



# NEWS

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## ALSO IN THIS ISSUE:

### ***Gattaca*, Two Decades Later**

Haas Institute faculty visit the film's themes on bioethics, disability, eugenics, and more

### **Tracking & Exposing Islamophobia**

Research and tools to study the growing Islamophobia movement

### **What Comes Next?**

Q&A with Institute scholar Josh Clark on voting and the electorate in 2018 and beyond

### **Kerner@50**

Conference marking the 50-year anniversary of release of historic Kerner Report

### **New Online Hub For Narrative Change**

Research and multimedia tools for movement builders in California

### **Reinventing the Wheelchair**

Story of groundbreaking designer and his life's work to increase mobility for people with disabilities

# Us, Reimagined

Where Culture Can Take Community



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

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Find this edition and all previous ones at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/newsletters](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/newsletters).

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"The Land of WE," Honoring Altar maker Ofelia Esparza of East LA by LA muralist Erin Yoshi



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# DIRECTORS' NOTES

FROM DIRECTOR john a. powell

**THE LATEST EDITION** of the Haas Institute's Inclusiveness Index, released on the last day of 2017, is our most recent work to describe the global pattern of rising ethnic nationalism. In a rapidly changing world, the manipulation of social media has revealed not simply the vulnerability of democratic societies to demagogic messaging, but that such messages also stoke fear and anxiety. The challenges of Othering, which we continue to define as the problem of the 21st century, along with the need for Belonging, have rarely seemed so urgent.

At the Haas Institute we lean into the social and political moment with a robust, proactive research agenda and communication efforts. Our annual journal, *Othering and Belonging* (see [otheringandbelonging.org](http://otheringandbelonging.org)), is bringing fresh voices and brilliant scholars into a conversation around these matters. And our work through the lens of targeted universalism promotes practical applications of belonging and bridging, which I discuss in more detail below.

A challenge is knitting together the relationships and building the power to contest rising ethnic and religious nationalism. Some argue that the best strategy for an inclusive economic and social policy agenda is to minimize particular identity claims. This seems to suggest a fear that centering issues such as criminal justice reform as embodied in the Black Lives Matter movement, sexual harassment as advanced by the #MeToo movement, or any other issue, risks alienating particular certain constituencies needed to win elections. This critique is often made under the label of identity politics.

Yet what is often called identity politics are in reality salient and real concerns confronting particular groups. And to ask any marginalized group to silence their advocacy around an issue that defines their ability to not only thrive but also simply to live—be that immigration reform, disability rights, or police violence—is effectively erasing their particular experiences and silencing their needs. We cannot subsume the needs of marginalized groups under a false, blanket universal.

On the other hand, there is also a need to find ways to connect with members of different groups, including those who may not be directly suffering or excluded in the same way. How might we do this? Social science suggests a route. Social capital is a concept that describes relationships between and among different groups of people in society. Having a high level of social capital is an



From left: Ashara Ekundayo of Impact Hub Oakland with Haas Institute director john a. powell at the Haas Institute-co-sponsored community film screening of *Black Panther* at the Grand Lake Theatre in Oakland

*continued on next page*



advantage since it strengthens cultural dexterity while promoting resilience. Its benefits rebound to the good of the overall society.

**Bonding** social capital describes when members of the same group turn inward and focus only on each other. This can occur when members of the same class, religion, and ethnicity or race move into the same neighborhoods or join the same social clubs. Although bonding can be natural and healthy, there is another form of bonding social capital that is more pernicious that I call “**breaking**.” Breaking occurs when members of a group not only turn inward, but erect a barrier that signals to members of other groups that they are not welcome or don't belong. Breaking emerges from a belief that people who are not part of the favored group are somehow dangerous. These beliefs could be based on a fear that “those people”—whoever they are—are stealing our jobs, harming our neighborhoods, or that they pose a threat to our sacred values and norms. Extreme breaking encourages violence, even genocide, as it refuses to acknowledge the basic humanity of all people.

Breaking is inconsistent with a belonging paradigm, but so is silencing marginal groups so that the more favored groups might be more comfortable. One might notice that such a strategy is itself identity politics, but it is the identity of the selected group with whom we must become the most concerned. Even if this is for strategic reasons, such as to win elections, it is still deeply flawed.

To promote inclusion and belongingness, we need to foster a third form of social capital, known as **bridging**. Bridging occurs when group members reach out beyond their own identity formations to members of other groups. Bridging requires an acknowledgment that the world is changing, that we are changing as a culture and as a people. Bridging requires human connection and engagement. It doesn't mean you have to abandon your position. It doesn't mean you're going to agree on policy. But it means you listen. You give the other person the benefit of the doubt and you acknowledge their humanity.

On an operational level, it means executing programs in a way that bridge. On an institutional level it means creating policies that bridge. Breaking between people or within families can deny us what we need to be whole and belong. But when breaking is done by governments and other powerful institutions, it is even more destructive and signals to individuals that they have permission to break as well. Breaking is constructing a smaller and smaller “we,” while bridging promotes belonging in a larger “we” with greater resilience.

Bridging is not easy. And as bell hooks reminds us, bridges get walked on. To bridge requires strength, empathy and vulnerability. As Roberto Mangabeira Unger eloquently wrote in his book *The Religion of the Future*: “Raising up begins in a willed acceptance of heightened vulnerability to disappointment, disillusionment, and defeat; that in throwing down our shields, we regain the first condition of vitality...” Doing so does not ask that we sacrifice our values nor our identity. But it does entail risk and vulnerability. ■

We cannot subsume the needs of marginalized groups under a false, blanket universal.





Stephen Menendian at the 2018 Race & Inequality in America: Kerner Commission at 50 Conference in Berkeley

FROM ASSISTANT DIRECTOR  
STEPHEN MENENDIAN

**THIS YEAR IS** one of remarkable anniversaries and commemorations in the ongoing quest for social justice. Notable among these are the 50th anniversary of the Fair Housing Act and the 150th anniversary of the enactment of the 14th Amendment to the United States Constitution. As grist for academic conferences, these anniversaries are familiar points of reflection. However, there is another anniversary with a more poignant and painful resonance: the 50th anniversary of the release of the Kerner Commission report.

Convened by President Johnson in the wake of more than 150 uprisings in more than 100 cities nationwide—all sparked by violent police encounters in the “long hot summer” of 1967—the Kerner Commission produced a remarkable historical and political statement. After sending field teams into dozens of cities to conduct detailed demographic and social scientific analyses, the Kerner Commission concluded that white Americans had denied opportunity to far too many fellow Black citizens, locking them out of schools and jobs, and into neighborhoods that were far inferior to those enjoyed by whites.

Without dramatic intervention and an aggressive federal response, the Kerner Commission warned—in its most famous phrase—that “our Nation is moving toward two societies, one Black,

one white—separate and unequal.” For that reason, the Commission’s report offered more than 100 recommendations, (catalogued on our website at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/kerner50](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/kerner50)). These recommendations are remarkable for their relevance today, including calling for thousands of affordable housing units, ending “stop and frisk” policing, universalizing pre-kindergarten education, and the development of a universal basic income.

From February 27–March 1, we co-hosted a major national conference commemorating the Kerner Commission’s landmark report. Working with the 21st Century Cities Initiatives at Johns Hopkins University and the Economic Policy Institute, we organized this event to better investigate why the Kerner Report’s recommendations were never implemented so that we might envision a similar and equally bold policy agenda for this moment. As our Director John A. Powell noted in his introductory remarks, the Kerner Report was the “road not taken, but the road is still there.”

The events studied by the Kerner Commission have particular resonance in light of the spate of violent police shootings of young Black men that spurred the Black Lives Matter movement in recent years. The stories are chillingly similarly. The conditions, analysis, and grievances are largely the same. For that reason, we invited director Sabaah Folayan to screen her documentary *Whose Streets?* about the uprising in Ferguson after the murder of Michael Brown.

Our conference examined most of the major substantive areas of the Kerner report, including education, health, criminal justice reform, and housing, and closed with a stirring keynote by Sherrilyn Ifill, president of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, and a panel focused on remedies. Shaun Donovan, former US Secretary of Housing and Urban Development and former Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Robert Sampson, a sociologist at Harvard University, also gave keynote talks.

A recap on pages 12–13 of this news magazine includes coverage of the conference, while videos are available on our YouTube channel (@haasinstitute). This summer we will release a report synthesizing the key ideas and recommendations from the conference, ensuring that we continue our long-term efforts to envision a bold policy agenda for the challenges our society faces today. ■

# MEDIA ROOM

## EQUITY METRICS

# State of California adopts Haas Institute Opportunity Maps for Future Housing Projects

**A COLLABORATION** between the Haas Institute, the Turner Center at UC Berkeley, Enterprise Community Partners, the California Housing Partnership Corporation, and several other organizations led to a decision by the largest low-income housing program in California to utilize “opportunity maps” as part of criteria for where new housing projects for families with children will be built.

According to a report from the California Treasurer, opportunity maps are intended to display “which areas, according to research, offer low-income children and adults the best chance at economic advancement, high educational attainment, and good physical and mental health.”

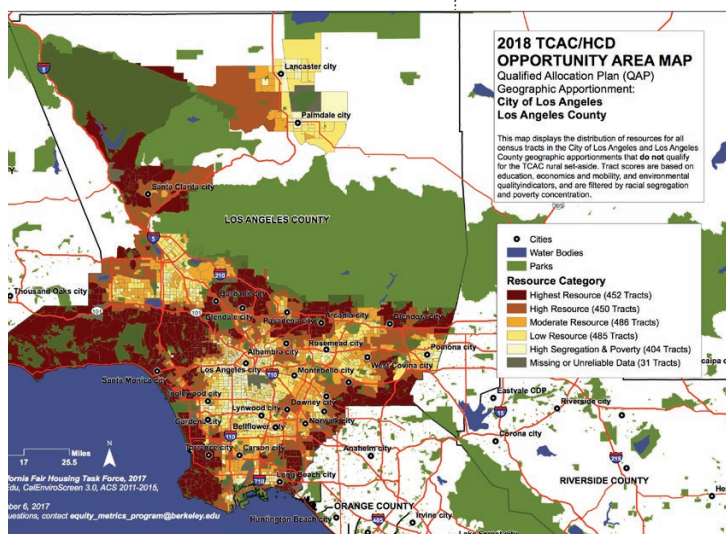
Last December, the California Tax Credit Allocation Committee (TCAC), which administers housing funds via the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program, voted to adopt opportunity maps into the 2018 regulations to promote low-income families’ access to high-opportunity neighborhoods. This move will help reverse patterns of developing new housing in segregated neighborhoods with high rates of poverty.

Using the Haas Institute’s opportunity mapping framework, and incorporating the most up-to-date research on upward mobility and intergenerational opportunity, the task force’s 10-month project culminated in producing maps for all census tracts in California. The taskforce process also incorporated considerations raised by stakeholders across the state during the public comment period.

This development follows extensive work by the California Fair Housing Taskforce, which was convened in February 2017 by TCAC and the California Department of Housing and Community Development (HCD). These agencies brought taskforce members together to identify an appropriate data-driven tool for measuring and mapping opportunity within the state. The group was formed partially in response to research by the Haas Institute showing

that LIHTC projects for families in the Bay Area were overwhelmingly sited in low-opportunity areas.

The Haas Institute jointly developed a research-based methodology for mapping opportunity to help direct the siting of LIHTC developments that are intended for families. - SARA GROSSMAN



Opportunity maps are intended to display “which areas, according to research, offer low-income children and adults the best chance at economic advancement, high educational attainment, and good physical and mental health.”—California Treasurer

## PUBLIC ENGAGEMENT

# Bringing Belonging to Bioneers

**THE HAAS INSTITUTE** was well-represented at the most recent Bioneers conference, an annual gathering in northern California of progressive-minded communities working on environmental, racial, and social justice.

Haas Institute Senior Fellow **Dr. Victor Pineda** was invited to give a keynote address to the hundreds of attendees gathered last October. Pineda's talk, entitled "Radical Inclusion: Cities, Technology and the Power of Inclusive Thinking," discussed the groundbreaking work of cities, tech companies, and universities to re-imagine urban spaces and unlock society's collective potential. Pineda, who is also president of the organization World Enabled and a leading advocate for inclusive urban development and disability rights, told the gathered crowd that "There are no problems that are impossible if we have the imagination to look beyond what is apparent."

Haas Institute Director John A. Powell was also a keynote Bioneers speaker. In his talk he urged the audience to focus on compassion, shared humanity, and reshaping structures to create spaces in which no one is left out. In his keynote address, entitled "Co-Creating Alternative Spaces to Heal," Powell laid out the challenge before us as one of moving "from an exclusionary society, to an integrated society, to an inclusive society, to a belonging society." He noted that demographic changes in the country where non-whites are becoming more visible creates anxiety among dominant groups. This is a natural feeling, he said, the response to which can take at least two forms. The first is "breaking"—that is, to resist this change and create an unwelcoming or hostile



There are no problems that are impossible if we have the imagination to look beyond what is apparent. – Victor Pineda

environment for people the dominant group views as a threat. Alternatively, the response can be one of "bridging" and "belonging," meaning to embrace those changes and form bonds with people from different backgrounds and with different views.

"Belonging is not just how we treat each other, it is how do we actually organize our economy, our structures, our schools ... where everyone belongs? Yet also still recognizing we have differences," Powell said. Recognizing our differences is not enough, however, he added. To move away from breaking, we must also understand the deep connections between

human beings, something that can be accomplished by focusing on empathy with others, and sharing stories of suffering and joy.

Haas Institute Senior Fellow Sonali Sangeeta Balajee also participated in a panel at Bioneers on "radical organizing." As part of that discussion she discussed how advocates can go beyond organizing for singular issues or candidates and think more deeply about transforming structures and culture.

An audio interview with Sonali from the Bioneers conference is available on the Haas Institute website. – SARA GROSSMAN

More at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources)



SCHOLARSHIP

## REVEALING WHAT'S HIDDEN ABOUT RACE

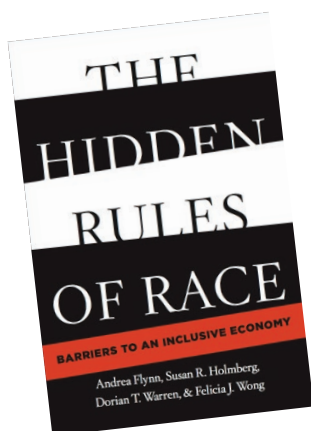
A NEW BOOK focused on obstacles to creating a more just economy and the role that racial inequities play in that arena, includes a chapter co-written by the Haas Institute's Wendy Ake and John A. Powell. *The Hidden Rules of Race: Barriers to an Inclusive*

*Economy* aims to provide readers with an understanding of the driving forces of racial inequality in the country, addressing questions such as why Black adults own less and have more barriers to opportunity, education, jobs, and voting rights than whites. The book also identifies why segregation still exists, more than half a century after

*Brown v. Board of Education* struck down legal segregation.

Ake, who leads the Haas Institute's Just Public Finance program, and Institute director John A. Powell contributed a chapter they co-wrote entitled "Creating Structural Changes: The Role of Targeted Universalism." In it they address the simultaneous rise of two ideologically opposed movements in the US and Europe. The first movement is one whose agenda explicitly targets marginalized groups and draws distinctions between who deserves rights and social protections, and who doesn't. And the other is one that demands inclusion and equity for all. "These...are born out of two different solutions to shared social realities," the introduction to their joint chapter reads. "We have to rethink the frameworks that give rise to strategies for systemic change and intervention. And we need to create practices that support a new language of discourse—one that promotes equity, inclusion, and belonging." —SARA GROSSMAN

More info at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources)



## People on the Move

AT A JANUARY 25, 2018 event in Oakland, Elsadig Elsheikh, the head of the Haas Institute's Global Justice program, presented findings from a new Haas Institute report on the global refugee crisis. Entitled "Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration," the report, which Elsheikh co-authored with Hossein Ayazi, takes an in-depth look at how neoliberal policies, securitization, and effects of the climate crisis have led to the current global refugee crisis.

During the talk, Elsheikh elaborated on key elements of the report's research and analysis to explain root and longstanding causes of the upsurge in people being forcibly displaced. He also contrasted the global responses to the displacement of people during the World War Two era with today's response by powerful countries in a position to help: in contrast to the post-WWII international response today countries are building fences, shutting their borders, and ignoring or scuttling longstanding international refugee resettlement agreements. Elsheikh also discussed how the vast majority of refugees remain in countries in the Global South, with European countries only hosting and resettling a tiny fraction of current refugees.

The event featured remarks by Catherine Tactaquin, the executive director of the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, as well as a performance by Kiandada Dance Theatre. The talk was moderated by the Haas Institute's Gerald Lenoir, with introductory remarks by Nunu Kidane, the Director of the Priority Africa Network. —MARC ABIZEID

Find the report at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/movingtargets](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/movingtargets)



From left: Elsadig Elsheikh and Gerald Lenoir of the Haas Institute

## Working Across Partisan Lines to Humanize Those Who Live in Poverty

HAAS INSTITUTE Director John A. Powell co-authored an article on the plight of poverty in America with leader of the conservative American Enterprise Institute Arthur Brooks. In their joint piece, entitled "America Can't Fix Poverty Until It Stops Hating Poor People," published in *The Atlantic's* CityLab, Powell and Brooks offered their viewpoints on the many ways poor people are treated as Other from those in the middle and upper classes, and issued a "bipartisan plea to stop 'Othering' those living on the economic margins." Powell and Brooks are both members of the US Partnership on Mobility from Poverty, and, as Powell notes, "We are both sincere in our desire to end poverty. We may disagree on how to do that, but both of us are interested in facts and science, so we can be convinced. It's not just an ideological position." When you bridge with other people, you can create fertile ground to begin addressing the problems you want to solve, Powell added. —SARA GROSSMAN

See more at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/news](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/news)

PHOTOS BY BOB HSIANG AND MARC ABIZEID

## COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

# Black Panther & A Wrinkle In Time Community Screenings



**HUNDREDS OF** community members from around the Bay Area gathered at the screenings of two major Hollywood films this past spring in events that were co-hosted by the Haas Institute and local partners. The films— *A Wrinkle in Time* and *Black Panther*—were both major cultural moments in their own right, and both challenge dominant narratives of "who belongs" on the big screen, featuring central characters that are non-white and multifaceted.

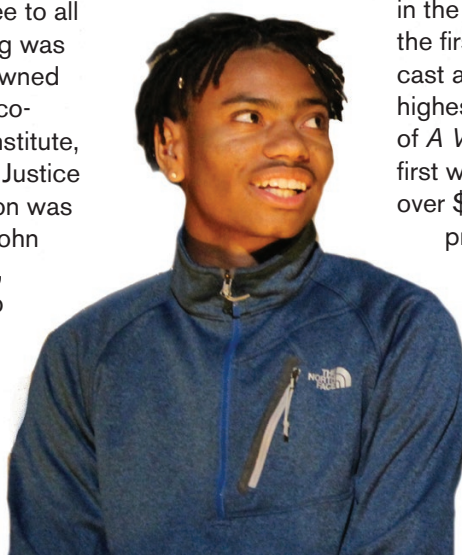
The events generated immense interest and enthusiasm within moments of their announcements online— tickets to the free *Black Panther* event, which was open to community members and advertised through social media platforms, were taken in under 15 minutes.

On February 19 the mega-blockbuster superhero film *Black Panther*, directed by Oakland native Ryan Coogler, was the occasion for the community screening. Free to all participants, the screening was hosted at Oakland's renowned Grand Lake Theatre and co-sponsored by the Haas Institute, PolicyLink, and the Equal Justice Society. A short discussion was held before the film with John Powell, Ashara Ekundayo, co-founder of Impact Hub Oakland, Eva Paterson, president and co-founder of the Equal

Justice Society, Michael McAfee, president of PolicyLink, and Oakland resident Ebone Carter.

Two weeks later, the same organizations, along with The California Endowment, hosted another free, community-invited screening, this time the Bay Area premiere of Ava DuVernay's *A Wrinkle in Time*. Held again at the Grand Lake, the *Wrinkle in Time* event featured a panel of local youth community leaders, including George Hofstetter, a junior at Alameda Community Learning Center, Rebecca Taylor, a Computer Science major at CSU East Bay, Ngan Ly, a senior at Oakland Technical High School, and Roxana Franco, who works with Oakland Kids First at Castlemont High School. The panel was moderated by Ashara Ekundayo. The *Wrinkle in Time* audience was packed with young attendees and their families from a number of local organizations and schools.

The two films represent a groundbreaking moment in the history of filmmaking. *Black Panther* became the first billion-dollar film starring a majority Black cast and has already joined the ranks of the top 10 highest grossing films of all time. With the premiere of *A Wrinkle in Time*, Ava DuVernay became the first woman of color to direct a film with a budget over \$100 million. Both films heralded a moment to promote deep social, emotional, and community health by building narratives which can allow communities to bond, envision, and experience joy together. - DUSTIN CRAUN



**George Hofstetter spoke on the youth panel at *A Wrinkle in Time* in Oakland**



# Latest Publications

Find all our publications at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources)

## What Didn't Happen?

BY JOSHUA CLARK

Donald Trump defeated Hillary Clinton in a bitterly fought 2016 campaign by outpacing past GOP



candidates among rural whites and whites without a college degree, particularly in states where turnout simultaneously dove among Democrat-leaning groups, argues a new study from the Haas Institute and Tides Foundation. The report uses data from the US Census Bureau, major post-election surveys, and other sources to examine shifts in voting behavior among different demographic groups that led to last year's major upset.

## Public Health & Wealth in Post-Bankruptcy Detroit

BY SUPARNA BHASKARAN

This report discusses how the declining wealth and health of ordinary Detroiters has most recently

been felt by their suffering in relation to safe and affordable water, the housing crisis, and access to healthcare. The report explores the paradox and potential of Medicaid Expansion, or the Healthy Michigan Plan, for Detroiters following the city's bankruptcy. The author examines efforts at leveraging health equity against the backdrop of ineffective water policies and housing insecurity experienced by Detroit residents. Ultimately the author argues for rearrangements of traditional economic and government practice to ameliorate challenges Detroit faces in order to create systemic change centered on policies that promote equity and inclusion.

## Inclusiveness Index 2017

BY STEPHEN MENENDIAN, ELSADIG ELSHEIKH, AND SAMIR GAMBHIR

The Netherlands, Sweden, and Norway retained the top three spots in the Haas Institute's 2017 Inclusiveness Index released in December, which ranks nations based on their levels of inclusion and group-based marginality. The Index



examines inclusivity in absolute terms and relative to other nations.

The US fell from the most inclusive group of nations in 2016 to the middle group of the 120 countries included in this year's report, according to a ranking system that uses six indicators: Outgroup Violence, Political Representation, Income Inequality,

Anti-Discrimination Laws, Rates of Incarceration, and Immigration/Asylum Policies. to determine a nation's level of inclusivity. Inclusivity is defined as access to power, and public and private resources, as well as how dominant group members view non-dominant group members.

## Speech and Belonging Resource guide

BY HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF

Last fall, UC Berkeley

was at the epicenter of a nationwide debate around free speech and hate speech in the US. At that time, Right-wing provocateur Milo Yiannopoulos had announced the campus as the site for his so-called "Free Speech Week," which was to feature a number of far-right speakers. Although the "week" of events ended up lasting about 20 minutes (and which the university later called "the most expensive photo op in the university's history"), we sought to examine the context of this speech event within the larger debate around free speech. Our Free Speech Resource Guide presented research-based evidence and perspectives on a range of free speech issues. The guide discusses coded racial appeals in the form of "dog whistle politics," and how other nations handle hate, among other critical topics.

## Legalizing Othering

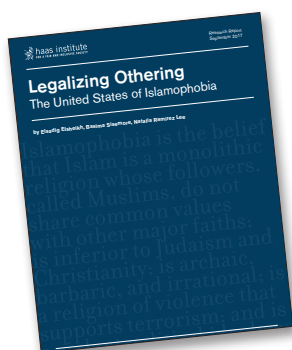
BY BASIMA SISEMORE, ELSADIG ELSHEIKH, NATALIA RAMIREZ LEE

This in-depth report, published in September 2016, traces the rise and impact of the Islamophobia movement in the United States since 2000, identifying key actors behind a national campaign to spread fear and misinformation about Muslims. Authored by researchers from the Institute's Global Justice program, *Legalizing*

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Latest Publications continued

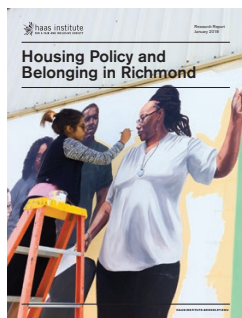


*Othring* shows how well-funded figures on the extreme right influenced state lawmakers around the country to introduce legislation and pass laws banning the application of Sharia. These anti-Muslim activists helped get nearly 200 anti-Sharia bills introduced in 39 state legislatures across the country between 2010 and 2016. As the report describes, the motivation for this type of legislation is not to combat a perceived threat to US democracy, but rather to stoke fears of Muslims in an effort to exclude them from society, and to present Islam as an enemy.

## Housing Policy and Belonging in Richmond

Released in January 2018, this report explores how the city of Richmond, California can continue working towards a more equitable housing landscape. While using Richmond as a lens through which to view the larger Bay Area housing crisis, the report outlines legislation that can be implemented in cities

and counties across the region, focusing on policies that address racial and economic exclusion, historical disenfranchisement, segregation, zoning, community health, and other issues. Much of the research and creative development of this report was done by the Staying Power Fellows, a group of Richmond residents impacted by the housing crisis who carried out interviews, analyzed data, and examined their own experiences over the past year. The Staying Power fellowship is co-sponsored by the Haas Institute. The report includes a set of



poems by local residents and pictures of a know-your-rights housing mural in the city produced by a Staying Power fellow. The stories, poetry, data, images, and policies that make up this report seek to answer questions like: What does it mean to truly belong in Richmond? How do our homes shape how we think of who belongs? And what solutions and actions are needed to achieve a city where everyone belongs?

—COMPILED AND EDITED BY  
SARA GROSSMAN

# Welcome!

Meet the new staff and affiliates working with the Haas Institute

## Nwamaka Agbo

PROJECT MANAGER, RICHMOND COMMUNITY-OWNED DEVELOPMENT ENTERPRISE



Nwamaka Agbo is a restorative economics practitioner, bringing a solutions-oriented approach to her project management consulting work with community-owned and governed projects. With a background in organizing, electoral campaigns, policy and advocacy on racial, social and environmental justice issues, Nwamaka supports projects that build resilient, healthy and self-determined communities rooted in shared prosperity. In addition to her consulting practice, Nwamaka is also a Senior Fellow at the Movement Strategy Center. She graduated from UC Davis with a Bachelor's degree in Sociology and African American Studies and has an MPA from San Francisco State University.

## Evan Bissell

ARTS & CULTURE STRATEGIST, STAYING POWER FELLOWSHIP COORDINATOR

Evan facilitates participatory art and research projects that support equitable systems and liberatory processes. Previous project include an interactive online history of freedom and confinement in the US told through 50 miniature paintings; poster installations and community surveys about broken windows policing in the Bronx; and life-size portrait paintings created with incarcerated fathers and children of incarcerated parents. Evan has exhibited at CUNY Graduate Center, on Alcatraz Island, at Yerba Buena Center for the Arts, Intersection for the Arts, and SOMArts, and facilitated projects in schools and communities nationwide. Evan received a master's in Public Health and City Planning from UC Berkeley.



## Arthur Gales

FAIR HOUSING COORDINATOR, EQUITY METRICS

Arthur Gales specializes in data analysis, econometrics, and policy research. He contributes to the Fair Housing Research Initiative and the Opportunity Mapping Project in his capacity as the new Fair Housing Coordinator. His work focuses on the geospatial mapping of inequality of opportunity using GIS, R, and Python to collect and present data that allows for actionable insight. Arthur received his Master's degree in Applied Economics from Johns Hopkins University in 2015 and holds a Bachelor's in English from George Mason University.





# Race & Inequality in America: The Kerner Report at 50

John Koskinen (right) and Victor Palmieri at the Kerner Commission conference in Berkeley

**NEARLY 1,000** people from around the country came together on February 27–March 1 for the “Race & Inequality in America: The Kerner Commission at 50” conference at UC Berkeley, and at an additional location in Baltimore, to hear dozens of experts speak on a range of topics related to racial justice in America.

The conference, co-hosted by the Haas Institute, the 21st Century Cities Initiative at Johns Hopkins University, and the Economic Policy Institute, marked the 50th anniversary of the publication of the “Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders,” more commonly known as the Kerner Report. The conference featured eight panels, several keynote speeches, and several artistic performances from distinguished figures, including former housing secretary Shaun Donovan, former Senator Fred Harris who is the only surviving member of the Kerner Commission, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund president Sherrilyn Ifill, New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu, and many others.

Haas Institute Director John Powell opened the conference with historical context on the Kerner Commission, which was formed in 1967 by President Lyndon B. Johnson in response to a series of uprisings across the country, most notably in Detroit and Newark. The commission was tasked with investigating the immediate causes of the rebellions, as well as the underlying conditions of racial segregation and discrimination that gave rise to them.

The bi-partisan and politically mainstream commission issued its landmark report on February 29, 1968, offering the dramatic conclusion that white society had denied opportunity to Black Americans living in poor urban neighborhoods. Its most famous line, cited by the US Supreme Court as recently as 2015, was: “Our Nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.”

Harris, the former senator and last surviving commission member, recalled visiting cities affected by the civil unrest with others to interview residents, who often expressed distrust in them and skepticism in their mission. “They didn’t trust white politicians like us to do anything about racism and poverty,” Harris recalls. Senator Harris described President Johnson’s indignation at the report’s findings, saying he wanted to prevent its release despite having commissioned it, but could do nothing to stop it after it was leaked to the public and garnered widespread media attention.

The final report was unanimously endorsed by the commission’s members, Republicans and Democrats alike. In that regard, it was not merely speaking “truth to power.” Rather, it was “speaking truth from power,” as Donovan, President Barack Obama’s housing secretary, put it in his keynote address.

In organizing the conference, the Haas Institute sought to not only examine the legacy, successes and failures of





From top (l-r): Jitu Brown listens to fellow panelist Rucker Johnson speak on their panel on education and racial disparities; New Orleans Mayor Mitch Landrieu during his welcome address



From top: Sherrilyn Ifill, President of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund during her closing keynote address; Attendee Sande Smith of the California Wellness Foundation; and, *Whose Streets?* film co-director Sabaah Folayan (left) speaks to the audience

From top: Members of the Kerner50 student art collective in front of one of their pieces; Camille Charles (left) and Betsy Julian on the housing panel; Sonya Joseph of Faith New York/PICO National, who spoke on the Black Lives Matter & Criminal Justice Reform panel

the commission, but also to envision what a contemporary Kerner Report might look like in every major area of American life, including housing, education, healthcare, policing, and more.

In the closing panel, titled “Remedies, Big and Small,” former dean of North Carolina’s law school Jack Boger advocated for ending mortgage interest tax deductions to neighborhoods that refuse to integrate low-income and non-white residents.

“White folks who say ‘I’d really like to be in integrated settings, but I’ve got to worry about my property values’ would all of a sudden say ‘if I’m worried about my property values I want to make sure I have a racially integrated and socioeconomically integrated community,’” Boger explained. He also proposed that leading universities favor admissions applications from racially-integrated high schools.—MARC ABIZEID

Videos of all speeches, panels, and performances from the conference are available at [haasinstitute.com/kerner50](https://haasinstitute.com/kerner50).



# Race & Inequality in America: Kerner Commission at 50 An Illustratrator's Diary

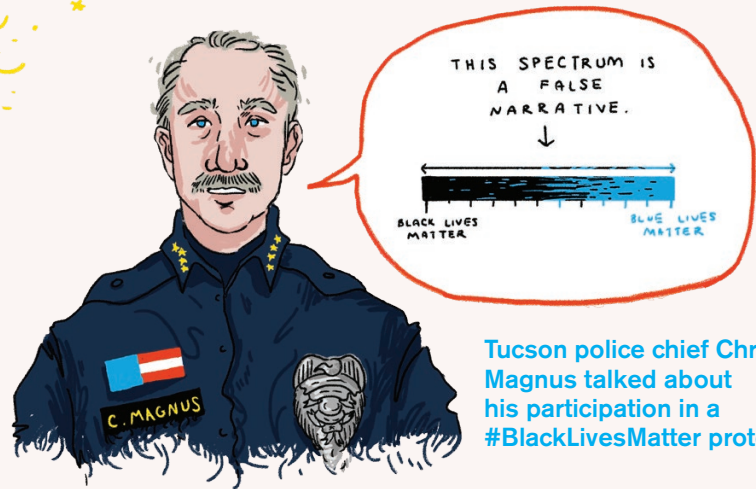
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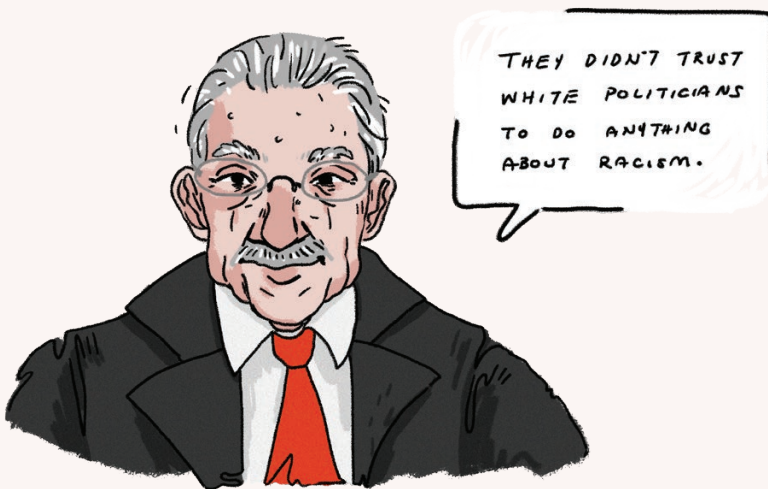
Attendee Rochelle Shaw looks through the conference program



Artist and UC Berkeley student Dulce María López González presents the student collective art work commissioned for the conference



Tucson police chief Chris Magnus talked about his participation in a #BlackLivesMatter protest



Senator Fred Harris, the only surviving member of the Kerner Commission, spoke about the probe into the 1967 civil unrest



Attendee Ora Hatheway, a UC Berkeley alumna, shared thoughts regarding some of the issues highlighted at the conference

# Gattaca Turns 20

Two decades after its release, Haas Institute faculty visit the iconic film's themes on bioethics, disability, eugenics, and more

**ALONG WITH** the Center for Genetics and Society, the Haas Institute Disability Studies and the Diversity & Health Disparities faculty research clusters collaborated on two events anchored around the 1997 sci-fi film *Gattaca*.

The two events, one held in Berkeley and one in San Francisco, were designed to revisit the film's impact on how society considers the ethical and social questions around human reproductive and gene editing technologies. Both featured a screening of the film followed by a panel and public discussion that explored the importance of the movie in light of emerging technologies that make what was considered science fiction at the time of *Gattaca*'s release simply science today.

The main character in *Gattaca*, Vincent, played by Ethan Hawke, was born of natural conception in a society dominated by genetically engineered elites. Because Vincent was born without genetic manipulation, he is deemed an "invalid" and unable to participate in society. Meanwhile Eugene, a different character who requires a wheelchair after an accident, can no longer operate in the Gattacan society only designed for humans in "perfect" physical and mental condition. Thus Eugene's life becomes a symbolic sacrifice of his "valid" DNA, in the form of daily donations of blood and urine, to Vincent, to help "validate" the latter's entry into a job that allows him to travel to space.

At the Brower Center in Berkeley, the event opened with a brief talk from UC Berkeley faculty emeritus Troy Duster who contextualized the ongoing significance of the questions raised by the film. Following the screening, Health Disparities chair Osagie Obasogie, Disabilities Studies chair Karen Nakamura, and fellow panelist Rosemarie Garland-Thomson from Emory University took part in a public discussion with

attendees. Nakamura raised critical questions about society's perceptions of belonging in relation to people with disabilities. Nakamura encouraged the panelists and audience to reflect on our own society's obsession with categorizing people and organizing society according to these categories—just like in *Gattaca*.

Obasogie, meanwhile, shifted focus to the film's use of eugenics—the process of trying to produce a population with certain genetic traits by controlled breeding. He challenged the audience to reflect on the complex history of this "science" and the lethal perversion of scientific ideology when used to socialize people into believing they must fit a specific profile.

The second event was held March 8 at the San Francisco Public Library and was followed by a panel discussion with Alice Wong of the Disability Visibility Project, Sara Acevedo of the California Institute of Integral Studies, Performer/artist Dominika Bednarska, Lawrence Carter-Long of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, Catherine Kudlick of SFSU, Marcy Darnovsky of the Center for Genetics and Society, and moderated by Nakamura.

Obasogie had previously raised similar questions about the social and political acceptance of technological developments used to "engineer better humans" in a piece in *Scientific American* last year entitled "Revisiting

*continued on next page*

# NEWS FACULTY

Two nights in the Bay Area.  
Two stellar panels. **FREE**

## GATTACA

20 YEARS LATER  
FILM & DISCUSSION

Join us as we revisit the film *GATTACA* and its vision of a vastly unequal future based on human genetic technologies. How does *GATTACA* continue to shape our imaginations about the relationships between science, diversity, and inclusion? How does it help us answer the urgent questions we face today, as genetic modification of future generations becomes technically possible?

**TUESDAY MARCH 6**  
Berkeley  
David Brower Center  
Goldman Theater  
2150 Allston Way, Berkeley  
5:00-9:00 PM  
*GATTACA* film screening with opening remarks by Troy Duster (UC Berkeley) and followed by a panel discussion with Mel Y. Chen (UC Berkeley), Osagie K. Obasogie (UC Berkeley), and Rosemarie Garland-Thomson (Emory), moderated by Karen Nakamura (UC Berkeley).

**THURSDAY MARCH 8**  
San Francisco  
San Francisco Public Library  
Latino/Hispanic Community Room  
100 Larkin St., San Francisco  
5:00-8:00 PM  
*GATTACA* film screening followed by a panel discussion with Alice Wong (Disability Visibility Project), Sara Acevedo (California Institute of Integral Studies), Dominika Bednarska (Performer/Artist), Lawrence Carter-Long (SREDF), Catherine Kudlick (SFSU), and Marcy Darnovsky (Center for Genetics and Society), moderated by Karen Nakamura (UC Berkeley).

WITH RECEPTION TO FOLLOW  
Share your thoughts about *Gattaca* for an exciting post-film discussion. Seating is on a first-come, first-served basis.

Visit the CGS website for free registration (required), accessibility information, and additional resources:  
<http://bit.ly/2EmUI3m>

SPONSORED BY  
Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society / Center for Genetics and Society / Paul K. Longmore Institute on Disability  
San Francisco Public Library / Superfest International Disability Film Festival

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Gattaca in the Era of Trump,” Within the context of racial hatred, xenophobia, and growing inequalities across all aspects of society, Obasogie noted in the piece, “What made previous eugenics movements so lethal and pernicious were not only the tools, practices and research programs that were developed then. Rather, it was the ideological context of abject racial hatred that led these approaches to be used for particular abhorrent ends.”

The panelists emphasized that society must continue contending with the harsh realities in the function of structural racism and its locking of specific groups out of opportunity.

Biotech companies leading in regulatory approvals to research and to treat genetic diseases must be held accountable to create equity and inclusion in their work that can advance all people, not just those who may already be considered privileged or even “elite.” The ongoing scholarship and public engagement and discourse around *Gattaca* highlights the reality that society faces critical questions around regulations. As they exist now, regulations are driven by powerful tech companies who use market-based logic to make decisions about what may be the fate of humanity.

A special episode of the podcast Life of the Law ([lifeofthelaw.org](http://lifeofthelaw.org)) was produced on the *Gattaca* theme, covering both of the screenings and featuring interviews with Obasogie, Duster, and other panelists. The episode is called “Up the Borrowed Ladder.” Visit [www.geneticsandsociety.org](http://www.geneticsandsociety.org) to see a video of both *Gattaca* events. —TAKIYAH FRANKLIN



## Economist Hilary Hoynes named to Academy of Arts & Sciences

**PROFESSOR OF** Economics and Public Policy and Distinguished Chair of the Haas Institute Economic Disparities faculty research cluster Hilary Hoynes was elected to the prestigious American Academy

of Arts and Sciences in April, joining a select group of scholars, business leaders, and changemakers from around the US who have received one of this country's highest honors.

The American Academy of Arts and Sciences is one of the oldest learned societies in the US and is devoted to the advancement and study of the key societal, scientific, and intellectual issues.

Hoynes' contributions are rooted in her scholarship on poverty, inequality, food and nutrition programs, and the impacts of government tax and transfer programs on low income families. More specifically, her research has looked at the impact of major US anti-poverty programs, demonstrating critical findings like the fact that residents in counties that adopted the Food Stamp program before their third birthday enjoyed better health later in life and that Head Start preschool programs have longer-lasting impacts for children who do not speak English at home, among other findings. She is also the co-editor of the leading economics journal, *American Economic Review*.

The Academy's announcement regarding Hoynes' election noted that her research has provided “a clear and dynamic picture of how these social programs affect poverty, health, and food security, especially during economic recessions, and...is distinguished by its focus on critical policy issues and methodological rigor.”

Other notable people elected to the Academy this year included author Ta-Nehisi Coates, novelist Viet Thanh Nguyen, former president Barack Obama, and Supreme Court Justice Sonia M. Sotomayor, among others.

—SARA GROSSMAN



Haas Institute chair Hilary Hoynes speaks at an event she helped organize on SNAP



# Immigration and Racialization in the Era of Trump

Chris Zepeda-Millan is an Assistant Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies and Chicano/Latino Studies at UC Berkeley and is a member of the Haas Institute's Diversity and Democracy research cluster. His scholarship focuses on issues related to social movements, immigration, public opinion, racial politics, and interdisciplinary research methods. His first book, *Latino Mass Mobilization: Immigration, Racialization, and Activism* was published by Cambridge University Press.

**You wrote a book that examined the causes and effects of the 2006 immigrant rights protests, one of the largest demonstrations in US history. What has changed in the decade since?**

In many respects, everything and nothing has changed. Nothing has changed in the sense that we still don't have comprehensive immigration reform and Republicans today are in control of every branch of the federal government, just as they were back in 2006. At the same time, things have changed for the worse in that we've gone from having a Republican president in George W. Bush who was willing to support legalization for undocumented immigrants, to the most anti-Latino and immigrant president—Trump—who wants to terrorize, cage up, and deport both people without papers and legal permanent residents.

On the positive side, things haven't changed in that we still know we have the capacity to mass mobilize people. What has changed, however, is that Trump's victory made more evident than ever that our street protests have to be accompanied by electoral mobilization such as naturalization, voter registration, and get out the vote drives, in order for activism to be impactful. We're on our way to doing this but, in many respects, our ability to put this strategy into action depends on a lot of funding and on the slow but steady demographic changes that are occurring, especially in key swing states like Florida and Arizona.

**Is President Trump's administration uniquely dangerous to immigrants? If so, how?**

As bad as it was under Obama—and it was extremely horrible in terms of deportations—we did make some important gains through political activism. A lot of what we couldn't achieve had to do with Republicans' control of Congress during most of his presidency.

Today, things have gotten substantially worse because this president doesn't need the Latino vote and, in fact, his base is demanding that he specifically target Latinos, which has led to immigrants being attacked legislatively, culturally, and physically. Unlike Obama, Trump is making lifetime judicial appointments that will undermine immigrant rights for de-



Chris Zepeda-Millan

cedes. So yes, Trump is definitely uniquely more dangerous compared to the previous president.

**What are some trends in the ways local cities are resisting or responding to the current federal immigration policies? How can pro-immigrant groups and people react and resist?**

In an interesting way, the hostile nature of the national political contexts has opened up space for positive policy change at the local level in progressive states like California. If we push our elected officials right now, we have both the capacity and the will (given the anti-Trump sentiment in the state) to not only pass laws that make it harder for the federal government to implement Trump's draconian nativist agenda, but also expand immigrant rights. We've

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already done this through things like policy around driver's licenses, but we could do more like, for example, expanding our local democracy by allowing non-citizens that live in and contribute to our communities to vote.

### How does your scholarship intersect with that of the Haas Institute's work related to inclusion and belonging?

I wanted to be part of the Haas Institute because of its mission to promote equity, fairness, and inclusion locally, nationally, and across the globe. My research on immigration—which is simultaneously a local, national, and international issue—intersects perfectly with the Haas Institute's goals. —INTERVIEW BY SARA GROSSMAN

# Research to Impact Series

**THE HAAS INSTITUTE'S** faculty research clusters organized a year-long, 11-part speaker series for the 2017-2018 academic year that brought leading scholars from around the country to UC Berkeley to present on a wide range of issues around diversity and inclusion.

The talks kicked off in the fall with a presentation by Joseph Fischel of Yale University, who spoke on the limits of consent discourse in adjudicating forms of pleasure.

The following week, UC Berkeley's Erin Kerrison presented on how the US prison system fails inmates of color, illustrated through the compelling narration of formerly incarcerated participants of drug treatment programs.

Jovan Scott Lewis of UC Berkeley then presented on how theories of reciprocity and economics of exchange can be applied to the study of poverty in Jamaica.

In another talk, Paul Frymer of Princeton University shared his research on how the federal government crafted a white America through land policy by populating territory with European settlers and denying land to non-whites.

Poet Elizabeth Alexander, who was recently appointed president of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, rounded off the fall segment with a look at Black arts collectives, and some ways in which Black art eulogizes, remembers, and makes ancestral references to death and violence.

Opening the series' spring segment was Richard Reeves of the Brookings Institute, who argued that there is too much emphasis given to the top one percent of wage earners, and not enough on the top 20 percent, in studies of wealth and power in America. That talk was followed by a critique and panel discussion with UC Berkeley scholars Paul Pierson and Cybelle Fox.

Victor Rios of UC Santa Barbara spoke at the next event on the criminalization of Black and Latino boys, and his nearly 20 years of research examining the perspective of youth experiencing punitive social control on the streets and in schools.

In a joint talk, Mary Pattillo of Northwestern University, and Jordan Conwell from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, presented their research on "Race, College Quality, and Intergenerational Mobility," using qualitative and quantitative data to show the implications of education gaps



among white, Black, and Latino people for their families over different generations.

Karen Nakamura, chair of the Haas Institute's Disability Studies cluster, later gave a talk that critiqued traditional approaches of academics to the field of disability studies, demonstrating how films, books, conferences, and research are exclusionary of non-white people with disabilities.

In the next talk, the University of Chicago's Cathy Cohen showed how the advent of new media has changed how young, Black Americans are more in control of capturing and disseminating visuals, and that such a shift has also impacted their levels of political knowledge.

In the final talk of the year-long series, UC Berkeley's Lisa Garcia Bedolla spoke on "Taking Back Democracy: Relational Organizing and Political Engagement."

Videos, photos, and summaries of most of the talks can be found at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/researchtoimpact](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/researchtoimpact). —MARC ABIZEID



# Tracking and Exposing the Rise of Islamophobia

**RESEARCHERS FROM** the Haas Institute's Global Justice Program have become key contributors to the expanding field of Islamophobia studies in the United States with a slate of newly-released publications, international partnerships, and ongoing research that offers deep examinations of the increase of anti-Muslim sentiment and policy across the country.

"Our work to address Islamophobia provides research, policy recommendations, and tools to understand and challenge the mechanisms used to legalize and institutionalize the Othering of Muslims," Elsadig Elsheikh, the director of the Global Justice Program, said.

Recognizing gaps in Islamophobia research and a lack of coordination among scholars in the field, Elsheikh and colleagues set out to build a structure to share knowledge and connect people working to confront anti-Muslim bigotry. While anti-Muslim bias is not new in the US, concerted efforts to single out Muslim communities through legislation and policy have increased dramatically since the attacks of 9/11.

The Haas Institute was one of the founding members of the international Islamophobia Studies Consortium, a network of scholars and partners studying Islamophobia in a global context, comprised of more than 23 partners at universities and research centers. These partners are working on multiple areas of Islamophobia research within a network that facilitates collaboration and communication.

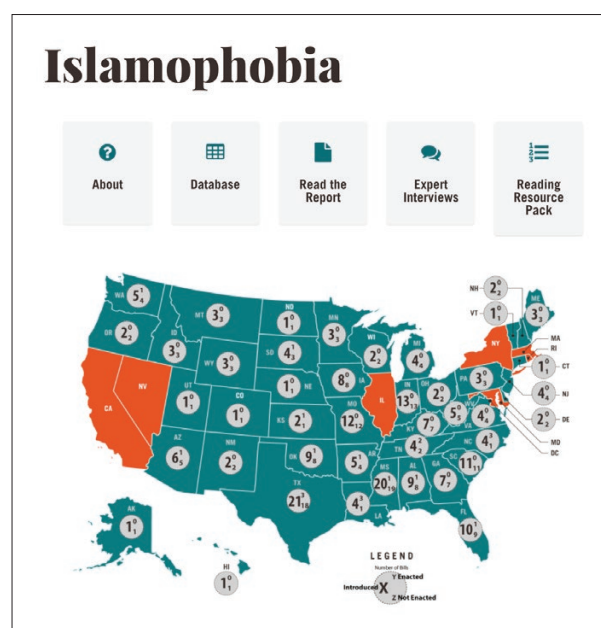
Elsheikh explained that this area of work "seeks to unmask the multiple layers of Islamophobia that are influencing the legal, political, and social geographies of the US, ranging from anti-Muslim legislation to supporting critical community and scholarly engagements that examine and challenge Islamophobia."

Recent initiatives of the Institute's Islamophobia efforts include this year's launch of a searchable database that identifies anti-Muslim bills introduced in US state legislatures, as well as a report published last

year that details how far-right actors have undertaken coordinated efforts to alienate, criminalize, and spread fear of Muslims in the United States.

The report, titled "Legalizing Othering: The United States of Islamophobia," authored by Elsheikh and researchers Basima Sisemore and Natalia Ramirez Lee, shows how well-funded figures on the extreme right influenced state lawmakers around the country to introduce legislation and pass laws that banned the application of "Sharia law," or a set of guiding principles, from being considered in US courts.

The Haas Institute has also been a regular co-sponsor of the Annual International Islamophobia Conference, an initiative run by UC Berkeley's Center for Race and Gender.



Forthcoming initiatives include a reading resource pack that catalogs literature on anti-Muslim bigotry. Plans are to release a US-focused resource document first, and then globally by region.—MARC ABIZEID

[More at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/islamophobia](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/islamophobia)

# New Web Hub on Narrative for California Movement Makers

**THE BLUEPRINT** for Belonging (B4B) project of the Haas Institute is working with movement organizations across California to develop and operationalize a strategic narrative to underpin advocacy work across issues, campaigns, and communities.

In March, the B4B team launched a new online web hub full of new materials the team has been collaboratively developing with partners over the last 18 months. Components on the new online platform include a series of newly published research briefs from scholars and movement leaders such as Rashad Robinson of Color of Change, Manuel Pastor from the University of Southern California, Alan Jenkins of The Opportunity Agenda, Rachel Godsil of the Perception Institute, and the University of California's John A. Powell, George Lipsitz, Ian Haney Lopez, and Chris Benner, among others. These papers were developed to offer analysis and proposals on issues identified as critical to informing narratives and advocacy centered on belonging and inclusion. The B4B team also publicly launched a new video, titled "From Red to Blue," that documents the success of social movements in California in creating a more progressive political atmosphere in the state, pushing for policies that

challenged dog whistle politics, xenophobia, and structural racialization.

Other new media include a long-form audio dialogue between community organizing leader Christina Livingston and Haas Institute director John Powell. The two discuss the work needed to dismantle a dominant anti-government, pro-corporate, hyper-individualistic narrative, while simultaneously building a new narrative that is based on a government and public sphere that serves people over profits.

Another major component of the B4B initiative includes a statewide survey conducted by the Haas Institute and Latino Decisions to better understand the interaction of Californians' intergroup and identity perceptions with their attitudes towards several policy goals, social values, and responses to messages based on a strategic narrative. The study gives an initial baseline for understanding where as a state and regionally California sits in relation to core pillars of progressive agendas.

The B4B team is set to next roll out new research briefs that will compare regions within the state and examine the responses of populations such as young adults and unregistered voters.

Find out more at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/b4b](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/b4b)



## Changing Our Narrative About Narrative



## Faith Communities as Partners of Hope



## Shifting the Narrative

The new web hub features more than 15 research briefs from scholars and advocacy group leaders on organizing, movement-building, agenda-setting, and other areas of advocacy work.



## A 21st Century Movement-Building Challenge



## Race-Based but Not Race-Bound



## The Next California



## Building a Strategic Narrative for All of California



PHOTOS BY MARC ABIZEID



## Local Partnerships Change Public Narrative, Policy, and Community Infrastructure for Belonging

**IN RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA**, the Haas Institute has partnered with community leaders and organizations to create strategies to further belonging in the face of persistent racial inequities and displacement. Three related projects unfolded through participatory process to develop policies, creative arts, and new organizational infrastructure for belonging. In early 2018 community leaders launched a new hybrid organization, the Richmond Community-owned Development Enterprise (RCDE), with the goal of ensuring the needs of Richmond residents who have been historically left out of the benefits of new development are central to the city's emerging projects.

Economic development projects are too often planned by private developers and arrive 'fully baked' by the time community members find out about the project. The aim of the RCDE is to restructure this process so that development planning begins with an inclusive and participatory community vision, a clear commitment to social equity, and a process for remaining accountable to impacted residents.

The Haas Institute provided research support to the development model of the Richmond CDE model; Eli Moore, Derrick Duren, and Nwamaka Agbo worked with local leaders to provide research into existing development trends and developed case studies of equitable development enterprises in order to facilitate the design of the new enterprise.

Another project carried out in Richmond was the Staying Power Fellowship, which brought together a group of six residents to carry out their own research, creative arts, and community organizing related to themes of belonging and displacement. The fellows were nominated and supported by community organizations Safe Return Project, RYSE, and Alliance of Californians for Community Empowerment. Staying Power Fellows explored their own experiences through writing and photography, interviewing fellow residents, and researching historic policies like redlining and other policies related to housing and development. They developed in-

sights from their research into creative arts pieces, including the *Walking Testimonies* poetry book, a "Know Your Rights" mural, among other projects.

The Haas Institute's Richmond team also wrote and published *Housing Policy and Belonging in Richmond*, a report that shares data, stories, and policy recommendations rooted in the Staying Power fellowship and related research by the Institute and its community partners. The report provides context on the roots of the housing crisis, data pointing to critical issues in the city and region, a framework for developing inclusive housing policies, and specific policies that Richmond could adopt to achieve a more fair and inclusive city.



The vision of this work is that the city of Richmond becomes a model for democratically governed and community-owned equitable development that creates resilient, prosperous, and healthy neighborhoods. "For Richmond to achieve a vision of social equity and broadly shared prosperity, we need a vehicle for development that has these values at its heart," Eli Moore, who heads up the Richmond-based work, noted.

"The theme of belonging emerges as central to addressing housing needs," said Sasha Graham-Croner, one of the Staying Power fellows. "Belonging within a city is not about being born there. It is not even about owning a home there. Belonging represents the communal spaces that are genuinely inclusive and supportive to all," she added.

—DERRICK DUREN, ELI MOORE

[haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/ccp](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/ccp)

# Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity Announces First Cohort



BY TAKIYAH FRANKLIN  
PHOTO BY SUSAN WILCOX



The first cohort of AFRE Fellows on location at a field trip in Marikana, South Africa

IN NOVEMBER 2017, the Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity (AFRE) program named its first cohort of 29 fellows for a year-long leadership program aimed at challenging racism in the US and South Africa and disrupting the rise of white nationalism and white supremacy.

AFRE is a unique partnership of leading organizations focused on racial equity, including the Haas Institute at UC Berkeley, Center for Community Change, the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Nelson Mandela Foundation, and Columbia University. AFRE, one of six Atlantic Fellows programs funded by The Atlantic Philanthropies, is a \$60-million program centered on exposing and ending racial discrimination and violence that dehumanize Black people which, ultimately, harm all people.

The inaugural cohort of AFRE Fellows is composed of activists, lawyers, artists, scholars, advocates and community leaders and is the first of 10 cohorts that will take place over the next 10 years.

"The United States and South Africa share a long history of racism, inequality and white supremacy, all of which have reached a boiling point in recent years. But we also are witnessing a new generation of leaders standing up to break this corrosive cycle of injustice," said Kavitha Mediratta, executive director of the AFRE program.

"These extraordinary individuals demonstrate great courage," Mediratta added, "and, by awarding these fellowships, we hope to help them achieve our collective goal of a truly just and inclusive society for all." [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/afre](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/afre)

## SOUTH AFRICA FELLOWS

**Obenewa Amponsah**  
Harvard University

**Asanda Benya**  
University of Cape Town

**Christopher John**  
AFDA (The School of Creative Economies)

**Brian Kamanzi**  
University of Cape Town

**Kelly-Eve Koopman**  
Coloured Mentality

**Joel Modiri**  
University of Pretoria

**Ntombikanina Malinga**  
Sastela

**Neo Muyanga**  
Johannesburg International Mozart Festival & the National Arts Festival of South Africa

**Siyabonga Shange**  
Grace Family Church

**Sarah Summers**  
Coloured Mentality

**Stha "Sthandiwe" Yeni**  
Tshintsha Amakhaya

## US FELLOWS

**Devon Carbado**  
UCLA School of Law

**Dara Cooper**  
National Black Food and Justice Alliance

**Marisa Franco**  
Mijente

**Alicia Garza**  
National Domestic Workers' Alliance

**Dallas Goldtooth**  
Indigenous Environmental Network

**Mary Hooks**  
Southerners On New Ground (SONG)

**Talila Lewis**  
Helping Educate to Advance the Rights of Deaf Communities (HEARD)

**Rukia Lumumba**  
People's Advocacy Institute

**Marlon Peterson**  
The Precedential Group

**Christopher Petrella**  
American University

**Rasheedah Phillips Community**  
Legal Services of Philadelphia

**Alberto Retana**  
Community Coalition

**Rashad Robinson**  
Color of Change

**Favianna Rodriguez**  
CultureStrike

**Holiday Simmons**  
Generative Somatics

**Michael Smith**  
MBK Alliance & Obama Foundation

**Thenmozhi Soundararajan**  
Equality Labs

**Richard Wallace**  
Workers Center for Racial Justice



In conversation with Senior Fellow Joshua Clark about his post-2016 election research and analysis—work that is part of his joint position with the Haas Institute and Tides Foundation.

# What Comes Next?

## Voting and the Electorate in 2018 and Beyond

**On the week of the one-year anniversary of the 2016 presidential election, we released a report you authored called “What *Didn’t* Happen?” By using that title, what are some misconceptions you wanted to address?**

The main misconception I wanted to spotlight was the idea that there was any single, master explanation for the outcome of the 2016 presidential election. We all saw the dizzying succession of talking points: “It was turnout!” or “It was women!” or “It was Trump’s appeal to the working class!” To be fair, these weren’t just headlines—many of those claims were backed by substantial data and plausible arguments. And in many cases, those analyses were at least partially right.

But overall, Trump’s victory in the Electoral College required the confluence of multiple factors and many anomalous voting behaviors that combined in distinct ways across regions. If there are a lot of “one-big-thing”-style arguments about what determined the 2016 outcome, it’s because you can come up with a lot of counterfactuals that would have landed us a different result. But just because you can make a plausible “if only x had happened...” argument doesn’t mean you can’t do the same for factors a, b, and c.

So my aim was to say: “What do you mean ‘what happened’? Actually, what *didn’t* happen?”

**You are also doing research on “legal structures of inclusion” in relation to voter turnout and voter suppression. Why is dismantling**



Joshua Clark

**“structures of exclusion” not enough?**

I worry that if we set our mission only as removing barriers or structures that exclude, we accept the popular fallacy that there is a way to set the structures back to “neutral.” It is to act as though there can be, or used to exist, a place of equilibrium in our laws and institutions that can be restored. That simply is not the case. To strive for structures of inclusion means advocating for laws, policies, institutions, processes, and even forms of sociality that deliver equality across constituencies situated many ways in our society.

Now, what would those structures look like when it comes to voting? I would say that we only know by testing ideas and seeing their effects. A legal or policy reform, or any other intervention in how people can register and vote, is a mechanism of inclusion insofar as it actually increases the participation of voters, particularly those we know don’t

consistently participate.

There are many ideas about how to improve structures around elections to make them more inclusive, and several are getting adopted at the state level. In 2016, Oregon became the first state to implement automatic voter registration (AVR), a system that registers eligible citizens automatically any time they interact with the DMV. Recently Washington also passed AVR legislation, along with pre-registration for 16- and 17-year olds and Election Day (“same-day”) registration. In California this year we will begin to see the implementation of the Voter’s Choice Act, which contains a suite of changes meant to give voters greater flexibility and convenience in how, when, and where they vote.

All of these reforms are meant to facilitate voting, but intent is not the same as outcome. We need to continue to build on these types of reforms, not only in election administration but also through innovative voter engagement and mobilization efforts, while evaluating who we are reaching and where non-participation persists.

**You’re currently working to reframe the idea of “voting rights” by bringing in notions of “targeted universalism” and “positive obligations.” What would a reframed understanding look like?**

Most of my past work centered on international human rights in the post-WWII context. In that sphere, there has been a real shift in ideas about securing rights for everyone. Especially since the end of the Cold War, the international human rights system has pursued an implementation agenda that takes rights to be only as real as their actual enjoyment in practice. So that means asking a bigger set of questions than just whether there are cases of rights being attacked; it means trying instead to assess whether rights are being equally and *effectively* enjoyed, and if not, re-

*continued on next page*

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quiring positive actions to *fulfill* them. Targeted universalism calls for something similar, but offers a more systematic mode of operationalization. It foregrounds the fact that what we're talking about is creating *differential policies and practices* tailored to the needs of differently-situated individuals and communities.

Where voting rights are concerned, I think that both point to the same main things: First, let's move from a minimalist standard of "can they vote?" to "are they voting?," with the obvious caveat that we'll never see 100 percent participation. And second, if there are patterns in who's making it to the polls and who's not, we need to design some positive steps to facilitate the exercise of voting rights for those groups for whom the existing structures are not effective.

**Some seem reliant on the idea that demographic shifts in the US will naturally cause politics to grow more favorable to their causes. Do you agree with this analysis?**

This is a topic of longstanding and sometimes heated debate. When people make this kind of claim, of course there's something there. But to me, there is much more that is wrong than right about the analysis.

First, this type of argument often relies on census figures on ethnic and racial categories that we know do not perfectly align with people's modes of identification. Further, the way we define these identification categories today—and thus the criteria on which today's socio-demographic projections are based—will not necessarily be the same bases of self-identification for our children's generation. We cannot take for granted how patterns of self-identification will develop into the future nor how the resulting identities will interact with different political positions.

John Powell often reminds people that you don't win by having the numbers on your side; you win because you get

organized and you have a plan. That's politics. The whole idea that "demographics are destiny" is an expression of anti-politics, because it suggests you don't have to do the hard work of listening to people, organizing, and building something together.

**You wrote a piece on learnings "After Virginia," about what we can take away from the Democratic victories in Virginia last year. What does Virginia signal?**

The Virginia election results are suggestive of a number of interesting things. Maybe the most under-appreciated lesson going into this year's midterms is that the polarization and nonstop political spectacle of the past couple of years is likely to pump up turnout across the board, not just among opponents of the current administration. If you don't believe that, you're probably taking too much from a highly unusual Alabama special election, and not enough from Virginia. I think that people often forget that there are "occasional voters" on—or with leanings toward—both sides of the political spectrum. I expect we'll see high rates of all of them at the polls in November.

My Virginia piece made some predictions about where progressive electoral strategy was headed that I think have proven correct, at least so far. The Virginia elections undoubtedly show that young people, Latinos, Asian Americans, and African Americans can indeed surge as powerful electoral forces even in a non-presidential year. Virginia also suggests that these groups will mobilize for down-ballot races and rally in support of new or "authentic" voices. The new lawmakers elected in Virginia were wise by running on local issue platforms rather than making everything about national partisan polemics. At the same time, they included people that represent this country's richness and breadth—people from many underrepresented communities and life experiences. There was even a cultural anthropolo-

gist—like me—elected to the Virginia House of Delegates. What could be more unexpected than that?

**What issues and trends are you paying particular attention to in the upcoming midterms?**

Like anyone who follows these things, I have my own personal favorite races of interest. Some of them are primaries on both sides of the partisan divide. In the past few years there has been a lot of push and pull around issue stances in both major parties, and primaries can be an indicator of how likely it is that new stances will spread and solidify. So for example there are a handful of statewide races where you have long-time locally popular GOP elected officials squaring off against nativist, provocateur-type candidates. On the other side, there are a lot of first-time Democratic candidates who are running on very bold progressive proposals that polls suggest have support, but that conventional wisdom has long said "can't win."

**There's a current debate about what we should understand as the "baseline" for the electorate moving forward: the patterns from the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections. Was 2016 an aberration?**

I think that question is important, but I worry that the most influential voices in these analyses will continue foregrounding partisan swings—especially with respect to white suburbanites and whites without a college degree—while ignoring fluctuations in turnout, or in the composition of the electorate. That is dangerous because when a dynamic (or voter group) is omitted from analyses of one election, it is likely to be left out of planning for the next. That is one way research and analysis become complicit in a cycle that alienates so many voters. But there is also an opening there, I hope, to challenge that cycle by altering the terms of the conversation. —INTERVIEW

BY SARA GROSSMAN





BY SARA GROSSMAN

# Us, Reimagined

Where Culture Can Take Community





**T**his spring, singer and rapper Childish Gambino set off a heated national debate after releasing the music video for his song *This is America*. The video, both cryptic and startling, is shot entirely in a warehouse. It opens with a man peacefully strum-

ming a guitar, only to be quickly executed; a Black choir is gunned down, sirens and crowds rage in the background, a man jumps off a balcony. In front of it all, Gambino (whose real name is Donald Glover) dances joyfully with a group of schoolchildren, as if to say: let us distract you from the horror. Within hours of its release, the video had captivated the online sphere. Some viewers argued that it was meant as a critique of US gun culture, others said it was an indictment on the superficiality of social media. Still others claimed it was a denunciation of anti-Black violence. Glover himself has remained silent, letting audiences have their own conversation.

This is, of course, not the first time a work of art has generated such frenzied debate. And yet, at a time when US leaders remain unable to address even the most alarming social inequities, Glover's work serves as a stark reminder that art and storytelling have critical roles in mirroring society back upon itself.

While research and policy have often provided the backbone with which to construct an agenda for change, it is culture that can provoke shared reflection as well as new ways of seeing and being.

In his captivating keynote at the Haas Institute's Othering & Belonging conference last year, author and scholar Jeff Chang illustrated what artists can do to "advance the social imagination." "Culture is the realm of narratives and images," said Chang, who is the executive director of Stanford's Institute for Diversity in the Arts. "Culture is where we find community, where the collective will to change is

formed and moved."

Despite the enormous social challenges we face today, Chang assured his audience that there is—and this is—time to assert a different vision of society. Artists, he concluded, "have the potential to be stewards of validating the righteous humanity of marginalized people."

**I**t has become increasingly trendy in recent years to use popular music as a form of resistance, says Lynnée Denise, a "DJ scholar" and current Visiting Artist in CSU Los Angeles' Pan African Studies Department.

In addition, popular music, particularly that which is produced by Black artists like Childish Gambino, often has multiple layers of "coding" that can speak to specific subgroups while still being accessible to larger audiences.

"Black music has been historically coded, as it allowed us to communicate under the plantation regime," Denise said. "At the root of Black American music is that throughout US history we were excluded from participating in social life. Music offered a space where we could to express ourselves and critique and share our experiences in America."

Denise added that coded music has long been used as a "cultural survival strategy" within Black communities. Generations ago, enslaved Black people used song to communicate escape plans and poke fun at slavemasters. Today, artists like Beyoncé continue to use codes to speak to Black audiences and recognize their unique histories and experiences.

Beyoncé's performance at Coachella in 2018 with an all-Black marching band is a significant example of codified culture, Denise said. "The Black experiences that Beyoncé spoke to required intimate knowledge of those experiences, without leaving people out. It was a coding rooted in healing."

Pop culture not only has the capacity to heal, but also to foreground difficult conversations for the larger society. "Pop culture has long been an impor-

previous page: "The Land of WE,"  
Honoring Altar maker Ofelia  
Esparza of East LA by muralist  
Erin Yoshi, courtesy of Erin Yoshi.

tant space of critique,” said Evan Bissell, a public artist and researcher who is currently serving as the inaugural role of cultural strategist for the Haas Institute. “And a lot of pop culture has been heavily influenced by movement organizing.”

American history is rife with examples of how social movements and creative culture have intertwined for powerful results, working to effectively remind the public of where society is at, as well as light the path forward towards something better.

Singing in 1939 in front of a mixed-race audience in New York, Billie Holiday gave her first chilling rendition of *Strange Fruit*. The song, originally written as a protest poem by American writer Abel Meeropol and published in a union-organizing magazine, was frank and unflinching in its description of lynching. It captivated the night’s audience and went on to become a national sensation, surfacing a larger conversation on white brutality and the country’s unperturbed acceptance of anti-Black violence, all in a manner that could be available to mass audiences.

More than half a century later, Beyonce similarly used the work of feminist Nigerian writer Chimamanda Ngozie Adichie in her 2013 hit “Flawless.” The song, which peaked on the US Top 100 charts, pulled from Adichie’s viral speech “We Should All Be Feminists” and brought a critical analysis of modern gender relations to the forefront of popular culture in an accessible and compelling way.

“I have had young people in Nigeria who probably would have never heard of my TED talk without Beyonce and who are now talking about feminism,” Adichie said later.

Gambino, Beyonce, Holiday—just a few among many who have produced game-changing art—have

provoked conversation in ways that political debate cannot. And they have done so while also creating touchstones and masterpieces during times of great social challenge.

It is often local art that can best engage communities in healing, says Erin Yoshi, a public muralist based in Los Angeles. “Murals are the billboards for the people,” Yoshi explained in a recent interview. “I consider myself a visual translator of people’s experiences.”

Yoshi’s work, which can be found in public spaces around the world, particularly in her native California, is rooted in her own cultural memories and informed by current global conditions. Through her practice, she has found that murals often serve as places of unification and community healing, as was the case with a mural she painted of Oscar Grant and Trayvon Martin in Oakland. While painting the piece, community members began coming by and turned the site into a shrine for the youth.

This community action not only created a space for shared healing, Yoshi recalled, but also a moment to envision something better.

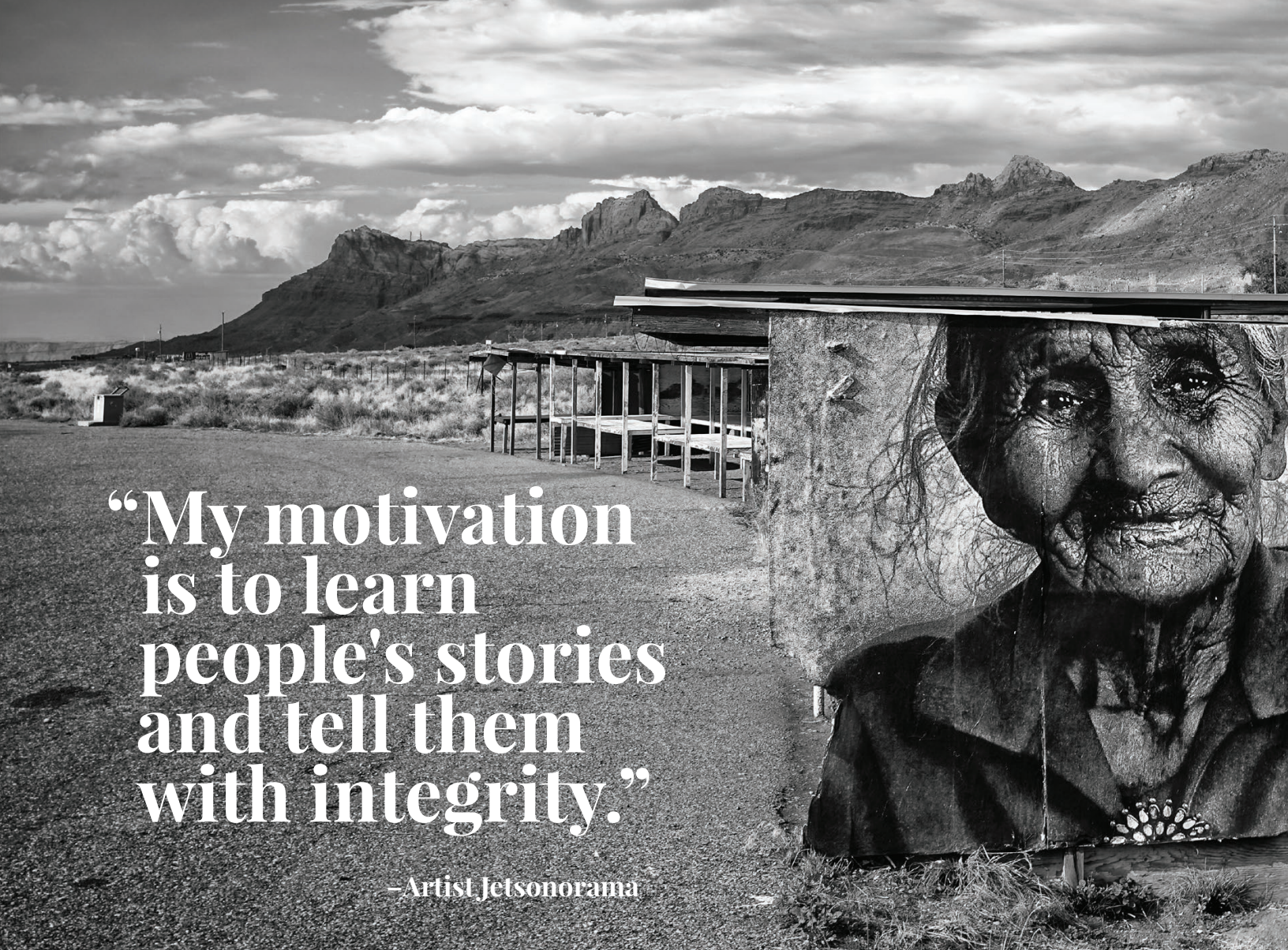
“As artists, it is our responsibility to remind people where we’ve gone, where we’re going—and light the path along the way,” Yoshi said. “A lot of time art will provide a space for imagining what’s possible.”

The Chicano Mural Movement of the 20th Century is a historical illustration of how hyper-local art can effectively reimagine place, people, and “what’s possible.” This artistic movement championed the representation of Mexican peoples, cultures, and iconographies in public spaces across the western US, fostering a renewed sense of pride and histori-

**“Black music offered us a space where we could critique and share our experiences in America.”**

DJ scholar Lynnée  
Denise, CSU Los Angeles





“My motivation  
is to learn  
people's stories  
and tell them  
with integrity.”

—Artist Jetsonorama

cal awareness within the Chicano community—a community whose history was, and often remains, overlooked in the larger public consciousness. The murals not only lifted up the iconography of an underrepresented community, but also pushed viewers of all backgrounds to engage with Chicano heritage and its role in shaping US landscapes.

The legacy the Chicano muralist movement and others like it are clearly visible today, especially in the urban landscape. Not as well known are those artists working in other geographies such as public artist Jetsonorama (aka Chip Thomas). Jetsonorama, a Black public artist whose “day job” is working as a physician for the the Diné (Navajo) nation in northern Arizona, uses local and community-specific imagery to center stories not often told in mainstream media, particularly stories that elevate the challenges but also the joys and triumphs of Native Americans.

In a recent interview, Jetsonorama explained that

his mission has long been to challenge narratives of people of color that are widely presented in the popular media. “My motivation is to learn people's stories and to tell them with integrity,” he said.

Jetsonorama noted that the Diné people are among the most impoverished in the nation, with 20 percent of his patients lacking in water and/or electricity—despite living on a land rich in natural resources.

“In this environment there are social challenges that accompany poverty including a diminished sense of self, known as the soul wound, or an inter-generational emotional trauma,” he said. Yet, because of a strong sense of culture and community, “the spiritual strength of the culture remains strong.”

While he works to illuminate Navajo culture and history, the pieces also make Native stories and people more visible to non-Natives. “Seeing large scale photos of people placed in the landscape humanizes the space and gives the viewer a better idea





A mural from artist Jetsonorama shows Rose Hurley with her great grandson, Edzavier on the Navajo nation in northern Arizona.

of who is here,” Jetsonorama said. “I hear stories of how tourists have stopped at some of the roadside stands where my art appears and have engaged the local people in conversations that initially started about the art, but evolved into the tourists getting invitations to local people’s homes for meals.”

Last year in the Bay Area, Jetsonorama experienced such a connecting moment himself while putting up a large scale installation in the city of Oakland. The work features an upside down American flag, with a small Navajo child being hoisted merrily in front of it. While at work installing the piece a veteran walked by and angrily proclaimed that he fought for the flag and didn’t like seeing it upside down, ending with a “Trump 2017!” chant.

Two days later, the man returned and apologized for his behavior, sharing that after eight years in Afghanistan he now suffers from PTSD, sleeps poorly, is unable to hold a job, and has trouble control-

ling his emotions. He cried while recounting some of his experiences.

“He said he’d gone into service believing in this country and its promise of democracy both here and abroad, only to realize he’d wasted eight years of his life and is a changed man,” Jetsonorama wrote on his blog after the encounter. “I thanked him for returning and providing an opportunity for discussion. We shook hands and embraced before he headed on his way.”

Art and culture has the capacity not only to illuminate struggle, but to create new connections and foster belonging. This is at the heart of what it means to have compassion, says Haas Institute Director John A. Powell. “To share suffering is to have



compassion,” powell explained in a recent speech. “Bridging and belonging are based on our willingness to engage and share in each other’s suffering, failures, stories, and aspirations.”

Policy centers, research institutes, and local governments have begun more intentionally prioritizing the critical importance of art and culture in building community, building power, and strengthening cross-cultural community bonds.

The city of Oakland has made moves to prioritize arts and culture in engaging local residents. In its new cultural development plan, the city noted that “everything that happens in the city is infused with culture—in its broadest sense, that is, ways of being.”

Culture, the authors write, is the manifestation of diverse forms of knowledge and wisdom that people gain through their unique lived experiences. The role of Oakland’s Cultural Affairs department is to understand and promote these diverse forms of understanding and create a stronger, more inclusive Oakland community.

The city’s cultural development plan’s goal is to ensure that Oakland’s people “not only feel a sense of belonging in the city and to each other, but know that the city belongs to them—with the rights and responsibilities that entails,” the authors write. “The guiding vision of this plan is: Equity is the driving force. Culture is the frame. Belonging is the goal.”

The Haas Institute also approaches culture, and belonging, as integral to its work in collaborating with communities in addressing social, economic,

and political challenges. Or, as the Institute’s Evan Bissell phrased it, “to think about how can we make things more human.”

“My job is to think about how we can expand the power, relevance and reach of our work, through a bridging strategy that honors different types of knowledge,” Bissell said.

One project that Bissell has worked on with the Haas Institute is Staying Power, a program that supports Richmond residents impacted by the Bay Area’s housing crisis. Through participatory research and creative activities, the group developed policy, arts, and culture projects to strengthen and support the belonging of people of color in Richmond and fight continued displacement.

“There’s a need to think about the larger narrative that exists around housing and displacement,” Bissell said. “There’s a lot of humanness that exists there, and if we don’t bring that in as well, we’re not doing justice to the totality of life.”

Since the program’s inception two years ago, the sponsored fellows and four partner organizations have facilitated a youth poetry workshop in an affordable housing site, created a know-your-rights mural featuring key housing victories, and a book and video of poetry created from interviews with Richmond residents impacted by the housing crisis. The fellows also presented poetry and policy proposals to the City Council and distributed policy fact sheets and a report outlining a comprehensive housing strategy.

“To be able to participate in a collaborative manner with others who share the vision of a strong,

The “Know Your Rights” housing mural in Richmond, California, led by Evan Bissell and Sasha Graham-Croner



**“The mural I helped envision and create is now for all to see. I am now known as a warrior in my community.”**

—Sasha Graham-Croner

unified Richmond has brought hope to those assumed forgotten,” said Staying Power fellow Sasha Graham-Croner. “The mural I helped to envision and create is now for all to see. I am now known as a warrior in my community and I intend to live up to it for as long as I am alive.”

Since its inception, the Haas Institute has sought to create space for artists and culturemakers in many aspects of its work. At this year's conference commemorating the 50-year anniversary of the Kerner Commission report, the Institute's most recent large-scale public event (see p. 12), the use of arts and culture as a policy and narrative lens were embedded in the structure of the conference. New work was commissioned from Oakland poet Chinaka Hodge, St. Louis-based artist Damon Davis, and San Francisco performance collective Campo Santo, in order to fold layers of texture and provocation that re-energized the policy and systems work, and caused attendees to feel these issues deeply.

The Institute also hosted a public film screening and discussion of the documentary *Whose Streets?*, an intimate portrait of how the activists and community in the Ferguson community responded to the police killing of teenager Michael Brown. Additionally, the Haas Institute sponsored the work of a Kerner50 art collective with students from Bay Area universities, which produced art specifically around the themes of the conference as an experimental way to illustrate the findings of the Kerner Report, exposing new questions around its themes.

In bringing culture in alignment with policy and community advocacy, the Haas Institute seeks to make complex issues related to inequality, race, and Othering accessible for consideration in new light. Culture has been a throughline of the Institute's work in the framework of Othering & Belonging as

well. At its last Othering & Belonging conference, the Institute hosted Oscar-winning playwright Tarell Alvin McCraney (*Moonlight*), renowned photographer LaToya Ruby Frazier, and deaf choreographer and dancer Antoine Hunter, along with many others, as part of a way to explore and experience themes such as marginality and identity. Artist Taro Hattori brought his mobile teahouse "Rolling Counterpoint" on site to the conference, using the Japanese ritual of tea to create a space for visitors to engage in dialogue about division and belonging in contemporary society.

Artists like McCraney, Frazier, Hattori, Hunter, and others are able to expose audiences to new ways of seeing and being through the use of their art. Their methods and perspectives can open audiences up to themes and realities not typically explored in mainstream society, such as queerness, poverty, disability, and environmental racism.

**A**lthough today we face growing hatred, division, and xenophobia across many areas of society, art and culture remain critical outlets to critique the moment, articulate the struggle, and identify pathways to a more inclusive future. Artists' unique capacity to embody both collective pain and shared joy allows them to share the layered narratives of communities and foster empathy for those who may live outside the dominant culture—ever more important in today's exclusionary political climate.

As author Toni Morrison famously wrote: “This is precisely the time when artists go to work...There is no time for despair, no place for self pity, no need for silence, no room for fear. We speak, we write, we do language, that is how civilizations heal.” ■





Ralf Hotchkiss demonstrates how his wheelchair design can climb up curbs and traverse rough terrain



BY MARC ABIZEID

# Reinventing the Wheelchair

Engineer Ralf Hotchkiss has made it his life-long mission to bring “real mobility” to millions around the world in need of durable, low-cost, and safe wheelchairs

**WEARING A SLIGHTLY** mischievous smile, 70-year-old Ralf Hotchkiss waits until I get my camera focused on him before he plows his wheelchair through some branches drooping from a small tree near the creek that runs through the UC Berkeley campus. He proceeds to mow over a plant, then positions his chair on a stone ledge a few inches from the ground—balancing on the rear wheels with his knees pointed towards the sky—before dropping down to the asphalt walkway.

Using techniques borrowed from mountain bike riders, the engineer, activist, and co-founder of the Berkeley-based nonprofit Whirlwind Wheelchair is demonstrating how standard wheelchairs—typically doomed to destruction when ridden anywhere without a smooth surface—can be taken off road to withstand real-world abuse with some crucial, low-cost modifications.

“My first chair lasted half a block. I hit a crack in the sidewalk, smashed one of the front wheels, and had to be dragged back to the hospital,” said Hotchkiss, who would later win the Genius Award from the MacArthur Foundation for his international contributions to independent living.

“From that point on I was repairing, reinforcing, and reengineering



chairs” so they would, at minimum, match the standards of bicycles built in the 1890s, he added.

That was 1966. Hotchkiss was 18 and had become a paraplegic after crashing his friend’s new motorcycle while coming around a corner too fast.

## Real Mobility

The founding of Whirlwind Wheelchair in 1979 marked the start of what would become his life’s mission: to provide real mobility to the 50 million people worldwide that he estimates require sturdy and safe wheelchairs.

“We’ve hardly started,” said Hotchkiss, who from 1989–2014 taught a course on wheelchair design and construction at San Francisco State University. He puts the number of wheelchairs Whirlwind and its network of workshops has built over the past four decades at around 100,000.

The Whirlwind project began after Hotchkiss traveled to Nicaragua in late 1979. There, he met four boys who reinforced a single wheelchair they shared between them so it wouldn’t crumble on roads made from large, round cobblestones that villagers used for barricades against government tanks during the country’s revolution.

Since then he’s traveled to more than 40 countries throughout Asia, Latin America, east Africa, the Near East, and Siberia, linking together a network of workshops that modify and reinforce hand-me-down and throw-away wheelchairs from the US and Europe so they can be used on farms and over rough terrain.

It didn’t take long for Hotchkiss to realize that the standard wheelchair wasn’t much safer than the jerky-throttled two-stroke motorcycle that led to his accident.

For decades he would get tossed to the pavement once or twice a year whenever his wheelchair got stuck in a sidewalk crack. In the early 2000s he sliced off one of his toes which had been dangling off the edge of his chair’s footrest when it came up against a door frame. And then there’s the problem of the rear brake mechanisms situated too close to the tires--and thus the rider’s fingers.

“Everyone’s ripped a whole thumbnail off on a [standard wheelchair],” he says.



Hotchkiss' chair features an extended front wheelbase to eliminate tipping over forward

“It just drives us crazy whenever there’s another injury.”

The safety hazards and lack of development of wheelchairs was partly due to a monopoly on wheelchair production and sales in the US by Everest & Jennings. The monopoly was broken when the company agreed to a 1979 settlement following an antitrust lawsuit filed by the US Justice Department.

The nature of those poorly-designed and constructed chairs, combined with the lack of replacement parts in poorer countries, resulted in an activation of local ingenuity around the world to rebuild wheelchairs to meet the conditions of the terrain in their own countries.

“When your chair breaks down, there’s nothing you can do. You can’t get a replacement from the people who came once and gave away 1,000 chairs and disappeared for five years,” Hotchkiss says.

Some of the key features of his current chair are the 24-inch mountain bike tires in the rear with the top of the wheels angled inwards for a more ergonomic function, a German-inspired rear brake, and an extended front wheelbase to prevent tipping over forward, which he explains is the primary cause of injuries among wheelchair riders, often



Hotchkiss poses across the street from the UC Berkeley campus

leading to broken femurs or fractured skulls.

His front wheels, made of thick rubber in their centers, but hollowed out at their ends, were taken from Zimbabwean push carts designed to roll smoothly on solid ground while not getting dug in sand—a marvelous design he’s trying to pass on to other parts of the world.

“We’ve done our best to spread the Zimbabwe technology, and they’re in a dozen countries now,” he added.

## “Custom of Pity”

In addition to the wheelchair monopoly, Hotchkiss also attributes the safety hazards and poor reliability of standard wheelchairs to society’s “custom of pity” that keeps people with disabilities excluded from participating in society in a meaningful way.

Simply offering help or care is not enough, Ralf argues. It’s more important to understand the needs of wheelchair riders so chairs can be built to “liberate” them, as opposed to leaving them feeling bound.

“People are just kind of given a wheelchair and forgotten about...or [they’re] allowed to have a little bit of mobility, but are not encouraged to go out, go to school, get a job, fight for political office, demonstrate, all those things,” Hotchkiss said.

This assessment of the problem is perhaps best supported in a revealing quote from a February 1981 *New York Times* article which cites Everest & Jennings’ then-Executive Vice President Bruce Blickensderfer. When asked to account for the common problems wheelchairs were documented as having such as brittle spokes, Blickensderfer’s response was: “I guess they want a wheelchair that would make them able-bodied again. I’d love to do it. I don’t how to.”

But the innovators around the world working to fill the gap for wheelchair riders—left by an industry which doesn’t regard them as whole persons—operate with a different mentality. For Hotchkiss, the end goal is to perfect a wheelchair design which can be built and maintained in any corner of the world using locally sourced materials and which are cheap enough to compete with imported chairs.

Upfront costs of the chairs are less important than long term maintenance, he explains, so they can be performed by local blacksmiths and mechanics.

“That’s the only way people will have consistent, sustainable, transportation and live independently for their whole lives,” he said. “If you get one wheelchair, it better last you one lifetime.” ■



## BOOK REVIEW

# Three Works About Inequality Converge on Similar Policy Agenda



BY STEPHEN  
MENENDIAN

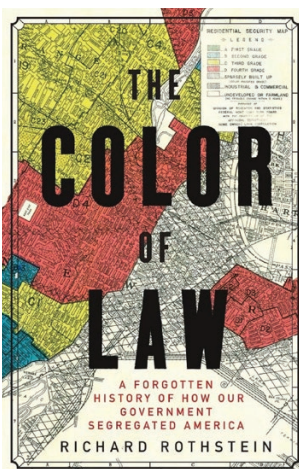
In a span of three months in 2017, three Richards—Reeves, Florida, and Rothstein—published three well-received books on inequality in America. Each work begins at starkly different origin points, but end at remarkably similar conclusions. The consensus policy agenda developed by the three Richards suggests not only the unfinished business of past generations, but also the unique challenges that confront our society today.

In *The Color of Law*, **Richard Rothstein** draws upon the tradition of urban historians in telling a familiar, yet surprising story of government-sponsored residential segregation in the 20th Century. In this story, government mortgage and housing policy opened wealth-building opportunities for millions of white Americans while locking most African Americans in declining and decaying urban ghettos.

Meticulously researched, Rothstein describes the macro-policy decisions that built suburban America and systematically segregated metropolitan regions beyond the Jim Crow south. At the micro-level, Rothstein weaves intimate and painful stories of the families affected by these policies. The result is a bracing and

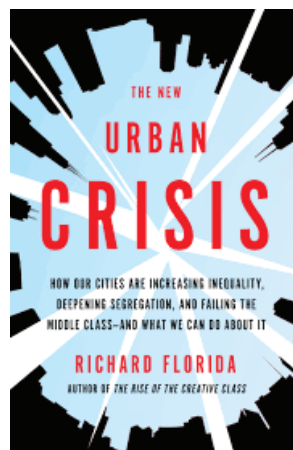
vivid story of racial inequality structured into post-war America.

**Richard Florida**, best known for his evangelism and work on the “Creative Class,” writes a *mea culpa* of sorts in his book *The New Urban Crisis*. Beginning roughly where Rothstein’s book ends, Florida opens with a personal vignette of growing up in Newark, New Jersey during the uprisings that were carefully documented in the Kerner Commission Report of 1968. Explaining how “place itself had become the central organizing unit of the new knowledge-based economy,” Florida describes a new, equally troubling pattern. In this iteration, well-educated knowledge workers are returning to the urban core, displacing poor and lower skilled workers to the urban peripheries. Such divides, as he systematically demonstrates, are “causing greater inequality both within cities and metro areas, and between them.” Specifically, he observes an unfolding of “small areas of affluence and concentrated advantage, and much larger areas of poverty and concentrated disadvantage.” Critically, this pattern is not simply a feature of US residential life in major metropolitan regions. Florida



**The Color of Law**  
A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America

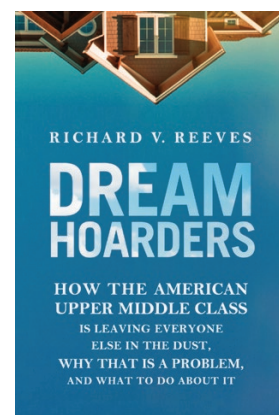
By Richard Rothstein



**The New Urban Crisis**  
How Our Cities Are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class — and What We Can Do About It

By Richard Florida

sees the same or similar pattern playing out in different degrees of extremity across the globe. Nearly everywhere, people are moving to cities for opportunity, amenities, and jobs.



**Dream Hoarders**  
How the American Upper Middle Class Is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust, Why That Is a Problem, and What to Do About It

By Richard Reeves

In Florida’s telling, cities are “the engine of innovation and economic growth.” But the conditions they encounter are heartbreaking. By his account, more than 800

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million people worldwide live in “destitute poverty and substandard conditions in slums, barrios, and favelas, and their numbers will continue to grow as the world’s urban population surges.” Florida deploys data and painstakingly developed research to describe these patterns in novel and compelling ways, including the growing concentration of capital in “superstar cities” and emergence of megapolises.

Florida’s argument outlines each dimension of a global crisis that we are only now beginning to confront. While attentively focused on questions of race and class, Florida maintains a macro-focus. Policies that exacerbate and perpetuate inequality also tend to reduce economic growth. He points out that metropolitan regions with the highest rates of inequality also have slower rates of overall economic growth, a feature he is able to observe using novel indices of inequality. Highlighting recent studies by a pair of economists, unwinding restrictive land use policies is not just an equity measure, it is an economic growth precondition. As he notes: “If the housing and land use restrictions that constrain development were eliminated, so that everyone who wanted to work in San Francisco could afford to live there, the city would see a 500 percent increase in jobs.”

**One of the challenges is that the places with**

**greatest upward mobility now tend to be the most unequal. In one notable anecdote, Florida relates that “San Francisco’s levels of inequality are similar to those of El Salvador and Rwanda, respectively.”**

Florida’s conclusion is inescapable: “Place and class combine to reinforce and reproduce socioeconomic disadvantage.” Residing in the best communities affords not only access to the best schools, services and jobs, but also the best networks and social capital. Not coincidentally, this theme is also the heart of Richard Reeves’ book, *Dream Hoarders*. Contrary to the well-known brandishments of the Occupy Wall Street movement, Reeves asks the reader to readjust their focus from the very top one percent of earners to a broader swath of upper-middle income households, roughly the top 20 percent. In almost every area of life, he argues, they are rigging the system to their advantage. In his view, the key mechanisms of “opportunity hoarding” (a term borrowed from the late Charles Tilly), are “exclusionary zoning; unfair mechanisms influencing college admissions, including legacy preferences; and the informal allocation of internships.” For Reeves, “Each of these tilts the play-

ing field in favor of upper middle-class children.”

Developing an argument similar to Florida’s, but with a more narrow lens, Reeves identifies the key barriers to upward mobility and the mechanisms that perpetuate inequality. Focusing on university admissions, family wealth, the tax code, and land use policy, he points out how income and wealth inequality translate into qualitatively distinct educational experiences and childhood environments, describing how upper middle-class children “spend their first quarter century in a greenhouse for human capital growth.” At the same time, he shows how disinvestment in higher education has burdened middle- and lower-income students with greater debt loads, making college more difficult, while it has never been more important.

Like Rothstein and Florida, Richard Reeves reserves special concern for land use policy. Zoning ordinances, he notes, have become “mechanisms for incorporating class divisions into urban geographies.” Thus, the clustering of tax base capacities, services, and other amenities follow these policy decisions. Place-based sorting reinforces economic segregation. Reeves also draws attention to the unfair use of the tax code to subsidize the upper-middle class while providing a relative pittance to lower-income Americans, and the remarkable fact that elite American universities continue to consider legacy preferences in admissions, while pointing out the United Kingdom phased them out decades ago.

Despite their divergent starting points and analyses, all three books converge on a similar policy agenda anchored by a focus on land use policy and the distorting effects of the tax code. The primary pillar of Florida’s reform agenda focuses on “reforming zoning and building codes” that make it difficult to build affordable housing and invest in needed infrastructure. Similarly, Rothstein proposes a “ban on zoning ordinances that prohibit multifamily housing or that require all single-family homes in a neighborhood to be built on large lots with high minimum requirements for square footage.”

Given Reeves’ focus on land use policy and exclusionary zoning, it should not come as a surprise that this, too, is the centerpiece of his policy recommendations. He calls for “curbing exclusionary zoning” and provides practical insight into the on-the-ground battles needed to accomplish this. In addition to Rothstein and Florida, Reeves also takes aim at the mortgage interest deduction, which he claims is “using the tax system to help richer people buy bigger houses near the best schools.”

It is telling that three major books on inequality focus their attention on the issue of place and space. Moreover, all three scholars target exclusionary and restrictive zoning as a key cause and impediment to creating a fairer and more inclusive society. This is clearly a policy agenda we must heed. ■



# HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF ACTIVITIES

Below are major activities from September 1, 2017 to April 30, 2018 from the Haas Institute's staff and scholars. The research agenda and public engagement activities of the Haas Institute are centered on collaboration with communities, partners, and advocacy organizations with whom we share a vision for a just and inclusive society.

## 2017

### September

**SEPT 5:** The Haas Institute joined 10 human and civil rights organizations to denounce the Trump administration's announcement to end the DACA program in a statement, titled "Ending DACA 'anti-theft' to our deepest values."

**SEPT 7:** An op-ed by Haas Institute research assistant Joel Sati was published in the *Washington Post*, titled "How DACA pits 'good immigrants' against millions of others."

**SEPT 8:** The Haas Institute released "Legalizing Othering: The United States of Islamophobia," a major research initiative that traces the origins of the contemporary Islamophobia movement in the US.

**SEPT 8:** Director John Powell participated in the UC Berkeley faculty panel on free speech hosted by Chancellor Carol Christ.

**SEPT 14:** Senior Fellow Richard Rothstein's book, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How*

*Our Government Segregated America* was nominated for a National Book Award.

**SEPT 14:** Karen Trapenberg Frick, Assistant Adjunct Professor of City and Regional Planning at UC Berkeley, gave a talk, titled "Rethinking Activism: Strange Bedfellows in Digital Organizing," as part of the Thinking Ahead lecture series.

**SEPT 21:** Wendy Ake of the Haas Institute's Just Public Finance program was interviewed on KPFA about the fiscal and humanitarian crisis in Puerto Rico, a US territory ravaged by hurricanes Jose and Maria.

**SEPT 23:** Karen Barkey, the endowed chair of the Haas Institute Religious Diversity cluster, was in Thessaloniki, Greece to premiere the newest iteration of her project Shared Sacred Sites. The three-venue exhibition was inaugurated by the mayor of Thessaloniki at the Macedonian Museum of Contemporary Art.

**SEPT 25:** A study authored by Erin Kerrison, a member of the Haas Institute's Diversity

and Health Disparities cluster, was published in the *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation* showing racial bias in prison-based drug treatments. The paper is titled "An historical review of racial bias in prison-based substance abuse treatment design."

**SEPT 25:** The Haas Institute published an online resource guide devoted to issues of free speech and hate speech featuring research, analysis, and perspectives.

**SEPT 25:** In an article posted to the Institute's website titled "Why They Keep Coming: Understanding the Far-Right's Motives," Program Manager Eli Moore describes how the repeated visits by far-right and white supremacist groups fit into the broader effort by opportunistic political operatives to activate and exploit white racial anxiety and animosity for political power.

**SEPT:** Haas Institute Director John A. Powell and Director of our Just Public Finance program Wendy Ake co-authored a chapter, "Creating Structural Changes: The Role of

Targeted Universalism" for the new book, *The Hidden Rules of Race: Barriers to an Inclusive Economy*.

**SEPT:** The Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE) unveiled a new resource guide developed to assist jurisdictions use a racial equity lens to identify a set of metrics and implement a community process to have greater impact in their work.

### October

**OCT 2017:** A new mural informing renters of their rights was unveiled on the facade of a building in Richmond, California as part of the Haas Institute Staying Power program. The "Know-Your-Rights" mural, located on 23rd St. and Ohio Avenue, celebrates community action for a more equitable housing landscape, and draws attention to Rent Control, Just Cause Eviction, and Fair Chance Housing laws.

**OCT 2:** David Harding, a member of the Haas Institute's Economic Disparities cluster, co-authored a study, titled, "The short- and long-term effects of impris-

onment on future felony convictions and prison admissions," published in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* journal, which shows a causal relationship between sentencing and the likelihood of future incarceration.

**OCT 5:** Haas Institute researchers Heather Bromfield and Eli Moore co-authored a piece in *Medium* on how municipal control of housing developments and lax enforcement of California's "fair share" legislation designed to mandate the construction of low-income housing units across the state, is obstructing efforts to address the housing crisis.

**OCT 5:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored a talk by Patricia Macías-Rojas, a sociologist who teaches at the University of Illinois at Chicago, on her book, *From Deportation to Prison: The Politics of Immigration Enforcement in Post-Civil Rights America*.

**OCT 10:** CityLab published a piece co-written by Haas Institute director John A. Powell and Arthur

Brooks, who leads the conservative American Enterprise Institute, that discusses the limitations of addressing poverty in America until we stop dehumanizing, criminalizing, and Othering those who are poor.

**OCT 10:** In a talk hosted by the Center for African Studies Elsadig Elsheikh of the Global Justice Program presented on a report he co-authored on the global refugee crisis, titled "Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration."

**OCT 10:** Cristina Mora, Associate Professor of Sociology at UC Berkeley and member of the Haas Institute's Diversity and Democracy cluster, presented on her book, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American* as part of the Institute's Thinking Ahead lecture series.

**OCT 12:** Diana Iniguez, a student assistant with the Haas Institute and DACA recipient, had a letter to the editor published in the *New York Times* in response to an article outlining the White House's immigration demands in exchange for retaining the program for 800,000 undocumented youth to stay in the US.

**OCT 16:** Rhonda

Itaoui, a 2017 Haas Institute summer fellow, presented on a recent report on the US Islamophobia movement at her home school in Australia. The talk featured a Q&A via video link with report co-authors Elsadig Elsheikh and Basima Sisemore.

**OCT 17:** Haas Institute Assistant Director Stephen Menendian was quoted in a *Christian Science Monitor* story titled "How Stockton, Calif., has resisted political polarization," about a phenomenon observed in California's San Joaquin Valley where politically and ethnically diverse residents inhabit relatively tranquil spaces despite the deepening divisions and increasingly tense atmosphere seen in other parts of the country.

**OCT 19:** In the inaugural talk to the Haas Institute's "Research to Impact" colloquium series, Joseph Fischel, an associate professor of Women's, Gender, & Sexuality Studies at Yale University, borrowed themes from his forthcoming book, *Screw Consent: Horses & Corpses, Kink & Cannibals*, to critique traditional approaches and laws governing sex, pleasure, and harm.

**OCT 20:** In the second installment of the Research to Impact

series, Erin Kerrison from UC Berkeley's School of Social Welfare presented on "The Costs and Benefits of an addiction Diagnosis: A Critical Look at Racial Disparities in Prison-Based Drug Treatment Rhetoric Buy-in."

**OCT 20:** Haas Institute Senior Fellow Victor Pineda, who heads the organization World Enabled, gave a keynote at the Bioneers Conference on "Radical Inclusion: Cities, Technology and the Power of Inclusive Thinking."

**OCT 22:** Haas Institute Director John Powell gave a keynote address at the Bioneers Conference, titled "Co-Creating Alternative Spaces to Heal."

**OCT 22:** Sonali Sangeeta Balajee, a Senior Fellow at the Haas Institute, participated on a panel at Bioneers on "Radical Organizing: Successful Strategies to Transform Institutions and Systems."

**OCT 23:** A policy proposal co-authored by three UC Berkeley faculty members, including two members of the Haas Institute's Economic Disparities cluster—Hilary Hoynes and Jesse Rothstein—was featured in an article in *Pacific Standard* magazine, which focuses on social problems and remedies to them.

edies to them.

**OCT 24:** Senior fellow Victor Pineda was interviewed by the magazine *Cities Today*, which looks at sustainable urban development and other issues around city planning.

## November

**NOV:** The Haas Institute released the Fall 2017 issue of our bi-annual newsletter, covering the period ranging from September 2016 to August 2017.

**NOV:** Researchers Heather Bromfield and Eli Moore developed new interactive webmaps to accompany their co-authored "Unfair Shares" report.

**NOV 5:** The *Washington Post* published a piece citing Emmanuel Saez, a member of the Economic Disparities cluster, who argues that the wealthiest 0.1 percent of people have become even wealthier in part because they pay very little tax to transfer money and property to their heirs after they die.

**NOV 6:** Director John Powell was cited extensively in a long *Huffington Post* article explaining his concept of Targeted Universalism, and what sort of effects policies based on that theory would have on different communities.

**NOV 8:** Director John Powell published an article in *The Guardian* titled "Us vs Them: the Sinister Techniques of 'Othering' – and How to Avoid Them," which argued that if we are to combat the rising tide of extremism across the globe, we must actively create bridges across difference.

**NOV 11:** In an NPR story, Health Disparities cluster faculty member Amani Nuru-Jeter talks about how lived and social experience of race are related to certain health conditions, such as higher levels of Type 2 diabetes, cardiovascular disease, and higher rates of infant mortality in certain populations.

**NOV 13:** Paul Pierson, a UC Berkeley political science professor and member of the Economic Disparities cluster, co-wrote an opinion piece with Jacob Hacker, a political scientist at Yale, for the *New York Times* about the Republican tax plan.

**NOV 14:** The Haas Institute published a report, titled "Public Health & Wealth in Post-Bankruptcy Detroit" that describes the relationships between the health of Detroit's residents, housing, and disparities in political power, four years after the city filed for bankruptcy.



**NOV 15:** The Haas Institute and Tides Foundation co-released a report, titled “What Didn’t Happen?: Breaking Down the Results of the 2016 Presidential Election,” authored by Tides Senior Fellow Joshua Clark.

**NOV 17:** Haas Institute-affiliated faculty Jovan Lewis, an assistant professor of Geography and African American Studies at UC Berkeley gave a public talk titled “Reparations, Deferral, and the Promissory of Poverty” as part of the Haas Institute’s Research to Impact speaker series.

**NOV 22:** The *New York Times* selected *The Color of Law: The Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America*, authored by Haas Institute Senior Fellow Richard Rothstein, as one of its “100 Notable Books of 2017.”

## December

**DEC 2017:** Emmanuel Saez, a member of the Economic Disparities cluster, released a report he co-authored with a number of other experts that features new data and analysis on the global trend of rising economic inequality over the past 37 years.

**DEC 2017:** The Haas Institute’s Tides Fellow Josh Clark authored a chapter called “Knowing and Doing with Numbers: Disaggregated Data in the Work of the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination,” in a volume that looks at the United Nations’ 1965 International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination.

**DEC 1:** Paul Frymer, Professor of Politics at Princeton, provided a visual narrative of the mass displacement enacted through the 19th Century as a result of the federal government’s use of land policy to control territory and establish states in a talk at UC Berkeley as part of the Haas Institute’s Research to Impact series.

**DEC 8:** Elizabeth Alexander, the Wun Tsun Tam Mellon Professor in the Humanities at Columbia University, spoke at UC Berkeley in a Research to Impact series talk titled “Total Life is What We Need: Self-determination and Black Arts Collectives.”

**DEC 8:** Senior Fellow Richard Rothstein presented his critically acclaimed book *The Color of Law* to an audience in Cleveland.



The Government Alliance on Race & Equity (GARE) California 2018 Capitol Cohort participants from twelve state agencies involved in a pilot year learning about the racial equity framework.

**DEC 13:** The California Tax Credit Allocation Committee (TCAC), which administers housing funds via the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program, voted to adopt the Haas Institute’s opportunity maps into the 2018 regulations to promote low-income families’ access to high-amenity neighborhoods.

**DEC 30:** Elsadig Els Sheikh of the Haas Institute’s Global Justice program, was quoted in *The Guardian* talking about the “Legalizing Othering” report the Institute published in September.

**DEC 31:** The Haas Institute released its second annual Inclusiveness Index, which ranks nations based on their levels of inclusion and group-based marginality.

## 2018

### January

**JAN 4:** The Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE) kicked off another learning year cohort in Northern California, with a dozen cities and counties returning for a deeper dive in racial equity work via participation in an “Implementation Year” cohort. GARE also began piloting the first-ever cohort learning year anywhere in the nation with 12 state-level agencies participating in the year-long program. California also hosted a state-wide GARE meeting, convening previous and current learning year participants to share challenges, insights, and best practices.

**JAN 4:** Program Manager Eli Moore spoke on the podcast “Let Me Clear My Throat” about his research on the affordable housing crisis nationwide and in Richmond, California. Eli shed light on the perils of unequal growth in communities and how those sympathetic to the values of a more inclusive society can take action on a local level to affect change.

**JAN 4:** California State Senator Scott Wiener cited the Haas Institute’s *Unfair Shares* report (published in August 2017) in a perspective he wrote about three bills he is introducing to the legislature that would make housing more equitable.

**JAN 14:** Global Justice program director Elsadig Els Sheikh was interviewed

on KPFA's Sunday Show about his report "Moving Targets: An Analysis of Global Forced Migration."

**JAN 15:** Director John Powell wrote a letter commemorating Martin Luther King, Jr. day in which he noted that the holiday served as a reminder that his legacy stems from his radically inclusive beliefs, actions, and commitment to combating injustice everywhere.

**JAN 16:** Director John Powell was interviewed by Emily Kasriel, Head of Editorial Partnerships and Special Projects for BBC News.

**JAN 20:** Institute researchers and staff Eli Moore, Evan Bissell and Derrick Duren, helped organize a public gathering in Richmond for the launch of the "Housing Policy and Belonging in Richmond" report.

**JAN 25:** Elsadig Elsheikh, the head of the Haas Institute's Global Justice program, presented key points from his "Moving Targets" report at an event in Oakland co-sponsored by the Haas Institute, the Priority Africa Network, and the Arab Resource and Organizing Center.

**JAN 26:** Richard Reeves of the Brookings Institute gave a talk at UC Berkeley, co-sponsored by the

Haas Institute and the Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, about his book, titled *Dream Hoarders: How the American Middle Class is Leaving Everyone Else in the Dust*.

**JAN 29:** Haas Institute researchers Basima Sisemore and Rhonda Itaoui published an article in *The Conversation* titled "Trump's travel ban is just one of many US policies that legalise discrimination against Muslims."

**JAN 30:** Senior Fellow Josh Clark gave an invited presentation to the Berkeley Media Studies Group, titled, "What Is Left to Debate about Donald Trump's 'Base'?: Class, Race, Health, and Resentment."

**JAN 2018:** Hilary Hoynes, the chair of the Economic Disparities cluster, was featured in a video published by the National Bureau of Economic Research talking about the effects of welfare reform policy and the expansion of Earned Income Tax Credit in the 1990s.

## February

**FEB 2:** Senior Fellow Richard Rothstein and director of our Racial Politics Project Ian Haney Lopez participated in a Berkeley Law Symposium titled "United Against White Supremacy."



**Gordon Whitman, the deputy director of the PICO National Network, at a Haas Institute-sponsored talk about his new book *Stand Up! How to Get Involved, Speak Out, and Win in a World on Fire***

**FEB 2:** Victor Rios, a professor of Sociology at UC Santa Barbara, presented a talk titled "The Mis-Education and Criminalization of Black and Latino Boys" as part of the Haas Institute's Research to Impact speaker series.

**FEB 3:** Director John A. Powell and affiliated faculty Lisa García Bedolla spoke on "A Conversation on Race," a panel hosted by US Congressional Representatives Barbara Lee and Mark DeSaulnier. The panel was held at Contra Costa College in San Pablo, CA.

**FEB 3:** Alyson Reimer, the Executive Assistant to director John Powell, gave a keynote at the "Creating a Peaceful School" conference in Lafayette, CA.

**FEB 4:** Haas Institute Director John A. Powell was featured in a video from AJ+,

"The Real Story Of The Civil Rights Movement." The video discussed how the stories about Martin Luther King Jr., Rosa Parks and Muhammad Ali are well known, but questioned how accurate these stories actually are.

**FEB 8:** Gordon Whitman, the deputy director of the PICO National Network, presented some ideas from his recently published book, *Stand Up! How to Get Involved, Speak Out, and Win in a World on Fire*, at a talk with Haas Institute director John Powell co-sponsored by the Haas Institute and the Institute for Governmental Studies.

**FEB 9:** Mary Pattillo, a professor of Sociology and African American Studies at Northwestern University, and Jordan Conwell, an assistant professor of Sociology and Educational

Policy Studies at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, presented their research on "Race, College Quality, and Intergenerational Mobility" as part of the Research to Impact speaker series.

**FEB 13:** Assistant Director Stephen Menendian penned an op-ed for the *East Bay Times* that offers context for the conference and demonstrates the consequences over the past five decades of the failure to implement the Kerner Commission's recommendations.

**FEB 13:** Director John A. Powell gave a keynote address at the University of Oregon School of Law. His presentation was centered around free speech and the psychological harm of hate speech. His keynote addressed Derrick Bell's convergence theory and Mill's concept of self-regarding acts. The address also discussed the action steps that we can take to build informed and inclusive approaches to tackle hate speech on college campuses and beyond.

**FEB 15:** Director John A. Powell joined a panel at Berkeley Law School discussing how to address institutional racism through the Othering and Belonging framework. Co-panelists



included Savala Trepczynski from the Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice, Professor Bertrall Ross from Berkeley Law, and Sid Reel from the Office of Equity & Inclusion.

**FEB 16:** Karen Nakamura, the chair of the Haas Institute Disability Studies cluster, gave a talk titled "Disability Studies as White Disability Studies / Disability Studies as Intersectional Disability Studies," that examined how academics approach the field of disability studies.

**FEB 19:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored a screening and panel discussion of Ryan Coogler's film *Black Panther* at Grand Lake Theater in Oakland with PolicyLink, and the Equal Justice Society. Haas Institute Director John A. Powell and Ekundayo participated in that panel as well, along with Eva Paterson, president and co-founder of the Equal Justice Society, Michael McAfee, president of PolicyLink, and Ebone Carter, an Oakland native.

**FEB 20:** Director John Powell was interviewed on KPFA's *UpFront* with Brian Edwards-Tiekert about the Institute's "Race & Inequality in America: The Kerner Commission at 50" Conference.

**FEB 20:** Director John Powell gave the keynote address for the Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE) at their 2018 Capitol Cohort speaker series in Sacramento. The event was attended by over 170 State government employees from a range of sectors.

**FEB 22:** John Powell gave a keynote address at Morehouse College on the importance of historically Black colleges and universities and how students play a crucial role in sparking social movements.

**FEB 25:** The *San Francisco Chronicle* published a story about the Kerner Commission Conference which quotes Director John Powell, titled "UC Berkeley panel to discuss 1968 report blaming riots on racial inequality."

**FEB 27:** Haas Institute Director John Powell, along with UC Berkeley Sociology professor Sandra Susan Smith, former UC Senator Fred Harris, and former Housing Secretary Shaun Donovan were interviewed on KQED Forum with Michael Krasny about the 50th Anniversary of the Kerner Commission report, and the conference of the same theme at UC Berkeley and Johns Hopkins.

**FEB. 27-MAR 1:** The Haas Institute



Haas Institute staff and scholars at the Kerner at 50 Conference, including, clockwise from top left: Olivia Araiza, Mahasin Mujahid, Richard Rothstein, Denise Herd and Taeku Lee.

hosted the "Race and Inequality in America: The Kerner Commission at 50" conference at UC Berkeley, which featured dozens of speakers and hundreds of attendees, with a satellite event hosted in Baltimore by the 21st Century Cities Initiative at Johns Hopkins University. Both events were co-sponsored by the Economic Policy Institute.

**FEB:** The Government Alliance on Race & Equity (GARE) began its third year of introductory (first year) learning cohorts in both Northern and Southern California. Another "implementation year" (follow-up year) cohort also began in Southern California.

## March

**MAR 6:** The Haas Institute along with the Center for Genetics and Society co-sponsored a screening of *Gattaca* at the David Brower Center in Berkeley.

**MAR 6:** The Haas Institute hosted a talk by Kathryn Moeller, the author of the recently published book *The Gender Effect: Capitalism, Feminism, and the Corporate Politics of Development*.

**MAR 7:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored the Bay Area premiere of Ava DuVernay's *A Wrinkle in Time* at Oakland's Grand Lake Theater which included a pre-screening youth panel.

**MAR 13:** Samir Gambhir, GIS researcher and manager of the Opportunity Mapping program at the Haas Institute, was featured in an article published on SciDev.net, "Mapping techniques to 'leave no one behind'" where he offered insights based on his experience working to map health facilities in rural India.

**MAR 15:** Haas Institute director John Powell and Bruce Miller, Professor and Director of UCSF's Dementia Center, spoke to fellows from the Global Brain Health Center and the Memory and Aging Center about Othello syndrome, hatred, and brain science. The conversation will be used as a starting



**Above:** Haas Institute affiliated faculty (and alumnus faculty director) Michael Omi and his wife Dianne at the Black Panther community film screening in Oakland; **Right:** John Powell speaks at the Black Panther community film screening



point for different sets of Atlantic Fellows, including both the Atlantic Fellows for Race and Equity and the Atlantic Fellows for Brain Equity.

**MAR 20:** Director John A. Powell gave a keynote address at the National Interagency Community Reinvestment Conference. The address discussed how Federal Reserve data confirms that wealth and income inequality in the US is accelerating as well as how we can expand the circle of human concern through targeted universalism. The address also focused on action steps we can take to build inclusive approaches to tackling economic and housing inequality.

**MAR:** GARE continued its cohort series with the Advancing Racial Equity Speaker Series in Northern and Southern California. The theme for the first of the ses-

sions was building a sustainable racial equity discipline. In Northern California, guest speakers from Asheville, NC and Seattle, WA shared their history and expertise in advancing racial equity. In Southern California, guest speakers from Fairfax County, VA and St. Paul, MN shared their experiences and perspectives in advancing racial equity in their jurisdictions.

## April

**APR 5:** The King Center, in partnership with The Carter Center, Volunteers of America and The Center for Civil and Human Rights, presented a special Beloved Community Talks: "Together We Win...Facing Racism, Poverty and Militarism" as part of the commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the assassination of Dr.

Martin Luther King, Jr." Institute Director John A. Powell was invited to be part of a keynote conversation alongside Dr. Bernice A. King and George Lakey.

**APR 18:** The Blueprint for Belonging project of the Haas Institute launched a new video, "Transforming California from Red to Blue: How Community Organizing Changed the Political Landscape." The eight-minute video, directed by Bay Area director Tracey Quezada, looks at how California activists, like Eva Patterson, Marqueece Harris-Dawson and Karla Zombro, were able to change the narrative and make California a more inclusive, progress-oriented state.

**APR 20:** Hilary Hoynes, Chair of the Haas Institute's Economic Disparities

research cluster, won a "Best Paper" award from the American Economic Association. In "Income, the Earned Income Tax Credit, and Infant Health," Hoynes and co-authors Doug Miller and David Simon evaluate the impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit on infant health outcomes, arguing that the health benefits of non-health programs, such as this tax credit, should be taken into account when discussing US social safety net programs.

**APR 25:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored "Tech Profiling, Policing and Disruption of our 'Sanctuary Cities'" that featured analysis by legal experts and on-the-ground organizers.

**APR 28:** The Haas Institute Disability Studies cluster co-sponsored "Open in Emergency:

Decolonizing Mental Health" with UC Berkeley's Department of Gender and Women's Studies. The event responded to the Asian American Literary Review's publication of "Open in Emergency: A Special Issue on Asian American Mental Health. At the event, members of the AALR focused on new ways of understanding mental illness in the context of social factors with a goal of empowering people to make informed decisions regarding their own mental health.

**APR:** GARE brought in Erika Bernabei to teach Results-Based Accountability and Melissa Jones of the Bay Area Racial Health Inequities Initiative to teach Adaptive Leadership as tools to support racial equity work in local government jurisdictions with both the Northern and Southern California cohorts. GARE also convened an annual national membership meeting in Chicago with jurisdictions from around the nation to reflect on how the movement has grown, share resources, and connect with staff from other jurisdictions to strengthen and expand the movement to advance racial equity via the public sector. ■



## FROM MY PERSPECTIVE

In April, I had the opportunity to attend a South African field tour organized for the Atlantic Fellows for Racial Equity (AFRE) as the representative of the Haas Institute, one of the partners of AFRE (see p. 22). The weeklong trip was part of connecting efforts between the work of the AFRE Fellows and their organizations and communities to eradicate anti-Black racism in South Africa and the US, as well as to understand the mechanisms of Othering that have long defined both places.

Inside the Maropeng center, a World Heritage Site known as The Cradle of Humankind for its fossils of early human ancestors, I was struck by a quote plastered on the cement wall: “Human populations appear to be different in terms of colour, body size, limb proportion, hair texture and other physical attributes. Beneath the surface, we are all virtually identical. There is no genetic boundary for race. We are one species.”

While the sign is technically scientific fact, I felt that its bright optimism lacked proper contextualization of social realities—realities represented in the stark racialized economic disparities in both South Africa and the US that have had a tremendously violent impact on Black populations.

I was not alone in my critique. The 29 AFRE fellows who joined the trip echoed these concerns, discussing how dominant narratives, such as those perpetuated by the well-intentioned Maropeng curators, can continue to maintain privilege rather than address uncomfortable truths about how society actually functions.

This was just one example of many in how we as a group engaged with difficult questions around the social construction of race and power inequalities in South Africa. The Johannesburg

trip was planned by the Nelson Mandela Foundation, an AFRE partner organization, and followed a tour of the US South organized by the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The South African programming took AFRE fellows on a leap from exploring paleontological discoveries of human origins to examining the parallels between US and South African race-based injustices. After visiting Maropeng, we were led on a tour of the Apartheid Museum, where the stark parallels of the segregated US South under Jim Crow stood

out boldly. The tour guide asked us to choose a line to enter into the museum—one entrance marked in Afrikaans read *Blankes* (whites) and the other *Nie-Blankes* (non-white). To honor my ancestors and those who fought against Jim Crow and Apartheid segregation, I entered the museum through the white-only line, to make a point. However, let me be clear: let's not be fooled into thinking symbolic marks of explicit racism are

a thing of the past. The very ideology that AFRE fellows are grappling with is the way systemic and structural racism has managed to survive despite the legal removal of a racial caste system and the “so called” abolition of Jim Crow and apartheid systems of racial exclusion and segregation. The Apartheid Museum was an especially painful reminder of how state sponsored violence continues to rear its ugly head to try and crush the dreams of realizing a true democratic society.

These activities invited all of us to reflect on the inequities deeply embedded in multiple layers of societies, and to contemplate on the complexities of race, specifically Blackness and the paradoxes of privilege within both contexts. ■



BY TAKIYAH FRANKLIN



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in

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