

NEWS

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ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

Mapping Belonging

An interview with the Haas Institute's first Artist in Residence Christine Wong Yap

Eric Stanley on Trans Visibility and Resistance

Talking with our new LGBTQ Citizenship faculty member

Unfinished Business

An examination of California's housing equity agenda

Summer Fellows

The 2018 Summer Fellow cohort share their perspectives on the Fellowship

Shahidi Project Takes Aim at Agribusiness Giants

New project monitors the actions of giant agribusiness firms and their power in politics

COVER STORY

Local Views

from the Civic Engagement Narrative Change Project

Our partners on the ground share their insights into local organizing



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This news magazine is published by the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley. The Haas Institute brings together researchers, community stakeholders, policymakers, and communicators to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society in order to create transformative change.

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A Message from Director of the Haas Institute

“OTHERING AND BELONGING” and “Targeted Universalism” are two of our most potent frameworks, and in the last year, we have made a decisive move towards more deeply articulating and implementing them as conceptual frameworks and applied policy interventions.

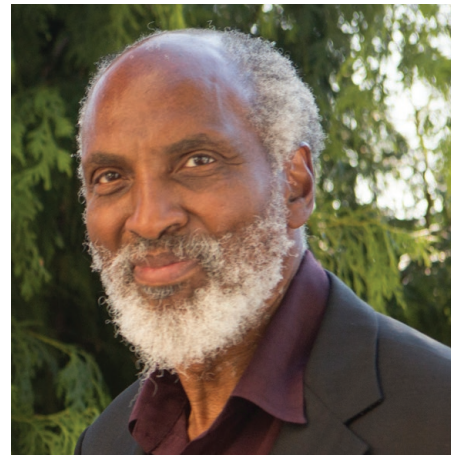
When Stephen Menendian and I first published “The Problem of Othering: Towards Inclusiveness and Belonging” in the first issue of our Othering and Belonging Journal (otheringandbelonging.org) a few years ago, readers noted that most of the article was focused on othering. Even the section on belonging was more about what failed to constitute an authentic belonging intervention and therefore focused primarily on othering. The practice of othering in the form of racial hierarchy, gender bias, disability bias, and anti-immigrant sentiment is widespread. Yet there remained and remains a need to better understand and practice belonging. This is a gap we have been busy attending to across our work at the Institute. If most of our energy since we opened the Institute in 2012 was focused on articulating, defining, and descriptively identifying the patterns and mechanisms of othering—and remediating them—we have undertaken a remarkable pivot in the last year towards belonging. As will be evident in this year’s Othering & Belonging Conference in April, our recent explainer video on bridging (highlighted on page 8), our Artist in Residence program investigating belonging (featured on page 26), and the recent launch of our Blueprint for Belonging curriculum, we dove headfirst into belonging.

There are many expressions of belonging narratives and practices at the Institute, and by organizations and activists beyond the Institute, even if they do not use the same word. We believe it is useful to continue to be more explicit about belonging as we challenge othering. We have begun to surface what true belonging looks and feels like, at many levels, interpersonal, social, political, and structural levels as well as how we practice culture and employ narratives, both consciously and unconsciously. We better understand that interventions of belonging are more than equity interventions—they

have an affective component that changes how the target group feels or responds about the institution or intervention. Belonging is not about joining an exclusive club, or even being made to feel that you belong, but about co-creating that to which we all must belong, which requires engagement with power. As frames, both “inclusion” and “equity” fall short of fully capturing these co-creative components.

It is important to understand the issues and problems we are dealing with. But this is not enough. We must also have some way of operationalizing this understanding. Two of the ways we help to operationalize belonging is through “Targeted Universalism” and “Bridging.”

Our long-in-development primer on Targeted Universalism will be launched around the same time as this edition of our news magazine. For more than a few years, the Institute has been working on a comprehensive primer that explains and illustrates the promise and process for applying a Targeted Universalism framework to our most challenging societal issues. We will be pleased to release the primer and to learn from its application and contributions. Targeted Universalism, which is thought of as “Equity 2.0,” is practiced by groups and institutions all over the country and world. It is one of the ways to operationalize belonging. The primer, entitled “Targeted Universalism: Policy and Practice,” illuminates how a Targeted Universalism policy framework opens up new avenues for transformative change, by rejecting a one-size-fits-all solution to policy problems or social ills. Instead,



Director John A. Powell

“Our work calls for a new story where we all belong.”



Differences between exclusion, inclusion, and belonging

Belonging is not about joining an exclusive club, or even just being made to feel that you belong, but about co-creating that to which we all must belong, which requires engagement with power. As frames, both “inclusion” and “equity” fall short of fully capturing these co-creative components.

what is needed are a range of strategies capable of advancing all groups to the universal goal, which is defined, in part, by our collective aspirations. Through Targeted Universalism, we reject the false dichotomy of “targeted” v. “universal” policy prescriptions. Such debates were prominent in the midst of the 2015 proposal by President Barack Obama to expand pre-K, and will no doubt become even more prominent during the 2020 presidential primary season as universal health care becomes one of the nation’s foremost policy questions. Our report offers a valuable and timely contribution to these ongoing conversations.

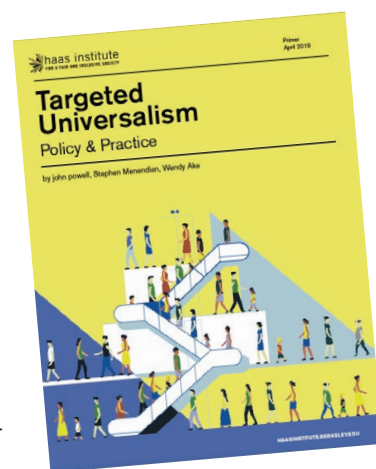
When it comes to “Bridging,” it helps to understand it by considering its opposite, which is breaking. Breaking is the process of defining some groups as other and a threat. A number of policies naturally follow from breaking. The opposite of breaking is bridging. It requires a commitment to listening to others, to narrative, and to the imagination of larger “we’s” without saming our differences.

But bridging is not just interpersonal. It impacts not only how we think of policies and practices, but also how we talk about and implement them. In the US there has been a foundational question of *who can really belong*. The right-wing answer has been to narrow the “we.” Our work in the US and beyond calls for a new story where we **all** belong. Through projects like Civic Engagement Narrative

Change, the Institute works across sectors to integrate analysis, rigorous empirical research, strategic alignment, narrative development, communications, cultural strategy, and organizing—nor just for not just narrow winning coalitions, but for new ways of being and making change together.

This is not short-term work. Making a new “we” does not happen in the final months or years when the election cycle heats up. It doesn’t happen on two-year timelines or four-year timelines. That’s why the civic organizations with which we partner are those rooted and led by local communities, are invested in building real capacity and power, and work year-round to increase all manner of democratic participation. You can read more about some of their work on page 21.

We look forward to continuing this journey of deepening our understanding of these turns in today’s world in order to continuing co-creating a world built on belonging.



Look for our new primer on Targeted Universalism to be released this spring.

A Message from the Associate and Faculty Director of the Haas Institute

THIS PAST YEAR, the Haas Institute's faculty research clusters greatly increased their research and programming efforts to promote social equity and respond to emerging critical issues related to social inclusion.

One of the year's major accomplishments was the release of five new policy briefs. All of these reports focus on high-impact public policy issues such as protecting the rights of parents with disabilities and their children, developing a more inclusive electorate, the role of race and segregation in neighborhood health disparities, and creating a more gender inclusive society. In addition, the Diversity and Health Disparities faculty cluster is currently developing a new policy brief on the opioid addiction health care crisis in rural America—look for that in 2019.

We also solicited faculty proposals for a new Intervention Grant program, with seed funding awarded to collaborative faculty projects that raise awareness to inequities outside of the range of common considerations while building intergroup connection. These resulted in support for five new innovative diversity research projects:

Backlash to Inclusion: These four panel studies are designed to explore the social psychological underpinnings of backlash to inclusive policies of survey data collected from 477 mostly white US residents.

FoodScape Mapping: At the end of spring semester 2018, this project of seven collaborators completed a data visualization map that captures UC Berkeley's barriers to equitable food systems that disproportionately affect historically marginalized students.

Climate Study of Undocumented Students: This study builds upon a 2013 UC Berkeley climate study and revisits the experiences of 100 undocumented students in light of political threats to DACA and a growing criminalization of immigration.

Building Bridges: Mapping Spatial Inequality: This project developed a prototype of the Mapping Spatial Inequality web tool during a workshop entitled "Tackling Deprivation—Legal and Health Services for Immigrants." An initial prototype of the app has been launched and researchers are now collecting more information to refine its utilization and reflect on how to best serve the needs of immigrant communities.

The Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative and Haas Institute Policy Brief Series: This series translates academic findings from the latest migration research into accessible summaries for popular audiences.

Additionally in 2018, we continued our very popular "Research to Impact" colloquia series and held a number of talks on diverse topics including race and education,

the criminalization of African American and Latino teens, political knowledge and engagement in communities of color, and disability studies. They included talks by Victor Rios from UC Santa Barbara, Cathy Cohen of the University of Chicago, and a panel on family separations featuring Ericka Huggins, Heidi Casteneda, and Angie Junck.

Haas Institute faculty convened a number of other events such as "Disability and the Dissident Body," "Critical Race Theory and School Leadership," "Resisting Police Violence Against Black Women and Women of Color," and "Race, Education, and American Democracy," as well as a screening of the film *Gattaca* and panel discussion on human genetic technologies and its relationship to diversity and inclusion.

In 2019, we are continuing to push forward our broad-based platform of research and programming related to expanding equity. With the 2020 election year rapidly approaching, we will be prioritizing work on increasing voter engagement and participation in marginalized communities. Efforts will continue to highlight critical issues related to immigration policies and border security.

Finally, 2019 marks the 400th anniversary of slavery in the US. In recognition of this anniversary, we are developing several initiatives that will highlight the legacy and impact of slavery and resistance to it. For this effort we are adopting the perspective of the "Sankofa" symbol—an Asante Adinkra symbol portrayed as a bird with feet facing forward and head turning back—that is important in the African diaspora and which represents the need to reflect on the past to build a successful future.



Associate Director Denise Herd

"With an election year rapidly approaching in 2020, we will be prioritizing research and public talks on increasing voter engagement and participation in marginalized communities."

MEDIA ROOM

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Hip-Hop and Belonging BY ERICA BROWNE

DOZENS OF STUDENTS, organizers, artists, and hip-hop aficionados gathered for a dialogue with former Black Panther Ericka Huggins and DJ Davey D to celebrate hip-hop, social justice, and the power of belonging at a Haas Institute-organized event at the Oakland Museum of California on June 21. The event was a part of a week-long seminar organized for the Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity (AFRE), of which the Haas Institute is a partner. “Hip-Hop and Belonging” featured a conversation on the intersections of mind science research, hip-hop, and understanding the effects of music and creative expression on the brain.

Hip-hop is an art form paradoxically borne out of a simultaneous dearth and abundance of resources. Much like other forms of music, it has provided the soundtrack for a rebellion against the conventional and mainstream, while drawing inspiration from the past.

Despite its commodification and frequent appropriation, it persists, authentically, as an expression of triumph, creativity, and self-actualization for marginalized people and communities all over the world. Davey D reminded the audience of the power and ubiquity of hip-hop culture outside of the US, and the isolation that inhibits many Americans from being able to name



Hip-Hop and Belonging at the Oakland Museum

Huggins, a human rights activist, poet, educator, and former political prisoner, set the tone with an invocation on the importance of spiritual practice in social justice work, and an important reminder of the interconnection of struggle and healing—the ways that we are all connected to and can actively contribute to minimizing the suffering experienced by the families detained along the US-Mexico border.

Legendary hip-hop journalist, DJ, and radio host Davey D provided a personal history of hip-hop culture and its significance in bridging cultures, building movements, and sustaining communities. His work as a contributing curator to “RESPECT: Hip-Hop Style & Wisdom” was on exhibit at the Oakland Museum and provided a curated experience that aligns with the evening conversation.

hip-hop artists from other countries.

In various ways, both hip-hop and a spiritual practice rooted in empathy and love are tools that enable us to bridge across differences and to build communities of belonging. The gathering provided an important opportunity to build relationships, and bridge ideas and understanding, particularly as they relate to the transformative power of hip-hop culture. The evening was both an homage and harbinger to the power of hip-hop to transform—how we see ourselves, our environment, and the future—and the necessity of nurturing this precious culture so that its transformative healing power can take effect now.

Who Belongs? Podcast

The Haas Institute launched its first podcast. *Who Belongs?* is co-hosted by Marc Abizeid and Sara Grossman, two members of the Haas Institute communications team. Find all episodes at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/whobelongs.



Pilot Episode: Reinventing the Wheelchair with Ralf Hotchkiss of the Whirlwind Wheelchair Project



Episode 3: Monitoring Corporate Agribusiness with Researchers Elsadig Elsheikh and Nadia Barhoum



Episode 1: Gordon Whitman of Faith In Action Breaks Down Community Organizing



Episode 4: Racial Justice Activism in Europe with Emilia Roig



Episode 2: Researchers Nicole Montojo and Steve Barton on Rent Control



Episode 5: Hilary Hoynes on the Benefits and Limitations of Food Stamps (SNAP)

RESEARCH TO IMPACT

Family Separations and Histories of Violence

The Haas Institute and the Berkeley Center for Social Medicine co-organized a five-person panel discussion in October 2018 to discuss the federal government's separations of immigrant children from their caregivers along the US-Mexico border. The event was held during the time period when a caravan of thousands of people who were fleeing violence and repression in Central America were headed for the US border to apply for asylum. Seth Holmes, a member of the Haas Institute's Health Disparities cluster and one of the event moderators, said the moment presented "an urgent call" to figure out how to respond to the asylum seekers, who were later tear-gassed by US border officers. Panelist Angie Junck, a Supervising Attorney at the Immigrant Legal Resource Center, said immigrants had a legal right to request asylum at the border, but that the Trump administration was circumventing that law and arresting families and separating them with the intent to stir an outrage. The outrage, she argued, was needed to get critics of the administration to agree to a proposed family detention policy which would allow for immigrant families to stay together, but to be detained much longer and under much looser regulations than is accepted under the current law.



Family separations panel discussion

Video and transcript available at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/familyseparationsevent.

Welcome!

Meet the newest staff of the Haas Institute

EJ Toppin

STAFF RESEARCHER

Originally hired as a Haas Institute Summer Fellow in 2017, EJ is now a staff researcher. He works with the California Community Partnerships program and supports Director John Powell on research and speaking engagements and provides other writing and policy research. Previously EJ worked as a legislative aide in the US Senate. EJ is originally from Connecticut and is a graduate of Williams College in Massachusetts where he earned his BA in Political Science. He earned his Master's in Public Policy at UC Berkeley's Goldman School.



Tomeko Wyrick

ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT

Tomeko Wyrick serves as the Institute's Administrative Assistant and handles a variety of administrative duties including event coordination, procurement and invoicing, travel, reimbursements and keeps our office running smoothly. She also serves as the first point of contact for visitors. Prior to joining the Institute, Tomeko worked with the Archaeological Research Facility at UC Berkeley as its Administrative/Programmatic Officer where for over 12 years she honed her administrative skills, refined her knowledge of campus policies, procedures, and systems and built a network of relationships across campus partners. Tomeko enjoys being in a staff support role and being a part of the Haas Institute team where she gets to fulfill one of her heartfelt passions: community outreach.





Video stills from our Bridging and Breaking animated video

New Videos

BRIDGING AND BREAKING EXPLAINER VIDEO

As part of our ongoing animated explainer video series, the Haas Institute produced a highly-popular piece on our “bridging and breaking” analysis. As the video reveals, bridging and breaking are two possible responses to the rapid changes we are facing: in demographics, technology, the environment, and globalization. A “breaking” response sees these changes as a threat to our societies and cultures while a “bridging” one sees the changes as an opportunity to enhance who we are. As director John A. Powell explains in the voiceover, “Of all the forces shaping politics and power around the world, perhaps none are more important than our sense of who we are, and who we are becoming.” Bridging does not mean abandoning your identity, but acknowledging our shared humanity, rejecting that there is a “them,” and moving towards a future where there is instead a new “us.”

GET OUT THE VOTE VIDEOS

In the run-up to the 2018 midterm elections, the Haas Institute collaborated with a few key partner orga-

nizations to produce three powerful videos aimed to inspire voters to make their voices heard in the November elections. These PSAs were particularly aimed at groups of voters that are often underrepresented at the polls, like young adults, Black Americans, and others.

The first video, “We are California,” a collaboration between the Haas Institute and California Calls, offered a montage of young Californians in their daily lives. It is backed by a powerful voiceover that pours over the litany of negative attitudes toward youth that “they say,” but counters with: “It matters what WE say.”

The second video, “Level Up,” was a PSA produced by the Haas Institute in collaboration with Dr. Rob “Biko” Baker of Rendertech and Cashmere Agency. The campaign is designed to inspire and motivate young people—especially those of color—to act civically and vote regularly. The campaign aims to attract infrequent young voters to exercise their rights as citizens and to change the course of US politics. The videos were aimed at five states: Florida, Michigan, Nevada, Illinois,

and Texas. This video emerged from a collaboration with several national organizations, including Faith in Action, More in Common, Beyond the Choir, and others.

The last PSA, #Vote4BlackFutures, was produced by the Haas Institute in collaboration with Black and Brown People Vote and Whalerock Industries. Previously used for GOTV efforts in 2016, it was updated for the 2018 cycle. This PSA uses a dynamic presentation of spoken word and imagery to highlight issues that impact the Black community. The video aims to extend Black activism on issues like structural racism and the criminal justice system to the ballot box through voter participation and civic engagement.

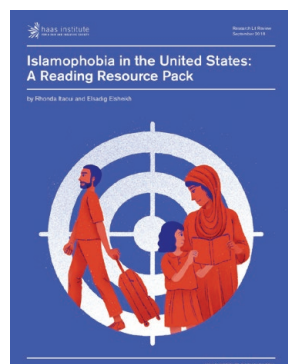
“FROM RED TO BLUE”

California is currently leading the resistance against the current Trump administration. And that’s not new. The state has a reputation for being the most progressive in the union. Important social and political movements like the Black Panthers, the Chicano movement and the United Farm Workers have their roots in the Golden State. And more recently, a range of state laws and policies that have been enacted over the past 20 years helped solidify this reputation. But there have been times that California tipped over to the other side of the political scale and was even known for its racist and exclusionary politics—Reaganism too has its roots in California.

The eight-minute film, *Transforming California from Red to Blue: How Community Organizing Changed the Political Landscape*, directed by the Bay Area’s Tracey Quezada, looks at how California activists, like Eva Patterson, Marqueece Harris-Dawson, and Karla Zombro were able to change the narrative and make this a more inclusive state. The film acts as a tool for activists to educate others about recent California history and show how it’s possible to change the narrative to a more inclusive one.

Latest Publications

Find all our publications at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources



Islamophobia Reading Resource Pack

BY RHONDA ITAQOUI AND
ELSADIG ELSHEIKH

This publication and web resource provides a comprehensive literature review, grouped by 10 themes, on current academic research on Islamophobia in the US in the form of peer-reviewed academic journal articles and books. Emphasized by many of the works cited is that Islamophobia is not new but is, as the authors note, part of a deep-rooted demonization of Islam and Muslims that predates the tragic attacks of September 11, 2001. Following 9/11, there was a rapid increase in the volume of publications that broadened the scope of research on Islamophobia, to capture the multiple dimensions and impacts of its rise. As a part of the Haas Institute's larger body of work that exposes and challenges Islamophobia, this reading resource pack brings to the forefront academic publications that document, critique, provide counter-narratives, and sug-

gest alternative strategies to prevail over Islamophobia in the US and beyond.

2018 Inclusiveness Index

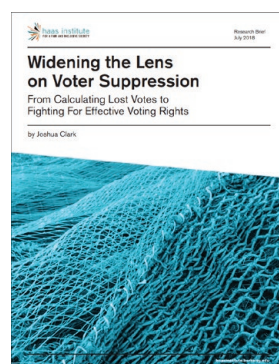
BY STEPHEN MENENDIAN,
ELSADIG ELSHEIKH, AND
SAMIR GAMBHIR

The Inclusiveness Index, an annual report, ranks nations and US states based on their levels of inclusion and exclusion, with a focus on the marginalization or



inclusion of non-majority groups. The Index measures inclusivity in absolute terms and relative to other societies according to a ranking system that relies on six key indicators: Outgroup Violence; Political Representation; Income Inequality; Anti-Discrimination Laws; Rates of Incarceration; and Immigration/Asylum Policies. In the 2018 Index, 21 nations improved their designation of "inclusiveness" while the rankings of 10 nations fell. Since the Index was first published in 2016, the US has fallen from its spot in the "the most" inclusive group of nations to the middle group

of the countries included in the 2018 report. As was the case in 2016 and 2017, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway retained the top spots in the 2018 Index. Although the rankings largely speak for themselves, the Index also surfaces stories and trends that lie beneath the numbers through highlighted narratives explicating varied worldwide phenomena, like the global water crisis, the #MeToo movement, or the Rohingya in Myanmar. The 2018 Index received national attention, including in a CNN article entitled "The US is much less inclusive than it was two years ago. Here's why," which centered on the Index's findings.

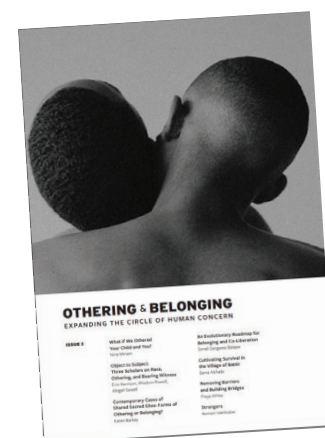


Widening the Lens on Voter Suppression:

BY JOSHUA CLARK

This research brief argues that the aggressive push over the past several years to adopt voter suppression laws in states nationwide must be countered with a multi-faceted approach that includes comprehensive voter education, building outreach infrastructure, and ad-

ressing voter ambivalence, among other steps. While challenging voter suppression laws in court remains important, relying on litigation alone to confront a campaign designed to disenfranchise certain groups of people—mainly people of color and the young—misses crucial social factors that keep people from voting, according to this report. Author Joshua Clark writes that state governments must make more robust efforts to educate citizens about the content of new restrictive voting laws, and that civic organizations should simultaneously prepare local leaders to serve as community advocates.



Othering & Belonging Journal Issue Three

As the third issue of the journal was being completed, a furor erupted in the United States about the morality, ethics, and political and social consequences of the Trump administration's

“family separation” policy—a policy that in just seven weeks saw more than 2,300 immigrant children taken from their caregivers at the US-Mexico border. These traumatized children, many of them infants and toddlers, may be the most public faces of othering in the US today. Around the world, children feature prominently among our most vulnerable populations, whether Rohingya and Syrian refugees, people with disabilities in Afghanistan or Sudan, people living in extreme poverty, or any of the other groups we could name. Children also have a range of roles in this issue of Othering & Belonging—as wards in need of protection, yes, but also as witnesses, as accountability partners, as vehicles of empathetic imagination, and as inheritors and re-shapers of the institutions and communities we construct now.

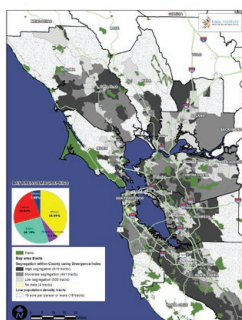


Opening the Door for Rent Control

BY NICOLE MONTOJO, STEPHEN BARTON, AND ELI MOORE

This report argues that rent control policies are key to stabilizing California's housing affordability crisis, which has driven millions of people into poverty and displaced hundreds of thousands of

others. The research brief, titled “Opening the Door for Rent Control: Toward a Comprehensive Approach to Protecting California's Renters,” finds that rent control, when applied with other housing policies, can prevent housing costs from spiraling out of control and forcing families to leave their neighborhoods. The analysis also shows that in many cases, rising rents are not the result of a landlord's investments, they are the result of government actions to enhance neighborhood conditions, such as improvements to schools or parks, financed by the public. Thus, the brief argues, government has a responsibility to ensure that these public improvements do not translate to higher rents for tenants.



Racial Segregation in the Bay

BY STEPHEN MENENDIAN AND SAMIR GAMBHIR

This series of briefs provides detailed views of residential racial segregation in the SF Bay Area with granular maps illustrating segregation in each of the area's nine counties. This first report discusses the region's varying levels of segregation and shows which neighborhoods are the most segregated. While the region as a whole appears to be diverse, the maps show that very few cities and

neighborhoods reflect that level of diversity. The goal of this research is to offer a clear portrait of the reality and extent of racial segregation in the Bay Area in order to push for policies and work that will help ameliorate and reverse it. Racial segregation has long been demonstrated to be a root cause of inequality more broadly.



The Era of Corporate Consolidation and the End of Competition

BY ELSADIG ELSHEIKH AND HOSSEIN AYAZI

This report examines the implications on the global food system of the recent mergers of Bayer-Monsanto, Dow-DuPont, and ChemChina-Syngenta. It argues that these mergers, and other examples of agribusiness consolidation, pose a danger to the ecosystem, exacerbate the climate crisis, food insecurity, and reduce competition and innovation. This report is part of a new monitoring project that documents the power and influence of 10 mega corporations over the design of the global food system that has left millions of people around the world in hunger.

RENT CONTROL REPORT MAKES MEDIA SPLASH

Our “Opening the Door for Rent Control” report (see more at left) generated wide interest in the media due to its release ahead of a state ballot vote on rent control. The report, which provided an important analysis of the housing affordability crisis in California, found that rent control, when applied with other housing policies, can prevent housing costs from spiraling out of control and forcing families to leave their neighborhoods. Coverage of the report included stories in the New York Times, the Los Angeles Times, the San Francisco Chronicle, local television stations KTVU FOX 2 and NBC Bay Area, and many community newspapers throughout California. The authors launched the report at a public event in Oakland where Montojo and Barton went over their findings and invited members of the community affected by the housing crisis to speak about their experiences. The analysis was released just weeks ahead of the November elections which included a vote that could have repealed the 1995 Costa-Hawkins Act that would have loosened restrictions on rent control in California. The ballot initiative ultimately failed.

For more information, see haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/opening-door-rent-control.

PROJECTS & PROGRAMS

Perspectives from the Sixth Summer Fellowship Cohort

The Haas Institute welcomed its sixth cohort in 2018 to take part in the annual Summer Fellowship, a 14-week program where fellows work directly with Institute staff on a range of projects to gain experience in and exposure to work around belonging.

The Summer Fellowship is packed with workshops and talks by prominent scholars from UC Berkeley and off-campus events and tours to sites that help people think about belonging in public spaces. Started in 2013, the fellowship has hired more than 80 fellows since its inception.

“By engaging fellows on actual projects at the Institute, the fellowship is designed to train the next generation of researchers, community organizers, and policy advocates on a wide

array of critical inquiries related to social and racial justice issues,” said Elsadig Elsheikh, a program manager at the Haas Institute who oversees the fellowship. The 2018 cohort included 10 fellows who worked across eight of the Institute’s program areas.

Each year the fellows organize a field trip to an off-campus site. The 2018 field trip included a picnic at Lake Merritt in Oakland—chosen after the incident when a white woman called the police on two Black men using a barbecue grill. At the picnic, the fellows met with Corrina Gould from the Confederated Villages of Lisjan/Ohlone, as well as the cartoonist Thi Bui. Later in the day the fellows visited the Palestine mural in Oakland, as well as a community garden on the UC Berkeley campus.

Here’s what some of the 2018 summer fellows had to say about their experiences:



Summer Fellows; top row: Evan Yoshimoto, Adiba Hasan, Teofanny Octavia Saragi, Onisha Etkins, Tali Braun
bottom row: Huzaifa Shahbaz, Miranda Simes, Taliah Mirmalek, Anetra Brown, Michael Xu



Evan Yoshimoto

Global Justice Program

Having the opportunity to share space with some of the brightest and most passionate individuals working towards creating a society in which everyone belongs made work feel more of a privilege than a task. After our workshops and fellow discussions, I often left the office with new concepts and strategies that transformed my own approach to social justice issues. One workshop that sticks out was led by Evan Bissell, who created a space for us to deconstruct how imperative arts and cultural strategies are in making transformative change.

Adiba Hasan

Blueprint for Belonging

The fellowship has changed my frame of perspective when encountering various subjects and questioning things through the lens of othering and belonging. I think the best part of the fellowship is the genuine desire of the staff and supervisors to teach the fellows but also learn from us. Despite our differences, there was a commonality among the summer fellows and that made the time at this fellowship even more positive. Our conversations started off with whiteness as a culture to discussing our visions about the world and methods of bringing that to a reality.

Teofanny Octavia Saragi

Strategic Communications

I dove deep into the heart of the Institute's work on justice and equity through the lens of media and communications. Through the fellowship, I also participated in dynamic workshops about topics including the use of art and cultural strategy in advocacy. This workshop complemented my learning and role as a strategic communications fellow. Coming away from this fellowship, I feel better equipped in understanding and producing media and communications that is not only strategic, but also works to create more inclusion.

Onisha Etkins

Just Public Finance

I couldn't even begin to foresee what this summer experience would turn into. The awkward bunch that began the program, including myself, grew into a family with boisterous laughs that would draw people from nearby offices in to see what all the excitement was about. This was not just a group of coworkers, it was a community and we cared about each others lives and well-being beyond our work.

Tali Braun

Global Justice Program

As a 17-year old intern, I had a unique experience with the fellowship program. I was extremely nervous to work alongside college students and graduates who I knew were far more accomplished. Fortunately, I was more than capable to do the work assigned and the fellows were very kind and welcoming. The Haas community has been so supportive of my thoughts and ideas and encouraged me to take advantage of this opportunity that I was given.

Huzaiifa Shahbaz

Global Justice Program

I've been grateful to have been given the opportunity to be a researcher at the Haas Institute, allowing me to excel not only as a student but to better understand how to conduct thorough research and advance in academic reading and writing. I also enjoyed the multiple workshops presented to us. My favorite was on the Islamophobia industry by Hatem Bazian and how structural Islamophobia operates in the United States.

Miranda Simes

Equity Metrics

What I've really loved about the fellowship are the people—my fellow fellows, our mentors, and everyone affiliated at the Institute. I came to the fellowship excited to get involved with research related to physical space and inclusion but little did I know that one of the most valuable parts of the fellowship was the inclusive physical space of the long table in room 470 where we sat. The energy that everyone brought to their individual projects overflowed into the collective space we all shared. Sometimes this was a space for quiet work, sometimes a space for a heated discussion of the ideology of whiteness. But most of all a space to listen and grow and support one another.

Taliah Mirmalek

Election Research fellow

This summer, we all sat around a wooden table, clicking, writing, and reading away. But, every hour, something—a news article, a thought, a fellow walking into the room—would spark conversation. Beyond just writing lit reviews, I ended up learning about the protests in Bangladesh from Adiba, Carnival and policing from Onisha, San Francisco gentrification from Anetra. For our fellows-organized field trip, we decided collectively that we wanted to specifically meet with people of color-led organizations. Through my research on the program, I learned about how political campaign “experts” (so-called) categorize entire communities—often communities of color and/or low-income people of all backgrounds—as “low propensity voters,” and, accordingly, completely ignore them.

Anetra Brown

California Community Partnerships

Spending 20 hours a week with this cohort of fellows has been life-changing. Throughout the summer we all shared similar narratives about how refreshing it was to be surrounded by people who understand your experience as a person of color doing social justice work. Most of us came from university communities that weren't very diverse and we always felt the extra weight of proving ourselves in those spaces. At the Haas Institute, we found a safe space to be ourselves, challenge our pre-existing beliefs and doing meaningful work.

Michael Xu

Law fellow

This past summer has been challenging and eye-opening. As an international student, political law has always been a remote subject to me. Without any prior institutional knowledge, I was assigned to work on a major research project on political and racial gerrymandering. It forces me to think about the incomplete nature of our democratic system and the importance of exercising one's voting rights especially in the current political environment. Aside from dipping my toes in exciting areas of law, the highlight of my summer is definitely the opportunity to work alongside a group of fantastic human beings. Being able to get to know them, laugh with them and forever call them my friends has been a true blessing.

Shahidi Project Takes Aim at Agribusiness Giants

BY MARC ABIZEID

WHAT DO YOU GET when you mix profit-obsessed agribusinesses, environmentally-damaging industrial farming, and corporate lobbyists slinging cash into the campaign coffers of congresspeople? Throw in the increased concentration of power among these companies due to mergers and acquisitions, such as with Bayer's recent takeover of Monsanto, and the reasons behind the global food crisis in which hundreds of millions of people needlessly suffer from hunger

many, by democratizing the economic and food systems that have locked farmers and consumers out of the decision-making.

"The way that systems have been designed, as we understand at the Haas Institute, are built on structures. Those structures often do marginalize the most vulnerable and give more power to the most powerful," explained Elsadig Elsheikh, director of the Haas Institute's Global Justice Program who led the formation of the Shahidi Project.

"And what we're seeing is that food and agriculture corporations have been able, through a vast network of lobbyists, to entirely determine US and global agricultural policy based on their own interests," he added.

Companies scrutinized by the project include fast food chains like McDonalds, retailers like WalMart and Carrefour, and seed and agrochemical companies like Syngenta, Bunge, and Monsanto, among many others.

The cases of recent agribusiness mergers detailed by the project best illustrate how oligopolistic the industry has become, and provide an alarming forecast of what our world could be

facing in terms of consumer choices, food prices, market competition, and our physical health if these companies aren't brought to heel.

Since the mid-1980s the agribusiness industry has witnessed three waves of mergers, as documented by Diana L. Moss, the president of the American Antitrust Institute, in her 2016 testimony before a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing on the topic.

It was during the second wave of mergers, lasting from the late 1990s to late 2000s, that Monsanto acquired nearly 40 agricultural biotechnology and seed companies, leaving the industry in the hands of six companies. Aside from Monsanto, the companies were BASF, Bayer, Dow Agrosciences, DuPont, and Syngenta.



Video still from the Shahidi Project video

begin to come into focus.

Several years ago Haas Institute researchers decided they wanted to name and shame some of the biggest companies helping drive the crisis for short term financial gains at the expense of people's livelihoods.

Their efforts resulted in the launch of the Shahidi Project this past fall that monitors the actions of giant agribusiness firms, their power to influence legislators through lobbying and campaign cash, and their perversion of academic research through donations to schools and universities, to name a few areas of exposure.

The project is a starting point, a way to reclaim power from the few, wealthy oligarchs and give it back to the



Video still from the Shahidi Project video



cotton and soybean crops planted in the US. The primary advantage of this technology is that the crops are supposed to withstand the use of pesticides and weed killers. But, as with all organisms, the weeds and pests find a way to adapt, and their growing resistance to patented chemicals like Monsanto's potentially cancer-causing Roundup, means the development of newer, more potent and expensive seeds and chemicals.

And because there's no mandatory labelling for GM foods (another outcome of their political clout), eaters have no way of knowing what

kinds of chemicals they're ingesting or how they could affect their health. The only way to protect yourself is to buy more expensive organic foods, but even then there's the problem of trying to contain chemicals and GM seeds in the farms that use them. "If, in the next few years, the only solution for hunger and food scarcity will be genetically modified foods, what power do we have to stop that?," asked Elsheikh, the Shahidi project's manager. "We have none, because those giant corporations with their immense power and money could convince governments of the world that their way of doing business is the way to go."

Such mergers, and their increased control of the market share of agricultural seeds, fertilizers, and other products, also endanger small farmers who are being priced out of the industry and often forced to sell their land to corporations that in turn practice industrial farming. Industrial farming is on the whole more wasteful, hazardous, and ecologically destructive than family-owned farming, which is more likely to produce organic foods and diverse crops.

And when you replace small farms with industrial ones, as is happening across the globe, one often-overlooked consequence is the loss of local knowledge of a region's ecology, pointed out Nadia Barhoum, who was one of the original researchers on the Shahidi project. "People who have been tending to the land in a sustainable way for generations, decades, who were acting as environmental stewards of the lands, are then pushed off," Barhoum said. "And with that you lose that knowledge of the local ecosystem and whatever has been accumulated over those generations, to be replaced with this incredibly ecologically harmful practice of industrial farming."

Industrial farming is on the whole more wasteful, hazardous, and ecologically destructive than family-owned farming, which is more likely to produce organic foods and diverse crops.

With the latest mergers between Bayer and Monsanto, and Dow and Dupont during this current third wave, the number of players in the industry is now down to just four. The outcome of the consolidation is projected to spell higher prices for seeds and fertilizers, a decrease in competition, a decrease of innovation, continued increases in the use of genetically modified (GM) seeds, and even more power over Washington.

Each one of those outcomes is itself packed with potentially intractable consequences. Consider, for example, how GM foods—increasingly euphemized as “bioengineered” foods—are altering the earth's ecology and risking to change the nature of nature itself.

Since their introduction in the 1990s, GM—or transgenic—seeds are now used in more than 90 percent of corn,



Video still from the Shahidi Project video

In an act of resistance to the most recent wave of consolidation, a broad coalition of more than 200 pro-farmer and consumer advocacy groups are currently demanding US legislators support a moratorium on agribusiness mergers. The coalition recently sent a letter to Congress in support of the Food and Agribusiness Merger Moratorium and Antitrust Review Act of 2018, introduced in the fall. The letter warns of the effects of “hyper-consolidation,” including a decline in farmers’ wages, increase in layoffs, higher grocery prices, and an “erosion of rural economic vitality and a less resilient food system overall.”

Roger Johnson, president of the National Farmers Union and one of the signatories to the letter, wrote in a statement that “corporate consolidation has long been one of the greatest challenges plaguing family farmers, ranchers and rural communities.”

Lorette Picciano, the Executive Director of the Rural Coalition, warned: “The mega-merger trend also compounds a downward spiral in income, wages and working conditions for farmers, ranchers, farm and food chain workers, and small businesses, eroding rural economic vitality, creating less vibrant and less sustainable communities who are pitted against each other to survive.”

There’s no clear indication whether or not the bill will go anywhere in an inept Congress largely in the pockets of corporate interests with the exception of some legislators. But at the very least, the wide support for congressional action among people directly affected by the decisions of a few corporate executives provides a brilliant illumination of how a broad coalition of groups, including conservative

cattlemen groups, from nearly every state can come together to decry gross concentrations of power and corporatism, even when the odds appear to be stacked against them.

These types of left-right alliances are not without precedent and may end up proving to be an effective strategy against the corporatized farming. In fact, instances of local coalitions have been sprouting up across the country in recent years to fight for better communities. Just look at the resounding victory in Florida last November by the Florida Rights Restoration Coalition to repeal a Jim Crow-era law that banned people with felony convictions from voting.

These movements start with understanding the scope of the problem they are trying to address, which is where the Shahidi Project is playing a role by covering every aspect of the corporations’ overreach. “Shahidi,” a Swahili term meaning “witness,” was symbolically chosen as the name of the project influenced by the severe droughts that hit East Africa in 2011 and which have been re-occurring ever since, leaving millions of people to suffer from hunger, and sending countless others on an exodus out of the region in search of relief.

In one sense the term speaks to the resilience of people of that region, and perhaps all over the world, resisting insurmountable forces of displacement and death. In another sense it speaks to the need to witness, to document, and to spread awareness of the sadistic design of the global food system as a starting point to restructure it so it works for all people, and not solely for the elites.

Find out more at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/shahidi.

Gender Studies Scholar Eric Stanley on Trans Visibility and Resistance



Eric A. Stanley is an assistant professor in the Department of Gender and Women's Studies at UC Berkeley and a member of the Haas Institute's LGBTQ Citizenship research cluster. We spoke with them about their work on gender and the prison system, as well as limitations of the modern gay rights movement.

You are the editor of the anthology *Captive Genders*, which looks at connections between the prison system and the policing of gender. While there is extensive scholarship on the relation between the prison system and race, the relationship with gender is less widely known.

We know that trans/queer people, particularly those of color and/or low income, are hyper-policed and imprisoned. Like myself, many of us are kicked out of school at a young age, end up homeless and working in the informal economy which push us against the police on a daily basis. Yet, it is not only that trans/queer people are so directly impacted by the Prison Industrial Complex, it is also that these institutions are central in the production and reproduction of the gender binary. This is to say that part of their violence is in how they generalize the fantasy of only two, knowable genders.

More recently, you edited *Trapdoor*, which examines the ways that “trans people are

frequently offered “doors”—entrances to visibility and recognition—that are actually “traps,” accommodating trans bodies and communities only if they adhere to dominant norms. Can you give some examples of such traps?

I think one way of monitoring normative power is by paying attention to what concessions it is most willing to make. In the case of trans politics, many of us are demanding the fundamental remaking of the world, which includes abolishing the prison industrial complex, support of native sovereignty, an end to the structured abandonment of homelessness, indeed, an end to racial capitalism, and yet what we are “given” is a trans person on TV. While we know that representation is powerful in that it constructs and does not simply “represent” the world, we also know that we have to hold on to redistribution and an end to the systems of exploitation that build wealth for so few and build death for so many, along with our demands around representation.

You have critiqued the mainstream LGBTQ movement, particularly for its limited focus on so-called “equality” and marriage. Where has that been problematic and what discussions around LGBTQ rights would you center?

The critique of the institution of marriage is actually really old, and was once fairly central to feminist organizing. We know that marriage is fundamentally a system of capitalist transfer that works by way of exclusion. For example, before the most recent “fight for gay marriage” the demand for “health care for all” was fairly common in LGBT organizing, but then this structural demand was funneled into a narrow demand of partner-based insurance coverage.



Video still from Stanley's film *Homotopia*

“I think, if we actually want to get free, we have to radically rethink what constitutes the limits and possibilities of what we normally call ‘policy,’ my hope is that the Haas Institute is one place we might do that.”

We can also look at how Gavin Newsom instrumentalized “gay marriage” at the same time pushing conservative anti-poor people policies, like Prop N “Care Not Cash.” He gets understood as “champion of the gay community” while trans/queer youth die on the streets of San Francisco. I believe we must build toward the impossible, or we have already lost.

You’ve also used filmmaking as a form of queer activism, particularly with your most recent film, *Criminal Queers*, which relies on camp aesthetics and satire to critique the prison industrial complex. Why did you decide to use those aesthetics?

Chris Vargas and I decided to make *Criminal Queers* as a narrative film because while there are many great documentaries that help us understand the violence of policing, we also wanted to remember that pleasure, as in the pleasure of collectively organizing to abolish pris-

ons, must be part of our radical practice. We, trans/queer people, have always used camp and humor as a survival strategy in a hostile world, so instead of devaluing humor, we should use it.

Tell us about your current projects on trans resistance.

I’m working on two new projects, one on trans/queer people in armed underground left movements in the US, like the George Jackson Brigade and the Black Liberation Army. The second project is, at least now, trying to think about housing and homelessness in relationship to trans spaces in the Bay. Particularly I’m interested in how the war on public spaces, like the streets of the Tenderloin in San Francisco, are also racialized attacks on trans spaces. For this project I have a lot of questions I’m still working through, like the relationships between “defensive architecture” and coercive gendering.

How do you intend to work to move your scholarship from “research to impact,” as is one of the key goals of the Haas Institute?

All kinds of research is hopefully impactful. My more “theoretical” work, if I’m lucky, helps to offer us new grammars for understanding the world we inhabit. The interesting thing about the Haas Institute is that it helps to bring humanities-based people, like myself, into conversations with more policy-minded people.

Towards Equity in Policy and Pedagogy

AT A PUBLIC EVENT in September 2018, a number of Haas Institute affiliated faculty gathered to discuss the release of a set of comprehensive policy briefs that had been developed out of each cluster's thematic area. At the event, entitled "Towards Equity in Policy and Pedagogy," held at UC Berkeley's Alumni House, scholars representing each cluster presented key findings of their briefs, which touched on topics as diverse as the rights of parents with disabilities, how place profoundly affects health disparities in neighborhoods, and current legal efforts to create a more gender inclusive society, among other topics. Facilitated by Haas Institute Associate Director Denise Herd, the event featured discussions with eminent UC Berkeley scholars who were all authors or co-authors of the publications. These scholars included Karen Barkey, Cybelle Fox, Sonia Katyal, Janelle Scott, Osagie Obasogie, and many other renowned academics.



DISABILITY STUDIES

State of Change: State-Level Actions to Protect the Rights of Parents with Disabilities and Their Children

This policy brief provides an overview of current legislation that discriminates against parents with disabilities. It also considers non-discriminatory legislation that has been enacted or is currently being enacted at the state level, with the hope of encouraging more states—eventually all states—to adopt similar legislation. The brief argues that such legislative changes are both needed and deserved by the at least 4.1 million disabled parents currently raising children under the age of 18 in the US as well as by the roughly 6.1 million children who rely on them for care.



DIVERSITY & DEMOCRACY

Realizing a More Inclusive Electorate: Identity, Knowledge, Mobilization

This policy brief, which synthesizes research from the Diversity and Democracy faculty, lifts up lessons from recent research on how to confront voter disaffection, support inclusive identities, and increase democratic participation among underrepresented groups. The brief argues that many conventions of polling, categorizing, and engaging voters in campaign outreach reinforce chronic disparities in US election turnout—disparities that are particularly stark in midterm years like 2018. If we are to work toward a voting electorate that more closely mirrors the country's diverse citizenry, we must confront the ways the information we do or don't collect—and the outreach we do or don't fund—contributes to a cycle of exclusion and non-participation.



ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

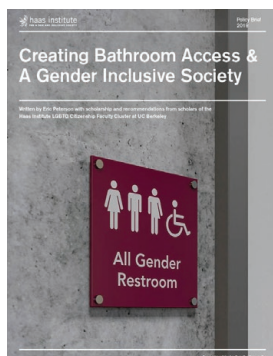
Responding to Rising Inequality: Policy Interventions to Ensure Opportunity for All

One of America's defining ideals is the idea that opportunity is available to all, regardless of where one starts on the economic ladder. The reality is that income inequality has grown dramatically since the 1970s and that this inequality has not been matched with growing economic mobility. This policy brief reviews recent scholarship from members of the Economic Disparities research cluster and offers important insights as well as policy-based solutions in order to meet the profound challenges of income and wealth inequality and growing poverty now facing American society.

LGBTQ CITIZENSHIP

Creating Bathroom Access & A Gender Inclusive Society

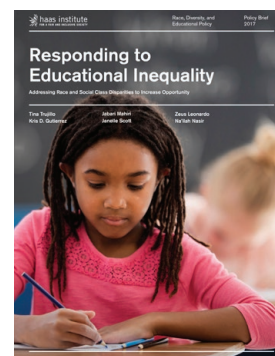
This policy brief reviews literature on the challenges transgender and gender-nonconforming individuals face in overcoming discrimination and harassment, with particular focus on the role of conditioning restroom access as a key site of social exclusion. Legal challenges to the regressive restroom policy argue that some solutions—such as mandating transgender individuals use a separate single-user facility—do little to address the indignities of unequal access. The brief outlines solutions to address the problem, focusing especially on data collection of gender identity and access needs, as well as strategies in the designing and planning of gender inclusive, rather than gender neutral, bathroom facilities. These strategies will allow policymakers to enable restroom inclusion while addressing concerns about safety, especially focusing on the need to recognize the intersectional needs and concerns bathrooms hold in society.



RACE, DIVERSITY & EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Responding to Educational Inequality: Addressing Race and Social Class Disparities to Increase Opportunity

This policy brief reviews scholarship by members of the Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy cluster to advance a broader and more complex understanding of the persistent failure of US schools for youth from non-dominant communities. This report takes up a critical issue in education: the continuing reproduction of educational inequality in relation to race and social class. In doing so, it highlights several key issues in how we study and attempt to ameliorate disparities through educational policy. It concludes with a set of recommendations for policymakers and advocates.



DIVERSITY & HEALTH DISPARITIES

The Sick Side of Town: How Place Shapes Disparities in Health

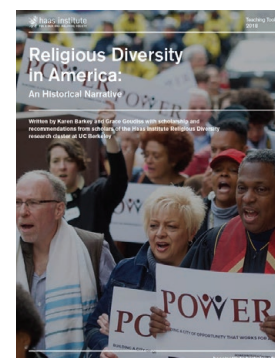
This policy brief reviews recent scholarship from members of the Diversity and Health Disparities cluster and offers important insights to meet the intertwined challenges of neighborhood inequalities and racial health disparities. The brief first reviews how the inclusion of place in research about health disparities initiates a new dialogue about the basis for persistent racial/ethnic health disparities that departs from discriminatory ideas by linking them to what are thought to be natural differences. The brief next considers how residential segregation contributes to differences in neighborhood conditions and racial/ethnic health disparities. Taken together, the research presented in this brief provides new ways to think about health disparities and their causes, consequences, and potential remedies.



RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Religious Diversity in America: An Historical Narrative

How can we think about American religious diversity? Is it just diversity on the ground, or a pluralism where difference is interactive and where groups show mutual respect and value each other's difference? It is the task of this brief by the Religious Diversity cluster to rethink the question of American pluralism, indicating the historical moments when diversity came into question, but also to highlight the strategies of managing diversity.



BY SARA GROSSMAN AND JOSH CLARK

THE HAAS INSTITUTE'S NEW Civic Engagement Narrative Change project aims to build a more inclusive “we” in civic and political life, for a democracy in which everyone can participate, be counted, and belong. The project operates through collaborations with state- and community-based civic engagement groups by mobilizing capacities in research, voter education, cross-movement bridging, strategic communications, and testing to bolster outreach programs on the ground.

The project is a national partnership that includes the Center for Community Change, Service Employees International Union, Faith in Action (formerly PICO National Network), More in Common, Perception Institute, and several other community, research and communications organizations. Civic Engagement Narrative Change focuses

in particular on two leading impediments to a fair and inclusive democracy: disaffection from civic participation and institutions, and anxiety over demographic and cultural change. The project is rooted in the belief that debates over whether to focus either on addressing disparities in voter participation or on curtailing toxic expressions of anxiety present a false choice. The two must be tackled simultaneously. Ultimately, overcoming these challenges in the long term will require the development of bridging strategies across differences including building resonant inclusive “we” narratives and strong civic infrastructure to reach those have been alienated or counted out. The project undertook a range of important activities in 2018.

Developing effective alternative narratives requires first knowing how our communities think of themselves and

continued on next page

Local partners working with the Haas Institute's new Civic Engagement Narrative Change Project share their perspectives and views from on the ground

Local Views



one another in the present. A key initiative of the project involved carrying out major statewide surveys in collaboration with partners in Nevada and Florida. These baseline surveys built on the Institute's 2017 California Survey on Othering and Belonging, with revisions to meet the knowledge gaps and needs of state partners. The surveys explore attitudes and beliefs about identity, inter-group relations, the role of government, the efficacy of voting, and the 2020 US Census, among others. Results will be published in papers commissioned by the Institute, and will inform the project's ongoing narrative and organizing strategy.

The project also produced a number of digital tools to support 2018 Get Out the Vote campaigns. These videos were tailored for impact in cities and states where project partners saw opportunities to engage under-represented groups that had low turnout rates in 2016, or a pattern of voter drop-off in midterm election cycles. The content was designed to inspire and motivate young people, especially people of color, to act civically and vote regularly. The core positive message of the videos is that young people are a powerful force in the 2018 elections and beyond. The Civic Engagement Narrative Change project worked with local hip hop artists and influencers to disseminate the videos in Chicago, Houston, Detroit, Las Vegas, and across Florida and California.

The Institute also contributed to civic engagement outreach and messaging in a number of other ways in the 2018 midterm cycle. Some of the ways included convening national partners on three occasions to collectively examine research on the US electorate and align analysis and strategy for facing the current socio-political moment. Researchers also synthesized and translated existing research into concise, practical recommendations for partners in the field, and orga-

nized a webinar workshop hosted by Beyond the Choir in Pennsylvania, in which civic engagement groups from several states discussed best practices and strategies for outreach and bridging with disaffected voters. Furthermore, we designed protocols for "listening sessions" to deepen partners' understanding of inconsistent voters in their communities.

In the wake of the 2018 midterm elections, the Institute reached out to three of the project's local partners, each of whom are working on the ground to engage different communities and increase civic engagement, to learn about how they use strategic narrative in their organizing.

The following are excerpts from conversations we had with partners from Texas, Illinois, and Pennsylvania.

TEXAS

Crystal Zermeño, Director of Electoral Strategy, Texas Organizing Project

Texas Organizing Project's overarching goal is to engage communities who don't often vote. Do you have a larger meta-narrative that you come back to when making the case for why voting matters? How do you modify messaging to appeal to different communities?

TOP is a multi-ethnic, multi-issue organization in the three largest counties in our state. We work in largely Black and brown low-income communities and increasingly demographically changing suburbs. The first thing we do when we talk to these voters is ask them what they care about. We then connect that issue directly to voting on races up and down the ballot. Our broad narrative is that we are under attack, but we—progressives of color, immigrant communities, women and millennials—are also the voting majority

in Texas and we have the power to create change.

I would say that we typically use a very tailored message within our communities and at the doors because personalizing what people care about and what is at stake is critically important to folks feeling like their vote will matter. It is also an opportunity to provide voters with information about what our local government has the potential to do for us, what changes they have the power to make in their daily lives. We train organizers and temporary canvas and phone staff to have a conversation with voters about what matters most to them, how to explain what is on the ballot and why those offices or ballot measure matter, how they relate back to the voter's priorities and therefore why their vote is important. We also have been working with our team, almost all of whom come from the communities in which we organize, to talk strategically about how their lives have been touched by the issues, particularly in our criminal justice work.

Can you talk about your work in the 2018 midterm elections? What kinds of messaging campaigns did you run and how did you tie diverse ballot issues back to your larger narrative?

In 2018 we did work in District Attorney primary elections in Dallas and Bexar (San Antonio) and ran programs in the November general election in all three of our counties, Dallas, Bexar, and Harris/Houston. We targeted over 876,000 unique largely unlikely voters of color with over 3.2 million contact attempts via door knocks, phone calls, and peer-to-peer texting. We used a variety of communications tactics—earned media, texting, and digital. We produced videos, memes, and short messages to ignite voters sending them out via Facebook, Facebook ads and sometimes connecting them to our texting program. Luckily and unluckily for us, conservatives provide ample opportunity to tie

diverse issues back to our meta-narrative - providing constant attacks on communities of color that link directly to day-to-day struggles during the election. We were constantly lifting up real-time attacks on our communities, calling it for what it was - racist and unjust and bigoted attacks by current electeds or those seeking office, and reminding voters that they have an opportunity to elect change agents and champions for change.

Our members often took public action—like when the DA in Dallas County failed to act swiftly in holding the police officer who shot and killed Botham Shem Jean in his apartment accountable—members held public actions to demand that the DA take swift action using those images in our digital work and carrying that message on doors with voters. In Harris County we used images of the current Harris County Commissioners Court—all white men with the exception of one progressive Black Commissioner and juxtaposed it with the progressive slate of candidates - two women of color and two men of color.

Was there anything different you did in your messaging or organizing strategies in 2018 that you hadn't tried previously? Was it successful?

There were two new strategies that we attempted. The first was in Dallas where we began to integrate into our message training the incorporation of our field team's own personal stories into their communication with voters. Key to this strategy is that almost all the people on our team come from the communities in which we organize, therefore they know often firsthand the struggles of the voters that they are going to be talking with, particularly on the issue of criminal justice. Our team in Dallas decided to train people on how to use their own story at the doors to personalize what was at stake, but to also build rapport and have an honest conversation with voters. This often led to voters opening

Our broad narrative is that we are under attack, but we—progressives of color, immigrant communities, women and millennials—are also the voting majority in Texas and we have the power to create change.

—Crystal Zermeño

up about their own experiences, those of their family members and helping draw out direct connections between the issues and what was at stake in the election. We are now looking at using this across all of our counties and campaigns. We also, for the first time, used peer-to-peer texting and found it extremely successful. We are still gathering final data to measure the success of the program, but the initial stats and anecdotal information from those running the program shows that we had valuable conversations with voters, but it was largely about the logistics of voting—where, when and how—versus issues and candidates. We will continue the program and plan to incorporate more integration with digital campaign materials like videos, memes, links to web postings to engage voters more around the issues and candidates.

How is TOP prepping for the 2020 election? Where does strategic narrative and messaging enter into the discussion as you prepare?

2018 was clearly a transformative year for Texas. We made significant gains statewide and more importantly in our local major cities and counties. We are already running the numbers to assess how these gains build towards the 2020 elections—how we changed who votes and identifying who still needs to be engaged. Clearly there will be much at stake in 2020, for our state and our country. What we feel is vital is ensuring that there is real accountability among our newly elected

progressive leaders and that they are delivering real victories and change for our communities at the local level in the next two years. This allows us to show a direct through-line to voters between voting and creating change. As we build out our organizing priorities, we will be working to move a robust change agenda, communicating directly with new 2018 voters and the voters who are still sitting on the sidelines to show that when we vote, we can win.

ILLNOIS

DeAngelo Bester, Executive Director of the Workers Center for Racial Justice and Center for Racial and Gender Equity

One of your center's main goals is to build an active and engaged base of unemployed, low-wage, and formerly incarcerated Black workers with a deep analysis of structural racialization. How do you go about this and what narratives do you use?

We engage in trainings and political education for members, leaders, and the broader public. We have brought in [Haas Institute Director] John Powell on several occasions to do workshops on structural radicalization and implicit bias. I have led similar workshops myself with members. I have also led and brought in outside facilitators to do political education around Black Liberation theory and

We added a component to our narrative about building independent Black political power as a prerequisite to strengthening economic security for Black families.

-DeAngelo Bester, Illinois

Black Left politics. We host regular events where we show a movie about a particular topic with community residents, and then engage in facilitated discussions after the movie. The closest thing to particular narrative we use is: “Black workers and their families face a multidimensional jobs crisis; high rates of unemployment, low wage work and over-criminalization. We believe the best way to strengthen economic security for Black families is by addressing these three areas of the jobs crisis.”

You work to develop and advance policies that can eliminate persistent racial inequality in the areas of employment and criminal justice. How does narrative play into the development of these policies?

The policies we develop and advance are informed by numerous conversations with grassroots members and leaders. Since our analysis and the narrative we use is centered around labor and criminalization, it provides us with a laser-like focus on moving policies in those areas. Though we may be supportive of policies in other issue areas, they will never be the focal point of our work because it doesn’t align with our analysis.

What issues were you engaged with in the 2018 midterm elections? Was your narrative work successful in engaging with voters?

In 2018 we engaged Black voters on police accountability and criminal justice reform, jobs for formerly incarcerated and other marginalized Black workers, and universal childcare. We

contacted voters multiple times, first discussing the issues, then making the case why one candidate was better on those issues than others. We added a component to our narrative about building independent Black political power as a prerequisite to strengthening economic security for Black families. We also used Trump’s attacks on Black people, attacks on voting rights, and the increase in overt acts of racism as a way to motivate voters.

PENNSYLVANIA

Jonathan Smucker, Co-founder and Executive Director, Lancaster Stands Up & Beyond the Choir

Can you talk a little bit about how you and your colleagues crafted a powerful strategic narrative for progressive issues in Pennsylvania in 2018?

We first have to talk about what purpose a good narrative serves. In the case of Lancaster Stands Up, strategic narrative has been first and foremost in service of our organizing efforts in our region of Pennsylvania. To understand our narrative then, we have to talk about what we even mean by “organizing.” It’s a term that is often thrown around without much definition. Our understanding of grassroots organizing is that it’s not about organizing the logistics of an event or a protest or even the mechanics of a longer-arc campaign. Political organizing may very well involve all

of these activities, but its essence is not itself these activities—all of which can be carried out without necessarily building or being accountable to a substantial social base. To organize, in the political sense, is to bring together hitherto disparate elements into a united force. It is to name, frame, and narrate the trajectory of a group; to articulate its goals, grievances, and targets; to move it into strategic collective action; to inspire other social forces to align in a common direction; and to leverage this force for political ends.

With this understanding of political organizing, the central importance of narrative becomes clear. And narrative becomes much more multi-dimensional. Of course it includes which words we choose to use (or not use) and which popular symbols we decide to claim, and whose meanings we decide to contest. But that’s only part of what we mean by narrative and what we mean by articulation. We also include the choices we make about which issues to throw down on; which doors we knock in which neighborhoods; whose leadership we prioritize developing; and how we respond to existing political authority and unfolding events over time. All of this shapes how people in our community interpret the world and is therefore part of our “narrative strategy.”

So the most important question informing our narrative strategy becomes: “Will the people who we want to organize see themselves in this?” In other words, how can we make our intended social base feel like part of the WE that we are articulating? In the wake of the 2016 election, we found thousands of people in our community struggling to make sense of what had happened; how history had unfolded in this particular way. We had to tell a story that helped people to make sense of what they were experiencing.

The core structure of our narrative is

quite simple: economic and political elites have rigged our democracy and our economy to serve themselves, leading to millions of everyday working people to feel abandoned by the political class, struggling to make ends meet, and uninspired to turn out to vote. Our beautiful differences have been used to divide us and make us afraid of each other, based on race, religion, sexual orientation, or country of origin. And no one is going to fix this for us. It's up to us, everyday peo-

Up Locals across our county (e.g., Ephrata Stands Up), each of which meets regularly to carry out work that is coordinated at the countywide level. Between LSU and the King campaign we knocked close to 250,000 doors in 2018, made over a million phone calls, and held at least 70 town halls. And over the course of two years we organized the four largest public demonstrations in at least half a century. All of this in an area that has long been considered an overwhelmingly con-

meant picking fights consistently with the powerful few at the top.

Switching to your work with Beyond the Choir, can you walk us through how you craft narratives with partners? What does that narrative development process look like?

When we've supported groups and movements like Sunrise, If Not Now, and All of Us, we work with them to identify the elements of different narratives concerning the set of issues they're confronting. We look at dominant narratives, at the messages of their opponents, and at the group's own public-facing messaging. We look at specific "narrative artifacts": press releases, web pages, Tweets, protest signs, interviews with leaders, etc. We identify and break down key narrative elements: protagonists, antagonists, opportunities, threats, and so on. The cornerstone of all these elements is the WE. Who is the WE in the story? Will the intended audience feel part of it? How do protagonists symbolize the values and aspirations of the WE? How do villains or culprits symbolize threats to the WE? We often find that groups are accidentally telling a story to a small we of self-identified activists who already share certain assumptions and often a specialized vocabulary that effectively prevents more people from resonating with their message. That's a key intervention: getting groups to project a big and popular WE, and to overcome a self-defeating mentality that we call "the story of the righteous few."



The most important question informing our narrative strategy becomes: “Will the people who we want to organize see themselves in this?” How can we make our intended social base feel like part of the WE that we are articulating?

-Jonathan Smucker, Pennsylvania

ple, to come together, to get involved, to breathe new life into our democracy, and to turn this around.

Was there anything different that Lancaster Stands Up did in its messaging or organizing strategies in 2018 that hadn't been tried previously? Was it successful?

In terms of organizing a formidable progressive force in a place where it had not existed previously, what we did in Lancaster County in 2017 and 2018 has been dramatically different than anything that had happened here in the past. It's always very difficult to measure success and which factors contributed to success, since there are so many factors at play in the context of a political contest. But we can look at the hard metrics of the organizing capacity we built here, between Lancaster Stands Up (LSU) and the Jess King for Congress campaign. Going into 2019, LSU now has over a thousand members, most of them dues-paying, and has eleven Stands

servative stronghold.

Of course, a big part of our success was the catalyst of Donald Trump becoming president. That provided a huge opportunity, in terms of the number of people who suddenly felt compelled to do something, to get involved. But that only gets you so far. I think that our popularly resonant messaging and the on-ramps that we provided to our base—first to get in the door, then to develop as leaders—were key to our unusual success in Lancaster.

Specifically with messaging, the key thing we did, in a consistent and disciplined way, was to avoid invoking a left vs. right polarization, and to instead frame a bottom vs. top polarization. This meant avoiding labels like left, liberal, and Democrat. It meant avoiding using the dominant frames and phrases to talk about issues like “gun control.” It didn't mean not talking about these and other issues and it didn't mean avoiding picking fights. It



above: Photo of the artist with a certificate for the UC Berkeley Public Service Center, nominated by Alex Mabanta. Photo by Irene Yi

In Discussion with Christine Wong Yap

BY SARA GROSSMAN

Talking with the Haas Institute's Inaugural Artist in Residence

Christine Wong Yap became the Haas Institute's first ever Artist in Residence in the fall of 2018. Yap, a project-based artist who explores psychological wellbeing through mediums that include printmaking, drawing, sculpture, installation, and social practice, has spent her time with the Haas Institute overseeing a participatory, site-specific project that aims to reveal the pivotal places, communities, and experiences that shape Bay Area residents' connectedness to a neighborhood and region. Through writing workshops and an open call, Yap has mapped out where participants feel belonging and commemorate these places with letterpress printed, hand lettered certificates, as well as an atlas of belonging featuring maps and participants' descriptions in their own words.

Tell us about your art practice. How did belonging become an important theme and what role does positive psychology play in your work?

I'm a project-based artist whose work has involved social practice, printmaking, and publications. I've been exploring positive psychology for the past 10 years. I've used positive psychology research as content in drawings and as inspiration for flags. In the past few years, I've started conducting my own surveys and questionnaires, presenting findings in drawings and zines.

I became interested in belonging in 2016. I had completed a project about interdependence, which is about being seen, supported, and counted. To me, interdependence implies a spirit of mutualism and can bring joy, generosity, and contentment. The fear, resentment, and hate of xenophobic attacks seemed like the opposite. When I wondered how to continue to affirm the positive in a climate of mistrust and division, I thought about belonging. At first, I wanted to affirm immigrants' rights to belong in the US. This has expanded to other marginalized groups. I'm interested in what it means to be connected to a place, and how it reveals authenticity and multidimensional identities that exceed simplistic labels.

What do you hope participants will get out of interacting with your work? What does participation in research or art practice do for creating belonging?

I like to think that asking people to respond to questions about their interior life creates much-needed space for self-reflection. When every second can be reflexively filled with digital distractions, people can lose their connections with themselves. I also think that many adults often hold self-limiting beliefs about art and artmaking and I see creative engagement on a spectrum with DIY skills, agency, and empowerment.

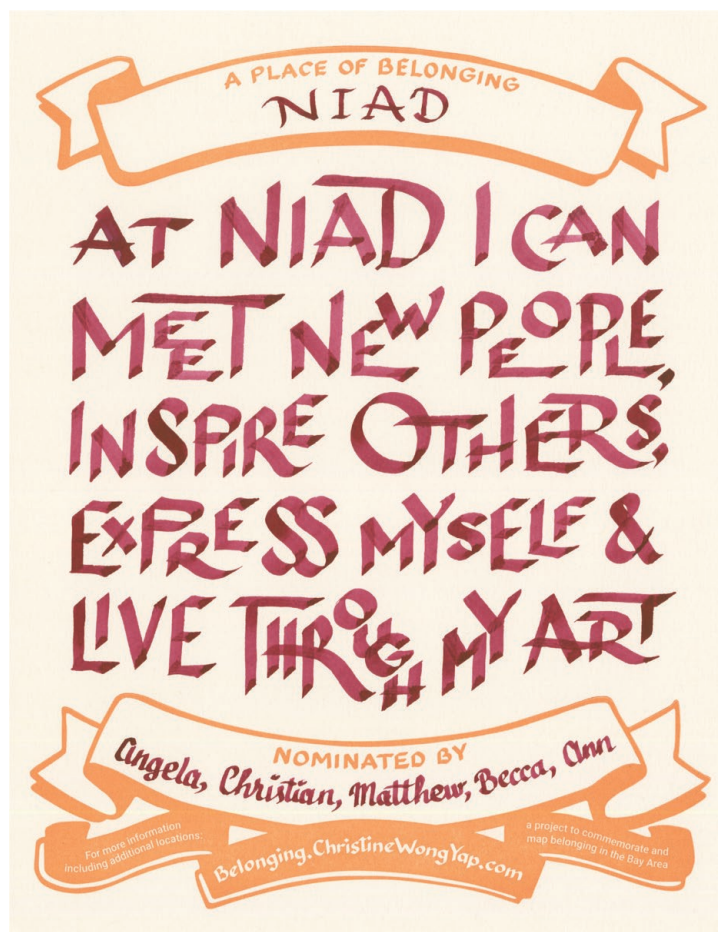
I think belonging is an amalgamation of experiences, memories, meanings, identities, and connections to people, places, activities, or feelings. Reflecting on belonging can bring about awareness of it and its importance. Savoring a happy memory can improve mood. Recalling a place or person that is meaningful could increase connectedness and gratitude. Like happiness, belonging isn't something that happens to you, which you have no power to increase. Belonging often happens because of intention, investment, support, generosity, and cooperation.

How did you come up with your idea for your Belonging project? What questions you are looking to answer? Who is the audience for your atlas?

I modeled this project for the Haas Institute's Artist in Residence after a smaller project I did during a five-week

residency at the Sanitary Tortilla Factory in Albuquerque, New Mexico. There, I commemorated places of belonging with 13 hand-painted signs. I was inspired by cultural geographer Yi Fu Tuan—that space becomes place when it accrues meaning—and Lucy Lippard, who wrote that “The goal of this kind of work would be to turn more people on to where they are, where they came from, where they're going, to help people see their places with new eyes.”

At the Haas Institute residency, I'm expanding the scope of the geographic area, and the depth of questions. Support from the Haas Institute has allowed me to translate the questionnaire into Spanish and Chinese. We asked people about a place where they feel or have felt a sense of belonging, or if they carried their sense of belonging with them, which was inspired by Brené Brown's book on belonging, *Braving the Wilderness*. Respondents also wrote about what belonging feels like, what belonging allows them to do, if there are any systems, policies, and practices that support their belonging, and if there is a related DIY activity.



Belonging Certificate: NIAD, nominated by Angela, Christian, Matthew, Becca, and Ann; 2018; Lettepressprint with calligraphy; 11 x 8.5 inches, by Christine Wong Yap

Can you discuss some of the similarities and differences you've discovered between notions of belonging in New Mexico and in the Bay Area so far?

For many, belonging is about familiarity and comfort, and their place of belonging is at home. For others, belonging is about feeling peaceful or connected to nature, so they belong in parks or open spaces. I love when these stories reveal ecological specificity—such as the Paseo del Bosque (a riparian forest) on the Middle Rio Grande in Albuquerque, or Aquatic Bay Cove in San Francisco.

I conducted workshops at community-based organizations, and at least a few people at each organization would nominate the host organization. That makes sense since those programs are designed to be inclusive and supportive. In Albuquerque, I noticed that the places of belonging reflect the salience of public resources and non-profit organizations in participants' emotional lives. In the Bay, more responses reflect a commitment to service and social justice.

Are there any larger thematic conclusions you've made so far about belonging in the Bay Area? What do you think that readers of the almanac will or should take away from reading these stories?

I think the stories capture diverse voices and perspectives. I hope this fosters a greater appreciation for who “we” are as a region, and where we think of when we think of the “Bay Area.”

I am very grateful that I was able to conduct workshops with young athletes in Soccer Without Borders at Castlemont High School, and with Chinese asylees at the Union City Library with assistance from the Chinese Culture Center. We were also able to partner with NIAD and The Beat Within to collect stories from the artists and youth in juvenile halls, respectively. I think there are people and groups working very hard to create belonging among disparate populations, who each appreciate them in particular ways. Perhaps the particulars in these collected stories form a breadth and depth of the emotional resonance of belonging.

Based on your work, can you offer insight into what it means to “belong” in a physical space or community? What kinds of different forms of belonging have you come across?

I think there are different levels of belonging: personal, interpersonal, social, cultural, and political, and they're interconnected. A lot of responses were about not being judged, which is interpersonal; and feeling self-worth, which is personal. At the same time, imagining belonging in certain spaces—like Dreamers attending Ivy League universities, or women in STEM—is social, cultural, and political belonging, which in turn affects your sense of agency and self-efficacy. From Brené Brown's *Daring Greatly*, I've



“Many people’s places of belonging were sites of physical activities—swimming, climbing, dancing, or soccer, for example. These involve teamwork, cooperation, endorphins, and flow, and probably other links between physiological and psychological well-being.”

—Christine Wong Yap

learned that self-worth should not be based in other people's or society's approval. We are all inherently worthy of being loved, and I'd say, of belonging and inclusion.

A lot of respondents felt belonging when sharing space while doing something, such as working in a rewarding job, or volunteering at their child's school. Many people's places of belonging were sites of physical activities—swimming, climbing, dancing, or soccer, for example. These involve teamwork, cooperation, endorphins, and flow, and probably other links between physiological and psychological well-being. Contributing to something greater than yourself is another recurring theme. This might be in communion with a higher spirit or a congregation, or fulfilling a life purpose related to service.

Your work focuses a lot on personal experiences of belonging, while at the Haas Institute we examine belonging from a systems and structural analysis. How does art help bridge that divide?

Belonging can be very abstract. Even when you ask people about their personal experiences of belonging, people who haven't given it much thought can find it hard to pin down and put into words. This project compiles specific, real examples of belonging via 25 commemorated places and dozens of others via stories in the book. Six carried senses of belonging are inspiring bandana designs. I'm a visual thinker and I like concrete examples.

For example, we know that preserving natural open spaces is important, hence the Greenbelt Alliance has preserved many coastlines. We know that experiencing nature can promote psychological well-being. The stories in this project are testimonials about how specific places like the Marin Headlands and Aquatic Park Cove foster belonging for individuals.

Evan Bissell, the Haas Institute's Arts and Culture Strategy Coordinator, has been helping me to identify and present themes in the stories related to public health. We're highlighting instances of these dimensions of well-being—like authenticity, being accepted, connectedness, and family—in the stories, and in contributors' definitions of belonging and what belonging feels like.

How have your ideas around belonging changed or shifted through working with the Haas Institute? How do you think your ideas on belonging might enlarge our framework on belonging?

I'm interested in psychology and emotions, and I was afraid that the hard science of public health would only find medical statistics about mortality interesting, that self-reported feelings would be too "squishy" to be informative. But I'm learning that epidemiology is also concerned with stress, anxiety, and depression as factors that further impact low socioeconomic status populations. The idea with positive psychology is that psychology should not over-focus on the negative and under-research the positive. So I think we ought to understand love, joy, connection, and belonging as much as we do stress, anxiety, and depression.

When you ask people about who gets to stay in the Bay Area and who gets squeezed out, I think it triggers a sense of crisis, futility, and fatigue. Thinking about gentrification, displacement, homelessness, racial violence, or what feels like a nadir of integrity and truth can feel overwhelming. It can make you feel powerless and unmotivated, because why do anything if nothing you do will matter? I think focusing on the ways Bay Area residents continue to find belonging here, how resonant places of belonging are to different people, and how formative experiences of belonging are in personal evolutions, can be refreshing. It can remind people what works well here, what we stand for, why people keep coming here, and what is worth fighting for.



William Rhodes, founder of the 3.9 Art Collective, installing the Belonging Certificate in his studio in Noe Valley in San Francisco. 3.9 Art Collective is a collective of Black artists in San Francisco. It was nominated by member Rodney Ewing.



BY STEPHEN
MENENDIAN

Unfinished Business

California's Housing Equity Agenda



Boasting a reputation as a progressive stronghold and a sanctuary state, Californians pride themselves on inclusive cultural attitudes and regard their state as a hub of the “resistance” to the Trump administration’s exclusionary policies. Yet California is one of the most economically unequal states in the country, with the highest poverty rate and homeless population in the country, and features persistent and endemic racial and economic residential segregation.

After years of escalating pain, California’s housing crisis finally landed on the state’s legislative agenda in a big way two years ago, with several bills becoming lighting rods. A much broader and more robust set of housing bills were proposed last year. The legislative session that ended this past August was one of the most tumultuous in recent years, but ultimately resulted in notable accomplishments responsive to the housing crisis while promoting racial and economic equity.

In the same year that the Trump administration pursued a rollback of the nation’s federal fair housing laws and regulations, the California legislature stepped in to try and repair the breach with three bills, each of which were developed in partnership with several co-sponsoring organizations—including the Western Center on Law and Poverty, Public Advocates, and National Housing Law Project (AB 686); the California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation (AB 1771, along with WCLP), and the Bay Area Council and Silicon Valley Leadership Group (SB 828). Courageous California legislators, working with their community partners, can be proud of these accomplishments.

The federal Fair Housing Act of 1968 not only prohibited discrimination in housing, but also included language that required the federal government to “affirmatively further fair housing.” Although this concept was left undefined, the Obama administration’s Department of Housing and Urban Development promulgated an administrative regulation defining this responsibility. The rule required the federal government to work with local housing authorities and other jurisdictions to identify barriers to integration, and proactively work to address them, even at the threat of losing federal funds. The Trump administration has sought to weaken and roll back this rule.

The California bill AB 686 codifies California’s commitment to “affirmatively further fair housing” through “active government efforts to dismantle segregation and create equal housing opportunities.” Under the new law, every

city and county must develop a fair housing assessment, which must be included in the housing element of the jurisdiction’s general plan, and establish policies and programs that affirmatively further fair housing. With these policies and programs codified in the housing element of each jurisdiction’s general plan, citizens and the state government can hold localities accountable to their fair housing commitments.

The Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA) is one of California’s most significant policies for advancing housing equity. RHNA is California’s version of a “fair share” law, which requires cities and other jurisdictions across the state to provide their “fair share” of affordable housing. Unlike the so-called “Mount Laurel” plan adopted by New Jersey, which requires every jurisdiction set aside a small percentage of new housing for low-income and moderate-income residents, RHNA requires planning for five different income levels. In that regard, RHNA is, in principal, a more nuanced and stronger overall approach.

Unfortunately, RHNA hasn’t always worked as intended. In our 2017 report on RHNA, we examined the mechanics of the RHNA allocation process and found that the Bay Area RHNA methodology produces disparate racial impacts. Our research found that local governments with higher percentages of white residents were more likely to have received lower allocations of moderate and lower income housing, which may continue the pattern of underproduction of affordable housing, and thus racial and economic exclusion, in such jurisdictions.

Not only do local jurisdictions fail to zone sufficiently for lower and moderate income residents, or would-be residents, but their methodologies tend to undercount projected growth, and RHNA fails to hold jurisdictions accountable for the backlog of underdevelopment. In 2008, New Jersey Governor Jon Corzine signed a bill that closed a loophole in the Mount Laurel policy, which allowed wealthier jurisdictions to pay for their “share,” but a court recently ruled that jurisdictions were required to make up the backlog they should have produced while fighting the law. An effective RHNA law in California needs the same level of enforcement.

Given these problems, we applaud a pair of bills last term (AB 1771 and SB 828) to reform the California’s Regional Housing Needs Allocation (RHNA) process. AB 1771 strengthens RHNA enforcement by creating greater equity, transparency, and accountability in the RHNA process. It requires regional councils of government (COGs) to employ more rigorous, data-driven RHNA methodologies that account for factors that more accurately project jurisdictions’ affordable housing needs. For example, cities must evaluate and account for



“jobs-housing fit”—meaning the extent to which a jurisdiction has enough housing that is affordable to low-wage workers employed within its boundaries.

The new law also requires the California Department of Housing and Community Development to evaluate whether COGs’ methodologies comply with fair housing law. AB 1771 thus bolsters AB 686 by better ensuring that all communities—including historically exclusionary communities—are actually allocated a fair share, and in concert with bills passed in 2017, create greater enforcement of RHNA obligations. If a COG’s methodology is found to not affirmatively further fair housing, governments and citizens have legal recourse for challenging it. And finally, AB 1771 explicitly requires COGs to conduct a survey on fair housing, seeking to “overcome patterns of segregation and foster inclusive communities free from barriers that restrict access to opportunity based” on race.

Although watered-down, the final and ultimately enacted version of SB 828 also accomplishes some positive things. First, it requires jurisdictions to consider vacancy rates and housing cost burden as part of the methodology, two important considerations that should be part of the analysis. Second, it prohibits jurisdictions from using prior underproduction to justify continual foot dragging. And third,

it refocuses on projected population growth, not simply existing demographics.

The most controversial bill of the 2018 term was SB 827, which would have overridden local zoning to promote density nearby public transit infrastructure. The goal of the bill was to overcome local opposition to generate the housing production needed to meet surging demand, and included scaling affordability requirements and mandated inclusionary levels to expand housing affordability. The bill failed to pass out of committee, despite receiving the greatest degree of attention and national press coverage, while the bill’s sponsors promised to bring the bill back in the next term.

In the aftermath of the bill, a few organizations have published analyses attempting to assess the possible effects of the bill, had it passed. Our friends at the Urban Displacement Project (UDP), for example, recently published a report assessing the types of neighborhoods impacted in terms of risk or stages of gentrification, the quality of the neighborhoods in terms of “resources,” using a methodology we co-developed, and projected the number of housing units that would be developed as a result of the bill, including the quantity of affordable units. They found, for example, that the bill “would have produced a six-fold increase

in financially-feasible market-rate housing capacity and a seven-fold increase in financially-feasible inclusionary unit capacity.” Perhaps even more importantly, the locations of these units would be opportunity-enhancing. They found that “SB 827 would have increased financially feasible development potential for market-rate units six-fold in the high and highest resourced areas of the region (from 130,000 units to about 820,000 units).”

Although we found that many communities that would have been upzoned were high or very high resource neighborhoods, including Orinda, Lafayette, Tiburon, Novato, Burlingame, Millbrae, Belmont, Atherton, Redwood City, Mountain View, and others, the UDP researchers noted that nearly “half of the developable land in the Bay Area that would have been subject to SB 827 was in areas experiencing gentrification and displacement pressures or that were at risk of gentrification.” Moreover, they found that “60 percent of the net new financially-feasible unit capacity would have been located in low-income and gentrifying areas.”

Subsequently, and following the development of our recently published segregation report, which mapped the level of segregation experienced in every census tract in the Bay Area, we were able to examine the proportion of tracts that would be targeted by SB 827 that lay in each segregation category.

The chart below shows that disproportionately more segregated neighborhoods would be affected by SB 827.

The foregoing opportunity and segregation analysis is limited to the extent that we cannot project or know exactly who would move into new housing units constructed in each of those areas. But the inclusionary zoning requirements suggest that many low income people of color would have ample opportunities to move into higher opportunity, yet racially segregated neighborhoods in many of the places mentioned above, including places like Lafayette.

Although the federal government under the leadership of President Trump and Housing Secretary Ben Carson has not only stepped back from the goal of promoting racial equity in housing, but demonstrated hostility to that cause, California policymakers have shown a willingness to compensate for federal passivity and hostility. They must now build on the accomplishments of the last term and the work being done by researchers and advocates at the local and regional levels to understand and address the problems we face.

At a minimum, this means building new housing at all income levels, including for greater affordability, protecting tenants from displacement, strengthening RHNA, and continuing to hold the federal government accountable for its duties under federal law. More than a dozen new bills have already been introduced or announced for this year, including a revised version of SB 827, now known as SB 50. Unlike SB 827, this bill will target high resource, job rich communities that are not proximate to transit, and also exempt “sensitive communities.”

Segregation Category	Sum of area of each upzone polygon (Low Rise and High Rise) part in	Percentage of total area
High Segregation	31704054.04	33.39%
Moderate Segregation	27862740.01	29.34%
Low Segregation	35393727.06	37.27%
Grand Total	94960521.12	



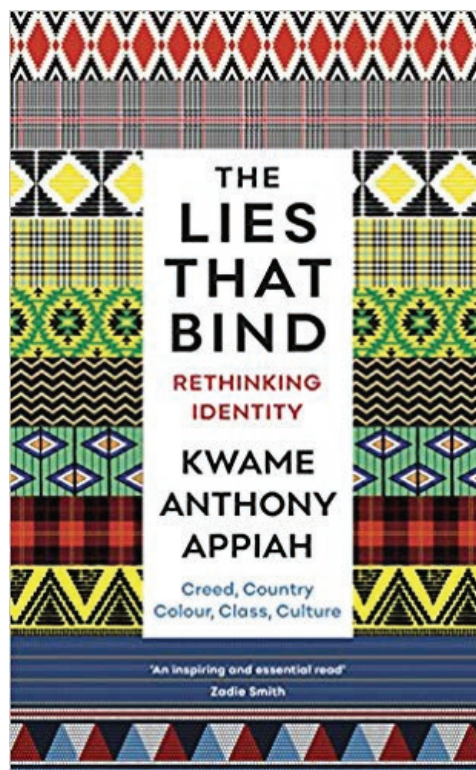
BY STEPHEN
MENENDIAN

The Lies That Bind

Rethinking Identity

By Kwame Anthony Appiah
256 pp. Liveright Publishing

Just as a spate of books on economic inequality erupted in the first half of this decade, culminating in Thomas Piketty's dense, but readable blockbuster tome, *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*, there has been a furious burst of scholarship pitched at broad audiences on the questions of identity and nationalism. Notable among them is Kwame Anthony Appiah's compelling entry, *The Lies that Bind: Rethinking Identity*.



Organized into chapters heading each of the expressions of identity he investigates—nationality, race, religion, class, and culture—Appiah systematically debunks the essentialist presumptions that many people hold about the nature of these identities. Although he forthrightly acknowledges that “clannishness is a basic feature of our human psychology,” Appiah takes pains to show how each of these identities is contested, fluid, and more multifaceted than is generally understood. As he puts it early on, “just as there’s usually contest or conflict about the boundaries of the group, about who’s in and who’s out, there’s almost always disagreement about what normative significance an identity has.”

Appiah is a professor of philosophy at New York University, but he brings a worldly, rather than removed, perspective to the issues he tackles. A man that embodies the complexities he seeks to elicit, with a diverse racial, religious, national, and cultural background, Appiah’s personal experiences and insights are the book’s greatest strength. His own peripatetic and richly complicated family history provides some of the most poignant and powerful illustrations of the ideas in the book. Appiah’s father’s Ghanian and Asante heritage and his mother’s

English heritage are remarked upon repeatedly, as are the many other interesting family characters that stretch back several generations, including in the senior levels of the British government.

Appiah’s book is a compelling read, primarily because it is laced with fascinating anecdotes and memorable stories. Among them are the story of Amo Afer and the origin story of Singapore. In 1707, an African boy no older than five years old was captured or purchased from the southern coast of Ghana aboard a ship belonging to the Dutch West India Company, and transported ultimately to what is now northern Germany, where he was “gifted” to a local Duke. Remarkably, the young boy was tutored, baptized, and educated like an aristocrat. The Duke’s librarian—who presumably tutored the boy—was Gottfried Leibniz, the co-creator of calculus, and one of the most accomplished mathematicians and inventors in European history.

The boy was given the name Anton Wilhelm, but ultimately began using his Nzemo name, “Amo,” eventually referring to himself as “Anton Wilhelm Amo Afer,” which was the Latin word for African. Appiah describes this education as a “famous Enlightenment experiment,” aiming to “explore whether an African could absorb and contribute to modern scholarship.” The result was, by Appiah’s telling and based upon the best known evidence,

“accounted a success”: Amo studied law at a leading university, earned a Master’s Degree for his legal thesis on the European law of slavery, and eventually became the first Black African to earn a European doctoral degree in philosophy. In addition, he became knowledgeable in medicine and astronomy, learned Dutch, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and possibly English, as well as German, before going on to teach at the university level, and author notable books that earned him “eminent admirers.” I won’t spoil Amo’s ultimate fate, but his education and accomplishments tell us as much about race in the eighteenth century as it does today.

Although I knew of Lee Kuan Yew as the leader who built Singapore into a thriving city-state, I was unaware of the explicit role that ethnic diversity played in its creation. Appiah recounts the way in which Yew and the other founders explicitly constructed a multi-ethnic society as a response to the communal violence of 1964. To prevent the emergence of a demagogue and to secure the benefits of diversity, the city not only prohibited many kinds of hate speech, but created a kind of institutional multiculturalism. In particular, the city founders created a system that accommodated each of the four major ethnic groups, without allowing any of them to predominate. One way they did this was to instruct every student in two languages, and ensure that the dominant group’s language was not the official language of the state. They also explicitly and carefully integrated public housing and education. As Appiah puts it, Lee Kuan Yew “insisted on a multiracial, multireligious, and multicultural model” for the new nation.

A brilliant polymath, Appiah relates and connects ideas and stories I was very familiar with and those I had never heard of. I found Appiah’s chapter on religion to be the most erudite and fascinating. He is as capable describing the nuances of Christianity and ancient Jewish culture as he is on the cross-fertilization of ancient knowledge and Islam or the origins of Hinduism. Religion would seem to be an identity—since it is based on creed—most likely to have an “essential” component. But even here, Appiah calls this “source-code fallacy,” which he defines as “the idea that the true nature of religion lies with its deepest, most foundational texts, abstracted away from the real-world range of its actual adherents; that access to these codes can reveal that religion’s essence.” As a brilliant thought experiment, he asks the reader to imagine what kinds of cultures might emerge around the New Testament or other foundational religious texts, but in contexts in which they are completely disconnected from the practices and cultures that arose around those texts. In other words, if we were to airdrop

a Bible or a Koran into a remote, uncontacted community of people, or even an alien world, it would have scarcely anything in common with, say, the practices or governance of the Catholic Church.

As compelling as the book is, after finishing the third chapter (of seven), I found myself wondering what, exactly, he was driving at. His critique of essentialism was persuasive, but I was already on board for that point. His various arguments seemed to add up to less the sum of their parts. Had I not read book reviews before starting in, I would have had only a vague idea how his salient points were connected together. Most of the book reads as a critique of various conceptions of identity without laying out what his affirmative position was or what his argument was building toward.

Unlike other scholarly books on identity, like Anthony Marx’ landmark book *Making Race, Making State* or any of Charles Tilly’s compendiums, Appiah does not offer a comprehensive theory of identity formation or development, but he does provide the why in each case he surveys. For that reason, his book does not suffer for lack of an explanatory account. In fact, by focusing on the most practical questions of how we build more inclusive societies, I could see how the questions that tend to concern most academics were not necessarily critical to resolve.

As a philosopher, Appiah has a refined and compelling vision of a life well lived. He has grappled with, and provides excellent answers to, many of the most difficult questions of human existence, such as: What is a good life? How does one live a good life? And how does one measure a good life? But, ironically, he has fewer answers to the central issues of the book, such as: How do we contest the weaponization of identity? How do we protect marginalized groups from a fearful majority? What are the mechanisms that rendered the social constructions of identity structural, and cause intergroup inequality? And what are the interventions we should consider to reduce it?

He reminds us that “as a rule, people do not live in monocultures, monoreligious, monolingual nation-states, and they never have,” but that reality has not stopped demagogues from trying to make their nations into one, no matter how horrifying the means. As such, Appiah does not offer a solution to the problem of how identity is being weaponized.

Appiah is right to ask us to reject essentialism, but fails to provide a clear account of the social reality of identities that we can hardly, as he also acknowledges, abandon willy-nilly. Appiah has done the hard work of critique, but has not begun the even harder project of reconstruction.



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