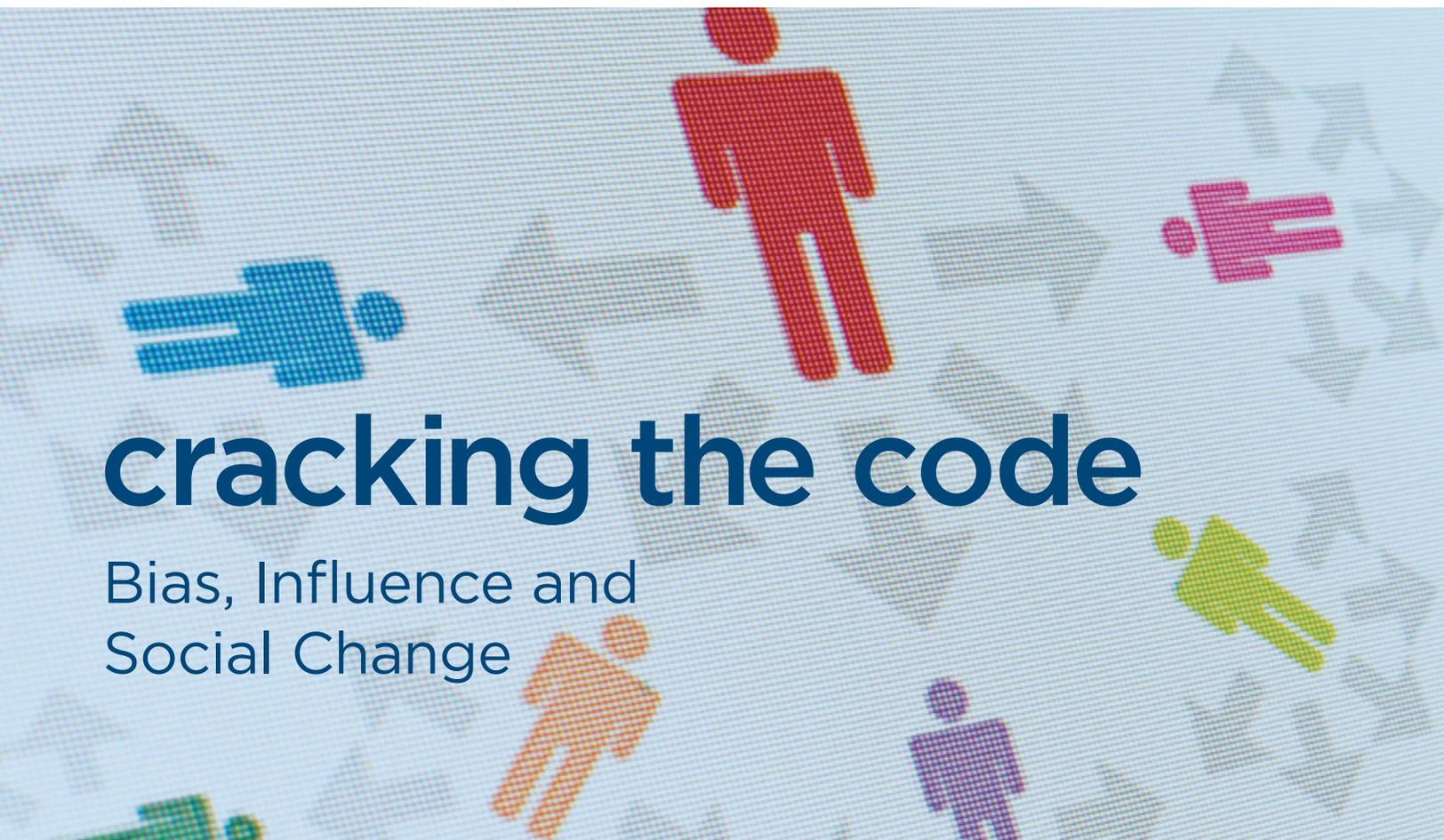


# policy notes



## cracking the code

Bias, Influence and  
Social Change

SPRING 2013

The Center on Civility &  
Democratic Engagement

The Power of Op-Eds

The Swing Vote

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## Dean's Message



Dean Henry E. Brady

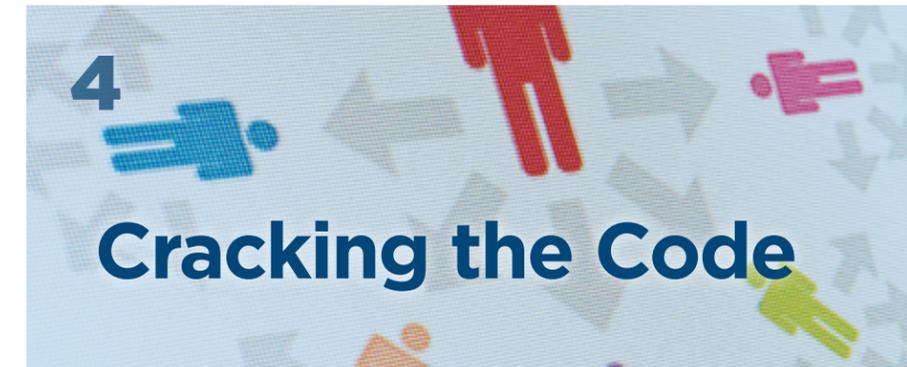
**IN PHILOSOPHY, BURIDAN'S HUNGRY DONKEY** (well, actually Buridan's hungry ass which spices up the story a bit) is famous for dying of hunger while standing motionless between two equally distant and appealing haystacks. Rationally, it makes no sense to choose one or the other so the poor ass is paralyzed by indecision. Outside of philosophical textbooks, human beings and asses are typically not stymied in this way. There are, however, important exceptions. Human beings with certain kinds of traumatic brain injuries appear to be perfectly cogent and rational, but they ruminate endlessly about options and cannot make decisions. Somehow they lack what the wild ass (other than Buridan's overly reflective donkey) has in abundance — the ability to simply make a decision.

As Nobel Prize winner (and former Berkeley faculty member) Daniel Kahneman has artfully described in his recent book, *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, human beings are lucky to be equipped with two decision-making systems. Psychologists call these System 1 and System 2. System 1 operates quickly and automatically — it is closely attached to our perceptual and emotional systems. System 2 operates slowly and with some effort — it is closely related to our rational capacity to manipulate symbols and to think logically. This second system is associated with our sense of ourselves and with our belief that we are agents who can concentrate and solve problems. System 1 sometimes erupts into our consciousness when we get angry about something or act impulsively, but even though we don't notice System 1 that often, the truth is that much of our daily life is based upon System 1 decision-making. If we had to spend all of our time applying System 2 to every one of life's daily decisions, we would be like Buridan's ass. Much of life's learning is about moving from System 2 to System 1. Consider when you learned to drive. At first, every step seemed to require careful rational calculation, and it seemed overwhelming. But once you learned to drive, those same calculations occur effortlessly and automatically.

The same is true for police officers and other decision-makers who face situations where they must make instant judgments. Should they pull their gun? Should they shoot? Police officers start with training that teaches them rules about when to do these things, but the process becomes automatic as they learn more and more. The result is a modern, disciplined, and effective police force that obeys the rules. But what if this learning is incomplete because System 1 harbors some biases or prejudices that are so deep that they never come out of our rational selves — and they would even be denied vociferously by what we consider “ourselves”? What if white officers who would never utter a racist comment and who would condemn racist behavior are more likely to shoot at a black man holding a cell phone (and not a gun) than a white man holding the same cell phone? Professor Jack Glaser of our faculty has built upon social psychological research showing that this is often true, and he has found ways to diagnose the problem and, more importantly, to overcome it. His work, which reaches from the highest quality academic research to engagement with police chiefs to solve an important public policy challenge, is exactly what GSPP does so well. Learn more in this issue!

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

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## Editor's Note

### IT'S IN THE VERY AIR WE BREATHE.

That's what I thought reading Professor Jack Glaser's article on racial profiling. It wasn't just that racial profiling is wrong or that it constitutes poor policing strategy. Biases and stereotypes are *implicit*, influencing the way we view one another whether we know it or not. It interestingly moves the conversation about racial bias away from whether someone is a “racist” or a “good person.” But how do you go about solving a problem that is both ubiquitous and hard to define?

This issue of *Policy Notes* highlights Goldman School alumni, faculty and students who are working to influence those very biases and trends. Sharyl Rabinovici (PhD '12) talks about women in elected office with fellow alumna, Carol Chetkovich (MPP '87; PhD '94), while students like Orville Thomas, Sheetal Dhir and others combine their policy expertise with journalism to share their ideas with the broadest possible audience. Chancellor's Professor Robert Reich, a communicator *par excellence*, continues to shape the national conversation about the economy through a feature-length documentary, *Inequality for All*, which is set for nationwide release late summer/early fall.

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Bora Reed  
Editor

# Cracking the Code

Jack Glaser on Implicit Bias and Racial Profiling

**MY INTEREST IN RACIAL PROFILING** was sparked in 1999 when I read an article by a prominent legal scholar arguing that, while the policy was flawed on Constitutional grounds, it nevertheless represented a rational policing strategy.

Having been steeped in the study of racial stereotyping, I was not ready to accept the assertion that profiling is rational. Racial profiling is stereotype-based policing, making judgments about individuals based on traits that are presumed to be prevalent in that individual's racial, ethnic, gender, or other group. It occurred to me that the very evidence that drove stereotypes associating Blacks with drug crime (the typically profiled crime) was likely to be skewed by profiling itself. To the extent that police were stopping and searching Blacks at a higher rate, they would be arresting and incarcerating them at higher rates. This would skew the criminal justice statistics that people were pointing to.

Trying to study the effects of profiling quickly presented “the benchmark problem.” Like so many policy problems, racial profiling is plagued by a paucity of valid data. So I turned to an alternate empirical

strategy: simulation. Running numerous scenarios estimating incarceration rates as a function of criminal offending and police stopping rates for minority and majority groups, I found that even in the absence of higher offending by minorities, profiling *causes* disproportions in incarcerations. Even if minorities are offending at a higher rate, profiling exaggerates the disproportions. The only way to get incarceration rates that are proportional to offending rates (i.e., Blacks and Whites represented in prison in shares commensurate with their offending rates) is to avoid using race as a basis for suspicion. More surprising were the very modest overall gains in criminal captures that resulted from profiling, even when minorities were modeled as offending at much higher rates.

The *Journal of Policy Analysis & Management* published these findings in 2006, including the finding that, when the possibility that profiling would have a deterrent effect was modeled, the capture rates looked even more modest. This was because racial profiling reflects a special case with regard to deterrence. Deterrence theory holds that potential offenders

respond to the cost of crime. The cost of crime is a function of the probability of apprehension and the punishment that would ensue. When the probability of capture increases, the cost goes up and, according to deterrence theory, people commit fewer crimes. In the case of racial profiling, however, there is not a general increase in the chance of capture, but a group-specific one. Because police departments have finite person-hour resources, when they shift attention to one group, they will shift attention away from another. As long as there are potential offenders in the non-profiled group (e.g., Whites), their offending rate should increase. Because, by definition, there are more people in the majority group, this has the potential to yield a net increase in crime. I call this “reverse deterrence.”

Not long after this paper came out, I was contacted by a new colleague, Amy Hackney at Georgia Southern University, who had come across a method to test reverse deterrence. We designed a study to manipulate whether GSU students thought Black students, White students, or nobody was being profiled by the proctor during a test. In the control group, cheating rates were

reassuringly low. But when White students thought Black students were being profiled (singled out), they cheated significantly more. Black students did not cheat more in our “White-profiling” condition. We suspect this is because they do not have a mental schema for Whites being profiled. In this experiment, the net effect of profiling was a higher rate of offending.

The implications of this research are that 1) profiling may not do much to increase criminal incapacitation, even when profiled groups have higher offending rates; and 2) profiling may actually increase the rate of crime.

Some might ask, “Isn’t it only the criminals who need to worry?” No. The disproportionate incarcerations that arise from racially biased policing have dire collateral effects. Police stops and searches are not benign events, even for the innocent. They are potentially stressful, disruptive, humiliating, stigmatizing, and alienating experiences. The disproportionate incarcerations cause losses in income and wealth that are borne by the targeted communities. After incarceration, criminal records pose lasting barriers to employment. Criminal records disenfranchise voters, and the cumulative effect of profiling-induced disparities undermines the democratic representation of minority groups. Perhaps most disturbing, incarceration has deadly effects on minority communities. GSPP professors Rucker Johnson and Steve Raphael have shown that incarcerations of Black men explain some of the rate of HIV infection in unincarcerated Black women.

Surely, the deleterious effects, combined with the limited (at best) utility and the potential for increased crime through reverse deterrence, render racial profiling a problem worthy of affirmative policy intervention. Many (but not enough) in government agree. The End Racial Profiling Act (ERPA), while far from perfect, would standardize police stop data collection, provide guidance for departments in designing training and monitoring procedures, and fund programs to promote the

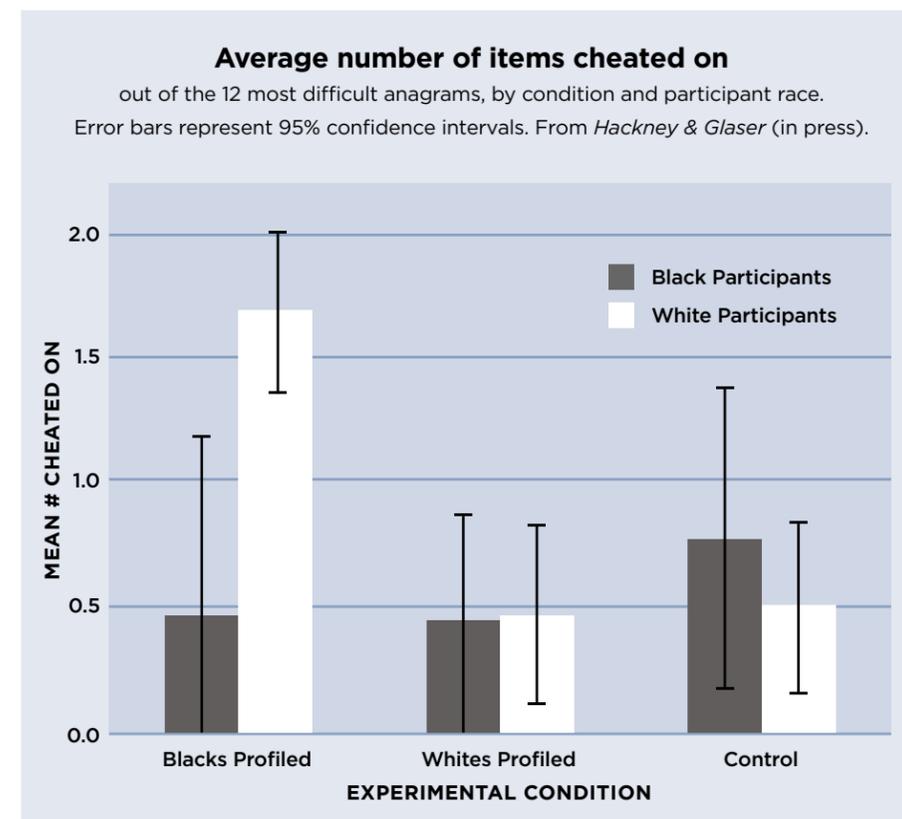
development of good practices. ERPA has been introduced in every Congress since 2001 but has yet to receive a floor vote, and I don’t expect it to get passed any time soon. Most state legislatures have passed laws on racial profiling, but they typically involve only stated bans without enforcement mechanisms. Some mandate data collection, but rarely provide guidance, and there is great variation across jurisdictions and states.

As for the judiciary, I have yet to meet a constitutional scholar who believes that racial profiling is legally permissible. It violates 4th and 14th Amendment guarantees of due process and equal protection. Yet, the Supreme Court has allowed wide latitude to law enforcement in this area, ruling unambiguously that the Court is indifferent to the actual motivations of officers for stopping drivers and pedestrians, as long as they can articulate a legitimate basis (a valid pretext) for a stop. As a criminal defense, racial profiling is generally a non-starter. Civil law is a different matter, and when courts have been con-

vinced (often by the Department of Justice, and based on statistical analysis) that a police department has exhibited a pattern of racial discrimination, they have imposed supervision and requirement of remedial steps. This is happening now in Oakland and New Orleans.

Court order is a first step, but the question of how to actually solve the problem is hardly settled. One challenge stems from the inadequacy of a simple ban on racial profiling. In most departments, profiling is sufficiently taboo that nobody does it overtly, let alone admits to it. There is, in effect, a de facto ban. Steps must be taken to build in monitoring, accountability, and incentive systems to track and change officer behavior. Insights from decades of social psychological study of stereotyping should prove useful.

Stereotypes serve a “heuristic” (cognitive shortcut) function — they enable us to make reasonably rapid judgments of individuals when we have incomplete information (which is very often the case). But stereotypes tend to be inaccurate, either in



Professors Jack Glaser and Steven Raphael are working with colleagues to set national standards for data collection on police-civilian encounters.

direction or scale. After all, what is the likelihood that you could actually know the exact prevalence of a trait (like criminality) in a group? People also have a tendency to overestimate the similarity of members of other groups (the “they all look alike” phenomenon is very real), causing them to underappreciate the individuality of other-group members.

Even if a stereotype was somewhat accurate at the aggregate level, it would tend to produce errors in judgments at the individual level. The very low rates of drug and weapon yields resulting from stops of minorities (in numerous studied locales) — and often lower than those for Whites — reveal that the stereotypes are not contributing much, if any, diagnostic value to the decisions to stop and search.

Another dramatic insight from social psychology is that stereotypes are held in, and activated from, memory without conscious awareness or control. This is what is referred to as “implicit stereotyping.” There is now overwhelming evidence that it is ubiquitous and that implicit stereotypes influence real behaviors. Consequently, even the most well-intentioned, and consciously egalitarian police officer is likely to be influenced by stereotypes associating minorities with crime. Officers will typically not even know that they are doing it. This is another reason why bans will not be effective, and why careful, systematic data collection and analysis is required to monitor for bias.

To this end, Steve Raphael and I, and our colleagues Phil Goff at UCLA and Amanda Geller at Columbia University, are developing a project to set national standards for data collection on police-civilian encounters. With the standardization of these practices, and with the collection of psychological, demographic, sociological, economic, and policy practice variables on (to start with) at least twenty major police departments, we aim to make progress solving the benchmark problem, and helping police leaders identify biased policing

in individuals, units, precincts, and departments. We expect this will enable us to evaluate the effectiveness of accountability regimes that departments put in place.

How to fully address these problems when they are identified is a longer term challenge, but my colleagues and I are making some early progress there as well. One obvious method for reducing biased policing is through “de-biasing” training. In fact, most departments already engage in training meant to discourage the use of stereotypes, and to increase cultural sensitivity. But there is no evidence that these trainings actually work.

We are developing a new, experiential training procedure that builds on our understanding of how implicit stereotyping works. My students and I, as well as a police trainer, have been out on the weekends taking photographs of Black and White actors we’ve hired to act in manners of varying suspiciousness, from not at all (standing, minding one’s own business) to highly (dropping a gun behind a bush). With these visual stimuli, we will develop a procedure to train officers to avoid using race as a basis for suspicion, and to reward them for appropriate judgments that are based on valid criteria.

Finally, I believe the low hanging fruit in remediating biased policing hangs on the tree of discretion. The Supreme Court has, through its rulings, allowed remarkable leeway to officers in deciding who to stop, question, and search. This discretion, combined with the inherent ambiguity of suspect identification, opens the door to implicit stereotypes. The very small proportions of those searched who turn out to be in violation of the law speaks to the inefficiency this level of discretion can give rise to. A telling case, relayed by social psychol-

ogists’ and policy analysts’ favorite journalist, Malcolm Gladwell, implicates the role of discretion in shoddy law enforcement. In 1998, when he took over US Customs, Raymond Kelly (now Commissioner of Police for New York City), directed his agents to conduct fewer searches of airline passengers, and to use a much smaller number of indicators of suspicion, those that were more directly associated with smuggling. The result was a 75% decrease in searches, and a dramatic increase in the hit rate (findings of contraband per stop). The net effect was roughly zero on the absolute number of finds — they caught almost as many smugglers with a quarter of the number of searches. Racial and ethnic disparities also declined. They achieved the same effectiveness with far less intrusion on individual and civil liberties.

Ironically, as head of NYPD, Kelly has presided over a dramatic upscaling of the controversial “Stop & Frisk” program, which has gone from about 150,000 to about 700,000 pedestrian stops per year over the last decade. Stop and frisk, in combination with racial stereotypes, results in large numbers of young Black and Latino men being incarcerated for petty drug possession offenses. Customs enforcement and city policing pose very different challenges, and New York in particular is a daunting and complex assignment. Stop and frisk does not absolutely necessitate racial profiling, but because it involves a large number of high discretion stops in public, urban places, it almost invariably does result in racial disproportions. Nevertheless, I will give Kelly the last word, from an earlier time, when he succinctly evaluated racial profiling: “It’s the wrong thing to do, and it’s also ineffective.” **G**

Jack Glaser is Associate Professor of Public Policy. His book, *Suspect Race: Psychological Causes and Societal Consequences of Racial Profiling*, will be released by Oxford University Press this Fall.



## *Inequality for All* Telling the Big Story about the Economy

**CHANCELLOR’S PROFESSOR ROBERT REICH** is an unlikely subject to star in a movie. The academic and former labor secretary is a public figure: the author of numerous books, a beloved professor and an often-cited media expert. But a movie star?

“I never ‘decided’ to make a movie,” says Professor Reich. “I had been teaching and doing a lot of writing on the issue of inequality, including *Aftershock: The Next Economy and America’s Future*. When director Jake Kornbluth asked me if I would be interested in making a movie about it, I agreed. But I must confess that I didn’t take it too seriously. But within six months we were in full production mode.”

“I was a bit obsessed with having a narrative to explain what was going on with the economy,” says Jake. “*Aftershock* spoke directly to the anxiety about the economy my friends and I were feeling. I wanted to put the story of the economy and the uncertainty so many people were feeling into a coherent narrative.”

The central message of *Inequality for All* overlaps considerably with Professor Reich’s enormously popular class on wealth and poverty, and includes footage of him teaching the class.

“Some inequality is inevitable, but at some point widening inequality threatens the economy and democracy itself,” says Professor Reich. “People may differ as to where the tipping point is. But the movie tries to explain, as clearly as possible, why this is happening and why we may be reaching that tipping point.”

*Inequality for All* premiered at the 2013 Sundance Film festival, where it was screened five times and received five standing ovations.

“One of the most gratifying aspects was seeing people emotionally moved at a film about the economy,” says Jake. “Audiences actually laughed and cried. I knew the film would be informative, but I’m especially glad that it is fast paced and entertaining, to the extent a film about income inequality can be described as ‘entertaining.’”

“The movie is the story of an economy that is no longer functioning very well for average workers,” says Professor Reich. “There is a remarkable level of economic insecurity. Wages have gone nowhere for most people, the job market is still bad. It’s what I call ‘kitchen table economics,’ because it’s about the things that directly affect people’s lives. These are not abstractions.”

Both Professor Reich and Jake say that the movie will help people “connect the dots” to see the big picture of what is happening with the economy and also feel empowered to take action.

“I wasn’t sure what impact the movie would have when we started,” admits Professor Reich. “But I would like it to do for the issue of widening inequality what *An Inconvenient Truth* did for climate change. *An Inconvenient Truth* was controversial, but it helped people see a big problem and motivated them to do something.”

“When I read *Aftershock* for the first time, I was surprised at how good it felt,” says Jake. “I was searching for a coherent story about what’s happening to the American economy for a long time, and *Aftershock* was it. I hope *Inequality for All* is a fun movie to watch and that it changes the way people who see it think. If the film can change people’s understanding of what’s wrong, maybe that’ll change what kinds of solutions are on the table to fix it.”

“In many ways the subject of the film is Bob’s life’s work,” continues Jake. “It really is remarkable how long he’s been writing about, yelling about, and doing whatever he can to get this message out. I hope people are ready to hear it now.” **G**

*Inequality for All* will be released in theaters nationwide in late summer/early fall.

# Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement

## *The Class of '68 Celebrates 45 Years and Its Lasting Legacy*

**THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL'S CENTER** on Civility & Democratic Engagement (CCDE), founded by the Cal Class of 1968 on their 40th reunion, seeks to promote civility in public discourse and prepare future leaders to successfully engage people of diverse backgrounds and viewpoints in the resolution of public policy issues. CCDE Advisory Board and members of the Class of '68 who have been gathering quarterly over the past 10 years, along with a multitude of UC Berkeley alums from various reunion years, have embarked on a campaign to endow the program in perpetuity.

"The next five years leading up to our 50th reunion signal the beginning of our dream come true," says Advisory Board Co-Chair D.D. van Löben Sels. "Now as an integral part of the Goldman School, the Center's core academic, research and teaching will focus on how to best solve local public policy issues by incorporating public participation."

"Our goal is to work with local governments to carry out participatory budgeting, citizen summits, and deliberative democracy projects that will combine substantial civic engagement with actual decision-making," says Henry Brady, dean

and co-director of the Center. "These projects will draw upon research by GSPP faculty members and graduate students, and build upon approaches used by the Davenport Institute for Public Engagement and Civic Leadership at Pepperdine University's School of Public Policy. Collaborating with the Davenport Institute, we will also develop a training program on these methods for GSPP's executive training and Masters of Public Policy programs, alumni, and local government officials. The curriculum will include components examining the best place in the policy-making process for civic engagement and using social media as a means of enhancing civic participation."

"Student education and involvement are key to our mission," says CCDE advisory board member Selma Meyerowitz. "During the past three years, the Center has provided financial assistance to 17 undergraduates enrolled in Cal's UC in Washington, DC (UCDC) program and we are sponsoring three more this spring. Through their affiliation with the Center and their experiences during their internships in DC, these students observe and then report back on the political, ideological and cultural factors

that generate conflict and what enables productive problem solving locally, nationally and globally."

CCDE is also sponsoring Goldman School Masters Candidate Orville Thomas who is doing his Advanced Policy Analysis (APA) with Councilwoman Marti Brown of the City of Vallejo, working on the nation's first city-wide participatory budgeting project dubbed "PB Vallejo."

"The City of Vallejo is taking a proactive approach in trying to get its people to believe in it again," says Orville. "Vallejo needs more projects which push for increased interaction between its residents and their government. The more they know about government and spending, the more likely they'll be to avoid legislation and policies that will take them back towards bankruptcy."

"The Participatory Budgeting Project, operating out of Brooklyn, New York, approached GSPP last summer to discuss the Vallejo process and the potential for research collaboration," says Adjunct Professor Larry Rosenthal, who serves on PB

Vallejo's research board. "There are numerous questions concerning representativeness, process design, roles of the existing administrative structure, sustainability across annual budget cycles, and the quality of decision-making compared to municipal politics-as-usual. The leadership of the Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement is making a real difference as we proceed. Orville's APA endeavors to evaluate what is working well — as Vallejo strives for the first time to involve its citizens meaningfully in budget choice — and what might be improved to make the process even better in future years, in Vallejo and elsewhere."

Since 2010, CCDE has sponsored three other graduate students working on topics related to civility and democratic engagement. Their research has informed the work of the Center and GSPP faculty and students as a whole, and proved invaluable academically and personally. Jessie Oettinger (MPP '11) had this to say about her experience: "I'm a project manager now, working on a team of folks across the country monitoring the grantee sites that

received stimulus money from the Department of Labor. Both my summer internship and my APA experience were directly relevant to getting me to where I am and I am so grateful. When I applied for my position at Collaborative Economics, all the partners actually read my APA and wanted to talk about it!"

"We look to Berkeley for ground-breaking solutions to the world's challenges," says Robert Wong, Advisory Board Co-Chair. "Success will require a commitment to leadership and effective problem solving. Through the Center, our alumni group aims to inform public policy, engage citizens and position Cal as a leader in these critical areas."

CCDE is also known for its hallmark public events on Homecoming (see box), and Cal Day (view webcasts on the School's homepage), along with the Class of '68 and Friends Quarterly Gatherings that bring alumni back to Berkeley to reconnect through stimulating academic, social and cultural activities in an informal setting. **G**

For more information on the CCDE, visit our webpage at <http://gspp.berkeley.edu/ccde>



**From left:** Jesse Oettinger (MPP '11), Sarah Swanbeck (MPP '11) and Center Board Member Selma Meyerowitz.



**From left:** Bill Whalen, Hoover Institution; Lawrence Rosenthal, Center for the Comparative Study of Right-Wing Movements; Christine Trost, Institute for the Study of Societal Issues; and Dean Henry E. Brady, GSPP at the CCDE Homecoming event on the Tea Party in American Politics.



Center Advisory Board members from Cal's Class of 1968 meet with Dean Henry E. Brady and MPP Candidate Orville Thomas. **From left-back row:** Peter Muñoz, Jay Miller, Bruce Roberts, Henry Brady, Brad Barber, Dick Beahrs. **Front row:** Jesse Ante, Orville Thomas, D.D. van Löben Sels, Selma Meyerowitz and Bob Wong.

### SAVE THE DATE

Join the Cal Class of 1968 on their 45th Reunion

### Homecoming Lecture

Saturday, October 5, 2013

**Jennifer M. Granholm BA '84**  
former Governor of Michigan and Distinguished Visiting Professor of Law and Public Policy at the Goldman School

**"Climate Change and the Economy: Rhetoric v. Reality"**

Sponsored by the Center on Civility & Democratic Engagement, founded by the Cal Class of '68.



**SOLOMON HSIANG** studies how climate change affects people in the Caribbean, Central America, the Philippines, and around the world. This summer, he will join the faculty of the Goldman School.

**You have a science and urban planning background. How did you come into the world of public policy?**

I know that because of my background, it might look like I “stumbled” into public policy — but that couldn’t be further from the truth. From the very start of my time as an undergraduate, I intentionally sought out an interdisciplinary education specifically because I have always been interested in environment and development policies. I realized early on that my ability to effectively address the complex challenges we now face, particularly regarding management of the global environment, would benefit from a systematic training in both the social and physical sciences.

**From what I understand, you study mathematical models of how climate change affects entire societies/nations. What appeals to you about working on such a large scale?**

Not everything I do is at a large scale (sometimes I examine the impact of the climate on individuals or families), but there is something about working at extraordinarily large scales that appeals to me. Part of it is practical — I want to know what happens to the global population if the global environment changes, so by looking at the large-scale dynamics of how those two systems interact, we can get a feel fairly quickly for what kind of dynamics are most important at the global scale. But the other

part is visceral — I have just always found it exciting to think about extremely large systems.

I remember how I first started thinking about this problem as a kid in middle school. One of my teachers explained exponential growth to us and had us estimate the world population in 2100 as a math exercise; I couldn’t stop thinking about what the world would be like and how we would manage our resources if there were really that many people trying to live on it, and I guess I haven’t been able to stop thinking about that since.

**Can you give an example of how economic development and policy considerations can come from understanding the intersection of a society and its environment?**

In a recent paper with Jesse Anttila-Hughes, we studied the health impacts and economic responses of households in the Philippines to hurricanes (they are struck by more than ten per year, on average). We discovered that there is a surge in female infant mortality the year after a storm strikes a community — these surges are large enough that together they constitute roughly 13% of the overall infant mortality rate of the country (more than 10,000 babies a year), but diffuse enough across the population that individual leaders or health-care providers on the ground never realized that these deaths systematically followed hurricane strikes. We tried to understand what was causing these deaths by digging into hundreds-of-thousands of records of household economic decisions, and we found that these deaths were apparently caused by the economic hardship brought about by these storms. Many families lose a large fraction of their assets and/or a large chunk of their income in the year or so after a storm strikes. To cope with these losses, most families reduce their spending on many factors that are important for infant health, such as nutritious foods or medical care; patterns in the data strongly suggest that the reduction of these critical investments play a central role in elevating post-disaster infant mortality. If we can design policies that help families weather these catastrophes with less economic loss, or recover their livelihoods more quickly afterwards, we should be able to reduce the disruption of household investments in infant health and thus lower the infant mortality rate, perhaps saving thousands of lives.

**What are your current projects? What aspects are exciting? Especially challenging?**

Right now, I’m focusing on understanding how climatic disasters affect societies, how climatic changes lead to social conflict and political instability, and how climatic factors influence economic productivity. Some of the most exciting findings arise when we discover that climatic factors have a surprisingly large impact on different social and economic outcomes. In many cases, the influence of the climate is much more important than anyone (including myself) previously thought, a fact that is forcing us to recon-

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FACULTY NOTES

**Robert Reich** made a presentation in early February to House Democrats at their annual policy retreat on “Framing Economic Policy.”

**Robert Stern’s** article, “Losing Sleep Over the Transatlantic Trade Talks?” was published in the April 21 issue of VoxEU. VoxEU publishes papers on timely issues relating to international trade and finance.

**Robert MacCoun** is teaching a Big Ideas course, “Sense, Sensibility, and Science” with Nobel Laureate Saul Perlmutter and Professor of Philosophy John Campbell. He spoke at a conference on Empirical Legal Studies at Stanford Law School and on *The burden of social proof: Shared thresholds and social influence* at the University of Pennsylvania Law School. Recent and forthcoming papers include “Cheap talk and credibility: The consequences of confidence and accuracy on advisor credibility and persuasiveness” in *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*; “The paths not (yet) taken: Lower risk alternatives to full market legalization of cannabis” in *Something’s in the air: Race and the legalization of marijuana*; and “Moral outrage and opposition to harm reduction” in *Criminal Law & Philosophy*.

**Steve Raphael** gave a keynote lecture on prison growth and crime at a conference at the Inter-American Development Bank in January and gave a similar lecture at Harvard’s Kennedy School in February. His book, *Why are so many Americans in prison?* is tentatively scheduled to be published in May by the Russell Sage Foundation.

**Suzanne Scotchmer** was elected a Fellow of the Econometric Society in November 2012.

**Richard Scheffler** is on sabbatical at the Universidad Carlos III de Madrid working on his next book. Last fall, he was on a Fulbright in Santiago, Chile.

**Jesse Rothstein’s** paper on the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) is being cited in the public debate surrounding Obama’s State of the Union proposal to raise the minimum wage. Opponents argue that the EITC is preferable; his research is then used to support the counterargument that the two policies are complements rather than substitutes.

In February, **David Kirp** delivered the keynote address at the Helping Families Change international conference. His *New York Times* article, “The Secret to Fixing Bad Schools,” became the second most emailed article in the paper. He will be in NYC, DC and Boston in late March and early April to discuss his latest book, *Improbable Scholars: The Rebirth of a Great American School System and a Strategy for America’s Schools*.

**Michael Nacht** spoke on US energy security to a group of Mexican energy executives in Mexico City on February 20, 2013 as part of the Haas School Center for Executive Education Mexico initiative. He spoke on US nuclear strategy at the annual nuclear non-proliferation conference of the Institute for National Security Studies in Tel Aviv on February 11. He also met with senior Israeli officials in cyber security and counter-terrorism. He spoke on “Toward a UC Berkeley international strategy” at the UC Center for Studies of Higher Education on November 26, 2012 based on his work as Chair of the UC Berkeley International Strategy Task Force. He was a panelist on KQED Forum with Michael Krasny on March 11, 2013 to discuss North Korea, Syria and other challenges to US national security.



**Dan Kammen** (pictured here with Dr. J. Aloo at the World Future Energy Summit in Abu Dhabi) appeared with former California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger at the Sustainability Summit in Vienna. In February, Professor Kammen was appointed to serve on the five person board (three utility representatives, two from the public) of California Energy Systems for the 21st Century (CES-21). Recent publications and talks include “Solar Manufacturing: From Wafer to Encapsulation” at UC Berkeley’s Haas School of Business; “Microgrids and the energy transition” at the Technical University of Berlin; and “Cross border collaborations: renewable energy” at the British Council on Higher Education, San Francisco, CA.

**Sarah Anzia’s** book, *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups*, will be published this fall by University of Chicago Press. In March, she gave a talk on election timing at the Public Policy Institute of California. She and Terry Moe (Hoover Institution, Stanford) are continuing their work on 1) the politics of public pensions and 2) public sector unions in politics and policymaking. She gave talks on public sector unions at Princeton’s Center for the Study of Democratic Politics and Stanford University’s American Politics workshop.

**Lee Friedman** briefed new California state legislators and staff on energy and environmental issues. The briefing took place in a collaboration between GSPP and Berkeley Law’s Center for Energy, Law and the Environment. He addressed “Legislating for State Agencies,” having in mind laws the legislature writes that instruct agencies like the Air Resources Board and the State Public Utilities Commission. He emphasized that these agencies have large staffs with many experts on the details of what they do, whereas state legislators have small staffs and are expected to know about every area of state public policy. This suggests that (1) it is wise for legislators to lead these agencies by specifying clearly the goals and objectives that they should be achieving and holding them accountable for their actions; and (2) it is unwise to micromanage them by trying to specify how everything should be implemented — the agencies are better suited to choose the implementation details, as long as they are given clear legislative direction. **Michael O’Hare** and **Henry Brady** also took part in this briefing.



**PROFESSOR HILARY HOYNES**, a noted public finance and labor economist currently at the University of California, Davis, will join the GSPP faculty on July 1, 2013. She will also have an appointment in the Economics Department. She will hold the Haas Distinguished Chair in Economic Disparities.

**You are a public finance and labor economist. What initially led you to study these areas?**

I have long been interested in poverty and inequality. My first job, after college, was at an economic consulting firm. I worked on a lot of projects in the areas of tax policy, health, and income security. In that setting I learned a lot about policy and policy analysis. I think this experience very much solidified my interest in domestic policy in the labor / public areas.

**What is the focus (foci) of your current research?**

First, I am interested in the health impacts of non-health elements of the safety net. In particular, I work on the Earned Income Tax Credit and Food Stamps — both vital elements of the safety net for families with children. I am interested in expanding the set of “benefits” that are credited to these programs. So, for example, in my work I ask how greater protection through a higher EITC or higher SNAP benefits translates to infant birth outcomes and health and mortality.

Second, I am interested in assessing the impact of access to the safety net in early childhood on longer run economic and health outcomes. In a recent paper I leverage the historical geographic rollout of the food stamp program to estimate the effect of access to food stamps in early childhood on adult health and economics outcomes. I find that additional access to food stamps up to around age 4 leads to a significant reduction in metabolic syndrome (obesity, high blood pressure, diabetes).

**Solomon Hsiang** Continued from page 10

sider what factors are central to shaping human societies and what we might expect to happen if we continue to allow the global climate to change.

One of the most challenging things about my work is just keeping on top of all the results that are pouring out of the research community right now. This field is amazingly active, with important new results showing up all over the place, which makes my work both exciting and exhausting. For example, some colleagues and I were recently reviewing the literature examining possible linkages between climate change and social conflict, and as we were writing, new papers kept being released, forcing us to constantly read even

Third, I am interested in the effects of labor market fluctuations (recessions and expansions) on health and food insecurity, and how the effects of recessions differentially affect groups.

**What do you think are the most critical policy issues in the areas of labor and public finance in the next decade?**

First, there will be continued pressure due to the aging of the population and increases in health care costs. This leads to the need to make changes to the main social programs affected by these factors (Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security). Second, tax reform needs to be part of the solution. Third, we need to overhaul our immigration system to address both the shortage of skilled workers and the large number of undocumented immigrants currently in the US.

**What kind of training will public policy students need to face these challenges?**

Policy students certainly need grounding in the key disciplines (political science, economics). In addition, they need a deep understanding of statistics and, together with the social science grounding, this gives them the tools to think critically and evaluate the quality of the evidence on these critical issues. With easy access to data, there are often many competing studies on a given issue. Public policy students need to be equipped with the necessary tools to be able to evaluate the competing studies.

**What are you most looking forward to about joining the faculty at GSPP?**

UC Berkeley is an exciting place to be a scholar, with so much intellectual firepower on campus. But coming to GSPP brings with it a real sense of place and of being part of something. And I am excited about that. And after teaching in the same setting for 20 years, I am excited to expand my sites to teaching GSPP students and undergraduates in public policy. Everyone raves about the combination of intellect, hard work, and passion that make up the typical GSPP student. **G**

more papers and update our text as we were trying to finish the review. So many new results came out while we were working on this one project that I think the literature grew by around 25% between the time we started and the time we finished.

**Why the Goldman School?**

The faculty and students are passionate about improving public policy through careful and systematic analysis of the challenges we face as a society. In addition, the school is wonderfully interdisciplinary, at the forefront of policy research and education, and in the middle of the one of the best universities in the world. **G**

# Check Out Our New Website!

Visit us at our newly redesigned website: <http://gspp.berkeley.edu> and sign up for the eDigest, GSPP’s monthly electronic newsletter: <http://gspp.berkeley.edu/eDigest>



## students **The Power of Op-Eds**

**By Sheetal Dhir** *MPP Candidate '13*

Earlier this spring, Goldman School students owned the SF Chronicle's op-ed pages, occupying much of the coveted real estate in the Insight section. In a flash, students were contributing to the wider discourse regarding some of the hottest policy issues of the day, including the future of education policy, the economics of immigration reform, and the ever-controversial debate over hydraulic fracturing, more commonly known as fracking.

"Op-eds serve an important function in policy discussions," says Ankit Jain (MPP Candidate '13), one of several Goldman School students researching and writing op-eds in classes offered by Susan Rasky and UC Berkeley's School of Journalism. "They allow people with unique perspectives to communicate to an audience that would otherwise only be accessible to established pundits. They provide an outlet to the common man, while maintaining a level of journalistic integrity that is rarely seen in the blogosphere."

Op-eds have long been an avenue for experts to weigh in on issues central to public debate. When experts write and publish for the public it provides substance and gravitas to the general dialogue. For students like Ankit, part of a growing community of GSPP students writing op-eds, it's been helpful to learn firsthand that media savvy can be nearly



**From left:** Luke Reidenbach, Alexei Painter, Sheetal Dhir, and Ankit Jain are part of the Advanced Op-Ed Writing Seminar with Susan Rasky at UC Berkeley's School of Journalism.

as important to advancing policy perspectives as the policies themselves.

"Boiling down policy analysis and research into clear language makes policy accessible," says Katherine Murtha (MPP Candidate '13). "This in turn increases the likelihood of it being enacted."

The expertise represented by the Goldman School reaches across all sectors of public policy. But this expertise is often only as powerful as the medium used to spread the message. Op-eds connect the work we do in the classroom to a broader

audience, shaping the conversation while ensuring diversity of opinion.

"GSPP teaches us to analyze and understand policy," notes Alexei Painter (MPP Candidate '13). "But those skills are more valuable if we can explain our ideas to the rest of the world."

To make the ultimate difference, people who study and formulate good public policy must also move the conversation along in a smarter, sharper way. By writing and publishing op-eds, Goldman School students are doing just that. **G**

Sheetal Dhir has worked as a Production Associate at ABC's *This Week with George Stephanopoulos* and at Current TV's *The War Room with Jennifer Granholm*. She is presently doing her thesis work at the ACLU Center for Equality. [sheetaldhirberkeley@gmail.com](mailto:sheetaldhirberkeley@gmail.com).

## from the desk of **Martha Chavez**

### **GSPP Launches New APA Sacramento Program**



Martha Chavez is the Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs

**IN FALL 2012, THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL** established an exciting new partnership with the California State Legislature and

the Office of the Governor. This partnership teams up a Goldman School master's student completing an Advanced Policy Analysis (APA) project with a legislator or member of the Governor's Office who will serve as the student's "client". The APA Sacramento Program makes it possible for students to work on real-world legislative issues and bills that are important and of

high priority to key policy makers in Sacramento. Guided under the supervision of a GSPP faculty member, students have the opportunity to conduct high-quality quantitative and analytical policy analysis to evaluate and develop solutions to today's most complex policy problems facing California. Currently in its inaugural spring semester, five APA projects are

## students **Journalism for Social Change**

**By Orville Thomas** *MPP Candidate '13*

Journalist Daniel Heimpel had a vision for what he wanted to bring to the Goldman School of Public Policy. It wouldn't be enough to stick to the school's motto, "speak truth to power." According to Daniel, policy students trying to lessen child maltreatment must learn how to use truth as power, the way journalists do. "Journalism for Social Change" was born from that vision, teaching graduate students in the schools of Journalism, Social Welfare, and Public Policy skills that will translate into "solution-based journal-

ism," or stories advocating answers rather than just telling readers what the problem is.

Each class is split into two segments: a journalism crash course and a lecture on child welfare, the topical focus of the class. Students spend the first hour working together on their stories; the second hour and a half is spent talking with local leaders in journalism, social welfare, and child maltreatment prevention organizations.

One particularly lively class featured Dr. Jim Dwyer, a law professor at William and Mary College who advocated for "adult-only zones," i.e., mandating the

removal of kids from bad neighborhoods. Students in the class listened, then engaged him and one another on issues ranging from the equity of the removal process to the boundary between a "bad" and "good" neighborhood.

Students in the class have covered stories such as the child sex trade in Oakland, gun violence in Richmond, and a profile of a teen who killed his parents in the Berkeley Hills. Daniel hopes that larger local and national news outlets will pick these stories up and give the students the chance to serve as the lead journalist and expert on the topics they researched and covered. **G**



Orville Thomas



Guest speaker Dr. Jim Dwyer addresses the class

underway with GSPP students conducting analysis on a wide array of policy issues including Energy Data Sharing and Access, Indian Gaming and Tribal Justice, Renewable Power Sources, Electricity Costs, and California's Zero Emission Vehicle Industry Supply Chain and Emerging Opportunities. Projects are scheduled for completion in May 2013.

Applications for policy makers to become a partner of the APA Sacramento Program will be available in Summer 2013 with a deadline of early Fall 2013. Our goal is to expand the number of APA projects: eligible participants must be legislators and key staff from the Office of the Governor and California State Assembly and Senate offices, both Democratic and Republican,

with the goal of having an equal balance of projects between the two houses. For more information about the APA Sacramento Program, contact Cecille Cabacungan at [cecille@berkeley.edu](mailto:cecille@berkeley.edu) or visit [gssp.berkeley.edu](http://gssp.berkeley.edu) and type "apa sacramento" in the search box. **G**

# event highlights



**Goldman School Board of Advisors Dinner**  
Richard Blum, founder of the Blum Center for Developing Economies, shared his strategies for addressing the issues of developing nations at the Goldman School Board of Advisors and friends dinner.



Board member Nancy Hult Ganis and Board chair, James D. Marver (MPP '74 / PhD '78)



**From left:** Board members Todd J. Dipaola, Thomas C. Schneider and Jerry Yoon



**From left:** Victor W. Willits, Arlene J. Willits, Judith R. Wessing, John A. Sargent and Laurie Fleming Sargent



Board member Charles L. Frankel

## 2012 Alumni Dinner



Stuart Drown (MPP '86) was honored as GSPP's Alumnus of the Year; Veronica Irastorza (MPP '99) received the International Public Service Award at GSPP's 2012 Alumni Dinner. They are pictured here with Dean Henry E. Brady.



**From left:** Amy Vierra (MPP '04), Stuart Drown (MPP '86), Kate Harrison (MPP '84), Anula Drown



**From left:** David Jonas (MPP '14), John Ellwood, Amy Vierra (MPP '04), Ashley Bliss-Herrera (MPP '14)



**From left:** Nooshi Borhan; Veronica Irastorza (MPP '99), Rafael Gomez (MPP '03), Andreina Febres



**Network DC**  
Prospective employers, alumni and students gathered at Network DC to network and explore opportunities for internships and employment.

**From left:** Kathy Wilson (MPP '11), Jeff Bellisario (MPP Candidate '13), Sheida Elmi (MPP '12), Tommy Drake (MPP Candidate '13), Aaron Burgess (MPP Candidate '13), Joshua Smith (MPP '12).

## alumni **Women in Politics**

### Still Holding Up Half the Sky, But Not From Elected Office

**SHARYL RABINOVICI (PHD '12)**, Visiting Assistant Professor of Public Policy at Mills College interviewed **CAROL CHETKOVICH (MPP '87/PHD '94)**, Director of Mills College Public Policy Program about the “confidence factor,” overcoming barriers to women in elected office and what constitutes “women’s issues.”

**SHARYL:** More women than men are registered to vote, yet women’s representation in elected office is very low. In fact, the proportion of women in the House of Representatives (17.7%) currently puts the US about 77th out of 190 countries with democratically elected national legislatures. Why might this be?

**CAROL:** Research suggests that the underrepresentation of women is due not as much to disadvantages women may face when they run as much as to the fact that women don’t run. Numerous reasons exist why women don’t think of themselves as potential candidates — including lack of encouragement from persons in a position to help — but a big one is the confidence factor. Research by Fox and Lawless suggests that not only do men tend to perceive themselves as more qualified, but perceived qualifications are less important in men’s decision calculus about whether to run. Among men and women who have low self-perceived levels of qualification, men are much more likely than women to consider running for office. There is also some work suggesting that although adolescent girls are at least as likely as boys to be interested in politics and to have political ambitions, both factors decline as girls grow older; by the college years, women are much less likely than men to think of themselves as candidates.

**SHARYL:** What types of programming or interventions can educational institutions offer to counteract these trends?

**CAROL:** As a women’s college, Mills is an ideal setting in which to grow awareness and test out counter-strategies. In the past seven years, we have instituted several new courses and activities designed to support or enhance young women’s political

interests and capacity. It’s sometimes a challenge to engage students, but when we do, they catch a glimpse of their own political potential. This is exciting. We’ve had students gain positions on appointed boards and commissions (a stepping stone). We currently have three of our MPPs pursuing the Emerge California training that prepares women to run for political office. Students seem particularly inspired when they get to hear honest accounts from women role models who’ve successfully made the leap. When someone acknowledges all the barriers, trade-offs, and struggles and still comes out believing it was worth it, that sends a powerful message.

**SHARYL:** If we succeed in getting more women to run, would that ensure greater proportionality in representation?

**CAROL:** It will help but there will still be obstacles. For one thing, incumbents have a huge advantage over non-incumbents and (of course) there are far more male than female incumbents. Although research shows that similarly situated men and women are equally likely to be elected, these studies don’t control for qualifications. If the women who run are actually more qualified than their male opponents (which could be the case, given the research mentioned above), and more qualified candidates are more likely to be elected, then the equal results are masking a female disadvantage. Lots of social psychological evidence exists that women leaders are held to different standards than men, and that even people who believe themselves to be egalitarian

express unconscious race and sex biases. Leaders are by definition agentic (i.e., capable of making things happen) — a quality associated with men but not women — so we (men and women alike) have trouble reconciling the roles of “woman” and “leader.” Additionally, research on gender and influence has identified a serious bind for women. In general, people’s influence is greater when they are seen as likable and competent. But Linda Carli has shown (in multiple experiments) that people

control for qualifications. If the women who run are actually more qualified than their male opponents (which could be the case, given the research mentioned above), and more qualified candidates are more likely to be elected, then the equal results are masking a female disadvantage. Lots of social psychological evidence exists that women leaders are held to different standards than men, and that even people who believe themselves to be egalitarian

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Sharyl Rabinovici



Carol Chetkovich

## alumni **Fatimah Simmons**



**Left:** Bay Area elected officials at IGNITE’s 2013 “Tomorrow’s Women Leaders Today” Conference. **Right, top:** CA Assemblymember Susan Talamantes Eggman (right) speaks with students. **Right, middle:** Immigrant Rights Activist Sofia Campos delivers the keynote. **Right, bottom:** Mikhail Haramati (MPP Candidate ’13) with Fatimah Simmons (right).

**FATIMAH SIMMONS (MPP '11) IS THE PROGRAM DIRECTOR OF IGNITE, a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization that works to build political ambition and leadership in young women, especially those from low income communities. She spoke with Policy Notes about the gender gap in politics and how she still uses Professor Eugene Bardach’s eightfold path.**

**How did you become program director at IGNITE? What drew you to this role?**

During my last semester at GSPP, I cross-registered for an elective at Mills College called “Women & Politics”. The professor turned out to be the founder and president of IGNITE. I was drawn to this role because I love educating and empowering young women and girls.

IGNITE works in high schools and colleges to provide civic education, exposure to women in political leadership, hands-on training and work opportunities, and a peer network of women who support and nurture each other’s aspirations for civic and political leadership. It’s a great platform for me to engage a very deserving population in politics, one of my ultimate passions.

**Why is it critical for young women from poor communities to get involved in politics?**

Women make up more than 50 percent of the population, but only slightly more than 18 percent of all the elective offices at the federal level. Not only that, but the proportion of women in state

and local office has also flattened. The US now ranks 79th in the world for women’s political representation. Investing in the civic and political leadership of all girls and young women, before they enter adulthood, is a powerful way to achieve gender parity. It is especially critical to focus on girls and young women who otherwise might lack access to opportunities to develop civic and political engagement and leadership.

**What are some of the biggest barriers to political ambition faced by these young women? How is IGNITE addressing them?**

Women run for office at significantly lower rates than men. The reason? Women are recruited to run at significantly lower rates than men, and we routinely undervalue our qualifications.

IGNITE exposes girls and young women to role models — women who are serving in elected office at all levels — so they can see women from their own communities, whose lives are like theirs, as political leaders. We bring in elected leaders to meet with girls in high schools throughout the year, and once a year, during Women’s History Month, we bring together hundreds of young women and dozens of elected women mayors, supervisors, council members, school board officials, assembly members and more at our annual Young Women’s Political Leadership conferences.

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PHOTOS BY LAUREN JANNEY AND ALICIA AVILA (COURTESY OF MISSIONLOCAL.ORG)

**Maureen Friar** (MPP '90) returned to New York after three years in Washington, DC to work as a Strategic Development Officer at Community Access, a non-profit organization that provides supportive housing, employment and recovery programs for people living with psychiatric disabilities ([www.communityaccess.org](http://www.communityaccess.org)). They create innovative alternatives to hospitalizations that focus on people who have life experience (peers) providing services. Maureen continues to learn about behavioral health care in this new world of Medicaid reform. She is glad to be back in NYC.

**Emilie Mazzacurati** (MPP '07) recently launched her own consulting firm, Four Twenty Seven — fittingly named after California's 2020 GHG reduction target. Four Twenty Seven offers training, consulting and research services for public and private clients on California's cap-and-trade program, US Climate policy, and climate adaptation. You can follow Emilie's analysis of California climate policy at her blog ([www.427mt.com/blog](http://www.427mt.com/blog)) and on Twitter (@emazzacurati).

**Ned Helme** (MPP '77) is the founder and president of the Center for Clean Air Policy (CCAP), which has released a short video about an innovative program in Colombia, South America, that reduces methane gas emissions from landfills as a way to mitigate the dangers of global climate change and showcases the collaborative work of developed and developing countries. The video can be viewed at <http://bit.ly/ccap-colombia>.

**Martha Ture** (MPP '04) is retiring from the California Public Utilities Commission in November.

**Veronica Irastorza** (MPP '99) is a visiting scholar at the Goldman School's Center for Environmental Public Policy. She is the Undersecretary for Energy Planning & Technological Development in Mexico's Ministry of Energy.

**Juliette Cubanski** (MPP '98/MPH '99; Harvard PhD '04), the Associate Director of the Program on Medicare Policy at the Kaiser Family Foundation in Washington, DC, has recently testified in front of the US Senate Special Committee on Aging at a hearing on "Strengthening Medicare for Today and the Future." Her testimony provided the members of the committee with an overview of the Medicare program, Medicare beneficiaries' costs and service use, and the Foundation's recent polling on proposed Medicare program changes.

**Leo Levenson** (MPP '90) started a new position in January as Deputy Director and CFO of the Successor Agency to the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency. His new job provides the exciting challenge of resolving the complexity and ambiguity created by the hastily drafted State law that required the dissolution of Redevelopment Agencies while allowing for fulfillment of enforceable obligations. In San Francisco, those ongoing obligations are huge — whole new neighborhoods are in the process of being created in Mission Bay, Hunters Point Shipyard and around the new Transbay Terminal Tower, with additional affordable housing throughout the City.

**Javiera Barandiaran** (MPP '08) will join the faculty at UC Santa Barbara's Program in Global & International Studies as a tenure-track assistant professor in the fall, after completing her PhD at UC Berkeley's Department of Environmental Science, Policy and Management this May.

**Karen Zhang** (MPP '11) and her husband Terry relocated to China in January 2013. She is working at the Capital Group Companies, a US fund company based in Los Angeles, as a China Industry Specialist with a focus on energy. She travels frequently to the 2nd-tier, 3rd-tier and poorly developed cities in China, and is enjoying her research adventure.

**Ronaldo Carpio** (MPP '06) graduated from the UC Davis economics program in 2012 and has joined the University of International Business & Economics in Beijing as an assistant professor of economics.

**Michael Berg** (MPP '81/JD '82) transferred to London, England in January 2013 to be Operations Director for ICF International's Europe & Asia Group. Previously, he was Operations Director for ICF's Energy, Environment & Transportation Group. Mike joined ICF in 1982.

**Colby Dailey** (MPP '09) joined Pacific Community Ventures in San Francisco in late 2012 as the Associate Director of InSight, contributing primary research and thought leadership to the global impact investing field.

**Danielle Love** (MPP '11) recently became the Bay Area Program Manager for Generation Citizen, an organization that partners college students with classroom teachers to teach an action civics course in which teens solve problems they are facing in their own communities.

**Tommy Williams** (MPP '06) and his wife, Emily, have welcomed a new addition to the family, Huck Williams, who was born on May 28th, 2012. It must be noted up front that Huck is half Texan, so he has an equal affiliation with the LBJ School. Tommy is working on his first words (Go Bears!)...but so is Emily (Hook 'Em). Since May 28th, the dual policy degree household has been tested with myriad tradeoff scenarios (frequently, and without any indication of letting up). These scenarios include environmental policy: disposable diapers versus compostable?; fiscal policy: spending money on cute shirts versus saving for college?; and social policy: well, this was never a tradeoff, it was a foregone conclusion that Huck would be social. Huck has been to five Cal football games (and 6 tailgates — he couldn't stay up late enough for the Oregon game), the wine country, Tahoe, Texas, DC, all over San Francisco, hundreds of Muni rides, bars and restaurants, and makes friends wherever he goes. He's social. And his parents are very, very proud. And tired.

**Jeff Kraft** (MPP '95) was appointed Director of Business Funding and Incentives at the State of Colorado Office of Economic Development and International Trade.

**Steven Rosenbaum** (MPP '79/JD '80), after 25 years on the adjunct faculty at Berkeley Law, was just named a John & Elizabeth Boalt Professor. He served as legal education advisor with the ABA Rule of Law Initiative in Cairo in 2011-12, helping develop a law school clinic, a national moot court competition and continuing legal education modules. He currently has a Visiting Senior Lecturer appointment at the University of Washington, teaching human rights advocacy, tutorials for international students in legal clinical methodology and workshops abroad in Afghanistan and Indonesia. Steve also teaches disability rights at Stanford Law School.

**Merav Zafary-Odiz** (MPP '00) was appointed to serve as Israel's Ambassador to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and the Preparatory Commission of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO) in Vienna beginning October 2013.

**Brian Pick** (MPP '07) recently joined the DC Public Schools (DCPS) management team as the district's Chief of Teaching and Learning. Brian has worked at DCPS since 2008 and currently oversees curriculum, instruction, formative assessment, interventions, enrichment, and educational technology.

**Elaine Tenn Hussey** (MPA '70), after leaving the State of California eighteen months ago, is now enjoying retirement, having served as an Energy Specialist with the CEC and a Waste Management Specialist with the CIWMB after leaving JPL. She is active in the Cal '68 group, as she continues her teaching and studying of The Holocaust. Volunteering, swimming, and singing in two choirs round out her activities.

**Lauren Lambie-Hanson** (MPP '08; MIT PhD '13) has finished her PhD in urban and regional studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and will soon join the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia. She and her husband, Tim, welcomed a son, Owen, in June 2012.

**Claire Michaels** (MPP '08) is back in the Bay working on workforce development for SFMade, a nonprofit organization that supports San Francisco manufacturers.

**Jeff Colgan** (MPP '02; Princeton PhD '10) has a new book, *Petro-Aggression: When Oil Causes War* from Cambridge University Press. It investigates why oil-exporting petro states so frequently have aggressive foreign policies and engage in international conflicts.

**Sarah Martin-Anderson** (MPP/MPH '08; PhD Candidate '13) recently accepted a tenure-track position as an Assistant Professor of Health Economics at the University of Missouri in Kansas City. She will be a faculty member at the Bloch School of Management in the Department of Public Affairs, with a joint appointment at the School of Medicine. Along with her research, she will be teaching courses in Health Services Evaluation and Health Disparities.

**Garrett Toy** (MPP '86) was appointed Town Manager for the Town of Fairfax, CA in February 2013.

**Paula Gordon** (MA '69/PhD '76) wrote A Viewpoint Paper entitled "The Japan Earthquake and Tsunami: Their Implications for the US," which has been published in the Journal of Physical Security at <http://jps.anl.gov>. She gave a statement on the substance of this paper on February 28 to the Advisory Committee of the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program, urging the creation of an Interagency Task Group to address the mechanical engineering-related vulnerabilities in nuclear power plants in seismically active areas in the US that are described in the paper. Her statement is posted at <http://GordonHumankind.com>.

**Hank Dempsey** (MPP '00; JD '07) has a new job as Chief Counsel to the Assembly Business, Professions and Consumer Protection Committee in Sacramento.

**Larry Natividad** (MPP '95; UCI/CSUF EdD '10) is the Assistant Principal at Gahr High School in Cerritos, CA, the Planning Commissioner for the City of Artesia, and a member of the Association of California School Administrators. He is also an avid runner.

**Jennifer Baka** (MPP '07) completed her PhD in Environmental Studies from the Yale School of Forestry and Environmental Studies in December 2012. This fall, she will join the faculty of the London School of Economics and Political Science as a Lecturer in Geography and Environment.

**Samra Kasim** (MPP '08) was accepted to Deloitte Consulting's leadership development program and think tank, GovLab, as an Innovation Fellow. Her research focuses on the application of unmanned systems technologies, such as drones and other robots, in the public sector. Her research findings will be published in October.

**Teal Brown** (MPP '11) and **Mark Zimring** (MPP '11/ERG MS '12), who met through the Goldman School, are getting married!

**Jennifer Carlat** (MPP '03) and her husband Jonathan welcomed twins James and Ella Norris on October 1, 2012. In February, 2013, Jennifer was promoted to Assistant Executive Director of Planning for the Metro Nashville/Davidson County Planning Department in Nashville, Tennessee.

**Erin Holve** (MPH/MPP '00; Johns Hopkins PhD '08) is happy and healthy in Takoma Park, MD, but definitely misses California. Her family — especially her children, ages 3 and 6 — and her work at AcademyHealth in Washington, DC keep her busy. She is now the editor-in-chief for a new open access journal, eGEMs, which focuses on ways to use electronic health records to improve patient and community health. See [www.edm-forum.org](http://www.edm-forum.org). Erin would love feedback and submissions from GSPPers!

**Wayne Sachs** (MPP/JD '83) is married to a physician, and has twin daughters in ninth grade. He spent most of his career as an attorney handling real estate and business transactions. Changes in the economy made it necessary to find new opportunities. In recent years, he has represented a public util-



Stuart Cohen (left) with CA Senate President Pro Tem Darrel Steinberg.

**Stuart Cohen** (MPP '97) received a prestigious 2013 James Irvine Foundation Leadership Award for his impact as a champion for innovative regional planning to create affordable, vibrant communities that improve quality of life and help the environment. Stuart founded TransForm (formerly the Transportation and Land Use Coalition) upon graduating in 1997, and it is now California's leading organization promoting sustainable transportation. The James Irvine Foundation Leadership Award includes \$125,000 of core support to help Stuart expand TransForm's innovative programs and advocacy in California.

ity and private parties on utility-scale solar and geothermal power projects. On some of those transactions, he worked with the Southern California Public Power Authority. He also handles healthcare transactions and deals with health care regulatory issues. For a while, he helped underwater homeowners with mortgage problems (mainly pro bono). All of those practice areas are driven mainly by government policies, and his training at GSPP has been very valuable. If you would like a view from the trenches of the impact of healthcare reforms on primary care physicians, or to hear about some of the under-reported causes of the housing implosion, feel free to call Wayne.

**Dan Rubin** (MPP '76) played a number of strategic, management, policy and project roles at CHOICE Regional Health Network, a nonprofit community health collaborative organization in a large, mostly rural area of WA. He phased down his employment to half time two years ago, and shifted to a position as strategic consultant in December 2013. Other consulting clients include another health collaborative and an affordable housing non-profit seeking to connect residents more intensively with health care and care coordination. Dan has been a public (consumer) member of the state Board of Pharmacy since March 2012. He continues to see GSPP graduates Dave Kennel (MPP '76) and Tom Lehner (MPP '72). His personal life has many sandwich generation responsibilities, which are rewarding but also challenging.

**Kristine Igo** (MPP '09) has been working at the University of Minnesota, coordinating interdisciplinary and experiential research and learning in the intersecting arenas of agricultural and health sciences. In 2010, she was selected to sit on the City of Minneapolis' first Food Policy Council, where community members and city staffers work together to advance public health, economic development and sustainability priorities through a variety of food initiatives.

**Shira Gans** (MPP '07) joined the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in their Regional and Community Outreach Division as a Program and Relationship Director. Previously, she worked for almost four years at the Office of the Manhattan Borough President as a Policy Analyst and Program Manager for Bank On Manhattan.

**Lindsey Johnson Wade** (MPP '03) and her husband Jason had their first baby, Nathan, in August 2012. They are living in San Diego, where Lindsey is Vice President of Public Policy for the Hospital Association of San Diego and Imperial Counties.

**Carina Bracer** (MPP '03/MSc '04) continues to connect with many dear GSPP friends, but not enough of them (nor often enough!). After a two year 'break' raising her dear son Diego, Carina went back to the non-profit organization Forest Trends to start and manage a Payment for Ecosystem Services information platform for Latin America — called [www.valorandonaturaleza.org](http://www.valorandonaturaleza.org). She moves between San Francisco and Puerto Rico.

**Dow-Jane Pei** (MPP '09) transferred to the Office of Head Start as a Program Specialist after three years as a Financial Operations Specialist with the Office of Grants Manage-

ment at the Administration for Children and Families. She monitors and provides technical assistance to Head Start and Early Head Start grantees in California, ranging in size from \$1 million to \$200 million.

**Margaret Salazar** (MPP '06) recently took on a new challenge as Associate Deputy Assistant Secretary for Affordable Housing Preservation at HUD. She is building a new office to specialize in mixed-finance strategies to preserve assisted rental housing, and heads the Department's Rental Assistance Demonstration ([www.hud.gov/rad](http://www.hud.gov/rad)), a new program to recapitalize public housing by leveraging private and public debt and equity, and to safeguard affordable housing for low and very-low income families.

**Mark Trexler** (MPP '82/PhD '90) recently left his position as Director of Climate Risk with Det Norske Veritas. He is now trying to figure out if there is any way to make a difference in the climate space. He is increasingly focused on the fascinating subject of "risk," and how people perceive and communicate it. For more information, take a look at [www.climatographer.com](http://www.climatographer.com).

**Women in Politics** Continued from page 18

ple often find competent women to be less likable, which means women have to walk a very fine line to be influential.

**SHARYL: How much difference would it make in terms of policy to have more women in office? What are the issues that are most important to women? Are there "women's issues" anymore?**

**CAROL:** There is mixed evidence of the policy impact of having more women in office. A number of studies have found significantly more attention to and funding for social welfare policies in places where there are more women lawmakers. Child care is an example of something thought to be a "women's issue" and it probably does get more attention when

women are in office. On one level, that's easy to understand, but on another it's very troubling. Don't men care about families, too? Maybe if we get more women into office, men will start to see the importance of these kinds of policies, and women won't have to worry so much about making sure "women's issues" aren't ignored. **G**

alumni board **Ways to Connect**

**THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL OF PUBLIC POLICY ALUMNI** Association Board of Directors continues to be an active and valuable help to the School.

**New Admit Alumni Phone Bank**

The GSPP Alumni Association, together with GSPP, hosted its annual new admit phone bank in late March. Over 70 alumni volunteered to contact students who were recently admitted to the School, to share their GSPP experience, their professional careers after GSPP, and to answer questions. This alumni volunteer activity continues to make invaluable impact on newly admitted students as they decide their future. Organizer: Ben Lum '06 and GSPP staff.

**2013 Board of Directors election**

The Alumni Association Board of Directors will be seeking nominations for candidates to fill five available board positions, to be elected for a 3-year term beginning in September 2013 (there are a total of 15 board members). Elections will take place in May/June 2013. Online submissions for nominations will be available on the GSPP website (<http://gspp.berkeley.edu/alumni>) in April 2013. Voting will take place in May/June 2013.

**Contact Us**

If you are interested in learning more about the Alumni Board or becoming involved, please contact us at [gsppaa\\_chair@lists.berkeley.edu](mailto:gsppaa_chair@lists.berkeley.edu). **G**

**2012-13 GSPP Alumni Association Board of Directors**

- Jackie Bender (MPP '11) *Co-Chair*
- Bonnie Berk (MPP '79)
- Carson Christiano (MPP '09)
- Stuart Drown (MPP '86) *Co-Chair*
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- Ben Lum (MPP '06)
- Sarah Sattelmeyer (MPP/MPH '09)
- Adam Van de Water (MPP '01)

**Fatimah Simmons** Continued from page 19

When girls start coming to our programs, most have little or no knowledge about electoral politics. So we begin by teaching them how politics and policy decisions impact them, and then we immerse them in current issues like immigration, women's health, environmentalism, and more. Once they understand how their lives are being shaped by politics, they become eager to get involved in impacting those decisions. They start thinking about how they can use politics as a tool to solve some of the problems they see in their own communities.

IGNITE also focuses on the nuts and bolts. A study released in November 2012 by the Barbara Lee Family Foundation showed that voters continue to have high standards for what they consider a "qualified" woman candidate, especially when a woman runs for major statewide office. That's why it's critical to start early by giving girls and young women hands-on training in leadership, fundraising, public speaking, branding, networking, cold calling and much more. By learning these important skills in supportive environments, girls can develop into women who are ready to put their best foot forward if and when they seek elected office.

**What aspects of your GSPP training has served you best in this role?**

One of my first on-the-job tasks was developing our high school curriculum. I was charged with explaining what public policy is to students who had no idea what it might be. I ended up using the eightfold path to policy analysis as a framework for helping younger students understand these big concepts. The biggest test of knowledge is being able to teach someone else.

The other aspect of my training that I find most useful is the general ability to understand problems. GSPP didn't give me all the answers to the world's problems, but it taught me how to begin to unpack them, dissect them and think about them in a strategic way. This understanding is invaluable, especially when I am helping young women think about ways to make effective change that improves their communities. **G**

[fatimah@igniteca.org](mailto:fatimah@igniteca.org)

from the desk of **Annette Doornbos**

## GSPP in the Click of It



Annette Doornbos is the Assistant Dean of External Relations and Development

**ANCHORED BY OUR NEWLY DESIGNED** website ([gspp.berkeley.edu](http://gspp.berkeley.edu)), GSPP has a whole new lease on the electronic landscape. Our online activities now reach a rapidly growing network of followers on Facebook and Twitter, along with a growing subscriber base for our monthly eDigest. Our expanded online presence makes it easier than ever to connect with GSPP's vibrant virtual community.

UCTV ([www.uctv.tv](http://www.uctv.tv)) and YouTube let you share in the intellectual stimulation that academics and experts from across the country and around the world regularly bring to GSPP. Both host impressive libraries of Goldman School events that

attract viewer by the tens of thousands. For a simple slice of daily life at GSPP, click on the Flickr link on the bottom of our home page and scroll through our overflowing photo bucket.

Even better than just looking, now you can talk back. Click the Facebook link on the homepage and 'like' our latest offerings, post your comments and repost. Follow us on Twitter and retweet us. Visit *PolicyMatters* ([policymattersjournal.org](http://policymattersjournal.org)), the student-led journal, and you'll find *PolicyWire* where students invite you to join them "Blogging Truth to Power." However you choose to do it, GSPP invites you to join the conversation on the policy issues of the day with the community that lives and breathes them day-by-day and post-by-post.

Did I mention the new opportunities to make an online gift?

Now you can make your gift in automated credit card payments with a start date and intervals of your choosing. Target

your gift to one of two dozen areas, supporting everything from fellowships to the Annual Fund. Explore your options for planned gifts (please call me if you are interested) with highly informative pages featuring illustrated explanations of benefits and mechanisms.

Your electronic interactions with the School, pursued at times and places convenient to you, help build relationships between and among the School and its extended community. These relationships bring strength and a sense of shared vision that benefits the School, its students, alumni, friends and the greater public. I invite you to join us.

Annette Doornbos  
[doornbos@berkeley.edu](mailto:doornbos@berkeley.edu)  
(510) 642-8005

## Supporting Summer Internships



Carla Javits is President of REDF (formerly The Roberts Enterprise Development Fund), an organization that supports non-profits that utilize business models to create jobs for the hard-to-employ.

**CARLA JAVITS (MPP '85) IS VICE-CHAIR** of The Marian B. & Jacob K. Javits Foundation. Named for her parents, the foundation seeks to advance the legacy of Senator Jacob K. Javits by funding students who have secured unpaid domestic and/or international summer internships, and scholarships to support those students with political aspirations.

"The Marian B. and Jacob K. Javits Foundation is delighted to support student internships at GSPP," says Carla. "Summer internships develop the talent that will lead our country in the future. These internships broaden the network and knowledge of GSPP's students, while enabling them to impact communities by promoting evidence-based health practices in Africa, new economic models to improve the environment in the US, access to water in Nepal, or civic engagement to reduce violence."

"My predecessors and I are incredibly grateful to Carla and to Mrs. Marion Javits for their unwavering commitment to our students," says Dean Henry Brady. "Carla's efforts to meet and mentor our students are a benefit that goes far beyond financial support."

The Foundation has sponsored many students over the last twenty years who have gone on to national and international careers, including District Magistrate for the Government of Pakistan, Director of Political Affairs for Korean Prime Minister's Office and Legislative Policy Advisor for the County of San Diego.

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# Center for Environmental Public Policy

## Center for Environmental Public Policy Fall 2012 Speaker Series

The Fall 2012 CEPP Speaker Series featured speakers from industry, government, and academia, covering a range of topics on domestic and international energy and environmental issues. The Center hosted two lectures and a panel discussion, featuring:

- Veronica Irastroza (MPP '99) Mexico's Undersecretary of Energy Planning and Technological Development, addressed the policy and technology challenges

that face Mexico's energy sector as it transitions to a low carbon future. On April 19, 2012, Mexico passed a climate change law, setting legally binding emissions goals aimed at stemming the effects of climate change, including a mandate to reduce emissions of carbon dioxide by 30% below business-as-usual levels by 2020, and by 50% below 2000 levels by 2050.

- Vince Siciliano, President and CEO of New Resource Bank, discussed a model for banking in which sustainability

goals drive leadership and top line revenue generation. He spoke about a more conscious capitalism with a different look at the role of money.

- The panel discussion featuring Professor Bob Infelise of Berkeley Law, Olof Hansen of the Environmental Protection Agency and Emilie Mazacurrati of Real Options International (formerly with Point Carbon) focused on California's AB 32, as well as climate change legislation from an international perspective. Professor Lee Friedman moderated the discussion. This event was co-hosted by the Environmental Policy Group.

## Symposium on High-Speed Rail & Sustainability November 29-30, 2012

Top national and international researchers and policy experts gathered to discuss the environmental and economic impact of developing a High-Speed Rail System in California. Policy roundtables discussed lessons from international experience, focusing on economic, environmental and urban development aspects. Discussions identified strategies to help California policymakers maximize the potential benefits of HSR and help spur the green economy. This event was part of a research project, led by Goldman School's Blas Pérez Henríquez and Elizabeth Deakin from the College of Environmental Design, that explores the main social, political and institutional hurdles that this large infrastructure project must overcome in order to deliver on its promise of being an alternative, sustainable mode of transport.

Find out more about the conference, CEPP's visiting scholars and upcoming events at [gspp.berkeley.edu/cepp](http://gspp.berkeley.edu/cepp) **G**



Veronica Irastroza (MPP '99), Mexico's Undersecretary of Energy Planning and Technological Development with Professor Lee Friedman (left) and Blas Pérez Henríquez, CEPP Executive Director.

## policy notes

SPRING 2013

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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# GSPP Global

THE GOLDMAN SCHOOL CONTINUES TO STRENGTHEN ITS GLOBAL PRESENCE through Executive International Programs and new international initiatives.

## Executive International Programs (EIP)

From January 21 to March 15, EIP hosted a group of Hong Kong government officials. The group included young policy makers and senior government engineers involved in major infrastructure projects. The participants audited GSPP classes according to their policy interests and were coached by Professor Eugene Bardach in a mini-Introduction to Policy Analysis (IPA) seminar. Visits to sites like the Environmental Protection Agency Region IX, the Mayor's Office of San Francisco, the Bay Bridge construction and Autodesk provided opportunities for participants to interact with practitioners and see current infrastructure projects.



Hong Kong government officials at Autodesk.

In March, Executive and International Programs hosted a group of 29 senior government officials from Taiwan. The Taiwan Policy and Management Leadership Program 2013 focused on issues of international economics, sustainability and innovation. UC Berkeley and GSPP faculty teaching in the program included Dean Henry E. Brady on the American political system, Professor Michael O'Hare on cultural creativity and innovation and Blas Pérez Henríquez, the program's faculty director, on global governance and a low carbon future. The program consisted of a week in Berkeley and a week in New York City. Bay Area site visits included SAP Labs and the Palo Alto city manager's office; New York visits included Columbia University, the Asia Society and the NY Mayor's Office of Cultural Affairs.



The Taiwan Policy and Management Leadership Program 2013

## New Initiatives:

- Dean Henry E. Brady, Assistant Dean for International Partnerships and Alliances Sudha Shetty and Associate Director for International Relations Gan, Bai will travel to Nanjing, China to formalize a collaboration between UC Berkeley and China's Jiangsu Province. The collaboration is under the auspices of an umbrella agreement signed by California Governor Jerry Brown and Jiangsu's Governor Luo Zhijun.
- A team from the Goldman School, including Adjunct Professor Dan Acland, is evaluating the effectiveness of ChinaSF, an initiative launched in 2008 to promote a strong economic relationship between China and San Francisco. ChinaSF provides concierge-like help to Chinese businesses seeking to open offices in San Francisco.
- GSPP will sign a Memorandum of Agreement (MOU) with the University of Brunei Darussalam. The MOU includes an opportunity for five Brunei country fellows to undertake a semester of study at the Goldman School, faculty exchanges, joint conferences and student placement for future Advanced Policy Analysis (APA) projects. **G**

## **Goldman School of Public Policy**

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### **HIRE Students**

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

### **ENGAGE with GSPP Student Groups**

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

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

### **CONTRIBUTE to PolicyMatters**

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

### **UPDATE Contact Information**

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

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