of the new publication. "Reporting on politics and policy in the mainstream media has declined sharply. We hope the *Journal* can provide readable, reliable, thought-provoking information and analysis."

Citrin edits the new journal with James Q. Wilson, Ronald Reagan Professor of Public Policy at Pepperdine, and Bruce E. Cain, director of the University of California Washington Center. Former IGS Publications Director Jerry Lubenow serves as managing editor.

The *Journal* has a unique format: half the content is peer-reviewed and similar in tone to a traditional academic journal, and half is aimed at a thoughtful yet broader audience.

"As readers and contributors, we want to bring together a diverse group of scholars, policymakers, journalists, and others to engage in a vigorous discussion of California," said Lubenow.

For more on the *Journal*, see pages 12–13, or go to the website at [www.bepress.com/cjpp](http://www.bepress.com/cjpp).

## Interns in D.C.



The four Matsui Center Congressional Interns with U.S. Rep. Doris Matsui on Capitol Hill. Left to right: Gricelda Gomez, Katerina Robinson, Congresswoman Matsui, Erin Pangilinan, and Amanda Loh. For more information, see page 5.

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The Institute of Governmental Studies' Public Affairs Report is published four 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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# SCHOLAR'S CORNER

## Californians' Views of Proposition 13 Thirty Years after Its Passage

Mark DiCamillo



On the occasion of Proposition 13's thirtieth anniversary last year, The Field Poll teamed with IGS to re-examine California voter opinions of the landmark property tax reduction initiative and its major provisions. The poll also updated a number of Field Poll measures about voter attitudes toward taxes.

Field Research Corporation conducted the survey by telephone among a random sample of 1,052 California registered voters in English and Spanish from May 17–26, 2008. On a number of questions the overall sample was divided into two approximately equal-sized random subsamples to test for variations in question wording and its effect on voter responses.

Voter familiarity with Proposition 13 divides into three roughly equal-sized camps. About one-third of voters (37%) report being very familiar with it, another third (30%) are somewhat familiar, while the remaining third (33%) are not too or not at all familiar with it.

Familiarity is directly related to whether a voter is a homeowner or renter. Nearly three times as many homeowners (46%) as renters (16%) report being very familiar with Prop. 13. In addition, *when* a homeowner bought their current home is another major correlate. For example, a much larger proportion (75%) of long-time homeowners (i.e., those who bought their home prior to Prop. 13's passage 30 years ago) are very familiar with the initiative compared to

homeowners who purchased their homes in the past five years (29%).

Even 30 years after its passage, Prop. 13 remains very popular with voters in California. If Prop. 13 were up for a vote again, the survey found that more than twice as many voters (57%) would vote in favor as would vote against it (23%). Another 20% have no opinion. The current two and one-half to one margin in favor is proportionately greater than its actual margin of passage in June 1978, when voters endorsed Prop. 13 by slightly less than a two-to-one margin (65% to 35%).

The poll also asked voters their opinions about a number of proposals that have been made to amend Prop. 13 or change some of its major provisions. Most were rejected by wide margins of the respondents.

For example, a proposal to gradually raise the property taxes of long-time property owners so that the amount they pay is more in line with the amount paid by recent home buyers of similarly valued property is rejected two and one-half to one (66% to 27%). Not only do very large majorities of long-time homeowners oppose this idea, but it is also rejected by a greater than two to one margin (68% to 26%) among those who bought their homes in the past 10 years.

Another of Prop. 13's major provisions was to limit the amount local governments could increase property taxes to no more than 2% each year. When voters are asked whether they approved or disapproved of changing this provision to allow their own local governments to increase property taxes by more than 2% per year, they reject this idea by a greater than four-to-one margin (78% to 17%).

There is also strong resistance to the idea of changing the Prop. 13 provision that requires a two-thirds vote of the state legislature to increase taxes. This question was posed in two slightly different ways in the current survey. About half of the sample was asked the question after first being reminded that the state was facing a large budget deficit then estimated at between \$14 and

*Cont. on p. 14*

The **Scholar's Corner** features commentaries in which faculty members affiliated with IGS apply academic research or concepts to issues relevant to the practical world of politics and policy.

## IGS Donor Completes \$250,000 Commitment Two Years Early



Top, left to right: Bruce Huber, Amanda Hollis-Brusky, Bill Brandt, Ming Hsu Chen, Vikram Maheshri

Bottom, left to right: Danielle Serbin, Kevin Haas, Claire Johnson, Bill Brandt, Aseem Padukone, Diane Alexander, and Jeslyn Su

Citing the difficult economic challenges facing higher education, IGS National Advisory Council member **Bill Brandt** doubled his scheduled donation to the Institute this year, completing a five-year \$250,000 commitment in just three years.

Brandt is president and CEO of Development Specialists, Inc., one of the nation's leading firms specializing in the provision of management, consulting, and turnaround assistance to troubled or reorganizing enterprises. Widely acknowledged as one of the foremost practitioners in the field of corporate restructuring, bankruptcy, and related public policy issues, his firm maintains offices in both San Francisco and Los Angeles, among many other cities. Brandt joined the IGS National Advisory Council in May 2006.

Brandt also serves as the chair of the Illinois Finance Authority, following appointment by the governor and confirmation by the Illinois Senate. This organization is one of the nation's largest state-sponsored entities principally engaged in economic development and job creation through the issuance of both taxable and tax-exempt bonds for businesses, nonprofit organizations, and local governmental units.

Given the milieu in which he operates and the current economic climate, Brandt said he is acutely aware of the tightening financial pressures on a host of enterprises, particularly on organizations like IGS that rely heavily on grant monies and support from their benefactors.

"These are lean economic times for nonprofit organizations in general, and particularly for California's public system of higher education," Brandt said. "I wanted to show my support for IGS scholars, students, and programs by accelerating this five-year financial commitment."

During a ceremony at the Institute in February, Brandt delivered a check for \$100,000, bringing his total donations to IGS during the past three years to \$250,000.

"Thanks to Bill's extraordinary generosity, IGS will continue to pursue its core missions of research, education, and public service even during these hard times," said Institute Director Jack Citrin. "IGS benefits from many wonderful supporters, but no one exceeds Bill's devotion to maintaining the excellence of our programs."



Brandt's donation funds, among other programs, research fellowships for both graduate and undergraduate students. This year's recipients:

- **Diane Alexander**, "The Economics of Signing Petitions: Social Engagement versus Social Pressure"
- **Hanna Brown**, "Race, Immigration, and the Transformation of the U.S. Welfare State, 1988–2008"
- **Kevin Haas**, "Relative Fairness in the Ultimatum Game"
- **Amanda Hollis-Brusky**, "The Federalist Society and the Structural Constitution"
- **Ming Hsu Chen**, "From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism"
- **Bruce Huber**, "The Politics of Grandfathering in Environmental Law"
- **Claire Johnson**, "Saving Colorado's Forest: A Response to the Pine Beetle Epidemic"
- **Vikram Maheshri**, "Money in Politics: Causes and Consequences"
- **Aseem Padukone**, "Examining the Usage of the Discharge Petition"
- **Danielle Elise Serbin**, "Political Parties and Female Candidates for U.S. Congress"
- **Jeslyn YingXin Su**, "Investigating the Effects of Self-Selection Biases in Social Science Laboratory Experiments"

# Washington Comes to Cal and Cal Goes to Washington

*The newest component of IGS—the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service—brought Washington to Cal and took Cal to Washington this spring. The Matsui Center sponsored the inaugural Matsui Lecture by former Congressman James A. Leach and provided four scholarships for Cal students working on Capitol Hill.*



## Rep. Leach Visits Berkeley

Former Congressman **James A. Leach** came to the Matsui Center for a one-week residency this spring as the first annual Matsui Lecturer.

While on campus, Leach spoke to PS 1, the introductory American government course, and to an upper-division course on the presidency. He also spoke to the Research Workshop on American Politics, which consists of faculty members and graduate students, and had lunch with Cal undergraduates from several political internship programs.

Leach was an ideal figure to launch the Matsui Lectureship series. He spent 30 years in Congress, representing Iowa's 2nd district from 1977 to 2007. A moderate Republican, last year Leach endorsed Barack Obama for president and spoke at the Democratic National Convention.

The centerpiece of his Berkeley visit was the inaugural Matsui Lecture, which drew a standing-room-only crowd of students, faculty, and community members. Here is some of what Leach, a former chairman of the House Banking Committee, had to say:

"The country is facing unprecedented economic challenges and thus any administration, especially this one, should be cut more than a little slack on policy discretion. After all, the Geithner Treasury has the unenviable task of picking up the pieces for the greatest regulatory failure in American history.

"Fortunately, our new Treasury Secretary is working hand-in-glove with Ben Bernanke at the Federal Reserve,

who since mid-September when the Fed and the SEC capitulated to the Treasury's faulty insistence that Lehman Brothers be allowed to fail, has been administratively creative, if not heroic, in devising approaches to pushing multi-trillions of liquidity into the economy. Now the challenge for the Treasury is to match Fed activism with administrative fairness. If the Administration can come to symbolize these two notions—activism (saving the financial system) with fairness (insuring that power elites do not run roughshod over ordinary taxpaying citizens)—it could carve out a wondrous historic niche, a new American approach to 'equity.'

"The language of leaders is always confident in tone, but approaches taken must by necessity have an experimental dimension. Some approaches may work well; others less effectively. The key is to learn from successes and failures and recognize that the case for action over inaction in the current circumstance is compelling.

"Members of Congress are likewise sorting through unprecedented choices and strategies. How political and policy

To learn more about the Matsui Center and its programs, including a webcast of Congressman Leach's lecture, go to: [politics.berkeley.edu](http://politics.berkeley.edu)

judgments intertwine is novel and complicated, but not impenetrable.

“The current Republican aversion to going along with Democratic stimulus initiatives is directly related to the GOP’s failure to restrain spending and maintain fiscal balance under President Bush. Fiscally embarrassed, the party is now bent on recapturing its old mantle of budgetary restraint. Applying motivation to others is always a dicey proposition but presumably the misjudgments of congressional Republicans in the Bush years may be one of the reasons the Minority Leader of the House is reported to have exhorted his Republican colleagues earlier this week to concentrate on ‘communicating’ rather than ‘legislating.’ This refusal to share accountability for legislative efforts to right the economy amounts to renegeing on the opportunity to influence policy.

“‘Do-nothing’ or ‘simply do-tax cut’ alternatives are policy cop-outs. Irresponsible approaches of this nature, however, may prove in the end to be politically shrewd. Modern day economists assume there are times when the government, as the steward of national resources, must run deficits, acting in a manner contrary to prudential decision-making of a family household. But many citizens believe that if they have to tighten their belts, the government should, too.

“There are many uncertainties about the economy. The one certitude is that public debt—federal, state, and local—is likely to skyrocket. Thus fiscal hard-headedness, which may at the moment seem imprudent, lacking in compassion, or simply irrelevant, may eventually pay off with political gains at a later point, especially if the economy doesn’t turn around quickly, or if it stabilizes at lower rates of growth than was experienced in the last half of the 20th century.

**The country is facing unprecedented economic challenges and thus any administration, especially this one, should be cut more than a little slack on policy discretion.**

**—James A. Leach**

“The Republicans appear to be basing their political future on the working middle class becoming increasingly discomfited with a massive increase in public debt, which eventually becomes the responsibility of those with income to repay. It is no accident that the president has a clear preference to proceed in a bipartisan fashion and that he keeps suggesting that restraint, including the possibility of entitlement reform, will have to follow the aggressive interventions currently underway in the economy.

“The White House and Treasury are patently aware of precedents, good and bad, of the 1930s,

but the most disturbing unknown is whether one of the most important economic phenomena of the post-World War II era will be a guide for the future. World War II indebtedness and Marshall Plan foreign assistance were accommodated by subsequent economic growth. On the

other hand, if a slow or no-growth future lies ahead, politically unpopular choice-making and disruptive re-assessments of priorities will be inevitable.

“President Obama, in short, could pursue the most creative economic policy possible and yet find his reward in kudos from economic historians rather than in the Electoral College. Despite the fact that the best politics, especially for a majority party, is the advancement of good policy, there are times when advocacy of bad policy, especially by a minority party that doesn’t prevail in its efforts, ends up being clever politics. Such are the vagaries of democracy.”

## *Students in Congress*

Four Matsui Center Congressional Interns worked in Congress as part of the UC Berkeley Washington Program.

Each received a \$2,000 scholarship from the Matsui Center to offset the extra expense of spending a semester in Washington.

“Scholarships provided through the Matsui Center ensure that these kinds of experiences will be open to all Berkeley students, regardless of their backgrounds or financial circumstances,” said Matsui Center Director Ethan Rarick.

During a ceremony in the Rayburn House Office Building in February, all four students had the opportunity to meet Congresswoman Doris Matsui, Robert Matsui’s widow and his successor in the House.

The four students and the offices in which they worked: Gricelda Gomez (Rep. Grace Napolitano), Katerina Robinson (Rep. Mike Honda), Erin Pangilinan (Rep. Zoe Lofgren), and Amanda Loh (Sen. Chris Dodd).

## Silicon Valley Leader Cites Emphasis on Housing, Transportation, Education



For a webcast of this event, go to: [igs.berkeley.edu/events/jones](http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/jones)

Silicon Valley business leaders are concerned about issues such as housing, transportation, and education and are coming together to try to find solutions to those problems, one of the region's most prominent leaders said during a major IGS lecture this spring.

**Carl Guardino**, president and CEO of the Silicon Valley Leadership Group, delivered the annual Victor Jones Memorial Lecture, which focuses on local affairs. Guardino's talk was entitled, "Leading the Way to Smart Growth: Lessons from Silicon Valley."

Guardino said that each year, he attempts to meet with half of the CEOs who form the Leadership Group, and asks them what issues are key to their continuation as a healthy and competitive employer. The answers, he said, consistently focus on "homes that families can afford, a transportation system that works, a sound and

quality environment, and a great K-12 and higher education system."

"Those are the main concerns that we hear in the boardrooms of Silicon Valley," Guardino said. "What excites me is that those are pretty much the same concerns that we hear in the living rooms of the Bay Area."

Guardino spoke about ways in which business leaders in Silicon Valley have addressed these issues, including the creation of a Housing Trust Fund that has helped 7,400 families afford housing in the high-cost area.

Guardino has headed the Leadership Group since 1997, and before that was a vice president within the organization. He has also worked for Hewlett Packard and was a staff member for Assemblyman Rusty Areias.

He is involved in numerous local and state public policy issues, including transportation and housing. In 2007 Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed Guardino as a member of the California Transportation Commission.

The Leadership Group is a public policy organization that represents over 285 of Silicon Valley's most respected companies. The Leadership Group is devoted to bringing together business executives and government officials to address major public policy issues affecting the economic health and quality of life in the Santa Clara Valley Region.

The Jones Lecture honors Victor Jones, who was a professor emeritus of political science at Berkeley when he died in 2002. Jones was a pioneer in the academic study of metropolitan government.

## Conference Examines Multi-Ethnic California

This spring IGS gathered together scholars from different universities, different disciplines, and even different countries to examine the opportunities and challenges of the state's famous diversity.

The three-day conference, "Governing a Multi-Ethnic California," featured new research on topics such as immigration, residential segregation, and the political power of African Americans and Latinos. Scholars had a chance to present works-in-progress, creating a rich environment for feedback and collaboration.

"By devoting equal time to presentation and discussion, we had a lively interplay between authors and participants," said **Thad Kousser**, a political science professor at UC San Diego and one of the conference organizers. "One author noted that it was an ideal structure for academic conferences."

Kousser organized the conference with IGS Director **Jack Citrin**; **Frédéric Douzet**, who is an associate professor of geopolitics at the University of Paris 8;

and **Kenneth P. Miller**, who teaches government at Claremont McKenna College in southern California.

The organizers have rich ties to IGS. Kousser and Miller were affiliated with IGS while completing their Ph.D.'s at Cal, and Douzet is a longtime visiting scholar at the Institute. The three co-edited *The New Political Geography of California*, which was published last year by IGS. (To order the book, go to [igs.berkeley.edu/publications](http://igs.berkeley.edu/publications).)

The conference brought together scholars from seven institutions, two countries (the United States and France), and three disciplines (political science, demography, and urban planning). The panels also included graduate student research presented by young scholars from both UC San Diego and UC Berkeley.

Cosponsors included the UC California Studies Initiative, the University of California Humanities Research Institute, and the French Consulate.

IGS underwent some key staff changes in the past few months, with Management Services Officer **Anne Benker** and Electronic Services Librarian **Frank Lester** both leaving.

Benker became the budget director for the Vice Chancellor for Research Office. She had spent almost three years at IGS, where she was responsible for overseeing the business office.

“In a brief period,” IGS Director Jack Citrin wrote in an announcement of her departure, “she has rebuilt our financial system, enhanced our IT services, and done a great deal to build a friendly and cooperative community.”

**Barbara Campbell** took over the MSO position, which is part of the Institute’s senior leadership team. Campbell had served as the Senior Administrative Analyst at the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, and has many years of UC Berkeley experience in budgeting, financial management, and grant administration.

“Her background, skills, and experience make her a superb fit for IGS,” Citrin noted, “and I am delighted she took this key position.”

Campbell has a B.A. in English from Berkeley and a master’s in public administration from CSU. A few weeks before Benker’s departure, Frank Lester left the IGS Library staff to take a job at Vanderbilt University. **Julie Lefevre** took over as the IGS Digital Services Librarian in mid-March. She came to the Institute from managing large-scale digital library projects at the Internet Archive in San Francisco and previously worked in the high-tech sector as a technical writer and course developer.

“Julie is uniquely qualified to contribute to the full range of library activities, from web management to digital collections to public services,” Citrin said.

Another personnel change for IGS was the departure of Autumn Alvarez from the business office to take a new position in the School of Information.

# Staff Changes at IGS



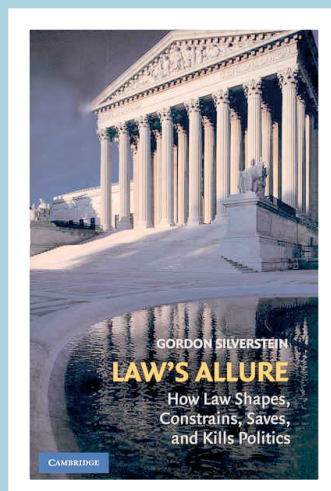
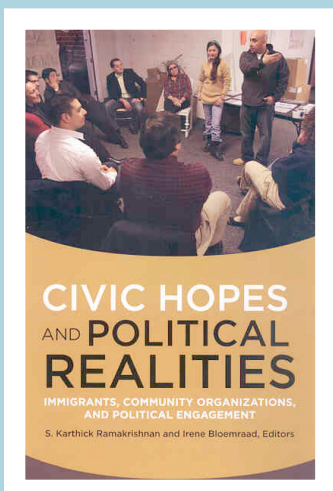
Top to bottom:  
Anne Benker  
Barbara Campbell  
Julie Lefevre

## New Books from IGS Faculty

Two Berkeley faculty members affiliated with IGS have new books out.

**Gordon Silverstein**, a member of the political science faculty, has just published *Law’s Allure: How Law Shapes, Constrains, Saves, and Kills Politics* with Cambridge University Press. Using more than 10 controversial policy case studies, the book examines the increasingly close connection between judicial and political power in the United States. Silverstein examines policy areas as diverse as war powers, abortion, the environment, and campaign finance.

**Irene Bloemraad** co-edited *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations, and Political Engagement*, which was published by the Russell Sage Foundation. Bloemraad teaches sociology and serves on the IGS Faculty Advisory Committee. The book is a collection of essays in which scholars from a wide variety of disciplines explore how civic groups across the country and around the world are shaping immigrants’ quest for political recognition.





# Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellows Enjoy Busy Spring

Students in the IGS Cal-in-Sacramento program have had a busy spring, learning about politics and getting ready for a busy summer in Sacramento.

Some of the highlights for students enrolled in the program:

- Touring the state Capitol and the state Supreme Court Building, meeting with State Senate President Pro Tem **Darrell Steinberg** and California Chief Justice **Ronald George**.
- Hearing lectures by leading political figures like **Susan Kennedy**, chief of staff to Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger; former San Francisco Mayor **Willie Brown**; and political consultant **Steve Schmidt**, who managed John McCain's 2008 presidential campaign.
- Talking politics with IGS National Advisory Council Chairman **Darius Anderson**, the primary benefactor of the program.

"The students selected for Cal-in-Sacramento always have an extraordinary experience, but this year has been an especially rich opportunity for them to learn about California politics," said Ethan Rarick, director of IGS' Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service. "This year's batch of students is going to be well-prepared to join the world of California leadership."

Aside from the experiences of the students, the program itself also benefited from key changes and expansions this year. The newly created Matsui Center took over administration of the program and funded three additional slots for students. Those students are now designated as Matsui State Government Interns.

Meanwhile, Anderson and his wife, Sarah, continued their long-standing and generous support of the program, committing the bulk of their annual \$50,000 IGS contribution to Cal-in-Sacramento. Except for the three Matsui Interns, the other 20 students participating in Cal-in-Sacramento are designated as Platinum Fellows to honor the Andersons' support. Darius Anderson is the president and founder of Platinum Advisors.

Soon after their acceptance into the program, the students had the opportunity to talk politics with Anderson at a reception at IGS. Then in the spring semester, they took a course in California politics taught by the IGS Legislator-in-Residence, former state Senate Republican Leader **Dick Ackerman**.

Ackerman arranged an extraordinary series of speakers for the students, including Kennedy, Brown, and Schmidt. Other speakers have included *Sacramento Bee* columnist **Dan Walters**, former Legislative Analyst **Liz Hill**, pollster **Steve Kinney**, **Patrick**

**Mason** of the California Foundation on the Environment and the Economy, lobbyists **Bev Hansen** and **K. C. Bishop**, and **Greg Schmidt**, the chief clerk of the California Senate. The final speakers of the semester were state Senators **Abel Maldonado** and **Alan Lowenthal**.

The entire Cal-in-Sacramento class took their traditional annual trip to the state Capitol, where they met with Senate President Pro Tem

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

Left to right: Kyle Simmerly, Victor Guttman, Alex Hirsch, Mike Mikawa, Matthew Hettich, Alyssa Sittig, Daniel Chun, Christa Lim, Nancy Li, Maia Sciuapac, Sen. Dick Ackerman, Emily Bronstein, Monique Smith, Meghan Ballard, Dan Stepanicich, Ricardo Gomez, and Harrison Pardini



Darrell Steinberg, who was the IGS Legislator-in-Residence and taught the course while he was briefly out of the Legislature a few years ago.

The class also visited the California Supreme Court in San Francisco, where they met with Chief Justice Ron George.

Throughout the spring semester, the students work on securing internships for the summer. They can work anywhere in Sacramento that is connected to the world of politics and policy. Most work in the Legislature, although students have also worked in the governor's office, state agencies, nonprofit groups, and political journalism.

In a later issue of the *PAR*, we'll chronicle some of the experiences of this year's fellows.



Darius Anderson chats with students.



Below: Willie Brown, Right: Steve Schmidt



## Cal-in-Sacramento Alums at Work in Politics

As Cal-in-Sacramento continues to grow, more and more alumni of the program are going to work in state politics.

Within the past few months, former Cal-in-Sac Platinum Fellows have gone to work for Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, Lt. Gov. John Garamendi, and numerous legislators. Those names can be added to an impressive list of alums who were already involved in state politics.

One of the purposes of a program like Cal-in-Sacramento is to help train the leaders of tomorrow so they can contribute to the political life of California and the nation, and these new alumni are evidence of the program's success.

In future editions of the *PAR* we will be offering more detail on the experiences of some of the alumni now working in politics, including their own stories about how Cal-in-Sacramento helped to prepare them for their careers.

If you are a Cal-in-Sacramento alumni, please contact the program by emailing [matsuicenter@berkeley.edu](mailto:matsuicenter@berkeley.edu) and let us know about your experiences in the program and in your post-Cal career.

## Recent Cal-in-Sacramento Alumni in Politics

### Class of 2008

Tonia Bui, *U.S. Rep. Xavier Becerra*

Felipe Lopez, *Assemblymember Isadore Hall*

Jaqueline Orpilla, *Assemblymember Sandre Swanson*

Christian Osmena, *Executive Assistant to the Chief of Staff, Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger*

Max Reyes, *Assemblymember Dave Jones*

Kim Tran, *Assemblymember Jim Beall*

### Class of 2007

Scott Lucas, *Field Representative, Assemblymember Sandre Swanson*

### Class of 2006

Shane Goldmacher, *Political Writer, Sacramento Bee*

Donald Lathbury, *Deputy Director of Communications, Lt. Gov. John Garamendi*

Gordon Li, *Forward Observer, Inc.*

Andrea Olson, *Field Representative, Assemblymember Joan Buchanan*

Ronald Ongtoaboc, *Assembly Republican Caucus*

### Class of 2005

Alexia Cortez, *Judicial Appointments Unit, Office of Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger*

Steve O'Mara, *Communications Associate, Ed Voice*

# SPRING HIGHLIGHTS

IGS filled the spring semester with an impressive list of speakers.



## Special Events

**Darius Anderson**, chairman of the IGS National Advisory Council, returned to campus this spring to lecture in the popular California politics course taught by former legislator Ted Lempert. Anderson, a prominent political fundraiser and lobbyist, talked to the students about the role of money in politics and about the workings of the political system in general. It was the second straight year Anderson has lectured to the class. Lempert told the students it was an opportunity for them to hear from a major political player in California politics.

**Thomas J. Sugrue**, a historian at the University of Pennsylvania, appeared at an expanded session of the American Political History Seminar to discuss his book, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North*. Sugrue notes that most histories of the Civil Rights movement tend to focus on the South, but his book focuses instead in the North, where a more informal version of segregation limited the rights of African Americans just as severely. Sugrue said he is now at work on a related but more contemporary project, writing a series of essays entitled, “The End of Race? Barack Obama as History.”

**Andrew Gelman** analyzed politics with a statistical bent when he spoke about his book, *Red State, Blue State, Rich State, Poor State: Why Americans Vote the Way They Do*. Gelman is a professor of statistics and political science and the director of the Applied Statistics Center at Columbia. His book debunks myths about the color divide identifying states as liberal or conservative, Democrat or Republican. Instead, Gelman presented his research getting to the bottom of why Democrats win elections in wealthy states while Republicans win the votes of richer voters.

**Jacques Bouchard** spoke on “Nuclear Power as a Solution for Climate Change: Lessons from France.” Bouchard led the Nuclear Energy Division of the Commissariat à l’Énergie Atomique (CEA) from 2000 until his retirement in 2004.

**Sven Steinmo** of the European University Institute in Florence, Italy, discussed his forthcoming book, *The Evolution of Modern States*. The book, which Steinmo is still finishing, examines the political, social, and economic consequences of economic integration in Japan, Sweden, Germany, and the United States.

**Taeku Lee, Karthick Ramakrishnan, Jane Junn, and Janelle Wong** appeared at a panel discussion about their National Asian-American Survey, a broad-based survey of Asian-American political views. Lee is director of the IGS Center on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity. The survey was released in October. For the results, go to [www.naasurvey.com](http://www.naasurvey.com).



## Seminars

### Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration

**Lester K. Spence**, Johns Hopkins, “The Neoliberal Turn in Black Politics”

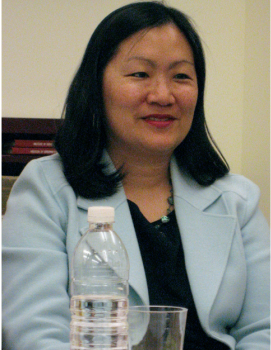
**Vesla Weaver**, University of Virginia, “Racial Politics, Policy Feedback, and the Growth of the Carceral State”

**Alejandro Portes**, Princeton, “Convergent or Divided Loyalties: Immigrant Organizations in the Political Incorporation of Latin Migrants in the U.S.”

**Tasha S. Philpot**, University of Texas at Austin, “Multifaceted Ideology: Explaining the Dynamics of African-American Conservatism”

**Victoria DeFrancesco Soto**, Northwestern, “A One-Way Ticket on a One-Lane Road? Multiple Dimensions (Roads) of Latino Assimilation on Political Participation”

**Eric Schickler**, UC Berkeley, “Shifting Partisan Coalitions: Support for Civil Rights in Congress from 1933–1972”



Top to bottom, left to right: Andrew Gelman  
Lester K. Spence  
Jane Junn  
Tasha S. Philpot  
Janelle Wong  
Pohan Fong  
Jacques Bouchard  
Thomas J. Sugue

### Positive Political Theory

**Pohan Fong**, Northwestern University, “Endogenous Limits on Proposal Power”

**Jon Eguia**, New York University, “Foundations of Spatial Preferences”

**David Ahn**, UC Berkeley, “Combinatorial Voting”

**Edward Miguel**, UC Berkeley, “Government Transfers and Political Support”

**Vincenzo Galasso**, IGIER, Bocconi University & CEPR, “The Double Dividend of Political Competition”

**Navin Kartik**, UC San Diego, “Opinions as Incentives”

**Matias Iaryczower**, CalTech, “Voting in Bicameral Legislatures: The U.S. Congress”

### Globalization and Information Technology

**Charlotte Linde**, NASA Ames Research Center, “Narrative and Institutional Memory”

**Jaeho Cho**, UC Davis, “Political Mobilization through Information and Communication in a Digital Age”

**David Silver**, University of San Francisco, “Using Online Tools to Encourage Offline Participation”

**Laura Robinson**, Santa Clara University, “Developing a Taste for the Necessary: A Bourdieuan Approach to Digital Inequality among American High School Students”

### Election Administration

**Peter C. Ordeshook**, California Institute of Technology, “The Forensics of Election Fraud with Applications to Russia, Ukraine, and Taiwan”

### American Politics

**Sara Chatfield and John Henderson**, UC Berkeley, “Reconsidering the Participatory Returns to Education”

**Mark Oleszek**, UC Berkeley, “Social Embeddedness and the United States Senate”

**Irene Bloemraad and Naomi Hsu**, UC Berkeley, “Congress and Immigration”

**Jessica Trounstein**, Princeton, “Information, Turnout, and Incumbency in Local Elections”

**David Hopkins**, UC Berkeley, “Geographic Polarization and Party Asymmetry in the U.S. Congress”

**Rebecca Hamlin**, UC Berkeley, “Let Me Be a Refugee: Asylum Seekers and the Transformation of Law in the United States, Canada, and Australia”

**Merrill Shanks**, UC Berkeley, “Policy-Related Conflicts and Vote Choice”

**Alex Theodoridis**, UC Berkeley, “To Debate? Electoral Campaign Decisions under Uncertainty”

**Henry Brady**, UC Berkeley, “Corporate Lobbying in America, 1981–2006”

**Sean Gailmard**, UC Berkeley, “Institutions, Information, and Bureaucratic Accountability”

**Nate Monroe**, UC Merced, “Majority Party Influence in the Senate: A Costly Consideration Theory of Agenda Setting”

**Lisa Garcia Bedolla**, UC Berkeley, “Are You Asking Me? Mobilization and Inclusion among Low-Propensity Voters in California”

**Ben Highton**, UC Davis, “Biased Partisans or Rational Updaters? How Ordinary Citizens Update Their Presidential Evaluations”

**Caroline Tolbert**, University of Iowa, “Why Iowa? Sequential Elections, Reform and U.S. Presidential Nominations”

**Lee Drutman**, UC Berkeley, “Politics, Collective Action, and the Organization of Industry Lobbying”

**Eric Schickler**, UC Berkeley, “Shifting Partisan Coalitions: Support for Civil Rights in Congress from 1933–1972”

**Robert Kagan**, UC Berkeley, “On the Politics of Regulation: Controlling Truck Emissions in the United States”

**James Leach**, Princeton, “Polarization and Other Changes in Congress”

**Taeku Lee**, UC Berkeley, “What Makes a Partisan? Party Identification and the Political Incorporation of Latinos and Asian Americans”

**Benjamin Bishin**, UC Riverside, “Institutional Design and Democracy: Assessing Representation in the U.S. House versus Senate”

**Eric McDaniel**, University of Texas and RWJ Scholar in Health Policy Research at UC Berkeley, “The Gospel Gap: The Relationship between Communal Religious Beliefs and Policy Preference”

**Paul Sniderman**, Stanford and UC Berkeley Survey Research Center: “The Rational Partisan”

**David Brady and Douglas Rivers**, Stanford, “The 2008 Elections: Moment or Movement?: Some Evidence”

# New IGS Journal Examines California Issues

The following are excerpts from articles already published in the new California Journal of Politics and Policy. To read the full articles, go to [www.bepress.com/cjpp](http://www.bepress.com/cjpp)

## Proposition 11: What Will It Do?

Tony Quinn

... The bipartisan gerrymander [of 2001] is the primary reason Republicans still hold 15 seats in the Senate, thwarting the Democrats from two-thirds control there. The legislature created an elongated district that runs from south San Jose to Santa Maria that was drawn for GOP Sen. Abel Maldonado, who won the district in 2004 and was reelected without serious opposition this year. This district would never pass Proposition 11 standards and almost any successor district is likely to be far more Democratic.

Just to the south, the 19th Senate district, encompassing parts of Santa Barbara, Ventura, and Los Angeles counties, was drawn to be Republican and was won by GOP Sen. Tony Strickland in the closest Senate race this year. Had Republicans not insisted on placing a few heavily GOP precincts in Santa Clarita into the district in 2001 and taking out heavily Democratic Oxnard, Strickland would have lost. Proposition 11 will almost certainly require putting Oxnard back into the district, making the district more marginal.

Proposition 11 will create more competitive districts for the next decade and will require both parties to run more candidates who can win in politically marginal territory.

## On Amending and Revising the Constitution: The Issues Behind the Challenge to Proposition 8

Joseph R. Grodin

... The original California Constitution of 1849 provided two methods of modifying the constitution: through “amendment,” proposed by a majority in both houses of the legislature and adopted by the voters, or through “revision,” adopted at a constitutional convention. The 1879 constitution continued the same arrangement, except that it required a legislative proposal to be approved by two-thirds, rather than a simple majority, of both houses (art. 18, sec. 1). Although there were no early cases that tested the issue, the Supreme Court, through dicta in an 1894 decision, opined that the legislature had no power under this arrangement to propose revisions, as distinguished from amendments.

So matters stood until 1911, when the Progressives brought the initiative to California and defined it to mean “the power of the electors to propose statutes *and amendments to the Constitution* and to adopt or reject them” (art. 2, sec. 8). The effect was to bypass the requirement for legislative proposal, thus making California one of the few states in which the initiative can be used directly to amend the state constitution.

The constitution was again modified in 1970 to give the legislature power to propose, by two-thirds vote in both houses, not only an “amendment” but also a “revision” to the constitution.

## What Do Debt Loads Say About California's Fiscal Condition?

John Decker

Too often the costs associated with servicing debt are considered incidental to state finances, such as Governor Schwarzenegger's strange characterization of debt secured with future lottery ticket sales. In July 2008, he called the bond “a gift,” as if a multi-billion bond were so much swag left in a rock star's dressing room. Even more strange is that the giver—unnamed and paying in the future—cannot be consulted about the “gift” she pays for.

California's budget situation can be understood in many contexts. Too often, the budget is framed as an annual race against time and as a forum for waging internecine rivalries.

However, a budget does not happen as an isolated “event.” Each adopted budget has implications for those that follow. By monitoring the kind and amount of short-term debt, Californians can assess whether spending patterns are sustainable within existing revenues streams. By evaluating long-term debt levels, they can assess whether debt patterns are sufficient for financing the desired level of services out of the operating budget and the necessary infrastructure out of the capital budget.

## How Geopolitics Cleaved California's Republicans and United Its Democrats

Thad Kousser

... Today, a strong and lasting divide has emerged within the GOP at the same time that Democrats have unified. The rise of social conservatives as a grassroots movement, a leading funder of campaigns, and a force in setting the party's policy agenda has created a split within its ranks. The two distinct Republican constituencies now occupy different spaces on the ideological quadrant: Fiscally conservative but socially liberal Republicans gaze nervously from country club windows toward their socially conservative copartisans who, though they have not forsaken the tax revolt, possess a streak of economic populism that makes them riled by, for instance, a

Wall Street bailout. Social conservatives often live in the Central Valley, where evangelical churches flourish, while socially liberal Republicans reside in the suburbs of the coastal metropolises. Party primaries for state-wide offices have become battlegrounds between the two factions, with the outcomes of these contests determining the party's fate in general elections.

State Democrats no longer grapple with such divisions. White voters in the Central Valley have largely abandoned the party, as have blue collar "Reagan Democrats." The party's electoral strength has migrated to coastal areas, where voters liberal in both fiscal and social matters predominate in the Bay Area and Los Angeles and are now challenging the Republican strongholds of San Diego and Orange Counties. Whether they ride in limousines, Volvos, or buses, Democrats in the blue areas of the state share similar policy views. Party primaries are fought over personal allegiances rather than across ideological divides.

In short, the state now has two Republican Parties and one Democratic Party. . . .

## Should Proposition 8 Be Held to Be Retroactive?

Jesse H. Choper

... Legislative retroactivity is generally disfavored. For example, though there are very few provisions in the original U.S. Constitution (i.e., before the Bill of Rights) dealing with individual liberty, three of them address legislative retroactivity: the *ex post facto* prohibition, the bar against bills of attainder, and the ban on impairing the obligation of contracts. The U.S. Supreme Court has invoked James Madison's explanation in Federalist 44 that these prohibited measures "are contrary to the first principles of the social compact, and to every principle of sound legislation."

Similarly in California, "statutes are not to be given a retrospective operation unless it is clearly made to appear that such was the legislative intent." In the case of initiatives, the California Supreme Court will try to ascertain the voters' intent first by looking at the text of the proposition and then examining extrinsic evidence such as the voter guides to resolve ambiguities.

The text of Prop. 8 simply states that only an opposite-sex marriage "is valid or recognized." Given the presumption against retroactivity, there is a strong argument that Proposition 8 should not be construed to apply retroactively because nothing expressly says that it does. . . .

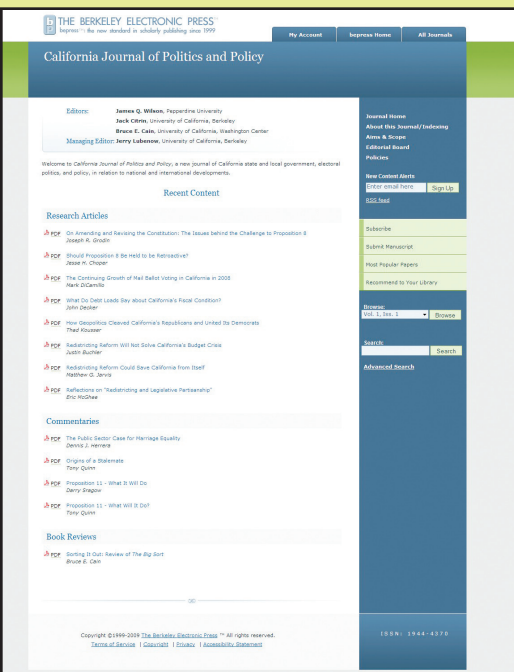
## Sorting It Out: Book Review of *The Big Sort* by Bill Bishop

Bruce Cain

... It is hard to quarrel with [Bishop's] claims about geographic sorting. As Californians know, immigration and domestic migration have created a patchwork state consisting of many homogenous areas of varying economic circumstances and political leanings. A recent IGS book entitled *The New Political Geography* documents the state's east-west divide, a dramatic example of political clustering with blue or Democratic voters dominating the coastal counties and red or Republican voters in the inland and mountainous ones. And as Bishop suggests, the partisan sorting in California overlaps with religious, economic, and racial concentrations as well.

What Bishop neglects to say, however, is that homogenous sorting can occur at different levels: sometimes regionally (as in the inland-coastal split in California), sometimes by county, and often in neighborhoods within a city. Areas that are homogenous with respect to one level of government might not be homogenous at other levels. . . .

The most controversial aspect of the Bishop thesis is the allegation that sorting is tearing us apart. To begin with, much of his evidence comes from social psychology studies done in laboratories. I am willing to believe that the phenomena of conformity and polarization these studies document are real in their controlled context, but I question how far they can be extended to generalizations about American democracy. . . .



## Scholar's Corner cont.

\$20 billion. No mention was made of the state's budget deficit among the other sample of voters.

The results show that similar large majorities of voters—about seven in ten—disapprove of making this change, regardless of whether the deficit is cited or not. In both cases, opposition includes over six in ten Democrats and nonpartisans and over eight in ten Republicans.

Voters were again divided into two random subsamples and read alternative versions of a question to change Prop. 13 by establishing a split roll method of property taxation, which would tax residential and commercial properties at different rates.

One version asked voters whether they approved or disapproved of changing Prop. 13 “to permit business and commercial property owners to be taxed at a higher rate than owners of residential property,” implying a potential tax increase on businesses.

The other version asked voters whether they approved or disapproved of changing Prop. 13 “to permit owners of residential property to be taxed at a lower rate than business and commercial property owners,” implying a potential tax reduction for homeowners.

When the issue is posed as a potential tax reduction to homeowners, the idea is endorsed by a greater than two-to-one margin (61% to 28%). However, when the issue is framed as a potential tax increase on businesses, voters are about evenly divided, with 47% approving and 44% disapproving.

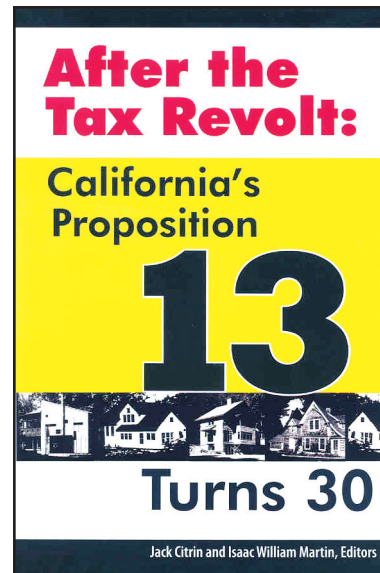
The poll identifies a number of factors contributing to Prop. 13's continuing popularity. One relates to the fact that most voters (61%) have not significantly changed their view that state and local taxes in California are much too high or somewhat high. Another is that the property tax is among the most often mentioned taxes when asked which state or local taxes are too high.

In 1977, prior to Prop. 13's passage, The Field Poll asked Californians to volunteer which specific state or local taxes they felt were too high. At the time, three times as many singled out property taxes (60%) as cited any other single tax.

This measure has been updated intermittently over the past 31 years, with very different outcomes. In 1980, two years after the passage of Prop. 13, the state income tax (42%) was cited

by nearly twice as many voters as those mentioning the property tax (23%) in this context. In 1991 more mentioned sales taxes (52%) than any other state and local tax. In 1998 no single tax was singled out more than the others, with about three in ten citing sales taxes (32%), the state income tax (30%) and the state gasoline tax (30%).

This year, a similar pattern emerges as was observed in 1998. At present, 32% of voters offer the state gasoline tax, 29% cite property taxes, 27% state income taxes, and 22% sales taxes. No other state and local tax is volunteered by more than 9% statewide.



A final set of questions asked voters their reactions to a set of hypothetical trade-offs relating to the level of taxes they would be willing to pay and to reductions in services they would be willing to accept in two state program areas, the K-12 schools and the state prisons.

The first question asked voters whether or not they would be willing to accept larger K-12 class sizes if this meant taxes could be kept at about

current levels. The results show that by a nearly two-to-one margin (60% to 37%) voters reject this trade-off. While Republicans are about evenly divided on this question, Democrats and nonpartisans oppose this idea by greater than two-to-one margins. In addition, a larger proportion of voters living in households where a family member attends school oppose this idea than voters where no family member attends a school.

Voters were next asked whether they would be willing to pay an additional \$100 or \$200 per year in taxes if this meant that the average K-12 class size would be reduced. A nearly two-to-one majority would support paying an additional \$100 per year in this scenario. Support drops to a narrower five-to-four margin (54% to 42%) when the amount of tax in question is raised to \$200 per year.

In short, Proposition 13 remains very popular with California voters 30 years after its passage, with most voters saying they would vote for it again today, and little support for changing its major provisions.

**Mark DiCamillo** is the director of The Field Poll. This essay is adapted from a chapter in *After the Tax Revolt: California's Proposition 13 Turns 30*, published this year by the Berkeley Public Policy Press, the publishing imprint of IGS. To order the book, go to [igs.berkeley.edu/publications](http://igs.berkeley.edu/publications), or see the ad on the back page of this issue of the *PAR*.

# Why I Give

## Darek DeFreece '93

*I give to IGS because it gave me so much. My years at Cal were a time of exploration and learning. Much of that occurred at IGS. I was encouraged to delve into issues that mattered to me. It was a time of critical thinking and scholarship.*

Thankfully, the IGS I left over 15 years ago hasn't changed in that regard. It is still a place where students of all levels can reflect on the most important issues today. IGS scholars provide commentary and discourse on issues ranging from the economic crisis to redistricting; from water wars to corporate social responsibility; from presidential politics to climate change. IGS is the training ground for tomorrow's leaders and the information that those future leaders glean contribute to the breadth and health of our society.

I give to IGS because in a small way I'm helping to support and shape tomorrow's leaders—no place does it better.



*As a political science undergraduate, Darek DeFreece, Class of 1993, was an intern in the State Capitol as part of what is now called the Cal in Sacramento Platinum Fellowship Program, administered by IGS. After graduation, Darek received a JD degree from Boston College Law School and is currently Senior Legal Counsel for the International Division of Wells Fargo based in San Francisco. DeFreece is also the current president of the California Alumni Association.*

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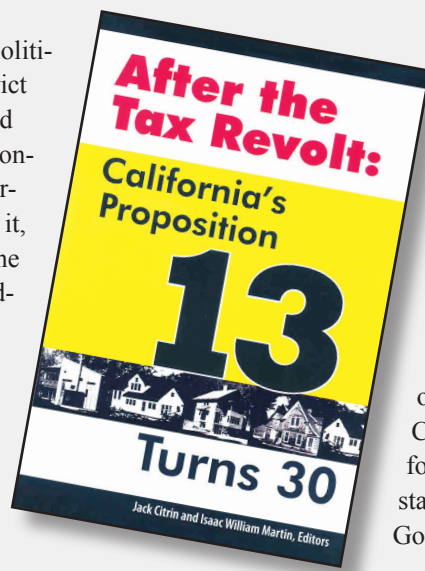
*New from Berkeley Public Policy Press!*

***After the Tax Revolt: California's Proposition 13 Turns Thirty***

*Jack Citrin and Isaac William Martin, editors*

In 1978 California voters shocked the political world by approving Proposition 13, a strict limit on local property tax rates. No state had ever approved such a far-reaching constitutional limitation of the power to tax. And Californians did not just approve it; they embraced it, rejecting dire warnings of doomsday from the state's political, business, and academic leaders. Voter turnout was the highest recorded for any off-year election in the history of California and the tax cut won in a landslide, with 65 percent of the vote. Thirty years later, Proposition 13 remains firmly entrenched in California's constitution, but what has it meant for politics and public policy in the state?

On June 6, 2008, the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of Proposition 13, a group of scholars, journalists and policy experts gathered to assess the legacy of this groundbreaking measure. Their mandate was a simple one: assess what we have learned about the political, economic, and fiscal consequences of Proposition 13 over the last 30 years.



*After the Tax Revolt: California's Proposition 13 Turns 30* is a result of that conference, and an attempt to summarize the state of our knowledge about the consequences of this critical event in the history of California and the United States. This collection of essays constitutes a cutting-edge and timely review of one of the most important reforms in California history, and will be crucial for anyone trying to gain a full understanding of politics and policy in the Golden State.

***About the Editors:***

**Jack Citrin** is Heller Professor of Political Science and the director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California, Berkeley.

**Isaac Martin** is an assistant professor of sociology at the University of California, San Diego.

*The book sells for \$24.95. To order, call 510-642-1428.*