Understanding what happens at an unconscious level is critical in our efforts to promote social justice and inclusion.

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

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From Haas Institute Director

john a. powell

The Haas Institute is a special place with a unique mission. What distinguishes us is an emphasis on promoting inclusion holistically and focussing on making a difference. Together with our more than 90 affiliated faculty members from UC Berkeley—many leading scholars in their fields—the Haas Institute is bridging the academic and the real world with innovative and game-changing research.

I’m pleased to present our latest newsletter that provides updates on recent research, publications, and events that continue to propel our work forward. During the period this newsletter covers, our affiliated faculty members have consulted with heads of state such as President Obama and Pope Francis (see our faculty activities on p. 31), educated and informed stakeholders about the global food environment, conducted critical inquiry and scholarship about a world without systems that incarcerate individuals with disabilities, and championed LGBTQ citizenship and disability rights as civil rights.

Many threads of our work were woven into our first national Othering & Belonging Conference (see p. 8). The conference explored the ramifications and mechanisms of Othering and the vision of what a society with Belonging at its center can become. Over 650 attendees from many walks of life came together to learn, share, and celebrate through music, dance, scholarship, advocacy, and community. The conference’s agenda highlighted the work and efforts of our contemporaries making great strides toward inclusiveness in all its forms.

As we continue to grow and take on new challenges, our work will continue to be collaborative and innovative. Between these pages are our some of current efforts and recent accomplishments, as well as a glimpse into where our work will continue to take us.

john a. powell, Director of the Haas Institute for a Fair & Inclusive Society and Professor of Law, African American, and Ethnic Studies at UC Berkeley
Research Update
by Stephen Menedian, Assistant Director & Director of Research

IT HAS BEEN GRATIFYING to see all of the hard work our faculty and staff put in over the last few years bear fruit. It is our mission that our collective efforts will be greater than the sum of individual parts in order to advance our work of creating a global society in which everyone belongs. As our Director John Powell noted in our recently published Annual Report (see p. 6), 2015 is our most ambitious yet. I would like to preview for you some of our exciting plans and highlights from our research programs.

First, we are pleased to launch our first annual Inclusiveness Index Report later this year. Our Index ranks nation-states and all 50 states in the USA according to the degree of marginality experienced by communities, and the countervailing efforts to promote belonging. The Inclusiveness Index is unique among equity indices as its rankings do not depend on the size of a government budget or a nation’s or region’s economic conditions, but rather on policies and institutional arrangements that promote inclusion. The Inclusiveness Index may prove a powerful diagnostic instrument for measuring Othering.

Secondly, we are working with the Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy Research Cluster to publish a policy brief offering important insights into the persistence of extreme inequities in the US educational system. Similar to our 2014 policy brief from the Economic Disparities faculty cluster entitled “Responding To Rising Inequality,” (see p. 14), this brief will provide policy recommendations for both understanding and mitigating educational inequity.

Thirdly, the Government Alliance on Race and Equity, which launched in 2014, helmed by our Senior Fellow Julie Nelson, is a national network of government working to achieve racial equity. The Alliance works with a growing network of government jurisdictions that are at the forefront of work to achieve racial equity, offering pathways for new jurisdictions to begin doing racial equity work, and building local and regional collaborations that center community. The Alliance has been providing frequent trainings on racial equity and helping the network with work plans, strategic communications, data analysis, and resources across jurisdictions. The Alliance has a series of events planned over the next year with the California Endowment’s fourteen Building Healthy Communities sites to expand the influence of government in building equitable communities.

Finally, the Global Justice Program has been working on across a number of global issues. Program staff were key organizers of the new African Food Sovereignty Working Group at UC Berkeley, which explores the challenges and alternatives to food insecurity on the African continent, and, the program is set to release a report on the US Farm Bill, a thorough and comprehensive examination of the historical impact that legislation has had on marginalized communities, with a special focus on corporate power and the racialization of the US food system.

These pursuits are only a snapshot of the work that the Haas Institute is engaged in. As we continue to take on new challenges, we will continue to be collaborative and innovative in aligning our efforts with partners in order to realize a more inclusive world.
An Amicus Brief (friend of the court) was jointly filed by the Haas Institute and the Economic Policy Institute in the Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. the Inclusive Communities Project, a critical case the Supreme Court decided on in June that settled the scope of the nation’s Fair Housing Act.

In this landmark decision, the Court upheld a key legal protection in the 1968 Fair Housing Act (FHA) by deciding that the FHA prohibits housing policies that have a disparate impact on the basis of race, color, religion, religion, national origin, gender, disability, or family status. Disparate impact enables courts to invalidate discriminatory policies, regardless of whether such discrimination was intentional.

“This is a historic decision not only for housing, but for the future of our nation,” said Stephen Menendian, Assistant Director of the Haas Institute. “Housing is the lynchpin of opportunity and upward mobility. The Fair Housing Act is the central mechanism for promoting housing integration, which made this case so critical.”

Menendian was one of the lead authors in an amicus brief filed in support of The Inclusive Communities Project. Entitled the Brief of Housing Scholars, it was signed by 62 of the nation’s widely known and respected historians, social scientists, demographers, and housing scholars. The opinion of the Court, delivered by Justice Kennedy, directly cited the Brief of Housing Scholars in illustrating the role of public policy in fostering and maintaining segregated residential patterns.

While the Court acknowledged, “Much progress remains to be made in our continuing struggle against racial isolation,” the majority opinion, and the decision made in June affirmed, “the Fair Housing Act’s continuing role in moving the Nation toward a more integrated society.”

The Brief of Housing Scholars illuminated the legacy of public policy and private behavior responsible for fostering and magnifying racial segregation and the concentration of poverty in low-income neighborhoods over the last half-century. The Brief also demonstrated the impact of Texas’s administration of the Low Income Housing Tax Credit (LIHTC) program and its role in promoting and perpetuating segregation in Dallas County. Unique among the amicus briefs submitted in this case were a series of detailed maps that illustrated the dramatic seclusion of LIHTC units in racially segregated, non-white neighborhoods.

Residential racial segregation remains pervasive more than four decades after the passage of the Fair Housing Act and in many cases has intensified and deepened. By affirming the disparate impact standard, the Supreme Court has cleared a path for challenging the many exclusionary controls that sustain those patterns. As our nation continues to struggle with issues related to racial justice, from Ferguson to Charleston, this decision is an extremely significant step in advancing and protecting civil rights in a fair and inclusive society. EMILY STEIN
New Research On Gentrification In Richmond, California

A REPORT published in February 2015 by the Haas Institute entitled Belonging and Community Health in Richmond: An Analysis of Changing Demographics and Housing assesses the extent of gentrification in Richmond, California, by analyzing changes in the demographics and housing market between 2000–2013. The study found that gentrification is in its early and middle stages in some areas of Richmond, raising the susceptibility to displacement of vulnerable residents. The report also notes that the city’s African American population fell by 12,500 people between 2000 and 2013, while the Latino and Asian American populations increased and white populations have remained stable. Thirty-seven percent of total renters in Richmond earn less than $35,000 annually and spend more than 30% of their earnings on housing. Authors Eli Moore, Samir Gambhir, and Phuong Tseng concluded that “these facts raise concern that if regional trends of accelerating housing prices and persistent inequality hit Richmond, a substantial part of the city could be vulnerable.”

The Haas Institute released the report as part of a housing summit in Richmond on February 20 to present and discuss the research with community leaders, housing experts, city staff, advocates. City officials from the cities of Richmond and Oakland, as well as advocates and scholars from organizations such as Tenants Together, Causa Justa: Just Cause, The Safe Return Project, and UC Berkeley presented data, findings, and testimonies about the rapidly changing housing market and demographics of Richmond, as well as exploring local policy options. The meeting format, said Haas Institute researcher Eli Moore, was “designed to explore from the community angle as well as the policymaker perspective, what can be done to alleviate the housing burden by examining the historic role of public policy in perpetuating struggle for issues around housing such as segregation, tenants rights, gentrification. SARA GROSSMAN

A YEAR IN REVIEW

How We Connect the Dots

The Haas Institute operationalizes our vision by developing deeply collaborative, strategic, and impactful alliances with a diverse variety of stakeholders with multidisciplinary viewpoints to effectively cut across issues in order to make lasting impact. The Haas Institute’s first Annual Report is a snapshot of leading initiatives and areas of critical inquiry, faculty clusters, and key events from 2014. Last year the Institute began elevating its work to broader national audiences, deepening community alliances, engaging policymakers, and developing stronger partnerships with key stakeholders. It is in this way that we can leverage world-class research for real change. EBONYE GUSSINE WILKINS
RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Science of Equality: Addressing Implicit Bias, Racial Anxiety, and Stereotype Threat in Education and Health Care

The Perception Institute, the Haas Institute, and UCLA’s Center for Policing Equity collaborated on a report published in November 2014 that examines the great American racial conundrum: a majority of Americans believe racism is wrong, yet evidence that race often determines how people are treated is overwhelming. The report, co-authored by Haas Institute Director john a. powell, explores three phenomena that explain this outcome: implicit bias, racial anxiety, and stereotype threat.

Anchor Richmond: Community Opportunity and Anchor Strategies For the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay

A report released in October 2014 examines the potential impacts and opportunities of the slated-to-be-built Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay. The campus will be built in Richmond, CA, one of the region’s most economically distressed cities. Recommendations encourages UC Berkeley to partner with the city to ensure that Richmond families are not displaced.

Responding to Rising Inequality: Policy Recommendations to Ensure Opportunity For All

In September 2014, the Haas Institute published its first major policy brief synthesizing cutting-edge faculty research and directing it towards policymakers. Entitled Responding to Rising Inequality, the brief offers six accessible policy solutions to reduce wealth and income inequality, informed by research from the Haas Institute Economic Disparities Cluster’s renowned economists such as Hilary Hoynes, Emmanuel Saez, Robert Reich, Paul Pierson, David Card, Michael Reich, among others. Director john a. powell and Hilary Hoynes, Chair of the Economics Disparities cluster, met with members of Congress to discuss its policy proposals (see p. 14 for more info.).

To receive hard copies of any of our publications, or to join our mailing list to be notified when we release new research, please email haasinstitute@berkeley.edu.

Meet the Clusters

THE COURTYARD of UC Berkeley’s iconic landmark, the Campanile Tower, was the venue for a special event hosted by the Haas Institute in September 2014. More than 150 people gathered to learn more about the faculty cluster members who make up the core of the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society, and to celebrate its achievements over the past two years. The event, entitled Research to Impact, showcased the work of the Institute’s seven faculty clusters, along with the efforts of the Institute’s own research staff. The informative and interactive event featured a panel discussion, moderated by Director john a. powell, where cluster leaders discussed their contributions and ideas on advancing the Institute’s vision for a fair and inclusive society. The evening began with a welcome speech from UC Berkeley Chancellor Nicholas B. Dirks, who spoke about the importance of the Haas Institute’s efforts to translate Berkeley research from various fields into realizable policy recommendations that ordinary citizens can understand. Dirks pledged to support the Haas Institute’s efforts to ensure that the public university lives up to its stated mission. A brief video highlighting the guiding vision for the Institute was also premiered, followed by a Q&A session from the audience with faculty members. Find out more at haasinstitute.berkeley.edu.

EBONYE GUSSINE WILKINS
A CORE COMPONENT of the Haas Institute’s vision for advancing a more inclusive society centers around the framework of Othering and Belonging. The conceptual framework of “Othering” provides a way of understanding how groups are stratified by race, class, gender, sexuality, disability, and religion, among other social categories of difference.

Our first national conference on Othering & Belonging, held in Oakland on April 24–26, 2015, was organized with the goal to bring together people from diverse backgrounds to examine what we mean by Othering and to discern the possibilities for generating more inclusive structures, narratives, and identities that promote genuine Belonging.

The sold-out conference drew over 650 people from a wide range of backgrounds including academia, community organizations, labor, mental health, religious and faith institutions, philanthropy, and arts and culture. Some of the featured speakers included bell hooks, Andrew Solomon, Ai-jen Poo, Charles Blow, Joanna Macy, and Naomi Klein, while performing artists and cultural changemakers such as Guillermo Gómez-Peña, the AXIS Dance Company, and the Oakland-based youth group Destiny Jr. Company gave keynote performances that artistically expanded upon concepts of inclusion and exclusion.

The agenda was designed so that a specific arc of experience would unfold over the weekend. Framing the agenda with a “heart, head, hands” concept, the content was curated and the selection and timing of speakers was crafted in a particular order to express our emotions (heart), stimulate our intellect (head), and give us examples and strategies for advancing change (hands).

Ten conference break-out workshops were held that facilitated multidisciplinary conversations in smaller spaces, and featured panelists and moderators at the forefront of change and inclusion in their fields.

Attendee reviews from the conference revealed an overwhelmingly positive response to the first Othering and Belonging Conference, and many testimonials pointed to the success of one of the primary conference goals: to organize an experiential event that models and advances Belonging, and where, as one person remarked: the word “other” was replaced with “one another.”

EDYNE GUSSINE WILKINS

The website OtheringandBelonging.org has a full conference report, attendee testimonials, all our conference videos and photos, and a blog with perspectives on othering and belonging with Lynn Manning, Alicia Garza of BlackLivesMatter, and more.

Bell hooks in conversation with John A. Powell

[Ed. Note: Shortly before publishing, we were deeply saddened to learn of the death of Lynn Manning, an award-winning poet, playwright, and actor. We were so honored to host Lynn as our keynote performer during the Othering & Belonging Conference. Lynn passed away in Los Angeles on August 3 at age 60.]
Clockwise from top left: Oakland-based Destiny Jr. Company's performance; Joanna Macy giving a keynote address; Conference volunteers (l-r) Phuong Tseng, Laura Pateau, and Maritza Perez; Panelists from BlackLivesMatter Workshop (l-r) Na’Irah Nasir, Alana Banks, Dorsey Nunn, Alicia Garza; Author and journalist Naomi Klein giving the closing keynote on Sunday afternoon; Author Andrew Solomon during his opening keynote on Friday evening; Conference emcee/host Shakti Butler; Ai-jen Poo during her keynote address; and, (l-r) Michael Omi with NY Times Columnist Charles Blow during their Saturday evening dialogue.
IN COLLABORATION with the Berkeley Food Institute, the Haas Institute convened a workshop at UC Berkeley on May 29, 2015 to discuss the future of the Supplemental Nutritional Assistance Program, known as SNAP.

Attendees and speakers included scholars and students, federal and state agency representatives, SNAP program administrators, and community representatives to share research, challenges, and recommendations for the program moving forward.

SNAP is the federal anti-hunger program meant to address lack of food in American households. Long referred to colloquially as “food stamps,” SNAP provides benefits, at an average of $125 a month, to low-income households, or others needing special food assistance such as people with disabilities or vulnerable elderly populations.

In the 2014 passage of the US Farm Bill, Congress made $9 billion in cuts to the SNAP program over the next 5 years. SNAP is also losing $11 billion in stimulus funds over the next three years, making many food pantries, community-based organizations, and most importantly, SNAP recipients anxious about an uncertain future that holds further food insecurity.

Hilary Hoynes, UC Berkeley professor and Chair of the Haas Institute’s Economic Disparities cluster, opened the day’s discussion by explaining “SNAP is the fundamental safety net in the US right now.” The program’s need-based eligibility requirements allow it to play an automatic income stabilizer role during times of economic hardship for low-income communities.

Participants discussed the SNAP program’s two primary goals: to reduce food insecurity and hunger; and to establish and maintain adequate nutrition levels.

In 2012 alone, the SNAP program lifted 5 million Americans, including 2.2 million children, out of poverty. Participation in the program for a period of 6 months has shown to decrease food insecurity by up to 10%, and every $1 in SNAP benefits generates $1.80 in economic activity.

The conversation also included a discussion of SNAP education and the myriad ways agencies and community organizations are raising community awareness about its benefits. The Oregon Food Bank uses FEAST, “a community organizing process that allows participants to engage in an informed and facilitated discussion about food, education, and agriculture in their community.” Groceryships, a 6-month scholarship program, provides families with income supplementation, comprehensive nutrition education, and community support spaces.

As Andy Riesenberg of the USDA shared ways that SNAP can improve nutrition and health, another conversation thread of interest was the idea of a SNAP-to-farm connection. Representatives from the Ecology Center, based in Berkeley, highlighted the fact that many workers in the farm economy themselves are SNAP-eligible. Only 0.038% of SNAP dollars in California are used at farmers markets. As more farmers markets begin to accept SNAP benefits, there lies tremendous potential for the use of incentives to encourage SNAP participants to simultaneously consume fresh produce and support their local farm economy. This was a key highlight of the workshop—a potential future where the same SNAP dollar can be put to use towards multiple aims, increasing social utility across the board for families and farmers alike. KEMI BELLO
A CONVENING OF social scientists, civil rights attorneys, scholars, and community activists was held in Oakland in early June to discuss the role of implicit bias and other topics covered by mind science research and their application in the law and justice system. The event, organized by the Equal Justice Society, the Haas Institute, the National Center for Youth Law, and the Perception Institute, was a day-long series of panels that covered topics from the #BlackLivesMatter movement to disability rights, and how these bodies are treated differently due to implicit and explicit biases.

While news coverage about black lives has been substantial, media coverage about disabilities has been largely absent from public discourse. Robert Borrelle of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund noted that disabled bodies are often seen as “objects to be studied” and there is a hierarchy in how these bodies are treated within the larger society, as only certain visible disabilities are seen as needing or deserving of “support, services, and resources.”

Borrelle emphasized that, traditionally, society views a disability as a problem with the individual, rather than the problem with how the individual is seen by society.

The effects of implicit bias stretch beyond race and disability. Priscilla Océn of Loyola Law School noted that there is also an intersection of race and gender, and that children of color, especially girls, have multiple identities that are greater than the sum of their parts. Girls of color can also be more vulnerable to the effects of implicit bias, noting the names usually remembered as victims of police violence have typically been black males, even though many women, girls, and trans persons are also killed by violence.

Reverend Michael McBride of PICO California noted, “Implicit bias is costing us lives and millions of dollars.”

Jeremy Adam Smith of UC Berkeley’s Greater Good Science Center explained that while implicit bias is a part of who you are, many people consciously embrace and defend explicit bias. Science can also help turn implicit bias into explicit bias by use of turning averages into generalization, and generalizations into stereotypes, essentially extrapolating explicit bias from incomplete research. Since explicit bias and implicit bias can often contradict each other, we must be mindful of judgment as it influences how we interact with others in the world.

In addition to addressing how implicit bias can frame the experiences of people of color, the panelists discussed the root of racial anxiety, the expression of bias and anxiety by youth and adults-alike, as well as solutions to overcoming these challenges. Beginning with school age children, Na’ilah Suad Nasir, Haas Institute Faculty Cluster Member and Professor at UC Berkeley, showed how students came to understand academic excellence through a racially-biased framework. As students became aware of social attitudes about the relationship between student aptitude and race, their behavior conformed to expectations.

Panelists, Linda Tropp, Professor of Psychology from the University of Massachusetts Amherst and Rudolph Mendoza-Denton, UC Berkeley Professor of Psychology, presented their study of biological markers for anxiety during controlled inter-racial encounters. Their findings revealed that increasing inter-group contact may correlate to decreasing racial anxiety.

The take-away is clear: implicit bias is a natural, unavoidable part of our brain function; however, through acknowledgement and understanding of its presence, implicit bias can be distinguished from prejudice.

As closing commentator and Haas Institute Director, john powell, explained, implicit bias, itself, is not static. The attitudes and stereotypes we have learned through media and learned experiences are social in nature and likely to evolve. Implicit bias is experienced on an individual basis, but also influences society on an institutional basis. We cannot change implicit bias, but we can change the outcome of it. Daring to engage in that social experiment is key and willingness to address systemic inequities could lead to a very different, truly inclusive world. EMILY STEIN AND EBONYE GUSSINE WILKINS
“RACE IS A LITTLE like gravity. We’re all affected by it, but we don't really understand it,” John A. Powell said in a series of speaking engagements and interviews this year related to race and the legacy of racialization. “Race is incredibly complicated and even the experts struggle with it.”

**BIONEERS**

In October 2014, Powell spoke to over 1,500 people at the popular eco-conference Bioneers held in Marin County, California, where he discussed how our fear of the “Other” can magnify the many challenges humanity is already facing, including environmental degradation and social unrest. “The earth may survive,” Powell said. “But we, as well as many other life forms, may not unless we care in a very different way.”

Powell discussed the “circle of human concern,” a metaphorical notion meant to describe the degrees of belongingness and inclusion a society extends to its members. This circle, Powell noted, has historically excluded many members of society, including women, African Americans, and immigrants.

Powell also warned of one of the major threats facing a fully inclusive society: corporations, who are quickly gaining rights and powers previously unimaginable to nonhuman entities, such as religious freedoms and freedom of speech.

“What I assert is that when we take the circle of concern and put not people, not life, not the earth at the middle, but corporations...then all life forms are pushed outside the circle,” he said.

“IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR US to merely be connected within society,” Powell said. “We must actually look at the nature of that connection—is it respectful, is it loving?”

“That's the challenge we face today.” Powell discussed the role of religion, faith, and spirituality in how members of society relate to each other, saying that spiritualism in the United States is often organized around the teachings of Descartes, which demand “extreme possessive individualism.” “We've ignored the question of ‘Who are we collectively?’”

He called on the audience to work towards what the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. called the “beloved community,” consisting of loving connections rather than dominating ones.

“How do we actually embrace each other?” Powell asked. “And, how do we build institutions and structures that support that?”

**KPFA FREE SPEECH RADIO**

One month later Powell gave an hour-long talk at St. John’s Presbyterian Church in Berkeley. About 175 people came to hear John talk as part of a lecture series hosted by Bay Area radio station KPFA 94.1, whose producers invited John to craft a talk and engage in a community conversation they entitled “Ferguson, and All the Fergusons.”

Powell led the audience through a complex history of the construction of race in America, synthesizing history, psychology, racial theory, and US politics to offer a difficult portrait of American society. Race, Powell said, is both culturally malleable and socially constructed. He led listeners on a journey through American race relations before the Civil Rights Movement, before Jim Crow, and even before America’s
founding, instead rooting our racial history with the early American colonies, specifically with Bacon’s Rebellion, a revolt led by white indentured servants who desired a greater portion of the colonial pie.

Throughout the evening powell declined to analyze racism as the fault of individuals or even individual groups. “It’s about institutions,” he said, offering numerous examples of the times when American institutions were founded on, promoted, or enforced racist polices.

Fundamentally, he concluded, while American society is fraught with domination and exclusion, America must expand conceptions of “who belongs” in society and “who is part of the circle of human concern in order to achieve our vision.” John’s speech was followed by a question and answer session facilitated by KPFA radio host Brian Edwards-Tiekert.

**ON BEING INTERVIEW**

The award-winning journalist Krista Tippett invited john to be her guest on her long-format program OnBeing, which covers a broad range of topics with guests such as prominent scientists, theologians, poets, artists, and activists. Krista Tippett was awarded a National Humanities Medal from President Obama for her work including OnBeing.

Krista began her conversation with john asking him to discuss the need for love and belonging to be “infectious,” and in “opposition to hate and mistrust.” powell commented, “Right now we don’t have confidence in love. We have much more confidence in anger and hate. We believe anger is powerful. We believe hate is powerful.” powell added that in a healthy society, “we would actually care for each other, not by just giving money, but by being in relationship with each other, by actually sharing each other’s suffering.”

powell also discussed integration in a modern, interracial world, noting that early segregationists were scared of integration because black and white children might “get to know each other and marry each other.” The segregationists were right, powell said—if you bring people together, they will actually learn to love each other.

“So part of it is the fear, that we are holding onto something, and the Other is going to change it,” powell said. “But if we do it right, we’re actually going to create a bigger we, a different we.”

Recorded in March 2015, powell’s OnBeing talk was originally slated for release in the fall. But following the murders in Charleston of nine black parishioners in a historic black church, Ms. Tippett—who has interviewed many public luminaries such as Desmond Tutu, Thich Nhat Hanh, Mary Oliver, Eve Ensler, and John Lewis—decided to move the release to an earlier date.

She noted in an email to us, “With the increased public focus on race and all the complexity and anxiety that goes with the topic of race, I believe John powell’s wise, refreshing, and transformative perspective is critically needed right now. This is one of the most important conversations we’ve aired on this show.”

**A YEAR IN REVIEW**

powell wrapped up an intensive year of interviews and public speaking engagements with an address at the Haas Institute’s Othering & Belonging national conference in April (see p. 8). powell touched upon some of the major themes he had been expounding upon throughout the preceding year, including the need for inclusion and belonging, the importance of understanding of implicit bias and mind science, the repurposement of government for the elites.

“We have great separations, separations from the Other, from ourselves, from the environment,” powell said at Othering and Belonging. “The reality is that we are not separated, we are deeply connected.

“This conference,” powell noted at the conclusion of his speech, “is about reclaiming and living and practicing belonging. Where no one is outside the circle of human concern.”

SARA GROSSMAN

Videos of john powell’s speeches can be found at youtube.com/haasinstitute.
UC BERKELEY PROFESSORS joined national policymakers on September 10, 2014 at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington DC to discuss solutions for reducing income and wealth inequality in America.

These solutions, outlined in a policy brief published by the Haas Institute entitled The Path to a Fair and Inclusive Society: Policies that Address Rising Inequality, were written from a synthesis of research from the Haas Institute faculty in the Economic Disparities cluster, among them renowned scholars such as Hilary Hoynes, Robert Reich, Emmanuel Saez, Paul Pierson, Michael Reich, and David Card.

Promising a proven roadmap to end inequality, the brief highlights six prescriptions: increasing the minimum wage; expanding the Earned Income Tax; building assets for working families; investing in early childhood education; making the tax code more progressive; and ending racial segregation.

California Congresswoman Barbara Lee and Congressman Steven Horsford each provided introductory remarks supporting the findings of the report. Congresswoman Lee noted that the Haas Institute's brief “shows just how entrenched the barriers to economic opportunity have become over the last several decades,” she said. “It should really be required reading for every member of Congress.”

Haas Institute Director John A. Powell shared with the crowd of almost 200 people gathered about the mission of the Haas Institute that is essentially about doing “research that actually affects real people.”

“The idea of equality is enshrined in the US Declaration of Independence,” Powell said. “If we continue down this road, it’s not just hurting blacks, Latinos, Asians, Native Americans, or poor whites, it’s hurting the entire country,” Powell said. “It’s undermining our democracy, undermining our economy, and undermining American ideals.”

UC Berkeley Economics Professor Hilary Hoynes, chair of the Economic Disparities cluster, compared US policies to other countries, noting that policies that are successful at reducing poverty can be identified. As well, Hoynes noted, success current policies and programs in the US can also be improved upon or expanded.

Professor Michael Reich, an expert on minimum wage and then Director of the UC Berkeley’s Institute for Research on Labor and Employment, highlighted the reasons why wages have stop growing for those at the bottom. It’s “the decline in unionization, decline in the minimum wage, and tax cuts at top,” Reich said. “Today, low-wage workers in fields like fast food have more education and are likely to be older. The minimum wage used to go up at the same rate as median wages, but that is not longer the case.”

Speaking of the impact of race on economic inequality, Powell pointed to the legacy of residential segregation and the disproportionate impact of the recent housing and credit crises on black and Latino communities.

Following the public event, Hoynes and Powell traveled to Capitol Hill to present the brief and its findings to three Congressional offices: Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Senator Harry Reid, and Congressman G.K. Butterfield.

The brief and full media coverage on it can be found at diversity.berkeley.edu/inequalitypolicy-brief. RASHEED SHABAZZ & RACHELLE GALLOWAY-POPOTAS
To begin, talk a bit about your new book. The plight of religious minorities in the Middle East is often attributed to the failure of secularism to take root in the region. My book, *Religious Difference in a Secular Age*, challenges this assessment by examining four cornerstones of secularism—political and civil equality, minority rights, religious freedom, and the legal separation of private and public domains. We tend to think that secularism is a solution to the problem of religious strife, but my work shows that the modern secular state has in fact exacerbated existing religious differences, polarized religious identity, and heightened religious inequalities. So instead of thinking about secularism as a solution to communal strife, I propose that we need to think about it as part of the problem.

Can you give an example of how secularism is the problem? Well, one example is that under modern secularism, religion comes to be privatized and relegated to the domain of private law which is supposed to govern religious matters. What's interesting is that in addition to religion being relegated to the private sphere, the family and sexuality are also relegated to this sphere under modern secular governance. This tends to create a pernicious symbiosis between them that is historically unique. In my book I show that historically, religious identity and doctrine were not so tightly bound up with issues of family and sexual governance as they are now; that, with the secularization of modern societies, as religion lost power in other domains of social and political life, its authority came to be telescoped in the domain of family and sexuality. This entwinement of issues of sexuality, religion and family is manifest in global struggles over gay marriage, abortion, and family values. We tend to think that the reason these debates take religious overtones is because family and sexuality are essentially moral issues. But historically, religious morality was far more broader and copious than what it has become in the current period. It is the process of secularization, I suggest, that has created a noxious cathexis between religion and sexuality.
The battle between the religious and the secular in our present world often entails questions of sexuality, such as the struggle over gay marriage, abortion, or family values. We tend to think that the reason these debates take religious overtones is because family and sexuality are deeply moral issues. In fact, the investment of religion in domains of sexuality and family is a modern phenomenon, a result of the simultaneous privatization of religion, family and sexuality under secularism.

If religion is now more privatized, how is religion different than when it was more public and in the sphere of the state?

In the premodern period, religion was the epistemological condition for the conduct of all of life. We tend to think that religion is its own thing now, but this was not the case for medieval Christians, Jews, or Muslims—religion was much more integrated with all the spheres of life such that it was impossible to separate them conceptually or practically. But when religion is relegated to its own sphere, something people only do on Sunday, in the privacy of their homes or places of worship, then it becomes something else, it doesn’t remain what it was before.

Tell us a bit about your field research.

I did field work with legal aid organizations in Egypt that champion the rights of religious minorities as well as with non-Muslim minority rights groups—particularly Coptic Orthodox Christians and Bahais. The legal aid organizations use existing Egyptian and international laws to challenge the unequal treatment of non-Muslims in courts. Aside from this field work, I also studied the fate of religious minorities in European courts in the contemporary period. As a result, a large chunk of my book is a comparative study of legal judgments in European and Egyptian courts regarding religious minorities. This study shows that, contrary to our expectations, the kinds of restrictions placed on the public expression of religious symbols of minorities in Europe and Egypt are very similar as are the secular legal arguments used to justify these restrictions.

When you said that we think secularization is the answer to many challenges—what is the historical basis for thinking that secularization is the answer?

Secularism's foundational promise is to keep religion and state apart, and to make the religious identity of citizens irrelevant to the distribution of political and civil rights. This is a unique political development in world history, one that makes the ideal of religious equality (if not its realization) a global norm. As a result, we tend to think that secularism is an antidote to the problem of religious strife. In the last twenty years, this understanding of secularism as the separation of religion and state has been fundamentally challenged. Scholars like myself and others argue that the modern secular state does not simply retreat from religion but has become deeply involved in its management and reorganization, fundamentally transforming what it means to be religious today. Much of this new scholarship tracks the cultural and political life of this double movement: the ideological promise of secularism to keep religion and politics apart on the one hand, and the involvement of the modern state in the production of religion on the other.

Do you have any vision for the future that might be more inclusive than the secular system we have now?

For a long time, modern social theory prophesied that with the institutionalization of the secular state, religious conflict would decline and, indeed, religion itself would wither away. Clearly this is not the case if we look at events of the last half-century. So the question before us as researchers is how to explain the social conditions that have contributed to the exacerbation of communal conflict, key among these the secular institutions, ideologies and practices that were supposed to solve the problem but have in fact made things worse. As for a vision of the future: I believe that before we begin to think of alternatives, we need to first understand how secularism has contributed to the exacerbation of religious violence. For most people, including academics, this is a novel idea. So before we reach for solutions, we need to better grasp what the problem is.
HOW UNDERSTANDING WHAT HAPPENS AT AN UNCONSCIOUS LEVEL CAN FURTHER OUR EFFORTS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

By Sara Grossman

AS AN UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT, Lanre Akinsiku was regularly pulled over while navigating the narrow city streets near University of California, Berkeley in his hulking ’92 Ford Taurus. “Often I’d see a squad car following me and just pull to the curb to get it over with,” Akinsiku recalled in an essay he penned in 2014 for Gawker. “An officer would walk up to the car, one hand on that little button that secures the strap over his gun.”

Akinsiku’s natural instincts kicked in—he wanted to protest, to argue with the officer that he had done nothing wrong and didn’t deserve to be stopped. But, he wrote, “black boys are supposed to know better.”

Instead, he would silently slip his Berkeley student ID over his driver’s license. “The officer’s eyes would light up. ‘Not your college ID,’ he would say, amused. Then he would go back to his car and dally a little, pretending to check on things, before handing my license back with some mock-heroic advice about staying out of trouble,” Akinsiku wrote.

Akinsiku’s repeated encounters with police are not unique. Indeed, national statistics reveal that a black driver is about 31 percent more likely to be stopped by a police officer than a white driver, and about 23 percent more likely than a Latino one. Perhaps most concerning is that nearly five percent of blacks were given no reason for why they were pulled over, compared with less than three percent of whites.

Akinsiku’s experience may be yet another case of overt,

(UN)CONSCIOUS
explicit racism, where a police officer actively and insidiously decides to pull over a driver because he is black.

Yet, at a time when blatant bigotry is generally condemned in society, this could also be a case study in implicit bias, an increasingly recognized phenomena in our supposedly “post-racial” society, where race is often treated as an irrelevant factor in everything from social interactions to institutional inequality.

Events last summer—with the police killing of an unarmed black teenager, Michael Brown, in Ferguson and the choking death of Eric Garner at the hands of New York City police—ripped that illusion apart, revealing a truth most black Americans already know: race is still a difficult and serious dividing line in America.

Divisions along racial lines are evident in both attitudes towards race in America and broad social outcomes. In a society where blacks are incarcerated at almost six times the rate of whites, and where black and Latino men are handed significantly harsher sentences than white defendants when committing the same crime, and where nearly eight in ten black Americans say that there is still “a lot” of work to be done on race relations, compared to less than half of whites, it is clear that we are no more “post-racial” than we were in 1965.

Indeed, some race-based inequalities have either stayed the same or worsened since the Civil Rights era. According to a 2013 Pew Research Center report, “when it comes to household income and household wealth, the gaps between blacks and whites have widened ... On other measures, including poverty and homeownership rates, the gaps are roughly the same as they were 40 years ago.”

For many Americans, the thought that our nation hasn’t made progress on racial issues since the 1960s seems unimaginable. And yet, significant discrepancies remain. So why, when our nation’s public schools are now majority-minority, and our Congress is the most diverse in history (although still not reflective of the demographic makeup of the nation), do these inequalities still exist?

As Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote in The Atlantic last year, racism today is more “elegant” than the explicit and oafish claims of white supremacy that were common in earlier decades. “Elegant racism is invisible, supple, and enduring. It disguises itself in the national vocabulary, avoids epithets and didacticism,” Coates wrote. “Grace is the singular marker of elegant racism. One should never underestimate the touch needed to, say, injure the voting rights of black people without ever saying their names.”

Implicit bias and racial anxiety are increasingly recognized by both academics and policymakers as significant contributors to this sort of “elegant racism” and its continuation of racial disparities. Implicit bias, or deeply ingrained stereotypes that influence an individual’s decision-making without conscious awareness or acknowledgment, plays a role in both the most basic of social interactions and in institutional treatment of entire groups. Perhaps, for example, a cab driver makes an unconscious snap decision to pick up the white woman on the side of the road, rather than the black man standing next to her. This bias may be so deeply ingrained in his psyche that he doesn’t even recognize the cause of his own actions.

According to the recent Science of Equality report published by the Perception Institute, the Center for Policing Equity, and the Haas Institute, “implicit biases affect behavior and are far more predictive than self-reported racial attitudes.” These biases have far-reaching implications, ranging from how many call-backs a black job candidate will receive, to the speed and likelihood that an unarmed person of color is shot by law enforcement.

“These anxieties and biases are fed to us by the frequent negative association with blacks—words and images that strengthen these unconscious but impactful associations,” wrote Haas Institute Director John a. powell in an essay for The Huffington Post. “It is on account of these pervasive, culturally embedded associations that so many black people in this country are not only viewed with suspicion, but also as criminals,
regardless of who they are.”

These biases are not exclusive to overt racists—they are pervasive and inescapable. A well-known bias test called the Implicit Association Test indirectly measures biases by asking people to perform a series of matching tasks under pressure of time and stress. The IAT, which by now has been taken by millions of people, has determined that more than 80 percent of white test-takers show a favorable bias towards white skin, implicitly associating lighter individuals with positive ideas and descriptors. About half of blacks also show some bias towards whites, demonstrating that they too are subject to the unconscious prejudices of society. It is perhaps no surprise then, that when police officers face split-second decisions on how to handle a difficult and potentially dangerous situation, the difference between pulling the trigger or holding back might very well be a difference of skin tone.

Similarly, racial anxiety, or a rooted sense of unease about racial difference, is an important contributor to heightened racial tensions. Both people of color and white individuals can experience this anxiety, as the former may be anxious that they will be the target of discrimination or hostility and the latter may be concerned with the prospect of being perceived as racist and therefore met with wariness.

The effects of implicit biases and racialized anxiety go beyond isolated incidents of uncomfortable interpersonal interactions or even the grossly unfair delivery of criminal justice, they seep into every crevice of society. These phenomena may best be illustrated in the sphere of primary education—an institution that affects nearly every member of American society, regardless of class or ethnic background.

IN ITS WATERSHED 1954 DECISION, Brown v. Board of Education, the US Supreme Court affirmed the importance of integrated education on a student’s future opportunity and success. “Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal,” wrote Chief Justice Earl Warren in the decision, which the justices came to unanimously after hearing a slew of stunning evidence demonstrating the toxic effects of racism and racial bias upon the nation’s segregated school children.

One of the most unsettling pieces of evidence were the results of the “doll test,” conducted by Kenneth Clark and Mami Phipps Clark. In the study, children were shown two dolls, nearly identical in features, except one was light skinned and light haired and the other brown skinned and dark haired. The experiment found that across the board, children of all races chose the light skinned doll when asked which was more beautiful, nicer, or better to play with. The study exemplified the pernicious effects of racism and segregation. The justices agreed with the plaintiffs in Brown that a system that promoted such negative outcomes was unsustainable, unjust, and unfit for American society.

As with the case of the taxi driver, it is likely that these young children didn’t actively or consciously think through their choice—rather, they implicitly decided which doll was better simply because of their internalized biases. The subjects in this study, of course, were mere children, suggesting that these same biases were likely more ingrained in adults.

Six decades after the Brown v. Board decision, racial disparities and racialized outcomes in education remain, the product of continued systemic difficulties related to everything from de facto segregated housing to racial anxiety amongst educators and students. In 2012, for example, Asian and white students graduated at a rate of 88% and 86% respectively, while graduation rates remained stalled at 69% for black students and 73% for Latino children. While only 10% of white males have repeated a grade, more than a quarter of black boys have. Discipline rates are similarly stark. Nearly half of all African American males were suspended, compared to one-third of Latino males and one-fifth of white boys. More often than not, these students of color were suspended for minor infractions, not for particularly violent or aggressive behavior, while their white peers were more likely to receive less severe punish-
ments for similarly acting out.

A 2012 report from the American Psychological Association (APA), which aggregated dozens of studies on education and race, cited implicit bias and racial anxiety, along with larger structural social problems, as key contributors to these outcomes. “Discrimination may reflect hostility or patronizing attitudes, expressed in explicit or implicit forms and can be experienced as micro-aggressions or as more overt forms of aggression,” the authors wrote. “[A]ll of which stigmatize these ethnic and racial minority groups and contribute to educational disparities.”

It is unlikely that teachers and administrators are explicitly looking to harm or attack students of color. Like all of us, they are merely part of a society that has perpetuated the myth that dark skinned individuals are more likely to exhibit criminal behavior or be less intelligent. Like most of us, they soak up the biases of a skewed society, its own racism hardened through generations of de jure and later de facto inequality and injustice.

The implications of this sort of non-overt discrimination are deeply consequential, going beyond classroom interactions or even academic outcomes. Students of color who exist in reduced opportunity schools are set up for a future of comparable treatment, including drastically limited job opportunities from employers who, just like school teachers, are subject to socially-produced and implicit biases. Too often, employers mindlessly disregard candidates of color, continuing a cycle of bias that began years before. One well-known study, for example, found that resumes with “white-sounding” names were significantly more likely to receive call-backs from employers than resumes with “black-sounding” names but identical qualifications. Even without human interaction, racial biases continue to manifest.

The APA report laid out the stakes clearly for the continuance of such gaping disparities. “Unless more ethnic and racial minority young people achieve higher levels of education and training, the US society in general will fail to cultivate the human talent that is essential for the health and success of our nation,” it warned.

In 2010, researchers re-performed the famous doll test, seeking to discover if implicit racial attitudes had shifted since 1954. It had been nearly 60 years since Brown v. Board of Education and about 50 years since the March on Washington—things had improved, most agreed.

The results of the study, however, showed that white children demonstrated the same high levels of white bias as their peers in prior generations. Even black children showed some white bias, albeit less than their white peers. Insidious implicit biases were still present and still being acted upon. Like generations of children before them, today’s kids are not immune to the prejudices of their friends and parents, civic leaders, teachers, and heroes.

How then can we move towards a more empathetic, more equitable, and more inclusive United States? How do we build one that is free of racial disparities in judicial sentencing, in education, in health, in policing, and in every area of society?

**THE RESEARCH IS CLEAR:** What happens at the unconscious level cannot be ignored. Mind science research has demonstrated that implicit biases are at work in all human interaction, and that many of the racial disparities we continue to see today, both systemic and interpersonal, have some basis in internalized preferences. The police officer who shoots the unarmed black man, the cab driver who picks up the white woman rather than person of color standing nearby, or the teacher that views the young African American kid as aggressive rather than immature, are all based on these pervasive and sticky implicit biases.

As we begin to unlock what’s happening at the unconscious level, structural change and cultural change must occur in tandem for radical change to be possible. “We need to be fortified with a new racial language,” John Powell wrote. “The choice is to decode structural racialization and implicit bias or be consigned to a confused post-racial world with no translation or escape.”
ON AUGUST 10, 2014, PEOPLE GATHERED on Florissant Road in Ferguson, Missouri to protest a police officer’s killing of unarmed black teenager Michael Brown and to demand to the nation that “Black Lives Matter.” Following the lead of these protestors, people of every race, age, and economic background have marched in cities nationwide, many in the presence of heavily-armed law enforcement. This scale of movement and mobilization, over such a sustained period of time, has not been seen since the 1960s when a generation mobilized over civil rights and anti-war sentiment.

The protests emerging out of Ferguson turned the spotlight on years of police violence against people of color, as well as a lack of accountability when it comes to law enforcement. Images of officers armed with military-grade equipment peering through scopes while mounted on top of army vehicles confronting protestors did not go unnoticed, even by nations often criticized by the United States for human rights violations. The Russian Foreign Ministry released a statement stating that the United States should “focus on their large-scale internal...
Another issue magnified by police killings which stymies reform efforts, are the conflicts of interests that exist between prosecutors and police officers when an officer is being investigated for possible illegal behavior.

problems in the sphere of upholding human rights” instead of foreign affairs.

Many more unarmed people of color have been killed since Michael Brown, illuminating a disturbing mural of state oppression. From Ferguson to Charleston, Cleveland to Baltimore, these instances of police violence can no longer be viewed as isolated cases or defended as the conduct of “bad apples”—but as part of the American fabric.

Indeed, a century ago, civil rights advocates focused much of their attention on anti-lynching campaigns that had similar aims. The NAACP was formed in 1909, and by 1916, had formed a special committee to educate the public on the extent of the violence. In many of the suits brought under federal law, local law enforcement officials were accused of participating in or sanctioning extra-legal violence. The death of Emmitt Till and the violence against civil rights protesters televised to Northern audiences is often cited as helping sway public opinion against segregationists.

In response to the death of Freddie Gray in Baltimore, President Obama reminded the nation that excessive and disproportionate violence against communities of color “has been going on for a long time.” He stated that “This is not new, and we shouldn't pretend that it's new.” The President advanced a number of policy recommendations, including implementing new technologies and improving police-community relations.

A number of 2016 presidential contenders have similarly responded to the concerns raised by the movement. For example, in her first policy speech as a 2016 presidential candidate on April 29, Democratic candidate Hillary Clinton called for fundamental criminal justice reform, and for the end of the era of “mass incarceration.”

Yet, the policy challenges are enormous and simple solutions are not easily won. As the largest “prison nation” on the planet, ending the American system of mass incarceration requires more than federal, state, and local consensus, but victory over entrenched interests.

Just as gun control advocates have repeatedly encountered, democratic majorities are insufficient to carry out needed policy reforms. Police and correctional officers unions, corporate owners of private prisons, politicians, and local legislators—whose communities benefit politically and economically from mass incarceration—constitute a powerful “predatory formation,” in the words of author Saskia Sassen, that exploit too many communities of color and resist change.

As revealed by the US Department of Justice’s Ferguson report, the incentives of local municipal governance whose councils and legislative bodies have increasingly sought to fill gaps in state support with fees and fines perpetuate a vicious cycle of dispossession and economic hardship. The Justice Department’s report highlighted the illegal and unethical practices of the entire municipality of Ferguson, but civil rights activists and advocates have long understood this is not an issue unique to Ferguson. Nationwide, others are now becoming awakened to this reality.

Another issue magnified by police killings which stymies reform efforts are the conflicts of interests that exist between prosecutors and police officers when an officer is being investigated for possible illegal behavior. Officers work in conjunction with prosecutors when investigating and charging someone accused of a crime. In court, strong relationships may be forged after countless adversarial hearings when these two entities collaborate to meet a high burden of proof. Where the actions of these officers become not only egregious but potentially illegal, the bonds created may interfere with the ability of the prosecutor to provide an unbiased investigation. A disinterested special prosecutor or governmental entity could provide the appropriate check and be appointed to investigate and bring forth charges when appropriate. Any hearing should be open to the public so that there is no question regarding what evidence was used to render a decision to possibly prosecute. As a possible model,
Governor Brown of California recently signed a law barring grand juries on cases where deadly or excessive force by police has been used (the same law extends the right for the public to record audio or video of police officers).

Beyond formal criminal prosecution, municipalities must invest their resources to promote the existence of citizen police review boards. Residents must have faith in having the option to file complaints when there is belief that their rights have been violated. People will feel more inclined to file a complaint if there are assurances that any extra-legal findings will result in appropriate action. Those who file should feel that there would be no retribution for making the claim. The review boards must have the power to subpoena and reprimand when there is cause. Municipalities need to promote these review boards and provide assurances that retribution will not be taken against those who file formal complaints.

**THE NATION NOW MUST EXAMINE** whether there will be an opportunity to openly examine how the Other is policed before a reflexive backlash attempts to silence the expressions of those who condemn violent confrontations by law enforcement. For instance, NYPD officers turned their backs on their Mayor Bill De Blasio for expressing trepidation regarding how law enforcement might treat his biracial son. Instead of acknowledging a glaring problem, Ed Mullins, head of the NYPD’s Sergeants Benevolent Association stated “if this individual who’s in charge of running this city doesn’t have faith in his own son being protected by the NYPD, he may want to think about moving out of New York City completely.”

Fortunately, James Comey, the Director of the FBI, credited De Blasio’s assertion by acknowledging during a speech at Georgetown University that “many people in our white-majority culture have unconscious racial biases and react differently to a white face than a black face.” The Director further claimed that this bias, coupled with cynicism from policing areas where people of color commit a disproportionate percentage of street crime, lead some officers to make “lazy mental shortcuts.” Unfortunately, these same “lazy mental shortcuts” cause people in power to trivialize an honest exchange of ideas just as it leads to encounters where people who look like De Blasio’s son get physically harassed.

The opportunity to openly discuss changes, to how far too many people of color are viewed with criminal suspicion—without the all-too-common reflexive backlash—must occur. Plans that are already bourgeoning should include concrete reforms to law enforcement agencies and within the halls of justice. The energy that brought people to the streets must also carry them to the voting booth and beyond. At a talk during the Othering & Belonging conference in April, *New York Times* Op-Ed Columnist Charles Blow described these protests as part of a new civil rights movement of which we are already in the midst.

**THE BLACK LIVES MATTER MOVEMENT** reflects a shift in focus in our understanding of racism. The movement doesn’t ask who is a racist and who is not. It recognizes that the system is racist. Black Lives Matter reflects a deeper understanding of race in America that no single officer department, municipality, or even government official is entirely responsible, but, rather, makes an assertion that black lives matter. It’s not about assigning responsibility—it’s an assertion of value, call for change, and a demand for justice.

If the aftermath of Ferguson only focuses on law enforcement practices, a critical opportunity will be lost. “Black Lives Matter” means more than ending mass incarceration and reforming police departments and the criminal justice system. It means transforming the patterns of exclusion, segregation, and concentrated poverty that destroy hope and human potential. It means rebuilding our metropolitan regions on equitable principles, and investing in our citizens. The energy and critical dialogue generated by the protests must expand to all aspects of our lives.

The moment that we are in now demands we learn from the pioneers who marched across the Edmond Pettus Bridge and vote for people who will provide a fair and just municipal government. The courage of protesting in front of armored vehicles is fueled by the real belief in the need for change. The moment we are in now calls for the transformation of anger, pain, and reflection into sustainable action and transformative change.
IN 1990, CONGRESS PASSED the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), a comprehensive piece of legislation that attempted to break down barriers for people with disabilities in modern American society.

Before the passage of the ADA, persons with physical and/or mental disabilities were largely denied the capacity to fully participate in society. They were discriminated against with respect to employment, access to public spaces, resources, and many more options that most people without disabilities take for granted.

The ADA defined a person with a disability as someone who “has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities, a person who has a history or record of such an impairment, or a person who is perceived by others as having such an impairment.” Its definition of a disability is broad, allowing the legislation to apply to diverse situations in which discrimination is present.

Since its enactment 25 years ago, the ADA has changed how society responds to disability. By requiring accommodations, not simply equal treatment, the ADA demands a more expansive understanding of equality that is instructive. There are now more accessible buildings and public spaces. Media, such as books, television shows, and computer software, has been updated, improved upon, and newly constructed in order to accommodate more people with disabilities. In many ways, the ADA has changed the physical, professional, and social landscape of the United States.

However, unconscious discrimination has a long way to go in society. When people think of prejudice, sexism and racism are often among the first kinds to come to mind, but the bias against people with disabilities is often overlooked and absent from the national discourse. In a study entitled “Disability: A Research Study on Unconscious Bias” by Employers Network for Equality & Inclusion in 2014, researchers concluded that “over one in three people show an unconscious bias against those with a disability, [which is] higher than levels of bias on the basis of gender or race.” And as our interview with UC Berkeley’s Disabled Students Program Director Paul Hippolitus also reveals (see p. 26), even at institutions known for a history of inclusion such as UC Berkeley, bias against people with disabilities remains a serious problem. From social exclusion, to a lack of academic support, to high unemployment rates, people with disabilities face additional challenges created by society.

Correcting our unconscious bias toward people with disabilities and changing society’s disconnect with how disability is seen will take time and effort, but first we must understand that “disability is normal,” as Hippolitus said in his interview. We must not only profess this belief verbally, we must structure our policies and institutions accordingly, in order to build a society of full inclusion for all people.
Interested in learning more about the ADA and its impact? Here are some resources.

**Overview of Disability Rights**
Learn why disability rights are civil rights.

- US Department of Justice Civil Rights Division
  http://www.ada.gov/
- ADA Basics
  www.adabasics.org
- Disability Rights Course
  www.disabilityrights course.org
- ADA Anniversary Toolkit
  www.adaanniversary.org/resources

**Inclusive Language**
People-centered language puts the focus on the person instead of the disability.

- Disability is Natural
  www.disabilityisnatural.com
- Mobility International USA
  www.miusa.org/resource/tipsheet/respect

**Academic Support**
Explore resources for academic success.

- Infinitec All Learners: http://www.infinitec.org/all-learners/
- National Center for Learning Disabilities: http://www.ncld.org/
- US Department of Education: https://www.osepideasthatwork.org/toolkit/

**Employment**
Understand, learn, and apply inclusive employment practices.

- ADA Employment: www.adaemployment course.org
- US Department of Labor
  www.disability.gov
- US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
  www.eeoc.gov
- Campaign for Disability Employment
  www.whatcanyoudocampaign.org

**TIPS ON BEING MORE FULLY INCLUSIVE**

Use “alt text” (alternate) on webpages and emails with images so that it can be read by software for people with visual impairments.

Provide ASL and closed captioning services at events, for people with hearing impairments.

Offer priority seating for wheelchair access or people with disabilities.

Recognize that not all disabilities will be visible and prepare for them in advance.

Make sure accessible bathrooms are made available to those who may need it.

Offer scent-free sections of public spaces where perfumes, and other scented products are not present. Offer benches or armless chairs to allow different body shapes and sizes to be more comfortable.

Encourage others to be mindful and considerate of others around them, paying particular attention to those who dominate or control spaces that belong to everyone.
Twenty-five years after the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act, Paul Hippolitus, Director of the Disabled Students Program at UC Berkeley, talks about his work in the disability field for the past 44 years. Prior to coming to Berkeley, Hippolitus worked in Washington, DC, where he played a key role in efforts to pass and implement the ADA. In this Q&A, he discusses his background in disability justice as well as the social and economic impact of living with disabilities.

How did you contribute to the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act?
While I was program director of the President’s Committee on the Employment of People with Disabilities, I worked for Justin Dart, Jr., who is understood to be one of the fathers of the ADA and a central figure in terms of personifying the movement. He lobbied the disability community around this mandate to be passed, and collected information about discrimination, so Congress would have data and real life examples and be further compelled to pass it. From 1986 to 1990, I worked with him on a task force he organized where disability rights leaders would come together and discuss what their position would be on the various points of the law. And that became a unified voice.

He or others like him would carry it to Congress and say, for example, “The disability community supports the idea of including people with HIV/AIDS in the definition of disability.” That was a very controversial call, because it was 1988, and people were frightened of it, because they didn’t know anything about it. There was a lot of morality around it. So the disability community had to struggle with the idea of “Do we embrace that constituency? Or do we push away from it for fear that if we embrace it, the law might not pass?” But they stood on principle rather than practice, and they embraced it. Those
According to Paul Hippolitus, when it comes to the American with Disabilities Act, it’s a good news/bad news story.

**BEFORE THE ADA:**

- It was legal to discriminate in employment: most employers in the country could have an applicant with a disability come in for a job and say no.

- There were many more inaccessible buildings and facilities. Now, if anybody builds something new like that, one of the first questions at the first meeting about the construction project is about access. It’s become integral to the conversation.

- Many, if not most, people with disabilities felt like they had little hope of a mainstream-type life. That has shifted. Opportunities are very real and very possible.

**25 YEARS LATER:**

- **EMPLOYMENT**
  While we have non-discrimination laws, especially in employment, at the time the ADA passed, about 33 percent of adults with disabilities worked either full or part time. Now, in 2015, it’s about 22 percent. One has to ask, “Why has this percentage gone down?” It should have gone way up. People with disabilities generally haven’t been prepared to take their role center stage around employment.

- **EDUCATION**
  We have not put effort into educating our young people with disabilities in school about their employment potential.

- **POLICY**
  We’ve set up the right stage, but we haven’t prepared the actors to deliver their lines on the stage. That’s the next challenge.
more intense because they don’t have perspective on disability, they think it’s worse than it actually is. A lot of people who acquire disabilities never work or never go back to work; they just assume that their lives are over. Nobody has an owner’s manual that talks about disability and says, “that’s not true. Here are the resources, here are the strategies, here are the examples of people just like you doing great and beautiful things.”

We have these laws, we have this sense of public policy around non-discrimination, but we don’t have a sense or a sensibility around empowerment to take advantage of all that, and that’s the missing piece.

We need a new perspective around disability. We need new philosophies. We need new principles. Disability is normal. Disability is an asset. Managing a disability requires experiences and talents and judgment and patience and all kinds of things that people who don’t have them don’t have to deal with.

Some people with disabilities have to get up at 4:00 am for a class that begins at 8:00 am. That’s the regimen they have to go through to get to the class. So, you could say that one way to look at that is that by having to do that, it implies discipline around your scheduling. They’ve got to be really thoughtful about all their movements. Calculate. It’s a time management strategy. They’ve got to be careful. So, disability is an asset.

If you could change the ADA or perhaps create a solution to the problems you’ve talked about, especially about employment issues, what would you do?
What I would do is more education for parents, for students around the positive aspects and the true potential and the meaningful self-confidence that is the majority part of their being. We really don’t know what the human potential is around disability until we let people experiment and try and the only way they’ll do that is if they feel some room to do that, even encouragement to do it.

That’s what we’re struggling with as a culture, a nation, a society. We know we can’t discriminate, but we don’t know what inclusion is. We know what exclusion means, but we don’t know what inclusion means. Believing in it and practicing it are different challenges.

Tell us about the Disabled Students Program at Berkeley—it’s purpose and its significance, both at UC Berkeley, and on a national level.
Our office is the part of the division at the university that seeks to ensure that the legal requirements of the ADA are observed. We invite any student who believes they have a disability to meet us and present information about that disability so that we can come to understand it and understand the functional limitations of that disability in terms of learning. We help the university not to discriminate against students with disabilities in the educational experience.

What would you say its significance is on a national level? I’ve read a lot about how the DSP at Berkeley has had a lot of impact nationally in higher education.
We were one of the first programs of our kind in the nation. It started in the early ’60s before the laws were passed. It started with the power of one student whose name was Ed Roberts. He challenged the university and helped the university accommodate him. As that began to unfold, he invited other students with disabilities to come challenge with him, and that challenged the university further to the point where a critical mass of a constituency arrived here at Cal. They taught the university how to respond to people with disabilities. Then, when the laws were passed, this office was set up to formalize the response and give it legitimacy, budget, and structure.

What’s next for disability justice?
When the original ADA law passed, my boss, Justin Dart Jr., said, “This is but a first step.” Some people thought we had crossed the finish line, but we haven’t. We’ve really just started.
A group of artists and musicians from seven Nile Basin countries transformed the renowned Zellerbach Hall on the UC Berkeley campus into a joyous space celebrating solidarity and compassion in February 2015 by performing original arrangements of music from their countries of origin. These eleven artists are part of The Nile Project, and their residency project at UC Berkeley was co-sponsored by Cal Performances and the Haas Institute.

The Nile Project was created for the purpose of using the performing arts as a tool for transforming disputes and suspicion into meaningful understanding, and to advance sustainability efforts of the Nile Basin’s natural habitats and resources. The project was founded four years ago by Mina Girgis, an Egyptian ethnomusicologist, and Meklit Hadero, an Ethiopian-American singer, who were both aware of the political antagonism that once nearly brought their two countries to war over issues related to water rights and accessibility. The Nile Project’s musical works address paradox of plenty and the environmental challenges that sit at the core of potential conflicts in the Nile Basin.

Following the Nile Project’s sold-out performances, Elsadig Elsheikh from the Haas Institute sat down with Alsarah, the Sudanese lead singer and a songwriter, to discuss the importance of music, history and culture in matters of identity and social progress.

**Your music touches and is influenced by a diverse genre of music styles, from Nubian music to Sudanese traditional folk to nomadic reflective musical tunes. What is the driving force behind it?**

My life is my driving force. I am a global child, a global immigrant, and I think that my identity as an immigrant is one of the main identities I have. I am a woman. I am black. I am African. I am Sudanese. That’s a permanent part of my makeup now.

I moved from Sudan to Yemen to the US and I’ve traveled in between. I don’t only listen to African music—I listen to music from everywhere. There’s no reason to not let that come into the music as long as you’re conscious of it.

**Why it is important for you to produce music that challenges the familiar and revives the forgotten?**

I’m both fascinated by traditions and at the same time, I reject the notion of needing to conform. I started moving around since I was a kid, so the question of “who are you” has always been on the forefront of my mind.

That kind of complexity gave me a fascination to come back to Sudan. I went to different Zār houses and recorded things. I’ve always felt like I’ve never understood the overall identity in Sudan; it never seemed to leave room for most of the people in Sudan, me included. I was always told that because of the way I am as a person that made me not Sudanese. But then I noticed that they said that about literally everybody. Then I thought it was really easy to not be Sudanese, so it must be really hard to be Sudanese.

For me, traditional music and modern music aren’t different from each other at all. They’re the same thing. Traditional music was music that was modern in the past, and it was really good and stuck around. New forms and new genres are born, so different things are moved to the periphery and are called traditional after 100 or 200 years. Once I really started to process that and understand that, I wanted to make music that told my story.

It’s about wanting to tell my own story through my own words. In music, what makes somebody else’s voice more legitimate than mine? That’s a question that I think is relevant in all of Sudan. That’s why I always insist that I’m a Sudanese musician. Just because I don’t look like something you understand doesn’t mean I’m not there. I was born Sudanese, I’m going to die Sudanese. All in between is a navigation of identity.

To say that Sudanese is any one identity is why we are at war. Once you say to people that you can only be one way, you’re not leaving room for indi-
viduality. That’s why people resort to tribalism—to protect a part of them that doesn’t fit into the overall umbrella.

Your song *Fugu: Shams Alhurria* (*Wake Up: Freedom Sun*) tackles some of the pressing concerns of your generation. Tell us more about the role of the arts and artists in social justice.

I think one of the main roles of the artist is to be as truthful as possible and to almost act like a mirror to society. I always seek honesty in my work, and when I wrote *Fugu*, it was a wake-up cry—not to imply that there aren’t others doing something, but a cry to the rest who aren’t even seeing the problems.

Sometimes my sheer existence on stage is a form of resistance for me. When I move and dance on stage, I break every rule of what Sudanese people tell me I can or can’t do. In the beginning of my career, I struggled with the idea of calling myself a Sudanese musician because I couldn’t see a space for what I wanted to do inside Sudanese music. Everyone I met did not give me that space, did not give me that permission, which is why I ended up working with non-Sudanese musicians.

What lived experience influences you when you create music?

Struggling a lot as the outsider. I spent a majority of my life as the outsider and was very uncomfortable for a very long time, but then I just became used to it after a while. And I think because when you’re the outsider, you almost feel a little bit on display. I spent a lot of energy when I was younger trying to hide and protect myself from the stares. It’s amazing how people stare in every country. So you’re kind of on display all the time, and when you’re trying to speak, it feels like a performance art sometimes, especially when you’re grasping for words and grasping at a language you’re still not familiar with. At a certain point, I remember making a choice to no longer hide and celebrate my weirdness.

From the perspective of someone who lives in the US, do you think we need to be in total solidarity with African people, or to “save” them?

I don’t think you can save anyone. If someone is not actively participating in their own saving, you can’t save them. It has to be a collaborative process. They have to say, “I’m really interested in changing the ground level of reality, and I need some help.” That’s when someone from the outside’s time to come in, and ask, “How can I help you? What do you need, not what do I think you need? What do you want? What can I provide you that’s plausible, and what can I provide you that’s more about long-term sustainability than short-term aid?”

The band-aid solution doesn’t work. It’s not a sustainable way of being, because we’re treating symptoms, not treating problems. I think the role of everyone on the outside is total solidarity and actual listening, not romanticizing, not projecting your own concept of what a people are, because there’s no really unified idea of what they are. The idea is to listen, to watch, hopefully to go there personally, and to try to understand where you fit in, where you can help. The world of social justice and aid is very full of righteous-seeming people that are doing very egotistical things on the underside. If you’re going to help, be aware of why you’re helping.

Why did you join The Nile Project?

Part of what I love about the Nile Project is that as a concept, it’s very holistic. It’s not just about making music together. It’s all about the idea of looking at the way we treat the environment, the way we share our resources—or don’t—and why. There’s a distinct need for unification in Africa, and it has been here for a long time. If we’re going to move toward a Pan-Eastern African community, the first step is to get to know each other, to respect each other’s culture, to learn about each other’s music and way of living. Making the genuine effort to do it shows respect. That’s a step forward.

What’s the next step?

Continuing this work together. What we’re doing musically is part of that overall concept of the Nile Project. Once I leave the Nile Project or others move on, the relationship established is still communal. This is now part of my musical family, my global family. I have friends in Uganda, I have friends in Kenya, I have friends in Ethiopia, that’s the amazing part. You’re working with people who are changing your mind and are coming at this in the same way I’m coming at this: with an open mind, an open heart, and a desire to learn about each other.
MAJOR ACTIVITIES, PRESENTATIONS, AND PUBLICATIONS FROM
HAAS INSTITUTE AFFILIATED FACULTY (JUNE 2014–JUNE 2015)

FACULTY ACTIVITIES

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

Disability Studies Cluster

OCT 8–NOV 15: Katherine Sherwood had a solo art exhibition in San Francisco that explored and elaborated on the “stereotype of the disrobed reclining female” that has been employed by many famed male artists. Sherwood’s art pieces allow others onto this stage, as she addressed this possibility: “consider that the figure ‘at rest’, pensive (like a Greek philosopher), is disabled. One wears a brace, one is an amputee, and one has a cane. I am appropriating images of women as objects of desire in order to criticize the canon within the context of disability.”

OCT 20–21: Marsha Saxton and Susan Schweik presented on disability justice and food security at the Fourth International Conference on Food Studies in Italy.

NOV 12: Susan Schweik gave a talk at the University of Alberta in Canada. She discussed John Weiners’ poem “Children of the Working Class” in the context of early poetry and its perpetuation of eugenics in her lecture entitled “Modernist Eugenics and Post-Modern Poetics.”

DEC 5: The Disability Studies and Diversity and Democracy Clusters co-hosted a conference on Law and Disabilities at Berkeley Law. “Exploring Law, Disability, and the Challenge of Equality in Canada and the United States” brought together scholars and legal experts to discuss different aspects of disability law in both countries, as well as the social aspects of living with disabilities.

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

MAR 8–9: The Disability Studies Cluster organized and sponsored an event featuring Angela Davis called Disability Incarcerated, a symposium focused on the historical segregation and incarceration of people with disabilities (see p. 32).

FEB 6: Susan Schweik spoke on a panel at UC Berkeley entitled “STALLED!” The event featured conversations among scholars, architects and activists on institutional violence, gender and transgender, disability, race, poverty, safety, on public bathroom use.

FEB: Georgina Kleege was interviewed by John Hockenberry on the radio program The Takeaway about the concept of beauty from her perspective as a blind person. Kleege has written about how she sees the world in several books, including Sight Unseen. Kleege explained to Hockenberry, you don’t have to see beauty to understand its value. “I live in a visual culture, so I know what people say.”

MAY: Nancy Scheper-Hughes visited the Vatican to give two presentations to Pope Francis on human trafficking. Scheper-Hughes joined twenty other scholars, human rights activists, government, and UN officials as part of a series of meetings to inform the Pope on specific issues in advance of his address to the UN General Assembly in September.

Haas Institute Disability Studies cluster leader Susan Schweik (right) moderating a panel with Professor Karen Nakamura of Yale University at the Othering and Belonging Conference in Oakland, April 25, 2015.

disability studies can make connections to allies in other disciplines, and with disability communities and cultural activism in disability justice.

MAY 22: Susan Schweik gave the keynote address at the Pacific and Western Disability Studies Symposium. Her talk, entitled “A Feather in a Hurricane and the Law of Falling Bodies: Disability Research and the Politics of Storytelling,” was part of this event examining how...
DISABILITY INCARCERATED

On March 8–9 2015, Berkeley Law, together with three Haas Institute faculty clusters—Race & Educational Disparities, Diversity and Democracy, and Disability Studies—hosted a symposium entitled Disability Incarcerated named after a book of the same title.

Angela Davis, famed political activist, academic, and author of Are Prisons Obsolete?, delivered a captivating opening to a full auditorium. Davis emphasized the importance of addressing the needs of people with disabilities—which includes mental, physical, and sensory disabilities—in prison and institution reform work. The event was supported by multiple faculty cluster members which undergirds an interdisciplinary approach to research, education, and advocacy. Haas Institute faculty cluster members Susan Schweik, Jonathan Simon, Na’ïlah Nasir, along with many other UC Berkeley professors joined the editors of Disability Incarcerated to explore topics covered in the book, ask critical questions, and engage attendees with an a critical analysis of institutions that incarcerate people with disabilities. The event also included two film screenings and a performance by Sins Invalid.

Diversity and Democracy Cluster

JUN: Michael Omi and co-author Howard Winant released the third edition of their renowned book Racial Formation in the United States. First published in 1986, the text is considered a classic in race and ethnicity literature. Omi says the third edition has been “radically revised” to reflect the context on how scholarship around race has evolved.

JUN 18: Lisa García Bedolla made a presentation entitled “Race, Gender, and Partisanship” at the Funders Committee for Civic Participation Spring convening in San Francisco.

JULY: G. Christina Mora was awarded the 2014–2015 Prytaneian Alumnae Faculty Award, given each year to one outstanding junior faculty on the UC Berkeley campus. The award came with a $25,000 research grant.

JULY: An article authored by Samuel Lucas and Alisa Szatrowski entitled “Qualitative Comparative Analysis in Critical Perspective” was published in Sociological Methodology 44: 1–79.

JULY: Samuel Lucas presented a paper at the International Sociological Association World Congress in Yokohama, Japan entitled “Prejudice Incidence and Estimated Exposure to Prejudiced Authorities in the United States.”


AUG 15: Irene Bloemraad presented “Framing the Immigrant Rights Movement: Rights, Family or Economics—which appeals resonate, and for whom?” at the Social Interactions, Identity and Well-Being Program meeting of the Canadian Institute for Advanced Research in New York; and, at the Forum on Migration at Barnard College/Columbia University.

OCT 8: Bertrand Ross moderated a panel discussion at UC Berkeley focused on voter suppression and potential remedies.

OCT 10: Rodney Hero was invited to give a presentation at UNC Chapel Hill.

OCT 16–17: Bertrand Ross was an invited speaker at a symposium hosted by the Berkeley Law School’s Thelton E. Henderson Center for Social Justice on the 50-year anniversaries of the Civil Rights Act, War on Poverty, and the Free Speech Movement. The symposium also gave toolkits to students who are passionate about ending inequality and expanding opportunity in the next 50 years.

NOV 6: Cybelle Fox gave a presentation entitled “Three Worlds of Relief: Race, Immigration and the American Welfare State from the Progressive Era to the New Deal,” part of the R.F. Harney lecture series in Ethnic, Immigration and Pluralism Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada.

NOV 17: G. Christina Mora discussed the intersection of identity and rhetoric with KALW public radio in an interview titled “‘Latino?’ ‘Hispanic?’—The historic struggle to name Latin Americans in the USA.”

NOV: Lisa García Bedolla, along with co-PIs Marisa
Abrajano and Jane Junn, collaborated with eight community based organizations across California to conduct fifteen field experiments designed to see how technology may be able to help mobilize voters of color.


**FALL 2014: Cybelle Fox** was the co-winner of the 2014 Barrington Moore Book Award from the American Sociological Association for her book, Three Worlds of Relief.

**JAN: Lisa García Bedolla**, along with co-PIs David Fitzgerald, Frank Bean, Karthick Ramakrishnan, and Roger Waldinger received $525,254 from UC’s Office of the President to support a new multi-campus research initiative called the “California Immigration Research Initiative” which will look at immigrant integration and well-being across the state.

**JAN 10: Rodney Hero** gave a presentation at the Southern Political Science Association annual meeting.

**JAN 21: Irene Bloemraad** presented “Reconciling Diversity and Democracy: The Process and Policies of Immigrant Political Incorporation” at RAND, Santa Monica, CA.


**SPRING 2015: Samuel Lucas** was awarded a 2015 Spencer Foundation Mid-Career Grant for his work “Advancing Tools for Advanced Social Science Research: Symbolic Mathematics, Agent-Based Modeling, Computer Programming, and Video Effects.”

**SPRING 2015: Irene Bloemraad** was a co-editor for two special journal issues: 1) a special issue on “Migrants, Minorities and the Media” for the Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 41(6) co-edited with Erik Bleich and Els de Graauw; and, 2) a special issue on “Multiculturalism During Challenging Times” in the American Behavioral Scientist, 59(6), co-edited with Eddy S. Ng.

**MAR 27: Irene Bloemraad** presented “Opportunities to Succeed or Money and more Rights: Social Location and Young People’s Views on American Identity” at the Sociology Department at Stanford University.

**MAY 21: Irene Bloemraad** gave the presentation entitled “Opportunities to Succeed or Money and more Rights: Social Location and Young People’s Views on American Identity” to the Political Science department at the University of British Columbia.

**FEB 1–5: Rodney Hero** gave a presentation on “The Promise of Political Science,” at six Latino-serving institutions, including the Univ. of North Texas; Texas A&M at Corpus Christi; and the Univ. Texas-Pan American. He also spoke in March at Cal State, Northridge; Cal State, Dominguez Hills; and Cal State, Long Beach.


**FEB 17: Rodney Hero** gave a presentation at the University of Oklahoma.

**MAR 5: Cybelle Fox** gave a presentation entitled “Defining the Color Line: Mexicans, Europeans and the Boundaries of Whiteness, 1890–1945” at Stanford University.

**MAR 18: Rodney Hero** gave presentations at two historical black colleges, Spelman College and Morehouse College in Atlanta.

**MAR 20: Rodney Hero** gave a presentation at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists.

**APR: Lisa García Bedolla** and María Echaveste published four reports summarizing findings from a grant from the James Irvine Foundation that used a variety of quantitative tools to shed light on unengaged voters in California (the unregistered), to glean more information about their geographic dispersion, and to come up with a set of policy prescriptions for the Secretary of State’s office in order to expand California’s electorate.


**APR 20: Rodney Hero** gave a presentation at Purdue University.

**APR 27: Lisa García Bedolla** gave the 2015 Américo Paredes Distinguished Lecture at the University of Texas at Austin.

**MAY 15: Lisa García Bedolla** was the plenary speaker at the California League of Women Voters’ statewide conference in San Diego. Her talk was entitled: “Latino Political Engagement and the Future of California Politics.”

**MAY 13: Taeku Lee** was a featured speaker for the Congressional Asian Pacific American Caucus Symposium in Washington, DC in celebration of APA Heritage Month.

**MAY 20: Samuel Lucas** presented “Discrimination and Earnings in the United States: A Social Relational Perspective and Analysis” at the Philosophy and Social Science Conference in Prague, Czech Republic.


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**Economic Disparities Cluster**

**JUN 19–20: Hilary Hoynes**, Chair of the Economic Disparities Cluster, and Christopher Edley, Jr. of the Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy Cluster,
Hilary Hoynes, Haas Institute Economic Disparities Chair and UC Berkeley professor of economics, leads a discussion at the “Future of SNAP” workshop on May 29, 2015.

participated in roundtable discussions at the Hamilton Project’s two-day summit titled “Addressing America’s Poverty Crisis.” Hoynes provided one of 14 new policy proposals, titled “Building on the Success of the Earned Income Tax Credit,” which draws on her research on the EITC’s impact on poverty reduction.

JUL 15: Research by Rucker Johnson was featured in a report demonstrating how 60 years after Brown v. Board of Education, racial divides in American classrooms are on the rise. Findings from the report were included on a Frontline episode entitled “Separate But Unequal.”

SEP 10: Michael Reich and Hilary Hoynes spoke on a panel at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington DC entitled “The Path to a Fair and Inclusive Society: Policies that Address Rising Inequality.” The event was held to launch the policy brief with, Responding to Rising Inequality: Policy Interventions to Ensure Opportunity for All which highlighted research from the Economic Disparities cluster (see p. 14).

SEPT 13: Robert Reich was awarded the first Dean’s Medal from the Heller School for Social Policy and Management of Brandeis University. Reich was previously the Maurice B. Hexter of Social and Economic Policy at the Heller School.

SEPT 27: Robert Reich gave a lecture entitled “$15 For All,” directly following Seattle’s decision to increase the minimum to $15 per hour. The event was part of the Reclaiming Prosperity series hosted by Town Hall Seattle.


OCT 9: Neubauer Collegium for Culture and Science invited Economics Professor Emmanuel Saez to speak on wealth and income inequality in the United States. Saez discussed how technology, government policies, tax policies and globalization plays a role in this inequality.

OCT 15: La Fondazione Rodolfo Debenedetti invited Hilary Hoynes to give the 9th Rodolfo Debenedetti Lecture at the Università Bocconi in Milan. Hoynes discussed the social safety net and poverty in her examination of the impact of low incomes on a society.

OCT 20: Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman released a brief explaining how income inequality has grown and changed over the past century and how it affects Americans, while also offering research-based solutions to the problem of wealth inequality.

OCT: UNICEF released a report co-authored by Hilary Hoynes with Marianne Bitler of UC Irvine and Elira Kuka of UC Davis. Hoynes examined the effects of the recent Great Recession on lower income families and child poverty.

NOV 9: Jesse Rothstein was interviewed in a New Yorker article entitled “Unemployment is Down: Why aren’t Americans buying the good news?” Despite recent reports of a lower unemployment rate, Rothstein discusses how this rate may not be the best measure of the strength of our economy, and offers expertise on how to look at other indicators, like the labor-force participation rate and wage trends.

NOV 28: Robert Reich published an op-ed in the San Francisco Chronicle: “College is Worth the Investment but Not a Guarantee of a Good Job” discusses the ongoing challenges faced by workers with and without college degrees. Those with degrees generally earn more than those without, yet structural changes in the global economy have outsourced many jobs, reducing the demand for a well-educated workforce.

JAN 4: In an article entitled “Being Poor Is Getting Scarier in the U.S.” published by Bloomberg View, Hilary Hoynes’ newly published paper, “Heterogeneity in the Impact of Economic Cycles and the Great Recession: Effects Within and Across the Income Distribution,” was highlighted to show how the poorest households in America are affected by recessions. The article offers suggestions on how to
amplify these issues using Hoynes’ research and data.

**JAN 5:** *Business Insider* published an article titled, “1/1000 of the U.S. Now Controls More than 1/5 of the Wealth,” based on new research published by Emmanuel Saez and Gabriel Zucman of the London School of Economics. According to this research, the top 0.1 percent of American households control more than one-fifth of wealth in the United States.

**MAR 20:** Hilary Hoynes met with President Obama and a group of five other economists to discuss “Inequality, Wages and the Future of Work.”

**MAY:** Enrico Moretti co-authored “Why Do Cities Matter?” with Chang-Tai Hsieh of the University of Chicago. Drawn from their new research, the paper discusses how workers may not necessarily be able to live in or get to cities that have the most growth, and the cities with the most growth may not necessarily contribute more to national growth than smaller cities.

**APR:** Hilary Hoynes was featured on the PBS News Hour segment, “Why It’s So Hard to Get off Welfare.” The piece highlighted the changes in the Welfare-to-Work program that began under the Clinton administration in 1996, why it worked then, and why it isn’t working now.

**MAY 29:** Hilary Hoynes hosted a workshop on “The Future of SNAP? Improving Nutrition Policy to Ensure Health and Food Equity.” This interdisciplinary workshop summarized evidence and research findings on SNAP, identified challenges of current delivery approaches, and addressed recommended actions relevant for the future of the program (see p. 10).

**MAY:** Research from Hilary Hoynes was a primary piece of the White House Report “Opportunity for All: Fighting Rural Child Poverty.” Hoynes’ research highlighted that the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) increases employment among single mothers and that the “credit can further benefit children by improving health outcomes in infancy and improving academic performance when children are in elementary and middle school.”

**JUN:** Rucker Johnson was awarded a National Institute of Health (NIH) grant to support a project that examines the relationship between investments in pre-K-12 education spending and subsequent adult health trajectories, with the goal to provide insights toward a better understanding of health disparities rooted in childhood conditions.

### Health Disparities Cluster

**SEPT 25:** Lonnie Snowden was a panelist at the symposium “From Trauma to Wellness: Building the Movement for Emotional Healing, Mental Health, and Well-Being in the Black Community,” in Washington DC. The event was co-hosted by Congresswomen Eddie Bernice Johnson and Karen Bass.

**NOV 13:** The Health Disparities Cluster organized “Children at the Border, Children at the Margin,” part of a series focusing on immigration issues impacting children held at UC Berkeley. Seth M. Holmes gave a presentation, Patricia Baquedano-López, chair of the Center for Latino Policy Research and of Education, served as event moderator, and the day also featured opening remarks from Stefano Bertozzi, dean of the School of Public Health.

**DEC 1:** New research from Amani Nuru-Jeter was featured in *Berkeley News*. Nuru-Jeter led a study that found that increased inequality is linked to more deaths among white Americans, but the outcome is reversed among black Americans.

**FEB:** Denise Herd, along with David Weisblatt, received the Leon Henkin Citation awarded by UC Berkeley’s Academic Senate. The award is given in recognition of an “exceptional commitment to the educational development of students from groups who are underrepresented in the academy.”

### INTERSECTIONS BETWEEN POPULAR CULTURE, SEXUALITY & HEALTH

On April 10, 2015 the Haas Institute LGBTQ Citizenship cluster and the Health Disparities cluster hosted the “Intersections between Popular Culture, Sexuality and Health” conference, held at Berkeley Law.

The event included dialogue on issues concerning the intersection of gender, sexuality, race, cultural imagery, and health research and policy. Scholars from different perspectives illuminated issues that could inform theory and practice addressing sexual health disparities, as well as HIV/AIDS and violence against women, which remain subjects of major concern in the field of public health.

Invited speakers included Octavio R. Gonzalez, David Frost, Alisa Bierria, and Emily Rothman. Panels were moderated by cluster leaders Russell Robinson and Denise Herd.
Congresswoman Barbara Lee in Washington, DC and sponsored by the Black Caucus, the Hispanic Caucus, and the Asian American and Pacific Islander Caucus of the House of Representatives. Holmes discussed health disparities among Latinos, particularly farmworkers.

MAY: Denise Herd was the lead author on a paper published by the Maternal and Child Health Journal examining racial differences in rates of low birth, a major health problem plaguing African American women.

MAY 4: The Health Disparities cluster sponsored a lecture by UC Santa Barbara Assistant Professor Victor Rios on the criminalization of black and Latino youth. Rios is author of “Punished: The policing of Latino and African American boys,” an ethnographic study of 20 Latino and 20 African youth from Oakland where Rios grew up. Subsequent research included interviews from Ferguson.

SPRING: Rachel Morello-Frosch was co-author on “The Haves, the Have-nots and the Health of Everyone: The Relationship Between Social Inequality and Environmental Quality” for the Annual Review of Public Health. 36:193–209.

SPRING: Rachel Morello-Frosch was co-author on “The Challenge of Communicating Results in Post-Belmont Era Biomonitoring Studies: Lessons from Genetics, Biobanking, and Brain Imaging Research” for Environmental Research, 136: 363–372.

SPRING: Rachel Morello-Frosch was co-author on an article entitled “Scientific Contestations Over ‘Toxic Trespass’: Health and Regulatory Implications of Chemical Biomonitoring” that appeared in Environmental Studies and Sciences.

SPRING: Jason Corburn was appointed Director of the Institute of Urban and Regional Development (IURD) at UC Berkeley.

SPRING: Jason Corburn’s edited volume, Healthy Cities, was published by Routledge.

JUN: Rucker Johnson was awarded a National Institute of Health (NIH) grant to support a project that examines the relationship between investments in pre-K–12 education spending and subsequent adult health trajectories, with the goal to provide insights toward a better understanding of health disparities rooted in childhood conditions.

SPRING: Mahasin Muhajid served as the Vice-Chair of the Social Determinants of Health Scientific Subcommittee in the American Heart Association.

JUN: Mahasin Muhajid began the second year of the UC-HBCU Summer Research Grant in Social Determinants of Health, one of Berkeley’s Office of the President Pathways Grant, which brings undergraduate students from Xavier University of Louisiana to UC Berkeley for a summer research internship.

LGBTQ Citizenship Cluster

SEP 26: Russell Robinson was the feature interviewee in an article published on Salon.com about the black/white divide in Ferguson. Robinson discussed implicit bias and how individuals view race and racial conflict through the lenses of their own experience.

OCT 8: In an online symposium produced by Columbia Law School on unequal protection, Russell Robinson discussed the Supreme Court’s expansion of rights for some, while contracting those rights for others. “While equality is expanding for LGBT people, it is evaporating for people of color,” writes Robinson. The series calls for critical inquiry on the Court’s equal protection distinctions and consider whether the doctrine itself may perpetuate inequality. Robinson will expand on this perspective in an upcoming paper for the Stanford Law Review.

OCT 20: Melissa Murray participated in a public conversation with Supreme Court Justice Sonia Sotomayor. Murray, who clerked for Justice Sotomayor on the US Court of Appeals for the 2nd Circuit, interviewed Justice Sotomayor about her personal life from Sotomayor’s autobiography, My Beloved World.

NOV: Juana María Rodríguez was interviewed for the article “Trans Identity Meditation,” for the winter 2014 edition of California Magazine.

JAN 23: The LGBTQ Citizenship Cluster hosted In Treatment: Psychiatry and the Archives of Modern Sexuality, a lecture given by Regina Kunzel, who was awarded the American Historical Association’s John Boswell Prize.

JAN 27: The New York Times published Melissa Murray’s article “Real-Life Effects of Court Rulings Should Matter as Well as the Law,” which discusses how Supreme Court Justices must see their decisions as applying to real life rather than just as a guideline of how the law should be structured.

MAR 6: Russell Robinson was the keynote speaker at a luncheon sponsored by Empowering Women of Color at Columbia Law.

APR 7: Lawrence Cohen
a series of recommendations given to UC President Janet Napolitano as part of the Advisory Committee on LGBTQ Students, Staff, and Faculty. The recommendations were related to gender-inclusive campus facilities, name-change procedures in university digital systems, and data-collection practices for incoming students.

SPRING: Juana María Rodríguez's book *Sexual Futures, Queer Gestures, and Other Latina Longings* was a Lambda Literary Foundation Finalist for LGBT Studies.

Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy Cluster

JUN: Jabari Mahiri published a new book, co-authored with Sarah Freedman, entitled *The First Year of Teaching: Classroom Research to Improve Student Learning.*

JUN 19–20: Christopher Edley, Jr. participated in roundtable discussions at the Hamilton Project's two-day summit titled “Addressing America’s Poverty Crisis.”

JUN 2014: Jabari Mahiri was elected to the governing council of the American Educational Research Association, an organization with 40,000 members.

JUL 15: Research by Rucker Johnson was featured in an article demonstrating how, 60 years after *Brown v. Board of Education,* racial divides in American classrooms are on the rise. The article was part of a series which includes an episode on *Frontline* titled “Separate but Unequal.”

AUG 25: Na’ïlal Nasir was one of many UC Berkeley faculty who signed the #BeyondFerguson open letter, widely circulated in the media, addressed to President Obama. The letter specifically requests the President to end the militarization of local police forces and to establish community-centered policing nationwide.

NOV 20: Janelle Scott gave a presentation at the Annual Meeting of the University Council for Educational Administration on “Research for Resistance and Action.”

JAN 19: Na’ïlal Nasir was on a panel on *How to Talk to Kids about Race* on KQED’s Forum program.

JAN 20: Rucker Johnson co-authored a study entitled “The Effects of School Spending on Educational and Economic Outcomes: Evidence from School Finance Reforms,” which examined school finance reforms and found increased funding improved school completion rates, led to higher wages and reduced poverty.

FEB 9: Janelle Scott gave the Black History Month Keynote address at the University of Utah. Her talk was entitled “School Choice as a Civil Right: Implications for Civil Rights in the Post-Brown Era.”

MAR 8: The Race, Diversity, and Educational Policy Cluster co-sponsored the Disabilities Incarcerated symposium (see p. 32).

APR 25: Na’ïlal Nasir moderated a panel discussion at the Othering and Belonging Conference entitled Towards Belonging: BlackLivesMatter, that included BLM organizer Alicia Garza, activist Dorsey Nunn, and student activist Alana Banks.

APR: Jabari Mahiri received a grant from the Peder Sather Center for Advanced Study for a research collaboration with three universities: UC Berkeley’s Graduate School of Education, the University of Oslo, Norway Human Rights Center, and the University of Tromso, the Arctic University of Norway. The research explores ways to increase educational achievement of marginalized groups in both countries.

Religious Diversity Cluster

OCT 11: Henry E. Brady was a speaker on a panel entitled “Another Take on FSM: Challenges to Free Speech in a Polarized Era” hosted by the Goldman School. The panelists discussed free speech and civility as a part of the celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the Free Speech Movement.

JAN 26: Diablo Magazine interviewed Dacher Keltner to discuss his work to help Facebook become a happier place. Keltner explains how he uses linguistics and social psychology to transform the social media platform from a place of isolation to a place of happiness and inclusion.

JAN 27: M. Steven Fish wrote an article published by *The Washington Post* entitled “Why is terror Islamist?” In his article, Fish argues that Muslims are not a violent people, according to statistics on per capita murders in Islamic countries, and that it cannot be explained by their religious doctrine either.

JAN: Dacher Keltner’s research on power was featured in the *New York Times Magazine.* Keltner discusses findings that show when people received power in research experiments, they act impulsively, inappropriately, and even become messier eaters.

FEB: In a piece for the *Daily Beast,* M. Steven Fish gives findings based on empirical evidence to counter the media conversation on Islam and terrorism.
HAAS INSTITUTE ACTIVITIES

While the UC Berkeley faculty clusters pursue engaged academic research (see p. 31), the Haas Institute’s core staff of researchers and strategic communicators, led by Director john a. powell, advances impactful interventions to society’s most pressing issues. The research portfolio of the Institute is centered around collaboration with communities, research partners, and advocacy organizations who share our values and vision for a just and inclusive society.

Names in blue are staff of the Haas Institute.

SUMMER 2014

JUN 6: john powell was a panel participant in the Center for American Progress and PICO National Network’s “Day of Testimony” in Washington, DC. The event was a culmination of a 90-day listening process in faith-led meetings across the US focussed on testimony of those affected by racial inequality.

JUN 10: john powell gave a presentation to the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory’s Diversity and Inclusion Council, which provides counsel to senior management on diversity-related issues.

JUN 17: john powell delivered the opening keynote of the Sargent Shriver National Center on Poverty Law’s Racial Justice Training Institute, an initiative that assists public interest lawyers in further developing capacities for racial justice advocacy. powell spoke on how to advance racial equity through issues like employment, transportation, and housing in a legal setting, focussing on how the access-to-opportunity framework influenced the decision in Thompson v. HUD. The event was featured in Colorlines magazine.

JUN 20: john powell delivered the keynote for the annual retreat of the Seattle Planning Commission, where he spoke on how planning policies can affect equity and provided examples of successful equitable policies as well as examples of purposefully exclusionary ones.

JUN 20: john powell gave an opening talk for a group of public defenders and legal aid workers at an all-day workshop hosted by the Northwest Justice Project, Washington’s publicly-funded legal aid program, powell also moderated a panel discussion on race and legal work.

JUN 23: Julie Nelson, Director of the Government Alliance on Race and Equity, helped facilitate a series of workshops for the Successful Children and Youth Policy Team of Fairfax County, Virginia, which aims to set community-wide priorities for public policies for children. Nelson presented on racial equity tools. Director john powell also gave the opening talk.

JUN 25: In an article published by TalkPoverty.org, john powell wrote about efforts by local governments to weather the underwater mortgage crisis, which disproportionately affects communities of color. powell draws on information from “Underwater America: How the So-Called Housing Recovery is Bypassing Many Communities,” released by the Haas Institute in May 2014.

JUN 26: The Underwater America report was featured in an article in the National Journal highlighting new research on the neighborhoods in which more than 40 percent of homeowners have negative equity tend to have median household incomes below the national average and are disproportionately African American and Latino.

JUL 8: john powell and Maya Rockeymoore of Global Policy Solutions published an op-ed in the Chronicle of Philanthropy about how a targeted universalism lens on President Obama’s initiative focused on the needs of boys and men of color, will help all marginalized groups.

JUL 20: john powell gave a keynote presentation to more than 400 San Francisco Unified School District administrators on the need for racial equity and opportunity structures in education, and the ways in which our unconscious can affect how we interact with students from different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds.

AUG 5–6: The Haas Institute co-sponsored the Convening on Racial Equity with the Government Alliance on Race and Equity. Minneapolis Mayor Betsy Hodges and St. Paul Mayor Chris Coleman co-hosted the conference, which brought together representatives from ten governmental jurisdictions and almost 700 attendees. The convening provided a platform to formally launch the Government Alliance.

AUG 15: UC Berkeley sociologist Troy Duster, who founded the Institute for the Study of Societal Issues, was celebrated for his decades of contribution to social justice during the course of his storied career at...
A day-long event that included several of Duster’s colleagues such as Associate Director Michael Omi and chef Alice Waters.

AUG 19: John Powell was interviewed by Amy Goodman on Democracy Now! about his perspective on Michael Brown’s killing in Ferguson, Missouri, where he discussed the role of implicit bias in the relationships and history between police and black citizens.

AUG 31: The Real News Network featured an interview with John Powell to discuss the political and economic implications of taxation and mass incarceration. John noted how rural communities benefit economically as inmates—overwhelmingly people of color—are transported from urban communities to rural prisons.

FALL 2014

SEPT 6: TIME Magazine published “A Plan to Fix all of America’s Detros,” an op-ed co-authored by Director John Powell. Detroit might be the symbol of municipal distress in the minds of many, Powell reflected, but there are plenty of cities experiencing the same conditions that triggered Detroit’s economic challenges.

SEPT 10: Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh delivered a lecture entitled “Can Africa Survive the Current Food System Crisis?” at UC Berkeley.


SEPT 15: The Haas Institute hosted Research to Impact on the courtyard of the Campanile Tower to showcase the achievements of the Haas Institute’s faculty clusters over the past two years. Chancellor Nicholas Dirks gave the opening remarks and Haas Institute faculty answered audience questions during a panel discussion (see p. 7).

SEPT: The third edition of Michael Omi’s book, Racial Formation in the United States, co-authored with Howard Winant, was released. First published in 1986, the text is considered a classic on race and ethnicity.

SEPT 22: The Haas Institute hosted UC Berkeley Professor and Chair of City and Regional Planning Paul Waddell, who created UrbanSim, a platform for modeling the impacts of land use regulations and transportation infrastructure on urban development. Waddell, who was awarded a Macarthur “genius” grant in 2014, spoke to staff about his scholarship and discussed intersections with work Haas Institute GIS staff are doing, such as indexing indicators in order to understand the distribution of opportunity.

SEPT 26: Michael Omi delivered a speech titled “Racial Classification and the Instability of Race” at a series of workshops on Modern Segregation hosted by Washington University in St. Louis’ American Culture Studies program in Arts & Sciences.

OCT 2–3: John Powell was the keynote speaker and Julie Nelson was a speaker during the closing plenary of the YWCA Madison’s 13th annual Racial Justice Summit.

OCT 3–5: John Powell was a featured plenary speaker at a conference sponsored by the Eastern District of California organized around the 50th anniversary of the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

OCT 17–19: John Powell spoke to a crowd of over 1,500 at the Bioneers Summit Conference (see p. 12).

OCT 20: Global Justice Program Director Elsadig Elsheikh led a webinar entitled “Politics of the Developing World: Global Food System Crises & Opportunities” for the Autonomous University of Barcelona.

OCT 30: The Haas Institute released Anchor Richmond: Community Opportunities and Anchor Strategies for the Berkeley Global Campus at Richmond Bay, a report written by Eli Moore, Nadia Barhoum, and Alexis Alvarez Franco. The report details the impact of the Berkeley Global Campus and how its presence can be beneficial to the Richmond community.

NOV 5: “Race is a little bit like gravity,” were the opening remarks...
john powell made at an evening dialogue and book signing event on Nov. 5 produced by KPFA Berkeley and Marcus Books of Oakland (see p.12).

NOV 6–8: Elsadig Elsheikh was an invited panelist at the Global Blackness Conference at Duke University, a convening that examined historical and contemporary concepts of “blackness,” comparing its emergence and significance across national boundaries.

NOV 10: Stephen Menendian spoke with KQED News about who will benefit from the Bay Area’s economic boom in the piece, “Oakland Building New Housing, But For Whom?”

NOV 10: A published piece by London’s Financial Times highlighted the family of John Powell to tell the story of Detroit, inequality, bankruptcy, and the proposed restructuring plan.

NOV 11: John Powell gave the 2014 Anne Braden Memorial Lecture entitled “From Freedom Summer to Ferguson: Why we need a new culture of belonging” in Louisville, Kentucky. John touched on different modes of being in society—economic, political, ontological—and the urgent need to create a culture of belonging.

NOV 14: At the Facing Race Conference in Dallas, Texas, John Powell gave a lecture with Jodeen Olguin-Taylor titled “How Big Money Politics Holds Back Racial Justice.” The conference was organized by Race Forward.

NOV 15: An article in the The Economist focused on mismanagement and population shrinkage in the past two decades and the restructuring plan to recover from municipal despair. The recovery plans greatest flaw, according to Detroit native John Powell, is that the plan does not address the glaring racial divide in the city.

DEC 3: Stephen Menendian was a panelist on a webinar about using targeted universalism as an effective strategy for reducing health disparities organized by Leadership for Healthy Communities.

DEC 24: The Haas Institute and the Economic Policy Institute jointly filed an amicus brief signed by 62 housing scholars for Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. the Inclusive Communities Project. (see p. 5), a critical case before the Supreme Court.

DEC: Just Public Finance program manager Wendy Ake co-authored a paper on food mapping and an alternative classification to “food deserts” published in the Journal of Agriculture, Food Systems, and Community Development.

SPRING 2015

JAN 10: At a forum organized by the United Nations Association of the East Bay, Elsadig Elsheikh spoke on restructuring the global food system to eliminate hunger.

JAN 17: John Powell was invited to speak at the Berkeley City Council town hall meeting on police-community relations. Over 200 people attended the open meeting held one month after Berkeley police used tear gas on protestors.

JAN 23: John Powell was a featured panelist at the 44th Annual Theological Conference held at Trinity Wall Street Church in New York City. John spoke on the roots of inequality and the role of faith-based institutions in addressing the enormous gaps in our society and explained how the fear of the “other” is driving anxiety at every level. John also met with the Archbishop of Canterbury at a private roundtable meeting on inequality.

JAN 27: John Powell was interviewed on the “Uprising” radio show to discuss the US Supreme Court’s recent decisions that have led to more discrimination in housing and voter disenfranchisement. The segment was entitled “Why Is The Supreme Court Undoing Hard-Fought Civil Rights Laws?”

FEB 3: Elsadig Elsheikh co-facilitated the African Food Sovereignty Working Group at UC Berkeley, co-organized by the Haas Institute for a Fair and Inclusive Society and the Center for African Studies at UC Berkeley. The African Food Sovereignty Working Group aims to engage the challenges and alternatives of food insecurity as experienced by the peoples of the African continent.

FEB 4: John Powell spoke to groups from the Asian American Pacific Islander community about how race has been used to undermine commitment to robust government, and its relationship to “othering and belonging.”

FEB 6: John Powell gave the opening keynote, “From the Past to the Present,” for UC Berkeley’s Campus Climate Symposium. Speaking to an audience of more than 100 students, faculty, and staff, Powell provided a brief history of Berkeley’s past diversity initiatives to the present, speaking on the need to build cross-campus relationships around efforts to improve and sustain a more positive campus climate for students.

FEB 11: Stephen Menendian gave a presentation for the Goldman School of Public Policy’s Housing and Urban Policy student group on the case of Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. The Inclusive Communities Project.

FEB 12: Julie Nelson delivered a keynote address to the Minnesota City Managers Association Mid-Winter Workshop on “Addressing Racial Inequities in Our Communities.” The conference brought together local government administrators who are working to advance racial equity in local government.

FEB 17: John Powell gave a keynote evening lecture on Othering
and Belonging for Black History Month at Zaytuna College, the first accredited Muslim liberal arts college in the United States.

FEB 17: John Powell provided a webinar training for Human Impact Partners Public Health and Equity Cohort on the topic of structural marginalization in public health agencies, sponsored by the Kresge Foundation.


FEB 20: Julie Nelson led an interactive workshop entitled “Healthy Communities for All: Tools and Strategies for Advancing Racial Equity with the Bay Area Racial Health Inequities Initiative.”

FEB 20: Haas Institute organized the day-long Richmond Housing Summit in Richmond, CA where 100 attendees gathered to explore connections between community health, forces of residential displacement, and housing policy. Director John Powell and research staff Samir Gambhir and Eli Moore gave presentations.

FEB 20: The Haas Institute released Belonging and Community Health in Richmond: An Analysis of Changing Demographics and Housing, a research brief analyzing gentrification trends at the neighborhood level. Eli Moore, Samir Gambhir, and Phuong Tseng conducted the research to assess the risk of displacement of marginalized communities in Richmond.

FEB 20: Elsadig Elsheikh served as a moderator and panelist on The Nile and African Identity organized by Cal Performances. The panel examined how water resource conflicts are often rooted in political and cultural differences, and how divergent understandings of African identity have played a significant role in the Nile Basin.

FEB 21: Researcher Nadia Barhoum facilitated a workshop at the Food Justice Forum organized by Holy Names University in Oakland to explore the rise of corporate control within the food system and the present day consolidation of power through food supply chains.

FEB 24: Julie Nelson presented to the Oakland City Council about the opportunities for government to advance racial equity. She was invited to speak in relation to Councilmember Brook’s proposed legislation to establish a Department of Race and Equity in Oakland.

FEB 26–27: John Powell spoke with philanthropy groups in Seattle focused on the economic power of equity and covered implicit bias, structural marginalization, and racism, and targeted universalism as an approach to increase equity.

FEB 28: John Powell gave the keynote address at the 4th Annual Spaghetti Dinner for the 99 Percent, organized by the Unitarian Universalist Society of San Francisco’s Committee for Peace and Justice & the San Francisco 99 Percent Coalition. The keynote address focused on the intersection between the BlackLivesMatter movement and growing economic and political inequality.

MAR 2: Elsadig Elsheikh was a guest lecturer for the class “The Global Food System: From Crises to Sovereignty” at the Autonomous University of Barcelona. Elsheikh’s online talk focused on the systemic crises of the global food system particularly as experienced by marginalized peoples around the world.

MAR 3: John Powell spoke with an audience of public health and population health practitioners convened by Detroit Wayne County Health Authority’s Population Health Council. The discussion focused on using public health, and a consideration of individual and community health determined both within and outside the health clinic.

MAR 5: John Powell gave the keynote lecture for the New School’s Public Policy in Action Lecture Series in New York City. Titled “The Role of the Public Sector in Advancing Economic Inequality,” Powell addressed the issue of economic disparities through the lens of race in policy and practice.
in Richmond, CA to discuss anti-poverty strategies and to share Institute research. **Stephen Menendian** presented Bay Area opportunity map research, with an emphasis on Contra Costa County.

**MAR 31: Elsadig Elsheikh** co-facilitated the African Food Sovereignty Working Group at UC Berkeley. The new group meets monthly to examine the historical and contemporary debates, discourse, and movements related to Africa’s food systems.

**APR 6:** The Spotlight on Poverty and Opportunity published a piece by **John Powell** entitled, “The Criminalization of Poverty and Race.”

**APR 7:** Michael Omi gave a presentation at the Berkeley City Club entitled “Racial Ideology and the Backstory of the Incarceration of Japanese Americans.”

**APR 23–25:** The Haas Institute was a sponsor of the 6th Annual Islamophobia Conference, held at Berkeley Law.

**APR 24–26:** The Haas Institute hosted the Othtering & Belonging Conference took place at the Oakland Marriott City Center (see p. 8).

**APR 29:** Director **John Powell** was a panelist at the Color of Wealth Summit in Washington DC., which featured Congressional and community leaders working on wealth inequality. Powell was also one of four 2015 recipients of the Asset Builders Champion award given at the Summit, an award honoring those who have helped make national progress toward addressing racial wealth disparities.

**APR:** The “Heroes in Health” award was given to **John Powell** by the Detroit Wayne County Health Authority for his commitment to health equity and race in population health, and service to the Detroit Population Health Council.

**MAY 14:** In a new law review article, “What Constitutes a Racial Classification? Equal Protection Doctrine Scrutinized” for the Temple Political and Civil Rights Law Review, **Stephen Menendian** examined the growing number of anomalies within racial classification jurisprudence.

**MAY 27:** The Haas Institute hosted a brown bag lecture entitled “Greece: Austerity, Debt, and the European Union Institutions” with a vision for a fully inclusive society.

**MAY 28:** The Brief of Housing Scholars, an amicus brief the Haas Institute co-authored with the Economic Policy Institute, was cited by Justice Kennedy in the majority opinion in the Supreme Court’s ruling in the Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs v. the Inclusive Communities Project (see p. 5).
Olivia Araiza is the Haas Institute’s Network Coordinator where she leads the work on a paradigm-shifting platform comprised of individuals and institutions dedicated to aligning a movement to transform and penetrate our most pressing societal issues. Olivia was previously the executive director at Justice Matters, a racial justice organization where she worked for 12 years developing organizing, research, and policy methodologies. Olivia was previously part of the Racial Justice Project at the ACLU of Northern California where she worked as the Campaign Coordinator for the Driving While Black and Brown Campaign. She has also worked at People United for a Better Oakland (PUEBLO). Olivia has a BA in Latin American Studies and Spanish and Latin American Literature from UC Berkeley, and MPA from the Wagner School of Public Service at New York University.

Nadia Barhoum is a Haas Institute Research Associate where she focuses on visualizing data and tracing the connection between local and global in the political economy of the global food system. Nadia also researches the socioeconomic impact of anchor institutions on marginalized communities. Nadia previously worked at Human Rights Watch in New York, where she coordinated the Middle East/North Africa Division, where she worked collaboratively with human rights defenders and researchers. She has also previously worked in Palestine at an NGO specializing in international human rights law and advocacy. Nadia has a BA in Political Economy from UC Berkeley, with a minor in Middle Eastern Studies, and a Masters in Research Architecture from the University of London.

Ebonye Gussine Wilkins is the Communications & Media Associate at the Haas Institute. She supports the Institute’s mission and vision by shaping the stories told through the work of the core staff and faculty clusters through print publications, blogging, social media, and content creation. Her interests include sociolinguistics, inclusion through culturally-responsive editorial standards, and publishing the voices of traditionally marginalized people. A native New Yorker, Ebonye earned a BA in Cognitive Science & Linguistics from Johns Hopkins University, and a MS in Business Management and Leadership from the CUNY School of Professional Studies.

Alyson Reimer is the Executive Assistant to the Director. A licensed attorney and a Seattle native, Alyson attended Western Washington University and received degrees in Sociology and Psychology with emphasis on race and ethnicity and behavioral neuroscience. Alyson worked for the Southern Poverty Law Center as a researcher and law clerk to Morris Dees. Upon graduating from Berkeley Law, she worked as a public interest attorney at Bay Area Legal Aid and the East Bay Community Law Center. Her work includes both legislative advocacy for welfare reform, and direct services for recipients of public benefits and victims of domestic abuse. Alyson is interested in restructuring state and federal welfare programs in order to combat structural racism and class-based bias.

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