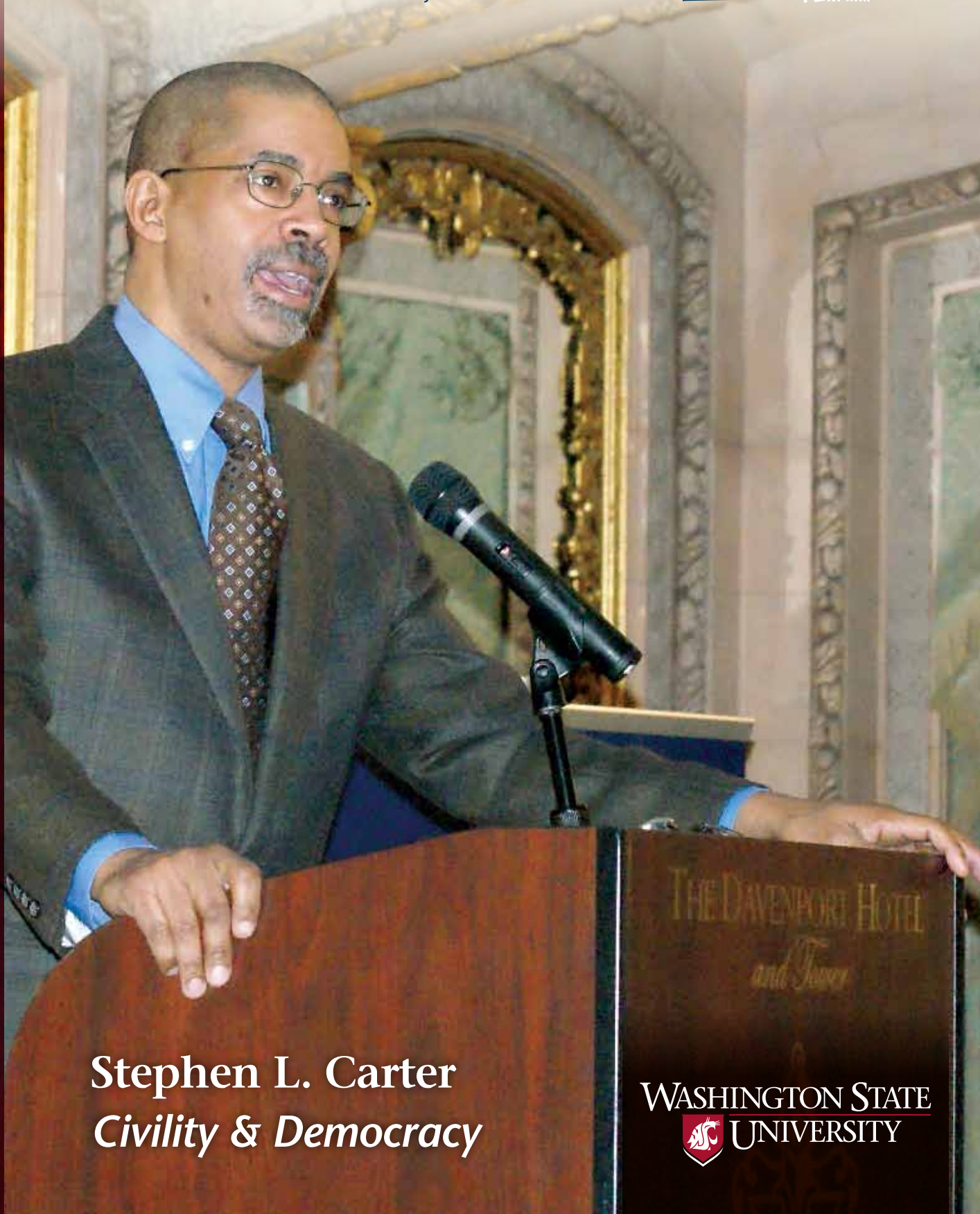


THE FOLEY REPORT 2011

THE **FOLEY** INSTITUTE REPORT

The Thomas S. Foley Institute
for Public Policy and Public Service



Stephen L. Carter
Civility & Democracy

WASHINGTON STATE
 UNIVERSITY

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The Foley Institute was established at Washington State University in 1995. The mission of the institute is to foster congressional studies, civic education, public service, and public policy research in a nonpartisan, cross disciplinary setting.

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director's *update*

It is an interesting time to be a student of politics. The bitter partisanship that surrounded last summer's debate over lifting the debt ceiling has left many Americans feeling like their political system is irretrievably broken. As tempting as it might be to blame the political system itself for the bitterness and paralysis besetting Washington, D.C., we should pause to consider that survey after survey has shown that Americans are currently more deeply divided over the role of government than at any time since the 1930s. Americans have strong feelings about the direction their country is moving. It should come as no surprise then or be a cause for cynicism that these divisions are reflected in spirited debates between and within the parties.

There is nothing wrong with deeply held convictions and spirited debate in our politics. However, democracy also requires certain habits of thought and behavior to sustain common bonds of citizenship. In addition to our usual commitment to public affairs programming, internships, and policy seminars, the Foley Institute has featured a series of programs over the past three years that seek to explore the relationship between civility and democratic governance. Last year the institute held our first forum on civility and politics for members of the Washington State Legislature in Olympia. This past March, we hosted a major conference on civility and American democracy in Spokane. Organized by the Foley Institute in partnership with Humanities Washington and the Idaho Humanities Council, and supported by a \$215,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the conference brought more than 30 major scholars from around the world together with humanities practitioners from across the Northwest to discuss ways to build a more respectful and thoughtful political dialogue. You can read more about the conference in this newsletter. We also encourage you to visit foley.wsu.edu/events for more about the conference and other civility and democracy related programs organized by the institute.

Speaker Foley's career exemplified not only an extraordinary commitment to public service but also commitment to the principle of civility and honor in politics. It is fitting that the institute continues his legacy through its commitment to public programs that encourage a more civil democratic process. We hope to see you at some of our events this next year. Please do not hesitate to contact me or any of the Foley Institute staff with your thoughts and suggestions.

—Cornell Clayton, Director

Thomas S. Foley Institute for Public Policy and Public Service
Washington State University



Cornell Clayton

staff changes

affiliate faculty—Clive S. Thomas

In summer 2011, the Foley Institute appointed **Clive S. Thomas** as an affiliate professor. He was professor of political science at the University of Alaska, Juneau until May 2011. Thomas holds a doctorate in political science from the London School of Economics and Political Science and is one of the world's leading scholars on political parties and interest groups. He has published extensively in the areas of interest groups, including Western, Alaskan, Latin American, and comparative politics. In 2011, Thomas was a panelist at our Governing Washington Conference (see page 6). He has previously taught a graduate level class at WSU Pullman on the subject of "U.S. Interest Groups and Comparative Perspective" and was previously a Foley Senior Fellow in 2009.



students—Shayla McKee and Tera Poirier

Shayla McKee, a political science and French major (right), has been a work study student with the Foley Institute since January 2011. Her duties include assisting Richard Elgar and Kara Johnson. She says her favorite part about working for the Foley Institute is getting to know a lot of great people.

Tera Poirier (left) is a senior studying public relations. She started working with the Foley Institute as an intern in January 2011. She has helped with various publications and says her favorite part has been learning and using Microsoft Publisher.



director of development—Nicholas Lovrich



Following his retirement from the Department of Political Science, we are very pleased to announce that Regents Professor **Nicholas Lovrich** will be joining us as director of development.

Lovrich joined WSU in 1977 and has been interim chancellor of WSU Spokane, director of the Division of Governmental Studies and Services, and twice appointed the Claudius O. and Mary W. Johnson Distinguished Professor of Political Science.



Civility & democracy in America

How should we understand the current state of America's political discourse? The Foley Institute, in partnership with Humanities Washington and the Idaho Humanities Council, hosted a major conference in Spokane March 3–5, 2011. Two keynote speakers, **Stephen L. Carter**, Professor of Law at Yale University, and **Sam Reed**, Washington Secretary of State, opened the conference with speeches to a packed audience at a public reception held at the Davenport Hotel. Both speakers discussed the importance of the norms of civility in making democracy work.

During a dinner speech to conference participants later in the evening, Carter suggested that a fundamental requirement of democracy is the willingness on the part of citizens

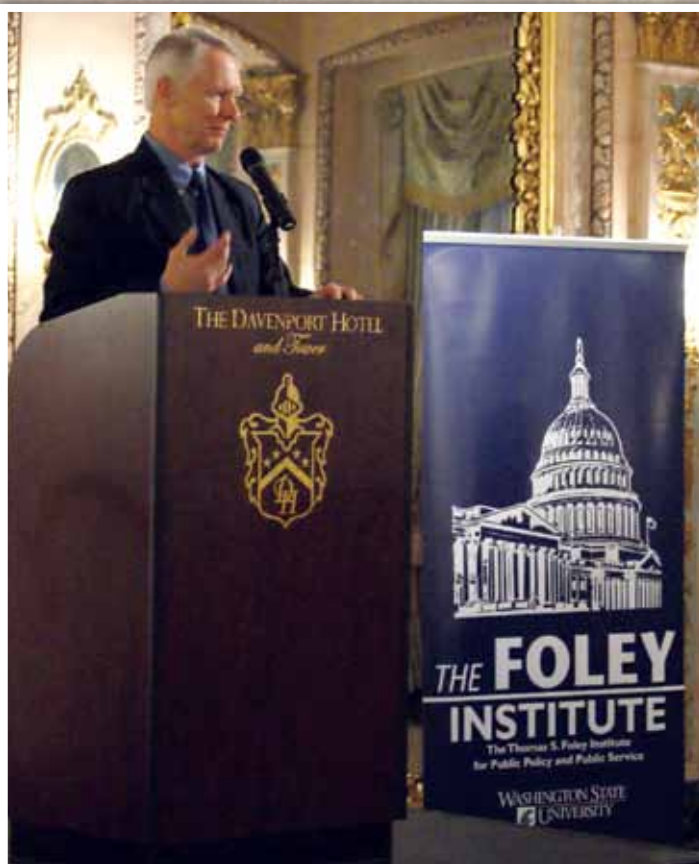
to engage in public debate and to be prepared to lose on matters that touch upon even their deepest held convictions. No matter how strong a person's views and arguments are, living in a democratic society may mean that sometimes their argument will not win the day. The commitment to the common bond of citizenship in the face of such a loss is the basis for treating others with civility and respect even when we deeply disagree about policy.

The conference consisted of a full day academic forum, followed by a day of workshops for humanities practitioners from around the Northwest. Funded by a \$215,000 grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the conference was part of a month-long national dialogue on civility and democracy sponsored by the NEH during March, with other conferences taking place in Los Angeles, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

The academic forum featured more than 25 nationally renowned scholars from various disciplines. It examined whether it is possible to hold a civil dialogue that both respects America's growing diversity but also allows the kind of political compromises that are necessary to pursue the common good. Scholars participated on panels that examined the relationship between civility and democracy from different, distinct humanities perspectives.

The panel on history included **Michael Kazin**, Georgetown University, **Fredrik Logevall**, Cornell University, **Lisa McGirr**, Harvard University, and **Thomas J. Sugrue**, University of Pennsylvania, and was facilitated by **Cornell Clayton**, Washington State University.

The panel on religion included **Paul Boyer**, University of Wisconsin, Madison, **Kathryn Lofton**, Yale University, **Amanda Porterfield**, Florida State University, and **Wade Clark Roof**, University of California, Santa Barbara, and was facilitated by **Matthew Sutton**, Washington State University.



The panel on art and architecture included **Edward Feiner**, former U.S. Chief Architect, **Joan Ockman**, University of Pennsylvania, **Alan J. Plattus**, Yale University, and **Witold Rybczynski**, University of Pennsylvania, and was facilitated by **Ayad Rahmani**, Washington State University.

The panelists on philosophy were **Joshua Cohen**, Stanford University, **Thomas Christiano**, University of Arizona, and **Brian Leiter**, University of Chicago Law School, and was facilitated by **Ann Levey**, University of Calgary.

The panel on communication and media included **Peter Bhatia**, *The Oregonian* newspaper, **Russell Dalton**, University of California, Irvine, **Theodore L. Glasser**, Stanford University, and **Dietram Scheufele**, University of Wisconsin, Madison, and was facilitated by **Lawrence Pintak**, Washington State University.

A common theme among panelists on the history and religion panels was that democracy may sometimes be advanced by behavior that would typically be thought of as uncivil or as challenging existing norms of behavior. For example, the actions of women suffragists and civil rights activists were mentioned. At other times, however, uncivil behavior, such as the actions of the Ku Klux Klan, is profoundly undemocratic and detrimental. In understanding the difference between such cases the panelists agreed that it is important to pay attention to context and the relationship of power between various groups when uncivil behavior occurs.

A different set of concerns about the state of America's civil discourse was explored by the panel of communication and media scholars, whose remarks tended to focus on the role of new media and the internet. While new communication technologies have in many ways democratized the news and provided greater access to political information and viewpoints, it has also led to over-simplifications and false dichotomies in lieu of presenting the complexities of highly nuanced issues. While a wide variety of alternative views can now be found in the media, panelists expressed concern that the new media have become megaphones for distorted views and extreme ideas.

Echoing Carter's keynote address, speakers on the philosophy panel discussed various ways to understand the meaning of civility within democratic societies. Civility could mean simply a willingness to listen authentically to the views of others and refusing to silence the voices of others with whom we disagree. An alternative

view is to think of civility as a duty one has when engaging in public debate over policy; to do so based only on grounds that all citizens can accept, rather than appealing to private or partial moral beliefs and values. It was also suggested that civility can come only from a position of mutual respect and good communication practices between people. For this, it was suggested that neutral and non-intimidating spaces are needed for civic conversation.

The art and architecture panel also stressed the importance of public spaces for civil discourse, and the role that architecture plays in creating such venues. Libraries, schools, and other public buildings, when properly designed and constructed, are both beloved by their communities and serve as the public square in the modern world. In keeping with other themes at the conference, this panel also suggested that buildings can be "too polite"—a restrained design might inhibit free expression and dissent, and such "politeness" may mask or inhibit the expression of alternative idea and views.

Following the academic forum, a series of workshops was held with practitioners from around the Northwest drawn from the fields of museum management, television and radio, architecture and art organizations, and education. The aim of these workshops was to discuss the development of new public programs to advance the ideas about civility and democracy that emerged during the conference.

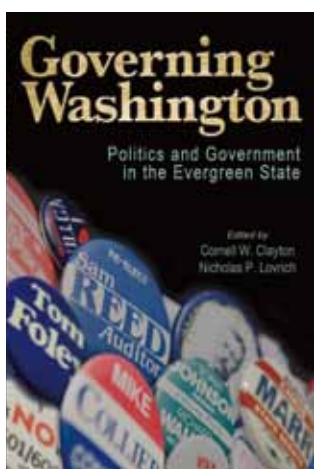
To find out more about the Civility and Democracy in America conference, and to see videos of the panels, please go to foley.wsu.edu/civility.

Spokane, WA





“Governing Washington” conference



On February 18, 2011, the Foley Institute partnered with the office of Washington Secretary of State Sam Reed to co-host the second annual Olympia conference at the state capitol. This year’s conference featured the authors of the new edition of *Governing Washington: Politics and Government in the Evergreen State*, which is being published by WSU Press in 2011.

With over 100 attendees, including state legislators and their staff, students, and members of the public, the conference helped to inform the audience about the latest research into politics in the state. Our headline panel included **Todd Donovan** (Western Washington University) discussing elections in the state, **H. Stuart Elway** (Elway Research Inc.), who presented on the political culture in

Washington, **Austin Jenkins** (Northwest News Network), who focused on the role of the media in the state, **Nicholas Lovrich** (WSU) and **Francis Benjamin** (WSU), analyzing the Washington State legislature, and **Clive S. Thomas** (University of Alaska Southeast). Roundtable discussants at the event included **Maria Chavez** (Pacific Lutheran University), **Cornell Clayton** (WSU), **Jacob Day** (WSU), **Luis Fraga** (University of Washington), **Jenny Holland** (WSU), **Steve Lundin** (former counsel of the House of Representatives), **Luke McMillan** (WSU), **Steven Stehr** (WSU), and **Simon Zschirnt** (WSU).

The conference can be viewed at foley.wsu.edu/events/videos.asp.



David Ammons from
Secretary of State
Sam Reed’s office



Olympia, WA



Bill Gates Sr. Initiative I-1098

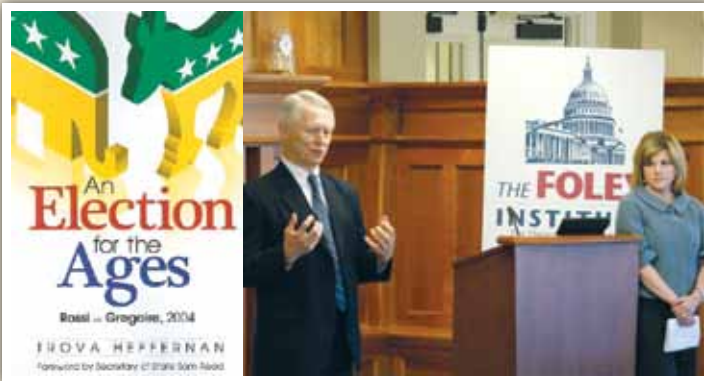
On October 5, 2010, **Bill Gates Sr.** discussed the topic of Initiative I-1098, of which he was a co-author. The initiative, which ultimately failed on the ballot in November, would have increased the amount of tax paid by the top 1.2% of Washingtonians, with the income to be directed to higher education and healthcare.

Constitution day

On September 17, 2010, the Foley Institute handed out copies of the U.S. Constitution on Terrell Mall in support of National Constitution Day. We hope to see you there this year to receive your free copy!

The 2004 Washington Governor's Election

Washington Secretary of State **Sam Reed** and author **Trova Heffernan** discussed the events detailed in her 2010 book *An Election for the Ages: Rossi vs. Gregoire, 2004*, describing the 2004 gubernatorial contest in Washington—the closest such election in American history. The election was won after two recounts and contentious court action, by a margin of 129 votes. Reed and Heffernan closed their discussion with a book signing. The book is published by WSU Press.



2011 Media and Politics Symposium

The second annual Media and Politics Symposium, cosponsored with The Edward R. Murrow College of Communication, was held October 28, 2010. Our panelists, **Tim Groeling** (professor, UCLA), **Rod Hart** (dean, University of Texas, Austin) and **Patricia Moy** (professor, University of Washington) discussed the role of the media, especially new media, in elections.



Rod Hart



partisan news reporting, the use and nature of web-based media, and the level of polarized and uncivil conversations on the internet. **Lawrence Pintak**, Dean of the Murrow College, mediated the event.



Coffee & Politics

— politics in the U.S. & WA —

The Death Penalty



In February, **Frank Baumgartner** (University of North Carolina) visited Pullman to discuss the death penalty.

His talk focused on the “discovery” of innocence—Americans’ sudden and collective discovery that the death penalty is a government program that is prone to errors.

Baumgartner also met with graduate students to discuss his involvement with the Comparative Agendas Project, which brings together scholars in various countries around the world to develop systematic indicators of issue attention within their nations’ political systems.

Courts

Washington State Supreme Court Chief Justice **Barbara Madsen** spoke to an audience in the Honors College Lounge in October on the subject of civil liberties in Washington. Madsen highlighted her own experience in the areas of women’s rights as well as court discussions around civil unions and gay marriage.



Voting

In October, **Arthur “Skip” Lupia** (University of Michigan) shared a timely presentation on voter competence, or the amount of information necessary for voters to make informed choices at the polls.



Religion

In December, **Anthony Gill** (University of Washington) discussed matters of religious liberty surrounding the construction and permitting of megachurches.



Arab Uprisings



In late March, **Ayman Mohyeldin**, Cairo-based chief correspondent for Al Jazeera English, discussed the turbulent situation in the Middle East. In a standing-room only talk in the Bundy Reading Room he noted that the reverberations from

the events in the region have been felt all over the world, including in the United States, where during this year's union protests in Wisconsin one sign read "Walk Like an Egyptian."

Mohyeldin also commented on the future paths for democracy, suggesting that in Egypt there is a major division between those that want a quick fix and early election and those that are eager to avoid the repetition of what they called a "shamocracy." He suggested that a major difference between past revolutions and the contemporary situation in Egypt is the lack of a leading opposition figure, such as Che Guevara or Lech Walesa. Instead, today's revolutions are grounded in the information age, as evidenced by a macabre joke doing the rounds in Egypt that a protestor could die by being "facebooked."

Political Islam



Professor **William Miles** (Northeastern University) discussed the transformation of Islamic populations in West Africa. His most recent book, co-written with his son, presents a travelogue of life in Africa.

Afghanistan



On October 1, 2010, **Zaher Wahab** (Lewis & Clark College) talked about development attempts in Afghanistan,

which Wahab suggested had been subverted by military operations in the country.

science and policy

DNA Evidence and Human Rights

Coming from the Californian Bureau of Forensic Services, Department of Justice, **Cristián Orrego Ph.D.** visited campus in September to speak about forensic investigations of human rights violations. In a co-sponsored event (with the Department of Anthropology and School of Biological Sciences), Orrego discussed how DNA testing provided a way to link previous authoritarian regimes with disappearances. DNA testing has also been able to reunite families with younger relatives that the regimes had sent away for adoption during that time.



Climate Change Policy in the United States

In April, **Griffin Thompson**, manager of The Energy and Climate Program at the U.S. State Department, discussed renewable energy sources and U.S. policy. He focused on nuclear energy, the effects of climate change, and the policies that have shaped environmental change, suggesting that bilateral agreements with large developing countries have had some impact, but that the inability of scientists and engineers to communicate effectively with policymakers still stands in the way of effective policy change.



internship program

This past year was another successful one for the Foley internship program. We awarded the second LeLoup Congressional Scholarship to John Culton, who interned in the Washington, D.C., office of Senator Maria Cantwell. His story appears opposite.

In keeping with our goals, we continue to seek high-profile placements. This year, we placed 46 interns in total, including many in Washington, D.C. and Olympia.



Pictured here with Tom Foley are four WSU students. From left to right: Allison Haugen, Chima Nwachukwu (who spent a semester with the Fund for American Studies), John Culton, and Taylor Phares.

In Washington, D.C., **Allison Haugen** and **Taylor Phares** both interned in the office of Senator Patty Murray, and **John Culton** interned in the office of Senator Maria Cantwell. **Jordan Graham** interned in the office of Representative Doc Hastings, and **Megan Murphy** had an internship at the offices of the lobbying firm Potomac Advocates.

In Olympia **Randi Ensley**, **Tamara Ferris**, **Kyle Haworth**, **Andrew Moore**, **Colleen Rust**, and **Jackie Weller** all took part in the Washington State Legislature's Internship Program—read more on page 12.

Nicole Smolinske spent the summer as a congressional intern at the Mercer Island office of U.S. Congressman Dave Reichert.

Here at WSU, a number of students interned with Student Legal Services. They were **Rishabh Agny**, **Courtnee Demers**, **Randy Johnson**, **Patrick Levitt**, **Kaitlyn Mahoney**, **Clark Menkes**, **Alexandra Robins**, **Talisa Sotelo**, and **Ryan Strahl**. Serving in the Division for Governmental Studies and Services, also at WSU Pullman, were **Jay Jung**, **Anna Manning**, **Steven Orme**, and **Douglas Weable**.

The WSU Police Department interns this year were **Ryan Blum**, **Erin Castro**, **Andrew Chambers**, **Adam Hausmann**, and **Christopher Siminski**.

Closer to home, **Tera Poirier** interned at the Foley Institute.

Daniel Boze interned with the City of Pullman in the office of the city supervisor; also in Pullman, **Derrick Skaug** interned with Eastern Washington Voters. **Chloe Beardsley** and **Sydney Garcia-Wheeler** interned locally for the Patty Murray for U.S. Senate Campaign.

In Spokane, **Abe Lodwick** was an intern at the law offices of Lee and Hayes, **Viet Huynh** spent a semester with the Department of Labor and Industries, and **Brendan Croteau** spent the summer interning with Washington State Senator (and Foley alumnus) Michael Baumgartner.

Other internships included **Sean Shkurhan**, who interned with KIRO TV in Seattle, **Alex Clark**, who was with the Auburn Police Department, **Austin Hicks**, who acted as a political fundraising intern with Colby Underwood Consulting, **Samir Jenejo**, who spent the summer as a civic rights case intake counselor intern with the Council on American-Islamic Relations, and **Tiffany Koch**, who interned as a shelter advocate for Domestic Violence Services of Benton and Franklin Counties.



Talisa Sotelo

My Time in D.C. *by John Culton*

***“I traveled to D.C.
to receive an education
that a classroom could
never provide.”***

—John Culton

As my last semester of college at WSU was quickly approaching, I still didn't know what I wanted to do with my life. As a prelaw student, law school seemed like the next logical step, but I had no desire to ever practice law. The only reason I wanted to go to law school was because I thought it would help me eventually break into my true passion, which was politics. My uncertainty about law school prompted me to apply for an internship in Washington, D.C., through the Foley Institute. I wanted to be at the heart of the political process in our nation's capital to see if a law degree was essential and what kind of jobs in public service are available. Not only did the staff at the Foley Institute help me get an internship with Senator Maria Cantwell in her Washington, D.C., office, they also provided financial assistance through the Lance LeLoup Scholarship and the Thomas Foley Distinguished Fellowship. With financial support and a sense of adventure, I traveled to D.C. to receive an education that a classroom could never provide.

During my first week in D.C., the president gave his 2011 State of the Union address, part of which was about the need for corporate tax reform. The next day at work one of the staffers asked me to write a report on the statutory tax rate versus the effective tax rate on Washington's top ten businesses by revenue. For those non-econ and business majors, I was doing research to see how corporate tax reform would impact Washington's biggest businesses. I was a part of the legislative process! This project was just the beginning of what my experience in Senator Cantwell's office would be like as I got to learn about a wide array



John Culton receiving his scholarship certificate from Cornell Clayton

of issues and then reported on them. During the course of my internship, I had the opportunity to work on agricultural issues, Indian affairs, the health care bill, and many other pieces of public policy. Although projects like these filled up a large part of my day, I also wrote response letters to constituents, gave Capital tours, compiled data for executive correspondence in an Access database, answered phones, and went to committee hearings for staff members. In these hearings, I listened to people like Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, and Secretary of State Hilary Clinton talk about topics ranging from budgets to the uprising in Libya.

Three months went by so fast but at the end of my internship I discovered my career path in public service and am now equipped for my post-undergrad career. I was even interviewed for a job back in Washington while I was in D.C., and I have recently accepted a position as Eastern Washington Director for Senator Patty Murray's office.

This internship changed my life and I could not have reached this point without all the support from the Foley Institute. My only regret is that I waited until the last semester of my senior year because this experience transcended any educational setting I've ever been a part of and I wish I would've done more internships!

John Culton was awarded the second Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship and graduated with a degree in political science in May 2011.

to Olympia and beyond...



Pictured left to right: Jackie Weller, Tami Ferris, Colleen Rust, Kyle Haworth, Randi Ensley, and Andrew Moore.

Six WSU students were placed in the Washington State Legislature for the 2011 session. **Randi Ensley, Tamara “Tami” Ferris, Kyle Haworth, Andrew Moor, Colleen Rust, and Jackie Weller** worked for senators, representatives, and a party caucus for the entire session.

The legislative internship program in Olympia is one of the most highly-regarded such programs in the country. In addition to office work, interns participate in weekly academic seminars and workshops, including meetings with state officials, as well as panel discussions. In the workshops, interns take part in a budget exercise, mock hearing, and mock floor debate. They also learn parliamentary procedure and how to write for the legislature.

The experience is an invaluable one, and previous WSU legislative interns have overwhelmingly described their experience as an immensely positive one that helped to shape their future career choices.



Kyle Haworth speaking during a mock floor debate in the Washington State Senate.



Jackie Weller dropping a bill in the “hopper.”

Help Us to Help Student Interns!

Your donation to our scholarship funds can ensure that more Cougs enjoy the chance to serve in Olympia, Washington, D.C., and beyond!

fellowship programs

Five graduate fellowships were awarded this year for a total of \$16,000.



John Branstetter in France.

Supported by the FACE grant (see page 14), **John Branstetter** and **Season Hoard** (both graduate students in political science) were awarded \$6,500 WSU–Sciences Po Research Fellowships to support a year-long exchange at Sciences Po, University of Bordeaux. Branstetter completed his requirements for two master's degrees in political science, one from the Institut D'Etudes Politiques, Bordeaux (Sciences Po) and one from Washington State University.

Hoard conducted research into women's movements in Europe. She examined the impact of gender expertise in public policy and, as part of that research, she interviewed gender experts working within the EU, UN, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, Finland, and Germany.



Season Hoard

Three summer graduate fellowships for \$1,000 each were awarded.



Beth Erdey receiving her award.

The Alice O. Rice Graduate Fellowship in Political Institutes and Democracy was awarded to history student **Tabitha “Beth” Erdey**, whose research deals with federal natural resource policy as it has been implemented since the 1960s. Her fieldwork takes her into northern Idaho to the Clearwater National Forest, Selway Bitterroot Wilderness, and the Dwoshak Dam.

The Scott & Betty Lukins Graduate Fellowship, which is awarded to a graduate student seeking to enhance their public policy research skills and pursue a research agenda focusing on major policy issues, was awarded to **Ellen Rogers** (political science). This award will support her research into the highly polluted “Superfund” real estate sites in urban areas known as brownfields.



Ellen Rogers



Emily Green-Tracewicz pictured in Bhutan.

The Burlington Northern Fellowship, awarded to a graduate student who conducts research in the area of just and sustainable societies and policies, was presented to **Emily Green-Tracewicz**, a doctoral student in crop and soil sciences. The fellowship will support her fieldwork in Bhutan, where she will be monitoring the region's transition to organic agriculture and evaluating the impact of organic practices on social and economic equity.

WSU partnership with

SCIENCES

PO



Bordeaux

Since 2009, the **Foley Institute** has been facilitating a joint master's program between the Department of Political Science at Washington State University and Sciences Po at the University of Bordeaux.

Supported by a major grant from the French American Cultural Exchange (FACE), the program has facilitated the exchange of students



Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot



Sciences Po Bordeaux

from both institutions, as well as a flow of faculty in both directions across the Atlantic to share expertise.

The Joint Graduate Program in Comparative Government is led by **Andrew Appleton**, associate professor of political science at WSU, and **Vincent Hoffmann-Martinot**, director of Sciences Po, Bordeaux.

This year, we facilitated the exchange of three students from France, **Anne-Laure Delaunay**, **Annie Houdouin** and **Victoria Douyere**, and with two WSU students making the opposite journey. **Season Hoard** and **John Branstetter** (see page 13) spent an academic year in Bordeaux.

Associate Research Professor **Sylvain Brouard** returned for his second successive stint teaching European Politics during summer session at WSU in July 2011.

In the coming year, the Foley Institute will host a major conference on the theme of translating science into public policy, featuring scientists and social scientists from the University of Bordeaux. It promises to be a fascinating event.

thank you to *our supporters*

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