campaigns, parties, politics, polls

GSPP’s Election Collection

SPRING 2016

PMJ with David Plouffe

Fighting “Legalized Corruption”

The Millennial Tipping Point

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Dean’s Message

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

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

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

The University of California provides a model of how public higher education can provide access to low-income students (over 35% of UC students receive Pell grants), with high graduation rates and relatively low levels of loan debt. Undergraduate tuition is less than one-third of most private universities. The California State Universities provide even broader access at still lower cost. Unfortunately, California and other states are withdrawing their support for public higher education at just the time when it is needed the most. As a result, those who are desperate for greater economic opportunity are often forced into private, for-profit programs that promise much but often deliver very little.

The next stop is Washington, DC for the roll out of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences report on the challenges faced by American public research universities. That report notes that "public research universities cannot solve their financial challenges without help" and it calls for a national effort to develop a new financial model for them. The report notes that public research universities must adapt to changing demands and increase their focus on teaching and research.

Projections show that the good jobs in the knowledge-based economy will require higher levels of education. Higher education is one solution to the problem of inequality.

Editor’s Note

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

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

This promises to be quite a political year. The Goldman School community is hard at work — in the words of the musical, Hamilton: we’re not throwing away our shot.
Who’s in Charge?

Political Parties and Polarization in the 2016 Election

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

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

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

The relative weakness of American political parties is tied to the Progressive Era of the late 19th century, which introduced reforms like the direct primary. Until then, party leaders gathered in proverbial smoke-filled rooms to decide who the Party’s nominees would be. Now voters would have a say.

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

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

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

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

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

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

“The best social science suggests that the long-term causes of political polarization are growing inequality and increased immigration,” he says. “The 1950s through the 1970s were one of the least polarized eras in American politics, characterized by strong unions and corporations that had strong local roots and a sense of responsibility to their local areas. Globalization in the 1970s and 1980s led to rootless international corporations, the loss of manufacturing jobs, the diminution of union influence in the private sector, and increasing inequality. At the same time, immigration increased dramatically. The net result was increased inequality and anti-immigrant sentiment — with the two often conjoined in the sense that immigrants (or people like them in foreign countries) were blamed for taking away American jobs.”

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

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

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

Professor Sarah Anzia

Dean Henry E. Brady
A CONVERSATION WITH

David Plouffe

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

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

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

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

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

So how does that translate to the private sector? Are you seeing that you’re using the same kinds of strategies in your work with Uber? Well, it’s a little different if we have a vote in the city council or legislature, yes. You are trying to understand where people initially are and what would be the strongest arguments to them. So in our case, it could be about flexible work or reducing congestion — you have to understand your audience.

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

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

So talking about consuming information, it’s hard to remember a presidential election where we have followed delegate counts and nomination details so closely. What are your thoughts on the delegate situation, and perhaps the possibility of a brokered convention? The 2008 Obama–Clinton race was the first time that a lot of the news media covered the delegate situation. Before 2008, media coverage was just who won the state. So I would get on the phone with news directors and anchors and say, “You guys have to start covering the delegates.”

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

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

Professor Allan P. Sindler

By Dean Henry E. Brady


**Robert Birgenau** received the 2016 Vannevar Bush Award from the National Science Board in recognition of his exceptional public service and scientific leadership, especially his efforts to advance equity and inclusion in higher education and science. Previous Berkeley Bush award winners are Glenn Seaborg and Charles Townes.

In addition, Birgenau has co-led the American Academy’s Lincoln Project on Excellence and Access in Public Higher Education in the United States. The Lincoln Project publications (including the final one which presents strategies for public research universities moving forward) are available on the American Academy’s web site (www.americanacademy.org). Henry Brady also is a major contributor to this historic project.

**Avi Feller**’s paper, “Discouraged by Peer Excellence: Exposure to Exemplary Peer Performance Causes Quitting” with Todd Rogers, was featured on NPR (http://npr.org/2235628). Feller’s job market paper on Head Start was also accepted at the Annals of Applied Statistics.

Lastly, Feller became a PI on a grant from the Institute for Education Sciences.

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

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

**Janelle Scott** joined the editorial boards of the American Educational Research Journal & Educational Evaluation and the American Educational Research Journal. She was also involved with the office of California Attorney General Kamala Harris in the launch of the Open Justice Data Project for the state of California. She helped draft and then signed onto an Amicus brief filed with the US Supreme Court pertaining to the upcoming deliberations over the Deferred Action for Parents of Americans and Lawful Permanent Residents (DAPA). The brief summarized for the court the research on the effects of legalizing the earnings of formerly undocumented workers and what the impact of DAPA would be on households with American citizen children where one or both parents are undocumented immigrants. The case will be heard in mid-April.

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

**Raphael Raphael** was appointed to California Budget and Policy Center’s Board of Directors.

**Richard Scheffler** launched World Scientific Handbook of Global Nutrition, a multi-volume handbook that features academics and practitioners from more than a dozen countries. He also received a 2-year grant in the Petris Center from the Commonwealth Fund to study the effects of market concentration on immigration policy. He also chaired the panel for the Potomac Institute hearing on Sacramento (video: http://bit.ly/200FlEs).
Fighting “Legalized Corruption” in Politics

By Charlotte Hill (MPP Candidate ’17)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Voting for a Healthier Community

By Vanessa Cedeño (MPP Candidate ’16)

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

Despite designing and implementing a number of community capacity building and civic engagement programs over the past decade, efforts to monitor the levels of voter participation — a key indicator of political empowerment and social capital — have been very limited. Troubled by a recent drop in the County’s voter turnout rates, ACPHD’s Legislative Council Coordinator, Pam Willow (’11), brought me on to work on a new Voter Turnout Initiative.

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

Working on this project for my Applied Policy Analysis (APA) course has been an incred- ible learning experience that has required me to use every skill in my policy analysis tool set. I applied my newly-acquired quantitative skills to identify emerging trends in voter participation as well as connections between voter participation rates and health outcomes. Most of my work, however, has involved interviewing much of ACPHD’s staff, its sister agencies, community partners, and clinical practi- tioners. Here my Introduction to Policy Analysis (IPA) experience has been invaluable as it proved to be a training ground for working within an agency con- text, learning about interview protocols, and practicing how to organize and syn- thesis large amounts of qualitative data into concise and useful pieces of informa- tion for a decisionmaker. Through this process, I have conducted an organiza- tional analysis of ACPHD’s operational capacity and resources to identify ways in which public health programs can contribute to the work of the initia- tive’s three phases: voter registration, pub- lic education, and voter turnout.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Run like clockwork throughout the entire year. Beginning in September, GSPP officially kicks off the admissions recruitment season by hosting information sessions in Berkeley and participating in recruitment fairs in San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC. The admissions team interacts weekly with prospective students from all over the world via email, skype, phone, webinars, social media, and in person.

After the December deadline, the Master of Public Policy Admissions Committee diligently reviews hundreds of admissions applications. As usual, this year’s applicant pool was nothing short of exceptional. We received applications from among the best and brightest individuals from across the nation and the world. As always, the decision process was challenging due to the overwhelming number of outstanding applicants for the limited spots available. Our expected yield is approximately 90 students, and we are excited to welcome the Class of 2018 later this Fall!

After the admissions decisions are made, GSPP begins the outreach and recruitment process all over again, continuing throughout the spring and summer. In order to ensure a good yield, GSPP gains appreciation from the alumni student body. Alumni students and local representatives interact with prospective students during the admissions decision process. After the decision is made, alumni (and friends of alumni) begin to help us recruit by sharing their stories of how the program helped them.

What is your perspective on how polarized the politics in our country has gotten? Has it changed, or is it matter of now having the political conversations that we have been having for a long time? My political positions can be described as a progressive Democrat who believes in the power of ideas and the importance of engaging with others to reach a common goal.

From the desk of Martha Chavez

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

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

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

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

My time at GSPP, including my internship in the legislature, helped me to clarify my interest in politics and policy advocacy. I wanted to work on making change where the road meets the town, where the good policy idea meets the real world political conditions. I didn’t have to look far to find a GSPP alum who had followed a similar path. Cisco DeVries (GSPP ’10) helped me get my first campaign jobs managing two State Assembly races and handed me my first set of poll crosstabs. When I found the quantitative side of politics I knew I wanted to do. Dave Metz (’98) hired me for my first job in polling and taught me a great deal. Now I provide opinion research and strategic consulting for candidates, ballot measure campaigns, state and local government agencies, and nonprofits, helping them understand public opinion and make decisions to advance their policy goals.

What kinds of campaigns have you worked on?

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

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

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

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

Pretty different from living in California, but that’s true every year! It’s pretty amazing to watch the money and bodies pour into the state. Football season is the only time I ever have to watch TV commercials, and that gets pretty rough. My wife stops answering the door. Local campaigns also really struggle here to turn out voters. Local campaigns also really struggle here to turn out voters. My time at GSPP, including my internship in the legislature, helped me to clarify my interest in politics and policy advocacy. I wanted to work on making change where the road meets the town, where the good policy idea meets the real world political conditions. I didn’t have to look far to find a GSPP alum who had followed a similar path. Cisco DeVries (GSPP ’10) helped me get my first campaign jobs managing two State Assembly races and handed me my first set of poll crosstabs. When I found the quantitative side of politics I knew I wanted to do. Dave Metz (’98) hired me for my first job in polling and taught me a great deal. Now I provide opinion research and strategic consulting for candidates, ballot measure campaigns, state and local government agencies, and nonprofits, helping them understand public opinion and make decisions to advance their policy goals.

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From the desk of Martha Chavez

Martha Chavez Year-Round Outreach and Recruitment

GOLDMAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY | UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - BERKELEY

POLICY NOTES | SPRING 2016
Steve Jawetz (MPP ’82, JD ’82) and Deborah Bloch (MPP ’82) are pleased to report that an attraction to public policy may be genetic. Their daughter Allison (age 22) will be completing her MPP at the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy at the University of Virginia next year, with interests in prison reform and education policy. Their son Ryan (age 25) encounters the impact of public policy as a private investigator on criminal defense cases in New Orleans.

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

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

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

Danielle Love’s (MPP ’11) happily still living in San Francisco, working for the San Francisco Unified School District, such as economic development, program implementation and program improvement for key social safety net programs in the District, such as economic supports and homeless services.

Sarah Martin-Anderson (MPP ’08, PhD ’13) moved to Chicago to take the San Francisco Field Office’s Government Accountability Office where she has worked as a Senior Economist since finishing her PhD in Agricultural and Resource Economics at UC Berkeley in 2013.

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

Martha Tune (MPP ’04) is currently freelancing for Gannett News, a news outlet featuring women reporters.

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

Arlene and Vic Willits
Seeking Candidates

of every alumni class to take the lead in organizing class
activities of their every alumni class, to provide generous fellowship assistance for a dozen students thus far! Vic, whose career was in college administration and teaching, is also interested in best practices for higher education administration and looks forward to GSPP's research and programming in this area. "Our primary philanthropic interests at Cal have focused on scholarships. Helping Goldman provide opportunities for the best and brightest graduate students in the critical area of public service is definitely one of our priorities." G

GSPP Board of Advisors

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Co-Founder and Managing Director, VantagePoint Capital Partners; Chair, Goldman School Board of Advisors

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

Thank you,

Mark Hoffman (’75)
Alumni Board Chair

YOUR FIFTEEN-MEMBER ALUMNI BOARD is holding elections this June to replace the members whose terms are expiring. I would like to personally thank Clare Nolan (’93), Adam Nguyen (’07), and Kathy Wilson (’11), who are leaving the Board, for their dedicated service over the past three years.

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

This past year the Board collaborated with the school to make sure that all alumni receive the school’s journal Policy Matters (policymatters.berkeley.edu), a superb publication edited by GSPP students. If you are familiar with the Journal you know the high quality of its content and style.

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

GSPP Board of Advisors

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Mel Levine
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Founder and Chair, Kundakia Foundation

Nancy McFadden
Executive Secretary to Governor Edmund G. Brown, Office of the Governor, State of CA

Michael Nacht, Ex-officio
Thomas and Alison Schneider Chair, Goldman School of Public Policy; Former Assistant Secretary of Defense for Global Strategic Affairs, US Department of Defense

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President and CEO, The Associated Press

Paul Saul
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Michello Schwartz (MPPMPH ’83)
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President, Bayside Medical Group

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Former Vice Chancellor for Administration & Finance, University of California; Former Managing Director and Director of International Research for Farallon Capital Management, LLC

Jerry Yoon
Director, Barclays Capital, Seoul, Korea

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2015-16 Alumni Board

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Ginny Fang (’08)
Maureen Friar (’90)
Shelly Gheshan (’85), Vice-Chair
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EMERITI BOARD MEMBERS

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POLICY NOTES | SPRING 2016

18

19
20 21

from the desk of Annette Doornbos

The Goldman School Public Policy Channel on UCTV — AKA Policy with Legs

Annette Doornbos is the Assistant Dean for External Relations and Development.

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

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

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

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

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

Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement

By Larry A. Rosenthal

(MPP ’93/PhD ’00), Program Director

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

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

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

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

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

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GSPP’s Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement remains a vibrant and creative locus of activity at the School. We welcome your interest and your support. For more information visit https://gspp.berkeley.edu/ccde or contact me directly via email (lrosenthal@berkeley.edu).
By Sarah Swanbeck (MPP ’11)
Executive Director, Center on Governing & Investing in the Future
IN MORE WAYS THAN ONE, young Americans are about to have their moment. Millennials (typically thought of as those born between 1982 and 2000) now make up the largest group of consumers in the economy, with younger households disproportionately driving American consumer spending. Likewise, for the first time in history, Millennials also make up the same proportion of the American electorate as the Baby Boomers.

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

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

It remains unclear, however, what youth turnout and support may look like in the general election. In a hypothetical Clinton vs. Trump face off in November, according to Edison Research state exit/entrance polls. Only states with vote choice data for contests in both parties included. Estimates through March 15 primaries.

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By Sudha Shetty
Assistant Dean for International Partnerships and Alliances

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

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

Mandela Washington Fellowship 2016
For the third year, beginning in mid-June, GEP will host a six-week Civic Leadership Fellowship for 25 emerging leaders from sub-Saharan Africa as part of the Mandela Washington Fellowship. The Mandela Washington Fellowship, the flagship program of President Obama’s Young African Leaders Initiative (YALI), empowers young African leaders through academic coursework, leadership training, mentoring, networking, professional opportunities, and support for activities in their communities. Fellows have a proven record of accomplishment in promoting innovation and positive change in their organizations, institutions, or communities. The cohort of Fellows hosted by GEP will be part of a larger group of 1,090 Mandela Washington Fellows being hosted across the United States.

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

The Hague
Domestic Violence Project
The Hague Domestic Violence Project has developed a new Bench Guide: The Hague Convention on the Civil Aspects of International Child Abduction: A Tool to Assist Both State and Federal Court Judges in California who are confronted with a petition for the return of a child pursuant to the Hague Convention in cases that involve domestic abuse.

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

By Bora Reed
Editor: Bora Reed
Editorial Assistant: Jessica Ying Fu
Photos: Emerson Kim, Peg Skorpinski
Design and Layout: Matt Vanderzalm, Design Site

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GET INVOLVED WITH GSPP

HIRE Students
Post jobs, internships, or policy projects on GSPPjobs, GSPP’s on-line job posting system. http://gsppjobs.net

ENGAGE with GSPP Student Groups
Student groups range in substance including Students of Color, Environment, International, Women, LGBT, and Youth.
http://gspp.berkeley.edu/student-life

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

UPDATE Contact Information
Visit GSPP’s website to update your alumni directory information and reconnect with fellow alumni. http://gspp.berkeley.edu/directories/alumni

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