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Building power at the intersection of immigration and incarceration

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**A CONVERSATION WITH TAEKU LEE**

Meet our new Associate Director

haasinstitute.berkeley.edu

# NEWS



## Fear of the Other and Toxic Masculinity in the Age of Trump



#### PUBLISHED BY:

The Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society at the University of California, Berkeley brings together researchers, community stakeholders, policymakers, and communicators to identify and challenge the barriers to an inclusive, just, and sustainable society and create transformative change. The Haas Institute advances research and policy related to marginalized people while essentially touching all who benefit from a truly diverse, fair, and inclusive society.

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Our newsletter is published twice a year. This issue covers activities from Jan. 1 to August 31, 2016. **Certain pieces were updated to reflect the results of the 2016 election.** To receive a hard copy or be added to our email list please email [haasinstitute@berkeley.edu](mailto:haasinstitute@berkeley.edu).

DIRECTORS'  
NOTES

**ACROSS THE GLOBE**, we are witnessing movements and currents of thought that are destabilizing the existing order and the calcified institutions of the 20th century. The results of the 2016 presidential election in the United States has surfaced these currents, making our work to foster a fair and more inclusive society more urgent and necessary than ever.

Nationalist movements and anti-immigrant sentiment across the political spectrum thoroughly informed the Brexit vote and is part of the same force that propelled Donald Trump to the presidency. These movements and currents are arriving simultaneously; presenting a crisis may yet out shadow that of the great recession of 2007. In 2007, the recession was primarily economic. Governments and central banks responded to the crisis, and while the recovery is ongoing, those institutions proved resilient.

Trump represents the apotheosis of ‘Othering’ in the American electorate and broader society, simultaneously appealing to anxiety of the Other while stoking fear and division, as illustrated in this issue's feature story, which explores how toxic masculinity, combined with racial anxiety, has fueled a deep fear of the Other. This is the season of the demagogue.

The turmoil now roiling the globe, from the global migration crisis to rising nationalism, is the confluence of many simultaneously crises, but lying at the heart of them is inequality and inter-group conflict. Our politicians and leaders have struggled to articulate and describe these trends, let alone formulate coherent strategies for addressing them. The traditional ways of knowing and thinking seem inadequate to the moment.

In an interview shortly after the Paris terror attacks, in which he refused to use the term “Islamophobia,” French prime minister Manuel Valls said that “[i]t's difficult to construct a single term that captures the variegated expressions of a broad prejudice.”

In our recently launched journal, we proposed an answer: Othering. Othering inclusively captures the many expressions of human difference and group-based marginality upon which virtually all of the global conflicts we are seeing now are shaped, and Belonging is a necessary response to create inclusive structures and institutions. The issues I have been working on throughout my professional life have perhaps never had more social or political salience.

**Whether looking at the refugee crisis in Europe or Southeast Asia, police violence in the United States, the rising tide of xenophobia in the west, or the extremis of toxic inequality as a result of long-term economic forces, we cannot understand these trends as only isolated by race, group, or region.**

Our new Inclusiveness Index, which we released in 2016, is a diagnostic tool that will help us better assess and understand our relative performance across the full range of human differences, and to better inform how we might redirect our efforts in a more inclusive direction. And our Othering & Belonging Conference, which will be held in next spring (see [otheringandbelonging.org](http://otheringandbelonging.org)), will also explore these themes more deeply. Creating a more inclusive society requires us to challenge Othering and requires all of us to belong. ■



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

**A QUARTER CENTURY AGO**, the political scientist Adam Przeworski famously declared that democracy is stable and consolidated "when all the losers want to do is to try again within the same institutions under which they have just lost." Przeworski wrote then in the context of the "Third Wave" of democratization, where nations in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and the Asia Pacific struggled to escape the shadows of authoritarianism and come into the light of electoral democracy.

Fast forward to the present. The stability of one of the world's oldest constitutional democracies has suddenly become a matter for debate.

I start on this grim note because the 2016 US election has been an undeniably grim affair. These are tough times to be a political scientist. And tougher yet to be a political scientist engaged in the work of social change and racial justice.

**Yet it is precisely because there is such a heavy sense of foreboding that I am honored and fired up to step into the role of Associate Director at the Haas Institute, an incredible community of scholars, scholar-practitioners, and fellow travelers dedicated to the proposition that ideas and knowledge can shine a restorative, cultivating light.**

The seven Haas Institute faculty research clusters are a wonderful home for this kind of work. As outgoing Associate Director Michael Omi so perceptively put it, these clusters aim to "redefine and redraw, if not entirely erase, the boundaries between academic research, policy analysis, and engaged practice."

This year, we welcome two brilliant new additions to Berkeley. **Osagie Obasogie** joins the faculty of the School of Public Health and will be the Haas Chair of Diversity and Health Disparities. Obasogie is one of the most exciting and creative scholars working at the complex intersection of law, society, race, and biomedicine. **Angela Onwuachi-Willig** joins the Diversity and Democracy cluster and the faculty of the School of Law at Berkeley. Onwuachi-Willig is a scholar of national renown in the areas of family law, employment law, anti-discrimination law, and Critical Race Theory. Her work tackles many of the most contentious and difficult legal questions of our time (*see more about both on p. 19*).

These new appointments are the capstone to many years dedicated to faculty hiring. They also mark a key turning point for the research clusters to embark on new collaborative projects, translate and disseminate existing research to wider audiences, and to shape debates over public policy itself. We are grateful for the generous resources that will help support this work and eager to report on the products of some of this work in our next newsletter. ■



▲  
**TAEKU LEE**

**Associate Director of the  
Haas Institute for a Fair  
and Professor of Political  
Science at UC Berkeley**



## LEGAL ADVOCACY

# Fisher v. Texas: Supreme Court Upholds Holistic Admissions

ON JUNE 23, in a landmark decision on the *Fisher v. Texas* case, the Supreme Court reaffirmed the importance of diversity in higher education by upholding the Holistic Admissions Plan of the University of Texas. The plan considered racial diversity among other factors to ensure a diverse student body.

Together, the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, the Equal Justice Society, and Wilson Sonsini Goodrich & Rosati authored and filed a friend-of-the-Court (amicus) brief on behalf of the University of Texas. This brief, which relied on the expertise of 35 prominent social scientists, demonstrated the benefits of diversity and the need for consideration of race in the University's admissions decisions.

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

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

In particular, the brief argued that the pathways to opportunity remain deeply unequal across the United States, and that Black and Latino students'

relative disadvantage in university admissions results from dozens of factors, including persistent patterns of racial and economic segregation. Given the complexity of variables that shape educational outcomes, the authors of the brief argued that an admissions policy



PHOTO BY LARRY D. MOORE, WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

limited to race-neutral factors could not capture their cumulative effect on educational opportunity. The brief also presented research to the Supreme Court illuminating how diversity improves academic performance, reduces prejudice, lowers stress and psychological barriers, and has broad positive effects on workforce development.

Haas Institute Director John A. Powell, one of the brief's co-authors, noted, “This decision gives hope to other institutions of higher education seeking to increase the diversity of their student body through race-conscious admissions plans, and marks a new day for equity in education.”

SARA GROSSMAN

**MEDIA  
ROOM**

LEGAL ADVOCACY

# Supreme Court Case United States v. Texas

The Supreme Court's 4-4 outcome in *United States v. Texas*, this summer was of deep concern to the Haas Institute. This critically important case centered on a 2014 Executive Order by President Obama to expand the **Deferred Action for Parents of Americans (DAPA)** and **Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA)** programs, rights extended to to rights for immigrant families in the United States. The Court made was what effectively a non-decision, but one that still has an effect on millions of people, as currently over four million people who qualified through the programs are now at risk of being deported. About the case, Director John A. Powell noted, **"These cases are not just games of political**

**football, they have a profound effect on the lives of human beings. Undocumented immigrants live in an extremely vulnerable and marginalized space in our society, and the lack of a decision by the Supreme Court sends a disturbing political and legal message to them that they do not belong here. This case is a devastating blow to those seeking to build a more inclusive and healthy immigration system."** Regardless of anyone's immigration status, the Haas Institute believes and affirms that all people deserve to be treated with dignity. *SARA GROSSMAN & ETHAN FLOYD*



PHOTO BY JOE BRUSKY

The Haas Institute kicked-off Fair Housing Month by co-sponsoring **Fighting Exclusion: Innovative Approaches to Fair Housing Law** with the California Renters Legal Advocacy and Education Fund and the American Constitution Society. Held at UC Berkeley Law school, the panel featured **Kim Savage**, private practice land use and fair housing attorney; **Paul E. Smith**, Chief, Intake Branch of the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, US Housing and Urban Development; and **Stephen Menendian**, the Assistant Director of the Haas Institute. The panelists addressed possible court remedies to land use practices which exclude people based on race or income. Menendian also focused on the history and reality of racial segregation in the United States, noting that African American households remain as segregated from white households as they were in 1950.

**Our new and improved blog at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/blog](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/blog) is a collection of perspectives from our staff, affiliated faculty, and partners. Covering a myriad of ideas and reflections, the blog posts offer insight into issues studied through our research clusters, intersectionality as it relates to systemic challenges, and current events underscored by personal stories.**

## CORPORATE MISALIGNMENT

## Analysis on the Trans-Pacific Partnerships shows trade deal poses threat to transparency and democratic participation

An analysis by the Haas Institute on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) raises serious concerns that the mega-regional trade deal would grant too much transnational corporate influence over the fate of one third of all world trade. Signatory members of the TPP produce 40 percent of all global economic output.

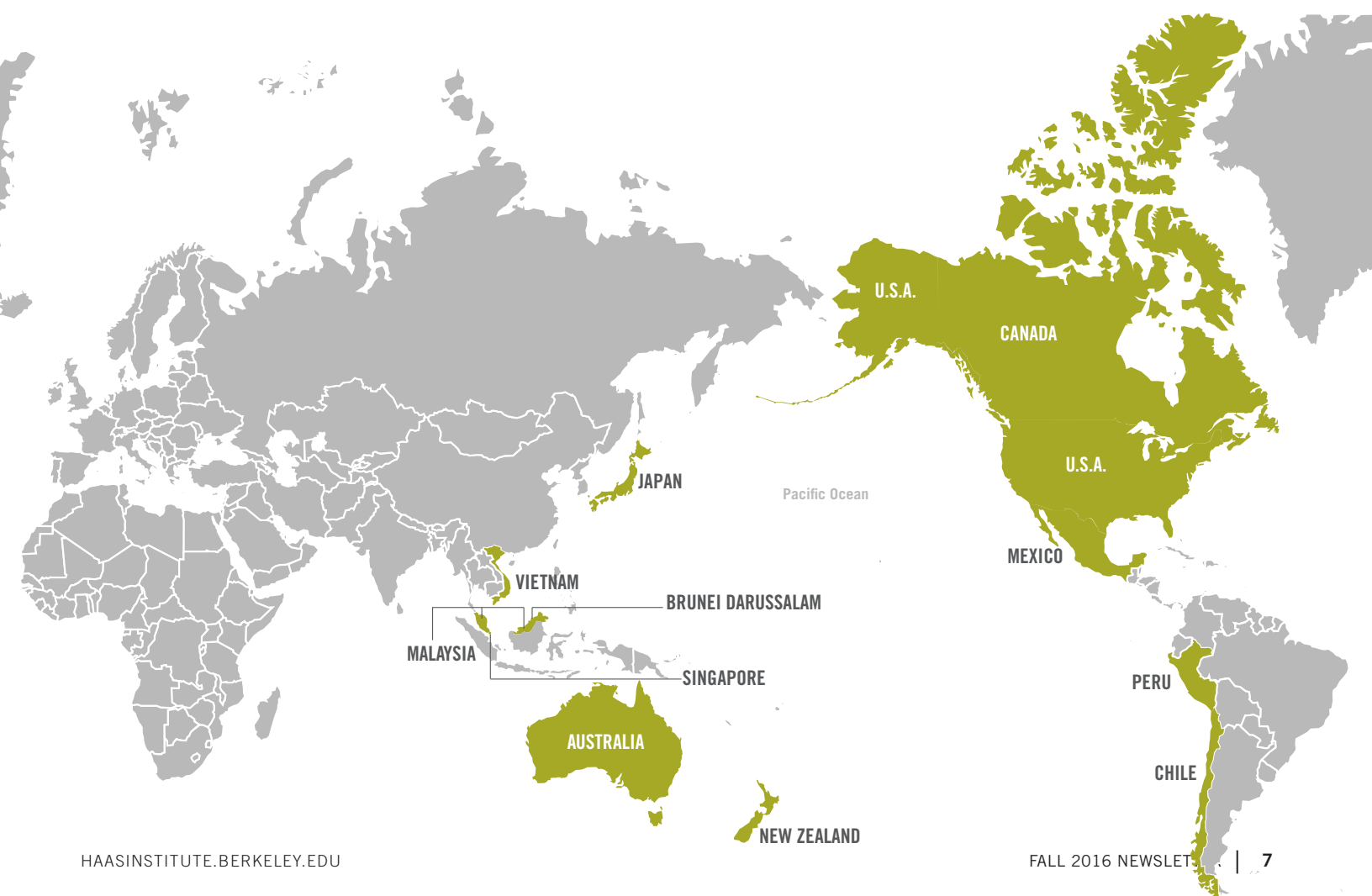
Authored by John A. Powell, Elsadig Elsheikh, and Hossein Ayazi, and published in May 2016, the report points to concerns that a world economy reregulated to suit corporate interests would undermine public accountability, transparency, and democratic participation.

The TPP's provisions would give corporations the power to evade environmental regulations, bypass national courts and override governments, and control workers' movements throughout the TPP countries.

Deeper implications of the TPP, if it were to pass, are that it would threaten eroding protections for labor across the globe, including driving down the wages of US workers by putting them into competition with poorly paid TPP countries' workers. Restrictions on generic medicines would likely cause a surge in drug prices globally, which would have deep implications on consumers' health and wellbeing. Provisions of the TPP also reduce environmental protections that minimize the harm caused by logging, trafficking, and pollution. Such impacts warrant public scrutiny.

**The Trans-Pacific Partnership is the largest regional trade accord in history, covering one-third of all world trade, with the signatory member countries producing 40% of total global economic output.**

Download the report at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/tpp](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/tpp)





# Latest Publications and Media from the Haas Institute



*Compiled and edited by  
Ebonye Gussine Wilkins*



## Food Justice and Community Health in Richmond

**Community Campus Partnerships for a Healthier and more Equitable Food System**

This paper is the culmination of more than three years of work in Richmond in partnership with local community leaders and organizations. It outlines strategies that can facilitate more engaged partnerships between UC Berkeley and the Richmond community in order to realize transformational food system change. With announcements such as the Richmond and Global Food Initiative (GFI) from the UC Office of the President, there is great promise to align those initiatives' values of sustainability, equity, and global inclusion with the aspirations of local community in Richmond.



## Trans-Pacific Partnership: Corporations Before People and Democracy

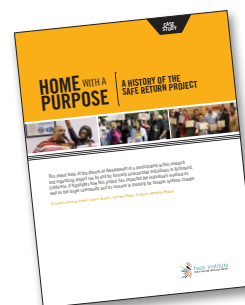
This issue paper argues that the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) could alter the world economy to suit corporate interests and undermine public accountability, transparency, and democratic participation. The analysis examines how the TPP would grant greater transnational corporate influence over the fate of one-third of all world trade, with TPP signatory members producing 40 percent of all global economic output. The TPP's nuanced provisions would give corporations the power to evade environmental regulations, bypass national courts and override governments, and control workers' movements throughout the TPP countries.



## We Too Belong

**Inclusive Practices in Immigration and Incarceration Law and Policy**

The resource guide highlights inclusive policies and practices in immigration and incarceration law and policy, supplemented by case studies of people working or living at the intersection of both systems in the United States. Developed by a team of seven co-authors, *We Too Belong* represents nearly three years of research that drawing on the experiences of states and localities attempting to integrate immigrants, and incarcerated and formerly incarcerated people. The resource guide gives an in-depth menu of policies and nine perspectives from undocumented, incarcerated, and formerly incarcerated individuals as well as advocates and scholars working or living at the intersections of the immigration and incarceration system.



## Home with a Purpose

**A History of the Safe Return Project**

How did a group of formerly incarcerated people develop the power and capacity to lead an effort that made Contra Costa County the only county in California to reject a proposed jail expansion? This report answers that question and others by analyzing the formation, development and impact of the Safe Return Project, which is comprised of Richmond residents working to study and address the needs of formerly incarcerated people. The goal of the report is to identify strategies that respond to community needs, while developing the capacity for formerly incarcerated people to take the lead on the issues that impact them. The work of the Safe Return team has also impacted the broader community in Richmond, as well as the national narrative around incarceration and reentry.





## Race and Economic Jeopardy For All

### A Framing Paper for Defeating Dog Whistle Politics

This report addresses the connection between dog whistle politics and the increasingly successful right-wing attacks on the government and unions, and offers a frame for the labor movement to mobilize and defeat dog whistling. Dog whistle politics and manipulated hostility towards people of color have already had a strong presence in the 2016 election cycle, especially since dog whistles are used to manipulate and increase fear of the Other. This report offers strategies for collective action against racist rhetoric in politics.



## Othering & Belonging Journal

### Expanding the Circle of Human Concern

The Haas Institute launched a new forum on Othering and Belonging in the summer of 2016. A new print journal and its online version, both of which can be found at [otheringandbelonging.org](http://otheringandbelonging.org), present a mix of conceptual and applied work. The Haas Institute believes that the journal will cast new light on the roots and dynamics of Othering as it manifests in the lives of individuals and families, neighborhoods and institutions, societies and the world, and that it will help spur a wave of fresh insights into how Othering and Belonging practices play out across different areas of life and a wide variety of human differences with a range of crucial consequences.



## Who Belongs in the Circle of Human Concern?

Who can claim belonging in our society? In this new animated video, Haas Institute Director John A. Powell explains who is accepted into our society's Circle of Human Concern, a space that includes those who are considered full members of society and who can rightfully demand concern and expect full regard in return. Through the framework of Belonging, the video explains how spaces are divided, who has access to those spaces, and what we can do to change the dynamics so that all people, and not corporations, are at the center of this circle of humanity. Find this video and more on our YouTube channel at [youtube.com/haasinstitute](http://youtube.com/haasinstitute).

Find all our publications and media online at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/resources)

NEW STAFF

# Welcome, New Staff & Scholars

**Phuong Tseng** is a GIS/Spatial Analysis Assistant at the Haas Institute, whose work concentrates on examining social injustices in geospatial data and presenting them as maps, tables, and charts.



Prior to working at the Haas Institute, Phuong worked as a GIS Lab Assistant with the School of Public Health at UC Berkeley, Residential Assistant, SAW Advisory Board Advisor and Peer Educator at Mills College where Phuong received their Bachelor's degree in Sociology. Phuong is a first generation college student who identifies as genderqueer using singular they, their, them, and sometimes she and her as gender pronouns. Phuong's social justice leadership takes on an intersectional approach that focuses on race, gender, sexuality, and first generation identities. Phuong is passionate and enthusiastic about creating a more inclusive and just world through the use of radio podcasts, documentaries, flash mobs and social justice dialogues.

**Gary Delgado** is a Visiting Scholar at the Haas Institute. Prior to joining the Institute, Delgado amassed an impressive portfolio of civil rights contributions and achievements, including as a campaign advisor, visiting professor, researcher, community organizer,



founding director of the Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) and later the founding director of the Applied Research Center, (now Race Forward) until 2007. In addition to his organizing work, Delgado has also been heavily involved in various academic pursuits, which he says has helped "develop intellectual ammunition for community groups involved in racial justice work." He received a Ph.D. in Sociology from UC Berkeley in 1983 and went on to write two books and more than 40 articles on race and social change.

**Puanani Forbes** is

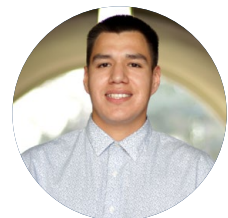
the Haas Institute's new Chief of Staff. Puanani has worked the past 15 years for international development organizations, most recently with Equal Access International in San Francisco where, as a member of the Senior Management Team, she contributed to organizational strategic decision making regarding annual budget priorities, policies, human resources and growth related issues. She directed project implementation, operations and grants management of the organization's overseas country offices. She also led strategic pursuit of multi-million dollar funding opportunities from a variety of donors. Puanani previously worked for Save the Children and the United Nations World Food Program in Afghanistan and earlier in her career, Puanani organized hotel and restaurant employees in their struggle to earn a living wage. Puanani completed her BA in Race, Class and Gender Studies from Pitzer College in Claremont, CA and earned a Master's degree in Sustainable International Development from the Heller School for Social Policy and Management at Brandeis University in Waltham, MA.



**Stephen Rosenbaum** is a new Visiting Researcher and Scholar at the Haas Institute. As a John & Elizabeth Boalt Lecturer at Berkeley Law, Stephen has taught courses on social justice, mental health, civil rights and Spanish language and cultural competency. He has also taught law and policy at the Goldman School of Public Policy, and disability rights at Stanford Law. While a Visiting Senior Lecturer at University of Washington, Rosenbaum co-founded a business and human rights clinic, and taught human rights advocacy and a clinical tutorial for Afghan and Indonesian LLM candidates. He helped develop the law curriculum at American University of Phnom Penh. Rosenbaum also a seasoned litigator with California Rural Legal Assistance, currently serving as a Regional Director of Central Valley and Central Coast offices. He has worked as an attorney with the Disability Rights Education & Defense Fund, Disability Rights California. Rosenbaum's scholarship is on disability, special education, lay advocacy, international human rights and legal education.



**Tomas WhiteAntelope** graduated from UC Berkeley in 2014, the first in his family to graduate college. Originally from the Lummi Reservation in Washington State, Tomas is both Lummi and Northern Arapaho. His interest is in developing areas of economic growth and finding new pathways that better serve underrepresented communities, such as Natives. Tomas brings experience and direct knowledge of many of the arcane systems on campus, as he formally worked at Campus Shared Services (CSS), and the Division of Equity & Inclusion. His passions are in mentoring youth, exploring beaches and hiking trails, and listening to music.



Meet all our staff and scholars online at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/staff](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/staff)

# PROJECTS & PROGRAMS



## RESEARCH TO IMPACT

# Community Food Policy and Partnerships in Richmond

**FOOD JUSTICE ADVOCATES**, community organizers, and members of the UC Berkeley community came together at the campus Multicultural Community Center on April 28, 2016 to attend the release of the Haas Institute's report on food justice and community health in Richmond, California. Nadia Barhoum, a Haas Institute researcher who authored the report, discussed her research and guided the audience through a group discussion of potential solutions for problems related to food access and equity in Richmond. The **Food Justice and Community Health in Richmond** report explores strategies to facilitate more deeply engaged partnerships between UC Berkeley and the Richmond community, who have an ongoing array of structural barriers to opportunity, such as food and environmentally-related health challenges.

The paper laid out a number of potential strategies that could be compelling ways to address these issues, including a UC Berkeley food policy council to oversee and create more synergy towards food-related initiatives sponsored by the campus that are often disconnected from one another. Another solution includes creating a regional food hub to help localize the food system in Richmond, which would

enhance opportunities for local, sustainable jobs and providing technical assistance in supporting projects and programs related to the environment, food, and health.

According to the report, more than 50 percent of Richmond's youth are overweight, with youth of color being disproportionately impacted by food-related health challenges, as compared to their white peers. "The prevalence and targeted marketing of processed, high fat, and high-sugar foods and drinks to youth from marginalized communities has only exacerbated these health issues," Barhoum wrote in the report.

While Barhoum's report specifically focuses on food issues in Richmond, her research comes out of more than three years of work in partnership with local organizations in the area. The Haas Institute has been working with community partners in Richmond to develop anchor institution policies and practices that would achieve the community's vision of increasing economic inclusion and community health. ■

Download the report at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/richmond-food-policy-report](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/richmond-food-policy-report)



## NEW INITIATIVE

# A Blueprint for Belonging

## Reimagining new narratives for an inclusive California

### ALTHOUGH STRATEGIC NARRATIVES

have been used with great potency by the right to demonize government and champion the power of the market over the interests of people, the Haas Institute's new **Blueprint for Belonging** project (B4B) aims to reimagine the use of narratives to promote a different vision for California—one that is progressive, egalitarian, and enriching for all those who call the state home.

Strategic narratives shape broader movement-building strategies and sectors. Yet these narratives must be developed, reworked, and ultimately applied. Much like how campaign strategies are planned and advanced, progressives must also work to advance their strategic narrative, while also taking stock of the various forces in support of or in opposition to their analysis, vision, and values.

It is with this framework that the Haas Institute launched B4B, in collaboration with a network of partners that includes California Calls, PICO-California, ACCE, California Endowment Building Healthy Community members, and others. Together this group has determined that achieving transformative change in California requires developing a strategic narrative that underpins the work across individual movements, issues, and policies.

B4B has defined two core goals: the first is to build and sustain alignment around a narrative that furthers inclusion, equity, and belonging across communities; and the second is the development of a California narrative infrastructure with the muscle to advance public support for the role of government in caring for one another,



Attendees at Blueprint For Belonging convening participating in interactive strategic infrastructure activity

creating inclusive political identities, and incorporating transformative agendas that eliminate racialized inequality.

To date, the B4B project has held three convenings that brought together organizers, communication experts, executive directors, and academics to hone a comprehensive progressive analysis of the drivers of inequality in California.

B4B has also begun engaging different leaders within community organizing, policy, racial justice fields in California on the foundations of a strategic narrative. In its current phase, B4B is holding regional convenings throughout California to test out components of the strategic narrative and determine how it can apply in the unique regional contexts around California.

In addition to its work to engage community organizing groups, faith-based organizations, labor, policy shops, and

communication firms in developing and operationalizing a strategic narrative, the B4B project has also partnered with experts in academia and community-based organizations to build up a sharper research and analysis agenda on the unique dynamics in California that have led to the state's high levels of inequality. The project commissioned a series of short papers surfacing an analysis of the story of California and received feedback from key partners on steps to further refine this research and analysis agenda.

In the immediate future, B4B will utilize the lessons learned from the development process to create a curriculum that can build capacity among leaders in different sectors. The project will then begin the polling and testing work necessary to round out an expansive strategic narrative.

JAMES HUYNH & SARA GROSSMAN





**Jorge Gutierrez of Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement, one of the featured speakers at We Too Belong, receives applause from attendees**



**from left: Piper Anderson and Marlon Peterson of SpreadMASSLove and Raha Jorjani from the Alameda Co. Public Defender's office answer questions from the crowd**

## RESEARCH TO IMPACT

PHOTOS BY LAUREN AHN, ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATION BY ROBERT LIU-TRUJILLO

# Building Power at the Intersection of Immigration and Incarceration

"The most marginalized populations in the history of our society were those that were denied public voice or access to private space. Historically, women and slaves experienced this form of marginality. They could not vote, serve on juries, nor run for office, and they were also denied a private space to retreat to, free from surveillance or regulation. Today, immigrants, the incarcerated and the formerly incarcerated, and to a large extent the disabled, most visibly inhabit this marginalized social and spatial location in American society."

So begins the introduction of one of the Haas Institute's most comprehensive research projects to date, which was compiled into the publication entitled **"We Too**

## **Belong: Resource Guide of Inclusive Practices in Immigration and Incarceration Law & Policy."**

The resource guide highlights inclusive policies and practices centered at the intersection of immigration and incarceration in the United States. The report also features nine case studies from advocates, scholars, artists, and community members. The guide represents nearly three years of research into best practices and policies related to immigration and incarceration in the US.

Haas Institute Assistant Director Stephen Menendian, who was the lead author and researcher on the work, noted that "there are dozens of cities across this country making real

**Artwork featuring community leaders, activists, attorneys, and scholars working on justice in the immigration and incarceration systems by Robert Liu-Trujillo**





**Tia Oso of Black Immigration Network, was one of the featured speakers at the We Too Belong public event**

progress towards a more inclusive society, but too often our attention is focused on places where people are struggling. We need to shine a light on what's working, and expand our sense of what's possible."

*We Too Belong* was premiered in April to a group of about 75 people gathered at a Haas Institute event of the same name, with the goal to build power at the intersection of these two systems. The event placed the best practices summarized in the memo directly into the hands of advocates and organizers.

Speakers at the April 26 event included: **Piper Anderson**, CoFounder, SpreadMassLOVE from New York; **Jorge Gutierrez**, National Coordinator, Familia: Trans Queer Liberation Movement from southern California; **Claudia Jimenez**, Community organizer from Richmond, CA; **Raha Jorjani**, Immigration Attorney, Immigration Representation Project, Alameda Co. Public Defender; **Tia Oso**, Coordinator, Black Immigration Network; **Marlon Peterson**, Co-Founder, SpreadMassLOVE and 2015 Soros Justice Fellow, from New York; **Aparna Shah**, Executive Director, Mobilize the Immigrant Vote; **Tamisha Walker**, Safe Return Project from Richmond, California; and **John A. Powell**, Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society and



**Jidan Koon of Mobilize the Immigrant Vote served as emcee of the public We Too Belong event, and partnered with the Haas Institute in planning the launch of the publication**

Professor of Law, African American, and Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley.

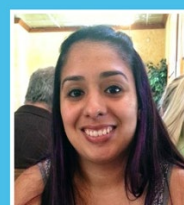
The US's criminal justice system and immigration laws serve to separate individuals from the rest of society through physical exclusion—including prisons and detention centers. Procedurally, immigration enforcement looks and acts like law enforcement—a phenomenon known as "cimmigration"—while the criminal justice system has locked up 400 people for every 100,000 in the population. Unsurprisingly, the disabled and communities of color are disproportionately affected by these systems.

The 100-page Resource Guide not only gives an in-depth menu of policies that interested states and localities can pursue, but also seeks to humanize the "Double I's" by featuring the stories of people who are the most affected by them. Nine perspectives from undocumented, incarcerated, and formerly incarcerated individuals are featured alongside advocates and scholars who have spent their careers exploring the ways that these structures are impeding a healthy, inclusive society that recognizes the inherent dignity of all people. ■

**Download the report at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/wetoobelong](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/wetoobelong)**

The "Perspectives in Belonging" in the We Too Belong report feature the personal and professional perspectives from undocumented, currently and formerly incarcerated people, advocates, and scholars who have spent their lives and careers working and living at the intersection of the incarceration and immigration systems.

Read them all at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/wetoobelong](https://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu/wetoobelong).







By Lauren Ahn

PHOTOS BY TOMAS WHITEANTELOPE & LAUREN AHN

# A Summer of Learning & Fellowship



**Members of 2016 Summer Fellowship cohort, from left to right: Basima Sisemore, Aleenah Mehta, Enjoli Hall, Ethan Floyd, Sarah Omer, Kian Vesteinsson, Jaylina Vay. Also pictured are Haas Institute Assistant Director Stephen Menendian and Andres Soto, Richmond organizer for Community for a Better Environment who served as a tour guide for the fellows' field trip**

**EVERY SUMMER THE HAAS INSTITUTE** provides a cohort of undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity to broaden their research skills and communications in areas that pertain to both their academic interests and future career goals under the mentorship of senior researchers.

Formally known as the Haas Institute Summer Fellowship Program, the specialized 14-week immersive fellowship aims to develop students' and young professionals' critical thinking and technical research skills that not only enrich research abilities but also elevate their work in professional settings. Through daily engagement with Haas Institute staff and scholars who are experts in their respective fields, the summer fellows gain valuable insight into the often-arduous but rewarding process of research, including legal and policy analysis, bibliographical annotation, group facilitation, and public speaking.

This year, the third cohort of the Haas Institute Summer Fellowship included



The 2016 Haas Institute Summer Fellows, clockwise from top left: Ethan Floyd, Basima Sisemore, Enjoli Hall, John Paraskevopoulos, Jaylina Vay, Jenna Shelton, Sarah Omer, and Kian Vesteinsson. *Not pictured: Aleenah Mehta*

students from universities across the country. Summer fellows hailed from UC Berkeley, the University of London, Pomona College, Mills College, and more. The Haas Institute hired a diverse group of students from varying economic and ethnic backgrounds, putting to practice the Institute's emphasis on diversity and inclusion.

During the 14-week fellowship, each summer fellow helped in furthering research of the Haas Institute's projects and programs including the California Community Partnerships, Richmond Partnerships, the Government Alliance on Race and Equity, the Inclusiveness Index, and the Institute's programs on Global Justice and Just Public Finance.

By strategically pairing up each summer fellow with an Institute researcher of similar academic backgrounds, the fellows were able to utilize their own knowledge and scholarly interests to strengthen and advance social science research. For instance, Enjoli Hall, a summer fellow who worked with project manager Eli Moore on the California Community Partnerships and Richmond Partnerships, created a companion piece titled *Narratives of Displacement in Richmond*, an

extensive interview guide of personal testimonies by Richmond community members, to the Institute's recent report, *Belonging and Community Health in Richmond: An Analysis of Changing Demographics and Housing*. By analyzing qualitative data gathered through interviews with community leaders, student workers, counselors, and activists in Richmond, Hall determined that changes in demographics and housing deeply impact opportunity structures such as access to food and job security, education, safety, and economic mobility. She also included the narratives of resistance amongst Richmond community members who strive toward equity and justice through community engagement and organizing.

Another summer fellow, Kian Vesteinsson, who worked with Wendy Ake, director of the Just Public Finance Program, conducted policy research on structural inequities in national and international public finance and trade systems. His work focused on three main topics: Puerto Rico's economic distress, student debt, and trade in education services. Through extensive analysis and close readings of US foreign policy, the Trade in Services Agreement, the

Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership, and more, Kian wrote Congressional proposals, memos, and reports supported by his "anti-racist and anti-imperialist critiques of financial systems."

In addition to individual research projects, the summer fellows also worked together to find effective ways to mitigate the current housing crisis in California. At the end of their 14 week fellowship, the fellows presented their research on proposed structural solutions. Through detailed research presented in the forms of research briefs and a report, they asserted that the housing crisis could be mitigated through the expansion of the government's role in allocating housing and addressing the problematic history of housing in the United States, referring to the origin of the racialization of housing policies. The summer fellows also incorporated the Institute's meta-narrative, emphasizing that these solutions could only be achieved through the careful and deliberate understanding of the various outcome of social change made on individuals from different economic, social, and racial backgrounds. ■



PHOTOS BY DWAYNE MARSH

## INCLUSIVE GOVERNMENT

# Doubling Down for Racial Equity

## The Government Alliance on Race and Equity puts values into action



*By Dwayne Marsh  
and Julie Nelson*

In the aftermath of the November 2016 elections, there has been a swell of media analysis, political commentary, public opinion, and reflection about the implications of a highly divisive campaign that stirred deeply held racial anxieties and channeled that energy directly into the electorate.

There are many analyses, but one thing has been clear—local governments can play an absolutely pivotal role in ensuring that racial inequities are not exacerbated in a climate where policies of inclusion and racial equity are likely to be consistently challenged. Already there are signs that municipalities are up to the task, with a wave of public declarations emerging in cities from Boston to Iowa City to Minneapolis and San Francisco proclaiming protection against exclusionary policies.

Declarations alone will not suffice—cities and counties need proactive action plans that can stay the course and advance racial equity.

In many communities that work began some months ago and is now coming to fruition. In late January 2016, leaders from more than 35 jurisdictions in the States of California and Minnesota joined a **Government Alliance on Race and Equity (GARE)** Advancing Racial Equity learning cohorts designed to give public sector employees new tools to achieve racial equity in their communities. GARE is a project of the Haas Institute and Center for Social Inclusion (CSI). With more than 20 million people living in the jurisdictions participating in this process, these efforts represent the next generation of policies and practices that will provide tangible improvement in our communities.

Throughout 2016, participants from the Twin Cities region, and Northern and Southern California joined a growing network of local government jurisdictions across the country taking steps to end persistent socioeconomic disparities across racial groups and advance opportunity for all.

Motivated by local and national activism driven by communities of color, these jurisdictions aim to build a more inclusive, responsive, and racially equitable democracy. A fourth cohort began along the North Coast of California



**Julie Nelson, the director of the Government Alliance for Race and Equity, addresses the northern California cohort at a training in Oakland.**

in the communities of Humboldt, Eureka, and Arcata, and there are discussions of new cohorts in many other states.

GARE was launched in January of 2014 under the leadership of John Powell and Julie Nelson and became a formal membership network in April of 2014. Currently, GARE engages more than 100 city, county and regional jurisdictions in more than thirty states spread across the United States.

With the graduation of jurisdictions from the first Racial Equity Learning Years, those ranks are anticipated to swell considerably. While the emerging network of practice has gained much of its momentum since GARE was launched in 2014, the origins of this work extend back more than a decade to when GARE Director Julie Nelson was the Director of the City of Seattle's Office of Civil Rights. There she worked with Glenn Harris, then the Manager of Seattle's Race and Social Justice Initiative, to embed a comprehensive suite of internal practices and public policies to address institutional and structural racism. Harris is now president of the Center for Social Inclusion, a national non-profit whose mission is to catalyze local communities, government, and other public and private institutions to

dismantle structural racial inequity.

Together, CSI, GARE, and the Haas Institute began to vision what a coordinated national strategy could mean for hundreds of jurisdictions struggling to understand what an effective twenty-first century governance model means when dealing with increasing diverse populations and growing social and economic inequities.

As part of the GARE network, the cohorts receive tools, training, peer support, and other resources from an expanding field of government practice focusing on normalizing conversations about race, operationalizing new policies and practices within government, and organizing alongside community members to achieve racial equity.

In addition to monthly training sessions, GARE hosts a quarterly “Advancing Racial Equity” speaker series, which provided the opportunity to engage with national experts on race. By the end of 2016, more than a dozen national thought leaders engaged with participating jurisdictions and their community partners on how to eliminate racial disparities through improved governance tactics. These cohorts are leading a national movement to transform government and advance racial equity.

Though each environment was different, the message was consistent: these problems are real, they are growing, and they are not going anywhere if government is not a central, effective partner in their resolution.

**F**oundations are increasingly recognizing the value of complementing their community organizing work with intentional efforts to increase the capacity of local governments to address complex racial dynamics in their governance and connection to constituency. GARE’s work in California is supported by The California Endowment, a foundation that provides grants to community-

based organizations throughout California. In Minnesota, the cohort is co-sponsored by the League of Minnesota Cities, which recognizes that careful analysis and well-designed changes to service delivery can make a positive difference in cities across Minneapolis.

Most importantly, jurisdictions see the value in engaging in this work. In addition to the forty jurisdictions, state agencies, and public utilities districts participating in the three cohorts, Nelson points to more than 80 other localities that have engaged in individual training opportunities or indicated their deep interest in taking part in a cohort in their regions. “We believe in good governance—an effective and inclusive democracy—and we know to achieve that, the public sector must be working to advance racial equity.”

Feedback from the cohorts has been extremely positive.

Participants have enjoyed the exposure to their counterparts’ experience and value the solidarity that comes with knowing that other jurisdictions are wrestling with similar issues. Many teams have begun to present recommendations to their local leadership regarding specific action steps that they can take to operationalize greater racial equity in their policies, procedures, budgeting, and programs.



**Glenn Harris, President of the Center for Social Inclusion, and Rinku Sen, the Executive Director of Race Forward, at a GARE event**



**Marlon Murphy, Fairfax County, addresses a group at the GARE convening prior to the Facing Race conference in Atlanta**



**Clarence Anthony, ED of the National League of Cities, Julie Nelson of GARE, Leon Andrews, Race Equity and Leadership Initiative Director at NLC, Tacoma Councilmember Woodards, Aileen Carr, REAL Manager at NLC, and Saint Paul Mayor Coleman**

When GARE announced that it would reprise the program in 2017 in order to provide other jurisdictions the opportunity to participate, most of the current teams committed to continued engagement. GARE is now developing an advanced implementation track to help graduates of the 2016 program to land the Racial Equity Action Plans. ■



# Haas Institute Welcomes Two New Faculty Cluster Members

The Diversity & Health Disparities research cluster brings a new Chair on board and the Diversity & Democracy cluster adds a new scholar to their research cluster

**Osagie Obasogie** will share his expertise as an acclaimed scholar of bioethics to lead the Haas Institute's Diversity and Health Disparities research cluster. With an appointment in the Department Public Health and an affiliated faculty in the Department of Social Welfare, Obasogie's research spans far beyond the borders of any single discipline or research area. A lawyer and sociologist by training, Obasogie's scholarship is rooted at the intersection of law, society, race and biomedicine. He has conducted research on how blind individuals "see" race and the ethics around new reproductive and genetic technologies. His newest projects examine race-targeted medicine, cloning, reproductive rights, the genetic manipulation of embryos, and medical testing on prison populations.



Renowned legal scholar **Angela Onwuachi-Willig** joins UC Berkeley and the Diversity and Democracy cluster of the Haas Institute from the University of Iowa College of Law, where she was the Charles and Marion Kierscht Professor of Law and a scholar of race, law, and inequality. She has written extensively about a variety of legal subjects, including employment discrimination, family law, and Critical Race Theory. Much of her scholarship deals with some of the most contentions and difficult legal challenges of our time, including those related to affirmative action and workplace discrimination. She is the author of *According to Our Hearts: Rhinelander v. Rhinelander and the Law of the Multiracial Family*, which argues that housing law, family law, and employment law fail to protect multiracial couples in the United States.



PHOTOS BY LAUREN AHN



*Interview by  
Sara Grossman*

## A CONVERSATION WITH Taeku Lee

Taeku Lee is a Professor of Political Science at UC Berkeley and is also the new Associate Director of the Haas Institute. We spoke with him about his scholarly work on voter engagement, racial politics, and the implications of Donald Trump for the Republican Party.

**Today, you are an expert in political behavior, racial politics, and public opinion, among other topics. What made you interested in these issues in the first place?**

Although I am a fairly successful and visible political scientist today, I am a late and reluctant comer to political science. In fact, I am the only political science professor I know who never elected a political science course as an undergraduate. I tried to elect a poli-sci course twice, and found myself unable to stay awake in them and dropped both courses within the first two weeks. Truth be told, as a passionate, angry, idealistic young adult, I never trusted professors with fancy degrees to tell me how politics worked. In free moments, I would organize (on issues like the U.S. in Central America, apartheid in South Africa, the nuclear arms race, hunger and homelessness), read (Marx, Arendt, Rawls), and discuss (with anyone willing and able). So I guess while I was very slow to become intrigued in political science, I was always interested in politics. The interest in political science did not come until later, when I realized that I was not very good as an organizer. And, to cut to the chase, there's the old saw: those who can, do; those who can't teach.

**Why are so many voters of color apathetic towards both parties and what does your research say can be done to address it?**

African American voters, who have allied with the Democratic Party in large numbers since the days of Franklin Roosevelt (and in overwhelming numbers since John F. Kennedy) have long felt relegated





to a "taken for granted" status within the party. Both parties see African Americans as a very liberal voting bloc (especially on issues of racial and social justice), which leads the Dems to assume that black voters will not switch to vote for the GOP and the Republicans to assume that black voters cannot be persuaded to rejoin the ranks of the Grand Old Party. This structural relationship results in a kind of cynical realpolitik where the Democratic Party want and woo African American votes but constantly worry that pursuing the policies that African American voters favor will anger and alienate (white) moderates and Independents. Given this dynamic, it is not quite right to describe African American voters' relationship to parties as one of apathy. Rather, the relationship is often of disaffection, distrust, exasperation, and the like ... all of which can be demobilizing.

For Latinos and Asian Americans, the relationship is far less baked in. Both groups have grown dramatically in number since the mid-1960s, which means that, as a segment of the electorate, they are neither fully comfortable or fully familiar with what it means to call oneself a Democrat or a Republican. And, from the standpoint of the parties, there is a slow (and I would say reluctant) process of recognizing these groups as important new constituencies to woo and win over.

**You're also an expert on Asian American voting patterns. What are you seeing today when it comes to voting trends? Has the arrival of Donald Trump affected Asian American engagement with the two major parties?**

Well, over the last two decades, Asian Americans have shown the most dramatic transformation of any segment of the electorate that we regularly keep track of. In 1992, only 31 percent of Asian Americans (according to national exit poll data) voted for the Democratic candidate and eventual winner, Bill Clinton. By 2012, that figure jumped all the way up to 73 percent of Asian Americans voting to re-elect the Democrat Barack Obama. And in the interceding election years, the Democratic vote share among Asian Americans has climbed steadily upward.

On Trump, there is little reason to think that he will succeed in bringing sizeable numbers of Asian Americans into the GOP fold. The Republican Party, under Reince Priebus' directive, carefully crafted a "Growth and Opportunity Project" document in 2013 which underscored the need to reach out to groups like Asian Americans if the GOP stands a chance of remaining viable in presidential elections into the foreseeable future. Trump seems, if anything, to have further pushed Asian Americans away from

the GOP with his vituperation against "anchor babies," his villianization of all things "China," his insistence on "extreme vetting" of immigrants and a religious test for Muslims wishing to enter the United States, among many memorable acid themes. In fact, a national survey of Asian Americans (on which I am a co-Principal Investigator) that is about to be released will show that our best estimates are that Asian Americans will turnout to support Hillary Clinton over Donald Trump at a level that will approximate, if not exceed the nearly 3 to 1 margin enjoyed by Barack Obama over Mitt Romney in 2012.

**Based on your own work, what do you believe has fueled the rise of Donald Trump at this point in time? Post-election, can the GOP come back from alienating so many voters of color (which national polls are currently indicating)? If so, how do you think they will try to do this?**

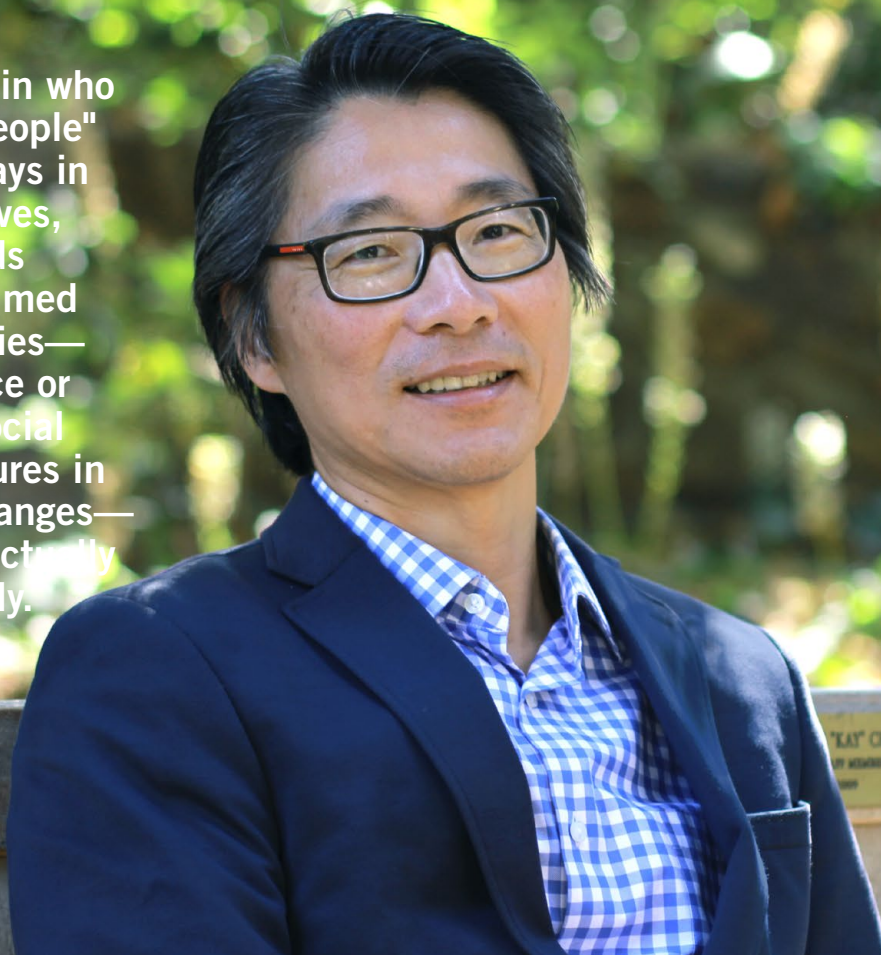
In thinking about this question, I am struck by the ways in which Donald Trump is the other side of the coin that is Barack Obama. Obama was distinct, if not unique, in his ability to be a multivocal, code-switching candidate who spoke to the hopes and aspirations many diverse constituencies. Trump is distinct, if not unique, in his ability to be multivocal in his connection to fears and frustrations that are gripping many diverse constituencies. At its core, I think Trump's ascendancy is fueled by a growing sense of helplessness and loss that is gripping all-too many Americans. It is all too common that, when faced with a collective sense of lost agency, that people will be tempted to look for a "magical" savior to whom unrealistic and unfounded powers of agency is attached.

Look, the writing has been on the wall for several decades now that, given demographic trends, the United States would be a "majority-minority" nation by sometime mid-21st century. Given that decline in numbers and, almost assuredly with the numbers, an anticipated loss of power and privilege, it would have been most extraordinary for the United States not to have seen the emergence of a white nationalist movement. So now we are fully in a moment of a rising white nationalist tide. The key questions now include: For how long? With what degree of political violence? And, will it continue to be under the banner of the Republican Party? Or will the Republican Party, at some point after this election, take a principled stand against this ugly underbelly of social and political transformation?

**Why did you decide to take on this new role at Haas? What are some critical areas or issues that you are hoping to address as Associate Director?**

That's an easy one. The Haas Institute is an incredible

The pace of change in who makes up "we the people" and the changing ways in which we see ourselves, the political demands we attach to our claimed and imposed identities—and the intransigence or responsiveness of social schemas and structures in the face of these changes—is fascinating intellectually and critical politically.



community of scholars, scholar-practitioners, and fellow travelers dedicated to the proposition that ideas and knowledge can shine a restorative, cultivating light. In the case of Haas, the light we shine (or work steadfastly to shine) is on the many challenges and opportunities of diversity and inequality – defined around markers of race, religion, sexuality, ability, chief among many – and the approach we bring to analysis, interpretation, and action rejects sharp boundaries between academic disciplines, or between communities of thought and communities of practice. These precepts and commitments really breathe life into Berkeley's motto, fiat lux, and, in my view, what it means to be an "engaged scholar." So, when asked if I would consider taking on this new role, the easy answer was, "when do I start?"

**What issues are you currently interested in? Are you working on any new research, articles, or books?**

I continue to be drawn to better understand the truly

transformative moment we are in with respect to diversity, inequality, and its challenges for democratic politics. The pace of change – in who makes up "we the people" and the changing ways in which we see ourselves and the political demands we attach to our claimed and imposed identities – and the intransigence or responsiveness of social schemas and structures in the face of these changes is fascinating intellectually and critical politically.

For me, understanding this problem entails juggling many different pieces. One of my projects looks into different ways of asking people about their deeply-held identities. Another examines the evolving role of mediating institutions like political parties and election polling in working to achieve or stifle a genuinely participatory democracy. Yet another is focused on whether talking through common problems, the aims of deliberative democracy, can foster building blocks of democratic politics like agreement, persuasion, and tolerance. Perhaps my most ambitious interest is in taking the moment of diversity, disparity, and disequilibrium that we are in to re-conceptualize how we understand power itself. ■





# Fear of the Other and Toxic Masculinity in the Age of Trump

ORIGINAL ILLUSTRATIONS BY PHIL ROBLES

**O**N FEBRUARY 9, 1950, Senator Joseph McCarthy stood before the Ohio County Women's Republican Club in Wheeling, West Virginia and presented a list of over 200 State Department employees who were supposedly members of the Communist Party. These individuals, of course, needed to be eliminated immediately—before the Soviet Union's atheistic groupthink overtook the Home of the Brave.

For McCarthy, America's "position of impotency," was the result of weak-minded liberals, Communists, and homosexuals. These groups were, in the McCarthyist dogma, fragile, cowardly, and downright un-American.

According to political historian K.A. Cuordileone, writing in the *Journal of American History*, McCarthy's targets were more often than not "dilettante diplomats' working under Democratic administrations who 'cringed,' 'whined,' and 'whimpered' in the face of Communism, 'prancing mimics of the Moscow party line.'" Clearly, these "sissies" needed to be rooted out by someone tough, unafraid, and incorruptible—someone like McCarthy.

And so began one of the darkest chapters of American history, as an opportunistic political figure capitalized on the fear and anxiety of the post-World War II period to gain influence over the American public and wrench power into his own embrace.

Joseph McCarthy, now known in history classes across the nation as one of this country's most reviled political figures, was neither the first nor the last American demagogue to rely on a toxic mix of hyper-masculinity and anxiety towards the "Other" to claw his way into power.

Today, we have another bloviating firebrand preparing to move into the White House. While Donald Trump—with his casually offensive comments towards an array of groups, proud references to penis size, and endless remarks on how ugly, fat, or sexually appealing



*By Sara Grossman*

any particular woman is—may seem like an entirely new phenomenon, his strategy could be taken right out of McCarthy's playbook.

In fact, it might as well have been, as one of Trump's closest confidantes for years, attorney Roy Cohn, worked shoulder to shoulder with McCarthy during the Red Scare. Decades after Cohn, McCarthy's chief counsel and close advisor, assisted the senator in systematically rooting out Communists and homosexuals, the lawyer could be found defending Donald Trump in court against Justice Department accusations of racist behavior and numerous violations of the Fair Housing Act.

"I hear Roy in the things [Trump] says quite clearly," Cohn's lover Peter Fraser told the *New York Times* in June. "That bravado, and if you say it aggressively and loudly enough, it's the truth—that's the way Roy used to operate to a degree, and Donald was certainly his apprentice."

That bravado, one of Trump's defining characteristics, is nothing new. Yet, while McCarthy's chosen menaces were singled out by political preference and sexual orientation, Trump prefers to demonize groups by race, religion, and, well, anyone who opposes him.

Political observers have taken note. The GOP seems "blithely unaware that this is a Joe McCarthy moment," wrote *New York Times* columnist David Brooks earlier this year. "People will be judged by where they stood at this time. Those who walked with Trump will be tainted forever after for the degradation of standards and the general election slaughter."

Although comparisons between the two men may be easy, it is perhaps more useful to examine similarities between the eras in which they emerged, said the Cold War historian





K.A. Cuordileone when reached at her home in New York this summer.

The 1950s were an extended period of hyper-masculine politics and paranoia, said Cuordileone, who is a history professor at New York City College of Technology. As today, the era exhibited high levels of anxiety, with crushing fear around the threat of communism (the Red Scare) and secondarily around that of homosexuality (the so-called Lavender Scare). Cuordileone noted a similar anti-intellectualism trend during that time as well, as the American public developed a deep mistrust of intellectual elites—those Harvard-educated scholars who were perhaps too sympathetic to our enemies, too open to diplomacy, and too cowardly to face the threat with necessary might.

Donald Trump, who says he “loves the uneducated” while calling for more muscular foreign policy (without real specifications as to what that policy is), proudly emulates many of these Cold War values.

Still, Cuordileone said, while there were anxieties about women and gay people during the Cold War period, “liberalism wasn't very far advanced, there was no gay rights movement or feminist movement to worry about.”

Although she has spent a career studying trends in American politics, Cuordileone says today we are witnessing something new: a “perfect storm” of anxieties, even greater than those of the 1950s. Not only is the nation grappling with fears around terrorism and violence abroad, but also around fast-changing demographics and cultural norms.

Women are quickly making up for decades of social, political, and economic exclusion, becoming an increasingly dominant force everywhere from the workplace to the White House. Young women are now more likely to have a college degree than their male peers, and are making more money relative to men their age than their mothers and grandmothers, according to Pew Research Center. Additionally, they have comprised a greater portion of the vote in the last eight presidential elections; In 2004, nearly 9 million more women voted than men. Women simply cannot be ignored—or discarded as mere objects of status.

As women continue making great strides in

a number of areas, voters of color are also demanding greater recognition—and the demographics are moving in their favor. In 2011, for example, more babies of color were born in the United States than white ones for the first time. Some states, like California and Texas, are already “minority-majority,” with more people of color than whites.

Although many folks are hoping to “Make America Great Again,” the demographics of that “great” past are simply no longer possible—a realization that has surely induced anxiety for many Americans. According to Berkeley Political Scientist Taeku Lee, given

**While Donald Trump—with his casually offensive comments towards an array of groups, proud references to penis size, and endless remarks on how ugly, fat, or sexually appealing any particular woman is—may seem like an entirely new phenomenon, his strategy could be taken right out of McCarthy's playbook.**

the pace of demographic shift in this country—and with it an anticipated loss of power—it would have been most extraordinary for the United States not to have seen the emergence of a white nationalist movement.”

“The key questions now include: For how long? With what degree of political violence?” said Lee, who is an expert on racial politics and minority voting patterns. “And, will it continue to be under the banner of the Republican Party? Or will the Republican Party, at some point after this election, take a principled stand against this ugly underbelly of social and political transformation?”

Berkeley Law Professor Ian Haney Lopez further illustrated the roots of this racial anxiety in an interview with the radio show *Between the Lines*. For the past 50 years, he said, the Republican party has built itself around a narrative that says to Americans, “The biggest threat in your lives come from other poor people of color, it comes from the liberal institutions like unions and like government that support poor people of color, worry about them, hate government, trust instead the big corporations and the very rich.”

“That's the basic narrative the Republicans



have been using for 50 years and that's exactly the narrative Trump has tapped into in this latest election cycle," said Lopez, who is also the director of the Haas Institute's Racial Politics project.

This racial anxiety, coupled with economic instability made visible by the Great Recession, has inevitably sparked great unease about the shifting power structure of the future.

The difference between now and the Cold War era, Cuordileone concluded, is that not only do we have terrorist and infiltration threats, but demographic changes as well. "My generation might be last generation to remember a white America," she said. Many of the folks to whom Trump speaks are "the people who remember America being much whiter."

Even in this pronounced Age of Anxiety, for many Trump's rise seems wholly unexplainable, his appeal confounding. Yet for at least a significant chunk of Americans, Trump is the preferred choice. And for 63% of white men, the billionaire real estate mogul is the answer to all their anxieties.

So what do white men find so appealing about the candidate, one who seems unbothered by facts and has a penchant for offending almost everybody?

It is perhaps just these qualities that can help explain it. According to Ange Marie Hancock, Associate Professor of Political Science and Gender Studies at the University of Southern California, we are currently witnessing a "movement backlash" to progressive strides, perhaps most notably women's demands for greater autonomy and control over their own bodies.

This current movement backlash is part of a larger trend, she said, pointing to a similar backlash against Second Wave Feminism in the 1990s. Then, Hancock said, the backlash was more explicitly around gender roles and family values—maintaining traditional families and reforming welfare, which was seen as supporting poor, lazy, and stereotypically Black single mothers.

The mid-1990s witnessed an upswell of men's movements in reaction to changing cultural norms, she said, citing the Promise Keepers Movement, promoted by Evangelical Christian organizations and the Million Man March, in part organized by the Nation of Islam.

"Both were really about this idea that men need to reassert dominance," Hancock said.

Trump is now speaking to those men who have similar anxieties about a perceived loss of dominance and traditional roles. This time around, she said, the crusade is less based on religion and more on economics, thanks to the Great Recession, which may explain Trump's pronounced appeal for lower-income Americans.

As in the 90s, Hancock believes that some of this anger may be due to a backlash towards increasing female autonomy—not only in the workplace and home, as was the case 20 years ago, but in the realm of sex and dating as well. Sexual assault and date rape have increasingly come to the forefront of national discussion in recent years, to the ire of many men who feel victimized by more punitive laws and policies. As universities nationally are finding themselves under the microscope for mismanaged handlings of sexual assault cases, there has been equally as much frustration by men who feel they are being unfairly targeted for enacting their sexual desires.

**Donald Trump, who says he "loves the uneducated" while calling for more muscular foreign policy (without real specifications as to what that policy is), proudly emulates many of these Cold War values.**

Trump embodied this frustration when shrugging off his own highly graphic comments—caught on tape—about sexually assaulting women as mere "locker room banter." As his son Eric explained, that type of talk is just what happens when guys get together. "They get carried away, and sometimes that's what happens when alpha personalities are in the same presence," he said.

"The only thing that tape shows is he's a healthy heterosexual," a Trump supporter told the New York Times a few days after the scandal had played out.

The message: Chill out. Men are just being men. Women need to relax.

For many men, hearing Trump say that nobody would vote for former Republican





rival Carly Fiorina because of her face or call Fox News Host Megyn Kelly a “bimbo” (not to mention insinuate that she cannot properly do her job because of menstruation) may feel like a reassertion of the correct social order, a clear pushback against “PC culture,” feminists, and overly-offended liberals.

Perhaps Trump himself explained this sentiment best. “All of the men, we’re petrified to speak to women anymore,” he said at a rally in May. “The women get it better than we do.” True or not, Trump seems to be speaking to an acute anxiety that many men are feeling.

Yet it is not just men who seemed respond well to Trump’s brashly sexist rhetoric. Exit

polls showed that a majority of white women—53 percent—also voted for the Republican candidate. What this teaches us: it’s not just men who breathe our misogynistic air. As Guardian columnist Suzanne Moore wrote after the election: “It is impossible to be feminist and not be appalled by the complicity of women in their own oppression.”

How unempowered are so many women that they can hear a man talk about sexually assaulting another person and just shrug, cover their ears, and vote him into the highest office in the country? Perhaps they see in Trump a reflection of their own fathers, sons, and partners, a reflection of how men are “supposed to

be". Clearly the work of dismantling systems of misogyny goes beyond just teaching our boys and men to behave—we must also empower our girls and women to demand—and to expect—better than what Donald Trump's behavior seems to suggest is normal.

Amanda Marcotte, writing in Salon, put a name to this type behavior: toxic masculinity.

Toxic masculinity, she wrote, "is a specific model of manhood, geared towards dominance and control. It's a manhood that views women and LGBT people as inferior, sees sex as an act not of affection but domination, and which valorizes violence as the way to prove one's self to the world."

In August, The Atlantic published an abridged note from an anonymous Trump supporter, explaining in detail why he—as a non-religious young voter—was particularly drawn to the nominee and his offensive style of communication. Trump, he wrote, appeals strongly to young men, who feel that masculine traits are "devalued everywhere."

"Rather like gay people a generation ago, young men today feel that they're being treated as if they were born wrong," he wrote. "We didn't live through the Reagan years. We've never seen a man's man in politics before. Trump offers a sense that someone sees them and cares about speaking to them, even if only as far as it takes to con them."

It is this same sentiment—the growing victimhood of the hapless heterosexual man—that Donald Trump so easily channels, promotes, and, ultimately, exploits.

This victimhood is, of course, constructed on an utterly fictitious foundation; as *Atlantic* writer James Hamblin pointed out, "To suggest that straight, stereotypically masculine men are in any way marginalized in American society—much less to compare their perceived plight to that of homosexual Americans a decade ago—is, by objective measures, absurd."

The dominance of white men has been challenged on many fronts, he added. Yet these challenges are more akin to "a regression toward parity, an undoing of entrenched inequality."

Unfortunately, said Ange Marie Hancock of the University of Southern California, current strategies to grapple with anxieties such as those related to toxic masculinity have not

## **Although many folks are hoping to "Make America Great Again," the demographics of that "great" past are simply no longer possible.**

developed fast enough for us to "deal with Trump."

"Toxic masculinity is something that needs to be chopped off at its root, rather than having to do anger management years later," she said. "How do we better train boys when they are 5, 6, or 7?"

According to John A. Powell, professor of Law and African American Studies at UC Berkeley, the most effective response to the stoking of anxieties by demagogues like Trump and McCarthy is clear: "radical inclusivity." In this model, all people are included in the Circle of Human Concern.

In a democracy, Powell says, belonging is the most important endowment we share with one another. Historically, only white men were included in this circle, although more recently corporations have also gained access to the circle. Immigrants, people of color, folks with disabilities, and women have traditionally been excluded from access to the resources and opportunities that come with group membership in this sphere.

For Powell, who is also the director of the Haas Institute, we must work towards what the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. called a "beloved community," which consists of loving connections rather than dominating ones.

"How do we build institutions and structures that support that?" Powell said in 2014, nearly a year before Trump's image was projected daily on TV stations nationwide with reports of the candidate's latest offensive comment. "How do we actually embrace each other?" Powell asked.

Clearly, we've got a lot more work to do to truly answer that question. ■

## GLOBAL JUSTICE

# Our Global Heart of Darkness



PHOTO BY NADIA BARHOUM

**FROM THE OUTSIDE**, the island of Chios looked idyllic, just the kind of place you go to unwind and detach from the buzz and exhaustion of life. But the undercurrents of darkness became inescapable over the time I spent there, where I was translating testimonies for refugees seeking asylum in Greece.

Chios, a Greek island less than five miles off the western coast of Turkey, has been a landing point for many refugees in the last several years, in addition to several other Greek islands near Turkey. The refugee camps that have sprung up in the last year in Chios are meant to house 1,100 people, but given the current number of almost 4,000, there is intense stress

on the infrastructure and services available.

I spent two weeks in Chios in September 2016 where I volunteered as a legal translator to support refugees in their Greek asylum process. Two months after I returned from Greece, more than 100 Greek locals on the island of Chios descended on the Souda refugee camp in the middle of the night. Refugees were terrified. Not only did the police not protect them, but when the locals attacked and began beating them, the police officers went in and arrested dozens of men from the camp. Molotov cocktails were thrown at the refugees and dozens of tents, along with the few personal belongings inside, burned to the ground.

Among the injured was Karim, a 19-year-old Syrian boy I had met on my trip in September.

This was not the first time Karim had to run for his life. While he managed to get out of his hometown Raqqa alive, others were not so lucky. Sitting in a stuffy metal container in the Souda camp in September, he told me about one of his friends who fled to Turkey, but was captured by the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL, also known as ISIS) members there. His head was returned in a bag to his family a week later.

Karim had been on the island of Chios for more than three months when I met him, and he is still waiting to hear from the European Asylum Support Office (EASO) about his case. He fears being deported back to Turkey, where his life could be in danger.

Like Karim, many refugees worry they will be deported back to various war-zones. But there are also others who wish to return to conflict-ridden countries where at least they could die in dignity rather than face a slow death in Greece, stripped of their humanity and will to live.

I witnessed extraordinary despair during those two weeks. Each day, a



By Nadia Barhoum

refugee would attempt to violently end their own life and every person I spoke with had suicidal thoughts. Conditions seem to be getting worse as each day passes.

## The Endless Wait

People from all over two continents arrive on Chios: Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Pakistan, Algeria, Sudan, Morocco, Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran and other places.

Once the refugees step off the rafts, they are bussed to the administrative processing center, which is a converted warehouse in a desolate location. The building has one entrance: a locked metal gate that is constantly blocked with many desperate bodies, pushing and waiting to enter. People wait for hours in the heat or cold to get inside.

Once they make it to the entrance, the Greek police, who guard the door, thoroughly search each person.

Inside the building, there is another section for the asylum services that is closed with another locked metal gate, this one manned by officers from a private security company. There refugees wait again to be thoroughly searched--this time by the largest private security corporation in the world, G4S. The militarization and securitization of refugee camps are starkly apparent here, and it is clear that private interests are profiting from the misery of others.

By the end of this process, all refugees have been fingerprinted and registered to a European Union database.

Once the refugees are registered with the asylum office, they get a number for their case, which is the only way they are identified, and then are



assigned a tent or a metal container. After this, they must wait again, until their number is listed on a board in the camp to begin the interview process for asylum in Greece.

For many, this is an endless wait; for a long time the EASO was prioritizing only the files of Syrians and some other highly vulnerable cases, leaving non-Syrians in limbo. Palestinian-Syrian cases have been frozen entirely. Palestinians from Syria, who are also fleeing the war, are some of the most marginalized peoples on the earth, as a stateless people with no right of return to their original homeland, Palestine. They are now being displaced and uprooted again and are being systematically blocked from applying for asylum in Greece. Is there a name for a twice-made refugee?

The wait in an overcrowded camp with deplorable conditions is especially unbearable. Due to the intense overcrowding, there is intense stress on the infrastructure and services available.

Beyond the ongoing issue of several dysfunctional and problematic international NGOs, the living conditions in the camps are beyond abysmal, from poor health services to scarce mental health services to inedible food rations. The makeshift tents and metal containers to which refugees are assigned are also not meant for long-term stay, are unhygienic, and provide little protection from weather or safety from theft.

In such conditions, tensions among the refugees increase, resulting in regular fights, mostly along ethnic lines. Refugees are repeatedly put in a position to compete with one another for resources, as well as legal and political processes that have established quotas based on arbitrary definitions of "vulnerability".

## Between Death and Despair

Refugees are essentially imprisoned within the camps and are not allowed to travel beyond the city. If they find



PHOTO BY NADIA BARHOUM

themselves outside, they risk not only arrest and detention by the authorities, but also aggression from locals who are hostile to their presence.

I met a Palestinian-Syrian family who said that their two-year-old daughter was beaten by a Greek man in the small park by one of the camps. The girl was taken to the hospital seeking treatment for the bruises that covered her tiny body. The police, they say, did nothing to help her.

The refugee protests that have taken place in the fall are part of many that have taken place across Greece over the past several months. Many of the Greek anti-refugee protesters are associated with the country's growing ultra-nationalist Golden Dawn party, which has been encouraging xenophobia all over Chios and surrounding islands.

These dynamics between the local population and the refugees are not devoid of context. Greece is a periphery EU country, in the midst of one of the worst financial crises in its recent history. That the country is expected to bear responsibility for one of the worst refugee crises in world history would be laughable if the situation were not so tragic. The borders to other European countries remain closed, thus putting great stress on Greece and creating a bottleneck for

This island destroyed me. It shattered all of my hope. It extinguished all of my dreams. The question that I keep asking myself over and over is whether I will leave this island and all this will be just a memory or will I be stuck here indefinitely?

—22-year old Mohammed, from Syria

all migration to Europe.

This endless uncertainty and fear of what's to come are the hardest to endure, especially when conditions within the camps continue to worsen.

Many give up on waiting the endless wait and resort to human smugglers. People are so desperate that even stories of organ trafficking and deadly treks across militarized borders do not keep them from finding alternatives to the dismal conditions in Greece.

**T**his is our global heart of darkness. The lives of refugees are relegated to the absolute margins of society, where they are left to languish in despair, where death is welcomed as the only alternative to the pain and misery of the daily conditions they face.

The world is witnessing the greatest displacement of people since World War II, in addition to the complete destruction of some of the oldest and richest civilizations on earth.

Has Europe failed in the preservation of human dignity and relapsed to a historical period it vowed would never be repeated? And to what end? To preserve a mirage of Fortress Europe?

I fear the worst is yet to come. ■

# HAAS INSTITUTE STAFF ACTIVITIES

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

## JANUARY 2016

**Jan:** Director John A. Powell was featured in *The Lawyer as a Leader*, a new book as "a transformative leader effecting change." The book was authored by Dr. Artika Tyer about lawyers working for leadership and advocacy in social justice.

**Jan:** Research Assistant Hossein Ayazi was interviewed on WORT 89.9 FM about the **Haas Institute Farm Bill report**. In this long discussion, Ayazi discussed policies within the \$956 billion omnibus bill that perpetuate racial and socioeconomic disparities and addressed corporate power in the food system.

**Jan:** John A. Powell published "Racing into the Future," a look back at the year 2015 about the complicated relationship our society has with race.

**Jan:** The Haas Institute joined a cohort of leading national racial equity organizations in launching the new **Truth, Racial Healing & Transformation** commission, "an unprecedented enterprise that will help communities across the United States embrace racial healing and uproot conscious and unconscious beliefs in a hierarchy of human value—racial hierarchy." The Haas Institute is a member of the W. K. Kellogg Foundation's **America Healing**

## Racial Equity Anchor Collaborative.

**Jan:** Sara Grossman, a former Haas Institute intern and UC Berkeley graduate, joined the Haas Institute as a part-time Communications and Media Specialist at the Haas Institute.

**Jan. 8:** Just Public Finance Program Manager Wendy Ake published a piece on the current state of Puerto Rico and the structural barriers it faces after the financial crisis of 2008 and offered alternative solutions for financial, social, and political stability.

**Jan. 12:** Author and Berkeley Law professor Ian Haney López joined the Haas Institute to lead the **Racial Politics project**, a new initiative focused on the role of race in our society's policies, politics, systems, and structures.

**Jan. 13:** Richard Rothstein, a former senior fellow at the Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Law and Social Policy at Berkeley Boalt Law School and current research associate at the Economic Policy Institute, joined the Haas Institute as a **Senior Fellow** to examine the history of government's role in creating residential segregation.

**Jan. 14:** The **AFL-CIO, Demos and the Haas**

## Institute hosted a roundtable on "race-baiting in the 21st century."

Panelists discussed the intersection of race, the economy and the impact of the 2016 election with the launch of Ian Haney-Lopez's new report **"Race and Economic Jeopardy For All: A Framing Paper for Defeating Dog Whistle Politics."**

**Jan. 13:** Dr. Victor Pineda joined the Haas Institute as a new **Senior Research Fellow** and visiting scholar. Victor was most recently appointed by President Obama to the US Access Board and is working to expand on the scholarship and research from the Haas Institute Disability Studies Cluster as well as in elevating our work more globally.

**Jan. 19:** Deepa Iyer, author and activist, spoke at a Haas Institute sponsored panel about the ongoing impact of post-9/11 narratives and policies on South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh communities. She discussed her new book *We Too Sing America: South Asian, Arab, Muslim, and Sikh Immigrants Shape Our Multiracial Future* followed by a book signing.

**Jan. 19:** Assistant Director Stephen Menendian published a blog post exploring the structural racism that contributed to the public health crisis in Flint, Michigan. He wrote

that for residents trapped in the neighborhood suffering from toxic water, it is more than a denial of resources.

**Jan. 21:** John A. Powell was featured in a piece on **Huffington Post** exploring how diversity promotes both innovation and creativity. Powell stated, "Transformational thinking requires creativity, vision, and persistence. Transformational approaches restructure the very institutions and inter-institutional relationships that result in inequalities. Transformational solutions are those that produce sustainable, significant changes in society."

**Jan. 22:** KQED 88.5 interviewed **Senior Fellow Julie Nelson** on the launch of a new year-long training of Northern California government officials on issues of race and equity. Nelson explained the transformative power of racial equity training in government to create more equitable outcomes and healthier communities. She along with over 100 government staff from cities and districts in Northern California kicked off the project in Oakland.

**Jan. 22:** "There is never, never a justification that makes sense to hate someone. And there's never, never anything wrong with loving someone," said director John

## FACULTY ACTIVITIES

For information on our 75+ affiliated UC Berkeley faculty, who are organized into seven research clusters, visit our website at [haasinstitute.berkeley.edu](http://haasinstitute.berkeley.edu), where we post the latest publications, speaking engagements, and media clippings from these leading scholars who are researching and studying exclusion and inclusion from a wide variety of disciplines and perspectives. Our website also features faculty profiles, interviews, and a searchable expert database.

### Faculty Profile: Juana María Rodríguez on sexuality in public discourse

**Sara Grossman**  
Communications and Media Specialist

**FACULTY PROFILE**  
Monday, March 21, 2016



Juana María Rodríguez is a member of the Haas Institute's LGBTQ Citizenship cluster and a professor of Gender and Women's Studies at University of California, Berkeley. Here, she discusses the "politics of respectability" in the gay marriage movement and how sexual identity politics influence discrimination.

**Talk a little at a distance and post July.**

Juana María Rodríguez is a member of the Haas Institute's LGBTQ Citizenship cluster and a professor of Gender and Women's Studies at University of California, Berkeley. Here, she discusses the "politics of respectability" in the gay marriage movement and how sexual identity politics influence discrimination.

among other things, some of the discourse has contributed to a politics of respectability. When promoting same-sex marriage, emphasis has been placed on "they're married, they have children, they are like us."

### LGBTQ Citizenship

The LGBTQ Citizenship Cluster focuses on the discriminatory and disparate treatment of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) people in our society, paying particular attention to how issues of sexual orientation and gender identity intersect with class, race, nationality, gender, age, and disability.

For further research and action on sexual orientation features on the experiences of individual affluent white gay men, even as they claim to represent the entire LGBT community, the faculty members who formed the LGBTQ Cluster came together to offer an alternative, more inclusive approach to issues of sexual orientation and gender identity. I am currently aware that current challenges we face from my sexual orientation, my gender, or my religious faith—and we cannot disentangle these issues from each other.

### Economic Disparities

The Economic Disparities Cluster focuses on inequality and the evolution of economic consequences on populations that have been historically disadvantaged as well as the economic consequences of intersecting issues of socioeconomic status, race, ethnicity and other factors.

"The high level of income inequality is one of the defining problems of our time and is the central theme of the research and policy work of the Economic Disparities Cluster. The work engages in real world policy research and has been central to the program. You are the heart of the solution." - Haas Magazine



### Faculty profile: Emmanuel Saez on Why Inequality Matters

**Sara Grossman**  
Communications and Media Specialist

**FACULTY PROFILE**



Emmanuel Saez is a UC Berkeley economist who is renowned for his scholarship on wealth and income inequality. Saez, a member of the Haas Institute's Economic Disparities research cluster, holds the Chancellor's Professorship of Tax Policy and Public Finance and is the director of the Center for Equitable Growth at UC Berkeley. He has focused on the World's Top Income Distribution with Francisco Bruni, Tony Atkinson, and Thomas Piketty since 2013. He speaks with us about the 1% high tax rates, and the power of government institutions to reduce inequality.

**Why should we be so interested in the incomes and wealth of the top 1% (or even the 0.1%)? Is it a sign of health or the larger society?**

The top 1%, or even the top 0.1%, are very small groups yet they capture a large fraction of total income and wealth because inequality is so large. For example, the top 0.1% wealth holders have been about 22% of total U.S. net worth, almost as much as the 20% share of total U.S. net worth owned by the bottom 90% of families. Even more, because inequality has increased so much in recent decades, the top is capturing an extremely large fraction of total

**a. powell** in a new video released by **Thrive East Bay**, featuring a talk he gave at Thrive on what "Othering" entails and how it works toward the detriment of all.

**Jan. 27:** Professor John a. powell spoke on COCC's Bend Campus to kick off the 2016 Season of Nonviolence. The talk was entitled, "Opening the Question of Race to the Question of Belonging."

**Jan. 28:** **Ian Haney-López**, director of the Haas Institute Racial Politics program, co-authored an article for *The Nation* magazine offering a different lens through which to view populist candidates such as Bernie Sanders. Haney-López argued that more focus should be directed on how racism affects us all, rather than just talking about how it affects one particular group.

**Jan. 22:** Director **John a. powell** kicked off the first session of the **Washington Regional Association of Grantmakers'** "Putting Racism on the Table" series by discussing structural racism and its dimensions and ramifications in modern society.

**Jan. 28:** A public announcement was made public that **Professor Karen Barkey** would be leaving her post at Columbia University to become the new endowed chair of the **Haas Institute's Religious Diversity research cluster**, as well as a faculty member in UC Berkeley's Department of Sociology.

### FEBRUARY 2016

**Feb. 17:** A webinar entitled, "**Corporate Power & Structural Racialization in the US Food System**" sought to explore and extend the research that culminated in the US

Farm Bill report released October 2015. Co-authors **Elsadig Elsheikh** and **Hossein Ayazi** were two of the invited speakers.

**Feb. 21:** Director **John a. powell** spoke at the **6th annual Wisdom 2.0 conference** about the importance of fostering a society that places greater value on mindfulness and empathy, as well as the necessity of widening our "circle of concern" to one in which all humans belong.

**Feb. 26-27:** **John a. powell** presented two talks for at the Reston Community Center in association with the Equitable Growth Profile Advisory Group of Fairfax County, Virginia.

### MARCH 2016

**Mar. 4:** **Ian Haney-López** addressed a full crowd in the **John B. Davis Lecture Hall** on the topic of political rhetoric. He

emphasized and used a historical look to analyze how politicians use coded racist rhetoric to play on white American anxiety to advance their own agendas.

**Mar. 7:** Following the death of Supreme Court **Justice Scalia**, Director **John a. powell** published a blog to discuss the critical importance of Scalia's replacement as well as his legacy of "originalism" or "original intended meaning" of the Constitution as it applied to cases before the Supreme Court.

**Mar. 9:** **Ian Haney-López** moderated at the **Common Cause conference** in Washington and was featured in a Washington Post article in which he offered solutions to the current political crisis by arguing that "broad social mobilization" is needed to "recover control of the Democratic party, of our governance, of our



marketplace.”

**Mar. 9:** The Haas Institute released the **"Trans-Pacific Partnership: Corporations Before People and Democracy"** report, co-authored by **john a. powell**, **Elsadig Elsheikh**, and **Hossein Ayazi**, finding that the mega-regional trade deal raises serious concerns about how a re-regulated world economy catering to corporate interests would undermine public accountability, transparency, and democratic participation.

**Mar. 10:** **john a. powell** sat down for a half hour interview with Brian Edwards-Tiekert on KPFA's **Up Front** to discuss race in the 2016 presidential election cycle. **powell** talked about voter frustrations and how presidential candidates were using these sentiments to fuel their own agendas.

**Mar. 10:** Director **john a. powell** and Global Justice Program director **Elsadig Elsheikh** were guests on KPFA's **UpFront** program to discuss a new report they co-authored on the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). In the half-hour segment, **Elsheikh** and **powell** discussed how the passage of the TPP could signal a significant threat to democracy and negatively affect people around the world if it were to pass.

**Mar. 12:** **Ian Haney López** was featured in a new video about how Americans must confront racism in order to truly talk about ways to fix economic inequality. Along with **Demos President Heather McGhee**, **López** gave examples of coded racist language—known as dog whistles—and invited the listener to reflect on the images conjured up upon hearing certain terms. The video was a call for action to directly link racial justice strug-

gles with fixing extreme economic inequality.

**Mar:** In a new essay on segregation for the **Poverty & Race Research Action Council**, Director **john a. powell** and Assistant Director **Stephen Menendian** explored the simplicity and complexities of segregation and how it is measured for practical application.

**Mar. 16:** Haas Institute **Colbentz Fellow Hassan Ahmad** traveled to Beirut as part of an IRAP/ Berkeley Law delegation to speak with Syrian refugees, visit schools for Syrian children, and meet with an LGBT advocacy group. In a recent piece on **KPFA's Against the Grain**, **Ahmad** highlighted the poorly publicized political climate in Lebanon for these refugees and the obstacles they face in everyday living, including living below the poverty line and the requirements for registration.

**Mar. 17:** **Elsadig Elsheikh** and **Hossein Ayazi** were invited speakers at "Race and Corporate Power in the US Food System: Lessons From the US Farm Bill," sponsored by the Berkeley Student Food Collective.

**Mar. 28:** *California Magazine* featured perspectives of Director **john a. powell** and Assistant Director **Stephen Menendian** about universal basic income, the problems it poses, and how it may not necessarily resolve pressing issues such as wealth and income inequality.

## APRIL 2016

**Apr. 4:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored **Fighting Exclusion: Innovative Approaches to Fair Housing Law** with the California Renters Legal Advocacy and Education Fund and the American

Constitution Society. Held at Boalt Hall, the panel featured Kim Savage, land use and fair housing attorney, Paul E. Smith of the Office of Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity, US Housing and Urban Development, and **Stephen Menendian**, Haas Institute Assistant Director.

**Apr. 4:** Associate Director **Michael Omi** spoke in a discussion for the **Asian American & Asian Diaspora Studies Working Group's** Spring 2016 Lunch Talks & Workshop Series at UC Berkeley regarding the role of conference papers in academic publications.

**Apr. 5:** The **Africans Food Sovereignty Working Group** held a conversation with **Alice Martin-Prével**, Policy Analyst at the Oakland Institute, who discussed the tremendous success of agroecological agriculture across the African continent.

**Apr. 6:** The Haas Institute published a profile on **Victor Pineda**, Haas Institute Senior Research Fellow and visiting scholar who is working to expand on the scholarship and research of the Disability Studies cluster. **Pineda** was recently appointed by President Obama to the US Access Board.

**Apr. 11:** Senior Fellow and former Oakland Mayor **Jean Quan** presented the opening keynote at the **6th Annual Race and Policy Symposium** discussing the manifestation and impacts of racial segregation.

**Apr. 12:** Assistant Director **Stephen Menendian** moderated and participated in a panel at the **6th Annual Race and Policy Symposium** discussing the historical and contemporary forces driving residential segregation, and how the recent Supreme Court's decision in the

Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Communities Project, Inc. case and HUD's new affirmatively furthering fair housing regulations will change the fight for fair housing moving forward.

**Apr. 15:** Senior Research Assistant **Darren Arquero** recorded a video response to questions from **UCHRI's Humanists@Work** about the nature of graduate student work and how they can be changed for the betterment of the student.

**Apr. 15:** In a new article in the Washington Post **Senior Fellow Richard Rothstein** wrote about student protesters petitioning Princeton for a college's name change from Woodrow Wilson and the implications of the decision made to keep the name the same.

**Apr. 19:** **john a. powell** was an invited speaker for "Is Atlanta Really The City Too Busy To Hate?: Understanding Breakthrough Mind Science Research on Racial Bias." The event was part of the **Arthur M. Blank Family Foundation Speaker Series**.

**Apr. 19:** **Ian Haney-López**, Director of the Racial Politics Program and UC Berkeley law professor was on **#BackChannel**, a radio program on WUNC, talking with host Frank Stasio about racially coded political rhetoric.

**Apr. 21:** Director **john a. powell** served as the keynote speaker at the **ACE Leadership Symposium** in Greenville, South Carolina and spoke about how to advance multicultural leadership in the context of the growing and changing society we live in.

**Apr. 22–23:** The Haas Institute co-sponsored the **7th Annual Islamophobia Conference**. The theme, "Islamophobia: Has a tip-



Above: Snapshots of our staff and students at a Haas Institute staff meeting on the UC Berkeley campus. Find more photos and updates on our Facebook page at [facebook.com/haasinstitute](https://facebook.com/haasinstitute). Photos by Rachelle Galloway-Popotas

ping point been reached?" posed a question reflecting the pervasiveness of bigoted discourses that problematize Muslim and Islamic communities in civil society.

**Apr. 25:** Mark Gomez of the **Leap Forward Project** at the Haas Institute, published a blog post on service workers in Albany and Sacramento as they stood with community activists, labor leaders, and their state legislators while their governors signed bills establishing a \$15 living wage standard.

**Apr. 26:** The Haas Institute hosted a half-day event titled **"We Too Belong: Building Power at the Intersection of Immigration and Incarceration"** to preview the report **"We Too Belong, A Resource Guide of Inclusive Practices in Immigration & Incarceration Law and Policy."** The event featured a keynote by **john a. powell** and a panel of community organizers, activists, attorneys, and researchers.

**Apr. 28:** The Haas Institute held an open house at UC Berkeley to release a new report, **Food Justice and Community Health in Richmond.**

Attendees discussed the report and its recommendations for strategies to facilitate more deeply engaged partnerships between UC Berkeley and the Richmond community. Haas Institute researcher **Nadia Barhoum** organized and led the event.

## MAY 2016

**May 5:** Director **john a. powell** spoke at **Humboldt State University** to both students and community members. Highlighting his research on inclusion in a presentation titled "Giving Birth to a Society in Which Everyone Belongs", john shared feasible steps audience members can take to form a space that doesn't discriminate and disadvantage the other.

**May 11:** The Haas Institute published its **spring 2016 newsletter.**

**May 13:** Research Assistant **Keith Welch** published a blog on the conflict that stems from denying refugees the chance to settle in the US. "The United Nations stated last year that more people have been forced from their homes because of war, persecution, or natural disaster than at any other time since the

organization began keeping detailed records."

**May 16-17:** The **Government Alliance for Race and Equity** participated in **"The Summit on Race and Equity: A Call to Government and Community."** Several presentations and workshops were facilitated by Nora Liu, Julie Nelson, and Wayne S. Marsh. The event sought to advance racial equity in the City of Boston.

## JUNE 2016

**Jun. 10:** The **Government Alliance on Race and Equity** sponsored **"A Conversation with Rinku Sen,"** author, activist and head of the racial justice organization Race Forward and publisher of Colorlines.com. The event was facilitated by Wayne S. Marsh.

**Jun. 12:** The first **Thinking Ahead** discussion series event featured civil rights lawyer **Steve Phillips** on a talk entitled, "Brown is the New White: How the Demographic Revolution Has Created a New American Majority." Emcees were Rev. Damita Davis-Howard of Oakland Community Organizations and **Mark Gomez** of Leap Forward.

## JULY 2016

**Jul. 13:** **john a. powell** spoke with **MPR News** host **Kerri Miller** about the evolving national conversation on race.

**Jul. 13:** Associate director **Stephen Menendian** discussed the science behind implicit cognition theory and implicit bias to explain how it differs from the traditional, intent-based discrimination model at **Northern CA Industry Liaison Group.**

## AUGUST 2016

**Aug. 2:** The **Africans Food Sovereignty Working Group's** August meeting showed a short clip from a lecture by **Dr. Brylyne Chisunge**, an internationally acclaimed expert on sustainable agriculture, facilitator of the Nigeria-South Africa Group on Agriculture and advocate for small-scale farmers in her native South Africa.

**Aug. 11:** The second **Thinking Ahead** discussion series event featured UC Berkeley economist and scholar **Paul Pierson** at the Citizen Engagement Lab in Oakland. Pierson presented on **"American Amnesia: How the War on Government Led Us to Forget What Made America Prosper."**



How do we think about, talk  
about, and give birth to a society  
in which everyone belongs?

*April 30-May 2, 2017*

## **OTHERING & BELONGING** **CONFERENCE**

We believe the lens of Othering and Belonging provides a critical perspective to our work of building a fair and inclusive society.

Our **Othering and Belonging Conference** is designed to bring together a wide range of diverse stakeholders in order to catalyze deeper synergy, spark new and innovative collaborations across disciplines, and propel even more impactful work.

We hope you will join us at this dynamic two and a half-day event where we hope to elevate and strengthen immediate and long-term research, advocacy, policy interventions, and cultural initiatives that generate more inclusive structures and narratives that challenge and interrupt Othering and actively promote the space of Belonging.

Join us on April 30-May 2, 2017  
in Oakland, California.

**Find out more about the conference and register at  
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