

# THE ROSE REVIEW

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

**Kenneth P. Miller, J.D., Ph.D.**



### **W**hat is the Rose Institute's mission?

For nearly fifty years, the Rose Institute has pursued a three-fold purpose – namely, to enhance the education of students at CMC; to produce high-quality research; and to promote public understanding of state and local government, politics, and policy, with an emphasis on California.

The three pillars of our mission are mutually reinforcing. For example, the more effectively we train our students, the better their research for the Rose Institute will be. At the same time, the more we develop policy-relevant, public-facing research projects, the more our students will be engaged with their work and learn from it.

Although the three pillars are connected, all require focused attention. Let me briefly describe some of our recent efforts in each area.

#### **Educating Students**

The Rose Institute is embedded in an undergraduate liberal arts college, and thus we are centrally concerned with the education and development of our 30-plus student research assistants. Our programs are designed to provide each student an extraordinary experience in applied learning.

This fall, as in prior years, we are introducing our 13 new hires to our work through an eight-week training “boot

camp.” Topics include: Introduction to Databases with **Prof. Jack Pitney**; Introduction to Research Methods with **Prof. Lisa Koch**; Memo Writing with **Prof. Eric Helland**; STATA with **Prof. Andy Sinclair '08**; Data Collection and Excel Fundamentals with **Desmond Mantle '23**; Tableau with **Daniela Corona '23**; and InDesign with **Marionette Moore**. I also provide the new hires a seminar on California Politics.

As part of this boot camp, new RAs will develop and present their “new hire projects.” These projects require each student to select a public policy issue in California and analyze the issue using various research methods. This year, the project is supervised by New Hire Manager **Nathan Tran, PO'23**, assisted by a team of Rose Institute student mentors.

After their first semester, our new students will continue to receive training, while progressively taking on greater responsibilities on projects. During their years at the Rose Institute, they will have opportunities work with Rose-affiliated faculty on academic research; collaborate with members of the Board of Governors, outside consultants, and others on Institute projects; and propose, develop, and manage projects of their own design.

#### **Producing High-Quality Research**

The Rose Institute aspires to conduct high-quality research, equivalent to publications coming out of R-1 universities and policy think tanks. This aspiration isn't

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# DIRECTOR'S REPORT

easy to pull off because we have a small senior staff and a research team comprised of undergraduates, not career professionals or graduate students. The Institute's task, then, is to design projects we have the capacity to execute, and to provide enough resources (in the form of student training, mentorship, and supervision by our staff, affiliated faculty, and outside consultants) to ensure the quality of our work.

**Bipasa Nadon**, the Rose Institute's Assistant Director for Research and Publications, and I oversee many projects, but we can't personally supervise all of the Institute's research. Increasingly, we rely on our Faculty Advisors. For example, Prof. Sinclair is supervising one of this year's largest projects, our pre-election national CMC-Rose Institute Poll. We also have enlisted help from outside consultants in managing projects. Most notably, Rose alumni **Nicolas Heidorn '06** and **Jessica Jin '16** assisted with our 2022 Video Voter Guide to California's Ballot Propositions. Jessica is also working with Marionette to redesign the graphic presentation of Rose Institute research.

## Promoting Public Understanding

The Rose Institute has always been a public-facing institution. We focus on projects and programs (such as our speaker series) that help various constituencies understand political and policy issues of the day. We seek to provide useful information and analysis for our campus community, policy makers, business leaders, journalists, academics, and the general public. A prime example of this effort is our 2022 Video Voter Guide, led by **Marshall**

**Bessey '23**. Students on the team designed videos for wide distribution and this year, for the first time, produced short-form versions for voters who get their information on Instagram and Tik-Tok.

## ... with an emphasis on California

The last element of our mission statement notes that our research focuses primarily on California. We believe this geographic emphasis makes sense because the Institute is located here, and also because California is a "mega-state" with the nation's largest population and GDP, and its policies influence the rest of the nation and the world. California provides a vast menu of important topics to study.

That being said, the Institute is increasingly interested in studying California from a comparative perspective. A few examples: Our current CMC-Rose Institute Poll compares voter attitudes in California with those in other large states; our Kosmont-Rose Institute Cost of Doing Business Survey compares costs in selected California cities with those of cities in the western United States where California businesses are most likely to move; and our collaboration with CMC's Lowe Institute of Political Economy and the Inland Empire Economic Partnership is broadly examining California's competitiveness compared with other states.

All to say, the Rose Institute remains fully committed to its three-fold mission, and we'll all keep working to achieve each of its elements.



With Nicolas Heidorn '06 during their talk at the Athenaeum on September 28, 2022

# STUDENT MANAGEMENT REPORT



Student Manager Cameron Stevens '23, flanked by Associate Student Managers Desmond Mantle '23 and Tara Mehra '23.

The Rose Institute has enjoyed a successful transition from remote summer research to an active fall semester back on campus— perhaps the first “normal” return since the COVID-19 pandemic. As such, we are driven to make the coming year memorable, both from a research and community perspective. As student managers, our transition efforts began in early August when we met to finalize our goals for the upcoming hiring season and research agenda at large. After many long discussions, a successful open-house event, late nights of reading applications, and, of course, a competitive interview process, we proudly hired 13 new Rose Research Assistants. These exceptional first-years and sophomores each bring a distinct set of skills, interests, and experiences that will add to the diversity and success of the Rose Institute. We are excited to see where their contributions will take us.

We would like to thank our New Hire Manager, Nathan Tran PO'23, for his hard work during the hiring process and for the support he will provide to our new hire class throughout this upcoming year. Already, Nathan has actively curated a New Hire program that will provide in-depth, high-quality training to our new RAs. CMC faculty and experienced Rose students will present on various skills integral to successful Rose Institute research, including research methods, technical programs, mapping software, and more. Furthermore, each New Hire will be mentored by an experienced Rose RA who will guide them through the research process for the New Hire Project, much like a thesis reader. We are confident that our new mentorship model, and Nathan's leadership, will prepare our new students for a successful transition into the Rose Institute.

As Student Managers, we are also making it our focus to further strengthen the innovative research that the Rose

has historically produced, with a particular emphasis on the California economy, local redistricting, and sustaining connections with project clients. For example, over the summer, Rose RA Ryan Lenney '25 delivered a project to the City of Ontario that analyzed possible methods to modernize the city's permitting process. Additionally, we continue to partner with top-notch CMC government faculty to connect them with RAs to contribute to their research. This semester, RAs are working under Professors Fortner, Rose, Sinclair, and Pears. The faculty-led projects, spanning topics from crime and policing to state identity, further strengthen the Institute's successful relationship with experienced professors and provide students with unique opportunities to conduct research at the highest level.

Rose students and staff continue to drive our research in new and innovative ways, creating and reimagining impactful research projects. For example, this semester, Rose RA Marshal Bessey, in collaboration with Rose alum Nicolas Heidhorn '06, led a group of students to reinvigorate our Video Voter Guide, giving a modern look to videos that continue to provide objective analyses on California's ballot initiatives.

As Student Managers, we feel humbled to lead a talented group of students and have the opportunity to oversee research alongside such impressive faculty leadership. We look forward to continuing our work with Senior Staff, long-standing Rose partners, and new collaborators to provide impactful research on state and local government issues. We would like to thank our students, staff, and alumni who have provided us with an incredible foundation, and we look forward to the opportunities ahead.

# PROJECT UPDATES

## Video Voter Guide

Marshall Bessey '23

The Video Voter Guide strives to create non-partisan resources for California voters to turn to for information about the state-wide ballot initiatives and referenda. The team created three resources for each measure: a video of around two minutes, a video of around thirty seconds, and a background paper with greater detail on the measure. The products explain the background, what the initiative does, the fiscal impact, supporters and opponents, arguments from both sides, and the meaning of a Yes and No vote. The Rose Institute published these videos and background papers on its website, the Rose Institute's social media pages, and the Rose Institute's YouTube page.

This year's Video Voter Guide includes contributions from two Rose alumni, Nicolas Heidorn '06 and Jessica Jin '16. Nicolas worked closely with the student team to review and edit the backgrounders and scripts. Jessica is the founder of JJin Creative; she designed all of the graphics for the videos.

## Professor Fortner: The Handbook of Urban Politics and Policy

Cameron Stevens '23

Professor Michael Fortner and Rose RA Cameron Stevens recently co-authored a chapter entitled "Crime, Punishment, and Urban Criminal Justice Systems in the United States," which reviews various urban political frameworks and evaluates their ability to explain the effects of race and urbanization on incarceration trends. The chapter was accepted, with minor revisions, for publication in the Handbook of Urban Politics and Policy to be published by Edward Elgar. The final version of the chapter will be submitted on November 1 and published shortly thereafter. In addition, Dr. Fortner and Cameron will be submitting another chapter this spring to be published in the Oxford University Press Handbook of Crime and Sentencing.

Sarah Simionas '23 is currently reviewing a report for Professor Fortner on the New York mayoral election for the Niskanen Center.



George Ashford '25 shown presenting one of the ballot propositions.

## Rose Institute Polling Program/ Fall 2022 Pre-election Poll

The Rose Institute is continuing to develop its polling program. Last year, the Institute polled residents of California and New York at a time of crisis for their governors—that is, when California Governor Gavin Newsom was facing a recall election and New York Governor Andrew Cuomo had recently resigned. This fall, the Institute is conducting national pre-election poll of more than 5,000 respondents, with oversamples in five large states: California, Texas, Florida, New York, and Pennsylvania. The poll includes assessments of the current governors of California, Texas, Florida, and New York; preferences in gubernatorial elections in these four states, as well as in the Senate race in Pennsylvania; early preferences for the 2024 presidential election



# PROJECT UPDATES

(including a hypothetical match-up between Newsom and Florida Governor Ron DeSantis); questions about political reform, criminal justice, and Covid response; and set of questions exploring respondents' interest in moving out of their states. These polls have been directed by CMC Professor Andrew Sinclair, and were implemented by YouGov. Rose students George Ashford, Helen Bovington, Daniela Corona, and Nolan Windham helped develop survey questions and most of the student staff will code responses. The Rose Institute polling program is designed to contribute to public understanding of contemporary politics and to provide data for academic research. The current poll is largely funded by the Rose Institute, with additional funding from CMC and from the Salvatori Center.

## Top-Two Election System Q&A

Last summer, before California's June Primary, Professor Andrew Sinclair published a comprehensive analysis of California's Top-Two Primary System. The analysis was presented in the form of a "Q and A." The report included topics such as "How does the top-two election system differ from the 'blanket primary' we used to have in California?" and "How often, and under what circumstances, do same-party general elections occur?" Current and former Rose students Catherine Murphy, Bryn Miller, and Ian O'Grady assisted with the Top-Two Q and A report. Prof. Sinclair's work on the Top-Two system was noted in a *New York Times* report on California's primary elections.

## Kosmont Cost of Doing Business

Desmond Mantle '23

The Rose Institute is relaunching the Kosmont project with a new vision for how it would study key factors in making cities more or less expensive for business owners. Sixteen student research assistants worked for the past year to identify the most and least expensive cities for business owners in California and selected out-of-state cities.

This year's study covered 158 cities, chosen by moving outward from our location in the Pomona Valley and Inland Empire regions. It includes all incorporated cities in San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange Counties, as well as all Los Angeles County cities located east of Interstate 605 or located in the region known as the South Bay, which is currently a hub for new businesses. The out-of-state cities consist of the 40 cities where businesses moving out of California most commonly go, restricted to states west of the Mississippi River. The states represented are Arizona, Colorado, Hawai'i, Idaho, Minnesota, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon, Texas, Utah, and Washington.



# SUMMER UPDATES

## Ryan Lenney '25

This past summer, Ryan traveled to Finland on an Appel Fellowship to investigate the Finnish approach to homelessness. He lived in Finland's capital, Helsinki, for six weeks and interviewed Finnish social workers while writing his report. Ryan also got to see some of Finland's many beautiful national parks and took the ferry to visit Estonia. After finishing his project, Ryan traveled around Europe for the first time with some friends from CMC. Throughout the summer, Ryan also worked on a contract project for the City of Ontario, researching methods for the city to modernize its permitting processes.



Ryan Lenney '25

## Audrey Donahue '25

This summer, Audrey worked as an intern for the Brotman Baty Institute in Seattle on a project called, Connect My Variant (CMV). CMV, initially created and funded by the University of Washington Medical School, is now shifting to become an independent non-profit. Their work focuses on helping people who have tested positive for hereditary cancer-causing genetic mutations to match with others who share the same variant as them. If two people share the exact same variant, there is over a 90% chance of sharing a common ancestor! Her main role as an intern was to interview patients and assist the institute in genealogy research and outreach. Audrey absolutely loved working with this amazing organization of doctors and genetic counselors on such an important issue. In August, she spent two weeks traveling in Spain. Audrey spent time in Barcelona, Lloret de Mar, Baines, and Tossa de Mar.



Audrey Donahue '25



# SUMMER UPDATES

## Anna Short PO'24

This summer Anna continued her research at the Rose on the California Competitiveness project. This project examines the changing nature of California's economy. It highlights the kinds of firms entering and leaving the state, as well as the top destination states for California businesses looking to move. Anna also contributed to the Rose Video Voter Guide by researching Proposition 30, an initiative on California's November ballot. She also traveled to Europe to sightsee and visit her brother. Anna spent a lot of time at home with her family this summer. Lastly, Anna brushed up on her data analysis skills and took the first few steps toward applying to law school.



## Daniela Corona '23

This past summer, Danny was an outgoing First Year Programs intern. Throughout the summer, she helped plan first-year orientation, visited campsites, and supervised the new First Year Program interns. At the same time, Danny was also a Resident Assistant for CMC summer residents. As summer came to a close, she began official Resident Assistant training with the whole cohort, and they prepared to welcome new and returning students back to campus.



Anna Short PO'24



Danny Corona '23 (far right)

# SUMMER UPDATES

## Nikhil Agarwal '24

Over the summer, Nikhil interned at the California Policy Center, a center-right libertarian think tank based in Southern California. He researched legislation regarding occupational licensing requirements in California and helped organize a legislative summit in Sacramento for the think tank's members. He also attended a one-week course at the American Enterprise Institute, learning about federal welfare policies and the safety net. Lastly, Nikhil participated in a three-day student leadership conference with The Alexander Hamilton Society.

## George Ashford '25

George spent the first part of his summer on Capitol Hill as an intern at Representative Jamie Raskin's office. He supported the office's constituent services, communications, and legislative functions. George responded to constituent emails, tracked Rep. Raskin's coverage in the press, and took notes on Congressional briefings and committee hearings. He also volunteered on a few local campaigns in his spare time. Getting to know the Hill up close reinforced George's love of legislative politics, and he hopes to be back soon! After his internship, George hiked the Camino de Santiago in Spain and then spent the rest of his summer decompressing with friends at home and in the mountains and lakes of Vermont and upstate New York.

## Pieter van Wingerden '24

Pieter interned for the Project 2049 Institute, a D.C area think tank devoted to promoting American values and security interests in the Indo-Pacific region. He had the opportunity to analyze and brief decision-makers on political, military, and economic developments in the region and contribute to the institute's publications. During the evenings, Pieter furthered his Chinese language skills through the National Taiwan University's International Chinese Language Program. Pieter is excited to apply his newly honed analytical skills to the Rose.



George Ashford '25 (far right) in Spain with friends.



# SUMMER UPDATES

## **Cameron Stevens '23**

Cameron spent the summer in Los Angeles as an intern at Keyser Marston Associates, a real estate consulting firm that provides advice and expertise on affordable housing projects and land use policy issues for city governments in California. Using skills he learned at the Rose Institute, Cameron reviewed developer documents for affordable housing projects and built pro forma models in Excel to calculate the required municipal financial support needed to make each project feasible. Cameron also reviewed local inclusionary housing ordinances and researched the application of SLFRF for housing assistance based on the guidelines in the American Rescue Plan Act --- knowledge he is excited to apply to future research back at the Rose Institute.

## **Katherine Jackson '25**

This summer, Katherine interned at Congressman Eric Swalwell's District Office in Castro Valley, California. Katherine answered constituent calls, created casework files, recorded constituent comments, assisted with town hall events, directed constituents to the appropriate offices and agencies for their concerns, and flagged any threatening letters, voicemails, or phone calls. She also worked on Rose's Video Voter Guide this summer. Katherine got the opportunity to travel to Europe this summer, visiting Italy, France, and Spain with family and friends.

## **Marshall Bessey '23**

Marshall spent this summer interning for Congressman Ken Calvert of California's 42nd district. Congressman Calvert is the ranking member on the Defense Appropriations Subcommittee, and he represents a large swath of the Inland Empire region. During his time in the office, Marshall drafted constituent correspondence, gave Capitol Tours to constituents, and helped the office's national security advisor with policy research. Marshall loved spending more time in DC, but he is very excited to return to the Rose Institute for his final year!



Katherine Jackson '25

# SUMMER UPDATES

## Nathan Tran PO'23

Thanks to a grant from Pomona College, Nathan began his summer with a month-long independent research project in Denmark. By sharing coffee with top politicians, volunteering at local food banks, interviewing activists from across the ideological spectrum, and undergoing countless other unique experiences, Nathan explored the often-overlooked intricacies of Danish civic participation. Upon returning to the States, Nathan participated in the UC Berkeley Labor Summer program, where he worked as an organizer for a public-sector union. Now that he is back on campus, Nathan is excited to continue his studies, reconnect with his friends, and mentor the next generation of Rosies as New Hire Manager.



Nathan Tran PO'23



Nolan Windham '25

## Nolan Windham '25

During his summer break, Nolan spent time with friends and family and taught himself calculus. He also consulted for a media production company in New York, where he helped develop their presence in the metaverse. In his spare time, Nolan played street golf in the alleys of Manhattan using empty milk cartons as balls. He looks forward to continuing work on this year's Rose projects.

## Liann Bielicki '24

Liann participated in CMC's Summer Research Program (SRP) under the guidance of Professor Sinclair. It was her first experience with full-time research, and she was lucky to have an excellent mentor and an amazing research partner on the project. The project looked to provide insight into the predictability of political events, such as the upcoming midterm elections, and the different strategies that experts and laymen alike use to forecast results. Something Liann really appreciated about SRP was the structure. Every week, SRP participants gathered for a guest lecture presented by different professors involved in the program, and at the end of the summer, all of the students presented their projects. Although her project was in the political science realm, Liann learned about psychology, literature, and history as well.



# SUMMER UPDATES

## Grace Hong '24

This summer, Grace interned at Townsend Public Affairs, a lobbying firm that provides state and federal legislative advocacy and grant-writing services to public agencies and nonprofits throughout California. In the Southern California office, she met with clients, wrote narratives for grant applications, drafted letters to key stakeholders, and tracked legislation to provide clients with immediate updates. In early July, she also went on a cruise to Northern Europe, where she visited Iceland, Norway, Scotland, and England. In her remaining time, she worked on Rose's Video Voter Guide before leaving for CMC's DC Program this fall semester.

## Tara Mehra '23

Tara spent the summer in D.C. working at Deloitte Consulting as a Strategy Analyst Intern. Specifically, she traveled to New York weekly to support a post-deal integration project for a multinational insurance conglomerate separation. In doing so, she refined her PowerPoint skills, engaged in Excel modeling, and learned about M&A strategy. While she enjoyed the fast-paced, client-facing world of management consulting, she looks forward to applying the project management skills she acquired to leadership at the Rose this year.

## Helen Bovington '24

Over the summer, Helen participated in a hybrid fellowship with the US Department of Energy called the Mickey Leland Energy Fellowship. She spent nine weeks researching the success, effectiveness, and technology maturation of a select number of the energy storage projects awarded and completed under the recent energy storage funding opportunity announcement (FOA). The selected projects were also assessed against current administration goals, including goals discussed in the Infrastructure Investment and Jobs Act. The results from her research project provided information on the success of the 2020 Energy Storage FOA, as well as a blueprint for assessing the success and effectiveness of energy storage projects in general. The last week of the fellowship was spent in person at the DOE in Washington DC, where all the MLEFs presented their diverse range of research topics.



Grace Hong '24

# SUMMER UPDATES

## Catherine Murphy '24

This summer, Catherine continued her work with Professor Andrew Sinclair, researching and writing a paper about California's top-2 primary electoral system. The paper will be co-authored by Professor Sinclair, herself, and CMC alumni Ian O'Grady '15 and Bryn Miller '19. She also worked part-time for the Rose Institute this summer, coding survey data for a project about public opinion on the death penalty in the US. In addition, she worked on Rose's 2022 Video Voter Guide. Outside of research, Catherine worked at a Guyanese restaurant as a host. She is currently studying abroad in Madrid, Spain.



Catherine Murphy '24



# SUMMER UPDATES

## Sarah Simionas '23

This summer, Sarah interned at Mercer's Career Consulting department. The projects she worked on aimed at helping clients maximize their employees' potential and stay competitive in today's labor market.



Sarah Simionas '23 (fourth from left)

# NEW HIRE INTRODUCTIONS

**Jada Cook '26** is from Porter Ranch, California. She intends to major in Philosophy, Politics, and Economics at Claremont McKenna College. Her interest in state and local government developed through efforts she led in her high school, her community, and across the U.S. to increase voter registration and voter education, as part of the national, nonpartisan initiative When We All Vote. She also has a passion for research in the area of healthcare reform. At the Rose, Jada looks forward to honing her writing skills, utilizing new research programs and techniques, and engaging in civil discourse on a variety of issues related to state and local government. Jada is a dancer, who has performed and competed in many styles, including contemporary, jazz, pom, and hip-hop.



**Richard B. Cordero '26** is from Los Angeles, California, and is pursuing a major in History. He first developed his interest in government over many car rides home with his mom playing talk radio. In high school, Richard worked as a campaign intern for L.A. City Councilman John Lee's first campaign. Following that, he worked as campaign staff for Congressman Mike Garcia's campaigns and did a stint as an intern in Garcia's congressional field office. At the Rose, he is interested in researching gun policy, judicial elections, and district competitiveness. In his free time, Richard enjoys hiking, shooting, painting, and trying to keep up with campaigning.

**Cary Dornier PI'25** is from Greenwich, Connecticut, and is majoring in Political Studies, with an emphasis on International Politics, at Pitzer College. During his high school years in San Diego, California, he became politically active by working for congressional and presidential campaigns. This past summer, Cary served as an intern at the First Selectman's Office of the Town of Greenwich, where he was tasked with developing an electric vehicle charging policy, exposing him to the inner workings of policy-making at the local level. During the Summer of 2021, Cary interned at the New Jersey Department of Homeland Security where he conducted a trend analysis project focusing on extremist groups and affiliations. On campus, he has assisted Professor Busch with research concerning the 1981 air traffic controllers' strike and the subsequent Reagan administration response. He is interested in studying homeland security policy at the state level and getting to know all the great people at the Rose. Outside of academics, Cary enjoys playing tennis, re-watching presidential debates, and catching up on political dramas.



**Jack J. Gladson '25** is from Park City, Utah, and is majoring in Public Policy. His interest in state and local policy began when he got the opportunity to lobby for healthcare coverage expansions with state legislators. He also enjoyed analyzing policy perspectives and competing at tournaments as the captain of his high school's speech and debate team. At the Rose, Jack is looking forward to conducting research related to crime and justice. On campus, he is a member of CMC Advocates. In his free time, Jack likes to ski and create digital art.



# NEW HIRE INTRODUCTIONS

**Samuel N. Johnson-Saeger '26** is an Economics and International Relations major who was born and raised in Boulder, Colorado. He became interested in state and local government through Speech and Debate, as well as subsequent internships with a state legislator and the Governor of Colorado. Now, Sam is interested in learning about the relationship between institutional reforms and policy outcomes and hopes to hone his quantitative and qualitative research skills at the Rose. He loves hiking, reading excessively long fantasy books, and traveling to explore nature in different states and countries. In addition to working at the Rose, Sam competes for CMC's Model United Nations team, conducts research for the CMC Policy Lab and American Enterprise Institute on the impact of changes in vote access on voter turnout, and works as a program assistant at the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies.



**Sanskriti S. Kumar '26** is from Stamford, Connecticut, and is pursuing a dual major in Government and History. Sanskriti developed an interest in local government by working with local legislators to draft an allergy bill and working on local campaigns, where she learned directly about housing and education policy. At the Rose, Sanskriti hopes to develop her quantitative research skills and learn more about the Inland Empire Region. In her free time, Sanskriti enjoys spending time outdoors and with her family.

**Katherine S. Lanzalotto '25** is from Newtown Square, Pennsylvania, and is studying Government and Economics. She became interested in politics when she ran voter registration initiatives in her high school and community. Katherine is passionate about varying government issues but finds interest in drug policy and voter initiatives. Outside of the Rose, Katherine is on the Model United Nations team, where she serves as the 2022 McKennaMUN secretary general. She also works as President of GenUp Claremont, a 5C club, and traveled as an Appel Fellow this summer. You will probably find Katherine studying around campus or solving the daily crossword puzzle in her free time.



**Chad B. McElroy '26** is a freshman at CMC studying Government. Hailing from Concord, California, Chad pursued his passion for public service as an Election Poll worker in his home county of Contra Costa, worked with the staff of his local House Representative Mark DeSaulnier, and attended CA Boys State 2021. Chad hopes to further investigate topics such as firearms legislation and the voter dynamics at the Rose. In his free time, Chad enjoys riding his bike, going to baseball games, (re)watching Star Wars, and keeping up with everything related to NASA and space exploration.

# NEW HIRE INTRODUCTIONS

**Jemma S. Nazarali '25** is from Summit, New Jersey, and is a prospective PPE and Economics dual major. She first developed an interest in public policy in high school while working on Tom Malinowski's congressional campaign, and cultivated this passion in the summer of 2022 through her work as a research assistant at the CMC Policy Lab. Her summer fellowship with the Keck Center for International Relations, during which she researched the effect of fast fashion on the labor forces of low-income countries, further developed her interest in political economy. At the Rose, Jemma hopes to research the equity impacts of California's criminal justice system and housing policies.



**Andrea Y. Santillan-Galindo '25** is from Lee Vining, California a small town in the Eastern Sierra. She plans on majoring in Government with a sequence in Chicano/Latinx studies. Andrea got interested in state and local government after lobbying at the Capital for the Citizens Climate Lobby and doing some field work in Claremont and Pomona for her Government class. She looks forward to having a closer look at the many processes and challenges the state faces during the electoral process, and learning how to conduct thorough research using data extraction & analysis techniques. Andrea really enjoys solving puzzles with her brothers and walking around her hometown during sunset to get good pictures of the orange sky.

**Ryan S. Shakiba '26** is a freshman at Claremont McKenna College who is planning on majoring in both Data Science and Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (PPE). He has been interested in politics and government since he was young, being fascinated with the history of the executive branch of the national government, and as time went on, he also found the structure of federalism in the United States to be intriguing, which led him to take in interest in the features of local government as well, which is what led him to want to join the Rose Institute. He is most excited to learn about how state and local governments affect economic development and is looking forward to doing research in those areas. Being from San Diego, California, he loves the ocean and hiking, as well as tennis and running, but his favorite thing to do is to learn.



**Noah B. Swanson '25** is from Los Angeles, California, and is majoring in Economics and Government. His interest in local and state government arose through discussions with peers and teachers and is centered around citizen-driven public policy. Previously, Noah worked at Westhook Capital, an L.A based private equity firm, and during the summer of '22 interned for the Milken Institute, an economic think tank in D.C. At CMC, Noah is currently a first-year guide (FYG) and is working as a research assistant for Professor Fortner. At the Rose, he is excited to research economic and criminal-justice public policy. In his free time, you can find Noah going to CMS Trivia every Thursday, skiing, cooking, or watching the Dodgers.



# NEW HIRE INTRODUCTIONS

**Joseph Zhong '25** is from Elkhorn, Nebraska, and is pursuing a dual major in Public Policy and Economics. He got his start in the policy realm through nonprofits and advocacy in sustainability. From the nonprofit sector, Joseph quickly moved into the public financing of sustainable infrastructure at the Nebraska State Treasury, California State Treasurer's Office, and the North American Development Bank. His water policy interest drew him to the Rose Institute, where he hopes to explore the multi-level issue of intelligent water management policy. Outside the Rose Institute, Joseph is an Economic Journalist for the Lowe Institute, looking at manufacturing reshoring trends, and a Research Assistant at the Keck Center for International and Strategic Studies, analyzing the effect of foreign aid and democratization. Sometimes, Joseph is spotted giving tours to prospective CMC students. In his free time, Joseph loves to read books that challenge his beliefs, hike with friends, and watch the sunsets.



*First official group photo with New Hire Manager Nathan Tran PO'23 (far right).*

# ALUMNI SPOTLIGHT

## NICOLAS HEIDORN '06

by Katherine Jackson '25



Nicolas, shown here on the right, with Marshall Bessey '23 prior to his talk at the MMC Athenaeum on September 28.

PHOTO COURTESY OF BIPASA NADON

*Nicolas Heidorn is the founder of Heidorn Consulting, a firm that specializes in state and local policy and advocacy. He was formerly the Policy Director for California Common Cause, where he led the organization's legislative advocacy in Sacramento. He was also the founder and Director of the California Local Redistricting Project, which was a joint Common Cause- McGeorge School of Law effort to promote local redistricting best practices. He has over a decade of experience advocating for voting and governance reforms, particularly in local government. He drafted Senate Bill 1108 (Allen, 2016), which for the first time authorized all California general law cities and counties to adopt independent citizens redistricting commissions, and has assisted several jurisdictions in setting up their own local commissions. Representing Common Cause, he was also part of the coalition that passed Assembly Bill 849 (Bonta, 2019), which adopted new criteria and public engagement requirements for city and county redistricting.*

Prior to joining Common Cause, Heidorn served as Assistant General Counsel at the California Environmental Protection Agency, a position he was appointed to by Governor Brown in 2013. Before that, he worked in the State Legislature for State Senator Mark Ridley-Thomas and on the Proposition 11 campaign, which established California's state Citizens Redistricting Commission.

**What skills that you developed as a Student Research Assistant at the Rose Institute have you used in your career?**

One thing that has always stood out to me from my time at the Rose Institute was the level of meticulousness that went into our studies. I did some work on the Kosmont-Rose Institute Cost of Doing Business Survey, and I remember the detail that went into describing the different taxes, fees, and other costs of running a business for each of the surveyed municipalities. This type of broad survey work is really important for identifying best practices and also demonstrating what practical effects can flow from policy choices. Later in my career, somewhat inspired by the Kosmont, I would write and publish the California Municipal Democracy Index, which was a comprehensive survey of the election and campaign finance practices of all 482 cities in California. I think the Rose gives students a good appreciation for how to collect, organize, interpret, and present data, which is an invaluable skill set for anyone looking to work in public policy.

**What were the greatest challenges in founding your consulting firm?**

There are many benefits to policy consulting, especially greater flexibility with your schedule and the ability to drill down into issue areas that interest you. The hardest part of consulting is building a consistent book of business and also being diligent in choosing which clients to partner with. I've been fortunate that my consulting work has mostly stayed within the areas of elections and campaign finance reform and I've gotten to work with great organizations that share my commitment to building a stronger democracy.

**Your professional life has always been connected to state and local government. What originally interested you in state and local government, and how has this interest grown?**

I first became interested in state government after taking Professor Miller's California Politics class. In fact,



# ALUMNI SPOTLIGHT

Professor Miller introduced me to the Capital Fellows program, which is a unique program that places mostly recent college graduates in the state legislature to work as legislative aides while earning credits towards a Master's degree. I applied and was admitted into the Senate Fellows program, and helped carry a package of bills through the legislative process for a Southern California legislator. My time at the Rose also gave me an appreciation for how important, but often overlooked, state policymaking is. This is particularly true in California, where the reforms we adopt tend to migrate to other states.

My interest in local government also began in college. I had interned with then-Mayor of Oakland Jerry Brown, and enjoyed the work so much that I took a semester break from college to work full-time in his office.

My interests in state government and local government converged later on, when I was working on state legislative advocacy for good government organization California Common Cause. As Common Cause's Policy and Legal Director, I wrote and advocated for a number of state bills to strengthen the local democratic process.

## SPEAKER SERIES

- California's Choices: 2022 Ballot Measures | **Nicolas Heidorn '06 and Professor Ken Miller**, MMC Athenaeum, September 28, 2022
- Work in Technology and Politics | **Tyler Finn '17** lunch and talk at the Rose Institute, September 30, 2022
- Resolution: This House Should Abolish the Electoral College | **Aditya Pai '13 and Ilan Wurman '09**, moderated by **Nohl Patterson '22**, MMC Athenaeum, October 13, 2022, co-sponsored with the Dreier Roundtable
- The November Election, Public Opinion Polling, and California's Future | **Mark Baldassare**, MMC Athenaeum, October 28, 2022
- Talk Radio: A Political, Cultural and Social Force | **Larry Mantle P'23**, MMC Athenaeum, November 16, 2022, co-sponsored with the Dreier Roundtable



Tyler Finn '17 (center, standing) visit the Rose for a talk with current RAs (from left) Cameron Stevens '23, Ryan Lenney '25, Helen Bovington '24, Nathan Tran PO'23, Marshall Bessey '23, Audrey Donahue '25, and Tara Mehra '23.



Rose alums Aditya Pai '13, Nohl Patterson '22, and Ilan Wurman '09 delivered a lively debate at the Ath on October 13.  
PHOTOS COURTESY OF MARIONETTE MOORE

# BOARD OF GOVERNORS SPOTLIGHT

## DEBORAH GONZALEZ '85, P'14

by Katherine Jackson '25



Ms. Gonzalez giving a lecture to students at CMC after her talk at the Ath in 2017.

*Deborah Gonzalez is Vice President of Government Affairs and Chief Data Officer and corporate secretary at the Public Policy Institute of California. She and her staff work to connect PPIC research with policymakers and community leaders. A longtime Capitol staffer, she served as policy and fiscal director for six legislative leaders and worked on a wide variety of issues—including the state budget, education reform, infrastructure funding, and public safety. She holds a law degree from the McGeorge School of Law, University of the Pacific, and a BA from Claremont McKenna College, where she majored in international relations. Ms. Gonzalez is one of the two vice-chairs of the Rose Institute Board of Governors.*

### **Can you explain what your job entailed as a Capitol staffer?**

I held a number of different positions at the State Capitol from legislative aide, caucus policy director, chief of staff to individual members and ultimately, caucus chief of staff. I had the opportunity to work both in the Assembly and Senate, for individual members and for the caucuses. Outside the management responsibilities, the part I loved the most was my work on legislation and legislative initiatives. Researching, drafting and shepherding an individual bill or a bill package through the legislature is incredibly rewarding. It involves so many different skills from research to negotiation skills. I also specialized in budget negotiations at a high level and had the opportunity

to staff Big Five meetings (meetings involving the Governor and the four legislative leaders). In the end, I had the opportunity to negotiate several water and education bonds and reform packages involving education, criminal justice, health care and welfare reform. California faces so many challenges and there are endless opportunities for influencing the process in the legislature. One thing I think most people would be surprised about is how much of my job involved learning how to communicate ideas to members of the legislature and to the public. What if you had the perfect solution to a policy problem but you couldn't communicate it well? Honing my communications skill was a pivotal part of my job.

### **What was the most challenging aspect of the transition from being a Capitol staffer to becoming the Vice President of Government Affairs and Chief Data Officer at PPIC?**

The legislature desperately needs and wants relevant and timely research to inform their work, so I was very excited about the opportunity to join PPIC. Our work is evidence-based peer-reviewed research and requires access to data. It became clear very early on that access to data was an ongoing challenge for the organization so while I originally was hired as the Government Affairs Director, I quickly began working with the research teams identifying data opportunities and negotiating access. It takes time to build trust with data partners but it is something we've been able to do in the last five years. Another challenge was helping researchers understand the needs of policymakers and developing an understanding of the legislative bill cycle. Academic researchers have their own language, and it isn't always accessible to 120 policymakers with different styles and with limited time to digest research findings. Language matters, timing matters. Personally, most of my career was at the legislature at a high pace. Think tanks are appropriately more methodical. I'm working on what to do with downtime. But overall, many of the skills I honed at the legislature have been helpful in my role at PPIC.



# BOARD OF GOVERNORS SPOTLIGHT

**What advice would you give a Rose graduate starting a career in state or local government?**

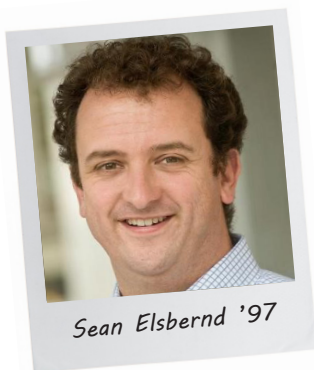
Go for it! Working in state or local government can be an incredibly rewarding career. You meet dynamic smart and driven people. You get to weigh in on the important policy issues of our time and really make a difference in your community. There are endless possibilities about where this career can take you in public policy and beyond. And when you leave the legislature, the analytical, organizational, and interpersonal skills you develop there will be valuable to the next organization you join.

**What is your favorite memory while serving on the Rose Institute's Board of Governors?**

I don't really have one favorite memory because I can honestly say that what I love most about being on the board is the student presentations! I love hearing about the projects students work on and I immediately see the connection to work going on in the legislature and at PPIC. Usually, after a meeting, I send at least one team information on the policy issue they are researching. I never worked at Rose when I attended college (my husband did) and I accidentally found my way into public policy but the idea that Rose is giving students tools to work in public policy at a high level excites me.

## NEW BOARD MEMBERS

Three CMC alumni have been recently appointed to the Rose Institute's Board of Governors.



Mr. Elsbernd has been Chief of Staff to San Francisco Mayor London Breed since 2018.



Mrs. Pitney is Vice President of Government Relations for the Walt Disney Company.



Mr. Figueroa has served as City Manager of the City of Martinez since 2019.

Learn more about them at [roseinstitute.org](https://roseinstitute.org).

# IN MEMORIAM: FRANK TRIPEPI P'96

by Audrey Donahue '25

Frank Tripepi, a leader in civic management and a longtime member of the Rose Institute Board of Governors, passed away on Sunday, June 19, 2022 at the age 74.

Mr. Tripepi's time at the Rose began in 2008, when he joined the Rose Board of Governors. He provided wise guidance to directors and staff, as well as generous mentorship to student researchers.

In 1969, Mr. Tripepi graduated from California State University Fullerton with a B.A. in Political Science. Immediately thereafter, he was drafted into the Army. He was deployed in Vietnam and Cambodia as a Field Artillery Operation and Intelligence Assistant in 1969. He led many night missions at firebases. For his heroic service, Frank was awarded the National Defense Service Medal, the Vietnam Campaign Medal, and the Good Service Medal.

After his military service, Mr. Tripepi served as the city manager of the City of Rosemead for nearly 28 years, between 1974 and 2002—an unusually long and successful tenure in that position. He then moved to the

private sector to become president and CEO of Willdan Financial, and, later, Willdan's Senior Vice President of Business Development. He also briefly returned to public service in 2008-2009, when he was the interim city manager for the City of La Puente.

Mr. Tripepi was widely respected for his expertise in local government and for his professional contributions to the San Gabriel Valley and greater Southern California. Earlier this year, the California City Management Foundation honored him at its Annual Member Appreciation Dinner. The honor focused on his military service and distinguished career in local government.

Mr. Tripepi leaves behind a loving family, including his wife Rhonda, daughter Nicole (Tripepi) Smith (CMC '96), son-in-law Ryder Todd Smith (CMC '96), the chair of the Rose Institute Board of Governors, granddaughter Reagan Smith, sister Valentina Shoop and brother-in-law Ron Shoop, as well as countless friends and colleagues who benefited greatly from knowing this good man.



Photo courtesy of the California City Managers Foundation.





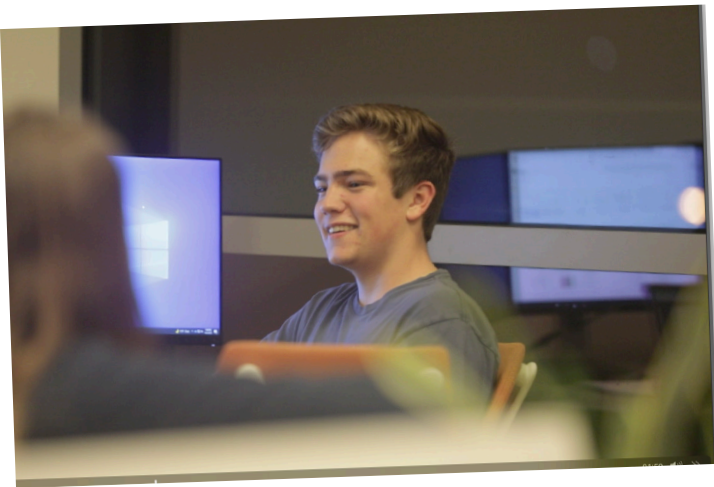
# IN THE WORKROOM



Anna Short PO'24



Helen Bovington '24 with Tara Mehra '23



Ryan Lenney '25



Sarah Simionas '23 and Katherine Jackson '25



Students meet with Rose alums, far left, Ilan Wurman '09 and Aditya Pai '13.



# WELCOME RECEPTION



PHOTO COURTESY OF MARIONETTE MOORE

## Student Management

Cameron Stevens '23  
Student Manager

Tara Mehra '23  
Desmond Mantle '23  
Associate Student Managers

## Communications Team

Sarah Simionas '23, Manager  
Katherine Jackson '25, Asst. Mgr. & RR Editor  
Audrey Donahue '25, Rose Review, Layout  
Nolan Windham '25, Photographer



ROSE INSTITUTE  
OF STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT  
CLAREMONT MCKENNA COLLEGE

The mission of the Rose Institute is to enhance the education of students at Claremont McKenna College, to produce high quality research, and to promote public understanding on issues of state and local government, politics, and policy, with an emphasis on California.

[WWW.ROSEINSTITUTE.ORG](http://WWW.ROSEINSTITUTE.ORG)

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