

policynotes



campaigns, parties, politics, polls

GSPP's Election Collection

SPRING 2016

PMJ with David Plouffe

Fighting “Legalized
Corruption”

The Millennial Tipping Point

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Dean's Message



Dean Henry E. Brady

THE THEME OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY SIZZLES in this year's Presidential election. Bernie Sanders has made it a centerpiece of his campaign. Polling data show that Donald Trump's supporters share with Sanders' supporters a concern about how hard it is to "get ahead" in America. Although the left and right are still separated by their different attitudes towards immigration, race, and social issues such as gay rights and abortion, the two sides come together in their economic populism. Both Sanders and Trump have spoken against free trade. In addition, Sanders has proposed "free tuition" for higher education as one solution to the problem. Trump has been characteristically vague, but he has made some statements critical of student loan programs. Hillary Clinton has put forth a more limited program to reduce the burden of student loans.

Behind these policy proposals are statistics showing that college graduates earn over a million dollars more during their lifetime than those who do not graduate from college. Projections show that the good jobs in the knowledge-based economy will require higher levels of education. Higher education is one solution to the problem of inequality.

As I write this, I am at a conference in Santiago, Chile where Chileans are considering how to redesign their higher education system. They are partly animated by their concern with the growing inequality in Chile. One of the major questions is what to do with the profusion of private universities that grew up during and after the Pinochet dictatorship (1973–1990) — partly a result of the free-market economic principles brought to Chile by economists from the University of Chicago. Whereas about 70% of American higher education students go to public universities and colleges, the balance is reversed in Chile. There is a concern that these private universities in Chile have forsaken the public interest by delivering low-quality education to lower class students at high cost. This same concern exists in America with the profusion of for-profit institutions like the University of Phoenix that have focused on marketing their programs to low-income students but have often failed to provide an education that leads to jobs.

The University of California provides a model of how public higher education can provide access to low-income students (over 35% of UC students receive Pell grants), with high graduation rates and relatively low levels of loan debt. Undergraduate tuition is less than one-third of most private universities. The California State Universities provide even broader access at still lower cost.

Unfortunately, California and other states are withdrawing their support for public higher education at just the time when it is needed the most. As a result, those who are desperate for greater economic opportunity are often forced into private for-profit programs that promise much but often deliver very little.

The next stop is Washington, DC for the roll out of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences report on the challenges faced by American public research universities. That report notes that "public research universities cannot solve their financial challenges without help" and it calls for a national effort to develop a new financial model for them. We must find a new way to support public higher education, one of our best tools for diminishing the kind of inequality that has led to the Sanders and Trump campaigns. **G**

Henry E. Brady

Henry E. Brady
Dean, Goldman School of Public Policy
Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor
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Editor's Note

SPURRED BY THE EXTRAORDINARY POPULARITY of the Broadway musical, *Hamilton*, I recently picked up the biography of Alexander Hamilton by Ron Chernow. Reading that 700+ page tome, I learned about how the Founding Fathers fought amongst themselves — bitterly, often unfairly, and publicly. It's been an oddly comforting backdrop for the spectacle of the current election season. There is nothing new under the sun.

I also found solace working on this issue of *Policy Notes*. I am encouraged, among other things, by the insights offered by Professor Sarah Anzia and Dean Henry Brady about the state of political parties, the curiosity of *PolicyMatters Journal* students in their interview with Obama campaign manager David Plouffe, and the analytic rigor alumna Molly O'Shaughnessy brings to her work as a pollster in Ohio.

This promises to be quite a political year. The Goldman School community is hard at work — in the words of the musical, *Hamilton*: we're not throwing away our shot. **G**
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Bora Reed
Editor



Who's in Charge?

Political Parties and Polarization in the 2016 Election



Professor Sarah Anzia

IT WASN'T SO LONG AGO that the 2016 Presidential Election seemed as if it would be business as usual. The Republican candidate field was crowded, but Jeb Bush seemed to have the implicit blessing of his Party and be well on the path toward the nomination. Donald Trump, the pundits said, was a summer phenomenon who would be gone by the fall.

By Super Tuesday 2016, the story had changed — dramatically. As the Republican Party marches toward its July Convention, the only sure thing is that nothing is for sure. As a result, the Republican Party — and perhaps political parties in general — won't be the same.

"The conventional wisdom among people who study American politics is that political parties here are weak relative to parties in other countries," says Professor Sarah Anzia, a political scientist who studies elections, political parties and interest groups. "In other countries, people strongly affiliate with a political party. They go to party meetings and vote according to lists of candidates crafted for them by their party."

The relative weakness of American political parties is tied to the Progressive Era of the late 19th and early 20th century, which introduced reforms like the direct primary. Until then, party leaders

gathered in proverbial smoke-filled rooms to decide who the Party's nominees would be. Now voters would have a say.

As a result, notes Professor Anzia, political scientists in the last four decades have assumed that American elections are candidate-centric. "In that model, all it takes for someone to run for office and to win is the ambition of the individual and that individual's ability to raise money," she says.

In 2008, a group of political scientists advanced a new theory in *The Party Decides* (University of Chicago Press). They argued that rather than being weak, political parties were made up of coalitions with common interests, whose leaders effectively selected candidates long before the candidates reach the ballot box.

"This is known as the 'invisible primary,'" says Professor Anzia. "The idea is that the party elite do whatever they can to convince the voters of the best candidate and the voters, presumably, fall in line."

This theory has come under fire in this current presidential campaign.

"What Ted Cruz and Donald Trump and everything that is happening in the Republican party makes clear is that even if you think of the Republican Party as a coalition of interest groups, there's

nothing that says that the groups will agree on what is best," says Professor Anzia. "We tend to think of parties as unitary actors with someone on top, deciding what is best for the Party, but that's not actually happening. There is very little Reince Priebus [Chairman of the Republican party] can do to enforce discipline and cohesion in the party. He can't force voters to vote a certain way, nor can he compel candidates to leave the race. The head of the Republican party actually has very little authority. We read the news and think we can't understand how the Republican Party can be in such disarray, but the party is not one thing; it's made up of individuals and interest groups, all acting in their own interests, not necessarily in the interests of the party as a whole."

The fragmentation within the parties has given voice to the more extreme groups in both parties, according to Dean Henry E. Brady, who studies elections and political polarization.

"The best social science suggests that the long-term causes of political polarization are growing inequality and increased immigration," he says. "The 1950s through the 1970s were one of the least polarized eras in American politics, characterized by strong unions and corporations that had strong

local roots and a sense of responsibility to their local areas. Globalization in the 1970s and 1980s led to rootless international corporations, the loss of manufacturing jobs, the diminution of union influence in the private sector, and increasing inequality. At the same time, immigration increased dramatically. The net result was increased inequality and anti-immigrant sentiment — with the two often conjoined in the sense that immigrants (or people like them in foreign countries) were blamed for taking away American jobs."

This presidential election is also showing that Republican Party leadership has underestimated the degree of dissatisfaction people are feeling.

"Donald Trump has outflanked his party by combining strong anti-immigrant sentiment, nationalism, and xenophobia with opposition to free trade and attacks on hedge funds and Wall Street," says Dean Brady.

"If Donald Trump is the nominee, the party will undergo a big change," adds Professor Anzia. "If Trump is not the nominee, no one knows what is going to happen at the convention. No matter what, the last year is going to impact the Party. These voters are not just going to be upset for the moment and eventually just fall back in line." **G**



Dean Henry E. Brady

A CONVERSATION WITH

David Plouffe



David Plouffe served as the campaign manager for President Barack Obama's 2008 presidential campaign and was appointed a senior advisor to the President in 2011. He is now a strategic advisor for the ride service, Uber. David Plouffe visited the Goldman School during "Stop the Clock" week, which provides students and faculty with a chance to interact with leading decision-makers who have worked in public policy and government. The following is an excerpt from a conversation between him and students Taylor Myers, Andrew Wilson, Cassandra Bayer and Ian Perry of *PolicyMatters Journal*.

The full interview will be available at
<http://www.policymattersjournal.org>

At the Goldman School, we use a strategic framework called the Eightfold Path to think about policy issues. When you are thinking in the realm of political strategy, do you use a similar framework?

With elections, it always starts with how many votes you need. There's not a lot of debate about what the issues are — the candidate already knows that going in. But then you think through, "what's your base?" "Are there swing voters?" "What concerns do they have about you and your opponent?" You have to find ways to turn out your supporters. It's more about inspiration than it is about technology. Voters are either motivated or they're not. So that's got to be your guiding light. The way you measure is by always making progress towards a vote goal. Even the money you raise has to be married to a campaign to acquire a vote goal.

In terms of public policy, it depends. Some public policy debates can seem like they're all about making the right data-driven decision. But it's often not that easy. It's also about building public support and the permission structure for people to be supportive of something. So there's the data, and there are the policy recommendations, but who will be affected by this? What's the best human face to put on this? That's really important. I think that blending that — the story telling with the policy — is difficult, but when it works well, that tends to be how you are successful.

Is there is similar strategy for electorate vote goals, or working in the House or the Senate?

Yes, you have to count votes. And in a close vote in the House or Senate, you've got to build a campaign for each swing voter — what do they care about substantively? What's their political situation? Who would be an effective advocate to talk to them? That could be another colleague, that could be a policy expert. We even did this in the Iowa Caucuses in 2008. We had people who were concerned about energy or health care, and we had policy experts who were volunteering on the campaign and we would say, "would you like to sit down and talk with this policy expert?" and they would!

So how does that translate to the private sector? Are you seeing that you're using the same kinds of strategies in your work with Uber?

Well, it's a little different, but if we have a vote in the city council or legislature, yes. You are trying to understand where people initially are and what would be the strongest arguments to them. So in our case, it could be about flexible work or reducing congestion — you have to understand your audience.

If I'm a 55-year-old person who is looking for extra money and my only image of Uber is of young people, I might not think that's for me. It's the same thing in politics. There were a lot of people in 2008 who thought, "Obama...hmm...young...race..." So one of the ways people got comfortable was to see people like them in their community being supportive; this gave people the permission structures to come out and support him.



From left: Andrew Wilson, Ian Perry, David Plouffe, Cassandra Bayer and Taylor Myers

It's important to note that it just can't be the data or even the top-line message. You have to get some sense of who the audience is and what's the best way for them to experience your argument. Many times, there's a visual. If you can't express your message in an infographic or short video, you're probably not going to get it through.

So talking about consuming information, it's hard to remember a presidential election where we have followed delegate counts and nomination details so closely. What are your thoughts on the delegate situation, and perhaps the possibility of a brokered convention?

The 2008 Obama–Clinton race was the first time that a lot of the news media covered the delegate situation. Before 2008, media coverage was just who won the state. So I would get on the phone with news directors and anchors and say, "You guys have to start covering the delegates."

I remember our Super Tuesday — it was big: 22 states. Generally, Hillary Clinton won California, New York and Massachusetts, so a lot of the coverage was that Hillary Clinton had a better day because she won big states. Our challenge in the 24 hours after was to actually say, "we won more delegates." It's a byzantine process, but people certainly seem to be interested by it and they are certainly learning a lot about how we elect a president.

Will there be a contested convention? I think it's 50–50 that Trump will not have enough delegate pre-convention, which means it will go to Cleveland. If he doesn't secure enough votes in the first round or two, you will have something that political junkies have dreamed about for a very long time. You'll have multiple ballots like we used to use before we had primaries and elections to decide the nominees. At the end of the day, if Trump is denied the nomination, and if Cruz is not picked, the message being sent will be that the voters had their say, but the party bosses are coming in. I don't think this will happen. That's a very destabilizing message. **G**



remembrance

Professor Allan P. Sindler

By Dean Henry E. Brady

THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL of Public Policy mourns the passing of Emeritus Professor Allan P. Sindler in October 2015. Professor Sindler was Dean of the Graduate School of Public Policy (now the Goldman School of Public Policy) from 1977 to 1987.

Professor Sindler's scholarly work on race and politics followed the course of American politics in the middle of the twentieth century. His first book, *Huey Long's Louisiana: State Politics, 1920–1952* (1956), developed out of his 1953 dissertation at Harvard University. This book set the stage for his lifelong interest in race and politics in America. In it he noted that “Even those who deplored his actions and objectives recognized in the Kingfish [Huey Long] a man of unusual talents” who “expressed the yearnings of the ‘have-nots’ for a material level of living consonant with the equality of citizens proclaimed in the Constitution.” During the Depression, Sindler concluded that Long's policies primarily helped poor whites, but his support for better roads and schools also helped poor blacks. Moreover, unlike other southern demagogues, Long eschewed racial appeals. Sindler argued that Long's greatest contribution was breaking up the corrupt and racially oppressive control of politics by big business and planters in Louisiana. Long replaced it with a populist corruption of his own, but the net result was a permanent change in the state's politics and perhaps a somewhat better life for its farmers, its poor people, and its black citizens.

In subsequent work Sindler continued to provide trenchant and illuminating com-

mentaries on race and American politics. In the edited collection on *Change in the Contemporary South* (1963), Sindler added a concluding chapter in which he recounted how economic changes were forcing political changes in the South, making it harder to maintain its system of racial oppression. At the same time, he also put forth a skeptical perspective on the “Negro-ethnic analogy” that was often made in the 1960s, noting that African Americans simply had a much different history than most immigrant groups — not the least of which was the forceful suppression of their political and civil rights in the south and elsewhere. And while he clearly supported the advancement of voting rights, he warned against their “panacea implications” put forth by some proponents. Through his in-depth study of Louisiana, Sindler understood the depth of the problems faced by blacks in America. Voting rights were important, but they were not a panacea. Much more had to be done.

From 1965–1970, Sindler was at Cornell University, and he was among a group of faculty who were greatly affected by the April 1969 takeover by black students of a campus building. Sindler's move to Berkeley was precipitated by this event, and along with his background as a Jew in America, it shaped his final book which was on affirmative action in university admissions. *Bakke, De Funis, and Minority Admissions* was widely praised as an even-handed treatment of a difficult issue, but it clearly reflected its author's doubts and concerns about affirmative action that involved quotas. These doubts were rooted

in Sindler's life as a Jewish student at Harvard in the 1940s (Sindler graduated with a BA in 1948) where he knew first-hand about Harvard's quotas limiting the number of Jewish students that had persisted at least through the 1930s.

Sindler wrote on other topics as well including the selection of Vice Presidents, and American public policy. His series of edited “case-study” books on *American Political Institutions and Public Policy* went through a number of editions and they were mainstays of the political science curricula throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

When I came to Berkeley in 1978, Allan had been dean for a year. I valued his mentorship and guidance, and learned a great deal from his thoughtful scholarship. He was a man who wrestled with the complicated questions of race and ethnicity in America, and he tried to find a path that improved the lot of the downtrodden and that accorded with Constitutional principles of fairness and non-discrimination. Among his achievements as dean was the establishment of the Public Policy and International Affairs Junior Summer Institute that has, for 35 years, brought promising students from underrepresented communities to the Goldman School during the summer between their junior and senior years in college, with the goal of encouraging them to become public policy students. This program has produced several generations of leaders, including the current President of Fresno State University, the under-Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development, and our Dean of Students, Martha Chavez. **G**

FACULTY NOTES

Eugene Bardach presented his paper, “Public Policy Implementation Modeling: The Classic Case of EDA in Oakland,” with co-author David Wheat (University of Bergen, Norway) at the System Dynamic Society's annual meeting held in Cambridge, Massachusetts this past July. They will present a revised version of this paper this May at the Azzienza Publica Conference in Palermo, Sicily.

Robert Birgeneau received the 2016 Vannevar Bush Award from the National Science Board in recognition of his exceptional public service and scientific leadership, especially his efforts to advance equity and inclusion in higher education and science. Previous Berkeley Bush awardees are Glenn Seaborg and Charles Townes. In addition, Birgeneau has co-led the American Academy's *Lincoln Project on Excellence and Access in Public Higher Education in the United States*. The Lincoln Project publications (including the final one which presents strategies for public research universities moving forward) are available on the American Academy's web site (www.amacad.org). **Henry Brady** also is a major contributor to this historic project.

Avi Feller's paper, “Discouraged by Peer Excellence: Exposure to Exemplary Peer Performance Causes Quitting” with Todd Rogers, was featured on *NPR* (<http://n.pr/223iM6X>). Feller's job market paper on Head Start was also accepted at the *Annals of Applied Statistics*. Lastly, Feller became a PI on a grant from the Institute for Education Sciences.

Alexander Gelber published a paper, “The Effects of Youth Employment: Evidence from New York City Lotteries,” in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*. The paper shows that the NYC Summer Youth Employment Program helped reduce incarceration and even mortality among participants who were mostly disadvantaged youth, offering the hope that similar programs can improve outcomes for at-risk youth. The White House cited Gelber's paper and spoke with him as they helped develop the Department of Labor \$20M Summer Jobs and Beyond Grant Competition announced in February, as well as the proposal in President Obama's budget this year for a \$5.5 billion expansion of youth jobs programs.

Hilary Hoynes spoke at the following events: “Why SNAP Matters” at the White House Conversation on Child Hunger (January 2016); “SNAP, Food Security and Health” at the Stanford Center on Food Security and the Environment (January 2016); “The Rise of the In-Work Safety Net: Implications for Families in Strong and Weak Labor Markets” at the Southern Economic Association (November 2015); “The Welfare State and the Fight Against Inequality” at Columbia University (November 2015); and lastly, “Poverty and Inequality: How US Food and Nutrition Programs can Help” at the UC Berkeley Food Access and Food Security Summit (October 2015). Hoynes was also appointed to California Budget and Policy Center's Board of Directors.

Michael Nacht served on the external review committee for Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and on the external review committee for the University of Texas Lyndon Johnson School of Public Affairs PhD program. He gave lectures on cyber security and new technological threats at Pennsylvania State University and on US national security policy at Harvard's Kennedy School. Nacht published an op-ed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the impact of trends in international trade on the future of West Coast ports. He discussed security problems posed by the ISIS Paris attacks on *KQED with Michael Krasny* and on related topics on several Bay area radio and television stations.

Steven Raphael was appointed to a three year term as a member of the Committee on Law and Justice at the National Academies of Science, where he is also a member of their panel, Proactive Policing. Raphael was also involved with the office of California Attorney General Kamala Harris in the launch of the *Open Justice Data Portal* for the state of California. He helped draft and then signed onto an Amicus brief filed with the US Supreme Court pertaining to the upcoming Supreme Court deliberations over the *Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents* (DAPA). The brief summarized for the court the research on the effects of legalization on the earnings of formerly undocumented workers and what the impact of DAPA would be on households with American citizen children where one or both parents are undocumented immigrants. The case will be heard in mid-April.

Robert Reich's book, *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few*, came out in late September. The book is currently in its 9th printing, became a *New York Times* best-seller and is in the process of being translated into 12 languages. Reich was also UC Berkeley's commencement speaker in December 2015.

Jesse Rothstein became the director of UC Berkeley's Institute for Research on Labor and Employment (IRLE).

Richard Scheffler launched *World Scientific Handbook of Global Health Economics and Public Policy*, a three-volume handbook that features academics and practitioners from more than a dozen countries. He also received a 2-year grant in the Petris Center from the Commonwealth Fund to study the effects of market concentration on premiums. Scheffler also testified at a recent Centene-HealthNet merger hearing in Sacramento (video: <http://bit.ly/200jLFe>)

Janelle Scott joined the editorial boards of the *American Educational Research Journal & Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, and is serving on the Publications Committee of the American Education Research Association. In October, with her Co-PIs, Elizabeth DeBary (University of Georgia) and Christopher Lubienski (University of Illinois), she was awarded a grant from the William T. Grant Foundation: Intermediary Organizations and Educational Policy: A Mixed-Methods Study of the Politics of Research Utilization (\$443,944). She was also named to the Education Week/RHSU Edu-Scholar Public Influence Ranked Scholar List, which is awarded to the top 200 public interest education professors to recognize university-based scholars in the US who are contributing most substantially to public debates about education.

Fighting “Legalized Corruption” in Politics

By Charlotte Hill (MPP Candidate '17)

WHEN PEOPLE LEARN I’VE TAKEN A YEAR-LONG SABBATICAL from graduate school to pursue anti-corruption reform, they frequently assume I’ve joined a presidential candidate’s campaign. It is an understandable assumption. Bernie, Trump, Hillary, Cruz — virtually every presidential candidate left in the running has lambasted America’s culture of legalized corruption, in which special interests buy political influence via outsized campaign contributions, lucrative job offers, thinly veiled threats of super PAC spending, and the like. It’s all perfectly legal — and all perfectly antithetical to government of, by, and for the people.

Despite the 2016 campaign rhetoric, however, one president cannot fix our political system. There are simply too many facets of legalized corruption, none of which can be unilaterally addressed by the chief executive: the unprecedented amount of money flowing through our system that cannot be tracked back to an original donor; the enormous influence lobbyists and their clients hold over members of Congress; our completely broken campaign finance system, in which ordinary Americans are completely excluded from the political process because they can’t afford to make campaign donations; and our dysfunctional Federal Election Commission, the body tasked with enforcing national ethics and campaign finance laws. (In fact, in a recent *New York Times* interview, FEC Chairwoman Ann Ravel called the commission “worse than dysfunctional.”)

Even if a president wanted to prioritize ending corruption, he or she would need the cooperation of Congress. And we all know how likely our federal legislators are to pass a bill that transforms the system they used to get elected in the first place.

Instead of latching onto a presidential race, I joined the team at Represent.Us, the nation’s largest grassroots anti-corruption campaign. Even more than its snazzy graphics and funny viral videos (when you have a free moment, google “honest political ads”), I was drawn to Represent.Us’ smart policy proposals and eminently feasible political strategy — a rare and formidable combination.

Represent.Us champions a piece of model legislation called the American Anti-Corruption Act. It tackles our broken political system from four directions: ending secret money, stopping undue lobbyist influence, giving every voter a voice in how elections are funded, and ramping up enforcement of ethics laws. The law was crafted with the input of some of the smartest people working on this issue: former FEC Chairman Trevor Potter; constitutional law professor Lawrence Lessig; and, my personal favorite, disgraced lobbyist Jack Abramoff.



When Represent.Us members show widespread support for anti-corruption reform where they live, we help them get a customized version of the Anti-Corruption Act on the ballot in their city or state. By taking our fight local rather than focusing on Congress, we bypass politicians entirely, empowering voters to pass laws themselves and building momentum for national reform. In the process, we counter the well-documented growing influence of state lobbyists and special interests.

This fall, Represent.Us members in at least two states and multiple cities will put Anti-Corruption Acts before their fellow voters. There’s no guarantee we will win. Ballot campaigns are arduous and expensive, even without significant opposition — and in our case, plenty of powerful interests have a stake in maintaining the status quo.

But my hopes are high. Americans are overwhelmingly in favor of making government work for regular people, not just the well-off and well-connected. For the first time in recent memory, conservatives and progressives are joining across party and state lines to form a bona fide national movement against corruption. November 2016 could very well mark the beginning of a tidal wave of reform — and I want in on the action. **G**

Charlotte Hill is Senior Communications Director for Represent.us. She can be reached at charlotte@represent.us.

Voting for a Healthier Community

By Vanessa Cedeño

(MPP Candidate '16)

OVER THE PAST DECADE, the Alameda County Public Health Department (ACPHD) has been at the forefront of efforts to re-conceptualize the role of a public health agency. In 2008, it adopted a health equity framework that focuses not only on the traditional downstream factors that influence individual and community health outcomes (e.g., individual health behaviors like smoking), but also on the upstream or socio-ecological factors that determine health (e.g., discriminatory beliefs, institutional power, and social inequities). In order to monitor and address the impact of socio-ecological factors on health outcomes in the County, ACPHD has developed and implemented a number of initiatives and programs aimed at addressing the social determinants of health.

Despite designing and implementing a number of community capacity building and civic engagement programs over the past decade, efforts to monitor the levels of voter participation — a key indicator of political empowerment and social capital — have been very limited. Troubled by a recent drop in the County’s voter turnout rates, ACPHD’s Legislative Council Coordinator, Pam Willow (’01), brought me on to work on a new Voter Turnout Initiative.

The goal of this initiative is to learn more about how voter participation affects both community and individual health; what the Department can do to address low levels of voter registration and turnout; and how it might implement a pilot program aimed at improving voter participation rates in the upcoming 2016 elections, particularly among low-income people of color who have historically been underrepresented in the political system.



Working on this project for my Applied Policy Analysis (APA) has been an incredible learning experience that has required me to use every skill in my policy analysis tool set. I applied my newly-acquired quantitative skills to identify emerging trends in voter participation as well as connections between voter participation rates and health outcomes. Most of my work, however, has involved interviewing much of ACPHD’s staff, its sister agencies, community partners, and clinical practitioners. Here my Introduction to Policy Analysis (IPA) experience has been invaluable as it proved to be a training ground for working within an agency context, learning about interview protocols, and practicing how to organize and synthesize large amounts of qualitative data into concise and useful pieces of information for a decisionmaker. Through this process, I have conducted an organizational analysis of ACPHD’s operational

capacity and resources to identify ways in which different public health programs can contribute to the work of the initiative’s three phases: voter registration, public education, and voter turnout.

I am now in the process of using all of the research I have conducted to inform the design of an implementation plan that ACPHD can use. I recently learned that the recommendations I put forth in my APA report will be put into place this summer and fall in the lead up to the November general election. In fact, we are recruiting first-year GSPP students to serve as interns that will implement and evaluate the plan in the coming months. Reflecting back, this project truly feels like the culmination of my two years of professional development at the Goldman School. The project seeks to see a problem as an opportunity, to use policy analysis to inform decisionmaking, and to create positive change in our community. **G**

event highlights

Big Data and the University in the 21st Century

Saul Perlmutter, Nobel Laureate and Professor of Physics, spoke on *Big Data, Knowledge, Education, and the University in the 21st Century* at the Fall 2015 dinner for Goldman School Board of Advisors members and friends.



New Student Orientation

Dean Henry E. Brady welcomed the class of 2018 during New Student Orientation.



Do Millennials Stand a Chance?

Professors Ronald Lee and Hilary Hoynes (pictured) joined Dean Henry E. Brady and Professors Alex Gelber and Jesse Rothstein in a two-part panel discussion: *Do Millennials Stand a Chance? Giving the Next Generation a Fair Shot at a Prosperous Future*. The event was sponsored by the Goldman School's Center on Governing and Investing in the Future.



Saving Capitalism

Chancellor's Professor Robert B. Reich addressed *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few* at the 2015 Michael Nacht Distinguished Lecture in Politics and Policy.

Water Policy and the Drought

Goldman School Board of Advisors member Mel Levine (BA '64) joined Dean Henry E. Brady, Felicia Marcus of the State Water Resources Control Board and David L. Sedlak, Malozemoff Professor in Mineral Engineering, to discuss California's drought in *Water Policy & the Drought: Balancing Competing Interests to Stay Afloat*. Richard "Dick" H. Beahrs (BA '68) moderated the panel. The event was sponsored by the Goldman School's Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement.



Network DC

Goldman School students traveled to Washington DC for site visits and networking opportunities. The event culminated with a reception for students, faculty and DC-area alumni.



GSPP Students at the US Department of Energy (From left to right): Satoshi Suzuki, Greg Rybka, Elizabeth Lai, Brett Webster, Eric Wilson, Adam Orford, Sarah Wilson, Rachel Young, Andrew Wilson, Minh Nguyen, Dan Blaustein-Rejto, Karolina Maslanka, and Laura Sanchez Bolanos.



GSPP Networking Reception (From left to right): Students Minh Nguyen, Satoshi Suzuki, Daniel Friel and Lindsay Maple with Don Pickrell of the US Department of Transportation

PPIA Alums: Getting out the Vote

By Cindy Dinh and Paul Monge Rodriguez

IN MANY STATES, VOTING RIGHTS ARE UNDER ASSAULT by restrictive laws such as cutbacks on early voting periods and the elimination of same-day registration. In contrast, California continues to lead in modernizing strategies for voter engagement and removing obstacles to the ballot. The State has already allowed public agencies to register voters automatically (e.g., Department of Motor Vehicles). It is logical to extend this practice to another public entity: California's public colleges and universities. In a state where only 8% of eligible youth ages 18–24 voted in the 2014 elections, increasing youth voter turnout is an answer to increasing future turnout for California overall.

We discussed these ideas over dinner in January 2016 while reminiscing over the last time we were on the UC Berkeley campus together as Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA) law fellows at the Goldman School. As undergraduates, we led voter registration drives on our college campuses and understand how important it is to engage youth early so that they can develop habits of voting in every election. Now, as graduate students, we began to brainstorm about what could be done to increase youth turnout.

We submitted a proposal to Assemblymember Chiu's "There Ought to Be a Law" contest. We presented empirical data on the youth vote, conducted a political and administrative feasibility analysis, and applied our legal understanding of precedents to suggest bill language.

We partnered with California Assemblymembers David Chiu (D-San Francisco) and Rob Bonta (D-Oakland) to introduce Assembly Bill 2455, the "Student Voting Act." This legislation



Cindy Dinh and Paul Monge Rodriguez received the 2015–16 Chancellor's Award for Public Service in Graduate Student Civic Engagement.

would serve to automatically register to vote any student who enrolls at any of the State's public higher education systems, making California the first state in the nation to do so.

In the next few months we'll don our grassroots-organizer hats as we travel the State to speak with civic non-profit organizations and student groups to gather feedback and earn their support. Introducing an automatic student voter registration program through the UC, CSU and California Community College systems is another way through which California can demonstrate its ongoing commitment to expanding voter participation and creating a democracy that is more inclusive of the voices of young people. **G**

Cindy and Paul are currently students at Berkeley Law. Paul received his MPP from Harvard and Cindy is currently in a joint program at Harvard to earn her MPA.

from the desk of Martha Chavez

Year-Round Outreach and Recruitment



Martha Chavez is Senior Assistant Dean for Academic Programs and Dean of Students

GSPP'S OUTREACH AND RECRUITMENT run like clockwork throughout the entire year. Beginning in September, GSPP officially kicks off the admissions recruitment season by hosting information sessions in Berkeley and participating in recruitment fairs in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC. The admissions

team interacts weekly with prospective students from all over the world via email, skype, phone, webinars, social media, and in person.

After the December deadline, the Master of Public Policy Admissions Committee diligently reviews hundreds of admissions applications. As usual, this year's applicant pool was nothing short of exceptional. We received applications from among the best and brightest individuals from across the nation and the world. As always, the decision process was challenging due to the overwhelming number of outstanding applicants for the limited spots available. Our expected

yield is approximately 90 students, and we are excited to welcome the Class of 2018 later this Fall!

After the admissions decisions are made, GSPP begins the outreach and recruitment process all over again, continuing throughout the spring and summer. In order to ensure a good yield, GSPP gains great value from having alumni call new admits, and we hope to increase alumni involvement in both making calls and also participating in recruitment events in their cities. If you are interested in helping to support GSPP's outreach and recruitment in your region, please contact us at gsppadm@berkeley.edu. **G**

alumni Molly O'Shaughnessy

MOLLY O'SHAUGHNESSY ('01) is a Principal for EMC Research, which conducts polling and focus group research for local, state and national electoral campaigns. She spoke with Policy Notes about her long-standing interest in politics and what it's like living in Ohio during a presidential election year.

Did you come to the Goldman School with an interest in politics?

Yes! I come from a family involved in local politics and volunteered for some campaigns growing up. I studied Middle East politics as an undergrad and knew I wanted to do something related to politics and policy.

My time at GSPP, including my internship in the legislature, helped me to clarify my interest in politics and policy advocacy. I wanted to work on making change where the rubber meets the road, where the good policy idea meets the real world political conditions. I didn't have to look far to find GSPP alums who had followed a similar path. Cisco DeVries (GSPP '00) helped me get my first campaign jobs managing two State Assembly races and handed me my first set of poll crosstabs. When I found the quantitative side of politics I knew what I wanted to do. Dave Metz ('98) hired me for my first job in polling and taught me a great deal. Now I provide opinion research and strategic consulting for candidates, ballot measure campaigns, state and local government agencies, and nonprofits, helping them understand public opinion and make decisions to advance their policy goals.

What kinds of campaigns have you worked on?

I've worked on everything from presidential campaigns to local tax measure campaigns. It's exciting when my strategic advice helps win a high profile election, but I also really like working with smaller local campaigns where the impact of our work is so tangible. I'm proud of helping secure over a billion dollars in new funding for schools, libraries and parks in my career. Some of my favorite recent clients are two hard-core policy wonks any GSPP alum should follow: Rep Mark Takano (D-CA), the first openly gay man of color in Congress and a longtime classroom teacher; and Oakland Mayor Libby Schaaf, who is a real leader in innovative policing strategies.

What is your perspective on how polarized the politics in our country has gotten? Has it changed, or is it matter of now having the tools (via social media, etc) for the polarizing messages to get amplified?

Our politics are highly polarized and most voters are hearing only political messages from their own side of the spectrum. I think the bigger story this year is that we're at a historical low on voter feelings of efficacy, trust in government leaders, and so on. I've watched this in my polling and in focus groups, and now it's driving the presidential race. I think voters on both the left and right who are turned off by our hyperpartisan system are making their voices



heard in similar ways. And so we've got two outsider candidates drawing way more support than the establishment predicted because a lot of voters just want to upend the current system.

For me the good news is that so much of our governing happens at the state and local level where voters still haven't given up on the whole system, and attitudes are much less divided.

What aspects of your public policy training do you use in your work?

I use my research design and survey methodology training every day, working within the constraints of real-world budgets and timelines. Statistical analysis is a major part of my work, though my role is more often explaining the stats to laypeople. I work on such a wide variety of policy issues that every week includes several 15 minute versions of the 48 Hour Project, when I need to get up to speed on the key elements of a policy debate. GSPP's emphasis on clear and concise writing is also something that has made a big difference for me; I frequently have to beat the academic writing style out of my new hires.

What's it like living in Ohio during a presidential election year?

Pretty different from living in California, but that's true every year! It's pretty amazing to watch the money and bodies pour into the state. Football season is the only time I ever have to watch TV commercials, and that gets pretty rough. My wife stops answering the door. Local campaigns also really struggle here to cut through the noise of the presidential race. In 2008 and 2012 my house was more like a hostel for coastal friends who flew into Columbus to knock on doors where it mattered. When the mid-term elections roll around, voter turnout drops 30 points and we turn into a red state again. **G**

CLASS NOTES

Jessica Rider (MPP '04) and her husband, Akin Arian, welcomed their third child, Eleanor Poppy Arian, on February 22nd, 2016. Her older kids, Lilian (age five) and Emmet (age 9), are still in the process of conducting a cost-benefit analysis regarding this new addition. After an initial large scale investment in diapers, and factoring in both the time cost of lost sleep and the contingent valuation of familial love (surveys in progress), the children's parents are confident the project will yield a positive net benefit. After her maternity leave, Jessica will return to the San Francisco Field Office's Government Accountability Office where she has worked as a Senior Economist since finishing her PhD in Agricultural and Resource Economics in at UC Berkeley in 2013.

Sarah Martin-Anderson (MPP '08, PhD '13) took a new position in January as the Director of Community Engagement, Policy and Accountability for the Kansas City, Missouri Health Department. Now she gets to do policy analysis and political maneuvering all the time! She also oversees the research production in the department, performance management of the department and contracted safety net providers, and serves as manager of external relations. Sarah continues to teach courses in public administration at U of Missouri, Kansas City and is now regretting her decision NOT to take Public Budgeting at GSPP. In February she was appointed by Governor Jay Nixon (and confirmed by the State Senate) to serve as a member of the Missouri Board of Healing Arts, which oversees licensure of physicians and other allied health clinicians.

Steve Jawetz (MPP '82, JD '82) and **Deborah Bloch** (MPP '82) are pleased to report that an attraction to public policy may be genetic. Their daughter Alison (age 22) will be completing her MPP at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia next year, with interests in prison reform and education policy. Their son Ryan (age 25) encounters the impact of public policy as a private investigator on criminal defense cases in New Orleans.

Cindy Brach (MPP '89), Senior Health Care Researcher at the Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, appeared on the *NPR* nationally syndicated Diane Rehm show on February 9, 2016. You can listen to a podcast of "Improving Doctor-Patient Communication In A Digital World" at <http://bit.ly/1LeqvXV>. Cindy's article, "Even In An Emergency, Doctors Must Make Informed Consent An Informed Choice," appeared in the April 2016 issue of *Health Affairs* (<http://bit.ly/25k6Wd1>). You can listen to a podcast of Cindy reading this article, part of the *Narrative Matters* series, at <http://bit.ly/1S1NiLV>.

John Chang (MPP '97) moved to Chicago to take on responsibilities as the Chief of Staff for the Chief Information Security Officer (CISO) at Discover Financial Services.

Nina Robinson (MPP '89), University of California Associate President and Chief Policy Advisor, has been appointed to the founding Advisory Council for the Public Policy Institute of California's newly created Higher Education Center.

Carson Christiano (MPP '09) directs impact evaluation initiatives in technology, financial inclusion and energy for the University of California Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA), just down the hill from GSPP. She married a Haas alumnus ('08) whom she first met in Robert Reich's Leadership and Social Change class.

Natasha Avendaño García (MPP '08/PhD '11) keeps moving up in the management body of the Colombian Tax and Customs Administration - DIAN. She was promoted to be the Director of Corporate Intelligence in January 2015, after her role as Deputy Director of Operational Research and Economic Analysis. In this new position, she is in front of three key and strategic deputy directorates: IT, Processes, and Operational Research and Economic Analysis. She is one of the five women that holds a director position at DIAN from a total of seven directors and the only one that holds a PhD.

Francie Genz (MPP '12) launched an independent consulting practice last fall. Her firm advises practitioners and policymakers on strategies for education alignment, workforce development, and economic development programs that cater to the needs of regional economies. She is currently working in eight states.

Danielle Love (MPP '11) is happily still living in San Francisco, working for the San Francisco Unified School District. She got married in September, and many GSPP alumni were in attendance! (see photo)



Danielle Love's wedding.

Back row: Quang Dang, Patrick Hazelton '11, Sarah Swanbeck '11, Peter Masiak '11, John Minot '11, Justin Elstrott, Craig Bosman '12.
Front row: Jay Liao '11, Yvonne Delbanco '11, Elise Dizon-Ross '11, Danielle Love '11, Joy Bonaguro '11, Stephanie Lin '11, Julia Nagle '11.

Fiona Hsu (MPP '06) finances affordable housing in the Bay Area as the head of the Community Development Finance department at Silicon Valley Bank. She just welcomed her first child, a son named Sufi.

Alva Johnson (MPP '93) was recently appointed as the Legislative Director for the tribal government of the San Manuel Band of Mission Indians in Highland, California (<http://bit.ly/1pXhzlp>).

Greg Kato (MPP '06) received the SPUR Public Managerial Excellence award in March 2016. The award recognizes San Francisco city employees for their exemplary job performance and leadership.

Kody Kinsley (MPP '12) became the Director of Policy and Program Support at the District of Columbia Department of Human Services in November 2015. Kody leads policy development, program implementation and process improvement for key social safety net programs in the District, such as economic supports and homeless services.

Renske Lynde (MPP '05) is the Co-Founder and Managing Director of Food System 6 (FS6), a platform that supports and invests in entrepreneurs developing innovative solutions to complex global food system challenges. Though FS6 works globally, they have their roots in California — the concept was originally developed at a meeting organized by the Governor's Office of Research & Planning. They are thrilled that GSPP alumna Beth Sirull (MPP '05) is an FS6 Advisor and welcome connections with other alumni interested in impact investing, entrepreneurship, food and agriculture policy, and more.

Matt Reed (MPP '07) and his wife, Angela Arnold, welcome twins Sean and Elena into the world last April 2015. They continue to live in the Berkeley area.

Stephen Rosenbaum (MPP '79, JD '80) published articles on school vouchers and students with disabilities and on Afghan and Cambodian legal education. He also co-authored (with Jonathan Simon) "Dignifying Madness: Rethinking Commitment Law in an Age of Mass Incarceration," which was published in the *University of Miami Law Review*. Stephen supervised clinical law students at Golden Gate University's Women's Employment Rights Clinic and guest lectured at Université Libre de Bruxelles. He also served on an accreditation team at the Universidad Autonoma de Nuevo Leon and gave a lecture



James Toma is sworn in as mayor of West Covina as his wife, Minerva Avila, and their kids, Cruz and Paz, look on. James' father, Walter Toma, swore him in.

on US disability law at Morocco's Mohammed VI National Center for People with Disabilities.

James Toma (MPP '95) was recently sworn in as Mayor of West Covina, CA (see photo). He welcomes Goldman School alumni to the city.

Andrew Wiedlea (MPP '95, PhD '01) just accepted a position at the Lawrence Berkeley Lab. He is looking forward to reconnecting with folks in the Bay Area this summer and visiting GSPP more often.

Martha Ture (MPP '04) is currently freelancing for *Garnet News*, a news outlet featuring women reporters.

Enrique Ruacho (MPP '12) began 2016 in his new job as the Legislative Advocate for the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), the second largest school district in the nation. Born and raised in LAUSD, Enrique advocates on behalf of over 650,000 students on state level policy and finance issues.

SAVE THE DATE



2016 GSPP Alumni Dinner
Friday, October 21, 2016
5:30pm-10:00pm

The Berkeley City Club
2315 Durant Avenue
Berkeley, CA

The GSPP Alumni Dinner celebrates the accomplishments of its MPP and PhD alumni nationally and internationally. If you are celebrating a milestone reunion year in 2016 — Classes 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001, 2006, and 2011 — we especially hope you will attend! If you are interested in organizing your class to attend the dinner together, please contact Cecille Cabacungan. cecille@berkeley.edu



BY INCLUDING GSPP IN THEIR ESTATE PLANS, Arlene ('63, MA '67) and Vic ('62, EdD '68) Willits join the Goldman School's Silver Society. The couple, who met at Cal, are longstanding UC Berkeley volunteers and philanthropists and engaged members of the Goldman School community. Their affinity stems from Arlene's career in the public policy arena, including management positions with cities and as a consultant for government and nonprofit clients. She quips that "If GSPP had been around just a few years earlier, I would have had an MPP instead of a Master's in Public Administration!" When the Willits' learned about the School's need for graduate student support they stepped forward to provide generous fellowship assistance for a dozen students thus far! Vic, whose career was in college administration and teaching, is also interested in best practices for higher education administration and looks forward to GSPP's research and programming in this area. "Our primary philanthropic interests at Cal have focused on scholarships. Helping Goldman provide opportunities for the best and brightest graduate students in the critical area of public service is definitely one of our priorities." **G**

alumni board **Seeking Candidates**

YOUR FIFTEEN-MEMBER ALUMNI BOARD is holding elections this June to replace the members whose terms are expiring. I would like to personally thank Clare Nolan ('03), Adam Nguyen ('07), and Kathy Wilson ('11), who are leaving the Board, for their dedicated service over the past three years.

We are seeking new Board members who are representative of the diversity of our 2,000+ alumni. Serving on the Board provides you the opportunity to give back to the school, to meet and work with some of the school's finest alumni, and to maintain your connection with the school. Please contact Cecille Cabacungan if you are interested in serving. You will then be contacted by a member of the Board's Governance Committee. Submit your nomination online today: <http://bit.ly/AlumniBoardNominations>

This past year the Board collaborated with the school to make sure that all alumni receive the school's journal *PolicyMatters* (policymattersjournal.org), a superb publication edited by GSPP students. If you are familiar with the Journal you know the high quality of its content and style.

The Alumni Board has also continued to identify representatives of every alumni class to take the lead in organizing class reunions highlighting special class anniversaries. We are also identifying volunteers in regions with a critical mass of alumni to organize regional gatherings for events such as meetings with prospective students, meetings with GSPP faculty visiting the area, alumni panels, and of course, social events! Finally, we are testing the effectiveness of organizing affinity groups of alumni who share professional interests.

2015-16 Alumni Board
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Ginny Fang ('08)
Maureen Friar ('90)
Shelly Gehshan ('85), <i>Vice-Chair</i>
Mark Hoffman ('75), <i>Chair</i>
Heather Kinlaw Lofthouse (MPP/MPH '07), <i>Secretary</i>
Jay Liao ('11)
Sarah Martin-Anderson (MPP '08/PhD '13)
Adam Nguyen ('07)
Clare Nolan ('03)
Swati Pande ('14)
Armando Salcedo Cisneros ('10)
Jonathan Stein (MPP/JD '13)
Lauren Vargas ('14)
Kathy Wilson ('11)

If you would like to participate in any of these areas, as well as serve on the Board or on one of our three committees, please contact Cecille Cabacungan (cecille@berkeley.edu).

Thank you,
Mark Hoffman ('75)
Alumni Board Chair

GSPP Board of Advisors

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from the desk of **Annette Doornbos**
The Goldman School Public Policy Channel
on UCTV — AKA *Policy with Legs*



Annette Doornbos is the Assistant Dean for External Relations and Development

IN 2002, GSPP BEGAN PROFESSIONALLY taping and posting its public lectures on the recently-launched UCTV (<http://www.uctv.tv/>). Over time, GSPP built up a library of 60+ lectures on the site. UCTV steadily expanded its audience, with its homepage logging three million hits a day. The tallies of views for GSPP's offerings were also generating astonishing figures — our programs were getting tens of thousands, even hundreds of thousands of hits.

Last year, UCTV created a new model for distributing the University of California's intellectual wares, i.e., ten themed channels accessed on the UCTV homepage and produced in partnerships with units selected from the UC's campuses. In light of the quality and popularity of GSPP's offerings, UCTV's professional staff approached the School with a proposal to host a Public Policy Channel. GSPP agreed and entered a new relationship with UCTV, contracting the services of their professional staff to create and produce programs. Within weeks, a donor made a gift to support the first three years of program production and the Channel's initial series, *In the Living Room*, was in production.

Today, UCTV reaches four million US households via cable TV and worldwide

audiences via YouTube (150,000 subscribers), iTunes, and Roku. We are expanding our Public Policy Channel offerings with a new series, *Millennial Voices Heard at Goldman*, that offers GSPP students a way to sharpen their policy advocacy skills in a television interview setting. *Millennial* segments are already seeing robust traffic on YouTube and Facebook. Our programming for the next several months will focus on the 2016 election, with GSPP faculty and students offering voters an in-depth analysis of the issues that will impact the future of their region, their state, and their nation.

So grab your favorite libation, find a comfy chair and enjoy the intellectual wealth of GSPP! **G**

Visit the **UCTV Public Policy Channel** for the latest from innovative policy thinkers and policy critics who are tackling the most pressing problems of our times.

<http://www.uctv.tv/public-policy>



Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement

By **Larry A. Rosenthal**
(MPP '93/PhD '00), Program Director
THE WORK OF GSPP'S CENTER ON CIVILITY & DEMOCRATIC ENGAGEMENT (CCDE), founded by Cal's centennial Class of '68, has never been more important. The 2016 election season has made our precious democracy's vulnerabilities plain for all to see. Basic political tenets — like campaigning for votes on the merits of one's positions and leadership — rather than insults and media-blitz feints — no longer hold the steady attention of the American public. For many, the health and legitimacy of the core institutions public policy relies on most seem at greater risk than ever before. CCDE provides the School and its community a platform to devote student and faculty attention to these pressing problems. Indeed "defining the problem," for many current MPPs, involves questioning the sustainability of the democracy itself.

CCDE's Civility Fellowships program, for example, supports Advanced Policy Analysis for client-project opportunities which advance the Center's mission. The breadth and variety of these student projects cover all the exciting ways public policy is revitalizing democracy. Recent Fellowship projects have focused upon participatory budgeting, campaign finance, public involvement in regional growth planning, and city-level civic-engagement technologies.

To address political engagement in other ways, CCDE recently has partnered with public broadcaster KQED on its "Start The Conversation" campaign. The campaign raises awareness of how policy-related and human-interest news stories help deepen conversations within families and communities, and across traditional social divides. KQED and the Center will also partner on producing a series of "voter parties" around the Bay Area, bolstering enthusiasm for and participation in the 2016 fall elections. (see KQED's sidebar)

CCDE also hosts campus events demonstrating the virtues of civility and consensus building to the UC Berkeley community and broader audiences. Our Cal Day event this spring was a student-led panel dialogue on "Political Life @Berkeley: Conversations Across the Divides." Participants included current officers of the Cal Berkeley Democrats, the Berkeley College Republicans, and the ASUC, with Professor Alan Ross, Business and Political Science, and moderated by Center board member, Dick Beahrs '68, himself a former ASUC president.

CCDE is also active in state and national leadership roles. It co-founded the California Consortium on Public Engagement, an affiliation of like-minded community- and campus-based organizations dedicated to advancing the breadth and depth of citizen involvement in public policy and governance statewide. The Consortium has partnered with the State Assembly's Select Committee on Civic Engagement, led by Assembly Member Susan Eggman (D-Stockton) on hearings convened in Sacramento and Los Angeles to address challenges and opportunities facing the state's civic infrastructure. In addition, CCDE is a member of the National Civility Network founded by the National Institute on Civil Discourse.

GSPP's Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement remains a vibrant and creative locus of activity at the School. We welcome your interest and your support. For more information visit <https://gspp.berkeley.edu/centers/ccde> or contact me directly via email (lar@berkeley.edu). **G**



Editor's Note: You can hear more from Larry Rosenthal on public radio's *Take Two* at www.scpr.org: "Is there hope for civility in the 2016 election" (March 2, 2016)

The Millennial Tipping Point

By Sarah Swanbeck (MPP '11)
Executive Director, Center on
Governing & Investing in the Future
IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE, young Americans are about to have their moment.

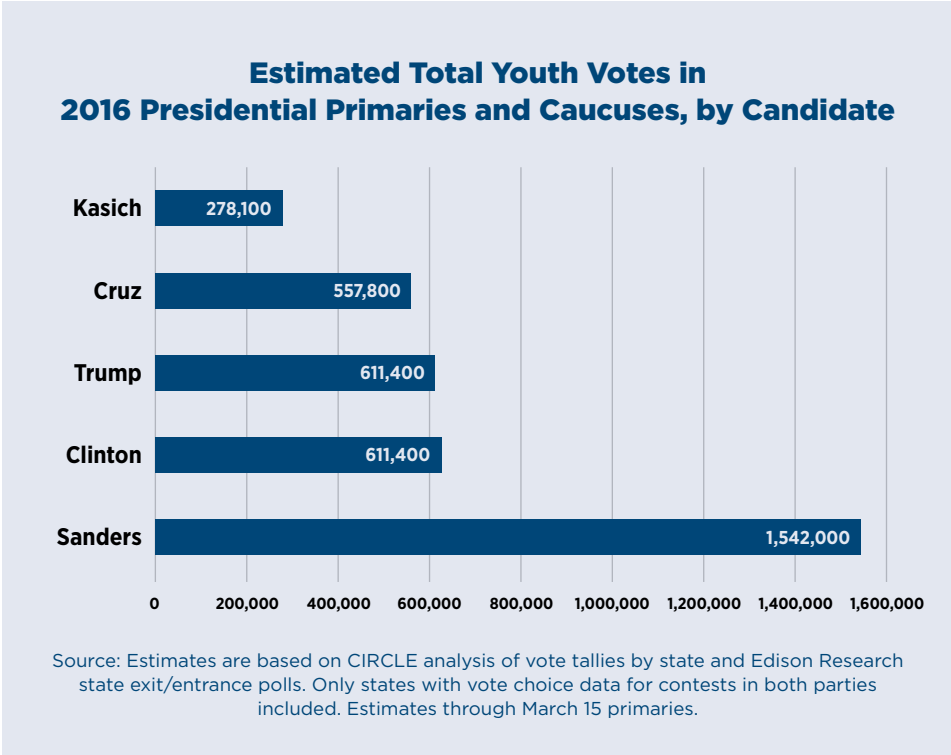
Millennials (typically thought of as those born between 1982 and 2000) now make up the largest group of consumers in the economy, with younger households disproportionately driving American consumer spending.¹ Likewise, for the first time in history, Millennials also make up the same proportion of the American electorate as the Baby Boomers.

In every recent election, we have seen some variation of Millennial “scolding,” with pundits lamenting the fact that this generation just isn’t as engaged as previous generations. About half of registered Millennial voters don’t identify with either major political party, meaning that their views and preferences aren’t necessarily represented in party platforms.

For the 2016 election, however, the premise that young voters won’t turn out doesn’t seem to be holding true. Looking at the primary elections and caucuses held to-date, young people in both parties are turning out in numbers on par with the high youth turnout in the 2008 election. Senator Bernie Sanders has dominated among the youth vote, with Secretary Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump following in second and third.

It remains unclear, however, what youth turnout and support may look like in the general election. In a hypothetical Clinton vs. Trump face off in November, according to current Reuters polling,² Secretary Clinton would take the youth vote by a 2-1 margin. The second largest group in the same poll — a good 24 percent of young Americans — say they do not know who they would support or would not vote. This may highlight the lack of strong party identification among young voters, or may underscore a lack of enthusiasm among Millennial voters for these Presidential candidates.

Millennials have a distinct agenda for the next President, with a strong focus on the economy and college affordability. This is the most educated generation in



American history, but one that has been handicapped by a distinct set of economic obstacles. An unfavorable labor market has made it difficult for students to pay off debt — wages for college graduates have grown 60 percent more slowly than those of the general population.³

Young people are looking for a leader who will prioritize their long-term finan-

cial security. It is unclear whether Millennials will turn out in November 2016, and whether turning out will be enough to get them what they want. What is clear, however, is that sometime in the not-too-distant future, the Millennial voting bloc will arrive on the scene, and American politics for the next 40 years will be dominated by their priorities and worldviews. G

¹ J P Morgan Chase, *Local Consumer Commerce*. December 2015. Available online: <http://bit.ly/JPMorgan-LocalConsumerCommerce>
² <http://bit.ly/ReutersPoll-March2016>
³ The Atlantic, *Why are Wages for College Grads So Terrible?* Available online: <http://bit.ly/Atlantic-CollegeGradWages>

policy notes

SPRING 2016

Policy Notes is published twice a year by UC Berkeley’s Goldman School of Public Policy. Send questions or comments to Bora Reed, (510) 642-7591, borareed@berkeley.edu

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Global Program News

By Sudha Shetty Assistant Dean for International Partnerships and Alliances

Semester Fellows

In December, Global & Executive Programs (GEP) bid a sad farewell to our Fall 2015 Executive Public Policy for Internationals (EPPI) and Independent Leaders Scholar Program (ILSP) fellows. In January, we welcomed five new spring 2016 fellows! Three fellows are senior officers from the Government of India and two are exceptional students from Universiti Brunei Darussalam. All of our fellows have been selected among many hopefuls to study current and progressive solutions to policy making and build upon this knowledge back home. We are delighted to have them here for the semester and appreciate the unique perspectives and warm smiles that they bring to campus.

Executive Education Program

GEP had a very busy 2015 summer — we graduated 75 senior Government of India officers from our custom trainings. In November, we hosted the Hunan Transportation Delegation for a one-day education program. Hunan is a province in south-central China which sent 27 delegates from private-sector senior management for a program focused on discerning and understanding changes in financial markets. Our Executive Education program continues its strong and valued relationship with the Government of India, including the development of a new program for the spring of 2016 designed for senior officers from the Central Vigilance Commission (CVC). The CVC is conceived to be the apex vigilance institution in India, free of control from any executive authority, and is tasked with monitoring all vigilance activity under the Central Government. The CVC also advises various authorities in the Central Government in planning, executing, reviewing, and reforming their vigilance work.

Mandela Washington Fellowship 2016

For the third year, beginning in mid-June, GEP will host a six-week Civic Leadership

Institute for 25 emerging leaders from sub-Saharan Africa as part of the Mandela Washington Fellowship. The Mandela Washington Fellowship, the flagship program of President Obama’s Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), empowers young African leaders through academic coursework, leadership training, mentoring, networking, professional opportunities, and support for activities in their communities. Fellows have a proven record of accomplishment in promoting innovation and positive change in their organizations, institutions, or communities. The cohort of Fellows hosted by GEP will be part of a larger group of 1,000 Mandela Washington Fellows being hosted across the United States.

Partnership with Tuaropaki Trust

A large gift to GEP from Tuaropaki Trust, New Zealand will allow for a two-year collaboration led by Professor Sol Hsiang to begin to monitor and value an organization’s genuine wealth, i.e. the sum total of capital they control across both traditionally valued assets as well as assets that are not usually valued in monetary terms. The goal of this approach is to empower private organizations to understand whether management decisions are causing their genuine wealth to rise or fall over time.

The Hague Domestic Violence Project

The Hague Domestic Violence Project has developed a new Bench Guide: *The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction in Cases Involving Allegations of Domestic Abuse*. The Bench Guide was developed by Assistant Dean Sudha Shetty, Hague DV Project Director and Project Attorney Jessica Goldberg, in partnership with the California Hague Convention Domestic Abuse Bench Guide Consulting Committee and the Judicial Council of California. This Bench Guide, the third produced by the Hague DV Project, was created as a tool to assist both state and federal court

judges in California who are confronted with a petition for the return of a child pursuant to the Hague Convention in cases that involve domestic abuse. G



Spring Semester Fellows: Anastasia Kotylo, Mugdha Sinha, Saibaba Darbamulla, Govind Singh, and Asme Amit



Executive Education program participants from Central Vigilance Commission, India, at their graduation ceremony with Dean Henry Brady and Assistant Dean Sudha Shetty



Executive Education program participants from Hunan Transportation Delegation, China, outside the iconic bear statue at Cal Memorial Stadium



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