



VOTING RIGHTS *for the* INCARCERATED & IMMIGRANTS

Questions of civic participation are emblematic of larger issues surrounding who should be included in our society and who belongs.

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Women &
STEM: It's Not
Just a Matter
of Numbers

New Endowed
Chairs in
Disability
Studies &
Religious
Diversity Join
Haas Institute

Faculty
Spotlight:
Malo Hutson

Interview with
acclaimed
author Rabih
Alameddine

Race in
Literature
in 2015:
Perspective
on books by
Ta-Nehisi
Coates and
Harper Lee

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley brings together researchers, community stakeholders, policymakers, and communicators to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society and create transformative change. The Haas Institute serves as a national hub of a vibrant network of researchers and community partners. The Haas Institute takes a leadership role in translating, communicating, and facilitating research, policy, and strategic engagement. The Haas Institute advances research and policy related to marginalized people while essentially touching all who benefit from a truly diverse, fair, and inclusive society.

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DIRECTORS' NOTES

From john a. powell..... 3
From Michael Omi..... 4

MEDIA ROOM

Supreme Court Brief
in *Fisher v. Texas* 5
Development that
Centers Community..... 6
New Staff and Scholars 7
Recent Publications..... 8

FACULTY RESEARCH

New Endowed Chairs in
Disability Studies & Religious
Diversity Join Haas Institute 10
Faculty Profile: Malo Hutson 11

FEATURES

Voting Rights for the
Incarcerated & Immigrants..... 13
Women in STEM:
It's Not Just a
Numbers Problem 19
Race in Literature..... 25
I Am What I Am:
An Interview with
Rabih Alameddine 27

ACTIVITIES

Faculty Clusters 30
Haas Institute 37



THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT OBAMA as the nation's first African American president was heralded by many as the beginning of a new post-racial era in American life. Yet, in this final year of the Obama presidency, any pretense of a post-racial era must surely be discarded.

That is not to say that race matters more than it did before the election of Barack Obama, but rather that America has a less sanguine understanding of race than before. Many more Americans became aware of the presence of discrimination in American life as the shocking veil of police brutality was exposed and the protest movement spearheaded by the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter took root and began to shape discourse all the way up to those who would be our next president.

More Americans of all races acknowledge that race shapes life chances in ways that are not only unlawful, but inconsistent with our values and ideals. Even the Supreme Court, in upholding a part of the **Fair Housing Act** this past year (in an opinion citing a brief we filed on behalf of the plaintiffs), acknowledged the continuing role of race in this way and the persistence of segregation in our metropolitan regions.

Some called 2015 the year of identity. As a nation, we not only developed a deeper understanding of race, but also the complexity of gender, sex, citizenship, religion, and more. If 2015 was the year of identity, 2016 may well be the year of identities.

We must now seek to understand not just the fluidity of identity categories and the role those categories play in our lives, but their interplay as manifested in our structures, culture, and society.

The Haas Institute is perhaps uniquely situated to help us understand the intersectionalities that define group and individual life chances. One of our major focus areas, **Othring and Belonging**, provides a broadly inclusive framework for understanding how marginality manifests across the full range of human differences. Our affiliated faculty cluster members, researchers, initiatives, and projects explore these intersectionalities in critical ways.

Our forthcoming **Inclusiveness Index** report examines and measures nation states and US States by inclusivity along a range of dimensions, including gender, race, religion, and more. We are also exploring these intersections in terms of their potential for real-world engagement. One of our newest publications, **"We Too Belong,"** examines the inter-relationship of incarcerated populations and immigration populations, and promising practices at the state and local levels to promote inclusivity.

Even as we work to challenge and transform structures that would marginalize immigrants, communities of color, religious minorities, people with disabilities, and many more, we must also remember that **our work cannot be subjected to only the rhythms of the presidential election**, however loud they might be. We must not only look beyond the election for deep social change, but we must also look locally and globally for opportunities to advance inclusive practices and to build networks for transformative change.

The end of the Obama era does not mean the end of hope, but rather a more realistic, and hopefully, stronger foundation from which to advance our work. ■



john a. powell,
Director of the Haas
Institute for a Fair and
Inclusive Society and
Professor of Law, African
American, and Ethnic
Studies at UC Berkeley

THE WORK OF OUR SEVEN FACULTY RESEARCH clusters is dramatically expanding our very notion what diversity means. This has been a two-fold, overlapping process. First, each cluster is deeply engaging questions of stratification and difference in specific areas such as health, religion, and the economy. Second, cross-cluster events and activities are emphasizing social cleavages, processes of group marginalization, and the nature of differential power and privilege across social domains.

The Haas Institute is seeing the successful fruition of a lengthy hiring process that has occupied the attention of most of the research clusters. A number of key faculty appointments will add to the breadth of scholarship in the clusters, provide leadership in defining new initiatives, and considerably ramp up research cluster activity.

This past fall, **Jovan Scott Lewis** was hired as a faculty member in the Economic Disparities cluster. An anthropologist by training, Lewis is an ethnographer who has studied the effects of poverty on individuals and groups in both Jamaica and Tulsa, Oklahoma. The motivation behind his research is to understand how people experience, adapt, and challenge the forms of economic impoverishment they encounter.

In the Spring 2016 semester, **Karen Nakamura**, a cultural and visual anthropologist, assumed the Haas Endowed Chair of Disability Studies. The scope of Nakamura's work is truly breathtaking. She has written on disability movements in Japan—including the politics of identity, deafness, and sign language—and her next research project will examine the role of robotics and prosthetics in the lives of disabled and elderly people in Japan and the United States.

In Fall 2016, **Karen Barkey** will become the Haas Chair of Religious Diversity. A sociologist, Barkey has written two books on the Ottoman Empire that highlight questions of state control and social movements in the context of empires. Her current research focuses on the sharing of “sacred sites” between two or more religious groups. An institution builder, Barkey has been the Director of the Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life at Columbia University, an institute that not only supports academic projects, but also serves as an umbrella for centers and programs that reach out to a broader public.

With these key appointments, the research clusters will pivot from a focus on hiring to more fully developing their research agendas and activity. Clusters will initiate new research projects, disseminate existing research to broader audiences, and expand the policy implications of their work.

The goal is to redefine and redraw, if not entirely erase, the boundaries between academic research, policy analysis, and engaged practice.

To find out more about our affiliated faculty—who are organized into the seven thematic clusters of: Disability Studies; Diversity and Democracy; Diversity and Health Disparities; Economic Disparities; LGBTQ Citizenship; Race, Educational Policy, and Diversity; and, Religious Diversity—you can search our new database on our newly updated website at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/expertdatabase. From there, you can learn about each faculty member's latest research, presentations, media clippings, and upcoming events. It is our hope that individuals will use this database as a resource to engage with Haas Institute scholars and to deepen and extend their own work in creating a more inclusive, just, and sustainable society. ■



▲
Michael Omi,
Associate
Director of the
Haas Institute
for a Fair
and Inclusive
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Associate
Professor of
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at UC Berkeley

Photo by Rasheed Shabazz, shabazzimages.com

MEDIA ROOM



Jeff Malet, maletphoto.com

Considering race within a broader and holistic admissions policy is the only effective and efficient way for UT Austin to promote equal educational opportunity for all students, argues a new amicus brief co-authored by Haas Institute.

LEGAL ADVOCACY

Social Scientists File Supreme Court Brief in *Fisher v. Texas* Case Advocating for Race-Conscious Admissions

ON NOV. 2, 2015, the Haas Institute submitted an *amicus brief* signed by more than 30 prominent social scientists for the US Supreme Court case *Fisher v. University of Texas*. The brief argues that University of Texas admission policy should be allowed to consider race in order to promote equal educational opportunity for all students.

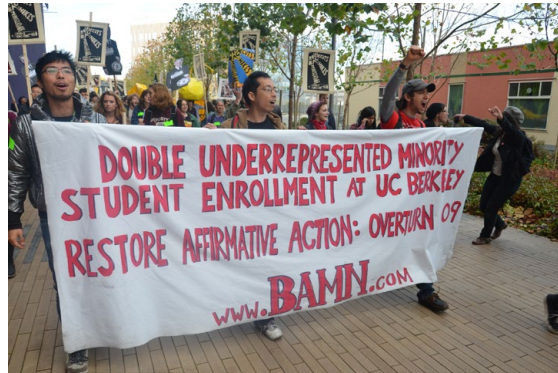
The admissions policy at the University of Texas at Austin must continue to consider race, or the “educational experience of all students on campus will be diminished,” the brief authors wrote. The brief was filed as the Supreme Court once again considers *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*, a complaint against the university by

former applicant Abigail Fisher, who is claiming that she was rejected from the institution because she is white. The Court is considering the case a second time after the 5th US Circuit Court of Appeals again ruled in favor of UT Austin’s holistic admissions policy.

“In this brief, we carefully analyze and demonstrate through social science how racial bias operates in the 21st century,” said **Dr. Linda R. Tropp**, Professor of Social Psychology in the Department of Psychological and Brain Sciences at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, and one of the amici. “We also emphasize the measurable benefit of diversity in education, the workplace, and in our social institutions.”

UT's admissions policy is two-fold: the university automatically accepts students who graduated in the top 10 percent of their high school classes in Texas. All other applicants are then considered under a holistic admissions policy that considers a number of different criteria, including leadership qualities, extracurricular activities, awards, work experience, and race. Fisher was not in the top 10 percent of students in her high school class and was therefore considered under the holistic admissions assessment. Her application to attend UT was later rejected after being evaluated by this assessment.

The brief argues that the University of Texas's approach to admissions is necessary to achieve the compelling government interest of obtaining true diversity in higher education. Both the Top Ten Percent Plan and the holistic admissions plan, working in conjunction, are critical to achieving diversity at the university level.



Steve Rhodes, courtesy of BAMN.com

The brief ties the necessity of the holistic admissions plan to the underlying realities of racial segregation throughout the state of Texas.

The Haas Institute's brief argues that the university's admissions policy allows it to consider race as just one of many important factors that will provide a meaningful opportunity to a diverse group of students to attend UT.

"This brief is unique in blending both social science and mapping analysis on how inter-district segregation generates educational inequality in the K-12 system with impacts on university admissions," said Stephen Menendian, co-author of the brief. "We also have included deep and evidence-based analysis of how the holistic admissions plan generates greater diversity in enrollment."

The brief was filed by the Equal Justice Society; Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati; and John A. Powell and Stephen Menendian of the Haas Institute. *EMILY STEIN*

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Development that Centers Community

The Haas Institute organized a workshop on December 2, 2015 on policy models for maximizing community benefit in Richmond, California, where more than 30 city, non-profit, university, and foundation leaders gathered to discuss planning and policy related to the development of the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay, UC Berkeley's massive new campus. Eli Moore of the Haas Institute provided a brief overview of the Berkeley Global Campus and its importance in the regional patterns of development and community opportunity, noting that it represents a "historic opportunity" to develop an approach to anchor institution development that reverses trends of inequality, exclusion, and displacement.

Representatives from UC Berkeley have been meeting monthly with a community working group to develop a set of recommendations to ensure such benefits are implemented. In an open letter to the Richmond community earlier in 2015, UC Berkeley Chancellor Nicholas Dirks committed to signing binding agreements that would guarantee the University's commitments to the people of Richmond.

Another approach explored is using a non-profit developer that reinvests profits into community benefits programs. In October, the Haas Institute released a report analyzing this model, "Structuring Development for Greater Community Benefit: An Analysis of an Opportunity Model for Developing the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay." The report recommends using a public-private partnership model with a non-profit Community Development Entity (CDE) to finance the development. *HANNAH LAWSON*



▲
"Community benefits is a critical subject area because it creates an accountability system between the developers, lead agencies, and those communities directly affected by the project."
—Eli Moore, Haas Institute

NEW STAFF

Welcome to Staff & Scholars

Victor Pineda is the President of World ENABLED, Chancellor's Research Fellow, and an Adjunct Professor in the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of California at Berkeley. He is a leading global expert on disability rights, policy, and planning and design, and has worked closely with the US



Department of the Treasury, World Bank, United Nations, UNESCO, UNICEF, and cabinet level officials in the UAE, Qatar, Venezuela, and Serbia among others, to develop policies and programs that include persons with disabilities as equal stakeholders in development. Dr. Pineda is the recipient of a National Science Foundation (NSF) innovative research grant, a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship, the Thomas Jefferson Award, the Tom Clausen Fellowship for Business and Policy, and the Paul G. Hearne Award. Dr. Pineda holds a PhD from the Luskin School for Public Affairs at the University of California at Los Angeles and a Master's in City and Regional Planning, a BA in Political Economy, and a BS in Business Administration from the University of California at Berkeley.

Ian Haney López holds an endowed chair as the John H. Boalt Professor of Law at the University of California, Berkeley, where he teaches in the areas of race and constitutional law. One of the nation's leading thinkers on racism's evolution since the civil rights era, he is also a Senior Fellow at Demos. Haney López has been a visiting law professor at Yale, New York University, and Harvard, where he served as the Ralph E. Shikes Visiting Fellow in Civil Rights and Civil Liberties. He holds a master's in history from Washington University, a master's in public policy from Princeton, and a law degree from Harvard, and is a past recipient of the Alphonse Fletcher Fellowship, awarded to scholars whose work furthers the integration goals of *Brown v. Board of Education*. The author or editor of five books, his most recent, *Dog Whistle Politics: How Coded Racial Appeals Have Reinvented Racism and Wrecked the Middle Class*, lays bare how politicians exploit racial pandering to build resentment toward government, fooling voters into supporting policies that favor the very wealthiest while hurting everyone else.



Sara Grossman is a Communications and Media Specialist at the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society. She graduated from UC Berkeley in 2015 with a degree in Political Economy and a concentration in urbanization. She has previously written for CNN, the Chronicle of Higher Education, and a number of other news outlets. While in college, Sara served as the executive news editor for The Daily Californian, UC Berkeley's independent student newspaper, and was an active member of Delta Phi Epsilon, Berkeley's co-ed foreign service fraternity. Sara is particularly interested in issues pertaining to globalization and inequality.



Richard Rothstein is a Senior Fellow at the Haas Institute and a research associate at the Economic Policy Institute, where he works on policy issues regarding education and race. He currently researches and writes about the history of government's role in the creation of residential segregation.

Rothstein was a senior fellow at the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy at Berkeley Law until it closed in 2015.

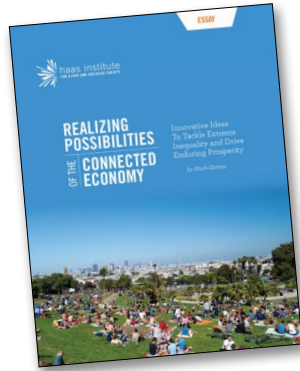
Jean Quan is a Senior Fellow at the Haas Institute working with the Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE) team where she focuses on advancing a number of initiatives ranging from developing a workshop on the use of data in police reform, to supporting the development of local cohorts across California of local government explicitly advancing equity. Aside from her experience as the first female Mayor of Oakland, Jean also brings 12 years of experience as a member of the Oakland School Board, where she consistently took on leadership roles including chairing the California Urban Schools Association, the Asian Pacific Islanders School Board Members Association, and the national Council of Urban Boards Association.



A current listing of our staff can be found on our website at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu

Recent Publications

by Ebonye Gussine Wilkins



REALIZING POSSIBILITIES FOR THE CONNECTED ECONOMY

Innovative Ideas to Tackle Extreme Inequality and Drive Enduring Prosperity

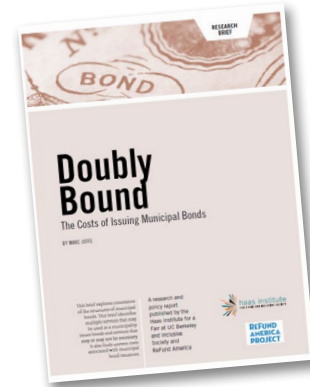
This hopeful and speculative essay was authored by Mark Gomez and argues that Americans are poised to enter a new era of enduring prosperity led by African Americans and immigrants, those who have previously been held back. The essay, released on July 4, just in time for the nation’s 239th celebration of independence, argues that a generation of tinkering by activists sparked significant gains for a modest number of workers—from industry union organizing to the San Francisco and Los Angeles \$15 wage standard campaigns—that can now be taken to scale assuring miserly paid workers economic security and strengthening an embattled middle class. The essay concludes that a ‘targeted universal’ strategy can ensure that the prosperous tech sector contributes to the economic vitality of sectors it relies on.



ADVANCING RACIAL EQUITY AND TRANSFORMING GOVERNMENT

A Resource Guide to Put Ideas into Action

The Government Alliance on Race and Equity published two new publications in the fall of 2015. “Racial Equity Toolkit: An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity” explores how racial equity tools are designed to integrate explicit consideration of racial equity in decisions, including policies, practices, programs, and budgets. Use of the racial equity tool in government can help to develop strategies and actions that reduce racial inequities and improve success for all groups. When racial equity is not explicitly brought into operations and decision-making, racial inequities are likely to be perpetuated. Racial equity tools provide a structure for institutionalizing the consideration of racial equity. Use of a racial equity tool is a critical way in which government can normalize conversations about race, operationalize new behaviors and policies, and organize to achieve racial equity.



DOUBLY BOUND

The Costs of Issuing Municipal Bonds

This report highlights some of the complexities of municipal debt. Co-published by the Just Public Finance program at the Haas Institute and the Refund America Project at the Roosevelt Institute, the report details the fees that make up the cost of issuing bonds. The report discusses how fees can be made more consistent and less arbitrary, as the costs of issuing municipal bonds lack transparency and prohibits systemic analysis. Since it is difficult to obtain information about the costs of issuances, issuers have difficulty benchmarking the costs of issuance. The study offers a number of policy interventions. These suggestions include greater cost transparency and a template for standardized reporting in order to aggregate data and help issuers in negotiation. The brief also offers suggestions on how to obtain hard-to-find data, and an opportunity to share data with interested parties.



THE US FARM BILL

Corporate Power and Structural Racialization in the United States Food System

The Haas Institute's report examining the US Farm Bill, the cornerstone of food and agricultural legislation since its inception in 1933, finds that corporate control and structural racialization within the US food system leaves marginalized communities disproportionately impacted by the agricultural policies and outcomes generated by the Farm Bill. A companion research brief Facts and Findings summarizes the main findings and solutions that are found in the full report. The report and the research brief investigate the \$956 billion US Farm Bill. The report was written by Elsadig Elsheikh and Hossein Ayazi of the Global Justice Program. The report fills a void in food and agriculture policy research by providing a comprehensive and multidimensional analysis of the US Farm Bill and lifts up a series of short-term policy interventions and long-term strategies to address the major structural barriers in the United States food system.

STRUCTURING DEVELOPMENT FOR GREATER COMMUNITY BENEFIT

Analysis of an Opportunity Model for Developing the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay

This report recommends that a public-private partnership model with a Community Development Entity (CDE) be considered. A CDE is a duly-organized entity treated as a domestic corporation or partnership that has a primary mission of serving a low-income community. If a CDE were established and secured a development contract with UCB, the model would guarantee a share of project profits are reinvested in the Richmond community. This report is part of a larger body of research exploring ways in which the development process for the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay can be structured so that the development is aligned with community well-being and leveraged to reinvest substantial resources to the Richmond community.



OTHERING & BELONGING POST-CONFERENCE REPORT

The online post-conference report from our **2015 Othering & Belonging conference**, published in August, features recaps of plenary panels and keynote addresses, attendee testimonials, and all our conference videos and photos. The report is intended to provide an entry point and overview of the conference proceedings, while also offering an inspiration for the future of belonging. The report, which can be accessed at **otheringandbelonging.org**, also includes ways that anyone building a shared space can commit to fostering belonging by offering ideas on creating fully inclusive spaces, such as offering financial assistance, embracing religious diversity, securing language interpretation services, and much more.

Renowned Disability Scholar Leaves Yale to Lead Disability Studies at UC Berkeley



THE NEW DISTINGUISHED chair of the Haas Institute Disability Studies research cluster was announced in the fall of 2015. Karen Nakamura decided to leave her esteemed position as a Professor of Anthropology and East Asian Studies at Yale University, which she said “was no easy decision,” but ultimately the offer of the new appointment at Berkeley “was literally a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity” that she couldn’t pass up.

“It is the opportunity to be part of the large community of scholars interested in disability studies in the UC system as well as the large community of disabled activists in the Bay Area,” Nakamura said “The UC has a commitment to public service that resonates strongly with my own sentiments regarding the role of public anthropology and scholarship.” She stated that her goals for the next ten years “**are to build on Berkeley’s strong tradition of humanistic disabilities studies by incorporating perspectives from the social sciences**, while also leveraging the UC’s strength in engineering, art, and design,” Nakamura said.

Katherine Sherwood, UC Berkeley Professor of Art Practice and chair of the search committee for the position, expressed awe at Nakamura’s range of interests and research. “When she arrived in our pool of candidates we were immediately impressed,” Sherwood said. “She is a perfect choice to head our cluster both for her intellectual rigor, her polymathic range of interests, and in her innate ability to lead.” Nakamura started her new position on Jan. 1, 2016. —SARA GROSSMAN

Esteemed Sociologist Joins Berkeley, Research to Focus on Coexistence in Shared Religious Spaces

KAREN BARKEY HAS forged an impressive career from a simple childhood fascination with empire. Raised in Istanbul by a Sephardic Jewish family with a long history of living in the Ottoman Empire, Barkey found herself invariably drawn to stories about the empire, which, at its most extensive, encompassed parts of Europe, Western Asia, and Africa, with significant populations of Armenians, Byzantine Greeks, Jews, and Assyrians. Barkey is currently the director of the Institute for Religion, Culture, and Public Life at Columbia University, where she is a professor of Sociology, but will be picking up her work in the fall of 2016 at UC Berkeley, where she was appointed as the new Distinguished Chair of the Haas Institute’s Religious Diversity research cluster. She will also be a faculty member in the Department of Sociology.

Barkey’s research has focused on state centralization and decentralization, and state control and social movements in the context of empires. Most recently, she studied toleration, diversity, and accommodation in the Ottoman Empire, culminating in a book, *Empire of Difference: The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*. Among many other projects, Barkey plans to complete a book shedding light on the conditions under which the sharing of sacred sites, such as churches, mosques, and synagogues, becomes possible between different religious groups. This project will delve into the everyday life of different religious groups in the Ottoman Empire, their forms of coexistence, and the meanings they attached to such mixing in religious spaces. Barkey noted that her book in part “is meant to draw lessons about the examples of coexistence and inclusion that worked well in the past and, I argue, still do in contemporary situations.” It was her early life exposure to the ideals of coexistence that piqued Barkey’s interest in learning about how multicultural societies survive and thrive. She also notes that “the move to UC Berkeley and the Haas Institute represent the culmination of the work that I have done and want to further develop.” —SARA GROSSMAN



Malo Hutson is an associate professor of City and Regional Planning at UC Berkeley, Associate Director of the Institute of Urban and Regional Planning, and a faculty member of the Haas Institute's Diversity and Health Disparities cluster. He talked to the Haas Institute about his key areas of research in community development, urban sustainable equity, the built environment, and policy and health inequities.

A CONVERSATION WITH MALO HUTSON

Interview by Sara Grossman

How did you end up doing the work you're doing today?

I have always been interested in poverty and inequality. As an undergraduate at Berkeley, I did research around these issues in Oakland. This was around the time when the tech boom took off and I remember my Economics professor saying that anyone who wants a job can get a job. But that wasn't what I saw in these communities in Oakland, where largely African American and Latino males didn't have any employment opportunities. From there I became interested in the broader, macro factors that shape our economy that lead to economic opportunities, which also affect health and well-being.

Tell us about your new book, *The Urban Struggle for Economic, Environmental, and Social Justice: Deepening Their Roots*.

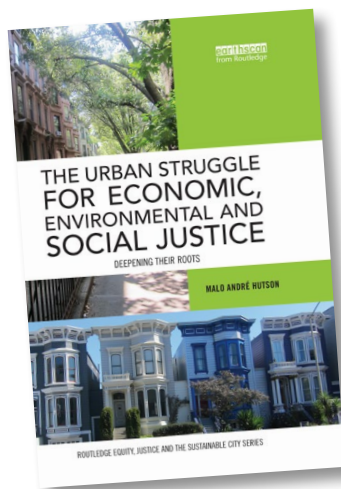
The book looks at neighborhood change and displacement in a number of cities. I conducted a case study analysis on San Francisco, Boston, New York, and Washington, DC, examining how housing prices are going up, development pressures are rising, and what impact that is happening on traditional working class or less affluent communities. These are largely communities of color where residents are organizing and forming coalitions to protest this change. I follow what's happening at both the policy level and at the grassroots level.

Much of your research centers on public health. Could you talk a bit about structures related to public health?

Let's look at major disparities in Oakland, for example. Anthony Iton, the former director and County Health Officer for the Alameda County Public Health Department used to talk about the flatland vs. the hills, illustrating that if you lived in the flatlands, your life expectancy was seven years shorter than those who lived in the hills. The factors that lead to those outcomes include things like access to good quality air, not having diesel trucks, freeways, the port—all of these things are contributing to poorer air pollution quality. There is a lack of access to healthy food or lack of investment in the area, which can lead to all sorts of negative outcomes like people hanging out where they shouldn't and being exposed to violence.

But really what it boils down to is lack of opportunity. Factors that matter for having a healthy life include things like access to education, areas to walk in and be safe, parks and open space, having access to healthy water, and access to neighbors with which you can build social networks. We see this inequality play out across the region, and much of that has to do with the ways our cities are structured. So when you think about health disparities or health inequalities, much of it has to do with the built environment, which doesn't just exist by itself, it is created by institutions, policies, and decision-makers.

A lot of discussion right now is centered on the rapid gentrification of the Bay Area. What is your take on that and what can be done to mitigate



some of the challenges that come with these changes?

We have to first look at what might be some of the larger macro causes. One cause might be global capital. We did not predict that after the Great Recession of 2008/2009, global capital would have reorganized itself and say, "Hey, cities are a great place to invest in, we can start buying up a lot of these foreclosed properties and create a generation of renters." We've seen this in a lot of cities, especially in West Oakland, where a lot of houses were bought up and are now being rented out.

But then you also have a set of policies that focus on transit-oriented development, reducing greenhouse gas emissions, like in California, which is a good idea, but that means there's no money for affordable housing. So if cities start spending money on transit, we're finding that much of this spending is going to people who already have money and access to good quality jobs, not those who need affordable housing.

The third factor in this change is the Bay Area's economy—which is

Malo Hutson's new book was released in 2015. He notes local government is a key contributor to equitable economic development. "Cities and governments need to set policies that require different types of affordable housing to be built."

seeing a large growth in knowledge-based industries, like research and development, medicine, and health. A lot of advanced manufacturing here is being outsourced. This means that the jobs that are available are either on the higher end, paying very well, or they are service sector jobs to support those high-end jobs. So that's a problem. Where this is happening, in places like San Francisco or Boston, cost of living goes up and the poor are moving further and further away. Once you start to be on the outskirts, your political power goes down, your ability even just to protest, to have a voice is greatly limited and that's what I see happening.

So what can be done?

What do we do about it? One is that we have to build way more housing than we're doing and we have to think about this in an equitable way. Equitable economic development means we can't just rely on the market. Cities and governments need to set policies that require different types of affordable housing to be built. They can create incentives, they can do quite a bit. ■



By Sara Grossman

VOTING RIGHTS *for the* INCARCERATED & IMMIGRANTS

WITHIN THE TWO SYSTEMS OF INCARCERATION AND IMMIGRATION—AT TIMES REFERRED TO AS THE DOUBLE IS—INCLUSIVE CIVIC PARTICIPATION, INCLUDING THE RIGHT TO VOTE, SPEAKS TO WHAT IT MEANS TO BE A FLOURISHING DEMOCRACY.

HE PAYS TAXES, volunteers in his community, and is gainfully employed, but still his voice remains unheard.

Although today he could be on a politician's reelection campaign poster, Gary Malachi Scott was once on the wrong side of the law. At 13, he joined a gang in South Los Angeles, and by 15 was convicted of murder, ultimately spending more than a decade in prison.

But Scott has come a long way since his troubled adolescence, which was an all-too-familiar story of poverty and violence. It's been three years since his release, and Scott is

dedicated to staying out of trouble and helping others do the same.

Scott is one of nearly six million American citizens who are not allowed to vote as the result of criminal convictions. While this may seem like a normal part of modern society, the United States stands alone amongst its western counterparts in barring former and current offenders from voting. In fact, for about a century, most states in the United States had no restrictions on prisoner voting. A 2003 study by Angela Behrens, Christopher Uggen, and Jeff Manza, for example, found that state

felony voting bans only became widespread in the 1860s and 1870s—just after the 15th Amendment was passed, strengthening Black Americans access to the right to vote. And the two states that currently allow prisoners to vote without restriction, Vermont and Maine, are also two of the whitest.

As with many things, the US is the exception when in its commitment to denying basic civic rights to those deemed unworthy of inclusion in society. “At the end of the day, we pay taxes, and are in some ways considered citizens,” Scott reflected during a recent phone call. “But in the specific way of voting, we are not recognized.”

It’s not just prisoners. Many immigrant voices are also denied the right to be heard, particularly in local policy decisions that directly affect them, such as those involving school boards or city councils. While they may not have been born in this country, immigrants are deeply intertwined with American society.

Like incarcerated populations, excluding immigrants from voting in local elections has not been the historical norm throughout much of US history. Immigrants enjoyed a strong voice in America’s early history in helping decide policy decisions. According to Kathleen Coll, Assistant Professor of Politics at the University of San Francisco, starting in colonial times, non-citizens had the right to vote at the local and state level in 42 states and territories.

“This was because in many parts of the US, immigrants were regarded as future citizens,” Coll said. “The practice of voting at the local level

was seen as a way to train future citizens to vote on national level and also seen as a way for citizen-born children of immigrant parents to learn democratic practices in the home.”

By expanding access to basic democratic norms to some of society’s most marginalized, including immigrants and felons, a state or municipality can better meet the needs of all its residents, no matter their status. Such policy moves are not merely ideological—inclusion and acceptance are two important steps towards a safer and healthier space for all.

“We live in a democracy that is predicated on the notion that the most important good that we distribute or withhold in our society

The practice of voting at the local level is seen as a way to train future citizens to vote at the national level.

is membership,” said Haas Institute Director John A. Powell, who is also a civil rights scholar and professor of law at UC Berkeley. “What we’ve done with certain populations is to say, ‘You don’t belong. This is not your system.’”

“And when people don’t belong, all kinds of bad things happen,” Powell added.

As an undocumented immigrant from South Korea, the life experiences of Ju Hong illustrated the negative things that can happen when one feels like they don’t belong. A few years ago, Hong came home to find his windows shattered and his belongings gone.

“I freaked out,” Hong recalled. “I was really terrified about what was

going on, which was clearly a burglary, and told my family to call the cops to report the incident.”

Yet a deep fear of authorities—and specifically law enforcement—stopped Hong’s mother from making that call. She would rather live in fear of crime than face the possibility of separation from her children.

Her fear is shared by millions of immigrants nationwide.

“In the community there are people that are afraid to ask for help because they are enormously insecure about the consequences that [might] come,” said Teresa Gutierrez, a volunteer leader for Faith in New York, an interfaith federation of congregations that supports social justice causes. Gutierrez works with the largely immigrant Spanish-speak-

ing community in the Sunset Park neighborhood of New York.

A number of states have recognized the problems with the enforcement of exclusion, and have taken steps to ease these complications. As of July 2015, 10 states, along with Puerto Rico and Washington DC, have issued driver’s licenses without limitation based upon immigration status.

These policies have had a direct and positive impact on the lives of people like Hong.

“Because I have a state ID, even if I get stopped I have less fear when dealing with police officers,” Hong said. “I’m more comfortable going to police stations, and going to council meetings. [Without it], I



would try to not contact police officers and would feel less protected.”

Inclusive policies are to the benefit of everyone, immigrants and citizens alike.

Although the United States is currently witnessing a disturbingly high-pitched resurgence in xenophobic rhetoric, male immigrants enjoyed the privilege of state voting rights for nearly a century. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, for example, male immigrants from places like Germany were granted automatic state voting rights upon arrival. Ironically, such voting rights for immigrants existed even as a majority of American citizens lacked such a right. Women and people of color would not be granted the right to vote for over a century.

However, as immigrants from “less desirable” places (read: less white) began to enter the country in greater numbers, a number of states began rolling back or restricting access to the vote. In some cases, as in certain Midwestern states, restricting the right to vote was in reaction to the possible enfranchisement of women and men of color, Coll said. In other cases it was related to concerns that immigrants were less favorable towards slavery and might vote to end the practice. Perhaps most tellingly, Alabama was the last state to restrict immigrants’ right to vote, probably because immigrants did not play a large role in that region, Coll said.

“Citizenship and voting have never been synonymous, despite contemporary belief that it is an exclusive right of citizenship,” Coll said.

Today’s immigrants, both legal

Today's immigrants, both legal and undocumented, find themselves voiceless, even as they contribute heavily to the economic, cultural, and social richness of their communities.



Ju Hong

and undocumented, find themselves voiceless, even as they contribute heavily to the economic, cultural, and social richness of their communities.

However, a number of forward-thinking states and cities have started realizing the value of expanding inclusion for immigrants, and have begun to make steps towards this end.

“An increasing number of towns and cities see the full integration of immigrant residents as a positive good for the whole community,” Coll said. “For example, increasing parent involvement and community support for public schools is seen as benefiting everyone. Sharing the vote at the local level is a positive way to increase civic engagement amongst citizens and future citizens alike.”

The Chicago School Board is perhaps one of the clearest examples of the benefits of inclusive policy. The Chicago School Reform Act of 1988 established local school councils for every school in the city and ensured that all parents, regardless of citizenship, be eligible to participate and vote. In Chicago, non-citizens have a seat at the table.

Such forms of “local citizenship” emphasize residency, participation, and the right of community members to participate fully. “If children are in school and their parents are engaged, school quality will be better,” Coll said.

The “radical” notion of immigrant voting is not so radical in other parts of the world. Lithuania, Slovenia, Belgium, Sweden, and the Netherlands

allow all resident foreigners, no matter their country of origin, to vote in local elections.

Other forms of non-citizen voting also exist elsewhere within the European Union, such as the United Kingdom’s policy of enfranchising Commonwealth citizens for all national elections.

According to a 2008 paper from the Transatlantic Council on Migration, proponents of non-citizen voting have put forward a number of compelling arguments in favor of extending such rights.

Some of the most persuasive points include the (very American) notion of not taxing people without allowing them representation, and promoting greater political participation for the whole community. Furthermore, the paper concludes, there is no evidence that allowing non-citizens to vote in such a matter leads to negative outcomes.

“Once governments grant local voting rights, these rights never appear as a source of serious conflict. Apparently, most politicians in the countries concerned find that the advantages outweigh any disadvantages,” wrote the author of the paper. “Sharing political power with an additional group may be symbolically painful, but in reality power sharing only marginally reduces the power of old voters.”

“We have people who have been here for decades who are in our schools and our hospitals—we should acknowledge their humanity, that they are part of us,” noted **John A. Powell**. “Institutionalized exclusion has been the scourge of this country. Our history can be written about who belongs.”

If any group exemplifies those who current US policies treat as not belonging, it's prisoners.

It is often accepted that those who have wronged deserve the greatest degree of humiliation and dehumanization. Perhaps, some may think, "this is what they deserve."

But both historical references and examples set by our closest allies would urge us to reexamine the logic behind this thinking, which is largely based on retribution. Many studies point to another philosophy on criminal justice which is often based in the opposite spirit—that of rehabilitation and prudence.

In Europe, most nations either allow all prisoners to vote or disqualify only a small percentage. Some countries like Germany actually encourage prisoners to exercise their right to vote, either in the district of their previous residence or the district in which they are incarcerated. Both approaches recognize the inherent human right of prisoners to participate in civic life despite their incarcerated status.

Berkeley Law Professor **Jonathan Simon** is an expert on mass incarceration and has studied civil rights and prisons. He can recall his own skepticism towards the policy of allowing prisoners to vote, when he encountered it in Europe. Yet Simon quickly saw the value of allowing such expression, for both the larger society and individual prisoners, many of whom will eventually be released back into society, like Gary Malachi Scott.

"When you recognize people's human dignity in an expressive way, the research suggests that not only do people express greater satisfac-

tion with the legal system, but research has shown that it seems to produce a robust positive motivation to obey the law," he said. "In this way, people see the law as more legitimate."

Malachi Scott echoed this perspective, adding that enfranchisement can be a form of acknowledgement and investment in those behind bars.

"When people from the outside invest in the incarcerated, it tells the incarcerated that they're still connected, that they still belong to the community," Scott noted.

Furthermore, Simon said, contrary to what many assume, "Most prisoners don't support crazy policies—most are just as oriented towards law and order as anyone else. In fact," he continued, "most prisoners in Europe vote for the same parties that people with their same ethnic and class background vote for outside of prison. We could expect the same here. Prisoners don't have a class interest; no politician could put together a winning electorate by appealing to the prison class."

The disenfranchisement of prisoners and ex-prisoners cannot be discussed without also including an exploration of the racial dimensions. Felons only began to lose the right to vote as the Black prison population began to increase (often due to unfair sentencing laws), and states looked for new ways to silence the Black voice.

According to Brett Staples of the *New York Times*, the white supremacists who introduced such disen-

When people from the outside invest in the incarcerated, it tells the incarcerated that they're still connected, that they still belong to the community.

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franchisement policies were quite open with their intentions. According to Staples, in 1894 a newspaper in South Carolina claimed that voting laws needed to be changed to address the burgeoning Black vote. In 1901, Alabama's constitution was amended to disenfranchise all those who had been found guilty of crimes involving "moral turpitude."

After the Civil War, Congress passed amendments to the US Constitution that were meant to prevent the return of slavery or the denial of civil rights to former slaves, Simon added. "These amendments forced the white elite to abandon their early effort at entirely unequal legal codes for Blacks and whites and instead to rely on the unequal application of formally equal laws," he said.

Whites might face felony charges for murder, robbery, and rape, but Black Americans were singled out for enforcement of these low level felonies. "The result was not only lifetime voting bans on the people felonized, but the opportunity for white capitalists to exploit a new pool of slave labor made available by the new system of 'convict lease,' which spared the state the expense of building prisons and instead rented out prisoners as slaves," Simon added.

The racialized dimension of

disenfranchisement is backed up by the data. According to the 2003 paper on state felony bans, "large nonwhite prison populations increase the odds of passing restrictive laws, and, further, that prison and state racial composition may be linked to the adoption of re-enfranchisement reforms."

Today, one in every thirteen Black adults is disenfranchised nationwide. If America's rates of mass incarceration continue, it is estimated that three in ten Black men will lose the right to vote at some point during their lifetimes, as reported by the Sentencing Project. More broadly, the American Civil Liberties Union has estimated that more than million Americans who are not currently behind bars cannot vote because of past criminal convictions.

Fundamentally, questions of voting rights are emblematic of larger issues surrounding who should be included in our society and if it should matter that people are treated as if they belong.

According to Kathleen Coll of the University of San Francisco, notions of enfranchisement and inclusion speak to what it means to be "a flourishing democracy in a world that is

multicultural."

"Just looking at peer nations in Europe and Australia, there are many examples where newcomers or long-term residents are included in democracy," she said. "Civic engagement is positive for the entire community."

John Powell expanded on that notion, adding that such inclusion is a "radical notion of the system." "If we are equal and we self govern, the system belongs to us," he said. "That's the way we structure not just our politics, but the whole idea of democracy. The whole idea of democracy is that it serves the people." ■

By Ebonye Gussine Wilkins

women & stem } IT'S NOT JUST A NUMBERS PROBLEM

Women have been problem solvers as long as women have existed. The representation of women in **science, technology, engineering, and math** fields—known as **STEM**—is a problem that not only has not been solved, but also needs better solutions. And it's much easier to resolve an issue when the people who have solutions are also allowed at the problem-solving table.



WHEN IT COMES TO WOMEN IN STEM, there is a lot of talk of pipeline, bias, and unequal earnings. While these aspects are important parts of the picture, stories of women in STEM cannot be told without addressing a fundamental and core issue—inclusion.

Women make up 48 percent of the total work force, yet only 24 percent of STEM workers. With the tech industry booming, women still only account for 27 percent of employees in computer science and math positions. In the physical and life sciences, just 25 percent are managers.

While in 2009 there were 6.7 million college-educated men working in STEM, there were only 2.5 million college-educated women working in STEM. Additionally, for every dollar earned by a man, a woman in the same industry only earned 86 cents, a 14 percent gender wage gap.

“Pipeline” is a buzz word that surrounds the question of women in STEM. Many experts agree educational disparities begin during the K-12 years. Computer science, for example, is taught in only one in four schools in the United States, according to code.org, although the same survey revealed that 91 percent of parents want their children to learn computer programming.

There also is a deep lack of media and cultural representation around women and people of color in STEM. While there was the 1990s hit sitcom *A Different World*—featuring a Black male college student studying mathematics—and *Family Matters*—showcasing a quirky young Black character named Stephen Q. Urkel as someone intensely and unapologetically interested in the sciences—these figures were men.

While it is important to encourage students of color to pursue work in STEM, it is critical to make sure that girls and women see themselves represented in cultural milieus as well. Some media and toy markets that girls of color are beginning to shift. One notable cartoon, *Doc McStuffins*, features a young Black girl treating the “illnesses” that her toys have,



Most of the photos in this article are printed with permission from an initiative called #WOCinTech. The creators of the stock photo images, available for wide use, noted on their site that, “just as white women have been the default ‘woman’ in technology and American society as a whole, we believe the underlying belief of what it means to be — and who can be — a tech worker in the 21st century can benefit from this form of ‘disruption.’” For more information visit www.wocintechchat.com/blog/wocintechphotos.

similar to the way that her mother—a doctor—treats her patients. There is also a TV series called *Project MC2* that features girls of all colors who are interested in math, science, technology, and engineering. A product line of dolls feature images of the television characters and wear t-shirts with captions such as “I am the sharpest pencil in the box” and “I’m smart, get over it.”

Another culture maker working to challenge the way children of color are exposed to careers in STEM is **Christopher Emdin** of Teachers College, Columbia University, who is using Hip Hop music to teach science to boys and girls. He notes that for many children, including girls of color, Hip Hop is a part of their identity, and therefore an important tool to reach these children where they live, learn, and engage.

But culture and media are also arenas where bias plays an important role. Bias comes in many different forms. According to “Gender Bias: Against Women of Color in Science,” there are four types of gender bias, and they affect all women of color. Biases include the prove-it-again bias, the tightrope bias, the maternal wall, and, tug of war. These biases can create an atmosphere, both in school and in the workforce, that make it unpleasant at best, but violent at worst.

Violence directed against females getting an education is worldwide and not central to any one part of the world. In countless situations, women and girls have been barred from getting an education or punished for doing so. A famous example was the 2014 kidnapping of almost 300 school girls in Nigeria, another the “Montreal Massacre” in 1989 at

École Polytechnique, where fourteen women were killed, twelve of them engineering students, one a nursing student, and one an employee of the school. During the first part of the massacre, the women were separated from the men students before being shot. And one of the most noted

cases of violent retaliation was Nobel Laureate Malala Yousafzai, who was banned from school, threatened, and then nearly assassinated for exercising her right to an education.

These occurrences highlight a disturbing pattern that affect a fundamental issue: the simple right to



education for women.

While some of the above examples are extreme, biases range from subtle to overt and don't just happen in the educational system but carry over in the workforce.

Christine Medina, a Latina biomedical engineer, decided to study engineering, choosing it because it combined two things that she really liked: math and science. After graduating college, she worked in office supply corporate sales for a year before switching to project management in the oil and gas industry. She recalled several times where she was incorrectly assumed to have achieved her status by means other than merit and education. Sexual harassment dotted her professional experience. She said, "Oftentimes you might get harassed by the same group of people every day, multiple

times a day. If you go to HR every time, they won't take you seriously." While she was able to shut down unsavory comments, she noted that not all of her female colleagues had success doing the same.

She also talked about being told that she "stuck out like a sore thumb" and "looked like she didn't belong." She was one of only a small handful of women of color in her office. She felt that her height and race were always on display. She did have one high-ranking female mentor when she started her job, but it was only short-term.

Aryanne Ferguson, an African-American mathematician who works at NASA, discovered her interest for math after realizing that the world wasn't just black and white, but was shades of grey. She said, "As I got older, the shades of gray started kicking in, and I no longer knew the right answer or the wrong answer. Except in math. In calculus or number theory, I liked that there was always

a right answer, and I found comfort in the systematic ways that math requires a person to progress from question to answer."

She mentioned the most important aspect of her education in STEM was that it taught her how to use reasoning skills to break down complicated problems into solvable pieces. "Years of problem sets also gave me the patience to work at a problem until it's solved. Those are skills that I use every day in my position [at NASA]."

Both women did not want to be constrained by the traditions of their fields. But in the face of other challenges and barriers that appear, working against the current can take a toll on any woman.



Pushing through the barriers on the long road to working as a woman in the STEM fields can come at a cost to mental health. When women constantly get messages of not being accepted, that their best isn't good enough, and that they will always be challenged in ways that have nothing to do with talent and ability, it can eat away at self-esteem and confidence. **Dr. Amani Nuru-Jeter**, Associate Professor of Epidemiology, Community Health and Human Development at UC Berkeley, who studies the particular impact of trauma and stress in the experiences of Black females, said, "There can certainly be a tendency to push forward... to be a 'strong Black woman' and to push through the obstacles, often in conjunction with lack of self-care. Superwomen

schema, a construct that was developed by a scholar at the University of North Carolina, UNC (C. Woods-Giscombe), touches on this and is currently being used to investigate associations with both mental and physical health and well-being."

Nuru-Jeter shared her experience: "As a member of the University Committee on Affirmative Action, Diversity, and Equity, a lack of adequate professional support and mentorship plays an important role in people of color, especially women, leaving the STEM fields in spite of their aspirations to pursue STEM fields and careers. Anecdotally, I can say that there is certainly some racial discrimination at play and that can manifest in several ways, one of which is lack of mentorship, lack of, or at best limited opportunities, social isolation and more direct efforts to dissuade students from pursuing STEM fields in favor of the social sciences."

Women in STEM may feel this

way because of the lack of value that is placed on their presence and their work. When their contributions are ignored or stolen, when their thoughts are dismissed, and when their bodies are treated as if they do not belong, it is difficult to hold fast to their value. These feelings alone have very real consequences, and it is important to recognize how people and institutions can perpetuate a feeling of non-value. Diversity and inclusion efforts can throw people into situations where co-workers or co-learners have not fully adjusted to alternative perspectives, especially in male-dominated fields. This can lead to people with the best of intentions saying or doing something that can alienate or hurt



another individual on a level that cuts even more deeply.

To effectively reject a feeling of non-value and begin the healing/repairing process, five factors must be met. According to **Rajkumari Neogy**, founder of iRestart and the Disruptive Diversity coaching framework, the five factors are: integrity, participation, trust, connection, and support. Neogy notes that connection is one of the most important elements because: “I can’t bond with you (connection), because I can’t trust you (trust), because you have no idea what I am going through (participation) because you can’t see me (integrity).” Neogy supports this framework with correlations to the brain that bridges the reality of the situation with the neurobiology which makes it possible.

The healing/repairing process is critical to mending the schisms between what diversity and inclusion might look like in STEM and what women actually experience while studying and working in these fields.

In the area of inclusion and representation, there are people who are directly targeting girls. **Kimberly Bryant**, founder of **Black Girls Code** in San Francisco, works with a team to set up classes and workshops for girls aged 7-17 to learn coding, in order to give them a competitive advantage and to help to bridge the “digital divide”—the gap between those with regular access to technology and those without. Bryant is in the process of building a “Black Boys Code” program as well.

WiSE (**Women in Science & Engineering**) has a pilot program called “WiSE Women of Color in



STEM” which will launch a “new series of undergraduate programs called Excellence in STEM programs (ESP) ... that will support WiSE’s mission to support the achievement of excellence in STEM and persistence towards graduation while fostering a ‘I can do it’ attitude.”

At the graduate level, UC Berkeley has a program that works to bridge the gap to channel more people of color, into the science, math, technology, and engineering. **Diana Lizarraga**, Director of **Cal NERDS** (a diversity-in-STEM program at UC Berkeley) believes that to get more women of color into STEM graduate programs, a hybrid opportunity needs to be pursued by both universities/recruiters and students. Strong relationships between the students and the universities need to be built and maintained. These relationships can mean the difference between a successful time in graduate school and later the work force.

But the reality remains that for many women, the qualifications aren’t enough. Relationships are key and in that arena non-whites are at a distinct disadvantage. People of color are often situated differently in society and require different means to reach the same goals as their white counterparts. This can mean economic, cultural, social, and physical differences can be essential to other people of color outside of STEM, because they may not have the same opportunities and advan-

tages as their counterparts.

To help bridge these gaps, Lizarraga and her team work to give the graduate students training in social media and creating their digital profile, which helps lessen the digital divide. Her students get guidance on poster presentations and application materials. The students are also learning to build and leverage relationships, and are assisted with tools such as headshots, professional attire that help give them the confidence to navigate the fields that are still slow to accept them. For Lizarraga, these barriers, and the corresponding fears, are mitigated because the students of color in STEM will be working and advancing on the same playing field as their white counterparts.

Lizarraga frequently asks her students “**What do you see? What is your vision? What do you want?**”

With the groundwork being done by so many scholars, professionals, and advocates, the answer could be, “I will contribute to the field in my way and on my terms.” ■

By Stephen Menendian

RACE IN LITERATURE IN 2015



1900

1950

2015

TWO OF THE MOST important books on race released in 2015, the exhumed novel, *Go Set A Watchman*, Harper Lee's sequel to the award-winning classic, *To Kill a Mockingbird*, and journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates' long-form letter to his teenage son, *Between the World and Me*, were published the same day. This historical footnote is all the more remarkable given that neither book was originally slated for release that day.

Both books speak forcefully and poignantly on race in the United States, although from very different perspectives and starting points. Their journey—as well as their content—reveals something about our evolving understanding of racial equality and racial justice in the final years of the Obama era.

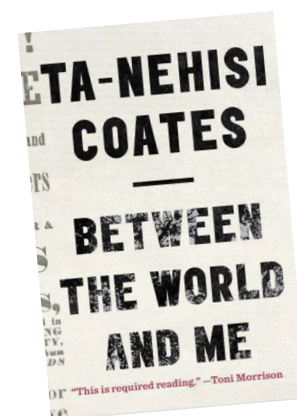
Between the World and Me confronts, if not exposes to many readers, the realities of race in twenty-first century America. This includes both moments of daily peril—such as driving while Black or a tense moment in a movie theater—and the larger structures of oppression embedded in American society. Coates interrogates the delusions of “White America” and the “dreamers” who, turning the conceit of the American Dream on its head, pursue a life that too often excludes people of color. Coates offers not only a sharp historical analysis, but also an overwhelming array of insights and experiences

that fix the mind on contemporary events with resonating force.

Composed partly as a memoir, the book is less an argument than a gestalt, which, through the lens of a journalist in full command of his abilities, changes the way that the reader views the world. It is little wonder that Coates and his book were showered with honors. *Between the World and Me* was not only selected as the National Book Award winner for non-fiction, but Coates was awarded a prestigious MacArthur “genius” grant as well.

Just as the themes, issues, and vivid experiences conveyed in *Between the World and Me* explain its earlier-than-planned release, the contents of *Go Set A Watchman* also offer insight as to why it was not published in the intervening decades. The novel, also laced with autobiographical elements, was structured around a development so shocking that it not only changes the way we regard one of our greatest literary heroes, but fundamentally challenges our understanding of racial progress and racial justice more broadly.

The novel begins when Jean Louis Finch (aka Scout), now a young woman in her mid-20s living in New York, returns home to Maycomb, Alabama, for a vacation with her family, including her father, the legendary but ailing Atticus Finch. She arrives in the wake of the Supreme Court's *Brown v.*



Board of Education decision and a simmering debate in her hometown that triggers a series of events and confrontations between herself and family members.

Having grown up idolizing her family, Jean Louis's distress mounts from the unmasked and latent racism she discovers in her hometown and her family. Her disillusionment serves as the impetus for personal growth and a deeper understanding of race in America to parallel Coates' searing vision.

A poetic and enchanting read, the novel's power emanates, in no small part, from the central place in American hearts and minds that Atticus Finch occupies. Ranked by the American Film Institute as the greatest film hero in American history, Atticus Finch is no less heroic in the novel the film was based on. His courage in representing an unjustly accused Black man in a criminal trial and in fending off an angry lynch mob forms a collective memory for millions of Americans of all ages.

The principle most associated with Atticus Finch is that of individual empathy and interpersonal fairness. In perhaps the most memorable line in the book, Atticus counsels his daughter on empathy, telling her that, "you never really know a man until you stand in his shoes and walk around in them." Yet a deeper understanding of structural racism illustrates the limits of promoting interpersonal equality.

In *Go Set a Watchman*, Atticus Finch's personal prejudices are center stage. Atticus expresses not only opposition to *Brown v. Board*, but also privately-held beliefs about the backwardness of his fellow Black citizens. To be sure, Atticus Finch's characterization and public behavior in *Go Set a Watchman* is no different

to that in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, a model Southern gentleman. Although he is an ardent defender of equal justice under the law in terms of basic civil rights and the right to a fair trial, he nonetheless opposes the Supreme Court's integration mandate in the *Brown* decision, viewing it as unprincipled judicial overreach.

In retrospect, we must note that nothing in *To Kill a Mockingbird* suggested that Atticus Finch would have opposed segregation, a point that Malcolm Gladwell illustrates in an insightful article for the *New*

Yorker a few years ago on the limits of Southern white liberalism. In fact, Gladwell argued that Atticus Finch, like most moderate white Southerners, although disdainful of the kind of racism found in a Klan rally, would not have been integrationists, citing Governor James Folsom as a historical example.

Just as Coates' book release date was moved up because of its relevance to contemporary events, I found *Go Set a Watchman's* arrival similarly fitting. For a society that has long viewed racism as an interpersonal event, the structural dimensions have dramatically lurched into broader public view in the last few years. Segregation, both historical and contemporary, illustrates a deeper structural dimension to racial inequality that cannot be resolved simply by treating people well or fairly. Ending racial prejudice or even fighting for a fair trial does not solve structural racism, and it is this fact that *Go Set a Watchman* illuminates to an audience that has long regarded Atticus Finch as a paragon

of moral and civic virtue.

Finch's fall may partly explain why the novel remained unpublished for so long. This fall from grace, however, is necessary—albeit painful—for our collective growth. Confronting and reconciling our understanding of him serves to challenge the American understanding of racism as merely an inter-

These two books arrive from different contexts and historical origins, yet they converge at the same point, educating the readers and the public in ways that are remarkably consistent, if different in the particulars.

personal event, as if solving racism was as simple as changing hearts and minds. Without 50 years of the celebrated Atticus that we knew in *To Kill a Mockingbird*, this lesson would not be nearly as poignant.

Literature has long played a critical role in advancing social justice by generating empathetic perspectives, in helping us see the world through someone else's eyes (even as Pecola Breedlove wishes hers were blue) and by revealing injustices we may have been blind toward. These two books arrive from different contexts and historical origins, yet they converge at the same point, educating the readers and the public in ways that are remarkably consistent, if different in the particulars.

Published on the same day of the same year, yet expanding across the generations from the past of pre-*Brown* Alabama to the future of Coates' son's young adulthood, these books not only challenge and linger with any reader who picks them up, but also change the way that millions of Americans think about race. ■



I AM WHAT I AM

Talking with Writer Rabih Alameddine

Haas Institute researcher Nadia Barhoum was a guest interviewer on *Arabology*, the KZSU 90.1 FM radio show hosted by Ramzi Salti, where they both talked with Rabih Alameddine, a Lebanese American writer and painter.

Alameddine's newest book, *An Unnecessary Woman*, has won multiple honors, including winner of the 2014 California Book Award and finalist for the National Book Critics Circle Award. Here Alameddine discusses the navigation of cultural divides, writing a woman's perspective, and being considered an inspiration.

This is an abridged version of this interview and has been edited for clarity and brevity. Access the full audio and written transcript on haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/alameddine.

[Nadia Barhoum]: I know you started publishing later in your life, so I wanted to hear more about your path to becoming a writer and how.

I've told this story so many times, so it becomes a story more than a reality in some ways. Let's see. I've always wanted to be a writer. When I was four, my father asked me what I wanted to do with my life and I said I wanted to be a writer. Of course at the time, writing was Superman and Batman comics. But I did it for a long time, which I think is great... How I started writing was being frustrated with reading books that did not reflect my experience particularly being an Arab and a gay man during the AIDS crisis.

I want to understand more about how you grapple living between two worlds of the Arab and West and how you're able to navigate those differences.

I remember when I first came to the US [to UCLA] and I was 17. I was taken in by a group of Lebanese friends. We did everything together,

that it got to a point I had no American friends. I was not involved in American culture to speak of, even though I lived here. When I applied for grad school, I came here and for a while I didn't have any Lebanese friends and it was primarily to see what it would be like to be an American.

But somewhere along the line, the two integrated—and I don't mean that I did not become an American, or I did not become Lebanese. The dichotomy left, because I became sort of my own person. I no longer cared to listen to this or to listen to that. I still think it's really important when there is a part that collates and at that time specifically, when I wrote in Lebanon, I belonged. In America, I fit but do not belong. But in Lebanon I belong, but I do not fit.

I still feel that way in some ways because I'm neither here nor there, but I'm both here and there. But for me that's how I integrated. I don't know how it's done for other people. But I don't

particularly care what one culture says is okay and what culture says is not okay. I am my own culture.

There are so many stereotypes that we must fight against, as Arabs are the ultimate “Other” right now in this country. And because of that, I’m wondering how you’re trying to challenge those stereotypes?

I don't think I consciously try to challenge stereotypes. My existence is a challenge to stereotypes. I don't consider myself a political writer. **I don't sit down to write something politically or to challenge stereotypes. Being who I am, almost everything I do will be political, almost everything I do will be a challenge to those stereotypes.** So, in having a conscious decision to do something like that becomes an interference in the story. For me, the story is paramount. But I don't think I've written a story that did not challenge stereotypes. It's almost a circular thing.

An *Unnecessary Woman* feels like it wasn't written by a man. I want to know how you were able to authentically represent and be the voice of a woman.

It was not written by a man. It was written by me. I mean the trouble is that we think of the separation—of, “this is a man and this is a woman.” That kind of dichotomy for me never really existed. I did not write a book about a woman. I wrote a book about Aaliya. So this book is Rabih writing about Aaliya. It's not a man writing about a woman. I do not represent all men. Aaliya does not represent all women. It's just a single person writing about another single person. My whole object of writing in a character is making her real. I do not sit down and think, “Oh, how can I make this character real as a woman?” No. I sit down to think, “How can I make Aaliya real, come to life? So, that's how it's done.

I don't know how a man would do such a thing. I know how I would do such a thing, and that's a big difference.

[Ramzi Salti]: Something I was asked to ask you by several people, especially from young men living in the Middle East—if Rabih Alameddine was able to live in America as an openly gay man, that gives them hope that they can do the same. How do you feel when you hear such statements?

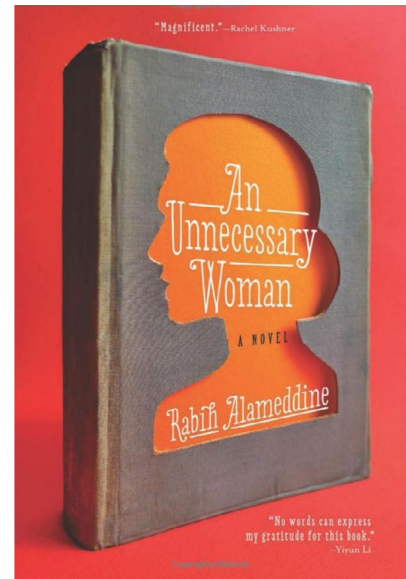
It makes me uncomfortable. I can't even begin to imagine that I'm an example to somebody, but I also don't think it's about me being gay in America. I was gay in Lebanon. (Actually, I sometimes joke that I'm not gay, I'm grumpy.) But it's not that I am something here and something else there—I am what I am. That I'm an inspiration for somebody—that is beyond me. Really, I have issues. I never leave the house. I'm at home most of the time. I can't find a date. All that lovely stuff. So anybody who looks up to me is, I think, you really need to go out more. And this is not modesty. Like everybody, I have my issues and I of course think that mine are a lot more troublesome than most other people, and I envy most people.

[Nadia Barhoum]: When I read your books, it does give me a sense of belonging that...

Which is funny because I don't belong!

But because you don't belong, doesn't that create belonging for us?

Maybe. Again, I don't know how a reader would experience my books because I'm not reading them. So I really don't know. But again, I have issues with belonging and not fitting in and being the outsider all the time. Anybody who finds inspiration from that, I find strange. What is interesting is that I don't



Of his multiple award-winning book *An Unnecessary Woman*, Alameddine says, “It was not written by a man. It was written by me...the trouble is that we think of the separation—of, ‘this is a man and this is a woman.’ That kind of dichotomy for me never really existed. I did not write a book about a woman. I wrote a book about Aaliya.”

have that relationship with any writer. I have many writers that I admire, and I think very highly of them. But I don't get inspired in the same way by them.

You grew up in the Arab world and you live here now in the US, but you choose to write in English. I just want to know what your relationship to language is?

I choose to write in English because it is the only language that I can write in. I do speak Arabic and I do write it, but as you probably know, the Arabic education in Lebanon is horrific. We don't care to teach Arabic in Lebanon. I watch my nephew and niece [in Lebanon]—they're not

allowed to speak Arabic in school, they're supposed to speak French, because that's the mark of sophistication. It's a remnant from colonial times in our part of the world, and I don't think that Lebanon, or any other place, actually wishes colonialism to come back. So no, I was taught Arabic, but I was taught mediocre Arabic.

Which of your books have been translated into Arabic?

The one that was just banned!

Please tell us a little bit about that.

My first book *Koolaid's* was bought by a publishing house and was translated really badly and it never came out because the translator refused to put his name on the book. He was so terrified, and they wanted me to cut out any reference to Syria. So I refused and it never came out. And then *Hakawati* was bought, and I got an email from the publishing house that was in Dubai and (because apparently they bought it without reading it), it said, "The translator said that the book has sex. We can not do this. The writer will understand." So finally *I, the Divine* was translated and I think that's my least controversial book. Although you know, I had one publisher say that it was the most insidiously controversial book, and I agree with that. But it was just banned in Kuwait. Yay!

You were sort of gloating about that (on social media) but don't you think in a way it is tragic all these readers will...

Of course it's tragic! But also, I grew up in Lebanon and **whenever something got banned, believe me, we could get it.** The trouble is it won't be in bookstores so people won't even know about it. But I think whenever there is censorship, one must get censored, otherwise you're just diddling around. One

of the biggest issues in our part of the world is censorship. So to be censored means that I am doing something that is right, and that's a big deal.

I think achieving comedy in writing is one of the most difficult tasks possible. And yet, I found myself laughing throughout *Koolaid's* despite all the tragedy and suffering, you still find yourself laughing out loud. Is that something you're trying to do or are you unintentionally funny?

No. One does not try to be funny, because if you try, you fail. No, I don't try to be funny. See there's something in Arabic that we don't have in English which is, what we say, *khafeef al dam* and that is a big deal for me because the opposite is *thaqeel al dam*, and that in writing is unbearable.

I know a lot of writers that are well respected that I cannot read because they're very serious, but at the same time they're *thaqeel al dam*—they are unbearable. Like, please! My first response is always, "Get an enema, you know, just get over it." So let's just say I write as if I've just had an enema. It's not about being funny, although it will come out sometimes as being funny, but it's about being light. And I don't mean light as in airy fairy. In the bleakest time, in the worst times possible, the only thing that makes us human is the ability to make fun of it.

If you hadn't read "____" book, you wouldn't have become a writer.

V.S. Naipaul's *A House for Mr. Biswas*. What was important was that it was the first time I read a book about, for a lack of a better world, brown people. Like me. That we, from the third world, could be the main protagonists of a novel. So Naipaul, and why I will always love him, even though he is a big jerk, is that he is an amazing writer. What was truly outstanding for someone

like me is he basically said that my story is important enough just like an American's or a white Englishman's or just like a Frenchman's. We



Nadia Barhoum with author Rabih Alameddine

could be the protagonists of a novel by Balzac. And Naguib Mahfouz did the same thing later... For me, the first time was when I was sixteen and it was Naipaul. We are important enough and that was a big deal for me.

***Koolaid's* was like that for me. It was the first time I picked up a book and said "Wow, this is the book I have been waiting to read my whole life" and I think it's so important to have someone like you...your writing has been transformative in so many ways. In a time when our narratives have been so co-opted and marginalized, it's just so refreshing and important to have your work out there for us.**

Thank you. My response for that is: Don't read my work, go out there and make your own narratives. ■

ACTIVITIES

HAAS INSTITUTE FACULTY CLUSTERS

MAJOR ACTIVITIES, PRESENTATIONS, AND PUBLICATIONS FROM
HAAS INSTITUTE AFFILIATED FACULTY FROM JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 2015

At the core of the Haas Institute are seven research clusters that focus on addressing society's most pressing and pivotal issues related to marginalized populations. Comprised of over 90 faculty across UC Berkeley, scholarship is informed by the knowledge of how structures and systems interactively link issues across domains to produce exclusion and inequality, or conversely, inclusion, and equality.

DISABILITY STUDIES

NOV 17: The **Disability Studies Cluster** joined with the Center for Science, Technology, Medicine & Society, the Haas Institute, and other campus orgs to co-sponsor the showing of the award-winning documentary *Surviving Eugenics*.

NOV 20: **Mel Chen** spoke at Cornell University on “**the logics of deliberation in the early description of what is now understood as Down Syndrome...**” in relation to discourses of race, temporality, and materiality.”

NOV 27: **Nancy Scheper-Hughes** was extensively

quoted in an article on *Motherboard* the subject of **commodification of human organs**. Scheper-Hughes noted that people are “lied to, always, about how much they’re going to get” when it comes to financial compensation for selling their organs.

NOV: **Karen Nakamura** was appointed as the **new endowed chair** of the Disability Studies research cluster. “Through my hiring, the university and the Haas Institute have made a major investment in disability as one of the major rubrics of a fair and inclusive society,” Nakamura said. “My own goals for the next ten years are to build on Berkeley’s strong

tradition of humanistic disabilities studies by incorporating perspectives from the social sciences, while also leveraging the UC’s strength in engineering, art, and design.

DEC 9: **Marsha Saxton** presented on disabled women’s issues as part of a campus panel on “**Gender for a New Century: Countering Violence and Social Exclusions**” along with visiting UN Women Executive Director and former anti-Apartheid activist, Dr. Phumzille Mlambo-Ngcuka.

FALL: **Georgina Kleege** gave a plenary lecture on “**Blind Self-Portraits**” at an international colloquium on blindness and the arts at the Royal

Holloway, University of London. Kleege began an artist-curatorial project in progress in collaboration with artist Fayen d’Evie, exploring the history, the politics, and the aesthetics of tactile interaction for visitors experiencing collections of art.

FALL: **Marsha Saxton** contributed a chapter to a new book on disabled women’s health entitled, “Access to Healthcare: the Heart of Equity” to *Eliminating Inequities for Women with Disabilities: An Agenda for Health and Wellness*, edited by Shari Miles-Cohen, to be published by the American Psychological Association in the spring of 2016.

DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY

JUL: Irene Bloemraad co-published “**Political Stories: Media Narratives of Political Participation by Asian Immigrants in the United States and Canada**” in *Politics, Groups, and Identities*.

AUG 7: Lisa García Bedolla was one of four scholars featured in *Newsweek’s* follow-up analysis to the debate between 10 Republican presidential hopefuls. García highlighted the GOP’s continued use of the Southern strategy—the use of coded racialized appeals to gain white votes.

AUG 13: Christopher Kutz penned an op-ed for the *Los Angeles Times*, “**For a safer America, curtail traffic stops,**” which argues against the overuse of traffic stops in the United States.

SEPT 3: Rodney Hero gave the presidential address to kick off the American Political Science Association (APSA) annual meeting in San Francisco. The address was entitled, “**American Politics and Political Science in an Era of Growing Racial Diversity and Economic Disparity.**”

SEPT 21: Irene Bloemraad co-authored a report that examined the **integration of immigrants into American society**. The report, which also explored trends in crime rates, health, and rates of divorce, found that immigrants and their US-born kin are improving in terms of occupational distribution, education level, income, and language abilities.

SEPT: Irene Bloemraad was a contributing author and panel member on the NAS report, “**The Integration of Immigrants into American Society.**”

OCT 5: Taeku Lee published an article in the *Huffington Post* entitled, “**Can the GOP Win Over Asian Americans?**” Lee wrote that “The prevailing view among many clearly remains that the Asian American vote is ignorable, expendable, or exploitable.”

OCT 27–28: Rodney Hero gave a series of lectures related to his research and teaching, as the “**Green Honors Chair scholar**” at Texas Christian University.

OCT: Lisa García Bedolla co-authored a report analyzing how organizations are working to engage underrepresented voters. The report, entitled “**Testing New Strategies in Mobilizing Voters of Color: An Analysis from the 2014 Elections,**” explored how organizations can use to technology to connect with their community and engage with voters.

OCT: Irene Bloemraad published a book chapter entitled, “**Re-imagining the Nation in a World of Migration: Legitimacy, Political Claims-making and Membership in Comparative Perspective,**” in *Fear, Anxiety, and National Identity*, published by the Russell Sage Foundation Press.

NOV 4: Taeku Lee was featured in a *New York Times* article “**Why Are Asian Americans Such Loyal Democrats?**” Lee said, “Asian Americans are, their vaunted educational and economic successes

notwithstanding, a group that has in various contexts experienced differential treatment and a group that in various contexts identifies as a minority group.”

NOV 6: Cybelle Fox gave a presentation: “**Unauthorized Welfare: The origins of Immigration Status Restrictions in American Social Policy,**” at the Ethics of Immigration Conference at Washington and Lee University.

NOV 6: Sarah Song gave a presentation entitled, “**Immigration and the Limits of Democracy,**” at the Ethics of Immigration Conference, at Washington and Lee University.

DEC 2: Christopher Kutz spoke at the **Berkeley School of Law on a panel organized as a response to the terrorist attacks in Paris**. Scholars from UC Berkeley and France participated in the panel, discussing topics including why the Paris attacks have garnered more attention than attacks in other cities, the goals of such attacks, what it means to declare a state of war, and how the West is complicit in perpetuating violence in the Middle East.

FALL: Taeku Lee received grants from the **James Irvine Foundation and the National Science Foundation** for the 2016 National Asian American Survey.

FALL: G. Christina Mora received the **2015 Prytanean Faculty Award**, which is a prize given annually to a female UC Berkeley junior faculty member in honor of outstanding research and

mentoring.

FALL: Taeku Lee was elected **Treasurer of the American Political Science Association**.

DIVERSITY & HEALTH DISPARITIES

JUL 2: Amani Nuru-Jeter explained in an interview with NPR that studies suggest that experiencing **racism negatively impacts people’s health outcomes**. Continuous subtle racial discrimination can also have long-term traumatic effects.

JUL: Denise Herd co-published an article in the *Journal of Racial and Health Disparities* entitled “**The Social Environment and Childbearing Expectations: Implications for Strength-Based Sexual Health Interventions for Latino Youth.**” The article explored the relationship between the social environment and sexual health outcomes among Latino youth in search of novel interventions.

AUG: Mahasin Mujahid is the current **Chair of the Social Determinants of Health Scientific Subcommittee** at the American Heart Association (AHA). The subcommittee recently published an AHA Statement on Social Determinants of Risk and Outcomes for Cardiovascular Disease that was published in *Circulation*.

AUG: Mahasin Mujahid completed the second year of the UC-HBCU Summer Research in **Social Determinants of**

Health, one of Berkeley's UC Office of the President Pathways Grant, which brings undergraduate students from Xavier University of Louisiana to UC Berkeley for a summer research internship.

AUG: **Jason Corburn** was announced as the **new director of the UC Berkeley Institute of Urban and Regional Development**. The institute aims to analyze trends in urbanization, the impacts on populations and places, and explore strategies to make cities and urban areas more equitable and inclusive for all.

SEPT 28: **Jason Corburn** was featured on a panel with journalist Katherine Boo entitled, **"Beyond the Beautiful Forevers: What Works for Tackling Poverty,"** which was a part of Berkeley's On the Same Page Program, a campus-wide reading initiative.

NOV 12: **Rucker Johnson** headlined a **forum on desegregation and student assignment** in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, hosted by the UNC Charlotte College of Education and the Levine Museum of the New South. At the event, entitled "The Grandchildren of Brown: The Long Legacy of School Desegregation," Johnson discussed the aftermath of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, which led to Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools desegregation in the 1970s.

DEC 11: The research of **Rucker Johnson** was recently cited in a *New York Times* piece about the **disparate rates of HIV infections between Black women and white women**. Using a study by Johnson

and a colleague from UC Berkeley, the article posits that one of the answers could lie in massive increase in incarceration rates of Black men.

DEC: **Julian Chow** was named a **2016 Fellow by the Society for Social Work and Research (SSWR)**, an honor which is given to SSWR members who have "served with distinction to advance the mission of the Society—to advance, disseminate, and translate research that addresses issues of social work practice and policy and promotes a diverse, equitable and just society."

FALL: **Charles Briggs** co-published "Una enfermedad monstruo: Indígenas derribando el cerco de la discriminación en salud" (**A Monster Disease: Indigenous Peoples Breaking Down the Wall of Health-Based Discrimination**). Written collaboratively with four indigenous people (one healer, one nurse, two political leaders) from the Delta Amacuro, a place where health disparities are particularly pronounced, the form of the text—a dialogue—foregrounds the nature of the collaboration that made it possible.

ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

JUL: **Hilary Hoynes** and Ankur Patel's research titled **"Effective Policy for Reducing Inequality? The Earned Income Tax Credit and the Distribution of Income"** was published. Their research asserts that the number of people kept out of poverty may

actually be an underestimate, and that the EITC may be even much more effective than what the Census Bureau's numbers imply.

JUL: **Karen Chapple** published her research on gentrification in **"Case Studies on Gentrification and Displacement in the San Francisco Bay Area."**

AUG 13: **Michael Reich** challenged the idea that **raising the minimum wage to \$15 per hour** will cause the economy to worsen with the business sector in Santa Monica, California. Reich helped research the potential impacts of a wage increase in Los Angeles earlier this year and was asked to share those findings.

AUG 15: **Hilary Hoynes** was featured in an article in *News Leader*, **"A Poverty-buster that's Not a Liberal Fantasy,"** written by Cass Sunstein, director of the Harvard Law School's program on behavioral economics and public policy.

AUG 17: **Robert Reich** published an article on *Truthdig* entitled **"Here's Why the New 'Family Friendly Work' Fad Is a Fraud."**

AUG 24: Research by **Karen Chapple** was featured in an article in *The Daily Californian* entitled, **"Bay Area displacement map created by campus researchers predicts loss of affordable housing."** Chapple is the lead researcher on a project that aims to study the relationship between air quality, transit planning and housing challenges.

AUG 24: Research by **Jesse Rothstein** was cited in a

Huffington Post article **"Why Recommended Ways to Evaluate Teachers are So Often Wrong,"** which criticizes methods to evaluate American teachers.

AUG: **Michael Reich** published a policy brief entitled **"Estimated Impact of a Proposed Minimum Wage Law for Sacramento,"** with the Center on Wage and Employment Dynamics.

SEPT 8: **Robert Reich** gave a speech entitled **"The Future of Inequality: The 2016 Election and Beyond,"** at the University of Texas as part of the Carpenter Lecture series.

SEPT 22: Research co-authored by economist **David Card** found that low income students—largely students of color—were massively underrepresented in the gifted program of a Florida school district, in great part because of the process by which students were chosen to be tested as gifted. This research was featured in a *Washington Post* article where Card noted, "these kids were geniuses—they were just too poor for anyone to discover them."

SEPT 23: **Paul Pierson** published **"Economics Is Too Important to Be Left to Economists"** in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*.

SEPT: **Michael Reich** co-published **"Contra Costa County's Proposed Minimum Wage Law: A Prospective Impact Study,"** with the Center on Wage and Employment Dynamics.

SEPT: **Steve Raphael**

worked with the California District Attorney's office to develop a **web portal for transparency in policing**. His work was referenced on KQED in a segment called "Open Justice: A New Web Portal to Arrest and Death Statistics in California."

SEPT: Enrico Moretti presented the lecture "**Labor in Space: The Changing Geography of Employment and Wages and Why it Matters**," at the Society of Labor Economists and European Association of Labor Economists World Conference in Montreal, Canada.

OCT 1: Emmanuel Saez published a paper entitled, "**Wealth Inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from Capitalized Income Tax Data**."

OCT 5: Henry Brady participated in a panel discussion entitled, "**Student Loans and the Rising Cost of Higher Education**" at the Goldman School of Public Policy.

OCT 6: Robert Reich spoke to Tavis Smiley on PBS, where he discussed his new book, *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few*.

OCT 9: Emmauel Saez gave a public lecture on "Income and Wealth Inequality: Evidence and Policy Implications" at the University of Chicago.

OCT 15: Enrico Moretti published an op-ed in the *San Francisco Chronicle* entitled "Vote no on Prop. I: Mission moratorium is misguided" in which he argued against a San Francisco ballot measure that would institute an 18-month moratorium on

market-rate housing in the Mission.

OCT 18: Hilary Hoynes was a keynote speaker at the **UC Berkeley Food Access and Food Security Summit** with a speech entitled, "Poverty and Inequality: How US Food and Nutrition Programs can Help."

OCT 20: Research by **Hilary Hoynes** was cited in a *New York Times* article, "**The Myth of Welfare's Corrupting Influence on the Poor**," which explored myths about welfare contributing to poverty. Hoynes' 1995 research found that welfare payments did not increase single motherhood.

OCT 24: Robert Reich spoke about his book *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few* at the 2015 Wisconsin Book Festival. His book details how the economic system that made America is now breaking America, and what needs to be done to rescue it.

OCT: Michael Reich published "**The Ups and Downs of Minimum Wage Policy: The Fair Labor Standards Act in Historical Perspective**," in *Industrial Relations*.

OCT: Hilary Hoynes co-authored a policy paper exploring the future of SNAP, intended to serve as a launching point for ideas and future research in creating a more equitable food system. The report **The Future of SNAP: Improving Nutrition Policy to Ensure Health and Food Equity** was co-published with the **Berkeley Food Institute**.

OCT: Jovan Scott Lewis was appointed as a new

faculty member of the Economic Disparities cluster, where he will help co-lead the cluster with Hilary Hoynes. He hopes to bring the insights of his field, economic anthropology, into spaces where the discipline has traditionally felt uncomfortable engaging, like public policy.

NOV 5: Enrico Moretti spoke at the University of Washington's **Runstad Center for Real Estate Studies' Leadership Dinner** at the Westin Seattle. He discussed wages and the implications of the tech boom for people not employed in the tech sector.

NOV 12: Rucker Johnson headlined a **forum on desegregation and student assignment** in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, hosted by the UNC Charlotte College of Education and the Levine Museum of the New South. At the event, entitled "**The Grandchildren of Brown: The Long Legacy of School Desegregation**," Johnson discussed the aftermath of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, which led to Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools desegregation in the 1970s.

NOV 15: Research co-authored by **David Card** was featured in an article in *The State*, "**As Salaries Stagnate, Minimum Wage Issue Gains Traction**." Card and his co-author Alan Krueger compared hiring at fast food restaurants in New Jersey and Pennsylvania after the former raised its minimum wage. "They found that job gains were roughly the same in both states afterward," the article stated.

NOV 27: Hilary Hoynes was

referenced in an article published by *The Cap Times* that rejects the idea that governmental assistance "spoils" the poor. In the study, Hoynes found that "**welfare payments didn't increase single motherhood**," as some have claimed. In fact, there are numerous studies that indicate that anti-poverty programs such as EITC actually help lift people out of poverty.

NOV 30: Taeku Lee published an **op-ed** in *The New York Times* about the underrepresentation of "racial minorities, noncitizens, and persons without college degrees" in the polling process. Methods such as telephone surveys, and surveys conducted mostly or solely in English exclude many voices from being heard and counted in polls.

NOV: Steve Raphael published "**The Role of the Cost-of-Crime Literature in Bridging the Gap between Social Science Research and Policy Making**," in *Criminology & Public Policy*.

NOV 8-10: Hilary Hoynes was a speaker at **The Welfare State and Fight Against Inequality conference** at Columbia University. Her talk was entitled, "The Rise of the In-Work Safety Net: Implications for Income Inequality and Family Health and Well-Being."

NOV: Michael Reich was a keynote speaker at the **Korea Labor Institute** in Seoul, Korea, talking at the Minimum Wages and Inequality Conference. His speech was entitled, "**A \$15 Minimum Wage: The Case for Los Angeles**."

NOV: **Jesse Rothstein** co-published “**School Finance Reform and the Distribution of Student Achievement.**”

NOV: **Hilary Hoynes** gave a talk entitled, “**The Rise of the In-Work Safety Net: Implications for Families in Strong and Weak Labor Markets,**” at the Southern Economic Association.

NOV: **Emmanuel Saez** published “**Aggregate Demand, Idle Time, and Unemployment**” in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics*.

DEC 1: **Robert Reich** gave a free lecture at Berkeley’s International House, where he discussed his new book, *Saving Capitalism: For the Many, Not the Few.*

DEC 8: **Hilary Hoynes** had her research cited by the **White House** in a blog post entitled, “**New CEA Report Finds that SNAP Benefits are Crucial for Families but Sometimes Inadequate.**”

DEC 12: **Ula Taylor** participated in a panel called “**Keyword Roundtable: ‘Women’**” at the Berkeley Symposium on the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality.

DEC 12: **Hilary Hoynes** participated in a panel called “**Inequality and Intersectionality**” at the Berkeley Symposium on the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality.

DEC 20: **Robert Reich** gave the **UC Berkeley commencement address** for Fall 2015 graduates. The event took place at Haas Pavilion on the UC Berkeley campus.

DEC 21: **Michael Reich** was named the **third most**

influential person for Los Angeles by *LA Weekly*.

DEC: **Emmanuel Saez** published a chapter entitled, “**Income and Wealth in America**” in the book *Inequality and Economic Policy: Essays in Memory of Gary Becker*.

DEC: Research by **Hilary Hoynes** and **Enrico Moretti** was featured in a **White House report** on the long-term benefits of the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP). The report highlighted SNAP’s many benefits including its short-term and long-term benefits for low-income families.

DEC: **Jesse Rothstein** wrote an issue brief entitled, “**The Earned Income Tax Credit**” for the Washington Center for Equitable Growth.

DEC: **Rucker Johnson** published “**Follow the Money: School Spending from Title I to Adult Earnings**” in *The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*.

DEC: **Hilary Hoynes** was a featured case study in a new report from UC Berkeley’s Division of Equity & Inclusion entitled “**Catalysts for Change,**” which looks at the past six years of innovative work Berkeley is doing to advance equity and inclusion on campus and in society as a whole.

DEC: **Enrico Moretti** co-published a paper entitled, “**The Effect of State Taxes on the Geographical Location of Top Earners: Evidence from Star Scientists,**” in the National Bureau of Economic Research.

DEC: **Jesse Rothstein**

wrote an issue brief entitled, “**The New California Earned Income Tax Credit**” for the UC Berkeley Institute for Research on Labor and Employment.

FALL: **Jesse Rothstein** was appointed as director of the **Institute for Research on Labor and Employment** at UC Berkeley.

FALL: **Hilary Hoynes** was appointed as **Chair of the IFS ESRC Research Centre Scientific Advisory Board** at the Institute for Fiscal Studies in London, UK. She was also appointed as an Executive Committee member at the **American Economic Association**.

FALL 2015: Political scientist **Paul Pierson** co-authored a book, *American Amnesia: Rediscovering the Forgotten Roots of American Prosperity*, with Jacob S. Hacker, a professor of Political Science at Yale University, to be published in 2016.

LGBTQ CITIZENSHIP

JUL 21–23: **Lawrence Cohen** presented a series of lectures on medicine, sex and gender, and the law at the National Centre for Biological Sciences and the National Institute of Mental Health and Behavioral Science in Bengaluru, India.

AUG 19: **Melissa Murray** was chosen as the new director of the **Berkeley Law Reproductive Rights Center**, the country’s first law school think tank to focus on reproductive rights and justice issues.

OCT 9: The **LGBTQ**

Citizenship cluster sponsored **From Caitlyn Jenner to Rachel Dolezal: The Social Construction of Race and Gender**, which aimed to engage the discourse concerning the extent to which race, gender, and sexuality are socially constructed and can change, and whether society should accept all assertions of self-identity. Moderated by **Russell Robinson**, the panel included scholars: Devon Carbado, Cecilia Chung, Ian Haney-López, and Sonia Katyal.

NOV 9: **Melissa Murray** moderated “**LGBTQ Movements beyond Marriage,**” an event sponsored by the LGBTQ Citizenship cluster, which discussed the breadth of work being done for and by the LGBTQ communities, some of which has been eclipsed by the focus on same-sex marriage. The panelists also addressed the future of the advocacy landscape after the Supreme Court’s ruling in favor of same-sex marriage.

NOV 10: **Melissa Murray** examined the marriage equality movement with an interview for *Berkeley News*. She notes that there is a darker side to marriage that many people tend to overlook.

DEC 12: **Mel Chen, Russell Robinson, Juana María Rodríguez, and Darieck Scott** participated in a panel called “**Keyword Roundtable: ‘Sexuality’**” at the Berkeley Symposium on the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality.

RACE, DIVERSITY, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

JUL 23: **Na'ilah Nasir**, Chair of the Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy cluster was named as the new **Vice Chancellor of Equity & Inclusion at UC Berkeley**. Nasir, who is a professor in the School of Education and Dept. of African American Studies, began her post in November 2015.

SEPT 1: **Kris Gutiérrez** co-published “**Revisiting the Collective in Critical Consciousness: Diverse Sociopolitical Wisdoms and Ontological Healing in Sociopolitical Development**” in *Urban Review*.

SEPT 24–25: **Rucker Johnson** delivered the Opening Address at the **National Coalition on School Diversity** national conference in Washington DC.

OCT: **Michael Dumas** was an invited panelist for the discussion “**After Resegregation: Imagining Alternative Racial Futurities in Education**” at the Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics at the University of Oregon.

OCT: **Lisa García Bedolla** co-authored a report analyzing how organizations are working to engage underrepresented voters. The report, entitled “**Testing New Strategies in Mobilizing Voters of Color: An Analysis from the 2014 Elections**,” explored how organizations can use technology to connect with their community and engage with voters.

OCT: **Rucker Johnson** presented his research

on the effects of pre-K–12 education investments on long-run health status in adulthood in the **NIH Behavioral and Social Science Research Distinguished Lecture Series** at NIH headquarters.

OCT: **Kris Gutiérrez** co-published “**Relational Equity as a Design Tool within Making and Tinkering Activities**,” in *Mind, Culture, and Activity*.

NOV. 12: **Rucker Johnson** headlined a forum on desegregation and student assignment in Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, hosted by the UNC Charlotte College of Education and the Levine Museum of the New South. At the event, entitled “**The Grandchildren of Brown: The Long Legacy of School Desegregation**,” Johnson discussed the aftermath of the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case, which led to Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools desegregation in the 1970s.

NOV: **Janelle Scott** was awarded a **William T. Grant Foundation Research Use Grant** for “**Intermediary Organizations and Education Policy: A Mixed-Methods Study of the Political Contexts of Research Utilization**.” Scott is the principal investigator for this project.

NOV: **Michael Dumas** presented a paper “**Be Real Black for Me: Imagining BlackCrit in Education**” to the American Educational Studies Association in San Antonio, Texas.

DEC 12: **Lisa García Bedolla** was an invited panelist on the panel “**Inequality and Intersectionality**” during

the Berkeley Symposium on the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality.

FALL: **Kris Gutiérrez** was appointed to the **Apple ConnectED Research Advisory Board**, the **Learning Policy Institute Board of Directors**, **Kappa Delta Pi Laureate**, the **Spencer Foundation, Mid-Career Fellowship Advisory Board**, and the **Budget Committee at UC Berkeley**.

FALL: **Janelle Scott** was named on the **Education Week/RHSU Edu-Scholar Public Influence Ranked Scholar List**, an honor awarded to the top 200 public interest education professors to recognize university-based scholars in the US who are contributing most substantially to public debates about education.

FALL: **Michael Dumas** received a **Mellon Foundation Digital Humanities** at Berkeley Course Development Grant.

FALL: **Kris Gutiérrez** co-published “**Children’s Considerateness of Other’s Activities: Respeto in Requests for Help**” in *Advances in Child Development and Behavior*.

FALL: **Janelle Scott** participated in two days of meeting with several researchers, Congressional staff, and Department of Education officials concerning the **research evidence provisions of the ESSA act**. The meetings were convened by the William T. Grant Foundation.

FALL: **Janelle Scott** presented at the **National Academy of Education/**

Spencer Foundation fall meeting.

FALL: **Na'ilah Nasir** was awarded a **mentoring award** from Division G of the **American Educational Research Association**.

FALL: **Janelle Scott** co-published a paper entitled “**Evidence Use and Advocacy Coalitions: Intermediary Organizations and Philanthropies**” in *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis Archives*.

FALL: **Na'ilah Nasir** joined the board of the **Spencer Foundation**.

FALL: **Janelle Scott** joined the editorial boards of *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis Archives* and the *American Education Research Journal*. Scott was also invited by the Spencer Foundation to join its grants review panel.

FALL: **Na'ilah Nasir** and **Tina Trujillo** published “**The Socio-Political Context of Teaching**” in the *Handbook of Research on Teaching*.

RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY CLUSTER

JUN: **Dacher Keltner** publishes his latest research on awe titled “**Awe, the Small Self, and Prosocial Behavior**” in the *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. His latest research highlights empirical evidence that awe allows individuals to work together in “collaborative ways that enable strong groups and cohesive communities.”

AUG 8: Dacher Keltner was quoted in an article on power. Keltner noted that power can lead people to act more selfishly, impulsively and aggressively, as well as have trouble seeing others points of view. “The skills most important to obtaining power and leading effectively,” he said, “are the very skills that deteriorate once we have power.”

SEPT 22: Emojis developed by Dacher Keltner as part of an anti-bullying initiative were featured in an article in *The Guardian*, “One in five young people have experienced abuse online, study finds.” The emojis are meant to be a wordless and simple way to show support for some-

one who is experiencing bullying online.

SEPT: Saba Mahmood, known for her work in the interrogation of liberal assumptions about the boundary between ethics and politics, freedom and unfreedom, the religious and the secular, and agency and submission, was interviewed regarding her new work and scholarly focus.

NOV 1: Dacher Keltner was featured in an article in the *Boston Globe* entitled, “Embracing the Power of Human Touch.” “[Touch] is the first language we learn,” Keltner is quoted in the article, and “our richest means of emotional expression.”

NOV 3: Saba Mahmood published a new book, *Religious Diversity in a Secular Age: A Minority Report*, which challenges the idea that the failure of secularism to take root is a major cause for ongoing conflict in the Middle East. Instead, Mahmood argues, modern secular governance is closely entwined to the growth of religious tensions in the Middle East.

DEC 2: Saba Mahmood served as a panelist in a recent panel discussion about the lessons to be learned from the terrorist attacks in Paris. Scholars from UC Berkeley and France participated in the panel, discussing a variety

of topics, including why the Paris attacks have garnered more attention than attacks in other cities, the goals of such attacks, what it means to declare a state of war, and how the West is complicit in perpetuating violence in the Middle East.

DEC 11: Saba Mahmood participated in a panel called “Keyword Roundtable: ‘Gender’” at the Berkeley Symposium on the Study of Women, Gender, and Sexuality. ■



Learn more about the work of our affiliated faculty on our newly updated website at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu, where you can find news and updates on cluster research, speaking engagements, and media, as well as a searchable database of leading experts and thought leaders dedicated to engaged scholarship that advances equality and inclusion.

HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF & SCHOLARS

MAJOR ACTIVITIES, PRESENTATIONS, AND PUBLICATIONS FROM
HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF & SCHOLARS FROM JULY 1 TO DECEMBER 31, 2015

While the seven Haas Institute faculty clusters pursue engaged academic research (see p. 30), the Haas Institute's core staff of researchers, fellows, and strategic communicators, led by Director John A. Powell, advances impactful interventions to society's most pressing issues. The research agenda of the Institute is centered around collaboration with communities, partners, and advocacy organizations who share our values and vision for a just and inclusive society.

JUL 1: The Haas Institute released a statement commemorating the **June 26 Supreme Court ruling that legalized same-sex marriage**. The statement mentioned: "While we recognize there is much progress still needed to achieve full equality for LGBTQ persons, including anti-discrimination protections for these persons in housing and employment, we also acknowledge that [the] ruling was a major first step."

JUL 1: In a perspective published on the *Huffington Post* entitled **When We Fully Claim Black Lives Matter, We Move Closer to All Lives Matter**, **John A. Powell** explains how the concept of targeted universalism helps us develop strategies that take into account where we are "situated in our structures, our cultures and our environment."

JUL 3: **Mark Gomez** from our **Leap Forward** project authored a "hopeful and

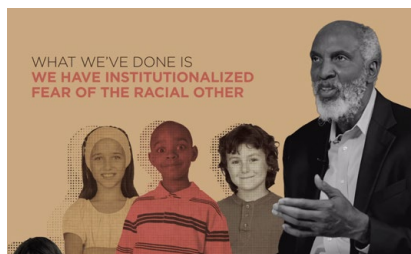
speculative" essay arguing that Americans are poised to enter a new era of enduring prosperity led by those who previously have been held back. Entitled "**Realizing Possibilities of the Connected Economy**," Mark's essay looks at the opportunity presented by our prosperous economy and our current "formative political" period.

AUG 7: Director **John A. Powell** was interviewed by **AJ+** for a video the major news outlet released on the anniversary of the death of Michael Brown, the teenager shot and killed in Ferguson, MO. The video is entitled **Black Lives Matter, A Year After Ferguson**.

AUG 14: **John A. Powell** was profiled by the **Haas Jr. Fund's "Be the Change" series of grantee profiles**. In the Q&A, Powell discussed advice for emerging leaders, what compels him to do social justice work, and the leadership

challenges that keep him up at night, among other things.

AUG 17: **John A. Powell** took part in a two-person panel on incorporating a human rights framework into legal aid work at a staff retreat hosted by the **Legal Aid Foundation of Los Angeles**. The panel was followed by a formal speech on human rights



and the importance of legal aid work.

AUG 19: The Haas Institute's **Underwater America report** was featured in an article published in the **National Journal**, "**College Alone**

Does Not Close the Wealth Gap for Blacks and Latinos," which examined the various factors that can decrease the "protective value" of a higher education.

AUG: The online-only **Othering & Belonging Conference post-event report** was published on **otheringandbelonging.org**. This report features videos, keynote recaps, social media, and more.

SEPT 17: **John A. Powell** spoke about the history of race, racism and power in the US, and how it relates to health equity and health care at the **CSU Engagement Center** in Sterling, Colorado. The presentation was part of the The Colorado Trust Health Equity Learning Series.

SEPT 24: [john a. powell](#) spoke about the history of race, racism and power in the United States, and how it relates to health equity and health care at the **Health Equity Learning Series luncheon presented by the Colorado Trust**. The event took place at the Robert Hoag Rawlings Public Library in Pueblo, Colorado.

OCT 17: Just Public Finance Director [Wendy Ake](#) led a workshop at the **SEIU 1199 Executive Board Meeting** in Dublin, Ohio, entitled **“Implicit Bias: What It Is and What It Means.”** The workshop explored facets of implicit bias and featured an interactive process to sketch out what an SEIU campaign would look like in content and messaging.

OCT 28: The Haas Institute published **The Farm Bill Report: Corporate Power and Structural Racialization in the US Food System**. This report was co-authored by Global Justice Program Director [Elsadig Elsheikh](#) and Graduate Researcher [Hossein Ayazi](#).

FALL: The Haas Institute and the **Center for Social Inclusion** announced that the **Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE)** would become a joint national venture. GARE is headed by [Julie Nelson](#).

OCT: The **Government Alliance for Racial Equity (GARE)** published a resource guide **Advancing Racial Equity & Transforming Government**. GARE also published **Racial Equity Toolkit: An Opportunity to Operationalize Equity, and Contracting for Racial Equity**.

OCT 29: [john a. powell](#) spoke about the intersections of race and health at the **South Metro Health Alliance’s event “Health Equity and Race”** panel at Regis University. “Race is not the same as socioeconomic status,” powell told the audience. “There are disparities across income levels.” He also added, **“Belonging is the greatest gift society can give us.”**

OCT: The Haas Institute published **Structuring Development for Greater Community Benefit**, an analysis on funding opportunities for the Global Campus at Richmond Bay. The report was written by Sarah Brundage, Joe Recchie, and Eli Moore.

OCT: The Haas Institute co-published **The Future of SNAP: Improving Nutrition Policy to Ensure Health and Food Equity** with the Berkeley Food Institute.

NOV 2: The Haas Institute jointly filed an *amicus brief* with The Equal Justice Society and Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati for the Supreme Court’s second look at the **Fisher v. University of Texas** case. The brief, co-authored by [john a. powell](#) and Assistant Director [Stephen Menendian](#) was cosigned by 35 leading social scientists. “This brief is unique in blending both social science and mapping analysis on how inter-district segregation generates educational inequality in the K–12 system with impacts on university admissions,” said Menendian.

NOV 9: [john a. powell](#) spoke at an event hosted by **Philanthropy New York** that explored the question

of how implicit bias can influence the effectiveness of philanthropy. powell presented with Jeanné Isler, Field Director at the **National Committee for Responsive Philanthropy**, as part of an interactive session exploring implicit bias and how it impacts the decisions and trends in our philanthropic institutions.

NOV 9: Associate Director [Michael Omi](#) gave a talk at Boston College entitled, **“Racial Formation and the Future of Racial Theory.”** The talk, which was part of the **City Awake Boston** festival, examined modern racial formation and also considered contemporary events, including national controversies and race and immigration, in the context of racial formation.

DEC 14: [john a. powell](#) was an invited keynote speaker in Kansas City, Missouri at an event entitled, **“A Conversation on Race & Belonging with john powell and CCO.”**

DEC 17: The Haas Institute published **Doubly Bound: The Costs of Issuing Municipal Bonds**, a publication from the Institute’s **Just Public Finance** program.

DEC: The Haas Institute published the companion research brief **Facts & Findings from Our Report on the US Farm Bill** following the earlier farm bill report from October.

DEC 31: [john a. powell](#) published an end-of-year reflection in the *Huffington Post* about the year 2015, our continued complicated relationship with race, and an acknowledgement that how we “do” race will be crucial for our future. ■



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SPRING 2017

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