

THE FOLEY REPORT²⁰¹⁹

THE **FOLEY** **INSTITUTE REPORT**

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



U.S. Senator Patty Murray
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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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Civic Education and Public Civility

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Director's *Update*

Tom Foley's Legacy of Honorable Public Service

Tom Foley would have turned 90 earlier this year.

Tom Foley's actual birthday was on March 6. When marking the day this year I recall being glued to hearings in the House Oversight Committee, and wondering to myself what Foley would have made of the state of politics today. During the hearings President Trump's former lawyer, Michael Cohen, called the President a racist, a con man, a cheat, and acknowledging he had been directed to pay-off a porn star during the 2016 election. Then things got even nastier as members of the committee competed to out-insult one another. The pettiness of discourse was captured by a large photograph one House member displayed of Cohen with the words underneath "Liar, liar, pants on fire!"

No one on the Committee seemed fazed by the unfolding spectacle. No one said "have you no decency?" Not to Cohen, not to the President, not to the misbehaving members of Congress. Foley, who cherished Congress as an institution, surely would have agree with the Committee Chairman Elijah Cummings, who gaveled the hearings to a close by saying "we are better than this. We really are. As a country, we are so much better than this."

It is true that "politics ain't beanbag," to quote the unforgettable Mr. Dooley. But when did lying, hypocrisy, name-calling, and pettiness become accepted behaviors for elected officials? When did we abandon all pretenses of dignified, civil conduct? When did voters start caring only about their side "winning" and not whether their leaders behave honorably?



Maybe this *is* who we are. But we can probably all agree that it's not who we wish to be. Which brings me back to Tom Foley.

The former Speaker of the House remains the highest elected office-holder ever to hail from Washington State, and his career can serve as a beacon of hope. Foley devoted a life to honorable public service, starting in the state attorney general's office, as a staffer to Senator "Scoop" Jackson, and then working 30 years representing Washington's 5th congressional district in the House, rising in leadership to become Majority Leader and then Speaker, followed by service as U.S. Ambassador to Japan.



Cornell Clayton

Senator Patty Murray

On April 16, U.S. Senator, and WSU alum **Patty Murray** made her first visit to the Foley Institute to discuss her experience as a woman in a leadership position.

Explaining to the crowded room that it was her time at WSU that sparked an interest in politics, she went on to talk about her interest in helping more women take on leadership roles in their communities, country, and all walks of life. She advised women to speak up, stand up to bullies, and not let fear be a basis for the decisions they make.

The Senator also shared some of the ways in which she had developed in politics, enabling her to play a key role in working across the aisle with Republicans, as she did with then-Speaker Paul Ryan to pass the Bipartisan Budget Act of 2013. Before taking questions from the audience, she told everyone to use their voice to speak out about issues they care about, because one day it might make a difference.



Patty Murray

Patty Murray was first elected to the Senate in 1992 and is currently Assistant Democratic Leader in the Senate.



Governor Jay Inslee

Washington State Governor **Jay Inslee** took a break from his Presidential candidate campaign to visit the institute on April 3 to discuss his plans for clean energy.

Inslee said that in the long term, pursuing clean energy and strong environmental policies will be better economics than if we do nothing. He cited the current massive floods in the Midwest and the destructive fires in the Northwest. He also discussed the impact clean energy can have on jobs in all areas of the country, noting that "clean energy is not just for elite urban people, it's for everyone."

Washington State | Political leaders



Jay Inslee *(continued)*

Before answering audience questions, Inslee said the needle is getting pushed in the right direction, but we now need strong policy to help it along.

During his visit, the Governor also presented an award to ASWSU for its role in increasing voter registrations on campus. Jay Inslee has been Governor of Washington since 2013.

Washington vs. Washington

On November 29, Washington State Attorney General **Bob Ferguson**, returned to the institute to share an update on his office's work. Ferguson discussed the process his team follows to determine when to initiate a lawsuit and cited his team's 15-0 record in lawsuits against the Trump administration.

Ferguson then summarized two ongoing lawsuits in which his office is engaged. The first focuses on 3D printing of guns and the potential legal violations associated with this practice. Ferguson explained his team's process of acquiring a restraining order to cease this business practice.

The second lawsuit, filed by Maryland and supported by Washington, centers on the appointment of Matthew Whitaker as acting Attorney General. Ferguson questioned the legitimacy of this appointment on the grounds that Whitaker was not constitutionally qualified, citing Senate confirmations as a requirement. Following his talk, Ferguson answered questions on a range of topics including the transgender military ban, the Oso mudslide, and his office's other priorities.



District 9 Legislators

On December 5, State Senator Mark Schoesler and State Representative Mary Dye made their annual visit to the Foley to update constituents about the upcoming legislative session in Olympia. State Representative Joe Schmick was unable to attend due to a prior commitment.

Foley Institute *News*

Introducing the *Foley Spokane Speaker Series*

We are very pleased to announce plans for a new speaker series of talks.

The institute, in cooperation with Gonzaga University and Eastern Washington University, will bring a regular series of free, public lectures to Spokane, supported by corporate and community sponsorships. This series will honor the legacy of a man who believed in working across party lines and bringing people of good will together for the good of the nation. The series will particularly emphasize promoting political civility and improving the quality of our public discourse.

The Foley Institute at Washington State University honors the lifetime service of Thomas S. Foley. A Spokane native, Foley represented the citizens of the 5th congressional district for 30 years, becoming the 49th Speaker of the House of Representatives, and later served as U.S. ambassador to Japan. He remains the highest elected official ever to hail from Washington state.

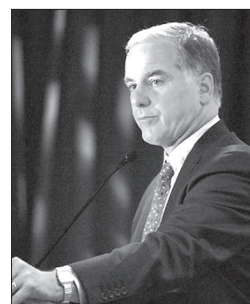
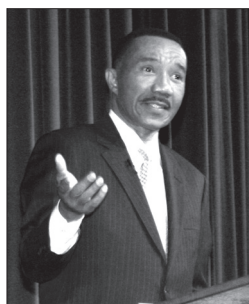
Foley was lauded for his integrity, civility, bipartisan leadership, and the honor he brought to public service. He is remembered for his affection for Spokane and efforts to improve the lives of the people of eastern Washington. His leadership was crucial to farmers and industry in the region, to building highways and infrastructure, and to creating many of the features – such as Riverfront Park and the University District – that make Spokane what it is today.

Throughout its existence, the institute has provided non-partisan, educational programs on democracy and public policy, and encourages young people to pursue careers in public service. The institute's distinguished lecture series recognizes Mr. Foley's belief that the challenges of the 21st century can only be met through innovative thinking and informed, civil dialogue.



Previous lecturers have included presidential candidate Howard Dean, U.S. Attorney General John Ashcroft, Director National Institute of Justice Nancy Rodriguez, NAACP president Kweisi Mfume, political scholars Morris Fiorina from Stanford and Theda Skocpol of Harvard, as well as social commentators such as Christopher Hitchens.

More information about these and all future institute events can be found at our website: **www.foley.wsu.edu**, or on our social media channels.



Distinguished Lecture

Constitutional Crises: Real and imagined



On April 25, **Keith Whittington**, award winning author and professor of politics at Princeton University, gave a Foley Distinguished Lecture about constitutional crises and how the U.S has dealt with them in the past.

Whittington discussed “crises of operation,” wherein the Constitution no longer applies to our actual politics. The Constitution is intended to direct our political disagreements in a meaningful way. However, during a crisis of operation the Constitution may not lead to solutions for our real world issues, thus undermining the Constitution itself depending on the weight of the problem.

A “crisis of fidelity,” on the other hand, applies to situations when officials no longer wish to follow constitutional requirements. This can occur for many reasons. For example, the Garrisonians thought the Constitution was immoral due to slavery and could not be reconciled in a constructive way.

Whittington suggested that our current constitutional crisis lies in our inability to compromise on our political disagreements, highlighting the dangers of political polarization.

The politics of carbon tax

On February 19, the director of the University of Washington Center for Environmental Politics, **Aseem Prakash**, delivered a Foley Distinguished Lecture on the politics of a carbon tax. The lecture focused on why voters in Washington, France, and elsewhere have so often rejected carbon tax initiatives and how we can effectively move towards improving carbon policies.

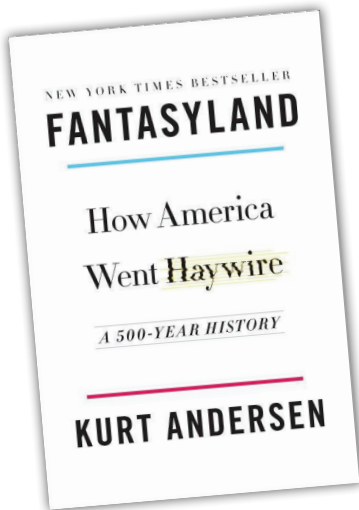
Prakash suggested that combatting climate change with a carbon tax will require a change in our dialogue and perceptions regarding the issue. He explained there is often a misconception held by the public that carbon taxes serve the elite and punish average citizens.

However, even the 2018 carbon tax initiative I-1631, which proposed to produce revenue to offset economic impacts, failed with voters in both eastern and western Washington. Polling suggests that using taxes to combat climate change is not a very popular issue with voters, and he concluded that ultimately it is important for individuals to take responsibility for their consumer choices.



Distinguished Lecture

Fantasyland



On October 4, best-selling author **Kurt Andersen** discussed his recent book, ***Fantasyland: How America went Haywire.***

Andersen argued that throughout America's history its culture has been profoundly shaped by religion and a strong individualism. As a result, Americans are more likely to adopt fantastical thinking, he said.

As a result, Americans hold more extreme views, and believe more fake news than the rest of the Western World.

Throughout his lecture, Andersen made connections between historical and current examples of extreme religious views, intense individualism, conspiracy theories, and a show business mentality that he suggested were major contributions to the formation of Fantasyland America.



Andersen argued that Americans can still regain their equilibrium, despite a long and recurring history of fantastical thinking.

The NCAA arms race



On March 28, nationally renowned sports economist and professor of economics at Smith College, **Andrew Zimbalist**, discussed the way college sports are financed and its effects on universities.

Zimbalist spoke about the athletics funding crisis, noting that the median operating deficit for collegiate athletics programs is over \$14 million annually. This occurs for many reasons, but perhaps the most important is the fact that athletic programs often have no accountability structure because the measure of success is not profits, but winning. Athletic directors stake their careers on generating winning teams and building successful programs, meaning they reinvest profits into better facilities and coaches in hope of attracting the best recruits.

He noted that when athletic programs do not make profits, universities are forced to increase student athletic fees, decrease educational budgets, and drop non-revenue and women's sports. According to Zimbalist, the best way to reform college athletics is to do so through public policy that forces the NCAA to oversee university mandates for student academics. He asserted that individual colleges cannot reform the system on their own because they are subject to system-wide forces within the NCAA.

Public symposia

Media & Politics Symposium Targeting you: Micro-targeting in elections

The ninth annual Media & Politics Symposium, co-sponsored between the Foley Institute and the Edward R. Murrow College of Communication at WSU, was held on October 25. **Shannon McGregor**, **Travis Ridout**, and **Emily Stewart** discussed micro-targeting; gathering and selling data on internet users, and its effects on our political process.



Shannon McGregor, Travis Ridout, and Emily Stewart.

They argued that the types of micro-targeting practices employed during the 2016 election were a dangerous trend that could affect our political process. At the very least, it was suggested, there needs to be more accountability by organizations like Google and Facebook, so the public can be more aware of micro-targeting during elections.

Shannon McGregor is professor of communication at the University of Utah, Travis Ridout is Thomas S. Foley Distinguished Professor of Government and Public Policy at Washington State University, and Emily Stewart is a Vox News reporter who reported extensively on Cambridge Analytica and microtargeting during the 2016 election.

Power to the people: How to increase voter turnout

The ninth annual Olympia symposium in collaboration with the Office of Washington's Secretary of State took place on March 22, featuring **Lori Augino**, the Washington State Director of Elections, **Paul Gronke** of Reed College, and **Michael Ritter** of Washington State University.

Gronke discussed recent trends in voter turnout by state and how that data compared to predictions. Washington, for example, has a lower rate of voter turnout than predicted, whereas Colorado is above. He discussed the Motor Voter registration program, which enables states to offer registration at the same time as applying for driving licences for example, which has clearly boosted voter registration.

Augino talked about the various programs that the State of Washington has implemented to make voting easier and more accessible for citizens. These include voting by mail, ballot drop boxes, and candidate information literature included with ballots, as well as Motor Voter registration.

Ritter explained that a leading reason the United States has one of the lowest voting rates is because there is no automatic registration. However, states are starting to implement automatic registration policies to combat this - Oregon was the first. The hope is that, as more states implement an automatic registration policy, voting rates will go up.



Left to right: Paul Gronke, Washington Secretary of State Kim Wyman, Lori Augino, Michael Ritter.

Pizza & Politics | *Climate change*

Corporate environmentalism

On February 19, **Aseem Prakash** and **Jeff Joireman** discussed corporate environmentalism, and the incentives corporations have to be environmentally friendly.

Prakash, founding director of the Center for Environmental Politics and professor of political science at the University of Washington, explained that corporations have no incentive to go beyond compliance with legally required environmental regulations. His research showed this is caused by a number of factors, such as lack of trust between firms and regulators, and high costs for both parties.

Joireman, professor of marketing and business at Washington State University, discussed how both corporate social responsibility (CSR) and corporate political advocacy (CPA) offer different avenues for firms to influence public attitudes of their brand. Joireman suggested it is harder for consumers to hold negative attitudes towards firms with similar values to their own, and that CSR/CPA strategies should be further examined as ways to provide incentive for corporations to

participate in environmental issues. Both speakers agreed that boycotting, a form of consumer protest that involves withdrawing all connections with a company, and buycotting, a form of incentive for a corporation involving deliberate purchasing of a company's product to support their policy, incentivize companies to tailor policies to consumer values.



Left to right: Jeff Joireman, Aseem Prakash, Cornell Clayton.

Bipartisan solutions to climate change

On October 30, the Foley Institute hosted former members of Congress **Bob Inglis** (R) and **Brian Baird** (D) to discuss bipartisan solutions to climate change. Inglis discussed his experience as a conservative believing in climate change and shared his perspective on how to approach the issue in a manner to which conservatives would be receptive.

The former congressional representatives had introduced, and continue to support, a carbon tax bill intended to promote market competitiveness for alternative, cleaner forms of energy. They concluded by encouraging all attendees to share what they had learned with friends and family, emphasizing the importance of public opinion in making progress on climate change.



Left to right: Bob Inglis, Cornell Clayton, Brian Baird.

Pizza & Politics | 2018 Election

politics in the U.S.

Blue wave for Washington?

On September 19, **Stuart Elway** discussed poll results in Washington in light of the approaching 2018 midterm elections.

Elway, the founder and owner of Elway Research Inc., explained the probability of a shift in Eastern Washington from Republican leaning to Democratic-leaning. His data showed that politics in Washington has become increasingly polarized, with a clear partisan divide between counties on either side of the state, defined by the so-called Cascade Curtain.



Lisa Brown—candidate for the democratic nomination

On September 17, **Lisa Brown** returned to WSU to discuss her campaign for the 5th congressional district. Brown addressed an audience of students, faculty, and community members. She commented on the inefficiency in Congress and how she hoped to change it should she be elected to replace the incumbent.



Election post-mortem

On November 7, the Foley Institute hosted **Travis Ridout** and **Mark Stephan** from Washington State University's School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs, and **John Wilkerson** from the University of Washington to analyze the 2018 midterm elections. Wilkerson discussed how his findings showed Justice Kavanaugh's hearing had a larger effect on Senate races than House races. Ridout and Stephan discussed their analyses of President Trump's effect on the Republican party during the 2016 and 2018 elections.

Collectively, the speakers agreed polling data generally predicted the results accurately and that partisan gerrymandering and redistricting will continue to play a large role in future elections.



WA 9th District candidate debate

On September 26, two of the four candidates for Washington's 9th district, **Jennifer Goulet** (D) and **Matthew Sutherland** (D), participated in a candidate town hall meeting at the institute.

The candidates, who were challenging incumbents in the district for positions in the state legislature, discussed their priorities if elected, including support for increased access to education, and affordable healthcare.

Pizza & Politics | *U.S. foreign policy*

Denuclearizing North Korea

On October 23, Korea Foundation Professor for Korean Social Science at the University of Washington **Yong-Chool Ha** spoke at the Foley institute about denuclearization in North Korea. He also discussed the history of the U.S.'s relationship with North Korea through to the current day.

Yong explained how North Korea's isolation and sense of insecurity motivated them to start their nuclear program in 1962 with the help of the Soviet Union. Different strategic attempts to curb North Korea's program by the Clinton, Bush and Obama administrations were largely unsuccessful. During the Trump administration, with China seemingly more serious about denuclearization and North Korea eager to end sanctions, the 2018 Nuclear Summit in Singapore signaled that China and North Korea might be more open to this possibility.



Trump's foreign policy

On October 2, **Kenneth Schultz**, professor of political science at Stanford University, discussed how partisan polarization impacts U.S. foreign policy.

Schultz claimed that increasing political polarization has had several effects in the U.S. This included declining bipartisan support when employing diplomatic power, inconsistency in commitments to allies and

adversaries, and a concentration of power in the executive branch. He suggested that these issues are widening the party gaps on foreign policy. Noting that Republicans and Democrats are highly divided along ideological lines, he pointed out that there has been an increasing reliance on unilateral presidential powers.



Liberalism and American foreign policy

On March 25, **Andrew Preston**, professor of History at Cambridge University and author of ***American Foreign Relations: A Very Short Introduction***, spoke about how liberalism in the 20th century was

connected to shifting notions of nation security as well as the growth of the national security state.

Preston outlined how national security was originally associated with domestic security but later shifted during Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency. By pushing for America to intervene militarily in World War II, Roosevelt inadvertently connected New Deal era policies with a new understanding of national security. This new understanding encompassed the notion that America must protect its values and interests abroad in order to ensure its security at home. America's expanded government reach as well as the eventual entry into World War II, cemented this new understanding and ensured the growth of new national security related institutions.



Pizza & Politics | *Contentious politics politics in the U.S.*

Populism, nationalism, and race

On March 26, **Christopher Parker**, University of Washington political science professor and author of *Change They Can't Believe In: The Tea Party and Reactionary Politics in America*, spoke about populism and its connections to nationalism following the 2016 presidential elections.

Parker discussed events such as the Charlottesville riots and Trump's inauguration, and sudden spikes in Google searches for "Trump Populism" and "Trump Nationalism," suggesting that there was a difference between classical and contemporary populism. He said and that the latter is not caused by economic anxiety but was instead more related to racism.



Why they come: Immigration from Latin America

On October 15, **Miguel De La Torre** spoke at the institute on the historical origins of the current immigration crisis.

De La Torre argued that the historic appropriation of Latin American resources through political interventions by the United States had contributed to the current phenomenon of large numbers of Latin American workers entering the

United States. He identified the United Fruit Company, NAFTA, and subsidies for big farmers as other factors contributing to the economic circumstances south of the border that he suggested left few options for many but to migrate north.



Communicating polarization

On April 9, **Nathan Kalmoe**, a professor of political communication at Louisiana State University, spoke about partisanship and the media, and how it has historically been communicated.

Kalmoe said partisanship is promoted through a combination of factors and is connected to growing animosity towards the media.

He said the pattern of partisanized media was also true in the past, as when newspapers reported on the Civil War.

Pizza & Politics | Sports at WSU

Financing athletics at Washington State University

On March 28, Smith College sports economist **Andrew Zimbalist** spoke with WSU Athletic Director **Pat Chun** and WSU Pac-12 representative **Nancy Swanger** about the challenges, controversies, and realities of financing college athletics.

Chun spoke about the incredible role college athletics can play in helping those involved transform into leaders. He stated that the most important thing about Washington State University athletics is its affiliation with the Pac-12 Conference, and that the students and alumni take an immense amount of pride in the continuing success of the athletics program.

Swanger discussed her role in fostering the relationship between athletics and academics for WSU athletes, particularly in the realm of academic integrity.

Zimbalist explained that while there is a massive funding deficit in college athletics across the country, that number is actually much higher than reported. Facilities alone cost roughly \$25 million a year to maintain, but many universities report numbers closer to \$5 or \$10 million.

In terms of Washington State, specifically, the ticket sale revenue and corporate sponsorships are about half of those at other Pac-12 universities. Professor Zimbalist believes that this is partially caused by Washington State's location - Pullman is a small town far away from major cities, with few suburbs and major corporations in the area to attend the games or sponsor them. However he also noted that in terms of athletic success, WSU was performing at a much higher level than might be expected.

He suggested that one partial solution to athletic department deficits would be a salary cap for coaches, noting that outside of the NFL there are no other venues that would pay coaches as much as they receive from college football.



Watch our events again!



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

**Go to YouTube and search for
Foley Institute**



Pizza & Politics | *Public policy politics in the U.S.*

Mental health and race

On March 20, **Alfiece Breland-Noble**, expert on mental health treatment for Black youth, families, and communities, discussed disparities regarding race and access to mental health services.

According to Breland-Noble, culturally relevant mental health care is lacking and causing a disparity in treatment for youth of color and their counterparts as professionals fail to understand unique experiences. The reliance on friends and family members as a source for mental health needs, rather than therapists is another disparity disproportionately affecting Black youth, she said.



The boy problem

On February 7, New York Times bestselling author and psychologist **Michael Gurian** spoke at the institute about the myths dominating discussions surrounding masculinity in the U.S.

Gurian stated that several myths have continued to hurt men and boys, including the one that suggests traditional masculinity is the cause of male and female distress. He also discussed neurological differences between males and females and the systems that have benefited women due to policies tailored towards these differences. Issues such as lower GPAs attained by boys in school, lower college graduation rates, and higher criminal rates of men are a few of the symptoms, Gurian says, of policies that are failing boys and men.



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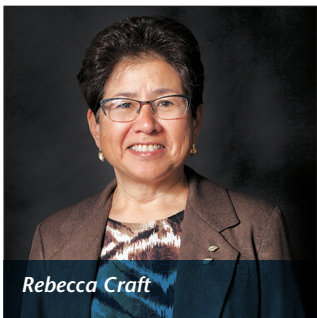
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Foley-Humanities Washington Fellows

The Foley Institute in collaboration with Humanities Washington is proud to announce its partnership in providing a speakers Bureau; a collection of speakers dedicated to nurturing thoughtful and engaged communities across Washington state.



Rebecca Craft is the Herbert L. Eastlick Distinguished Professor of Biological Sciences in the Department of Psychology at Washington State University. Her focus is on research in understanding how drugs affect both our bodies and minds so that individuals can make well-informed choices regarding both medical and recreational drug use.

Craft's lecture discusses the history of marijuana use and U.S. policy as well as recent research about both the potential health and harm of marijuana.



Travis Ridout is Thomas S. Foley Distinguished Professor of Government and Public Policy at Washington State University. His research focuses on political campaigns and has been published in the *American Journal of Political Science*, the *British Journal of Political Science*, and in the *Journal of Politics*.

Ridout's lecture focuses on the use of social media platforms and their increasing role in political elections and what this means for the American voter. He compares the pros and the cons of this phenomenon and what it means for future elections.



Steven Stehr is the Sam Reed Distinguished Professor in Civic Education and Public Civility at Washington State University and Director of the School of Politics, Philosophy and Public Affairs. His work has been supported by the National Science Foundation, the National Research Council, and the National Academy of Science.

Stehr presents a talk looking at the roots and consequences of the post-truth era with a focus on politics and science. He discusses the rise of conspiracy theories and echo chambers in social media and how to find truth in an era of misinformation.



Matthew Sutton is the Edward R. Meyer Distinguished Professor of History, and Chair of the Department of History at Washington State University. His book, *American Apocalypse: A History of Modern Evangelicalism*, discusses how charismatic Protestant preachers, anticipating the end of the world, paradoxically transformed it. Sutton has been featured on National Public Radio's Morning Edition and MSNBC's The Last Word.

Sutton's lecture examines religious voting in America and how evangelical voters have come to hold so much power. He traces the history of the religious right and what their rise means for the current political system.

Initiative for Public Deliberation | *Update*

Community problem-solving

The Washington State University Vancouver—Foley Institute Initiative for Public Deliberation (IPD) was established in Spring 2015. Its stated goal is “to strengthen democratic government by replacing rigid partisanship with listening and conversation,” and it serves as an impartial resource for Washingtonians to assist in community problem-solving.

In the fall, 14 students were trained in deliberative democracy, civility and facilitation skills, to enable them to facilitate collaborative conversations, analyze issues and design community events. Two research associates assisted with new student training and event coordination. IPD also trained 32 high school students on facilitation skills at Auburn Riverside High School in Auburn, Washington in November 2018. These high school students will be facilitating conversations on school policies with students, teachers and administration from their school.

The IPD partnered with Southwest Washington Accountable Communities of Health (SWACH) on several events around

building community health, and including an Opioid Action Summit for Clark County, which was attended by over 100 community members, including local and state representatives. IPD led the community conversations to understand impacts of opioid addiction on our community and to discuss potential solutions.

Further events were held in collaboration with Washington’s Educational Service District 112 (ESD 112) on early childhood behavioral health, and with ESD 112, SWACH and the Fort Vancouver Regional Library, another on the challenges and strategies for dealing with early childhood behavioral challenges. This event was attended by over 130 community members, including parents, educators, and practitioners.

The IPD has been busy spreading a message on the value of civility and community conversations, and continues to work with partners on campus and in the wider community. The Initiative is looking forward to another exciting year in 2019-2020.



Initiative for Public Deliberation | *Update*



Undergraduate Internships | *Update*



The 2018/2019 academic year was another successful year for Foley Institute interns.

Our LeLoup Congressional Scholar, **Emma Ekman**, (left), interned with the National Electrical Contractors Association in Washington, D.C., where she was involved with understanding the lobbying process in Congress.

The Legislative Internship Program in Olympia continues to provide an excellent opportunity for students to experience policymaking in Washington's capitol.

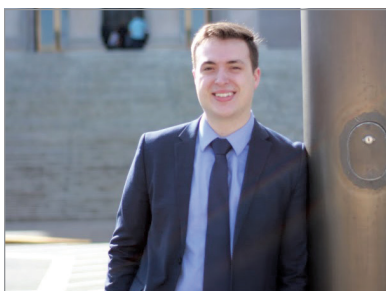
Endalkachew Abebaw, Brandon Erickson, Emily Greninger, Aidan Harris, Madison Leeman, Esha Nath, Draven Schatz, and Ryan Vance were interns working in the Washington State Legislature. Also in Olympia, **Ayanna Pope** participated in the Washington Governor's Leadership Academy over the summer.



At Washington State University, **Allie Figlin, Melissa Hruska, Julia Iannielli, David McLerran, Mohammed Salem, Matthew Winchell, and Brook Wolford** interned at the Foley Institute, and **Christian Porter** carried out an independent research project for the institute.

Serving in internships with the Associated Students of WSU were **Synthia Alcantar, Catherine Dunn, Debbie Majano, Tyler Parchem, Gavin Pielow, Savannah Rogers, and Sophia Diltz** served on the Student Entertainment Board.

Saad Nabil Ali, Victoria Davidenko, Payten Fox, Brissa Perez, Jordan Smith, Melissa Torres, and Omar Zaragoza contributed to Student Legal Services.

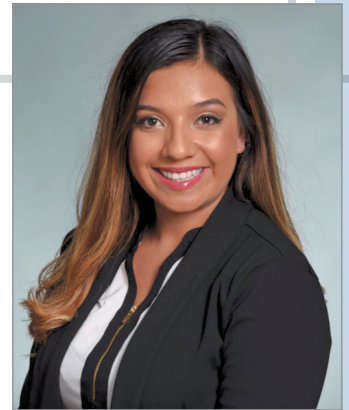


Thanks to the generous support of our donors, the institute is able to offer scholarships to our interns, including the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship for internships in the U.S. Congress. Please contact us or visit us online at foley.wsu.edu if you would like to know more and/or are interested in contributing to our scholarship funds.

Internships (continued)



Quinton Berkompas, Troy Clevenger, Cassidy Cunningham, Anneliese Downey, Dylan Good, Patrick Granger, Griffin Grubb, Michael Highfill, Victory Jones, Camille Lund, Emily Mattheny, Vanessa McCormick, Jhordin Prescott, Candace Quinn, Avery Rebar, Maricela Santos, Domenic Sosa, and Tatiana Saavedra Vasquez all worked on the Sutherland for Washington campaign. **Domenic Sosa** ran the WSU campaign for Susan Hutchison for Congress.



Other internships included **Kaitlynn Boardman**, who interned in the office of Congressman Perlmutter in Colorado; **Mia Kennedy** who interned at a law office in Bellevue, WA; **Ruth-Fiam Nord** who was part of the International Rescue Committee; **Briana Ryan** was involved with Days for Girls International; and **Rocky Ferrenburg** completed an internship working as campaign manager in a state race in Idaho. Further afield, **Rhea Gonzaga** spent the summer as an intern in the Philippines House of Representatives.



Graduate fellowships

Valda Black's (anthropology) research explores local personal agency during periods of external force in Peruvian native communities, and how the prehistoric Chanka cultural group's identity and social associations changed due Inca imperial influence. This research is of interest to the modern-day community in the region since they still identify as Chanka. Funding from the Foley Graduate Fellowship has enabled her to collect and export samples for ancient DNA analyses to be used for modern DNA comparisons. This will provide the current Chanka community with direct evidence to their past associations to use in current land disputes with external mining companies.

Evelien Deelen's (anthropology) research explores the relations between humans and horses in rodeo in the American Northwest. Rodeos are often scrutinized and stereotyped for promoting animal cruelty, while in reality animals are in the center of a complex and layered system of meaning, value, and care. Studying the human-horse relationship provides insights in the 'more-than-functional' meaning of the animal within a specific cultural system of traditional and contemporary values. These insights will lead to a more nuanced understanding of the use and treatment of horses in rodeo which in turn can open up the dialogue between different stakeholders.

Rebecca Donaway's (communication) research examines the features of online political news that encourage (or discourage) news engagement, learning, and information seeking. Her fellowship will be used to fund focus groups with online news users to better understand impressions of news on Facebook. She hopes her work will inform media researchers who are exploring the many, dynamic processes underlying news consumption and content creators alike.

Morgan Montañez's (sociology) research is focused on use of medical safety net programs in rural communities. Since the passing of the Affordable Care Act, rural communities have had persistently high uninsured rates despite having higher rates of poverty than their urban counterparts (meaning more residents were now eligible for Medicaid but are not using it). In addition, even insured rural residents find themselves with a lack of healthcare services compared to those living in urban communities. Rural communities face shortages of specialists and hospitals, lower numbers of doctors, dentists, and nurses, and also larger distances to travel to reach healthcare providers. Her work seeks to explore the consequences of these healthcare related disparities on a rural community.



Left-right: Rebecca Donaway, Brianne Posey, Valda Black, Evelien Deelen, and Randy Powell.



**Morgan
Montañez**

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**.

Graduate fellowships (write ups here)

Brianne Posey's (criminal justice and criminology) research explores police interactions with victims and offenders of intimate partner violence. She specifically focuses on the individual, situational, and environmental factors observed during officers responding to domestic violence. Data was obtained by annotating over 350 videos of police officer body worn camera (BWC) footage, complete with visual imaging and sound, from one single police department located in the Pacific Northwest. Her research aims to influence first responder trauma informed training and officer de-escalation models, as well as community violence prevention efforts.

Randy Powell (history) studies how US religion and politics intersect and inform the ideologies and policies Americans accept, especially in regard to conservatism. Specifically his research focuses on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and their involvement in political issues from the Great Depression to today. By analyzing Latter-day Saint political history, he hopes to demonstrate the vast influence that relatively small religious groups can have on American political life.

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.*

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Thank you!

Director's *Update* (continued from page 2)

It's impossible to list all the things Foley accomplished while serving in Congress. A master at finding common ground and bipartisan cooperation, he passed legislation for family medical leave, the AmeriCorps and food stamp programs, and many other programs reducing hunger and protecting the elderly. His impact on the district in eastern Washington was even more profound. He secured research funding for the region's universities, leading to the development of new crops, healthier farming techniques, and a burgeoning wine industry in the state. He fought for funding to build critical highways and infrastructure across eastern Washington, and was a driving force behind many Spokane landmarks such as Riverfront Park and the university district.

Foley's successes stemmed from his tireless work ethic, but even more from his basic sense of honor and decency. He treated others, including his opponents, always with respect. Members of the opposing party were considered worthy adversaries in the common cause of democratic self-governance, not enemies to be destroyed.

Foley's legacy of honor and decency was on full display during his memorial services in 2013. Foley was eulogized by many dignitaries, including two presidents, but the most moving tribute of all came from his political rival Bob Michel (R-Ill.), who served as the Republican minority leader while Foley was Speaker of the House. Michel recounted how the two often "jostled politically," fiercely disagreeing over major issues like the war in Iraq. "But underlying everything," Michel said, "was a faith and trust we had in

each other." He "never once showed disrespect to me or my colleagues ... and always behaved honorably." With tears streamed down his face, Michel called Foley his life-long friend, "embodying the very spirit of what Congress should be."

That such relationships in Congress could exist today!

It is true that Foley was a warm, affable man, easy to befriend. But the dignity with which he treated his office was no accident of temperament. It grew from his belief in the nobility of government service itself. He believed government could accomplish great things, and participating in selfgovernment was ennobling. He believed that public service was a privilege, and that honoring your office required respecting others, including those with whom you disagreed.

Today, politicians regularly disparage the very government in which they serve, vilify their opponents, and denigrate public

service. Government workers are derided as lazy or incompetent, members of the other party called crooked or corrupt. Not surprisingly, many have come see government as the problem rather than as part of a solution to the major challenges we confront. Unfortunately, it can become a self-fulfilling prophecy.



Director's *Update*

Americans have always had a healthy suspicion of government, but today's phony populism and shrill anti-government rhetoric is both misguided and reckless. Not all problems can be solved by government, but many – from healthcare to climate change – can't be addressed without it. The constant, cynical disparagement of government drains public service of the honor it should instill. It discourages good people from seeking public office, permits odious behaviors by those holding office, and leads our young people to distrust our democratic institutions and our capacity to solve problems requiring collective action. If we wish to be "better than this," it starts by restoring honor to public service. That can only



begin when voters tell elected representatives to respect each other, to respect their constituents, and to respect their offices. They must behave with honesty, integrity, and decency, or expect to longer have the privilege of serving us, regardless of policies or party.

On his final day as Speaker of the House, Tom Foley spoke of driving into work and glimpsing the Capitol building. "It ought to give anyone a thrill" he said. "A sense not only of personal satisfaction, but of very deep gratitude for the honor of letting us represent them."

After 30 years, Tom Foley never lost the sense of wonder that public service should instill.

That is his most lasting legacy. It's why President Obama called him "the Towering Man from Spokane." It's a legacy the Foley Institute celebrates and honors on his 90th birthday.



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