

THE FOLEY REPORT 2018

THE FOLEY INSTITUTE REPORT

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



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Bob Ferguson
"Defending the Dreamers"
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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.

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Director's Update

In 2017 the Cambridge Dictionary chose “populism” as its word of the year. In recent years, movements like the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street thrived, and populist politicians like Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, Sarah Palin, and Elizabeth Warren have become political stars. In Europe, Britain voted to leave the EU, populist politicians like Marine Le Pen in France or Boris Johnson in the UK became famous, while Italy, Hungary, Greece and Poland have all elected populist governments.

We are in a populist moment, but what is populism? What explains its growing appeal? And should it concern us? The Foley Institute has hosted several events in recent years exploring various aspects of populist politics, and so I thought I would use my note today to share some thoughts on this topic.

First, populism is not an ideology that is committed to specific political goals or policies. Rather, it is a style of political discourse or thinking, one which views politics as a conflict between corrupt elites (political, economic, intellectual or cultural) and a virtuous “people” (the silent majority, the forgotten man, “real” Americans).

It is this Manichean way of seeing politics—as a struggle between a righteous people and a malevolent elite—which unites the rhetoric of otherwise disparate political leaders like Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders. While Sanders excoriates Wall Street bankers and the 1 percent for exploiting American workers and the middle class, Trump lashes out at establishment politicians and cultural elites for abusing small businesses, farmers, and “real Americans.”

Second, populism is not new. Many past political leaders embraced populist themes. Thomas Jefferson touted a yeoman’s democracy, Andrew Jackson ran on the “people’s ticket,” and during the Gilded Age, William Jennings Bryan attacked elites in both government and business for saddling ordinary Americans with crushing debt and miserable living conditions.

During the 20th century a distinctive left- and right-wing variant of populist thought emerged in the United States. Franklin Roosevelt’s and Huey Long’s attack on “organized money” and their call for redistributive programs eventually became the template for today’s left-leaning populists; while George Wallace and Ronald Reagan’s anti-government rhetoric and attack on cultural elites became the blueprint for today’s right-wing populism.



Cornell Clayton



Director's Update (continued)



Huey Long

Third, although populism is not new, neither is it a permanent feature of American political discourse. Populist rhetoric tends to emerge during periods of major social or economic change, like those that accompanied industrialization in the Gilded Age, the economic dislocations of the Great Depression, or the cultural transformations in the 1960s.

Today's populism is once again rooted in major social and economic dislocations. Globalization and technology have created a new economy that produces tremendous wealth but also economic inequalities not seen since the 1920s. Immigration and demographic change has altered the complexion of American society, and changes in social and cultural attitudes—many with their roots in the 1960s—have altered the status of women, minorities, and the role of religion in public life.

These and other developments have left many Americans feeling disoriented. To borrow the title of sociologist Arlie Hochschild's recent book, they are feeling like "strangers in their own land." They often pine for a mythical past when things seemed better and the idea that a corrupt elite is sticking it to ordinary people echoes how many of them have come to feel. A recent survey of populist attitudes by a group of political scientists found that 44 percent of Americans today believe "politics is ultimately a struggle between good and evil"; 72 percent think "a few special interests prevent us from solving our major problems"; and 71 percent believe that the people, not politicians, should make most important policy decisions."

Another study by Joseph Uscinski and Joseph Parent found that many Americans today also hold a "paranoid predisposition" which leads them to believe in elite conspiracies. They found that 42 percent of Americans think that "much of our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret," 62 percent believe that "even though we live in a democracy, only a few people really run things," 50 percent think those that really run the country "are not known to voters," and 40 percent think that "big events like wars, recessions, and elections are controlled by people working in secret against the rest of us."

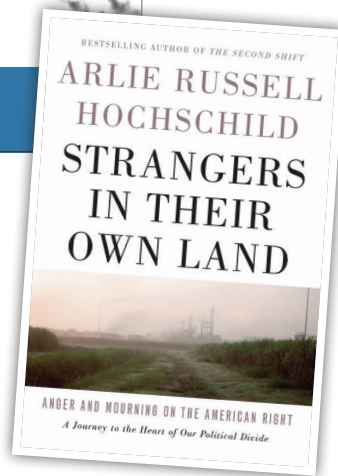
This paranoid predisposition cuts across demographic groups. Women were just as likely to hold conspiratorial attitudes as men, Democrats just as likely as Republicans.

Such attitudes make voters receptive to populist politicians and their claims that corrupt elites are behind everything wrong with America. At its heart, populism is an appeal to a sense of loss, offering an explanation to some for why they feel they have come out on the losing end of economic and cultural changes. If you are working harder than ever but struggling to make ends meet at a low-wage job, it's because greedy CEOs exploit workers or corrupt politicians

sign bad trade deals. If you feel your cultural values are under assault, it's not because others disagree with them but because a cultural or media elite conspire to foist their cultural agenda on us.

Populists are not necessarily wrong when they point to corruption and misbehavior by those who hold power, or when they champion the interests of working families. Yet the problem with populist bromides is that they often oversimplify complicated problems. Rather than recognize the complexity of major economic and cultural changes, populists reduce them to the machinations of evil elites. Hence their appeal—providing simple answers to complicated challenges.

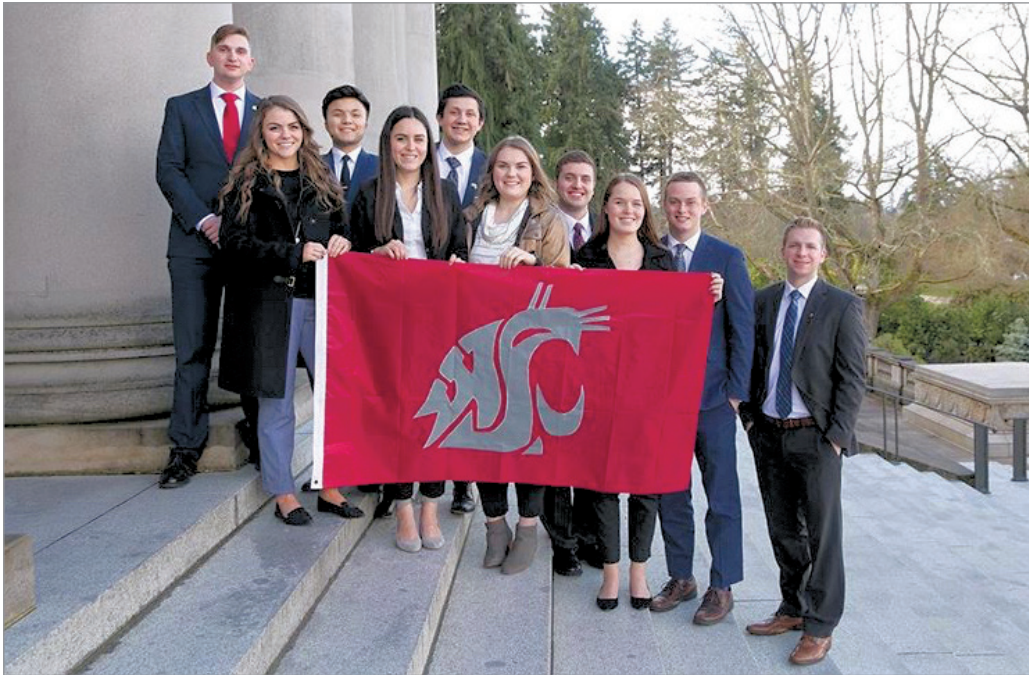
But simplistic solutions rarely work. Major political problems exist because they are complex, difficult to resolve, and because solutions usually require hard compromises rather than demonizing the other side.



Continued on page 22

Undergraduate *Internships*

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 or visit us online at foley.wsu.edu if you would like to know more or are interested in contributing to our scholarship funds.



Pictured above are the Foley Institute's interns who took part in the Washington State Legislative Internship Program in Olympia. We were excited to see the largest class in many years of Cougs accepted to the program.



Alexis Arambul

Olympia interns included: **Alexis Arambul**, **Rachel Case**, **Kaitlyn Dehmer**, **Griffin Fitzsimmons**, **Corey Fluke**, **Bryce Gillis**, **Jarred Mac**, **Peter North**, **Kaden Sanne**, and **Lilly Zhukova**. **Matthew Morrow** also interned in Olympia as the Director of Legislative Affairs for the Associated Students of Washington State University (ASWSU) and **Nicholas Streuli** interned at the Employment Security Department over the course of the whole year.



Lilly Zhukova

In Pullman, **James Dalton** interned for ASWSU and the WSU Office of Veterans' Affairs, while **Najma Sheck** interned at the WSU International Center, and **Rocky Ferrenburg** completed an internship working on political campaigning in Idaho.



This past year we also had an outstanding group of interns at the institute, who helped ensure the smooth running of the office and numerous events! Thank you to our 2017-2018 interns: pictured here with WA Attorney General Bob Ferguson are **Heidi Stallman** (Lead Intern), **Brooke Wolford**, and **Mohamed Salem**. **Orla McAlinden** also interned with the institute and is pictured left on her study abroad in Europe in spring 2018.



Interns in Washington D.C.

Ryan Moore, a senior studying political science, was the recipient of the Lance T. LeLoup Congressional Internship Scholarship, established to honor the memory of Lance LeLoup who had a distinguished political science career at Washington State University, and as one of the leading Congressional scholars in the nation.

Ryan, who is from North Bend, WA, interned over the summer with Washington State U.S. Representative Dave Reichert in Washington D.C., where he had the opportunity to not only serve constituents of Washington's 8th District, but also got to interact with politicians such as Representative Joe Kennedy Jr., and Libertarian presidential candidate Gary Johnson. His future plans include going to law school, ideally in Washington D.C.

Also in Washington D.C., **Brittney Lindstrom** and **Peter North** both interned with the U.S. State Department.



Help an Undergraduate Scholar

Help the Foley Institute provide scholarships to support undergraduate internships.

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Thomas S. Foley Institute for
Public Policy & Public Service

College of Arts & Sciences
WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

Thank you!

Graduate *Fellowships*

Each year the institute awards research fellowships to graduate students working on important public policy questions. These fellowships are available thanks to the generosity of **Scott and Betty Lukins**, **Alice O. Rice**, and the **Burlington Northern Santa Fe Railway Foundation**.



Pictured left to right outside Bryan Hall are Yikang Bai, Nathan Mikami, James Schroeder, and Samuel Rhodes



Molly Carney



Julia Smith



Oscar Martinez

Yikang Bai's (sociology) research examines how ecologically unequal exchange relationships manifest in the global trade in plastic waste. His project attempts to understand what environmental policies are needed to cope with the global plastic waste trade and how to reduce the amount of plastic waste internationally.

Molly Carney's (anthropology) research explores relationships between past indigenous groups and their use of the landscape. She focuses on how camas was used, consumed, and managed in the prehistoric Northwest and how changing climates and natural resource policies affected the distribution of this traditional food source. She is using the award to image and identify plant food remains from archaeological sites (using scanning electron microscopy) to reconstruct past subsistence and land management practices to hopefully better inform modern land management decisions.

Oscar L. Martinez (political science) is using his Foley Fellowship to gather data and conduct field research on "Second-Victimization" in family courts. His research examines how judges at the family and trial court levels may inadvertently add to the cycle of victimization by allowing a perpetrator of violence against women to gain custody or visitation rights of children.

Nathan Mikami's (political science) research explores the relationship between religious nationalism, religious literacy, and the Islamic State's recruitment efforts in the West. He seeks to address specific policy concerns around curbing the radicalization of Westerners, as well as general questions dealing with countering violent extremism through the policies that avoid the exclusion and marginalization of specific religious and ethnic minority populations.

Samuel Rhodes (political science) is researching how online "echo chambers" condition individuals in consuming and sharing fake news. His fellowship will be used to fund a series of experiments examining the role that group dynamics play in the spread of political misinformation. He hopes that his research will allow us to better understand (and ultimately remedy) the fake news dilemma unfolding in the United States and other democracies.

James Schroeder (history) researches American military and foreign policy history, and how national security and immigration priorities created conflict within the United States government. He is currently examining Project Paperclip, the post-World War II program to recruit German scientists for work in the United States. He will use his award to travel to Washington D.C. and access records detailing the relationships and controversies between the civilian and military departments administering the Paperclip program.

Julia Smith's (political science) research focuses on the relationship between gender in U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals and judicial behavior. She hopes her research will inform our understanding of whether judges alter their behavior in oral arguments based on the gender composition of specific panels of judges and the gender of the attorneys, ultimately providing insight into the institutional barriers women may face in the legal system.

Foley fellowships are awarded annually to graduate students who fulfill at least one of the following criteria:

- *Conduct research in the area of just and sustainable societies and policies,*
- *Seek to enhance their public policy research skills and pursue a research agenda focusing on major policy issues, and*
- *Conduct research in the area of political institutions and democracy.*

Distinguished Lecture | *Free Speech*

Free speech and campus climate issues

The first 2018 Foley Distinguished Lecture was presented on March 29, by **Howard Gillman**, a leading constitutional scholar and the current chancellor of the University of California, Irvine.



Drawing on his recent book “Free Speech on Campus,” Gillman talked about his experience with university protests and discussed some of the exchanges he had had with students who had been protesting a Milo Yiannopoulos visit to UC Irvine in 2016.

Gillman’s talk also covered the recent events that took place in Charlottesville and suggested that the current generation of students is more mindful of psychological harms of demeaning speech and bullying.

He was concerned about differentiating between academic freedom and freedom of speech, and was also at pains to clarify the concept of hate speech. He discussed the failures experienced by universities in the late 1980s and early 1990s that tried to enforce hate speech codes, noting these codes were struck down by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional. He argued that even though democracies inevitably have some flaws, free speech is an incredibly important component of American democracy.

Rather than restrict speech on campus, Gillman suggested that universities could mitigate the effects of upsetting speech by encouraging students and faculty to educate themselves on the psychological harm of hate speech and coordinate curricular activities that celebrate diversity and inclusion on campus. According to Gillman, allowing everybody to express diverse views has many benefits.

Howard Gillman is the chancellor of the University of California, Irvine. He is also an award-winning scholar and teacher, and a leading expert on the American Constitution and courts. In addition to being chancellor, Gillman holds faculty appointments in the school of law, the department of political science, the department of history, and the department of criminology.

Dr. Gillman’s most recent book, coauthored with Erwin Chemerinsky, dean of the University of California at Berkeley’s school of law, was published in 2017 by Yale University Press. It is entitled Free Speech on Campus.



Distinguished Lecture | *Nuclear deterrence*

U.S. nuclear weapons: What are they good for?

A second Foley Distinguished Lecture was presented on April 9 by **General Kevin Chilton** (U.S. Air Force, Ret.), who addressed America's nuclear deterrence capabilities.

Recalling that there has not been a major war since nuclear bombs were dropped on Japan at the end of World War II, Chilton made a forceful case for the need to maintain and improve the arsenal of nuclear weapons in the United States as an effective deterrent force. He suggested that it was especially important to keep pace with potential enemies in the world, given the increasing proliferation of nuclear arms around the globe.

Chilton said that the best use for an army and its weapons is not to fight wars but to prevent them from taking place.



Photo courtesy Michael Linder/ Daily Evergreen

Kevin Chilton is a former United States Air Force four-star general and test pilot, and he served as Commander for U.S. Strategic Command for four years. Chilton spent 11 years of his military career as a NASA astronaut.

Constitution Day 2017

The Foley Institute helped WSU celebrate Constitution Day on Monday, September 18 by handing out pocket constitutions to students in the Compton Union Building (CUB). Pictured left are Foley front office assistant **Kathia Jimenez** and Foley intern **Brooke Wolford**.



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Public symposia

Truth, Twitter, and fake news—Media and Politics Symposium



Pictured with moderator Travis Ridout are left to right Regina Lawrence, Johanna Dunaway, and Porismita Borah.

The annual Media and Politics Symposium, hosted by the institute and The Edward R. Murrow College of Communication, took place on October 24. The panel discussion focused on President Trump's extensive use of social media to shape policy and public opinion while also attacking mainstream media.

Porismita Borah, Washington State University, discussed the conversation around fake news, including the “pizzagate” conspiracy theory, noting that many sites were involved in spreading fake news about candidates.

Johanna Dunaway, Texas A&M University, discussed the complicated relationship between the news media and social media, and the fact that there

has been a greater volume of social media use by governmental actors combined with increased coverage of those conversations by traditional media. She suggested that Trump tries to bypass the traditional news media by using Twitter because of the tense relationship that exists between the president and the press.

Regina Lawrence, University of Oregon, discussed how the mainstream news reports on President Trump. She noted that their previously privileged role has been eroded due to high levels of distrust that Americans currently hold about the media. There is a “profound crisis of confidence in political institutions and in the media” she argued, and suggested that the mainstream media are quickly losing their place as gatekeepers of public discourse.

The panel agreed that the prospects for a good relationship between the executive branch and the mainstream media were not good for the near future, despite each institution depending to some degree on the other.

Federal tax reform

On November 29, **Tom Neubig**, founding member of Tax Sage Network and a research affiliate at the Office of Tax Policy Research at the University of Michigan Ross School Of Business, presented the annual Tax Policy Symposium, held in collaboration with the WSU Hoops Institute of Taxation Research and Policy and the WSU Carson College of Business.

Neubig discussed the proposed tax bill that was then being considered by Congress and argued that it would be seriously detrimental to students. The aim of the tax bill was to reverse the actions of the 1986 tax bill that had increased taxes on corporations while lowering them for individuals.



Science Ethics & Public Policy (SEPP) Symposium

On February 13, the institute hosted a symposium on why scientists, lawmakers, and the public have different views of science, often leading to the rejection of scientifically sound ideas.

Kristen Intemann, Montana State University, said people have a tendency to believe what they want and seek information to confirm it. One example, she said, was that despite no evidence of a connection between vaccines and autism, there remains a persistent fear of some link. As a result, an increasing number of parents disregard the advice of pediatricians and choose to not vaccinate their children, and this has led to an alarming increase in preventable contagious diseases.



Patricia Hunt, WSU School of Molecular Biosciences, suggested that the United States is falling behind other countries because of the way it has invested in science compared to others. She argued the United States is giving up its place as a scientific leader, and that lawmakers play a crucial role when it comes to understanding science.

Steven Stehr, director of the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs, suggested that lawmakers and opinion leaders often attack science in order to defend their worldview. He specifically pointed to a recent event in Portland, where voters opposed the introduction of fluoride into their water supply.

The SEPP series works to link various research departments at Washington State University with external experts to provide discussion and insights into controversial issues at the crossroads of science and public policy. The series is co-sponsored with the WSU School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs.

Olympia Symposium—Covering the news in the Capitol

The eighth annual Olympia symposium in collaboration with the office of Washington's Secretary of State took place on February 23.

The panel focused on how the media decide what news to cover when reporting on state government. The featured speakers, pictured were **Jim Camden**, Spokesman Review, **Regina Lawrence**, University of Oregon School of Journalism and Communication (who also featured in the institute's annual Media & Policy Symposium in the fall), **Austin Jenkins**, Northwest News Network, and Seattle radio personality **Dave Ross**.





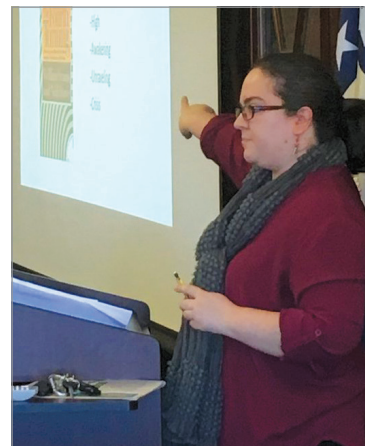
Coffee & Politics

— politics in the U.S. —

Steve Bannon and the far right

On March 6, the Foley Institute welcomed **Joan Braune**, Gonzaga University, to discuss the controversies surrounding Steve Bannon and the dangers of the far-right. Braune discussed how ideologies influence United States and global politics. Bannon's far-right rhetoric, she said, followed his career from the United States Navy to the White House, and often focused on opposing global institutions such as the United Nations. Following the Charlottesville incident, public opinion pressured the Trump Administration to dismiss Bannon from the White House.

Joan Braune is a lecturer in philosophy at Gonzaga University. She is author of *Erich Fromm's Revolutionary Hope* (2014) and is currently writing a new book on Steve Bannon's ideology and the American alt-right.



The 2018 Nuclear Posture Review

On April 18, WSU's Vice President for Research and professor of physics **Christopher Keane** discussed the Pentagon's recent review of nuclear weapon systems, including nuclear stockpiles.

The Pentagon report concluded that many of the weapons are outdated and are therefore harder to maintain. To match the capabilities of countries such as China and Russia the report suggested updates to U.S. nuclear capacity and weapons systems, as well as the dismantling of some weapons previously deployed.

The U.S. currently has just over 4,000 warheads, including those that are actively deployed, as well as those in reserve.



The Hanford Site: Plutonium production in Washington

On March 21, the institute hosted journalist and author **Steve Olson** to talk about the history of the Hanford nuclear site in central Washington state.

Drawing on his research for a forthcoming book about the site, Olson discussed several controversies around Hanford, including the cost of construction and decommissioning, as well as the effects of the plant on local residents.

Olson is a writer and author of the recent book *Eruption: The Untold Story of Mount St. Helens*.



Coffee & Politics

politics in the U.S.

When political mega-donors act together

On August 30, renowned Harvard sociologist and political scientist **Theda Skocpol** addressed a large audience at the institute on the topic of political mega-donors. During her discussion, Dr. Skocpol outlined the changes in political parties since the early 2000's, suggesting the positions of both parties had shifted to the right. She argued that many resources are controlled by the integrated political network alongside free-market entrepreneurial actors.

She identified a specific Republican party shift over the last decade, moving away from the popular preferences of constituents towards the interests of political mega donors. She suggested that wealthy Americans are active on both sides of the political spectrum and specifically examined the role of the Koch Network on the right and the Democracy Alliance on the left.



She described how the donor consortia of organized groups of millionaires and billionaires meet regularly to try and influence political organizations such as think tanks, constituency mobilization groups, and political parties, to set legislative agendas for what gets enacted between elections. Ultimately, she argued, the problem of political mega-donors is that they are increasingly exercising an unprecedented power to control American public policy. Dr. Skocpol is the Victor S. Thomas Professor of Government and Sociology at Harvard University.

Kneeling for justice

Journalist and civil rights activist **Shaun King** spoke at the institute on January 18, as part of WSU's Martin Luther King Day celebration, to discuss racial injustice and police brutality in America. Mr. King talked about his personal relationship with NFL player Colin Kaepernick, and described how police brutality cases had impacted Kaepernick and encouraged him to take action on the issue.

Kaepernick's decision to kneel during the national anthem has led to a national debate and generated strong reactions on both sides. King has written extensively on such issues, and argues that social media has been a very powerful tool for exposing contemporary racial injustice.

King is currently a writer at the Harvard Law School Justice project, senior justice writer for the New York Daily News, and has written hundreds of news columns.



Eric Reid #35 and Colin Kaepernick #7 of the San Francisco 49ers kneel on the sideline during the anthem, as free agent Nate Boyer stands, prior to the game against the San Diego Chargers at Qualcomm Stadium on September 1, 2016 in San Diego, California. The 49ers defeated the Chargers 31-21.

Michael Zagaris/San Francisco 49ers/Getty Images



Coffee & Politics

politics in the U.S.

Marijuana Law Implementation in Washington State

Justin Nordhorn, Chief of Enforcement for Washington State's Liquor and Cannabis Control Board, spoke at the institute on October 3, and discussed the state's regulation of marijuana and cannabis.

Explaining how the board is both the regulator and the enforcement unit for the drug's use in the state, he outlined what is legal and what is still illegal, and heavily regulated, such as out-of-state sales. In Washington State, this is tracked by a "seed-to-sale" traceability system, whereby plants are tagged when they reach eight inches with a number that will follow them throughout production. Pesticide use and advertisement of marijuana are other areas subject to stringent regulations by the state, he explained.



Lisa Brown—candidate for the democratic nomination

On March 29, the Foley Institute welcomed **Lisa Brown** to talk about her candidacy in the primary for Washington's 5th Congressional district. Brown discussed her role establishing the WSU medical school in Spokane as well as the health clinic on campus in Pullman. She also shared her story growing up in rural Illinois and the challenges she faced as a woman throughout her academic and political career.

Brown served in the Washington State Legislature for more than 20 years, and served as Senate Majority Leader from 2005–2013, following which she became chancellor of Washington State University Spokane.

WA 9th District delegation

On December 13, the delegation from Washington State's ninth legislative district, which includes WSU, visited the Foley Institute.

Senator **Mark Schoesler**, and representatives **Mary Dye** and **Joe Schmick** provided students with a preview of the upcoming legislative session.



The power of memory in the era of Trump

On October 2, **Angela Sims** visited the Foley Institute to discuss her research into the oral records surrounding the history of violence against African Americans, particularly lynching, in the United States.

Although popular consensus is that the country has moved beyond the days of such violence, Sims argues that black Americans today face the shadows of this history. She further explained that oral histories of violence and prejudice represent “courageous truth-telling,” and are critical resources, without which historical records are incomplete. She particularly emphasized the role that churches might have in preserving and protecting these oral histories, and allowing them to continue to function as a means to share past experiences otherwise forgotten.

Angela Sims is the Robert B. and Kathleen Rogers Associate Professor in Church and Society at St. Paul School of Theology.



Feminism in the era of Trump

The prominent feminist philosopher **Amy Allen** spoke at the institute on November 28, to discuss feminism’s changing role following the election of Donald Trump.

Drawing on her own work, as well as Hillary Clinton’s recent book, Allen suggested that the underlying sexist narrative during the election campaign demonstrated that feminism was still an important issue in the U.S., even though many women voted for Trump. This, she argued, demonstrated that many women do not recognize the importance of feminist ideas nor their impact on their lives.

Amy Allen is Liberal Arts Research Professor of Philosophy and Women’s, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at The Pennsylvania State University.

Incivility in politics, incivility in our lives

Carolyn Long, inaugural Sam Reed Distinguished Professor in Civic Education and Public Civility at WSU-Vancouver, visited the institute on October 6. She discussed the problem of incivility in politics and in public discourse, suggesting that the lack of civil discussion is inhibiting people from being able to actively engage in politics. She stressed the importance of active listening and engaging in the tough conversations that the current political partisanship divide has created.



Photo courtesy, Michael Linder/ Daily Evergreen



Coffee & Politics

Mexico and immigration policy



DACA and immigration reform

On November 15, University of Oregon professor **Daniel Tichenor** spoke about immigration issues in the United States.

Tichenor described the evolution of U.S. immigration policy, including the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which was passed in order to control and discourage relatively easy illegal immigration, and Congress's subsequent inaction on the issue until President Obama signed the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) policy into law in 2012. He suggested that the arguments and divisions over DACA emphasize the difficulties facing attempts at long-term immigration reform.

Tichenor is the Philip H. Knight Chair of Social Science and Director of the Program on Democratic Engagement and Governance of the Wayne Morse Center for Law and Politics at the University of Oregon.

Defending the Dreamers

Bob Ferguson, Washington State's 18th attorney general, returned to speak at the institute on March 27 about how he and 14 other state attorneys general filed a lawsuit against the Trump administration over the plan to end the DACA program (recipients are often referred to as Dreamers, based on the unenacted Dream Act), which provides for renewable extensions for individuals brought as children to the United States to continue to remain in the country.

Ferguson explained how his office began preparing for litigation in response to demands by Texas and nine other states to Attorney General Jeff Sessions to rescind DACA by September 5, 2017. In the state's opinion, the administration violated the Administrative Procedure Act, by outlawing DACA based on the claim it is illegal, even though no court has explicitly found that to be the case.



The Wall with Mexico

On April 25, **Richard Pineda**, University of Texas, El Paso, spoke about the proposed border wall with Mexico and border politics.

Pineda discussed the history of immigration policy in the U.S., before talking about the symbolism of the wall, and how the idea of it affects the communities near the border. He spoke about the mechanism by which immigrants, previously living in harmony with their new communities, are affected when hostile rhetoric about them is used by the media or by government leaders. This has proven to be especially the case recently for immigrants to America from Mexico, given the depiction of many of them as rapists or murderers by the president.

Richard Pineda is associate professor in the Department of Communication and director of the Sam Donaldson Center for Communication Studies.



politics in the U.S.

The Civil War monument controversy



On October 10 the institute hosted a panel discussion of issues related to Civil War monuments in public spaces.

Lawrence Hatter, Washington State University Department of History, discussed the difference between using such monuments as primary evidence of what happened in the past, and how they actually were used to construct an identity based on race in the late-19th and early-20th centuries. **Jenifer Barclay**, WSU Department of Critical Culture, Gender, and Race Studies, suggested that the argument that these

monuments are justified because there were black members of the Confederate army was invalid because these individuals were in that army because they were enslaved. **Matthew Sutton**, WSU Department of History, discussed the context of the monuments' erection in the 1920s, noting that at that time there was a strong effort to "whiten" the United States, particularly with tightening immigration regulations.

Life after conviction

In a thoughtful discussion on April 13, a group of formerly convicted felons who have since reentered public life, shared personal stories of how they were able to overcome the obstacles on the way to finding academic and professional success after time in prison.

Moderated by **Noel Vest**, WSU Department of Psychology, the discussion also featured **Omari Amili**, University of Washington, Tacoma; **Christopher Beasley**, University of Washington, Tacoma; **Gina Castillo Perez**, Washington State University; **Christopher Poulos**, Statewide Reentry Council; and **Tarra Simmons**, Public Defender Association.



Each participant highlighted ways in which it was possible to escape the stigma of former incarceration, while emphasizing the role of higher education in particular to find pathways to success. Notably, Simmons recounted how she had found out on the way to speak at the event that she had just passed the Washington bar exam after having been previously denied permission to sit for it. She had successfully taken her appeal to the Washington State Supreme Court, which held that she could not be precluded from becoming a member of the Washington bar.



Coffee & Politics

politics in the U.S.

Trump and evangelical America

On Wednesday February 7, WSU's **Matthew Sutton**, Department of History, talked about the history of American evangelicalism and Donald Trump's popularity among evangelical voters. Despite Trump's past investments in the gambling industry, divorces, and affairs with women, he still received 81% of the evangelical vote in the 2016 election.

Placing evangelical America's relationship with politics into historical context, Sutton explained how President Trump appealed to evangelical's historical support for Christian nationalism and strong opposition to abortion, LGBTQ rights, and Muslim immigration.



The evolution of human rights

On October 5, University of Washington philosophy professor **William Talbott** discussed the evolution of human rights. He noted that their origin cannot be traced through religious or cultural traditions, given that none of these provided consistent rights such as the right for women against discrimination.

Instead, he suggested that collective action problems brought about the need for laws that prevent killing or stealing to maintain order. He went on to discuss how the ideas of political philosopher John Rawls became a prevailing way to think about this collective action problem, and how to resolve it in real world scenarios, such as landmark U.S. court cases that establish a standard for American rights.

Watch our events again!



Many of our events are recorded, and available to watch again.

Go to YouTube and search for Foley Institute



global issues



Fighting Serious Crimes

Colette Rausch, the associate vice president of Global Practice and Innovation at the U.S. Institute of Peace, delivered a lecture on April 10 about how violent extremism, political violence, organized crime, and corruption fuel violent conflict and thwart peace-building efforts in fragile states with weak institutions and governance.

Rausch used Kosovo as an example to demonstrate how the end of a war does not lead to the end of violence, and how serious crimes can tear societies apart and threaten peace and stability.

She noted that after a conflict ends, there is a period of stability in which peace builders must act quickly to prevent violent gangs or politically motivated groups from taking advantage of the vacuum of power that exists. Rausch argued that institutions must be taught to adhere to the rule of law, and individuals must also follow these principles set forth by the rule of law.

Populism's defeat in France



On August 28 Sylvain Brouard visited the Foley Institute to discuss populism in France and the French presidential election. During his talk, Brouard shared his research on populist attitudes in France as compared to other European states. He explained that populism manifests itself on both sides of the political spectrum with individuals who have adopted an anti-elite rhetoric.

He included in his talk a brief profile of each of the major candidates in the recent election. He then outlined the way in which the campaigns themselves embodied populist ideas, especially regarding the role of France in the European Union.

Brouard is a researcher at Sciences Po in France, where he specializes in comparative politics and the study of political competition. He has previously visited Washington State University as a guest professor in 2010 and 2011.

Climate Policy in the European Union

EU Climate policy expert **Jürgen Salay** spoke at the institute on April 25.

With 20 years professional experience in preparing, negotiating and implementing climate legislation in Europe, Salay discussed the history of EU climate policy. He provided details of the main objectives and targets for greenhouse gas emission reductions and discussed the importance of monitoring and reporting for effective climate mitigation.

The institute partnered with the University of Washington's Center for West European Studies and the European Union Center to bring Salay to WSU, as part of their EU Fellowship Program.





Coffee & Politics

— global issues —

Violence in Congo

On February 5, **Jane Freedman**, Université de Paris, France, discussed sexual and gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), where NGOs and the United Nations are investing huge amounts of money into programs to combat the problem. She noted that gender-based violence used to be seen as normal in times of conflict but that feminist movements had worked successfully to put the issues on the international agenda.

Explaining how “toxic masculinity,” sensationalism, and racial colonial imagery dehistoricize and remove conflict from its socioeconomic context. She concluded that strides are being made to reframe the international agenda around these issues.



The North Korean nuclear crisis

Thomas Preston, WSU School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs, spoke on October 31 about the conflict over North Korea’s nuclear weapons. Arguments for taking action against North Korea, he said, hinge on the notion that Kim Jong-un is an unstable leader, a mischaracterization that is quite common among U.S. political leaders and the press.

Preston discussed the nuclear tests that were conducted in 2017, and emphasized that successful tests do not necessarily mean that devices being tested can be attached to a warhead. He also discussed the threat assessments around nations close to North Korea, such as Japan and South Korea, and the differences between point defense and area defense in U.S. domestic defense policy.

Climate change— what or who is to blame?

On September 26 the Foley Institute welcomed **Greg Lusk** to discuss the influence of climate change on extreme weather events. He discussed the economic costs of natural disasters from hurricanes, heat waves, and the polar vortex, suggesting that the evidence pointed towards anthropogenic causes for increasingly extreme weather. Although lawsuits have been brought, they are rarely successful because it is hard to demonstrate direct traceability for causes and it is often hard to show court jurisdiction. Nonetheless, there is some support from scientists and politicians for a system of compensation for victims of anthropogenic weather rather than just bad weather.

Issues about who should bear responsibility and who should pay—polluting countries, polluting corporations, or individuals—he suggested, is not one that can be decided by the science, because the solution has to be a policy-based one.

Greg Lusk is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Chicago.



Director's Update (continued from page 3)

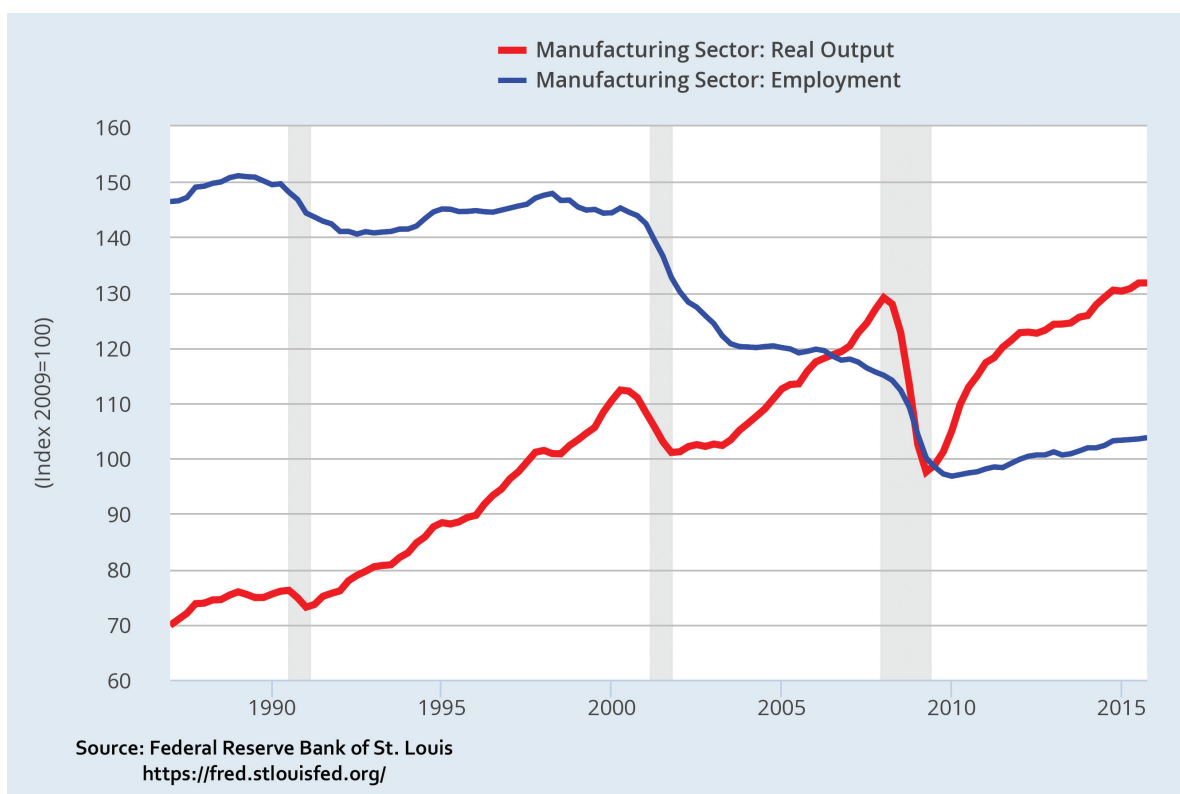


Populist proposals to abandon free trade agreements, build border walls, or eliminate environmental regulations, for example, will not restore well-paying manufacturing jobs that once supported middle-class families. In fact the U.S. manufactures more today than ever. According to federal data, manufacturing output is at a fifty-year high. It grew from \$2.4 trillion in 1980 to \$5.4 trillion in 2017 (constant 2009 dollars). Manufacturing employment, however, has fallen to a fifty-year low. It has slipped from 20 million to just 11 million jobs over that same time period.

Contrary to populist claims, high-wage manufacturing jobs did not all migrate overseas through bad trade deals nor were they all taken by low-paid immigrants in this country. The simple fact is that the United States produces a lot more today with a lot less labor. Technology and automation—not evil CEOs, immigrants, or politicians—are to blame. Go into any factory today and you will see machines and robots doing what workers used to do. And soon there will be machines with artificial intelligence, such as self-driving trucks or laboratory diagnostic machines, that can do nearly all of the routine jobs currently performed by low and medium-skilled service sector workers.

Instead of bemoaning or fearing these developments we ought to be celebrating them. Producing more with less labor is how wealth is created. Indeed, the technological revolution should allow us all to spend less time doing menial, repetitive and physically demanding work, and more time engaged in meaningful, creative, intellectual, and recreational endeavors.

The challenge lies not in bringing back old manual labor jobs (who wants to work on an assembly line or in a coal mine if you don't have to?), but in rethinking how to distribute the tremendous wealth and opportunities this new economy is creating. For instance, it may be that in the future we only need a fraction of the workforce fully employed. What this would mean for all sorts of public policy—from employment practices to education reform to social programs—are questions we should be debating. These are complicated questions that require serious debate and compromises, and vilifying elites only distracts us from discussing real solutions.



Director's Update (continued)



The other danger that populism poses is that it often embraces a troubling view of popular sovereignty, one that posits moral clarity in the will of the majority. This puts it at odds with democratic pluralism, which seeks to protect individual and minority rights. While populists exalt majoritarian preferences, pluralists seek to protect minority view points—especially unpopular ones—through constitutional guarantees and civil rights protections.

If populist leaders embrace anti-pluralist views like nativism, racism or authoritarianism, they can give these views the sheen of democratic legitimacy by equating them with the will of “the people.” If “real Americans” are those of a particular race, color, religion, or creed, then others suddenly become “un-American” and those who stand up to protect such minorities are imposing “political correctness,” or worse yet, they become “enemies of the people.”

Of course not all populist politicians are simplistic thinkers or hold anti-pluralist views. But even when populist leaders have more nuanced views themselves, their supporters often do not. Their supporters often hear only the simplistic solutions and vilification of other groups and the corrupt elites that support them. This poisons political discourse, making it hard to focus on the real challenges that confront our nation and even harder to strike the compromises necessary to address them.

During some previous periods of American history, populist voices have been a powerful force for democratic reform. However, they have also veered into demagoguery and virulent racism, nativism and even authoritarianism.

In an era of populism rising, understanding both the promise and pitfalls that populist politics presents is perhaps our most important challenge today.



Notes:

Hawkins, Kirk, Scott Riding, and Cass Mudde. 2012. “Measuring Populist Attitudes.” Political Concepts Working Paper Series 55 (January). http://www.conceptsmethods.org/Files/WorkingPaper/PC_55_Hawkins_Riding_Mudde.pdf

Uscinski, Joseph E. and Joseph M. Parent. 2014. *American Conspiracy Theories*. New York: Oxford University Press.

DeSilver, Drew. 2017. “Most Americans unaware that as U.S. manufacturing jobs have disappeared, output has grown.” PEW (July 25, 2017). <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/07/25/most-americans-unaware-that-as-u-s-manufacturing-jobs-have-disappeared-output-has-grown/>

Foley Institute *News*

Stories of a Lifetime



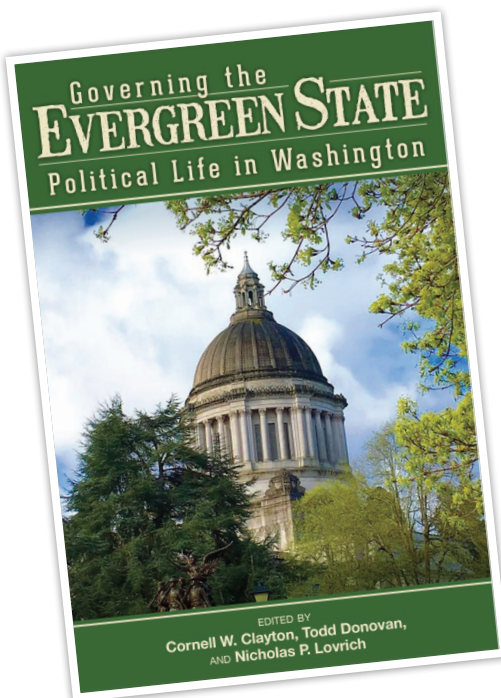
On March 6, **Stan and Alta Barer** graciously hosted a fundraiser at their home in Seattle for the Foley Institute and Avatar Studios to support production of “Tom Foley: Stories of a Lifetime”. The project is a documentary featuring hours of footage shot of Speaker Foley telling the tales of his political experiences.

Many friends of Speaker Foley took part in the event, including **Norm Dicks**, **Don Bonker**, **Jolene Unsoeld**, and **Slade Gorton**, in addition to **Heather Foley**, pictured speaking here.

The money raised will go towards the final production costs. A preview of the film can be seen on YouTube.

If you would like to know how you can support this project, please contact the Foley Institute

Governing the Evergreen State



The latest edition of the Foley Institute sponsored series of books on the politics of Washington state was published by WSU Press in 2018.

The book features contributions by many top scholars, as well as insights from state legislators, administrators, and state supreme court justices, and a foreword by former Secretary of State Sam Reed. There are chapters on Washington’s political culture, elections, political parties, interest groups, civil rights in the state, the press, Washington’s Constitution, the legislature, the Governor’s office, the court system, public policy

This indispensable guide to politics and government in Washington is available at bookstores around the country and online now, including directly from WSU Press at:

<https://wsupress.wsu.edu/product/governing-the-evergreen-state/>



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