Farewell to Dean Henry E. Brady

Professor Janet Napolitano launches the Center for Security in Politics

Marked by COVID

gspp.berkeley.edu
Thank you! It has been a tremendous honor to serve as dean these last twelve years and to become the Goldman School’s longest-serving leader. My thanks to GSPP students, alumni, staff, and faculty for the chance to do that. Students and alumni have taught me a great deal about racial justice, social commitment, institutional bias, and many other things. Our alumni are pre-eminent in their fields, leading the way in social justice, accomplishments, and leadership. GSPP’s staff members have been extraordinary partners in improving the school during twelve difficult years and an especially challenging last year. The staff is truly wonderful, talented, committed, hardworking, and compassionate, and it has been a blessing to have a chance to work with them. Similarly, our faculty is devoted, diligent, eminent, caring, and surely the finest group of teacher-scholars anywhere. I am tremendously proud to work with GSPP’s students, alumni, staff, and faculty.

Dean Brady
In 1980, Henry Brady married Patty Kates in the Goldman School living room (pictured here with her parents, Clara and Malcolm Kates). Only one other academic unit (with over three times the number of faculty members as GSPP) in the entire nation has had more Carnegie fellows in the past five years. Despite still being by far the smallest of all major public policy schools, GSPP is rated the number one public policy school in the nation by US News and World Report and number three (in 2020) or four (in 2021) in the larger category of public affairs schools.

WE ARE LEADERS IN MANY AREAS, ESPECIALLY SOCIAL JUSTICE. Most notably we are leaders in the study of inequality and the push for social justice, but the School is also more international, better at data science, more involved with policy regarding science and engineering, and better at politics, management, and leadership. GSPP has also been a campus leader in Internet education through the MPA and online courses. The curriculum on topics related to social justice — to inequality, racism, and sexism — has gone from a mere smattering of courses to nineteen graduate courses in 2020–21 — over 25 percent of GSPP’s graduate courses. A redesigned curriculum puts greater emphasis on social justice and equity. A recent article in the American Prospect entitled “The Berkeley School” applauded the Goldman School, the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment—led by GSPP faculty members Jesse Rothstein and Steve Raphael for the past six years, and the Department of Economics at UC Berkeley for bringing inequality and policies to fight inequality to the forefront of attention for economists and public policymakers. “The powers that be are … getting these ideas from a group of labor and public-policy economists who’ve surged to the forefront of the profession over the past decade. And more than anywhere else, these economists are clustered at the University of California, Berkeley.”

IS THERE MORE TO DO? Of course. I would like to see the school’s faculty and student body reflect the diversity of California. I would like to see GSPP grow stronger in the areas of social justice, international affairs, data science, and science and technology policy. I would like to see GSPP provide more financial aid to students. And a new building would be very nice!

As for myself, I will go back to the exciting and wonderful life of being a teacher and a scholar. In doing so, I will continue with my decades-long work on inequality in political participation, the future of California, the collapse of the Soviet Union, data science, and trust in institutions. I will be editing and contributing to an issue of Daedalus on “Institutions, Experts, and the Loss of Trust.” I will also be the research director for an ambitious project called California 100 that will develop baseline data and future scenarios for California in thirteen policy areas.

A FINAL THOUGHT. Let me end with a thought sparked by the American Prospect article. When I was in college, my dad lost his job selling carpet with devastating consequences for my family. I remember having dreams and fantasies that I would grow up, attain a position of some respectability, and I would go to those people who had fired my father. I would tell them how ashamed they should be that they had ruined my father’s life after he had worked so hard for them and after he had served his country in the military during World War II in battles in Saipan, Guam, and Okinawa. As with most youthful fantasies, this one never came true in the fashion I had imagined.

I did go on to have the incredible opportunity to lead the Goldman School, and with the American Prospect article, I can turn my eyes toward heaven and say to my father, “Dad, GSPP cares about the injustices inflicted by injustice. And the people there — the students, alumni, staff, and faculty — are leading the way in working to make the world a better, more equitable, and fairer place.” That makes me smile. THANK YOU! Thanks for letting me work with all of you to make GSPP a very special place.

It is fitting that I end by thanking my wife, Patricia Kates, who has been an extraordinary partner and who has devoted herself to GSPP. Here is one example. On Mothers’ Day this year, she spent several hours pulling weeds on GSPP’s little mini-campus so that it would look nice for the incoming MPA candidates. That is just one of so many things that she has done for GSPP behind the scenes, every day, every year. Thank you, Patty Kates!

My very best to everyone and Thanks for the Chance to Lead GSPP.

Henry E. Brady

Editor’s Note

EARLY IN THE PANDEMIC, A FRIEND TOLD ME she planned to “hunker down until this blows over and life goes back to normal.” More than a year later, I think we all recognize that there is no “going back.” Life has changed and we’ve changed. We’ve encountered suffering and grief, individual and collective. Along the way, we’ve discovered resilience, resistance, and community.

All this and more have been true for the Goldman School. As you’ll read in this issue, there is much to be thankful for and proud of. I’d especially like to take a moment to recognize the dedicated leadership of Dean Brady and the senior team, including Annie Campbell Washington, Sandi Ketchpel, Amy Lerman, and Maura Smith. They, along with the rest of the faculty and staff, have worked tirelessly on behalf of GSPP.

Over the years, the Goldman School has been showered with well-deserved recognition (have I mentioned our #1 ranking in policy analysis?) but I’ve never felt as proud as I have in this past year — all of us working like crazy, stretched to the limit, often laughing, sometimes crying — to be a part of this extraordinary community. G. boroced@berkeley.edu

Bora Reed
Editor
By Ed Lempinen UC Berkeley Public Affairs

SOCIAL MEDIA DISINFORMATION, climate change debates, foreign interference in elections — some of the defining themes of recent American politics seem only loosely connected. But underlying the headlines is a single, troubling theme: The nation’s political process is suffering a historic level of instability.

How to deal with those complex challenges in a focused, effective way? A new initiative headed by Janet Napolitano, former UC president and U.S. Department of Homeland Security secretary, brings Berkeley faculty, researchers, and students from across disciplines into the new Center for Security in Politics.

The center, based at the Goldman School of Public Policy, works across an extraordinary range of issues — from election technology and biotechnology, to climate change and changing communication, and to psychology and artificial intelligence.

Napolitano has a unique vantage on the challenges. She has served as governor of Arizona, head of Homeland Security, president of one of the most influential university systems in the world, and today as a professor in the Goldman School. In recent months, she’s been working with other former leaders of Homeland Security, both Republicans and Democrats, to raise the visibility of issues that warrant consideration by policymakers.

Let’s start with a basic question: What is meant by the concept of security in politics?

In order to make our political environment more secure, more trustworthy?

To make our country more secure in the end and to make our policymaking richer. We have, across the Berkeley faculty, a tremendous breadth and depth of expertise, but I’m not sure that it gets translated in a way that full use is made of it.

When we think about security and politics today, what are the big lessons that you think we should take away from 2016 and the 2020 election and its aftermath?

One lesson that’s becoming increasingly clear is that we have a population that almost is living in two alternative universes at the same time. One of the things that concerns me is the lack of appreciation for science, for data, and for facts by too many in our populace.

Science, data, and facts — and having a stronger voice for them in our politics and in our policymaking — that’s one of the motivations behind the center.

What are some of the other significant challenges to security for our political system and our political culture?

The center focuses on three areas. One is the security risks that emanate from climate change. Those run the gamut from extreme weather events to the impact on our military, from phenomena like sea-level rise to the impact of climate change on human migration patterns across the world.

A second is the notion of cybersecurity and emergent technologies, quantum computing and so forth, and also biotechnologies like CRISPR. What are the risks there? What are the rules of the road? This may not be the right word, but how do we better police the uses of these kinds of technologies? How do we better identify the risks associated with them, and then deal with those risks? That’s a very rich area that is not yet adequately explored.

Third, a particular problem set that we’ve identified is election integrity. You know, you can’t have a functioning democracy if people don’t believe that elections are secure. We’ve seen that in spades in the aftermath of the 2020 election. What are the best ways to conduct an election? What are the best ways to do a post-election process so that people understand that the votes they cast were accurately counted and accounted for?

That’s a particular problem that that involves technology, but also political science, journalism, and so forth.

One of the areas that the center focuses on is the threat of foreign interference in our political environment and, of course, we’ve heard a lot about Russian interference, especially in 2016. Has such interference already caused damage in our political environment? Clearly, in 2016 the Russians were all over that election. There’s no evidence that their activities affected the actual count of the ballots, but it certainly caused a lot of disillusion and unrest, and division in the United States in the period leading up to the election.

My understanding is that those activities continued in 2020, but they’ve been, in a way, superseded by the challenges to the counting of the ballots in the various states.

Does it seem that the U.S. has not been ready for some of these challenges that have confronted the political culture and the political environment?

It’s not so much being ready — you can’t prepare for something that you don’t anticipate. You get kind of caught by surprise, and then you fix it, you take action to address it.

None of us has a crystal ball. That’s not in our arsenal. But we do have academics, researchers, who spend their lives understanding the reach of what can happen, and the center gives us a great opportunity to better integrate what they know and appreciate with policymaking and politics.

Can you elaborate on how the center seeks to impact these issues?

We seek to have an impact by sponsoring research. We bring practitioners together with academics and students to tackle the challenges emerging in our political infrastructure, for example. And we will recruit top talent and leading officials to Berkeley to examine the key issues of the day.

Our initial event was a discussion with four former secretaries of homeland security, which was followed up with a daylong workshop on election integrity. In that workshop, we had participants who were really on the front lines in 2020, some secretaries of state, some state attorneys general, the head of the cyber integrity agency of the Department of Homeland Security.

In recent months, you’ve been working with other former Homeland Security secretaries, both Republicans and Democrats. Moving forward, how important will it be for the center to have a bipartisan orientation, to look at issues through a bipartisan lens?

Well, I think that’s very important, and that’s why our initial event had two Democrats and two Republicans. We are a country with two political parties, and politics is conducted through two political parties. You can’t really have a good lens unless you include both.

We’re so polarized as a nation. Do you find that Republicans and Democrats have the same sense of urgency in working together on these security issues?

Among some, not all.

The Republicans who I’ve been working with I would characterize as being more moderate and oriented to problem-solving, as opposed to being ideological actors.

Thinking of the next five years, what impact do you hope the center can have on the U.S. political dialogue around these security issues?

Berkeley has enormous expertise among its faculty, but one of the functions of the center is to create a kind of a security studies umbrella for Berkeley, which it previously has not had. Also, we really want to strive to educate a diverse generation of security professionals.

My anticipation is that those who work with the center will have a larger public profile, as a result, and that the work of the center will be used in Washington, both by people on the policy side and on the political side, by the executive branch and the legislative branch, and that we’ll see the products of the center cited and used.
HOW DO WE REDUCE BURNOUT and stress among front-line workers? Does access to education affect employment and other outcomes among formerly incarcerated individuals? What helps families overcome barriers to signing up for public services? Can civic education help increase the numbers of 16 and 17-year-olds who register to vote?

In 2018, Professor Elizabeth Linos founded the Berkeley People Lab to “transform the public sector by producing cutting-edge research on the people in government and the communities they serve.” Now co-directed by Professor Amy Lerman, the People Lab brings together public management scholars, economists, political scientists, and policy experts from across the Berkeley campus to produce cutting-edge research in collaboration with real-world partners.

“At the People Lab, we are committed to building a research agenda around the questions that our partners need answered,” says Linos. “How can we improve service delivery? How can we reduce burnout on the front line? How can we attract talent to government? In so doing, we are training a new generation of scholars who will sit comfortably at the intersection of public management and evidence-based policymaking.”

As a society, we face a range of extraordinary problems,” adds Lerman. “The kind of collaborative work we are doing at the Lab, working directly with government and other stakeholders to generate rigorous empirical answers to socially relevant questions, can be part of the solution.”

Examples of recent People Lab projects include:

**Connecting youth to government.** The People Lab is collaborating with Gov. for America (GFA) to better understand how to recruit and support the next generation of public sector leaders. The lab is currently running a field experiment to test what messages encourage college graduates to apply for government jobs and studying how exposure to government work impacts future beliefs about government.

**Burnout.** The People Lab team has collaborated with multiple agencies across the U.S. to test cost virtual support program for 911 dispatchers across nine U.S. cities, in collaboration with the Behavioral Insights Team. The intervention reduced self-reported burnout by about 8 points and resignations by more than half (3.4 percentage points) in the post-intervention period.

**Improving Housing Assistance.** The COVID-19 pandemic has exacerbated the housing crisis in the United States. In response, policymakers are investing heavily in rental assistance programs. In partnership with a mid-sized U.S. city, the People Lab conducted a randomized experiment (N=62,729) to evaluate the effect of reducing the learning and psychological costs associated with accessing emergency rental assistance on benefit take-up, as well as on subsequent eviction rates.

**Supporting Re-entry.** The support systems that are available to an individual returning from prison (e.g., assistance with employment, drug addiction, mental health, housing, and education) can mean the difference between effectively re-entering his or her community and returning to prison. Recognizing this opportunity, Alameda County Probation Department has partnered with the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) and The People Lab to implement and evaluate a series of innovative strategies called “Pathways Home.”

**Increasing Voter Pre-Registration.** The People Lab is partnering with Weld North Education, a national digital education organization that works directly with public high school educators, to test whether online civics education can mobilize the next generation.

**Expanding Access to Higher Education in Prison.** In partnership with the National Alliance for Prison Higher Education and a dozen prison-based college programs around the country, the People Lab is conducting a study of the pathways to higher education for the currently and formerly incarcerated.

“‘I’ve been pleasantly surprised to see how much demand there is from government and other stakeholders to collaborate on important questions,” says Linos. “And conversely, how much demand there is from students to do this kind of collaborative research.”

For more information, visit peoplelab.berkeley.edu or reach out to peoplelab@berkeley.edu.
FACULTY NOTES

Dan Kammen testified to the CA Senate Environment Committee for SB582 ( Stern) on new climate goals for California. He also developed a clean energy/justice platform with Congressman Jamaal Bowman (NY-16). In February of this year, he was named Chair of the University of California Roundtable on Climate Justice.

His California Senate testimonies include, “Testimony in support of SB 449” presented to the California Senate Commit-tee on Banking and Financial Institutions and “Testimony in support of SB 582” presented to the California Senate Environmental Quality Committee.”


Peter Linquiti (MPP ’83), now an Associate Professor at George Washington Uni-versity’s Trachtenberg School, spent the spring semester as a visiting GSPP faculty member. Also, the visit was a virtual one, but during the semester, he finished the manuscript for a new textbook in policy analysis. With a working title of Reproductive Policy Analysis: Strengthening the Foundation, Expanding the Scope, the book gives issues of social equity, public health, science and technology, and institutional analysis a place in the curriculum equal to that already held by methodological meth-ods, and politics. Critical thinking, systems analysis, and anticipation of future outcomes also feature prominently in the book.

Jack Glaser has been serving on an advi-sory panel to the CA Department of Justice on police use-of-force policy reform. They have released a comprehensive set of recommen-dations on the policing of protests, includ-ing limits on weapon use, and are finaliz-ing a set of recommendations for reforms to use-of-force more generally. Also, he has been serving as a consultant to California’s Department of Justice as they analyze and interpret police stop data coming in under the Racial and Identity Profiling Act. Glaser recently co-authored an article in the Jour-nal of Quantitative Criminology showing how different analytic assumptions about police use-of-force data can have dramatic effects on evaluations and rankings of departments. With Amanda Charbonneau (PhD ’18, now a researcher at RAND), he has a forthcoming article in the UC Irvine Law Review on sus-picion and discretion in policing.

Hilary W Hoyne received a $400,000 grant from Arnold Ventures to fund her work on estimating the long-run impacts of welfare reform on children. She became the director of the Berkeley Opportunity Lab and received grants from the Sloan Foundation, Smith Richardson Foundation, Schmidt Futures, and Worklife to support faculty and gradu-ate students at Berkeley.

Hoyne published a paper in the Brookings Papers on Economic Activity on “The Social Safety Net in the Wake of COVID-19,” which tracks and evaluates the effect of the COVID-19 relief legislation on the more vul-nerable Americans. She also made several presentations and appeared on panels relat-ing to COVID-19, the new administration, and new policies.

She serves on Governor Newsom’s Council of Economic Advisors and is a member of the National Academy of Sciences, Committee on National Statistics.

Janelle Scott was elected to the National Academy of Education and appointed to the National Academies of Sciences, Engineer-ing, and Medicine Committee on the Future of Education Research at the Institute of Education Sciences. She was selected as a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association, the American Educational Stud-ies Association, and received a 2020 Critic’s Choice Book Award.

In addition to publishing articles in the fields of positive psychology, economic philoso-phy, and behavioral benefit-cost analysis, Dan Acalt has been involved in starting up a new committee for the Advanced Policy Analysis (APA) and MPA Capstone (CAP) programs. The committee is working on bring-ing instructors together and forming a core of shared understandings on how APA and CAP sections are taught. The committee is also in the process of creating some new components of APA for the fall semester of the year. It is also looking to support students in hit-ting the ground running at the beginning of spring semester.

Sarah Anza finished a forthcoming book, titled “Local Interests, now under contract with the University of Chicago Press. The book is about the role of interest groups in U.S. local politics—the types of interest groups that are active in American municipal governments and how they influence public policy.

She published an article on the role of political parties in local politics and local government and another article on how ris-ing public pension costs are leading cities and counties across the country to reduce/ shrink their workforces.

Anza also presented at a Penn-Yale confer-ence on whether federalism and subnational policymaking are a solution to polarization and gridlock in national politics.


Jennifer Skoem was appointed to serve on a research workgroup to understand and address racial biases and disparities in the U.S. Pretrial Services and Probation Systems. She is also launching a multi-site study to optimize services for young people on probation. A selection of recent publications include: “The limits of human predictions of recidivism” (Science Advances & American Academy of Arts & Sciences 2020 press conference), “Impact of risk assessment on judges’ sen-tence,” in Amy Larm-er’s Speaking Truth to Power Seminar, “Testing the dots between our psyches and systems for enhanced effectiveness,” in Amy Larm-er’s Speaking Truth to Power Seminar, and “Juanita’s Won Wombmyn Show,” a theatrical performance which she wrote and offered.

Rucker Johnson was elected as a new mem-ber of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He was named the Sir Arthur Lewis Fellow, American Academy of Political and Social Science. 2021. He also delivered expert witness testimony for an important Minnesota state school segregation/funding litigation case and presented at a congressional hear-ing with MN Attorney General Keith Ellison. Johnson gave a policy briefing for the Biden-Harris Education policy and HUD policy transition teams and presented at the Civil Rights Summit that included Congresswoman Barbara Lee, HUD Secretary Marcia Fudge, MN Attorney General Keith Ellison, NAACP President Derrick Johnson, John powell, Linda Darling-Hammond, and others to advance racial and economic justice.


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An Anbil Forus-Comolote will teach a class called “Berkeley Changemaker: Labor Research for Action and Policy” (L-RAP) in Fall 2021 to strengthen the pipeline between undergraduate and graduate stud-ies in public policy for students of diverse backgrounds. For more information see changemaker.berkeley.edu.
Granholm at Department of Energy

TWO-TERM MICHIGAN GOVERNOR and Goldman School of Public Policy faculty member Jennifer Granholm is now serving as Secretary of the U.S. Department of Energy. Granholm is an expert in politics and clean energy policy who teaches classes on clean energy, policy innovation, and commu- nication. She is also a senior research fellow at the California Institute for Energy and Environment and the Berkeley Center for Informed Technologies research in the Interests of Society (CITRIS). As energy secretary, Granholm oversees 17 national laboratories, a wide range of energy research initiatives, and the National Nuclear Security Administration, the agency within the DOE that oversees the nation’s nuclear stockpile.

“T’m so grateful to Berkeley and the Goldman School of Public Policy for giving me the ability to access great research talent and fabulous grad students passionate about clean energy,” said Gra- nhom. “I carry their hopes for a clean energy future with me to Washington and will focus on delivering clean energy in every pocket of the country, with an emphasis on communities that have been hardest hit by economic, racial, and environmental injustice.”

“I’m very pleased that Governor Gra- nhom is serving as Secretary of Energy in the Biden Administration,” said Dean Henry E. Brady. “At the DoE, she guides one of the major engines for innovation in the United States. She is smart, experi- enced, caring, and committed to creat- ing a clean energy future with lots of high-paying manufacturing jobs.”

The Department of Energy is “central to almost everything in the Biden-Harris plan, from energy transition to re-entering the Paris Climate Accords,” said Goldman School Professor Dan Kammen, chair in the Energy and Resources Group. “We’re also going to need a huge infusion of attention and effort to be put into creating jobs. You need someone who can integrate all that together. That fits Jennifer Granholm to a T.”

Granholm is the second UC Berkeley scholar to be named a Secretary in the Biden Administration. Earlier this year, Berkeley Haas Professor Emerita Janet Yellen, who was tapped for Treasury Secretary. She joins two other Goldman School faculty members who have served in presidential cabinet posts: Robert B. Reich served as Secretary of Labor in the Clinton administration from 1993–1997 and Janet Napolitano served as Secretary of Homeland Security in the Obama administration from 2009–013.

Granholm served as Governor of Michigan from 2003–2011 during a deep recession that resulted in 50,000 factory closures in the state from 2000–2010. The collapse of the manufacturing economy led Granholm to the question she described in her 2013 Ted Talk: How do you create good-paying jobs in America? The answer, she argues, can be found in clean energy innovation that would both address the climate crisis and create desperately needed jobs, especially for those once employed by traditional manufacturing.

In 2014, Granholm launched the American Jobs Project, a “think-and-do” tank that took 24 states over five years on clean energy and job creation.

“Governor Granholm has always been a forward thinker,” said Mary Collins (MPP ’15), who was managing director and co-founder at the American Jobs Project. “She’s really looked at how we might capitalize on clean energy industries to create good-paying jobs. With the current state of our economy, we certainly need somebody that has that forward-looking vision.”

“The American Jobs Project was a really thoughtful effort to understand the employment and the justice opportuni- ties in what is core to the Biden Harris transition, both analytically and politi- cally,” said Kammen. “The goal of going to all-clean energy by 2030 will require a truly all-hands approach.”

In the classroom, Jennifer Granholm is known as a knowledgeable and invested teacher, generous with her time and genuinely interested in sharp- ening how her students think about public policy.

“Governor Granholm has been a ter- rific mentor for our students while at GSPP, and she is the perfect fit for a number of innovative courses and research efforts, including the idea of producing innovation ecosystems where, for example, high-performance battery producers would be located near automobile manufacturers to push forward elec- tric vehicles while creating jobs.”

“Her was always concerned with implementation, how we actu- ally make things happen,” said Spencer Bowen (MPP ’20), who worked as Granholm’s graduate student instructor. “She’d ask, ‘What are the strong things that we need to do? What can you make it more convincing? What level of government [country, state, federal] will this policy be carried out by?’”

Spencer noted that he and his fellow graduate students found Granholm accessible and kind, despite her “impressive and pretty intimidating” accompanying schedule. He made the time to connect with stu- dents, did her share of grading, and even manned a large cooler of snacks and drinks to class at the end of term to feed the students.

“There wasn’t a lot of hierarchy in her class,” Spencer said. “She was very much a partner in the policy conversation.”

Dear President Biden
Affordable Housing for All Should Be Your Administration’s Moonshot

By Jane Weaver MPA Candidate ’21

SEIZING CONTROL OF THE SENATE, HOUSE, AND PRESIDENCY for the first time since 2010, the new Biden administration must leverage the Democratic legislative majority to lay out a moon- shot initiative and make affordable housing attainable for all Americans. This idea is certainly not new. In 2016, reporter Jake Blumgart proposed a similar plan to rally the presidential campaigns before President Trump’s eventual election win, and author Matthew Desmond has been advocating for this pol- icy through his research and book Evicted.

In last year’s general elec- tion, Biden plainly stated in his plan that housing “should be a right, not a privilege” and recognized too many Americans lack access to affordable housing, dispro- portionately impacting com- munities of color to provide an affordable, decent home to every family, the new administration must priori- tize affordable housing like national efforts undertaken to put the “Moonshot” initiative and monitoring protections that should be considered to ensure equitable treatment under a Biden uni- versal housing voucher plan. These safeguards include:

• Removing or providing exemptions to the requirement that voucher recipients must find housing in 60 days or risk losing funding.
• Developing locally viable frameworks for pooling renter support resources and data tools to assist voucher recipient find suitable housing and complete the rental process. Support

Jane Weaver is an MPA student at the Goldman School. Most recently, she managed and advised non-profit organizations that improve educational outcomes in the Sacramento region. In a prior life, she led marketing teams in high-tech companies and is now a recovering capitalist striving to find sus- tainable, public-private solutions to the most challenging social problems.

POLICY PASSION

Affordable Housing for All Should Be Your Administration’s Moonshot

In last year’s general elec- tion, Biden plainly stated in his plan that housing “should be a right, not a privilege” and recognized too many Americans lack access to affordable housing, dispro- portionately impacting com- munities of color to provide an affordable, decent home to every family, the new administration must priori- tize affordable housing like national efforts undertaken to put the “Moonshot” initiative and monitoring protections that should be considered to ensure equitable treatment under a Biden uni- versal housing voucher plan. These safeguards include:

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Jane Weaver

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functions could be provided through a community collabora-
tion of local agencies, non-profits and faith-based organizations.
Implementing supply-side support resources to educate and
inform landlords about how to navigate the housing voucher
process and what their duties are under the law.

With millions of new voucher recipients, the supply of housing
available will certainly tighten in many areas of the country, par-
ticularly in denser localities already facing housing shortages.
To address this, Biden's housing budget should also include the $100
billion Affordable Housing Fund proposed by the campaign to
construct or upgrade affordable housing units. Additional hous-
ing development can be generated through the plan to expand
the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit by at least $10 billion and
encourage private and nonprofit developers to rehabilitate or
construct additional affordable housing.

Putting into context how the increase of $25-30 billion in
annual spending for universal housing vouchers will be critical
to success, as at first glance this investment and large price tag
may appear to be politically unfeasible. However, it's imperative
in the messaging and rollout of this moonshot to clearly articu-
late how much progress has been made and has the potential
to incentivize homeownership in the last century. As Desmond
points out, each year homeowners receive substantial federal
government subsidies in the form of mortgage interest deduc-
tions from their taxable income. In 2015, over $71 billion in
mortgage interest deductions were taken by homeowners, and
an additional $74 billion in deductions were taken through other
forms of tax-saving policies targeting homeowners. These ben-
etits essentially subsidize homeowners and real estate developers
and are generally favored by most Americans of both political
parties. The Biden Administration must make the case to the
American people that investing in affordable housing for all is
public policy and moral commitment the federal government
must undertake to provide lower-income households inclusive
and equitable opportunities.

Like President John Kennedy's once-in-a-century national
effort to go to the moon, President Biden has the opportunity to
use 2020's favorable election results as a mandate to propose his
own moonshot. By providing universal housing vouchers and
committing funds and efforts toward affordable housing devel-
oping programs, the new administration can improve the lives
of millions of Americans and positively change long-term eco-
nomic, educational and social outcomes of their children, right
now and into the future.

Abolition: A Responsibility to Dismantle Inequitable Institutions

By Perfecta Oxholm PhD Candidate

AS SOMEONE WHO STUDIES PUBLIC POLICY, my work is moti-
vated by a desire for a world where policing as we know it today
is no longer necessary and where all communities have what they
need to thrive. As a result, I am passionate but an often-contro-
versial concept: abolition.

Stick with me now—when I talk about abolition, I don't just
mean the kind of abolition being talked about in relation to police.
However, I do want to directly address police abolition, specifically
the controversy surrounding the words “abolish” and “defund.”

Since the uprisings following the murder of George Floyd, I
have seen a lot of articles and social media discussions related to
defunding or abol-
ishing the police.
The concept of police abolition is built on decades of work done
in large part by grassroots Black-led orga-
nizations. This is important to rec-
ognize because many of us, myself
included, have failed to uplift
Black voices in our attempts to share
information on police abolition.
I study US police,
including the racialized history of US policing, as a PhD student
at the Goldman School of Public Policy and I have benefited from work
done in this area by Angela Davis, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, Rachel
Herrzog, Mariame Kaba, and Marhre Stalhy-Butts, among many
others.

I have seen criticism of police abolition taking two main forms.
The first goes like this: abolishing the police is a utopian fantasy.
What about violent crime? Who will respond when someone is
being held at gunpoint? To perceive police abolition as abandon-
ing people to violence reflects a complete incomprehension of
the work and of the larger context in which abolitionist principles
and practices are formed and function. As scholar Ruth Wilson
Gilmore said, “abolition is about presence, not absence.” I will
not cover the history of abolition in this essay. I will say that
abolition is rooted in a Black feminist framework, and within
Black feminism there is never an absence of collective care.

Learning more about the humanist vision of Black feminism will
not cover the history of abolition in this essay. I will say that
abolition is rooted in a Black feminist framework, and within
Black feminism there is never an absence of collective care.

A second common criticism goes like this: “I’m supportive of
the idea (reduce the scope of policing and redirect funding to
the social and economic determinants of crime), but I don’t agree
with the language.” President Barack Obama recently expressed
this perspective by saying: “access to a living audience the minute you
say it, which makes it a lot less likely that you’re actually going
to get the changes you want done.”

I get this. I understand the desire to moderate the message so
that all of us with shared values might come together to accom-
plish a common goal, especially when that goal is so urgent and
important. However, I think this criticism stems from a failure to
match our thinking to the kind of large-scale change our coun-
try (and planet) needs right now.

Abolition is more
than divesting in
a single institution; its scope is bigger than any individu-
al system or poli-
cy area. Abolition
cuts across numer-
ous social systems
and policy arenas
because abolition is
a broad political
vision dedicated
to creating a more
just world.

Reimagining
Institutions that are
failing the American people shouldn’t be controversial and it does
not end with reimagining the police. In an interdependent way,
we need to reimagine health care, childcare, education, and the
economic system that is currently dependent upon the destruction
of the planet and the exploitation of entire populations. Nearly 28
million Americans lack access to health insurance and 33 million
American workers lack access to paid sick leave. In 500 out of 618
the cities studied (80%), the Economic Policy Institute found
the cost of childcare was higher than the cost of rent. There are 140
million Americans who are poor or low-income. Over half of chil-
dren under 18, 42% of the elderly, 59% of Native, 60% of Black,
and 64% of Latino people in the United States are poor or low
income. And all of this was before a global pan-
demic killed over 1.6 million people worldwide (nearly 20% of the
death in the US), stripped 5 million people in the US of health
insurance, and left nearly 11 million US people unemployed.

Cont. on page 16
Gaby Sanchez is an MPP candidate ’22 and was born in Guayaquil, Ecuador and immigrated to the U.S. She is a 2016 graduate of Mills College and received her law degree from the University of California, Berkeley School of Law. Sanchez has dedicated her young career to working with immigrant communities in the San Francisco Bay Area as a child. In 2016, she graduated from Mills College and did her thesis on U.S. refugee policies towards Latin America, which was awarded the Lawrence Shader Prize. She has worked with the American Civil Liberties Union, where she worked on high-profile cases such as the Muslim ban and family separation. Before attending Goldman, Gaby worked with the Community Resource Initiative, where she learned about how the U.S immigration system and criminal justice system interact. She is pursuing an MPP from Goldman to learn more about immigration policy and international policy and development.

POLICY PASSION

What Our Colonial Legacy Can Teach Us About Immigration Policy Reform

By Gaby Sanchez  MPP Candidate ’22

IN 1998, THE ECUADORIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS caused severe inflation, bank closures, and a sovereign debt crisis. This caused unrest in the streets and led to a coup d’état, further destabilizing the small Andean country. A few years later, my family and I became one of the many who participated in the great exodus to the US, Chile, and Spain. Financial instability spread throughout the Latin American region. Along with Ecuador, Mexico also experienced an economic collapse in 1995, simultaneously witnessing civil wars in El Salvador and Central America. We were among the first to arrive at the open gates of the Global North. Our family and I made our way by the possibilities of opportunity in destination countries.

Others like my family have come to the Global North in trains (la Bestia), boats, like the ones crossing the Mediterranean, in the back of trunks, through smugglers, and on foot. In addition to devastating poverty and lack of opportunities, many are also fleeing prosecution, violence, and political instability.

Currently, immigrants in the U.S. make up 13.7% of the population. California has the largest share of mixed-status families, meaning at least one member of the family is a green card holder or a U.S. citizen, and at least one other member is undocumented. Despite the Trump administration’s attempt to curtail immigration by building more physical barriers, separating families at the border, and forcing asylum seekers to wait in Mexico during their asylum proceedings, immigrants continue to make the trip to the U.S., usually because the certain dangers at home are outweighed by the possibilities of opportunity in destination countries.

People being pushed to leave behind their cultures and families made me wonder about how these circumstances came to be. It is no secret that the Global North has firsthand contributed to establishing the economic legacies that the Global South continues to grapple with. Through policies and politics that favored large landowners and deepened economic inequality, colonial and authoritarian régimes of the past can be linked to current migration patterns from Central America. Furthermore, polarized class structure, systemic oppression of indigenous people, lack of infrastructure, mono-cropping, and extreme wealth inequality, also have origins in colonial rule.

More recently, the colonial legacies have continued with unfair trade agreements and foreign intervention in civil wars. In Mexico, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) allowed for cheap, subsidized U.S.-produced corn to flood Mexican mar- kets, further displacing local producers. The U.S. provided military funding and assistance to the right-leaning government in El Salvador during its civil war, which claimed the lives of more than 75,000 people, most of them non-combatants. Unfortunately, the odds were stacked against the Global South from the beginning, and the playing field has never been evened out.

The economic migrant is usually excluded from any protection, their stories often not highlighted as reasons for humane immi- gration policies. But isn’t poverty a form of violence? Isn’t having to send one of your children to a foreign land because you can’t afford to feed your family a form of violence? Isn’t a lack of access to hospitals, schools, and social services a type of violence? With poverty comes people trying to desperately survive, which can often mean tensions within households, crime, and violence.

Yet, U.S. lawmakers expect folks to “wait their turn” and use legal avenues to migrate to the U.S. The American Immigration Council explains it best: “Many people wonder why all immi- grants do not just come to the United States legally or simply apply for citizenship while living here without authorization. These suggestions miss the point. There is no line available for current unauthorized immigrants and the ‘regular channels’ are largely not available to prospective immigrants who end up entering the country through unauthorized channels.”

The three avenues available to legally enter the U.S., employ- ment, humanitarian, and family reunification, may not be avail- able to undocumented folks living in the U.S., even if they have lived here for decades and have U.S. citizen family members. For example, under current U.S. law, someone who entered illegally cannot be eligible to adjust their status through a legal resident or U.S. citizen family member. This was the case for a client I worked with, whose husband and daughters are U.S. citizens. However, if her husband wanted to adjust her status, she would have to wait 10 years in Mexico. There seemed to be no reason for this other than punishment — punishment for fleeing poverty and instability and punishing U.S. citizens for having undocumented family members. As the main caretaker for her children, who required around the clock care, her absence would deeply disrupt the family structure. While my office was able to petition to waive this requirement, many are not able to and have to choose between leaving their family behind or continue to live undocumented. For low-skilled folks living outside of the U.S., there is little opportunity to migrate legally.

The current U.S. immigration law leaves many to fall through the cracks. Without any legitimate and adequate avenues to immigrate safely, migrants will continue to make their trips up north by irregular avenues, where they face the possibilities of kidnapping, exposure to the elements, and abuse by authorities.

Even though immigrants and their families make up a signifi- cant portion of the U.S. population and foreign-born workers contribute about $2 trillion to the GDP — undocumented work- ers contribute to 2.6% of the GDP — there are no comprehensive avenues for immigration benefits.

Since the failure of the 2013 senate bill, which was shut down by the Republican-controlled house, there has been no viable option for immigration reform. This bill would have created a path to citizenship for many in the U.S. living without documenta- tion. With the failure of this bill, the Obama administration turned to the authority of the executive branch to create some short-term solutions. However, Deferred Action for Child Arrivals (DACA), Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA) — which protected undocumented parents of U.S. Citizens from deportation — and the lesser-known Central American Minors Program, have been mere Band-Aids for this complex issue. These programs provide temporary protections, but the constant attacks by the Trump administration have shown their inherent weakness: immigrant communities will not be safe until they are truly and fully protected in the same manner as U.S. citizens (this is not to say that all U.S. citizens are treated equally). This dynamic leaves vulnerable populations, composed of folks fleeing from poverty and violence, in limbo and further exposed to exploitation.

There is some hope, however. The Biden-Harris administra- tion has a long wish list of immigration policy reforms. Cam- paign promises include ending the family separation policy, ending the policy of forcing asylum seekers to wait in Mexico, allowing family members of U.S. citizens and green card holders to travel to the U.S. on temporary visas while their family reunifi- cation application is processed, and creating a path to citizen- ship for undocumented immigrants. While this is promising, both Biden and Harris hold less than stellar records in immigra- tion. Harris collaborated with ICE during her time as San Fran- cisco’s District Attorney, turning over juveniles who had been arrested and suspected of committing a felony to federal authori- ties. As vice-president to Obama, commonly referred to as “Deporter-in-Chief” among immigrant rights’ activists, Biden will also have to reckon with this past. We must hold them accountable, we must ensure that they learned from their mis- takes of the past. It is imperative that policymakers understand that global inequality, which has deep roots in colonial systems, drives migration and continues to harm communities and sep- arate families. The Global North cannot ignore its role in the circumstances that people in the Global South grapple with. No walls, or militarization of borders will address the push and pull factors that migrants face.

POLICY NOTES

| SPRING/SUMMER 2021 | UNIVER SITY OF CALIFORNIA - BERKELEY |
Meet Ciarra Jones

CIARRA JONES HAS ALWAYS BEEN INTERESTED in what it means to belong and the things that impact our ability to experience that belonging. As an undergraduate at UC Berkeley majoring in American studies, Ciarra focused on the African-American sense of self. At the same time, she was navigating her own experiences as a Black woman and an LGBTQ Christian.

"I became fascinated by what it means to spiritually belong and why the church struggles with making space for people to belong across differences," she says.

This fascination led her to Harvard Divinity School where she studied queer theory, Black liberation studies, and womanist theology. This spring, she joined the Goldman School's student services team as diversity coordinator and director of the Public Policy International Affairs (PPIA) Junior Summer Institute.

This is a tall order but Ciarra is eager for the work.

"I've found this joy in walking alongside people — whether that's students, faculty, or staff — and working together as we ask really hard questions," she says. "This kind of work isn't simple and it takes patience. It isn't for everybody, but for me, I want to help people have a graceful orientation towards themselves and others. That is what will help this work flourish."

When asked what drew her to the Goldman School, Ciarra notes that the staff and faculty she met with before she came on board expressed a sincere desire to grow into a more just, inclusive community.

"This is a time of reckoning for academia," says Ciarra. "I see it in grad programs and institutions across the nation. Students are looking for structural change. It's more than 'we don't like this syllabus, it's also, we're questioning the pedagogical framing of this discipline.' "

"Academia is being called upon to engage the full humanity of their students," she continues. "We expect ourselves to feel seen in the classroom.

"This is a tall order but Ciarra is eager for the work."

The efficacy of health and safety measures such as mask-wearing, maintaining physical distance, and proper ventilation and hygiene were already mainstream public health measures implemented around the globe to minimize transmission to great success. While South Korea, Europe, China, and Japan reined in their cases, the United States' skyrocketed. Instead of a coordinated, data-driven national response to the pandemic, the federal government downplayed the virus, rushed to reopen without a plan, and sent contradictory messages across the airways to mitigate risk and slow the spread. In some cases, such as in my home state of Arizona, local elected officials became mouthpieces of misinformation and bad policy. This bad policy included an executive order that prevented local municipalities from taking additional measures, such as passing mask ordinances, to keep their constituents safe. In late May, Arizona Governor Doug Ducey claimed it was safe for people without underlying conditions to return to pre-pandemic life. My Dad's only pre-existing condition was trusting the President and Governor said, and it cost him his life.

I launched Marked by COVID to serve as a platform for people to publicly share their stories and hold policymakers that failed to account. Within a month, we grew a social media following of thousands and have supported numerous other grieving families in channeling their grief into purpose. Some families have chosen to write an "honest obituary," a term I coined after writing in my father's obituary that his death was "due to the callousness of politicians who continue to jeopardize the health of brown bodies." Others have chosen to hold vigils, invite their governors to their loved one's funerals, and build altars to the dead.

Looking ahead, we have big plans, and I can trace those back to my policy roots at the Goldman School of Public Policy at UC Berkeley and my principal value of justice. An emerging constituency is raising its voice and demanding that policymakers, we have a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to center policy around the needs of those most impacted. While wearing my three-pronged hat of activist, advocate, and policymaker, I plan on not allowing us to waste this shot at getting it right.

By Kristin Urquiza MPA '20

WHEN MY DAD BECAME ILL and subsequently died on June 30th from COVID-19, my first thought was not to spark a movement and reshape public health policy. My first thought was, this should not be happening. This was preventable."

"Academia is being called upon to engage the full humanity of their students. We expect ourselves to feel seen in the classroom."
Abolition cont. from page 15

Abolition is asking that we recognize this fundamental truth: American institutions are in need of re-making. The reality is our institutions are already collapsing. Because, for nearly the last half century, we have experienced a massive defunding of institutions meant to support human thriving and collective living. The last four plus decades of divestment in health, education, and social programs has decried the ability of federal, state, and local institutions to respond to this moment. We cannot respond to a public health crisis with more policing. We cannot respond to 140 million poor and low-income people with technocratic policy tweaks. We cannot undo 40 plus years of divestment in public institutions, and the massive inequality that has accompanied it, without profound and monumental change.

We must think big to meet this moment, and that is exactly what abolition asks of us. Every other day in the United States, an unarmed person of color is killed by a police officer and a police officer takes their own life. The institution of policing is killing people. However, poverty and lack of access to health care kill far more people every day — including a disproportionate number of people of color. Abolition is a rebalancing of our public priorities and a reinvesting in a structure of collective flourishing. Equitable institutions are at the center of what a healthy, high-functioning society must provide to its citizens. When our institutions fail us, it is our responsibility to abolish them and rebuild better, more equitable, more humane institutions. These are not abstract theoretical objectives or idealistic impossibilities, but our fundamental responsibilities as citizens, as policy practitioners, and as a nation. My policy passion is abolition because I believe there is a new way, and I believe we need expansive policy solutions to support us on that path. Working together, we can recreate institutions that better embody shared values and build a world where no one is left behind.

Fifty Years On

GSPP Continues to Rise to the Challenge — Even That One That Was Unimaginable

In the Fall of 2019, Members of the Goldman School community came together for what now seems like an ancient ritual. Over 350 faculty, staff, alumni, and supporters happily gathered in the Pauley Ballroom on campus to celebrate the School’s 50th anniversary. We shook hands; we hugged, we shared memories; we laughed; and we danced with abandon. It was the 50th Anniversary of the Goldman School of Public Policy, and we were duly proud.

Who in that happy crowd could have imagined the unprecedented challenges that we would face just five months later? It was simply unimaginable.

In March 2020, the Goldman School closed its doors in response to the COVID-19 Pandemic. In our now all too familiar nomenclature, we went “remote” for the past year. No handshakes; no hugs; no in-person meetings.

Nonetheless, the GSPP community demonstrated extraordinary resilience and rose to the challenge — a challenge unlike any other. As the #1 Policy Analysis program in the country, we worked with our skills and strengths. We analyzed the situation, assessed alternative solutions, and quickly pivoted to provide remote classroom learning, to offer virtual events that featured leading scholars and policy experts, and to generate new levels of philanthropic giving to support our students and grow our capacity.

Dear GSPP Community,

What a Year.

The global pandemic has forced us all to adjust both personally and professionally, and while connecting virtually has become the new normal, at times it has been an inadequate alternative. There is no replacement to walking the stage at graduation, or hosting an in-person career fair, or pulling an all-nighter with fellow classmates in the Living Room.

As Chair of the Alumni Board, the year has been particularly challenging given the high incidence of zoom fatigue. Nevertheless, we as a Board have worked diligently to create engagement opportunities where alumni, current students, faculty and staff can come together with the intention of advancing the mission and ideals of GSPP.

Recognizing the stress many students are experiencing during these unprecedented times, the Alumni Student Services Committee piloted a mentorship program where current students seeking academic, professional (and sometimes emotional) support were paired with an alumni board member for assistance in navigating difficult situations. The Alumni Student Services committee has also been instrumental in creating safe spaces for students of color to discuss equity concerns both at the University and nationwide.

The Alumni Activities Committee has also remained busy hosting virtual networking events and convenings. A webinar on critical issues impacting environmental policy was well attended and moderated by two distinguished GSPP alumni and board members, Bob Gordon (MPP ’75) and Veronica Iraistora (MPP ’99). The committee also began a book club, open to alumni, current students, faculty and staff to bolster engagement and strengthen multi-generational ties.

Finally, the Alumni Board welcomed five new members this year, and the Governance Committee is geared for Board elections as several members’ terms came to an end at the end of this academic year. So, while this past year has certainly been an adjustment, the work continues.

As the nation welcomed a new administration earlier this year, as states welcome an increase in vaccination rates, and as GSPP welcomes its new dean, I welcome the opportunity to turn the page and begin anew, continuing the tradition of those who have graced the halls of this great institution before me — the tradition of committing one’s time and talent toward positive systems change, and in some small way, contributing to this world being a better place for future generations.

Go Bears,

Daryel R. Dunston (MPP ’18)
Alumni Board Chair

GSPP Alumni Association Board of Directors for 2020–2021

Avi Black (MPP ’85)
Ashley Bliss Lima (MPP ’14)
Felipe Carrera (MPP ’17)
Michelle Chang (MPP ’10)
Kurston Cook (MPP ’17)
Daryel R. Dunston (MPP ’18)
Bob Gordon (MPP ’75)
Joyce Halabi (MPP ’19)
Veronica Iraistora (MPP ’99)
Anna Johnson (MPP ’13)
Chung-Han Lee (MPP ’97)
Brenda Munoz (MPP ’10)
Vernon Pittman (MPP ’18)
Kate Ringness (MPP ’15)
Paula Zagrecki (MPP ’92)
In addition to numerous community events for faculty, students, and staff, the Goldman School hosted an impressive array of public events. Below is a selected list: the full list of programs can be found at the UCTV Public Policy channel: https://www.uctv.tv/public-policy/

**American Democracy: Needed Reforms**

- Featuring Professor Janet Napolitano, Secretary Leon L. Panetta, Dean L. Song Richardson, and Congressman Eric Swalwell
- Berkeley Conversation.
- Approximately 3,000 views, 200 live.

**US Treasurer Rosie Rios**

- Collaboration with Berkeley Haas
- Dean’s Speaker Series.
- Approximately 4,200 views, 200 live.

**Congresswoman Ayanna Pressley**

- Collaboration with One Fair Wage
- Approximately 300 views, 100 live.

**A Fireside Chat with Dr. Anthony Fauci**

- Collaboration with the Berkeley Forum
- Approximately 21,400 views, 3,500 live.

**Homecoming: An Election Like No Other: Free and Fair Elections**

- Collaboration with the Social Science Matrix
- Approximately 1,000 views, 165 live.

**Democracy Town Hall: Reimagining Policing**

- Approximately 1,450 views, 120 live.

**Free and Fair Elections: Lessons for the US from the Rest of the World**

- Collaboration with Center for Effective Global Action (CEGA)
- Approximately 100 views, 50 live.

**Free and Fair Elections: Lessons from Battleground States**

- Berkeley Conversation.
- Approximately 950 views, 150 live.

**General H.R. McMaster in Conversation with Lowell Bergman**

- Approximately 1,900 views, 250 live.

**Homecoming: An Election Like No Other: Free and Fair Elections**

- Collaboration with Berkeley Conversation.
- Approximately 2,750 views, 250 live.

**Homeland Security in a Post-Trump Era**

- CSP Launch featuring Sec Michael Chertoff, Sec. Jeh Johnson, Sec. Janet Napolitano, Sec. Tom Ridge, and moderator Doug Wilson
- Berkeley Conversation.
- Approximately 4,200 views, 200 live.

** Democracy Notes**

- The accomplishments of the Goldman School alumni community include many graduate degrees from other institutions in the interests space. We’ve only included the Goldman School degrees in the class notes listings.

**Christian Arana (MPP ’17)** was recently promoted to Vice President of Policy at Latino Community Foundation. In his nearly four years at the foundation, Christian has led statewide campaigns to mobilize Latino voters for elections and to get counted in the 2020 Census. His work has been featured in the New York Times, Washington Post, NPR, and the Los Angeles Times.

**Elizabeth Rusch (Schulz):** (MPP ’93) new book You Call This Democracy: How to Fix Our Government and Deliver Power to the People (Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2020) was named a best book of the year by Kirkus and the New York Public Library and was a finalist for the YALSA Excellence in Nonfiction Award. She has appeared on TV nationally (Discovery Channel, Fox News Now, ABC10, The World According to Jesse, The Lilt TV) and internationally (Ticker TV in Australia and China Global Television Network, which airs in 100 countries). She has been a guest on podcasts such as I Want Her Job and World Footprints and has been invited on numerous radio shows across the country and across the political spectrum, including OPR’s Think Out Loud (Oregon), Politics Diane Right (Texas), RadioActive (Utah), The Small Business Advocate Show (Alabama), The Tom Sumner Program (Michigan), The Jugglers (Iowa), News/TALK 1380 (Iowa), KJEE (Iowa), Focus with Dr. Dan and Friends (New York), The Scott Sloan Show (Ohio), The Bruce Cook Conversation (S. California) and Wake up Wyoming with Glenn Woods (Wyoming), and The Voice of Reason (MidAtlantic Network). Learn more about the book at youcallthis.com and about Liz’s writing at elizabethrusch.com.

In May 2021, Brian Pick (MPP ’07) graduated with a doctorate in education leadership from Harvard Graduate School of Education after two years of on-campus coursework and a residency at Chicago Public Schools. He continues to draw upon the knowledge and skills he learned at GSPP in his work with school districts.

**Sam Schabacker (MPP ’18)** is thrilled to have joined the energy and sustainability team at UCOP. Working with all the UC campuses and medical centers, UCOP is helping chart the path for UC to be carbon neutral by 2025.

Just as she had hoped when at GSPP, Shanya van Hoffen (MPP ’03) serves as outside general counsel and special counsel for local government agencies, primarily in the Bay Area. Shanya joined the law firm Hanson Bridget in 2004 and currently chairs the firm’s Public Transport & Transportation practice in San Francisco. Shanya lives in Walnut Creek with her husband and two middle schoolers, and also serves as President of the Board of Directors for the Junior State of America Foundation and Board member for the East Bay Lead- ership Council.

**Aleskandra Holod (MPP ’04)** is working as a senior researcher at American Institutes for Research, where her recent work has increased focus on early literacy interventions. Given the impact of COVID on student learning, Aleskandra has been partnering with state education agencies and private foundations to design and test programs providing supplemental reading instruction, such as summer camps and after school tutoring. Aleskandra is excited about the potential of these programs to support young learners.

In January 2021, Michael Pimental (MPP ’18) was named Executive Director of the California Transit Association, a non-profit trade organization representing more than 85 transit and rail agencies in California and more than 250 member organizations nationwide. In this last year, Michael led a coalition of more than 40 transportation, labor, environmental, environmental justice and business organizations to secure $10 billion in emergency funding relief from Congress for public transit agencies. Michael was also the lead advocate in a statewide campaign to secure priority access to the COVID-19 vaccine for transit workers. With a focus on recovery, Michael is working on state and federal policies to accelerate zero-emission bus deployment and is leading an internal task force to address matters of diversity, equity and inclusion in California’s transit industry.

**John Romankiewicz (MPP/MS-ERG ’16)** was a lead author on Sierra Club’s report Dirty Truth About Utility Climate Pledges, a lead author on Sierra Club’s report Dirty Truth About Utility Climate Pledges, released on Jan 25, 2021. The report can be viewed online or accessed as an Analysys/UtilityPaddles “Please reach out if you’d like to discuss or have questions.”

**Gina Daly:** (MPP ’07) won her first election for public office in November 2020 and is so proud to serve on the San Rafael Board of Education. “Please reach out if you are working in education policy. I’d love to collaborate!”
CLASS NOTES cont.

Martha Ture's (MPP '85) photo “Clouds on Fire” has won an International Fine Art Photography award. Martha’s photos “River Otter With Trout” and “Pine Point in the Mist” have been accepted in a photography awards show in Barcelona, Spain. The date of the reception and opening are as yet unknown due to COVID-19. Martha and her husband Jim are planning on leaving California, and the West, because of fire and long-term increasing aridity. Whenever they go, Martha's contribution to the world will continue to make a difference.

Maria McKee (MPP '18) is the Deputy Director of the California Governor's Office of Planning and Research and the California Strategic Growth Council. She also serves as the office's policy lead on sustainable woodsy fuel utilization.

On March 19, Spencer Bowen (MPP '20) began a new role as Communications Manager & Policy Analyst for the City of Woodland, California.

In February 2020, Maria McKee (MPP '08) joined the San Francisco Juvenile Probation Department as Director of Research & Planning. Maria will be supporting the new chief, Kathy Miller, in her efforts to re-imagine how San Francisco approaches juvenile justice and the role of probation in a changing dynamic moment in which the City has voted to close its juvenile hall, and the state is closing the Division of Juvenile Justice.


Helena Jacobs (Hoffman) (MPP '09) owns and operates Benzaadlooy Consulting LLC, an Alaska Native female-owned consulting firm that provides strategic impact approaches to positive social and economic change. She also manages her own farm and maintains an online presence connecting Alaska Native voices, priorities and values with all levels of policy making impacting faith communities: full spectrum Indigenous birthwork; elevating Alaska Native arts, cultures and languages in homes and schools; and leadership development and capacity building for Alaska Natives.

Corey Matthews (MPH '15) recalls, “the IPA experience — and the ability to work closely with dynamic thinkers, tackle tough problems, and propose real solutions — was truly transformative.”

Jankavey Song (MPP '19) says, “my favorite GPS memory was all of Summer Session A. Since I did the 14-month program and worked full time in fall and spring semester. That was my first job and I was able to focus only on school and work on the program. I wouldn’t have made it with my mind intact if it wasn’t for my amazing cohort and the support of GPSG faculty and staff.”

Jerry Newfarmer (MA '69) fondly recalls, “Aaron Wildavsky — the Oakland Budget Project… and the tradition of our program. Jerry served as City Manager in Fresno, San Jose, Cincinnati and as Assistant City Manager Partnership experts in local government throughout the U.S.

Stephen Rosenbaum (BA '79/ JD '80) became an affiliate of the University of Washington Disability Studies Program and taught a Zoom class in Civil & Human Rights Law for Disabled People in Fall 2020. He also conducted virtual clinical legal education workshops with the University de Lome, University of Tehran, Faculty of Law & Political Science at the Hugo Woolf Law School in Trinidad and Tobago.


Kevin Wegman (MPP/MPH '88), Chief Program Director of Blue Shield of California Foundation, will receive Grantmakers In Health's (GIH) 2021 Terrance Keenan Leadership Award. Kevin has served as President of the California HealthCare Foundation in 2019. Laura has two kids: Emily (5) and Ava (2).

Muneeb Khan (MPP '20) fondly recalls creating lifelong friendships in the 2020 MPA cohort over a short period of time.
This Year’s Highlights

In 2020, CSHE also transitioned the Gardner Seminar for Higher Education online. Consequently, we were able to expand it to include an impressive group of doctoral students doing research on higher education from several UC campuses. Applications are being accepted for the 2021–2022 Gardner Seminar. Plus, the Center continues to engage former Visiting Scholars from dozens of countries, and expects to host new Visiting Scholars in Fall 2021. Finally, CSHE research scholars have been quoted in the New York Times and other major publications.

Additionally, CSHE has restructured its on-campus lecture series, called Breakfast with George (BWG). This is an opportunity for senior university administrators to benefit from the mentorship of George Blumenthal, Emeritus University of California Academic Assembly Chair and Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz. Three of the scholars who have completed this program so far have already become university presidents. Participants in both ELA and BWG represent broad diversity, in terms of ethnicity, types of institutions, and geographic locations.

ESTABLISHED IN 1956, the Center for Studies in Higher Education (CSHE) is the first research institute in the United States devoted to the study of higher education. Adapting to the challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic during the past year, CSHE maintained a robust and innovative program of activities. The Center ran a highly successful online Executive Leadership Academy (ELA), which provides diverse academic administrators with essential skills to prepare themselves for senior appointments. ELA will be offering online sessions this summer.

During the past year, CSHE began an innovative new online mentoring program, called Breakfast with George (BWG). This is an opportunity for senior university administrators to benefit from the mentorship of George Blumenthal, Emeritus University of California Academic Assembly Chair and Chancellor Emeritus, University of California, Santa Cruz. Three of the scholars who have completed this program so far have already become university presidents. Participants in both ELA and BWG represent broad diversity, in terms of ethnicity, types of institutions, and geographic locations.

Additionally, CSHE has restructured its on-campus lecture series, which promotes awareness and knowledge of research on emerging issues in higher education, to an online series in 2020. This change allowed CSHE to engage distinguished international speakers and has enlarged the audience immensely. The webinars have attracted listeners from throughout the world in numbers reaching from several hundred to over 2000. The series has also addressed a much larger range of important issues in higher education, such as university finances and student debt, since panelists participate from different geographic locations.

In 2020, CSHE also transitioned the Gardner Seminar for Higher Education online. Consequently, we were able to expand it to include an impressive group of doctoral students doing research on higher education from several UC campuses. Applications are being accepted for the 2021–2022 Gardner Seminar. Plus, the Center continues to engage former Visiting Scholars from dozens of countries, and expects to host new Visiting Scholars in Fall 2021. Finally, CSHE research scholars have been quoted in the New York Times and other major publications. Using one of the largest longitudinal higher education databases in the U.S., research has focused on California’s Proposition 209, which banned affirmative action, showed how its passage adversely affected Black and Hispanic students’ chance of admission to the University of California, their odds of finishing college, and their career salaries. In other work, the Student Experience in the Research University (SERU) consortium has released several studies of the effects of COVID-19 on student populations, which have been widely referenced.

With increased attention to the shifting landscape in higher education by a new federal administration and new leaders of university systems, CSHE is poised to play a leading role in developing and evaluating new higher education policy issues in the coming year. As we continue to be a thought leader, CSHE welcomes the involvement of GSPP alumni and friends who are working in the field of higher education policy. Please email cshe@berkeley.edu to ask about ways that you can be engaged.

And if the United States doesn’t get the job done, others will, the researchers warn. “The U.S. needs a financial commitment on a scale similar to that made in recent years by European countries and China if its hopes to compete for domestic EV and battery manufacturing jobs,” they write.

There is significant interest in Washington to transition the nation’s motor vehicles to EVs. President Biden’s American Jobs Plan includes a proposed $174 billion investment to “win the EV market.” The White House plan includes building a national network of 500,000 EV chargers by 2030 while “promoting strong labor, training, and installation standards.” The Biden administration also is aiming to replace 50,000 diesel transit vehicles and electricity at least 20% of the yellow school bus fleet.

Pivoting to EV sales by 2035 has the potential to create 2 million new jobs and save households an average $1,000 per year over the next 30 years, the study finds. There are also big potential societal gains, as carbon emissions will lead to less air pollution, preventing 150,000 premature deaths and $1.3 trillion in environmental and health costs through 2050, researchers report. "There are significant, economy-wide benefits from switching to electric cars and trucks. Many of the health benefits will occur in communities of color and frontline communities that are disproportionately exposed to vehicle pollution," said report co-author David Wooley, a professor at the Goldman School and executive director CEPP. "But these benefits will simply not be realized without ambition and leadership on the part of policymakers and decision-makers. Every year America stalls, our vehicle and battery manufacturing industries fall behind in global competitiveness, consumers are saddled with higher costs, and we miss the ever-narrowing window to address the climate crisis and ensure a livable planet.”

C E N T E R F O R S T U D I E S I N H I G H E R E D U C A T I O N

Transportation 2035

By Elizabeth Brotherton-Bunch

IN JANUARY, GENERAL MOTORS made a major announcement: It’s going electric. The 112-year-old company plans to end production of diesel and gas-powered cars, trucks, and SUVs by 2035, pivoting to selling solely electric vehicles (EV). Not to be outdone, fellow Detroit mainstay Ford Motor Co., also is upping its electric vehicle manufacturing, spending tens of billions of dollars to make more EVs.

But while companies like GM and Ford are leading the way, it’s going to take significant government investment for the entire country to make the pivot, including doing things like installing charging stations and growing battery manufacturing to power all those new EVs.

The good news is that investment will quickly pay off, according to new research from the Goldman School of Public Policy’s Center for Environmental Public Policy at UC Berkeley.

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Wooley joined with Amanda Myers, and Michael O’Boyle from Energy Innovation to put together a number of policy recommendations to help the U.S. make the switch to EVs. Those recommendations notably include enacting Buy America policies to encourage domestic manufacturing.

Buy America, the authors say, will “help retool U.S. industry to manufacture batteries, EVs, energy storage, and other advanced technologies.” They also recommend “an early focus” on Buy America to “improve global competitiveness, sustain jobs, and support workers in the transition.”

In addition, the researchers argue that the government should play a role in helping to encourage the domestic manufacturing of EVs and supply chain, including when it comes to batteries.

“The case for electric vehicles is stronger than ever before and one of the most exciting findings of this study is the potential for large savings for all households,” said Dr. Nikit Abhyankar, senior scientist at the University of California, Berkeley Center for Environmental Public Policy. “With the right policies and infrastructure, electric cars and trucks will be much cheaper to own and operate.”

The article was originally posted on the website of Alliance for American Manufacturing. It has been lightly edited for length and clarity.
History Project

The Aerial Impact of the Sahel Droughts, which

with the National Science Foundation.

ural and Resource Economics at UC

tural photographs, satellite images, and

mathematical models, they hope to under-

stand the relationships between environ-

mental change and human development. Just like astrophysicists study the sky to

map the future, the Aerial History Project

Just like astrophysicists study the sky to

make sense of the past to support evi-

dential climate and development

ore use a model that's trained

able to use a model that's trained

compared to modern satellite

or image dataset, the team

of the Sahel droughts affected patterns of

human migration. It is our hope that this

will give us a better idea of types of human

migration we should expect in response to

future climate shocks."

In order to convert millions of physical photographs into data that researchers

around the world can utilize, Professor Hsiang's team needs to digitize the archive, assemble the individual photographs into coherent mosaics, and then extract structured information (e.g. maps of population density or land use) from the images. They face several challenges along the way such as older photographs not being geo-referenced. In order to create seamless scenes resembling modern satellite imagery, the GPL team wrote an algorithm to align and overlay the photographs correctly in digital form.

Data extraction has also proved challenging without historical data on which to train machine learning models. Typically, models learn about the content of images (e.g. population levels) by being shown the true value of the variable (e.g. from the census) for a subset of images. Because the Aerial History Project aims to generate new data in locations and time periods for which ground-level data is unavailable, the team had to come up with an alternative approach. They are instead training their models on modern satellite images, which can be linked with high-quality survey data, and applying these algorithms to predict outcomes in the historical images.

According to Druckenmiller, it's technically difficult to use a model that's trained on one source of imagery on another source of imagery. As a result, the team has to do a lot of work to make two image sources look similar: "One example is that we need to convert the satellite images to black and white, since that's what the aerial images looked like," she says. "But there are many other steps, including aligning the spatial resolution and the spatial correlation in the two datasets."

The GPL team's work is a precedent-setting initiative for climate migration research and could serve many other research purposes. Machine learning and GIS skills are clearly becoming increasingly useful across the globe to inform climate policy decisions. With better climate and migration data models, there is greater hope that humans will make more data-driven decisions and therefore become more climate resilient in the long run.

"I think our biggest contribution will be the new datasets that we're creating. We're trying to fill in a lot of gaps in the historical record, both over space and time. Just being able to reconstruct what was happening and have it be public domain could help a lot of researchers answer previously intractable questions. I think that's one of the most exciting parts of this project."

Trinetta Chong
GPL researcher and project manager for the Aerial History Project

"We are trying to provide a public good for the research community. It is a resource that researchers can tap into."

Luna Huang
GPL researcher and PhD candidate in the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at UC Berkeley
The Reimagining panel brought together Philadelphia Police Chief (and former Portland Chief, former Oakland Deputy Chief, and Oakland native) Danielle Outlaw, Oakland City Council President, and (co-chair of Oakland’s re-envisioning public safety task force) Nikkita Oliver, and GSPP’s Professor Jack Glaser, an expert on police bias and technical adviser to the Governor’s work group on use of force policies. CCDE’s Faculty Director, and former Oakland city manager, Dan Lindheim, moderated the panel.

The election panels discussed the competing efforts to expand the vote and the multiple efforts to engage in both explicit and implicit voter suppression efforts. The most recent panel examined the extent to which voters would be encouraged or discouraged to vote because of the mix of voter suppression efforts and COVID concerns about in-person voting. Panelists included activists (Amy Allison of She of the People), election experts (California’s Deputy Secretary of State James Schwab), legal experts (BerkeleyLaw’s Bertrall Ross) and COVID experts (John Swartzberg of Berkeley’s School of Public Health). An earlier panel featured Steve Silverstein who described efforts to end the Electoral College without an actual constitutional amendment.

CCDE also sponsored (along with the student Young Conservative Society) a debate on Medicare for All, moderated by CCDE’s Faculty Director. The panelists were Professor Richard Scheffler of GSPP and the School of Public Health and Sally Pipes, who heads the Pacific Research Institute.

CCDE continues to be a major supporter of student research supporting an increasing number of GSPP’s APA (masters’ thesis) research. Recent research has focused on efforts to involve stakeholders, often those without previous roles in policy-making, in the policy-making process. In addition to previously mentioned work on engaging homeless encampment dwellers in City of Oakland homelessness policy-making, and engaging the formerly incarcerated in Fair Chance Housing (ban the box for housing) policies; recent research has focused on: (i) promoting more diverse participation in the Federal rulemaking process; (ii) building community power through decentralized school-level decision-making; (iii) expanding/improving stakeholder engagement in impact evaluations; (iv) open data as a tool for creating meaningful civic engagement; (v) promoting increased civic engagement through public election financing (separate projects in US, Chile, Colombia); and (vi) trying to bridge the divide between UCB and the City in financing City-provided services.

CCDE also recruited and supported GSPP students working with Alameda County’s Census effort to reach “hard to count” residents.

The Fight to Raise the Wage

Over the last several months, the Food Labor Research Center (FLRC) has primarily been publishing research, testifying, and speaking about the federal Raise the Wage Act moving through Congress, which would raise the minimum wage to $15 an hour and eliminate the subminimum wage for tipped workers (who are primarily restaurant workers), workers with disabilities, and youth. The FLRC published 8 reports (see list below) on the conditions of food service workers during the pandemic. These reports have been featured in The Washington Post, The New York Times, Link, New York Magazine, USA Today, and POLITICO. Of all of this work has helped advance the issue of subminimum wage for tipped workers. In February, Senator Bernie Sanders spoke for 15 minutes on the Senate floor, uplifting all of the findings of the FLRC. These findings were also highlighted in dozens of digital events with congress members and senators since the beginning of the year (on the issue of the Raise the Wage Act).

FLRC Director, Saru Jayaraman, has a fifth book coming out in the fall with New Press and her class on social movements grew to roughly 200 students this spring semester. This summer, she is running “The Freedom Summer Program”, engaging students in research and policy work related to the policy debate on the federal minimum wage, in partnership with The African American Studies Department.

The following reports can be found at onefairwage.site/research
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