

THE FOLEY REPORT 2013

THE **FOLEY** INSTITUTE REPORT

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



Thomas S. Foley
March 6, 1929–October 18, 2013

Director Cornell W. Clayton
316 Bryan Hall
Washington State University
PO Box 645136
Pullman, WA 99164-5136
Phone: 509-335-3477
Fax: 509-335-2096
tsfoley@wsu.edu
foley.wsu.edu

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 non-partisan, cross disciplinary setting.

Distinguished Professor

Travis N. Ridout,
Distinguished Professor in Government

Advisory Board 2013–2014

Daryll DeWald, Dean, College of Arts and Sciences

M. Grant Norton, Dean, Honors College

Lawrence Pintak, Dean, Edward R. Murrow College of Communication

Tom Preston, Director, School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs

Eric Spangenberg, Dean, College of Business

Senior Foley Fellows

Todd Donovan
James R. Simpson
Clive S. Thomas

Foley Research Fellows

Kimberly Christen, WSU Department of Critical Culture, Gender, and Race Studies
Chris Faricy, Syracuse University
David Pietz, WSU Department of History

Administration

Richard Elgar, Assistant Director
Vanessa Corwin, Administrative Assistant

The Foley Institute Report is published annually by Washington State University, PO Box 645910, Pullman, WA 99164-5910, for the Foley Institute.
143074 1/14

director's update

“In a cynical age, I still believe that we must summon people to a vision of public service... or, in the end, this ethic determines more than anything else whether we will have citizens and leaders of honor, judgment, wisdom, and heart.”

—Thomas S. Foley



Cornell Clayton

Our annual newsletter is arriving later than usual this year. Just as we were going to press came word of the passing of Speaker Foley. So it is with great sadness that this issue now includes coverage of the memorial services held in his honor in Washington, D.C., and in his hometown of Spokane, Washington.

A remarkable gathering of dignitaries attended both services. In Washington, D.C., hundreds crowded into Statuary Hall in the Capitol building to listen to eulogies delivered by President Obama, former President Clinton, House Speaker John Boehner, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid and Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, as well as by former friends and colleagues including Congressman John Lewis and former Republican Leader Bob Michel, pictured on next page.

In Spokane tributes were offered by Governor Jay Inslee, Senators Patty Murray and Maria Cantwell, Congresswoman Cathy McMorris Rogers, and by former colleagues and

friends including Congressman Norm Dicks, Judge Justin Quackenbush, and family members. Most of the speakers paid special tribute to Heather Foley, the woman at his side throughout his adult life, the unpaid staff member during his years in public service, and a force herself. Fittingly, Heather offered the concluding remarks at both services.

Of all the tributes, it might have been Bob Michel's which stirred the deepest chord. Noting how he and Foley both saw the Congress "as one of the great creations of a free people," Michel described how, as leaders of opposing political parties, the two met weekly to discuss the House's business. They met, he said, as friends and colleagues with the



*Former House Minority Leader
Bob Michel*

and making the institution work for the American people. Although they often disagreed on policy, Michel said, their respect and trust in each other was never questioned. The two remained friends throughout their lives, and Michel recalled a recent visit shortly before Foley's passing where the two spoke for hours with great fondness and satisfaction of the years they served together in their beloved institution. Knowing that little mutual respect exists between partisan Congressional leaders today, Michel said, "I only hope that the legislators who walk through here each day will find his spirit, learn from it, and be humbled by it." With tears welling up, the 90-year-old Michel then concluded, "that is what I have to say in honor of my dear friend Tom Foley."

Of the many honors bestowed on Tom Foley during his long career, the respect, affection, and friendship of his political adversaries is perhaps the greatest measure of the man and of his great civility, integrity, and decency. It speaks to his understanding that democracy requires not just a commitment to those with whom we agree, but, importantly, a commitment to those

goal of narrowing the differences between their respective parties

with whom we might deeply disagree. It requires us to treat their views with respect and honor their common citizenship. Tom Foley's commitment to those values made him an effective and beloved political leader, and, at a time of such bitter partisan division in our country, it explains the remarkable gathering of dignitaries from across the political aisle who came to pay homage to his service.

Our best political leaders serve us well while in office but also leave behind institutions that advance their goals and values long after they depart. The institute that bears Tom Foley's name is now approaching its second decade. We have recently moved into a larger space at the heart of the WSU campus (more on this in our next issue). We are adding new professorships, fellowships, and scholarships, and supporting more public education programs and public service internships than ever. We hope you will take time in the near future to visit us and support us as we seek to continue the great legacy of Tom Foley

—Cornell Clayton, Director

Thomas S. Foley Institute for Public Policy
and Public Service

Washington State University

Tom Foley March 6, 1929–October 18, 2013

Memorial Service, Washington D.C., October 29, 2013

“America has lost a legend of the United States Congress.”
—President Barack Obama



President Barack Obama

Former Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley died peacefully at his home in Washington, D.C., on October 18, 2013, at the age of 84. Services in his memory were held in Washington, D.C., on October 29 and in Spokane on November 1, where friends, family, and those who had worked with him during his 35 years of service to the nation gathered to remember.

At his memorial service in Statuary Hall on Capitol Hill, Foley was hailed by President Obama as a

Leader Robert Michel, Majority Leader Harry Reid, Republican Leader Mitch McConnell, Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, Representatives John Lewis and Jim McDermott, and Former Representative Norm Dicks—a bipartisan cortege, befitting the passing of a great American statesman, gave weight to Foley's legacy of compromise and civility.



© The White House Photo Office



© The White House Photo Office

paragon of civility: “It was his personal decency to bring civility and order to a House that demanded both and still does.” The President praised Foley's ability to find compromise. “America has lost a legend of the United States Congress...Tom's straightforward approach helped him find common ground with members of both parties.”

Tom was also eulogized by Former President Bill Clinton, Speaker John Boehner, Former Minority

With 500 of the country's most powerful political leaders filling Statuary Hall, the memorial in the nation's capital was attended by those who sought to honor an individual for what he represented: a comparatively halcyon time emblematic of a more civilized period in our politics.

Former President Clinton, who knew Foley well, said of him, “His leadership made possible things that mattered to me.” Even after Foley lost his House



Former Minority Leader Bob Michel



President Obama and Heather Foley

seat, and was no longer able to represent his beloved 5th district, he continued to maintain his dedication to public service without hesitation. Seldom consulting his notes, Clinton emphasized Foley's statesmanship, insight, and courage, "He still believed that the purpose of political service was to 'get the show on the road.' I will never forget this...as long as I live."

This was echoed by other speakers. Former Minority Leader Bob Michel, who served with Foley, spoke of his admirable ability to lead the House through effective deliberation and debate. "He was a gentleman of the House, and a fair and honest broker, and a worthy adversary...he knew that there would always be a distinction and separation between campaigning for office and serving in office," he said. Foley knew that to be effective meant being willing to subject one's principles "to open debate against those who do not share those principles, and do it respectfully."

Michel spoke of Foley's conviction for the democratic process: "We both saw the House of Representatives as one of the great creations of a free people...I only hope that the legislators who walk through here each day will find his spirit, learn from it, and be humbled by it." Serving as Foley's opponent during his tenure in the House, Michel concluded his remarks concerning his former colleague by saying, "that is what I have to say in honor of my dear friend Tom Foley," to which he received a standing ovation.

Representative John Lewis extolled Foley's true statesmanship and focus on the next generation. "In

all of my years knowing Speaker Foley and seeing him on the floor, or in small meetings, I never heard this man, this good man, speak or say a bad word about anyone...as a leader he believed you should build and not tear down, reconcile and not divide...he stood for diplomacy and mutual respect even toward his opposition...he did not subscribe to the politics of personal destruction."

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, said Foley believed in reaching across the aisle, even when his fellow Democrats criticized him for it. "His faith in government was, shall I say, a little more robust than mine," McConnell said, "but we shared a deep respect for the institution and a belief that working with the other side, particularly at a time of divided government, is no heresy when it enables you to achieve some good for the nation."

As a politician, Tom Foley was consistently concerned with being an effective and diplomatic leader. Current Speaker John Boehner spoke to this sentiment, noting, "Tom Foley endeared himself not only to the wheat farmers back home but also colleagues on both sides of the aisle...that had a lot to do with his solid sense of fairness, which remains a model for any speaker or representative."

Foley's wife Heather summed up his pragmatism, reminding us that Foley "was very much a believer that the perfect should not get in the way of the achievable."

Memorial Service, Spokane WA, November 1, 2013

Tom Foley's Spokane memorial was held in St. Aloysius Church at Gonzaga University, where he completed his undergraduate studies. Hundreds came to pay respects to their friend and neighbor, relating personal stories of Foley's youth and articulating admiration of his civility and service.



Washington State Governor Jay Inslee praised Foley's dedication to his home state. "He was a representative of the best the state of Washington had to offer...I don't think you can point to another leader that we have been blessed with in our history that combines such a strong heart for his people with such a strong backbone for constitutional democracy."

Senators Maria Cantwell and Patty Murray added their thoughts. Cantwell honored Foley for his skilled oration. "He knew the intricacies of debate and the powers of information." Murray mentioned his magnetism: "Tom touched the lives of everyone he encountered, whether it was a wheat farmer in Washington or a foreign dignitary in Japan."

Cathy McMorris Rodgers, who holds Foley's past position as Washington's 5th district representative, praised his legacy. "True giants never leave us—even with his death, he has brought eastern Washington to life."

The final words belonged to Heather Foley, who worked and served alongside him in the arena of public service



during their 45 years of marriage. Heather concluded both services with thanking the audience "for coming to salute the life of a great, great man."



Tom Foley remembered

His leadership was based on civility, collaboration, and compromise.



By Kenton Bird

Former House Speaker Tom Foley had deep roots in the Northwest. His father was a Spokane County prosecutor and Superior Court judge, so it was only natural that Tom would pursue a career in politics. He came from the tradition of progressive and pragmatic politicians that included Washington Senators Henry Jackson and Warren Magnuson, Idaho Senator Frank Church, and Oregon Governor Tom McCall. His 30-year congressional career stretched from the presidencies of Lyndon Johnson to Bill Clinton.

I first met Foley in the mid-1970s when I was a reporter for the *Idahonian* (now the *Moscow-Pullman Daily News*) and he was the newly elected chair of the House Agriculture Committee. A lawyer by training, Foley became an expert on farm policy—something that endeared him to a generation of farmers in his sprawling district. By including federal support for food stamps in the farm-support bills, Foley built an alliance between urban and rural members of Congress.

Foley once told me that in politics, it's better to be lucky than to be good. He was both. A thoughtful legislator with a talented staff, Foley advanced in the leadership ranks of the House of Representatives. By 1987, he was the House majority leader, poised to become speaker in 1989 when Jim Wright of Texas resigned.

His leadership was based on civility, collaboration, and compromise—words rarely used to describe the climate in the House today. “I think I am a little cursed with seeing the other point of view and trying to understand it,” Foley said.

His measured approach sometimes drew criticism from Democrats, who wanted Foley to use his considerable political skills to advance a liberal agenda. But he repeatedly said that he was the speaker of the entire House, not just the Democratic majority.

After Foley's defeat in 1994, he donated his congressional papers to the library at Washington State University, where I was a graduate student.

Tom graciously granted four extended interviews to me after leaving Congress. He never tired of telling stories about the people he had met and the legislation on which he worked. And in the course of dozens of interviews with other members of Congress, former Foley staff members, reporters who covered Congress, and former political opponents, I found hardly anyone who would say anything even mildly critical about the man. That was a tribute to his generous spirit, kind demeanor, and sense of fair play.

Kenton Bird is the director of the School of Journalism and Mass Media at the University of Idaho. His 1999 doctoral dissertation is titled “The Speaker from Spokane: The Rise and Fall of Tom Foley as a Congressional Leader.”



Thomas S. Foley Bust

A new fixture at our renovated offices is a bronze bust of Tom Foley. This artistic representation of Speaker Foley, in classical style, was graciously donated by Sharon Taylor-Hall. Taylor-Hall, a long-time friend of Tom Foley, began the sculpture in 1994 but was unable to bronze it at the time. Taylor-Hall said that she was “fascinated with Tom's face, as it was so full of character.” Foley sat for Taylor-Hall as she filmed his face from multiple angles, over many visits, as his work in the House kept him constantly busy. Taylor-Hall donated all of the work hours and the sculpture to the Foley Institute free of charge. The institute provided funding for the bronzing.

A Living Tribute to Tom Foley

Held in Spokane on July 24, 2013

“A whole lifetime of service to our community and our country is something to be celebrated.”
—Rich Cowan

On July 24, downtown Spokane's Bing Crosby Theater was filled by Tom Foley's friends and supporters, who gathered to pay tribute to the Fifth District's longest serving representative. Although he was not able to attend in person, both he and his wife, Heather, enjoyed seeing the taped event from their home in Washington, D.C.

With the theater filled to capacity, public figures and friends lined up to share their memories of Tom in person and by video.

Robert Kennedy campaigning in Spokane, WA 1968



Co-organizer **Rich Cowan**, CEO and president of North by Northwest Productions in Spokane, explained that the time appeared right to celebrate Tom Foley's lasting legacy. "He was our member of Congress for thirty years, Speaker for five years, and then he became an ambassador to Japan for a number of years after that," Cowan said, pointing out that it was a "whole lifetime of service to our community and our country and is something to be celebrated!"

Foley with Dan Rostenkowski, Tip O'Neill, and Walter Mondale, 1984



Tom Foley tribute in Spokane



The event was emceed by broadcast journalist **Randy Shaw**, who reminisced about Foley's signature brand of civility and bipartisanship that is considered by many to be the antithesis of the current atmosphere in Congress.

Tributes followed from many of those whose lives and political careers have been touched by Tom Foley, including Spokane's Mayor, **David Condon**, and City Council President **Ben Stuckart**, who presented Foley a key to the city. Representatives from Gonzaga University, University of Washington, Washington State University, and numerous other public agencies were also on hand to publicly thank Tom for his contribution to the city of Spokane, and the state of Washington.

Foley Institute Director **Cornell Clayton** also spoke at the tribute, and the Institute displayed some artifacts and memorabilia of Foley's long career, including poster-sized photos from our archive (see opposite page and above) featuring Tom Foley with Robert Kennedy, with Bill Clinton, with Walter Mondale, Tip O'Neill and Dan Rostenkowski, and being sworn in as 57th Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Attendees also enjoyed seeing a collage (shown right) of the Speaker with Arnold Schwarzenegger and *Saturday Night Live*'s Hans and Franz from the Great American Workout event in 1991.



Be a Part of the Foley Legacy

Donor support is crucial to maintaining the legacy of Tom Foley and to supporting the programs and goals he championed during his career in public service. Please help us keep the Foley Legacy alive—fill out our donor form, found on the back page.



2012 Election Prediction Panel

The day before the 2012 election, the Foley Institute held its traditional election-eve prediction panel. This year the predictions came from three Foley Fellows—**Todd Donovan** from Western Washington University and **Chris Faricy**, **Travis Ridout**, and **Bruce Pinkleton** (professor of communication), all from WSU.

The panel discussed possible outcomes of the election and each member made predictions about the presidential race, as well as races in the Senate, House, and the Washington gubernatorial election. All four predicted that President Obama would retain the presidency and that there would be only negligible shifts in partisan control of Congress. The event nevertheless provoked lively discussion. A prize, a bottle of Foley Institute wine, was awarded to Chris Faricy for making the most accurate predictions.



U.S. Senate Candidate Michael Baumgartner



Washington State Senator **Michael Baumgartner** (6th district), and 2012 Republican nominee for U.S. Senate against incumbent Maria Cantwell (D), visited campus in September.

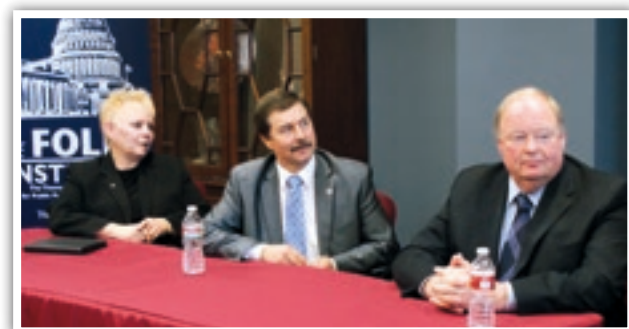
In an informal talk, he focused on strategies to promote “bipartisan cooperation in a hyper-partisan world.”

Describing his experience working with the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan as an economic advisor and his time in the Washington Senate, he suggested ways in which Americans can work across the partisan aisle to find solutions to major policy questions.

Implementing Obamacare

During October, **Mike Kreidler**, insurance commissioner for the state of Washington, discussed the state’s efforts to implement the Affordable Care Act for insurance companies.

His comments focused on how the State has moved aggressively to establish a new insurance exchange and other benefits under the act.



Meet Your Legislators

Pullman area legislators visited the Foley Institute in December for their annual legislative preview.

Senator (and Senate Republican Leader) **Mark Schoesler** (R-Ritzville), Representative **Susan Fagan** (R-Pullman), and Representative **Joe Schmick** (R-Colfax) discussed funding for higher education, the state budget, transportation, and other major issues that were on the legislators’ agenda for the 2013 session.



Foley Distinguished Lecture: The Era of Political Instability

In March, **Morris Fiorina**, Wendt Family Professor of Political Science at the University of Stanford, presented the first Foley Distinguished Lecture, a new lecture series funded by an endowment set up by an anonymous donor.

Fiorina's lecture examined whether the U.S. really is in the midst of a culture war. Contrary to popular opinion, he argued, the attitudes of most Americans actually

are quite moderate and share a considerable amount of common ground, even on the most divisive of issues, such as abortion. It's the political elites, not the public, which he said are to blame for the polarization and gridlock that characterizes today's politics.

His talk was followed by a reception and book signing of his book *Culture War?* in the Foley Speaker's Room.

Women in Politics

Our annual Olympia symposium, co-sponsored with the Washington Secretary of State's Office, took place on February 22 on the capitol campus.



Even though the state of Washington has traditionally been at the forefront of electing women to public office, that success has not been replicated across the country, and has been uneven in Washington. Introduced by Washington's new Secretary of State, **Kim Wyman**, our panel of experts discussed with a large audience the opportunities and barriers for women in elective office.

The panel featured **Cathy Allen**, president, The Connections Group; **Lisa Brown**, chancellor, WSU–Spokane, and former Washington State Senate majority leader; **Richard Fox**, chair and associate professor of political science, Loyola Marymount University; **Maureen Walsh**, Washington state representative, 16th Legislative District; and the event was moderated by **Rachel La Corte**, supervisory correspondent, Associated Press, Olympia.





Science Ethics and Policy Series

In early October the Institute collaborated with the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs at WSU to present a symposium on the clash between reproductive health rights and religious freedom. The topic was discussed in the context of the federal contraception mandate that requires employers to provide health insurance plans to their employees that include access to contraceptives approved by the FDA. The panel also discussed the impact the law may have on Washington state pharmacists.

Panelists included **Leslie Francis**, professor of law and philosophy at the University of Utah; **Bill Kabasench**, assistant professor in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs at WSU; **Dorothy McBride**, emeritus professor of political science at Florida Atlantic University; and **Thomas Spencer**, professor in the Center for Reproductive Biology and the Department of Animal Sciences at WSU.

Budget Crisis and Grand Bargains

On April 18, the institute collaborated with the Hoops Institute of Taxation Research and Policy in the WSU College of Business to present a symposium on the country's current budget crisis.

Among the issues discussed were the possibilities and consequences of entitlement reform, tax increases, and budget cuts during a time of hyper-partisanship in Congress.

The panel included **Nicholas Carnes** (Duke University), **Christopher Faricy** (WSU), and **John Wilkerson** (University of Washington).



The Media & Political Polarization

Our annual Media and Politics Symposium, co-sponsored with the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication, was held on April 22. The theme was the effects of political polarization and how the media influence political attitudes.



Panelists, shown at left in descending order, included **Lance Bennett** (University of Washington), **Martin Johnson** (University of California, Riverside), and **Natalie Stroud** (University of Texas, Austin).



The discussion was lively, as Stroud argued that the media do play a significant role in political polarization, Johnson countering that they do not, and Bennett suggesting that his co-panelists may be asking the wrong question!

You can evaluate their arguments for yourself by seeing this discussion again at foley.wsu.edu.

Rhetoric, Sincerity, and the Death Penalty

In the fall, **Todd Butler**, associate professor and chair of the WSU Department of English, discussed the intersection of rhetoric, digital technology, and Supreme Court jurisprudence.



Butler explained how a "rhetoric of sincerity" governs the use and understanding of victim-impact statements and how that rhetoric paradoxically limits the influence of new media's compositional capacities.



Is Gun Control Necessary?

Recent shootings in schools and public places elevated the debate over gun control. In February, the Foley Institute hosted a standing-room only debate over the future of gun legislation.

Robin Ball, a Spokane-based firearms retailer representing the National Rifle Association squared off against **Daniel Byrne**, a voluntary spokesperson for the non-profit organization Washington CeaseFire in the debate.

Marijuana Reform in Washington



Initiative 502 on the 2012 Washington ballot proposed to legalize the possession of marijuana for adults age 21 and older, removing state criminal and civil penalties.

As part of our election series of events, we invited speakers to present arguments for and against the initiative. In October, spokespersons on both sides engaged in a lively debate.

Tonia Winchester,

the Outreach Director for New Approach WA, a coalition of Washington citizens who promote regulated marijuana reform, advocated for the passage of I-502. **Douglas Hiatt**, a criminal defense attorney who specializes in defending medical marijuana patients spoke against the initiative, arguing that this proposal was the wrong kind of reform, even though he felt that reform was necessary.



Marijuana, Marriage Equality, and Hanford



Newly elected Attorney General **Bob Ferguson** visited the Foley Institute in April to discuss the tension between Washington State and the federal laws involving marijuana, marriage equality, and the continuing cleanup of the Hanford nuclear site. General Ferguson explained the many aspects of his role as chief legal advisor for the state government and the steps his office had taken in regards to the legalization of marijuana after the passage of I-502.

Ferguson is Washington's 18th Attorney General, and received his J.D. from New York University School of Law, and a B.A. in Political Science from the University of Washington, where he was student body president.



Coffee & Politics

— policy and politics *in the U.S.* —

The Three Worlds of Postwar American Politics



The first Coffee and Politics session of the year featured political scientist **Byron E. Shafer**, who discussed the three distinct political eras in American politics since the end of World War II.

In Shafer's view, American party politics evolved from a New Deal coalition to divided government to, more recently, a polarized party system.

Professor Shafer is the Glenn B. and Cleone Orr Hawkins Chair of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. Previously he was the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of American Government at Oxford University. He has written extensively about American politics.

Science, Ethics, and Democracy

Allen Buchanan, the James B. Duke Professor of Philosophy and Professor of Law at Duke University, spoke at the Foley Institute on January 17. More than 100 students, faculty, and community members listened to his lecture about the relationship between science and democracy and the ethical issues that stand between the two.

Buchanan discussed examples of the eugenics movement in the United States to illustrate some of the ethical issues involved in using science for public policy decision making. Buchanan concluded that while sound science is a necessary part of good public policy, care needs to be exercised in how science is brought to bear in policy debates.



Environmental Challenges in the Production of Nuclear Weapons

In September, **Jim Werner**, research manager for the Environmental Policy Section of the Congressional Research Service in Washington, DC, captivated students with a lecture concerning nuclear weapons and their impact on the environment. Topics discussed ranged from the Manhattan Project to Hanford, and Werner detailed the necessary steps that Hanford and other clean-up sites need to undertake in the next ten years.

The Foley Institute's Coffee and Politics Series provides an informal venue to connect WSU students and faculty with local and national members of government, political scholars, and experts in public policy.

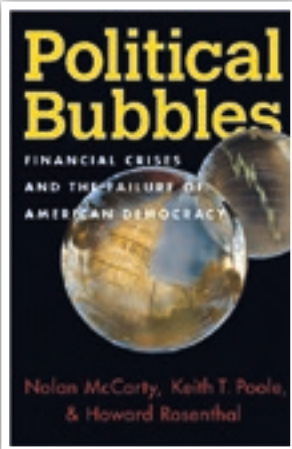


Political Bubbles

In February, **Howard Rosenthal**, professor of politics at New York University and the Roger

Williams Straus Professor of Social Sciences, Emeritus, at Princeton University, visited the Foley Institute.

He spoke about “political bubbles,” or the policy biases that foster market failures and financial instability. Rosenthal discussed how such biases helped create the 2008 financial crisis and undermined Washington’s response to it once it occurred.



Immigration and Faustian Bargains

In February **Dan Tichenor** spoke to a packed room about the history and modern view of immigration reform. He argued that, for more than a decade, the nation’s immigration system has been “broken” and that political battles in Washington make comprehensive reform unlikely going forward. Tichenor, who has testified and provided expert briefings to Congress on immigration reform, focused on the dynamics of American immigration policy, the origins of our current policy breakdowns, and the mix of opportunities and challenges ahead.

Tichenor is the Phillip H. Knight Professor of Social Science and Senior Faculty Fellow at the Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics at the University of Oregon.

Choosing to Watch Biased Media



Natalie Stroud, associate professor of communication studies and assistant director of the Annette Strauss Institute for Civic Participation at the University of Texas Austin, discussed the role that “selective exposure” to politically biased media plays in political polarization.

Her comments focused on whether the media shape a person’s political ideology or if a person’s politics determines the type of news they choose to watch. Her empirical studies tended to show that selective exposure is playing a role in polarizing American political attitudes.



Coffee & Politics

global politics



Talking with Terrorists

In April, we welcomed Vice President and Dean of the School of Security and Global Studies at the American Public University System, and WSU alumna, **Elena Mastors**, an expert on terrorism and political leadership. She spoke about field interviews she conducted with members of armed groups in Northern Ireland. She also talked to students about the job opportunities available in the field of security studies.

Terrorism in Mali

Peter Chilson spoke at a Coffee & Politics event, jointly sponsored by the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting in February.



His talk focused on developments in the civil war in Mali and the policy rift between the Pentagon, which favors stronger American military involvement, and the Obama White House, which is taking a more cautious approach. He also explained recent movement by the French in the region and what that means for possible U.S. involvement.

Chilson is a prize-winning author, professor of English at Washington State University, and serves as a war correspondent and grantee of the Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting.

Japan's Cultural Policies

The Consul General of Japan, **Kiyokazu Ota**, spoke to WSU students in October at an event the Foley Institute co-sponsored with International Programs, the WSU History Department, and the Asia Program.



In addition to discussing the cultural history of Japan, his remarks examined the current state of U.S.-Japan relations. Following the presentation, students were able to talk informally with the Consul General at a reception honoring his visit.

Presidential Powers in Eastern European Democracies

In September **Tadej Dubrovnik**, faculty of law at the University of Maribor (Slovenia), gave a public lecture to WSU students and community members about similarities and differences between presidential powers in Eastern European democracies and the United States.



His discussion examined how differing legal and institutional relationships can act to constrain presidential leadership.



China and the Global Economy

In October **Susan Whiting**, associate professor of political science at the University of Washington, discussed “China and the Global Economy.” Whiting focused on new property rights in China, the role of law and courts in the economic transition, and the politics of fiscal reform in that country. Whiting also analyzed the prospects for future trade relations between the United States and the role that China will play in the developing world.



At the end of February, the institute welcomed **Tony Lockett**, a communication specialist with the European Commission in Brussels and a European Union Fellow at the University of Washington.

Lockett discussed political polarization in Europe and the recent debt crisis across the continent. Lockett suggested that the European Union had a major role in maintaining political unity in Europe and can have a moderating effect on extremist groups and parties.

Middle East Politics after the Gaza-Israel Showdown

In collaboration with the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs and the Murrow College of Communication, the Foley Institute hosted Professor **Ibrahim Al-Marashi** in November. To a



standing-room-only crowd, Al-Marashi discussed the recent conflict between Israel and Hamas and the shifting geopolitics in the Middle East, including the conflict in Syria and Iran’s foreign policy.

Al-Marashi is assistant professor of Middle East history at California State University San Marcos.

Political Polarization in Europe

fellowships & internships

Undergraduate Interns

The institute was lucky to have three interns working for us this year—**Marianna Acuna**, **Alyson Mack**, and **Joel Freeborn**. Joel also spent the summer interning in Washington, DC, in the office of U.S. Representative Doc Hastings.

Elsewhere, **Nicholas Ramirez** interned with the political campaign DelBene for Congress. **Melissa Frank**, **Alexis Guse**, and **Jonathan Meier** all took internships at the Washington State Legislature in Olympia.



Sable Hodson

At WSU, students were involved in a variety of opportunities. **Naseem Abbassi**, **Chris Heywood**, **Sable Hodson**, **Dana Mydland**, **Stephanie Reese**, **Alexandra Zachor**, and **Ernesto Garza** all interned with WSU Student Legal Services.

The WSU Police Department had a number of interns from the Foley Institute: **Christopher Hutchinson**, **Garrett Kline**, **Derek Lambert**, **Kyle Lindemann**, **Alex Michael**, **Nathan Padrta**, **Jordan Reisher**, **Josh Sand**, **Alex Stevens**, and **Daniel Tiengo**.

Benjamin Aune interned at the Whitman County Superior Court. **Justin DeRosier** served as a reserve deputy sheriff with Whitman County and **Alexander Clark** took part in the 2013 Whitman County Sheriff's Office reserve academy. **Derek Lambert** interned with the Pullman Police Department as a reserve police officer.

Erin Nicolai (pictured below) interned with the WSU International Center. **Crystal Anne Ebert** held a research internship with Professor Travis Ridout, focusing on political campaigning and advertising.



Erin Nicolai on right, with a friend

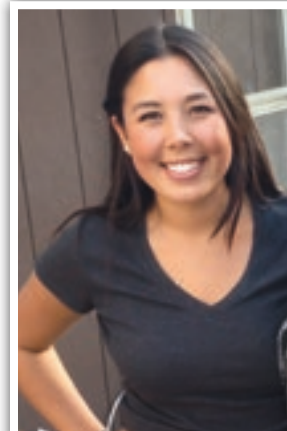
Marlene Hernandez spent fall working for the Social and Economic Sciences Research Center, and **Alexander Tooke** interned throughout the year for the Division of Governmental Studies and Services. **Christina Finley** interned with the Gender Identity/Expression and Sexual Orientation Resource Center. **Maren Sorenson** spent fall with Alternatives to Violence of the Palouse.



Adriana Franks

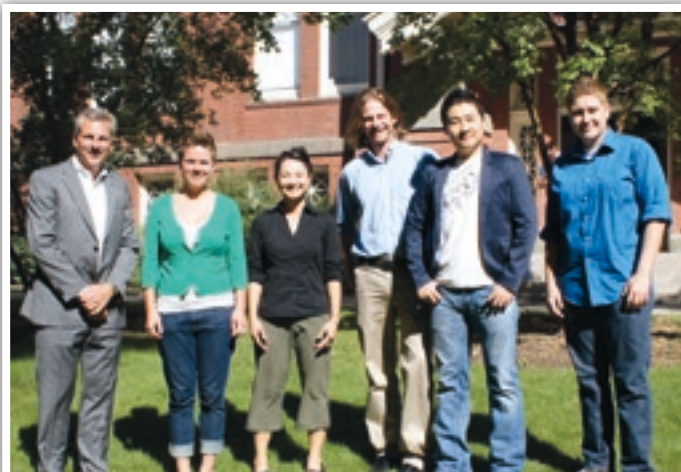
In neighboring Moscow, Idaho, **Devin Loux** completed the U.S. Probation and Pretrial Services Internship. **Adriana Franks** held a research internship with Dr. Bill L. Smith, University of Idaho professor and director of the Martin Institute.

Thanks to the generous support of donors each year, the Foley Institute is able to offer scholarships to our interns, including the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship for internships 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.



A large number of WSU students spent the year as interns as part of the WSU Lobby Team (some of whom are pictured above). They were: ASWSU President-elect **Taylor Hennessey**, **Dylan Heyne**, **Marissa Hice**, **Zachery Kadolph**, **Adam Kester**, **Danny Klopfenstein**, **Laurel Mahnke**, **Michael Matsubara**, **Christina Miller**, **Colin Moravec**, **Ryan Park**, **Cynthia Pham**, **Shawn Santomassimo**, **Tobias Slaton**, **Brenna Stroup**, and **Jansen VanderMeulen**. These interns helped to make events such as Cougar Day at the Capitol a success. **Tristan Hanon** interned with ASWSU as well.

Graduate Student Fellowships 2013



Amber Heckelman

*L-R: Cornell Clayton
(Institute Director),
Kathryn Tillotson,
Melissa Artstein-McNasser,
Philip Travis, Heeuk Lee,
and Audrey Mattoon*



The institute supported five graduate fellows during the past year. The Alice O. Rice Graduate Fellowship for the study of political institutions and democracy was awarded to students **Melissa Artstein-McNasser** (anthropology) and **Audrey Mattoon** (political science).

Two students were awarded Scott and Betty Lukins Graduate Fellowships, awarded to graduate students seeking to enhance their public policy research skills and pursue a research

agenda focusing on major policy issues. This year's awards went to **Heeuk Lee** (criminal justice) and **Philip Travis** (history).

Burlington Northern Fellowships are awarded to graduate students who conduct research in the area of just and sustainable societies and policies. The students were **Amber Heckelman** and **Kathryn Tillotson** (both in environmental science).

Fellowship Winner

Charles M. Snyder

“The strength of the relationship between public policy and public health cannot be overstated.”
—Charles M. Snyder

As a 2012 recipient of a Foley Institute summer fellowship, I was given the opportunity to travel to southern Ethiopia where I gained valuable experience establishing a research site—an opportunity for which I am very grateful. The purpose of my research is to investigate the health implications of public policy such as land use

peoples experiencing them. Furthermore, this research will assist in the development of efficacious public health programs in East Africa and beyond.

The location of my research was in the city of Hawassa and surrounding villages located approximately 270 kilometers south the capital city of Ethiopia. Previously, Hawassa was the capital of the Sidama province and now it is the capital city of the Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples Region. It has a population of 150,000 from ethnic groups such as the Sidama, Amhara, Tigray, and Oromo, among others. This busy city in southern Ethiopia is set on the shores of Lake Awassa and is well known for views of hippos running along the lakebed and for the outlandish antics of vervet monkeys intent on stealing anything that appears to be edible.

On Monday and Thursday in Awassa, there is a bustling open-air market where a broad selection of items can be had—after a challenging round of negotiating over the price. Popular for visitors to the market, stalls with Ethiopian crafts, baskets, and traditional Ethiopian dress are common. However, the majority of stalls sell produce, beans, grains, new and used clothing, kitchenware, firewood, cattle, and medicines, which served as the focus of my data collection.



regulations, urbanization, and migrations of pastoral peoples. This research was a pilot study in preparation for upcoming multi-institutional research into the adoption of medical technologies, such as vaccines and antibiotics, in light of urbanization and subsistence change among the Maasai and Chagga peoples of northern Tanzania.

The strength of the relationship between public policy and public health cannot be overstated. Legislation and regulation have had profound impacts on tribal peoples who, while presented publicly as a symbol of national identity, are simultaneously stripped of their ability to maintain traditional practices and denied voice in matters of importance to them. This in turn affects access to nutritious foods, medical care, and education. Operating alongside these pressures, the necessity of integration into urban and peri-urban wage labor systems is extending into even the most remote of tribal villages. This research project will help to address a known gap in available knowledge on the impacts of these changes on the health of the tribal



One thing that I learned quickly in the markets was the importance of learning the local terms for the item you are pursuing, even if most sellers speak English. For example, after hours of searching for seemingly plentiful items, I discovered that it was terminology keeping me away from my quarry, not availability. Helping me to finally locate what I was looking for, I learned that a small fan is called a tinnish ventilator and that cows, a central focus of my surveys, are called lams.

The most impactful experiences of my trip were days spent in a village that, despite plumbing infrastructure, had no water source of its own. Walking among buildings with water meters, drainage canals, and dry public fountains—even though the sole access to water was via donkey carts carrying gallon containers of water from miles away—impressed on me the swift gravity of the region's drought and famine and the resilience of the locals who work so hard to overcome these challenges.

I learned a great deal over the course of this project, thanks to the Foley Institute and the Scott and Betty Lukins endowment. Not only was I able to learn about Ethiopian public policy and its impact on health and economics, I was able to develop friends and colleagues that will enable me to reach even further with my research and service in the future. Thank you again.



The Foley Institute on the Web



Find us on
Facebook

For links, updates,
upcoming events,
videos, pictures and
much more:
foley.wsu.edu.



Foley appointments

Foley Research Fellows



Kim Christen, associate director of the digital technology program in the Department of English, was formerly associate professor in the Department of Critical Culture, Gender, and Race Studies. Her work explores the intersections of cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, intellectual property rights, the

ethics of openness, and the use of digital technologies in and by indigenous communities.



David Pietz teaches China and East Asia history. His current research focuses on 20th-century Chinese economic and environmental history. He is the coeditor of *State and Economy in Republican China* (Harvard, 2000). Some of his recent publications include *Engineering the State: The*

Huai River and Reconstruction in Nationalist China, 1927–37.



Christopher Faricy is assistant professor of political science and public policy at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University. His research areas include public policy, political economy, political institutions, and public opinion. His research interests include understanding the relationship between the state and the economy, issues of social justice, and how public policy affects economic inequality.

Staff Changes

Kara Johnson, who had been with the institute since September 2009, left us and moved with her new son, Bruce, and husband, Nathan, to North Carolina. We wish them the best of luck on their next adventure!



Vanessa Corwin

We are very pleased to welcome **Vanessa Corwin**, who is our new secretary senior, and a welcoming face at the Foley Institute. Vanessa graduated from the University of Puget Sound with a bachelor's degree in comparative sociology.

Lauren Block joined the Foley Institute in April 2013. We thank Lauren for providing much needed administrative help at a hectic time. Lauren is currently a doctoral candidate in the Department of Criminal Justice and Criminology at WSU.



Kara Johnson

Joel Freeborn continued with his internship at the Foley Institute, which began in fall 2012. Joel is a senior economics major and interned for Representative Doc Hastings this past summer in Washington, DC. He was joined by fellow intern **Alyson Mack**. Alyson graduated in May with a bachelor's degree in political science and is currently working as an escrow administrator.

Lauren Block, Joel Freeborn, Alyson Mack



thank you to our supporters

\$250,000–\$999,999

The Boeing Company

\$50,000–\$249,999

Tom and Heather Foley

Henry M. Jackson Foundation

Martha Mullen

\$25,000–\$49,999

Harriett Beckett

BNSF Foundation

Mary W. Johnson

Scott & Betty Lukins

Alice O. Rice

Wasserman Foundation

\$5,000–\$24,999

Akin, Gump, Strauss, Hauer, & Feld LLP

Archer Daniels Midland Foundation

Aven Foundation

Bill and Paula Clapp

General Motors Corporation

Hotel Employees and Restaurant

Employees International Union

Charles A. Kimbrough

Charles and Lynn Pennington

Walter H. and Phyllis J. Shorenstein

Foundation

Mikal J. Thomsen

Walt Disney Company

Washington Mutual Foundation

\$1,000–\$4,999

AFL-CIO

Kenneth and Marleen Alhadeff

American Council of Life Insurance

Ned and Jean Bandler

Nancy R. Bayley

Michael Berman

William and Suzanne Cannon

Chicago Board of Trade

Ronald S. Chow

Cornell Clayton and Susan Servick

Mac and June Crow

Crow Farms Inc.

Nancy Talbot Doty

Ken and Debra Jo Dzuck

Daniel J. Evans

Federal Express

Marilyn V. Gearhart

Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corporation

Gus and Connie Kravas

Jean LeLoup

Lance LeLoup

Carolyn Long

Morgan Stanley & Company Inc.

William and Madeline Morrow

National Association of Broadcasters

Mary McColl Neilson

Irving Paul and Beverly Lingle

John and Ardith Pierce

Project Vote Smart

Paul Agostino Razore

Kirk W. Robbins

Schorio Agri-Business

Lawrence and Gail Schorno

Seattle Foundation

Sterling Bank

Edwin B. Sterner

Clive Thomas

Edward and Andrea Weber

\$500–\$999

American International Group Inc.

Robert and Wendy Bates

Battelle Memorial Institute

Bell Atlantic

Robert and Judith Bor

Robert J. Burnett

Jerry and Angelina Burtenshaw

Julia Cannon

Hans and Mary Carstensen

Steven Champlin

Paul and Barbara Couture

CSX Corporation

Margaret Jean Crane

Don and Joye Dillman

Stephen Dyson

Eastern Washington University Foundation

James Estep

Leander and Mary Foley

Paula Freer

Joel Glassman and Katherine Cochrane

Eric Grulke

Brady Horenstein

Gary and Alice Hymel

ITEX Corporation

Sean Kelly

Marla M. Kentfield

Fred and Delores Kirk

Ronald David Larson

Matthew Lebo

Laurel LeLoup

Charles Leonard

Lynne Cheney Charitable Fund of the

Community Foundation of Jackson Hole

Christopher and Susan Marker

Donald and Marianna Matteson

Douglas and Susan McLeod

Microsoft Corporation

David and Victoria Miles

Stephen Moore

Eugene Moos

NAC International

National Association of Wheat Growers

Christine Newbold

Mark Morris Newbold

Merrill and Muriel Oaks

Frances Owen

Nels Palm

Athanassios Papagiannakis and

Sarah Brandt

PEMCO Foundation Incorporated

Sherri Peters

V. Lane and Mary Jo Rawlins

Nancy Rodriguez

Susan Ross

Gayle Rothrock

Sarkowsky Family Charitable Foundation

Eileen Schlee

Steven and Janice Shull

Christopher Simon

Wendell Smith

Steven Stehr

Elizabeth A. Stricklin Harvey

Mark Stephan and Kari McFarlan

Kathleen Taft

Maurice Tempelman

C. Jane Threlkeld

Dennis Verhoff and Donna DeAngelis

Dennis Weber

Clifford and Karen Webster

Douglas and Ellen Wertman

Steven Jeffrey White

\$100–\$499

Julie Anderson

Margaret Andrews

Andrew Appleton

Susan Armitage

James and Nancy Ashmore

Richard and Nancy Backes

Jerry D. Barney

Ford Hoxsey and Marlys Barrett

Wallis Beasley

Paul and Kathleen Beckett

Patricia M. and Peter K. Bergman

Kenton Bird and Gerri Saylor

Martin and Kathleen Lykins Brown

Sharon M. Bruce

Louis and Norma Brummett

Robert and Mary Burroughs

Dennis W. Carlson

Gail Chermak

Roland J. Cole

Yvonne A. Collins

David Cotton

Robert Curry

John Damgard

Helen Davis

Phil and Sandra Deutschman

Riley Dunlap

Richard Elgar and Melissa Goodman-Elgar

Mark P. Elliott, DVM

James R. Ellis

Mary Lou Enberg

Jeffrey T. Even

Frederick and Barbara Finn

H. Eugene Forrester

Marcia Garrett

Roberta J. Giovannini

Robert Greenway

Elie R. Halpern

Raymond W. Haman

Nels Hanson

Alex B. Hays

Herbert and Jannette Hill

Joan C. Houchen

Brian Hughes

J.K.N. Enterprises

Donald A. Jacobson

Fred L. Jarrett

Eric James Johnson

D. Patrick Jones, PhD

J.L. Kirschbaum

Paul B. Kraabel

Mary R. Lamb

Dorothy Ann Landin

Pope and Jane Lawrence

Jay Edward Leipham

Pamela LeLoup

Robert Lemmon

Richard Leon

Nicholas and Katherine Lovrich

Ian R. MacGowan

Amy Mazur

James A. McDevitt

Frances McSweeney

W. Howarth Meadowcroft

Warren S. Meadowcroft

Gerald and Kathy Meunier

Daniel and Isabel Miller

Thomas C. Moak

Ralph Munro

Stephen E. Murphy

J. Kingsley and Dorothy Novell

Patrick Dunn & Associates Ltd.

Jeffery Perini

Donald and Monica Peters

Liz Pike

Play Test Team of Microsoft

G. Lee Raaen

Edworth L. Ray

Jack and Donna Rice

Lois C. Richards

Irene L. Ringwood

Gene Rosa

Kirk and Diana Rowlands

Thomas and Patricia Ryan

Ruth Self

Charles and Patricia Sheldon

Timothy Alexander Shustoff

Daniel and Annette Simonson

Lawrence and Sandra Small

Randy Smith

T.M. Seth Associates

Brent Steel and Rebecca Warner

Mary Sullivan

Quintard Taylor

Robert Terwilliger

Matthew Patrick Thomas

David Thorndike and Deborah Haynes

Earl F. Tilly

Marvin and Karen Vialle

Petra Walker

Stephen Wasby

Isaac Justin Wells

Carol Wendle

Wendle Motors Incorporated

Norman and Joan Willson

Allan and Florence Wood

Peter R. Wyman

John C. Wynne

Yakima County Democratic

Central Committee

Christine Yorozu

Jerome Zechmann

Up to \$100

Jack Arends

Ellen and Kent Arnold

D. LeRoy and Mary Ashby

William and Martha Ballard

Leon and Frances Bennett

Ann and Loren Berry

Richard G. Bockemuehl

Janet S. Borgen

Donald and Ann Boriskie

Lyla Brekke

Nelsa Kay Brodie

Violet C. Brooks

Peggy J. Bryan

Todd and Dawn Butler

Melvin and Zilda Carlson

Tamsin O. Clapp

Thomas and Ruth Cobb

Co-Gov

Jacob Day

Pedro and Julianna de Magalhaes Castro

Zheng-Min Dong

John Ehrstine

Ronald Faas

Judy Hart

Michael and Carol Hinderstein

Kimiaki and Margie Hirose

Gregory Hooks and Jane Rosenberg

George C. Houck

Stacy Johnson

Karen Keegan

John and Diane Kicza

Susan Kilgore

Kristie Kirkpatrick

Roger and Brenda Larson

Sandra Lewis

Danielle Lively

Barbara Lopiccolo

F.L. and Sarah Love

Holly Jo Love

Robert L. Lovely

James O. Luce

Matt McCoy

Stephanie Mizrahi

Joyce Motherway

Michael Myers



The Thomas S. Foley Institute
for Public Policy and Public Service
PO Box 645136
Pullman, WA 99164-5136

Nonprofit
Organization
U.S. Postage
PAID
Pullman, WA
Permit No. 1

BE A PART OF THE FOLEY LEGACY

The Foley Institute is dedicated to providing high quality events for students, faculty, and the public. Your support can help bring high profile speakers to campus and support students pursuing careers in public policy and public service.

Yes, I would like to support Foley Institute presentations and events.

Name(s): _____

Address: _____

City, State, Zip: _____

Email: _____ Phone: _____

Enclosed is my tax-deductible gift of:

☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other _____

Method of payment:

☐ Check payable to WSU Foundation ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard ☐ AMEX

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Signature: _____



Thank you!

14227

Please return this completed form to:
WSU Foundation, PO Box 641927, Pullman WA 99164-1927
You can also make your gift online at campaign.wsu.edu.
You may direct questions to 800-448-2978 or foundation@wsu.edu.

the **CAMPAIGN** *for*
WASHINGTON STATE
UNIVERSITY