

The Power of Public Memory

What Do We Choose to Remember, Who Do We Choose To Honor?

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

THE COLOR OF LAW

A conversation with scholar Richard Rothstein on the legacy of segregation

GENTRIFICATION IN SF MISSION DISTRICT

Field trip for the 2017 Summer Fellowship cohort

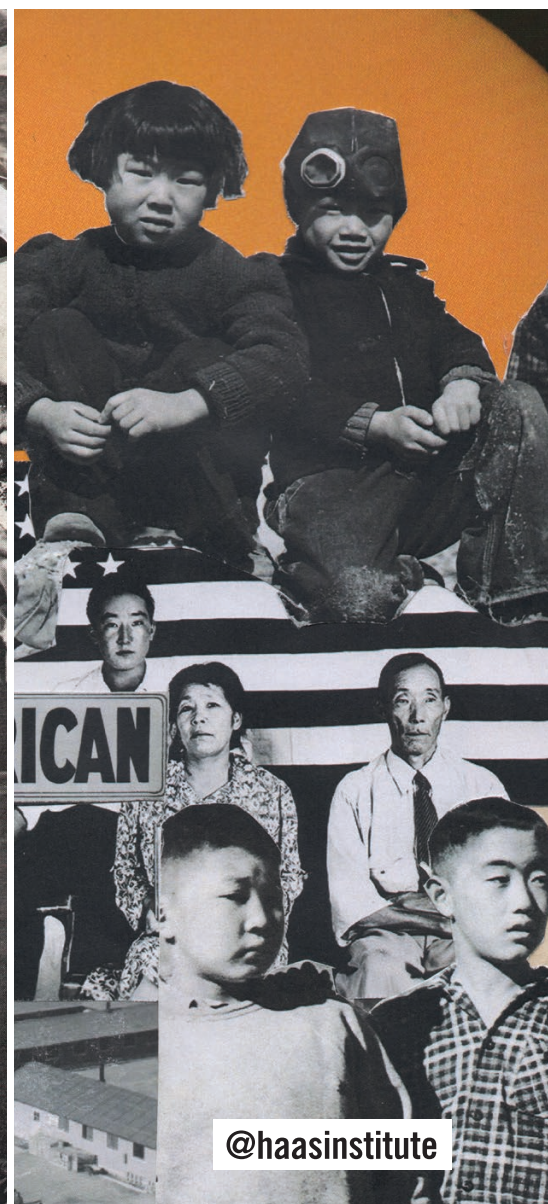
THE GEOGRAPHY OF ISLAMOPHOBIA

Why place matters when it comes to racism

NEW ANTI-BLACK RACISM PROJECT

New Racial Equity Fellowship Program

NEWS





PUBLISHED BY:

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 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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This issue of the Haas Institute newsletter covers
activities from September 1, 2016 to August 31, 2017.
To receive a hard copy or be added to our email list please
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DIRECTORS' NOTES

OUR LAST NEWSLETTER was published just before the 2016 presidential election, a campaign that featured some of the uglier elements of our current American society, including xenophobia, nationalism, and a toxic dose of misogyny. Moreover, the election results appeared to form part of a broader wave of white nationalist movements cresting across Western liberal democracies. Based upon election results in the Netherlands, France, and the United Kingdom this year, the rise of nationalism remains a global trend, from India to South Africa.

It was in this crucible that we held our second **Othering and Belonging Conference** in the spring. Our conference brought together diverse voices, perspectives, and insights as part of a unique conversation into the nature of Othering, and how we can move to a society more strongly rooted in belonging. Speakers ranged from the visual and literary arts to academia and politics. Playwright Tarell Alvin McCraney, who authored the play upon which the Oscar-winning movie *Moonlight* was based, spoke movingly about the importance of art in shining light on exclusion of all sorts—and guiding society along a brighter path towards belonging. Similarly, Native activist Tara Houska discussed the role of activists in envisioning that path, even while knowing that it may not yet be paved. Recaps and videos can be found at conference.otheringandbelonging.org.

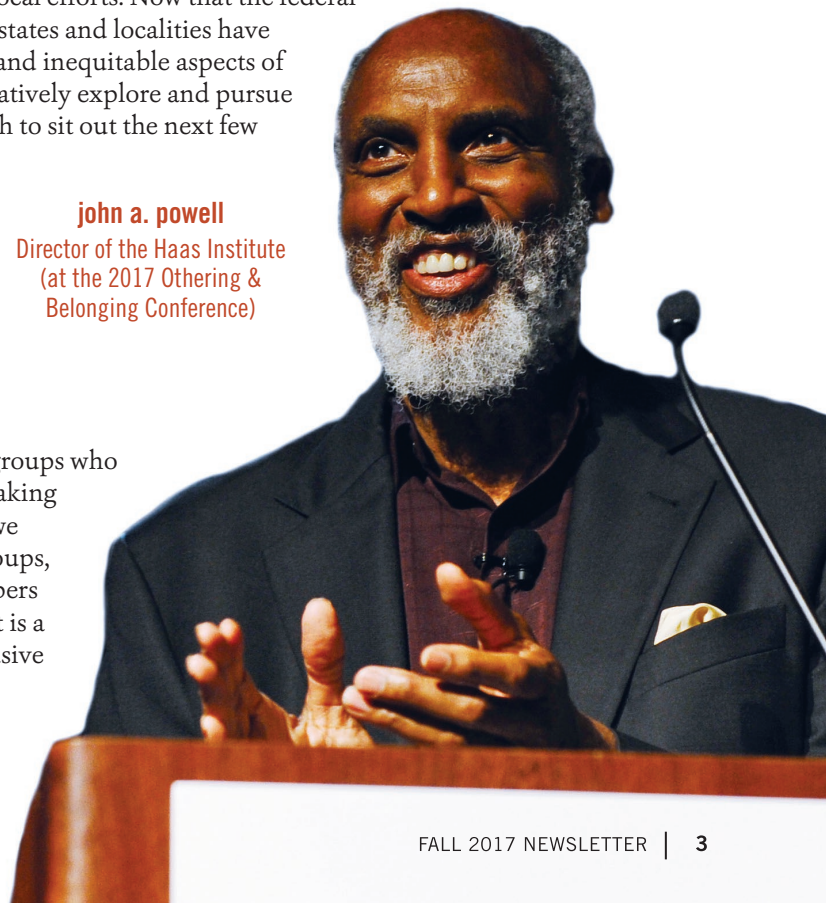
Unfortunately, while many have been working determinedly to make this vision of belonging a reality, those working at some of the highest levels of power have sought to counteract those efforts. The campaign rhetoric and policy moves of the Trump Administration on immigration and refugee issues have mutated into a new phase that includes attacks on affirmative action, a reversal in policy on LGBTQ discrimination and protections, a doubling down on the War on Drugs, and a pullback on criminal justice reform and police department consent decrees. The Supreme Court docket this upcoming term will be especially significant, with racial and partisan gerrymandering, LGTBQ rights, reproductive rights, religious freedom, and much more.

The election of Trump has energized state, regional, and local efforts. Now that the federal government is advancing an exclusionary policy agenda, states and localities have begun to do more than merely try to resist the draconian and inequitable aspects of the federal agenda. Some, in fact, are going so far as to creatively explore and pursue local solutions to group-based marginality. It is not enough to sit out the next few years and hope for a change of leadership; we must use this time to develop innovative and experimentalist solutions that can be tested at the local level.

Still, the most fundamental question before us, both as a research institute as well as a policy matter, remains how we can bridge in a period of deep exclusion and anxiety. Bridging is when individuals reach outside of their group to find common cause with others. This is in contrast to "breaking" where members of a group turn inwards and explicitly push away from other groups who are seen as dangerous or a threat. The possibility that breaking overtakes that of bridging may be the greatest challenge we face today. For members of oppressed or marginalized groups, asking them to bridge with other groups, especially members of a perceived oppressor, is a tremendous challenge. Yet, it is a challenge we must confront if we are to build a truly inclusive society, and one where all life is valued. ■

john a. powell

Director of the Haas Institute
(at the 2017 Othering &
Belonging Conference)



SINCE 2012, I'VE HAD a front row seat to an unfolding crisis in my role as Director of Research. The Haas Institute was approached a few years ago by the California Department of Housing and Community Development to conduct research to assess housing needs in the state as part of a new 10-year statewide housing plan. We began by examining the previous statewide housing plan from 2000, focusing in particular on its projected demand for housing. We then compared it, all these years later, with the number of units actually produced. It came as a shock to discover that the production of units fell far short of projected demand. We also uncovered research showing that California was among the most housing-cost burdened states in the country, with especially harmful effects on low-income families, who were being pushed from their homes and neighborhoods.

The Haas Institute was one of the few participants at the table back in 2014 who were raising serious concerns about the supply-side problems, as well as the risks of displacement and harm to communities. Since then, the Bay Area and many parts of California have witnessed double-digit increases in rents and home prices, and gentrification has greatly accelerated. Neighborhoods have been transformed as local businesses and places of worship have been pushed out, replaced by high-end establishments.

There appears to have been a tipping point reached recently in the broader public awareness of the depth and scope of the crisis. There is now broad consensus that a crisis exists, and recognition across sectors that something has to happen. That's the good news. The bad news is that the political will needed to actually address the housing problem is enormous and, more critically, there is no broad agreement about how best to approach, let alone solve, the crisis.

Affordable housing advocates are justifiably skeptical of generic supply-side strategies that would take years if not decades to trickle down to an affordable level. So-called YIMBYs (Yes In My Backyard advocates), on the other hand, are also right that the depth and nature of the crisis cannot be solved by preservation of existing housing stock and building or expanding affordable housing alone. Middle-income displacement is part of what is causing the affordability crisis in traditionally lower income and working class neighborhoods. Young professionals are moving into these neighborhoods. Middle income families are displaced into lower income communities, who are displacing existing residents further afield.

Another dimension of this crisis is the shocking racial impacts. Richmond, California has lost half of its Black population between 1980 and 2010, and Oakland lost at

least 50,000 during that same period. San Francisco lost more than half of its Black population between 1970 and 2010, which is now under 5 percent, and fell by an estimated 10 percent between 2010 and 2014 alone.

Some are calling this the “new great migration,” a riff on the well-studied migration of the more than 6 million Black Americans who moved from the South to the North and West between 1915 and 1970.



STEPHEN MENENDIAN
Assistant Director and
Research Director of the
Haas Institute

Instead of following opportunity, however, this more recent movement is a migration from vibrant, prospering cities into struggling, low opportunity regions and neighborhoods. The historical resonances are clear. As Richard Rothstein, one of our senior fellows, brilliantly demonstrated in his recent book, *The Color of Law*, California's communities systematically erected housing barriers to promote racial and economic segregation during and after the first Great Migration (see our interview with Rothstein on p. 28). After the passage of the Fair Housing Act, these measures took a decidedly different form, but with the same effect. Proposition 13, one of the key structural linchpins, plays a key, but complicated, role in housing and wealth inequality in the state. Prop 13 was pushed and enacted as part of an anti-tax movement that bridged Reagan's governorship to his presidency. This referendum was enacted, in part, as a response to the desegregation mandates for California schools, and works to minimize effective tax rates in the wealthiest communities, exacerbating structural racism in the state.

Fortunately, the new Statewide Housing draft plan, entitled “California's Housing Future: Challenges and Opportunities” released by the Department of Housing and Community Development earlier this year, reflects our research and analysis. The report is a big step in the right direction, especially by identifying land use policies as a major cause of housing inequality.

But it will require much more than planning to make a difference in this crisis. For that reason, the Haas Institute is leading the way by articulating a vision and set of strategies that can galvanize broad support while conducting research on critical housing issues. Our California Partnerships Program is advancing an innovative research agenda and building partnerships with community that can generate support for real solutions in accordance with

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the scale of the problem.

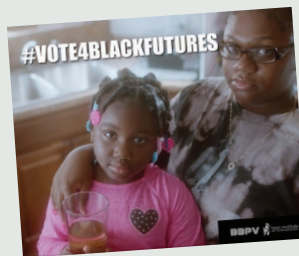
In addition to this work, we published two housing related research reports in recent months. The first, “Opportunity, Race, and Low Income Housing Tax Credit Projects,” released in March, analyzed the distribution of Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) projects cited in the Bay Area. The LIHTC program is the largest federal investment in affordable housing. We are working with the state to determine how it can better serve low income families by siting LIHTC properties in neighborhoods of opportunity.

More recently, we released *Unfair Shares: Racial Disparities and the Regional Housing Needs Allocation Process in the Bay Area*, a revealing portrait of a critically important state policy for allocating affordable housing regionally.

Finally, we are planning a major national conference at UC Berkeley February 27–March 1 on the 50th Anniversary of the Kerner Commission, the National Advisory Commission for Civil Disorders. The Kerner Commission systematically examined the underlying forces that caused more than 150 spasms of urban rebellion in the summer of 1967. Each of these incidents were triggered by a police harassment or violence, just as was the case for the Black Lives Matter protests more recently. But the Commission, nearly 50 years ago, identified racial housing segregation as the key cause of the unrest. It is telling that rapid re-segregation is occurring today, at a time of widening inequality. We, at the Haas Institute, are at the forefront of identifying the most equitable solutions for moving forward. ■

GET OUT THE VOTE

Vote4 BlackFutures



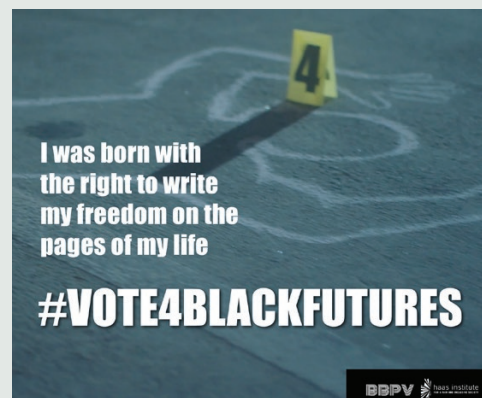
The Haas Institute worked with the Perception Institute and other key collaborators to create content designed to confront and counteract the growing anxiety, anger, and fear that was strategically stoked for political gain during the 2016 presidential election.

The resulting project led to the creation of three 90-second PSA videos each targeting different audiences. The videos specifically named the tensions and anxieties gripping the targeted groups while offering alternative narratives of inclusivity and promoting civic engagement through voter participation.

The Haas Institute believed that a **Get Out The Vote** campaign could create a timely and unique opportunity to use narratives that promote belonging despite a landscape of increasing anxiety. During the 2016 election, growing diversity, economic insecurity, and inequality and demographic changes were grounds for a deeply polarizing politics of fear. This was further compounded by a growing constituent of disenfranchised voters, particularly millennials and people of color, and swaths of progressives feeling unheard and unrepresented by an out-of-touch central government in the run-up to the 2016 presidential election.

Through a grant from Open Society Foundations, three PSA-style videos were developed and tested to determine their impact on targeted voter groups. The narratives attempted to create space for bridging across and within racial and ethnic lines by “wrestling out loud” with the conversations already being had within families, organizations, movements, political parties, and even within individuals internally. Based on the results of initial testing, two 90-second videos were finalized and distributed prior to the election:

- **Being a Man is Hard Sometimes:** Produced by filmmaker Jennifer Dworkin, this PSA aimed to address gender bias towards women in leadership. In the video, a white male protagonist wrestles with a changing America and his feelings around his stature as a man being challenged as values change. Ultimately, he decides



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that being a man doesn't require linking himself to hostility.

- **#Vote4BlackFutures:** Produced by Whalerock Industries, this PSA used a dynamic presentation of spoken word, music, protest footage, and powerful Black imagery to highlight the issues that stand to impact the Black community. The goal of the video was to extend Black activism on issues like structural racism and the criminal justice system to the ballot box through voter participation and civic engagement. *LAUREN ALEXANDER*



Future-Facing Ideas for Enduring Prosperity



THINKING AHEAD IS A NEW monthly discussion series organized by the Haas Institute and program partner Mark Gomez. The impetus behind the series, which kicked off in July 2016, is to bring innovative thinkers together with community members and advocates to discuss topics related to inequality and strategic change. The series has hosted 11 events so far, with hundreds in attendance over the year. Designed to be lively and informal, the series aims to carve a space for progress-minded people to gather to network and discuss interesting ideas, a chance to rethink

their day-to-day work. The events have been held primarily at the **Citizen Engagement Lab** in downtown Oakland and are, Gomez says, "intended to move attendees beyond yet another critique of extreme inequality and instead consider how we can tangibly create shared prosperity and enduring progress."

Topics and speakers have included: the historical role of government in promoting economic and social prosperity, with speakers **Paul Pierson** and **Brad DeLong**; the role of race in political change in the recent past and in the years to come, with speakers **Steve Phillips** and **Daniel Martinez HoSang**; the legal framework of our political economy and how to change it, with speakers **Sabeel Rahman**, **Christina Livingston**, **Paul Pierson**, and **John A. Powell**; ideas for breakthrough economic reforms, with speakers **Anne Price**, **William Darity Jr.**, **Tom Sgouros**, **Wendy Ake**, **Chris Benner**, and **Jim Pugh**; and models of reform, with **Derecka Mehrens**, **Miriam Lueck Avery**, **Steve Early**, and **Melvin Willis**.

Speakers in the fall 2017 will include **G. Cristina Mora** discussing her book *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American*, and **Jonathan Smucker** discussing his book *Hegemony How-To* and local community organizing. *MARK GOMEZ, SARA GROSSMAN*

HAASINSTITUTE.BERKELEY.EDU/THINKINGAHEAD

Animating Targeted Universalism

Targeted universalism is a powerful way to address social changes—changes to enhance equitable policies and programs and improve life chances for all. To better understand a targeted universalism framework, the Haas Institute worked with Column Five Media to create a new explainer video on the difference between targeted universalism and more traditional policy approaches. This is the second in our series of explainer videos.

YOUTUBE.COM/HAASINSTITUTE



Still images from the new Haas Institute animated video on targeted universalism

PHOTOS BY ERIC ARNOLD

Othering & Belonging: The 2017 Conference

SPEAKING ON THE FIRST night of the 2017 Othering and Belonging Conference, and on the hundredth day of the Trump presidency, in a moment where “it feels like we might all fall apart,” keynote speaker **Jeff Chang** told more than 1,100 conference attendees that it is not too late to reimagine a society grounded in belonging. And artists, he said, “have the potential to be stewards of validating the righteous humanity of marginalized people.”

Chang, Executive Director of the Institute for Diversity in the Arts at Stanford University, was just one of more than two dozen distinguished keynote speakers at the conference, all of whom sought to provide clarity and context on the strained moment the world finds itself in today, or, like Chang, offer a provocative reimagining of what could come next.

In an era when toxic nationalism, xenophobia, and racism are on the rise, and when human rights and democratic values are under attack, the Haas Institute crafted a space where diverse stakeholders could gather to advance ideas centered on inclusion, justice, and equity. Designed as a public forum to strategize about civic engagement and grassroots advocacy, the conference, held April 30-May 2, 2017 in Oakland, served as both an inspiration and active driver for bold action towards a society where all groups share access to resources and opportunity.

Chang, who said we are currently facing “the struggle for the soul of America,” concluded that it is the job of artists, and of changemakers more broadly, to inspire people and to “manifest the idea of a nation that is yet to be.”

Attendees heard not only from artists who are doing just that—notably

The first evening of the Othering & Belonging Conference featured (from top) Academy Award-winning playwright **Tarell Alvin McCraney**; **Jeff Chang**, author and director of Stanford University's Diversity in the Arts; photographer and artist **LaToya Ruby Frazier**; and renowned economist and environmentalist **Jeffrey Sachs** from Columbia University

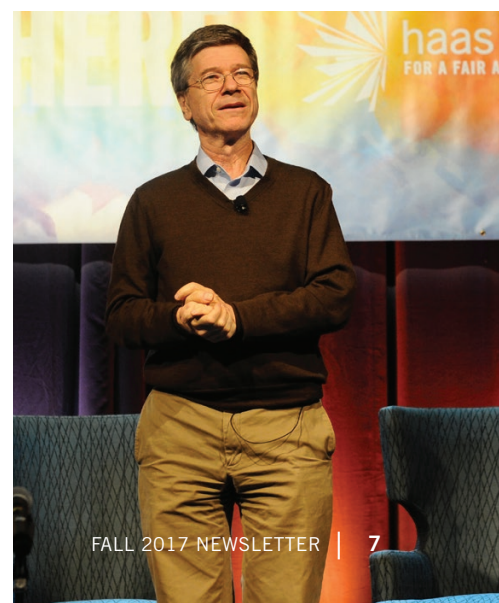
photographer **LaToya Ruby Frazier** and *Moonlight* playwright **Tarell Alvin McCraney**, both of whom discussed the role of the artist in elucidating and expanding popular notions of belonging—but also scholars, policymakers, activists, and others, each offering diverse expertise to help guide the fight for belonging.

Reiterating Chang's conclusion, Black Lives Matter co-founder **Alicia Garza** noted during one panel that her work as an organizer is to “cultivate the movement that I want, fully understanding it is not yet here.”

One keynote speaker, Stanford University sociologist **Doug McAdam**, emphasized that it is important not only to look forward, but also backwards in order to understand that the divisions we see today—especially in the rhetoric used to demonize people of color and other minority groups—are nothing new, “just the most extreme version of what we've seen recently.”

McAdam was highlighting a truth underscored by a number of other speakers at the conference: that the divisions President Trump embodies are a continuation of America's legacy of exclusion, and, secondarily, that the

cont on p. 9





Clockwise from top left: Masha Gessen and Sarah Kendzior; Rashad Robinson, Sabrina Smith, Zephyr Teachout, and Jonathan Smucker; Melissa Harris-Perry; Kumi Naidoo, Tarso Luis Ramos, and Saskia Sassen; Doug McAdam and John A. Powell; Chinaka Hodge; Ravi Perry, Marshall Ganz, Lisa Garcia Bedolla, and Taeku Lee; Voices of Reason singing; emcee Shakti Butler; Jidan Koon, Alicia Garza, Tara Houska, Zahra Billoo; Afia Walking Tree drumming



We need ever more deeper and connected movements and ideas that can work collectively to combat climate change, toxic inequality, racism, Islamophobia, and the global rise of exclusionary and authoritarian institutions and politics. -from the conference website

fight opposing the president's policies are just one part of a larger historical fight for justice. Renowned changemakers like former Greenpeace head **Kumi Naidoo**, scholar **Saskia Sassen**, and Color of Change director **Rashad Robinson** all echoed many of these sentiments from varying vantage points during their keynote addresses.

Robinson, who oversees the nation's largest online racial justice organization, emphasized that just having "presence" in the fight is not enough. "Presence is important," he said, "but it can't replace actual power. Power is the ability to change the rules." Robinson went on to argue that power should not be directed simply at tackling discrete issues, but at changing the system that creates them as well.

"Oftentimes we focus simply on the issues, not on the structures that got us here," he said, noting that the opposition has spent years strategically stripping away Americans of color's access to the vote—because it understands that "they cannot win if we can vote." Larger structures must be shifted in tandem with addressing smaller, more urgent challenges for lasting victory.

While many of the speakers centered their discussions on history, politics, culture, or organizing strategy, Haas Institute Director John A. Powell focused his talk firmly on the ontological, or notion of self.

In his speech on "practicing belonging in a period of deep anxiety," Powell provided a closer critique of

exclusion and division in US society through the entry-point of a very simple American phrase: We the People.

Who is "We," he asked, and who is considered "People"? For too long, that "we" has only included a small few, excluding groups like Black Americans, immigrants, members of the LGBTQ community, and others. Powell argued that stories about who "we" are are critical to reimagining a more inclusive whole. For too long, he said, "we" stories have been exclusionary, highlighting only the triumphs and suffering of a small group, with everyone else lumped into the secondary role of "Other."

Stories, he concluded, are critical to our shared survival as they allow us to suffer together. To hear others' suffering can serve to de-Otherize—and create a space of belonging. "Compassion means to suffer with others," Powell said. "We tell a story and we suffer together."

The conference concluded with an electric speech from scholar and journalist **Melissa Harris-Perry**, who



Destiny Junior Company of Destiny Arts

reminded conference-goers that those who are Othered in society often hold the most valuable and honest truths—and their insights can make us stronger. "The Others know that Trump voters are not uniquely deplorable," she said. "They are reflecting the race and gender values enforced in our culture and history." ■

VIDEOS, WRITE-UPS, AND MORE INFORMATION ABOUT PAST AND UPCOMING CONFERENCES CAN BE FOUND AT CONFERENCE.OTHERINGANDBELONGING.ORG

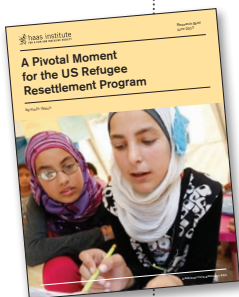
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A Pivotal Moment for the US Refugee Resettlement Program

BY KEITH WELCH

In an era of mass migration caused by violence, poverty, climate change, and other emergencies, the US has a unique capacity to support those who have been forced to flee their homes. This research brief provides a brief overview of the US Refugee Resettlement Program's history, analyzes the tensions facing the program, and discusses how the US can reaffirm its commitment to refugee protection during a pivotal era for international refugee protection. The author argues the US can and should play a stronger role in protecting and welcoming refugees, while also highlighting serious threats to its capabilities and effectiveness in today's turbulent times.

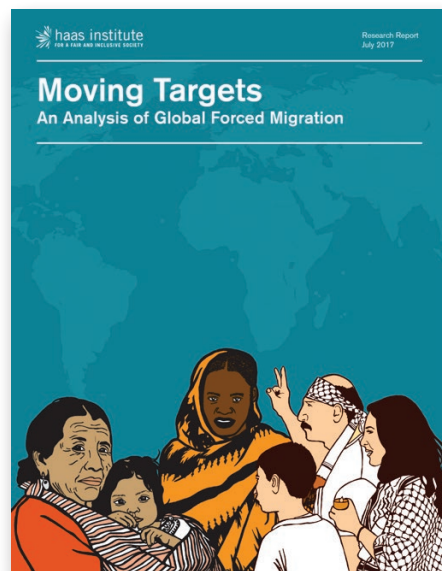


Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration

BY ELSADIG ELSHEIKH AND HOSSEIN AYAZI

This report investigates the historic and contemporary causes of forced migration as well as both the challenges and capacities of national and international refugee protections and resettlement efforts. This report provides an in-depth analysis of the historical and contemporary dynamics of forced migration worldwide, namely neoliberalization, securitization, and the climate crisis. The report also provides a critique of the causes and consequences of inequity in refugee resettlement, using as a starting point what is today commonly referred to as the “European refugee crisis.” Despite popular notions that frame the US and Europe as the primary regions impacted by the refugee crisis, the authors illustrate how these areas, with the exception of Sweden and Germany, actually host the fewest refugees relative to their population and wealth—yet have the potential to provide greater support to vulnerable displaced persons and refugees from around the world.

Aimed at advocates, practitioners, policymakers, and researchers, *Moving Targets* was written to provide a conceptual framework for understanding forced migration, support improvements in local, national, and international refugee policy, and identify research-based interventions to facilitate fairer refugee support mechanisms.



Doubly Bound: The Cost of Credit Ratings

BY MARC JOFFE

This report argues that municipalities are assigned credit ratings that are harsher than other asset classes. The paper uses an alternative model, with greater accuracy of past performance and risk, and measures costs that are incurred due to the harsher credit rating. This increased cost to municipalities included in the study is measured to be \$2 billion annually. Lower ratings typically result in higher interest rates—increasing the amount municipal borrowers must repay investors. The nexus of low ratings and needless bond insurance provides a mechanism by which the financial industry can extract wealth from local governments.



Funding Public Pensions

BY TOM SGOUROS

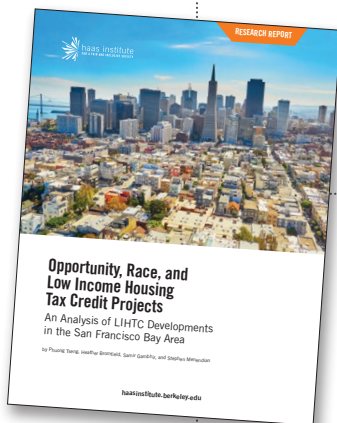
This report examines the logic behind accounting professionals' advice that pensions be fully funded, arguing that this logic doesn't apply to public pensions, since municipalities and states don't face the same risks as companies. The paper is accompanied by a CalSTRS data-based online visualization modeling the sustainability of a partially-funded pension plan—

underscoring its viability and ability to fulfill current and future obligations.

Opportunity, Race, and Low Income Housing Tax Credit Projects

BY PHUONG TSENG, HEATHER BROMFIELD, SAMIR GAMBHIR, STEPHEN MENENDIAN

This study comprehensively analyzes the administration of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program in California by examining LIHTC developments in the San Francisco Bay Area. This vitally important program shapes whether millions of Americans and their families have access to good jobs, safe neighborhoods, and secure housing. The largest federal housing program in the United States, the LIHTC redirects hundreds of millions of dollars per year in federal funds towards the creation and sustainability of affordable housing.

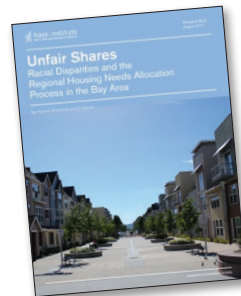


Unfair Shares

BY HEATHER BROMFIELD & ELI MOORE

This report offers an analysis of the authors' findings that Bay Area housing allocations for moderate- and low-income residents are correlated with cities' white population percentages. Analyzing housing data from 1999 to 2017 for

all local jurisdictions under the authority of the Association of Bay Area Governments, the findings raise legal questions about a potentially disparate racial impact in the Bay Area's current housing needs allocation methodology, and elevates concerns about housing equity in other parts of California as well.



Racial Equity Action Plans

BY RYAN CURREN, JULIE NELSON, DWAYNE S. MARSH, SIMRAN NOOR, NORA LIU

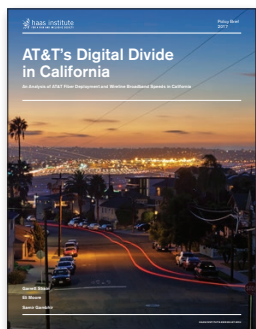
The Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE) published a new manual that provides guidance for local governments to develop their own Racial Equity Action Plans. After a national scan of promising

practices from cities and counties that have developed plans for racial equity, GARE created a Racial Equity Action Plan template to disseminate to its cohort of local and regional government actors working to achieve racial equity across the US. GARE believes that a Racial Equity Action Plan will help drive institutional and structural change—the goal is not a plan, but institutional and structural change, which requires resources to implement. A plan requires local governments' will and expertise to change policies, habits, and culture.

AT&T's Digital Divide in California

BY GARRETT STRAIN, ELI MOORE, SAMIR GAMBHIR

This report examines the deployment of high speed fiber-to-the-home service in California by AT&T, the largest telecom company in the state. The report finds that early deployment of the company's all-fiber service is concentrated in wealthier communities, relegating lower-income neighborhoods to less advanced technologies with slower speeds. Drawing on FCC data, the report highlights income-based disparities in service across 71 percent of California where AT&T provides phone and internet service. High-speed broadband is an essential conduit for opportunity, shaping access to education, employment, health services, and other spheres of life. Internet speed matters when it comes to equity and opportunity.



Othering & Belonging Journal Issue Two

Issue Two of the Journal features the work of a leading group of writers, artists, and other thought leaders who share insights and critiques on the many dimensions of exclusion and belonging around the globe. The second issue, published in April 2017, includes “Belonging as a Cultural Right” by Arlene Goldbard of the US Department of Arts and Culture, “The Endurance of the Color Line” by Soya Jung of ChangeLab, and the political cartoon “Divided and Platformed” from writer and illustrator Susie Cagle. The Journal is just one aspect of the larger Othering & Belonging framework and includes an online and print publication as well as the O&B bi-annual conferences. The Journal offers a comparative focus on different categories and emphasizes the dynamic interrelationship between them. The second issue of the Journal focuses on hope. Hope is built not only on the aspirations articulated by groups around the world, but also on the emergence of new organizational formations whose practices are meant to enact inclusiveness and belonging.



NEW STAFF

Welcome, New Staff & Scholars

Takiyah Franklin

serves as a core member of the Haas Institute faculty research clusters and program teams, supporting cluster research and Haas Institute program activities. Takiyah works with Taeku Lee and other Institute staff to provide direct coordination, program development, and administrative support to organize cluster and Institute project activities and agendas.

Takiyah also manages the Institute's activities under the Atlantic Fellows for

Racial Equity (AFRE) Program that supports courageous and creative leaders

dedicated to dismantling anti-Black racism in the US and South Africa.

Takiyah previously worked as the Admission and Outreach Graduate Advisor for the Department of Sociology at UC Berkeley and as a Program Coordinator for the McNair Scholars Program at California State University, East Bay. Takiyah is an Oakland, California native, a proud alumna of Dillard University, and earned her Master's degree in Afro-American studies from Wisconsin-Madison. Takiyah is committed to the vision of expanding the opportunity infrastructure of US higher education to realize a more just and inclusive society. Takiyah is a vocal performing artist, a mother of three, and an enthusiastic member of her spiritual community.



Basima Sisemore

is a researcher in the Institute's Global Justice program. Her research addresses Islamophobia and exclusionary practices that marginalize Muslims and other communities of color. As a 2016 Summer Fellow at the Haas Institute she supported the development of the "Thinking Ahead" speaker series. Basima completed her MA in Research Architecture from Goldsmiths, University of London. She was a Fulbright Research Fellow in Jordan and received her BA in Peace and Conflict Studies and Middle Eastern Studies from the UC Berkeley. Basima has worked extensively with community-based organizations in the Bay Area, managing programs that strive to increase social, educational, and civic engagement opportunities for immigrant women and youth.



Marc Abizeid

is the new Multimedia Communications Specialist where he manages the Institute's website, serves as editor of the e-newsletter, a feature writer and editor, and creates multimedia communication pieces such as videos and podcasts. Marc was previously working in Lebanon, in charge of the online news desk at The Daily Star newspaper and before that a journalist at Al-Akhbar English. He was also a writer for the communications office at the Lebanese American University and served as a media officer for Ralph Nader during his 2008 presidential run. Marc earned a BA in Politics and History at UC Santa Cruz in 2008, and an MA in Media Studies at the American University of Beirut in 2013.



Gerald Lenoir is the Identity and Politics Strategy Analyst. Gerald works with the Institute's Network for Transformative Change to organize the research, development, and promotion of a strategic narrative that fosters structural inclusion and addresses marginalization and structural racialization as one of its central pillars. Gerald is the founding Executive Director of the Black Alliance for Just Immigration and a founding steering committee member of the Black Immigration Network. He was the Executive Director of the San Francisco Black Coalition on AIDS and co-founded the HIV Education and Prevention Project of Alameda County. His opinion pieces and reporting on immigration, racial justice, apartheid, electoral politics, HIV/AIDS and other issues have appeared in Time Magazine, Black Scholar Magazine, the Oakland Tribune, New America Media, colorlines.org, among other publications.

Josh Clark is the Haas Institute's Tides Fellow, a joint appointment with the Tides Foundation. Josh is coordinating post-2016 election research, analysis, and strategy. Josh is a socio-cultural anthropologist with 12 years of experience in research and advocacy focused on racial justice, immigrant rights, and indigenous rights in the Americas. He has previously held positions at the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity, and Diversity at UC Berkeley, School of Law; and the Rapoport Center for Human Rights and Justice at the University of Texas, School of Law. In these roles, he contributed to numerous collaborations aimed at leveraging social science research and community knowledge for legal, policy, and social change. Josh completed his Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of California, Irvine and has a deeply interdisciplinary outlook and training, having also earned a M.A. in Latin American Studies from the University of Texas at Austin, and a B.A. in Political Science from Butler University. He is a graduate of K-12 public schools in Battle Creek, Michigan.



Meet all our staff and scholars online at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/staff

New Leadership Program Focused on Eradicating Anti-Black Racism

IN OCTOBER 2016, The Atlantic Philanthropies announced a new \$60 million leadership initiative dedicated to dismantling anti-Black racism in the US and South Africa, two nations with deep and enduring legacies of racial exclusion and violence. The new initiative, called the Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity (AFRE), includes the Haas Institute as one of “five renowned champions of racial equity” who were chosen by Atlantic Philanthropies to help conceive, design, and lead the program.

The AFRE program will be hosted at Columbia University and will support 350 fellows over its 10-year lifespan. The fellowship is designed to strengthen the work of academics, activists, authors, and others to enhance their understanding of anti-Black racism in order to lead successful movements for racial equity around the world. In addition to the Haas Institute, US program activities will be carried out in partnership with Black Organizing for Leadership and Dignity (BOLD), the Center for Community Change, and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The Nelson Mandela Foundation will coordinate programming in South Africa.

The Haas Institute and UC Berkeley will also receive additional resources from AFRE devoted to multi-disciplinary research and undergraduate student fellowships. “Being part of a renowned research institution such as Berkeley, we are in a position to engage directly with faculty and students to deepen research on the structural and narrative components of anti-Black racism,” said Haas Institute director John A. Powell.

“Prevalent racialized realities due to the enduring history of anti-Blackness are illustrated in our segregated neighborhoods, the racial

wealth gap, alarming health disparities, rates of mass incarceration, and more. These new resources will enable us to further examine root causes of anti-Blackness holistically through our lens of Othering.”

Kavitha Mediratta, the founding executive director of AFRE, noted, “Supporting multi-racial and multi-ethnic leadership to lead us forward could not be more urgent or essential. We are honored to support new scholarship at UC Berkeley focused on more deeply understanding the forces of structural marginalization and inclusion.”

The first AFRE cohort will be announced in November 2017. See atlanticfellows.org/for-racial-equity for more information. *SARA GROSSMAN*



Takiyah Franklin, the coordinator for the Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity (AFRE) program at the Haas Institute, poses in South Africa at the Mandela House in Soweto, while there to meet with fellow AFRE partner members, including the Nelson Mandela Foundation

A New, Inclusive Story for a Progressive California

Talking strategic narrative, racialized inequality, and the collaborative project building a "blueprint for belonging" in California with Olivia Araiza

In the fall of 2017, the California Endowment awarded the Haas Institute a major grant to support the Blueprint for Belonging project (B4B for short), the focus of which is to develop a strategic narrative and practices to help inform and bolster the work of progressive changemakers across California. Partners in the project include California Calls, PICO California, ACCE, California Endowment Building Healthy Community members, and others to be added as the project continues to develop. Editor Sara Grossman sat down with Olivia Araiza, who is leading the project as part of her larger role in managing the Institute's Network for Transformative Change, to talk about narratives and her team's own blueprint for the B4B project.



Olivia Araiza during a meeting discussing the work of the Blueprint for Belonging project

How can narratives shape worldviews? What are some real-world outcomes of the worldviews that we are seeing today?

Narratives shape how we make sense of the world we live in. They prime us to untangle the information that we receive from the media and culture as well as how we interpret our personal circumstances. Narratives help us answer questions such as: Why am I struggling so hard to make ends meet? Why have so many in my family been incarcerated? Is inequality acceptable?

How these questions are answered are, in large part, the culmination of competing narratives shaping our consciousness and opinions about society.

In this country, the dominant narrative has long stemmed from the supremacy of a white, male Christian worldview—this overarching narrative has shaped politics, public discourse, education, rules, and policies that shape government and the economy, and how we see each other individually and across communities.

What are some examples of social and economic narratives that are dominant today that may be leading to dangerous outcomes in California and across the nation?

One example of a narrative that has shaped California with implications nationally is the use of a simple bottom line argument to fight against or for public investments. By making the case that it costs X amount to incarcerate vs. Y amount to educate, it follows then that as long as X amount doesn't reach a specific threshold, then it's okay to incarcerate. Or perhaps we need to lower education spending to bring the two costs closer together? We have at times found it convenient to use the dominant narrative for tactical purposes at the expense of changing worldviews—we can't do that anymore. We have to transform the waters we swim in so we're prepared to always stand for inclusion.

How do you hope the strategic narrative will ultimately be used?

We'll know we have been successful in the long run if our values shape the legislature, if we establish a single payer health care system in California, start calling undocumented immigrants Californians, vote to reform Prop. 13—which limited property taxes in California and heavily reduced the state's ability to provide certain public goods—and begin to reverse racialized inequality indicators towards those that emphasize a healthy economy that includes the most vulnerable. These aren't low hanging fruit campaigns. Instead, these changes will require the coalescence of organizing power

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around a shared strategic narrative that aims to shape our collective identity. This political identity will have to cross regions, class, and communities—no small task, but with it we'll be able to amass a powerful counterbalance to corporate elites that have captured our economy and government.

How were the partners chosen for the project and how do they work together, especially in the challenging political and social environments we face today?

We launched the effort with ACCE, PICO-CA, and California Calls. From there we reached out to a broad cross-section of movements that are shaping the progressive infrastructure in the state. This is an open invitation project—we are hoping to co-develop strategic direction and tools with organizing shops, faith-based groups, academic and policy experts, and labor and government institutions. We come together in a variety of ways that meet the needs of the project and are responsive to the realities on the ground—that means partners plug in via committees, at convenings, in workshops, tailored trainings, and one-on-one conversations, among other strategies.

Has the work of B4B project shifted focus in the wake of Pres. Trump's recent actions that seem to be aimed at limiting inclusion and equity in the US? Do you believe California is in a unique position to resist?

I think everyone has shifted focus in the wake of the new administration! We've asked ourselves things like how can we accelerate our efforts, how can we best position California in the national landscape—do we have anything to offer? I think we do.

California is a leader in many respects—our population looks like the rest of the country will in the near future, our progressive infrastructure has matured and offers lessons for other parts of the country, we've experienced “white-lash” in various phases of the past and in some respects have turned the corner. And yet, we still are a member of the nation's leading pack on racialized inequality. How we use the assets listed above to usher in a new era that builds a comprehensive public infrastructure and economy for belonging will set the stage for the rest of the country. Our resistance will be rooted in moving our state towards inclusion by consolidating a Californian identity that can withstand the racialized politics of fear and resentment and act on our common values and vision for inclusion and healthy communities everywhere.

In the convenings held so far, what are the coalition of partners seeing as the greatest challenge to a progressive, inclusive California today?

We have to reign in corporate interests, continue to build up our civic engagement infrastructure, deepen community organizing to touch on identity formation, stomp out the embers that say “identity politics and immigration policy hurt us nationally,” learn how to address resentment of the Other—and then build our learnings into our practices, politicizing Californians in a way that results in a loud demand that our institutions to work for people, not for corporations. ■

PHOTOS BY TOMAS WHITEANTELOPE

Unpacking Gentrification Trends in SF Mission District

Our **Summer Fellowship** is a 14-week internship that engages emerging academics with projects aimed at bringing about transformative change in marginalized communities.

IN AN EFFORT to better understand different strategies for attaining communal preservation, the 2017 cohort of summer fellows visited several organizations currently working to combat gentrification practices in the San Francisco Mission District. Once occupied primarily by low-income Black and Latino populations, the Mission District is now a cosmopolitan social space for many of San Francisco's wealthier residents. The fellows examined community preservation strategies from three perspectives: art as resistance at The Clarion Alley Mural Project, the business of restorative economics at La Cocina Community Kitchen, and radically-inclusive social services at the Dolores Street Community Services Shelter.

At the **Clarion Alley Mural Project**, the fellows sought to explore how art can be used as a form of resistance in a modern context. Opened in 1992, the public art exhibition located in a block-long alley has hosted over 700 murals for the purpose of building an educated and equitable community in the Mission District. Current exhibitions include powerful images of local victims of police brutality, critics of capitalism, glorifications of Black trans women, and other justice-oriented works. With more than 200,000 annual visitors, this free tourist attraction uses socially conscious artwork to express utterances of resistance to an international audience.

“This space began as a meeting place for artists



BY DERRICK DUREN

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and activists here in the city,” said the project’s director Christopher Statton. “Neighbors would meet here to create art and talk social strategy. Over time, people collaboratively repaired more and more fencing along the alley, making room for more art.”

Next, at **La Cocina Community Kitchen**, the fellows sought to understand how a business that employs community members and prepares them to start their own businesses could be a tool for implementing structural change in the Mission District. The non-profit organization works to support small business owners from at-risk communities in attaining the certifications and knowledge necessary to maintain a successful Bay Area restaurant.

La Cocina Community Kitchen has graduated dozens of popular Bay Area restaurants, many of which are expanding outside of the region. The community kitchen offers members a state of the art space for commercial culinary practice that enables members to sell quality meals to a network of popular Bay Area distributors.

As the economy of the San Francisco’s Mission District is centered around culinary businesses, this community

kitchen is a hot spot for low-income Mission residents looking to become self-sufficient entrepreneurs. “We have made several business successes in the San Francisco market by changing the way they approach selling food,” said Culinary Manager Blake Kutner.

Last, at the **Dolores Street Community Shelter**, the fellows toured an organization pioneering radically-inclusive social services for the homeless. The Dolores Street Services Center is a crucial resource for the Black and Latino community members in the Mission District who are homeless or living with HIV/AIDs. The center runs churches and residential properties in the neighborhood that are some of the safest spaces for people at risk of being institutionalized. In 2015, the shelter opened 24 beds designated for Queer and Trans* people, making it the first LGBTQ+ shelter in the country. Today, the organization provides more than 100 safe bed spaces for men, women, and gender nonconforming people displaced due to the rising cost of living in the Mission District. The fellows unpacked the strengths and challenges of this organization’s unique structure as an exemplary social services entity.

Through these on-site research vis-

its, the fellows observed that resisting the negative impacts of gentrification is a layered issue that requires both accessible and intersectional approaches to community empowerment, and that these approaches must prioritize those who are most at-risk in a given community to be impactful.

Arts organizations are faced with the challenge of evading oppressive institutional funding, attracting audiences to socially-conscious topics, and thereby shifting power dynamics in favor of those at risk of indefinite displacement. Businesses interested in social equity must avoid perpetuating or validating gentrifying practices, create employment and investment opportunities within resource-deficient communities, design pathways for community development that can be self-sufficient, and show other businesses that being successful doesn’t have to be exploitative of any population. In addition, social service organizations must respond intentionally to the ever evolving needs of marginalized communities and assist holistically the multivariable livelihood of those most impacted by social inequalities.

The 2017 Haas Institute Summer Fellow cohort, along with Haas Institute staff, during their field trip in the Mission District of San Francisco.



Derrick Duren, a member of the 2017 summer fellow cohort who worked with the Richmond Partnerships program, spoke with the summer fellows about their experience and perspectives on the impacts of gentrification.

After seeing Clarion Alley and learning about its rich history, how has your perspective on art as a form of resistance changed?

EJ Toppin (Community Partnerships): Sometimes it's difficult to put words to the emotional damage forms of oppression cause, or to articulate the injustices one experiences or witnesses. To see artwork speak to that, to encapsulate exactly those thoughts and feelings, is empowering. I only worry that the point of the alley's art is being missed and going over the heads of the people who need most to understand why it's there.



What priorities do you think local officials in San Francisco should consider when creating policies that deal with property ownership in the Mission District?

Tanv Rajgaria (Leap Forward Project): Preservation of: local architecture, culture, lived histories, help for struggling communities that have been here or are becoming increasingly a part of the area. Rent control is a difficult game to play in America, but there should be a way to bend developers' ears into allotment of some number of lower-rent units, and supervision of where displaced people go (here being sadly realistic about the life and times we live in).



What are your thoughts on the supportive business model for new business owners, such as the one adopted by La Cocina, as both a consequence and benefactor of gentrifying populations?

Rhonda Itaoui (Global Justice Program): The business model at La Cocina is changing the way business is being done—providing the necessary infrastructure for entrepreneurs to adapt and survive within a rapidly transforming economy. However, this adaptability model highlights the minimal resistance to these transformations of the Mission District's local eatery character.



What are your thoughts on intersectional models of support for homeless individuals, such as the one adopted by Dolores Street Community Services, as a perpetual force toward an equal and equitable San Francisco?

Daniel Cheung (Blueprint for Belonging Initiative): The conversations with the individuals from Dolores Street Community Services were especially powerful and impactful. The responsibility of providing services and support to homeless individuals has fallen on non-profit organizations who are consistently underfunded by the city. The state has consistently failed queer and trans individuals by not providing the resources necessary not only to survive in San Francisco, but to thrive as well.



How do you think San Francisco's local officials can improve their understanding of community needs when making decisions regarding economic development in the Mission District? And, how would you suggest historic residents of the Mission change the structure of their local legislature?

Minahil Khan (Post Elections Strategy Project): Local electeds need to address the housing crisis as an issue of civil liberties, not economic development. Council members should work with housing advocacy organizations to bring back the Speculator Tax Ballot Initiative and help pass the measure. In addition, local officials in San Francisco should refuse any campaign donations from realtors and property developers. Re. the second question, a crucial initial step would be to pass a local policy that sets up a better public finance system for all San Francisco County/City candidates. A system in which candidates cannot accept any other private donations. Candidates should also be required to live the district they are running in for five years prior to the election. It would level the playing field so that more members of the community can run for local office.



Do you think that geographical spaces aimed at fostering communal knowledge for equitable social strategies are necessary in the Mission District?

Thomas Matthew (Law Fellow): Since it is often difficult for people to find time to do independent research, installation pieces or event spaces with an informational component could allow for shared, informal learning. ■



FACULTY
NEWS

At the core of the Haas Institute are more than 75 UC Berkeley faculty, organized into seven thematic clusters, who bring cutting-edge research to tangible and lasting impact. The seven clusters are:

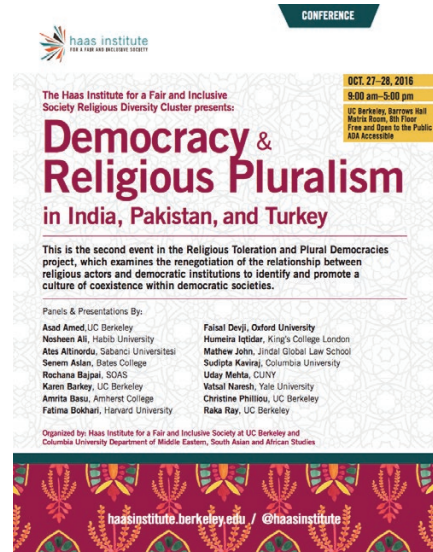
Disability Studies
Diversity & Democracy
Diversity & Health Disparities
Economic Disparities
LGBTQ Citizenship
Race, Diversity & Educational Policy
Religious Diversity

Democracy & Religious Pluralism: The Promise of Coexistence

The Haas Institute's Religious Diversity cluster hosted a two-day workshop at UC Berkeley last October that brought together academics and thinkers from diverse disciplines to share scholarship related to "Democracy and Religious Pluralism in India, Pakistan, and Turkey."

The workshop was the second event in a larger project that aims to examine how religious actors and democratic institutions renegotiate early compacts drawn at constitutional moments and the role of religious pluralism in these societies today. The "Religious Toleration and Plural Democracies" project, originally funded by the Henry Luce Foundation and now part of the Haas Institute's Religious Diversity research cluster efforts, seeks to identify and promote a culture of coexistence within democratic society.

The project rooted its work in three nations that have historically faced the challenge of fashioning democratic institutions within societies with long-standing religious traditions: India, Pakistan, and Turkey. Firstly, it looks at how these nations have negotiated the balance between the claims of religious groups and those of modern democratic institutions; Secondly, how democratically-elected regimes may now pose challenges to pluralism and coexistence. *SARA GROSSMAN, KAREN BARKEY*



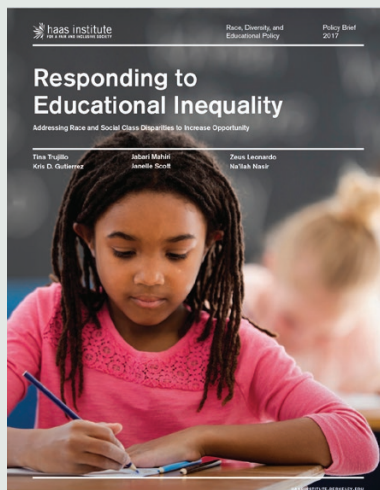
New Interdisciplinary Initiative at Berkeley to Focus on Migration and Immigration

GLOBALLY, CLOSE TO 250 million people have left their birthplace and now live in another country. Locally, more than one in four Californians are immigrants. The new **Berkeley Interdisciplinary Migration Initiative**—a partnership of faculty, researchers, and students—launched in order to investigate human mobility, immigrant integration, and the ways migration transforms societies around the world.

Haas Institute-affiliated faculty involved in the project include its new co-director **Irene Bloemraad**, **Kathryn Abrams**, **Lisa García Bedolla**, **Cybele Fox**, **Seth Holmes**, **G. Cristina Mora**, **Leti Volpp**, and Institute Associate Director **Taeku Lee**. The initiative aims to promote new research, train students, and share evidence-based information on migration with the public.

Intentionally interdisciplinary, researchers will "place the social, political, legal and economic dynamics of immigration in the Bay Area within global trends of economic mobility, forced migration and family reunification," notes the website. This includes drawing a holistic picture of migration that embraces new data-gathering technologies as well as on-the-ground fieldwork. "Some people say we are in a 'post-truth' world, but we reject that," said Bloemraad, who is the Thomas Garden Barnes Chair of Canadian Studies in Sociology at UC Berkeley and a member of the Haas Institute's Diversity and Democracy faculty cluster. "President Donald Trump has gotten key facts about immigration wrong, and we want to share the cutting-edge work being done at Cal to inform public officials at all levels of government, as well as the public and the scholarly community."

SECOND POLICY BRIEF FROM HAAS INSTITUTE FACULTY CLUSTERS NOW OUT



A new policy brief reviews scholarship by members of the Haas Institute's Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy research cluster and seeks to advance a broader and more complex understanding of the persistent failure of US schools in supporting youth from nondominant communities.

The report takes up a critical issue in education: the continuing reproduction of educational inequality in relation to race and social class. In doing so, it highlights several key issues in how we study and attempt to ameliorate disparities through educational policy.

Key findings in the report include that growing inequality, re-segregation, and structural racism pose fundamental challenges to America's schools and ideals of democracy, that educational policy perpetuates inequity through fiscal disinvestment, the application of universal interventions, and more, and finally, that educational policy can mitigate educational inequities.

Lisa García Bedolla Named Next Director of Institute of Governmental Studies

Haas Institute-affiliated faculty **Lisa García Bedolla**, who is the Chancellor's Professor in Education at UC Berkeley, was named the newest director of the renowned **Institute of Governmental Studies (IGS)** in July, becoming the eighth director of the UC Berkeley-based center. IGS aims to promote research, educational activities, and public service in the areas of American and California politics and broad domains of public policy.

The first female and Latinx person to lead the center, García Bedolla centers her research on how marginalization and inequality structure the political and educational opportunities available to ethnoracial groups. In her new role leading the IGS, García Bedolla says she aims to deepen ties to local Bay Area government and prioritize garnering the support of those who see the need for evidence-based approaches to decision-making at all levels of government. She also plans to adapt the Institute's publications to the way policy makers and citizens consume information.

In announcing her appointment, John A. Pérez, Speaker Emeritus of the California Assembly and a Regent of the University of California noted that García Bedolla is "a distinguished scholar who has considerable credibility with legislators and public servants."

García Bedolla is a member of the Haas Institute Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy cluster and the Diversity and Democracy cluster.



Professor Lisa García Bedolla

Leti Volpp To Helm the Center for Race and Gender

Professor Leti Volpp became the newest director of Berkeley's Center for Race and Gender, an interdisciplinary research center that supports critical and engaged research on race, gender, and their intersections. In her new role, Volpp succeeds Professor Evelyn Nakano Glenn, the founding Director of the center. Volpp is a well-known scholar and accomplished legal advocate who has been teaching law since 1998. She previously clerked for Judge Thelton E. Henderson and served as a public interest lawyer specializing in immigrant rights. She studies and writes about citizenship, migration, culture, and identity scholarship. She has received numerous awards including two Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships, a MacArthur Foundation grant, and the Association of American Law Schools Minority Section Derrick A. Bell, Jr., Award. Volpp is a member of the Haas Institute LGBTQ Citizenship cluster.



Professor Leti Volpp

ORIGINAL COLLAGES BY ALIMA JENNINGS



BY SARA GROSSMAN

THE POWER & PROMISE OF PUBLIC MEMORY

MONUMENTS REFLECT SOMETHING MORE THAN IRON AND STONE: THEY ARE THE PHYSICAL MANIFESTATION OF A COMMUNITY'S UNDERSTANDING OF ITS OWN HISTORY. THEY ARE ALSO REFLECTIVE OF THE STORIES WE TELL—OR DON'T TELL— TO OURSELVES AND OUR CURRENT AND FUTURE GENERATIONS.

THERE WAS NO NEED for white robes and hoods at this rally. The torches, the flags, the rage—it was obvious who these protestors were and what they stood for. And yet, despite the Confederate flags, weapons, and signs bearing swastikas, many at the rally claimed the protest was never about race or discrimination. Rather, they said, they were simply protecting Southern pride and heritage—and in this particular case resisting yet another “attack” on white America: the proposed removal of a Robert E. Lee statue from Emancipation Park in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Although the rally itself was organized by a professed white supremacist, not all opposed to the removal of the statue identified themselves in such radical terms. One attendee, captured in photos circulated widely online, argued that he wasn't the “angry racist they see in that photo.” “However I do believe that the replacement of the statue will be the slow replacement of white heritage within the United States,” Peter Cvjetanovic wrote.

Yet the protests that began that warm Saturday in August were never merely about maintaining a single chunk of sculpted metal or honoring a long-dead warrior. In fact, it was just one battle in a much larger war over US public memory and Americans' understanding of their own past—as well as their values and goals moving forward.

In May, just months before the Charlottesville protests, New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu astutely encapsulated the significance of a simple stone monument in seeking to explain why he had called for the removal of a Lee statue in his own city. “These statues...are not just innocent remembrances of a benign history,” Landrieu said. “These monuments purposefully celebrate a fictional, sanitized Confederacy; ignoring the death, ignoring the enslavement, and the terror that it actually stood for.”

Landrieu rightly recognized that monuments reflect something more than iron and stone: they are the physical manifestation of a community's understanding of its own historical narrative, despite how flawed or incomplete this

memory may be.

Haas Institute Director John A. Powell expanded on the importance of more complete and truthful stories in his speech at the 2017 Othering & Belonging conference. “How do we build bridges?” Powell asked. “We must hear other people’s suffering and stories.”

In this, Powell illustrated the key to moving forward during a time of fractured and competing public narratives: making space for the stories of suffering beyond those in the mainstream consciousness.

Compassion means to suffer with others, Powell added later: “We tell a story and we suffer together.”

While some US leaders like Landrieu have worked insistently to tell more truthful public narratives to help Americans “suffer together,” the man occupying our nation’s top leadership role seems unable—or unwilling—to do the same.

Thousands of miles across the Atlantic, however, another world leader took the opportunity to speak forcefully against the scourge of racism and hate that had erupted in Charlottesville—largely because her own country had reached the depths of such horrors. It was

southern half of the state.

It was upon this channel, at the tip of a perfect U-shaped bend dipping into the heart of Montgomery, that sat the heart of the region’s bustling slave market. Here, men, women, and children found themselves shipped as merchandise from the upper South to the lower parts of Alabama and humiliatingly marched down Montgomery’s Commerce Street. These slaves would go on to live on average no more than 21 years.

Despite more than a century of a regular and unrelenting slave marketplace in Alabama’s capital city, there are few public markers or memorials honoring this aspect of the state’s history or its victims, said attorney Sia Sanneh, whose office today buttresses the same street upon which those slaves marched more than a century ago.

But there do exist a vast number of public markers in Alabama celebrating the Confederacy, Sanneh said, as well as a Confederate Memorial Day.

Sanneh, a senior attorney with the Equal Justice Initiative (EJI) who represents individuals from impoverished communities facing incarceration, argues that public memory in Alabama—like in many places across the South

Weyeneth wrote in an email that many historians argue that “the North won the Civil War but the South won the memory of the war.”

not a place she wished to see the world return.

Days after the incident, German Chancellor Angela Merkel emphatically condemned the rally as “evil,” adding that “forceful action must be taken against [far-right violence], regardless of where in the world it happens.”

Still, in uniquely German fashion, Merkel held back from criticizing the US response altogether, acknowledging that her own country struggles to contain similar ideologies.

This attitude may, on first glance, seem inadequate. Yet, upon deeper inspection, there is much the US can learn from the German mode of self-critique and public memory—a model that emphasizes continuous self-reflection and the ongoing revisitation of past crimes. In a world where many Western nations, particularly the US, have increasingly begun to suffer from growing racism, xenophobia, and other forms of radicalism, perhaps facing the worst of one’s history is exactly what the doctor orders.

Snaking peacefully through the northeastern quarter of Montgomery, Alabama is the Gun Island Shoot, a waterway that ultimately joins with the Alabama River and meanders languidly through the

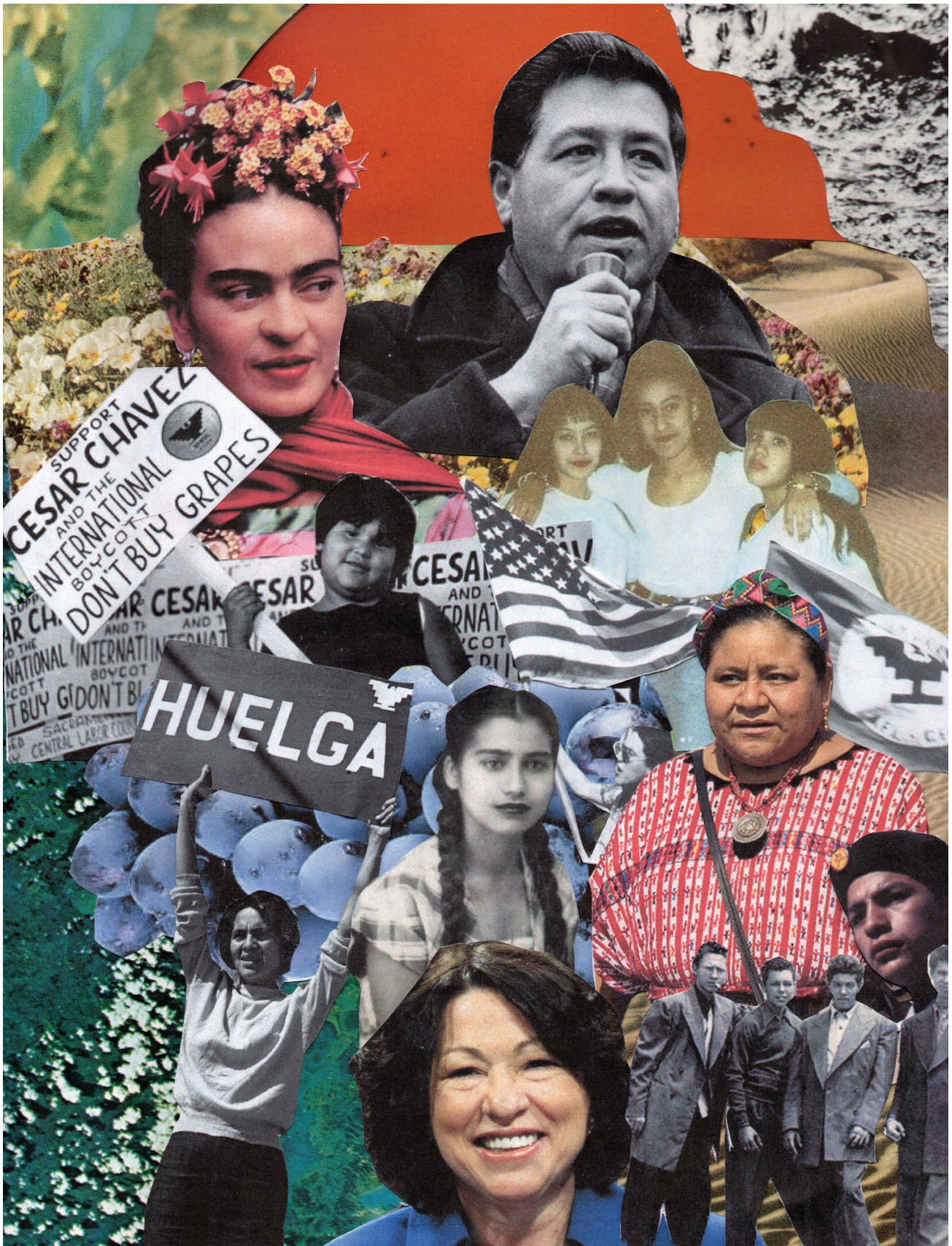
and US more broadly—is stifled by a strong desire to only represent victories of the past, or even to go so far as to reconceptualize grave injustice as valorous triumph.

Her conclusion was echoed by Robert Weyeneth, a professor of history at the University of South Carolina who specializes in historic preservation and public memory. Weyeneth wrote in an email that many historians argue that “the North won the Civil War but the South won the memory of the war.”

“The white supremacist narrative that [the post-Civil War period of] Reconstruction was a dark and terrible period of history when the good white people of the South lost everything to ignorant former slaves and rapacious Northerners became the national narrative,” Weyeneth noted.

For Sanneh and her EJI colleagues, whose daily work involves oftentimes-tedious legal fights on behalf of individuals from marginalized communities, this misremembering of a dark yet fundamental aspect of American history has led to greater challenges than simply frustrating cases of public amnesia. In fact, they argue, it has led directly to the bloated system of racialized mass incarceration they find themselves fighting today.

The US today has the highest rate of incarceration in the world, housing 22 percent of the world’s prisoners, de-



Commemorating Latino victories, stories, and leaders such as Cesar Chavez, Dolores Huerta, Frida Kahlo, and Sonia Sotomayor. Imagine what public memorials might celebrate if they acknowledged a past more strongly rooted in belonging?

spite having less than 5 percent of the world's population. Among the millions incarcerated in US facilities, nearly 60 percent are Black or Hispanic, despite the two groups jointly making up around 30 percent of the population. Furthermore, African Americans are incarcerated at a rate of more than five times that of whites, with statistics showing that one in three Black men will be arrested and

of our nation is incomplete, purposely remiss of the suffering, the pain, and injustice that was condoned by the government and never fully remedied or repaired.

"We've got to do a better job of telling a truthful history in public space," Sanneh concluded. "If we want to actually understand that dark past and confront it in a helpful way."

For most nations, the constant re-visitation of its most well-known disgrace would be unimaginable. But for Germany, this has, as *New Yorker* writer George Packer wrote, "freed the patient to lead a successful new life."

incarcerated at some point in their lifetimes.

According to a number of legal experts, these astonishing rates can at least be partially attributed to disparities in drug sentencing laws that target people of color in lower income communities, coupled with other "tough on crime" policies.

In other western countries, such a stunning rate of incarceration, coupled with a gross racial imbalance, would be immediate cause for national concern and search for policy solutions. In the US, public consciousness has only relatively recently taken note.

"When you see massive unfairness in a society, you've got to ask yourself: 'What narrative, what false ideas have been promulgated to allow people who see themselves as fair-minded to become comfortable with this level of unfairness?'" Sanneh said.

Over the course of a six year research project that attempted to answer just that question, Sanneh and her EJI colleagues found that the overarching public narrative that made systemic enslavement acceptable—that of an inherent Black inferiority that framed enslavement as not only necessary, but inevitable—never actually faded away. Over time, this narrative evolved into one that placed African Americans as the dangerous antagonist against the virtuous white hero, a widely-held public belief that has been used to justify lynching, segregation, and today's mass incarceration.

"There's a limit to the fairness of outcomes we can get for clients when there exist pervasive public narratives that make 'decent Americans' feel comfortable with suffering and unfairness," Sanneh said. "At least when those who experience it are poor and African American."

Sanneh and other advocates around the country have since begun recognizing the perhaps surprising importance of public narrative and memory in their larger fight for racial equity and justice. For them, the entire memory

The notion that it may in fact be healthy to remember and memorialize the darkest parts of one's history may be contested in the US, but it is hardly radical in another nation with a disturbing past: Germany.

The history of Germany, "is in a profound sense a history broken," said British historian Neil MacGregor in his BBC radio series *Memories of a Nation*. "So damaged that it cannot be repaired, but rather must be constantly revisited."

For most nations, the constant re-visitation of its most well-known disgrace would be unimaginable. But for Germany, this re-visitation has, as *New Yorker* writer George Packer wrote, "freed the patient to lead a successful new life."

"By confronting the twentieth century head on, Germans embrace a narrative of liberating themselves from the worst of their history," Packer wrote in a 2014 profile of German Chancellor Angela Merkel.

After years of silence on their nation's greatest crime—the genocide of six million European Jews along with millions from other minority groups—Germans ultimately underwent decades of self-reflection and public mourning. This introspection, while certainly painful, ultimately revealed a strange and unexpected treasure: the liberating awareness that oneself is never truly safe from humanity's worst, but the ability to learn from mistakes can help avoid the torment of repetition.

Perhaps the best illustration of this very conscious national awareness is, as MacGregor noted, the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin—a 4.7-acre sloped plaza home to 2,711 hulking concrete blocks. Just blocks from the memorial stand the shimmering glass-domed German parliament and Brandenburg Gate, the nation's most iconic historical monument.

The magnitude of a nation memorializing its own

crimes against humanity in the center of its capital city and in the shadow of its greatest civic monuments cannot be overstated.

"I know of no other country in the world that at the heart of its national capitol erects such prominent monuments to its own shame," MacGregor said.

In addition to the Holocaust memorial and other federal memorials to victims, visitors can find smaller monuments on almost every street in Berlin. Metal "stumbling stones" are lodged in the sidewalk in front of apartments where Holocaust victims lived, citing names, birthdates, and dates of death, and constituting the largest decentralized memorial in the world. Furthermore, most German children visit concentration camps as part of their school curriculum—and in doing so witness firsthand the brutality of people who were once just like them.

An ocean away, the US has embraced a very different narrative: that of American Exceptionalism. While the US, at least domestically, claimed the coveted role of moral victor in Germany's humiliating defeat after World War II, this same identity has served to block the US from fully reflecting on its own failings of virtue at the same time as this triumph.

As noted by historian John Bodnar in *The "Good War" in American Memory*, the entrenched exceptionalist narrative in the decades after World War II allowed the US to downplay remembrance of events during wartime, including widespread racism both within and out of the military, "that threatened to undermine faith in a liberal creed or hold the political community accountable for its misdeeds."

"Memory without accountability and anguish fostered a heritage of innocent people who held no liability for trauma or injustice in their past," Bodnar wrote.

Indeed, while millions of America's men and boys found themselves abroad fighting tyranny in the Second World War, fewer seemed to give as much thought to the horrific injustice found in their own communities back home.

But others did take note.

"There is currently one state in which one can observe at least weak beginnings of a better conception... the American Union," wrote Adolf Hitler in his 1925 autobiography *Mein Kampf*, which detailed the Führer's vision for a "better" Germany. Hitler took particular interest in US immigration laws of the 1920s, which heavily restricted the immigration, as he put it, "of physically unhealthy elements, and simply excludes the immigration of certain races."

According to Yale Law Professor James Q. Whitman in *Hitler's American Model*, the United States was "the leading racist jurisdiction" in the world at that time—so much so that National Socialist Germany looked to it for inspiration for its own racist lawmaking. Of course, this is not to say that the US was particularly unique in

its racism at the time. Merely, Whitman wrote, one should question just why, at least during their early years of leadership, the Nazis saw so much to admire in American racial practices—as well as to better identify the US's own capacity for appalling injustice.

The Nazis paid particular attention to the US's severe race-based immigration laws and quotas and its creation of unique forms of second-class citizenship for Black Americans (first enacted after the Civil War, when former Confederate leaders worked to block much of the racial progress envisioned under Reconstruction), as well as its strict anti-miscegenation laws, which forbade the "mixing of blood" between races.

America, Whitman wrote, "was 'the classic example' of a country with highly developed, and harsh race law...and Nazi lawyers made repeated reference to American models and precedents in the drafting process that led up to the Nuremberg Laws and continued in their subsequent interpretation and application."

"It was a familiar fact," he concluded, "that much of America was infected with the same race madness" as Germany, albeit aimed at different victims. With thousands of African Americans lynched by lawless white mobs in the early 20th century (to the disinterest of authorities) and millions others disenfranchised, exploited, and left to suffer in extreme poverty on account of their race—not to mention the complete destruction of Native American homelands, cultures, and peoples at the hands of the US

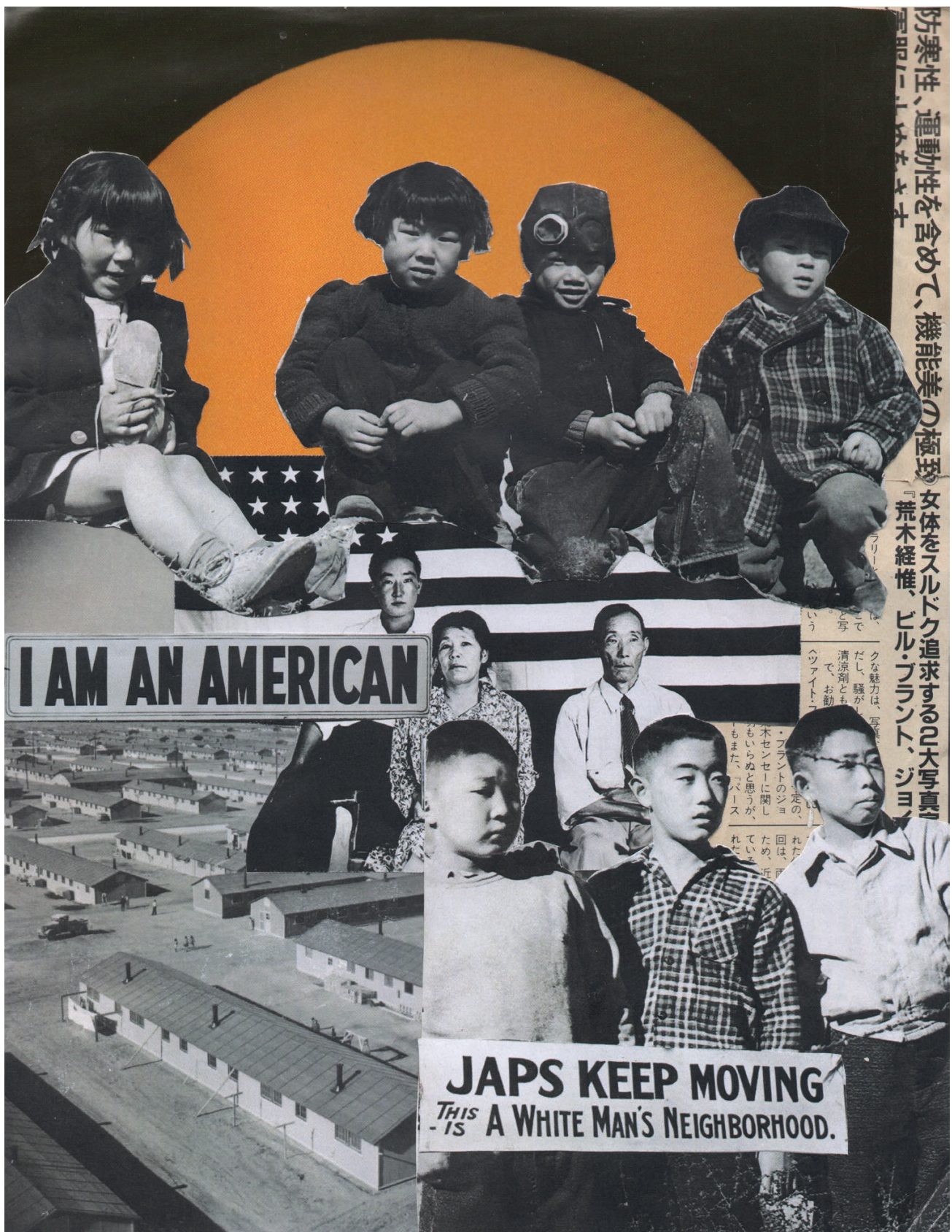
**..the ability to learn
from mistakes can
help avoid the
torment of repetition.**

government—it cannot be said that the US offered a gentle form of bigotry.

Black Americans "noted the irony of being asked to sacrifice for America and being subjected to hostility and segregation at the same time," wrote the historian John Bodnar in his book on public memory of World War II. It was this continued hostility that led Black leaders to call for the "Double V" campaign: victory against tyranny abroad and victory against racism at home.

That latter victory, of course, would take much longer to achieve.

This is, of course, not to say that the misdeeds of mid-century Germany and the United States are comparable, or that they should be compared, but simply that because of Germany's complete and utter defeat to the Allied powers, and a generation of youth that demanded its parents answer for Nazism, Germany underwent decades of self-



Remembering Asian legacies of discrimination in the US—what public memory might recognize for a fuller picture of US history, including the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II.

reflection and public mourning.

It was an undeniably agonizing process, but an ultimately fruitful one, as what emerged was a more somber nation and—despite a recent uptick in support for far-right politics—less prone to populist waves and more sensitive to racism, hate, and fascism compared to other Western European nations.

America, on the other hand, more than 150 years on from the Civil War and at least two generations away from World War II and the Jim Crow era, has yet to fully grapple with its own sordid legacy of injustice—no more so evidenced than with the ongoing fight over whether or not to memorialize a Confederate general in the heart of Charlottesville, Virginia.

Although many cities have struggled, like Charlottesville, to identify new conceptions of memorialization and public memory, a number of localities have identified diverse ways to acknowledge, honor, and bring to the surface dark pasts.

According to Robert Weyeneth of the University of South Carolina, there are many diverse and ongoing efforts around the country to reconceptualize and honor difficult parts of history. He highlighted the re-interpretation of slavery through the lens of slave resistance as a particularly compelling model for public memory.

“Thus, the site of a slave insurrection becomes a place where the persistent myth of slavery as a benign and paternalistic institution (“we treated our slaves well”) is unsustainable,” Weyeneth said. “These kinds of stories need to be discovered and candidly told, and they are in many places.”

Similarly, Sia Sanneh and her colleagues at the Equal Justice Initiative have spearheaded a massive effort to place markers at sites where lynchings occurred as part of its National Memorial to Peace and Justice.

This ambitious memorial to victims of lynching, to be launched in 2018 with its main structure in Montgomery, will consist of 800 columns, each representing a county where EJI documented lynchings. The names of more than 4,000 lynching victims will be inscribed on these monuments.

Similar to the “stumbling stones” for Holocaust victims across Germany, the memorial will encompass a secondary decentralized memorial, whereby counties in which lynchings took place can retrieve a column and return it to where the terrors occurred.

According to EJI, “over time, the national memorial will serve as a report on which parts of the country have confronted the truth of this terror and which have not.”

Still, memorials spearheaded by organizations like EJI may illustrate a key difference in the ways public memory is viewed in the US versus in Germany, said Valentina Rozas-Kraus, a Ph.D. candidate in Architecture at UC Berkeley whose research centers on cultural memory in California, Buenos Aires, and Berlin. Many US memori-

als, she said, are spearheaded and sponsored by affected communities or organizations (like EJI), rather than the government, while in Germany, remembering and enshrining the past is viewed as a public good—and are largely funded by the state, even if their conception began in affected communities.

“It’s a completely different relationship to building public memory,” she said, noting that she has been surprised by the prevalence of sponsor names engraved directly onto US memorials.

While there do exist many local and community monuments honoring the victims of systemic racism and other forms of injustice, such as the internment of Japanese-Americans in World War II or those who fought for civil rights in the 20th Century, there is still no federally-funded memorial or monument honoring slaves—the backs upon which the country was founded.

There does exist a federal monument to the nation’s greatest civil rights hero, Martin Luther King, Jr., as well as a National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, DC. Still, as historian Paul Finkelman told *The New York Times* in 2015, “It has to be said that the end note in most of these museums is that civil rights triumphs and America is wonderful.”

“We are a nation that has always readily embraced the good of the past and discarded the bad,” Finkelman said. “This does not always lead to the most productive of dialogues on matters that deserve and require them.”

That we need to represent our past “is the human condition,” explained Rozas-Kraus recently over coffee in Berlin, not far from a cluster of “stumbling stone” memorials lodged deep into the sidewalk. “We need places to think about history” and grapple with the emotions that arise in physical spaces of remembrance.

If public memory is healthy, she added, it isn’t fixed, but rather constantly reevaluated and re-understood in the context of the current political and social moment.

Expanding on this, Haas Director John A. Powell noted in a recent radio interview that societies are always changing—and memorials necessarily reflect that.

“There was a time in our history when we said most people don’t belong,” he said. “Women don’t belong, gays don’t belong, Blacks don’t belong...and it was during that period that many [Confederate] statues were constructed.”

And as we expand who belongs, he continued, we must inevitably reconsider what kinds of symbols and monuments will represent us—“the ‘we’ itself expands.”

“It’s not just white men deciding what is beautiful,” Powell concluded. ■

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An interview with Richard Rothstein on how the US government enacted policies to produce and maintain segregation—and the effects of these policies today. Rothstein was recently nominated for the National Book Award for his best-selling book, *The Color of Law*

SEGREGATION WAS NO ACCIDENT



BY MARC ABIZEID

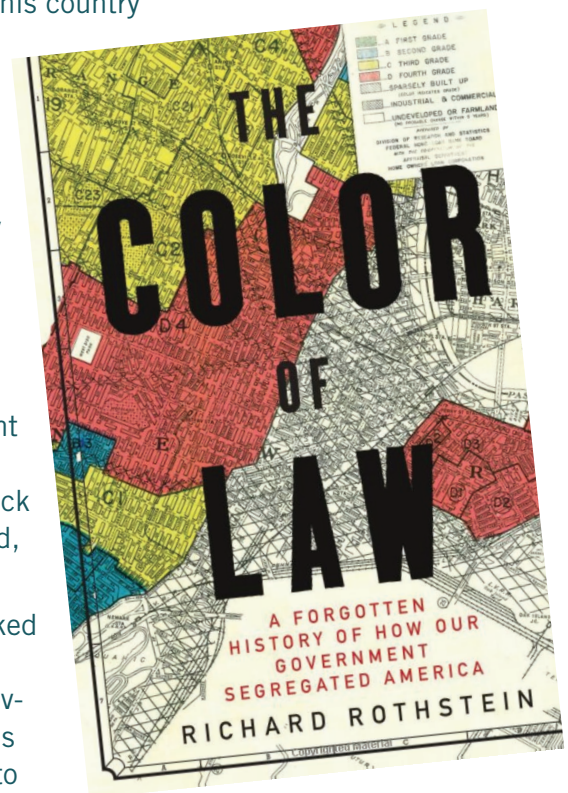
At some point over the past few decades, this country fell into a state of amnesia over how its towns and cities came to be so divided and unequal. **Richard Rothstein**, a senior fellow at the Haas Institute and an expert on education and race policy in the US, seeks to jog the nation's collective memory with his critically-lauded book, *The Color*

of Law: A Forgotten History of How the Government Segregated America.

The book, which was nominated in September for a National Book Award, details how the US federal government under President FDR's New Deal instituted a set of policies in the 1930s that explicitly separated white and Black residents. Existing mixed neighborhoods were demolished, their inhabitants forced to move to segregated areas.

Years later, in the 1950s, the federal government embarked on another program—suburbanization—that exacerbated segregation and racialized poverty in urban areas. The government's Federal Housing Administration carried out this program by guaranteeing loans to real estate developers to build thousands of homes outside major cities on the condition they be sold to whites only.

The following is an excerpt of an interview with Rothstein on his scholarship as well as his role in an upcoming Haas Institute conference marking the 50th anniversary of the landmark Kerner Commission report, issued in response to the 1967 race riots in Detroit.



Outline your book *The Color of Law* for us.

We have a national myth that the reason every metropolitan area is segregated is because of the actions of private individuals, and we call that *de facto* segregation. The reality is that residential segregation was created by racially explicit, purposeful federal policy designed to keep races separate residentially. And because the system of segregation is not constitutional, it requires a remedy. So in order to begin the discussion of how to remedy residential segregation we first need to be acquainted with the history of how the federal government created it and did so with a number of policies.

One such policy was public housing. The first public housing began during the New Deal as a response to the housing shortage in the middle and working classes, primarily white families. In many cases, the federal government during the New Deal, starting with the Public Works Administration, created separate projects for whites and Blacks by demolishing integrated neighborhoods. It continued during World War II, when hundreds of thousands of white and Black workers flocked to the centers of defense production in northern, midwestern, and western cities and had no place to live, and the federal government had to build housing to keep the assembly lines going for the war effort.

Beginning in the 1950s when the civilian housing shortage began to ease, the country suddenly developed a widespread situation where there were large numbers of vacancies in white projects, and large waiting lists for projects specifically designated for African Americans. And the primary reason that existed was that the federal government embarked on another program, and that was to create financial incentives for white families to move out of urban areas into white-only suburbs, and it did this with the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). They had a program of guaranteeing bank loans of developers of large subdivisions. The condition of the FHA's subsidy of these bank loans was that no homes be sold to African Americans. This was explicit.



Author and scholar Richard Rothstein

Why hasn't the federal government been able to acknowledge its role in imposing segregation?

Well I think the real question is why have all of us forgotten this history? The notion of *de facto* segregation is not something that is characteristic only of conservatives, it's shared across the political spectrum. As far as why, I think the reason is it is difficult to conceive of how to undo it. And rather than confronting the difficult choices we have to make to undo the

residential segregation that the government imposed, we've come up with this myth to excuse the fact that we're taking no action to undo it.

How do you view the role of private discrimination in segregating America?

I would never deny that there was private discrimination practiced by landlords, real estate agents, and banks.

But the whole system was structured by government policy...the entire landscape that we see today of segregated neighborhoods could not exist without government policy. You might even say that the government responded to private prejudice by implementing these systems, but the Constitution doesn't have a clause that says the federal government doesn't have to obey its constitutional obligations if it's unpopular.

What steps do you propose the government could take to reverse segregation in housing?

As white suburbs increased in value, and as homes appreciated in value, zoning ordinances were adopted that prohibited the construction of single family homes of modest plot sizes, or townhouses, or apartments in order to maintain the white character of the suburbs. If we understood this history we would prohibit exclusionary zoning ordinances and require their repeal, require inclusionary ordinances to be adopted that ensure that every community had a mix of low, moderate

One thing I do is I urge parents, and activists and inform the citizens to take action at their local school boards to ensure the history of *de jure* segregation, residential segregation, is taught accurately. Because if we do no better in educating the next generation about this history they'll be in as little position to take steps to reverse it as we've been.

and higher-income housing so we can begin to develop an integrated society.

Another thing we might do is withhold the mortgage interest deductions from homes in communities that refused to take steps to integrate. Now, that's a non-starter in today's political environment because there's no understanding of its constitutional necessity. But if we understood its constitutional necessity we could at least have a conversation about if that would be a wise way to proceed.

There are also two government programs that reinforce segregation. One is the Section 8 voucher program that subsidizes the rents of families for apartments which reinforces segregation both because the program does not prohibit discrimination against Section 8 voucher holders, and secondly, because the vouchers are calculated in such a way that are not adequate to rent apartments in middle class, high opportunity neighborhoods. The other major program is the low-income housing tax credit, which is a subsidy to builders to construct housing for low-income families. This program also reinforces segregation because most low-income housing tax credit developments are constructed in already segregated neighborhoods. This program can easily be reformed.

What will it take for officials to remember this history?

First let me emphasize I do not think the place to start is with federal officials. Federal officials are not going to acknowledge this history and begin to deal with it until the public does. The Supreme Court will not deal with this until there's a new consensus that we have an unconstitutional system of residential segregation.

So the first thing we need to do is educate ourselves about this history, and that's the reason I wrote the book. We need to have a national conversation about this. One place to start this national conversation is the way we teach this to our students, to our children.

In a part of *The Color of Law*, I report on an examination I did of high school textbooks, their use throughout the country, and how they report on segregation in urban neighborhoods, and they systematically misrepresent it as being something that was done without federal responsibility. So one thing I do is I urge parents, and activists and inform the citizens to take action at their local school boards to ensure the history of *de jure* segregation, residential segregation, is taught accurately. Because if we do no better in educating the next generation about this history they'll be in as little position to take steps to reverse it as we've been. So I think the first step has to be the development of a new national consensus. Only then will federal officials or local officials respond to it, and only then will judges respond to it.

Can you tell us a little about the upcoming "Kerner Commission at 50" conference?

The Kerner Commission, which was formed by President Johnson after the riots in 1967, issued a prominent report in February 1968, so we're going to commemorate its 50th anniversary.

The purpose of the Kerner Conference is to look back retrospectively at the report, discuss some of its recommendations and the challenges it faced, to assess what's changed between 1968 and today, assess the extent to which its recommendations have or have not been implemented, and try looking forward to think about what a new Kerner Commission might recommend today. The report in 1968 addressed housing, police-community relations, and education. Those are the main focuses, and each of those issues is unresolved today, but they take somewhat different forms than they did 50 years ago, so we're going to try to look to see what we might do if we were the Kerner Commission today to reframe those issue and make different kinds of proposals.■

FIND OUT MORE ABOUT THE KERNER CONFERENCE AT
HAASINSTITUTE.BERKELEY.EDU/KERNER50

PHOTO BY LAUREN AHN

On the Decision to Repeal DACA

AT MANY TIMES over the past eight months (and longer), this country has stood on the edge of the precipice of our values as we asked ourselves what truly "makes America great."

From the travel ban on Muslims, the indifference to the water in Flint, the deafening silence to the continued slaughter of trans women of color and the attempt to revoke criti-

cal health care from millions of people, to the blind eye to white supremacy in Charlottesville, the presidential pardon of torturer Joe Arpaio, and the rampant fear felt by immigrants of being targeted for deportation while trying to survive Hurricane Harvey in my hometown—each time this country's leadership has been faced with an opportunity to stand with, not against, the people who call this country home, they have made the wrong choice, choices that will have dire consequences for generations to come.

President Trump's cruel decision to end the DACA program after five years of measurable and heartfelt success is yet another wrong choice, one rooted in an inconsolable fear of the loss of white power.

As a DACA recipient for the past four years, this day comes not as a shock, but as an unfortunate confirmation that it is the very character, humanity and worth of immigrants that is under question, not simply our contributions or our ability to pay taxes.

More than a sense of disgust at the boundless cruelty of this administration, I am more disappointed in the shift in our own collective discourse and imagination as a country.

We continue to push forth a damaging narrative of who is worth inviting to the American dream, one that seeks to deem criminal the courage to migrate in any direction of hope and survival, one that holds immigrants to a double standard of perfection and threatens to deport them at the slightest of human mistakes, and one that, in the words of John Powell,

seeks to exclude from the circle of belonging those of us who will never neatly fit into the picture of what this country believes itself to be.

With or without DACA, you are worth so much more than what this country chooses to afford you at its whims. No matter where you are right now, know that you are seen and heard and held by community, and that your feelings are valid. Even as we remember that DACA was and never will be enough, I strongly encourage those impacted by its ending in whatever way to seek out community and mental health support today.

Your best revenge today is not only to survive, but to thrive and to take up space and to love and to fight for others and to keep the fire within you lit, no matter how heavy the rain, as its own act of resistance.

The exclusion of those of us who have always been told we will never belong only commits me deeper to the work of being stewards of our own stories and of painting, for ourselves and for each other, a new and inclusive reality. ■



BY KEMI BELLO



KEMI BELLO IS A FORMER HAAS INSTITUTE SUMMER FELLOW.

The Geography of Islamophobia



BY RHONDA ITAQOUI

JUST MONTHS AFTER the brutal murder of American Muslim Nabra Hassanen, who was assaulted and killed in June 2017 in Virginia, it has become more urgent than ever to interrogate the exclusion of Muslims in our urban spaces. Hassanen, just 17 years old at the time of her death, was attacked by 22-year-old Darwin Martinez Torres during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan as she walked to her mosque before dawn prayers. Torres followed Hassanen and her friends to a parking lot where he beat Hassanen with a baseball bat before killing her and dumping her body into a nearby pond. Police said the attack was motivated by road rage, not racial or religious hatred, but this claim has attracted criticism from her family and local activists who insist that the assault should be treated as a hate crime.

Violent crimes are increasingly shaping the reality of Muslims across too many Western nations. As Tara Isabella Burton wrote for *Vox*: “Regardless of Torres’s motivation...Hassanen’s murder seems to function in our national discourse about Islamophobia as a hate crime: shining a light on the insecurity many American Muslims feel when operating in a public space that...seems increasingly hostile to their presence.”

The documented increase in anti-Muslim sentiment and hate crimes demand that we question and challenge the extent to which Muslims are excluded from accessing various urban spaces safely and equally. Ongoing debates continue to be held in opposition to where Muslim buildings and organizations belong, and are accompanied by an equally strong desire to regulate, monitor, and control the way Muslim bodies access public spaces. Since 9/11, personal attacks, hate crimes, racial slurs, and discrimination in the public sphere have made it increasingly difficult for Muslims to access or even locate safe spaces, particularly for “visible Muslims,” such as women like Nabra Hassanen who wore a hijab in public.

Discussions on the Muslim experience too rarely acknowledge how these spatialized experiences of Islamophobia may shape how Muslims access, or avoid, various city spaces—what is called the “right to the city.” As a researcher in human geography, my interest in the spatial mobility of Muslims in the West explores how Muslims internalize and imagine their sense of belonging. I am

even more deeply concerned with how negative perceptions impact the way Muslims engage in the public sphere in response to threats.

My interests have been influenced by key scholarly analyses on how the geography of power is both shaped by and reproduces racism in urban spaces. Most compelling is how this geography of power leads to our awareness of being “in/out of place” according to where we do or do not belong.

In 2014 I conducted a case study of young Muslims living in Sydney, Australia which captured how threats, perceptions, and experiences of Islamophobia limited their rights in neighborhoods and other sites. According to those youth who I surveyed, Islamophobia “teaches” them how to perceive their sense of belonging, and affects the way they engage in public arenas based on how they imagine Islamophobia to affect the spaces. This “geography of Islamophobia” among Muslim youth in Sydney is significantly shaped by the absence or presence of Muslim populations in certain neighborhoods. Sydney’s western suburbs, home to Sydney’s largest Muslim population, were most associated with being accepting of Muslim identities, while regions like the elite north and eastern suburbs with an overwhelming white population, were associated with being unwelcoming of Muslims. This anticipation of racism across Sydney had a direct impact on the way these young Australian Muslims consciously or subconsciously navigated public spaces. Ranging from strategies of avoidance, identity concealment, or traveling in groups, the anticipation of Islamophobia most often resulted in disengagement from public spaces and regions of the city.

The most compelling example of this is reflected in the way Sydney Muslim youth actively avoid Cronulla beach, a decade following the 2005 Cronulla Riots. This “race-riot” was organized by locals, who encouraged “Aussies” via instant messages to “bring your mates and let’s show them that this is our beach, and that they are never welcome.” In response, a mob of over 5,000 gathered to “reclaim the beach” from non-white, Arab, and Muslim Australians. On the day, a handful of youth of “Middle Eastern appearance” were violently assaulted by the riotous mob draped in Australian flags, racist slogans such as “we grew here, you flew here” and Islamophobic hate slurs.

In response to the riot, Sumaya, a 25-year-old Muslim interviewee, indicated that she refused to visit the beach based on the events of that day. “I’ve never been there, just based on what was seen in the media and what was the aftermath of the Cronulla riots,” Sumaya said. Sumaya’s apprehension to visit Cronulla was echoed by all interviewees in my Sydney case-study, highlighting the problematic way that the racist instructions of the rioters were internalized, and translated into their disengagement from this region, even 10 years later.

Attacks against Muslim communities have similarly produced fears around belonging, marginality, and safety in the public sphere in many other countries. In the United States, the Southern Poverty Law Center’s (SPLC) Annual Census of Hate Groups and Extremist Organizations reported a 67 percent increase in Islamophobic hate crimes in 2015, and the number of anti-Muslim hate groups has tripled since Trump’s election. The Council for American Islamic Relations reported a 57 percent increase in anti-Muslim incidents in 2016, as well as a 44 percent increase in anti-Muslim hate crimes during the same period.

The tangible impact of this hostile political climate on Muslims in the US is perhaps best captured in the arson that destroyed the Islamic Center of Victoria, Texas, only hours after the Trump administration announced the first executive order suspending travel for people from seven Muslim-majority countries. Similarly, SPLC’s documentation of hate crimes tracked 300 bias-related incidents that targeted immigrants or Muslims in the first 10 days after the election.

Submerged in an anti-Muslim political climate, the threat to safety at Muslim sites of worship, and of people

like Nabra Hassanen in Virginia or Sumaya in Sydney, are at an unprecedented level.

Despite these pressing concerns around Islamophobia, personal safety, and access to urban space, discussions on racial geographies in the US too often fail to critically engage with the Muslim urban experience.

Discussions of racial geographies in the US have only just begun exploring particularly vital questions related to the impacts of everyday racism on how racialized groups—like American Muslims—access and navigate spaces in the US. Examining and addressing questions such as this not only drives the groundwork required to protect Muslim sites and people from rising anti-Muslim discrimination, but also interrogates the deeper geographies of power that reproduce racism in urban spaces for all “othered” groups.

The compromised safety of Muslim communities within Muslim-minority contexts has not only emphasized the evolving nature of racism and racialized groups in the US, but also urges us to reconsider how we deal with tensions between race, place, and power in urban areas.

In the aftermath of a white nationalist “Unite the Right” march in Charlottesville, Virginia that left one counter protester dead and 34 wounded, we must intentionally and continuously consider how to address struggles for power in public spaces.

The geography of Islamophobia is a clarion call for those interested in advancing racial justice to interrogate the geography of power and the power of geography in shaping the urban experience and equal access to the public sphere. ■

RHONDA ITAQUI WAS A 2017 HAAS INSTITUTE SUMMER FELLOW.

Challenging Trump's Travel Ban

Trump's Refugee and Immigration Executive Orders are Unconstitutional and Anti-Humanitarian

ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, President Trump issued an extraordinary executive order (#13769) under the title “Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Entry into the United States.” The scope and complexity of the order generated confusion among those charged with implementing it as well as the press and legal observers. In general, however, the order prohibited entry into the United States of both immigrants and lawful non-citizen residents (green card holders) from seven predominantly Muslim countries and suspended the US Refugee Admissions Program, of which Syrian refugees had been admitted under the previous administration. There were various exceptions provided, including a provision that would allow the Secretary of Homeland Security to prioritize refugee applications of religious minorities in the targeted countries.

Within days, a spate of challenges were brought across the nation. Over the next few weeks, federal judges in Brooklyn, Boston, Seattle and other cities issued stays, injunctions, and other forms of immediate relief. The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed a nationwide stay on February 9. Rather than appeal that decision, the Trump administration issued a new executive order (#13780) on March 6 under the same header that superseded the previous order. This new order omitted the exception for religious minorities, clarified that lawful visa holders from the named countries would be permitted to enter the country, and removed Iraq from the list of prohibited countries, among other changes. Clearly unhappy with the changes, ostensibly designed to survive a Supreme Court challenge, the president described this second order as a “watered down, politically correct version.”

Once again, challenges were brought across the nation, and federal judges issued stays and other preliminary relief. Both the Fourth and Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, in two separate cases, *International Refugee Assistance Project v. Trump* and *Hawaii v. Trump*, affirmed various forms of injunctive relief. Consequently, the Trump administration appealed these cases to the United States Supreme Court. On June 26, one of the final days of the Supreme Court’s term, the Court issued an order that lifted the stays issued by the lower court, but with some exceptions, including those applied to individuals by the

lower courts thus far or individuals with a “credible claim of a bona fide relationship with a person or entity in the United States.” Furthermore, the Supreme Court granted the petition for a full review this fall. The Court has since postponed oral arguments for this case in light of a new order from the Trump Administration, but will presumably issue a full ruling on the merits toward the end of the term in June next year.



BY STEPHEN MENENDIAN

The Haas Institute is committed to promoting a fair and inclusive society. As we observed in a report issued late last year, one measure of a nation’s “degree of inclusiveness” is that nation’s immigration or asylum policies. We explained that “[t]hese policies are reflective of the values and perspectives of the society vis-à-vis marginalized group[s], and how welcoming or tolerant the dominant group is of outgroups.” In particular, nativist and xenophobic strains of opinion are sometimes embodied in immigration and refugee

policies. Noting our nation’s poor history of exclusionary immigration policy, from the Chinese Exclusion Acts to the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1790, which restricted naturalization to “free white persons,” the United States has made tremendous progress in establishing non-discriminatory immigration and refugee policies.

Unfortunately, this new executive order is reminiscent of the United States’ legacy of racially and ethnically exclusionary immigration policies. As a candidate for President, Donald Trump called for a “Muslim ban,” and many regarded his orders as effectuating that intent. Although facially neutral, the orders issued by President Trump target Muslims intentionally and through its natural operation. Statements made by President Trump during the presidential campaign regarding his plans to implement such a policy, as well as statements by his surrogates, reveal a clear intent to target immigrants and refugees on the basis of religion. The provision in the original order providing exception for “religious minorities” in predominantly Muslim countries most obviously reveals this intent, by providing Christian and other religious minorities residing in those countries special treatment. Although the orders did not apply to all predominantly Muslim countries, the context in which this policy arose and contemporaneous statements regarding it support the finding that the intent of the policy is to target a particular group on the basis of their religion.

In my view, one of the stronger grounds for challenging the first executive order was the exception carved for religious minorities. Such an exception would require all applications to be classified according to their religion, a government action that is presumptively unconstitutional and inconsistent with equal protection principles. Even without that exception, there are strong grounds to believe that the second orders violate the Establishment Clause of the Constitution by expressing a religious preference, Muslim animus, and exceeds the president's statutory authority.

The equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees all persons the "equal protection of laws." Notably, this provision, unlike the Privileges and Immunities Clause of that same section, applies to all "persons," not simply citizens. Therefore, individuals within the jurisdiction of the United States who are refused admissions to the United States under this order are being denied equal protection of laws in contravention of the United States Constitution.

Nation-states have the authority to develop procedures and rules for whom they decide to admit into their borders, but treating members of a group differently because of their identity or beliefs is antithetical to our constitution and our values.

The United States is a signatory to the Geneva Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees, which establish the rights of refugees under international law. There is a critical distinction between immigrants, lawfully resident aliens (green card holders), and refugees. A refugee is a person who is unable or unwilling to return to her country because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political

opinion. Last summer, more than two dozen Republican governors expressed resistance to President Obama's plan to accept tens of thousands of refugees as a consequence of a civil war that has caused about 4.9 million Syrians to flee their homes. Shutting the door to refugees fleeing conflict is not simply antithetical to our core values, but also anti-humanitarian.

Following World War II, the US admitted 250,000 Europeans who had been displaced during the war. Congress then quickly passed legislation allowing for an additional 400,000 people. Americans witnessed immense suffering during the war and responded collectively by choosing to provide a safe haven to people whose lives were at risk because of their religious beliefs, ethnicity, or because they happened to live in the middle of a war zone. This legislation cemented the US's commitment to providing protection to refugees. Since then, our country has played a vital leadership role in encouraging the international community to provide additional protections. This policy represents not only a step back from moral leadership, but a collapse of humanitarian decency.

To many observers, President Trump's orders are most analogous to the infamous internment of Japanese Americans during World War II which was also a product of an executive order, and infamously and shamefully upheld by the Supreme Court in the notorious *Korematsu* decision in 1944. This decision upheld the internment more than 100,000 Japanese Americans, most of whom were United States citizens. Just as fears of Muslim "terrorism" lay behind Trump's executive orders, so did racist fears of Japanese enemy aliens underlie the issuance of the internment order. The *Korematsu* decision gave broad deference to the executive branch to take action against disfavored minorities. As it considers this case, I am hopeful that the Supreme Court will be mindful of history's judgment, and not make the same mistake. ■

STEPHEN MENEDIAN IS THE HAAS INSTITUTE ASSISTANT DIRECTOR AND DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH.

HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF ACTIVITIES

Below are major activities from September 1, 2016 to August 31, 2017 from the Haas Institute's staff of researchers, fellows, and strategic communicators. Led by Director John A. Powell, the Haas Institute advances impactful interventions to society's most pressing issues. The research agenda of the Institute is centered on collaboration with communities, partners, and advocacy organizations who share our values and a vision for a just and inclusive society.

SEPT 2016

SEPT 9: The **Government Alliance on Race and Equity** hosted a conversation and Q&A with **Rinku Sen**, author, activist, and director of social justice organization Race Forward.

SEPT 13: **Jim Pugh**, co-founder of the Universal Income Project and **Chris Benner**, professor and director of the Everett Program for Technology and Social Change at UC Santa Cruz led a conversation on universal basic income and how it can be used to tackle toxic economic inequality at a **Thinking Ahead** event titled, "Universal Basic Income: Is this the way we can tackle extreme inequality?"

Sept 22: Economic Disparities chair and research cluster member Professor **Hilary Hoynes** moderated a panel entitled "Work and Poverty" during an event on the 20th anniversary of welfare reform at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC.

Sept 27: Director **John A. Powell** wrote a blog post entitled "Implicit Bias in the Presidential Debate," in which he explains that while implicit bias is

prevalent, it should not be equated with racism.

OCT 2016

OCT: Haas Senior Fellow **Victor Pineda** participated in the UN's Habitat III conference in Quito, Ecuador, where he advocated for a broader inclusion of accessible technology in urban planning.

OCT: **Taeku Lee**, UC Berkeley Professor of Political Science and Law, was named the new Haas Institute Associate Director.

OCT: The Haas Institute co-released a report entitled "**The Science of Equality, Volume 2**," which synthesized a wide range of research on the impact of gender roles, implicit gender bias, and stereotype threat on the lives of women and girls, particularly in the workplace and in education settings.

OCT 18: In a blog post, Communications Fellow and UC Berkeley student **Kevin Figueroa** reflected on the experiences of xenophobia and anti-immigrant rhetoric aimed in part at the Latinx community during the presidential election season.

OCT 24: Director **John A. Powell** wrote a blog post, "Obama's People and The African Americans: The Language of Othering," in which he examines the history of naming Black Americans over the years.

OCT 25: The Haas Institute announced a partnership with the **Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity**, an ambitious new 10-year, \$60 million leadership initiative for courageous and creative leaders dedicated to dismantling anti-Black racism in the United States and South Africa.

OCT 25: Associate Director **Taeku Lee** wrote a piece for The Huffington Post on Asian American voters.

OCT 26: **Elsadig Elsheikh**, director of the Haas Institute Global Justice Program, participated in a faculty panel discussion on Building Equitable and Inclusive Food Systems at UC Berkeley.

OCT 27-28: The **Religious Diversity Research Cluster** hosted a two-day conference on religious pluralism with international scholars entitled "Democracy and Religious Pluralism in India, Pakistan, and Turkey."

OCT 29: Director **John A. Powell** shared his ideas on race and identity in a keynote address at the Psychotherapy Institute during an event, "Psychotherapy and Social Justice: A Dialogue on Othering and Belonging" in Oakland.

NOV 2016

NOV 1: The Haas Institute collaborated with the **Perception Institute** and **Black and Brown People Vote** to create a public service announcement aimed at increasing Black millennial voter engagement. The dynamic, inspirational spot used spoken word, the power of protest, and beautiful black imagery that underscored the importance of voting.

NOV 6: Communications specialist **Sara Grossman** published "Masculinity, Anxiety, and Fear of the Other in the Age of Trump," an essay that looked at the role of toxic masculinity, misogyny, homophobia, and anxieties around the Other that was amplified by Donald Trump during his campaign.

NOV 8: Assistant Director **Stephen Menendian** wrote

a blog post called "Season of the Demagogue" on the 2016 election.

NOV 10: The Haas Institute was a major co-sponsor of the Facing Race conference in Atlanta, held two days following the 2016 election. Haas Institute staff **Stephen Menendian** and **Gerald Lenoir** gave a workshop at the conference called "Developing a Strategic Narrative to Combat Structural Racism."

NOV 16: **Elsadig Elsheikh**, Director of the Global Justice program, wrote a blog piece about how the US presidential election reinforced Othering and intolerance, and what special significance that holds going forward.

NOV 17: Director **john a. powell** was featured in a new exhibit at Harvard Law school entitled "Diverse Voices."

NOV 19: Research manager **Eli Moore** offered a perspective on "Sanitizing White Nationalism: The Invention of the Term Alt-Right"

NOV 19: The Haas Institute co-hosted a community forum called Black Liberation and the Food Movement along with several community partners, where former Black Panther **Judy Juanita** gave the keynote address.

NOV 29: **Nadia Barhoum**, a researcher for the Global Justice program, published a blog post, "The Global Heart of Darkness," on the conditions she witnessed during a two-week volunteer trip to Chios, Greece, to work with refugees and asylum seekers.

NOV 29: Director **john a. powell** published a new blog piece relaying his perspective on our non-negotiable values of inclusion and belonging, entitled "Resistance and the Rebirth of Inclusion."

DEC 2016

DEC 2: The Haas Institute released a profile of **Osagie K. Obasogie**, the new endowed chair of the **Diversity and Health Disparities research cluster**, where he discussed his research on racial disparities in health, the myth of "colorblindness," and how blind people "see" race.

DEC 5: Senior Fellow **Richard Rothstein** published a perspective on Trump's choice for the cabinet position of Housing and Urban Development secretary, entitled "What Ben Carson Should Learn about Housing Segregation."

DEC 12: Senior Fellow **Richard Rothstein** wrote an article for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, using New York City as an example, explaining why school segregation is primarily a problem of neighborhoods, not schools.

DEC 14: Assistant Director **Stephen Menendian**, co-author of the Inclusiveness Index, published a new blog post about how California enjoys a reputation for inclusive politics and liberal attitudes, yet remains a deeply segregated and unequal state. These points are underscored by California's relative ranking in the Institute's new Inclusiveness Index report.

DEC 15: **Anne Price** spoke

at the Institute's monthly Thinking Ahead event with the theme "Rethinking Assets: Are We Ready to Leap Forward?" The thought leader and advocate discussed innovative research on extreme wealth inequality in US metro areas and how breakthrough policies, such as baby bonds, can end racial economic exclusion.

2017

JAN 2017

JAN 1: The Haas Institute published a new year statement from Director **john a. powell** reaffirming our commitment to the work as well as acknowledging the challenges facing our country this year. He wrote: "We must continue to lay the groundwork for the best future we can imagine now. Our work needs to be based not only on what is happening now, but also how we understand our past..."

JAN 12: Director **john a. powell** gave a keynote presentation to senior leadership and staff of Denver Public Schools. Speaking to an audience of 200+ on "Leading from the Inside: Creating an Equitable and Inclusive System", powell spoke to understanding how educational structures become racialized, having a trickle down effect on student performance and school ratings.

JAN 13: Director **john a. powell** met with the **Colorado Fiscal Institute** in Denver, for the institute's annual Fiscal Forum. Professor powell spoke to a large audience of community members, policy groups, and state and local

fundors about the othering and belonging framework and ways to combat structural racialization.

JAN 17: The Haas Institute was one of 130 organizations participating in the **National Day of Racial Healing** in the US, a day-long event hosted by the Truth, Racial Healing & Transformation (TRHT) Enterprise, an initiative funded by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

JAN 19: The Haas Institute hosted **Derecka Mehrens**, an activist from Working Partnerships USA, and anthropologist **Miriam Lueck Avery** from the Institute for the Future, at the monthly Thinking Ahead event with the theme of "Silicon Valley: Can the Epicenter of Toxic Inequality Become a Model of Shared Prosperity?"



The Haas Institute previewed their NewSocialCompact buttons at a campus panel event on Inauguration Day

JAN 20: Several Haas Institute-affiliated faculty participated in the campus forum entitled "Academic Engagement for Our Changing Times: Inauguration Day Dialogue."

The forum explored the effects of the 2016 election on research and priorities. Participants of the event included **Kris Gutierrez, Hilary Hoynes, Taeku Lee, Melissa Murray, John A. Powell, Mark Richards,** and **Na'ilah Nasir.**

JAN 26: The Haas Institute released a statement responding to the first six days of executive orders and memos from the Trump administration. Director **John A. Powell** noted that the set of policies represent "the latest illustration of what many see as a further dangerous slide into an authoritarian state which has deep overtones of white nationalism and neofascism... We must actively engage to rebuild and reclaim our democracy and its institutions."

FEB 2017

FEB: Haas Institute research manager **Eli Moore** was selected to be a member of the Equity Committee for CalSEED, a grants program for research on innovations in renewable energy. The California Sustainable Energy Entrepreneur Development Initiative is a professional development program for innovators working to bring clean energy concepts to market.

FEB: The Haas Institute received a major grant from **The California Endowment** to support the Institute's Blueprint for Belonging project (B4B), an initiative to develop a strategic meta-narrative based on inclusion and belonging in order to bolster the work of progressive changemakers across California.

FEB 7: Elsadig Elsheikh, Director of the Global Justice program, facilitated a talk, entitled, "We are Not Hungry: Genetically Modified Crops and Development Debates in Ghana." The presentation was given by Joeva Rock, a PhD candidate in Anthropology at American University.

FEB 8: The Haas Institute published a new animated video on the concept of **Targeted Universalism**, a framework that helps identify ways to solve many of society's most pressing issues.

FEB 8: The Haas Institute launched **A New Social Compact**, a collaborative effort produced by the Haas Institute with a coalition of partners to recognize that people are united by common values that guide their actions, even though they may have many different strategies for achieving their goals. See newsocialcompact.org for more information.

FEB 9: The **Just Public Finance Program** of the Haas Institute released a new research brief on the implications of public financial management that aims for public pensions to be fully-funded, titled "Funding Public Pensions: Is Full Funding a Misguided Goal?"

FEB 9: At the monthly Thinking Ahead event, the Haas Institute hosted public finance analyst **Tom Sgouros** and **Wendy Ake**, director of the Haas Institute Just Public Finance program, with the theme, "A Dignified Retirement: Who writes the rules?"

FEB 10: Haas Institute Researcher **Nadia Barhoum** was a guest on KPFA's "Voices of the Middle East and North Africa." Barhoum talked about the refugee crisis and her fall 2016 trip to Greece as a volunteer in a refugee camp.

FEB 21: Director **John Powell** was featured in "On Race & Privilege," an event at the Gem Theater in Kansas City that focused on structural racism and white privilege. In conversation with Dr. **Eddie Moore, Jr.**, Professor Powell discussed issues of policing, violence, early learning, wage/employment, and access to healthcare.

FEB 23: The Haas Institute partnered with **The American Cultures Center** and the **UC Berkeley Public Service Center** on a new workshop series entitled Engaging Contradictions. The first workshop in the series, Research Justice in Practice, featured a three-panel member (Miho Kim, former Executive Director at DataCenter; Lailan Huen, Oakland-based community organizer; and Claudia Reyes de Mujeres Unidas y Activas) who discussed questions around how research can be part of the voice and power of marginalized communities.

MAR 2017

MAR 6: Director **John A. Powell** and Senior Fellow **Julie Nelson** presented a day long workshop on trauma-informed care for members of the Multnomah County Health and Human Services Departments.

MAR 7: Communications specialist **Sara Grossman** published

"For Undocumented Communities, Fear and Anxiety on the Trump Agenda," discussing how fear has grown immensely in immigrant communities since Trump took office.

MAR 13: Director **John A. Powell** gave a presentation at the 2017 Population Health Forum.

MAR 14: The Haas Institute hosted economic historian **J. Brad DeLong** for the monthly Thinking Ahead lecture, "Clearing the Way: How can government promote shared prosperity?"

MAR 14: The Haas Institute published a new report that comprehensively analyzes the administration of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program in California by examining LIHTC developments in the San Francisco Bay Area.

MAR 18: The Haas Institute co-sponsored the 32nd Annual Empowering Womxn of Color Conference, "Unbound and Unboxed: Owning, Asserting, and Uplifting our Whole Selves." This year's aim was to "provide a space where women of color can come together to hear one another as we explore new imaginings of freedom and well-being."

APR 2017

APRIL: The Haas Institute published the second issue of the Othering and Belonging Journal.

APR 6: The Haas Institute cosponsored "How It Slips Away/We Still Here: A Blues Geography of Black Portland," featuring **Lisa K. Bates**, Associate Professor and Director, Center



A few of the Haas Institute staff at the 2017 Othering & Belonging Conference, including (l-r) Puanani Forbes, Kevin Figueroa, Zoe Leu Cassady, Alyson Reimer, and Tomas WhiteAntelope

for Urban Studies, and **Carolina Reid**, Assistant Professor of City and Regional Planning, UC Berkeley.

APR 12: The Haas Institute published a new report, "Doubly Bound: Cost of Credit Ratings," analyzing how municipalities are assigned credit ratings, as part of its Public Finance publication series.

APR 18: The Haas Institute released a research brief on the radical growth of wealthy endowments since 1977 and their cost to taxpayers. Entitled "The Ivory Tower Tax Haven" the report details how endowment growth at these colleges was supported by \$20 billion in annual federal tax expenditures as of 2012. This was part of the Institute's Public Finance publication series.

APR 19: The Haas Institute co-sponsored "Building Equitable and Inclusive Food Systems at UC Berkeley," which featured an unveiling of an interactive, participatory UC

Berkeley Foodscape Map.

APR 21-23: The Haas Institute co-sponsored the 8th Annual Islamophobia Conference. This conference provides an interdisciplinary platform to reflect and respond to the crisis of post-Cold War liberal order by exploring the relationship between Islamophobia and the reshaping of Western societies.

APR 22: The Haas Institute co-sponsored the Science Talk at Cal Conference, which focused on the challenges of communicating the sciences to the public, involving some of the best scientists and communications specialists from the fields of water, food, and climate change.

APR 25: **Richard Rothstein**, Haas Institute Senior Fellow and Research Associate at the Economic Policy Institute participated in "Author Meets Critics" to discuss his book *The Color of Law*. Rothstein offered insights into how residential segregation in America

is the intended result of racially explicit government policies at the local, state, and federal levels.

APR 30-MAY 2: The Haas Institute hosted its second **Othering & Belonging conference** in Oakland, California. Designed as a public forum to strategize about civic engagement and grassroots advocacy, the conference served as both an inspiration and active driver for bold action towards an inclusive and just society where all groups share access to opportunity and resources. The conference featuring a vibrant mix of scholars, movement leaders, artists, and changemakers.

APR 25: The Haas Institute released a report analyzing AT&T's fiber-to-the-home service in California, found that the early deployment of the company's "GigaPower" all-fiber service is concentrated in wealthier communities, relegating lower-income neighborhoods to less advanced technologies that offer markedly slower

speeds. The findings suggest AT&T's fiber deployment will exacerbate the "digital divide" in California.

MAY 2017

MAY 15: As part of its discussion series Thinking Ahead, the Haas Institute hosted **Sabeel Rahman** of the Brooklyn Law School, **Christina Livingston** of the Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment, Political Science professor at UC Berkeley **Paul Pierson**, and Haas Director **John a. Powell**. The theme was "From Domination to Prosperity: Building an Economy Where We All Belong," based on Rahman's new book.

MAY 31: Guest author **Jordan Luftig** of the Foundation for Sustainable Development penned a blog piece outlining his perspective and takeaways from our May panel discussion and social event. Jordan works as an educator, coach, conference organizer, and grantmaker



Haas Institute staff and the 2017 Summer Fellow cohort at the Summer Fellows culminating group presentation

to quicken the emergence of inclusive, integrative futures.

JUN 2017

JUN 1-2: Director **john a. powell** gave the opening keynote at The Mind Science Conference, presented by the Equal Justice Society, the National Center for Youth Law, and the Haas Institute. The conference showcased several panels of researchers and advocates on the topics of implicit bias and racial anxiety. powell provided an overview of the interconnectedness of implicit bias, explicit bias, and structural racialization.

JUN 3: The Haas Institute organized a symposium in Richmond, CA where dozens of local community members and advocates gathered to strategize on how to make the city more affordable and inclusive.

Local leaders and experts led workshops focused on strategies to address the housing crisis, including a discussion about permanent real estate cooperatives in the Bay Area led by the **People of Color Sustainable Housing Network**.

JUN 8: The Haas Institute released a report on the US Refugee Resettlement Program, highlighting the need for increased US support for refugees during an era of mass forced migration caused by widespread violence, poverty, climate change, and other devastating emergencies.

JUN 13: The Haas Institute hosted political scientist **Daniel Martinez HoSang** for the Thinking Ahead monthly event with the theme "A Wider Type of Freedom: Reimagining Racial Justice." He discussed how racial movements have redefined "freedom."

JUN 14: Director **john a. powell** presented at the London School of Economics (LSE) as part of the conference "Challenging Inequalities: Developing a Global Response" hosted by LSE's International Inequalities Institute. Speaking to a crowd of more than 400 people, john opened the panel "Othering and Belonging: Race, Poverty, and Disability", along with Baroness Lister of Burtersett and Liz Sayce of Disability Rights UK. The session explored how the dehumanizing process of Othering affects debates around race and ethnicity, as well as poverty and disability.

JUN 20: Director of Research **Stephen Menendian** gave a keynote talk at the Contra Costa Housing Forum in Pleasant Hill, CA to more than 100 housing activists, policy-makers, and advocates

on how to respond to the California housing crisis.

JUL 2017

JUL 3: The Haas Institute published a policy brief, "Responding to Educational Inequality", a synthesis of recent scholarship from faculty of the **Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy** research cluster of the Institute. The report, which addresses the persistent failure of US schools for youth from nondominant communities, takes up a critical issue in education: the continuing reproduction of educational inequality in relation to race and social class.

JUL 5: The Haas Institute published "**Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration**," which investigates the historic and contemporary causes of global forced migration as well as the challenges

and capacities of national and international refugee protections and resettlement efforts.

JUL 7: Director **john a. powell** was quoted in an NBC News article titled: 'Moral Authority': How Justice Thurgood Marshall Transformed Society.

JUL 13: For its monthly Thinking Ahead event, the Haas Institute hosted Richmond City Council member **Melvin Willis** and journalist **Steve Early**; the theme was "The Making of a Progressive City."

JUL 25: The **US Partnership on Mobility from Poverty**, a Gates Foundation-funded initiative of 24 leading voices in academia, faith, philanthropy, and the private sector, which includes Haas Director **john a. powell**, published a piece summarizing the Partnership's developing strategy around its mission to think creatively about what it would take to substantially increase mobility from poverty. The piece describes how the group's conversation substantially shifted in response to a comment from john powell: "Poverty is not just about a lack of money. It's about a lack of power."

AUG 2017

AUG 2: The Haas Institute hosted **Andrew Gross Gaitan**, the Campaigns Director at USWW, SEIU, who spoke about labor campaigns as part of the Institute's Summer Fellowship speaker series.

AUG 8: The Haas Institute hosted economist **William Darity Jr.** for an event entitled, "A Public Option

for Jobs" as part of its Thinking Ahead lecture series. Darity, from Duke University's Sanford School of Public Policy, argued that we can end racial disparities in the labor market and dramatically reduce or eliminate unemployment in this country—and it may not be as hard as we think.

AUG 9: The Haas Institute's Tides Fellow **Josh Clark** gave a presentation examining what happened in the 2016 election, and why. Josh is leading the Haas Institute's research and strategy on the post-2016 political landscape as well as coordinating efforts between the Institute and Tides to effectively support organizations and initiatives that advance inclusion and democratic engagement in the Trump era.

AUG 14: Director **john a. powell** charted the legacy of the Republicans' Southern Strategy of playing on racial bias to woo white voters in a widely-shared essay. "What were once coded messages are now explicit, loud, and clear, and are coming from those in the highest positions of political power," powell wrote.

AUG 17: In an extensive radio discussion with KPFA's "Letters and Politics" program, Director **john a. powell** discussed racial politics in the US, the violent protests in Charlottesville, current battles over free speech, and his thoughts on who gets to narrate and control the public stories about US history.

AUG 18: Director **john a. powell** was interviewed for *Washington Post* podcast "Can He Do That?" In the

interview, powell elaborated on the historical appeals of politicians to white voters.

AUG 20: Haas Institute senior fellow **Richard Rothstein**, an authority on segregation in America, penned an opinion piece in the *LA Times* detailing how the federal government created separate housing projects for Black Americans during WWII in Los Angeles, and why the city still remains segregated. Rothstein explained that companies in LA relied on a Black labor force for war production, compelling thousands to move to the area to find employment in factories, although they were kept residentially separate from whites. Government policies in the years following the war exacerbated segregation through suburbanization by granting loans to developers of white-only neighborhoods.

AUG 21: The Haas Institute joined 11 other civil rights and racial justice organizations in urging President Donald Trump not to pardon former sheriff for Arizona's Maricopa County Joe Arpaio, known for his egregious treatment of prisoners and undocumented immigrants. A joint statement signed by the Haas Institute notes that over Arpaio's two decades as sheriff, he turned Maricopa County "into a breeding ground of humiliation, intimidation, and racial profiling."

AUG 21: The Haas Institute's **Gerald Lenoir** wrote a perspective piece challenging all Americans to declare which side they stand: with torch-bearing neo-Nazis or with the multiracial crowds marching

for social justice. Likening the attacks on the counter protesters in Charlottesville to scenes from Birmingham in 1963 when police unleashed attack dogs on peaceful demonstrators, Lenoir writes that now is the time to finish what the Civil Rights Movement started.

AUG 22: A major housing program in California may see new changes to provide better opportunities for families as a result of collaboration between the Haas Institute and a housing task force convened by two state agencies. The California Tax Credit Allocation Committee (TCAC) and the California Department of Housing and Community Development convened the task force in February to identify an appropriate data-driven tool for measuring and mapping opportunity within the state. During the public comment period, the Haas Institute issued an open call to support TCAC's efforts to incentivize housing development in higher-resource areas.

AUG 23: The Haas Institute published a report, "Unfair Shares," showing disparities in the allocation of low- and moderate-income housing in Bay Area cities that are mostly white versus those that are more racially diverse. The report finds a clear correlation between housing allocations and cities' racial makeup based on an analysis of housing data from 1999 through 2017. The analysis suggests that the Bay Area is still wrestling with a long history of white resistance to housing development that would increase diversity.

Following the 2016 presidential election, the Haas Institute created the New Social Compact campaign to recognize that many of our foundational, democratic values were being called into question.

As John A. Powell wrote in The Huffington Post explaining the launch of the campaign, "Our core institutions and norms are under attack and in need of defending and reclaiming. There are certain things that most people consider not up for grabs in our society: Democracy. Human dignity. Separation of powers. Equality. Dialogue....there has been a general understanding that America was gradually moving towards a more inclusive society and future. For many of us, that belief has now been ruptured."

The Compact recognizes that even if we have different strategies for achieving our goals, many of us share the same goals. It is also a statement on those values and principles which are non-negotiable.

The campaign materials and website were created pro bono by Column Five Media and we launched the campaign with many co-signatories, both individuals and organizations, including Ai-jen Poo, Robert Reich, Andrew Solomon and PEN America, Sally Kohn, Dorian Warren, and hundreds of others. See the full compact and add your name or organization at newsocialcompact.org.



We will not allow the normalization of hate, exclusion, racism, misogyny, homophobia, and xenophobia in our society. These forces betray our values and if remain unchecked will overwhelmingly harm all people, our living planet, our future generations, and democracy itself.

We believe our society is in need of articulating a New Social Compact, one that is based on a set of core inclusive values, one that builds on our past and embraces our future. This compact recognizes our fundamental belief that we are linked by our common humanity, that we are bound together in our work to secure a fair and inclusive democracy, and that we are united in our commitment to care for each other and the Earth. The values in this compact are nonpartisan and reflect our grounding in a morality that recognizes the worth of all people. We believe these values are central to any legitimate democratic government.

Core Values

A belief in the dignity and humanity of all people.

A recognition that all people are connected to each other and to our living planet.

A belief in the rights of all people to fairly and freely participate in the democratic governing structures that impact their lives.

A belief in the responsibility of government, markets, and a civil society that work to serve the well-being of people, including the right to health care, education, food, and shelter.

A belief that it is untenable to enact policies that suppress opportunity.

A belief in the rights of free expression under the protection of the government.

Core Practices

We support efforts that advance the creation of inclusive and safe environments, including giving financial, political, institutional, and social support.

We commit to protecting and repairing the Earth from unalterable exploitation.

We prioritize protection and attention to groups who have been historically targeted, marginalized, and excluded; to those who seek refuge; and to those who become targets of attack or hate under any political administration or institution.

We refuse to legitimize politics and policies based on hate, racism, ableism, sexism, homophobia, Islamophobia, and exclusion; and we will resist all efforts to institutionalize them into policy, law, and culture.

We will take action when local, regional, or federal government actors, private businesses, or social movements ignore or violate the values in this compact, through dialogue, petitioning, boycotts, and nonviolent civil activities.

We support and defend the rights of free expression and a free media.

We support the right of people to organize collectively in their places of work.

We embrace a shared, pluralist approach with those who share these values, and we will work with all who practice them in a spirit of mutual trust and respect, regardless of political affiliation.

We live by the tenet that a democracy requires consent and trust in order to work, and we will not consent to violations of the values stated in this compact.

Call to Action

We call upon every person to hold themselves and our communities accountable to these values;

We call upon our government officials, private businesses, and social leaders to embrace these values in public and private spaces and to actively defend these values;

We call upon local, state, and federal actors to refuse cooperation with any government agencies that violate these norms;

We call upon communities to discuss this compact with their neighbors, coworkers, and local neighborhoods in order to explore ways of putting these values into practice;

We call upon all who believe in these values to display their support of this compact, including posting signs in public places, houses of faith, online, and in other media, to declare that all people are welcome and safe in our society no matter their political affiliation, religious beliefs, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status, physical ability, place of origin, membership status, or any other identity or affiliation.



A New
Social
Compact

See the full compact and add your name at newsocialcompact.org.

#Kerner50

FEB. 27-MAR 1, 2018

**PAULEY BALLROOM
UC BERKELEY CAMPUS**

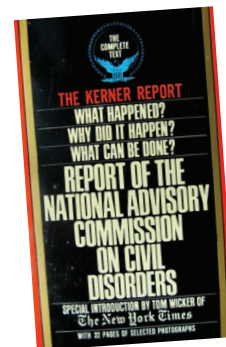
AND A SATELLITE LOCATION ON THE EAST COAST

THE KERNER COMMISSION

AT 50 **A CONFERENCE
ON RACE &
INEQUALITY
IN AMERICA**

**A Conference Exploring Race, Segregation, and
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