

# policy notes



## always at the forefront

GSPP at 50

Ship of Theseus: Reflections from Eugene Bardach  
The Leading Edge of Research | A New Director for CSHE

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# Dean's Message



Dean Henry E. Brady

**PUBLIC POLICY SCHOOLS ARE IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS.** Government desperately needs highly skilled people who know how to make better public policies to solve the many challenges that we face. But what should public policy schools be teaching? Are we teaching students enough about how government shapes and is shaped by people's character and moral sense? How do we create a curriculum that teaches our students that the ultimate end of public policy should be to create a society that nurtures the best in human beings? How do we create a curriculum that speaks to all groups within our society and that deals directly with reducing inequality, discrimination, and political corruption?

For many years, I have been worried that public policy schools would just become "schools about market failure and economic efficiency." Public policy schools, I have feared, would focus solely on identifying areas where markets fail because they do not provide enough public goods such as national defense and public roads, because they do not fully inform consumers about the safety of medicines and food, because they do not eliminate harmful externalities such as pollution, and because they do not regulate monopoly. After careful analyses of these market failures, public policy students would provide ways to fix these problems and to make the society more efficient, but they would go no further. These would be useful accomplishments, but little thought would be given to how to ensure that we create the "good society." Fixing these problems is not enough. Schools of public policy should consider the larger architectonic questions of how government can ensure everyone's rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

We should teach that public policy analysis is not simply problem solving or merely finding the right incentives to solve the problem of the moment. Rather, public policy is also about creating political systems that nurture and sustain people's senses of duty and fairness, of self-mastery and sympathy, because that is the kind of society we want to have. Public policy is ultimately about the content of people's characters, and we want to respect and nurture that content. To do that we need to discuss these issues:

- How should we understand people's motivations? Are people just rational utility maximizers, or do they also care about empathy, reciprocity, fairness, duty, and self-mastery?
- How should we understand people's concerns? Do they just care about material well-being, or are they also concerned about identity, status, autonomy, freedom, and power? How do these concerns lead to stratification systems that distinguish among people by class, by race, ethnicity, and gender, and by positions of authority? How have these stratification systems deformed societies by fostering inequality, racism, sexism, and the corruption of power, especially in those cases where the intersection of deprivations cumulates to create groups that are highly disadvantaged?
- Since some stratification may be inevitable, can we devise better stratification systems that accomplish important societal tasks but which are less vulnerable to control by some groups over other groups? Can we reduce inequality and discrimination through better public policies?
- In a democracy, what is the right balance between "professionals" and "expertise" on the one hand and the "citizenry" on the other? How do we make sure that the needs and concerns of citizens are recognized? How do we apply expertise equitably and fairly? How do we broaden the perspectives brought into the formulation of public policy to make sure that everyone in society is included?

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## Editor's Note

**THE MOON LANDING. NIXON. VIETNAM. STONEWALL. WOODSTOCK.** Chappaquiddick. Manson. Abbey Road.

The 50th-anniversary issue of *Policy Notes* has been a good occasion to think about the names and places that marked the late sixties. What a decade. The Graduate School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley was established during an incredibly turbulent era! Good thing all that turbulence is now behind us.

I'm joking, of course. Now more than ever, we need policy leaders who know how to evaluate, analyze, and deploy the tools of political science, economics, social psychology, law, data science (and more) for the public good.

One of the delights of this issue has been to connect with alumni from throughout all the decades of the Goldman School. Please peruse and enjoy the extra photos, notes, and reflections. You'll get a sense, as I did, of the adaptability of a GSPP education and also of the values that have endured and characterized all five decades of the Goldman School: rigorous, evidence-based analysis, community, and a dedication to the public good.

I don't know what names future generations will remember as they look back on 2019 (though I have a few guesses). I do know that the GSPP community will be there, in big ways and small, working to improve government, tackling vexing problems, and standing up for the underserved.

Here's to the next fifty years. **G**

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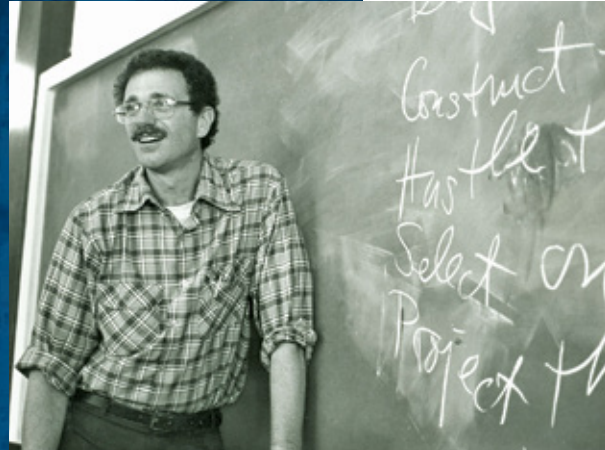


Bora Reed  
Editor



# Ship of Theseus

By Eugene Bardach



Eugene Bardach taught at the Goldman School from 1973 until 2017. He is the author of *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving*.

**ONE OF MY COLLEAGUES INVOLVED IN THE EARLY YEARS** of the Goldman School, Arnold Meltsner, joined the board of a local synagogue. “That’s a crazy thing to do,” I said to him. “No, I like to build institutions,” he came back. My reaction, “That’s a crazy reason to do a crazy thing.” But he was right. Against my better judgment, and largely even without realizing it, GSPP was an institution that needed building, and I pitched in. “Build GSPP; create ‘public policy;’ save the world.” The “world” part still needs work, but the other two aspirations have come up roses.

When I was regularly attending the receptions we would hold in early April to persuade our new admits to come here rather than go elsewhere, I would go up to the visitors and grab them by the figurative lapels: “You tell me where else you’re considering, and I’ll tell you why we’re better.” (Subtleties were pointless.) Most often, they’d say, “You don’t have to bother. I’ve spent the day here, and I’m totally sold.” Worried about possible disappointments, I’d grab them again during the fall and ask, “So, has it worked for you?” “Well, mostly...,” they’d say; and sometimes, “Absolutely!” “What do you like best?” “Community — and I’m really learning a lot.” “And what do you like least?” “The workload is really heavy, and the other students, while really nice, are awesomely smart and accomplished.” Not bad, thought I, we’re on the right track.

Alumni have often asked me in what way the School has changed. It’s a hard question because you have to first figure out what “the School” means. Philosophers like to ponder the conundrum of “the ship of Theseus.” To honor the memory of their city’s founder, Athenians undertook to keep his ship permanently in their harbor. With time, the timbers rotted and needed replacement. When none of the original wood remained, was this still the ship of Theseus? Of course, the “Graduate School of Public Policy” has become the “Goldman School of Public Policy.” (The initials are the same.) It is relevant that the teaching and research goals remain the same, that the build-

ing still stands where it has always stood (with a second building added and much more to come), and that the mix of skills being developed is about the same (but not completely, about which more below). But, not evident to the naked eye, many of the timbers have been replaced — and mostly to the good.

I will try to summarize how some of the timbers have changed — or not changed — over the years. Let me emphasize “try” because maybe I’ve got it wrong. I retired from full-time teaching in 2006 and from part-time teaching (mainly APA) two years ago. I am happy to share my impressions here — but caveat emptor.

## **Everybody is still working really hard.**

Wherever students gather, there is a buzz of diligent application. Faculty do the same, though in the privacy of their offices. This

privacy is often shared when students show up for consultations and tutelage. Teachers care a lot about student learning and work hard to improve these outcomes. Staff are well known throughout the university as being extremely competent, responsible, and diligent. When I was teaching APA, my favorite, and not so uncommon, advice was “calm down, you’ve done what you can do to make improvements, go to the beach.” All this hard work on everybody’s part shows very good results.

One notable change from, say, the first two decades of GSPP: first-year students have jobs. They are full-time students, but also work to make ends meet.

It used to be that the first-year students, in mid-October, would rebel against the workload. And for good reason: the faculty did not coordinate their assignments, and each instructor, knowing the supreme importance of what he or she was teaching, piled it on. In the grip of first-year core curriculum requirements, students could not use course-selection as a means to restore balance. Eventually, the faculty developed simple and effective coordinating mechanisms, and these complaints have mostly gone away.

## **It’s still a community.**

Since the first GSPP class of around 25 students, we have increased the size of the entering class by about 5–10 just about every 5–10 years. We are now at 92, and we might expect to grow larger, perhaps much larger, over the coming years — unless, of course, neither faculty nor student scale-up keeps pace. At least so far, though, whenever I have asked students, worriedly, how they feel about “the community,” they consistently say it’s “just the right size.” Small enough to feel friendly and family-like, and large enough to provide variety and anonymity if that’s what you want.

## **It’s still a continuously improving organization.**

One of the often unrecognized benefits of community is the extra dose of trust that facilitates efforts at collective self-improvement. For a newborn institution like GSPP in 1970, when I joined up, such efforts were essential. This was a new school in a new field hoping to make its mark in a profession — policy-making and politics — riven by conflict over issues of war, race, and poverty. Most of the faculty had made their achievements in the traditional social sciences, e.g., economics, political science, sociology, psychology. Few had governmental experience. None had taught in a professional school. None of us had ever confronted as big an intellectual challenge as the one at our doorstep: figure out how to make knowledge about what is and has been relevant to what will be and might be. And do it while integrating all the fields of knowledge that we knew something about. And, further, go beyond the true (let’s say, for the sake of discussion) abstractions of social science to the gritty particulars of real, local, policy situations. To do this, we really needed to get constant feedback from the students. And that could happen best if there were regular channels of communications and enough good will, from all quarters, to use them.

It all happened, but it took time. Years. With some backsliding and hard feelings. I felt special responsibilities, being a relatively young instructor and being involved in IPA, which became a first-year field projects course. These projects — and, later, their close kin, the APA projects — would be the testing ground for everything we were trying to do. Also, and more importantly, reflecting on how the projects were done and on how faculty guidance did or did not contribute to them helped produce a primer (...*The Eightfold Path*...) that could be used by GSPP students and also much more widely.

But there are new challenges. When the school was young, in the early 70s, the spectrum of student ideologies was broader than it is today. There were self-identified conservatives, but they were outnumbered by the self-identified “radicals.” Now, the range is pretty much a-little-left-of-center to “progressive” or “more-than-a-little-left-of-center.” Self-identification as a “radical” seems to me rare, and “conservative” is unthinkable. Although I feel personally comfortable with the new situation, I don’t think this change has been good for the School. There’s not enough skepticism, not from right or left or center. It’s hard to be both “woke” and properly skeptical at the same time. If even a few people set an unreasonable or debatable standard for “wokeness,” failure carries the personal risk of being named and shamed. This can’t be good for the intellectual side of policy analysis, which thrives on skepticism, nor for the sense of community, which makes skepticism productive.

## **What ever happened to implementation?**

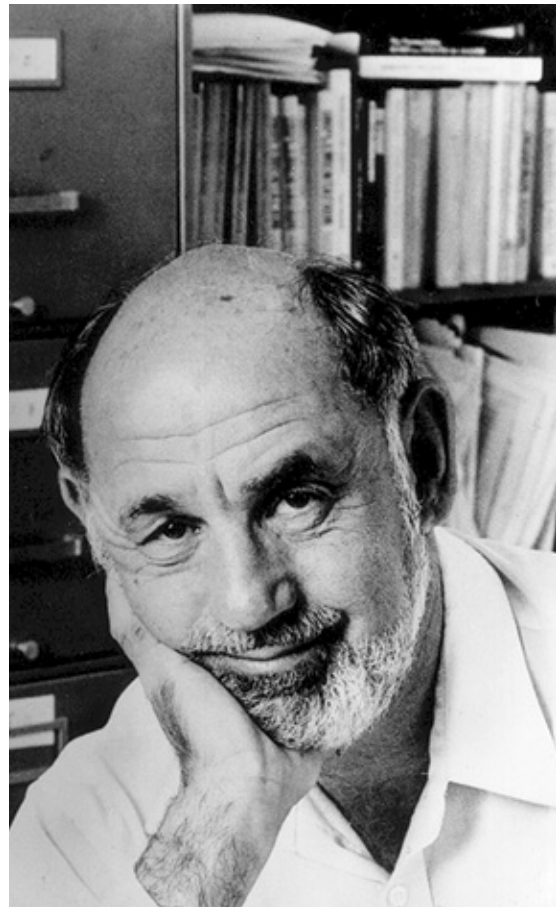
Pick a policy problem, and most of your policy-analytic thinking concerning it will have three parts. The first of the three parts is the politics of agenda setting. Although the reality is very important, the theories here are weak and it’s not clear how much policy analysis has to contribute (aside from “When that window of opportunity is open, grab your policy and go for it”). The biggest part, the one most compatible with policy school training, is in the middle. It is the long arc in which we carry out cost-effectiveness or cost-benefit analysis. It feels familiar and there are many tools around to help do it. The third part I call “the last mile.” It’s the part that deals with implementation —



Professors Eugene Bardach and Hilary Hoynes at the American Academy of Arts & Science

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Portrait of Aaron Wildavsky

GSPP friends  
gather for a backyard  
“mint julep” party.



1979 Graduation Day



Professors David Kirp, Arnold Meltzner, Henry Brady



◀ Adele Hayutin ('75),  
Ben Zycher ('74)  
and Jim Marver  
(MPP '74, PhD '78)

Students gather around  
the round table in the  
GSPP living room. ▶



# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 1970s

## Sandra Archibald *MPP '71*

Recently retired as Dean of the Daniel J Evans School of Public Affairs at the University of Washington



**AS A MEMBER OF THE 1970 CLASS, IT WAS BREATHTAKING** to realize that 50 years have passed since we enrolled in the program. The 50th anniversary of the School is indeed a time to reflect on the innumerable impacts that experience has had on our lives and our careers. For myself, the anniversary coincides with my retirement from a 35-year career as a faculty member and marks the end to my 16-year tenure as Dean of the Evans School of Public Policy and Governance at the University of Washington. It is evident from my career path that my experience at the Goldman School had a profound impact on my career trajectory. My passion for improving public policy that drove me to enroll in the master's program at UC was ignited by my time at the Goldman School and led me to pursue an academic career in public policy. I have had a truly fulfilling career as a teacher to thousands of eager public policy graduate students and mentor to an amazing group of faculty over the course of my career.

We were fortunate to have had as teachers legends in the field — Arnold Meltzner, Bart McGuire, Percy Tannenbaum, Bob Biller and Gene Bardach among them. We had the opportunity to interact with them and watch them interact with each other in the classroom, providing us with an unparalleled view of the importance of multidisciplinary perspectives in public policy. I have carried the values I learned about teamwork, collaboration and close interaction of faculty and students into my own approach to leadership. I have carried what I learned about economics and evidence, about institutional and bureaucratic processes, and strategies involved in policy and program development and implementation to my management tool kit. And importantly, I continue to hold the public policy program at Berkeley as the “GOLD” standard for the field.

Happy 50th!



# The Leading Edge

We asked Goldman School faculty to describe what excited, perplexed, and engaged them in their respective fields.



**Robert J. Birgeneau**

Higher education is the single most effective mechanism for addressing income inequality which, in my view, is the most important issue facing our country. However, this means that we must put in place financial aid programs, college by college, and, state by state, which guarantee access with modest debt on graduation for the most disadvantaged members of our society. Figuring out how to achieve this is a singularly important challenge for public policy.



**Elizabeth Linos**

I'm really excited to see how we can improve the interactions between residents and front line workers: making sure front line workers are not too burned out to provide good and equitable service, and making sure residents are not bogged down by heaps of administrative burdens and red tape.



**Henry E. Brady**

The biggest thing that political scientists have to get a grip on in these times is the reason why we have such extreme polarization in American politics which has stymied the policy-making process because it is very difficult to find a viable compromise "middle" position. The basic question that arises is: Can we construct good public policies when we have so much polarization? How much can knowledge and information (embodied in higher educational institutions, in the practice of science, and in the news) contribute to better public policy when there is extreme polarization over whether or not knowledge and information is to be trusted? The challenge, it seems to me, is to find out how we can find some leverage for improving public policy.



**Jennifer Skeem**

This is an exciting period of justice reform — new data and technology have expanded the reach of risk assessment and raised questions about how we can prevent crime in equitable ways.



**Hilary Hoynes**

In the past few years, we have learned a lot about the long-run effects of childhood participation in social safety net programs. This has allowed us to change the conversation to ask "Is the social safety net an investment in children?"



**Jesse Rothstein**

The development of new data resources, derived from public administrative records, is really revolutionizing our ability to understand how people interact with government, how different programs interrelate, and how public services affect people's lives.



**Amy Lerman**

For the first time in decades, numerous states are reducing the size of their incarcerated populations. Not only is it an exceptionally exciting policy trend, but it opens up a huge array of new questions: How are these reforms occurring? Who is affected? And what will determine whether downsizing persists?



**Daniel Kammen**

I'm working on the science and system design for low-carbon energy infrastructure worldwide. I am working with US state and international governments (in Asia, East Africa Latin America) on the clean energy transition, and working on environmental justice for minority communities worldwide, often in conflict zones, to make the green energy transition one that promotes equity.



**Steve Raphael**

Criminal justice research has broadened its focus from narrow studies of recidivism and offending towards broader analysis of the social impacts of crime and the criminal justice system. Moreover, the research frontier is increasingly sketching out the intersections between the criminal justice system and other social domains, such as racial and socioeconomic inequality.



**Rucker Johnson**

I'm excited about the explosion of new research on the long-run effects of school interventions that have the power to break the intergenerational cycle of poverty. The development of new, integrated policy designs that recognize the synergies between early-life public health and education investments have promise to transform children's life chances.



**Sarah Anzia**

It's exciting that more political scientists are taking an interest in measuring the activity and influence of interest groups in American politics — especially at the levels of state and local government. So much of what interest groups do in the policymaking process is hidden and difficult to measure, yet it appears that they profoundly affect the kinds of policies we get.



**Solomon Hsiang**

We are exploring how machine learning can be applied to satellite imagery and other new forms of spatial data. This is allowing us to observe and monitor changes around the planet crucial to global policy design, such as human development in remote regions and large-scale environmental transformations, that were previously invisible to us.



**Jack Glaser**

The National Justice Database that I have been building with colleagues now has a critical mass of police departments included, allowing us to carry out meaningful and enlightening studies of racial disparities in police stops and use of force. I am also excited to be starting up, with my colleagues, several collaborations with local police departments to test interventions to improve the accuracy and quality of contact with community members.



**Robert B. Reich**

I'm excited about the possibilities of political coalition-building across race, ethnicity, and class, in order to protect our democracy from being overwhelmed and corrupted by big money.



**Jennifer Bussell**

Too often, we assume the worst about our elected officials. By studying what politicians do, on a daily basis in their constituencies, we gain a much better understanding of the time and effort they expend on behalf of their constituents and the importance of this work in individual citizens' lives.



**Michael Nacht**

The application of new technologies including cyber, artificial intelligence, quantum computing and latent technologies are revolutionizing our concepts of national security. China is taking a leading role in these fields and the prospect of an intense US-China rivalry is already taking shape.



**Avi Feller**

The dramatic increase in digital data has created exciting new opportunities for delivering services and using evidence to set policy — as well as new challenges in ensuring that governments use this information responsibly.



**Janelle Scott**

In education policy research, there is a growing awareness about the importance of mixed-methods research to understand complex issues of inequality, policy, and practice. We are respecting and elevating the wisdom of teachers, principals, and community and civil rights organizations in questions about how to make schooling better for children of all backgrounds through partnerships, consortia, and community-based research. **G**





Class of 1982



Jack Brummel ('85), Rick Levenson, Eileen Soffer ('85), Todd Greenspan ('84), and Aaron Estis ('85)



◀ 1982 Talent Show

Teri Gullo ('83) and Peter Linquiti ('83) were married in 1987. ▶



# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 1980s

## Carla Javits *MPP '85*

President and CEO of REDF  
(The Roberts Enterprise Development Fund)



**IN 1983 I ENTERED GSPP ON THE HEELS OF RECEIVING** my undergraduate degree at UC Berkeley. While I represented my 60s generation as an activist, I had not contemplated a public policy career. Now I saw the possibility of a job focused on changing the world.

GSPP challenged me on every level. I was not remotely a “quant.” From the inscrutable equations to the probing questions and insights of our extraordinary professors, we learned. At that time, the all-male faculty led us to confront GSPP, urging the leadership to do much more on gender and race. We promoted a first-ever people of color public policy speaker series organized by a GSPP classmate, inspired to push back, perhaps poetically, by the School’s curriculum itself.

GSPP gave us a rigorous analytic framework that influenced everything I have done since. It also set as an imperative an equally powerful set of values. The eight-fold path provided a simple set of principles: define the problem, assemble the evidence, construct the alternatives, select the criteria, project the outcomes, confront the trade-offs, decide, tell your story. It enabled me to analyze the State budget when I took a well-trod path from GSPP to the CA Office of the Legislative Analyst where I had the pleasure of serving under the brilliant GSPP alumna Liz Hill (MPP '75), and met GSPP grad, and lifelong friend and colleague, Julia Lopez (MPP '80).

The potency of the GSPP network was clear. Julia eventually hired me to start the first planning and policy shop at the San Francisco Human Services Agency where the GSPP framework fueled our efforts to address the burgeoning crises of AIDS, crack cocaine, and homelessness.

I then spent decades running two “intermediary” organizations working on a combination of practice and policy. We wove the public and private sectors together to drive the creation of two disruptive innovations to address poverty: supportive housing and employment social enterprise. These innovations were supported by business models that allowed for sustainability and exponential growth.

The eight-fold path and network of talent I was introduced to at GSPP was the underpinning but it was also the distinctive GSPP values that influenced me: a propensity to action (to avoid “paralysis by analysis”), the drive to challenge orthodoxy if that’s where the evidence leads, and the courage to live up to GSPP founder Professor Wildavsky’s clarion call to “speak truth to power.”



# Selected Faculty Publications

## 1965–2019

Below is just a sampling of books published by Goldman School faculty in the last fifty years. Other books, in addition to information about papers, reports, and edited volumes can be found on the faculty member's page at [gspp.berkeley.edu](https://gspp.berkeley.edu).

### Sarah F. Anzia

- *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups* (2014). The University of Chicago Press.

### Eugene Bardach

- *A Practical Guide for Policy Analysis: The Eightfold Path to More Effective Problem Solving* (Sixth Edition, 2019). Sage Publications/CQ Press.
- *Getting Agencies to Work Together: The Practice and Theory of Managerial Craftsmanship* (1998). Brookings Institution.

### Henry E. Brady

- *Gathering Voices: Political Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet Union* (forthcoming). Cambridge University Press.
- *The Unheavenly Chorus: Political Voice and the Promise of American Democracy* (2012). Princeton University Press.
- *Rethinking Social Inquiry: Diverse Tools, Shared Standards* (2010). Rowman and Littlefield.
- *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism in American Politics* (1995). Harvard University Press.

### Jennifer Bussell

- *Clients and Constituents: Political Responsiveness in Patronage Democracies* (2019). Oxford University Press.
- *Corruption and Reform in India: Public Services in the Digital Age* (2012). Cambridge University Press.

### Alain de Janvry

- *Development Economics: Theory & Practice* (2016). Routledge.

### John Aubrey Douglass

- *The New Flagship University: Changing the Paradigm from Global Ranking to National Relevancy* (2016). Palgrave Macmillan.
- *Globalization's Muse: Universities and Higher Education Systems in a Changing World* (2009). Public Policy Press.

### Sean Farhang

- *The Litigation State: Public Regulation and Private Lawsuits in the U.S.* (2010). Princeton University Press.
- *Rights and Retrenchment: The Counterrevolution Against Federal Litigation* (2017). Cambridge University Press.

### Lee Friedman

- *The Microeconomics of Public Policy Analysis* (2002). Princeton University Press.

### Jack Glaser

- *Suspect Race: Causes and Consequences of Racial Profiling* (2014). Oxford University Press.

### Jennifer M. Granholm

- *A Governor's Story: The Fight for Jobs and America's Economic Future* (2011). Public Affairs.

### Solomon Hsiang

- *Economic Risks of Climate Change: An American Prospectus* (2014). Columbia University Press.

### Saru Jayaraman

- *Forked: A New Standard for American Dining* (2016). Oxford University Press.
- *Behind the Kitchen Door: The People Who Make and Serve Your Food* (2013). Cornell University Press.

### Rucker Johnson

- *Children of the Dream: Why School Integration Works* (2019). Basic Books.
- *Mothers' Work and Children's Lives: Low-Income Families after Welfare Reform* (2010). Upjohn Institute Press.

### Daniel Kammen

- *Physics of Sustainable Energy III: Using Energy Efficiently and Producing it Renewably* (2015). American Institute of Physics.
- *Decentralized Solutions for Developing Economies — Addressing Energy Poverty Through Innovation* (2015). Springer Proceedings in Energy.
- *Putting Renewables to Work: How Many Jobs Can the Clean Energy Industry Generate?* (2008). DIANE Publishing.
- *Clean Energy for Development and Economic Growth: Bio-mass and Other Renewable Energy Options to Meet Energy and Development Needs in Poor Nations* (2003). UNDP.

### David Kirp

- *The College Dropout Scandal* (August 2019). Oxford University Press.
- *Kids First: Five Big Ideas for Transforming Children's Lives and America's Future* (2012). Public Affairs.
- *The Sandbox Investment: The Universal Preschool Movement and Kids-First Politics* (2007). Harvard University Press.
- *Shakespeare, Einstein, and the Bottom Line: The Marketing of Higher Education* (2003). Harvard University Press.

### Amy E. Lerman

- *Good Enough for Government Work: The Public Reputation Crisis in America (And What We Can Do to Fix It)* (2019). The University of Chicago Press.
- *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control* (2014). The University of Chicago Press.

### Stephen M. Maurer

- *Self-Governance in Science: Community Based Strategies for Managing Dangerous Knowledge* (2017). Cambridge University Press.
- *WMD Terrorism: Science and Policy Choices* (2009). MIT Press.

### Michael Nacht

- *Strategic Latency and World Power* (2014). Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory Center for Global Security Research.

### Janet Napolitano

- *How Safe Are We? Homeland Security Since 9/11* (2019). Hachette Book Group.

### Patricia A. Pelfrey

- *Entrepreneurial President Richard Atkinson and the University of California, 1995–2003* (2012). University of California Press.
- *The Pursuit of Knowledge: Speeches and Papers of Richard C. Atkinson* (2007). University of California Press.
- *A Brief History of the University of California* (2004). University of California Press.

### Steven Raphael

- *The New Scarlet Letter? Negotiating the U.S. Labor Market with a Criminal Record* (2014). Upjohn Institute Press.
- *Why Are So Many Americans in Prison?* (2013). Russell Sage Foundation.
- *Immigration, Poverty, and Socioeconomic Inequality* (2013). Russell Sage Foundation.

### Robert Reich

- *The Common Good* (2018). Penguin Random House.
- *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few* (2015). Penguin Random House.
- *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America's Future* (2013). Penguin Random House.
- *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st-Century Capitalism* (1991). Knopf.

### Richard M. Scheffler

- *Health Labor Market Analyses in Low- and Middle-Income Countries: An Evidence-Based Approach* (2016). World Bank Group.
- *The ADHD Explosion: Myths, Medication, Money, and Today's Push for Performance* (2014). Stanford University Press.
- *Is There a Doctor in the House? Market Signals and Tomorrow's Supply of Doctors* (2008). Stanford University Press.

### Janelle Scott

- *The Politics of Education Policy in an Era of Inequality* (2018). Routledge.
- *School Choice and Diversity: What the Evidence Says* (2005). Teachers College Press.

### Jennifer Skeem

- *Managing and Treating Psychopathy* (2016). Wiley.

### Eugene Smolensky

- *Managing to Achieve Multiple Goals: The Case of the Big Bang Financial System Reform in Japan* (1999). Univ of California Inst of.
- *Welfare Reform in California* (1992). Univ of California Inst of.
- *Public expenditures, taxes, and the distribution of income: The United States, 1950, 1961, 1970* (1977). Institute for Research on Poverty monograph series.

### John Quigley and Larry Rosenthal

- *Risking House and Home: Disasters, Cities, Public Policy* (2008). Institute of Governmental Studies Press.

### Suzanne Scotchmer

- *Innovation and Incentives* (2004). MIT Press.

### Aaron Wildavsky

- *The Politics of the Budgetary Process* (1965). The Yale Law Journal.





Class of 1994 Commencement

◀ John Sladkus ('94),  
James Austin ('93),  
Michael Cunningham ('93)



Karen Lin ('95) and Victoria Carreon ('94)  
at the GSPP Talent Show



Corey Heyman ('94), Jim McKinney ('94), Greg Linden ('94),  
and Scott Joftus ('94) at the GSPP Talent show

# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 1990s

## Wayne Brown *MPP/JD '92*

Deputy General Counsel and Chief Intellectual Property Officer at Quest Diagnostics and a member of the Goldman School Board of Advisors



**TREASURED FRIENDSHIPS:** GSPP brings together world-class faculty with exceptional student cohorts. What struck me most favorably while a student, and later as an alumnus, is the family feel of GSPP. I loved the close-knit learning experience and the chance to collaborate with and learn from professors and fellow students, alike. When I think of my time at the School, I recall the talented students — coming from highly varied backgrounds but all united in the hope of making a positive contribution through policy analysis. I also recall the opportunity to interact directly with faculty, as, for example, when I worked as a graduate teaching assistant for Professor David Kirp (now emeritus).

**Analysis without paralysis:** GSPP offers and teaches so many skills — such as how to get to the crux of an issue and find a viable solution — quick! In our professional lives, we often face complex issues that must be understood quickly and resolved successfully. GSPP taught me how to size up a complicated, real-world situation and develop feasible solutions. And, GSPP's training helped me learn to communicate even the most difficult and complicated matters in a straightforward and easily-grasped manner — an essential skill for those who must provide clear and practical counsel and advice. GSPP demands and teaches this skill and so much more. Clear communication and razor sharp thinking — all tempered by a sense of equity — are fostered by GSPP and will always be in demand.



## CLASS NOTES

Although **Paula Gordon** (MPAdm '69) now lives in Washington, DC, she thought fellow Californians might be particularly interested in a presentation she prepared to deliver to the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration on May 30, 2019. It is posted on [GordonDrugAbusePrevention.com](http://GordonDrugAbusePrevention.com). In it, Paula connects the dots between the impact of marijuana use and legalization, the increase in cartel activity and black market sales of drugs at prices undercutting marijuana (legal or not) to the growing number of refugee camp-like settlements of homeless that are growing in the major cities of jurisdictions (including Seattle, Portland, SF, San Jose, Los Angeles, San Diego, Denver, and Pueblo to name a few) where marijuana has been legalized or where marijuana use and distribution is either being fostered or is no longer being fully “policed” by local authorities (including DC and NYC). The title of the presentation is “Ways in Which Marijuana Use & Legalization is Fueling the Opioid Crisis.” Paula is also teaching online courses for Auburn University Outreach on these topics of great concern. For info concerning the course call (202) 241-0631.

In April 2019, a statewide legislative campaign that **Naomi Meyer** (MPP '98) co-led succeeded in repealing the Massachusetts welfare family cap. This law, in effect since 1995, denied subsistence benefits to children who were conceived after their families began receiving benefits. They began the campaign in November 2016, and their coalition grew to 125 organizations. As a result of the repeal, 8,800 previously-excluded children became eligible, retroactive to January 2019, increasing their families' benefits by about \$100 per month to help them meet their basic needs.

**Laura Wisland** (MPP '08) welcomed her second kid, Ava, in October 2018. Laura's other child, Emily, will be turning 4 in January. After 10 years as a clean energy advocate with the Union of Concerned Scientists, Laura has left to start a new adventure as a Program Officer with the Heising-Simons Foundation. Visit Laura in SF!

**Stephen Angelides** (MPP '77) has been married to Thalia Triggas Angelides for 35 years. Stephen is still working as Presiding Administrative Law Judge, California Unemployment Insurance Appeals Board, Bay Area Office of Appeals, Oakland, California. He has one son working in Los Angeles, and one son and one daughter in medical school. No grandchildren yet.

**Ben Thornley** (MPP '09) is five years into co-founding and managing Tideline, a specialist consulting firm in impact investing, with offices in New York, San Francisco, and Portland, where Ben now lives with his wife and two daughters. Tideline has 15 employees and works with many leading philanthropic, financial, and donor institutions (e.g. Gates, Ford, Bank of America, KKR, USAID, UNDP), which is consistent with the cross-sector vibrancy in this growing investment niche.

**Leslie Seeman** (MPP '77, Stanford Law School '77) went to DC after graduating and worked as a lawyer at Wilmer, Cutler and Pickering. She became General Counsel of Source Telecomputing Corporation, and online database and communications company, in 1987. Leslie next went to Orbital Sciences Corporation, a rocket, satellite and space communications company, where she ultimately served as Executive Vice President and General Counsel until 2001, when she retired. Leslie is married to David Becker and has a son, aged 25, four step children, and 10 grandchildren.

In November last year, **Rob Moore** (MPP '17) started Scioto Analysis, a public policy analysis firm in Columbus, Ohio focused on improving the quality of policy analysis at the state and local level.

**Alejandra Barrio** (MPP/MA '16, IAS '17) is happy to share that she will be marrying her former classmate, **Adam Gorski** (MPP '16), whom she met in the halls of GSPP. They currently reside in the Bay Area and will be married in 2019.

From **Elisabeth Hensley** (MPP '05): It is truly impossible to boil down the life-transforming experience of being at GSPP (as part of the greatest class EVER!...) into one favorite memory, but considering I was the mom of 2 very young children when I attended, I worried whether I'd be able to connect with my typically younger and less familially encumbered classmates. On the 4th day of math camp, after I had mentioned to Renske that it would be my 39th birthday that day, I walked in and the entire crowd sang “Happy Birthday” to me with so much affection and heart, I knew I was where I belonged. I consider it a true gift to have spent two years with the staff, faculty, and scholars of GSPP and that gift keeps on giving in so many ways. (And I'm sure my classmates think that the story of my 40th birthday is much more epic but it's too much the stuff of legend to put in the Class Notes!)

**Bud Travers** (MPA '70) was working full time in the Chancellor's Office at Cal during his time working towards his degree. They had major protests going on and his classmates did not know if he was a “spy” from the administration.

Bud survived and got his degree which was a springboard to his career at Cal. He aspired and earned an assistant vice chancellorship, managed a diverse number of units, raised gifts and retired twice, once at 38 years service and finally at 43 years service. Bud loved his career, survived the bumps and ended up making a major gift of a scholarship for undocumented or single parent students. Go Bears!

Mark and **Nanci Anderson** (MPP '87) are living near Seattle now, empty nesting with a son at Berkeley and a daughter graduated and working a real job in LA. Nanci is tutoring GED students and homeless kids and really loving it. Her policy analysis is confined to strongly-held opinions these days — do those count if they're not in an official memo with an inch of white space surrounding them?

Favorite Memory: The GSPP Policy Ball is a favorite memory, where we all dressed up weird-formal and partied, as are the talent shows. I hope those are still traditions! Perhaps the current and recent classes would like to hear how I had to rent a computer to do the data analysis for my APA?

I visited the Blue Room on Cal Day before my son started there, for the first time since 1987, and all the memories flooded back. At some point — maybe 2027? — our class will finally have a reunion as very old and crotchety people.

After 11 years with the Drug Policy Alliance, **Laura Thomas** (MPP/MPH '95) is taking a new job as the Director of Harm Reduction Policy at the San Francisco AIDS Foundation. It is a bit like coming full circle, because Laura's first policy job after GSPP was at the San Francisco AIDS Foundation, so many years ago. She will be working on harm reduction and drug user health, getting to zero new HIV infections in San Francisco, and especially getting supervised consumption services up and running here. Laura is still a Commissioner on the San Francisco Entertainment Commission and is fortunate enough to run into **Peg Stevenson** (MPP '94) in City Hall from time to time.

**Caitlin O'Neil** (MPP '16) is enjoying working at the California Legislative Analyst's Office on issues related to sentencing law and the state prison budget.



**Ashley Clark** (MPP '13/MA-IAS '14) and her husband Zachary Dziedziak were married in Tahoe in August 2018. They were surrounded by some of their closest GSPP friends. Ashley accepted a job as a Senior Budget Analyst for the Office of State Planning and Budgeting for the Governor of Colorado, and she, her husband, and dog moved to Denver in July 2019.

**From left to right: Craig Bosman** ('13), **Stephanie Lin** ('11), **Matthias Jaime** ('13), **Eileen Hays-Schwantes** ('13), **Sheila Burgess** ('13), **Aaron Burgess** ('13), **Jason Cunningham** ('12), Zachary Dziedziak, **Alejandra Meijia Cunningham** ('13), **Ashley Clark** ('14), Dave Schwantes, **Ankit Jain** ('13), **Julie Sheu** ('12), **Sarah Salter Kipnis** ('13), Alon Kipnis, **Prithi Trivedi** ('13), **Keleigh Annau** ('14), **Sean La Guardia** ('13), **Sheida Elmi** ('12), and Aaron Young.

**Sandra Lupien** (MPP '18) is the Chief External Affairs Officer for the California Strategic Growth Council. The cabinet-level agency, housed within the Governor's Office of Planning and Research, works through an equity lens at the intersection of climate change, health, housing, economic development, and community resilience.

**Melanie Schoeppe Greene** (MPP '13) is working with school districts across San Joaquin County as the Director of Continuous Improvement. She partners with districts on their priorities and uses continuous improvement as a framework for helping them get better for kids! Melanie also had her first baby in July 2018!

In 2019, **Maria McKee** (MPP '08) was promoted to Director of Research & Analytics at the San Francisco District Attorney's Office, where she supervises a team of analysts, and manages data-driven prosecution projects, automatic record clearance policy efforts, and research collaborations with California Policy Lab, Stanford Computational Policy Lab, and other think tanks and academic institutions.

**Joe Radding's** (MPP '82, EdD, UC Davis '10) GSPP experience prepared him well for what became a 35-year California state government career. He began in March 1983 as a legislative fiscal and policy analyst, and then proceeded to serve in a variety of management and professional capacities in four different state executive branch agencies. Joe has spent the last 15 years of his career at the California Department of Education, where for the final seven years he served as the administrator of college preparation and postsecondary programs. Since retiring from state government service in December 2017, Joe has continued to teach community college courses (since Fall 2005), and he has provided educational and leadership consulting services to a variety of public and nonprofit clients. On a personal note, Joe and his wife Janet have enjoyed immensely the past two years as grandparents to Josephine, who lives with her parents most of the year in Tangier, Morocco.

**Abby Kahn** (MPP/MPH '11) is currently working for the District of Columbia's Medicaid agency and lives in DC with her husband Davin, son Carey (3), and daughter Jillian (9mos).

**Brooke Barron** (MPP '18) moved to Maine in February to serve as the Senior Policy Advisor to Maine's Speaker of the House, Sara Gideon. They had a busy legislative session fighting for progressive priorities and restoring faith in state government. Brooke, Sam, and Owen (15 months old) love living in midcoast Maine and can't wait to host GSPP visitors.

**Martha Ture** (MPP '04) is now a nationally recognized, award-winning, nature and wildlife photographer. Martha has photos in the Sacramento Fine Arts Center “Animal House” show, more photos in the San Anselmo Cedars Center “Harmony” show, and a solo show slated for early January in Town Books, San Anselmo. Martha's photos: [mttamalpaisphotos.com](http://mttamalpaisphotos.com)

**Lisa Foster** (MPP '09) is living in Alameda with her spouse and kids, now 5 and 8. She's working on parking policy, active transportation, and Vision Zero planning for the City of Alameda.

Continued on page 20





Daniel Goncher ('08), Roberto Ruiz ('09), and Rajat Mathur ('09)



Juanito Ruiz ('09), Molly Nagler née Lohman ('05), Catherine Hazelton ('05), Anat Shenker-Osorio ('05), and Lisa Schroeder ('05)



David Ng, Mandy Folse, Jeff Abramson, Ruth Genn, Amy Laitinen, Michele Byrnes, Corey Newhouse, Liz Pollitt, and Jed Harris of the class of '03 perform the IPA musical while Professor Geno Smolensky watches.



GSPP Holiday Party, 2003



Groundbreaking for GSPP West

Ribbon-cutting for GSPP West



# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 2000s

## Cisco DeVries *MPP '00* Entrepreneur in Residence at Titan Grove



**THE 48-HOUR PROJECT IS MY SUPERPOWER.** The dreaded 48-hour project loomed over my first year at GSPP. I'm sure you remember it: towards the end of your first year, a random policy problem is picked from a hat. You get 48 hours before you have to return with expert analysis and recommendation.

When the time came, my topic was something about child support payments. I don't remember most of the specifics and my career has nothing to do with the topic. But as I look back, it is still that 48-hour project that taught me how I could actually put the GSPP curriculum to work in the real world.

The cornerstone of the GSPP education is a set of tools that allows you to analyze complex problems and come up with solutions. The tools are critical, but it is the ability to use them quickly and confidently that really makes the difference. In the real world, there is never enough time. The 48-hour project taught me that the tools work and can actually be used in real-time to solve real problems.

The vast majority of my work over the last two decades has required I use this skill. I almost never have the deepest expertise in a particular subject. And I am usually not the smartest person in the room. My superpower is that I can take key parts of all the available expertise to piece together the true story. In short, I can quickly learn just enough about the trees to be able to figure a way out of the forest.

I am certain that it is this 48-hour superpower that enabled me to create Property Assessed Clean Energy (PACE), now an \$8 billion industry for financing clean energy and energy efficiency projects. I'm not an expert in home improvement projects, municipal finance, solar energy, asset-backed securitizations, tax policy, bond laws, consumer finance, or corporate management. But I did one 48-hour project after another to understand all of these areas well enough to build a 300-person company that financed energy retrofits for 92,000 homes.

Thank you, GSPP.



## CLASS NOTES cont.

**Julie Marsh** (MPP '95/Stanford GSE, PhD '02) is currently a professor of education policy at the USC Rossier School of Education and often thinks about her MPP days. As Julie assigns group projects in her classes, she recalls the many projects she and fellow students did together.

Favorite Memory: A GSPP highlight was Ellwood's budget debate — I recall all of us taking our roles very seriously. As Republican Senator Jim Bunting I wore a blazer/tie, spoke in a southern accent, and recalled my days as a baseball player. Hope everyone is well.

**Orville Thomas** (MPP '13) was named Government Affairs Director of the California Immigrant Policy Center.

After GSPP, **Ryan Hunter** (MPP '11, Stanford / MA Sociology '05) did a brief stint with the City of Oakland before landing right back at Cal, developing performance analytics for the Tang Center. Five years ago, Ryan started working for the City of San Francisco, where he now directs the City's program in lean process improvement. (Translation: He tries to make the bureaucracy less bureaucratic.)

Ryan and his wife now have two kids, Ruby (3) and Owen (11 months). They are awake at all hours but still trying to make sense — so like a 48-hour project that never ends. Attempts to teach the 3-year-old about tax policy so far unsuccessful.

**Elizabeth Rusch (Schulz)** (MPP '95) is the author of 15 award-winning books for young readers and more than 100 magazine articles for adults, many on policy issues. Her MPP prepared her to write her forthcoming book *You Call This Democracy?: How to Fix Our Government and Deliver Power to the People* to be published by Houghton Mifflin Harcourt in March 2020. Here's a description: We think we live in a democracy. One person, one vote. But how democratic is our government really? The hard truth is that political power is not shared equally among all citizens. Your say in our government shouldn't depend on whether you are rich, poor, urban, rural, Democrat, Republican, old, young, or any particular race, gender or ethnicity. But it does. If we want to fix any of the problems facing our nation, we have to fix our democracy. Learn more at [www.elizabethrusch.com](http://www.elizabethrusch.com) or [youcallthis.com](http://youcallthis.com).

**Sundar Chari** (MPP '07) and his wife Jyoti are thrilled to announce the birth of their dear baby daughter, Gaiathri Rani Chari, on July 6th, 2019. "She is beautiful & we are blessed."

**Dan Schoenholz** (MPP '98) was recently appointed Community Development Director for the City of Fremont, where he oversees the Planning, Building, Housing and Environmental Sustainability Divisions for the Bay Area's fourth largest city.

**Zack Subin** (MPP '07) is busy working on deep decarbonization policy at E3, informing California planning for 2050 goals and in particular, showing why building electrification is a critical component of decarbonization. Outside of work, Zack has taken on a volunteer leadership role at SF YIMBY and the affiliated group Urban Environmentalists, as the housing crisis has brought to the fore deep, long-standing inequities in our land use policy that are also prolonging sprawl-based living patterns that exacerbate climate change. Zack is glad to see that GSPP alumni & affiliates like Dan Kammen and Ben Gould are taking public stances to address this issue. Zack lives in SF with his cat and his husband, Ben Sedat.

**Andy Lomeli** (MPP '13) is honored to serve as on the GSPP Alumni Board as well as the 50th Anniversary Celebration Host Committee. Andy is currently living in the Boyle Heights neighborhood of Los Angeles, where he had the opportunity to serve on the Boyle Heights Neighborhood Council for several months. Professionally, Andy helps oversee development for the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) — a role he has held since August 2018. Outside of work, Andy has pursued live comedy through performing standup and improv across Southern California. Some of his biggest accomplishments thus far include performing at The Comedy Store and The House of Blues, as well as being cast in a house team that performs Friday nights at The Second City-Hollywood.

**James Savage** (MPP '78/UCB Econ, MA '80/UCB Political Science, PhD '86) enrolled with the Class of '77 at GSPP, but took the APA year off to enter into the Berkeley Political Science Department as a doctoral student. James completed his MPP with the Class of '78. After receiving his MPP and while finishing his graduate work, James worked for ten years in the University of California's Office of the President as a Principal Federal Relations Analyst. This essentially meant that James was a federal lobbyist for the UC System. He did this too for fifteen years for the University of Virginia while he was also a professor of Politics and Public Policy, which he still is.

Since graduating, **Eileen Soffer** (MPP '85) has worked in environmental policy, education, electoral campaigning and gun violence prevention. Eileen's son (now married with a baby on the way) followed his dad Rick into the tech world and her daughter pursued public policy — but in the international economic development realm, living for the last 8 years in Sub Saharan Africa (with a 2-year stint back in the US for grad school).

Favorite memory: Too many wonderful GSPP memories to count but here is one: Avi Black reciting the entire class of '85 by name, in alphabetical order.

**David R. Agrawal** (MPP '07) was promoted to Associate Professor with tenure in the Martin School of Public Policy and the Department of Economics at the University of Kentucky.

**Stephen Rosenbaum** (MPP '79) completed an assignment as senior legal support officer and international team leader in Myanmar/Burma on a EU-funded and British Council supported grant to strengthen clinical legal education. In April, he spoke on "Hate Speech, the Holocaust and Human Rights" at Missouri Western State University and contributed a chapter in a forthcoming book entitled *Disability Hate Speech: Social, Cultural and Political Contexts*. Steve also authored or co-authored articles for the *Touro Law Review*, *Journal of Legal Medicine* and *Washington University Journal of Law & Policy* on disabled bodily integrity, sexuality, dignity, and family caregiving; legal capacity and supported decision-making under the international disability rights treaty; and adaptation of the public health model of "accompaniment" for indigent legal clients. Newly "rebranded" as Frank C. Newman Lecturer at Berkeley Law, Steve served on an international accreditation team at the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo Leon in Mexico and joined plaintiffs' litigation team in *Flores v. Barr*, enforcing a federal court class action settlement on treatment of unaccompanied minors in the custody of US immigration authorities.

Favorite Memory: After arriving from undergraduate school in the Midwest, I was enchanted by my first GSPP reception in the Tudor house dining room nook, where we were served sophisticated hors d'oeuvres made with local produce — and California wine! — overlooking the Bay. On a more substantial note, I recall David Kirp's very brave "coming out" to our entering class in 1976, not that many years into the burgeoning LGBT Rights Movement.

**Alex Marthews** (MPP '01) lives in Belmont, MA with his wife and four children, and runs Restore The Fourth, a nationwide Fourth Amendment advocacy group.

**Cindy Brach** (MPP '89) is Co-Chair of the Department of Health and Human Services Health Literacy Workgroup. She has a forthcoming book chapter, "How the US Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality Promotes Health Literate Health Care."

Favorite memory: Rather than a brief memory, I'll just say that I've used Gene Bardach's eightfold path throughout my career. It is a useful heuristic (one of Gene's favorite words that I had to look up when I was at GSPP) for any kind of problem solving.

**Steven Almazan** (MPP '18) Favorite Memory: My favorite GSPP memory will always be the initial moments of learning, listening, and growing with my fellow MPP classmates during our core courses with Professor Steve Raphael and Professor Rucker Johnson. During the first few weeks in these core courses, I was in absolute awe of the intellectual and inclusive spaces we were creating together through our discourse. After learning the basics of economics with rice and beans and engaging in productive conversations about school integration efforts across the country, I immediately knew that GSPP was home for me. Through our conversations and debates, my classmates demonstrated unparalleled brilliance, power, advocacy, and love for policy. We were collectively speaking truth to power.

In early July 2019, **Merav Zafary Odiz** (MPP '00) finished her 6-year term as the Israeli Ambassador to the IAEA & CTBTO PrepCom in Vienna, Austria. At the end of July, she will commence her new post as the Chief Instructor at Israel's National Defense College.

**Karen Nardi** (MPP '82/JD '82) retired from the practice of law as a partner at the Arnold & Porter firm in San Francisco in December 2018. Karen continues to work pro bono on the Oakland EcoBlock project, a demonstration of how to retrofit an existing working class neighborhood for environmental sustainability.

Karen is also on the board of the McKenna Academy for Natural Philosophy, devoted to transformation of people and the planet through responsible use of plant medicines.

Favorite memories: When **Gary Pruitt** (MPP '81/JD '82, now the head of the Associated Press!) played a trick on Professor David Kirp by attaching an invisible piece of



MPA Class of 2019



MPP Class of 2019

fishing line to a yardstick which David liked to wave around during his lectures. David chased the yardstick all the way across the room, when it started moving stealthily away from him.

I also liked Neil Taxy's Mr. Bill (SNL) cartoon on American health care. Nothing has changed or improved since Neil put that video together. Oh no, Mr. Bill! We still don't have universal health care!

**Veronica Cummings** (MPP '19) has been hired by the Oakland City Administrator's Office to lead all public engagement and the Community Benefits Agreement (CBA) process for the proposed Oakland A's ballpark at

Howard Terminal. In this role, Veronica will interface with all stakeholders (community members, City of Oakland elected officials, the Port of Oakland, and the Oakland A's) to design and implement the public engagement plan, the outcome of which will be used to inform the Oakland City Council when it votes on the ballpark proposal. This role is a continuation of her APA project that she worked on for the City of Oakland Race & Equity Department titled "CBA 3.0: Explicitly Factoring in Race and Equity into Community Benefits Agreements." The Howard Terminal CBA will be the first time an equity-driven approach will be used to formulate a Community Benefits Agreement.





Aaron Burgess ('13) and  
Sheila Burgess née Bharucha ('13)

Bradley Johnson ('11) ▶  
and Fatima Aura  
née Simmons ('11)



Jason Tilipman, Eric Wilson, Max Aaronson, Matt Valleta, Jeremy Levy, Juan Ramirez,  
and AJ Herrmann, all from the class of '17, before the inaugural GSPP prom.



Robert Campbell ('09), Juan Felipe Quintero ('10), Deepa Patel ('10),  
Todd Fawley-King ('10), Evan White (MPP/JD '12), Antoine Guthman ('10)



◀ Mikhail Haramati  
(MPP '13) speaks  
with students  
Michael Alferes and  
Christopher Dokko

Felipe Carrera-Aguayo ▶  
(MPA '17) with Professor  
Eugene Bardach



# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 2010s

## Karin D. Martin *MPP '06/PhD '12*

Assistant Professor at the University of Washington's  
Evans School of Public Policy and Governance



**I HAVE SPENT MANY, MANY HIGH-INTENSITY LEARNING AND TEACHING HOURS** at GSPP (specifically in rooms 250 and 355): as a master's student, as a teaching assistant, as a PhD student, and finally as a visiting Assistant Professor. All that teaching and learning has been essential to my career. As a master's student, it gave me the tools needed to tackle the types of entrenched, politically fraught, high-stakes problems that fascinate me (criminal justice, anyone?). Although I ended up with several options for where to pursue my doctorate, I chose GSPP because the faculty had the highest concentration of innovative and engaged scholars.

Now that I myself teach policy analysis to MPA students at the University of Washington, I have come to appreciate the GSPP approach in new ways. Approaching policy problems with expansive curiosity and humility, but also with perseverance and analytical rigor, helps produce results that are both reliable and useful. Indeed, my GSPP training has served me well in both my practitioner-oriented work and in my more academic scholarship. (Also: little did I know that taking Policy Analysis from THE Eugene Bardach would eventually give me bragging rights with policy students.) Altogether, I am grateful for the education I received at GSPP and look forward to seeing it continue to thrive.



# Meet GSPP’s Student Services Team



Mary Balingit, Mistyann Loetterle, Cecille Cabacungan, Martha Chavez, Jalilah LaBrie, Kari Hamilton, and Lezley Hightower

**GSPP’S STUDENT SERVICES TEAM PLAYS A KEY ROLE** in the academic and professional success of students and alumni. Led by Martha Chavez, Senior Assistant Dean for Academic Programs and Dean of Students, the team serves over 800 students, including the public policy undergraduate minor.

Following are the team’s key areas of responsibility:  
*The Admissions Team* recruits the best, brightest and most diverse applicants from throughout the US and the world. The team includes Martha Chavez; Lezley Hightower, Assistant Director and Manager of Admissions for MPP & Concurrent Degree Programs; Mary Balingit, Assistant Director, Diversity Initiatives & Recruitment; and the incoming Assistant Director of Student Services. PhD admissions, outreach, and recruitment efforts are led by Cecille Cabacungan, Managing Director of Career and Alumni Services and PhD Admissions and Student Affairs Advisor, and Martha Chavez.


*The Career Services Team* helps GSPP students reach their career goals with the following: one-on-one advising and coaching; employer information sessions, networking events, and career development workshops; and facilitating career connec-

tions with prospective employers. The team includes Cecille Cabacungan, Managing Director of Career and Alumni Services (MPP & PhD); Kari Hamilton, Associate Director of Career Services (MPP); Lezley Hightower, Career Advisor (MPP); Misty Loetterle, Career and Leadership Coach (MPA and mid-career MPP), and Martha Chavez.

*The Alumni Services Team* includes Cecille Cabacungan and Martha Chavez, who help alumni stay connected to the School by partnering with the Alumni Board on initiatives to help the School achieve its goals; organizing the School’s bi-annual alumni dinner and helping with regional alumni events; facilitating connections with prospective applicants and current students; and providing opportunities for alumni to hire current students and alumni for jobs, internships, and policy analysis projects.

*The Enrollment, Registration, and Academic Advising Team* oversees course registration and enrollment, degree requirements, fellowships, and academic student employment recruitment and hiring. The team includes Jalilah LaBrie, Director of Student Affairs and Undergraduate Minor Advisor (MPP and Undergraduate Minor); Cecille Cabacungan (PhD Program); and Martha Chavez (all programs); and incoming Assistant Director of Student Services. This team also oversees student life issues, including student clubs and leadership organizations (Jalilah LaBrie) and student conduct issues (Martha Chavez).

*The Academic Planning and Course Scheduling Team* is led by Martha Chavez and includes the incoming Assistant Director of Student Services.

Diversity, equity, and inclusion is a major priority for the Goldman School. For the last 38 years, GSPP has invested in the Public Policy and International Affairs (PPIA) Junior Summer Institute Program, an important diversity pipeline program. Recently, GSPP welcomed Mary Balingit, Assistant Director of Diversity Initiatives. She will increase GSPP’s diversity outreach and recruitment partnerships with alumni, universities, colleges, and other networks to bolster the diversity applicant pool. 

## Dean’s Message Continued from page 2

American criminal justice policy of the last forty years provides a devastating illustration of the problems we face and how critical it is that we go beyond a narrow view of how policies can affect people’s lives. Over the last half-century, policy-makers focused on a single dimension, the reduction of crime, and many argued that of the four methods of criminal justice (retribution, deterrence, incapacitation, and rehabilitation), incapacitation was the most effective because it could stop criminals from committing crimes during those periods of their lives when they were most prone to do so. Yet a political system that largely excluded those most affected by these policies went forward with the “three strikes” movement and “mandatory sentencing” that led to life-

time incarcerations that have produced skyrocketing criminal justice costs with little social value obtained for each dollar spent. Even many well-meaning policy-makers were not fully cognizant of the detrimental effects that massive incarceration would have on communities of color or how persistent racism might shape the use of punishment as a social tool. And they ignored how the use of punishment would make our society cruel, and how it would exacerbate, instead of solve, many of the basic problems faced by our society. The simple calculations that led to the incapacitation doctrine have proven too simple-minded because they took too narrow a view of people and society. They ignored empathy and fairness and the need for a greater emphasis on rehabili-

# students *Talk Policy to Me*

By Sarah Edwards MPP candidate '20

**FOR ANYONE SEEKING INFORMATION STREAMING** directly into their earbuds, there are quite a few choices to turn to. You likely have your favorite policy-driven podcasts and could rattle off their titles without looking at your feed: *The Weeds*, *Planet Money*, and... *Talk Policy to Me*?

The Goldman School can now list itself alongside Vox, NPR, and many other podcast producers. Now entering its third season, *Talk Policy to Me* (TPTM) is a project of the Goldman School and the Berkeley Institute for Young Americans, hosted by current students and co-produced by an alumna.

The podcast seeks to explore policy issues from a personal lens. Policy analysis frequently requires consideration of the whole issue but sometimes that teeters on the verge of losing track of the details, of not thinking about the specific individuals involved. At *Talk Policy to Me*, we seek to flip that. We unpack a policy topic and consider what it might mean for impacted individuals. Last season, the team explored Universal Basic Income, California’s housing crisis, climate change, and other topics in 16 different episodes.


Not only does the podcast look at who is personally affected by public policies, it also examines the personal side of policy analysis and policy creation. As Goldman students and Goldman alumni know well, there are a multitude of important and interesting challenges to address. *TPTM* wants to understand what motivates these policy experts in their work. Last season’s guests included California Assemblymembers Buffy Wicks and David Chiu, Professors Sarah Anzia, Hilary Hoynes, and Dan Kamman, as well as multiple Goldman alumni.

Goldman gives students a precise framework to analyze public policy problems. As those familiar with the 8-Fold Path will tell you, the final step in this policy analysis framework is communication. *Talk Policy to Me* uses the strength of new media to communicate about important ideas and engage a new audience of listeners.




The *Talk Policy To Me* student team: Reem Rayef, Sarah Edwards, Colleen Pulawski, Khalid Kaldi, and Spencer Bowen

The Berkeley Institute for Young Americans, as a sponsor of the podcast, plays an important role in framing these issues. The institute aims to develop policy proposals that will invest in the next generation, with the goal of engaging young people in the policy solutions that most impact their future. As such, the podcast frequently looks to understand how policy topics affect Millennials, Gen Z’ers, and the future youth of America. One of last season’s early episodes explored the historic low voting rates among this group of young people and what, if anything, can be done to change that. Another episode looked at an issue on the minds of many young people: climate change. Our hosts spent two weeks reducing their carbon footprints and comparing the impact between individual behavior change and policy change.

For anyone ready to add *Talk Policy to Me* to their podcast queue, it can be found on iTunes, Google Play, and any other podcast source. More information about each episode can be found online at [talkpolicytome.org](http://talkpolicytome.org). Subscribe now and see new episodes in your feed on a regular basis as the team continues with Season 3 this year. 

tation and sensitivity to the needs of communities affected by mass incarceration.

As the top public policy school in the nation and a school whose culture and history is steeped in Speaking Truth to Power, GSPP has a unique role to play in the future of public policy education. GSPP is embarking on curriculum reform for its MPP this fall and we are committed to being a leader in training the next generation of policymakers to think deeply and broadly about what public policy is — and what it can be. It would be hubris for us to think that we can develop a public policy curriculum that will ensure that we never make egregious mistakes. As Madison famously pointed out, people are not angels and they cannot be made into angels. But we can

try to develop a public policy curriculum that can, in the words of Abraham Lincoln, appeal to the better angels of our nature. 

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



# ALUMNI REFLECTIONS 2010s

## Joel C. Saldaña, Jr. MPA '19

Director of Governance and Operations  
at the National Head Start Association



**I FLIRTED WITH GRADUATE SCHOOL FOR MANY YEARS**, teetering between an MBA, a law degree, or focusing on international affairs. I'm glad to have found the Master of Public Affairs at UC Berkeley. It was the perfect opportunity to learn what I have termed "the art and science of how institutions interact with people, both inside and out." My goal of earning a master's degree was personal (in being the first in my family to earn a masters) and twofold in my learning: I wanted to learn advanced methods of decision-making and I wanted to acquire tools that would allow me to deconstruct difficult problems in order to come up with solutions that could work for the betterment of an organization — positively influencing all of the people that it touches.

In my current role at the National Head Start Association, we face problems that require mindful analysis and thoughtful human-oriented solutions tailored to an expansive constituency. Head Start, founded as an American commitment since 1965, continues to innovate and rebrand itself as it continues to improve and face scrutiny as the best model of early intervention for America's most vulnerable children, families, and communities. The Master of Public Affairs has allowed me to contribute toward that goal by constantly trying to make our organization perform better in serving the Head Start community and those individuals that work with us. The policy frameworks I learned at Cal are paying dividends in my ability to be not just a policy leader in my current institution, but also the potential to be a leader in any organization.

One lesson I take to heart from my time in Berkeley is that I have to be comfortable in not knowing all of the answers or in not having all of the expertise — being comfortable with "I don't know" is important. But even more important is getting the people in the room that do have the expertise — it's a bright reminder of why I try to keep a conscious pulse on my deficiencies and complement them by bringing other team members to the table. I am grateful for my policy bear education!



Students of Color in Public Policy: Nefara Riesch (MPP '18), Jennifer Schulz (MPP '18), Xian Ballesteros (MPA '18), Lisa Quan (MPP '18), Alithea McFarlane (MPP '18), Devika Agarwal (MPP '19), Laura Chen (MPP '19), Ben Kane (MPP '19), Eunice Roh (MPP '19), Rhina Torres (MPP '19), Victor Baten (MPP '18), Anthony Rodriguez (MPP '19), Paulina Maqueda (MPP '18), Daisy Quan (MPP '18), Devan Shea (MPP '19), Hinnaneh Qazi (MPP '18), Paula Fonacier (MPP '18)



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Jonathan Parker, Phillip Pena, Michael Drane (all MPP '17)



Frank Molina, Felipe Carrera-Aguayo, and Jeffrey Rayos (all MPA '17)



Lindsey Jenkins-Stark, Kody Kinsley, and Enrique Ruacho (all MPP '12)





# Meet Maura Smith

**AFTER SERVING THE GOLDMAN** School as the Assistant Dean for External Relations and Development for twenty years, the inimitable Annette Doornbos retired at the end of June.

“Annette was visionary, creative, a superb writer, and passionate about GSPP,” says Dean Henry E Brady. “As dean, I have been lucky to be able to learn about development from her, and GSPP is certainly a much better place because of her exceptional work.”

The Goldman School welcomes Maura Smith as its next Assistant Dean for External Relations and Development. *Policy Notes* spoke to her about her Berkeley “roots,” why she loves fundraising, and why she finds the mission of the Goldman School so compelling.

## Tell us a bit about yourself. Are you a California native or a transplant?

Two years ago, I returned to sunny CA from my native Boston. However, I have lived in Berkeley twice before, including my two years as a graduate student in City and Regional Planning here at UC Berkeley.

## Why did you decide to become a fundraiser, a job that many would find quite daunting?

After a 20-year career in government, I made the switch to Development in 1999. Turns out, I had been “fundraising” since the summer before 3rd grade when I organized a neighborhood tal-

ent show and donated the \$3.50 we raised to the American Cancer Society. I love connecting donors’ philanthropy with their passions. It brings them joy!

## What inspired you to come to the Goldman School? What opportunities do you see ahead?

As a former government employee-turned-fundraiser, working at the Goldman School seems like a perfect match for my interests and talents. The road ahead looks bright as I see many opportunities to show how our faculty and alumni are proving that smart, evidence-based policy analysis can move the needle toward large-scale societal change.

## In a time when there are so many urgent problems in the world, why should alumni and others give to the Goldman School?

Given today’s political environment, there is a growing understanding that research, analysis and advocacy can be the levers for change. At GSPP, we are training the next generation of informed policymakers and passionate advocates who will reduce inequality and increase opportunity. Who wouldn’t want to support that?!

## What has been your impression of the Goldman School so far?

My first impression is that the Goldman School is a real community. It can be hard to continually achieve that goal, but I get the sense that GSPP holds tight to that mission — even when it’s not easy. **G**

Ship of Theseus Continued from page 4

actually getting the world to change so that the policy’s expected benefits actually materialize in people’s lives. Amazon has made a fortune addressing that one, with great benefit to its customers.

Unfortunately, getting policy implemented effectively is much harder than delivering goods to people’s homes. Solutions to the problem are diverse, complicated, and depend on intangibles like street-level personnel knowing how to deliver “high-quality” services — whatever that might mean. And how do you manage a large bureaucracy, in a political and accountability-sensitive environment, so as to get those personnel to do that?

All this benefits from being thought through in advance. My impression is that some GSPP students understand the importance of this and really do it but others do not. Given our larger university context, the long arc is our focus, and “getting the right answer...” is our goal. Implementing it — well, that is somebody else’s worry. Some chilling words once drifted my way, attributed to an unidentified faculty colleague whom a student was consult-

ing about a possible APA topic: “Why would you study that? It’s only implementation.” Yes, only, but if it fizzles or backfires, you can forget about that “right answer.”

We stopped requiring a core curriculum course in Political and Organizational Analysis. Pieces of that are bundled with a Law course and a Leadership course and you can take any two out of the four. On the whole, requiring courses is not a good idea. But one result of this change is that our students today may be more poorly sensitized to the need to figure out implementation strategies than they used to be.

About that ship of Theseus, why does one care about whether it is “the same?” Or, by extension, whether GSPP is “the same?” Among other reasons, you need to decide whether you should still love it. The answer is yes. **G**

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# The Rise of Young Adult Poverty in the US

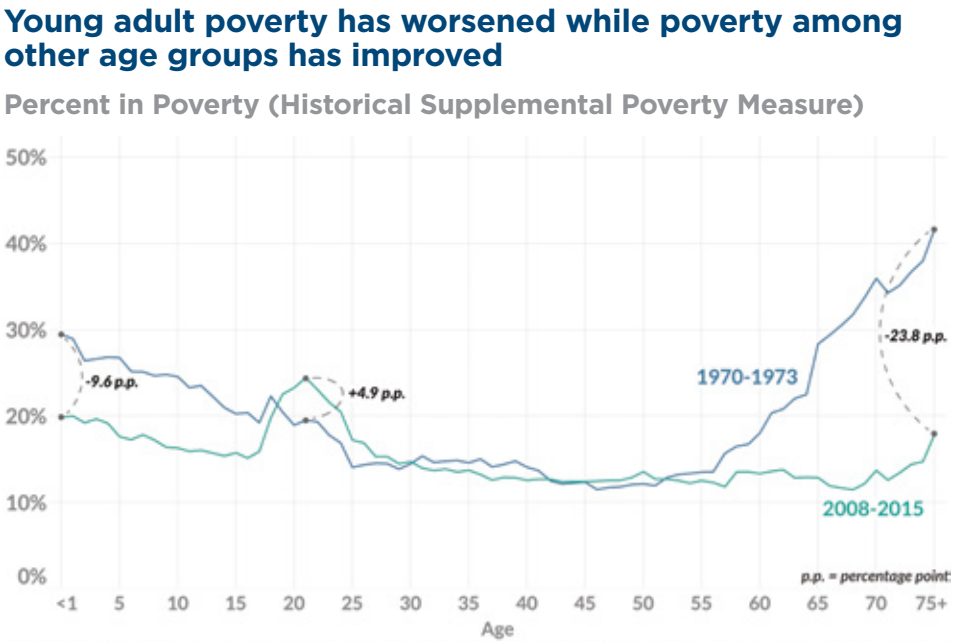
By **James Hawkins** *MPP '18, Associate Director, Berkeley Institute for Young Americans*  
The version of this article with footnotes can be downloaded at [goldman.school/young-adult-poverty](https://goldman.school/young-adult-poverty)

**THE US SOCIAL SAFETY NET HELPS** to lift millions of people out of poverty through programs like the Earned Income Tax Credit, Social Security, and the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. These programs target benefits to individuals and families using factors like income (means-testing), parenthood, and employment status. For many anti-poverty programs, age is also an important factor for eligibility — either implicitly or explicitly. The Social Security Retirement Insurance Benefit program is explicitly designed around senior income security. Likewise, the Earned Income Tax Credit focuses expenditures on families with children — implicitly deprioritizing many working-age adults who have not yet had children. We accept that a social safety net is necessary for the youngest and the oldest in our society because, historically, poverty has been highest among these groups — those not in the workforce and most vulnerable. But the shape of poverty in this country has changed: what if the social safety net is missing a key age group?

**Measuring Poverty across the Age Distribution**  
To better understand the relationship between age and poverty, the Berkeley Institute for Young Americans analyzed the evolution of poverty across the age distribution since the early 1970s.

We find that young adult poverty has increased since the early 1970s and is currently among the highest for any age group. In the last 40–50 years, anti-poverty efforts have lowered child poverty and elderly poverty, but have done much less to reduce poverty among young adults.

The spike in young adult poverty only formed in recent decades. While earlier years showed a relatively small increase in poverty at 18 years old, the 2008–2015 spike covers more young adults, according to data from the Historical SPM. Poverty among 19–24-year-olds has increased since the early 1970s. The increase in



young adult poverty is especially notable, given the progress during the same period in bringing down poverty rates among children and seniors.

The social safety net has had the greatest impact on poverty among the youngest and oldest. Working-age individuals benefit comparatively less from the social safety net. Assuming people make no behavioral adjustments in response to receiving benefits, the social safety net reduces poverty 10.3 percentage points for newborns and a full 45.5 percentage points for individuals age 75 or older. In stark contrast, the social safety net reduces poverty by only 4.8 percentage points for 21-year-olds.

These trends tell an important story: today, young adults have among the highest poverty rates, relative to the rest of the age distribution. But the descriptive analysis only tells us so much. What are the important social and economic forces driving these changes? In the last fifty years, the US

economy has produced a labor market yielding unfavorable returns for the average worker, particularly those without college degrees. Young adults, by virtue of being young, are more susceptible to the challenges facing low skill labor. They lack the labor market experience and human capital that can develop with age. Young, working-age adults have also largely been deprioritized from expansions in the social safety net. Some types of government assistance have helped young adults, with that amount increasing over time. For example, without government support through the EITC, poverty among young adults would be even worse than it is now. However, there is a stark difference between the impact of the EITC (and other government assistance) on youth versus young adults. In 2008–2015, government tax and transfer policies brought 17-year-old poverty down by an average of nearly double what it did for 21-year-olds, 9.1 percentage points and 4.8 percentage points, respectively. **G**



CENTER FOR STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

## CSHE Welcomes George R. Blumenthal

**GEORGE R. BLUMENTHAL**, UC Santa Cruz's 10th Chancellor and emeritus professor of Astronomy and Astrophysics, has been appointed to serve as the next Faculty Director of the Center for Studies in Higher Education (CSHE). He stepped down as UCSC's Chancellor in June and took up his CSHE post on August 1.

Chancellor Blumenthal joined the UCSC campus in 1972 as a faculty member in astronomy and astrophysics and was named chancellor on September 19, 2007, after serving as acting chancellor for 14 months. The Blumenthal era has been marked by a commitment to ensuring that the doors of opportunity at UC Santa Cruz are open to all:

- The number of undergraduate students from underrepresented minorities has increased by 50 percent since Blumenthal took office.
- Nearly half of the entering class in 2016 received Pell Grants, the federal financial aid given to the neediest students — exceeding the UC average of 42 percent.
- The percentage of entering frosh who are “first-generation” college students — who will be the first in their family to earn a four-year degree — now regularly tops 40 percent.
- UC President Janet Napolitano expressed her gratitude to Chancellor Blumenthal noting that he has “led the Santa Cruz campus for more than 12 years with an unstinting passion for the university’s public mission and core values” with “devotion to a life of learning, teaching, and public service.”

As a theoretical astrophysicist, Chancellor Blumenthal made path breaking contributions to our understanding of the origin of structure in the universe, including galaxies and clusters of galaxies, and to the role that dark matter plays in the formation and evolution of this structure.

As a senior leader in the University of California system, served as chair of the UC Academic Senate (2004–05), was the faculty representative to the UC Regents (2003–05), chaired the UC Santa Cruz division of the Academic Senate (2001–03), and served as chair of the UCSC Astronomy and Astrophysics Department.

In 2010, Blumenthal received the Oliver Johnson Award for Distinguished Leadership in the Academic Senate, the top UC honor for service at both the systemwide and campus levels. A vocal advocate for staff throughout the university, he received the Outstanding Senior Leadership Award from the Council of University of California Staff Assemblies (CUCSA) in 2012; he has been an honorary member of CUCSA since 2005.

Chancellor Blumenthal's distinguished career as an academic researcher and administrator provides superb leadership as the Center for Studies in Higher Education continues to do path-breaking work on higher education in California, the nation, and in the world. **G**



# Center on Civility and Democratic Engagement

By Dan Lindheim PhD/JD, Faculty Director

**FOUNDED BY THE CLASS OF '68**, the Goldman School's Center on Civility and Democratic Engagement (CCDE) has embarked on a series of new initiatives including supporting community based policy research by placing Goldman students directly with local grass-roots organizations. Academics and policy makers typically study local communities and community groups, but rarely are these groups involved in actually making policy which affects them and about which they have enormous expertise. This initiative, supported by the San Francisco Foundation and Larry and Rebekah Hetzel, is an effort to change that reality and to increase the engagement and participation of marginalized groups in the policy-making process.

In one project, Goldman student Tim Tsai worked with Oakland homeless residents and homeless advocacy groups to help bring their voice and experience to policy-making. In working



Chancellor's Professor Robert B. Reich speaks to an audience of more than 800 at CCDE's Homecoming event, "Why the Common Good Disappeared and How We Get It Back."

with the East Oakland Collective, the Village, and Just Cities/the Dellums Institute for Social Justice, Tim looked at: (i) the causes of homelessness in Oakland; (ii) the status and structure of homelessness funding (including the disparate and siloed approaches); (iii) which efforts at different levels might have prevented or reduced homelessness;

and (iv) dimensioned the magnitude of the response that would be required if government were actually committed to seriously addressing the issues.

Another Goldman student, Anthony Rodriguez, worked with organizations of the formerly incarcerated to change the policies that currently deny them access to both public and private housing. Anthony worked with community and advocacy groups in a countywide coalition led by Just Cities/the Dellums Institute for Social Justice, to define the nature and magnitude of the problem that the formerly incarcerated face in getting access to either publicly supported or private housing. To address this particular housing crisis, efforts are currently underway to pass "Fair Chance" policies at the local and potentially state levels to prohibit housing discrimination against the formerly incarcerated. Richmond recently passed such a policy. The coalition has been working with Berkeley, Oakland, Emeryville, and Alameda County political leaders on considering such policies with the goal of extending the ordinance throughout California.

CCDE has also continued its support for Goldman APA (thesis) projects. This past year, CCDE supported three projects. In the first, Emma Fernandez worked with the SF Elections Commission to provide recommendations on addressing San Francisco's persistent voter turnout gap.

Neighborhoods with a higher proportion of low-income residents and residents of color tend to register and vote at relatively low levels. Based on interviews with community groups, advocacy groups, and election officials, two issues emerged as particularly important. The first are logistical: how and where to register and then knowing how and where to vote. The second barrier is the complexity of elections. Too many voters struggle to understand ballot issues as well as basic voting mechanics. The project resulted in recommendations to the SF Department of Elections to address these gaps including mechanisms to both expand registration and to increase voting options.

In the second project, Andreas Sampson Geroski worked with the San Francisco Housing Accelerator Fund to determine a methodology for identifying appropriate properties for development by nonprofit developers so that affordable housing can be rehabilitated and maintained as affordable, thereby avoiding the substantial displacement that typically takes place when properties are sold to market rate developers. This housing both includes SROs as well as multi-family units.

In the third project, Evan Larson worked with the town of Pt. Arena to analyze alternatives for maintaining their important, but no longer financially viable, harbor and public pier. Currently, public subsidy consumes an excessive portion of the budget diverting funds from other valuable projects benefitting the diverse, low-income, working-class community. Working with local user groups, town and surrounding County residents and officials, Evan analyzed the various ideas being proposed. He created a broad public process with a wide variety of community stakeholders to discuss his report and presented his findings to a special session of the City Council. The combination of quality analysis and public process seems to have changed how Pt. Arena intends to proceed.

Continuing its work on campus free speech and engagement, the Center sponsored "The Great Debate" between the Campus Berkeley Democrats and the Berkeley Conservative Society. In the words of the Conservative Society, this was "a thoughtful and intellectual debate ... and was another victory for free speech and discussion."

Finally, at the October 2019 Homecoming, the Center is presenting a panel on key issues surrounding the 2020 Presidential election. Topics will include discussions of: (i) the appropriate platforms and candidates for Democrats if they want to successfully challenge President Trump; (ii) the impacts of gerrymandering and voter suppression efforts on the election; and (iii) the status (and merits) of the efforts and campaigns to modify the Electoral College. **G**

# Ports, Freight and Finance

**THE CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PUBLIC POLICY (CEPP)** is engaged in two projects to help mitigate and adapt to the world's climate crisis. One has to do with sustainable finance. The other addresses carbon emissions and environmental justice impacts of freight and shipping.

## Green Bonds

Finance is a critical element to any effort to reduce climate pollution and to adapt to impacts of greenhouse gas accumulation in the atmosphere. A vast amount of capital is needed to protect the world's climate, with costs estimated at \$8 trillion needed to meet US obligations under the Paris Agreement. Worldwide, \$93 trillion in investment is needed to meet climate goals. This need is matched by growing investor demand. To meet this demand, however, streamlined market metrics and regulatory best practices are needed. With seed funding from the Hewlett Foundation, the Goldman School has embarked on an effort to enhance the market, regulatory and best practices for green bonds, a critical type of investment vehicle for climate-friendly infrastructure.

Green bonds, also referred to as 'climate bonds' or 'sustainable bonds', provide debt financing to projects that produce environmental benefits. These projects range from energy efficiency building upgrades, to clean energy technology projects, to mass transit expansion. Governments and businesses issue these bonds and investors receive principle and fixed interest payments in return.

From the perspective of an investor, climate change creates risk. By investing in projects that help mitigate or adapt infrastructure to climate change, investors are also managing the risk of their overall portfolio.

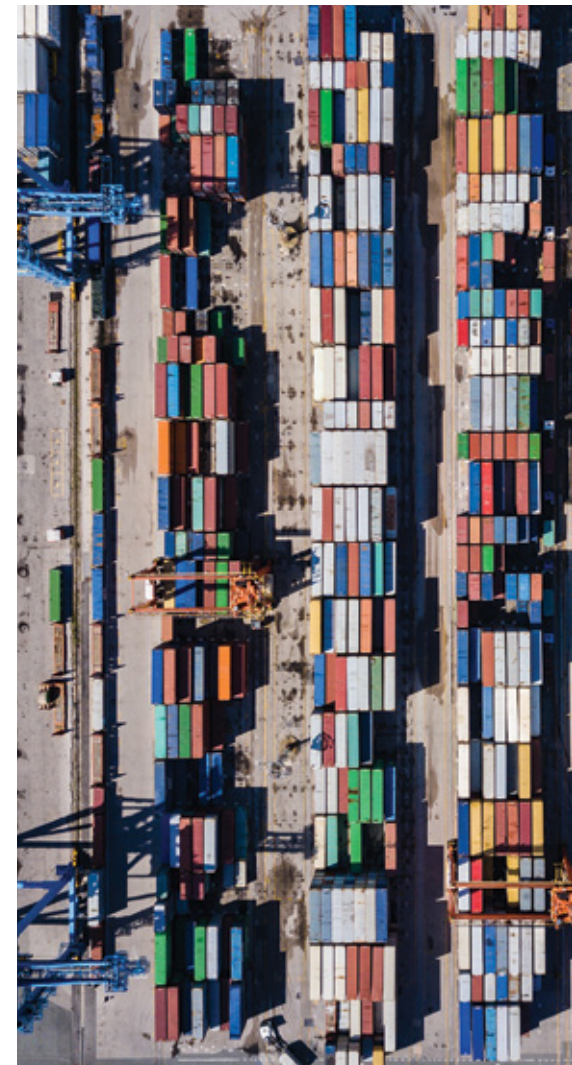
The green designation is a signal to investors that the project has environmental and, typically, climate benefits. To bolster a bond's validity, green bonds are often analyzed by a third-party verifier. However, because a broad range of projects can have environmental benefits, disclosure and reporting standards for green bonds have been evolving since green bond issuances began in 2007.

In July, CEPP hosted the inaugural Green Bond Market Development Committee meeting, chaired by the California State Treasurer Fiona Ma. The Committee consists of bond issuers, investors, attorneys, public policy experts, climate scientists, and experts in municipal and sustainable finance. Participants noted that green bonds help cities secure financing for climate projects by diversifying the investor base, improving assessment of climate risks. As the market for green bonds grows, green bonds can attain a more favorable price structure over conventional bonds, thereby lowering finance costs for green infrastructure. Barriers exist, however, on both sides of the bond transaction. Governments and businesses need training on how to issue and administer green bonds; investors need tools to ensure that environmental labels are accurate and measurable.

The Goldman School is serving as the secretariat for the Committee, and is developing a work plan for education, training, research and policy analysis to expand the market for green bonds in California.

## Zero-Emission Freight and Maritime Ports

Over the past two years CEPP has worked with state agencies, environmental justice groups and university researchers to identify pathways to a zero-emission future for the Port of Oakland. CEPP staff and graduate student researchers filed comments on the Port's draft air quality plan, helped implement California's air pollution hot spot remediation law (AB617), and performed research needed to reduce climate pollution and exposure to diesel pollution for people in West Oakland. CEPP's research showed that the Port needs to upgrade its electric power distribution infrastructure in order to support electrification of cargo handling equipment and trucks operating at the Port. This creates an opportunity to use on-site renewable gen-



eration, energy efficiency, electric storage, equipment/vehicle charging and microgrid systems to eliminate toxic diesel emissions and secure Port operations against the risk of electric grid emergencies.

In June, the Port's board approved a revised air quality plan. The Board followed CEPP's recommendation to undertake an assessment of electric supply infrastructure improvements needed to electrify equipment and build hydrogen fuel systems.

CEPP is organizing a conference on port decarbonization for October 28-29, 2019. The meeting will assemble industry leaders, university and national lab experts, regional and state leaders, and community organizations to explore how to achieve zero emissions freight operations at the Port of Oakland. **G**



# Food Labor Research Center

**THIS PAST SUMMER**, the US House of Representatives passed the Raise the Wage Act, which raised the federal minimum wage to \$15 an hour and fully eliminated the subminimum wage for tipped workers. It was a milestone step in the 17-year advocacy effort of Assistant Adjunct Professor Saru Jayaraman, director of the Food Labor Research Center and the President of Restaurant Opportunities Centers (ROC) United.



“It represents the first time since Emancipation that either House of Congress has moved to eliminate the legacy of slavery that is the subminimum wage for tipped workers,” says Jayaraman. “While the Senate is unlikely to move on this bill this year, this historic vote in the House will create outstanding momentum for multiple states currently considering One Fair Wage policy.”

FLRC partnered with the Berkeley Food Institute to co-sponsor three legislators’ conference that helped One Fair Wage get introduced in 16 states and in Congress in 2019.

“We’ve also published dozens of reports and two books highlighting the need for One Fair Wage,” says Jayaraman. “We’ve highlighted the race and gender implications of the subminimum wage for tipped workers — including the slavery-based history of the subminimum wage and the sexual harassment consequences of it.” (A selection of these publications can be found at [rocunited.org/resources/publications](http://rocunited.org/resources/publications)).

Jayaraman plans to use the passing of the Raise the Wage Act in the House to fuel One Fair Wage efforts in multiple states. One Fair Wage policy continues to advance in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Chicago, and Vermont; and reversals of One Fair Wage victories are being considered by courts in Michigan and Washington, DC.

Last spring, Saru Jayaraman won the Visionary of the Year award from the

San Francisco Chronicle. FLRC/ROC have three books coming out in the next year. *Forked* will be reissued in paperback with a foreword by Jane Fonda. A UC-Press book, *Bite Back*, is due out early in 2020 and a book on immigrant tipped workers with New Press will be available in May 2020. Two documentary films are also in the works featuring the work of ROC and FLRC. **G**

## policy notes

FALL 2019

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

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# Berkeley Global Executive Education

**SUDHA SHETTY**, the Goldman School’s Assistant Dean for International Partnerships and Alliance, came to GSPP seven years ago, bringing her vision, energy, and creativity to the Berkeley Global and Executive Education (BGEE) programs. Since then, BGEE has expanded, both in its offerings and scope, training almost a thousand government leaders from India, Hong Kong, China, Japan, Brunei, New Zealand, and young leaders from throughout sub-Saharan Africa through the US State Department’s Mandela Washington Fellowship. Programs with government leaders from Nigeria and South Africa are forthcoming.

“Government leaders from around the world are drawn to the Goldman School because we are a top policy school that is embedded in the top public university,” she says. “The program has largely grown by word-of-mouth as people have great experiences and then tell their colleagues.”

BGEE programs are custom designed to meet the needs of each cohort — all government officials with at least fifteen years of experience — from finance to ethics to big data. Professor Michael Nacht’s class on strategic thinking is a favorite, as is Tim Dayonot’s class on negotiations.

The programs give participants a chance to learn from Goldman School expertise; the GSPP community learns as well, especially from the semester fellows who take classes alongside the MPP and MPA students.

“It’s an eye-opener for our students as they learn about how public policy is created and implemented in other countries, including a monarchy like Brunei,” says Shetty.

BGEE programs — whether a week, month, or semester in duration — benefit from the hospitality and attention to detail from the entire BGEE team. Each group is invited to dinner at the Shetty/Edleson home and are treated to a unique campus tour from Assistant Dean Shetty herself — a history of UC Berkeley through a feminist lens. **G**

“As a senior bureaucrat, Berkeley Global Executive Programs gave me space and an environment in which to reflect about various aspects of ethical governance, that my extremely busy work world does not provide. All the speakers were high-achieving, hand-picked to share with us the insights and experiences they have gleaned from their brilliant careers in various fields.”

**Dr. Asha Thomas**  
*Additional Chief Secretary, Government of Kerala*

“The research data and academic analytics presented during the sessions having ethical implications on governance came to me as a handy tool to be effectively utilized in my work situation back home.”

**Shalini Rajneesh**  
*Principal Secretary, Government of Karnataka*

“The way the whole program was designed, covering every contemporary emerging ethical issues in public service in divergent subjects/fields was especially useful for me to hone my true leadership qualities in a well-rounded manner.”

**Sameer Sharma** • *Director General, Additional Secretary*  
*Indian Institute of Corporate Affairs*



Ethics & Governance program



Spring 2019 Semester Fellows



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<http://gspp.berkeley.edu/student-life>

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