

# **UC Berkeley**

## **Public Affairs Report**

### **Title**

Public Affairs Report

### **Permalink**

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5mq7h5ns>

### **Journal**

Public Affairs Report, 50(1)

### **Author**

Institute of Governmental Studies, UC Berkeley

### **Publication Date**

2009

# Institute of Governmental Studies

Winter 2009/Vol. 50, No. 1



Photo: Nathan Yan/The Daily Californian

On Election Night, Cal Democrats react to network projections that Barack Obama is the new President-Elect.

## Election Night at IGS

IGS was the perfect place for political junkies this election season. The Institute opened itself to the entire campus community as a place to watch the unfolding of a dramatic and historic campaign.

Student interest soared so high that for the first of our traditional debate-watching parties we overflowed the IGS Library. For the rest of the election season the answer was “Politics under the Stars.” We set up 150 seats in the courtyard of Moses Hall and watched the debates and the election returns projected onto a movie screen.

The biggest crowd turned out for the vice presidential debate featuring Alaska Gov. Sarah Palin and Sen. Joe Biden. The Cal Berkeley Democrats and the Berkeley College Republicans cosponsored, and hundreds of students, professors, staff members, and community residents came to watch. People lined the stairs at the top of the courtyard, while others

came out onto the balconies of nearby Stephens Hall to watch and listen.

By election night it was getting a little cold for late-night viewing, so IGS pitched a tent in the courtyard, and again the crowds turned out to watch the returns. The Democrats were out in force that night, and when Barack Obama was declared the president-elect, the roar from the tent was deafening. For more on the IGS election events, see pages 8–9.



Robert T. Matsui

## IGS Launches Matsui Center

IGS is honoring a legendary public servant and a distinguished Cal alum with the new Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service. For more, see pages 4–5.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY  
INST. OF GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES  
109 Moses Hall #2370  
Berkeley, California 94720-2370  
510 642-1474  
FAX 510-642-3020  
<http://www.igs.berkeley.edu>

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The Institute of Governmental Studies' Public Affairs Report is published four times a year. The University of California's primary center for interdisciplinary research in politics and public policy, the Institute was established in 1919. Its staff includes faculty with joint IGS and departmental appointments, research specialists, visiting scholars, and graduate students. Drawing on the Institute's major reference library, they conduct research in public policy, public administration, American politics, urban problems, federalism, technology and government, and regional development.

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# SCHOLAR'S CORNER

## Racial and Ethnic Politics in California

Sandra Bass and  
Bruce E. Cain



In the first two decades after the 1965 U.S. immigration reform that ended discriminatory quotas, immigration visibly transformed America's southwestern states. The results were particularly dramatic in California. The state's non-Hispanic white population dropped from 77% to 48% between 1970 and 2000, due mostly to the growth of the Asian and Latino populations. As these immigrant populations have spread to other regions of the United States in recent years—the Northeast, mid-Atlantic, and South especially—some states are now experiencing the political and social repercussions that California and other southwestern states went through two decades ago. Many of the same questions Californians were asking themselves in the eighties are now on the political forefront in states like Virginia, Nebraska, and Illinois: Are new immigrants taking jobs away from U.S. citizens? Are undocumented residents a boon or a drain to the economy? Are Asians and Latinos assimilating as well or as quickly as the Irish and Italians in the early twentieth century?

Immigration, despite nearly three decades of public debate, is still politically salient in California, as the 2006 special election for Congressman Duke Cunningham's replacement amply demonstrated. Moreover, due to significant differences in white and nonwhite fertility rates, the demographic impact of immigration will be felt for some time to come even if the U.S. adopts

more draconian immigration restrictions. As a consequence, California will continue to move further down the path towards multiracial/ethnic politics in the coming decades. The question is not whether, but at what rate, California and the rest of the country will become more multiracial and multiethnic. The demographic die has been cast.

The shift to a more multiracial and multiethnic landscape presents several institutional and political challenges. The civil rights revolution—the more aggressive application of the 14th Amendment and the Voting Rights Act to create more opportunities for minority participation and representation—was forged in a biracial context. That legal framework, which was so effective in the earlier era, has not always fit the new multiracial/ethnic circumstances as well. Asian-Americans, for instance, have not yet won any significant voting rights cases under either Sections 2 or 5 of the Voting Rights Act. Also, the old civil rights framework does not directly address some of the new election administration issues that have emerged since the 2000 election, such as whether poor nonwhite voters have a higher likelihood of casting a spoiled ballot or whether election administration problems are more frequent in less socio-economically advantaged areas.

Politically, there are challenges as well. The voting shares of California's Latino and Asian populations are growing, but those of the black and white populations are not. Areas that used to be represented by elected officials of one racial or ethnic group are now being challenged by candidates from another. The presence of new groups requires new coalitional strategies and partnerships. But can these groups forge these political alliances, or is the gulf between their interests too wide?

Then there is the question of whether the new multiracial and multiethnic politics will be more or less “pluralist” than the old biracial division. In the pluralist, neo-Madisonian ideal, groups should form many fluid, temporary coalitions that vary with the issues at stake and political circum-

*Cont. on p. 14*

The **Scholar's Corner** features commentaries in which faculty members affiliated with IGS apply academic research or concepts to issues relevant to the practical world of politics and policy.

## IGS Panel Examines Financial Crisis

IGS shed some light on the global financial crisis this fall when the Institute's Center on Institutions and Governance organized a panel discussion of the turmoil.

"Fixing this program is now very urgent," economics and political science professor **Barry Eichengreen** said at the panel, which was cosponsored in early October with the Berkeley Center for Law, Business, and the Economy.

"It's time for the Congress and the public to come to their senses and realize there are more important things to say than 'not one red cent of my tax money to those fat cats,'" Eichengreen said. "What's at stake here is everyone's employment and prosperity, not simply the bonuses and golden parachutes of bankers."

Eichengreen was just one of several Berkeley experts on the panel. Nobel Laureate in Economics **George A. Akerlof** was the moderator, and the other speakers included **J. Bradford DeLong**, a professor of economics; **Aaron Edlin**, a professor of law and economics; **John Quigley**, the interim dean of the Richard & Rhoda Goldman School of Public Policy; and **Nancy Wallace**, the cochair of the Fisher Center for Real Estate and Urban Economics at the Haas School of Business.

The event drew a standing-room-only crowd, and also featured a live webcast that allowed Internet viewers to email questions to the panel. The goal was to get a sense of how the recent financial market meltdown occurred, evaluate the government's response, and explain its impact on American households and global markets. The panelists agreed that a recession cannot be avoided. Edlin recommended removing the cap on depositor insurance, and said the country needs to "build a firebreak and prevent bank runs."

"In the second quarter of 2007, we had \$300 billion flow through financial markets to American nonfinancial businesses so they could hire workers and make things," said DeLong. "We only had \$150 billion, half of that, in the second quarter of 2008. We had even less in the third quarter of 2008. I think we might have zero in the fourth quarter. This is not a good situation to be in."

Wallace said the crisis occurred when relatively small troubles in the mortgage market grew into a full-blown catastrophe, thanks largely to the use of leveraging in complex financial instruments on Wall Street. Quigley said the crisis cannot be left alone to "work itself out." "It requires prompt government action," he said.

For a webcast of this event, go to: [igov.berkeley.edu](http://igov.berkeley.edu)

## Elected Officials Headline Political Talks

California Secretary of State **Debra Bowen** and state Senate President Pro Tem **Darrell Steinberg** spoke at IGS events this fall.

Just six days before her office oversaw the 2008 election, Bowen spoke to the Undergraduate Colloquium on Political Science and then appeared at an IGS reception afterward to talk with students and community members.

At the class, Bowen talked about her role as the state's chief elections officer and answered the students' questions about the election process. A former legislator, she also talked about her longtime support of transparency and access in government.

Bowen's appearance on campus was cosponsored with the Osher Lifelong Learning Institute.

Steinberg also spoke at Berkeley in late October, a little more than a month before he took over as President Pro Tem of the Senate.

Steinberg spoke about environmental policy, and especially his efforts to improve transportation and development planning to help reduce greenhouse gas emissions.

Steinberg has many ties to IGS. After leaving the state Assembly but prior to his election to the Senate, Steinberg served as the IGS Legislator-in-Residence.

IGS cosponsored the Steinberg speech with the Center for Environmental Law and Policy at the Berkeley School of Law, where the event was held.



Debra Bowen



# IGS Welcomes the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service

## *New Matsui Center at IGS Connects Students and Politics*

IGS launched a major new effort this fall aimed at encouraging student engagement in politics, opening the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service. Named for the late congressman—a Berkeley grad who spent more than 25 years in the U.S. House of Representatives—the Matsui Center will use internship programs, public events, and the presence of distinguished visitors on campus to attract students to public life.

“One of the goals of IGS is to connect the campus to the practical world of politics,” said the Institute’s director, Professor Jack Citrin. “The Matsui Center will allow us to create new programs and expand existing ones that are directly focused on expanding student interest in public policy and politics.”

U.S. Congresswoman Doris Matsui, who succeeded her husband in the House, supported the creation of the Matsui Cen-

ter and also donated Robert Matsui’s official papers to the University’s Bancroft Library. At the time of the donation, she noted that the couple met at Cal during a time when many young people were stirred by the ideal of service to the nation.

“Just as Bob was inspired at UC Berkeley by President John F. Kennedy’s rousing call to public service,” she added, “it is my hope that the Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service will inspire future generations.”

Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birge-neau called the Matsui Center “a place of learning and opportunity for Berkeley students” and a legacy to “a truly distinguished public servant.”

Matsui Center programs, some of which incorporate and build upon existing IGS efforts, are already underway. The

first batch of Matsui Center interns has already been selected, and planning is underway for two other major programs of the Center:

- The **Matsui Lecturer** will be a former member of Congress who will spend a week in residency at the Center in the spring semester. Among other activities, the Matsui Lecturer will deliver a major public address, speak to a class, and meet with students and faculty members.

- The **Matsui Forum** will be an annual public event focusing on a single topic of importance to the public life of the nation and the state. This year the Forum, to be held in the spring, will be called “Voting Today, Leading Tomorrow: Will Young Voters Change America?”

The Matsui Center was created with the benefit of a congressionally directed grant of almost \$1 million to the University, which helped to establish an endowment for the Center and which also will provide funding for the cataloging of the Matsui papers.

To lead the Matsui Center, IGS Director Jack Citrin appointed Ethan Rarick, who has served for several years as director of the Institute’s existing internship and public affairs programs, which were subsumed into the Matsui Center.

Matsui, a Sacramento native, was a lawyer and member of the Sacramento City Council before being elected to Congress in 1979. He served until his death on Jan. 1, 2005. During his service in Congress, Matsui was well known for his efforts at bipartisan compromise. His career included work on issues such as reparations for the internment of Japanese Americans, Social Security reform, and NAFTA.

## *Matsui Center Adds Staff Member*

Recent Cal grad **Jennifer Espinoza** has been hired as the program assistant in the Matsui Center, where she will help oversee the internship and public affairs programs. She graduated from Berkeley last spring with a degree in political science and wrote for the *Berkeley Political Review*, a student political magazine that receives support from IGS.

“Jennifer’s training in politics and her background at Berkeley make her the ideal person to help us launch the Matsui Center programs, which are aimed at increasing student engagement in public life,” said Ethan Rarick, director of the Center.

“Being able to participate in the launch of the Matsui Center, to interact with political experts at IGS, and to help students at Cal gain practical experience in politics is an amazing opportunity. I thoroughly enjoyed my time at UC Berkeley, and I am excited to reach out to current students and show them all of the opportunities available at the Matsui Center,” Espinoza said.





## Center Names Inaugural Matsui Interns

The Matsui Center has named its inaugural group of Matsui Interns—eight Cal students who will gain practical experience by working in government at the federal, state, and local levels.

Four of the students will be Matsui Center Congressional Interns, and will work in Capitol Hill offices in Washington, D.C., this spring. Three Matsui State Government Interns will spend the upcoming summer working in the Legislature in Sacramento. And one student received the Matsui Local Government Internship and will work in local government in the Bay Area. All of the Matsui Interns will be supported by the generous federal grant received by IGS to establish the Matsui Center.

“These students will experience the making and implementation of public policy firsthand,” said Ethan Rarick, director of the Matsui Center. “Without the support of the Matsui Center, some of these young people would not have that opportunity.”

### Matsui Center Congressional Interns

**Gricelda Gomez**, a senior, majoring in Business Administration.

**Amanda Kelsey Loh**, a junior, majoring in Legal Studies with a minor in Public Policy.

**Erin Pangilinan**, a senior, double majoring in Asian American Studies and Ethnic Studies.

**Katerina Robinson**, a junior, double majoring in Political Science and Theater.

### Matsui State Government Interns

**Daniel Chun**, a sophomore, double majoring in Political Science and Economics.

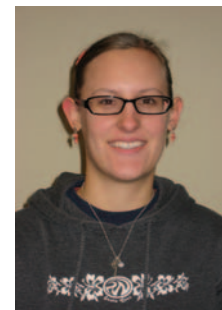
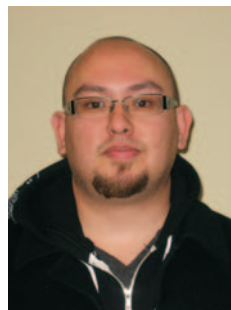
**Daniel Enz**, a senior, majoring in Political Science.

**Nancy Li**, a junior, double majoring in Political Economy of Industrial Societies and Chinese.

### Matsui Local Government Intern

**Claire Doran**, a senior, majoring in Peace and Conflict Studies with a concentration in conflict resolution.

To learn more about the new Matsui Center at IGS, go to [politics.berkeley.edu](http://politics.berkeley.edu).



Photos: Robert T. Matsui, top.

Students: top row, left to right: Daniel Enz, Erin Pangilinan, and Katerina Robinson; bottom row: Amanda Loh and Daniel Chun. Not pictured: Gricelda Gomez, Nancy Li, and Claire Doran.

Opposite page: Jennifer Espinoza

## Senator Dick Ackerman Joins IGS as Legislator-in-Residence

Former Senate Republican Leader **Dick Ackerman** has joined IGS as the Legislator-in-Residence for 2009, when he will teach a course required of the Institute's Cal-in-Sacramento participants.

Ackerman, a Berkeley graduate well known for his support of the University, joins IGS after 13 years in the California Legislature, including four as leader of the Senate Republicans.

"Dick Ackerman has long been one of Berkeley's most distinguished alumni and one of the state's most prominent political leaders, and now his experience and expertise will benefit students at IGS," said

the Institute's director, Jack Citrin. "We are delighted that he has agreed to become our Legislator-in-Residence."

"Cal played an important role in my life," Ackerman said, "and it's exciting that I can give something back to the University and its students. I'm looking forward to working with the kind of bright young people who make Berkeley such a dynamic and stimulating environment."

Ackerman served in the Assembly from 1995 to 2000 and in the Senate from 2000 to 2008, representing Orange County. From 2004 to 2008 he was the leader of the Senate Republicans, giving him a cen-

tral role in the "Big 5" budget negotiations involving the governor and top legislative leaders of both parties.

Before serving in the Legislature, Ackerman spent 12 years on the Fullerton City Council, including two terms as mayor. An attorney, he is a graduate of both UC Berkeley and Hastings College of the Law.

As the Legislator-in-Residence, Ackerman will teach Political Science 110B, a spring-semester course that is required for students participating in the IGS Cal-in-Sacramento summer internship program. The course prepares students for their experiences working in California's capital.

### Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellows Chosen

The Cal-in-Sacramento Platinum Fellowships received a record number of applications this year, making the new class of fellows the most selective in the history of the program.

In the end, 20 Platinum Fellows were selected to spend the upcoming summer working in Sacramento. This year for the first time, three Matsui State Government Interns will also participate in the Cal-in-Sacramento program along with the Platinum Fellows, meaning that IGS will send 23 of Berkeley's brightest young students to gain practical experience in California's capital.

Most of the students will work in the Legislature, although fellows can also choose to work in the offices of statewide elected officials, state agencies, lobbying firms, nonprofit organizations, or even in political journalism.

Before going to Sacramento this summer, all the Cal-in-Sacramento participants will take a course taught by former Sen. Dick Ackerman, the new IGS Legislator-in-Residence.

Most Cal-in-Sacramento participants are designated Platinum Fellows to honor the generous support of the program provided by Darius and Sarah Anderson. Darius Anderson, the chairman of the IGS National Advisory Council, is the president and founder of Platinum Advisors.

The Matsui State Government Interns are newly created slots in the program established as part of the new Matsui Center at IGS. For more on the Matsui Center, see pages 4-5.



Dick Ackerman and students



Darius Anderson

Ackerman will be at IGS one day a week during the spring semester, and will have access to IGS programs and resources such as lectures, research assistance, and administrative support.

The Legislator-in-Residence program, which is based in the Institute's Robert T. Matsui Center for Politics and Public Service, brings a former legislator to campus each year to teach and to participate in the life of IGS. Past Legislators-in-Residence have included Dion Aroner, Wilma Chan, Patrick Johnston, Johan Klehs, Ted Lempert, and Darrell Steinberg.



# IGS Victor Jones Lecture to Feature Silicon Valley Leader



Carl Guardino

**Carl Guardino**, one of Silicon Valley's most distinguished business and community leaders, will be the fifth annual Victor Jones Memorial Lecturer on Metropolitan Governance, IGS has announced. Guardino, president and CEO of the Silicon Valley Leadership Group, will speak on Wednesday, Feb. 25, at 3 p.m. in Alumni House, on the Berkeley campus near IGS. The lecture, "Leading the Way to Smart Growth: Lessons from Silicon Valley," is free and open to the public.

Since 1997 Guardino has been the CEO of the Leadership Group, a public policy trade association that represents more than 200 of Silicon Valley's most respected companies. Prior to that he held an executive position in governmental affairs with Hewlett Packard and spent six years on the staff of Assemblyman Rusty Areias, the last three as his chief assistant.

In Silicon Valley, Guardino is well known as a leader on issues such as transportation improvements and affordable housing. In 2007 Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger appointed Guardino to the California Transportation Commission.

The Jones Lectureship brings to the Berkeley campus a distinguished guest speaker on the topics of regionalism, urban affairs and policy, metropolitan administration and planning, or federalism. Professor Jones, who died in 2001 at the age of 92, was a pioneer in

the academic study of metropolitan government and was a leading figure in the creation of the Association of Bay Area Governments during the early 1960s.

The previous Jones Lecturers have included Ruben Barrales, who was then the White House Director of Intergovernmental Relations and a Special Assistant to President Bush; Assemblyman Tom Torlakson, who was then in the state Senate; Chester Hartman, director of research at the Poverty & Race Research Action Council; and Carol Whiteside, a former mayor of Modesto and now the president of the Great Valley Center.

To learn more about the Victor Jones Lecture, go to: [igs.berkeley.edu/events/jones](http://igs.berkeley.edu/events/jones)

## Polsby Grant Winners Announced

IGS has named three winners of the Nelson W. Polsby Grant for Public Affairs Research. The grants, worth up to \$500 each, aim to encourage undergraduates to conduct major research on American politics. The grant may cover costs such as travel, data acquisition, or photocopying.

The program honors the late IGS Director Nelson W. Polsby, one of the nation's leading experts on American politics. Polsby was director of IGS from 1989 to 1999. The program is made possible by a generous grant from Bill Brandt, a member of the IGS National Advisory Council. The fall 2008 winners will be honored in a ceremony at IGS on Feb. 19.

**Kevin Haas** (Economics), "*Relative Fairness in the Ultimatum Game.*" Kevin plans to examine the ultimatum game and how respondents change their behavior when presented with knowledge of previous offers. If respondents feel like they are getting better offers than past respondents, will they be more likely to accept an unfair offer? He plans to apply this game theoretic logic to congressional behavior. The Polsby Grant will help Kevin pay subjects to participate in an experiment run through the Experimental Social Sciences Laboratory.

**Aseem Padukone** (Political Science and Economics), "*Examining the Usage of the Discharge Petition.*" Drawing upon both national and state level data, Aseem will attempt to tease out the factors that result in successful use of the discharge petition—a procedure that allows the minority party to bypass the committee system and to bring legislation directly to the floor of the House. The grant will help Aseem conduct a survey of members of the U.S. House of Representatives and potentially survey members of select state legislatures. The survey will help determine why this procedure is not used with greater frequency.

**Danielle Elise Serbin** (Political Science), "*Political Parties and Female Candidates for U.S. Congress.*" In this paper, Danielle explores how parties and the political climate affect female candidates' chances to be elected. She defines political climate as the mix of domestic policy and foreign policy issues emphasized in an election. Her grant will help her purchase a subscription to the *Cook Political Report*, which is a key resource for research on congressional candidates.





## *IGS Celebrates Election Season: Debates, Parties, and Plenty of Enthusiasm*

Elections are always a busy time at IGS, and 2008 was no exception. From panels filled with scholars to parties overflowing with students, we talked about the candidates, studied the issues, watched the debates, and awaited the returns.

Hundreds of people visited Moses Hall at least once during the election season, and the press took notice. Our election activities garnered coverage from television, radio, and newspapers. Best of all, IGS built a community of people fascinated by a historic political event.









### The American Presidency at War

Over the last year and a half, IGS turned a bright light on the presidency and the presidential election through our series, “Choosing the President: Campaigning and Governing in War and Peace.”

That series concluded in September, when we took a look at the institution in wartime with a daylong series featuring scholars, journalists, and veteran White House officials.

The keynote session featured a discussion entitled “The View from the White House in Time of War,” an off-the-record conversation involving former White House Chief of Staff **John Podesta** and former White House Director of Public Affairs and former Chair of the Republican National Committee **Ken Mehlman**. Berkeley Law School Dean Christopher Edley moderated.

At lunch, **Jon Cohen**, director of polling for *The Washington Post*, spoke about “War and Terrorism in the 2008 Election.”

Other panels examined war and presidential politics, the imperial presidency and the founding, and rethinking presidential power in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Over the course of the entire “Choosing the President” series, IGS also sponsored talks about the politics of the presidential campaign, panel discussions about the important issues that will face the next president, and a major conference on the changing nature of the presidential nomination process.



Left, top to bottom: John Podesta, Ken Mehlman, Jon Cohen. Above, row 1, left to right: Gary Jacobson, Stephen Krasner, Jack Rakove, John Mueller; row 2: Stephen Skowronek, John Yoo, Philip Bobbitt, Adam Berinsky; row 3: Matthew Baum, William Howell, Louis Fisher, Gordon Silverstein

To learn more about this conference or watch a webcast of many of the sessions, go to [igs.berkeley.edu](http://igs.berkeley.edu) and click on “Past Events.”



# IGS Research Reveals Asian-American Political Beliefs

Asian Americans have been one of the fastest growing populations in California over the last several decades, and a new survey from an IGS-affiliated scholar casts much light on their political beliefs.

About half of Asian-American voters identify themselves as independent or nonpartisan, although partisan preference can vary by the country of the voter's ancestry, according to the study, the most comprehensive survey of Asian-American political beliefs ever conducted.

The National Asian American Survey, which was released in October, was conducted by a team of scholars that included Professor **Taeku Lee**, director of the IGS Center on Immigration, Race, and Ethnicity.

The study devoted special emphasis to California, home to the largest number of Asian Americans in the country.

In the Golden State, 34% of respondents described themselves as nonpartisan, while 17% said they were independents. A third of those surveyed identified with the Democratic Party and 16% said they were Republicans.

Divided by country of ancestry, most Asian-American groups tended to be Democratic, although Vietnamese were more likely to identify with the Republicans.

Among the other findings:

• **Language access and ethnic language media are important for the Asian-American electorate.** Almost half of Asian-American citizens in California get informed about politics from Asian-language television and newspapers, and about one in

three get political information from Asian-language Internet sources.

Access to election materials in non-English languages is a significant issue for the Asian-American electorate. More than one in four (27%) say they would use such materials.

• **Asian-American participation in home country politics is not a deterrent to involvement in the politics of the United States.** Indeed, those involved in their countries of origin are slightly more likely to vote in the United States than those who do not (65% versus 50%).

• **Overall, there are some notable differences between Asian Americans in California and elsewhere.**

Due to higher citizenship rates among Asian Americans in California, the proportion of likely voters among all Asian-American adults is higher in the state (50%) than in the rest of the country (43%). We also find that a greater proportion of Independents favor Obama over McCain in California, and that support for Obama and the Democratic Party is stronger for Asian Indians in California than elsewhere in the country. Finally, a greater proportion of Asian-American likely voters in California access Asian-language media than elsewhere.

Asian Americans have been one of the fastest growing populations in California over the last several decades. According to the California Department of Finance, there were about 670,000 Asian-American residents in the state in 1970, or 3% of the total population. By 2000, the Asian-American population grew to 3.87 million, or about 11% of the resident population in California. Today, there are 4.95 million Asian Americans in California, which accounts for 33% of the national population for the group. Asian Americans represent nearly 14% of California's resident population, and the number of Asian Americans in the state is expected to grow by another million in the next decade.

The study involved telephone interviews with 4,394 adults who identified themselves as Asian American, including 1,891 California residents. The interviews were conducted in August and September.

Generous financial support for the survey was provided by the Russell Sage Foundation, the James Irvine Foundation, the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York.



Taeku Lee

To read more about this survey,  
go to [www.naasurvey.com](http://www.naasurvey.com).

# FALL HIGHLIGHTS



*IGS finished up the fall semester with an impressive list of speakers.*

Left to right:  
David Allen  
Jeremy Kinsman  
Mary Dudziak  
Daniel Howe  
James McPherson  
Harold Smith  
Melody Rose  
Olivier Roy

## Special Events

**Daniel Walker Howe** and **James McPherson**, both winners of the Pulitzer Prize in history, spoke at special expanded sessions of the American Political History Seminar. McPherson spoke about his new book *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*. McPherson, a retired Princeton professor of history, spoke about the origins of his interest in the Civil War and about the relative lack of study focused on the sixteenth president's role as a military commander. In 1989, McPherson won the Pulitzer for his one-volume history of the Civil War, *Battle Cry of Freedom*, which was part of the Oxford History of the United States. Last year Howe won the Pulitzer for the latest volume in the Oxford series, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815-1848*. Howe, who holds a Berkeley Ph.D., recently retired as a history professor at Oxford. His book offers a fresh interpretation of the history of the United States in the first half of the 19th century.

**Mark DiCamillo**, director of California's best-known independent political poll, the Field Poll, provided an 11th-hour update on polling numbers on the eve of the election. In what is now an IGS tradition, DiCamillo spoke in the afternoon of the day before Election Day. This time around,

he focused more on the controversial initiatives that were on the ballot, since by that time there was little doubt about the outcome of the presidential election in California. In particular, he talked about the polling results for Prop. 8, the measure banning same-sex marriage. DiCamillo also talked about the rapidly rising percentage of Californians who now vote by mail. This election, almost half of voters did so.

**Jeremy Kinsman**, the former Canadian High Commissioner to the United Kingdom and the former Canadian ambassador to the European Union, gave a talk entitled, "The West and Russia." Kinsman is now a Diplomat-in-Residence at Princeton University's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

**Melody Rose**, chair of the Division of Political Science at Portland State University, took a look at the presidential campaign in a talk entitled "Playing the Gender Card? Clinton's Electoral Strategy in the 2008 Campaign."

**Sergio Fabrini**, professor at the University of Trento, spoke about his book *Compound Democracies: Why the United States and Europe are Becoming Similar*.

**Olivier Roy**, an internationally renowned specialist on global Islam and a visiting professor at Berkeley, discussed his latest book to be published





in 2009 in English, *The Holy Ignorance*. The book examines the recent revival of religion, the increasing number of converts, and the disconnect between religion and culture and its consequences.

**David Allen**, professor of European and International Politics at Loughborough University and a visiting scholar at IGS, outlined how the European Union and its member states have both anticipated and reacted to Barack Obama's election. He also discussed what sort of EU Obama is likely to be dealing with over the next four years.

**Harold P. Smith**, a distinguished visiting scholar at Berkeley's Goldman School of Public Policy, took on crucial international issues while talking about "European Missile Defense: Why Now?"

## Seminars

### American Politics

**Sara Chatfield** and **John Henderson**, UC Berkeley, "Reconsidering the Participatory Returns to Education"

**Mark Oleszek**, UC Berkeley, "Social Embeddedness and the United States Senate"

**David Hopkins**, UC Berkeley, "Geographic Polarization and Party Asymmetry in the U.S. Congress"

**Jessica Trounstein**, Princeton, "Information, Turnout, and Incumbency in Local Elections"

**Irene Bloemraad** and **Naomi Hsu**, UC Berkeley, "Congress and Immigration"

**Rebecca Hamlin**, UC Berkeley, "Let Me Be a Refugee: Asylum Seekers and the Transformation of Law in the United States, Canada, and Australia"

**Merrill Shanks**, UC Berkeley, "Policy-Related Conflicts and Vote Choice"

**Alex Theodoridis**, UC Berkeley, "To Debate? Electoral Campaign Decisions Under Uncertainty"

**Henry Brady**, UC Berkeley, "Corporate Lobbying in America, 1981–2006"

**Sean Gailmard**, UC Berkeley, "Institutions, Information, and Bureaucratic Accountability"

### American Political History

**Daniel Walker Howe**, UCLA, "What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848"

**James McPherson**, Princeton, "Tried By War: Abraham Lincoln As Commander In Chief"

**Odd Arne Westad**, London School of Economics, "The Global Cold War"

**Mary L. Dudziak**, University of Southern California, "Exporting American Dreams: Thurgood Marshall's African Journey"

### Positive Political Theory

**S. Nageeb Ali**, UC San Diego, "Social Learning in Elections"

**Matthew Jackson**, Stanford University, "Disclosure of Information, Deliberation, and Voting in Committees"

**John Morgan**, UC Berkeley, "Negative Vote Buying and the Secret Ballot"

**Georgy Egorov**, Harvard University, "Political Selection and Persistence of Bad Governments"

**Sean Gailmard**, UC Berkeley, "Moral Bias in Large Elections"

**Peter Lorentzen**, UC Berkeley, "Deliberately Incomplete Press Repression"

**Balazs Szentes**, University of Chicago, "A Resurrection of the Condorcet Jury Theorem"

### Race, Ethnicity, and Immigration

**Cybele Fox**, UC Berkeley, "The Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and City-Level Spending on Public and Private Outdoor Relief in the U.S., 1929"

**Eric McDaniel**, "The Prophetic and the Prosperous: The Political Consequences of Religious Interpretation"

**Alex Street** and **Andrew Kelley**, "Public Opinion Effects of the July 2005 London Bombings"

**Zoltan Hajnal**, UC San Diego, "Political Implications of Immigration: Immigrant Context and White Democratic Defection"



## Scholar's Corner cont.

stances. By avoiding permanent winners and losers and promoting many temporary alliances, a pluralist democracy theoretically diminishes social tensions and enhances systemic legitimacy. Of particular concern to pluralists is whether there is a pernicious overlap between class and race, creating a nonwhite underclass with fewer economic and political resources and experiencing higher levels of personal and occupational discrimination. Pluralists fear that the cumulative gap in advantages between white and nonwhite populations could create a permanent and potentially destabilizing cleavage in U.S. politics.

A new book published by IGS, *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California: Continuity and Change*, includes essays in which we and other scholars of the California experience attempt to address some of these issues.

Some, but not all, of the facts about multiracial, multiethnic politics in California lend themselves to pluralistic optimism. There is tremendous diversity in the ranks of the emerging nonwhite population. From the pluralist perspective, diversity of circumstances is a good thing, because it often leads to a corresponding diversity of interests and perspectives, lessening the chances of a hardened bipolar, white-nonwhite political cleavage.

Another good demographic fact from a pluralist perspective is that the level of overall segregation in California is still moderate. Immigration seems to be creating multi-ethnic neighborhoods in urban areas especially. Ali Modarres of Cal State University, Los Angeles, finds that “two thirds of all census tracts fall within the range of moderately segregated to moderately integrated” and the urban areas that have received the greatest numbers of immigrants display the greatest amount of integration.

If geographic patterns reveal anything about relationships between racial groups—which they do when individuals have the ability to vote with their feet and move to neighborhoods of their choosing—then the fact that the new immigrants live in integrated areas would seem to be a sign of positive race relations. However, if the scarcity of low-priced housing stock or other adverse eco-

nomic circumstances is forcing disadvantaged groups to live in proximity to one another, the integrated pattern tells us little about how groups actually perceive one another. There is no way to tell from Modarres’s data which is the case. And the fact that whites are less integrated with the new immigrant groups than the immigrant groups are with one another and the black population is an important caveat to any racial optimism.

Redistricting can marginally lessen or enhance the natural concentrations of populations, but even with a reformed redistricting system, the state will still on average produce 75-80% safe seats. Unless redistricting disregards communities of interest and compactness, the patterns of residential segregation of white versus nonwhite will continue to produce safely liberal and conservative seats. In so far as this contributes to legislative polarization, the prognosis has to be for more of it to occur in the future unless redistricting norms change dramatically.

The future of ethnic relations in California is also very much tied to national and state economic trends. Across the country, income disparities have increased since the seventies. The economy is changing: skilled blue-collar jobs are on the decline, unions are less powerful, and many immigrants, Latinos especially, find themselves in low-paying service and manufacturing jobs. If whites and more affluent Asians increasingly choose to cohabit in suburban areas while blacks and Latinos live in concentrated urban areas, this will further the current disparities in socio-economic resources across local communities.

Disillusionment among white liberals with solving urban poverty and racism has often left minority legislators to their own devices. The enclave pattern of white migration represents a serious obstacle to recreating the progressive agenda of the sixties and seventies. Increasingly ensconced in white suburbs while ceding troubled urban areas to nonwhites in a decentralized governmental context promotes a world in which the haves vote with their feet to live with other largely white haves, and minorities are trapped in communities without the benefit of middle-class leadership and resources. Whites and some Asians, in their enclaves, get better schools, safer neighborhoods, and nice amenities such as parks and attractive retail areas. Nonwhites are trapped in resource poor communities.

This scenario, if it develops further, is far from the pluralist model. Rather than entering into flexible coalitions, racial and economic sorting could remove opportunities to work together by a process of separation into relatively homogeneous local communities. The freedom of some to move where they like could limit opportunities for others. Representation alone will not solve the most critical economic and social problems for minorities in the future if California’s white population continues to separate itself and its resources from nonwhite minority communities.

*Bruce Cain is director of the UC Washington Center and a professor of political science at Berkeley. Sandra Bass is a program officer with the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, and holds a Ph.D. in political science from Berkeley. This essay is condensed from their introduction to **Racial and Ethnic Politics in California: Continuity and Change**, which was published by IGS. To order the book, go to [igs.berkeley.edu/publications](http://igs.berkeley.edu/publications), or see the ad on the back page of this issue of the PAR.*

# Why I Give

## Kenneth Wun '96

I give to IGS out of love. IGS is the place where I fell in love with learning. In a world where the pace of change is unforgivingly quick, IGS gave me the only thing that is more enduring than knowledge, the love of learning. IGS ignited this love in me by nurturing an idea lab and action tank outside of the classroom where undergraduates like me could gain a sense of safety to explore the world of ideas and their real-life applications.

IGS accomplished this marvelous feat through its greatest treasure, its people. I still remember as an undergraduate student interviewing an IGS visiting scholar, who was one of the top political strategists in the country, for a paper I was doing on the effects of legislative term limits. He took me seriously enough to listen to me, challenge my ideas, and debate with me. Here I was, not quite old enough to drink, locking horns with one of America's top political minds! It was exhilarating.

With the guidance of unfailingly helpful and endlessly patient IGS librarians, I took the interview, turned it into a draft, and discussed it with a Ph.D. student, who was himself an emerging national expert in his field. He gently challenged the ideas in my draft and gave me new perspectives to consider. At first I mildly resented the competing thoughts. Then the more I got used to the bombardment of opposing views, the more I became energized by the challenge and the sheer fun of making sense of the shades of gray that life serves up.

My gifts to IGS are my small ways of thanking the Institute for instilling the love of learning in me. In a time of declining state support for higher education, my donation allows IGS to continue to sow the seed of love for learning in the next wave of students.

*As a political science undergraduate, Kenneth Wun, Class of 1996, was an intern in the State Capitol as part of what is now called Platinum Cal in Sacramento Fellowship Program, administered by IGS. After graduation, Ken received the Coro Fellowship in Public Affairs and earned a Masters in Real Estate Development from Columbia University. He is now a Portfolio Manager at BRIDGE Urban Infill Land Development, a real estate investment fund based in San Francisco.*



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Public Affairs Report  
Vol. 50, No. 1, Winter 2009

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