Bringing Truth to Power

AFTER 40 YEARS THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL STILL LEADS THE WAY in “speaking truth to power.” Th is requires both the pursuit of truth and speaking to the powerful.

As for “truth,” our faculty members engage in exciting public policy: inequality, crimi

cal justice, global warming, energy pricing, social welfare policy, housing, urban policy, evaluations of teacher quality, “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell,” early childhood education, and many other areas. Our research is published in the highest quality peer-reviewed journals; we have the respect and admiration of our colleagues in the academic disciplines — an essential factor if we are to retain credibility and esteem within the

academy and if we are to claim that we really do speak “the truth.”

As for “speaking to the powerful,” our faculty bring the results of their research straight into the corridors of power. Gene Bardach, supposedly retired, keynoted “Getting Agencies to Work Together” at the annual meeting of the National Association of Welfare Research and Statistics, an association of government officials and academics. Jesse Rothstein just returned from a stint at the federal government and is already making waves with his analysis of the limits of “value-added” statistical methods for evaluating teacher quality. Dan Kammern was named Chief Technical Specialist for Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency at the World Bank — a position that we think of as “Energy Czar.” Bob MacCoun is a co-author of a new version of the 1993 RAND report on “Sexual Orientation and U.S. Military Personnel Policy” — the report that brought data and information to the emotional debate on gays in the military. Robert Reich’s new book, Aftershock: The Next Economy and America’s Future reviewed in the New York Times Book Review and in many other places. Michael Nachti is back from his post as Assistant Secretary for Global Strategic Affairs where he played a major role in the formulation of the Obama Administration’s nuclear posture review, not to mention his work in thinking about cyber-warfare. Mike O’Hare’s recent blog posting, “A Letter to My Students,” hit a nerve as it pithily discussed reductions in public funding for public higher education. It went viral with tens of thousands of Internet hits.

But as they say in the late night advertisements: “Th at’s Not All!” We continue to have the best MPP program in the country. Core courses are taught by our core faculty. We offer an array of electives, and we retain an extraordinary sense of community so that students and faculty and staff feel a sense of common purpose. Nowhere was this more evident than in our “introductory exercise” at our first year orientation. John McArthur (PhD ’03), a lawyer with 25 years of experience in oil-and-gas cases, spoke on the BP oil spill. Afterwards, students and faculty discussed possible public policy solutions. Th e groups then reported back and discussed solutions ranging from changing liability laws to much greater regulation (perhaps even takeovers) of the oil companies. The discussion could not have been better, and we walked away with a sense of the School’s commitment to making the world better, and to doing it through ratiocination — not empty rhetoric.

Every day, the Goldman School proves the worth of the academy by building the bridges that must be built between the finest possible academic research (“truth”) and public policy makers (“power”). GSPP continues — with its mission of “Speaking Truth to Power.” But GSPP also goes beyond this mission because we emphasize at every turn that our students (and even our faculty) can be leaders themselves. Perhaps we should think of a new motto. How about: “Bringing Truth to Power”? Henry E. Brady

Dean, Goldman School of Public Policy
Class of 1941 Monroe Deutsch Professor of Political Science and Public Policy
TURNS OUT, THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL OWES A SURPRISING AMOUNT TO ROBERT MCNAMARA.

Five years after he graduated from UC Berkeley, McNamara entered the Army Air Forces and began using analytical approaches to picking bombing targets in World War II. He was teamed with a number of bright young officers who, upon leaving the military, decided to sell their collective services to the highest bidder. The Ford Motor Company won. At Ford, McNamara and the group that would come to be known as the Whiz Kids pitted their increasingly distinctive brand of quantitative analysis, with a central emphasis on cost-benefit analysis and efficiency, against the conventional wisdom of the automobile industry’s old hands. The Whiz Kids won, with McNamara as their leader. In 1960, just a few months after his 44th birthday, McNamara was named the first president of Ford from outside the Ford family.

By Jonathan Stein  MPP/JD Candidate ’13
Soon thereafter, McNamara was asked by President Kennedy to become Secretary of Defense. The Whiz Kids came along, bringing to the DoD the set of analytical tools that would eventually define the art and science of policy analysis. By the Johnson Administration, even though the war McNamara was tasked with fighting was going horribly wrong, the revolution he was leading within the federal government was going exceedingly well. Soon, every agency and department in the federal government had an office tasked with recreating the Whiz Kids’ methodologies.

And this is the point in American history where necessity became the mother of invention. Public Administration schools, well-established but not quantitatively rigorous, were not producing graduates capable of staffing these new offices. PhDs from quantitative fields had the chops, but rarely did they want to leave academia for a job in the federal bureaucracy. And so the Ford Foundation decided to fund the creation of public policy master’s programs nationwide. GSPP was created with a strong quantitative core, professors committed to policy analysis over their original fields, an emphasis on the tools of analysis instead of on the subject matters being analyzed, and no ability for students to specialize in subfields of policy. It provided students with the famous analytical tool kit, hands-on practice, and an understanding of both those disciplines that predict or evaluate program performance, like econometrics, and those disciplines that govern program implementation, like politics. In short, the Goldman School was ready to pump out graduates who could analyze and solve any problem, in any field.

The other policy schools created at the time had the same mission, but GSPP was unique. Most of the other schools were renovated Public Administration programs, or new programs established within an existing school. “We could do it de novo. We could invent ourselves,” says Dean Henry Brady. “It gave us a chance to define the field better than anyone else.”

So we remain true to our founding vision. But is that enough?

There are two reasons why the answer may be no. The first is articulated by Dean Brady. “The social sciences have changed, government has changed, the world has changed,” he told me not long ago. “It’s been 40 years — it’s a time to seriously rethink what public policy is about.” Policy analysis combines the wisdom and tools of a multitude of fields — law, political science, economics, statistics, sociology, psychology, and countless others. All of those fields have evolved in important ways in the last four decades. Some have gained prominence and made new contributions, others have receded. “I think it’s time for a new synthesis,” says the Dean.

The second reason is articulated by GSPP’s students. “I wouldn’t be happy being a policy analyst in 10 years,” one told me recently. The term, he said, “suggests someone who does not really influence decisions.” It is opinion expressed by about half of the second-year students I surveyed. If GSPP was founded to create highly trained analysts who can serve as resources to decision-makers and policy entrepreneurs, and we seek to be true to that mission, we are going to fail students who want to be decision-makers and policy entrepreneurs themselves.

At GSPP, we have several management courses, including Professor Robert Reich’s class on leadership, but we need more. A student with ambitions of leading a non-profit organization or a government agency has to look for additional offerings in management outside GSPP. And perhaps more importantly, she may have to overcome a certain bookishness and modesty of ambitions that have sometimes characterized the culture of GSPP.

The school’s administration acknowledges these problems and is beginning to address them. “There’s a new goal layered on top of all the holdovers from 40 years ago,” says Dean Brady, “but we also want them to be the person who is pushing the decision-making process themselves.”

In the end, even the best analysts on Robert McNamara’s staff were limited by his unwillingness to heed their advice about the Vietnam War. Which is why my hope and expectation is that in the next 40 years, GSPP will not only continue to train top analysts, but create decision-makers as well, women and men who, equipped with GSPP values and training, will make the best possible choices on behalf of our country and our world.
At the Top of Their Game

THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL of Public Policy sent its first graduates into the world in 1970. At the time, it wasn’t just the School that was in its nascent stage; the discipline of public policy analysis was itself brand new; born from the then-novel idea that policy should be shaped by rigorous analysis. Now, four decades later, Goldman School alumni inhabit key leadership positions throughout local, state and federal government and the non-profit and private sector. For this anniversary issue, we spotlight three alumni from the School’s first decade whose varied and eventful career trajectories have established them at the forefront of shaping national and international public policy.

“it was love at first sight,” says Dorothy Robyn (MPP ’78, PhD ’83), describing her initial impression of the Goldman School. “I had been working in politics, and I realized that this was politics with substance.” Dorothy is the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Installation for the Department of Defense (DoD). She oversees and sets policy for the 500 permanent bases on 5000 sites operated by the branches of the US military, along with the stewardship of 29 million acres of land. Her purview includes everything from base closures to explosives safety to the stewardship of over 4100 threatened and endangered species that inhabit military land. But her top priority is energy.

“The DoD is the country’s largest energy user,” she says. “The DoD’s total annual energy consumption of 150 billion kilowatt-hours is greater than the entire country of Switzerland, and more than all of France.” Three-quarters of that energy is spent in “theaters of war” like Iraq and Afghanistan. But the last quarter — $4 billion a year — is used by our permanent bases. His highest priority is to improve energy performance of our existing installations, by reducing demand through conservation and increased efficiency, and by expanding the supply of renewable and alternative energies.” Dorothy cites the example of Paul O'Neill, former treasury secretary and CEO of the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa). “As the head of Alcoa, [O’Neill] made safety his top priority and transformed the entire company,” she says. “I want to use energy as the basis for rethinking everything about how we build, use and manage our installations.”

That kind of organizational change is challenging, she notes, especially within an organization like the DoD, with its top-down, “command and control” culture. “It takes a great deal of persistence to make change in government,” she says. “It can be lasting change, but it takes tremendous attention to detail.”

Dorothy has found that the GSPP toolkit doesn’t always translate directly in military culture. But when adapted appropriately, it can yield outstanding results.

“This military had chronically underinvested in base housing,” she says. “It had become a quality of life issue for military personnel and their families.” Over much opposition, the building and management of the housing was turned over to private developers. The privatization transformed base housing for the better. “There’s nothing inherently governmental about providing that kind of service,” she says. “Privatizing aligned the incentives.

Her job has many such challenges, Dorothy notes, but is also inspiring. “It’s exciting to have the opportunity to shape how the DoD thinks about energy and sustainability,” she says. “We’re using our institutional tools to advise the US military as it transforms our installations to systems that are renewable and efficient.”

The biggest challenge of this fast-paced and multi-faceted work is finding the time and energy to make informed decisions, Stan notes. “My world today moves much faster than it did during my two years at GSPP”. He says, “I know it doesn’t seem like there’s enough time to do what I need to do.”

As chief economist for Bank of America, Mickey Levy (MPP ’74, PhD ’80, U of Maryland) job requires in-depth knowledge of global economies, macroeconomic policies and how they affect financial market behavior. “Much of my work involves analyzing and forecasting US and global economic performance,” he says. “I conduct economic research and spend a ton of time analyzing the monetary policies of the US Federal Reserve and other central banks, global fiscal policies, and how they affect capital flows and influence financial market behavior.”

Mickey then presents his research and analysis to the Bank of America executives, as well as global policy makers and major money managers around the world. He spends a lot of time clarifying misperceptions about the implications of fiscal policies, of which there are many. He frequently testifies before Congress, on issues ranging from monetary and fiscal policy to financial conditions and global imbalances. He recently developed a model of supply and demand factors affecting US bank lending for the Federal Reserve and Fed Chair Ben Bernanke. His international audiences include organizations like the European Commission in Brussels (where he recently presented a paper on the euro’s financial woes and the corresponding necessary adjustments), the Bank of Japan and other central banks.

“My real job is to present a picture of how different countries are performing and the required adjustments. That’s where I think I have an advantage.” When asked for his advice for younger GSPPers, Mickey provides encouragement. “Pursue something you’re interested in that you think you’ll be good at,” he says. “And remember that the way ideas are presented are critically important. That was a very good lesson learned from the School. “Along the way, you’re going to learn a lot about public policy (even from those with out public policy degrees),” he continues. “Building a sufficient understanding of the larger public policy issues to the point where you can initiate ideas and contribute to the debate is personally rewarding and a lot of fun.”

Don’t make change in government easy. It takes a great deal of persistence to make change in government. — Dorothy Robyn (MPP ’78, PhD ’83)

At the Top of their game

Dorothy Robyn

Stan Collender

Mickey Levy

POLICY NOTES | FALL 2010

GOLDMAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY | UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - BERKELEY
Jesse Rothstein concluded his service as Chief Economist at the U.S. Department of Labor and as senior fellow of the Council of Economic Advisers and took up residence at GSPP in August. His second son, Andrew, was born in January of this year.

Robert Reisch’s latest book, Aftermath: The Near Economy and America’s Future, was published September 21 by Alfred A. Knopf. It shows how inequality of income— with more than 23 percent of total income going to the top 1 percent of American families— contributed to the Great Recession and continues to hurt the US economy, why it has also fueled a particularly angry politics, and what should be done to return the nation to more widely shared prosperity.

Sean Farhang’s book, The Litigation State: Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the U.S., was released in August 2010 by Prince-ton University Press. This fall, he was awarded a grant from the National Science Founda-tion titled, “Litigation versus Administration: Implications for Policy and Democracy.”

Bucker Johnson’s book, Mothers’ Work and Children’s Lives: Low-Income Families and Welfare Reform was released earlier this year by Upjohn Institute Press.

John Quigley spent the spring semester on sabbatical leave at NYU. He is grateful to the Wagner School, the NYU Law School, and NYU’s Furman Center for hospitality and research support.

He gave a keynote paper at the Confer-ence on Urban Dynamics in Marbella, Chile in March and presented a paper on the economic returns to energy-efficient investments in his own work on urbanization and Housing in Asia at the National University of Singapore, also in March. He presented a paper on the green revolution in building at the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland in April. His working paper on the system-wide committee on planning and budgets (UCPB).

In July, Rob MacCoun published an analysis of the marijuana legalization ballot initiative (and the related CA Assembly Bill), which he briefed in Sacramento with GSPP alumus Beau Keillor. The study received over 700 Google News mentions, and was included in a feature story in the New York Times on the Tonight Show. He testified in the Log Cabin Republicans v. US trial in Riverside, CA, which ruled that “Don’t Ask Don’t Tell” is unconstitutional. He is currently part of the RAND team updating their 1993 report on gays and the military for the Department of Defense.

Dan Kamen was appointed the Chief Technology Specialist for Renewable Energy and Efficiency for the World Bank. In addition, he spoke at BusinessClimate 2010 alongside Sir Richard Branson and former Costa Rican president Jose Figueres and at the Cookstove Summit with UN Secretary General Ban-Ie Mo and Nigerian President Goodluck Jonathan.

Eugene Bardach gave the keynote at the annual meeting of the National Association of Welfare Researchers and Statisticians, in Los Angeles. Title: “Eating Quick and Working Together: It’s about How Well, Not Just about How Much.” The Israel Committee on Higher Education has asked him to be on the committee reviewing all the academic gradu- ate-level public policy programs in Israel. At the Association of Public Policy Analy-sis and Management (APPAM) Conference in Boston this November, Professor Bardach will be giving a paper entitled “Who Are We Any-How?” Cost-Benefit Analysis and Contested Symbols of Collective Identity.”

This summer, he taught a three-day work-shop in Mexico for staff from the Mexican National Institute of Ecology, on how to be better integrated into the policy process.

Henry Brady traveled to Kazakhstan in May to give talks in the former capital Alma-Ata (where he also presented on national tele-vision) and in the new capital Astana (Kemer-Telegraf). In Astana he negotiated an ongoing arrangement between the Goldman School and the Academy of Public Adminis-tration. From Astana he went on a 40 hour train ride from Asia to Europe that went from the vast steppes of Asia to the Siberian taiga and on to the fertile farming lands of Kazan, Tatarstan, Russia just to the west of the Ural.

As President of the American Political Science Association he made speeches at regional political science meetings; in Atlanta, Phil-adelphia, and San Francisco. He completed his term as head of the national association with a Presidential speech on “The Art of Political Science” at the association’s annual meetings in September in Washington, DC. Over 7,400 political scientists from around the world attended the meetings. The second, revised edition of his co-authored book, Rethinking Social Inquiry, was published in September and a co-authored article on “Weapons of the Strong? Partisanship, Inequality and the Inter-net” appeared in Perspectives on Politics. The news media and blogs picked up on this arti-cle’s finding that the Internet, far from increas-ing political equality, actually reinforces exist-ing patterns of high participation among the rich and well-educated and low participation among those with less money and education.

WE OWE IT TO ALL OF THE STUDENTS, OF COURSE. Th ey were the ones who, from the first, even in fall 1970, insisted that we had to develop a real professional education program — practical, inter-disciplinary, and smart. Th is was not easy for a faculty who had made successful careers in traditional social science research and who, by and large, had little practical experience in either making or advising on policy.

It is not easy to appreciate the vast intellectual and psycho-logical gulf between the professional practice of social science and the professional practice of policy analysis, especially the kind of policy analysis which the faculty envisioned (some-what vaguely). In the social sciences, the objective was (is) the accumulation of true, if general, propositions about how the world really works. “Truth” is to be determined largely by pass-ing through a filter of statistical significance. Ideally, these true propositions are to be conceptually integrated under the rubric of another theory, the whole point being to be guided by the experience and norms of an established discipline, such as economics or political science or sociology. Because phenomena are multi-faceted, for each facet there can be one or more theo-ries. It is usually not easy to integrate these theories. But never mind: they can just sit side by side, like seashores on a train.

Policy analysis is pretty much the opposite. Good policy is not just about passing a statistical test but about passing a benefit-cost test. In any case, truth about the past and present is irrelevant unless it can be converted into insights about the likely future, which can be known only speculatively. Generality can be important when policy is general, but much more often policy is about the specifics of a very particular, and sometimes idiosyncratic, context, which may, or may not, render gener-alizations useless or unforgivably wrong. Social science lacks cre-ativity, but mainly about theory construction and methods of empirical testing — all very simple compared to creating novel policy designs to deal with policy problems that are often nearly intractable. Mutually indifferent seastemates must learn to get up and drive the train, fashioning theories to do so that, if not exactly integrated, are nevertheless complementary and close to comprehensive. You would not want to miss some angle on the problem or the potential remedies that would cause policy to crash and burn. Unlike traditional social science, if you get it wrong in policy, real damage can ensue.

My own personal connection with all this came initially in the Introduction to Policy Analysis (IPA). Originally (1972) it was a vehicle to bring students in touch with two really great policy minds. Aaron Wildavsky, the founding dean, with his political insight and rough-edged Brooklyn charm. Bill Niskanen served up rigorous, penetrating lessons in benefit-cost analysis and Chicago-economics skepticism about the role of government. By 1976, staff changes had me and Frank Levy, of the Berkeley Economics Department, teaching the course. Frank invented what subsequently became the bedrock of the class, the group-based field project for a real client about a real problem. Th e first year’s worth of projects were all contributed by agencies of the City of Oakland. Alas, we had no real method or approach... Cont’d on page 28.
THE COLLEGE JUNIORS WHO ARRIVE AT GSPP each summer as part of the Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA) Junior Summer Institute are always an outstanding and high caliber group of students, and 2010 was no exception. Selected from among hundreds of applicants for their demonstrated public service and commitment to underserved communities, the 30 college juniors spent seven weeks intensively studying economic, quantitative methods, law, and policy analysis and communication. The program is designed to prepare college juniors for graduate school in public policy, international affairs and law, and to encourage them toward careers in public service. In 2011, the PPIA Junior Summer Institute will celebrate its 30th anniversary. “GPP is the only school that has had the program throughout its 30 year history,” says Martha Chavez, Assistant Dean of Academic Affairs at the Goldman School. “We’re very proud to host the longest standing program of its kind in the nation.”

“The PPIA fellows were a wonderfully diverse mix of political, cultural, and socio-economic backgrounds,” says Isaac Lara, a political science and Latin American literature major from Columbia University. “Encountering like-minded students from different walks of life who were equally concerned with social responsibility was particularly refreshing.”

“This year’s curriculum was more rigorous than ever,” says Martha, “and the caliber of teaching was unparalleled.” PPIA policy modules included a class on Race, Crime and the Law with Professor Steven Raphael, on International Economic Development and Poverty with Professor Alain de Janvry, and on Leadership and Strategy with Professor Robert Reich. In addition, students had the opportunity to hear from GSPP alumni like Daniel Latre (MPP ’05), CEO and Founder of Tipping Point Community, who shared with PPIA students how his non-profit organization is working to eradicate poverty in the Bay Area, and Margaret Salazar (MPP ’06), Presidential Management Fellow at the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, who is tackling housing and economic development issues at the federal, state and local levels of government.

As these promising students graduate and become leaders, they will be connected to a dynamic national and international community with a shared commitment to public service. The friendships formed during a PPIA summer often last a lifetime, and many of the 2010 Fellows noted the advantage PPIA offers to their future academic and career aspirations.

For many of the Fellows, like Isaac Lara, PPIA has solidified their interest in pursuing graduate studies and a career in public service. "Because of PPIA, I am now sure that I will be applying for a joint MPP/ID," says Isaac. "I am also now interested in running for political office. Politics seems more appealing knowing that there are other competent PPIA fellows in the policymaking arena who would be working with me.”

Besides the academic, professional and personal benefits, PPIA Fellows are guaranteed fellowships to pursue Master’s or PhD degrees in International Affairs at any top public policy schools in the country. The PPIA Program continues to be an important vehicle to increasing the pipeline towards public service. PPIA alumni will go on to become the future leaders of our nation and world, and we look forward to their future contributions in the coming years.”

The PPIA celebration is being planned for July 2011 in Washington, DC. For more information about the PPIA Program, visit: http://gspp.berkeley.edu/pfia.

My study, a first of its kind, explores the beliefs of these "mom & pop" property owners regarding earthquake safety and documents their behavior in response to the policy. Many are first or second generation immigrants and families who are relying on these precarious properties for their current income or retirement. Using interview and survey data I’ve collected from over 50 individuals, I am developing a rich, qualitative picture about how these stakeholders think about earthquakes and how they frame their decisions about whether, how much, and when to invest in seismic safety. I am also interviewing city officials and some of the property managers and engineers that these owners relied upon for advice on whether and how to do a retrofit.

The project is exciting because it contributes to policy and theory related to socially-important but "private" precautionary behaviors. Other Bay Area cities are actively struggling with how to help property owners identify and strengthen seismically-vulnerable buildings. At the same time, this research will shed light on the relative influences of personality, social perceptions, economic, and risk perceptions on whether owners do or do not retrofit. My hypothesis is that individual differences and social perceptions will play as much or more of a role than economic and risk considerations. Overall, my findings will be relevant to the design of policy interventions for a wide range of issues such as promoting vaccinations, genetic testing for disease susceptibility, wise use of credit and insurance, civic voluntarism, charity giving, or adoption of water and energy conservation measures. Learning how to change minds and behavior towards qualitative and applied policy research can be a slow and risky process. Let’s hope it’s a faster one than the geologic processes that are already in motion to create the next big Bay Area earthquake.

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Sharyl Rabinovici

By Sharyl Rabinovici

Most people will agree that earthquakes are a serious problem but offer a host of reasons why they haven’t done anything about it personally:

“My building survived Loma Prieta without a crack.”

“If it happens, it’ll happen. There’s nothing I can do about it.”

“I’ve thought about doing something but just never found the time.”

These kinds of comments can seem like a discouraging dead-end for a student of public policy. After all, the policy-maker’s toolkit for combating psychological forces like over-confidence, fatalism, and procrastination is meager and poorly-developed at best. We could use a subsidy to lower the costs of mitigation, but neither economists or social scientists can agree on how big it should be or to whom it should go to and how. Furthermore, at the heart of the earthquake paradox is a lack of political will to devote public money to the issue before a big event.

In 2005, the City of Berkeley adopted a new policy approach aimed at a particularly hazardous building type known as “soft-story” wood frame construction. The law requires over 300 owners of soft-story 1st and 2nd story apartment buildings to warn tenants, post a warning sign, and have a professional engineer evaluate their building. Five years later, a remarkable 20% of the owners have voluntarily made structural upgrades even though the law did not require them to take that extra, often costly step. Equally interesting, 50% submitted the required study but did nothing further, even though their own engineer confirmed the City’s assessment that their building has a structural flaw. About 10% of the owners were mistakenly put on the initial list — half voluntarily made structural upgrades even in some manner and half were able to prove the building was not “soft-story.” The remaining 20% are shirking (and remain unpunished for doing so, despite provisions for hefty fines that the City has chosen not to levy so far).

The project is exciting because it contributes to policy and theory related to socially-important but “private” precautionary behaviors. Other Bay Area cities are actively struggling with how to help property owners identify and strengthen seismically-vulnerable buildings. At the same time, this research will shed light on the relative influences of personality, social perceptions, economic, and risk perceptions on whether owners do or do not retrofit.
I have a strong interest in working on women’s rights issues in the international context, preferably focusing on South Asia or the Middle East. So my summer internship with the Asia Foundation in Washington, DC was a strong fit. Th-block to project implementation sites from Washington, DC. My summer internship strengthened my commitment to working in and exploring the many faces of social justice movements, and women’s rights activism around the world, especially in the Muslim world. In current times, when the media does little to highlight the work of Muslim women activists, I would like to draw inspiration from women activists like Shirin Ebadi (Nobel Peace Prize winner from Iran in 2003), Zainab Salbi (founder of Women for Women International), and Zainab Anwar (founder of Sisters in Islam in Malaysia). My internship experience had a strong impact on my choices for classes this semester, motivating me to study international human rights and program evaluation. I hope to build a skill set that will allow me to continue working in the arena of women’s rights issues and social justice around the world. *disha_zaidi@berkeley.edu*

By Disha Zaidi MPP Candidate ’11

I have a strong interest in working on women’s rights issues in the international context, preferably focusing on South Asia or the Middle East. So my summer internship with the Asia Foundation in Washington, DC was a strong fit. 

**Times have certainly changed at GSPP since 1970. However, the superior quality of students, amazing collegiality, and unquestionable commitment to public service continue to be as strong as ever. While GSPP’s first classes had fewer than 40 students, today the MPP entering class is now closer to 80 students per year. With this remarkable growth, the Student Services team has created more efficient, effective and targeted advising, career and networking opportunities. How do we ensure the most optimal student services? Like any good policy school, we design survey instruments to collect data on our students’ academic, professional and career interests. Based on the survey data, we develop strategic and customized networking programs, career workshops and professional development seminars to ensure the greatest possible career benefits for our students.**

We also reach out and make connections with the most sought-after employers to meet our students’ needs. 

**By John Mikulin MPP Candidate ’11**

**After nearly seven years working with CaliCorp’s most influential environmental policy stakeholders and decision makers as Project Manager of California Environmental Dialogue (CED), I was able to identify the United States Environmental Protection Agency (USEPA) Region 9 office in San Francisco as a highly desirable place to pursue my future career and public policy goals. I hope to focus my post-graduate work on clean energy and climate change program implementation in the western U.S. With this goal in mind, it seemed logical to pursue USEPA, Region 9’s Clean Energy & Climate Change Office for my summer internship.**

**During the course of my volunteer internship, and in my current position as a Student Career Experience Program (SCEP) Trainee in Region 9’s Clean Energy & Climate Change Office, I have had the opportunity to work on a number of different projects and programs for USEPA. At the present time, my primary areas of emphasis are clean diesel incentives, electric vehicle (EV) deployment strategies, and biogas permitting solutions. Some of my specific projects include: West Coast Collaborative (WCC), stakeholder outreach, Congressional outreach on Diesel Emissions Reduction Act (DERA) implementation, EV deployment strategy development for the Pacific Southwestern U.S., bioenergy technology assessment and air quality planning, and emerging vehicle emissions reduction technology assessment.**

**My transition from the non-profit sector to the public agency sector brought a number of challenges. Most apparent was the vast size of the USEPA bureaucracy versus the small, close-knit professional environment that I had enjoyed in my position as CED Project Manager. Coming from a non-profit organization with six full-time employees to a federal agency with over eighteen thousand employees required me to make significant adjustments to my expectations of organizational efficiency and flexibility. Whereas my non-profit experience provided an excellent example of a quick and flexible model for organizational decision-making, my experience at USEPA proved that the agency was at the opposite end of that spectrum. While I did expect to encounter this circumstance, I now have a better appreciation living in the San Francisco Bay Area, would be hard-pressed to find a more desirable location than USEPA, Region 9. While full-time employment opportunities at this office are extremely scarce, I cannot think of a better place for GSPP students to access the highest possible level of U.S. domestic environmental policy decision-making while residing in one of the world’s most beautiful and diverse metropolitan areas.**

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**FALL 2010**

**GOLDMAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA - BERKELEY**

**POLICY NOTES**
The Politics of Housing Policy
Sheila Crowley, President and CEO of the National Low Income Housing Coalition spoke to a capacity crowd at “The Politics of Housing Policy 2010” sponsored by the Berkeley Program on Housing and Urban Policy.
“Sheila Crowley has been a good friend to housing studies at Berkeley, and a tireless champion in Washington for the causes of affordability and assisted housing for over a generation,” says Larry Rosenthal, GSPP Adjunct Faculty and Executive Director of the Berkeley Program on Housing and Urban Policy.
“The very enthusiastic turnout shows that housing policy remains among the liveliest topics as we continue to navigate this economy out of recession.”

Presumed Guilty
From left: Howard and Candy Friesen greet James Baird (MPP candidate ’11) and doctoral students Roberto Hernandez and Layda Negrete at the screening of Presumed Guilty, a documentary by Roberto and Layda on the Mexican judicial system.

Percy Tannenbaum Memorial
Th e Goldman School commemorated the distinguished career of Professor Percy Tannenbaum (1927–2009) with the installation of a memorial plaque in his honor. Professor Tannenbaum taught at GSPP from 1970 until his retirement in 1992. From 1979–84, he also directed the Survey Research Center. Professor Tannenbaum was a distinguished scholar and an expert in the social psychological aspects of communications.

Homecoming 2010
Dean Henry Brady, Professor Bruce Cain and Sunne Wright McPeak, President and CEO of the California Emerging Technology Fund addressed “Big Ideas to Fix the Golden State,” as part of UC Berkeley’s 2010 Homecoming weekend. The panel discussion was moderated by Richard “Dick” Beahrs (’68). The event was co-sponsored by GSPP and the Cal Class of ’68.

Michael Nacht Lecture
Peter Hart, veteran pollster and GSPP Board of Advisors member, addressed “The Mood of America and the 2010 Elections,” at the inaugural Michael Nacht Distinguished Lecture on Politics and Public Policy.

Enthusiastic audience response greeted the final credits of Presumed Guilty.
New Board Members
On behalf of the GSPP Alumni Association Board of Directors, we want to thank all alumni who voted in this year’s Board of Directors Elections. Th e ballot included eight alumni run ning for five open slots. We are pleased to welcome the five new Board members elected to 3-year terms:

- Christine Frey MPP 2010
- Mark Hoffman MPP 1975
- Bala Iyer MPP 2000
- Nathan Kuder MPP 2008
- Adam Van de Water MPP 2001

To view the current and new Board members’ biographies, please visit http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/gsppa_board.html.

New Alumni Directory
GSPP has implemented a new version of the on-line Alumni Directory featuring live directory updates and improved data features that will help us to increase connections among our community! Th e Alumni Board provided input and suggestions, and also pilot tested the new database before going live. Th e Directory has always been a useful tool for connecting members of the GSPP community. We encourage you to use the database to reconnect with classmates, plan regional alumni events, and network with other alumni. Our information is extremely valu able, particularly for current GSPP students who use the data base to identify and network with alumni regarding internships, APAs, and post-graduate employment opportunities.

Please take time now to update your alumni records and contact information at http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni/alumni directory.html.

Th e upgraded directory includes the following new features:
- Individual usernames and passwords for each alum
- Live directory updates
- Forgotten password retrieval and
- Increased security

Please contact Cecille Cabacungan (cecille@berkeley.edu) if you are having problems using the alumni directory.

Development
Th e Alumni Association Board of Directors assisted GSPP with fundraising efforts by helping the School to encourage alumni from classes 2005–2010 to donate through a challenge-match program known as the New Alumni Challenge. Th e Development Committee of the Board, led by committee chair, Deborah Kong (MPP ’07), implemented an extensive year long outreach campaign to alumni from 2005–2010 and enlisted Captains to lead each class in this fundraising effort. In addition, the com mittee developed a Networking & Fundraising Event Toolkit which was distributed to alumni who were interested in hosting a fundraising event on behalf of the School. As a result, successful fundraising events were held in San Francisco, Oakland, and Washington, DC in support of the Challenge.

Th e Board would like to thank Nathan Kuder ’08 (Boston) and Noah Bookman ’05 and Arturo Vargas-Bustamante ’04/PhD ’08 (Los Angeles) for their support in organizing these events.

Alumni Activities
Together with the School, board members worked with alumni in Los Angeles and Boston to organize alumni events in those two cities, to give newly-admitted GSPP students for Fall 2010 an opportunity to network with local GSPP alumni. Th e events were both a resounding success, by providing an opportunity for alumni to network and an avenue for prospective students to ask questions about their graduate school experience at GSPP. Th e Board would like to thank Nathan Kuder ’08 (Boston) and Noah Bookman ’05 and Arturo Vargas-Bustamante ’04/PhD ’08 (Los Angeles) for their support in organizing these events.

Contact Us
If you would like to contact the Board with comments, ques tions, or to discuss the work of the Association, please contact us at gsppa-chair@lists.berkeley.edu.

Sometimes the Introduction to Policy Analysis (IPA) is just a project you do in public policy grad school. And sometimes it changes your life. In the spring of 1986, Pamela Davis (MPP ’87) and two other fellow students were tasked with writing a report on the insurance crisis. “Th e insurance industry had huge structural prob lems,” Pamela says. “Being asked to describe it was like being asked to describe today’s financial crisis. It was enormous and complex. But it got me interested in the insurance business.” Th e IPA eventually led to a thesis on why nonprofit organiza tions couldn’t find affordable insurance in California. “Every one assumed that nonprofits were bad risks,” says Pamela. “My thesis showed that the problem was with the cyclical man ner in which insurance companies conducted their business. I offered the alternative that nonprofits band together and insure themselves.”

After graduation, Pamela continued her pursuit of provid ing quality insurance for nonprofits. “I realized I could use my mix of entrepreneurial, technical and quantitative skills to do something good for the community,” she says. “Of course, whether this ‘insurance pool’ was actually possible was the looming question.”

At the onset, Pamela faced three major obstacles: the need for capital, reinsurance (a larger firm willing to take on a share of the liability) and data. “We couldn’t get capital until we got reinsurance,” she remembers. “Th e reinsurers wanted data to show that nonprofits were good risks. But the data wasn’t readily available. We had to work on all fronts at the same time.” She credits her early success to hard work and, to a certain extent, youthful naiveté. “If I knew then all that I know now, the endeavor might have intimidated me,” she says. “But I was young and didn’t know what couldn’t be done.”

In 1989, Pamela founded the Nonprofits’ Insurance Alliance of California (NIAC), a “charitable risk pool” which aggregates the insurable risks of its member organizations and provides risk management services, with the view of returning profits in the form of dividends back to its members. “Th ink of us as a credit union for insurance,” Pamela says. “We are governed by our members and exist only for them. But in many other ways, we function just like an insurance company, providing the same services and competing with the largest for-profit firms.” In 2001, the Alliance of Nonprofits for Insurance (ANI) was formed to model the operation in other states. ANI and its member organizations now insure more than 10,000 non profits in 25 states and employ more than 65 staff. Pamela is President and CEO of NIAC, ANI and its affiliates.

At the 2004 Alumni Dinner, GSPP presented Pamela with an Award for Policy Innovation. Professor Percy Tannenbaum, her thesis advisor, presented the award. “I was unbelievably touched by that moment,” remembers Pamela. “Professor Tan nenbaum invited me to his lovely home a few months later and we had a wonderful, lively discussion about what it took to get NIAC off the ground.” [Editor’s note: GSPP recently honored the late Professor Tannenbaum with a memorial plaque in GSPP West. See Events, page 14.]

“I’m very proud of what we’ve accomplished at NIAC and ANI,” says Pamela. “We’ve changed the liability insurance market for nonprofits and set a standard that others need to meet. In the process, we’ve helped a lot of amazing organiza tions that reach out and do wonderful work to build our communities and help the most fragile among us.” G

Pdavis@insurancefornonprofits.org.
Claudia Johnson (MPP/MPH ’19) presented a workshop at the ABA Equal Justice Conference. Previously, she was also employed as a legal aid attorney and helped herself. In May, she was named to the National Center for Natural Language Rights and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

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Jared Sabatino (MPP ’11) is a policy analyst for the American Enterprise Institute. He is also the author of two recent pieces for The American Spectator. Sabatino previously worked at the American Enterprise Institute and the Heritage Foundation.

Jennifer Miller Gaubert (MPP ’05) works for the State of California’s Administrative Office of the Courts. She is a member of the California Leadership Network’s 2018-2019 Leadership Academy.

Joe DuCote (MPP ’16) delivered a talk at the Institute of Urban and Regional Development. The seminar was titled “The Political Economy of Climate Change.” DuCote is a policy analyst at the National League of Cities.

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Nicole Polimiro-Coburn (MPP ’03) is a policy analyst for the Massachusetts Health Law Partnership. She previously worked at the Massachusetts Health Law Partnership and the Commonwealth Health Insurance Programs.

Marian Mulkey (MPP/MPH ’89) was named the 2019-2020 President of the American Public Health Association. Mulkey previously worked at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Joe Radding (MPP ’02) is the Director of Research and Policy Analysis at the Public Interest Research Group of California. He previously worked at the Center for American Progress.

Nina Erlich-Williams (MPP ’04) and her husband, Brian, have welcomed their son, Jacob. Their daughter, Lily, is now two years old.

Haifeng Huang (MPP ’02, PhD ’09, Duke) recently completed a one-year Postdoc position at Princeton University and is now an assistant professor in political science at UC Merced. His main research interests are political economy, applied game theory, and Chinese politics.

Ray Domanick (MPP ‘79) has started a new position as Director of Research at N.Y.C.’s Independent Budget Office. IBO was empowered by the state legislature to produce independent assessments of the city school system and the impact of its reform efforts.

Kevin Gurney (MPP/MS ’10, PhD ’04, Colorado) is now a tenured associate professor at the University of Colorado Boulder. He also has a new book, “The Politics of Gun Control.”

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Capitalizing on a 3:1 match offered by the UC Berkeley Foundation Board of Trustees, the Goldman School graduating classes of 2005–2010 raised over $53,000, resulting in over $210,000 for the School.

"Nobody understands leverage and incentive programs better than GSPP grads," says Catherine Hazelton (MPP ’05), who helped spearhead the effort for her class. "Matching grants create a very compelling reason to give."

"Giving back to the Goldman School helps ensure that future students are provided the same excellent education I received at GSPP," adds Jim Maloney (MPP ’05) "Giving is also a way to stay connected with, and continue to be a part of, the school, the students and other alumni."

"As our young alumni group (slowly...) grows older and spreads out across the country and the world, it becomes ever more important — and difficult — to stay connected with one another and the School," he says. "Giving to GSPP, no matter the amount, is one of the most effective ways to ensure that relationship continues to grow."

Giving also continues to connect alumni with GSPP’s mission and its impact on the world, notes Nick Nigro (MPP ’09). "My experience at GSPP prepared me to make an immediate impact on the world of climate change policy," he says. "I can’t think of a better way to say thank you than giving back to our school."

For their part in the tremendous success of the New Alumni Challenge, special thanks to Catherine Hazelton ('05), Jim Maloney (’05), Jan Rus (’05), Greg Kato (’06), Tommy Williams (’06), Deb Kong (’07), Rob Letzler (PhD ’07), Nicholas Nigro (’09), Meredith Willa (’09), Renee Willette (’09), Sarah Anders (’10), Lauren Hengl (’10) and Joseph Milbury (’10).

Clockwise from top left: Class of 2010 meet to discuss the New Alumni Challenge; Nick Nigro (’09) and Tommy Williams (’06); John Minot (’11), Wanyi Zhao (’10), Sarah Swanbeck (’11) and Yan Zhu (’10).
GSPP Donors July 1, 2009 to June 30, 2010

THE FORTY YEARS OF STEADY ACCOMPLISHMENTS
and contributions on the part of the Goldman School community is that much more remarkable in light of the seismic shifts in the School’s sources of support. The recent severe contraction of state funds is unprecedented in the School’s history. Seed money and core support from foundations that once funded signature programs like the Public Policy International Affairs (PPIA) Junior Summer Institute have gone by the wayside. The funding challenges that confront us today require creativity, persistence and a commitment to the idea that investing in policy leaders today will yield societal dividends for years to come.

The New Alumni Challenge is the latest manifestation of the generosity of the community of faculty, students, alumni and staff that empowers the School to grow and innovate in the face of continuing cuts in state funding. The New Alumni Challenge — a strategic and energized effort to leverage a funding opportunity for the School — took us to a new level of engagement and participation, the bedrock of any truly successful and sustained fundraising.

Annette Doornbos
doornbos@berkeley.edu

Annette Doornbos is the Assistant Dean of External Relations and Development.
Executive and International Programs

By Blas Pérez Henríquez and Gan, Bai

During the summer and fall of 2010, GSPP’s Executive and International Programs (EIP) hosted three groups of policy practitioners who participated in customized executive training programs on different topics. These program participants came from both sides of the Pacific, including local Californian government officials from various cities and counties, public security and law enforcement officials from eighteen provinces of China as well as a group of young policy professionals from various branches of the Hong Kong government.

August 1-6: Berkeley Executive Seminar 2010

Topic: Strategic Management of Public Organization

The seventh annual ‘Berkeley Executive Seminar’ took place during the first week of August. GSPP welcomed 21 municipal leaders to the program, focusing their study on different topics related to ‘Strategic Management of Public Organizations.’

The participants were city managers, county administrators, police captains, HR directors, neighborhood partnership managers and other key leaders in their city and county governments. Most had been in their roles for at least a decade. They came to Berkeley to enjoy an opportunity to learn and reflect on how to apply public management and policy analysis strategies to their daily jobs.

The week-long program was divided into several modules, combining theory, case analysis and views of practitioners. The topics covered included policy analysis, public finance, leadership development, negotiation and conflict resolution, sustainable development, ethics, sustainable communities as well as federal and local politics. We extend our thanks to many GSPP faculty members, including Dean Henry Brady, who taught at the program, as well as instructors from other parts of the campus and practitioners in various fields who came to share their insights with our participants.

August 23 – October 15: Administrative Officers (AOs) of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region Government of China

Topic: Policy Analysis and Public Management

As an ongoing collaboration between the Goldman School and the Hong Kong Civil Service Bureau, EIP hosted fourteen outstanding mid-career government officials in a 8-week Policy Analysis and Public Management executive training program. These administrative officers (AOs) represented various branches of the Hong Kong government, including Labor and Welfare, Transportation and Housing, Treasury, Development, Fire Services and Security.

The seventh annual ‘Berkeley Executive Seminar,’ took place during mid-September, EIP conducted a workshop for a group of 23 officials from China’s Ministry of Public Security and provincial law enforcement agencies of eighteen different provinces on comparative public security policy and related topics. Most participants were heads of the legal affairs department of their agencies. They came to the training to learn about the policy-making and management of American law enforcement organizations, specifically the history, constitutional requirements, police regulation, policies that regulate police conduct and important legislation that has shaped the American law enforcement profession.

During the four-day workshop, classes were given by GSPP faculty, law school professors and practitioners such as the Berkeley Chief of Police, an official from Federal Bureau of Investigation and a former San Francisco District Attorney. This intensive workshop was well received by the participants. Every class concluded with extended (sometimes vehement) discussions between our visitors and the local instructors. Program participants shared that what they learned in Berkeley would be of great help to their work since Chinese law enforcement professionals are faced with many similar issues and challenges as their American counterparts.

This program was sponsored by China’s Foreign Expert Bureau and we at EIP hope to continue working with this agency in promoting government excellence through executive education.

Center for Environmental Public Policy (CEPP)

Center for Environmental Public Policy (CEPP) continues to host distinguished practitioners in the field of environmental policy and management for the benefit of the UC Berkeley community.

For more information, please contact Blas Pérez Henríquez, Assistant Dean for Executive and International Programs, at (510) 643-5170 or via email at bph@berkeley.edu.

Environmental Public Policy Seminar Series Spring 2010

The View Post-Copenhagen: What China Is Doing on Climate Change, Deborah Seligsohn, Principal Advisor, China Climate and Energy Program, World Resources Institute, on March 2, 2010

The Energy Leader? California’s Regulatory Quagmire, Paula Zagrecki, Director of Finance, Diamond Generating Corporation, on April 27, 2010

Multi-Sector Model of Tradable Emissions Permits, Makoto Tanaka, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS) in Japan, on May 4, 2010
GET INVOLVED WITH GSPP

HIRE Students
Post jobs, internships, or policy projects on goldJOBS, GSPP's on-line job posting system. http://gsspgoldjobs.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/

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

CONNECT to GSPP!
Find us on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn.

to teach students as to how to do these. But we believed we should develop such. Over the years we accumulated heuristics for the students about how to do policy analysis, and conjectures for ourselves as to how to help the students learn these. One idea was the 48-hour project, which has itself morphed over time from an exercise in how to assemble information to an exercise, in the internet age, of how to sift an overabundance of information and focus analytic attention on what really counts. And, of course, as the heuristics accumulated, year upon year, it was only natural that someone should write them down. These were first circulated as a 30–40 page handout to students, then put on the internet for unrestricted dissemination, and finally published as *The Eightfold Path*. The book was first published in 1996 and has undergone three significant revisions since, as students and faculty have deepened our understanding of the many facets of public-sector problem-solving.