



HAAS INSTITUTE FOR A FAIR AND INCLUSIVE SOCIETY

University of California, Berkeley

Newsletter Vol. 2 Fall 2013

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HAAS INSTITUTE FOR A FAIR AND INCLUSIVE SOCIETY



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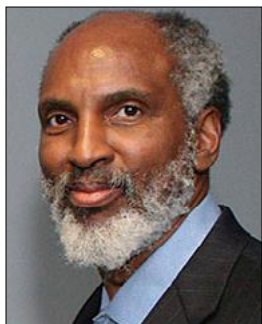
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DIRECTOR'S NOTE

TRANSFORMATIVE NETWORKS & RACIALIZED STRUCTURES



john a. powell
Director

The vision for the Haas Institute is unique among similarly situated academic institutions in a number of respects. In the previous issue of our newsletter, we shared our strategic vision and four strategic goals. In this issue, we share a particularly important aspect of our vision: our network vision. To accomplish our strategic goals requires more capacity and resources than any individual institution or organization can bring to bear. There is a growing recognition in many sectors that networks are an organizational form that may be necessary and suited to accomplishing the kinds of transformative change we seek.

Because networks represent a different vehicle for advocacy, it is important to understand the advantages and possibilities embodied in a network model. Networks emphasize participation rather than membership, and are able to forge new relationships and bring multiple stakeholders together to advocate for change. Steve Waddell's useful book, *Global Action Networks*, sketches out the characteristics and competencies of successful networks. Networks can operate simultaneously at different levels, leverage inter-sector relationships, and reach scales individual organizations can only aspire towards while maintaining the flexibility and dynamism that institutions sometimes lack.

The vision for our network has four pillars (see our Network Vision on the next page): academic research, policy advocacy, organized communities, and communications with the Haas Institute as one hub. The W.K. Kellogg Foundation has generously supported our network building efforts, including four convenings to identify network partners and issues. The enthusiasm around a transformative network is palpable amid a growing recognition of the need for new approaches to creating the kind of inter-sector, multi-level change we seek. As we build our network, be sure to check our website for more information on how you can participate.

On a different note, I recently contributed an article to the September/October Poverty and Race Research Action Council (PRRAC) newsletter entitled "[Deepening Our Understanding of Structural Marginalization](#)." My essay explained why a focus on disparities is often a mistake in trying to understand structural racialization and structural marginality. Scholars and researchers have long recognized the dangers of disparities data which, as Duke Professor Eduardo Bonilla-Silva has explained in his book, *Racism without Racists*, slip us into a colorblind racism frame. But disparities analysis also suffers serious conceptual flaws.

Most critically, a disparities approach suggests that the goal should be to eliminate the disparity. Yet, using what a dominant or advantage group enjoys as a baseline is often a mistake. Taking what, for example, able-bodied, white males enjoy in terms of health coverage is not necessarily a proper benchmark if the goal is to extend coverage to everyone. If the goal is 100% health coverage or, better still, universal access to a health care provider, then a benchmark tailored to reduce disparities will fail. The approach I call "targeted universalism" would help in a number of respects. It would set an appropriate universal benchmark. It would also foster improved outcomes for all, including white males. And, it would set a framework that is more inclusive, while attending to the needs of the most marginalized.

A disparities approach also suffers from other flaws. According to Rebecca Blank in her article, "Tracing the Economic Impact of Cumulative Discrimination," trivial or statistically insignificant disparities may accumulate over time or across domains, such that even a minor disparity can produce a much greater effect either at the group level or over an individual lifespan. A focus on disparities might overlook these larger effects. More deeply, disparities may also only be evident in material goods for which economic or other statistical indicators are available. The Court in *Brown* held that segregation was harmful even when material goods were equal because of the intangible harms of segregation. Access to social goods, social networks or intangible resources may be missed in a disparities analysis.

As I wrote in the PRRAC article, "even if we could eliminate the disparities in both inputs and outcomes, that does not mean we are living free of structural racialization." This point may seem especially confusing. Yet, consider the flip side of the disparity benchmark: southern municipalities closed public schools and swimming pools in the wake of the *Brown* mandate rather than comply with federal integration mandates. The lack of public education or public recreational opportunities might register as zero disparity, yet it is clearly racialized. Without a clear benchmark, we might measure no disparity; yet inhabit a deeply racialized or marginalizing structure. In the case of public swimming pools during resistance to *Brown*, there remains a disparity in status or belonging. Targeted universalism not only addresses the material disparity, but promotes improved conditions for all while addressing the "belonging disparity." Structures that are designed to block racial change or impede a more inclusive society may fail to register under a disparities framework, yet nonetheless have profound consequences. ■

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

NETWORK VISION

Building a network for transformative change is at the heart of the vision for the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society (HIFIS). By bringing together researchers, policymakers, stakeholders, advocates, grassroots organizations and communities across the nation to work in alignment to dismantle marginalizing barriers, we seek to fashion a more inclusive, just, and sustainable society. The Haas Institute represents a tremendous opportunity, perhaps unique in the world, to bring leading researchers and substantial resources across disciplines to bear on society's pressing and pivotal issues related to equity, inclusion, and diversity.

A key aspect of this is the development of a network to engage in meaningful change for marginalized communities. This is a new platform for advocacy. This network will substantially leverage the impact and capacity of the field on behalf of marginal communities. HIFIS' network will be deeper than a coalition, but less than an organization. It is a shared platform or structure that holds together, and has the capacity to support and link critical interdisciplinary and inter-sector relationships, with a particular emphasis on those that bridge social cleavages. The structure will be a larger, open network of participants to mobilize broad constituency and scale up to address intractable and enduring problems at every level.

The strategic vision of the Haas Institute, and of this network is built on four pillars:

I. ACADEMIC RESEARCH: The Haas Institute seeks to leverage the work of seven academic research clusters, composed of UC Berkeley's leading scholars. These research clusters will focus on the most pressing issues facing various distinct and interconnected populations. The leadership of the Haas Institute will guide the efforts of the intersecting clusters and leverage the Haas Institute network to craft holistic responses grounded in leading-edge academic research to the game-changing issues of our time.

II. ORGANIZERS AND STAKEHOLDERS: A key function of the Haas Institute network will be to enhance, if not create, the ability to work on issues that are complex, important, and impactful, but within areas that have not been addressed due to a lack of capacity or interdisciplinary foci. The Haas Institute seeks to develop a strong network of partners and allies, as well as a structure to support these alliances between researchers and stakeholders in the community and other institutions.

III. COMMUNICATIONS: The third critical element of building the Haas Institute network over the next five years is the area of strategic communications. In order to make a broad impact for marginalized communities and to shift the national conversation on issues related to equity, inclusion, and diversity, we need effective communication of discoveries. We need expert communicators to collaborate with researchers to frame issues in order to ensure the broadest dissemination, comprehension, and greatest impact.

IV. POLICY RESEARCH AND SOLUTIONS: The Haas Institute will develop the capacity to provide technical expertise to leverage the leading-edge research from the academic clusters, through the network of community partners and allies, into creative policy solutions for the game-changing issues of our time.

Thanks in part to a planning grant received from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation, the Haas Institute has begun constructing this network. HIFIS will serve as an initial hub for a vibrant network of researchers and community partners, and will take a leadership role in translating, communicating, and facilitating research, policy, and strategic engagement to produce change and make a meaningful impact. Our shared work will advance research and policy related to marginalized people, while essentially touching all who benefit from a truly diverse, fair, and inclusive society. ■

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

FALL ACTIVITIES

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society's fall activities reflect uncompromising engagement with advocates, scholars and marginalized communities, planning and infrastructure building, and the development of programmatic activities:

AUGUST, 2013

- To cap off the Haas Institute's first summer fellowship, the Haas Institute's staff and summer fellows planned a field trip in Oakland to deepen their appreciation and understanding of social justice advocacy. Read more on pg. 23.
- Director John A. Powell published a blog titled "[A Jury of Your Peers: Another Perspective on the Search for Justice for Trayvon Martin](#)." Powell discusses the case involving George Zimmerman and the killing of Trayvon Martin, arguing for a pressing need to continue the conversation and to address the underlying problems of the justice system.
- Director John A. Powell testified at the western regional public hearing of the American Bar Association's National Task Force on Stand Your Ground Laws, in San Francisco. The Task Force was created by the ABA to study, analyze, and assess the utility of Stand Your Ground laws and their potential impact on communities, public safety, the criminal justice system and individual liberties.
- The Institute published a blog titled "['Stop and Frisk' Practices in New York City Violate Constitutional Rights in Targeting Racial Minorities](#)," applauding Judge Scheindlin's 193 page opinion and order holding that the NYPD's stop and frisk practices are unconstitutional. Read more on pg. 9.
- Director John A. Powell presented as a workshop leader for a convening between the NAACP and Wells Fargo in Washington, D.C. His role was a follow-up to his June 2013 presentation on the ongoing and perverse effects of structural racism in the U.S. housing and mortgage system beginning in the early 1900s that have continued to have disparate impacts on the African American community.
- Director John A. Powell presented for board members and staff of the Ruth Mott Foundation in Flint, Michigan. Powell spoke to the realities of structural marginalization in a colorblind society, demonstrating the ways that our unconscious mind internalizes social schemas and implicit bias.
- Director John A. Powell presented at the launch of the Open Places Initiative, a new effort by the Open Society Foundation that will invest support to three to five organizations that are pursuing substantive priorities to advance justice, equity and democratic practice to bring about systemic change. Presenting to an audience of 16 organizations from around the country, Powell spoke to the ways that organizations could use place to build fair, inclusive movements for sustainable and radical change.
- Director John A. Powell wrote a [blog](#) discussing *All-In Nation: An America that Works for All*, a new book released by PolicyLink and the Center for American Progress. Powell recommends the book for advocates and policy-makers as a key starting point for advocating for change.
- Director John A. Powell contributed to a report and workshop summary on *Systems Thinking and Race*. Powell and his fellow author discuss communica-

tion and power and how they relate to one another.

- Director John A. Powell presented at the Union Theological Seminary on corporate misalignment. Powell discussed the rise of corporate power and its detrimental effects for social relations and democracy.

SEPTEMBER, 2013

- In late August and throughout the month of September, Director John A. Powell and Associate Director Michael Omi held meetings with the LGBTQ Citizenship, Diversity and Democracy, Economic Disparities and Health Disparities cluster faculty to continue building relationships and provide direction on shared goals moving forward.
- Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh met with leadership from the Undocumented Students Program at UC Berkeley to discuss a pilot joint undergraduate Fellowship program for undocumented students.
- Program Manager Eli Moore held a training session for community leaders and organizers in Richmond, California on analyzing the potential impacts and benefits of a new research campus planned for development.
- The Haas Institute held a training session for community leaders and organizers in Richmond, California, on how to analyze power in a campaign by conducting rigorous power structure analysis.
- Assistant Director Stephen Menendian wrote a blog titled "[Transportation is Housing Policy](#)," featured on the UC Berkeley blog. Read more on pg. 16.
- Director John A. Powell spoke at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Center for Civil Rights all-day conference: "To Make Real The Promises of Democracy." Powell addressed the *Mount Holly* case, and the need to continue to protect disparate impact claims under the Fair Housing Act.
- On September 16th, Director John A. Powell presented for policy and community leaders taking part in the conference, "Social Equity in Monterey County: New Policies for a New Reality," sponsored by the Nonprofit Alliance of Monterey County. His role was a follow-up to his October 2011 presentation on issues and questions related to system-level approaches that hinder or generate outcomes of fairness and equality.
- Associate Director Michael Omi gave a talk for the lecture series on "Race and Justice in Transnational Perspective" at the University of California, Merced.
- The Haas Institute co-hosted a lecture titled "Acting White? Rethinking Race in Post-Racial America," featuring Devon Carbado, the Honorable Harry Pregerson Professor of Law at UCLA. Professor Carbado is a nationally recognized figure in the field of Critical Race Theory.
- On September 20th, the Disability Studies cluster of the Haas Institute co-hosted a lecture titled "Disability Is Not Apology: Ableist Metaphor as Oppressive Tool," featuring Lydia Brown. Lydia Brown is an Autistic and multiply-disabled disability rights activist, scholar, and writer who has been honored as a Champion of Change by the White House.
- Director John A. Powell's students contributed their [critical reflections](#) to the Haas Institute blog on President Obama's speech at the 50th Anniversary of the March on Washington.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

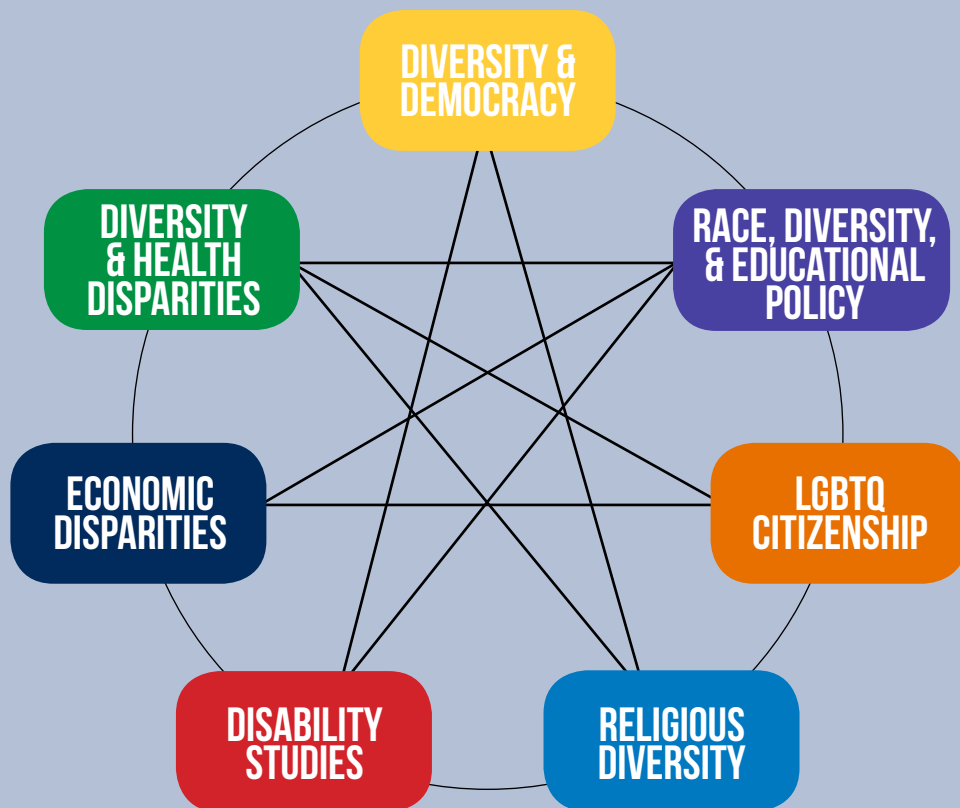
OCTOBER, 2013

- On October 1st, Director John A. Powell spoke at the Pacific Science Center, which is hosting the exhibit "[RACE: Are We So Different?](#)" Seattle Times article, "[Expert on race: Be open to change](#)," written by Jerry Large, highlights Powell's ideas during the talk, and his arguments around race and the role of the mind and institutional practices in racism.
- On October 3, Professor of Law Rachel Godsil from Seton Hall Law School wrote an article titled "[Are any white people poor?](#)" In this article, Godsil discusses the stereotype that most poor people are Black or Latino.
- Rachel Godsil recently published an article titled "[Race Talk and the Government Shut Down](#)." Godsil discusses the potential role of racial anxiety in the government shutdown and the continued opposition to a deal.
- On October 9th, the Haas Institute co-sponsored a lecture titled "The Egyptian Crisis: A personal account and report back from Egypt," featuring Shima Helmy. Shima Helmy is an Egyptian journalist and human rights advocate from Cairo, Egypt. In her talk, Helmy gave a first-hand account of the unfolding crisis in Egypt and the state of human rights and media activists, offering insight on what is next for Egypt.
- On October 15th, the Haas Institute co-sponsored a forum titled "15% and Growing: The Political and Civic Engagement of Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in California," with the National Asian American Survey (supported by the James Irvine Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York), the University of California Asian American and Pacific Islander (UC AAPI) Policy Multicampus Research Program, and the Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies Program. The forum featured Taeku Lee, Professor of Political Science and Law at UC Berkeley; Karthick Ramakrishnan, Associate Professor of Political Science at UC Riverside; and Lisa Garcia Bedolla, Professor of Education and Chair of the Center for Latino Policy Research at UC Berkeley.
- On October 16th, Director John A. Powell spoke at a panel titled "Economics and Theology" at the Union Theological Seminary, co-hosted by the Institute of New Economic Thinking. The panel discussed race and economy, and featured Powell along with Union Theological Seminary President Serene Jones, and Institute for New Economic Thinking (INET) President Robert Johnson.
- Director John A. Powell was featured in an article titled "[Inside the conservative brain: Tea Partyers are afraid](#)," written by Lynn Stuart Parramore.
- On October 17th, Professor Russell Robinson, Distinguished Haas Chair in LGBT Equity and Distinguished Chair of the [LGBTQ Citizenship research cluster](#), delivered a lecture titled "Dynamics of Race, Gender, and Sexuality in Constitutional Law." The lecture was a part of the Social Justice Thursday Series at the [Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice](#).
- Professor Imani Perry from Princeton University delivered a lecture titled "Interest, Intention, and Attention: Gender Liberatory Analysis and Practice in the 21st Century." The presentation invited everyone to think about how we push past some of the limitations of contemporary feminist discourses. The lecture was co-hosted by several campus organizations, including the Haas Institute.
- On October 19th, Director John A. Powell spoke on a panel at the 24th Annual Bioneers Conference at the Marin Center in San Rafael, California. The panel, "Beloved Community: An Invitation," was an emergent conversation about Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s powerful vision of 'beloved community,' in which all people share in the wealth of the Earth, and where love and trust triumph over fear and hatred. The panel included Connie Cagampang Heller (co-founder of Linked Fate Fund for Justice and consultant to the Haas Institute), Joseph Phelan (founder and co-principle of [WeAreNotTrayvonMartin.com](#)), and Catherine Lerza (philanthropic advisor, organizer, and consultant to Groundswell Fund).
- Director John A. Powell was featured in the Bioneers Radio Series: "[The Bioneers: Revolution From the Heart of Nature](#)."
- On October 21st, Global Justice Program Director, Elsadig Elsheikh was a guest speaker at the Autonomus University of Barcelona, Spain to deliver two online lectures. The lectures were on "Structural Food System Crisis" and "Specter of Islam: Othering and Misrepresentation."
- On October 25th, the Haas Institute co-sponsored a conference titled "From Coalitions to Comparativism: Practicing Chicana/Latina Studies and Asian/American Studies Now," with several campus organizations.
- On October 26th, Director John A. Powell and Program Manager Eli Moore gave a workshop on analyzing and transforming racial structures to over 100 community leaders and organizers from around the SF Bay Area. The workshop was hosted by the seven PICO-affiliated community-based organizations in the Bay Area as part of a strategic capacity-building process and ongoing partnership with the Haas Institute.
- The Haas Institute announced [three open positions](#) and posted them on the Berkeley Jobs website. The Communications Specialist 3, Program Assistant, and Network Coordinator positions are key hires that will allow the Institute to further strengthen its commitment to communicating across cleavages and reaching out from academia into the community.
- On October 28th, Director John A. Powell spoke at Stanford University for the Department of Psychology's Social Lab series. Powell's presentation covered his arguments around race and the role of the unconscious mind and institutional practice in racism, and ways to overcome disparities through the intervention of targeted universalism.
- On October 30th, The Haas Institute and the Warren Institute filed an amicus (friend-of-the-court) brief in the U.S. Supreme Court case of *Mount Holly v. Mount Holly Gardens Citizens in Action, Inc.* Download the brief on our [website](#) and read more on pg. 10.
- On October 30th, the Haas Institute co-sponsored the workshop, "Going Beyond Good Faith" with [UC Berkeley's Multicultural Education Program](#) and the Bay Area Inclusion Roundtable. Director John A. Powell gave the keynote address titled, "Unconscious Bias and the Role it Plays in Talent Acquisition." ■

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

RESEARCH CLUSTERS

The following are the Institute's seven research clusters focused uniquely on equity, inclusion, and access to opportunity. The diagram at right depicts the intersectionality of issues across clusters.



"Olympia"

Part of a collection of paintings disabbling the nude & the muse. By Katherine Sherwood, Professor of Art Practice & Disability Studies

SUSAN SCHWEIK

Distinguished Cluster Chair & Professor of English
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DISABILITY STUDIES

Cluster Overview:

Disability Studies aims to support theoretical and applied research, policy analysis, teaching, and community partnership on disability issues, at local, national and global levels. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Launching the search for a senior professorial position in Disability Studies.
- A packed room for the talk in September by Lydia Brown, an Autistic & multiply-disabled disability rights activist, scholar & writer, honored as a Champion of Change at the White House.
- Co-hosted Leslie Swartz, South African professor of Psychology, on new initiatives he is developing to improve communication access in a South African health care system.
- A large memorial gathering in October celebrating the life and work of internationally renowned playwright, poet, performer, filmmaker, and disability activist, Cheryl Marie Wade.

Cluster Members:

Mel Y. Chen, Lawrence Cohen, Catherine M. Cole, Frederick C. Collignon, Marianne Constable, C. Greig Crysler, Anne E. Cunningham, Christopher F. Edley, Jr., Sarah J. Hawthorne, Stephen Hinshaw, Paul Hippolitus, Georgina Kleege, Raymond Lifchez, Waldo E. Martin, Jane Mauldon, Guy Micco, P. David Pearson, Daniel Perlstein, Victor Pineda, Paul M. Rabinow, Juana Maria Rodriguez, Stephen Rosenbaum, Juliet C. Rothman, Kimiko Ryokai, Marsha Saxton, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Katherine D. Sherwood, Laura Sterponi, Charis M. Thompson. ■

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DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY

Cluster Overview:

We explore how liberal democratic principles and practices adapt to an increasingly diverse population. We examine five questions: (1) Whether liberal democratic or alternative political theories can accommodate diversity and difference; (2) The legal frameworks within which questions of citizenship, rights, and representation are negotiated; (3) The social and political processes by which identities are formed and reconfigured; (4) The involvement of diverse communities in pluralist and contentious politics; (5) The incorporation of diverse communities in local and transnational civil society. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Cybelle Fox won several book awards for Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration, and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal.
- Lisa Garcia Bedolla won several book awards from the American Political Science Association for Mobilizing Inclusion and Latino Politics.
- Irene Bloemraad recently published several works, including "Funding Immigration Organizations: Suburban Free-riding and Local Civic Presence," in the *American Journal of Sociology*; and "Immigrants and Civil Rights in Cross-National Perspective: Lessons from North America," in *Comparative Migration Studies*.

Cluster Members:

Irene Bloemraad, Christopher F. Edley, Jr., Cybelle Fox, Christopher Kutz, Taeku Lee, Samuel R. Lucas, Bertrall Ross, Jonathan Simon, Sarah Song, R. Jay Wallace. ■



[RODNEY E. HERO](#)

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DIVERSITY AND HEALTH DISPARITIES

Cluster Overview:

The Diversity & Health Disparities cluster addresses health inequities among ethnic & racial minorities & other vulnerable populations through research, teaching and policy activity on deeply rooted social inequalities within our society that result in disproportionate rates of illness and death in marginalized groups. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Seth M. Holmes, PhD, MD, published a book titled Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies: Migrant Farmworkers in the United States.
- Direct an interdisciplinary 15 week graduate course "Research Advances in Health Disparities," which is open to the entire campus and practitioners in the local community.
- Sponsored or co-sponsored additional speakers for campus presentations. More recently, the cluster helped co-sponsor a talk on health inequalities in the LGBTQ populations by Cecilia Chung, San Francisco Health Commissioner and foremost advocate of transgender health.

Cluster Members:

Charles Briggs, Julian Chow, Jason Corburn, Rucker Charles Johnson, Cori Hayen, Malo Hutson, Rachel Morello-Frosch, Mahasin S. Mujahid, Kurt C. Organista, Lonnie R. Snowden. ■



[DENISE HERO](#)

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE



RUSSELL ROBINSON

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LGBTQ CITIZENSHIP

Cluster Overview:

LGBTQ Citizenship focuses on sexual orientation and gender identity and the discriminatory and disparate treatment of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people (LGBTQ) in our society, paying particular attention to how issues of sexual orientation and gender identity intersect with class, race, nationality, gender, age, and disability. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Professor Robinson's forthcoming article, *Marriage Equality & Post-Racialism*, uses the Prop. 8 controversy, including the ensuing *Hollingsworth v. Perry* litigation challenging the law, as a window into relations between the black and gay communities. Although the marriage equality movement bills itself as a descendant of the black civil rights movement, it often treats its forefather as dead: The political rhetoric and legal arguments of the marriage equality movement routinely embrace post-racialism, the notion that American society has moved beyond racial difference and hierarchy. Such arguments imply that the struggle for racial justice is over, with gays supplanting blacks as the paradigmatic stigmatized minority. This is the first piece to identify the post-racial narratives at the heart of marriage equality argumentation—in the media, on the streets, and in the courts. It will be published by the University of California, Los Angeles Law Review in 2014.

Cluster Members:

Kathryn Abrams, Mel Chen, Lawrence Cohen, Juana Maria Rodriguez, Michael Lucey, Melissa Murray, Beth Piatote, Darieck Scott, Leti Volpp. ■

RACE, DIVERSITY, AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

Cluster Overview:

Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy focuses on educational policy, concentrating on two closely related areas: 1) policy and school reform related to educational inequality and 2) student context, community collaboration, and policy impacts. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Scholarship on nature of whiteness and white privilege in schools.
- Research on conceptions of race in alternative certification program, Teach for America.
- Research on the consequences of desegregation in schools.
- Research on immigration and education.
- Policy development and implementation work at national level.
- Enhancing web presence and making recent papers available for download.
- Planning for a spring cluster speaker series.
- Research on district-wide initiative to better support Black male students in the Oakland Unified School District.

Cluster Members:

Mark Brilliant, Christopher F. Edley, Jr., Lisa Garcia-Bedolla, Norton Grubb, Charles Henry, Rucker Johnson, Zeus Leonardo, Jabari Mahiri, Michael Omi, Janelle Scott. ■



NA'ILAH SUAD NASIR

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Chair & Associate

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ABOUT THE INSTITUTE

RELIGIOUS DIVERSITY

Cluster Overview:

The goal of this religious diversity cluster is to understand the ways that religious diversity affects inclusiveness, fairness, tolerance, conflict, and other aspects of social cohesiveness, health, & well-being. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Search for a distinguished senior scholar who studies the nature & sources of religious diversity & the implications of this diversity for the economy, society, & polity. The search committee is looking across a broad set of areas, including: political, sociological, legal, economic, or historical studies of the impacts of religious diversity on social and political conditions & how social institutions create or inhibit religious diversity & how religious diversity affects social institutions and religious tolerance and inclusiveness; anthropological, demographic, geographic, historical, humanistic, or sociological explorations of religious doctrines, meanings, practices, and membership; psychological, cognitive, linguistic, or neuro-physiological studies of the sources of diverse religious feelings, beliefs, and identities and of determinants of tolerance (or intolerance) for this religious diversity. The search committee is composed of Henry E. Brady, Steve Fish, Ron Hassner, Heather Haveman, Saba Mahmood, Victoria Plaut, & Ann Swidler.

Cluster Members:

Jerome Baggett, George W. Breslauer, Terry Deacon, Claude Fischer, Ron Hassner, Michael Hout, Dacher Keitner, Ann Swidler, Jason Wittenberg. ■



HENRY BRADY

Cluster Leader &
Dean of Graduate School
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ECONOMIC DISPARITIES

Cluster Overview:

Economic Disparities focuses on the evolution of economic consequences on populations that have been historically disadvantaged by society by virtue of their identity outside of the cultural majority or perceived norm, as well as the economic consequences of intersecting issues of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity, & other factors. Read a full description on our [website](#).

Fall 2013 Activities:

- Cluster chair Hilary Hoynes, Professor of Public Policy and Economics, joined the faculty and is actively engaging in building the community of cluster researchers.
- A search is underway for a junior hire for the cluster, with the search committee comprised of scholars from Public Policy, African American Studies, and Geography.
- Cluster member Steven Raphael (Public Policy) published a new book, [Why are So Many Americans in Prison?](#)
- African American Studies department hosted a symposium on "Black Folk Here and There."
- Cluster members Emmanuel Saez and Patrick Kline (Economics) released a new study measuring the intergenerational income mobility across U.S. cities.

Cluster Members:

Henry Brady, David Card, Karen Chapple, Karen Christensen, Paul Groth, Charles Henry, Percy Hintzen, Michael Johns, Rucker Johnson, Patrick Kline, Jane Mauldon, Enrico Moretti, Steven Raphael, Robert Reich, Jesse Rothstein, Emmanuel Saez, Stephen Small, Ula Taylor, Richard Walker. ■



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NYC STOP & FRISK PRACTICES VIOLATE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS IN TARGETING RACIAL MINORITIES

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society applauds Judge Scheindlin's 193 page [opinion and order](#) on holding that the New York City Police Department's 'stop and frisk' practices are unconstitutional. The opinion emphasizes the ways in which these practices target black and brown men in violation of not only the 4th amendment, but also the 14th Amendment. We believe that this opinion sets the new legal standard for evaluating police practices with disparate impacts on racial minorities and shines light on the injustice of racial profiling, which unfairly and unconstitutionally discriminates against racial minorities.

The opinion magnificently contests and rejects the assumption and stereotype that Black and Brown youth are more likely to be criminals. The Judge references President Obama's [recent remarks](#) about his own

experience with racial bias and the prevalence of unfair treatment of black men – who are often regarded as suspicious based solely on their skin color. Judge Scheindlin also cites Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow* in support of her assertion that "targeting racially defined groups for stops — even when there is reasonable suspicion — perpetuates the stubborn racial disparities in our criminal justice system." Additionally, the Judge delves into the facts and closely considers social science evidence that demonstrates the discriminatory nature of New York City's 'stop and frisk' practices and the police department's deliberate indifference to the racially disparate impacts of the practice. The opinion explains that racial profiling is subject to the highest standard of judicial review, strict scrutiny – and thus would only be constitutional if it is necessary to serve a compelling state interest – and stop and frisk, as implemented by the NYCPD does not meet that standard. ■

STRUCTURAL RACIALIZATION & FOOD INSECURITY IN THE UNITED STATES

Elsadig Elsheikh & Nadia Barhoum
Program Director & Research Fellow, Global Justice Program

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society recently submitted a report on "Structural Racialization and Food Insecurity in the United States" as part of the so-called shadow report compiled by the U.S. Human Rights Network (USHRN) to be reviewed by the United Nations Human Rights Committee for the International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR). The ICCPR outlines some of the most basic and fundamental rights that we should all enjoy, including the right to life and self-determination, and the freedoms of movement, expression, and religion. The United States signed the ICCPR in 1977 and ratified it in 1992, and, as signatory, approximately every four years, the U.S. government must submit a report to the United Nations Human Rights Committee to address its compliance in upholding its treaty obligations.

The U.S. government submitted its fourth periodic report in December 2011. The USHRN asks that a diverse coalition of civil society actors and stakeholders submit shadow reports detailing the shortcomings of U.S. government policies in adhering to the ICCPR. These shadow reports provide the Human Rights Committee (HRC) with more detailed information about the state of civil and political rights in the U.S., which

then allows them to more accurately evaluate the government's record in upholding its obligations, and provide recommendations under the ICCPR.

To this end, the Haas Institute submitted a report on structural racialization and food insecurity in the United States that called for increased government accountability and state responsibility regarding racialized outcomes pertaining to food insecurity and food deserts in the U.S. The report examines the disproportionate impact that food insecurity has on communities of color as a result of failed or insufficient government policies regarding the right to food and access to healthy food. The Haas Institute report calls on the federal government, legislative, and state authorities to act on: linking the right to food, to housing, school, employment, transportation, health care and other political and cultural opportunities; incorporating the right to food as a basic right within its rights-based approach framework; providing targeted government programs to low-income populations and communities of color that will guarantee the right to healthy and affordable food; and ensuring that all workers in the food chain industries have access to quality jobs with dignified working conditions and livable wages, among others.

The HRC was scheduled to review the shadow report on October 17 and 18, but due to the government shutdown, the review has been postponed and rescheduled for March 2014. Following the review, the HRC will issue its recommendations to the U.S. government. To read our full report, please visit our [website](#). Read about the USHRN & the shadow report on their [site](#). ■

MT. HOLLY AMICUS BRIEF FILED IN U.S. SUPREME COURT BY HAAS INSTITUTE & WARREN INSTITUTE



U.S. Supreme Court Building. Photo courtesy of Creative Commons.

Stephen Menendian
Director of Research

This nation's commitment to fair housing and integrated living patterns is in peril in a critical case reviewed by the United States Supreme Court this term. The Civil Rights Act of 1968, known as the Fair Housing Act, was enacted only after the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., and remains our nation's most important mechanism for promoting equal housing opportunity and disestablishing patterns of residential segregation. The Act prohibits housing discrimination and charges all governmental units with the duty to "affirmatively further fair housing."

The Haas Institute and the Warren Institute at UC Berkeley School of Law filed an amicus (friend-of-the-court) brief of 61 Housing Scholars in the U.S. Supreme Court on Monday in the case of *Mount Holly v. Mount Holly Gardens Citizens in Action, Inc.* The Township of Mount Holly planned to demolish homes and redevelop a neighborhood that is predominantly African American and Latino, displacing homeowners who lived there for many years. Residents of Mount Holly filed suit arguing that the redevelopment plan does not adequately provide alternative, integrated housing options within the Township in violation of the Fair Housing Act.

The *Mt. Holly* case presents the question (for the first time in the Supreme Court) of whether the "disparate impact" standard can be used to enforce the Fair Housing Act. The Haas and Warren Institute

brief explains why redevelopment plans like Mount Holly's have a disparate racial impact by setting out the history of governmental policies (federal, state and local) that created segregated conditions in our metropolitan regions, and illustrates how seemingly race-neutral government decisions and private housing choices both perpetuate and exacerbate those patterns. The brief argues that the disparate impact standard (which has been affirmed in eleven federal courts of appeals) remains essential to address the ongoing legacy of these historical policies.

Stephen Menendian, Assistant Director of the Haas Institute and one of the brief's drafters, explained that the brief was filed because "although our nation has made considerable progress towards racial equality, residential segregation remains pervasive more than four decades after the passage of the Fair Housing Act, limiting many families' opportunities for a better life." Menendian says that he and the 60 other scholars who signed the brief believe that disparate impact claims are necessary to ensure that governmental entities land-use or housing decisions account for residential patterns brought into existence through historical public policies and private discrimination rather than inadvertently perpetuate or exacerbate these patterns.

The Haas and Warren Institutes' brief is supported by 61 social scientists, housing historians, demographers and other researchers familiar with segregation and its effects. A full list of amici appear at the end of the brief, including Christopher Edley, Jr., Faculty Director of the Warren Institute; John A. Powell, Director of the Haas Institute; and Richard Rothstein, Senior Fellow at the Warren Institute and Research Associate of the Economic Policy Institute. Many other distinguished scholars have joined the amicus group, including Elizabeth Anderson, John Brittain, Nancy Denton, James Kushner, Ira Katznelson, Myron Orfield, Jr., Gregory Squires, among others.

To download a copy of the brief, visit our [website](#). ■

UPDATE

The Haas Institute for a Fair & Inclusive Society is delighted that on November 13th, 2013, the parties of the case of *Mount Holly Gardens v. Citizens in Action, Inc., et. al.* reached a settlement resolving the concerns brought by the neighborhood residents and community. Visit our [website](#) for more details on the settlement.

THE SAFETY NET: AN INVESTMENT IN KIDS

Hilary Hoynes

Professor of Public Policy and Economics

Distinguished Chair, Economic Disparities Cluster

Amidst the slow recovery from the Great Recession, some lawmakers have become increasingly concerned about the high rate of participation in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)—formerly known as the Food Stamp program. Today about one in every seven Americans receives benefits from SNAP¹, and nearly one in three American children² is a participant. Benefits average \$275 per month per household and can be used at grocery stores and farmers' markets to purchase most kinds of food.

With the recent bill passed by the House of Representatives that imposes a \$40 billion cut to SNAP, along with reforms that increase work requirements, this is a good time to re-assess the program's effectiveness. According to the Census Bureau's new Supplemental Poverty Measure,³ in 2011 the SNAP program lifted 4.6 million persons, including 2.1 million children, out of poverty; only Social Security and the Earned Income Tax Credit did more to directly reduce poverty.

But our new research finds that, in addition to providing these positive near-term impacts, SNAP likely pays significant long-term health and economic dividends for children who have access to its benefits.⁴ While some policymakers suggest⁵ that we have failed to appreciate the long-run harm to beneficiaries and taxpayers from SNAP and other safety net programs, our research suggests that, if anything, the opposite may be true: we have failed to appreciate the long-run benefits to participants—particularly children—and to the taxpayer from SNAP and other safety net programs.

Our research studies the introduction of the Food Stamp program—the crown jewel of the 1960s War on Poverty. The program was phased into different counties over the course of a decade, which affords us the opportunity to isolate the program's impact. We compare children who had access to the Food Stamp program during their first years of life not only to earlier cohorts living in the same counties prior to the introduction of the program, but also to those born at the same time in counties that had not yet adopted the program.

We find that in the short-run access to the Food Stamp program



Photo courtesy of Stock Exchange Photos.

improved infant health.⁶ In particular, pregnant women who had access to this safety net program during her third trimester gave birth to babies with higher average birth weights. The increases in birth weight were largest at the bottom of the birth weight distribution and in counties with the highest rates of baseline poverty.

Study after study has shown that early childhood health and nutrition is predictive of a child's success and well-being in adulthood⁷, so we also study whether young children with access to the Food Stamp program experienced better health and earnings outcomes in adulthood than children who had no access to food stamps. Examining adults aged in their thirties to fifties who had differential access to the Food Stamp program during their childhoods in the 1960s and 1970s, we found that adults' health—as measured by self-reported health status, obesity, and reported diagnoses of diabetes and other chronic conditions—was markedly improved if they had access to the safety net during childhood. In particular, we found that access to food stamps mattered most in early childhood, through ages three to five.

Among women (but surprisingly, not among men) we found improvements in adult economic outcomes ranging from increased high school attainment, to higher earnings, to reduced reliance on the safety net during adulthood. This last finding is important. Our results suggest rather than the Food Stamp program creating an inter-generational "welfare trap," the reverse is more likely true. Providing benefits to children at important stages of their development allows them to grow in ways that may help enable them to escape poverty when they reach adulthood.

This is part of a small but growing body of evidence that safety net

1 "Chart Book: SNAP Helps Struggling Families Put Food on the Table," Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Updated March 28, 2013, <http://www.cbpp.org/cms/?fa=view&cid=3744>

2 "SNAP Plays a Critical Role in Helping Children," Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, July 17, 2012, <http://www.cbpp.org/cms/?fa=view&cid=3805>

3 Kathleen Short, "The Research SUPPLEMENTAL POVERTY MEASURE: 2011," Current Population Reports, P60-244, November 2012, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p60-244.pdf>

4 Hilary W. Hoynes, Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, and Douglas Almond, "Long Run Impacts of Childhood Access to the Safety Net", NBER Working Paper No. 18535, Issued in November 2012.

5 For example see <http://www.capitalpress.com/content/jh-farm-bill-details-042913> and http://inplainsight.nbcnews.com/_news/2013/05/19/18307642-ax-hovers-over-food-stamp-program-as-costs-grow?lite

6 Doug Almond, Hilary Hoynes and Diane Whitmore Schanzenbach, "Inside the War on Poverty: The Impact of the Food Stamp Program on Birth Outcomes" Review of Economics and Statistics, May 2011, Vol. 93, No. 2: 387-403.

7 Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Commission to Build a Healthier America, "Early Childhood Experiences and Health," Issue Brief 1: June 2008.

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Photo courtesy of Stock Exchange Photos.

programs targeted primarily at reducing poverty also yield health benefits. For example, recent research shows that the Earned Income Tax Credit likely reduces the incidence of low birth weight⁸, improves maternal mental health,⁹ and reduces biomarkers associated with poor health for affected mothers. Providing vouchers to move to lower-poverty neighborhoods leads to an improvement in maternal mental health.¹⁰

In the context of the current congressional debate, our findings suggest SNAP benefits that go to children are better thought of as an investment than as charity. Not only do these benefits reduce poverty and ameliorate the current impact of hunger when families face troubles making ends meet, but they also help prevent the lasting negative effects of experiencing hardship during early childhood. These benefits accrue to more than just the direct recipient of the benefits—the long-term improvement in health, for example, implies a decrease in future taxpayer costs for health care. By investing in children, safety net investments today may actually reduce the costs of the safety net down the line.

This article first appeared July 1, 2013 in [Spotlight on Poverty and Opportunity](#). ■

8 Hilary Hoynes, Doug Miller and David Simon, "Income, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and Infant Health," NBER Working Paper No. w18206.

9 William Evans and Craig Garthwaite, "Giving Mom a Break: The Effect of Higher EITC Payments on Maternal Health."

10 Tama Leventhal and Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, "Moving to Opportunity: an Experimental Study of Neighborhood Effects on Mental Health," American Journal of Public Health: September 2003, Vol. 93, No. 9, pp. 1576-1582.

RESEARCH INITIATIVE: THE HAAS INSTITUTE INCLUSIVENESS INDEX

Samir Gambhir & Stephen Menendian
GIS Consultant & Director of Research

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society is pleased to announce the launch of a major ongoing research initiative which holistically measures the degree of inclusivity or marginality experienced by different groups across societal settings and social cleavages, such as gender, race/ethnicity, religion, and sexual orientation. The goal of the Inclusiveness Index initiative is to identify policies, interventions and other levers that have proven effective at ameliorating marginality and promoting inclusivity and equity. The Index is a diagnostic instrument intended to help us pursue that goal by illustrating how different metropolitan regions, states and even countries fare relative to each other in terms of inclusivity and marginality.

Though similar indices have been developed by other organizations such as The United Nations Development Program's Human Development

Index (HDI), the Haas Institute's Inclusiveness Index is unique as a research tool to measure inclusion of underserved and marginalized communities within our society, nationally and internationally. Supported by seven academic research clusters investigating particular forms of marginality (see pages 5-8), the Haas Institute is holistically focused on processes of "othering" and marginalization which share common structures and features (see, for example, our feature article, "Marriage Equality in the United States: A Visual Comparison of State Prohibitions on Same-Sex & Inter-Racial Marriage," page 20). The Haas Institute is most concerned with the structural barriers that engender inclusion or marginality across multiple social cleavages.

The Haas Institute believes that equity indices paint a more vivid portrait of underlying structural conditions and forms of advantage and disadvantage experienced by marginalized groups than single indicator approaches such as poverty or per capita GDP. Single indicator metrics fail to capture the myriad of inputs that shape individual and group life chances. For that reason, this past summer, the Haas Institute investigated other efforts to create robust, multi-factor equity indices.

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Our report on that research, [*Seeking Belongingness: Examining Equity, Capability and Opportunity through Existing Index Schemes*](#) (September, 2013), was recently published on our website. As part of that research, we identified nearly eighty common indicators used as part of various index schemes, many of which are described in our report, despite varying foci by index.

Our preliminary efforts in developing the Inclusiveness Index identified overarching themes that capture broader issues of inclusion or exclusion of marginalized communities. Income inequality, political representation and out-group violence were selected as the initial domains. Within these domains, data collection for marginalized communities identified in the Institute's work as women, LGBT community, communities of color and religious groups, was undertaken.

The Haas Institute mapped the index for all states in the U.S. and for a number of countries around the world. The process included: identifying potential datasets for each indicator, downloading and cleaning the data, and calculating a relative score for each indicator with respect to the average of and the dispersion in the data. These relative scores were then aggregated to calculate group-level and comprehensive indices. The preliminary Inclusiveness Index maps shown (Figures 1 & 2) illustrate the degree of inclusivity by country and state within the U.S.

One of the challenges, given the scope of our initiative, is to find consistent data for all geographies within a study area, especially for country level data. Indicator measures across countries might have different methodology, terminology, limited geographic coverage or sub-national representation. This shortcoming was evident in the Institute's international index development as consistent data were available only for a subset of countries.

The Haas Institute looks forward to strengthening this index by encompassing other domains of inclusiveness which may have been overlooked, and by engaging with experts to add relevant and more targeted indicators to the mix. As we refine our efforts and fill gaps, we will publish our complete draft on our website. We hope that this initiative will positively contribute to ongoing research and the development of policy recommendations towards a fair and inclusive society. ■

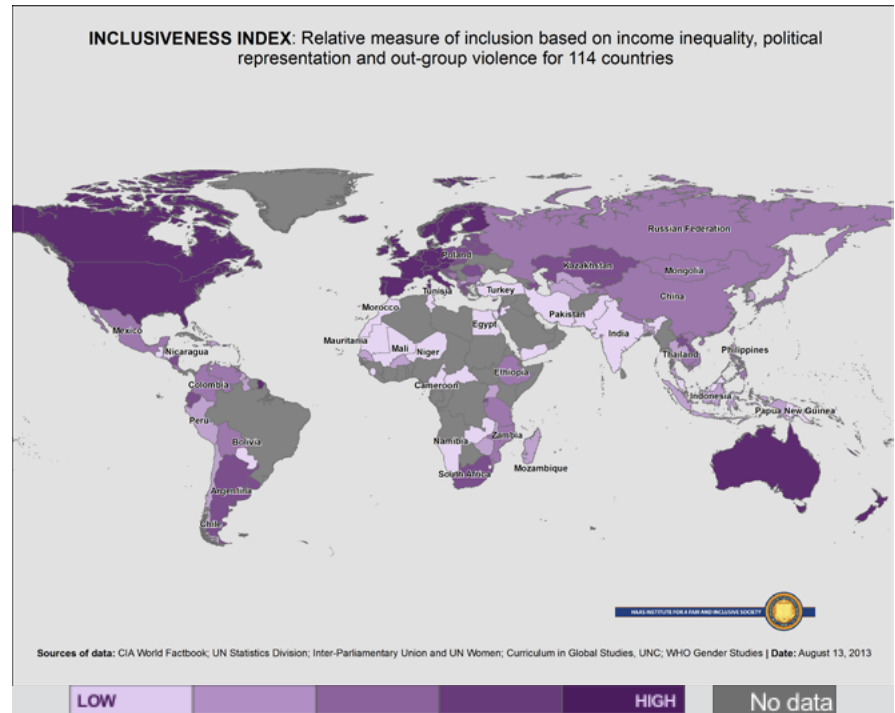


Figure 1. Inclusiveness Index map by country. Cartography by GIS Consultant Samir Gambhir.

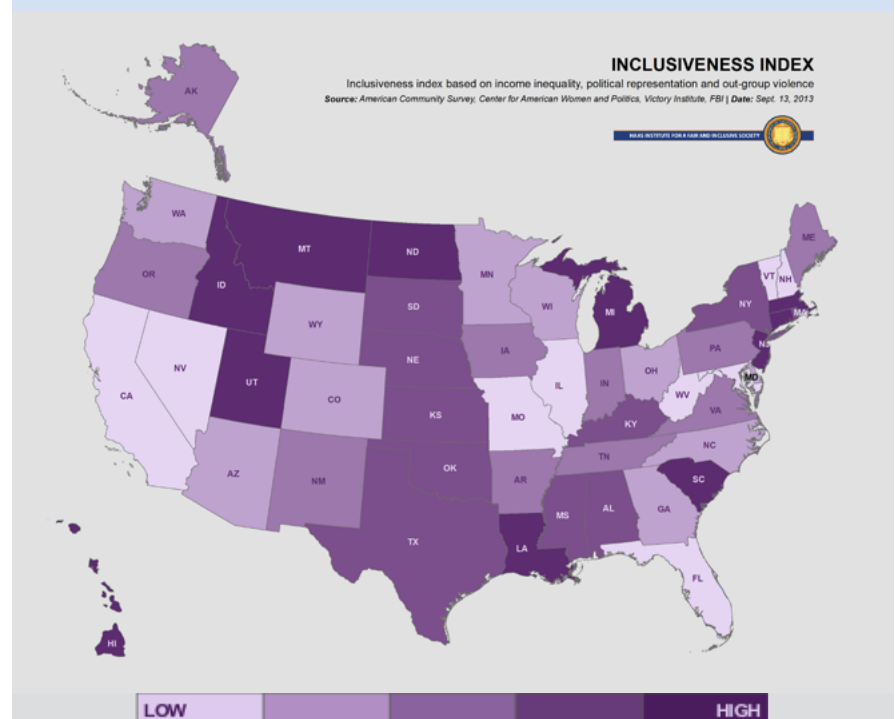


Figure 2. Inclusiveness Index map by state. Cartography by GIS Consultant Samir Gambhir.

BUILDING INCLUSION INTO AN INSTITUTIONAL FABRIC: COMMUNITY OPPORTUNITY & THE RICHMOND BAY CAMPUS



University of California, Berkeley. Courtesy of Digital Gallery at UC Berkeley.

Eli Moore
Project Manager

Broadening the mission and practice of public anchor institutions like universities and hospitals, and the public investments that support them, to strategically enhance community opportunity and inclusion is increasingly recognized as critical to achieving a fairer society.¹ In the current economic and policy environment, local communities compete intensely to attract and retain major private employers, often at the expense of wages and benefits, local tax revenue, and other important resources. However, economic geographers and planners have found that universities, hospitals and other anchor institutions are uniquely 'sticky' in that they rely on their location within a region, and can have wide-reaching impact on the local and regional economy.²

Recognizing this pivotal role they play, a number of universities have dedicated resources to an 'anchor mission', an initiative to "consciously and strategically apply the institution's long-term, place-based economic power, in combination with its human and intellectual resources, to better the welfare of the community in which it resides."³ As UC Berkeley and Lawrence Berkeley National Labs plan for the development of a major new research campus in Richmond, California, they have a historic opportunity to develop an anchor mission that embodies their commitment to inclusion

and diversity.

Historically, the opportunities created by major development projects have often passed over disadvantaged local communities. The Haas Institute is working with community and university partners to develop anchor institution strategies that account for the structural processes of marginalization that have shaped disparities in community opportunity in Richmond and the San Francisco Bay Area. We are guided in this by targeted universalism, a framework for developing and implementing policy and practice that pursues universal goals across society through targeted strategies that recognize the specific challenges and barriers faced by particular groups within society. Applied to anchor institutions, the framework helps highlight practices that advance community economic development without perpetuating existing inequalities and exclusion.

The Richmond Bay Campus, planned by the University of California at Berkeley and Lawrence Berkeley National Lab, will house numerous institutes involved in bio-sciences, bio-fuels, advanced manufacturing, and other research, as well as teaching and event facilities, ancillary services, and other elements. Over the next 30 years, the university and lab will likely invest more than \$1 billion to develop 133 acres and over 5 million square feet of building space to eventually house a daily average of 10,000 faculty, staff, students and visitors.⁴ The site chosen through a competitive process is a UC-owned parcel on the south shoreline of Richmond, California, that is about two-thirds the size of the Berkeley campus.

Richmond is uniquely positioned to collaborate with the university in applying an anchor mission that is an engine for community economic development. More than one in four Richmond children and youth live in households with income below the poverty level. Little more than half of the graduates of Richmond's three high schools go on to higher education. In fact, the neighborhoods adjacent to the new campus have among the highest rates of unemployment and concentrated poverty in the region (See Figure 1).

Richmond is also an innovator in local public policy that has achieved remarkable improvements in the last ten years. It is one of the first cities to develop a Health and Wellness component in its General Plan, promising to apply a public health framework across all policy. Richmond joined a Community Choice Aggregation energy provider, giving residents the choice of 50% or 100% renewable energy sources. Earlier this year the city passed a 'fair hiring ordinance' that leveled the employment field for formerly incarcerated job seekers by restricting the use of background checks and questions about past convictions at businesses contracting with the city.⁵ Once a national leader for its homicide rate, the city founded a new department to prevent gun violence and has achieved a 45% reduction in homicides over the last three years.⁶

¹ U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Office of University Partnerships (2013). Building Resiliency: The Role of Anchor Institutions in Sustaining Community Economic Development.

² Markusen, Ann (1996) Sticky Places in Slippery Space: A Typology of Industrial Districts. Economic Geography, Vol. 72, Issue 3.

³ Hodges, Rita Axelroth (2012) The Road Half Traveled: University Engagement at a Crossroads. Michigan State University Press.

⁴ Lawrence Berkeley National Lab (2013) Draft Long-Range Development Plan. http://richmondbaycampus.lbl.gov/environmental_documents.html.

⁵ Harless, William (8/3/13) "Ban the Box" Laws Make Criminal Pasts Off-Limits." Wall Street Journal. <http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887323997004578640623464096406>

⁶ Office of Neighborhood Safety, City of Richmond (2013). Office of Neighborhood Safety 2012 An-

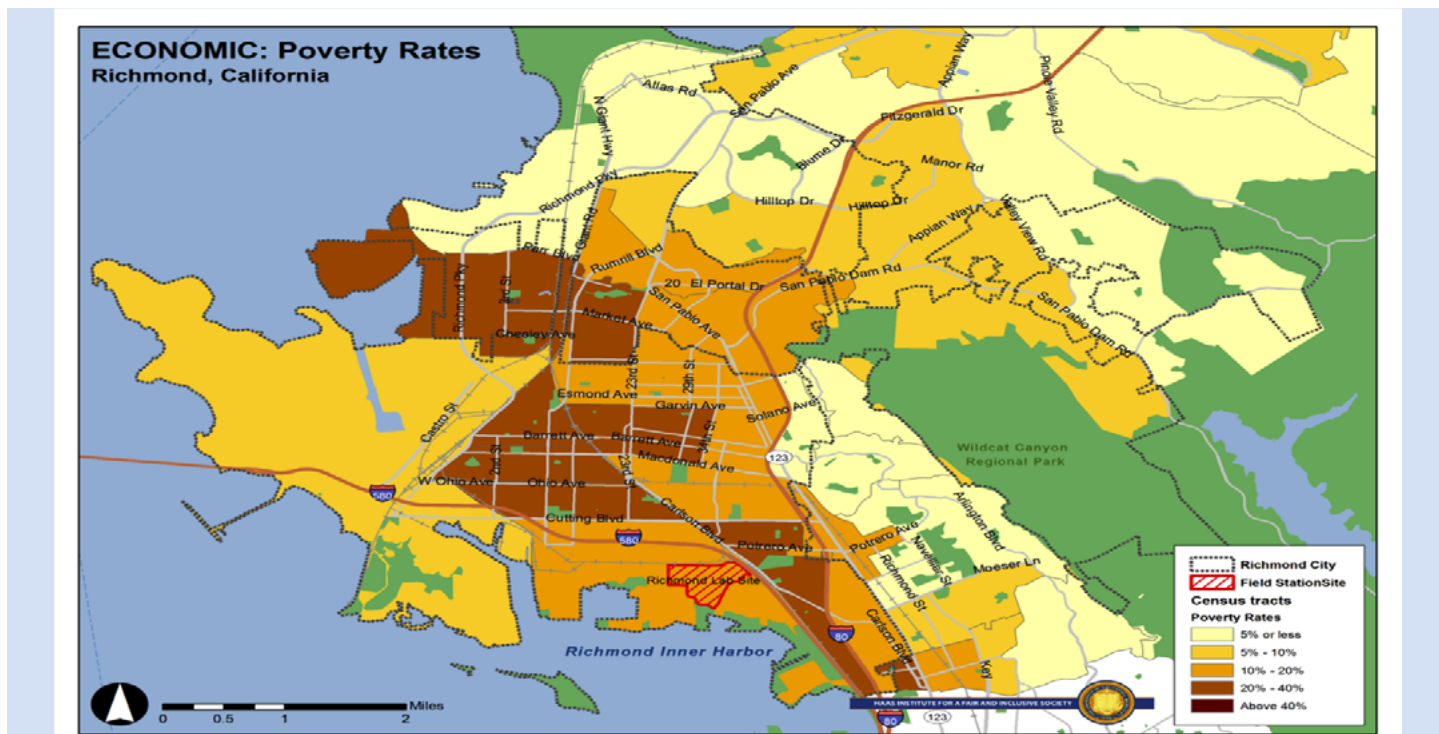


Figure 1. Poverty Rates in Neighborhoods Surrounding the Richmond Bay Campus (Campus site outlined in red). Source: American Community Survey, 2007-2011.

The Richmond Bay Campus is the first publicly funded project of this magnitude in Richmond since the shipyards of WWII, which were an engine of opportunity that redefined the city and a generation of its residents. Although it is not nearly the size of the WWII shipyards, the 800 permanent employees projected after the first four-year phase of construction will make the campus the second largest employer in Richmond. The occupations of campus workers are among those with the highest projected job growth nationally.⁷ The institutes anticipated as the first to move into the new campus have also spent \$80 million annually on goods and services, the type of purchasing power that elsewhere has been a key element of implementing an anchor mission that builds wealth and well-being in surrounding communities.

Recently, the UC has begun to modify its planning processes to strengthen community engagement and community benefits. In its development of a new research campus, UC San Francisco convened a Community Task Force to “identify community issues related to UCSF development in the Mission Bay area, and to develop planning principles to address these issues.”⁸ The Task Force recommended principles detailing community involvement, affordable housing, and environmental impacts have been incorporated into a draft Long-Range Development plan.⁹ UCSF

also voluntarily committed to, and has thus far met, San Francisco’s local hiring goal of 20% local residents in the first year, increasing by 5% each subsequent year up to 50%.¹⁰ The Richmond Bay Campus has not convened a community task force or drafted similar principles, but it is early enough in the planning process for an intentional, transparent and accountable process that involves marginalized communities in developing strategies for the new campus to have a powerful and positive effect on community opportunity. Without such a process, the project may exacerbate a range of existing issues related to housing affordability, community investment, labor market exclusion, educational attainment, and environmental health. Innovators in this field have developed tools for planning and tracking the implementation of an anchor mission, a valuable resource for communities and anchor institutions alike interested in achieving measurable results.¹¹

The challenges facing Richmond, the university and lab are not unlike those across the country, where the importance of addressing persistent inequality and exclusion have inspired a rethinking of conventional planning processes and the role of anchor institutions. The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society is working with community partners to develop new models for shared governance, shared wealth, and targeted strategies for community well-being. ■

nual Report. <http://www.ci.richmond.ca.us/DocumentCenter/View/26434>

7 Bureau of Labor Statistics (2012). Table 3. The 20 industries with the largest projected wage and salary employment growth, 2010-20. <http://www.bls.gov/news.release/ecopro.t03.htm>.

8 UCSF Mission Bay Community Tasks Force (2008) Project Summary and Planning Principles. <http://community.ucsf.edu/sites/mission-bay-community-task-force-related-documents>.

9 UCSF (9/4/2012) UCSF Proposed LRDP Planning Principles. http://www.ucsf.edu/sites/default/files/fields/field_insert_file/landing_page_one/UCSF-Proposed-LRDP-Planning-Principles-DRAFT.

Fall-2012.pdf.

10 UCSF Medical Center at Mission Bay (2013) Local Hiring Updates. <http://missionbayhospitals.ucsf.edu/about-project/local-hiring-updates>.

11 A relevant evaluation tool for measuring such anchor institution practices is the Democracy Collaborative’s Anchor Dashboard (2013) found at <http://community-wealth.org/indicators>.

TRANSPORTATION IS HOUSING POLICY

Stephen Menendian
Director of Research

Many years ago Haas Institute Director John A. Powell warned education advocates that “housing is education policy” — a refrain now regarded as common wisdom. The insight behind this assertion is a recognition that patterns of racial and economic isolation that manifest in schools and other educational environments are chiefly a function of residential housing patterns and policies that segregate families by race and class among neighborhoods and across jurisdictional boundaries.

Any serious attempt to solve our most pressing educational problems must begin with an understanding that systems of local control and neighborhood schooling replicate the same demographics of the neighborhoods from which they derive. Concentrating poverty — or wealth — has a tremendous influence on the success of children in our educational system.

If housing policy is education policy, I would like to suggest that transportation policy is housing policy. Transportation infrastructure is the critical linkage that connects families and individuals to areas of employment and education. Employment opportunities are the main reason that families move residence. Access to transportation defines and limits where families are able to live. Well-funded, broad-based levels of public transportation and infrastructure through a region have the potential to connect families across that region to the entire economy and economic opportunities in the region. Conversely, poorly funded, haphazard and unreliable public transit and infrastructure can isolate families and communities from the larger economy.

Growing levels of income inequality threaten public infrastructure in several ways. They may channel public investments in ways that



Muni bus in San Francisco. Courtesy of Creative Commons

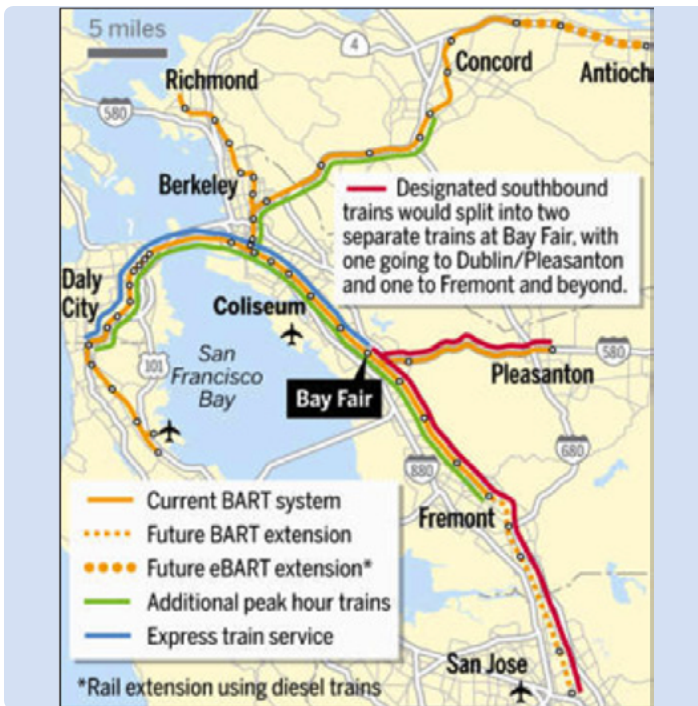
regressively burden the less well-off. At the same time, they may redirect public funds to areas that are less needy or reliant on public transit. More generally, income inequality may elevate housing costs beyond where most families can afford, and push families further from access to public transit. Patterns of gentrification and displacement in booming metro areas are most harmful when they not only displace families from housing, but also from access to employment and economic opportunities. Gentrification is most harmful when public transportation is lacking or costly or in areas that are dependent on automobile ownership.

Policies such as rent-controls and preserving existing affordable housing stock are necessary, but insufficient to the needs of marginalized families. Creating or expanding public transit networks in a piecemeal fashion may actually generate further displacement. Research suggests that creating new stops on light-rail or bus stops may rapidly increase property values in otherwise stable communities, creating further displacement, rather than ensuring access to public-transit reliant families. The San Francisco Bay Area is ground zero for these complex issues. The [Facebook effect](#) — the economic dynamism of Silicon Valley — has dramatically escalating housing costs in the Bay Area, resulting in accelerated gentrification and displacement that is reverberating throughout the entire Bay Area. Families have been displaced from traditional communities and relocated to areas further from their employers, meaning longer commute times and less convenience. The economic vitality of the region has severely taxed the transportation grid, as highways become choked with commuters and as public transit lines see dramatic growth in ridership without a corresponding expansion in services. The Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) rail-line, which opened over 40 years ago, is a focal point that



Bart Train. Courtesy of Creative Commons

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Bart Expansion Proposal. Courtesy of Creative Commons.

illustrates all of these issues.

In 2010, [advocates successfully challenged](#) a planned expansion using federal stimulus money that would have severely impacted low-income residents reliant on public-transit. [A new labor fight](#) has brought into focus BART's planned expansion, and how the funding for that expansion to far flung suburbs is to be supported by existing ridership.

The basic issue of how to preserve access to affordable housing for low-income families cannot be disconnected from the issue of transportation. They are part and parcel of the same dynamic. How these issues, rising levels of inequality, gentrification and displacement, sustainable housing, stressed infrastructure and inadequate public transportation all play out will be one of the great challenges for our nation in coming decades. How the Bay Area, with its historical commitment to progressive and inclusive policies, resolves these issues will be a critical lesson for Americans everywhere. ■

GLOBAL STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY: LAND & NEOLIBERAL POLITICS IN AFRICA

Elsadig Elsheikh

Program Director, Global Justice Program

Africa's arable lands continue to receive growing attention for research and policy debate mainly due to the pressing social, political, and environmental challenges that African countries face with regard to food insecurity and foreign direct investments. *Securing Africa's Land for Shared Prosperity: A Program to Scale Up Reforms and Investments*,¹ a book published by the World Bank and authored by Frank Byamugisha, is the latest in this debate's odyssey. The book argues that the challenges of Africa's land policies are technical rather than political, and suggests that demarcating land

boundaries, formalizing property rights, and addressing inequities in ownership will indeed bring solutions to Africa so that it can reach "social stability, achieve economic growth, alleviate poverty, and protect natural resources from irrational use and pollution."²

Byamugisha's assessment of the flaws within Africa's diverse land systems recommended many technical tools to tackle some of the challenges facing Africa's land policies. Yet, his analysis avoids addressing critical historical characteristics that continue to adversely impact the continent today. Furthermore, Byamugisha also ignores the new forms of exploitation of the continent's natural resources that have led to sociopolitical instability. The book fails to offer new solutions to untangle the complexity of land policies; many of these land policies are the product of a complicated set of drivers that include land grabs, global finance, and agribusiness—all of which are tied to the commodification of Africa's lands. As such, any solution to Africa's land policies requires a more comprehensive understanding of the driving

Version of this article first published by Oakland Institute, October 22, 2013.

¹ Frank E. K. Byamugisha (2013): *Securing Africa's Land for Shared Prosperity: A Program to Scale Up Reforms and Investments*, The World Bank. Accessed online at <http://library.worldbank.org/content/book/9780821398104>.

² Ibid.

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Map courtesy of Ellen Noe.

factors behind large-scale land deals. In this context, *Securing Africa's Land for Shared Prosperity* prescribed technical needs as the solution to issues of underdevelopment and economic dependency found in most African economies, but left out critical and urgent debate on other factors that must be included in this discussion.

Byamugisha argues that to solve these problems, African states need to act on strategies that will turn Africa's land grabs into development opportunities by "improving land governance to reduce the risks of dispossessing poor landholders while ensuring mutually beneficial investors' deals." Such strategies, he suggests, lie in realizing two steps: " (a) clearly documenting communal rights (as private property), and (b) addressing the rights of individual stakeholders using strong community-level negotiation and dispute resolution mechanism."³ However, the book does not suggest how such strategies would enable small and poor farmers to stay on their lands and access the market place, and whether these strategies can advance African agriculture sectors. As such, the book fails to acknowledge that the real challenges for Africa's sociopolitical and economic stability lie in the ways in which Africa's heterogeneous economies have been incorporated into an unfair and unbalanced global economy. The main features of such incorporation into the global economy include: (a) historical dependency on an asymmetrical global trade system that continues to weaken African economies, and (b) the current waves of large-scale land deals that devastate land rights, land accessibility, and national food systems in many African societies. Both dynamics are working jointly to maintain Africa's dependency on foreign actors, and it is these actors that continue to benefit from the export of the continent's natural resources and raw materials to emerging and advanced economies. Byamugisha's book not only overlooks the realities of Africa's social, economic, and political instability in relation to land policies, but his research masks these realities with technocratic technicality, thereby

almost encouraging the exploitation of Africa's land and natural resources, and in so doing, relegating Africa's "development" question to solutions provided by neoliberal development policies and theory.⁴

Any serious attempt to tackle Africa's interlocking sociopolitical and economic challenges must first and foremost understand that Africa's "problems" require systems thinking. Systems thinking framework suggests that "Africa's problems" are global as much as they are local, and are not simply the product of self-inflicted backward policies that need technical assistance. For example, a recent report published by the United Nations' Development Policy and Analysis Division (DPAD)⁵ presents a gloomy picture of the world economic situation for 2013 and 2014. It suggests that the slow recovery from the great global recession will have dire implications on many economies of "developing and least developed countries," particularly with regard to structural policies of economic growth (i.e. high unemployment, fiscal austerity, sovereign debts, poverty reduction, etc). As such, the challenges for African economies require a reorganization of local and global structures and institutions. Part of this reorganization would need to address the structural imbalance of the global trade mechanisms and forced neoliberal policies that have been imposed on African economies for over four decades.

The historical patterns of asymmetrical global trade system and practices, often imposed by international financial institutions and backed by powerful northern countries (such as loan conditionality), have contributed to and exaggerated structural imbalances that have led to the current waves of land grabs and food insecurity in Africa. On the one hand, the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) of the 1970s restricted most countries in the Global South from investing in their agricultural sectors. The World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed loan conditions that excluded state control on agriculture sectors, which harmed these sectors in many

4 See Pablo Alejandro Leal (2007): Participation: the ascendancy of a buzzword in the neo-liberal era. *Development in Practice*, Volume 17, Numbers 4–5, August 2007.

5 UN's DPAD (2013): 2013 World Economic Situation and Prospects. Accessed online at http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/wesp_current/wesp2013.pdf.



Photo courtesy of Creative Commons.

³ Ibid.



Global land grab illustration. Photo courtesy of Creative Commons.

African countries and created a system of foreign dependency within their national food systems. Meanwhile, northern countries were doing just the opposite. The United States and European Union increased their agricultural production by benefiting from inconsistent policies of subsidies, tariffs, “free trade” agreements, and unequal quota systems. The overproduction of agricultural commodities in the US and EU dominated global markets, and allowed them a considerable competitive advantage, to the extent that poor countries were made into dumping grounds for the U.S. and EU’s surplus crops. These surplus crops have often been sold at lower prices than domestic crops, thus driving domestic farmers out of the market. On the other hand, in order to receive loans, poor countries have been prohibited from pursuing similar policies of subsidizing their agricultural sectors and have been forced to accept loan restrictions, unjustified high interest rates for such loans, and unfair “free trade” agreements that have made their agricultural products very costly. As a result, African countries have lost one opportunity after another to advance their national agricultural sectors.

The recent increase in large-scale land deals in Africa can be explained by: (a) the global rush for alternative sources of energy, namely bioenergy; (b) the exploitative global system that generate demands for certain, natural raw materials such as timber and coltan, and freshwater; (c) speculation on global food demands; and (d) speculation on farmland prices. The global dynamics of large-scale land deals have sparked public debate on the costs and benefits that result from such practices. Some have argued that large-scale land deals are creating another scramble for Africa’s natural resources and these land grabs will ultimately lead to environmental damages, food insecurity,

marginalization and dispossession of rural communities.⁶ Others have suggested that the African continent and its people have been called on again (as was the case during colonialism) to provide the resources for advanced and emerging economies’ energy needs in order to salvage their globalized financial crises, while simultaneously devastating African economies.⁷ On the other hand, some have insisted that the large-scale land deals would provide new “development opportunities” and “global partnerships” for the continent and its people if only scrutiny systems were in place.⁸ Similarly, *Securing Africa’s Land for Shared Prosperity* continues this latter argument.

Given the scale and inevitable consequences of the large-scale land deals, it is imperative to emphasize the economic, political, environmental, and social consequences that are negatively impacting labor relations, devastating local food systems, and intensifying dispossession of rural communities in many African countries. Furthermore, the current upsurge of land deals has exacerbated the continent’s preexisting food insecurity and threatens to make it a chronic feature of its sociopolitical system. The totality of these practices is indeed the tragic achievement of a system guided by illusions of development opportunities embedded in a neoliberalist framework. The solution for Africa’s land “problem” is to not treat Africa’s sociopolitical and economic challenges as purely technical or self-inflicted. Such rhetoric only serves to negate Africa’s land question and context. Rather, land policies in Africa need to be tackled in the multifaceted context of underdevelopment, asymmetrical global trade, and economic dependency. To that end, African states need to enact redistributive land reforms to: (a) revise and modify the colonial nature of customary laws that tend to increase land concentration and marginalize small farmers and poor, rural communities; (b) reverse existing legal frameworks and institutions that manage land allocation and land use to better serve the interests of the people who suffer most from the impact of large-scale land deals; (c) promote targeted access to land and resources for rural women and small farmers; and (d) halt all large-scale land deals and renegotiate these deals on the basis of social, political and economic national interests that strive toward food security, poverty alleviation, and environmental protection. ■

6 Sam Moyo (2008): African Land Questions, Agrarian Transitions and the State: Contradictions of Neo-liberal Land Reforms, CODESRIA, Dakar, Senegal; Shepard Daniel with Anuradha Mittal (2010): (Mis)Investment in Agriculture: The Role of the International Finance Corporation in Global Land Grabs. Oakland Institute. Accessed online at <http://www.oaklandinstitute.org/misinvestment-agriculture-role-international-finance-corporation-global-land-grab>; Padraig Carmody (2011): The New Scramble for Africa. Polity Press, Cambridge, UK.

7 Chris Okeke (2008): The Second Scramble for Africa’s Oil and Mineral Resources: Blessing or Curse? International Lawyer 43 (1): 193-209; Nnimmo Bassey (2012): To Cook a Continent: Destructive Extraction and the Climate Crisis in Africa, Fahamu/Pambazuka Press.

8 Joachim von Braun & Ruth Meinzen-Dick (2009): “Land Grabbing” by Foreign Investors in Developing Countries: Risks and Opportunities” International Food Policy Research Institute, Policy Brief 13. Accessed online at <http://www.ifpri.org/sites/default/files/publications/bp013all.pdf>; The World Bank Report (2011): Rising Global Interest in Farmland: Can it Yield Sustainable and Equitable Benefits?

MARRIAGE EQUALITY IN THE UNITED STATES: A VISUAL COMPARISON OF STATE PROHIBITIONS ON SAME-SEX & INTER-RACIAL MARRIAGE

Stephen Menendian
Director of Research

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at UC Berkeley seeks to promote a just, inclusive and sustainable society. The vision of belongingness – of bringing all groups within the circle of human concern – means overcoming and dismantling barriers to inclusion. Laws that marginalize or segregate groups on the basis of race, gender, or sexual orientation are a challenge to our vision. This past June, the Supreme Court, in the case of *United States v. Windsor*, struck down part of the federal Defense of Marriage Act as unconstitutional because it treated married same-sex couples differently than married opposite-sex couples while denying them rights and disparaging the dignity same-sex couples.

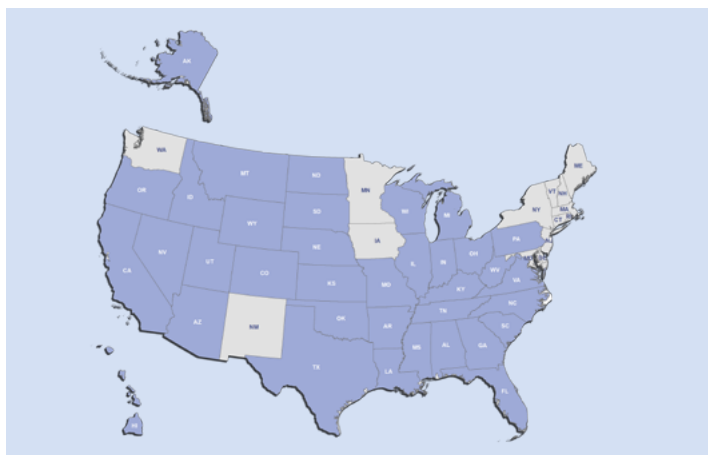


Figure 2. Same-sex marriage bans in 2013 represented by states shaded in blue. Cartography by Samir Gambhir.

In the companion case of *Hollingsworth v. Perry*, the Court reviewed the constitutionality of state-based bans on same-sex marriage. Although the Court did not resolve the Constitutional issue, the reasoning of *Windsor* may support such a ruling in the future.

In this context, it is worth considering the overlap between states that enacted same-sex marriage bans and inter-racial marriage bans. These maps illustrate which states had anti-miscegenation laws in 1948 (Figure 1) until the Supreme Court held in *Loving v. Virginia* (1968) that such laws violated the Constitution; and which states had exclusionary marriage policies by 2013 (Figure 2).

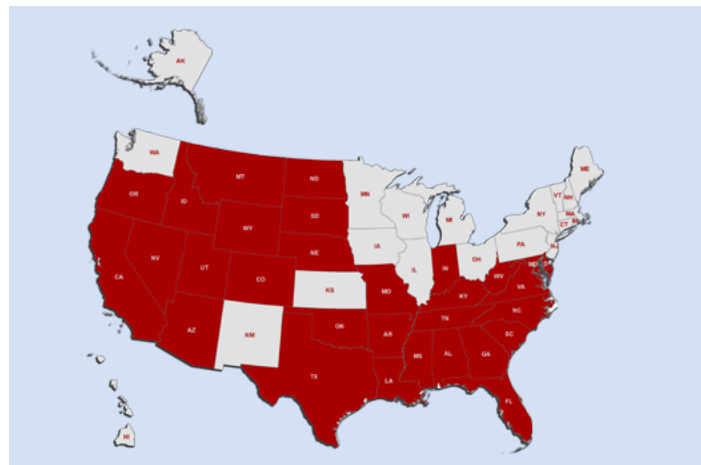


Figure 1. Anti-miscegenation laws in 1948 represented by states shaded in red. Cartography by Samir Gambhir.

In 1948, 30 of the 48 states had anti-miscegenation laws prohibiting inter-racial marriage. As of January, 2013, 35 states had laws prohibiting same-sex marriage. The third map (Figure 3) shows overlap between states that banned same-sex marriages and those that banned interracial marriages in 1948. The overlap is striking. Almost all of the states with same-sex marriage bans as of 2013 also had anti-miscegenation laws in 1948. Only one of the 30 states that banned interracial marriage in 1949 allowed same-sex marriage in 2013 (California's state Supreme Court overturned the state prohibition in *Hollingsworth v. Perry* (2013)). Similarly, same-sex marriage equality is concentrated in the northeast, where interracial marriage was legal long before the landmark *Loving* decision. ■

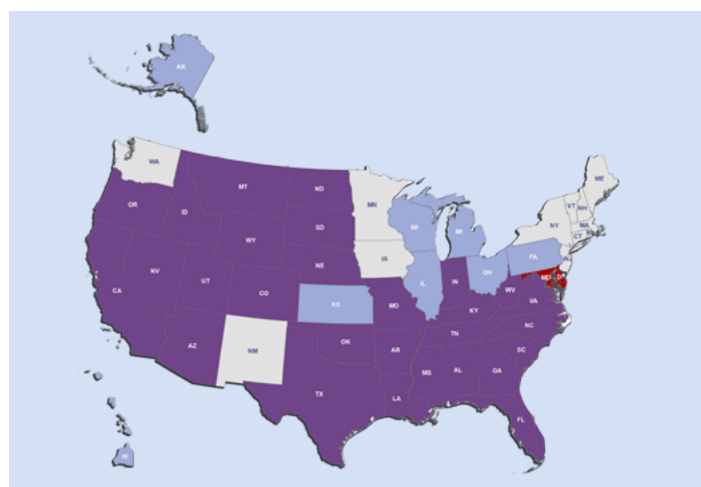


Figure 3. Overlap between the laws represented in states shaded in purple. Cartography by Samir Gambhir.

A CONVERSATION WITH STUDENT REGENT-DESIGNATE, SADIA SAIFUDDIN: RESHAPING IDENTITIES

Nadia Barhoum

Research Fellow, Global Justice Program

Sadia Saifuddin, the newly elected [Student Regent-Designate](#) for the UC system, clearly encompasses all the qualities of a leader on the rise. She was elected last spring and soon after, was rather viciously criticized for her support of the [divestment bill](#) (the bill called for the divestment of UC funding from companies that support the Israeli military occupation of Palestine), which passed last April at UC Berkeley. Her interview tells more about her side of the story on this issue, and goes beyond this to talk about her experience as a student who happens to be the daughter of immigrant parents, a practicing Muslim, and a young woman. Her identity is not defined by the stereotypes that serve to distract from the importance and breadth of her work, but rather is made up of many layers that give her a strong voice and nuanced perspective as a student leader. That she was elected to represent the entire UC body of students speaks to her incredible ability to transcend the many borders that have been imposed on her, and perhaps more importantly, speaks to the unfolding shifts and changes within our own society that have allowed identity politics to take a backseat to quality leadership and representation.

Nadia Barhoum [NB]: Tell me a little about yourself, your story and background.

Sadia Saifuddin [SS]: I grew up in Fremont, California, and we moved to Stockton about twelve years ago. I've been involved in student government and student activism for as long as I can remember. It's been a big part of my life, and has shaped the way I see myself, but it has definitely been an adjustment for my parents. I am the oldest, and I have four younger siblings. My parents came to the United States as immigrants from Pakistan about 25 years ago. My father attended Michigan Tech University and my mom recently decided to go back to school again. I come from a long legacy of women in education; both my mother and grandmother have been teachers, so education is very important in my family.

NB: Do you feel like identity politics have been used for/against you in your experience as a leader at UC Berkeley?

SS: I took some time over the summer to think about the aftermath of the [divestment vote](#) and how the experience has shaped me as a person. The divestment vote last semester followed a lot of grassroots and community organizing; coalition building was at the center of the vote's success. It was important to create an understanding in the UC Berkeley community that [human rights is not a complex](#)



Student Regent-Designate Sadia Saifuddin.

[issue](#). Divestment is not about criticizing Israel, and it's not about criticizing the Jewish community. Divestment creates a critical dialogue about the injustices committed by the Israeli government. I am just as critical of the atrocities committed by the Saudi Arabian government, Burmese Buddhist majority government, as well as the Chinese government. If we want to make lasting social change, we need to be comfortable talking about humanity. I think that because of the United States' massive support of Israel, criticizing the Israeli government has become a taboo.

Here at UC Berkeley, we are so big on talking about diversity and really standing up for the rights of people, but when it comes to Israel, we make exceptions. We think holding a critical perspective of the Israeli government is unacceptable, or that you are automatically an anti-Semite for asking the hard questions about the Occupation. At the beginning, it was really difficult for me to navigate this because I felt like I was being [maligned](#), and I was! I'm not an anti-Semite, and I'm close to many of the Jewish leaders on-campus. The pro-Israeli and Hillel student leaders were actually the ones who supported my nomination and defended me and labeled those opposing me as complete extremists, which was a beautiful lesson in solidarity that I will never forget.

My experience only solidified that Islamophobia is such a real phenomena and people were using my criticism of the Occupation as a way to perpetuate Islamophobic ideas. It was all just one big quagmire of criticism – some of it was Islamophobic, some of it was political, but the response that I got from the people who have worked with me and who know me personally was very nuanced and supportive. They said that although they disagreed with me on this issue, they still supported me as their representative on the Board. I think that

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people have aligned themselves so strongly with one country that it has become nationalism, and nationalism always leads to some kind of problem. I think the student leaders now are realizing that there is a separation between nationalism and religious identity, and that their politics do not have to be consistent with either of those.

During Divestment, I had a lot of conversations with Jewish and Muslim student leaders about how to approach this dialogue and how to address it in a way that could put an end to violent confrontations. I have discussed these issues on NPR, NBC, and many different media outlets that often perpetuated the same ideas that Muslims or anyone remotely Arab-looking are defined by their position on the Occupation. They would use this experience as a way of putting our community in a box: this is the only thing that Muslims or Middle Easterners stand for and they can only represent this singular community. Whereas that same question was not asked of Cinthia Flores; does she only represent Latino students? It was not asked of Jonathan Stein – because he's of mixed race, does he only

represent Indian and White students?

I am very obviously Muslim – my name, my headscarf, everything about me is pretty Muslim. I was asked this question because orientalism was at play; stereotyping a community and defining them on your own terms is a form of racism. If you look at my record of student advocacy, I have advocated for all students and worked with almost every community regardless of their background. I met with so many student groups, from the Quidditch team to the Jewish student newspaper, to many others. When people question my ability to represent all students, I find it really humorous. Because I have already. I have represented over 32,000 students at UC Berkeley and I am going to represent 230,000 students across the UC, whether the extremists like it or not. Using Islamophobia to battle anti-Semitism is not a sustainable strategy to end discrimination, and I'm going to continue my work for all students until we have all reached a better place and enhanced the causes of social justice.

To read the full transcript of Sadiya's interview, visit our [website](#). ■

OPEN CIRCLE: A SPACE FOR HEALING, ART, & SPIRITUALITY

Veronica Hash

Administrative Officer & Assistant to John A. Powell

Sometimes life hits you in a space so alive with generational scars and the rage of injustice you would rather not remember it exists. When activated by trauma or fear this space can either become a catalyst for healing or destruction. On July 13, 2013, and the days following, when George Zimmerman was acquitted of second-degree murder and manslaughter charges for the killing of Trayvon Martin I had a choice between healing and destruction. Anger was my first choice, but I did not want to be destructive in my anger. Instead, through organizing the Institute's first open circle, I chose to express and heal the anger through art.

On July 26, I met with colleagues and friends on the Berkeley Law rooftop deck to create mixed media collages. Though some of the subject matter was heavy, the gathering itself was positive and uplifting. Not all the collages created that day were on topics of social justice or even Trayvon for that matter. However, each collage was a stunning visual representation of what that individual needed to express.

Supportive relationships, conversation and artistic expression were the keys to my healing that afternoon. I hope each of the artists were able to experience some of the same. I often frame life's events through a spiritual lens so it only seemed fitting to end the open circle by offering a blessing. We locked hands, closed our eyes and asked for healing for both George Zimmerman and Trayvon Martin's family.

The Open Circle Collages created by Erik Lampmann, Cristina Cabrera and Veronica Hash are on display outside of 460 Stephens Hall. Look for future art events on our [website](#). ■



Collage made during Open Circle activity. Photo courtesy of Courtney Sorensen.



Collage made during Open Circle activity. Photo courtesy of Courtney Sorensen.

WALKING THROUGH HISTORY WITH DAVID HILLIARD, FORMER BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADER

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society

To cap off our summer fellowship program, the Haas Institute planned a field trip that would deepen our appreciation and understanding of the struggle for social justice in the Bay Area. Former Black Panther Party Chief of Staff David Hilliard led a guided tour of the former homes, events and places that were significant to the history and formation of the Black Panther Party in Oakland.

Before the tour began, the Haas Institute's staff and summer fellows met at Homeroom for lunch, where our plates overflowed with mac n' cheese.

After lunch, we met Mr. Hilliard in front of the West Oakland Library, where he began our guided tour. In our 18 point tour, we visited the homes of the party founders, the location of the party's office, the Church where the Party served free breakfast for community youth, and the traffic signal that



Fellows enjoy lunch at Homeroom in Oakland. Photo by Stephen Menendian.



Collage of Black Panther Movement at 11's All Good Bakery. Photo by Anjuli Sastry.

was installed as a result of the Party's agitation. The Party's efforts put Oakland squarely in the center of efforts to promote racial equality in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

His first-hand account described the systematic racism against Oakland's black communities that was especially prevalent within the police department and other government institutions. His political identity was clearly developed by the realities of discrimination, police brutality, and injustice that were common in the highly segregated neighborhoods of West and East Oakland. Those community needs served as the impetus for the Party's formation, and shaped the personalities and struggles that allowed for the Party's efforts and successes in Oakland.

His story was inspiring yet filled with a melancholy nostalgia for a time of mobilization and unity that is difficult to find in Oakland's streets today. His

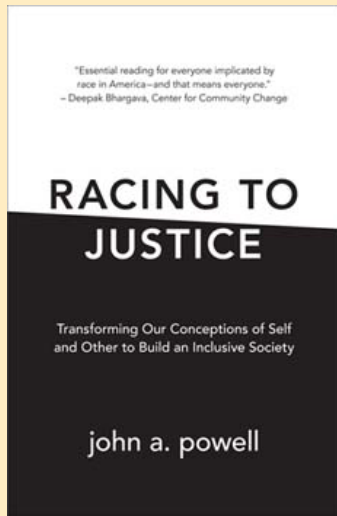
criticisms of kids idolizing the likes of Jay-Z and Kanye instead of politically conscious figures points to the gaps in our broken education system and fixation on making money to solve our individual problems. Mr. Hilliard's experiences underscored this nation's challenged history with race, which continues today, as the segregated and red-lined neighborhoods that shaped the experience of Oakland's African American community are now gentrifying, displacing families to more remote areas of the Bay Area, and the jobs that secured the economic vitality of West Oakland's African-American middle-class have gradually disappeared.

The tour re-opened a chapter in our local history that should be required knowledge to any resident of the Bay Area, and more than this, should be celebrated as some of the greatest moments of collective action and success that took place right in our backyard. ■



Haas Institute Staff and Fellows with Tour Guide David Hilliard. Photo by Anjuli Sastry.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS



RACING TO JUSTICE

Transforming Our Conceptions of Self and Other to Build an Inclusive Society

john a. powell

Foreword by David R. Roediger

Renowned social justice advocate John A. Powell persuasively argues that we have not achieved a post-racial society and that there is much work to do to redeem the American promise of inclusive democracy. Culled from a decade of writing about social justice and spirituality, these meditations on race, identity, and social policy provide an outline for laying claim to our shared humanity and a way toward healing ourselves and securing our future. *Racing to Justice* challenges us to replace attitudes and institutions that promote and perpetuate social suffering with those that foster relationships and a way of being that transcends disconnection and separation.

John A. Powell is Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley, where he holds the Robert D. Haas Chancellor's Chair in Equity and Inclusion. He is author (with Gavin Kearney and Vina Kay) of In Pursuit of a Dream Deferred, and (with Laughlin McDonald) of The Rights of Racial Minorities: The Basic ACLU Guide to Racial Minority Rights.

FRESH FRUIT, BROKEN BODIES

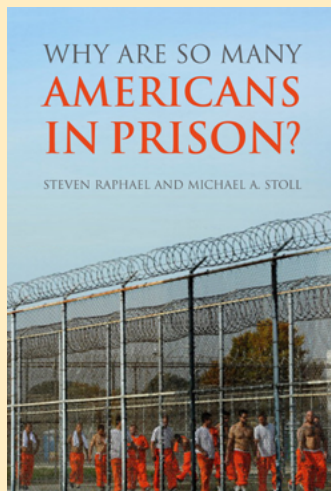
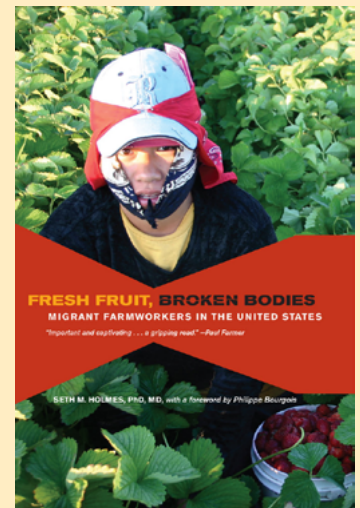
Migrant Farmworkers in the United States

Seth Holmes

Foreword by Philippe Bourgois

Fresh Fruit, Broken Bodies weaves the theoretical analysis of the anthropologist with the intimacy of the journalist to provide a compelling examination of structural and symbolic violence, medicalization, and the clinical gaze as they affect the experiences and perceptions of a vertical slice of indigenous Mexican migrant farmworkers, farm owners, doctors, and nurses. This reflexive, embodied anthropology deepens our theoretical understanding of the ways in which socially structured suffering comes to be perceived as normal and natural in society and in health care, especially through imputations of ethnic body difference. In the vehement debates on immigration reform and health reform, this book provides the necessary stories of real people and insights into our food system and health care system for us to move forward to fair policies and solutions.

Seth M. Holmes, Ph.D., M.D., is the Martin Sisters Assistant Professor at the School of Public Health and the Graduate Program in Medical Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley. He is a member of the Health Disparities research cluster headed by Associate Professor Denise Herd.



WHY ARE SO MANY AMERICANS IN PRISON?

Steven Raphael

Michael A. Stoll

Between 1975 and 2007, the American incarceration rate increased nearly fivefold, a historic increase that puts the United States in a league of its own among advanced economies. We incarcerate more people today than we ever have, and we stand out as the nation that most frequently uses incarceration to punish those who break the law. What factors explain the dramatic rise in incarceration rates in such a short period of time? In *Why Are So Many Americans in Prison?* Steven Raphael and Michael A. Stoll analyze the shocking expansion of America's prison system and illustrate the pressing need to rethink mass incarceration in this country.

Steven Raphael is a Professor of Public Policy at the Goldman School of Public Policy at University of California Berkeley, and a member of the Economic Disparities research cluster headed by Professor Hilary Hoynes.

Michael E. Stoll is Professor and Chair of Public Policy at the Luskin School of Public Policy at University of California, Los Angeles.

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