The past year has been another busy one for the Foley Institute. Last summer the institute moved out of our cramped home in Johnson Tower, where we had been based since 1995, into our new home in Bryan Hall, right underneath the iconic clock tower at the center of WSU’s campus. As I write these words, our space is being completely remodeled to provide larger offices, a fully equipped “Foley Speaker’s Room” to hold our regular events, as well as designed space for the Foley Congressional furniture and displays that we have on long term loan from the U.S. Congress. The new offices should be completed in the fall and I hope you will be able to visit us in our new location soon!

A priority of the institute in the past few years has been to increase our programming and presence on the expanding WSU Spokane campus. As part of this effort we have been holding more events in Spokane, such as last year’s major conference on Civility and Democracy and this year’s day-long symposium on Health Care Reform (see page 5). This past year we also established a permanent exhibit on the WSU Spokane campus featuring furniture from the Speaker’s Office and other congressional memorabilia from Tom Foley’s tenure as Speaker of the House. The exhibit is prominently located on the second floor of the Riverpoint campus library and it also temporarily houses a handsome bronze bust of Tom that was donated to the institute by artist Sharon Taylor Hall of Lewiston. Once our new offices are complete in Pullman, we will be moving the bust to its new home in the Foley Speaker's Room at the institute. I encourage you to come visit us either in Pullman or Spokane to see these new additions.

Finally, in addition to the events and other activities that are presented in this newsletter, we are also delighted to announce that in partnership with WSU Press we have published the essays that came out of last year’s conference in Spokane on civility and American democracy. Details about the book can be found on the back cover. If you would like a copy of this book, please contact us directly as we have a small number available to give away free.

—Cornell Clayton, Director
Thomas S. Foley Institute for Public Policy and Public Service
Washington State University
Senior Fellow—Todd Donovan

The Foley Institute is pleased to welcome our newest senior fellow, Todd Donovan. A professor of political science at Western Washington University, Todd Donovan has carried out extensive research on elections and representation, mass political behavior, and direct democracy.

He is coauthor of the books *Why Iowa? How Caucuses and Sequential Elections Improve the Presidential Nominating Process* and *State and Local Politics: Institutions and Reform* and is widely published in his areas of interest. He received his bachelor’s degree in economics at California State University, Sacramento and his master’s and doctoral degrees in political science from the University of California, Riverside. Professor Donovan has been an active participant in Foley events, most recently serving as a panelist at this spring’s Olympia Policy Symposium, which focused on the initiative process in Washington state (see page 6).

Foley Distinguished Professor of Government—Travis Ridout

We are delighted to announce the appointment of Travis N. Ridout, associate professor of political science at Washington State University, as the latest Foley Distinguished Professor of Government. His areas of research interest include political communication, voting, elections and campaigns, political participation, presidential nominations, and survey methodology.

His current activities include serving as co-director of the Wesleyan Media Project, which tracks televised political advertising in all media markets in the country, and studying political advertising during the 2012 campaign. A specific angle includes examining the impact of the Citizens United decision (and resulting Federal Election Commission regulations) on changes in the funding of campaign advertising.

This research attracts a lot of media interest, and Ridout is interviewed regularly by major news organizations such as the Washington Post and National Public Radio, especially around issues of negativity in political advertising.

Students—Austin Hicks and Clark Menkes

Austin Hicks, pictured left, was our communication intern in spring 2012. “My favorite part of the internship,” said Austin, “was being able to meet such a wide array of distinguished scholars and political professionals,” which he hopes will help him achieve a career goal of moving to Washington, D.C. as a congressional staff member.

Senior Clark Menkes (right) returned to the Foley Institute as a work-study student for the year, combining this job with a position as associate director for Student Legal Services, based in the Compton Union Building.
Business and Policy Symposium: When Money Talk$

In early February, the Foley Institute and the WSU College of Business, in collaboration with the League of Women Voters of Pullman, held the third annual Business and Policy Symposium in the CUB Auditorium in Pullman.

This year’s conference focused on the Citizens United v. FCC ruling and the effect it is having on political fundraising. Our panel of specialists consisted of Brian Baird (former U.S. Congressman), David DeWolf (Gonzaga University), Michael Franz (Bowdoin College), and Melanie Sloan (Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington), and they presented a varied range of views on the effects of the ruling.

This symposium is available at foley.wsu.edu/events/videos.asp.

Media and Politics Symposium: Infotainment

The fourth annual Media and Politics Symposium, cosponsored with the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication, focused on the growing emphasis of entertainment in news programming.

Our panelists, Erica Austin (WSU), Geoffrey Baym (University of North Carolina), and Danna Young (University of Delaware) discussed the roles of shows such as John Stewart’s The Daily Show and Stephen Colbert’s Colbert Report, and the impact on informing democratic debate.

They noted that in a nightly segment, these forms of alternative public affairs journalism cover more hard news and offer more political discourse than traditional news outlets, all while catering to a more cognitively aware and politically active audience.

The Global Environment: What Risk?

The Foley Institute, in partnership with the WSU Department of Sociology, hosted a public symposium honoring the work of Gene Rosa, WSU Boeing Distinguished Professor of Environmental Sociology.

The day-long symposium brought together environmental specialists from across the country, including Thomas Dietz (Michigan State University), Steve Fuller (Warwick University), Andrew Jorgenson (University of Utah), Roger Karskens (Clark University), Sandra Marquart-Pyatt (Michigan State University), Allan Mazur (Syracuse University), Ortwin Renn (University of Stuttgart), Rachael Shwom (Rutgers University), Paul Stern (U.S. National Research Council), and Richard York (University of Oregon).
Health Care Policy Symposium

On Thursday, April 5, the Foley Institute partnered with WSU Spokane to host a public symposium entitled “A Rational Conversation about Health Care Reform” at WSU’s Riverpoint campus. A group of medical professionals and policy experts addressed the political background and policy consequences of the Affordable Care Act. The first panel included Mary Selecky (Washington Health Secretary), Tom Schaaf (regional medical director of Group Health), John Pierce (WSU alumnus and general counsel of Premera Blue Cross), and Patricia Butterfield (dean and professor of nursing, WSU). They discussed the challenges surrounding the implementation of the ACA.

The second panel focused on the politics of healthcare reform going forward. Jae Kennedy (associate professor in health policy and administration, WSU) served as the moderator for the panel, which included Paul Pierson (John Gross Professor of Political Science, University of California, Berkeley), Chris Faricy (assistant professor of political science, WSU), and Glen Stream (president, American Association of Family Practitioners).

The panel discussed the political barriers facing major social welfare legislation and touched on the differences in how the two major parties address the question of healthcare. This discussion is available at foley.wsu.edu/events/videos.asp.

SEPP Series: The Ethics of Global Climate Change

In April the Foley Institute and the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs initiated a new annual symposium series focused on science, ethics, and public policy (SEPP). The first symposium focused on ethics and global climate change, and featured Andrew Light, director of international climate policy at the Center for American Progress and director of the Center for Global Ethics at George Mason University.

He was joined by Bill Kabasenche (WSU School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs), Kent Keller (WSU School of the Environment), and Gene Rosa (WSU Department of Sociology). The panel discussed the role of policy makers and scientists and the ethical dilemmas they face when attempting to define the climate change issue, as well as when seeking solutions.
A Century of Citizen Initiatives

The third annual Policy Symposium in Olympia focused on the centenary of Washington’s initiative process.

The symposium was moderated by Austin Jenkins (NPR), and included Katie Blinn (Washington State Elections co-director), Todd Donovan (professor, Western Washington University), Lynn Kessler (former Washington State House Majority Leader), and Tim Eyman (initiative activist) to provide a discussion on the balance between direct and representative democracy.

There was a consensus that the initiative process offers a democratic avenue for citizens to participate in policymaking, although Lynn Kessler drew upon her experience in the Washington State legislature to explain that while many initiatives may begin with good intentions, they can also be counterproductive and be adopted without a full understanding of their implications.

Todd Donovan noted how the initiative process is becoming more expensive and that issues are becoming more nationalized. “These changes do make for a messy process, but the policy that is created is more reflective of public opinion,” he noted.

Tim Eyman, a well known initiative activist, described the initiative process as an effective oversight mechanism for the public to help keep government officials in check, suggesting that “this process upholds public demands when the legislature has turned their backs to public opinion.”
Judicial Diversity in Washington

In June, the Foley Institute partnered with the League of Women Voters of Pullman to bring a distinguished panel to WSU to discuss the role of diversity in the selection of judges for Washington courts.

Four different levels of the state judiciary were represented on the panel, which included Steven C. Gonzalez of the Washington State Supreme Court, Laurel Siddoway of the Washington State Court of Appeals (Division III), Cameron Mitchell, Benton County Superior Court judge, and Douglas B. Robinson, district court judge, Whitman County. They were joined by James L. Gibson, Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government at Washington University in St. Louis, a leading expert on judicial selection practices and judicial legitimacy.

Members of the panel noted that the Washington bench has become increasingly diverse in recent years and more reflective of the diversity of Washington’s citizenry. Much of the discussion focused on the ways a more diverse bench might impact judicial decision-making and whether it would positively impact public confidence in courts and perceptions of judicial legitimacy.

At a dinner reception directly following the panel, Washington State Supreme Court Justice Charles Wiggins (pictured top right) discussed the issue of judicial independence.

The 1960s Counterculture and WSU

Paul Brians (emeritus professor of English, Washington State University) shared his experience as an on-campus activist in the 1960s, a period of WSU’s history that is not well known today.

Professor Brians worked actively with groups such as Students for a Democratic Society and recalled a time when communes, demonstrations, and underground publications played a central role in student life.

Brians’ own activism allowed him to place events at WSU in the wider context of the counterculture movements that characterize what we now call “The Sixties.”
Why Good Science Fails to Become Public Policy

In February, before appearing at our campaign finance event, former Congressmen Brian Baird gave a captivating lecture on the application of social sciences to federal policymaking. The social sciences can profoundly influence policy and legislation, but, Baird explained, divisions within Congress are largely preventing this from happening.

He attributed the divide in government to an unwillingness to collaborate and consider objective evidence by either side, which makes it exceedingly difficult for science to influence policy.

Human Trafficking

Washington State Attorney General Rob McKenna visited Pullman in September to discuss human trafficking. As president of the National Association of Attorneys General, McKenna made combating human trafficking a top priority for 2011.

McKenna explained the four-part strategy developed to combat the $32 billion global industry: Pillars of Hope: Attorney Generals United Against Human Trafficking. Collaborating with multiple state and federal agencies, McKenna said that state attorneys general are setting out to prosecute persons and companies engaging in illegal trafficking.

Morality, Evolution, and Politics

Geoffrey Sayre-Mccord, Morehead Alumni Distinguished Professor of Philosophy at the University of North Carolina (left), joined us for a conversation in the Bundy Reading Room in October, where the subject of discussion was the relationship between evolutionary theory and morality and how these bear on politics.
Democratization and the Middle Class in China

In November, Professor Jie Chen (William Borah Distinguished Professor of Political Science and dean of the College of Graduate Studies at the University of Idaho) discussed his research indicating that the Chinese middle class may not support democratization. He suggested that their dependence on the state and perceptions of their economic well-being may be negatively impacting support for democratic reform in China.

The Past in Chinese Politics

Sherman Cochran, Hu Shih Professor of Chinese History at Cornell University, visited the Foley Institute in February to offer some insight into Chinese politics.

He spoke of the importance of understanding China’s long history to comprehend its current politics. As one of the leading experts on Chinese history, Cochran questioned whether China’s current form of capitalism could lead to the emergence of democracy.

Poisoned Food: Lawsuits and Food Safety

Bill Marler, WSU alumnus and accomplished personal injury attorney (pictured above), and Jeff Benedict, best-selling author, visited campus in April to discuss food safety and foodborne illnesses. Their discussion centered on Benedict’s latest book, Poisoned: The True Story of the Deadly E. Coli Outbreak that Changed the Way Americans Eat, which chronicles Marler’s involvement in the political and legal battle that unfolded after America’s largest outbreak of foodborne illnesses stemming from tainted Jack-in-the-Box hamburger meat.

When discussing the Jack-in-the-Box outbreak, they explained how the food industry could avoid future outbreaks, and what changes we can make at an individual level to avoid such infections.

The Politics of Income Inequality

WSU political scientist Chris Faricy spoke to a full room of students, faculty, and members of the community about the 99% movement in the United States.

The last two decades have seen growing income and wealth inequality in the United States, and Dr. Faricy explained how the political party system has contributed to this growing disparity.

Although he was ambivalent about whether the 99% movement would be successful in achieving its goals, he did note that current media coverage on income inequality issues was at an all-time high, which he thought might gain the attention of policy makers in Washington.
U.S. Pakistan Relations and Media

A panel of Pakistani journalists and media experts joined us in November to discuss how the relationship between the United States and Pakistan has been affected by the way events in the region are portrayed in the media.

The panel included Amna Gulus (Kohat University of Science and Technology), Pervez Khan (Kohat University of Science and Technology), Shujaat Ali Khan (Hazara University), and Altaf Ulah Khan (University of Peshawar). They explained how the owners of large media groups in Pakistan push an anti-American agenda and a negative view of the war on terror.

Space Policy 101

Richard McKinney, Deputy Under Secretary of the Air Force for Space Programs and WSU alumnus, joined us in April to discuss U.S. space policy. He talked about four different space sectors—civil, commercial, intelligence, and defense. He noted that while there is little financial benefit to space travel at this time, “all nations have the right to explore and use space for peaceful purposes and for the benefit of humanity in accordance with international law.” He concluded his remarks by noting that there can be no national claims of sovereignty made over space.

Debating the Future of American Foreign Policy

In January, we welcomed a panel of prominent colonels from the U.S. Air Force War College to discuss varying perspectives on the future and direction of U.S. foreign policy. Our panelists, moderated by WSU political science alumnus Col. Jeff Smith, presented these perspectives in terms of an assertive grand strategy, a liberal internationalist strategy, and a strategy of restraint.
State Budgets and Rising Tuition

Local state representatives from District 9, State Senator Mark Schoesler and State Representatives Susan Fagan and Joe Schmick discussed upcoming issues in the legislative session, including the effects of state budget cuts on higher education.

Noting that they were in the minority party in the Legislature, Senator Schoesler nonetheless expressed confidence that budgetary reforms that he saw as important would be enacted in Olympia.

Environmental Policy in the European Union

In November, European Union Fellow Anne Burrill gave a lecture on the new direction and the challenges of environmental policy in the European Union. She explained how environmental legislation has evolved from specific “end of pipe” policies to approaches that rely on more of an integrated framework. She explained that the lack of global agreements is one of the largest challenges facing environmental policy in the EU.

Tolerating Religion

Professor J. Budziszewski from the University of Texas, Austin met with students, faculty, and community members on April 20 to discuss religious toleration.

Dr. Budziszewski described religion as a supreme and unconditional commitment to any cause which leaves no room for neutrality. He stated that, “If neutrality is impossible then bias is inevitable.” This bias, he finds, gives an advantage to religions that do not call themselves religious.

Negative Advertising

Michael Franz, assistant professor of government, Bowdoin College, joined us to give a thought-provoking presentation on the nature of political advertisements.

At a time when negative ads are at an all-time high, most people consider them a distraction to the democratic process. Franz, however, argues against conventional wisdom, suggesting that negative advertisements actually provide more information to voters and are generally more accurate.

His research found that the most effective type of negative advertisement are those with specific policy attacks framed with an emotional appeal.
fellowship program

Graduate Fellowships

We are very pleased to announce that nine graduate fellowships were awarded this year. The Alice O. Rice Graduate Fellowship in Political Institutes and Democracy was awarded to Lauren Block (criminal justice), Feng Hao (sociology), Taewoo Kang (political science), and Rebekah Torcasso (sociology).

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 won by Charles Snyder (anthropology).

The Burlington Northern Fellowship, awarded to graduate students who conduct research in the area of just and sustainable societies and policies, was presented to Chyla Aguiar (criminal justice), Renee Edwards (political science), and Sanne Rijkhoff (political science).

Additionally, the Foley Institute awarded a two-week summer fellowship in research methods to Lucas McMillan (political science). The 2012 Institute for Qualitative and Multi-Method Research was held at Syracuse University and helped Luke create and critique sophisticated research designs, while providing constructive feedback on his own research designs.

Foley-IGERT Graduate Student Fellows

The Nitrogen Systems: Policy-Oriented Integrated Research and Education fellowship program, or NSPIRE, is a multidisciplinary student doctoral training program designed to create a new generation of scientists with broad and rigorous training in nitrogen cycling, who can seamlessly integrate this science for effective communication with public policy makers.

Funded through the National Science Foundation (NSF) IGERT program, the aims are to provide a strong scientific foundation, as well as the necessary skills to effectively become a part of the policy process through participation in internships within policy-oriented agencies.

This year’s graduate student fellows are pictured with accompanying faculty members. From left to right: Bill Budd (faculty, Division of Governmental Studies and Services), Graham VanderSchelden (environmental engineering science), Emily Bruner (soil science), Mailea Miller-Pierce (environmental and natural resource sciences), Steven Stehr (faculty, political science), Molly Perchlik (botany), Nicholas Lovrich (faculty, political science), Ricardi Duivil (civil engineering), Marc Beutel (civil and environmental engineering), and Jonathan Wachter (soil science).
As a recipient of the Foley Institute summer graduate student fellowship, I would like to express my sincere appreciation to the institute for their support of the graduate students at Washington State University. It is an honor to receive this fellowship, especially considering I am an international graduate student from the Netherlands. This is the start of my third year in the doctoral program in the Department of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs with a focus on political psychology.

My interest in political psychology began during my undergraduate studies at Leiden University in the Netherlands. After graduating with a master’s in political science, I enrolled in a second master’s program in social psychology from which I graduated with honors. During these programs I exercised my political focus by volunteering for a student union and a study association, worked as an intern for the Dutch Ministry of Justice, and had a research internship conducting a study on gender equality in universities. In addition to these positions I also worked as a teaching assistant and taught several undergraduate courses, and for two years I was a researcher on an international project.

My determination to pursue my passion encouraged me to broaden my horizons in the United States. As Washington State University is one of few universities in the United States with a special graduate focus in political psychology, I chose WSU to expand my education. Thus far at WSU I have taught American National Government and Comparative Politics for freshmen for which I have been awarded twice. Supplementing my responsibilities to the WSU undergraduates, I am currently working to research political distrust and cynicism. Specifically, for my dissertation I plan to examine the consequences of political cynicism on political behavior among voters and among politicians. Perhaps the most important aspect of my research is how it will yield important implications for democracy and the broad practice of American politics among the public and its leaders.

Currently, my advisor, Dr. Travis Ridout, and I are working on a study that bridges both of our interests. We examine the incidence of appeals to cynicism in American political advertising and the conditions under which such appeals are used. Given the negative impacts of cynicism that have been documented in the literature (at least for some citizens), understanding the nature of such appeals, their frequency, and when they are used in political discourse is important for assessing the vitality of contemporary American democracy—and the degree to which candidates and other ad sponsors influence that vitality. In addition, this research will be useful to policymakers as they consider proposals to regulate both the funding—and even content—of political advertising.

Upon completion of my doctoral program, I aspire to a teaching and research position at a university in the United States. Gaining experience in the United States as a faculty member would help me enrich my expertise and specialization. Eventually, I see myself starting a graduate program in political psychology in Europe, as there are few opportunities for students to specialize in this field outside of the United States. Not only would this advocate for the quality of American education, but by increasing knowledge, it would also strengthen the political psychology field as a whole.

—I plan to examine the consequences of political cynicism on political behavior among voters and among politicians.

—Sanne Rijkhoff

My Graduate Student Fellowship by Sanne Rijkhoff

Sanne Rijkhoff was awarded the Burlington Northern Santa Fe Foley Graduate Fellowship for summer 2012.
Jordan Bailly interned with the U.S. Department of State in their Berlin, Germany, embassy. Other foreign internships were held by Hamdan Al Kathiri, who spent the summer working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the United Arab Emirates (pictured left with Koji Sekimizu, Secretary General of the International Maritime Organization), and Shuhei Takada, who spent fall 2011 interning for a member of Yokohama City Council.

In Washington, D.C., Daniel McCaskey interned for U.S. Senator Patty Murray's office in the summer, while Katherine Tucker spent her summer in the Spokane office of U.S. Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rodgers.

Matt DelRiccio was in Olympia during the legislative session, interning with Secretary of State Sam Reed. Staci Dixon was also in Olympia as part of the legislature’s internship program.

On the Pullman campus our interns at the WSU Police Department were Nicholas Abts-Olsen, Adam Bossert, Chris Delaney, Jason Kalami, Jacob Spitzer, Connor Sutton, Daniel Tiengo, and Justin Zimmerman. Also in Pullman, Claire Chancey, Molly Gingerich, Alejandra Mendoza, Sativa Rasmussen, Alexandra Robins, and Patrick Shine all interned with Student Legal Services, and Becca Colvin interned with the Division of Governmental Studies and Services. In the city of Pullman, Devin Hagerty interned in the Pullman District Court, Christian Marcelo spent spring 2012 at Martonick Law offices, and Eliza Conlin interned with Alternatives to Violence of the Palouse.

Meghan Antoni is pictured (left) in her uniform, interning as a Whitman County Correctional Officer in Colfax. Laine Daly interned in summer 2012 with the Snohomish County Prosecuting Attorney's Office in Everett, and Michael Ledgerwood interned with the Benton County Sheriff's Office.

On the west side of the state, Molly Gottlieb spent her summer as a loss prevention intern with T-Mobile in Bellevue. In Seattle, Alex Clark interned at King County Council working for a councilmember, and Sean Shkurhan spent another semester with KIRO TV.

Thanks to the generous support of donors, the Foley Institute is able to offer a limited number of scholarships to our interns each year, including the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship for internships that take place in the U.S. Congress.

Please contact us if you would like to know more, or if you are interested in contributing to our scholarship fund!
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Foley Book on Civility and Democracy

What role does civility play in American democracy? The world-renowned scholars who came to our conference in Spokane last year made a series of complex and, at times, counterintuitive arguments about that role both historically and contemporaneously.

Funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the conference dealt with the issue of civility and democracy from five humanities-based perspectives—art and architecture, communication and media, history, philosophy, and religion.

Our new book, Civility and Democracy in America: A Reasonable Understanding, brings together some of the papers that resulted from those scholars’ presentations. It is published by WSU Press and is now available for purchase directly from WSU Press and other retailers.

We also have a number of free copies to give away. If you would like a copy, please contact us as soon as possible—our contact details can be found on page 2.