

# policynotes



## leading through crisis

SPRING/SUMMER 2021

Farewell to Dean Henry E. Brady

Professor Janet Napolitano  
launches the Center for  
Security in Politics

Marked by COVID

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# A Grateful Farewell from Dean Brady

“Together we have made GSPP bigger, better, and more diverse.”

## Dear GSPP Students, Staff, and Faculty:

**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.

I am also pleased to say that together we have made GSPP bigger, better, and more diverse, and we have put GSPP on a financially strong and stable footing during an extraordinarily challenging period. A mark of this is that we did not lay anyone off during the last year despite significant losses in revenues. We have survived and gotten better in the face of the Great Recession, recurring California state budget deficits, a structural budget deficit of \$150M at UC Berkeley, university leadership crises, an era of turbulent political rhetoric, the George Floyd murder, an insurrection at the US Capitol, and the last year of COVID, economic depression, and racial reckoning.

Getting better was not preordained. In 2010, even with the exceptional innovations and successes of my predecessor Michael Nacht, an External Review of GSPP told us that times were changing and that “the current configuration is unsustainable.” GSPP is too small, and “it must expand its faculty and course offerings.” The report went on to say that GSPP was too limited, it was “close to being run into the ground,” it was not diverse enough, and “GSPP faces increasingly formidable competition from a number of first-rate programs ... all of which are larger and better financed.” The External Review Committee's primary recommendation for solving these problems was to increase the Professional Degree Supplemental Tuition for the MPP to what would be \$25,000 today (it is currently at \$10,750). We have found other ways to solve our problems that did not encumber students to such a degree and that produced benefits for everyone.

**WE ARE BIGGER.** We have added two masters' degree programs, the new Masters of Public Affairs and the Masters of Development Practice that was, until

recently, lodged elsewhere. We developed an extensive program of Executive Education. We are about to add a certificate in security studies. We have doubled the size of the faculty by hiring more adjuncts and lecturers. We have quadrupled the number of practitioners. Through the hard work of our faculty and staff, we have revitalized two and added nine extraordinary research centers. We revitalized the Center on Environmental Public Policy and the Center on Civility and Democratic Engagement. We added the Berkeley Food Institute, Berkeley Institute for Young Americans, Berkeley Opportunity Lab, California Policy Lab, Center for Security in Politics, Center for Studies in Higher Education, Food Labor Research Center, Global Policy Lab, and The People Lab. These organizations have provided research opportunities for students and faculty alike, and they have enhanced GSPP's reach and reputation.

**WE ARE FINANCIALLY MORE SECURE.** Over the last twelve years, we have raised nearly \$75 million from grants and gifts for graduate student aid, faculty chairs, self-funded faculty positions, research, a new building, and many other purposes. Our research centers have greatly expanded their extramural support for activities that support faculty, students, and staff. Our multiple degree programs, executive education, online courses, and

certificate provide numerous and varied sources of revenue, less dependence upon a single program, and economic and intellectual economies of scale.

### **WE ARE MUCH MORE DIVERSE.**

We have increased the number of women on the ladder-rank faculty from essentially one person to almost half the faculty. The number of people of color on the faculty has doubled to 33%; the number of Black and Latinx faculty members has almost doubled among our lecturers and adjuncts to 20%. Thanks to the inspiration provided by our students, we were just awarded a faculty slot in “Anti-Racism and Social Inclusion.” We have more practitioners. Two Governors have been faculty members during the last twelve years. Currently, we have two former cabinet members, and one faculty member just left to be Secretary of Energy.

We have made significant progress on diversifying the student body, partly by almost doubling financial aid over the past five years so that more than half (55%) of those US Citizens or permanent residents enrolled in our MPP program in 2020 were people of color, and more than one-third (37%) were under-represented minorities — African American, American Indian, Alaskan Native, or Latinx. These numbers make us more diverse than the United States (40% people of color



Henry E. Brady first arrived at what was then the Graduate School of Public Policy in 1978 after receiving doctorates in political science and economics from MIT

and 30% underrepresented minorities), but still short of being as diverse as the state of California (63% and 45% respectively). More than half our students are female and many are LGBTQ or gender non-conforming. GSPP's student body is significantly more diverse than the student bodies at its major competitors: the Harris School at Chicago, the Kennedy School at Harvard, the Ford School at Michigan, and the SPIA at Princeton.

We have an active outreach program led by our new Diversity and Inclusion Coordinator to further diversify our student body, and this summer we celebrate the fortieth year of our path-breaking Public Policy and International Affairs Junior Summer Institute for underserved groups. In the past five years, we have supported two female African American post-doctoral scholars, and we have just started a Pre-Doctoral Program with three other policy schools that aims to build a more diverse pipeline for doctoral programs and future policy-school faculty members.

**WE ARE BETTER.** One-third of the GSPP faculty (ten people), probably the



highest percentage of any unit on the Berkeley campus, are elected members of the highly prestigious American Academy of Arts and Sciences — only three were members in 2009. Five years ago Rucker Johnson became the first GSPP faculty member to receive a Carnegie fellowship and two more have followed — in 2020 (Sol Hsiang) and in 2021 (Gabriel Zucman). Only one other academic unit (with over three times the number of faculty members as GSPP) in the entire nation has had



In 1980, Henry Brady married Patty Kates in the Goldman School living room (pictured here with her parents, Clara and Malcolm Kates).

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 anyplace 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 father 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 injuries 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

**PS** I am especially thrilled to be turning over the leadership of GSPP to Dr. David C. Wilson who is a terrific scholar, leader, and person. He will make GSPP even better!

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## 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. [borareed@berkeley.edu](mailto:borareed@berkeley.edu)

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Bora Reed  
Editor



# Addressing Critical Global Risks



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,



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?

It is an integration of academic research in areas, particularly those that are technology-based, with practical policymaking and politics. How do we blend those two better?

## 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 more 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 how 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 dissension 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. **G**



# Transforming the Public Sector

**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 pre-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.



Amy Lerman



Elizabeth Linos

“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 Govern 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 better measure, understand and reduce frontline worker burnout. For

example, they designed and tested a low-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.” **G**

## A partial list of organizations and agencies that are partnering with the People Lab

- Denver Department of Housing Stability (HOST)
- Denver Office of Human Resources
- Washington State Employment Security Department
- Crisis Text Line
- Alameda County Probation Department
- University of California Police Departments
- Denver Mayor’s Office of Racial Equity
- Denver Sheriff’s Department
- Govern for America
- California Department of Justice
- Alliance for Prison Higher Education
- Los Angeles i-team
- California Correctional Peace Officers Association
- California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation
- Denver Department of Human Services
- Mount Tamalpais College (formerly the Prison University Project)
- Weld North Education
- General Services Administration (GSA)
- Everyday Peace Indicators

For more information, visit [peoplelab.berkeley.edu](http://peoplelab.berkeley.edu) or reach out to [peoplelab@berkeley.edu](mailto:peoplelab@berkeley.edu).





**Gabriel Zucman** was selected as one of 26 recipients of the 2021 Andrew Carnegie Fellowship Award. The award includes a \$200,000 grant “to pursue scholarly research addressing important and enduring issues confronting our society.”

**Mia Bird**’s recent publications include, “The Impact of Defelonizing Drug Possession on Recidivism,” with Ryken Grattet and Viet Nguyen for the *2020 Criminology and Public Policy*, 19(1):591-616. She also wrote “SB 678: Incentive-based Funding and Evidence-based Practices Enacted by California Probation Are Associated with Lower Recidivism Rates and Improved Public Safety,” with Ryken Grattet for the *2020 California Probation Research Institute*.

She co-designed and led the CSAC Seminar Series on Programming, Data Strategy, and Evaluation for California county criminal justice agency staff and the 2021 Conference for the Association of Criminal Justice Researchers of California (ACJR). She also presented on the “Effects of Pretrial Release on Case Outcomes.”

**Anibel Ferus-Comelo** will be teaching a class called “Berkeley Changemaker: Labor Research for Action and Policy” (L-RAP) in Fall 2021 to strengthen the pipeline between undergraduate and graduate studies in public policy for students of diverse backgrounds. For more information see [changemaker.berkeley.edu](http://changemaker.berkeley.edu).

**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 Committee on Banking and Financial Institutions and “Testimony in support of SB 582” presented to the California Senate Environmental Quality Committee.”

**Claire Montialoux** won the first prize of the W.E. Upjohn Institute Dissertation Award in October 2020. Her study of the role of the minimum wage in the dynamics of racial inequality during the Civil Rights Era (joint with Ellora Derenoncourt) “Minimum Wages and Racial Inequality” has been published in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* in February 2021. Her study of the redistributive effects of minimum wage policies (joint with Tobias Renkin and Michael Siegenthaler) “The Pass-Through of Minimum Wages into U.S. Retail Prices: Evidence from Supermarket Scanner Data” is forthcoming at the *Review of Economics and Statistics*.

**Jeff Selbin**’s recent and forthcoming publications include, *Blood from a Turnip: Money as Punishment in Idaho*, (with Cristina Mendez and Gus Tupper, forthcoming 2021); *Poverty Law, Policy, and Practice* (Casebook 2d Ed, Wolters Kluwer, with Juliet Brodie, Clare Pastore, and Ezra Rosser, 2021); *Money and Punishment*, (edited volume with Yale Law School Arthur Liman Center for Public Interest Law and the Fines and Fees Justice Center, 2020); and “Juvenile Fee Abolition in California: Early Lessons and Challenges for the Debt Free Justice Movement,” 98 N.C. L. REV. 401 (2020). The Policy Advocacy Clinic Projects received major gifts or grants from Arnold Ventures, the Schusterman Family Philanthropies, and others.

**Michael Nacht** completed the draft of a co-authored book entitled *Nuclear Security: The Nexus Between Policy and Technology*, to be published in early summer by Springer Nature. He also published a co-authored journal article “Challenges to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty,” in *Strategic Studies Quarterly*, Fall 2020. In addition, he published a co-authored book chapter, “Russia’s Special Purpose Forces: A Strategic Weapon,” in Zachary Davis et. al. Eds, *Strategic Latency Unleashed: The Role of Technology in a Revisionist Global Order and the Implications for Special Operations Forces* (Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory: Center for Global Security, 2021).

**Peter Linquiti** (MPP ’83), now an Associate Professor at George Washington University’s Trachtenberg School, spent the spring semester as a visiting GSPP faculty member. Alas, 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 *Rebooting Policy Analysis: Strengthening the Foundation, Expanding the Scope*, the book gives issues of social equity, sustainability, legal analysis, science and technology, and institutional analysis a place in the curriculum equal to that already held by microeconomics, quantitative methods, and politics. Critical thinking, systems analysis, and anticipation of future outcomes also feature prominently in the book.

**Jack Glaser** has been serving on an advisory group to the Governor of California on police use-of-force policy reform. They have released a comprehensive set of recommendations on the policing of protests, including limits on weapon use, and are finalizing a set of recommendations for reforms to use-of-force more generally. He has also 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 *Journal 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 suspicion and discretion in policing.

**Hilary W Hoynes** received a \$400,000 grant from the Arnold Foundation 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 WorkRise to support faculty and graduate students at Berkeley.

Hoynes 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 vulnerable Americans. She also made several presentations and appeared on panels relating 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, Engineering, and Medicine Committee on the Future of Education Research at the Institute of Education Sciences. She was elected as a Fellow of the American Educational Research Association, the American Educational Studies Association, and received a 2020 Critic’s Choice Book Award.

In addition to publishing articles in the fields of positive psychology, economic philosophy, and behavioral benefit-cost analysis, **Dan Acland** 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 bringing 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 second year, to support students in hitting the ground running at the beginning of spring semester.

**Sarah Anzia** 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 rising public pension costs are leading cities and counties across the country to reduce/shrink their workforces.

Anzia also presented at a Penn/Yale conference on whether federalism and subnational policymaking are a solution to polarization and gridlock in national politics.

**Juanita Brown** taught a class at GSPP on “Collective Liberation, Self-Solidarity and Policymaking.” Recent talks and presentations include, “Corpsmember Liberation and Leadership,” The Corps Network 35th Annual National Conference, Washington, DC., “Lessons From the (Meta) Field: Leveling Up Your Learning & Contributions,” in the *Race, Ethnicity & Public Policy* Course taught by Erika Weissinger, “Principles of Community,” (co-presented with Erika Weissinger), “How Does What’s Out There Live in Here?: Connecting the dots between our psyches and systems for enhanced effectiveness,” in Amy Lerman’s *Speaking Truth to Power* Seminar, and “Juanita’s Won Wombmyn Show,” a theatrical performance which she wrote and offered.

**Jennifer Skeem** was appointed to serve on a research workgroup to understand and address racial bias 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’ sentencing of relatively poor defendants” (*Law & Human Behavior*), and “What role does serious mental illness play in mass shootings and how should we address it?” (*Criminology & Public Policy*).



**Rucker Johnson** was elected as a new member 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 hearing 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.

**Larry Rosenthal** published “River and harbor remediation: ‘polluter pays,’ alternative finance, and the promise of a ‘circular economy’” (coauthor: Philip Spadaro), *Journal of Soils and Sediments*, vol. 20, pp. 4238-4247 (2020).



# 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 communication. She is also a senior research fellow at the California Institute for Energy and Environment and the Berkeley Center for Information Technology 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.

"I'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 Granholm. "I carry their hopes for a clean energy future with me to Washington and will focus with zeal on deploying 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 Granholm 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, experienced, caring, and committed to creating 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 transformation 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 to a Biden Administration cabinet post, after 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 2009–2013.

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 conducted research in 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 opportunities in what is core to the Biden Harris transition, both analytically and politically," said Kammen. "The goal of going to all clean energy by 2035 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 sharpening how her students think about public policy.

"Governor Granholm has been a terrific mentor for our students while at GSPP," said Brady. "She initiated 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 electric vehicles while creating jobs."

"She was always concerned with implementation, how we actually make things happen," said Spencer Bowen (MPP '20), who worked as Granholm's graduate student instructor. "She'd ask, 'What are the strong points of this policy idea? Where can you make it more convincing? What level of government [country, state, federal] will this policy be best carried out by?'"

Spencer noted that he and his fellow graduate students found Granholm accessible and kind, despite her "impressive and pretty intimidating" accomplishments. She made time to meet with students, did her share of grading, and even lugged 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 moonshot 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 policy through his research and book *Evicted*.

In last year's general election, 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, disproportionately impacting communities of color. To provide an affordable, decent home to every family, the new administration must prioritize affordable housing like national efforts undertaken to put the first person on the moon. Legislation should be proposed immediately that funds and supports mechanisms to bring universal housing vouchers for all low-income families who currently spend more than 30% of their income on housing.

A 2018 study by Harvard's Joint Center for Housing Studies states that over 20 million households spend more than 30% of their income on housing, and 11 million pay more than half their income on housing. Although nearly all these households would technically qualify for voucher assistance, due to lack of funding less than one-quarter of them receive any federal rental subsidy. Households not receiving aid spend an exorbitantly high proportion of their income on housing, live on the margins, precariously close to eviction, and struggle to buy necessities like food, education, and healthcare. (In less than 12 months the COVID crisis laid bare this unsustainable housing environment for many renters, as an estimated 30-40 million renters are at risk of eviction in 2021.) A universal housing voucher program could help over 17 million households, including 6.3 million families with children.

Families struggling with housing insecurity or evictions often end up in substandard housing in high-poverty communities,

struggle with higher rates of mental and physical health issues, and have worse educational and career outcomes. Enabling people to move to higher-opportunity and lower-poverty areas is an intervention that holds much promise, as economist Raj Chetty and his team tested in an experiment with Seattle renters. They found that, by providing households with Housing Choice Vouchers so renters could relocate to housing in a low-poverty neighborhood and offering additional support through the rental process, the share of families moving to higher-

opportunity neighborhoods increased from 14 to 54%. (In the study, "higher-opportunity" describes neighborhoods with a lower-poverty rate and higher-performing schools.) Long-term implications of "moving to opportunity" include lower school drop-out rates, higher college graduation rates, and increased future earnings by as much as 30%.

Implied in the Chetty study and other "move to opportunity" research is the necessity of complementary policies and monitoring protections that should be considered to ensure equitable treatment under a Biden universal housing voucher plan. These safeguards include:

Reinstating the Affirmatively Further Fair Housing rule passed in 2016 but reversed by Trump in 2020, so jurisdictions receiving federal funds are held accountable for developing policies and practices to reduce discrimination and implementing plans to increase access to housing for historically underserved populations. All indications are that Biden will move quickly in 2021 to roll back Trump's Executive Orders.

Adopting national policy similar to California's SB 329 requiring landlords to accept federal housing vouchers and consider them as part of a rental applicant's income source.

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 recipients 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 sustainable, public-private solutions to the most challenging social problems.

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# Reflections on a Treasured Community



Annie Campbell Washington (MPP '00) is Senior Assistant Dean for Academic Programs and Dean of Students

**NOW THAT OUR SECOND VIRTUAL GRADUATION EVENT** has concluded, I'm grateful for this opportunity to reflect on the past year for our treasured Goldman School community. While I can truly only speak for my personal experience, I can comment on what I've witnessed and experienced with students and staff. The picture that comes into focus is one of dedication, gratitude, grief, resilience, hardship, innovation, courage, and growth.

The GSPP staff team has always been a tight-knit group, with a strong work ethic. We pride ourselves on putting all of our heart and soul into our work and providing excellent service to our students and the school. We also take great pride in our students and in all that GSPP offers to them—in their education and, ultimately, their transformation into the leaders we are so proud of, developing solutions to the world's problems.

## Affordable Housing cont. from page 15

functions could be provided through a community collaboration 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, particularly 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 housing 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 articulate how much "investment" the federal government has made to incentivize homeownership in the last century. As Desmond

This year has tested each one of us. I've witnessed the GSPP staff team take their commitment to caring, excellent service to a whole new level. The team has stepped up to address deeper issues facing students: mental health challenges, depression, isolation, and grief. Students struggled with their own loss, the death of loved ones, and the compounded isolation of graduate study during a pandemic. The team has also met the school's financial challenges by finding ways to cut back on spending that did not hurt our students and raising new revenue for internships and fellowships to help to meet critical needs during the pandemic. And I've also seen the team struggle through our own issues of grief and loss this year, as we care for children and elders at home, and as the lines between work and home blurred to the point of non-existence.

As we prepare to return to campus in the fall, we are experiencing a whole range of emotions. As we return to the courtyard at 2607 Hearst, we will remember and mourn all of the rituals and traditions we missed since March 2020. I also believe we will have changed, in good ways. We will be laser-focused on what is most important in each of our lives. We will be stronger and more resolute in our purpose. And we will continue to place the students and the school at the center of our work together. **G**

points out, each year homeowners receive substantial federal government subsidies in the form of mortgage interest deductions 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 benefits 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 development programs, the new administration can improve the lives of millions of Americans and positively change long-term economic, educational and social outcomes of their children, right here on earth. **G**

# Abolition: A Responsibility to Dismantle Inequitable Institutions

By Perfecta Oxholm *PhD Candidate*

**AS SOMEONE WHO STUDIES PUBLIC POLICY**, my work is motivated 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-controversial 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 abolishing the police. The concept of police abolition is built on decades of work done in large part by grassroots Black-led organizations. This is important to recognize 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 Herzing, Mariame Kaba, and Marbre Stahly-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 abandoning people to violence reflects a complete incomprehension of the work and of the larger context in which abolitionist principles and practices were 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 be invaluable in understanding the roots and vision of abolition.

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, saying, "You lost a big 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 those of us with shared values might come together to accomplish 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 country

(and planet) needs right now. Abolition is more than divesting in a single institution; its scope is bigger than any individual system or policy area. Abolition cuts across numerous 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 an 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 children under 18, 42% of the elderly, 59% of Native, 60% of Black, 64% of Latinx, and 65 million White people in the United States are poor or low income. And all of this was before a global pandemic killed over 1.6 million people worldwide (nearly 20% of the dead in the US), stripped 5 million people in the US of health insurance, and left nearly 11 million US people unemployed.

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Perfecta Oxholm is a Ph.D. candidate at UC Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy with particular interests in the history of policing and police-community relationships. Her work has spanned a range of institutional settings, including police departments and higher education institutions. Prior to enrolling at GSPP, Perfecta was the executive director of Esperanza Housing and Economic Development, a community development organization serving North Philadelphia. At Esperanza, Perfecta helped develop community-driven safety practices. Perfecta holds an MSW and an MPA from the University of Pennsylvania and served as a Peace Corps Volunteer in Niger, West Africa. She is also married with two young kids — Scott who is seven and Raymond who is five.



## 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 a few 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, meanwhile civil wars in El Salvador and Central America were just coming to an official end.

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 greencard 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.

Seeing 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 regimes 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 up 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 immigration 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 immigrants 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., employment, humanitarian, and family reunification, may not be available 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 significant portion of the U.S. population and foreign-born workers contribute about \$2 trillion to the GDP — undocumented workers 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 documentation. 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 has 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 administration has a long wish list of immigration policy reforms. Campaign 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 greencard holders to travel to the U.S. on temporary visas while their family reunification application is processed, and creating a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. While this is promising, both Biden and Harris hold less than stellar records in immigration. Harris collaborated with ICE during her time as San Francisco's District Attorney, turning over juveniles who had been arrested and suspected of committing a felony to federal authorities. 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 mistakes 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 separate 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. 



Gaby Sanchez is an MPP candidate '22 and was born in Guayaquil, Ecuador and immigrated to the San Francisco Bay Area as a child. In 2016, she graduated from Mills College and did her thesis on US refugee policies towards Latin America, which was awarded the Lawrence Shader Prize. She has dedicated her young career to working with immigrant communities in the International Rescue Committee and 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 capitol charged clients as a mitigation specialist with the Community Resource Initiative, where she learned about how the US 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.



# 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 difference,” 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.

“We are thrilled to welcome Ciarra to provide leadership and guidance as we build a just and inclusive community together at GSPP,” says Anne Campbell Washington, Senior Assistant Dean of Academic Programs and Dean of Students. “Ciarra’s degree in theology allows her to work in a nuanced way that recognizes everyone’s humanity and helps us build empathy for each other. We are lucky to have her as a member of the Goldman School family.”

Ciarra’s work in higher education began at Cal State Los Angeles where she worked for the Gender and Sexuality Research Center. When the campus shut down due to COVID, she took

the opportunity to begin analyzing ethnographic data about the experience of Black students on campus and making recommendations to executive leadership.


“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.

“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, as long as I can see an intent to grow, I can be there. 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.

“There was a kind of humility about the work that gives me a lot of hope,” says Ciarra. “Because this work requires humility. There are times when I really won’t know the answer but I know this: I’ll be in the trenches with you.” 



“Academia is being called upon to engage the full humanity of their students. We expect ourselves to feel seen in the classroom.”



# Marked by COVID

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.

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.


That 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 what 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 carelessness 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 growing amongst us: people impacted (or marked) by COVID. We are the people who have survived COVID, lost a loved one to COVID, worked on the frontlines during COVID, and have disproportionately borne the burden of the misguided

policy and leadership in the United States around COVID. Unsurprisingly, the pandemic laid bare for all to witness the legacy of structural racism, and our movement is disproportionately indigenous, Black, and other people of color.

As a queer woman of color, I know deserving individuals often do not end up at the table when policy is crafted. We must demand and reclaim what is ours, to have a seat at the center of the table when COVID response and restitution policies are being shaped. As a society of 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. 

(below) Kristin Urquiza (MPA '20) spoke at the Democratic National Convention in memory of her father whom she lost to COVID-19.





# Fifty Years On

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



Maura Smith is Assistant Dean for External Affairs and Development

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; and 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.

**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 decimated 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

For example, in Spring 2020, members of GSPP's Advisory Board quickly mobilized and donated over \$100,000 in additional contributions to help our students bridge their financial challenges over the summer months between their first and second year in the master's program. Last summer, many GSPP students obtained meaningful, but unpaid, summer internships—especially since most engagements could only occur remotely. This additional funding made a serious difference in the lives of our students, helping them navigate through a very difficult, disappointing, and financially unstable period.

Over the past year, the Goldman School was also invited to submit a proposal to help lead an exciting new initiative to review and assess the realm of policy challenges and opportunities facing the state of California over the next century. Thanks to a generous donor investment, GSPP faculty and students will be actively involved in overseeing the California 100 initiative, an ambitious statewide effort to test innovative policy solutions based on real-world evidence and solid research results.

Despite the unprecedented challenges that we faced this past year, the Goldman School's fundraising efforts continued to benefit from the extraordinary vision and leadership of Dean Henry Brady. As always, Henry prioritized GSPP's continued growth, increasing support for our students, and positioning us as one of our nation's leading institutions for cutting-edge policy analysis. As he steps down from his exceptional tenure of 12 years at the helm, we applaud Dean Brady for clearly demonstrating that a genuine commitment to leadership can change the status quo. **G**

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 our institutions to better embody our shared values and build a world where no one is left behind. **G**

# From the Alumni Board

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 alums and board members, Bob Gordon (MPP '75) and Veronica Irastorza (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 Gov-

## GSPP Alumni Association Board of Directors for 2020-2021

Avi Black (MPP '85)  
Ashley Bliss Lima (MPP '14)  
Felipe Carrera (MPA '17)  
Michelle Chang (MPP '10)  
Kurston Cook (MPP '17)  
Daryel R. Dunston (MPA '18) *Chair, 2020-2021*  
Bob Gordon (MPP '75)  
Joyce Halabi (MPA '19)  
Veronica Irastorza (MPP '99)  
Anna Johnson (MPP '13)  
Chung-Han Lee (MPP '97)  
Brenda Munoz (MPP '10) *Vice Chair, 2020-2021*  
Vernon Pittman (MPA '18)  
Kate Ringness (MPP '15)  
Paula Zagrecki (MPP '92)

ernance 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** (MPA '18)  
Alumni Board Chair

event highlights

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 E. 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: Ensuring Democracy's Survival**

Featuring Aimee Allison, Bertrall Ross, James Schwab, and John Swartzberg

CCDE event. *Approximately 3,000 views, 190 live.*

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

*Approximately 1,900 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 2,750 views, 250 live.*

**Democracy Town Hall: Reimagining Policing**

Collaboration with the Social Science Matrix

*Approximately 1,000 views, 165 live.*

**Roger McNamee on Facebook, Privacy, and Creating Better Tech Policy**

*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.*

**Free and Fair Elections: Securing the Vote and Preparing for What's Next**

*Approximately 125 views, 55 live.*

CLASS NOTES

*The accomplishments of the Goldman School alumni community include many graduate degrees from other institutions. In the interest of 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 the 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)**'s (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 List TV) and internationally (Ticker TV in Australia and China Global Television Network, which airs in 30 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 *OPB's Think Out Loud* (Oregon), *Politics Done Right* (Texas), *RadioACTIVE* (Utah), *The Small Business Advocate Show* (Alabama), *The Tom Sumner Program* (Michigan), *The Jiggy Jaguar Show* (Kansas), *News/Talk 1480 KXEL* (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](http://youcallthis.com) and about Liz's writing at [elizabethrusch.com](http://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, **Shayna van Hoften** (MPP '03) serves as outside general counsel and special counsel for local government agencies, primarily in the Bay Area. Shayna joined the law firm Hanson Bridgett in 2004 and currently chairs the firm's Public Transit & Transportation practice group. Shayna 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 Leadership Council.

**Aleksandra Holod** (MPP '04) is working as a senior researcher at American Institutes for Research, where her recent work has increasingly focused on early literacy interventions. Given the impact of COVID on student learning, Aleksandra 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. Aleksandra is excited about the potential of these programs to support young learners.

In January 2021, **Michael Pimentel** (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 California's transit agencies. Michael was also the lead advocate in a statewide campaign to secure priority access to the COVID-19 vaccine for frontline 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 *The Dirty Truth About Utility Climate Pledges*, released on Jan 25, 2021. The report can be found at [sc.org/UtilityPledges](http://sc.org/UtilityPledges) "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!"

**Suzanne Merkelson** (MPP '15) and **Ethan Guy** (MPP '15) are moving from Berkeley, where they met at GSPP eight years ago, to Portland, ME. Suzanne recently started doing state-level public policy for Arrival, a medium- and heavy-duty electric vehicle manufacturer, while Ethan began a new job with RIPL, a tech for social good nonprofit focused on using data to help state governments improve services. They're looking forward to meeting up with other New England GSPP alumni!

**Andy Manale** (MPP '81) co-authored a new book — *A Guide to Fundamental Principles of Environmental Management: It Ain't Magic: Everything Goes Somewhere* (Andrew Manale and Skip Hyberg, IWA Publishing, London, 2021) available in Open Access at [iwapublishing.com](http://iwapublishing.com). Andy was also a contributor to a book to be published soon: *Integrating Climate Change, Biodiversity, Environment and SDGs into Food and Agriculture Policies and Legislation: A sourcebook for country implementation*. Andy's focus was on the development of integrated and comprehensive policies and legislation to ensure sustainable food and agriculture transitions that contribute to the SDGs. (Editors: Reuben Sessa and Tom Goddard, FAO Press.)

**Kody Kinsley** (MPP '12) is leading North Carolina's COVID-19 response operations, including vaccines, medical surge, PPE, testing, and contact tracing. Kody is Chief Deputy Secretary for Health, NC Dept of Health and Human Services.

Under her pen name, Simone de Muñoz, **Simone Berkowitz** (MPP '06) has published her debut novel. *Manflu* is about a future pandemic which only affects men and has killed off or weakened the majority of them, leaving women in charge. The protagonist is a married vaccine researcher who meets a handsome man not yet infected with manflu. The pressure to find the vaccine increases when things get personal and powerful forces intervene. Simone's studies at GSPP came in handy as she imagined the policy and societal implications of a world led by women. While writing and publishing the book, Simone continued her day job as Chief Analyst at Community Services Agency, a Mountain View nonprofit, while also pandemic-parenting her two sons, now ages 7 and 10. *Manflu*, published by Acorn Publishing, is available on Amazon and can be ordered by your local bookstore. Contact Simone at [simonedemunoz.com](mailto:simonedemunoz.com) or on Instagram @simonedemunoz for more information.



**Martha Ture's** (MPP '85) photo "Clouds on Fire" has won an international Fire 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. Wherever they go, Martha's contribution to the world will continue to be photography.

**Sandra Lupien** (MPP '18) is the Deputy Director, External Affairs and Communications at the California Governor's Office of Planning and Research and the California Strategic Growth Council. She also serves as the offices' policy lead on sustainable woody feedstock 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, Katy Miller, in her efforts to re-imagine how San Francisco approaches juvenile justice and the role of probation during a historic moment in which the City has voted to close its juvenile hall, and the state is closing the Division of Juvenile Justice.

**Tom Panella's** (MPP '95/ERG '97) favorite GSPP memories include, "painting the blue stripe in the Blue Room to the consternation of many faculty. The budget exercise — an insidious snowball of effort. The 24 quant hour take home exam. The very special friends that I made and the shared bond with a cohort of very talented people that endures till today."

On February 6, **Jessica Kawamura** (MPP '09) married her partner Kyle Karioka. She serves as pastor of Wahiawa United Methodist Church. In her role on the board of Faith Action, she applies her public policy training organizing clergy around local issues affecting the people of Hawai'i.

**Joseph Castro** (MPP '90) was appointed to serve as the eighth Chancellor of the California State University, the largest and most diverse university system in the nation. Joseph Castro is the first Native Californian and first person of color to serve in this leadership position.

Currently living in New Delhi, **Gustavo Westmann** (MPA '19) is heading the trade and investment office of the embassy of Brazil to India. Gustavo launched his second documentary, this time about art and violence in the Brazilian biggest slum, called Favela da Rocinha. He is finishing a PhD in India on the modernization of foreign policy processes. Gustavo is gradually reaching an advanced level in Hindi, in addition to other 6 languages that he already speaks. He is preparing his way back to Brazil in the second semester of 2021, after over 10 years abroad. He is committed to continue fighting for more transparent and democratic practices in the Brazilian national context and in the multi-lateral system.

**James Savage** (MPP '78) received a Fulbright Fellowship for the National University of Public Service in Hungary for the fall of 2021, and an Academic Exchange Fellowship for Israel for the summer of 2021. In 2021, Cambridge University Press published Savage's book, *Comparative Public Budgeting: Global Perspectives on Taxing and Spending*, and an article of his was published in 2020, "Saudi Arabia Plans for Its Economic Future: Vision 2030, the National Transformation Plan and Saudi Fiscal Reforms," in the *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*.

**Sara Moore** (MPP/MA-IAS '10) is currently part of the team in the Mitigation Branch of the new Wildfire Safety Division at the CPUC, soon to be the Office of Energy Infrastructure Safety at the California Natural Resources Agency. They evaluate the investor-owned electric utilities' plans for mitigating wildfire risk.

**Emma Dolan** (MPP/MPH '11) is living in Los Angeles with her husband and three cats. She works at a large tertiary care medical center, where she leads the strategic projects team, and spent the last year executing key parts of the organization's COVID-19 response. She is still a part of the UCB (virtual) campus, working in the Online MPH program at the School of Public Health.

**Trina Dutta** (MPP/MPH '06) recently joined the Biden-Harris Administration as Senior Advisor to the Assistant Secretary for Mental Health and Substance Use within the Department of Health and Human Services. While her family came close to getting a COVID dog, Trina and her husband Will instead recently bought their 2.5 year old a used upright piano, and are committed to not turning it into a mail repository.

**Khalia Parish** (MPP '16/MSW '16) fondly recalls "working on our group benefit-cost analysis class project on juvenile justice fees while singing along to '90s music—shout-out to Caitlin, Debbie, Ezra, and Jenny!"

As vice president of Direct Connect Development Company, **Steve Frenkel** (MPP '00) is developing the SOO Green HVDC Link, the nation's first high-voltage transmission line installed underground along railroad corridors. The innovative project will deliver enough clean energy to power more than 1 million homes and serves as a model for decarbonizing the U.S. power grid. Steve is also the co-founder of RECDeFi, a startup that is building a blockchain-powered automated and decentralized marketplace that accelerates investment in clean energy and climate solutions by making it faster, cheaper and easier to trade renewable energy credits, carbon offsets and other environmental commodities.

**Orville Thomas** (MPP '13) took a new role as the Government Relations Director for the Lion Electric Company as of April 2021. In this role, Orville works to grow the use of Zero-Emission Vehicles by highlighting Lion's electric school busses and medium and heavy-duty trucks.

**Helena Jacobs (Hoffman)** (MPP '09) owns and operates Benozadley Consulting LLC, an Alaska Native female-owned consulting firm that has been supporting collective impact approaches to positive social and systemic change since 2013. Her work focuses on connecting Alaska Native voices, priorities and values with all levels of policy making impacting Native 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** (MPP '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 Seng** (MPA '19) says, "my favorite GSPP 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 the only time I was able to set aside work and focus on the program. I wouldn't have made it out with my mind intact if it wasn't for my amazing cohort and the support of GSPP faculty and staff."

As of April 2021, **Jacob West** (MPP '04) has taken up a new position running Microsoft health and life sciences business in the UK. "It's a fascinating time to be working on how technology can help us with our biggest health-care challenges."

Since graduation, **Caitlin O'Neil** (MPP '16) has worked at the California Legislative Analyst's Office, where she covers prisons, jails, and sentencing. In June 2020, Caitlin presented to the California Law Revision Commission's Committee on the Revision of the Penal Code. One of their fellow panelists was none other than GSPP Professor Steve Raphael. "Needless to say, this was a career highlight for me!" In her free time, Caitlin has started volunteering as the treasurer for a small performing arts and cultural organization in Sacramento. As an organization that normally relies on large in-person events to generate revenue, the past year has been trial by fire. Luckily, GSPP prepared Caitlin to be a pretty decent grant writer!

In 2020, **John Mikulin** (MPP '11) received the Environmental Protection Agency's Russell Train Sustainability Award in recognition for his leadership of the West Coast Collaborative Alternative Fuel Infrastructure Corridor Coalition, an interstate, multi-sector collaboration to accelerate alternative fuel infrastructure deployment across the western United States. Learn more at <https://bit.ly/2R6AgpL>

**Kevin Beagan** (MPP/MPH '88) is entering his 27th year regulating Massachusetts' health insurance markets, with the last 15 as the Deputy Commissioner of Insurance. From the 2007 implementation of Romney-Care — the state's precursor to the federal ACA — to recent work improving access to behavioral health and substance use services, Kevin has benefited from the wisdom of GSPP icons Arnold Meltsner, Gene Bardach, and Lee Friedman, as well as Richard Schefler and the recently deceased David Starkweather from the School of Public Health. Kevin hopes that his classmates are well and that their careers have also benefited from what GSPP gave. If ever anyone wishes to learn about the Massachusetts experience, Kevin would welcome their contacting him at [kevin.beagan@mass.gov](mailto:kevin.beagan@mass.gov).



MPA Class of 2020 gathered virtually to celebrate their graduation from the Goldman School.

**Marina Fisher** (MPP/MPH '16) has continued to draw on the skills she learned in Benefit-Cost Analysis at least weekly. "Doing a Medicaid group project for that class with **Jenn (Millman) Tell** (MPP '15), **Justine Wolitzer** (MPP '15), and **Kevin McNellis** (MPP '14) continues to be a huge highlight."

**Carolyn Wang Kong** (MPP/MPH '02), Chief Program Director of Blue Shield of California Foundation, will receive Grantmakers In Health's (GIH) 2021 Terrance Keenan Leadership Award in Health Philanthropy. The award recognizes outstanding health grantmakers whose work is distinguished by leadership, innovation, and outstanding achievement. The link to the full announcement is here: <https://bit.ly/3eCZhB8>

**Laura Wisland** (MPP '08) joined the Heising-Simons Foundation as a program officer for the climate program in 2019. Laura has two kids: Emily (5) and Ava (2).

**Muneeb Khan** (MPA '20) fondly recalls creating lifelong friendships in the 2020 MPA cohort over just a short period of time.

**Jerry Newfarmer** (MA '69) fondly recalls, "Aaron Wildavsky — the Oakland Budget Project ... and the transition to the Goldman School." Jerry served as City Manager in Fresno, San Jose, Cincinnati and as President of Management Partners, experts in local government throughout the U.S.

**Stephen Rosenbaum** (MPP '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 for law students at Togo's Université de Lomé, University of Tehran, Faculty of Law & Political Science at the Hugh Wooding Law School in Trinidad and Tobago.

Before the coup d'état, Steve spoke on "The Myanmar Shwe: Rule of Law in the New Burma" at UC Berkeley's Center for Southeast Asia Studies and co-authored an article in the *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* on the future of legal education in Myanmar. Last fall, he was a discussant at Berkeley's Institute for Jewish Law & Israel Studies, based on his *Touro Law Review* book review

essay: "Invisibility, Inclusivity & Fraternity: Was Yosef on the Spectrum: Understanding Joseph through Torah, Midrash and Classical Jewish Sources." Steve also contributed a chapter on "Low(er) Tech Options for Remote Learning" to a forthcoming book on *Law Teaching Strategies for a New Era* and a chapter on "(Dis)ableism, Homophobia, Racism and Hate Speech" in *Disability Hate Speech: Social, Cultural and Political Contexts* (2020). After a 2020 stint as senior Staff Attorney at Berkeley's Child Care Law Center, Steve is continuing pro bono consultation and mentoring with La Raza Centro Legal, East Bay Community Law Center and Calif Rural Legal Assistance. In the fall, Steve will be a (Virtual) Visiting Professor at Hasanuddin University Faculty of Law, Sulawesi, Indonesia.





CENTER FOR STUDIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

## This Year's Highlights

**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](mailto:cshe@berkeley.edu) to ask about ways that you can be engaged. **G**

CENTER FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PUBLIC POLICY

## 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.

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."



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 charges by 2030 while "promoting strong labor, training, and installation standards." The Biden administration also is aiming to replace 50,000 diesel transit vehicles and electrify at least 20% of the yellow school bus fleet.

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." **G**

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



# The Aerial History Project

By Jessica Newfield (MPA '20)

WHEN PROFESSOR SOL HSIANG and his research team at the Global Policy Lab (GPL) set out to convert vast archives of historical aerial photographs into rich data on the location of people and resources over the 20th century, they quickly realized the significance of their work, not only for studying how climate change generates mass migration across the globe but also for closing the huge gaps in census and survey data collected prior to the 1970s, especially in low-income countries.

Professor Hsiang and the GPL research team are capitalizing on machine learning for the public good. By combining historical photographs, satellite images, and mathematical models, they hope to understand the relationships between environmental change and human development. Just like astrophysicists study the sky to map the future, the Aerial History Project makes sense of the past to support evidence-based climate and development policy reform.

“A key benefit of these data is that they can help fill in gaps in the historical record so that we can better understand the consequences of 20th-century events,” Hannah Druckenmiller explains. She is a PhD candidate in the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at UC Berkeley and a Graduate Research Fellow with the National Science Foundation.

“One question we hope to explore is the impact of the Sahel droughts, which

occurred in Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. Many climate scientists think the Sahel droughts are the closest analog to the types of climate shocks we’ll see more frequently in the future under climate change. But these droughts haven’t been well-studied because we don’t have any high-quality information on what was happening on the ground in most of Africa at that time. We’re using aerial photographs to reconstruct maps of population across Africa, from the 1940s-1990s, so that we can begin to understand how 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 georeferenced. 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. **G**

“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*

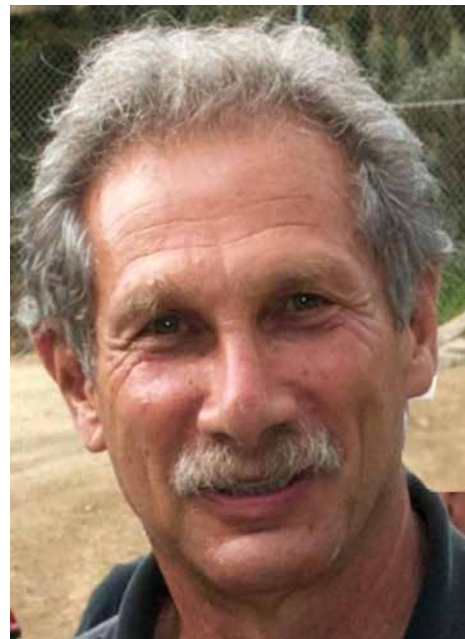
“We are trying to provide a public good for the research community. It is a resource that researchers can tap into.”

**Luna Huang**

*GPL researcher and PhD candidate in the Department of Agricultural and Resource Economics at UC Berkeley*



# Reimagining Democracy



**Dan Lindheim** PhD/JD  
Faculty Director

**FOUNDED BY THE CLASS OF '68**, the Goldman School's Center on Civility and Democratic Engagement (CCDE) has been active on campus and in the broader community through regular public forums, campus initiatives, research support for GSPP students, support for undergraduate students attending UCDC, and its active involvement with local governments and community organizations. In addition, CCDE has worked closely with the campus administration in promoting free speech on campus.

Recent CCDE public forums include: a discussion on Reimagining Public Safety as part of the campus-wide Reimagining Democracy series; multiple forums on the 2020 election including on the impacts of voter suppression efforts and of COVID; and a "left-right" debate on Medicare for All.

The Reimagining topic builds on recent CCDE/GSPP training of a first cohort of Oakland police officers that took place just before COVID; a second cohort will resume this Spring. In addition, CCDE leadership has been active in local Reimagining efforts in Oakland and 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) Nikki Fortunato Bas, 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 Silberman 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. **G**

## policy notes SPRING/SUMMER 2021

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# The Fight to Raise the Wage

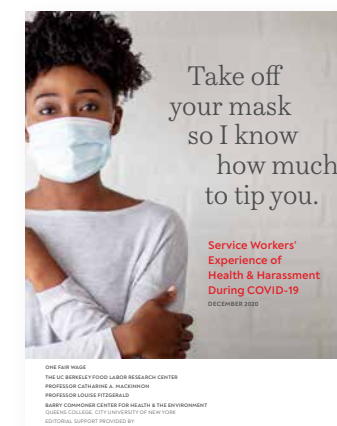
**OVER THE LAST SEVERAL MONTHS**, the Food Labor Research Center (FLRC) has primarily been publishing research, testifying, and speaking about the federal Raise the Wage Act moving through Congress, which would raise the minimum wage to \$15 an hour and eliminate the subminimum wage for tipped workers (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*.

All of this work has helped advance the issue of subminimum wage for tipped workers. In February, Senator Bernie Sanders

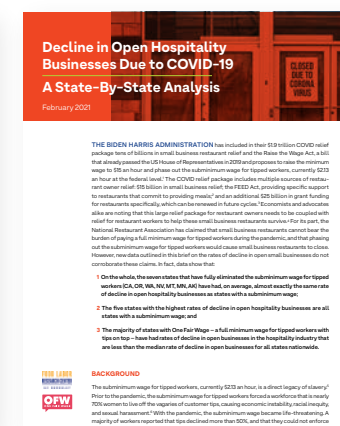
spoke for 15 minutes on the Senate floor, uplifting all of the findings of the FLRC. These findings were also highlighted in dozens of digital events with congress members and senators since the beginning of the year (on the issue of the Raise the Wage Act).

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. **G**

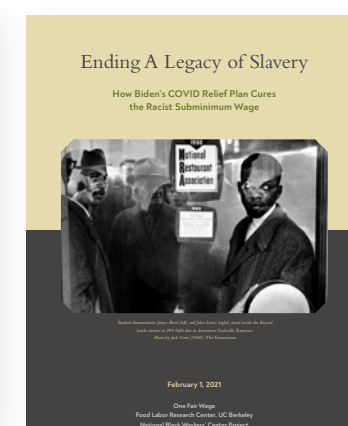
## The following reports can be found at [onefairwage.site/research](https://onefairwage.site/research)



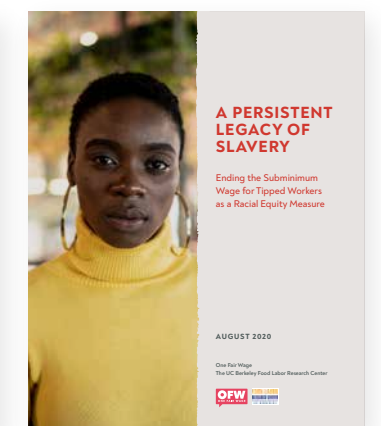
"Take Your Mask Off So I Know How Much to Tip You": Service Workers' Experience of Health & Harassment During COVID-19



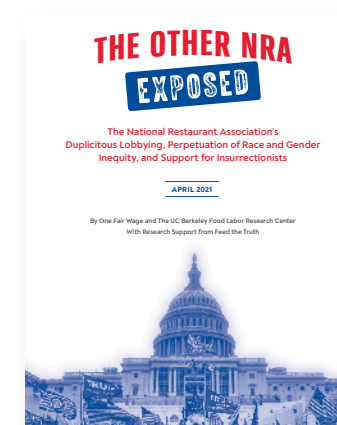
Decline in Open Hospitality Businesses Due to COVID-19



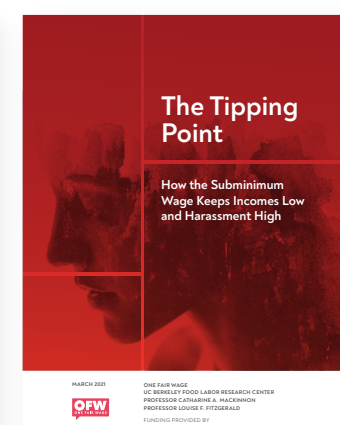
Ending a Legacy Of Slavery: How Biden's COVID Relief Plan Cures the Racist Subminimum Wage



A Persistent Legacy of Slavery: Ending the Subminimum Wage for Tipped Workers as a Racial Equity Measure



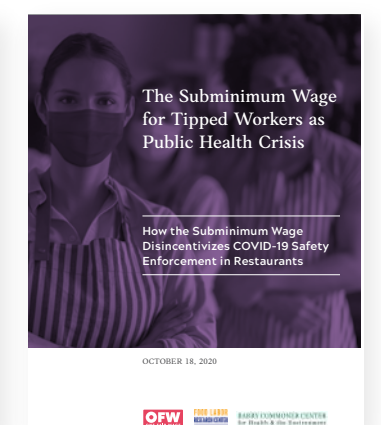
The National Restaurant Association's Duplicious Lobbying, Perpetuation of Race and Gender Inequity, and Support for Insurrectionists



The Tipping Point: How the Subminimum Wage Keeps Incomes Low and Harassment High



Why Restaurant Workers, Particularly Mothers, Are Leaving the Industry, and What Would Make Them Stay



How the Subminimum Wage Disincentivizes COVID-19 Safety Enforcement in Restaurants





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