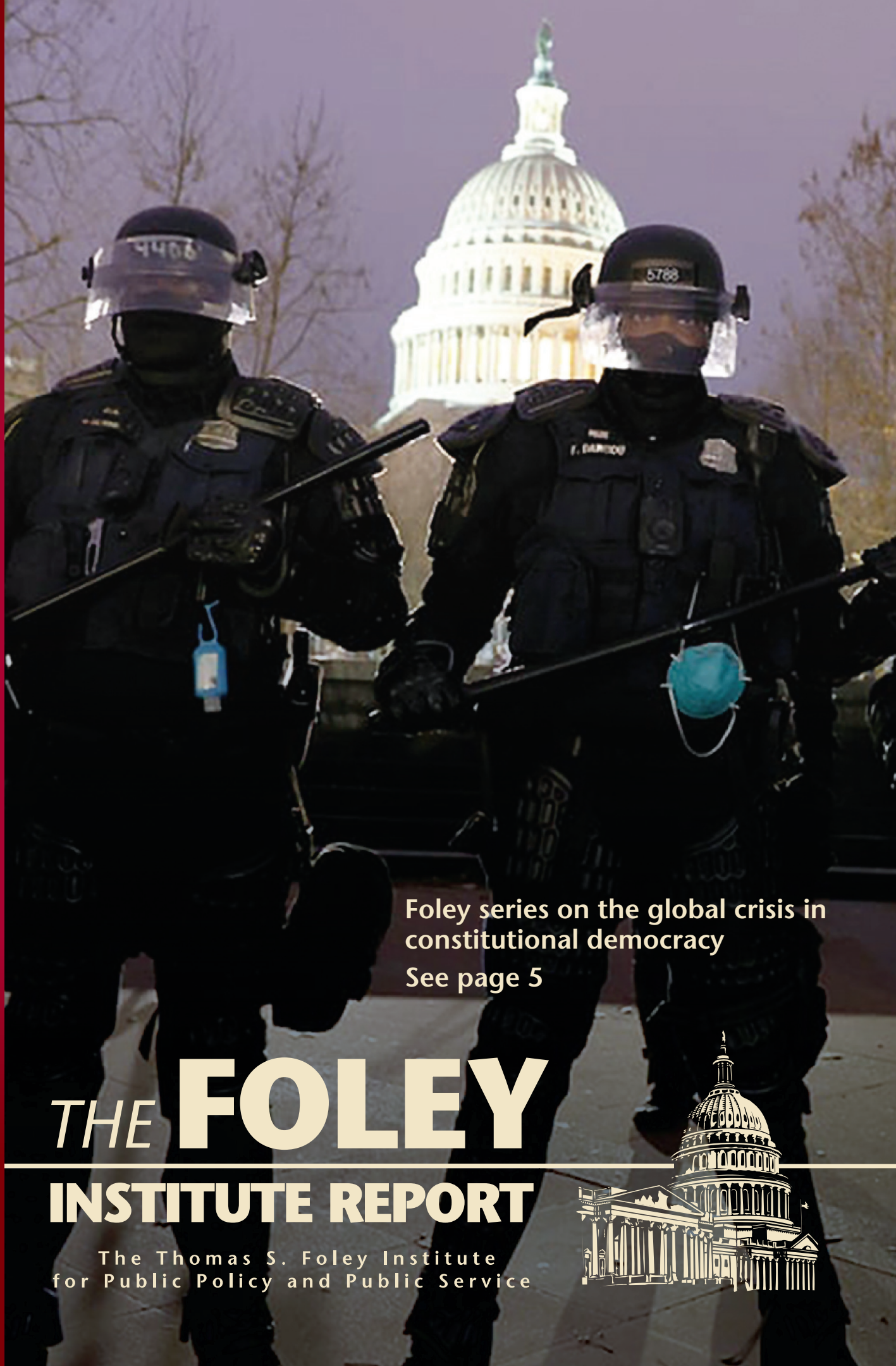


THE FOLEY REPORT 2022



Foley series on the global crisis in
constitutional democracy
See page 5

THE FOLEY INSTITUTE REPORT

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



Director's Update



Cornell Clayton

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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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The Foley Institute Report is published annually by Washington State University, PO Box 645910, Pullman, WA 99164-5910, for the Foley Institute.
N4120 4/22

A year ago, the nation was stunned by violence at the U.S. Capitol Building on January 6. As I noted at the time, elections can serve as inflection points in history. They often serve as catalysts for change, offering the nation the opportunity to reflect on itself and transform its politics if it does not like what it sees.



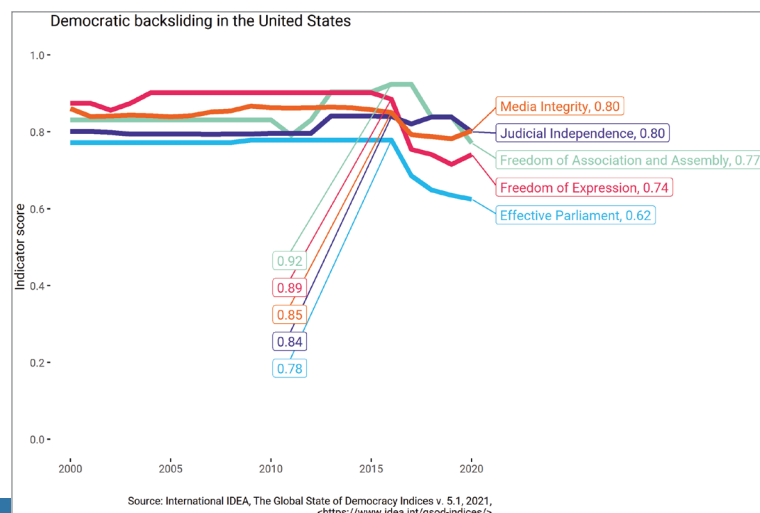
Photo: Leah Mills/ Reuters

gathering of patriots, or an attempted coup. But the label is less important than our clarity about what happened; a violent group of the former president's supporters stormed the Capitol and attempted to prevent Congress from certifying the election.

While Americans may be divided about the meaning of this assault on our democracy, people elsewhere—less influenced by domestic partisanship—are not. A decade ago, most people in other democratic countries thought that the U.S. was a “good example to follow”, but a Pew survey in November found only 17% now think so.

For the first time, the U.S. has been classified as a “backsliding democracy” in a global assessment by the International Institute for Democracy, an intergovernmental research group. In addition to the events on January 6, the “most concerning” aspect of American democracy, the report says, is “runaway polarization.”

Former president Jimmy Carter, whose foundation supports endangered democracies around the world, now fears for our own. “Our great nation now teeters on the brink of a widening abyss,” Carter recently wrote in a special essay published by The New York Times. “Without



immediate action, we are at genuine risk of civil conflict and losing our precious democracy. Americans must set aside differences and work together before it is too late.”

Some of the dire warnings about American democracy may be overwrought. Under

*Continued on
page 3*

a severe test, our fundamental institutions held, local election officials did their jobs, courts did not flinch, and many elected officials—in both parties—acted with integrity despite enormous pressure. And, while the growing acceptance of political violence is alarming, it is still the case that the vast majority of Americans reject violence and believe politics needs to be less divisive.



Yet, the very fact that we now discuss American politics in such terms indicates the need to reassert and educate people about our democratic norms and institutions. Universities must play a key role in this challenge, and true to Tom Foley's legacy of civility and passion for democracy, the Foley Institute intends to be at the forefront.

During the past year, the institute has focused on just that. In addition to other programs, the institute hosted a special series of distinguished lectures last spring examining the “crisis in constitutional democracy” (see page 5). That series featured Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Eric Foner from Columbia University; renowned constitutional scholar Bruce Ackerman, and the acclaimed presidential scholar Stephen Skowronek, both at Yale University; as well as the award-winning international scholar, Kim Scheppele from Princeton.


These experts warned that recent political developments are creating serious risks for our democracy, but they also offered insight about how we can respond and reinvigorate democratic norms. The lectures were viewed by thousands around the world. If you missed them, I encourage you to go to the institute's YouTube channel where you can still watch them. During the fall semester, the institute followed-up with a lecture series focused on an important cause of polarization in our politics today—the dramatic growth of inequality in recent decades (see page 7). That series, entitled “the politics of inequality,” was keynoted by Nobel Prize-winning economist Angus Deaton from Princeton, and featured nearly a dozen other scholars and commentators explaining how rising inequality has fueled populist politics, undermined trust in social and political institutions, and exacerbated long-standing animosities regarding race, religion, and cultural-class differences.

This special lecture series was in addition the institute's other regular programming, which included notable figures like Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist David Cay Johnston and elected officials and policymakers such as Washington's Attorney General Bob Ferguson, and Washington's Secretary of State Kim Wyman.

The good news is that record numbers tuned into see these lectures and our other events this past year. And, despite the pandemic, we continue to see students eager to participate in internships and engage in public service (see page 19).

Foley Distinguished Lecture Series



Crisis in constitutional democracy





Join the nation's foremost scholars on constitutional democracy discussing the current crises in the U.S. and around the world.

Tue. Feb. 16, 12pm: **Eric Foner**, Columbia University
The crisis in historical context

Thu. Feb. 25, 12pm: **Bruce Ackerman**, Yale University
Is Trump a symptom of a Constitutional Dis-Ease?

Thu. Mar. 4, 12pm: **Stephen Skowronek**, Yale University
The wayward course of American presidential democracy

Tue. Mar. 16, 12pm: **Kim Scheppele**, Princeton University
The crisis of democracy in global context

Watch all events live on the Foley Institute YouTube channel
(www.youtube.com/c/FoleyInstitute/videos)
More information: www.foley.wsu.edu | tsfoley@wsu.edu

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

Indeed, contrary to common misconceptions, I see in today's young people an emerging sense of pragmatic optimism and hope for the future. Today's students are less cynical, more accepting of others, less interested in culture wars, and more committed to democracy and pragmatic solutions to policy challenges than ever before.

Fall 2021 series on inequality



If there is reason for faith in America's future, I find it in these young people. It is why the Foley Institute's mission to educate and train the next generation of America's leaders has never been more vital than it is today. I wish to thank all those who have supported the institute and its programs this past year and encourage others to join us in the future (see back page). Your support makes it all possible.

David W. Johnston

Foley Institute | News

The Gentleman Speaker: Conversations with Tom Foley

The institute is pleased to announce the upcoming premiere of a new documentary about the life and political legacy of Tom Foley.



Still from documentary

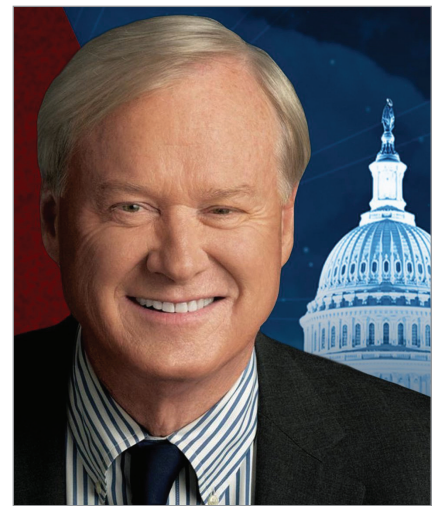
The Gentleman Speaker: Conversations with Tom Foley, produced by Dennis Bracy and Avatar Studios will premiere in April on television in Spokane. A Spokane native, Tom represented the citizens of the 5th congressional district for 30 years, becoming the 49th Speaker of the House of Representatives, and later served as U.S. ambassador to Japan. He remains the highest elected official ever to hail from

Washington State. His life remains a legacy to his commitment to integrity, common decency, and finding common ground.

The documentary features never before seen footage of Speaker Foley's life and stories from his many years in public service.

The film's premiere will be marked by a dinner on April 21, 2022. The dinner will feature **Chris Matthews**, best-selling author and former host of MSNBC's *Hardball*, who worked closely with Foley in Congress and who provided narration for the documentary. The event will serve as a fundraiser for the institute.

For more information about this event, for which tickets will be available, please contact the institute at tsfoley@wsu.edu or by phone at 509-335-3477.



Chris Matthews

The Thomas S. Foley Award for Distinguished Public Service

The Foley Institute is pleased to announce the creation of the Thomas S. Foley Award for Distinguished Public Service. The award will recognize individuals who have demonstrated integrity and courage in their commitment to public service and whose body of work has lasting impact. Criteria considered in making the award are attributes long manifested by Speaker Foley:

- Ethical leadership and integrity
- A commitment to civic engagement, civil discourse, and cooperation
- A belief in bipartisanship, finding the common good, and respecting the views of others
- A commitment to democratic values

Nominations should be made by February 1, 2023.

Questions about the award or nomination should be addressed to the Foley Institute.

Contact:

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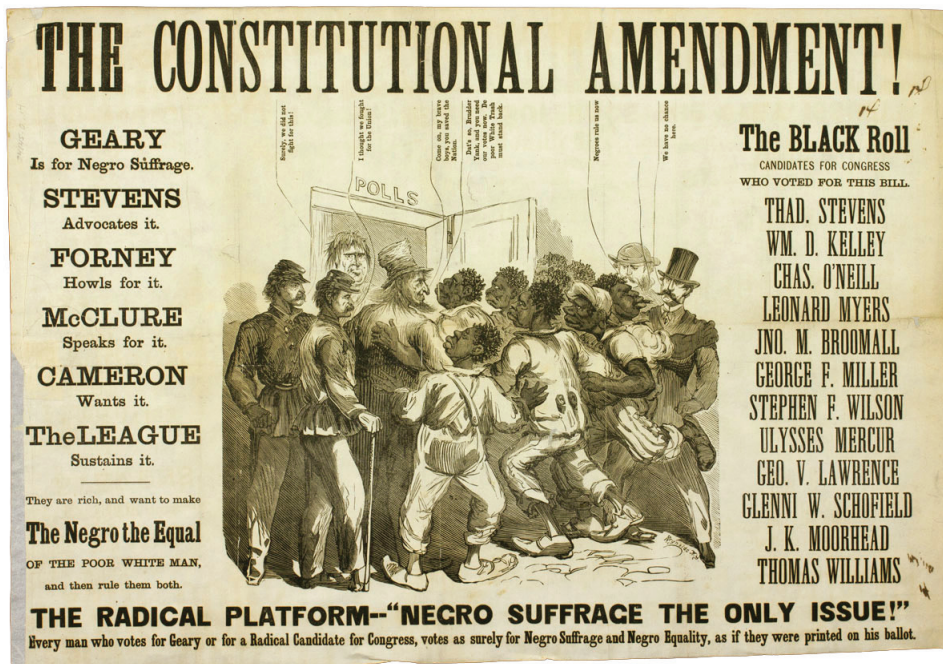
The crisis in constitutional democracy

In recent years at hyper-partisanship and polarization has severely tested America's constitutional structures and democratic norms. In the past year alone, we witnessed two impeachments of a sitting president and a shocking event at the nation's Capitol. We are living in a time of almost unparalleled threat to democratic governance here and elsewhere in the world.

The Foley Institute invited four of the nation's leading experts on constitutional democracy to discuss current crises in the U.S. and abroad during a spring lecture series.

"America's constitutional crisis in historical context"

On February 16, **Eric Foner** of Columbia University delivered the first lecture of the series, arguing that American society is still reconciling itself to the consequences of slavery. Despite the Civil War and the formal abolition of slavery over a century ago, the process of Reconstruction has yet to end. He noted the parallels that exist between the first period of Reconstruction, during the 1860s through 1890s, to politics today, such as the violent attack on the Capitol, closely contested elections, and recent Supreme Court interpretations of the 14th Amendment.



Professor Foner discussed how the ratification of the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were fueled by anti-slavery constitutionalism, which separated the concept of citizenship from race. He noted that popular constitutionalism occurred as discussion about what exactly rights and nationality meant in relation to black suffrage. At that time, it was common that people debated concepts of rights and citizenship of African Americans outside of lawmaking such as within churches, public journals, and households.

He then described how white supremacists overthrew Reconstruction and how the

next generation dealt with a Jim Crow system that fundamentally undermined the pursuit of equality through the destruction of institutions of black education, taking away the right to vote, rigging labor markets to reserve the best jobs for white people, violent murders, lynching, and racist policing. He concluded by pointing out that while Congress attempted to enforce the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments, the Supreme Court diluted these protections.

Eric Foner is the DeWitt Clinton Professor Emeritus of History at Columbia University. Foner's many books include *The Fiery Trial: Abraham Lincoln and American Slavery*, which won the Pulitzer, Bancroft, and Lincoln prizes for 2011; *A House Divided: America in the Age of Lincoln*, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*; *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War*; and his latest book, *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad*.



The crisis in constitutional democracy

“Is Trump a symptom of a constitutional dis-ease?”

On February 25, **Bruce Ackerman**, Sterling professor of law and political science at Yale University, spoke about the U.S. Constitution and the impeachment of Donald Trump.



Ackerman focused on arguments made during the second Senate impeachment trial of the former president, which, he said, aimed to disqualify Trump from holding future office. Section 3 of the 14th Amendment, Ackerman said, contains detailed and unambiguous language disqualifying from future office any official who engages in a conspiracy which involves an insurrection or rebellion against the American government.

Ackerman explained that the 14th Amendment was imperative to the development of the U.S. Constitution and dealing with Confederate leaders following the Civil War. During the passage of that Amendment, Section 3 and questions of disqualification were the center of debate. Once enacted, Confederate rebels were immediately disqualified from holding office and they were thrown out of Congress and state legislatures.

Congressman Jamie Raskin, one of the impeachment managers during Trump's second impeachment, argued for invoking the provisions of Section 3. Ackerman concluded

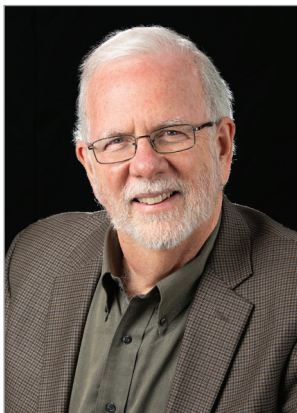
his lecture by noting that there has been no event like the Capitol insurrection of January 6th in modern American history and that the second impeachment trial of Trump set an important precedent for the future.

Ackerman is a distinguished constitutional historian and the author of 19 books, including his award-winning three-volume series on American constitutional development, *We the People*, and his recent book *Revolutionary Constitutions*, which puts the constitutional crisis in historical perspective by comparing the post-war experience of democratic nations around the globe.

The crisis in constitutional democracy

“The wayward course of American presidential democracy”

On March 4, the institute hosted **Stephen Skowronek**, the Pelatiah Perit professor of political and social science at Yale University, for the third lecture in the series on the American constitutional crisis.



Skowronek discussed the impact of growing presidential power on the nature of the American democracy and government. Drawing upon his recently published book, *Phantoms of a Beleaguered Republic: The Deep State and the Unitary Executive*, coauthored with John Dearbon and Desmond King, Professor Skowronek discussed the recent attacks by former President Trump on what has been called the “deep state,” suggesting such attacks are part of a wayward presidency.

The heart of the problem, Skowronek said, is a contradiction in the president’s roles - as political mobilizer and the manager of the state. In 2016, and again in 2020, former President Trump was focused on mobilization, whereas President Biden, like presidential candidate Hillary Clinton, focused on their experience in managerial competence. The problem according to Skowronek, is that the presidency is predicated on there being an appropriate mixture of both.

He continued by assessing differences between Trump and Biden in terms of their styles and exercise of the office’s powers. Skowronek concluded by suggesting ways to correct the wayward course of American presidential democracy, including a deliberate reconstruction of the mechanics of the government itself and reform of presidential powers.

In addition to an endowed professorship at Yale, Professor Skowronek has served as the Wynant visiting professor at the Rothermere American Institute, Balliol College Oxford, and has been a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He also held the Chair in American Civilization at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris. His many books include *The Policy State: An American Predicament* (with Karen Orren); *The Politics Presidents Make: Leadership from John Adams to Bill Clinton*, *The Search for American Political Development* (with Karen Orren); and *Presidential Leadership in Political Time: Reprise and Reappraisal*.

The crisis in constitutional democracy

“The crisis in global context”

On March 16, **Kim Lane Scheppele**, the Laurance S. Rockefeller professor of sociology and international affairs at Princeton University, delivered the final lecture in our series on the constitutional crisis.



Scheppele discussed the January 6 attack on the Capitol in global context.

She noted a recent trend among some constitutional democracies towards instability and authoritarianism. To better understand this trend and the reasons for it, she discussed the role that populism has played in countries like Hungary and Poland. She then argued that a major cause of democratic backsliding in recent decades has been the changing role of political parties within democracies.

Established parties have been weakened and have lost their role as gatekeepers over candidates, she argued. The consequence is the rise of populist-style candidates and authoritarian leaders. The collapse of party systems, and rise of “anti-establishment” candidates, she pointed out, often precedes democratic backsliding and collapse.

Scheppele concluded by suggesting ways in which parties could be strengthened and reclaim their gatekeeping authority and offer better, vetted choices to voters.

In addition to her professorship at Princeton, Scheppele is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and the International Academy of Comparative Law. She is a past recipient of the Law and Society Association’s Kalven Prize for influential scholarship.

The politics of inequality series

“Inequality in America: The deaths of despair”

On September 7, Nobel Prize-winning economist Professor Sir **Angus Deaton**, Dwight D. Eisenhower Professor of Economics and International Affairs Emeritus at Princeton University, keynoted the institute's fall series on the politics of inequality. Deaton's distinguished lecture focused on how rising income inequality and the declining American working class has caused a surge in “deaths of despair” in the past 30 years.

Professor Deaton explained how during the previous 30 years there has been a surge of deaths from drug overdoses, suicides, alcohol-related liver diseases, or other deaths related to an environment of despair. Focusing on the declining working class, Deaton noted that those without college degrees are much more likely die from death of despair than persons with college degrees, which he attributed to the lower standards of living and declining opportunity for working class Americans. Deaths of despair have complicated origins he noted, and appear to be rooted in declining social esteem of blue collar workers. The loss of blue collar jobs and the resulting cycle of social degradation and isolation, he said, produces a loss of self-esteem, depression, and anger, that ultimately leads to suicide or drug related deaths.



Deaton noted that while he was still a believer in the fundamental structures of capitalism, where entrepreneurs are rewarded for their ideas, “the point at which you have to stop is when you’ve got a very large number of Americans who are completely shut out of the political process.” The country needs to “make sure that you don’t stifle the next generation of innovators who are going to come along afterwards.”

Professor Deaton won the 2015 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for his analysis of consumption, poverty, and welfare. He is Senior Scholar and Professor Emeritus at Princeton University and Presidential Professor of Economics at the University of Southern California and has received numerous awards and honors over the course of a long and distinguished career.

He is a member of the National Academy of Sciences and the American Philosophical Society, and a fellow at the British Academy and an honorary fellow of the royal society of Edinburgh. He is also a past president of the American Economic Association.

THE FOLEY INSTITUTE
The Thomas S. Foley Institute
for Public Policy and Public Service

Foley Distinguished Lecture

American inequality

The deaths of despair

Tuesday September 7 | 12:00 p.m.

<https://youtu.be/fld39zDuipc>



Professor Sir Angus Deaton is the Dwight D. Eisenhower Professor of Economics and International Affairs at Princeton University. He was awarded the Nobel Prize in Economic Sciences in 2015.

His research areas include the study of poverty, inequality, health, wellbeing, and economic development, and his most recent book, with Anne Case, is *Deaths of Despair and the Future of Capitalism*, published by Princeton University Press in 2020.

Watch all events live on the Foley Institute Youtube Channel
(url: youtube.com/c/FoleyInstitute/videos)

The politics of inequality series



Inequality in Bolivia: Elections and indigenous self-determination

On September 15, Florida Southwestern State professor **Bruno Baltodano** discussed indigenous self-determination and inequality in Latin America, with a focus on elections in rural Bolivia.

According to Baltodano, Bolivia is attempting to address the past unequal treatment of indigenous peoples. Oppression in the past has included exploitation of artefacts and history, the *encomienda* system of forced labor, suppression of indigenous culture, unequal access to democracy, and continuing economic neglect rooted in colonialism.

Bolivia has focused on decolonizing its political system, recently passing a new constitution that enshrines basic land and voting protections for native Bolivians. One of these reforms, the *Jilakatas* elections, created new election processes for indigenous communities, by selecting pairs of leaders—male and female—via direct voting.

Baltodano noted that self-determination is a keystone of democracy. Democratic nations, he suggested, must acknowledge the denial of self-determination to indigenous people and consequently perpetuated colonialism and inequality.



Judging Inequality: The role of courts



On September 29, **James Gibson**, the Sidney W. Souers Professor of Government at the University of Washington in St. Louis, gave a talk on the overlooked role state courts play in exacerbating inequality in the United States.

In a recent major study, Gibson and his colleagues analyzed over 6000 state level supreme court cases involving workers' rights, protection of minorities, and access to the law from between 1990 and 2015. They found that in roughly half of those cases, state supreme courts advanced

socioeconomic and racial inequality. Their study found that a judge's conservative or liberal political ideology played a role in determining whether the judge ruled in favor of or against equality, but it was not as strong a factor as they had predicted. Indeed, 70 percent of supreme court cases analyzed were decided unanimously, which indicates there are broader institutional factors underlying inequality in the legal system.

One of the strongest factors, Gibson said, was a state's entrenched political culture. State courts rarely ruled against status-quo policies and rights, which tended to further entrench inequalities in states where the political culture is already unequal, and promoted more equitable outcomes in states that were already politically supportive of equality.



The politics of inequality series

Immigration inequality at the US-Mexico border

In his talk on October 5, **Aaron Bobrow-Strain**, professor and Baker Ferguson Chair of Politics and Leadership at Whitman College, discussed how immigration and inequality has been affected by deindustrialization.

Drawing from his recent book, *The Death and Life of Aida Hernandez: A Border Story*, Bobrow-Strain talked about two border towns, Douglas in Arizona and Agua Prieta in Mexico, that were one community subsequently divided by the border wall. Aida Hernandez moved to Arizona at the age of 8, living there as an undocumented resident until she was 20. Aida struggled with typical coming of age challenges, and her status played an omnipresent role in her life, yet she was able to move forward. Then one day everything changed due to the effects of economic and political forces.

After a strike lead the Phelps-Dodge company to close its copper mine in Douglas, much of the town's economic security vanished and crime surged. Economic insecurity



led to fears of immigration and of Douglas Arizona's undocumented community. To satiate these fears, politicians from both political parties supported policies that intentionally made the US Mexico border more dangerous by blocking off easy access points shifting

funds to homeland security and ICE, and weaponizing the southern border, arguing in part that new border security jobs would make up for jobs lost by plant and mine closings.

Professor Bobrow-Strain argues that the presence of border patrol created a cyclical loop where towns became economically dependent on funds from Homeland Security, thereby perpetuating a need for a constant border crisis so the towns could stay afloat.

Gentrification and inequality in rural Washington

On October 12, WSU professor of sociology **Jennifer Sherman** gave a talk on how inequality in rural areas of Washington is being affected by gentrification and shifting economic forces.

Professor Sherman explained how small cities in the countryside of Washington experienced job loss in the mid-twentieth century because of deindustrialization and the decline of resource extractive industries. Those most hurt by deindustrialization were the mining, logging, oil, and small-scale agricultural sectors, all of which had previously fostered a decent middle-class lifestyle for the rural towns that relied upon them.

Many small towns turned to amenity-based tourism to replace the lost jobs. Towns would incentivize resorts and other tourist vendors to set up shop in their area in an effort to attract wealthy urbanites who would hopefully share their wealth by purchasing at local businesses.

She suggested that while many rural communities saw a positive economic impact from this shift, the overall



standard of living previously enjoyed by these communities did not return. Instead, socioeconomic stratification emerged between newly arrived urbanites who owned and operated tourist-related businesses and the long-time residents who became service sector

workers supporting them. Property, housing, and other expenses in rural towns grew, and resentments between new-comers and long-time residents deepened.

To mitigate some effects of growing divide, Sherman argued for policies that would promote stronger minimum wages, universal childcare, and housing support to ensure workers keep up with a higher cost of living caused by gentrification.

The politics of inequality series



Social class and inequality

On October 19, Marquette professor **Amber Wichowsky** gave a lecture on the political psychology of social class and how cross-class comparisons influence demands for redistributive policies.

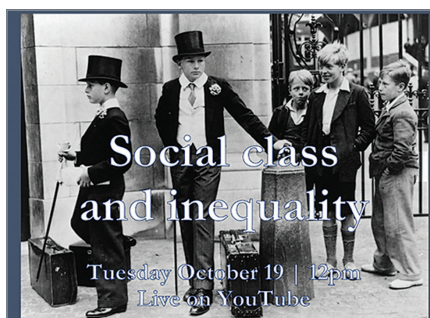
Professor Wichowsky discussed differences between downward and upward comparison that individuals

make regarding their socioeconomic status. When individuals compare themselves upwardly to someone in a higher status, it invokes a combination of feelings of admiration and envy, but also mistrust. Comparisons downward, to someone in a lower status, tends to invoke senses of insecurity and fear—fear that one might lose status and become one of the less fortunate. Although one might expect the growing economic inequality in the United States to result in upward comparison, and

increasing demands for redistribution, support for redistributive policies has not increased. Wichowsky suggests that this is because the growing inequality has caused economic insecurity and downward comparison as opposed to upward comparison. People do not look up at those with more, they look down on those with less and fear losing status.

Wichowsky noted that most Americans see themselves as middle class. Americans, even those who are quite wealthy still see themselves as middle class because they tend to compare themselves to higher status Americans. But economic

insecurity can trigger a change, shifting class comparisons downward. This can lead to populist politics where we distrust elites and fear the underclass.



Do the rich deserve more government money?

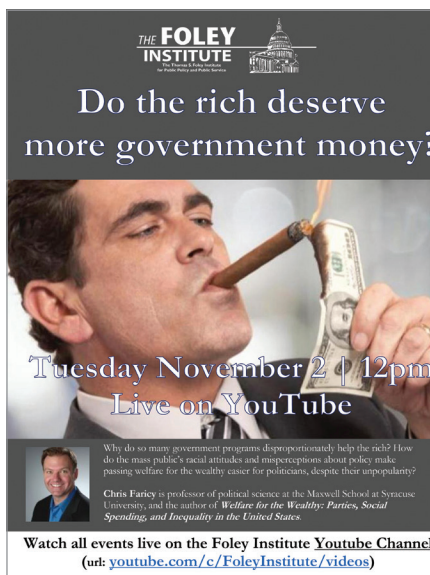
In a talk on November 2, **Chris Faricy**, Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, discussed the unequal effects of tax policy. Tax credits designed to promote economic prosperity across the board disproportionately benefit the wealthy. Despite the misuse of these programs,

they remain quite popular.

Professor Faricy explained that such programs, which cost the government roughly a trillion dollars a year, advantage upper income Americans but remain popular because they are seen as tax cuts instead of government spending. Tax credits like the popular mortgage interest deduction or tax credit for business entertaining may seem like a good idea for working class Americans, but in reality the benefits overwhelmingly accrue to the wealthiest.

Faricy said most of these government programs were not originally intended to give wealthy Americans tax breaks or benefits, but accountants and tax lawyers found ways to rig the system. Due to various loopholes, the rich have been the main beneficiaries of these government programs, while the

middle class has seen only modest returns and lower-class Americans receive little or no benefits.



The politics of inequality series



Poverty in communities of color

On November 9 the president of the NAACP in Spokane, **Kiantha Duncan**, discussed the politics of poverty in communities of color.

Drawing on her own family's generational experiences of growing up impoverished in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Duncan recalled how everyone in her neighborhood was Black and poverty seemed normal because it was a shared community experience. She explained the lack of support structures in these communities and how the lack of generational wealth deepens the poverty trap.

Ms. Duncan shared the experiences of her grandmother, who migrated from Arkansas to Wisconsin in search of employment and educational opportunities. She highlighted how her mother



inherited poverty from her grandmother and noted that it is very difficult to break out of poverty when it is all around you. Communities of color also lack appropriate mental health care, medical care, and have a lack of food security, clothing, and education.

Duncan concluded by noting that while these conditions are difficult and at times desperate, efforts to address their root causes can mediate the impact of poverty that these communities experience.



Preying on the poor: Criminal justice as a revenue racket

On November 17, **Joe Soss**, Cowles Chair for the Study of Public Service at the University of Minnesota, talked about the unequal, predatory nature of

the United States' criminal justice system.

Professor Soss began his discussion by citing the 2015 Department of Justice report concerning Ferguson, Missouri's targeting of black residents. The report found that 90% of people cited for municipal fines in the city were black and that each household in Ferguson averaged 3 warrants. The city economically depended on these practices, with a fifth of the entire municipality's budget coming from fees and fines alone.

Although many were shocked by the predatory practices of Ferguson's system, Soss argued that targeting people of color through legal procedures is widespread across the United States.



He explained how, beginning in the mid-1980s, a regressive system of fees, fines, bail, and for-profit prisons that generate revenue for municipalities began to grow in the United States. Recently, 66 percent of all prisoners reported being subject to legal financial fines, and all 50 states charge pay-to-stay fees for incarceration. Currently, 10 million people owe over \$50 billion in legal-generated debt.

He ended his lecture on a hopeful note, by pointing out that a large number of Americans are upset by this system and are actively seeking reform change. Reform would not be easy, he said, because of the entrenched interests in the current system, but was hopeful given the determined nature of reformist movements in the United States.

The politics of inequality series



Staring at the sea: What to do about inequality?

The Foley Institute's semester-long series on the subject of inequality concluded on December 9, when **Stephen Maynard Caliendo**, dean of the College of Arts and Sciences and professor of political science at North Central College, discussed strategies for dealing with inequities.

Although the problems associated with inequality can often seem overwhelming and intractable, Caliendo said there are reasons for hope. Many factors including race, health, immigration status, experience with the criminal justice system, and many others play into one's understanding of inequality. But, he said, we each go through an existential contemplation when faced with the question of what to do about inequality when we confront it.

Professor Caliendo suggested ideas for tackling the issue, beginning with changing one's mindset when confronted with unequal situations. These include community education, helping others find employment, community work, blogs and podcasts, and recognizing your own privilege. Caliendo also stressed the importance of being an ally to those communities that are prone to unequal treatment.



Watch our events again!



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

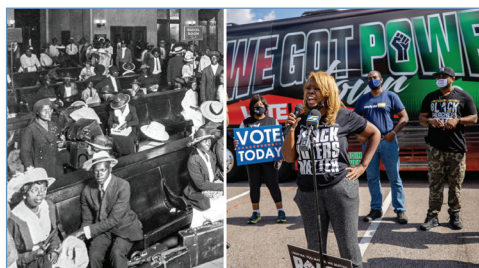
Go to YouTube and search for Foley Institute

Other 2021 events

Relocation and realignment: How Black migration shapes American politics

On January 26 **Keneshia Grant**, of Howard University, discussed how Black migration over generations has shaped American politics. Her talk focused on the migration of African Americans out of the South and the shifting political affiliations of the Black voters over time.

Professor Grant explained that the Black vote is important to American politics because, among other things, it became crucial in battles to control the electoral college during presidential races. She explained the impact of the Great Migration, in which Black Americans left the South and moved to the Midwest during the twentieth century to find work and pursue a higher quality of life. During that migration, Black voters were identified by northern Democrats as a critical demographic in swing states during the 1960s, and they remain so to this day.



While the migration out of the South impacted electoral politics in the North and Midwest during the latter half of the twentieth century, Grant argued that more recent migration of Black Americans back to Southern states is now reshaping politics again, as recently witnessed by Democratic victories in states like Georgia and North Carolina.

This event was cosponsored with the MLK Program at Washington State University.



The pandemic response in Washington State

On February 9, **Bob Lutz**, medical advisor to the Washington State Department of Health, and health policy specialist **Amber Lenhart**, discussed the public health effort to combat Covid-19.

Dr. Lutz explained the challenges facing the State of Washington as it continues to combat the pandemic, including limited vaccine supplies, distribution challenges, communication and data lag challenges, as well as weakened and politicized public health agencies. In addition, Lutz discussed the problems associated with racial disparities in healthcare and the

legacies of mistrust in some minority communities toward public health and the medical profession.

Ms. Lenhart also discussed questions about equity in response to the pandemic, explaining many factors that play into an individual's decision to get vaccinated, including knowledge of how and where to get vaccinated. If people do not have their basic needs met, such as a roof over their head or enough to eat, looking for a vaccination may not be a priority, she said. Lenhart suggested that a lack of education around the issues of access and opportunity has left certain groups feeling left out and negatively impacted efforts to vaccinate the population.



Other 2021 events



Free speech on the internet: The power of social media companies

On February 11, **Margaret O'Mara**, professor of history at the University of Washington, discussed the regulation of speech on the internet and the power of social media companies.

Professor O'Mara discussed the origins of the internet, how it evolved and rose in prominence during the 1980s, and the subsequent "internet boom" when the U.S. government opened the internet to allow private buying and selling activities, making it accessible for everyday use. While this was the beginning of the internet as we know it, eventually lawsuits emerged attempting to hold companies liable for posts on their

platforms. This led to the Telecom Act of 1996, which shielded companies from liability for controversial content posted by third parties.

While internet providers and social media companies still enjoy legal protection from liability, the growing prevalence of misinformation and conspiracy theories on the internet have created political pressures for companies to self-regulate. Even before President Trump's banning from social media following the January 6 insurrection, many conservatives felt that it was mostly their voices being regulated by social media companies. O'Mara disagreed, stating that media companies have largely been even-handed, targeting extremist speech across the political spectrum.

African perspectives on democracy



On February 17, the institute hosted a discussion between **El Hadj Djitteye**, of the Timbuktu Center for Peace and Washington State University professor of English, **Peter Chilson**. Djitteye discussed the ongoing conflict in the Sahel region and how his studies of democracy inform his understanding of American current events.

El Hadj Djitteye described his experiences in Timbuktu during the 2012 jihadist occupation of the city. Those experiences gave him a different perspective on the relationship between democracy and liberty, and a renewed appreciation of the ideas embedded in American democracy. El Hadj Djitteye suggested that there was a strong relationship between education, economic opportunities, and cultural vibrancy in free societies.

Professor Chilson and Djitteye also discussed questions about the African Sahel regional conflicts, American institutions, and contemporary threats to democracy.



Other 2021 events

THE FOLEY INSTITUTE
For the Republic's Future: Education, Research, and Public Policy

Election Security

A conversation with Kim Wyman
Washington's Secretary of State



Tuesday February 23 | 12pm
Live at: <https://youtu.be/E1qfDd6-wzg>



As Secretary of State, Kim Wyman is the only state-wide elected Republican in Washington. She is a vigorous defender of the state's vote by mail system and a critic of efforts to cast doubt on 2020 election results. Join us as she discusses the issues involving ballot security.

Election Security

On February 23, Washington's Secretary of State **Kim Wyman** discussed issues surrounding election security in the wake of the 2020 election. Wyman, the only state-wide elected Republican in Washington, discussed parallels between the charges of election irregularities made by the Trump campaign and those made by Washington's losing gubernatorial candidate Loren Culp.

Secretary Wyman said Washington has one of the safest elections systems in the nation. She noted Culp withdrew his lawsuit against the state once he realized he would be liable to pay legal costs associated with frivolous suits. The Washington State system is secure because it balances voter access and modern cybersecurity measures.

Wyman explained Washington's election cybersecurity systems, including the ERIC registration system and the VoteWA system. ERIC enforces the integrity of voter registration by utilizing data-matching technology. The VoteWA system involves a complex layer of cybersecurity measures to counter foreign interference in elections.

Wyman argued that one of the strengths of the American democracy is the decentralized control over elections, which means election processes are overseen by officials elected at the state and local levels. While the duty of each election officials is to uphold the constitution, the strength of the system is the balance of power from decentralization, which prevents one group from controlling the entire process.

Civility and toxic political rhetoric

On March 2, the institute partnered with students in the College of Business to host **James Hoggan**, author, and president of Hoggan & Associates, a Vancouver-based public relations firm to discuss how we can promote a more civil political discourse.

Mr. Hoggan noted toxic discourse began long before Donald Trump entered politics. People today approach public debate with war-like attitudes about those with whom they disagree, and unyielding close-mindedness pollutes public conversations.



Big businesses, he said, often contribute to the toxicity. He noted how oil and gas industry officials in the past exploited fear and greed to push back against environmental regulations. Groups who oppose civility work to undermine public spaces where dialogue occurs by introducing confusion and convincing the public that proponents of change are pursuing special interests. He further explained that the lack of knowledge of facts results in believing that others are trying to manipulate you.

Hoggan said close-mindedness goes hand in hand with polarization. Misinformation and disinformation are not the cause of incivility, but rather incivility originates in tribalism. The true engine of propaganda is division, he said, when which side you are on becomes more important than what you have to say.

Other 2021 events



The Prosperity Tax: An alternative for the 21st century

As part of the series on the politics of inequality, on March 9 the institute hosted a tax policy symposium in conjunction with the WSU Hoops Institute of Taxation Research & Policy. The event featured Pulitzer Prize-winning investigative journalist and best-selling author, **David Cay Johnston**, who discussed tax fairness and proposed replacing the current US tax system with a

simpler and fairer alternative, which he calls “the prosperity tax.”

Johnston outlined the current state of the US tax system, which he suggested incentivizes tax dodging and corruption. He noted that the current system is beneficial to corporations but places most of the tax burden on workers. His proposed tax plan fixes this malapportionment of the tax burden by incentivizing corporations to engage in practices that promote economic growth and to have a single person trained and licensed by the IRS to serve as a tax trustee. The prosperity tax system would shift the focus from fighting personal tax avoidance to combatting corporate tax avoidance.

Johnston said that under his proposed system, the only people that would be required to pay income tax would make over \$100,000 for a single filer and over \$200,000 for joint filers.

Regulating big tech

On March 31, Washington State Attorney General **Bob Ferguson** discussed his office's ongoing lawsuits against big tech companies, including Google.

Since 2012, the Attorney General's office has doubled the size of its antitrust division. This has allowed the office to file more lawsuits on behalf of consumers who have been harmed by high prices caused by anti-competitive conduct by big tech companies. The state's lawsuits, Ferguson said, have to date recovered over \$100 million from big tech companies for consumers.

Ferguson explained that the focus of these lawsuits is to stop the damage caused by companies violating antitrust laws, which include increased prices of goods, and decreased quality and incentives to innovate.

He also discussed companies' efforts to create monopolies. Facebook, for example, is used by 70% of the United States population, and was able to make \$70 billion in 2019 by selling its users' data. Its business model is “buy or bury”, Ferguson said, where they either absorb or eliminate any competition. As a result, Washington State joined coalition of 48 other states in December 2020 to file a lawsuit against Facebook, alleging that it created an illegal monopoly decreasing choices for consumers, increasing the number of advertisements shown to users, and weakening user privacy protections.

Undergraduate internships



Despite the pandemic, students continued to avail themselves of internship opportunities around the country.

This year, three WSU students interned at the U.S. House of Representatives. **Hannah Allison** (pictured left) spent the summer interning for Representative Tim Burchett (R-Tennessee), while **Jilian Hutchison-Blouin** was in the office of Derek Kilmer (D-Washington). **Emma Ekman** was awarded the Lance LeLoup Congressional Scholarship and interned on the House of Representatives Committee on Energy and Commerce.

Eight students interned in the Washington State Legislature (virtually) in Olympia during the 2021 legislative session. **Shaina Autumn-Polin**, **Megan Bartol**, **Maddie Campbell**, **Thomas Green**, **Samantha Morrow**, **Estela Navarro**, **Michelle Paredes**, and **Chelsea Thumberg** successfully participated in the legislative internship program. Additionally, **Samantha Fakharzadeh** served as the ASWSU Director of Legislative Affairs, working with the legislature.

Joshua Hiler interned for Spokane City Council member Kate Burke, and **Briana Wadley** interned

for the Borgen Project, a campaign that works to make poverty a focus of U.S. foreign policy, as well as on the Brian Maryott for Congress campaign in California.

In Pullman, interns helping us at the Foley Institute were **Allie Figlin**, **Griffin Grubb**, **Kat McKinney-Roley**, **Connor Simmons**, and **Gus Waters**.

Elsewhere at WSU, **Sarah Gorrell** and **Jilian Hutchison-Blouin** interned at the Pre-Law Resource Center. **Yaslin Torres Peña** was an intern with the Washington Student Achievement Council, **Bryce Regian** interned with the Washington Student Association, and **Andrew Green** was an intern with law firm Eisenhower Carlson PLLC in Tacoma.

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.

Where are Foley interns now?



Stephanie Logan

I was born and raised in Pullman with my four brothers and sisters. We spent our summers riding bikes in the cul-de-sac, drinking cherry slushies from Cougar Country, and fighting over who got to run the

industrial dishwasher after church each Sunday. We marked summers' end by loading up my dad's antique fire truck with all of the kids from the neighborhood and driving down Main Street in the Lentil Parade. During election years, sometimes we would deck the sides of the fire truck with campaign signs for state and local politicians vying for the opportunity to represent us in Olympia.

I attended WSU in the fall of 2011 as a student-athlete on the women's volleyball team. Throughout my four years at school, I was fortunate enough to expand my community within the athletic department and across campus. My professors in the School of Politics, Philosophy, and Public Affairs deepened my knowledge of politics and public service and helped me identify opportunities to continue my education.

In the spring of 2014, I began the most important, formative experience I had at WSU—my internship at the Foley Institute. Each week, I absorbed the lessons from Foley lectures and symposia, and I learned about the breadth of opportunity in politics, policy development, advocacy, and research. The mentorship, instruction, and training I received from my internship formed the basis of my career in public service.

As I was preparing to graduate from WSU with a degree in Political Science, mentors at the Foley Institute encouraged me to look for opportunities to move to Washington, D.C. to gain experience in national policy development. With their support and assistance, along with financial support from the Lance LeLoup Scholarship, I moved across

the country to begin an internship at the Congressional Research Service (CRS).

In late June 2015, I was working in my office at the CRS when I got a notification that the U.S. Supreme Court had just decided *Obergefell v. Hodges*, legalizing same sex marriage in all 50 states. My office was one block from the Supreme Court, so I rushed outside to join thousands of people celebrating the momentous decision. I marveled at what would become commonplace during my time in D.C.—witnessing history firsthand. The past seven years have been punctuated by significant events like the Women's March, Black Lives Matter protests, the March for Our Lives, and the January 6 Capitol Riots.

I continued to pursue my career in public service with an internship at the Department of Justice Office of the Inspector General (DOJ OIG). Upon earning MPA degree from the American University, I was hired as a full time Public Affairs Specialist at the DOJ OIG, where I continue to work today. Our work is deeply fulfilling and important—the mission is to improve the administration of justice. In my current role as the Assistant Communications Director and Spokesperson, I lead our office's internal and external communications activities. I also engage with news reporters on high-profile and sensitive matters, such as the FBI's handling of the Larry Nassar investigation.



Left to right: Jean Logan, Stephanie Logan, Inspector General Michael Horowitz, Deputy Inspector Bill Blier, and Jim Logan

I am fortunate to work with a group of incredibly smart, dedicated, and collaborative people.

During times of high stress, we always work together to get the job done. When I had the opportunity to conduct my first press briefing with Inspector General Michael Horowitz, I spent the week leading up to the briefing camped out down the hall from the review team, highlighting passages, and then knocking on my colleagues' doors to talk through the things I didn't yet understand. The night before the briefing, I stayed up all night adding tabs to the report and scribbling notes. Luckily, the adrenaline carried me through, and the briefing went off without a hitch. We had barely gotten back to the office before preparation for the Inspector



General's Congressional testimony began.

Having come from a strong community in Pullman and at WSU, I have also focused on building strong ties in Washington, D.C. I have met great friends and colleagues, and in 2019, I delivered a speech at TEDxFoggyBottom about how creating real connections, both personal and professional, requires making oneself vulnerable.

I can say with great confidence that my internship at the Foley Institute launched my career in public service and helped me develop strong connections and community in Washington, D.C.

Help an Undergraduate Scholar

Help the Foley Institute provide scholarships to support undergraduate internships.

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Thank you!



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Graduate fellowships

Foley fellowships are awarded annually to graduate students who fulfil 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*
- *Conduct research in the area of political institutions and democracy*

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**.



Joseph Bolton's (political science) research focuses on hyper-partisanship and deep polarization in politics, seeking to understand the causes that underly counter-partisan behavior. Examining three distinct, state-level policy areas (Medicaid expansion, same-sex marriage laws, and marijuana decriminalization / legalization), he explores how institutional forces and policy venues (e.g., legislatures, courts, interest groups) intervene to shape both polarized and bipartisan policy outcomes.

Arpita Sinha's (anthropology) research focuses on the intersection of gender and labor relations, health and work, and women's self-image. She investigates the contemporary fashion industry in India, with primary focus on the female fashion models who work there. Contrary to the stereotypes attached to modeling, like high wages and glamorous lifestyle, the impact of the pandemic brought to the fore the systemic problems preexisting in the industry and highlighted just how volatile and uncertain the occupation of modeling is. With no specific labor policies in place to safeguard their interests, the pandemic threw large numbers of models into unemployment and dire economic crisis. Her research focuses on uncovering these "hidden" systemic problems of inequality, exploitation, and abuse in the modeling industry.



Anna Jordan's (anthropology) research examines the reintegration experiences of formerly incarcerated adults who are transitioning into post-prison life. Although it has been demonstrated that mass incarceration disproportionately affects marginalized groups, literature that influences penal policy tends to minimize structural factors in favor of an understanding of crime as internal to the individual. The aim of the project is to provide a person-centered understanding of the effects of criminal justice policies in order to better inform and develop effective reentry policy initiatives and services.

Graduate fellowships



Joshua Munroe (political science) was awarded a fellowship to research and write a series of articles designed to educate the public on policy-related questions relevant to the voters and residents of Washington State. These articles were published by the institute and made available to local and regional news sources. They covered various topics, including explanations of the Electoral College, the filibuster, the role of sheriffs in enforcing statewide initiatives, the Washington State electoral primary, gerrymandering, and role of the private prison industry among others.

Furkan Cakmak (political science) researches the role of emotions in the media habits of voters to explain the rise of misinformation and polarization in American politics. He tackles the question of why people abandon or are attracted to certain media by utilizing both qualitative and quantitative measures of emotions and expose their link to media habits. He also focuses on the role of affective polarization in everyday life.



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