

Institute of Governmental Studies

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IGS: Leadership, Policy, Politics

The 2013–14 academic year saw IGS focus on some of California’s most important leaders and some of its brightest young people. Clockwise from top left: Former Congresswoman **Ellen Tauscher** speaks during her residency as the Matsui Lecturer; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Jasraj Sangha** with Little Hoover Commission Chair **Pedro Nava**; Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow **Viktoriya Mukha** with Sen. **Mimi Walters**; Sen. **Alex Padilla** speaks at a forum on drones; then-Assembly Speaker **John A. Pérez** talks to a student at our State of the Union watch party; former Assembly Speaker **Willie Brown** accepts the Darius and Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award at the Salon Gala; and Cal Chancellor **Nicholas Dirks**, center, with incoming IGS National Advisory Council Chair **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**, after the awards ceremony for student research grants funded by the Brandts.

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

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DIRECTOR'S MESSAGE

*At IGS,
A Year of Change
Jack Citrin*



As the director of IGS, I know that no successful organization relies solely on the efforts of one person. That fact is especially apparent at the Institute this summer, as we are in the midst of a transition involving some of the talented and generous leaders who do so much to help us thrive.

Darius Anderson has decided to step down after seven years as the chair of our National Advisory Council. Darius's contributions have truly been exceptional. He led a reinvigoration of the council, providing an infusion of private resources that continues to this day. He and his wife, **Sarah**, made a major financial commitment to our student programs. His wise counsel and boundless enthusiasm are tremendous assets in setting new goals and defining new programming. Darius even found time in his hectic schedule to teach a class on political leadership. In all of this work, he has been a friend and colleague to me and others at IGS. His achievements have been recognized in many ways—our annual Distinguished Service Award is named after him and Sarah, and this spring he received a Trustee's Citation from the Berkeley Foundation—but I want to take this opportunity to personally thank Darius and Sarah for their brilliant service to IGS and the University.

We are lucky that the chairmanship of the advisory council will be passed to an equally gifted supporter, **Bill Brandt**. Bill joined the council with Darius in 2007, and since that time has been a stalwart of all our efforts. He and his wife, **Patrice**, are major financial supporters of the Institute, funding an ongoing program of the Synar and Percy research grants for graduate and undergraduate students respectively. Bill and Patrice also underwrite the cost of our Salon Gala each year, a truly generous commitment. In addition, they serve as a rich and valued source of advice,

suggestions, and political connections from their many years of experience in campaign politics and in business and public sector consulting. IGS has been lucky to enjoy Darius's leadership on the advisory council for many years, and it is lucky to have Bill taking over now.

As I think about the contributions of others to IGS, I must also thank my colleague **Laura Stoker** for her leadership of the Institute last fall, when I was on sabbatical. Laura served as acting director, running the day-to-day operations of IGS with skill and grace. Laura is a distinguished political scientist on the Berkeley faculty who has long been affiliated with IGS, and we were fortunate that she was willing to take over the director's duties in my absence.

Amid all of these changes, IGS continued to thrive. You can read more about our programs and events in the pages that follow, but let me provide a few highlights here.

Our research agenda flourished. Examining the state's new "top two" primary system, we produced an important study focused on voter knowledge of candidates, a one-day conference that brought together both scholars and practitioners, and a collection of research papers that will be published in our online journal early next year. On other research topics, we published the memoirs of former California Supreme Court Chief Justice **Ronald George**, an edited volume designed for use as a California politics textbook, and a wide variety of peer-reviewed papers in our journal. We also examined the increasing importance of "open data" in government, US-Canada relations, and various aspects of the British-American relationship. This last project is a part of our new Anglo-American Studies Program funded by a million-dollar gift from the Anglo California Foundation and led by the Institute's Assistant Director of Research, **Terri Bimes**.

Our ongoing seminars continued their traditional focus on topics such as American political history and American political research, a number of our affiliated faculty members received awards, and our departing graduate students landed prestigious placements in the academic world.

Our public events featured a huge breadth and depth of opinion—former Under Secretary

cont. on p. 17

SOTU

Students, Assembly Speaker Gather at IGS for SOTU

This year's State of the Union speech—sometimes known in political circles as the SOTU—drew a standing-room-only crowd to the IGS Library in January.

The event even drew a special guest, then-Assembly Speaker **John A. Pérez**, who stopped by to watch the speech and ordered a stack of pizzas for the students.

Organized by the Institute's **Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service**, the event was co-sponsored by the two main partisan student groups on campus—the Cal Democrats and the Berkeley College Republicans.

About 100 people crowded into the IGS Library to watch both President Obama's speech and the Republican response that followed.

"There were a lot of students here who care a lot about politics and public policy," said **Ethan Rarick**, director of the Matsui Center. "It's great to see this level of interest in important national issues."

Speaker Pérez was on campus to film a promotional video for the Middle Class Scholarship Act, which aims to make college affordable for students in the University of California and California State University systems. □



Synar and Percy Grants . . .

What the Students Are Working On

Thanks to the generosity of IGS National Advisory Council member **Bill Brandt** and his wife, **Patrice Bugelas-Brandt**, the Institute helps Berkeley students pursue advanced research projects each year. Awarded through the IGS Center for the Study of Representation, the **Mike Synar Graduate Research Fellowship** and the **Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research** assist in defraying the costs of advanced student research. The Synar Grants award \$3,000 to graduate students who are writing a dissertation on some aspect of American politics. The Percy Grants provide \$500 for undergraduates researching American politics.

Percy Grants

Nicholas Kitchel

Political Science: “Why They Voted: Youth Political Participation in the 21st Century”

Following the historical 2008 presidential election, academics and pundits alike marveled over the high voter turnout among youth. In this study, Kitchel specifically explored why young people turned out in higher numbers in 2008 than in other recent presidential elections. Receiving the Percy Grant allowed Kitchel to purchase Stata statistical software, which he used to run tabulations and regressions of key variables.

Rui Xu

Economics: “Financing US Public Higher Education—A Time Series and Comparative Study on the Sustainability of US Higher Education Funding”

Rui Xu used a multivariate time series analysis to examine the rates of out-of-state student admissions within the University of California system. Xu’s research began as a desire to examine the perception among state politicians and taxpayers who thought that, following state budget cuts, the University of California system expanded its out-of-state student admissions. The Percy Grant

helped Xu cover the costs of travel to Sacramento and Washington, DC to interview lawmakers and taxpayer representatives.

Matthew Enger

History: “Chaos from Order: Ethnogenesis, Direct Democracy, and Statecraft in California, 1948–1958”

Matthew Enger’s senior thesis is a detailed study of how California’s initiative process contributed to the development of the following three phenomena in the 1950s: the rise of the Modern Right movement; the emergence of a unique Californian national identity; and the modernization of California’s government and political system. With the Percy Grant, Enger was able to travel to Los Angeles to study newspaper archives at UCLA.

Tatiana August-Schmidt

History: “American Hypnosis: Understanding What American Film Policy Means for the Cold War”

In completely unprecedented attempts to re-educate Germans at the end of the Second World War, the Office of Military Government, United States (OMGUS) tried to shape German identity and alliances through films during the vulnerable postwar period. August-Schmidt’s research examines one such film, *Welt im Film*, a re-education film that aired as a weekly newsreel to prepare Germany for a democratic future and disseminate anti-Soviet propaganda. The Percy Grant funded August-Schmidt to do archival research at the National Archives in College Park, Maryland.

Adrian Butler

History: “An Analysis of the 1902 Anthracite Strike”

The 1902 Anthracite Strike was the first time the federal government stepped in to peacefully arbitrate a strike. Whenever the state had previously stepped in to regulate a labor dispute, its response took the form of loaded weapons pointed at striking workers. Adrian Butler will examine why the federal response to this strike constituted a drastic departure from established precedent. The Percy Grant will help Butler cover travel expenses to the Anthracite Heritage Museum in Pennsylvania.



Cameron Percy, Adrian Butler, Matthew Enger, Rui Xu, Tatiana August-Schmidt, Judi Li, Bill Brandt, Patrice Bugelas-Brandt

Helping Students Dig a Little Deeper

Judy Li

Environmental Science: “Wetland Restoration and Sea Level Rise Risk for Coastal Communities: A Case Study of the Alviso Ponds Restoration Project”

Judy Li is studying the South Bay Salt Pond Restoration Project (SPRP), the largest wetlands restoration project in the West Coast. Such a large-scale restoration in an urban setting requires a highly complex political process due to the multiple jurisdictions, levels of government, civic groups, and other stakeholders involved. Li’s thesis examines diverse stakeholder opinion on the management of and civic engagement associated with the SPRP. The Percy Grant will aid Li in her many trips to interview residents and Fish and Wildlife Services personnel.

Synar Grants

Phil Rocco

Political Science: “Fracturing the Activist State: Conservatives and the Politics of Postwar American Federalism”

Phil Rocco’s research examines how, despite a long period of liberal activism for nationwide regulatory and social policies, federal authority over public policy became fragmented between layers of the federal system. He shows that the “diffusion of power” in the American state was not a given, but emerged from the efforts of antistatist conservatives to formulate a unique alternative to the policies of the governing political regime. Rocco used Synar funds to conduct archival research in the papers of conservative political elites from the 1950s through the 1970s.

Elizabeth Pearson

Sociology: “Funding the Golden Age: States, Taxes, and American State-Building, 1945–1973”

Pearson’s research examines the diverse techniques state governments used to mobilize new revenue during the postwar period and how this state-level fiscal mobilization has shaped the American state. Pearson engages these questions through the analysis of archival data produced during debates over tax increases in four states (New York, South Carolina, Texas, and Ohio) between the late 1940s and the early 1970s. She has already completed research visits to New York, South Carolina, and Texas and will be using Synar funds to support a trip to Ohio and a visit to the Eisenhower Presidential Library in Kansas later this summer.

Robert Lee

History: “Louisiana Purchases: The US-Indian Treaty System in the Missouri River Valley, 1804–1851”

Robert Lee’s research examines how the US-Indian treaty system channeled both Indian lands and ideas about Indians into the public domain. His project uses the network of agencies coordinated from St. Louis between 1804 and 1851 to illuminate how Indians and agents negotiated territorial expansion on the ground, and how those political interactions were subsequently obscured by traders, artists, and scientists who accessed the treaty system’s infrastructure to gather information about the North American

interior. He will be using the Synar Fellowship to complete his research in the Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs at the National Archives in Washington, DC.

Michael Dougal

Political Science: “Out of Step, but in Office: A Text as Data Analysis of Newspaper Ideology, Candidate Coverage, and Democratic Accountability in an Era of Increasing Party Polarization in Congress”

Over 90% of incumbents continue to win reelection despite an increasing disconnect between relatively moderate voters and relatively extreme representatives. Michael Dougal’s research examines why citizens routinely fail to vote out-of-step representatives out of office, and what institutions can do to help voters hold politicians accountable. The Synar funds will help him recruit survey respondents and purchase space on a computer server.

Tria Andrews

Ethnic Studies: “Education on the Reservation: Extracurricular and Culturally Relevant Programing”

Tria Andrews’s dissertation examines educational activities for youth on an Indian reservation from the founding of a boarding school in the late 19th century to the present day. The study compares colonial education paradigms with the culturally relevant curricula at a tribally run juvenile detention facility to ask how Native thinkers innovate tribal programs for youth. The Synar Fellowship will aid in supporting the completion of Andrews’s dissertation research. □



Front: Patrice Bugelas-Brandt, Bill Brandt; row 2: Robert Lee, Tria Andrews, Michael Dougal; back row: Elizabeth Pearson, Phil Rocco

Matsui Center . . .

Students Head to Sacramento for a Summer of Politics and Government

Students in the Matsui Center's **Cal-in-Sacramento** program are spending this summer working in the midst of California's political world, including internships for Gov. Jerry Brown, Republicans and Democrats in the legislature, research organizations, and even in political journalism.

"Cal-in-Sacramento gives Berkeley students a chance to roll up their sleeves and see the nitty-gritty of California politics and governance," said Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**. "It's a unique opportunity for hands-on learning."

Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows work for eight weeks in the state's capital. The program provides free housing for all students, free transit passes, and need-based living stipends, ensuring that the program is open to all students regardless of family financial background. □



Student Director Brings Unique Perspective to Politics

Coming to America from El Salvador when he was just 10 years old, **Rodolfo Rivera Aquino** has a unique perspective as a student at UC Berkeley. He has wanted to work in government since high school, when he interned for Councilman **Tony Cárdenas**, who is now in Congress.

"I would say to any student interested in getting into politics: 'Have a lens, and use that lens.' It's a privilege," said Rivera Aquino, who is majoring in political science with a minor in ethnic studies.

Rivera Aquino was the student director of the Cal-in-Sacramento program this year, helping to recruit applicants and select students, and then to run the program. Last year as a fellow in the program, Rivera Aquino interned for Sen. **Alex Padilla**, and he is working in Padilla's office again this summer.

"I wanted to understand my community and some of the issues facing my community at a larger level," Rivera Aquino said

Former Cal-in-Sac Fellows Move into Public Service

Several former Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows started work in public service during the past year, building on their experiences in the program. Former Student Director **Kyle Simerly** was named Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the California Transportation Agency by Gov. Jerry Brown.

"The Matsui Center helped me both learn and practice politics and public service, simultaneously teaching me and letting me apply that knowledge with internships in the public sphere," Simerly said.

After graduating from Berkeley in 2011 with a degree in political science, Simerly attended the London School of Economics and Political Science, where he graduated with a master's degree in comparative politics, with a focus on democracy.

Other Cal-in-Sac alums who moved into new public-service jobs in the past year include **Chris Odneal**, who is now the Press Secretary for Sen. **Mike Morrell**, a Republican from the Inland Empire, and **Jose Alvarado**, who started work for Sen. **Loni Hancock**, a Democrat who represents Berkeley. □



Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher, Kyle Simerly



Rodolfo Rivera Aquino

about his desire to work for Padilla, who represents the area where Rivera Aquino grew up.

Last summer, Rivera Aquino was able to work on SB 191, a bill to provide funding for emergency services. "I personally got to work on that bill by writing memos, bill analyses, and sitting in on meetings," he said.

Rivera Aquino's own experience in Sacramento was such a positive experience that he wanted to share it with other students. "Some people are really interested in international relations," said Rivera Aquino, "but the more local you get, the more it impacts your everyday life." □

Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows

Judge and Former Legislator Teaches Cal-in-Sac Course

Before they go to Sacramento for their summer internships, students in the Cal-in-Sacramento program spend the spring semester learning about California politics and government through a two-credit course offered at the Matsui Center.

This year the course was taught by Sacramento County Superior Court Judge—and former Assemblymember—**Alyson Lewis**. Lewis served four years in the Assembly as Alyson Huber from 2008 to 2012, and then was appointed to the judiciary by Gov. Jerry Brown.

In teaching the Cal-in-Sacramento course, Lewis combined her trademark enthusiasm with a deep knowledge of California politics, giving the students a first-rate background before they started work in the capital.

Her extraordinary connections in Sacramento helped to produce a striking list of guest speakers for the class, including then-Assembly Speaker **John A. Pérez**, California Republican Party Chairman **Jim Brulte**, Assemblymember **Nancy Skinner**, gubernatorial advisor **Steve Glazer**, and campaign strategist **Gale Kaufman**.

Lewis has agreed to teach the Cal-in-Sacramento course again next year, bringing her expertise to another cohort of Berkeley students. □



Judge Alyson Lewis

Cal-in-Sac Summer 2014 Placements

Executive Offices

Governor Jerry Brown
Communications Office – Selina Lopez, Steven Zimmer
Office of Planning and Research – Viviane Nguyen
Attorney General Kamala Harris
Public Rights Division – Mia Shaw
Treasurer Bill Lockyer – Joseph Simonian

Senate

Senator Hannah-Beth Jackson – Mitchell Handler
Senator Carol Liu – Tabitha Peterson
Senator Alex Padilla – Rodolfo Rivera Aquino
Senator Mimi Walters – Viktoriya Mukha
Senate Republican Caucus – Brendan Pinder

Assembly

Assemblymember Luis Alejo – Magaly Zagal
Assemblymember Joan Buchanan – Joanna Torres
Assemblymember Edwin Chau – Jacob Metz
Assemblymember Cristina Garcia – Ruben Munoz
Assemblymember Rudy Salas – Vanessa Escorpiso
Assemblymember Nancy Skinner – Natalie Cha
Assemblymember Bob Wieckowski – Disha Banik

Legislative Caucuses

LGBT Caucus – Anthony Barros
Latino Caucus – Jaquelyn Caro-Sena

Agencies

California Research Bureau – Josh Cohen
Department of Business Oversight – Deborah Choi
Little Hoover Commission – Jasraj Sangha

Nonprofit

Southeast Asia Resource Action Center – Giao Tran

Press

Capitol Weekly – Mia Shaw

If you are a Cal-in-Sac alum working in government or politics, please let us know. Contact the Matsui Center at: igs.berkeley.edu/matsui-center

Then-Assembly Speaker John A. Pérez poses with Cal-in-Sacramento Fellows on the Assembly floor during a class trip to the Capitol in March. On the facing page, Pérez meets with the students in his private office.



Life in the Nation's Capital

Tara Yarlagadda

Smithsonian Asian Pacific American Center, Fall 2013

“Before the stress of classes and the weariness of internships set in, back when all the students were getting to know one another with ease and friendly smiles, and were just grateful to be there to witness this historic moment of the 50th Anniversary of the March on Washington, listening to powerful speeches by the likes of Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton while soaking together in the pouring rain in solidarity, DC set the bar pretty high with this incredible welcome, and it hasn’t disappointed yet.

“I really do love that I’ve found an internship in which I’m not just making coffee and copies. . . . It feels truly rewarding to be doing work that will contribute to the overall longevity of the organization, and working on our center’s largest exhibition to date among such incredibly knowledgeable and qualified individuals has been a humbling experience.

“I wouldn’t trade this internship experience for anything in the world. Getting to serve as an impromptu photographer for an event in which I learned about love songs serenaded by Japanese immigrant workers in the cane fields of Hawaii, teaching children new drum beats and dance moves in an activity that could one day be featured at a museum, or seeing the light-bulb go off in a teacher’s head when I promote our organization and they sign up for our curriculum materials is nothing short of exhilarating. The feeling that I get when I call up a potential artist to feature in an exhibition, or the sense of accomplishment after having compiled an extensive spreadsheet of organizations and potential donors for our biggest exhibition to date—these all make any difficult experiences or hard learning curves worth it.” □



Yarlagadda at an immigration reform rally

This year’s Matsui Washington Fellows wrote posts for the Matsui Center’s blog describing their experiences in Washington. To read more from the center’s blog, go to: matsuicenter.wordpress.com.

Trinh Nguyen

Penn Hill Consulting Group, Fall 2013

“It seems that people in DC rarely change career tracks. They change jobs frequently, but stay in the same industry. I intern for a bipartisan education lobbying/consulting firm where nearly everyone worked together at one point or another on the Hill. They battled across the aisle, compromised on bills, and wrote legislation together. Right now, my supervisors are advising their clients on potential bill reauthorizations that they originally wrote a decade ago.

“If I ever have a question on an education (or labor, health-care, appropriations, etc.) law, I can talk to the person who helped conceive it, the person who worked to move it through Congress, the person who assisted the federal government in implementing it, and the person who evaluated it later on . . . all in the same of-
fice suite.” □



Nguyen (center) at the White House

Washington Fellows

Dasha Burns

United Nations Information Center, Spring 2014

“The fact that I can go on a morning stroll to the White House—a place where some of the most vital national and international decisions are made—does not get old. The wonderful part of it all is that these famous political hot spots are not all that get me going. On every block there is some significant building where brilliant people are doing vital work. I am filled with that sensation on every street corner. To be here taking part in it is something I never imagined, and it is like nothing I could have imagined. It’s humbling, grand, overwhelming, challenging, thrilling—like something out of an Aaron Sorkin script. And I get a whole semester here!”

While interning at the United Nations, Dasha met Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson.

“I am getting to see how policymakers, academics, researchers, lobbyists, and activists all navigate the political landscape and interact with each other and with the national and global communities.” □



Burns, second from left, with UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Deputy Secretary-General Jan Eliasson

Yixi Zhao

World Bank Finance & Private Sector Research Group, Spring 2014

“I was literally standing 30 feet away from the podium where President Obama and President Hollande made their statements, which I believe was a once-in-a-lifetime experience for me to be that close to two presidents at one time. . . . I have dreamed about being a journalist since I was young because I hoped to be present in the moments where ‘big deals’ happened. My staying in DC this semester totally satisfied this fantasy because I have been present for many incredible moments of nature and politics.

“After a week of city exploration, my internship started. Being in a new environment is never easy, but I enjoyed pushing myself out of my comfort zone. On my first day of work, I realized how educated everyone else was. I am on my way towards a bachelor’s degree, whereas it seems like everyone else holds a doctorate. I would describe my first day as overwhelming but it motivated me to learn more from my mentor as well as my colleagues.” □



Zhao at the Pentagon

Matsui Center Fellows... Local Government

Sally Ching

San Francisco Mayor's Office of Education

Sally Ching is a senior at Cal studying political science, public policy, and education. Sally previously interned for the US Department of Education and the Mayor's Office of the City of Berkeley. She is currently active in student government and works as a tutor for elementary and high school students.

"I've had an time at Mayor Lee's Office of Education. My tasks have ranged from preparing press releases to attending and helping out at various events, including a ceremony celebrating students living in San Francisco Public Housing who have completed high school. I've also had the amazing opportunity to see a rally on the steps of City Hall and sit in on a Board of Supervisors Special Committee meeting."



Kenna Falk

Oakland City Attorney's Office

Kenna Falk graduated from Cal this spring with a dual degree in psychology and legal studies. She has pursued her interest in government and law by participating in Cal in the Capital, where she interned for the United States Department of Education, as well as by studying international and Irish constitutional law while studying abroad in Dublin.

"I am serving as a legal assistant for five Neighborhood Law Corps attorneys, who work to tackle drug houses, prostitution, slumlords, blight, and other problems affecting the quality of life for citizens in Oakland. My tasks include conducting legal research, summarizing police reports, and conducting witness interviews to help attorneys prepare case files."



Sally Ching, Denim Ohmit, Kenna Falk, and Brandon Wong

Denim Ohmit

San Francisco Mayor's Office of Housing and Community Development

Denim Robert Ohmit is a junior at Cal, studying urban studies, public policy, and geospatial information sciences and technology. He is interested in how community participation, big data, design, and law can work together to solve difficult neighborhood and regional problems. He previously interned in the office of State Assemblymember Mike Gatto and is currently active in student government and electoral organizing on campus.

"I have picked a very exciting time to start working at MOHCD because San Francisco is in the middle of one of the greatest housing crises in its history. As an intern tasked with data collection, management, and visualization, the maps I develop and their accompanying analyses are going directly to San Francisco Supervisors and their staffs so they can see what MOHCD brings to their districts and where additional support is needed. The goal is to ensure that, despite limited resources, supervisors prioritize the growth of affordable housing."

Brandon Wong

Orange County District Attorney's Office

Brandon Wong is a senior at Cal studying political science and public policy. He is interested in the complex intersection of law and public policy at the county level. He has previously worked as a public policy analyst for Orange County's 4th District Supervisor Shawn Nelson. He hopes to one day continue policy work in Washington, DC.

"My first day was quite thrilling. I watched as a Deputy DA examined an expert witness, and then watched as the Public Defender cross-examined the same expert witness to try and poke holes in his testimony. Soon I will start helping the paralegals with their work on other trials." □

IGS Fellow: A “Big Idea” on Water

By Gabe Schwartzman

Growing up in Washington, DC, I understood Appalachia to be a world away from my own, despite the two-hour drive. Popular accounts still present Appalachia as a place held back in time, but if I have learned anything there, it is that those mountains are profoundly modern—Appalachian poverty and environmental injustice are a quintessential product of our modern world.

During high school I became involved in climate change politics, which introduced me to Appalachian and allied activists in southern West Virginia organizing around mountaintop removal coal mining. Spring admission to Berkeley was probably the best thing that happened to me, as I took that fall to intern with a community organization in the coalfields. Agitating for environmental justice as an outsider, I quickly learned that many people in these communities impacted by mining felt threatened by the activism. I was blown away that miners and their families would slam doors in my face, and even make threats upon me and the activists I lived with. My understanding of environmental justice was transformed by coming to a more nuanced understanding of what livelihood and poverty really meant to these communities.

Coming to UC Berkeley I grappled with that experience as an outside organizer. I designed my undergraduate research, starting early, to focus on politics and ideology in the Appalachian coalfields. With support from the Charles H.

“Appalachian poverty and environmental injustice are a quintessential product of our modern world.”

IGS Gardner Fellow **Gabe Schwartzman** received two significant honors this spring. He won the Judith Lee Stronach Baccalaureate Prize, which seeks to heighten awareness of issues of social consciousness and the public good by giving students the opportunity to undertake a special project after graduation. The same project won the Berkeley Big Ideas Project Open Data category. Below is Schwartzman’s description of his background and the project.

Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research, the Center for Right Wing Studies, and as a UC Human Rights Fellow, I spent the summer in West Virginia, conducting an oral history of a town where most people had left due to nearby surface mining and its impacts on the people. Few openly opposed the coal industry. I found that people disliked the mining and the water contamination, but felt they had no other options—they were trapped. I came to realize how excluded Appalachian peoples were from social support and basic rights in the United States, and their support for environmentally devastating practices was put in context.

Taking that experience, I’m now working on a Judith Lee Stronach Baccalaureate Prize and a Berkeley Big Ideas Prize project, with Rachel Gottfried, to create a website for sharing stories about successful work around water issues in Appalachia. The idea is to focus the website on the people who are most impacted by water issues, hosting narratives that talk about resilience and agency rather than disaster and immutable problems. This project plays into the work I start next: in October I start as a John Gardner Fellow for Public Service, working on rural social inclusion in Appalachia and nationally. In this work I hope to support economic and environmental justice for rural communities, like those in the coalfields—places that our political system neglects and obscures. Places where the choices are few. Through creative media and communication work I hope to produce content that is impactful and part of shifting national discourses and policy around rural America. □



Gardner Fellows . . .

Katharine Hinman

Major: Peace and Conflict Studies

Hometown: Norfolk, CT

Service Interest: Community mental health, youth homelessness

Berkeley Experience: Kati graduated with honors with a major in peace and conflict studies and a minor in global poverty and practice. During her time at Cal, Kati has developed a passion for public health, especially related to mental health and homelessness. For the past two and a half years she has volunteered with the Suitcase Clinic, a student-run organization that provides holistic health services to people who are homeless and underserved in Berkeley. She served as the Children's Coordinator and then the Community Resource Advocate in the Women's Clinic, helping women find the local services they need, such as medical and dental care, optometry, housing, and employment. Kati also worked with the Alternative Breaks program run by the Public Service Center. Her sophomore year she led a service trip and semester-long course focused on urban health in Los Angeles and then became the Community Partnerships Director for the entire program her junior year. Her senior year she continued working with the Public Service Center by coordinating public service internships both locally and in New Orleans.



Kati is also interested in the movement against human trafficking. She did research with a Berkeley graduate student on services for human trafficking survivors in the United States. This year she worked with the Berkeley Anti-Trafficking Coalition to plan the first Freedom in Action Conference for Bay Area college students, that educated them on human trafficking today and connected them to many organizations in the Bay Area that are working against human trafficking.

Other Service Experience: Through the global poverty minor, she was able to apply her interests in public health to work abroad. She spent a summer working with a sexual health promotion and education program in Cochabamba, Bolivia. From that experience she became interested in the work being done with children that are living and working in the streets and wrote her senior honors thesis about the approaches of 10 different organizations in Cochabamba that work with this population.

Fellowship Goal: Kati wants to learn more about the work being done with homeless youth in the US, and gain more experience

working directly with youth to better understand the challenges and policies that inform this work.

Postfellowship Plans: Kati plans to get her masters in public health and social work, to continue working in community mental health programs especially for young people and people who are homeless. She also hopes to be able to work internationally with homeless youth.

Commitment to Service: "While emotionally challenging, my experiences in public service have deepened my commitment to work in community health, especially with people who are low income and/or marginalized. I want to support the development of future leaders who can build off their own experiences to break the cycles of poverty, violence, and homelessness."

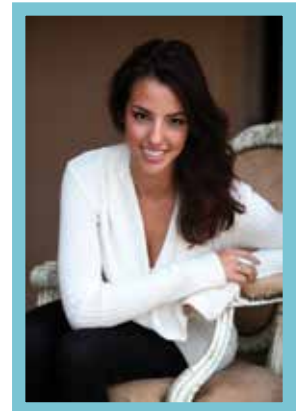
Megan Majd

Major: Interdisciplinary Studies, focused on human rights and environmental policy

Hometown: Malibu, CA

Service Interest: Environmental policy and human rights

Berkeley Experience: Megan started volunteering for CALPIRG during her first semester at UC Berkeley, which launched her passion in environmental justice, the intersection between the deterioration of the environment and the welfare of people. Megan worked on an environmental justice campaign when she first joined CALPIRG, focused on passing legislation that would reduce air pollution at the Port of Oakland. Soon, Megan was organizing a new campaign to ban single-use plastic bags in Alameda County. Through these experiences, she realized the importance of utilizing a global vision of environmental justice on a local scale to create local solutions to global, systemic problems.



In her junior year, Megan was elected as a senator to the Associated Students of the University of California (ASUC). She represented 37,000 students and managed a Senate Contingency Fund of \$24,000. As an ASUC Senator, Megan helped form campus policy through negotiations with administrators, the ASUC senate, and the student body, including co-authoring a bill to reform UC Berkeley's sexual assault policies.

Other Service Experience: Megan spent three months in 2013 in Biolley, Costa Rica studying human rights focused on gender and conservation issues at the local level. She lived with a group of

Begin Year of Public Service

women whose lives were focused on empowering women running a coffee plantation and protecting the national park they bordered. Megan is currently the curator of a website aimed at creating a comprehensive list of resources for survivors of sexual assault at UC Berkeley.

Fellowship Goal: Megan's internship goal is to change the culture around how people see issues related to environmental justice, by finding innovative ways to educate people and to change the systems that perpetuate problems associated with environmental justice through systematic policy change.

Postfellowship Plans: When the fellowship concludes, Megan would like to continue work providing community-based research for programs focused on issues related to environmental justice, as well as lead a nonprofit dedicated to systematic change.

Commitment to Service: "My dedication to public service has allowed me to empower others, to become a bridge between students and bureaucracy, between victims and justice."

Gabriel Schwartzman

Major: Geography

Hometown: Garrett Park, MD

Service Interest: Rural poverty and social inclusion

Berkeley Experience: Coming to Berkeley from an internship on environmental justice in the coalfields of West Virginia, the Geography Department and its approach to pairing environmental and social sciences was the perfect place for Gabe to grow and learn. Continuing his involvement in the Appalachian region's social and environmental issues, he became a researcher at the Blair Heritage Alliance, staffing a museum and conducting an oral history in Blair, WV—a coal town with poisoned water, and a place that is fast disappearing in the face of massive coal surface mining surrounding the town. In 2012 and 2013 he broadened his work in the region as a social media intern for the Center for Rural Strategies, while publishing an article in *In These Times*, "We're Proud to be Scabs," on the emerging political climate of the coal fields. Supported by various grants and institutions at Berkeley, including the Center for Right Wing Studies, the UC Human Rights Fellowship, and the Charles H. Percy Undergraduate Grant for Public Affairs Research, his research developed into an honors thesis. Now published as a working paper for the Center for Right Wing Studies, the thesis, "Where Appalachia Went Right," was presented at several undergraduate symposiums and conferences. He continued his work on Appa-

lachian oral history at the Appalachia South Folklife Center after he graduated in December of 2013, researching and archiving the work of the Appalachian social justice hub that is now turning 50 years old.

Other Service Experience: While at Cal, Gabe worked on voter registration in 2010. With a background in Portuguese he interned in the Brazilian Amazon in 2011, working with a group to translate media about the social and environmental problems of the Belo Monte Dam—then still unconstructed—into English. He also worked on expanding financial support for local farmers and ranchers within the Berkeley Student Cooperatives, for which he received a Pioneer Award. Within the Appalachian region he volunteers as a tutor for adult literacy programs, and drug court tutoring, as well as taking part in community history and heritage events.

Fellowship Goal: Gabe intends to work with rural communities across the US, including Appalachia, suffering from issues of poverty, environmental degradation, and social exclusion to develop media that will connect them with each other and voice coherent demands for change.

Postfellowship Plans: After the fellowship Gabe intends to continue his schooling at a graduate level, pursuing participatory research with environmentally and socially impacted rural communities.

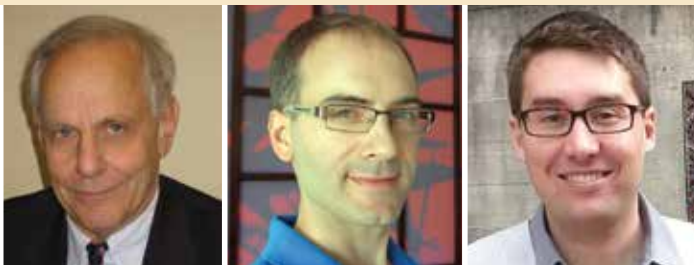
Commitment to Service: "The way I see it, service can never be about giving to someone else—it has to be about collaborating, sharing, seeing, and learning. Most of all, service has to be about working for social change and justice, about changing the dynamics of power." □



Three IGS scholars—Director **Jack Citrin**, Professor **Gabriel Lenz**, and graduate student **Douglas Ahler**—received an award this spring for their research on California’s new top two primary system.

Citrin, Lenz, and Ahler received the 2014 Charles Redd Award for the Best Paper on the Politics of the American West from the Western Political Science Association for their work, “Do Open Primaries Help Moderate Candidates? An Experimental Test on the 2012 California Primary.”

Earlier, the three authors had written about the research for *The Monkey Cage*, a blog featuring political science research. Here is that post, reprinted with permission from *The Monkey Cage*.



Jack Citrin, Gabe Lenz, Doug Ahler

By Jack Citrin, Gabriel Lenz, and Douglas Ahler

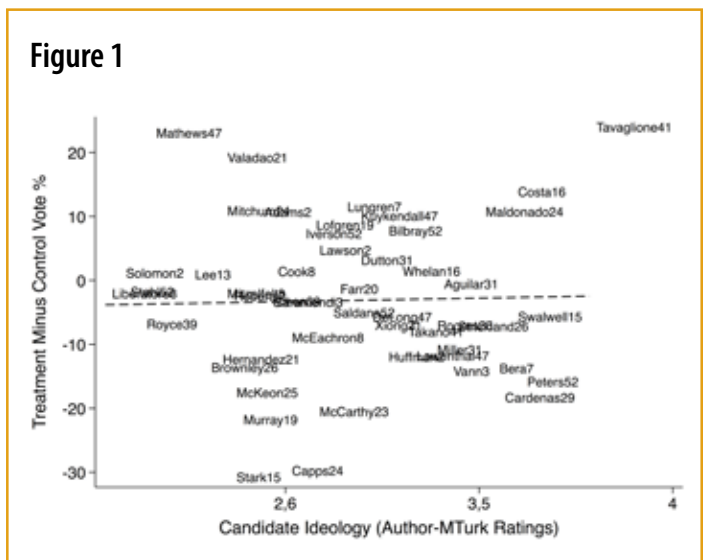
According to many pundits and scholars, closed primary elections are a major contributor to the ideological polarization in Congress and state legislatures. By partitioning voters into two ideologically sorted electorates, they argue, closed primaries incentivize candidates to adopt the positions of voters in their party rather than of their constituency as a whole. As a result, they elect representatives who consistently toe the party line and resist compromise. Advocates of reform, from academics like Morris Fiorina to practitioners like Arnold Schwarzenegger, therefore argue that replacing closed party primaries with a more open nominating process will reduce polarization and its offspring—gridlock and a noxious political atmosphere—by helping moderate candidates.

Are these claims about the consequences of reform valid? To shed further light on the consequences of this reform, we conducted a statewide experiment before California’s June 2012 primaries. As a result of a popular referendum, these elections replaced the closed party primaries with an open ballot that presented voters, regardless of party, with the same list of candidates. The top two vote getters advanced to the general election, thus allowing for a choice between two contenders from the same party. In a study sponsored by the Institute of Government Studies at UC Berkeley, we randomly assigned 2,839 registered voters in U.S. House districts where moderate candidates faced more extreme

candidates to one of two conditions for electoral choice: (1) the open ballot that would be used in the actual 2012 primary, or (2) the closed primary ballot that earlier elections employed.

For advocates of the reform, the results of this survey experiment are disappointing. If the open ballot did indeed help moderate candidates, they should have won more votes in the open-ballot condition than in the closed-ballot condition. But as shown in Figure 1, we found no such evidence: Moderate candidates for the House of Representatives fared no better under the top-two primary than they would have in closed party primaries. The vertical axis plots how much better (or worse) candidates performed among participants randomly assigned to the top-two ballot, while the horizontal axis plots candidate moderateness on a seven-point scale. The results fail to show the upward-sloping trend that advocates of primary reform argue we should see. (On all three figures, some names overlap, reflecting similar rankings of one or more candidates.)

Why did the top-two reform fail to achieve its goals? While voters are generally quite moderate and were willing to cast cross-over votes (roughly 12% of our participants who voted for a major party candidate did so), they largely failed to discern ideological differences between extreme and moderate candidates of the same party, particularly if they were challengers. In addition to asking about vote choices, we asked respondents to rate the candidates in their districts on a seven-point scale of political ideology. To obtain an objective measure of a candidate’s ideology, we visited her website and placed her on the same seven-point scale of liberalism-conservatism, and also hired 204 workers on Amazon’s Mechanical Turk to do the same rating task. Figures 2 and 3 plot the averages of respondents’ ratings for each candidate against the average of those generated by the “MTurkers.” Figure 2 in-



Did the Top Two Make a Difference?

cludes Democratic candidates and Figure 3 includes Republican candidates. The lack of correlation between two ratings is striking, as is the reluctance of respondents to place candidates at the extremes of the scale.

Of particular interest in Figure 3 were the respondent placements for California Congressional District 24. Abel Maldonado is a well-known moderate politician in California, a former lieutenant governor and state senator, and most importantly, the author and principal advocate of the Top-Two Primaries Act. His potential constituents rated him at roughly 5.25 on the 7-point scale. However, they gave almost the same rating to his fellow GOP challenger Chris Mitchum, a little-known actor and Tea Party candidate who the local GOP endorsed because of Maldonado's violation of the pledge not to vote for raising taxes. So while Maldonado appears to have benefited from the open primary, this was not because voters in his district were attuned to the ideological differences between the two Republicans.

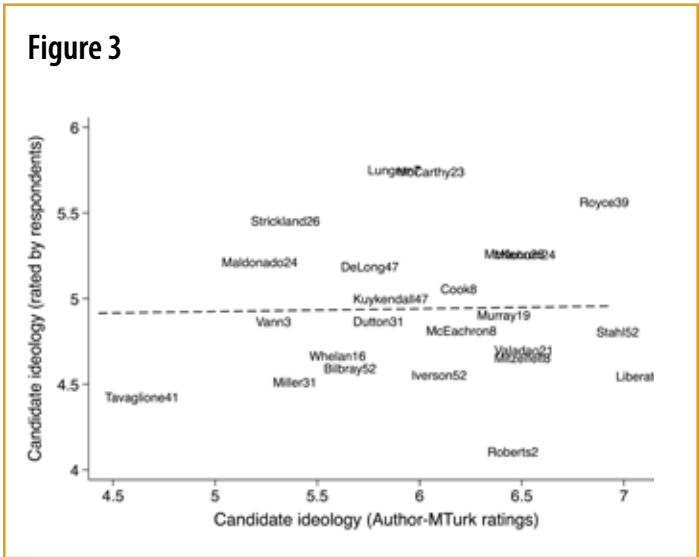
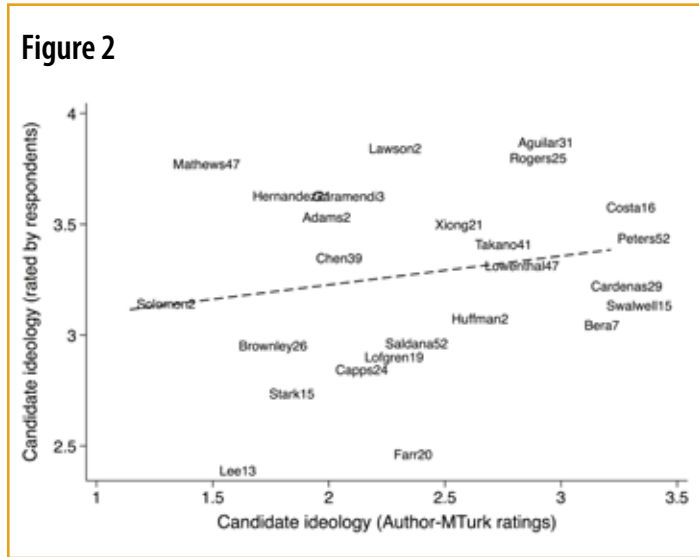
It is worth noting that the top-two primary was implemented in all statewide elections and not just the congressional races described above. We conducted a similar analysis for races for California's state Senate. Again, we find no evidence that the open primary helped moderate candidates. And while the open ballot failed to help moderate candidates in House races because voters struggled to identify moderate candidates, it failed in these down-ticket races because few voters even tried to locate the centrists: "Don't know" accounted for a large majority of ideological ratings given to state Senate candidates. As a possible consequence

of this lack of knowledge, voters appear to have relied much more heavily on partisanship in voting for state Senate. Just 5.6% of respondents cast a vote for a candidate from a party other than their own in these races.

While this research implies that open primaries are not the cure for polarization its advocates hoped for, its limitations should be mentioned. Open primaries may still moderate the behavior of elected officials even if voters fail to recognize or explicitly reward such moderation. Alternatively, experience with the new rules may cause both voters and candidates to adapt and gravitate toward the center. This may be especially true in California, where some believe that in the long-run, primary reform in conjunction with nonpartisan re-districting will produce a less polarized legislature. Open primaries may also succeed in higher salience races, such as a gubernatorial contest, where voters have easier access to information about candidate ideology. Finally, there may be a search for moderation in

the general election in cases where two candidates from the same party compete. Future research should address these possibilities. The consequences of primary reform are multifaceted and complex. But in California, simply changing the rules did not appear to change the likely outcomes in 2012. □

For advocates of the reform, the results of this survey experiment are disappointing.



Leadership Change . . .

William A. Brandt Jr. has been named chair of the IGS National Advisory Council, replacing **Darius Anderson**, who is stepping down after seven years in the role.

“IGS is fortunate to have insightful and generous supporters such as Darius Anderson and Bill Brandt,” said **Jack Citrin**, director of the Institute, who invited Brandt to serve as chair. “I will forever be grateful to Darius for his leadership and wise counsel through the years, and I know that Bill will continue to foster the Institute’s dynamic growth as we move forward.”

Both Anderson and Brandt joined the council in 2007, and both have been critical supporters of the Institute’s student-related programs and other ventures, including multi-year financial commitments to IGS.

“I have been honored to be associated so closely with IGS over the past seven years,” Anderson said. “By helping to train the leaders of tomorrow, the Institute plays a crucial role in advancing California’s future. I know that with Bill taking the reins of the Advisory Council, the Institute’s future could not be in better hands.”

Brandt said he looks forward to continuing Anderson’s leadership, while also bringing his own focus to IGS and its programming.

“I want to maintain the Institute’s tremendous historical legacy of student programming and California focus,” Brandt said, “but I also hope to bring a renewed emphasis on national programming that reaches out to the vast network of Berkeley alums all across the country.”

Brandt is president and CEO of Development Specialists, Inc., a firm specializing in the provision of management, consulting, and turnaround assistance to troubled or reorganizing enterprises. Brandt and the firm have been involved with some of the more celebrated financial restructuring cases in the nation’s history.

Brandt has a long-standing interest in politics and public policy. He has advised Congress on matters of insolvency and bankruptcy policy, and is serving his third consecutive term as chair of the Illinois Finance Authority. During the Clinton Administration, he served as a member of the president’s National Finance Board, and he has repeatedly been a delegate to the Democratic National Convention. In 2002, he served on the Illinois Gubernatorial Transition Team.

Anderson is CEO and founder of Platinum Advisors, a full-service government affairs firm that ranks in the top five of



William A. Brandt Jr.



Darius Anderson

California government advocacy companies. Platinum Advisors provides lobbying, real estate project development, procurement, public affairs and strategic consulting to corporations, governments, trade associations, and nonprofit groups. In addition, Anderson is the founder and CEO of Kenwood Investments, a California Opportunity Fund seeking new ventures to build upon the unique brand of California.

Anderson has been an advisor to many of California’s leading elected officials, served as statewide finance chair for the gubernatorial campaigns of Gov. Gray Davis, and has taught a course in political leadership at Berkeley.

In recognition of Anderson’s deep commitment to the University, he was recently awarded a Trustee’s Citation by the UC Berkeley Foundation. The citation is given to those who have demonstrated outstanding achievement in a major fundraising program, or who are shining examples of service in support of the University’s outreach goals.

IGS has acknowledged the important roles played by Brandt, Anderson, and their wives by naming two annual prestigious awards after the couples. The Darius & Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award and the Bill and Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award are both awarded at the annual IGS Salon Gala each spring. □

Katie Merrill Joins Advisory Council

Veteran political consultant **Katie Merrill** has joined the IGS National Advisory Council.

Merrill is a Democratic strategist and president of The Merrill Strategy Group, a California-based political consulting firm. Over the course of her nearly 20-year career, Merrill has advised Democratic campaigns for governor, US Senate and House of Representatives, state legislative candidates, and statewide initiative campaigns.

Merrill has worked on numerous statewide campaigns in California. In 2012, she served as general consultant for the Yes on 35 antihuman trafficking initiative and was part of the consulting team for Yes on 39 Close the Corporate Loophole. She also oversaw the successful statewide field campaign against Proposition 23 on the November 2010 ballot.

Merrill has served as a strategist for campaigns for various statewide offices, including governor, US Senate, attorney general, and superintendent of public instruction. In 2000, Merrill served as the state director for Bill Bradley for President. Merrill managed former Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher's first campaign in 1996, winning an upset over a Republican incumbent, and was Rep. Tauscher's first chief of staff on Capitol Hill.

Merrill began her career as a grassroots organizer for Senator Barbara Boxer's groundbreaking US Senate campaign in 1992. She is a graduate of Amherst College. □



Katie Merrill

Arlene Willits Receives Berkeley Foundation Award

Longtime IGS supporter and Matsui Center National Advisory Committee member **Arlene Willits** received a Wheeler Oak Meritorious Award from the UC Berkeley Foundation this year.

The Wheeler Oak Award is given to those alumni and friends who have excelled in a leadership position for one or more fundraising programs over a period of time.

Willits ('63, MA '67) has long been a supporter of IGS and is an inaugural member of the Matsui Center's Advisory Committee. She has made a multi-year commitment to support the center's Local Government Fellowship program, which allows students to intern in local governments throughout California.

Willits held a variety of positions in local governments, including assistant to the city manager in Hayward. She and her husband, Vic ('62, Ed.D. '68), both have a long history of actively supporting the University. □

Director's Message *cont. from p. 2*

of State **Ellen Tauscher** and former House Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman **Howard Berman** on foreign policy; writers such as **Peter Baker** on the Bush Administration and **Dan Balz** on the 2012 election; national security leaders at our Harold Smith Seminar Series; and a party for students to watch the State of the Union address that included pizza provided by none other than the Speaker of the California Assembly, **John A. Pérez**.

Students continue to benefit from IGS programs. The research grants funded by the Brandts allowed Cal students to study everything from American taxation to films produced during the Cold War. The suite of internship programs offered by our Matsui Center gave students hands-on experience everywhere from the United Nations to the office of Gov. Jerry Brown to local governments around California. Our Gardner Fellowships gave three especially distinguished graduating seniors the chance to begin their careers in public service. I'm proud of all these programs and the way they help some of America's brightest young people.

Last, a personal note of sorrow. Our colleague and friend **Susan Rasky** passed away this year. Susan, who taught for many years at Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism and who had many ties to IGS, was always at the ready with sound advice, thoughtful analysis, or a witty quip. You can read her obituary on page 36. We miss Susan deeply, but I also know that she would want us to keep thinking, talking, and arguing about the messy yet effective way in which Americans govern themselves. That is what IGS has done for almost 100 years—always to the highest standards—and it's what we will keep doing in the years to come. □

Chief: The Quest for Justice in California . . .

This year IGS published *Chief: The Quest for Justice in California*, the oral history of former California Supreme Court Chief Justice **Ronald M. George**, which won the 2013 California Book Award for Californiana.

The book, which is available on Amazon.com, chronicles George's long legal career in California, including his days as a prosecutor, a trial and appellate judge, and his tenure heading up the state's judicial branch.

Based on many hours of oral history interviews with researcher **Laura McCreery**, the book presents George's striking legal career in his own words, detailing everything from criminal cases to political skirmishes George encountered as head of the judiciary.

The California Book Awards, which are awarded by the Commonwealth Club, recognize "the state's best writers and illuminate the wealth and diversity of California-based literature." They have been awarded since 1931, for both fiction and nonfiction, and have been received by writers including John Steinbeck, Upton Sinclair, and Wallace Stegner.

Chief includes a lengthy discussion of Chief Justice George's ruling in the In re Marriage Cases, which dealt with same-sex marriage rights. Below is an excerpt in which Chief Justice George discusses those issues:

Excerpt: [The Justices] clearly were confronted with basic questions concerning state constitutional rights. We recognized there is a fundamental and well-established constitutional right to marry. Although this right doesn't appear in those exact words, the jurisprudence of our court and, interestingly enough, of the US Supreme Court, explicitly recognizes a constitutional right to marry. . . . Interestingly enough, our court's recognition of an equal protection violation was premised in large part upon the existence of a domestic partnership law in California, along with the conferral of many additional rights to same-sex couples. Aside from the differentiations made by federal law, virtually all the rights that one had as a gay couple were identical to the rights one had as a married heterosexual couple, subject only to the exception for the nomenclature of "marriage." Some persons, of course, have asked, "What's so important about a name?" Shakespeare observed, "A rose by any other name would smell as sweet." But our court hinged its decision invalidating the statutes very much upon the fact that the distinction was being made, in the court's view, in violation of the equal protection of the laws, based upon the gender of the couple who formed this basic primary association. The union of an opposite-sex couple was deemed a marriage and that of a same-sex couple was deemed a domestic partnership. The court concluded that the lack of demonstrated justification for this distinction was a sufficient basis for concluding that the differentiation in nomenclature did amount to a denial of equal protection of the laws. One can pose the question, "Imagine if marital relationships between a black man and a black woman were to be given the name domestic partnership and the same relationship between a Caucasian man and a Caucasian woman were to be called a marriage, would we find that this passed constitutional muster?" I don't think a court would uphold that. . . .

* * *

Photos

1. *Representing California before the US Supreme Court, 1969*
2. *Deputy Attorney General George reading transcripts in the Sirhan Sirhan appeal, 1971*
3. *Los Angeles Superior Court Judge George presiding over the Hillside Strangler trial (1981–83)*
4. *George with former Governors Gray Davis, Jerry Brown, George Deukmejian, and Pete Wilson*
5. *Chief Justice George with Speaker Willie Brown, Gov. Gray Davis, Gayle Wilson, Speaker Antonio Villaraigosa, Gov. Pete Wilson, and Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger, 2007*



Wins California Book Award

One of the most important aspects of the decision in the *In re Marriage Cases* is that the court applied the standard of heightened scrutiny to laws that cover gay and lesbian individuals. Customarily courts have applied that standard—which is a standard much less deferential to legislative determinations than is normally applied by reviewing courts—only in cases involving gender, race, national origin, and religion. Our ruling was very significant in extending that special standard of review to laws that differentiate on the basis of sexual orientation.

This case provides a graphic illustration of a point that I have had many occasions to make in public speaking, but here was able to include in our decision in the *In re Marriage Cases*. People raise the issue, “How can the court flout the people’s will here? They passed this statute defining marriage by initiative. Their elected representatives also passed this limitation.” My answer is always that the court, instead of overriding the people’s will, is upholding the highest and ultimate expression of the people’s will, the constitution that they themselves have enacted. In enacting their constitution and adopting it, the people have expressed their ultimate will and have imposed limits upon their own ability to legislate, either at the ballot box or through their elected representatives. That’s a point that is made by the *Marriage Cases* opinion in rejecting the argument that the court was obliged to defer to the statutory definition of marriage.

Another matter I want to add at this point to the discussion of the case is that history and tradition were invoked in support of the statutory scheme limiting marriage to the formal relationship between a man and a woman. In other words, “It’s always been this way.” But I find that a rather hollow justification, and the court rejected it because one could say the same thing about, first of all, the subordinate position that was imposed upon women in terms of various rights. In effect, women were virtually considered the property of their husbands. Then, of course, racial discrimination is an arch example of something that goes back many, many years

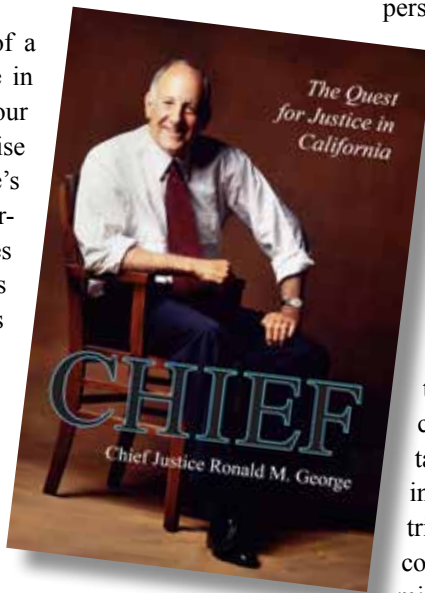
and was formerly recognized in the laws. Ultimately those traditional laws had to be held violative of constitutional principles.

The infirmity in the statutory scheme was the result of the state’s having afforded basic equality between the two types of relationships—and then treating equally situated persons differently in terms of nomenclature. Disparate treatment of equally situated persons goes to the heart of the federal and state

constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws. The law can treat different entities or different categories of individuals differently, provided the classifications are not arbitrary, but generally cannot treat similarly situated individuals or entities differently. . . .

I was swayed by the last point—that underlying all of this was a very basic human right, the constitutional right to marry, and then to affix different labels to it denoted a second-class citizenship, very much akin to letting certain persons ride on the bus but making them sit in the back, in the context of racial segregation. I tried to be influenced just by these constitutional considerations, of course, although I certainly admit that the end result comported with my own sense of justice on a personal level. Much of this

is really a generational matter too. I believe—notwithstanding the narrow passage of Proposition 8, which resulted in large part from the infusion of substantial amounts of out-of-state money and a not-that-well-run campaign by the defenders of gay marriage—that ultimately the popular view will change in California, especially as members of my generation die off. The idea of same-sex marriage is very much accepted by younger generations, just as interracial marriage—although highly controversial at the time of *Perez v. Sharp* in 1948—is now very much accepted and not really the subject of much commentary at all. Many people consider gay rights to be the civil rights issue of our times. □





Salon Gala

Produces Analysis, Laughter

The 8th annual IGS Salon Gala took place in May, producing both serious political analysis and a lot of laughter.

PBS NewsHour political analyst **Mark Shields** gave the keynote speech, mixing in jokes and asides with an analysis of the nation's political climate.

Shields advocated creation of a national service program that would both help the country and help Americans to know people from different backgrounds. Too many Americans, Shields said, know only people like themselves.

Former San Francisco Mayor **Willie L. Brown Jr.** received the 2014 Darius & Sarah Anderson Distinguished Service Award, a recognition of his long tenure as Speaker of the California Assembly and his two terms as mayor of San Francisco.

Assembly Speaker **John A. Pérez**, who has since left the Speakership, introduced Brown with a funny speech, and Brown responded with a crowd-pleasing talk about his long career.

California State Superintendent of Public Instruction **Tom Torlakson** ('71, MA '77) received the Bill & Patrice Brandt Alumni Leadership Award for his service in many elected posts, including his current position, both houses of the legislature and his earlier tenure as a county supervisor.

The Salon, held each year in San Francisco's spectacular Julia Morgan Ballroom, is a charity benefit to generate support for IGS student programs. As in past years, Bill and Patrice Brandt generously underwrote the cost of the banquet.

Shields first went to Washington in 1965 and worked for a variety of Democratic politicians, including the presidential campaigns of Robert Kennedy, Edmund Muskie, and Morris Udall.





He later became an editorial writer and columnist for the *Washington Post*, and has served as a commentator for the *PBS News-Hour* since 1988.

Brown was first elected to the California Assembly in 1964. He went on to serve 30 years in the Assembly, including a record-setting 15 years as Speaker. After leaving the legislature due to term limits, he served two terms as mayor of San Francisco.

Torlakson is a former teacher who served on the Contra Costa County Board of Supervisors, then served 14 years in the legislature, and since 2011 has served as the state superintendent of public instruction. □



Clockwise from upper left: Mark Shields; Derry MacBride asks a question of Shields; Speaker Willie Brown, California State Superintendent of Public Instruction Tom Torlakson, and Speaker John A. Pérez talk during the dinner; Vicki and Don Lucas; IGS Director Jack Citrin; Torlakson; pollster and IGS National Advisory Council member Peter Hart; 2014 Cal-in-Sacramento Fellow Viktoriya Mukha and 2013 Percy Grant Recipient Nicholas Kitchel; Matsui Center Advisory Committee member Clint Reilly and Brown; IGS National Advisory Council member Darius Anderson talks with Kitchel and former Matsui Local Government Fellow Jake Brymner; IGS National Advisory Council member Karen Skelton. Photos by Sean Pedruco.



Anglo-American Program . . .

The IGS Anglo-American Studies Program hosted a series of events this year examining various aspects of Britain and America, including religion, diplomacy, and the so-called “special relationship” between the US and the UK.

During the fall semester scholars gathered to discuss “Religion and the State in Today’s Britain.”



Stephen Tuck

Maleiha Malik of King’s College London and **Ronan McCrea** of University College of London both spoke, which Cal’s **Ron Hassner** moderated.

Malik provided a broad overview of recent British court rulings involving religious freedom. She gave special attention to how the Muslim (Shariah) Law Councils work in the UK, and recommended that the British Courts take into consideration the Muslim Law Council’s rulings through a process she calls cultural voluntarism.

While considering the rights and cultural norms of Muslims when making its own decisions, the British court system also needs to be alert to the abuse of “minorities within a minority,” such as women, the young, the elderly, and gays and lesbians, who may be especially vulnerable, Malik said. She said British courts need to intervene when such abuses occur.

McCrea began his remarks by outlining key differences with that view. He recommended that the Muslim Law Councils have no role in the British court system. McCrea worried that if the courts make exceptions for Muslim cultural norms, then British law will be overwhelmed by special cases and will cease to be generally applicable to the British population.

McCrea drew many interesting comparisons between the US and the UK. The UK, he argued, is a religious state on paper, but a secular state in reality. In contrast, the US formally separates

religion and state on paper, but in reality, it is a much more religious place than Britain. When the media asked Tony Blair if he had prayed with George W. Bush before the Iraq War, Blair flatly denied it. Blair’s spokesman noted that politicians in Europe usually “don’t do God.”

Building on this point, McCrea contended that the increasing prominence of muscular religious minorities has made Great Britain and other European countries more secular, not less. Britain, along with other European countries, is shedding its religious connections and affiliations.

During the spring semester, the Anglo-American Studies Program took a careful look at the “special relationship” between Britain and America.

Three panels examined the relationship through a different lens: foreign policy, domestic policy, and racial politics.

Walter Russell Mead of Bard College, who is also editor-at-large of *The American Interest* magazine, noted that the two countries have an “especially special relationship.” After the War of 1812, the two countries were never at war again and have maintained their alliance as well as the strength of the “Anglosphere,” he said.

Kathleen Burk, professor emeritus of University College London, was less optimistic about the strength of the connection. She depicted the special relationship as being in a constant state of flux, and noted that the US and the UK have not always been each other’s chief allies. The military interdependence of the US and the UK, however, drives the countries back together, creating a long-term basis for the special relationship.

Tehila Sasson Wins Underhill Fellowship

The IGS Anglo-American Studies Program is proud to announce the inaugural recipient of the R. Kirk Underhill Graduate Fellowship: **Tehila Sasson**, a UC Berkeley History PhD student.

Tehila’s dissertation examines the emergence of humanitarian ethics for famine relief in Anglo-American history from 1880 to 1985. She argues that while this ethics was a product of global technologies for famine relief, these technologies were rooted in colonial knowledge.

The Underhill Fellowship provides \$30,000 to a UC Berkeley graduate student who has advanced to candidacy and whose research focuses on US-UK affairs. □



Religion, Diplomacy, and the “Special Relationship”

Berkeley professor **Paul Pierson** moderated the second panel. **Isaac Martin**, professor of sociology at UC San Diego, examined the exchange of ideas about taxes between the two countries, starting his talk with a telling anecdote about how Howard Jarvis, the antitax activist from California who was responsible for Proposition 13, travelled to London to visit with Margaret Thatcher to discuss taxation issues in 1979. **Matthias Matthijs** of Johns Hopkins discussed the economic cross-fertilization of ideas between Tony Blair and George W. Bush, and the implications for David Cameron and Barack Obama. Finally, **Janet Laible** of Lehigh University analyzed the impact of the potential independence of Scotland on the special relationship.

The final panel of the day featured **Stephen Tuck**, director of the Oxford Centre in the Humanities, recounting the dramatic story of Malcolm X’s visit to the Oxford Union in 1964 to debate in support of Barry Goldwater’s famous quote, “Extremism in defense of liberty is no vice; moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue.” Tuck argued that Malcolm X’s visit speaks to the rich exchange between the US and UK of ideas and protest movement tactics.

Finally, in March, the Anglo-American Studies Program hosted a conversation with **James Kariuki**, counsellor and head of the politics, economics, and communications group at the British Embassy, and British Consul General **Priya Guha**.

The talk was far-ranging, covering foreign, national security, economic, trade, and cultural policy.

Kariuki outlined the work of the embassy and consulates general in the US. When he was asked about the role of UKIP, the independence party founded in 1993, on the national elections coming up in May 2015, he encouraged students to look at the May 2014 European parliamentary elections.

That said, Kariuki noted that the major UK parties—Conservative, Liberal Democrats, and Labour—had each set out

their approach to Britain’s relationships with Europe, with the Conservatives proposing to seek reforms to the EU ahead of a proposed referendum in 2017, and Labour saying that, if elected, they would only hold a referendum on UK membership if there were a significant transfer of power to Brussels. □



Walker Russell Mead and Kathleen Burk



Janet Laible, Isaac Martin, Paul Pierson, and Matthias Matthijs

IGS Academic Honors



Eric Schickler Honored by Roper Center

Congratulations to IGS-affiliated faculty member **Eric Schickler**, who, along with **Adam J. Berinsky** of MIT, was awarded the Warren J. Mitofsky Award for Excellence in Public Research by the Roper Center. Schickler and Berinsky were honored for their efforts to rehabilitate hundreds of older, underutilized opinion polls, originally collected in the 1930s through the early 1950s and archived at the Roper Center.

Their work involves cleaning and recoding hundreds of surveys from that period, and the resulting datasets, which they have made available to the Roper Center for archiving and dissemination, have permitted extensive data analyses by many other scholars in multiple disciplines. In addition, Schickler and Berinsky have developed a system of weights (among other technical refinements) that may be used in analysis of the reworked datasets. At the completion of the project, nearly one thousand surveys will have been reformatted, labeled, and redeposited with the Roper Center.

Schickler has received numerous prizes for his work on American politics, including the Richard F. Fenno Jr. Prize in 2002 for his book on legislative politics—*Disjointed Pluralism: Institutional Innovation and the Development of the U.S. Congress*—and the Fenno Prize again in 2007 for his book, *Filibuster: Obstruction and Lawmaking in the U.S. Senate*. He is the chair of Cal's Department of Political Science.

Doug Ahler Wins Howard Prize

Douglas Ahler is the 2014 recipient of the David M. Howard Memorial Prize in American Politics. A graduate of Occidental College and UCLA, Ahler is working on a dissertation entitled, "The Electoral Perception: How Americans Understand the Representative Relationship and What It Means for Legislative Politics." The Howard Prize memorializes the late Dave Howard, a California political expert and strategist who served on the IGS National Advisory Council. The prize goes to an IGS graduate student studying American politics.

Shaudi Fulp Wins Polsby Fellowship

Shaudi Falamaki Fulp, an IGS-affiliated graduate student in political science, received the 2014 Nelson W. Polsby Memorial Graduate Fellowship. Fulp's research is focused on the top two elections system and its impact on voter turnout and behavior, particularly in general election contests involving two members of the same party. This competitive award, which supports research in American politics, was created in 2007 as a memorial to honor UC Berkeley Political Science Professor Nelson W. Polsby, who was one of the country's most distinguished political scientists and who served as director of IGS from 1988 to 1999.

Daniel Robert Wins Martin Prize

Daniel Robert is the 2014 recipient of the Fred Martin Jr. American Political History award. A graduate of the University of Illinois, Chicago, Martin is currently a PhD candidate in the Department of History at Cal. He is working on a dissertation exploring how the Gilded Age influenced the regulation of public utilities. The Martin Prize, which each year recognizes an especially distinguished graduate student who is researching American political history, is named for Fred Martin, a former executive at the Bank of America who has long been an active supporter of IGS.

Gardner Fellow Zarko Perovic Receives Rhodes Scholarship

Former Gardner Fellow **Zarko Perovic** received a Rhodes Scholarship, allowing him to pursue a degree at England's Oxford University starting this fall. Perovic, who graduated from Cal in 2012, was one of just 32 students across the United States to receive one of the coveted scholarships.

Born in Serbia, Perovic's experience growing up during the Yugoslav Wars led him to develop a strong interest in helping to document and prevent war crimes. While at Berkeley, he majored in political science and classical civilizations and spent his time as a Gardner Fellow working in the State Department's Office of Global Criminal Justice. At Oxford, Perovic plans to pursue a graduate degree in international relations. He described his Gardner Fellowship as "invaluable preparation for my future work in the field."



Former IGS Fellow John Hanley Selected as APSA Congressional Fellow

John Hanley, a former IGS fellow who received his doctorate in political science at Berkeley, has been selected as a Congressional Fellow for 2014–15 by the American Political Science Association.

Hanley’s dissertation, completed in 2012, looks at congressional investigations of the executive branch, contracting, and private actors, from railroads and telegraph companies to Enron and professional sports. His work on public opinion and the Supreme Court has appeared in *Political Research Quarterly*, *Hastings Law Review*, and the 2008 book *Public Opinion and Constitutional Controversy* (co-edited by IGS director Jack Citrin). Hanley is currently a postdoctoral researcher at Syracuse University.

APSA Congressional Fellows work for members of Congress, committees, leadership offices, and congressional support organizations such as the Congressional Budget Office.

Former IGS Fellow Wins Silver Gavel Award

Former IGS Jacobs Fellow **Jess Bravin** received the American Bar Association’s Silver Gavel Award this year for his book *The Terror Courts: Rough Justice at Guantanamo Bay*.

The award, which recognizes outstanding work in media and the arts that fosters public understanding of the law and the legal system, is the ABA’s highest honor in such fields.

Bravin was a John Jacobs Fellow at IGS in 2006, when he was in the early stages of working on the book. The Jacobs Fellowship, named in honor of the late *Sacramento Bee* political writer John Jacobs, provides financial support for journalists or other writers working on a nonfiction book project.

Bravin’s book, which examines the American effort to try terrorist suspects in military tribunals, was published by Yale University Press in 2013, and has been widely praised.

Bravin, the Supreme Court correspondent for the *Wall Street Journal*, is a graduate of Harvard and of the Berkeley School of Law at Boalt Hall. Before going to the *Journal*, he wrote for the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Los Angeles Times*.

From left: Eric Schickler, Daniel Robert, Sara Chatfield and Jack Citrin, Morris Levy, Shaudi Fulp, Madeleine Albright and Zarko Perovic, and Doug Ahler

New Graduates

The Institute of Governmental Studies congratulates our 2014 graduates. **Sara Chatfield**, **Joshua Green**, **John Henderson**, **Adrienne Hosek**, **Morris Levy**, **Sara Newland**, and **Ruth Bloch Rubin** formally received their doctorates at the Charles and Louise Travers Department of Political Science’s Commencement Ceremony on Monday, May 19.

Sara Chatfield to MIT

Sara Chatfield, who received her PhD in political science from Cal this spring and was affiliated with IGS, has received an appointment for a one-year postdoc in American politics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. At MIT Sara will be working with Adam Berinsky, Charles Stewart, and Andrea Campbell.

Adrienne Hosek Hired at UC Davis

Congratulations to IGS graduate student **Adrienne Hosek**, who has been hired to teach next year in the political science department at UC Davis as an assistant professor. Hosek’s research focuses on income inequality and redistributive politics in the United States, the statistics of causal inference, and survey experimentation. □

Talks at IGS

Admiral Richard Mies on Nuclear Weapons

Adm. **Richard W. Mies** spoke about the American nuclear arsenal, which he said is a key to “reassuring our allies and deterring our adversaries.” Mies, the commander of the U.S. Strategic Command from 1998 until 2001, spoke as part of the Harold Smith Defense and National Security Series. Mies rejected the idea of nuclear disarmament. “Nations do not distrust each other because they have nuclear weapons,” he said. “They have nuclear weapons because they distrust each other.” Mies said in his view, a world without nuclear weapons would be a place where terrorists or rogue nations could amass warheads and hold the world hostage. “We should not take any irreversible steps to reduce our capability or flexibility,” Mies said, speaking of the nuclear weapon program. “I would rather have too many than too few.” He also

by Frank Baxter, a Cal alum and longtime University supporter. Searle, one of the most distinguished philosophers in the world, has taught at Berkeley since 1959. He spoke about the unique nature of human beings, and why he believes it is crucial to understand and respect human rights.

Peter Baker on Bush and Cheney

Peter Baker, the senior White House correspondent for *The New York Times*, talked about his book, *Days of Fire: Bush and Cheney in the White House*, which he described as an attempt to write the first full-scale history of the administration. “It’s neither for nor against,” he said of the book’s relationship to its subjects. Baker described a complex relationship between Bush and Cheney that involved “the evolution from a collaboration which



Fred Martin, Peter Baker, Dan Balz

said the US needs to update and improve its nuclear stockpile. The Smith Series also included talks this year by **Philip Coyle** of the Center for Arms-Control and Non-Proliferation; **Edward Luttwak** of the Center for Strategic and International Studies; and Air Force Gen. **William L. Shelton**, commander of the Air Force Space Command.

Fred Martin on Abraham Lincoln

Longtime IGS Visiting Scholar **Fred Martin** gave a talk this spring on his newly published book, *Abraham Lincoln’s Path to Reelection in 1864: Our Greatest Victory*. Martin argued that 1864 was the most important election in the history of the United States and that Lincoln’s public rhetoric changed public perception, drove home emancipation, reignited the ideals of freedom, and saved democratic government.

John Searle on Human Freedoms

Berkeley philosophy professor **John Searle** spoke this spring at the Baxter Liberty Initiative, an ongoing lecture series sponsored

was, in fact, unique, to a virtually complete break by the time they left office.” By then, Baker said, the two men differed on a wide variety of issues, including North Korea, gun rights, same-sex marriage, tax cuts, Guantanamo, interrogation practices, surveillance policies, Iran, Lebanon, Russia, the auto bailout, climate change, Harriet Meyers, Donald Rumsfeld, Middle East peace, Syria, and federal spending.

Dan Balz on the 2012 Election

Veteran *Washington Post* political reporter **Dan Balz** spoke about his book, *Collision 2012: Obama vs. Romney and the Future of Elections in America*. The book, which builds on Balz’s previous book about the 2008 election, relies on sources inside both campaigns to provide a detailed look at the race, and at what it means for the future of the democratic process in America. □

Percy Grant Project Becomes *High-Tech Startup*

From his cozy, sunlit office overlooking downtown Berkeley, **Nikita Bier** is changing the world of politics.

“I was obsessed with this question: How does government affect your well-being?” said Bier, who graduated from Cal in 2012. As CEO and co-founder of Outline, Bier has found a way to use visual design, social media, and economic political policies to give the voters an answer for the question, “What am I getting?”

As an undergraduate at Cal majoring in political economy and business administration, Bier received a **Percy Grant** from IGS for his project Politify, an interactive web application that demonstrated the economic impact of political candidates’ policy proposals using a voter’s own demographic information.

“It was the first recognition we ever got that we were working on something exciting,” Bier said of the Percy Grant.

The award opened up big doors for Politify. Bier went on to receive awards from Big Ideas @ Berkeley and the Sunlight Foundation, as well as winning the Civic Data Challenge.

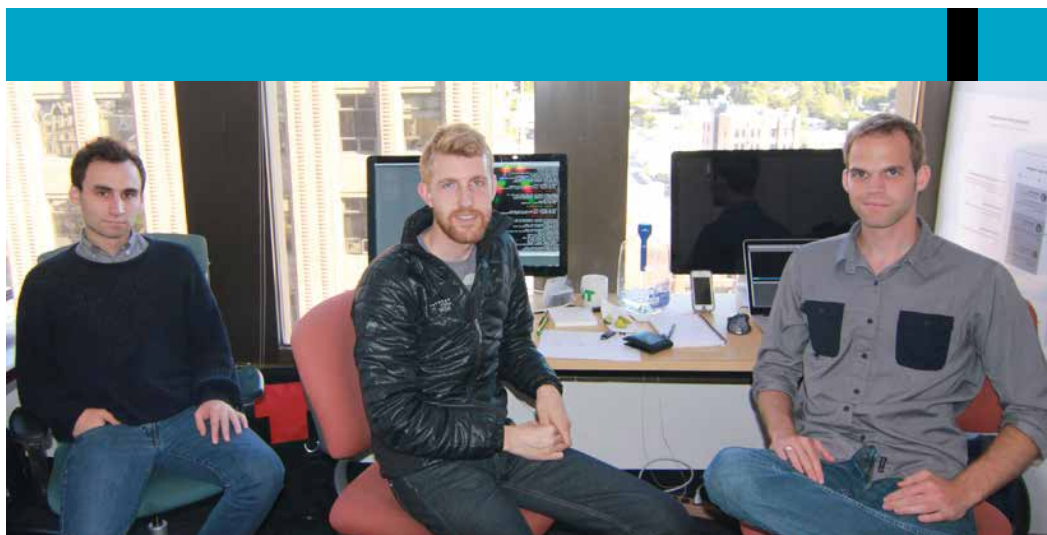
“All of a sudden we were all over the news, all over the internet,” Bier said. “Six percent of people changed their political affiliation after using our site!”

Today, Politify has morphed into Outline, where state residents can input personal data and view how different budget variables affect them and their communities. “We renamed it Outline because we were actually trying to ‘de-politify’ the situation,” Bier explained. Currently, 10 states are interested in Outline to develop a program that Bier describes as a real-world “Sim City.” After receiving over \$850,000 in funding from the Knight Foundation Enterprise Fund, Esther Dyson, and the Dorm Room Fund, Massachusetts was the first state to contract Bier’s team.

Looking to the future, Bier believes that, as with President Obama’s 2012 campaign, “2016 will be a year where Big Data is used.” Outline also hopes to expand internationally.

Terri Bimes, who oversees the Percy Grants and other programs for IGS, is thrilled with Bier’s success, and the key role that the grant played. “It goes to show that a little help can go a long way,” she said.

So what advice can Bier give students about his experiences with the Percy Grant? “I think seeking out sources of capital is critical,” Bier says, because it “validates your vision for the world. Validation is so important for your ideas.” □



Nikita Bier, Jeremy Blalock, and Erik Hazzard

*“We renamed it **Outline** because we were actually trying to ‘de-politify’ the situation.”*

Where Do We Go from Here?

A campus-wide power outage didn't stop IGS from taking a look at the next steps in California political reform.



John Cox

On a day last fall when an on-campus explosion knocked out the electricity, a panel of experts in the Institute's Library still carried on with an examination of state government.

At an event entitled, "Reforming California's Pol-

itics: Where Do We Go From Here?" four panelists spoke. **Dan Schnur**, who moderated the panel for IGS, noted that it was important for average people to consider the future of the state's politics.

"Politics is too important to be left to the politicians," Schnur said.

John Cox, founder and chair of the Rescue California Educational Foundation, was the first panelist to speak. "California voters feel detached," he said. "They feel like their vote doesn't matter." Cox proposed the "Neighborhood Legislature," an idea to subdivide each of California's 120 legislative districts into 100 "tiny" districts. Each one of these 100-member local legislatures would then vote on one representative to go to the state capital. "You can't send 12,000 people to Sacramento," reasoned Cox. Smaller districts means more individual contact for voters, he said.

The next speaker, **Daniel Newman**, wants more transparency in campaign advertising. As president and co-founder of MapLight, Newman has exposed patterns of monetary influence on governmental decision-making by creating a searchable online database that tracks links between contributions and voting. As an example, Newman spoke about the challenge of trying to get fresh fruits and vegetables into school breakfasts, and what happens when

corporations influence the wording of statutes. "Food processing companies do not make money from fresh fruit," Newman said, explaining that food companies pushed to change a proposed requirement for "fresh fruit" into merely a mandate for "nutritious fruit." "So we ended up paying millions of dollars for canned fruit and sugar syrup," he said.

LeeAnn Pelham from California Common Cause believes there is a lot of room for improvement in the state legislature, especially in financial "reach" in politics. "How do we know where the money is actually playing a role?" Pelham asked. Citing Newman's work with MapLight, Pelham discussed using technology to assemble

"Politics is too important to be left to the politicians." —Dan Schnur

information from local sources into the secretary of state's website so the public can research different initiatives and candidates.

The Institute for Advanced Technology and Public Policy at Cal Poly took a poll of 300 voters statewide to gauge the view on changes to campaign laws. **Christine Robertson**, the associate director of the Institute, spoke to the audience about the results and what they mean on a larger scale. In the survey, 93% of respondents supported the idea that campaign donations should only be used for campaigning by the person to whom the money was donated. A requirement that "the legislature provide detailed expenditure reports for spending" also garnered 93% support. "There's an enormous appetite for reform," Robertson said.

The panel was co-sponsored by IGS, the Jesse M. Unruh Institute of Politics at USC, the UCLA Department of Political Science, California Common Cause, the Rescue California Educational Foundation, and the Institute for Advanced Technology and Public Policy at Cal Poly. □

Taking a Look at Reform

Changing the Rules of Voting

Four years ago, California voters changed the basic rules of politics in the state. By approving a ballot measure, voters implemented a nonpartisan elections system in which the top two vote-getters in the primary advance to the run-off, regardless of party.

Reformers said the new system would encourage the election of less ideologically rigid legislators who would be more open to compromise.

But has the so-called top two system really changed anything? And if so, what's different about California politics now?

Those were the questions addressed at an IGS conference this spring focusing on the new elections system.

Two panels of experts—one consisting of academic researchers and one consisting of political practitioners—examined the new system.

Most members of the academic panel were skeptical that the new system has sharply changed the state's political landscape. Professor **Thad Kousser** of UC San Diego, for example, presented



Besty Sinclair (left); Eric McGhee (right)

data that shows legislative candidates have not moderated their positions after the implementation of the new system. Professor **Christian Grose** of USC, on the other hand, presented a study based on legislative votes that found some evidence of slight moderation.

The political practitioners were more convinced that the new system has brought about a change.

Most of the panelists agreed with an observation from the audience that if there has been an ideological shift under the new system, it has been to move Democrats to the right, but not to move Republicans to the left.



Panel 2: Carla Marinucci, Katie Merrill, Ruben Barrales, Julie Griffiths, Ben Tulchin

Ben Tulchin, founder and president of Tulchin Research, noted the partisan effect.

“It disproportionately hurts Democrats,” Tulchin said of the new system. “It was put forth by Republican sponsors.”

The practitioners noted that many elections are now more expensive, since it costs more to run two campaigns—one in the primary and one in the general election.

All the panelists agreed that it is still early in the state's experience with the top two system, and that more research will be needed as more elections are conducted under the new regime.

David W. Brady, professor of political science and deputy director of the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, delivered the keynote address, pointing out that America is unique because it has party primaries.

“The United States is the only country that has democracy within the parties before you can run against the other party,” said Brady. “That weakens parties.”

Brady doubted that the top two will generate more interest from voters because primaries themselves are not that interesting. “They don't even know where the 33rd District is,” joked Brady. “And neither do I!” □

To read IGS research on the top two primaries, see page 14.

Matsui Lecturers . . .

Two former long-time members of Congress served as Matsui Lecturers this year, bringing their years of experience to IGS and the Matsui Center. Former Rep. **Ellen Tauscher** served as the Matsui Lecturer during the fall semester, while former Rep. **Howard Berman** was here during the spring semester.

Both Tauscher and Berman delivered major lectures, spoke to classes, met with student groups, and generally participated in the intellectual life of IGS. Reflecting their public careers, both Tauscher and Berman focused their main lectures on foreign policy.

Tauscher, who served as Under Secretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs after she left Congress and negotiated the New START Treaty with Russia, gave a lecture entitled, “Negotiating Alone? The United States, Russia, and Prospects for Arms Control.”

Tauscher noted that the United States and Russia control 95% of the world’s nuclear weapons. While the breakup of the Soviet Union mitigated some American-Russian tensions, Tauscher said that the Cold War era left the two sides in “a tremendous amount of isolation from each

other that has caused mistrust and misunderstanding.”

Tauscher drew a reference to the Cold War-era deterrence strategy of “Mutual Assured Destruction,” a standoff situation in which both sides know that a nuclear war would mean annihilation, regardless of who launched the first strike.

“I think we want to move from Mutual Assured Destruction to Mutual Assured Stability,” said Tauscher, “a place where we are not too optimistic—where we offer each other Mutual Assured Security—but where we have a new, defined way of managing things.”

Currently, roadblocks to arms control talks have slowed the progress of negotiations. Russia wants to limit the United States’s missile defense systems, while the United States would like to limit Russia’s nonstrategic nuclear weapons.

But Tauscher sees reason to be optimistic, noting that Russia and the United States already cooperate on other matters. “Day in and day out, Russian and American diplomats from Moscow, New York, and Washington work diligently on many different problems,” Tauscher said. “As you can see from Libya to Syria to

Afghanistan, when we work together, we come up with some amazing results.”

During her week at the Matsui Center, Tauscher also spoke with various campus groups on a range of topics, from women in politics to health care reform. During a luncheon with students, Tauscher encouraged them to be active in government. “The biggest disappointment I have is how willing people are to be absent,” said Tauscher. “To not be a part of civic life is to take it for granted.”

Tauscher served 13 years in Congress, representing a district in the East Bay suburbs, before being appointed Under Secretary of State by President Obama. Before entering politics, she was one of the first women to hold a seat on the New York Stock Exchange.

Berman, who was chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee while he was in Congress, spoke on “Responding to Iran’s Nuclear Ambitions: Diplomacy, Sanctions, and Alternatives.”

Berman was skeptical of Iran’s claims that the country is developing power facilities purely for peaceful purposes.

“Tehran’s enrichment program and the construction of the Arak heavy water facility are totally inconsistent with the desire to simply be a country that has nuclear energy capabilities,” said Berman.

The prospect of Iran with nuclear weapons made Berman especially nervous.

“In my opinion, Iran’s attempt to develop nuclear weapons is far more troublesome for the United States than anything that North Korea has done,” he said.



To watch a webcast of the Berman or Tauscher lectures, go to igs.berkeley.edu/matsui-center and click on “Matsui Lecture.”

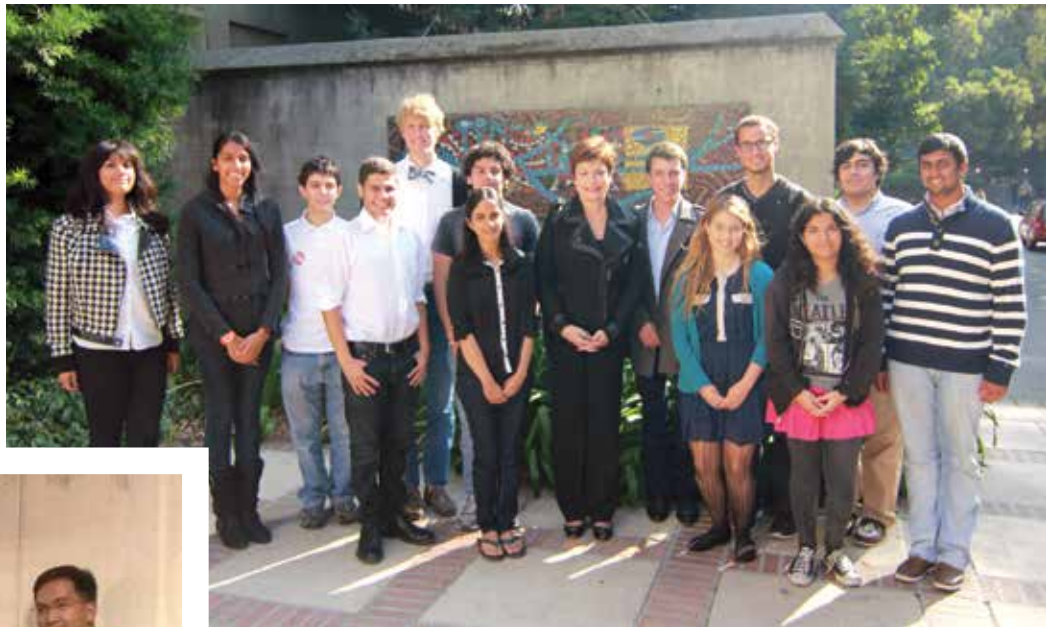
Tauscher and Berman

Berman argued that the best way to prevent Iran from creating weapons of mass destruction was to have economic sanctions imposed not only by America, but also from Europe, China, India, and Russia.

“[The United States] has had sanctions on Iran since 1979 and it has stopped nothing,” Berman said. “This joint effort is critical to our success.”

In addition to the lecture, Berman met with the Cal Democrats, spoke to classes on intellectual property and American politics, and met with members of an immigration policy workshop at the University’s School of Law.

Berman served in Congress for 30 years, representing Southern California, before leaving the House in 2013. Prior to serving in the House, he served 10 years in the California State Assembly, including service as the youngest majority leader in the Assembly’s history. □



Above: Congresswoman Ellen Tauscher with the Cal Democrats

Left: Tauscher with Lt. Col. Honoré Spencer (back) and students after Tauscher spoke to Spencer’s class

New IGS Award Honors Professor *Sandy Muir*

During more than 30 years on the Berkeley political science faculty, **Sandy Muir** taught thousands of Cal students about American democracy, US constitutional law, and the virtues of public service.

Generations of students attended his classes and benefited from Muir's help, guidance, and wisdom in navigating Berkeley and pursuing successful careers.

This year, many of those former students decided to honor their mentor by creating a new award at IGS in Muir's honor.

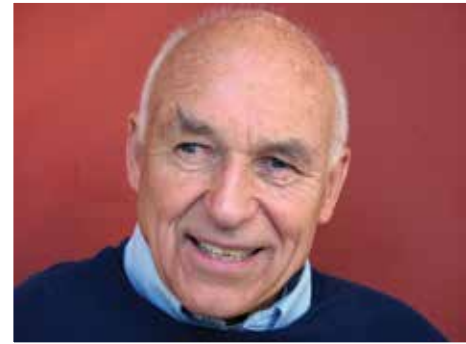
The **William K. "Sandy" Muir Jr. Leadership Award** is an endowed prize given to a deserving Berkeley undergraduate student or students who have demonstrated a high level of academic distinction and a strong commitment to being a leader in campus, community, or public affairs.

Muir taught in the Berkeley political science department from 1968 through 1998 in the fields of American politics and constitutional law. His publications include *Freedom in America*; *The Bully Pulpit: The Presidential Leadership of Ronald Reagan*;

and *Legislature: California's School for Politics*.

He received UC Berkeley's Distinguished Teaching Award in 1974, and Northern California's Excellence in Teaching Award in 1992. In addition to his academic work, he has been an attorney in New York City, a consultant to the Oakland Police Department; a member of the Finance and Commerce Committee staff in the California State Assembly; and a speechwriter for Vice President George H. W. Bush.

The first two recipients, **Shelby Nacino** and **Daniel Tuchler**, were given the Muir Award as they graduated this spring. □



Shelby Nacino



Shelby Nacino was a political science major from Honolulu. While a student, she served in several campus leadership positions, including vice president of the Resident Hall Assembly, a campus tour guide ambassador with Visitor Services conducting campus tours for prospective students and their parents, and in the leadership of the Public Service Center.

Nacino's strong interest in indigenous people led her to spend spring breaks on the Campo Indian Reservation in San Diego County conducting public service activities and teaching a DeCal class on campus about the issues confronting indigenous populations. She graduated with highest honors and plans to apply to law school. □

Daniel Tuchler



Daniel Tuchler graduated with a double major in political science and rhetoric. Tuchler, who is from Santa Ana, served in several campus leadership positions while a student at Berkeley, including president of the Cal Berkeley Democrats and as a member of the Strategic Planning Committee of the Public Service Center. He worked for several Bay Area political consulting firms and on various political races, including leading a voter contact effort in Nevada during the 2012 presidential election cycle.

Tuchler spent one summer working for the US Department of Justice in Washington, DC, and led voter registration drives at Berkeley High School and on the Cal campus. He graduated with high honors and is pursuing work as a political consultant. □

Presidency Panel Examines Foreign Policy

This spring the annual IGS Presidential Symposium focused on foreign policy with a panel discussion entitled, “Obama in the World: The President and Foreign Policy.” Each year, the symposium features a panel of experts analyzing the president’s performance and discussing what might happen in the year to come.

This year the event included three panelists: former Congressman **Howard Berman**, who had served as chair of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; **Gayle Tzemach Lemmon**, a senior fellow in the Council on Foreign Relations and author of the best-selling book *The Dressmaker of Khair Khana*; and **Kori Schake**, a research fellow at Hoover Institution at Stanford University and former Director for Defense Strategy and Requirements on the National Security Council during the Bush Administration.

The panel, moderated by Matsui Center Director **Ethan Rarick**, included discussion on the withdrawal from the war in Iraq, the war in Afghanistan, the Arab Spring and Syria, tensions with Russia, and the general tone of the Obama Administration’s foreign policy agenda.

Lemmon noted that around the world President Obama is viewed differently than his predecessor, and she said that in many respects, the Obama Administration has worked successfully to improve the image of America.

“The challenge is, ‘I’m not Bush’ is not a foreign policy,” said Lemmon. “I

think there comes a point where even your allies ask, ‘What do you stand for?’”

“That being said, the president basically has the choice in almost every conflict between tuna casserole and fruitcake—there’s just no good option,” Lemmon said. She noted that in cases such as Syria and Ukraine, there is no easy way to exert American authority successfully, especially when American voters have tired of overseas ventures in the wake of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Berman said there are clear differences between the Obama foreign policy and that of President Bush. “There’s no question it’s a more restrained policy, and more tempered, and in some cases, wisely so.” Berman noted that it’s difficult to address foreign policy questions broadly, and said each case often has to be addressed separately.

Schake criticized the Obama Administration for portraying all foreign policy crises as more difficult than in the past, when the reality is that foreign policy has always presented bad choices. Because the Obama Administration has viewed grand plans as exceptionally difficult, Schake argued, they have tended to ignore smaller steps. “They don’t think about incremental, intermediate things that can be done,” she said. She also argued that the administration tends to underestimate the damage of inaction.

While focusing mainly on the Middle East, the panel also handled a question

from the audience on the rise of superpowers in Asia.

“There are real tensions there now,” said Berman, who was at the Matsui Center for a week-long residency as a Matsui Lecturer. “You have a pretty tough-minded president of South Korea, and pretty hard-line leader in Japan, and you can see we need to be involved.”

Schake criticized the Obama as well as the Bush administrations for keeping silent on key issues of foreign policy such as interrogation techniques, drones, and the use of executive authority.

“We shouldn’t be forced into a conversation about surveillance,” Schake gave as an example. “We ought to make conscious choices about where we as a public feel comfortable setting those boundaries, and the risks we are willing to take depending on where we set them.”

The event was co-sponsored by the Berkeley Political Review; the Institute of International Studies; the United Nations Association-East Bay; and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies. □

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

From left: Kori Schake, Gayle Tzemach Lemmon, Howard Berman, Ethan Rarick



Demystifying Drones — IGS Teams Up with Commonwealth Club

IGS events don't normally involve remote-controlled flying aircraft, but that was the case when the Institute teamed up with San Francisco's Commonwealth Club to examine drones and their use in law enforcement.

At times the conference, held at the Commonwealth Club headquarters, felt like the set of a science fiction movie, as the audience of 150 craned their necks to watch a small, remote-controlled multicopter soar overhead. The video camera attached to the front of the vehicle was sophisticated enough to capture their reactions in real-time, but could be controlled by something as commonplace as a smartphone.

The demonstration was the dramatic introduction to the event, called "Eyes in the Sky: Drones in Law Enforcement," which was moderated by **David A. Carrillo**, a member of the IGS National Advisory Council and the director of a center on California constitutional issues at the Berkeley Law School.

Unmanned aerial vehicles—sometimes called UAVs but more popularly known as drones—are relatively inexpensive and have a variety of civilian uses: hobbyists use them to take beautiful pictures from the sky and parents buy them to record their children's sporting events. **Brandon Basso**, a Cal grad and senior research and development engineer at a Berkeley company called 3D Robotics, even talked about using certain models for "precision agriculture."

"While it flies around, you can get a sense of water usage [and] pest problems," he said, "and these devices are eco-friendly since they use rechargeable batteries, not jet fuel."

3D Robotics makes their UAVs for civilian use, but the topic of the conference was the legal ramifications of the domestic use of aerial surveillance.

The issue lies in the regulation of a technology that is already in use. The three panelists brought their diverse perspectives on the use of UAVs by federal and state agents.

California State Sen. **Alex Padilla** wanted to try and get in front of the complicated legal ramifications of law enforcement use of UAVs. "This is a perfect example of how technology is constantly ahead of public policy," Padilla said. He believes "there are no comprehensive laws on the books that address the implications of drones flying in US airspace."

"Most people think of drones and they think of Afghanistan and the war on terror," said Padilla. "[But] drones are already being used in things like real estate, fire suppression, and utility inspections, without any rules or restrictions."

That is why Padilla introduced a bill that would establish regulation on the use of drones in California.

"The first thing that came to mind was privacy issues," said Padilla, who already deals with surveillance issues in his Los Angeles county district. "[Celebrity news outlet] TMZ just applied for a drone license in Los Angeles."

Another panelist, **Jennifer Lynch**, a senior staff attorney at the Electronic Frontier Foundation and former clinical teaching fellow at UC Berkeley School of Law, said the more pressing issue is not the drones themselves, but concerns about privacy and the type of data collection that is specific to drones.

"When we walk around in public, we don't expect people to not see us," Lynch said, "but long-term data collection can provide a wealth of information about a person." That's where drones create a potential problem, Lynch said. Flying over some-



one's backyard no longer requires an expensive helicopter or paid pilots. Following a suspect for days no longer requires paying a stakeout team.

Professor **Gregory S. McNeal** teaches national security and policy at Pepperdine School of Law. McNeal agreed that the issues with policy extend farther than UAVs. "A lot of the legislative proposals make a head-run at the drone issue without addressing the subissues," he said.

Citing a North Carolina law that all drone activity requires a warrant, McNeal described a scenario in which drone-specific legislation might do more harm than good. "If you would have flown out [a UAV] without a warrant looking for a lost hiker, and along the way see someone being stabbed to death," posed McNeal, "that information would have to be suppressed under this oddly written law."

McNeal would like to shift the conversation from drones to data. "Rather than demonizing the drones," he said, "my preference would be militant transparency." Records of flight paths could show, for example, if police were targeting some neighborhoods over others for surveillance. Regulating data content and uses should be the goal of policymakers, he said, not stifling technical innovation. □

Open Data Conference Examines **Governance in the Digital Era**

Highlighting a day-long IGS conference last fall featuring leading experts of the open-data movement, Lt. Gov. **Gavin Newsom** delivered the keynote address, asking the audience, “How does technology radically differ the capacity for individuals to lead?”

The conference—“Can Open Data Improve Democratic Governance?”—included experts on open data, technology, and government from the US, UK, Canada, France, Latin America, and Africa. The audience of 170 included leaders from the open data movement, advocates, local and government officials, nonprofit executives, and Berkeley faculty and students.



Newsom, the former mayor of San Francisco, is the author of *Citizenville: How to Take the Town Square Digital and Reinvent Government*, which encourages citizen participation through greater transparency and by generating more effective, crowd-sourced solutions to public problems. At the conference, he spoke about the crucial nature of what he labeled “active citizen engagement.”

“It’s about more choices; it’s about more voices,” Newsom said.



From left, panelists *Maury Blackman of Accela, Zac Brookman of OpenGov, Diego May of Junar, Saf Rabah of Socrata, Tom Spengler of Granicus, and Eddie Tejada of Open Oakland.*

The conference’s 27 speakers and panelists included representatives from software firms, nonprofit and public interest organizations, academia, and all levels of government.

Diego May, co-founder and CEO of Junar, an open data company that has developed a cloud-based platform for collecting and publishing data, discussed ways to make data access available to every city in the world, from California to Costa Rica.

Tom Spengler of Granicus asserted that, with open data, “we can drive better decisions.” Spengler also emphasized the importance of educating citizens in the use of technology. “Open data is not really useful if the public does not engage with it,” he said.

The one-day conference was co-sponsored by IGS and the Data & Democracy Initiative at Berkeley’s Center for Information Technology Research in the Interest of Society, with support from Accela, Socrata, California Forward, the UC Berkeley Canadian Studies Program, the UC Berkeley School of Information, and the Canadian Consulate General. □



Top: *Jeanne M. Holm of data.gov*

Bottom: *Lt. Gov. Gavin Newsom greets members of the audience*

To watch video of this conference, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/open-data.

Esteemed Colleague **Susan Rasky** Passes Away

Susan F. Rasky, a longtime member of the IGS Faculty Advisory Committee and senior lecturer at UC Berkeley's Graduate School of Journalism for more than two decades, died December 29, 2013, following a long illness. She was 61.

"Susan was a dear friend and trusted adviser to IGS for many years," said IGS Director **Jack Citrin**. "She contributed in many many ways, acting as a bridge to the outside, giving countless students counseling, and participating as an incisive commentator on numerous panels. Susan combined a reporter's sense of the important lead with a scholar's attention to the larger context of events. She had a great sense of humor and the humanity to turn it against herself from time to time. Everyone at Berkeley will miss her, but we at IGS certainly will feel the loss keenly and directly."

Rasky was a frequent panelist and moderator at IGS events, including the "2012 Presidential Election Recap," and "The 2010 Governor's Race: The Inside Story." She was known for her efforts to create ties between IGS and the School of Journalism, and for her mentoring of both undergraduate and graduate students.

In her years at Berkeley, she specialized in teaching political and government reporting—the foundational courses of the school since it began. Former student John Myers ('95), now a well-known broadcast reporter covering California politics, said, "Susan became a guiding force in my professional life in August 1993 and never wavered in her willingness to advise, promote, and tutor my work as a political reporter."

Myers recalled how Rasky's former students referred to themselves as "Rasky-ites." Former IGS Director **Bruce Cain** recalled a different nickname—"Raskyfarrians"—because "she so successfully imparted her own tenacious political reporting style and they were so devoted to her."

Jennifer Baires, former executive assistant at IGS who graduated from the J-School this spring, recalled Rasky as "tough, sharp and un-failing in her passion for us—her students, her fellow journalists. . . . I learned more about reporting and source development from watching Rasky in the field over the years than I ever could in a classroom."

Those wishing to donate money in her memory are encouraged to send checks to the Graduate School of Journalism, made payable to UC Regents, earmarking the funds for the Susan Rasky Scholarship Fund for Journalistic Excellence. □



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Conference Examines US–Canada Relations

Continuing one of the Institute’s recent research interests, IGS hosted a major conference this spring analyzing the relationship between the United States and Canada.

The event, cosponsored with Berkeley’s Canadian Studies Program, was held May 9, and was titled *Canadianizing the United States? Public Opinion across the 49th Parallel*.

The conference invited leading academic and business experts on public opinion, as well as members of the public, to the Berkeley campus to revisit the issue of convergence and/or divergence between Canadian and American orientations to government, public policies, and social issues.

This question, famously raised in Martin Seymour Lipset’s *Continental Divide* (1989) and later in Michael Adams’s *Fire and Ice* (2003) continues to be a topic of debate, with some experts arguing that differences between the two neighbors are growing, while others maintain that at least in some areas they seem to be decreasing.

Irene Bloemraad, director of the Canadian Studies Program, opened the conference with a brief general introduction to the debate. She then introduced **Michael Adams**, who updated his earlier book in his talk “Fire and Ice—10 Years Later.”

Three panels followed, each featuring a brief introduction by a chair, two longer presentations, and responses from one or two

commentators. The assembled group of academic experts from Canada and the United States examined these controversial and interrelated issues: (1) public opinion and the welfare state, (2) energy, global resource markets and the environment, and (3) diversity and democracy: immigration and multiculturalism policy.

At the end of the afternoon, there was a talk by the Honorable **Cassie Doyle**, Consul General of Canada, San Francisco/Silicon Valley, who hosted the conference reception. She spoke to the audience about the consulate general’s continuing support for valuable conferences like this and pledged to continue its close relationship with Berkeley.

The conference was generously supported by the UC Berkeley Institute of International Studies, the University of British Columbia US Studies Program, and the Consulate General of Canada, San Francisco/Silicon Valley. The Canadian Studies Program would also like to acknowledge the much-appreciated support of the Bluma Appel Fund in Canadian Studies, and Canadian National. □



Cassie Doyle



Irene Bloemraad

Ukraine-Russia Crisis Examined

The ongoing IGS examination of democratic transitions in key regions included a look this spring at the dynamic and changing crisis involving Ukraine and Russia.

The April 10 lunchtime program—“Russia and Ukraine: Realities, Democracy, and Change”—featured Cal political scientist **Steven Fish**; IGS Resident International Scholar and former Canadian ambassador to Russia **Jeremy Kinsman**; and **Edward Walker**, executive director of Cal’s East European and Eurasian Studies Program. IGS Director **Jack Citrin** moderated.

Looking at Russian President Vladimir Putin’s international profile, the Winter Olympics, protest movements, and the domestic political situation in Russia, Fish and Kinsman focused on Russia and Putin’s actions. Walker examined the strategic perspectives of potential conflict over Ukraine from the perspective of European, NATO, and Russian geographic and political alliances.

The event was co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies and the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies.

The IGS series on democracy transitions began with a 2012 conference called “Democracy Rising.” For more on that event, go to igs.berkeley.edu/events/democracy. □

For more information, go to the conference website:
igs.berkeley.edu/events/canadianizing-the-us

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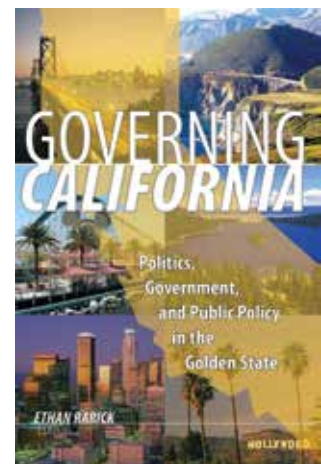
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