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GSPP and Political Polarization

SPRING 2012

Robert Reich on the Future
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The War Room

Reforming the Peace Corps

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Faculty Message



Prof. David L. Kirp

DOES POLICY ANALYSIS MATTER? ARE WE STILL RELEVANT? That’s an odd question from a public policy professor, but in today’s hyper-partisan political environment it has to be asked.

Politics has always figured heavily in decisions made by government — rightly so, in a democracy where votes ultimately count. That’s why we have never suggested that analysis occurs in a vacuum — why we teach students to think about the political feasibility, as well as the efficiency and equity implications, of any policy recommendation. But these days, mud-wrestling politics seems to dominate everything. What place is there for analysts — and the inconvenient truths that we sometimes generate — at a moment when presidential candidates shamelessly lie or when, despite overwhelming evidence, global warming and evolution remain topics of debate?

The answer, it turns out, is that there’s a lot that you can do — and *are* doing. Inside the Beltway but outside the limelight, policy analysis still plays its customary role. Last fall, for instance, when the Defense Department was deciding where to cut its budget, it didn’t simply calculate what would fly politically; it engaged in strategic planning that took into account “bang for the buck” evidence. When the Education Department drafted its “race to the top” guidelines for early learning last summer, it didn’t just sniff the political winds. It designed incentives to nudge states into doing the right thing — the fairest and most cost-effective thing — for young children. This persistent reliance on analysis isn’t a purely partisan phenomenon: Whatever you think of GOP Congressman Paul Ryan’s 2011 Roadmap for America’s Future, it uses reasoning from evidence to flesh out a political philosophy.

The farther outside the Beltway you are, the more analysis can make a difference. You may not agree with all the cuts that Jerry Brown has made in California’s budget — I certainly don’t — and it’s child’s-play to point out where politics ruled in the calculations. But it would be a mistake to see those choices as motivated only by politics: judgments about efficiency and equity mattered as well. (For the East Coasters, the same holds true for Andrew Cuomo’s decisions about the New York State budget.) At the local level, the old adage that potholes aren’t Republican or Democratic remains true, and a lot of what local government does is, figuratively, filling potholes.

“*Speak truth to power*” — the School borrowed that phrase, coined by the Quakers in the 1950s as an admonition to stand tall against Fascism, and made it our byword. Now it could use tweaking. A better if less catchy version, one that takes politics more seriously, would urge us to speak *usable* truth. What’s more, a good number of Goldman alumni are *exercising* power, not just pitching data-driven recommendations to power. Always, the hope is that you will use this power wisely, that you will be a force for civility, even — especially — when civility is in short supply; that you will look for common ground, even — especially — when, as Thomas Edsall argues in his new book, *The Age of Austerity*, neither political party is showing much interest in engaging in the bargaining that’s required to make a decision. The analysts among you ought to stay true to your vocation, finding good uses for your skills, and the decision-makers among you need to give policy analysis its due place in your decision-making calculus. That’s the legacy of Goldman School training, rightly understood.

David L. Kirp
Professor of Public Policy

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Editor’s Note

I WAS WORKING WITH GSPP STUDENT DAVID PUZEY on his article for *Policy Notes*. He had submitted a very strong draft, but he wanted to work out its finer points.

“This is important,” he said. “I want to get it right.”

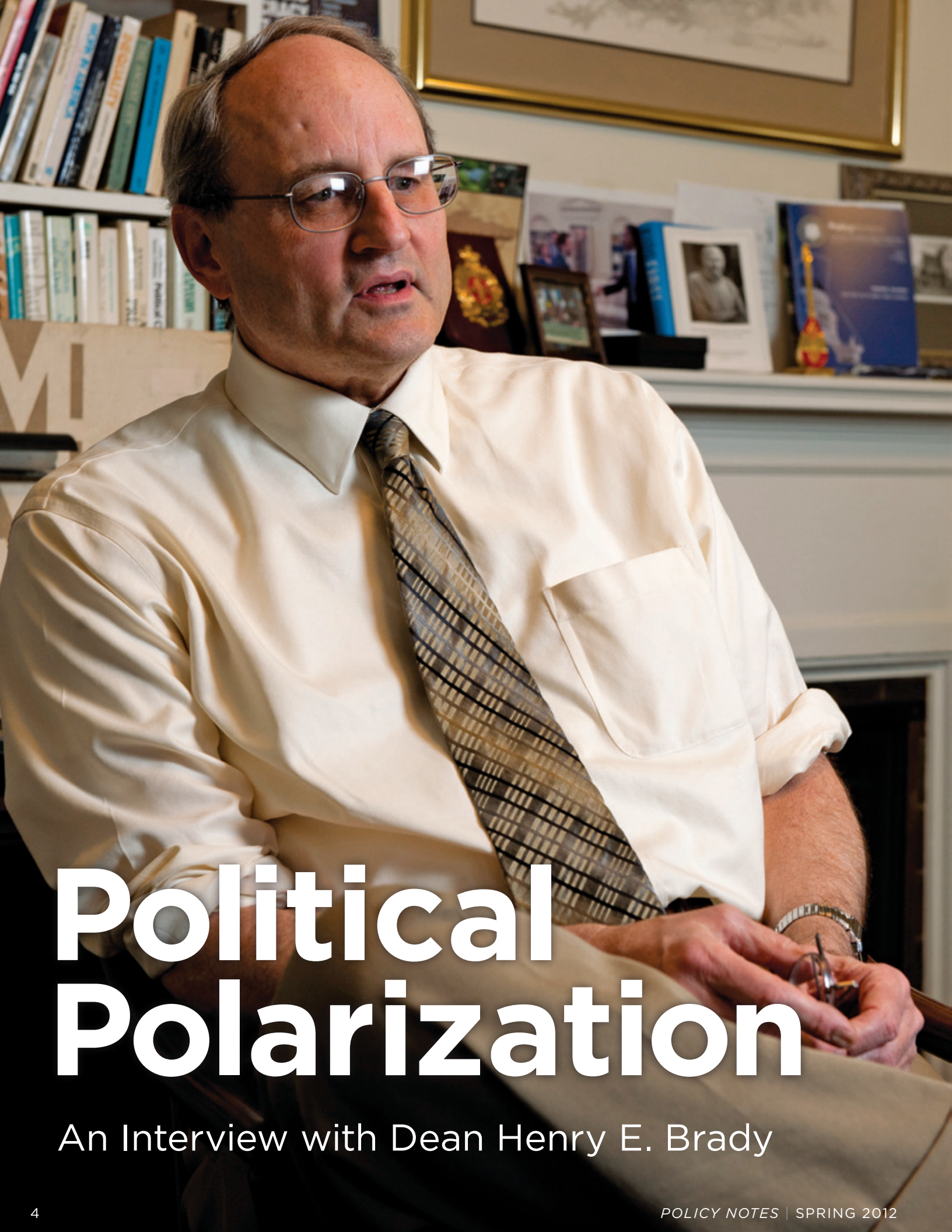
His sentiment was more than understandable. David’s story of working to pass legislation to protect whistle blowers and victims of violence in the Peace Corps is compelling and very personal, as you’ll see when you read his story.

“Getting it right” is an important part of the Goldman School ethos, a cornerstone of its brand. It applies to the detailed thoughtfulness of Professor Rob MacCoun’s article on social volatility but also to the enthusiasm with which students like Aaron Burgess, Sheetal Dhir and Vijay Das connect their work on Current TV’s *The War Room* with positive social change. It’s the thing that helps GSPPers remain unflappable in the face of incremental change, setbacks and, in the case of alumni Brian Turner (MPP ’06), keeps him passionate about his work in Washington DC, despite intense political polarization.

Here’s to getting the job done, and getting it right. borareed@berkeley.edu



Bora Reed
Editor



Political Polarization

An Interview with Dean Henry E. Brady

PHOTO BY LAURA WONG PHOTOGRAPHY

“THE AFFLUENT AND WELL-EDUCATED have participatory megaphones that amplify their voices in American politics,” says Dean Henry Brady, linking political polarization and economic inequality. In response to those who speak the loudest — by virtue of their extreme political views and their wealth and education — politicians often take positions far from the center of political opinion. Public policies, in turn, deal disproportionately with the concerns of those with wealth and education and must contend with the polarized views of well-off Democrats and Republicans.

“Political polarization is exacerbated by economic inequality,” says Dean Brady, an expert on electoral politics and political participation and the co-author of the new book, *The Uneven Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. “We’d like to believe that in a democracy, all voters are weighted equally. One person, one vote,” he says. “But the reality is that because money is so important in politics, political parties and candidates have incentives to diverge away from the median, toward those able to fund a campaign. While the median household income in America is around \$52,000 per year, the median dollar in a campaign comes from those who are making more than \$80,000 per year. These ‘elite’ tend to take the most extreme positions on either side of the political spectrum. The two parties are farther apart than ever before, with the Republican Party especially far from the center of American political opinion on many issues.”

This wasn’t always the case. According to Dean Brady, the polarization around social issues like abortion or the role of women is a relatively recent development. Before the Reagan era of the 1980s, it was possible to find Republicans and Democrats on either side of most social issues, and the political parties had a diversity of views on social issues within the party.

“Our students need to be aware of partisan differences.”

There were conservative Southern Democrats like Strom Thurmond (D-SC) and Alabama Governor George Wallace, and socially liberal Republicans from the Northeast like New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Jacob Javits (R-NY).

“Both the Democratic and Republican parties had cleavages on social issues within them — not between them,” says Dean Brady. “But the Southern Democrats went away, largely because of the Civil Rights movement. Why the North Republicans disappeared is harder to figure out,” he says. “But as the Republican Party was wooing disaffected Southern Democrats, it may have alienated its more liberal members. Also, the supply side economics proposed by President Ronald Reagan may have gone too far beyond traditional conservative economic policies, further driving away moderates.”

Today, each party’s position on social and economic issues is more differentiated than ever. And within each party, according to Dean Brady, it is the elites who exacerbate political polarization.

“The elites on the right argue that government intrusion reduces religious freedom and economic freedom. White fundamentalists and evangelicals are moved by this argument, and they reject economic policies (such as Obama’s health care program) that might benefit them. Elites on the left do likewise, selling the idea that only government can protect the working man or woman from corporate power. It is hard to find compromises on positions in between.”

Dean Brady notes that the difficulty in finding a path beyond polarization has to do not only with basic economic inequalities that fuel extreme views, but with governmental institutions and procedures.

“We have institutions which make it hard to get anything done, such as the 2/3 rule for tax increases in California or the filibuster rules in the US Senate,” he says.

“These kinds of rules and the many checks and balances in American government are designed to protect smaller groups from the tyranny of the majority, but they become impediments to making important decisions when there is substantial political polarization. It becomes impossible to get enough agreement to move forward, and we have gridlock. Institutional rules seem to have bigger bite than they used to,” he continues. “In the 1960s, the filibuster was used 10 to 20 times per session. Now it’s used 100 times per session. Every single issue gets a filibuster, in part because it’s not very costly. Legislators can invoke a filibuster, then go home. If they were required to stay in the Senate chamber and make speeches, it would be costly both in terms of time and the image they project on C-SPAN. Procedures like that need reform.”

Given the ever-widening political gap between the right and the left, how can Goldman School graduates work toward needed reform and common ground? According to Dean Brady, it begins with their time at GSPP.

“Our students need to be aware of partisan differences,” he says. “Berkeley can be a liberal bubble, to say the least, so our students need opportunities to thoughtfully engage with conservatives and conservative ideas. This is why I want to increase the political diversity of the GSPP community.

“The Goldman School is the ideal place to meet people with different viewpoints and engage them intellectually,” he continues. “If students have not encountered conservative viewpoints before leaving Berkeley, it will be hard to formulate policies after graduation that will appeal to conservatives. In the real world, the political divide is so wide that it’s hard to speak constructively to those on the other side. Berkeley should be a place where students and faculty can do that.” **G**

Henry E. Brady is Dean of the Goldman School and Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy

Reforming the Peace Corps

Last year I had the opportunity to change public policy and fulfill a personal quest.

By David Puzey
MPP/ERG Candidate '14

DESPITE THE MOST POLARIZED CONGRESS IN U.S. HISTORY, we were able to overcome initial opposition and build bipartisan support for legislation to better protect Peace Corps Volunteers — especially whistleblowers and victims of rape or other violence. In late November 2011, President Obama signed the Kate Puzey Peace Corps Volunteer Protection Act into law, enacting the most substantial reform of the iconic agency since its creation by President John F. Kennedy in 1961. For our family it was the bittersweet culmination of a long campaign, one borne of great tragedy.

My sister, Kate Puzey, was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the West African nation of Benin, where she worked as a teacher in a rural village. After learning that a fellow teacher—and local Peace Corps contractor—had raped several young female students, she reported his crime to the Peace Corps Country Director. Tragically, her confidentiality was broken and no precautions were taken to protect her. A few days later she was brutally murdered.

Kate was my best friend and the joyous heart of our family. Valedictorian, student council president, and widely loved, she was both gifted and deeply compassionate. Her death shattered our lives. It was my first semester at GSPP.

In the aftermath, my family and I started talking with many current and former Peace Corps Volunteers, seeking answers about her death. We were shocked to hear story after story of confidentiality breaches, and also of a culture of ‘blaming the victim’ wherein rape survivors were often faulted and provided with no support. It became sadly evident that Kate’s death was reflective of wider systemic problems within the Peace Corps. While always strongly supporting the Peace Corps’ mission, we decided to form an advocacy group to seek the changes needed to better protect its volunteers. Our initial efforts, including attempting to pass a reform bill — Dodd S1382 — in the summer of 2010, proved unsuccessful. After much deliberation, we decided to go to the media.

In January 2011, ABC’s 20/20 ran a special report featuring Kate’s story, as well as those of rape survivors from the Peace Corps. Utilizing that momentum, I launched a campaign website

and organized a large vigil in front of the US Capitol. We also began lobbying Congress; our initial supporters included Senators Johnny Isakson (R-GA) and Chris Coons (D-DE), and Rep. Ted Poe (TX-02), Co-Chair of the House Victims’ Rights Caucus.

We proceeded to build a coalition with a powerful law firm and former Peace Corps Volunteer rape survivors — in particular, a victims’ rights group called First Response Action and Harvard professor Dr. Karestan Koenen, whose own rape in the Peace Corps had led her to become a national expert in trauma response. While these brave women lacked campaign experience, they knew what needed to be changed. On the other hand, I’d luckily spent my career prior to GSPP as a political organizer, including working to pass environmental legislation in California and as a Regional Field Director for the Obama Campaign in Florida. Together, we proved to be an effective team.

By May 2011, the House Foreign Affairs Committee held congressional hearings on the Peace Corps. Witnesses included my mother as well as Dr. Koenen and other rape survivors. The testimony was shocking, and the story garnered massive media attention, including the cover of the *New York Times* and all the major TV networks. Shortly thereafter, we started drafting formal legislation.

The Peace Corps itself publicly praised the bill. However, like most federal agencies, it privately opposed legislative mandates. We thus spent countless hours in tough negotiations seeking to be collaborative. Despite our efforts, and political momentum, success was by no means guaranteed: the Peace Corps had powerful congressional allies and, we learned, had assigned special staff to covertly gather votes against the bill’s passage. Moreover, three similar reform efforts in the preceding decades had been defeated — and our bill was far more prescriptive.

During this time, my life consisted almost entirely of helping to revise the legislation, organizing campaign outreach, and personally contacting the staff of nearly every member of Congress. Amid many setbacks we built a bipartisan base in both chambers, including a powerful new ally: Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA),




Kate Puzey

an outspoken advocate for women and the third most powerful Senate Democrat.

Finally, on June 23rd Senator Isakson, Senator Boxer, Rep. Poe, and Rep. Sam Farr (CA-17) held a press conference to officially launch the bill. Over the next few months we amassed 30 co-sponsors in the US Senate, passing the upper chamber in late September. With the political wind at our back, we then focused upon the US House and secured 88 co-sponsors. On November 1, 2011, the bill passed 406-0.

Ultimately, the final legislation was stronger than we’d ever thought possible; its provisions include establishing an Office of Victim Advocacy and Sexual Assault Advisory Counsel, powerful whistleblower safeguards, and best practice risk-reduction and response protocols. In sum, it achieved our objective of creating a stronger Peace Corps that is better equipped to fulfill its mission in the 21st century.

At the White House signing ceremony, President Obama said, “Out of great tragedy has come great good.” I am indeed confident the law will save lives. The Peace Corps has already implemented many of the reforms, and today its volunteers have never been safer—nor better assured to receive the support they need should violence befall them. In a year marked by partisan gridlock and attacks on women’s rights, many staffers also regarded the law as some of finest quality legislation of the 112th Congress.

Nothing will bring Kate back and I still grieve for her each day. I do, however, take some comfort in knowing her legacy will help better protect future Peace Corps Volunteers doing similar goodwill with a noble agency that she admired deeply. 



Top David Puzey with President Barack Obama at the signing of the Kate Puzey Volunteer Protection Act of 2011.

Above (from the left) Peace Corps Deputy Director Carrie Hessler-Radelet; Sen. Johnny Isakson (R-GA); Peace Corps Director Aaron Williams; First Response Action board members Carol Clark and Kate Finn; President Barack Obama; Lois and Harry Puzey; David Puzey, Rep. Ted Poe (TX-02); and Dr. Karestan Koenen.

The Volatility of Social Influence When Everyone is Your Neighbor

By Robert J. MacCoun

THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT AMERICAN POLITICAL ELITES have become extremely polarized in recent years. Whether ordinary citizens are similarly polarized is a more contentious question — one that continues to polarize scholars. For example, legal scholar Cass Sunstein has argued that the Internet and other information technologies are helping to foster a “balkanized speech market,” in which people expose themselves to like-minded sources and insulate themselves from alternative points of view. Economists Matthew Gentzkow and Jesse Shapiro counter this with evidence that ideological segregation in Internet news consumption is low, both in absolute terms and relative to ordinary face-to-face interactions.

In this brief essay, I will show how both claims could be correct, and how some features of information technology create the potential for distinct and sometimes dramatic patterns of social influence.

There is little doubt that individual psychological processes contribute to political polarization. For example, social psychologist Susannah Paletz and I found that when people learn of new research findings on controversial policy topics, they are reluctant to speculate about the political affiliations of the researchers...unless the researchers’ findings contradict their own views. But it is far from

clear that such psychological tendencies are increasing over time. What is surely changing is the ability of ordinary citizens to monitor an ever-increasing share of opinions in the population at large.

In a forthcoming paper in *Psychological Review*, I propose and test a mathematical model of social influence based on the notion that people tend to resist social pressure until a critical level of opposition is encountered. This critical threshold constitutes one key parameter of the model. A second key parameter is *norm clarity*; it measures the degree to which members of a faction share the same threshold. When clarity is very high, the model predicts the kind of stark “tipping points” explored by Thomas Schelling (in his analysis of racial segregation in housing) and popularized in the writings of Malcolm Gladwell. But the model also explains why such dramatic discontinuities are far from ubiquitous; when clarity is sufficiently low, any changes will be gradual rather than sudden. My paper offers a wide variety of tests of the model using classic data sets on conformity, deliberation, the diffusion of innovations, and social movements, as well as checks to verify that the model finds thresholds where it should and not where it shouldn’t.

The model can be used as a tool to estimate these parameters in real-life situations. But it can also be used to explore social

scenarios that would be nearly impossible to test in social psychology experiments. Some of my initial simulations use an approach called *agent-based modeling*, in which large numbers of simulated agents simultaneously react to the distribution of opinion in their neighborhood in accordance with the threshold model. After they react, the social situation has changed, and so they each react again, sometimes but not always reaching a stable equilibrium. In these simulations, I have found that the threshold and clarity parameters produce qualitatively different behavior as I vary a third parameter called *vision*.

Vision refers to the number of neighbors whose opinions each agent is able to monitor. I believe that the vision parameter is quite important because we are seeing a dramatic shift in our ability to monitor the views of an ever-increasing share of the national (and ultimately global) population. How? Through an endless barrage of highly publicized public opinion polls, user recommendations on Amazon.com and other commercial sites, “likes” on Facebook and YouTube, and rants in blogs and Twitter posts.

As vision increases, actors are less attuned to their immediate neighborhood and more attuned to the population as a whole. Moreover, as vision increases, actors’ perceptions are based on larger sample sizes, a factor that tends to reduce volatility. But

actors’ perceptions can become increasingly correlated, which can sometimes *increase* volatility.

To illustrate how influence patterns emerge in the model, consider a completely random configuration of 800 Red and 800 Blue agents, spread across 2500 locations. (There are 900 empty cells to allow for local variation in social density.)

Start with a base case where each group has a Threshold of .5, Clarity set at a moderate level of 5, and Vision = 1, so agents can “see” their immediate neighbor in each of the eight major compass directions — a maximum of 8 neighbors. Figure 1 shows what happens after 200 time periods. The faction sizes have changed very little — 55:46 rather than the original 50:50 split. But rather than being randomly scattered, the opinion groups are clustered into coherent bands of red and blue — not because they moved together but because people conformed to their local neighborhood culture.

But if Vision increases to 10, agents can see 10 cells in each direction — a maximum of 440 neighbors. Figure 2 shows one example of what can happen — *depolarization*, in this case, a dramatic shift toward the Red opinion. This is not due to any intrinsic drawing power of Red arguments. Rather, it is entirely due to the way Vision and Clarity can amplify slight variations in initial random clustering. (Thus in other runs of the same scenario, sometimes Blue wins, and sometimes there is a tie.) At this level, Vision is broad enough to produce correlated shifts across many agents, yet not so broad as to provide an accurate perception of the full population’s even split.

Finally, Figure 3 shows that at the same level of Vision, increasing Clarity dramatically amplifies clustering. This example is more like the first one, with sustained polarization, but now the clusters are very large — an image reminiscent of the regional differences in “Red and Blue” maps of the American electorate.

Naturally, these simulations are not “findings” about the world; rather, they are hypothetical projections from a model that has proven useful in fitting real data. Of course, the simulations abstract away many factors, like media campaigns and geographic mobility. Still, they illustrate how changes in our collective ability to monitor social opinion data may produce not only polarization, but also the potential for radical *depolarization* on some issues. The latter pattern is a reminder that collegial and reasoned deliberation isn’t the only alternative to polarization — another alternative is groupthink, a premature closure of debate on issues. As our ability to monitor opinions broadens, we are likely to see increases in clustering and correlated movement that can foster either polarization or depolarization. Both kinds of change will create threats for some stakeholders and opportunities for others. **G**

Robert J. MacCoun is Professor of Law and Public Policy

Figure 1 - Vision = 1

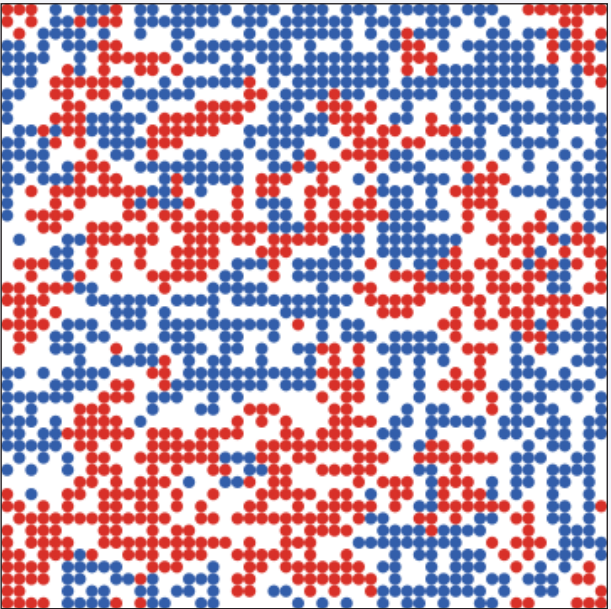


Figure 1. Clustering After 200 iterations, an initially random configuration of 50% Blue and 50% Red forms dense clusters of like-minded agents. Both sets of actors have Threshold = .5, Clarity = 5, and Vision = 1 (allowing each agent to monitor up to 8 immediate neighbors).

Figure 2 - Vision = 10

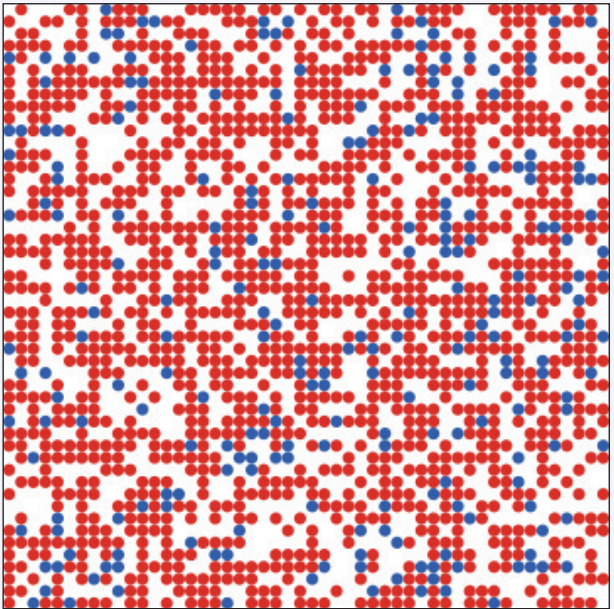


Figure 2. Depolarization The same settings as in Figure 1, except that Vision is now at 10 (corresponding to a view of up to 440 neighbors per agent).

Figure 3 - Vision = 10

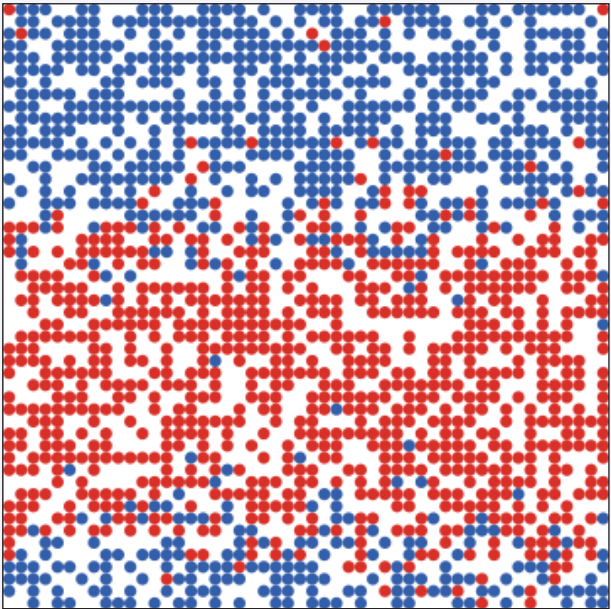


Figure 3. 200 iterations of the same settings as Figure 2, except Clarity is increased to 10.

faculty GSPP Welcomes Sarah Anzia

IN JULY 2012, SARAH ANZIA JOINS the faculty of the Goldman School as an assistant professor. *Policy Notes* spoke with her about her background, her interests in and outside of public policy and how today's students of public policy might shape tomorrow's politics.



in Oakland before I returned to Chicago, where I worked in the private sector for three years. In 2005, I started my MPP at the Harris School at the University of Chicago, and then in 2007, I took off for California once again to pursue a PhD in political science at Stanford. That brings us to today! My husband and I moved to Oakland three months ago, and we are thoroughly enjoying being in an urban environment again.

What initially got you interested in public policy?

During my junior year of college, one of my microeconomics professors invited me to join a public policy reading and discussion group. The goal of the group was to think about how basic lessons from economics can be applied to a variety of topical policy issues: education, electricity, auto emissions and the environment, and so on. That was really the point at which I started to think deeply about where and when markets function and fail — and what the role of government can and should be. It was the first time that I viewed my coursework as being not only interesting and fun but also useful in a practical way and relevant for major policy issues.

You have a PhD in political science from Stanford. What are your areas of research interest?

Broadly speaking, I am interested in how political institutions shape the way public policy is made. In policy circles, we spend a lot of time talking about workable (and even optimal) solutions, and yet when it comes down to it, all proposed solutions have to pass through the filter of politics before they can be implemented. And the political process varies tremendously across time and space. My work focuses primarily on state and local politics in the US, and it never ceases to amaze me how much variation there is in how the country's 89,000 individual governments are run. Each state has its own electoral rules, its own rules and norms for how the branches of government interact, and its

own interest groups. Local governments vary tremendously in how elections are conducted and how government is structured. All of that variation in political structure shapes how public policy decisions are made — and therefore what policy decisions are made.

As for the specifics of my current research, my dissertation and book project is about how the timing of elections — meaning whether state and local elections are held at the same time as national elections — shapes voter turnout, the composition of the electorate, and the degree to which organized interest groups can influence election outcomes and policy. I am also working on a second, coauthored project that focuses on the role of government employees and public sector unions in American politics and how their influence affects public policy. The role of women in politics is also a topic that interests me a great deal, in particular how women fare at different stages of the electoral process compared to men.

Why the Goldman School?

That's an easy one: It's a terrific policy school! So the real question is: Why a policy school? The answer to that question is that it's a natural fit for me and my interests. All of my research is motivated by concern about policy. A former colleague of mine once lamented that she dislikes writing grant applications because she struggles when it comes to the part where she has to discuss the policy implications of her proposed project. I decided at that moment that if I am ever considering a project for which I can't articulate the policy implications, I shouldn't do the project.

What are you most looking forward to as you start your new post at GSPP?

I've been so impressed by my interactions with members of the GSPP community. I love that the faculty members communicate with each other and give each other feedback regardless of their respective disciplines and research interests, which

I think is quite valuable — and perhaps unusual. The students are incredibly engaged and knowledgeable, and I think I will learn a lot from them. The staff members not only seem incredibly friendly and helpful but are also clearly interested in policy as well. I'm looking forward to becoming a part of that interactive GSPP community.

How might today's students of public policy help shape tomorrow's political landscape?

So much of the policymaking world is made up of people who are great at getting their message across but lack the training to assess, evaluate, and understand the evidence, whereas many of the people with strong analytical training — the people who know and understand the

issues very well — often aren't skilled in getting their message heard. I think the biggest opportunity for today's public policy students is to both learn how to be good analysts and how to be savvy in communicating their message and getting it heard. That combination is incredibly powerful — and I think it will ultimately lead to a more informed policymaking world in the future. **G**

Influence and the Role of Political Lobbies

WHEN TIM DAYONOT WAS student body president at San Francisco State, he led a multi-campus effort that pooled enough resources to hire a full-time lobbyist.

"We wanted the students to have a voice," he remembers. As a result, the then-23-year old spent a lot of time in Sacramento and Washington. His experience led him to degrees in public administration and law, and eventually to a career in government affairs, including being the Director of Community Services and Development for California Governors Gray Davis and Arnold Schwarzenegger. This spring, he is teaching a GSPP class on lobbying.

"Getting public policy enacted is a very political process," he says. "The merits of the arguments are useful, but there are powerful forces that influence how decisions are made. Lobbyists and legislative advocates are at the center of that."

And the scale is impressive. There are over 17,000 registered lobbyists (often referred to as the "third house") working in Washington DC in what is estimated to be a billion dollar industry. Hundreds of lobbyists work in Sacramento and still others work at the city government level. It permeates every aspect of the political process. The idea of persuading decision makers is nothing new. The difference today, says Tim, is its scale and sophistication.

"Every major corporation — and many mid-sized ones — has a government rela-



tions department or hires contract lobbyists," says Tim. "Unions have lobbyists, as do many grassroots organizations. Recently, there's been tremendous spending by Silicon Valley companies like Google and Apple to hire lobbyists to advocate for the issues that are important to them. It's big money."

Despite the low opinion that the American public seems to have of lobbyists — they regularly poll at or near the bottom for honesty and trustworthiness — and despite well-publicized scandals that have brought in waves of new rules and regulations, lobbyists and legislative advocates remain a powerful political force.

"Big corporations have huge concentrations of wealth," says Tim. "Many Washington law firms have lobbying divisions and many lobbyists are constantly arranging money to be donated to the leaders whom they are trying to influence. There are rules that regulate these things, but

there are many gray areas and ways to work around them."

The GSPP class on lobbying includes a negotiations module, as well as lectures from lobbyists, legislative advocates, legislators and legal experts. This semester's guests have included Heather Rowan, Counsel to the California Fair Political Practices Commission, Christine Treadway, Assistant Chancellor, Government and Community Relations at UC Berkeley and Nick Warner, a prominent contract lobbyist.

Whether GSPP students go on to become policy makers, advisors, legislators, legislative staff or lobbyists themselves, an understanding of lobbyists and the strategies they employ will be critical, notes Tim.

"No matter which side of the table they're sitting on, they'll need to understand the key role lobbyists play in the formation and adoption of public policy." **G**

PHOTO BY LAURA WONG PHOTOGRAPHY



The Future of the Occupy Movement



By Robert Reich

In November 2011, Professor Robert Reich delivered the 15th annual Mario Savio Memorial Lecture on UC Berkeley's Sproul Plaza, to a crowd of thousands who had gathered to support the Occupy movement.

In the late 1980s, I noticed a troubling trend. A larger and larger share of the nation's income and wealth was going to the very top — not just the top one percent, but to the top of the top one percent — while other Americans were dividing up a shrinking share. I wrote up my findings, and my tentative explanation for it, in a book called “The Work of Nations.” Bill Clinton read it, and after he was elected president asked me to be his Secretary of Labor. He told me he was committed to reversing the trend, and he called for more investment in education, training, infrastructure, and health care in order to make the bottom half of our population more productive. Clinton and his administration worked hard but we were never able to implement his full agenda. The economic recovery of the middle and late 1990s was strong enough to generate 22 million new jobs and raise almost everyone's wages, but it did not reverse the long-term trend. The share of total income and wealth claimed by the top continued to grow, as did the political clout that accompanies such concentration.

Most Americans remained unaware.

But now the nation is becoming aware. President Obama has made it one of the defining issues of his reelection campaign. The non-partisan Congressional Budget Office has issued a major report on the widening disparities. The issue of inequality is now front-page news. For the first time since the 1930s, a broad cross-section of the American public is talking about the concentration of income, wealth, and political power at the top.

Score a big one for the Occupiers. Regardless of whether you sympathize with the so-called Occupier movement that spread across America last fall, or whether you believe it will become a growing political force in America, it has had a profound effect on the national conversation.

Even more startling is the change in public opinion. Not since the 1930s has a majority of Americans called for redistribution of income or wealth. But according to a recent *New York Times*/CBS News poll, an astounding 66 percent of Americans say the nation's wealth should be more evenly distributed. A similar majority believes the rich should pay more in taxes. According to a *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll, a majority of people who describe themselves as Republicans believe taxes should be increased on the rich.

The old view was anyone could make it in America with enough guts and gumption. We believed in the self-made man (or, more recently, woman) who rose from rags to riches — inventors and entrepreneurs born into poverty, like Benjamin Franklin; generations of young men from humble beginnings who grew up to become president, like Abe Lincoln. We loved the novels of Horatio Alger, and their more modern equivalents — stories that proved the American dream was open to anyone who worked hard. In that old view, which was a kind of national morality play, being rich was proof of hard work and lack of money was proof of indolence or worse.

A profound change has come over America. Guts, gumption, and hard work don't seem to pay off as they once did — or at least as they did in our national morality play. Instead, the game seems rigged in favor of

people who are already rich and powerful — as well as their children. Instead of lionizing the rich, we're beginning to suspect they gained their wealth by ripping us off.

Americans have never much liked government. After all, the nation was conceived in a revolution against government. But the surge of cynicism now engulfing America isn't about government's size. The cynicism comes from a growing perception that government isn't working for average people. It's working for big business, Wall Street, and the very rich — who, in effect, have bought it. In a recent Pew Foundation poll, 77 percent of respondents said too much power is in the hands of a few rich people and corporations. That view is understandable.

Wall Street got bailed out by American taxpayers, but one out of every three homeowners with a mortgage is now under water, caught in the tsunami caused by the Street's excesses. The federal bailout wasn't conditioned on the banks helping these homeowners, and direct federal help since the bailout has been meager. The recent settlement of claims against the banks is tiny compared to how much homeowners have lost. As a result, millions of people are losing their homes or simply walking away from homes whose mortgage payments they can no longer afford.

Homeowners can't use bankruptcy to reorganize their mortgage loans because the banks have engineered the bankruptcy laws to prohibit this. Young people can't use bankruptcy to reorganize their student loans because the banks have barred it. Yet American Airlines is planning to use the bankruptcy to renege on its labor contracts — terminating its underfunded pension plans and thereby creating the largest pension default in US history, much of whose cost will be borne by taxpayers as the Pension Benefit Guarantee Corporation, a government agency, takes them over.

The biggest single driver of the nation's yawning budget deficit is Medicare, whose costs would be far lower if it could use its bargaining leverage to get drug companies to reduce their prices. It hasn't happened because Big Pharma won't allow it. Medi-

care's administrative costs are only 3 percent, far below the 10 percent average administrative costs of private insurers. So it would seem logical to tame rising healthcare costs for all Americans by allowing any family to opt in. That was the idea behind the “public option.” But health insurers stopped it in its tracks.

Some argue that we wouldn't have to worry about big money taking over government if we had a smaller government to begin with. When we debated this a few months ago on ABC's “This Week,” Congressman Paul Ryan (WI-1) told me that “[i]f the power and money are going to be here in Washington, that's where the influence is going to go ... that's where the powerful are going to go to influence it.” I believe Ryan has it upside down. A smaller government that's still dominated by money would continue to do the bidding of Wall Street, the pharmaceutical industry, oil companies, big agribusiness, big insurance, military contractors, and rich individuals. It just wouldn't do anything else.

Experts say the 2012 presidential race is likely to be the priciest ever, costing an estimated \$6 billion. “It is far worse than it has ever been,” says Republican Senator John McCain (R-AZ). All restraints on spending are off now that the Supreme Court has determined that money is speech and corporations are people under the First Amendment. As the great jurist and Supreme Court justice Louis Brandeis once said, “We can either have democracy in this country or we can have great wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, but we cannot have both.”

I don't know where the Occupier movement is heading but I do know there's great energy at America's grass roots for positive change — more energy now than I've seen in decades. The question is how to harness that energy and turn it into a sustainable movement to take back our economy and democracy. **G**

Robert Reich is Chancellor's Professor of Public Policy.

FACULTY NOTES

In November 2011, **Suzanne Scotchmer** was conferred an honorary doctorate by the University of Basel.

Dan Kammen was selected by UN Secretary General Ban-ki Moon for the High Level Task force on Sustainable Energy for All (sustainableenergyforall.org). He was elected Fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), including a citation for demonstrating the value of rigorous interdisciplinary work combining technical expertise with policy analysis, with a particular focus on renewable energy systems. He is on the National Advisory Council on Environment and Technology (NACEPT) for the US Environmental Protection Agency.

Professor Kammen has released SWITCH, a major modeling tool for low carbon planning for Western North America: rael.berkeley.edu/switch. He and his students have also released a report on the energy options for Kosovo, which is being hotly debated internationally at a time when the World Bank and the US government are favoring a coal-intensive future for Europe's poorest nation. The report and some of the debate can be followed at his laboratory website: rael.berkeley.edu, and on his blog site at *National Geographic*: greatenergychallengeblog.com/blog/author/dankammen/.

Lee Friedman is continuing to work on climate change issues, focusing recently on the relations among electricity regulations, the “smart grid” and climate change. He received a \$50,000 seed grant from CITRIS (the UCB Center for Information Technology Research in the Interest of Society) that has supported GSPP students who have worked on this project. The first published paper from it appeared in the *Energy Journal* (November 2011), “The Importance of Marginal Cost Electricity Pricing to the Success of Greenhouse Gas Reduction Programs.” In it, Professor Friedman shows the large empirical disconnect between the high rates that US residences pay for off-peak electricity and the very low cost of providing that electricity — typically 4–6 times above cost in the US, and in some cases more than 10x the cost. If you think, as Professor Friedman does, that vehicle electrification is a promising route to large reductions in GHG emissions, then you do not want people inappropriately being discouraged from buying and using electric vehicles by rates for electricity that are many multiples above its costs.

A second paper from this research is still in draft stage, but is receiving much atten-

tion. It is entitled “Consumer Friendly and Environmentally Sound Electricity Rates for the Twenty-First Century.” Only 1% of US residential consumers are on time-varying rates, and most electricity systems have not tried to design time-varying rates that would be attractive to most. Professor Friedman has created a design that he terms HOOP (Household On and Off Peak) rates to meet this challenge, and he shows in this paper that it could be used on California residential customers with only minor changes in their bills from the current system but much better incentives not only to utilize off-peak electricity for electric vehicles but also to participate in demand response programs that help to ensure the reliability of the grid. He has presented this work at a UC Berkeley Climate Change Symposium, at the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management, and at a high-level conference organized by the California Public Utilities Commission to consider new ideas for residential rate design. The draft paper is available at his GSPP personal web page.

Eugene Bardach's book *Getting Agencies to Work Together: The Craft and Theory of Interagency Collaboration* has just appeared in a Chinese translation, published by Peking University Press. It originally was published by Brookings Institution Press in 1998. His book, *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving* will be published in Japanese translation early this summer by Toyo Keizai publishers. This book, in its fourth edition, is published in the US, and in English, by CQ Press, a division of Sage Publishing. It first appeared in 1995. The translation has been done by a recent GSPP alum, Kenji Shiraishi (MPP '10). This book has already appeared, in translation, in 6 other languages.

Robert Reich's newest book, *Beyond Outrage* is being published in mid-April by Alfred Knopf as an ebook. It will be available for \$2.99, so he doesn't want to hear any excuses about not being able to afford it. (Of course you'll have to buy a tablet to read it on.)

He just returned from Seoul, South Korea, where on March 8 he gave the keynote address at the Global Leadership Forum, involving ex-prime ministers and economic ministers from fourteen nations.

His two-minute-thirty second video “The Truth About the US Economy” has been seen 1.6 million times, according to YouTube, but that does not necessarily mean it has been seen by 1.6 million people. It's entirely possible it was played over and over in order to lull his three-year-old granddaughter to sleep.

Robert J. MacCoun has given talks at Stanford Law School on “The burden of social proof: Shared thresholds and social influence” and at the Conference on Empirical Legal Studies in Chicago on “Cheap talk and credibility: The consequences of confidence and accuracy on advisor credibility and persuasiveness.” He has been cited extensively in the media, including ABC and the *Huffington Post*. Recently published papers include, “The burden of social proof: Shared thresholds and social influence” in *Psychological Review*, “Assessing drug prohibition and its alternatives: A guide for agnostics” in the *Annual Review of Law & Social Science*, “Design considerations for legalizing cannabis” and “What can we learn from the Dutch cannabis coffeeshop system?” both published in *Addiction*.

Michael Nacht chaired an India Work Group whose findings were included in the final report of the International Strategy Task Force submitted to the Provost that recommends new campus international initiatives.

He led a *Washington Post* digital discussion on North Korean regime change, and appeared twice on KQED's Forum with Michael Krasny on US national security policy and the US withdrawal from Iraq.

Professor Nacht spoke at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC on nuclear weapons policy, at the University of San Francisco on cyber security, and on nuclear terrorism at Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory. At UC Berkeley, he spoke on American foreign policy at the International House; cyber security at Berkeley Law and at the Center for the Study of Social Issues; North Korea at the Institute for East Asian Studies; and ballistic missile defense at the Institute for Government Studies. He was the Class of '61 faculty speaker on American foreign policy for Homecoming.

Steve Raphael gave a keynote lecture in September at the Transatlantic Workshop on the Economics of Crime in Turin, Italy and at the annual meeting of the America Latina Crime and Policy Network (AL CAPONE) in Rio de Janeiro.

He worked with doctoral student Sarah Tahamont (MPP '09) on a study for the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation on their inmate security assessment system used to assign prison inmates to different security level institutions. The findings from the final report, produced by an expert panel of UC faculty members from several campuses, is being used to inform reforms regarding this classification system.

Professor Raphael has been working with California Attorney General Kamala Harris' office on several projects evaluating the impacts of prisoner realignments in CA.

Jack Glaser has recently completed an essay, with doctoral student Karin Martin (MPP '06), on racial profiling for a Sage Publications debate series. Invited to take the “opposed” side, Martin and Glaser argue that for logical, pragmatic, constitutional, and ethical reasons, racial profiling is an unjustifiable practice that warrants affirmative counter-measures.

With colleagues Kimberly Kahn and Katherine Spencer, Professor Glaser has a forthcoming chapter on “Prejudice and Discrimination on the Internet.” His book on racial profiling for Oxford University Press, *Suspect Race*, is in the editing phase and is planned for publication in early 2013. Professor Glaser has been working with police departments to develop a training program to reduce the influence of implicit stereotyping on police judgments and behaviors. He will be giving a keynote address on racial profiling at the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues in North Carolina this summer.

John Ellwood is very pleased with the three postdocs who have been recruited for the Robert Wood Johnson Program in Health Care Policy. There are three sites (Berkeley/UCSF, Harvard, and Michigan). He sits on the Board of the California Budget Project. The CBP's founding director will be leaving after 17 years running the organization to take a job with the Ford Foundation in NYC. Professor Ellwood is on the Search Committee to find a replacement. He also chaired the GSPP PhD Admissions Committee and was a member of the GSPP MPP Admissions Committee.

Jesse Rothstein received the John T. Dunlop award from the Labor and Employment Relations Association in January 2012. He is a member of the Technical Review Committee for the National Longitudinal Surveys. His paper, “Unemployment Insurance and Job Search in the Great Recession,” was published in March in the Brookings Papers on Economic Activity. He co-authored a paper (with Linda Darling-Hammond, Ed Haertel, and Audrey Amrein-Beardsley) on “Evaluating Teacher Evaluation” that was published in *Phi Delta Kappan*. *Education Weekly's* Rick Hess named Professor Rothstein among the top 100 academics who are contributing to the public discourse on education and education policy.

from the desk of Martha Chavez

GSPP Launches New MPP-ERG Concurrent Degree Program

ONE OF THE MOST EXCITING aspects about working at GSPP is our focus on continuously improving and developing cutting-edge programs that provide students with the most relevant skills and exposure to critical policy areas.




Martha Chavez is
the Assistant Dean
for Academic Affairs

In Fall 2011, GSPP forged a partnership with the Energy and Resources Group (ERG) to launch a concurrent degree program, combining the Master of Public Policy (MPP) program with a Master of Science (MS) or Arts (MA) in Energy and Resources. Energy is the defining challenge of the 21st century, with unprecedented implications for national security, long-term economic competitiveness, and climate change. The MPP-ERG program will provide students with one-of-a-kind training that integrates public policy analytical tools with energy and resource knowledge. Students will have access to the top faculty from two of the best programs in the country. This program allows students to earn both degrees within three years, and is the sixth concurrent degree program offered by GSPP.

MPP-ERG students will gain a deep understanding of critical energy, environmental and climate change problems, as well as key quantitative and analytical tools necessary to develop innovative and efficient policy solutions. The combination of both disciplines will significantly enhance the job prospects for students by preparing them for careers in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors, both nationally and internationally. Our goal is to recruit and admit students who have the potential to become the future leaders in the local, national, and global energy, climate, and environmental policy arenas.

Students will also have access to the unparalleled resources that can only be found at a place like UC Berkeley. For example, the campus has initiated the *Berkeley Energy and Climate Institute* (BECI), a cutting-edge coordinating hub for all of Berkeley's energy and climate efforts. Students can get involved with the *Berkeley Energy & Resources Collaborative* (BERC), a multidisciplinary network of over 3,000 UC Berkeley students, alumni, faculty, industry professionals, and advisors who seek to turn world-leading research into world-changing solutions by tackling tough and timely energy and environmental challenges.

The MPP-ERG join degree is just one example of the flexibility of GSPP's curriculum, which allows students to specialize in policy area that interests them. We invite you to learn more about our programs by visiting our website at (<http://gspp.berkeley.edu/programs/>); MPP-ERG concurrent degree program (<http://gspp.berkeley.edu/programs/index.html#MPP-ERG>); the Berkeley Energy and Climate Institute (<http://vcresearch.berkeley.edu/energy>) and Berkeley Energy & Resources Collaborative (<http://berc.berkeley.edu/>). 

students Union Membership and Voting

By Chris Finn *MPP '06/PhD Candidate*
FOR YEARS, UNION MEMBERSHIP has been shown to be positively associated with voter turnout and voting Democratic; however, the combination of changes in the economy, changes in the composition of the unionized workforce, and increased efforts of employers to fight unions has resulted in a further marginalization of turnout of sectors of the electorate who are otherwise less inclined to vote.



Contrary to studies that report diminished turnout would not significantly alter political outcomes, with the claim that those who vote are representative of those who don't, my work on the effects of union membership adds to the increasing body of work that finds disproportionate effects of reduced voter turnout.

One point relevant for questions of democracy and representation has been the finding that the union effect on voter turnout is substantially larger for those with lower levels of education. Education has historically been found to be the main predictor of voter turnout, followed by income. This is especially important considering the changes in the economy, the unionized

workforce, and labor management relations over the last several decades.

During this time, union density has decreased substantially since its peak in the 1950s while much of the national economy has shifted away from manufacturing toward lower-skilled service sector jobs.

In looking at how the change in industry from 1984 (the first year to contain industry, union status, and voter turnout in the Current Population Survey) to 2004, one major change stands out when disaggregating across education levels. In the aggregate, the major noticeable change over the twenty-year period was a decrease in the manufacturing sectors. A more precise look shows lower education workers moved in large numbers to retail, amounting to a 112% increase of lower education workers in that field.

As of 2004, retail was the largest sector for workers as a whole (17.61%), with the number for lower education workers substantially larger (29.14%). Unions were not able to keep up with the shift, however, and union membership rates in the sector dropped from 7.97% to 3.59%. That is, the industries in which unions potentially have their largest effect is less than 5% unionized.

Compounding the effects of the shifts in the economy, the composition of the unionized workforce has changed in the opposite direction. One change to take place over the period considered here is that both the population at large and the membership of unions increased their average years of education. Union membership shows more of an increase in college and graduate school than non-union members, reflecting a union membership that is now more highly educated than the general population.

This is somewhat due to the increase in unionization of teachers and nurses, but also due quite literally to public policy students, who tend to find employment in the public sector. Government workers are the most highly unionized workers, with local

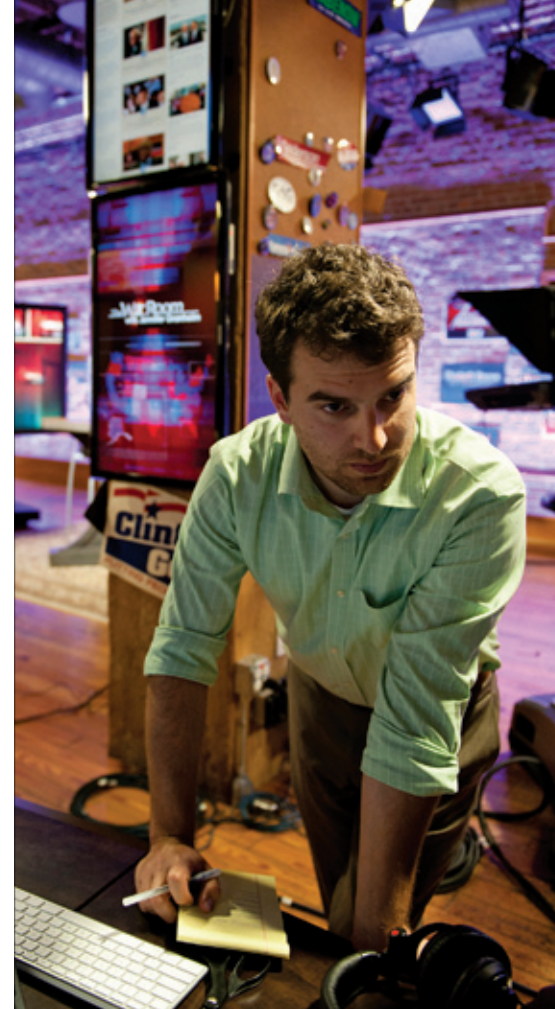
government workers unionized at rates around 41%.

It appears unions could get more for their money by organizing workers in the retail and service sectors, but the third major change over the last few decades makes that more difficult. Employers have stepped up their efforts to fight unionization efforts through moving production to non-union locations, challenging union elections, and even promoting decertification campaigns.

Such efforts have been assisted by business-friendly politicians over the years. The Citizens United decision is significant here, since the recent battle in Wisconsin to take away collective bargaining rights for public sector workers seemed to lead off a wave of similar legislative attempts to limit union rights around the country. Right-to-work laws have now been proposed in a number of electoral swing states. Policies and practices that limit the political effects of unions leave corporations the main beneficiary of Citizens United.

As the combined changes diminish labor's ability to affect outcome, fewer citizens participate in the electoral process. As some researchers have pointed out, this results in a class bias in turnout. As policy makers of both major parties adjust their campaigns and policies toward the electorate, the political polarization between those making policy and those affected by that policy may be greater than what we're seeing between the two parties themselves. **G**

Chris Finn studies political psychology and political participation, especially the effects of labor unions on voter turnout and vote choice. Separate work examines the effects of implicit racial bias on turnout and vote choice, and felon disenfranchisement. You can reach him at cfinn@berkeley.edu.



students **The War Room**

Clockwise from left: GSPP students Aaron Burgess, Vijay Das, Sheetal Dir, Three members of the "Berkeley 7" with Gov. Jennifer Granholm.

By Aaron Burgess *MPP Candidate '13*
In October of 2011, Jennifer Granholm received a telephone call from Al Gore. He asked the former Governor of Michigan and Distinguished Practitioner of Law and Public Policy at the Goldman School to host a television show on his network, Current TV.

The War Room with Jennifer Granholm was intended to beef up Current TV's coverage of the 2012 election and, as Al Gore put it, "to illuminate and provide context to the public policy discussions surrounding the election."

Seven GSPP students, including myself, were chosen to intern with the Governor on her new show. She shared with us the vision for the show: it was to be unlike any other show on television. It wouldn't be about simplistic talking points. Rather, the show would be about what was really happening, real problems and solutions. To accomplish that, she needed our help.

In the weeks leading up to the show's premiere, the other interns and I (known around Current TV's SF headquarters as "The Berkeley 7"), researched political

stories that were not being discussed by other major media outlets. From a glimpse inside Obama's campaign war room in Chicago, to the implications of voter ID laws in South Carolina, and the impact of the Citizen's United decision on campaign finance, we helped find and research unique and compelling stories that were featured in early episodes of the show.

As the show evolved, so did the ways in which we each contributed. On any given day, the Berkeley 7 worked with everyone from the Governor and senior producers, to digital producers and the graphics department, on various aspects of the show. One of the most rewarding parts about working at Current TV is that there is no limit to what we can contribute.

I had been thinking that most news shows report the news, but do little to tell people what they can do in response. At our daily morning meeting, I pitched the idea of creating a "Call To Action," to tell people something they can actually do to make a difference about the stories they care about.

My first "Call to Action" was in response to Rush Limbaugh's diatribe on Sandra Fluke and the resulting war-on-women commentary. We urged viewers to sign a petition asking Clear Channel to "Flush Rush" from their airwaves and to boycott his sponsors. Although his show remains on the air, we were able to mobilize hundreds of people to make their voices heard and take a step toward making positive change in the world. I hope the "Call To Action" segment on *The War Room* will recur regularly and empower everyday citizens into making a difference in the issues that are important to them.

For me, *The War Room* has been a dream come true, combining my interest in politics and journalism. I'm proud of the ways that the program has taken journalistic political commentary to a higher level and am privileged to work alongside Governor Granholm and my fellow GSPP students to bring positive change to the world. **G**

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alumni **Brian Turner**

GIVEN THE INCREASING POLARIZATION in American politics, and given a political system that is discordant at best and dysfunctional at worst, why would a GSPP graduate aspire to work in Washington DC? This was the question posed to Brian Turner (MPP/ERG '06) who, despite the problems, remains enthusiastic about working in the Nation's capital.



“The level at which regulation and legislative policy is developed here is unparalleled anywhere else in the world,” says Brian. He is the Deputy Director of Governor Jerry Brown’s Washington office and represents the interests of the state in the nation’s capital. “We’re a bit like the Californian embassy,” he says. “Our office [located in the Hall of States] interfaces with the federal government, both the executive

branch as well as Congress, other states, industry groups, non-governmental organizations, and even foreign governments.” Brian oversees a large portfolio of issues, including natural resources and environment, transportation and infrastructure, with a specific focus on clean energy and climate change policy. Brian acknowledges the increasing partisanship in Washington. He’s seen it firsthand. “Even in the five years I’ve been here, the idea that politics is a zero-sum game has intensified,” he says.

“It seemed to intensify with the Obama Administration and the passing of the stimulus bill, though I know it also existed during the Bush years. Some of the push back [to President Obama] was legitimate antipathy toward that level of government intervention. But it’s gone way beyond that, with partisans exploiting these concerns to achieve utter gridlock. The bipartisan space has shrunk to the point where you need an electron microscope to find it.” Brian adds that along with the general cynicism of “your loss is my win” there’s also an institutional cynicism that can creep in. “Lots of people came into the Obama Administration with great goals and plans for how to get things done, for instance to spend the stimulus money on great programs and make people’s lives better,” he says. “But the existing bureaucracy slowed, distorted and even killed many good ideas. That can be very disillusioning.” Despite these challenges, Brian finds his work both fascinating and rewarding. “There are several different DC worlds,” he says. “The most dysfunctional stuff, in my opinion, is happening on Capitol Hill. But you’ll find folks doing good work in agencies. There is plenty of process that is statutorily required—much of it a result of public policy analysts—that says you have to look at the evidence and justify your decisions. There’s also the world of non-governmental organizations and the lobbying shops that still do good work and are engaged on the relatively level playing field of honest analysis and debate.” “Besides, DC is an amazing town,” he adds. “Every day, I meet a variety of really smart, really driven people who care about getting things right. I left GSPP wanting to make public policy. Washington DC is the place to do that. I highly recommend it.”  brian.turner@wdc.ca.gov



PolicyMatters

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alumni **Teri Gullo**

AMIDST THE INTENSE POLARIZATION AND PARTISANSHIP in Washington, the Congressional Budget Office (CBO) has a mandate to provide independent, nonpartisan analysis of economic and budgetary issues to the US Congress. Teri Gullo (MPP '83) is one of two Deputy Directors in the Budget Analysis Division (BAD) of CBO (The other Deputy Director of BAD is Holly Harvey (MPP '86). Teri spoke with Policy Notes about her work, the GSPP toolkit and the importance of remaining vigilantly non-partisan and objective.



How did you get to the CBO? I first came to CBO as an intern in the summer between my first and second years at GSPP. I then returned to CBO as a budget analyst working on land and water management issues. In 1996, I helped create and became chief of CBO’s State and Local Government Cost Estimates Unit. I became Deputy Director of BAD in 2007.


Which of your GSPP tools has best served you in your career at CBO? A CBO analyst has to be both detail-oriented and adept at seeing the big picture. The GSPP curriculum taught me a lot about integrating those two skills:

- How to read and analyze legislation (thank you, David Kirp);
 - How to understand, evaluate, and use quantitative information (thank you, Henry Brady and Lee Friedman);
 - How to work quickly but accurately (thank you, Gene Bardach); and
 - How to make educated, defensible estimates with limited data (thank you, John Quigley).
- A major part of our job at CBO is telling a clear, coherent story about the budgetary impacts of policy proposals; the practice I got at GSPP in distilling difficult concepts into an understandable narrative has been a critical part of my ability to succeed at CBO.

What does it mean for the CBO to be “nonpartisan?” CBO’s mission is to provide objective analyses of budgetary and economic issues for the Congress. That means we analyze legislation as written, and present our best estimates of the likely budgetary impacts without judging or commenting on the proposals’ merits. There is a very strong culture here, built over more than 35 years, of neutrality and nonpartisanship. Everyone at CBO — from the Director to the newest hire — takes that charge seriously. Our unofficial motto is “on the one hand, on the other hand.” We strive to look at all sides of an issue and to offer estimates that are in the middle of the distribution of possible outcomes. We also provide necessary caveats about our estimates and discuss their uncertainty (unfortunately, not everyone pays attention to those caveats and cautions — but that’s a whole other discussion). We have strong internal systems to ensure the objectivity and completeness of our analyses. We have a multi-layered review

process and we strive to make our analyses consistent, transparent, and widely available as soon as they are completed. One of the challenges in maintaining an objective, nonpartisan view is to guard against letting our natural skepticism about the process become cynicism. As Phil Joyce points out in his recent book about CBO (*The Congressional Budget Office: Honest Numbers, Power, and Policymaking*), there is a fine line between skepticism and bias; CBO analysts have to be vigilant about maintaining objectivity without being too quick to dismiss every idea as costly or unworkable.

How has the political polarization in Washington impacted the CBO? CBO’s profile and influence have risen as the national debate has revolved increasingly around questions of government spending and persistent deficits. Our estimates are more consequential than ever and a bad “score” from CBO can cause a lot of frustration on Capitol Hill. But as the political environment gets more polarized, it is even more important that the Congress have information and analyses that are widely accepted as neutral and unbiased.

What advice would you give to GSPPers who want to work in Washington? Graduates of GSPP are in an enviable position because of the strength and reputation of the school. I do a lot of recruiting for CBO and in my interviews with recent graduates, it is clear that GSPP offers one of the strongest, most well-rounded public policy programs in the country. You will find that for many jobs in Washington (including at CBO), being a good writer and communicator is as important as being a good number cruncher, so the breadth of what you are learning at GSPP should hold you in good stead when looking for a job in Washington. Certainly, doing an internship in Washington is a great stepping stone to getting a job here. CBO currently employs seven GSPP alums (several of us former interns). There are many GSPP alums working across Washington in many capacities: on Capitol Hill, in the Executive Branch, at think tanks and consulting firms, and in public interest groups. If you are interested in coming to DC, contact a few alums to learn about their experiences, their organizations, and advice they may have about parlaying your skills and training into a career in Washington.  teri.gullo@cbo.gov

event highlights



Dr. Alfredo Quiñones-Hinojosa
and Dr. Douglas Goldman



Rhoda Goldman Health Lecture
Dr. Alfredo Quiñones-Hinojosa, Associate Professor of Neurosurgery and Oncology at Johns Hopkins Medical Center addressed, “Beyond the Borders of the Mind: My Journey as an Immigrant” at the 10th Annual Rhoda Goldman Lecture in Health.



Michael Nacht Lecture
Professor Robert Reich addressed, “2012: A Turning Point? If So, Which Way?” at the Third Annual Michael Nacht Distinguished Lecture in Politics and Public Policy.



Network DC
GSPP’s Washington, DC site visits and networking reception connected students with DC-area employers, to foster career connections in the public, private and non-profit arenas.



Homecoming 2011
A distinguished panel addressed, “Populism and the Tea Party in American Politics” to a packed house during UC Berkeley’s Homecoming weekend. The event was co-sponsored by GSPP and the Center on Civility and Democratic Engagement.

From left: Christine Trost, Associate Director, Institute for the Study of Societal Issues; Dean Henry E. Brady, GSPP; Dr. Lawrence Rosenthal, Executive Director and Lead Researcher, Center for the Comparative Study of Right-Wing Movements; Bill Whalen, Resident Research Fellow, Hoover Institution. Photo by Keenan Houser



DC Alumni Roundtable
GSPP DC launched an intergenerational mentoring effort with a panel about becoming or working with political appointees.

From left: Dorothy Robyn (MPP '78/PhD '83), Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Installations and Environment; Richard Turman (MPP '87), Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Financial Resources, HHS; Glenn Shor (MPP '77/PhD '91), Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Safety and Health; Nani Coloretti (MPP '94), Deputy Assistant Secretary of Treasury for Management and Budget. Photo by Rob Letzler (MPP '03/PhD '07).

CLASS NOTES

Jennifer Miller Gaubert (MPP '05) and husband Vincent currently reside in Muscat, Oman where Jennifer consults on implementation, management, and evaluation of social service programs. Daughter Pascale is now 4; the family welcomed a son, Julien Aubrey, in November 2011.

Fiona Hsu (MPP '06) is taking a break from affordable housing finance at Union Bank (where she has been since 2006) and is on a year-long overseas work assignment in Hong Kong with her parent bank, Bank of Tokyo Mitsubishi UFJ.

Kelly Abbett Hardy (MPP/MPH '04) welcomed Jackson Abbett Hardy to the world in October. Seasoned mamas/GSPP alums **Liz Gettelman** (MPP '03), **Renske van Staveren** (MPP '05) and **Helena Zyblikewycz** (MPP '03) are helping her along the path of new motherhood. She returns as health policy director at Children Now in April.

Carson Christiano (MPP '09) recently began working as Head of Research Partnerships at the Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA) at UC Berkeley. She is also managing an evaluation of telemedicine clinics and clean water kiosks in Punjab, India.

Alex Marthews (MPP '01) is now settled in the Boston area, where he runs a nonprofit helping bright East African girls from poor families go to high school. His 2 daughters, Elizabeth and Cordelia, are now 4 years old. His wife Catherine has just been tenured at MIT.

Nicole Coburn, *née Poimiroo* (MPP '03), and Chris gave birth to twin boys, Andrew Nicholas and Bennett Howell, on January 29, 2012 in Santa Cruz, CA. They each weighed 4 lb 4 oz at birth and were about 18.5 in long. Everyone is home and doing well.

Matthew Ingram (MPP/MPH '11) moved to a new position as a Program Officer at the Metta Fund, a health foundation.

Ben Thornley (MPP '09) and the work of Pacific Community Features was recently featured in a *Forbes* article on impact investing. <http://tinyurl.com/pcv-impact-investing>

Donald Smart (MPP '71) authored the first (and maybe only) 1) comprehensive analysis of the failure of "war on drugs," and 2) design for a future institution for effective drug control without adverse consequences.

James Hearn (MPP '84) was elected in the Fall 2011 as a Fellow of the National Academy of Public Administration.

Ginny Fang (MPP '08) has a new job as CEO of the San Francisco Bay Area Regional Center. She is now the Chairman of the Board for ChinaSF. In March, she spoke at a *San Francisco Business Times* conference: http://www.sfbarc.com/media/3721/sfbt-chinaasia_email.pdf

Emilie Mazzacurati (MPP '07) and **Brian Turner** (MPP '05/ERG '06) are proud to announce the birth of their second son, Oliver Dante, born October 24. Oliver is the delight (mostly) of his big brother Lucas, now 3. Brian and Emilie decided that the Bay Area was the best place in the world to raise their children and will be moving back to Berkeley this summer after five years in Washington, DC. Brian is still working for the California Governor's office in DC and Emilie was recently promoted to Head of Carbon Analysis for Global Markets at Thomson Reuters (Point Carbon).

Nani Coloretti (MPP '94) received the 2012 National Public Service Award from the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and the National Academy of Public Administration (NAPA).

Nick Nigro (MPP '09) hosted a two-day electric vehicle workshop at GSPP for seven state transportation departments and US Department of Transportation. **Roland Hwang** (MPP '92), Director of NRDC's Energy and Transportation Program, was one of the speakers.

Diana Lane Jensen (MPP '05) and her husband were thrilled to welcome their second son, Caleb, to their family in November.

Mitchell Bard's book, *The Arab Lobby: The Invisible Alliance That Undermines America's Interests in the Middle East* (HarperCollins) has recently come out in paperback; his newest book, *Israel Matters: Understand the Past — Look to the Future* (Behrman House) was published at the end of March.

Emily Novick (MPP '89) is starting a new job as a Health Communications Specialist with the FDA's Center for Tobacco Products, Office of Health Communication and Education in Rockville, Maryland. She'll be working on media campaigns to prevent and reduce underage smoking.

Martha E. Ture (MPP '04) is working on a new website, called Brave Musicians. She is wondering about the best thing she can do for the California Public Utilities Commission within the next 2 years, after which she will retire. Her next career: charity concerts.

As a result of the 2011 legislative redistricting process in New Jersey, **Bob Gordon** (MPP '75) found himself facing re-election to the State Senate in the most competitive district in the state. For over seven months he knocked on 7,000 doors and spent over \$2 million on media, and despite attacks by Governor Christie on network television, he won the race by six points. He returned to the State House in 2012 as the Senate Majority Conference Leader and as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Legislative Oversight.

David Konkell (MPP '74) is the Director of Economic Analysis at the State Department in Washington, DC. He runs an office of 20 economists and economic analysts who provide economic analysis to the Secretary of State and the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs on all parts of the world. He would be happy to field questions from GSPP students and alumni about working on foreign affairs at the State Department and in Washington, DC generally. The death of Professor Bill Niskanen saddened him greatly. He was by far his most influential professor and one of the smartest people he's ever known.

How often do you get to play a part in helping a society transform its legal education system while it's in the midst of a revolution? **Stephen Rosenbaum** (MPP '79) recently did just that in Egypt as an Adviser to the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative. His agenda included helping to create Egypt's first environmental justice law school clinic and first national moot court competition in Arabic. "It meant working to change the legal education culture," Stephen says. "But it's important to not simply sell 'Made in America.' You have to adapt to the local traditions and legal system." Stephen also spent a week in Doha, Qatar advising a colleague on courses for a new women and family legislative advocacy clinic at Qatar University College of Law. He returned there at the end of his 7-month stay, to see the clinic in progress and facilitate a discussion about the future of special education in Qatar.



Nani Coloretti (MPP '94), Deputy Assistant Secretary, Management & Budget for the US Department of the Treasury, swears in the newly confirmed **Al Fitzpayne** (MPP '98) as Treasury's Assistant Secretary for Legislation.

Fatimah Simmons (MPP '11) started a new job as the Director of Programs for Ignite last November. The organization delivers programs to high school and college age women to provide political and civic education, exposure to women in political leadership, and hands on training opportunities with the goal of building a movement of young women who are engaged, respond to issues, and who ultimately pursue elected office.

On March 10th, Fatimah ran Ignite's second annual conference which featured a keynote by Barbara Lee (D-CA) and a roundtable discussion with numerous other local elected officials, including Nancy Skinner, Jane Kim, Malia Cohen, Christina Olague, Libby Shaaf, Desley Brooks, Hydra Mendoza, and **Jennifer West** (MPP candidate '12). The conference included panels about staffing a campaign, building across racial divides in the women's political movement, and getting appointed to a board or commission. More information on Ignite can be found at <http://www.igniteca.org>.

alumni board Ways to Connect

The Goldman School of Public Policy Alumni Association Board of Directors continues to be an active and valuable help to the School.

2011/2012 Alumni Board Events

BECOMING AND WORKING WITH FEDERAL POLITICAL APPOINTEES — DC alumni organized a roundtable discussion on this topic in January 2011, featuring alumni panelists Dorothy Robyn '78/PhD '83, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Installations and Environment (Department of Defense); Richard Turman '87, Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary for Financial Resources (Department of Health and Human Services); Glenn Shor '77/PhD '91, Special Assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Occupational Safety and Health (Department of Labor); and Nani Coloretti '94, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Treasury for Management and Budget (Department of the Treasury). Organizers: Diana Epstein '05, Sarah Sattelmeyer '11, and Rob Letzler '03/PhD '07 (GSPP Alumni Board Member) [see photo in *Events* on page 21].

BAY AREA HAPPY HOUR: DEFINING THE PROBLEM — In December 2011, Bay Area alumni hosted another well-attended happy hour event in Downtown San Francisco, to give local alumni the opportunity to reconnect with classmates and meet alums from other class years. This event was organized by alumni board members Jackie Bender '11, Deb Kong '07, and Renee Willette '09.

New Admit Alumni Phone Bank

The GSPP Alumni Association, together with GSPP, hosted its annual new admit phone bank in late March. Over 70 alumni volunteered to contact students who were recently admitted to GSPP, to share about their GSPP experience, their professional careers after GSPP, and answer questions they may have. This alumni volunteer activity continues to make invaluable impact on newly admitted students as they decide their future. Organizer: Christine Frey '10 and GSPP staff.

2012 Board of Directors Election

The Alumni Association Board of Directors is seeking nominations for candidates to fill five available board positions, to be elected for a 3-year term beginning in September 2012 (there are a total of 15 board members). Elections will take place in May/June 2012. Candidate statements and voting will be available online, via GSPP's website. To submit nominations for the Board of Directors elections, visit http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/gspmaa_nomination.html.

Contact Us

If you are interested in learning more about the Alumni Board or becoming involved, please contact us at gspmaa_chair@lists.berkeley.edu. **G**

from the desk of **Annette Doornbos**

Giving to the Goldman School — You Would be Surprised (Pleasantly)



Annette Doornbos is the Assistant Dean of External Relations and Development

THE SIGNIFICANT AND ABRUPT DROP IN 2011–12 of \$750M in state support for the University of California system, the impact on UC Berkeley and (in turn) the Goldman School raises the question — what revenue sources are supporting California’s institutions of higher education today? The answer for UC Berkeley, which has now experienced multiple cuts, is unprecedented: for the first time in its history, federal research funding trumps all other sources; state support is at the bottom of the list of the top four sources, accounting for a mere 10–11% of the total UC Berkeley budget. Philanthropy is now the second largest contributor to the UC budget, just ahead of tuition.

At the Goldman School, independent philanthropic sources have contributed \$22M since the 1999 establishment of a professional development and external relations enterprise. Donors, largely individual, have supported programs, endowed faculty chairs and student fellowships and made current-use gifts for

student fellowships and “opportunity funds” that underwrite everything from student group activities to events and distinguished visitors.

Now the surprise: of GSPP’s seventeen endowed funds for graduate student fellowships, *over half are funded by faculty* — current, emeriti or in one case, from another UCB unit. This is an extraordinary level of faculty giving even at UC Berkeley, where individual contributions are now a mainstay of revenue. The comparison to other campus units is telling: within one year of the Chancellor’s announcement of a match for faculty gifts of \$10k or more to endow graduate student support, the Goldman School was fourth in the overall campus in terms of actual number of funds, despite the fact that our professors account for just 2% of the overall UC Berkeley faculty.

The generosity of GSPP faculty is even more impressive when considered in light of the fact that professors in other units and professional schools often engage in outside, financially rewarding activities, e.g. dispensing high-level legal advice, serving on corporate boards or getting start-ups off the ground. Goldman School faculty are more likely to be found in the board rooms of leading NGO’s, testifying before a legislature or advising high-level public officials. Deep personal commitment drives giving at GSPP, despite the absence of deep personal pockets.

Another unanticipated source of significant funds has emerged in recent years — gifts from graduating classes and recent grads. Again, a campus-wide match from the Chancellor offered a clear opportunity to compare the School with its peer units.

In 2009-2010 when the Chancellor first announced a matching program for New Alumni (i.e. current grads and alumni who have graduated in the last five years) the Goldman School placed fourth in terms of donor gifts, even though we have the smallest cohort on campus by far.

One last thought — researchers at UC Berkeley’s Center for the Greater Good found that “MRI studies revealed that making a donation activated the meso- limbic pathway — the brain’s reward center...[that] releases feel-good chemicals, triggering a feeling of physical energy.” The findings show what these exceptionally generous givers have already discerned — giving makes you feel good and is very good for you.

Annette Doornbos

Annette Doornbos
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Why We Give to GSPP



By **Greg Kato** *MPP ’06* and **Deb Kong** *MPP ’07*

TO SAY THAT OUR GSPP EXPERIENCE was life-changing is an understatement since we wouldn’t have met, married, and had our son Robby without it. However, GSPP also means so much to us professionally, whether launching us into our chosen careers in nonprofit advocacy and local government, or providing us with invaluable mentors and colleagues.

In a time when the entire University of California must remake its fiscal model due to state funding cuts, we as alumni must step into the breach. We give to GSPP because we share a commitment to ensure the school remains vibrant and viable now and into the future. We owe at least that much to Robby and his generation. **G**

Greg is the Policy and Legislative Manager, Office of the Treasurer-Tax Collector for the City & County of San Francisco.

Deb is Director of Communications for Preschool California and is a member of the GSPP Alumni Board.

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Center for Environmental Public Policy (CEPP)



From Left to Right: Blas Pérez Henríquez (MPP '92/PhD '02), Director of CEPP; Jelena Simjanovic (MPP '08), Senior Market Analyst for Point Carbon Thomson Reuters; Derik Broekhoff (MPP '99), Vice President for Policy at the Climate Action Reserve; Linda Adams, former CalEPA Secretary, now Chair of the Climate Action Reserve and President of R20 — Regions of Climate Change.

Reporting from Durban, South Africa

THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL'S CEPP DIRECTOR Blas Pérez Henríquez (MPP '92/PhD '02) participated this past fall as an academic observer at the 2011 United Nations Climate Change Conference (COP17). Pérez Henríquez served as a member of the working groups on carbon markets, forestry and climate finance engaged in strengthening the frameworks for carbon emission reduction. Following the conference, he remarked, "While COP17 is one step forward in the global commitment to advance climate mitigation and adaption — we are running out of time."

The COP17 — officially referred to as the 17th session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change — focused on securing a global climate agreement as the Kyoto Protocol's first commitment period (2008–2012) was set to end.

The conference concluded with a legally binding deal to be prepared by 2015 and to take effect in 2020. There was also progress regarding the creation of a Green Climate Fund (GCF) for which a management framework was adopted to distribute \$100 billion USD per year to help poor countries mitigate and adapt to climate impacts. Through-

out the conference, Goldman School alumni and California delegates were at the center of the action.

In other news, CEPP hosted its annual seminar series to much acclaim. The first seminar hosted Dr. Takanori Ida, a visiting scholar to GSPP and CEPP from Kyoto University, who spoke on Japan's commitment to renewable energy and smart grid technology following the devastating earthquake that crippled much of the country's energy infrastructure. According to Dr. Ida, Japan will be looking towards replacing much of its former nuclear power generation capacity with renewable energy sources, cementing its status as a global leader. Darren Bouton, First Solar's Vice President for State Government Affairs, joined CEPP students for a talk about the opportunities and challenges of the renewable energy industry. For the final seminar of the fall, Canada's Consul General Cassie Doyle addressed Canada's status as an energy powerhouse and the prospects of a more integrated North American energy partnership. Ms. Doyle served as Canada's Deputy Minister of Natural Resources from 2006–10.

Please stay tuned to CEPP for information about our exciting upcoming events. gspp.berkeley.edu/programs/cepp.html **G**

policy notes

SPRING 2012

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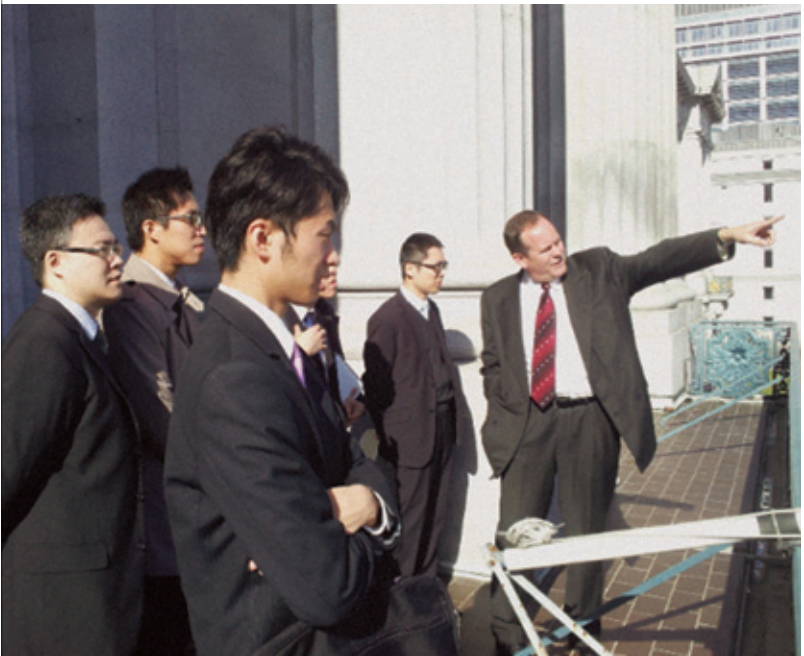
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Executive and International Programs



Hong Kong Spring 2012 group visiting the mayor's office of San Francisco



Mehdi Al Amine (Morocco), the Hong Kong Fall 2011 group, the IPPLP scholars with Blas Pérez Henríquez, Professor Eugene Bardach and Gan, Bai at the Welcome Luncheon

By Blas Pérez Henríquez and Gan, Bai
Program for Officials of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government of China
Policy Analysis and Public Management
(Fall 2011 Group: August 22 – October 12, 2011)
Spring 2012 Group: January 16 – March 14, 2012)

As part of an ongoing collaboration between the Goldman School and the Hong Kong Civil Service Bureau, Executive and International Programs (EIP) hosted two new groups of Hong Kong officials during the Fall 2011 and the Spring 2012 semesters. This ongoing program in Policy Analysis and Public Management is designed for mid-career government officials from Hong Kong and has helped train more than 60 policy makers from many branches of the Hong Kong government. The most recent cohort included 11 government officials. Their policy fields included police affairs, public works, consumer protection, electoral regulation, building code, government engineering services, environmental assessment, labor policy, personal data privacy, food and health, and highways.

During the eight-week program offered at the Goldman School, these government practitioners were integrated into regular Master of Public Policy classes, auditing various GSPP courses and interacting with GSPP students on a regular basis. In addition, the program offered a mini policy analysis seminar tailored for the Hong Kong participants. These courses included weekly meetings with Professor Eugene Bardach who

presented policy analysis methods and coached each participant through a policy project. Finally, the program provided a variety of opportunities for participants to visit government agencies and to meet with local practitioners. The hosts of these visits included US EPA Region IX, the Mayor's Office of San Francisco, SF Bay Conservation and Development Commission, the Berkeley Mayor's Office, the National Park Services and the California State Legislature. These meetings with various levels of American government have been a valuable complement to what the Hong Kong officials learn from GSPP classes.

International Public Policy Leadership Program (IPPLP) (August 18 – December 16, 2011)

During the Fall 2011 semester, EIP hosted another international scholar who came to GSPP through the IPPLP. Mehdi Al Amine Fichtali was a French trained Moroccan investment banker working in Dubai. Mehdi decided to put his successful financial career with Morgan Stanley on hold after witnessing the Arab Spring. Through IPPLP, Mehdi took part in many GSPP classes and activities with the goal of equipping himself with the knowledge and tools to make effective social changes in his native land. Mehdi describes his time at GSPP as extremely fruitful; he is now a visiting scholar at Georgetown University's Center for Contemporary Arab Studies, while commuting to Dubai to maintain his financial career. **G**



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GSPP Alumni Dinner

Friday, October 26, 2012
The Berkeley City Club
2315 Durant Avenue
Berkeley, California

gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/events.html

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HIRE Students

Post jobs, internships, or policy projects on GSPPjobs, GSPP's on-line job posting system. <http://gsppjobs.net>

MENTOR Students

Volunteer to mentor a GSPP student by providing advice on career and academic choices. <http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/mentors.html>

ENGAGE with GSPP Student Groups

Student groups range in substance including Students of Color, Environment, International, Women, LGBT, and Youth.

<http://gspp.berkeley.edu/students/index.html>

CONTRIBUTE to PolicyMatters

To achieve its full potential, PolicyMatters needs alumni input through submitting articles, responses or online discussion. <http://www.policymatters.net/>

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Visit GSPP's website to update your alumni directory information and reconnect with fellow alumni. http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/update_address.php

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