

# Political Currents

## Lobbying and advocacy

Our alumni experts evaluate the career field

BY KATHLEEN FERRAILOLO, DAVID JONES AND TIM LAPIRA

In an 1822 letter to William T. Barry of Kentucky, James Madison, our university's eponym and Father of the Constitution, wrote:

*A popular Government, without popular information or the means of acquiring it, is but a Prologue to a Farce or a Tragedy, or perhaps both. Knowledge will forever govern ignorance: And a people who mean to be their own Governors, must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.*

**T**hough much maligned by politicians and pundits on both sides of the political divide for cronyism or corruption, the government relations profession supplies elected officials with the policy expertise they need to solve public problems. Lobbyists represent a diverse set of interests and variety of political viewpoints. Yet, this growing profession — which is estimated to be at least a \$7 billion industry in the Washington metro area alone — remains a mystery to most.

In early 2015, *Political Currents* approached several JMU Politicos engaged in government relations at the national and state level and asked them to share their thoughts about the skills needed for a successful career in that field. Mike Edwards ('84), vice president, Kemper Consulting; Bryce Harlow ('00), senior vice president, government relations, in CBS Corp.'s Washington office; Megan Hauck ('95), co-president, Nathanson and Hauck; Robert Omberg ('85), vice president, state government affairs for Comcast; and Karen Stone ('04), manager of legislative affairs for Planned Parenthood Federation of America, provided their expert advice in the following Q&A.

### What is the most important skill for a successful lobbyist to develop?

**Edwards:** Listening may be more important than speaking. Good lobbyists carefully listen to policymakers as well as their clients (and fellow lobbyists). Policymakers ask key questions, clients offer expertise and experience, and fellow lobbyists, particularly those on the other side, help you prepare your argument.

**Harlow:** Integrity — if you can't be a trusted resource you will be of no service to members [of Congress] trying to make informed decisions.

**Hauck:** The best lobbyists know the issues, understand the members' interest areas and are able to pair up client issues with the member most interested in working on that idea. It is also important to know that this is a long game. Members may be with you on one issue and against you on another. You need to be able to not take things personally.



(Above clockwise from center): In November, Andy Halataei ('97), Bryce Harlow ('00) and Mike Mullen ('96) shared insights on the lobbying profession with the fall 2014 Washington Semester students in the D.C. office of CBS Corp.

### What practical experience do professionals need to gain before pursuing a career in lobbying?

**Edwards:** Lobbyists come from a variety of backgrounds. A legal background can be beneficial but is not critical. Working in government or with government officials is advantageous. I suggest seeking opportunities to learn about important issues specific to a government agency or group (public or private). The goal is to become a respected resource.

**Hauck:** You must have some experience that helps give insight into the process on the Hill or in the Administration. If you haven't lived it, the intensity and mindset isn't really something you can learn.

**Omberg:** Passion for policy and at least a tolerance for politics. Understanding of the process and what can realistically be accomplished.

### What advice would you offer to recent graduates and other fellow alumni interested in pursuing a career in lobbying?

**Edwards:** Opportunities can arise from different places including professional associations. Many professions have state and national lobbying arms. I suggest becoming active in your professional association; for example serve on a legislative committee or offer to interact with legislators. Volunteer opportunities also can provide a way to engage (Chambers of Commerce, faith-based groups, Parent Teacher Associations, 501(c)3s and other advocacy groups). Local groups often work with state and national lobbying groups.

Continued on Page 8



## Political Currents

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## The JMU Washington Center is coming

BY CHARLES H. BLAKE

This year's newsletter demonstrates the value of scholarship, engaged learning, civic engagement and community service — a testimony to the culture of engagement lived by many JMU faculty, students and alumni. Marty Cohen shares some of his award-winning research on the presidential nomination process. Josh Myers and Victoria Price discuss their Moot Court Team preparations — which culminated in their qualification for the national tournament of the American Collegiate Moot Court Association. The front-page story in this spring's newsletter highlights one of the essential tasks in any representative democracy — public policy advocacy — as experienced by several of our department's graduates. In turn, Dane Sosniecki reflects on his Peace Corps work in Liberia as a form of international public service.

These achievements are worthy of celebration but they only scratch the surface of the energy demonstrated by our department's alumni and students on a daily basis. Catherine Crooks Hill discusses some of the programming innovations stimulated by our department's Alumni Board. In the same vein, Emily Bennett outlines how the Public Affairs Student Organization serves students in all three departmental majors by fueling new initiatives and by supporting existing programs in career exploration and community service. These two organizations have worked with our Career Peer Advisors team to enhance both the quantity and the quality of the department's student-alumni programming. During the 2014–2015 cycle, our faculty have worked with these groups to hold 14 events on specific career fields along with three multi-sector career workshops — on campus in October and in April, and we will hold our annual workshop on careers in the Washington, D.C., area on June 9. This year marked the first Homecoming reception in which we have brought departmental students together with alumni. Well over 100

**'Our 2014 Homecoming reception illustrated how students value their ties to JMU alums.'**

people attended this event — including about 70 current students. Our 2014 Homecoming reception illustrated how students value their ties to JMU alums. At Homecoming 2015, we hope to see you back on campus!

Kerry Crawford is the newest member of our 30-person faculty. During the 2013–2014 school year, faculty published one book, 16 articles, and seven book chapters; had two new book projects go to contract; and presented 33 papers at professional conferences. In spring 2014, Nicholas Swartz received the Provost's Award for Excellence in Graduate Academic Advising; Robin Teske received the faculty All Together One Award from JMU; Tim LaPira received a grant from the Dirksen Congressional Center for his research on lobbying dynamics; and Jennifer Taylor received the Dolley Award for outstanding achievement in faculty support for student involvement. In June 2014, Manal Jamal was selected as a Middle East Research Fellow at Harvard University for the 2014–2015 academic year. In July 2014, Marty Cohen received the Jack Walker Award from the American Political Science Association for outstanding contributions to research on political parties.

Over the past year, our Alumni Board has organized events in fall, winter and spring celebrating three of our retired faculty members — Doug Skelley, Robin Teske and Kay Knickrehm. The Endowment Honoring Retiring Professors launched in mid-2010 reaches its five-year conclusion on June 30, 2015. As of January 2015, the campaign had garnered over \$37,000 toward its goal of creating a \$50,000 endowment to fund innovation in teaching and research by our faculty. Your donations help JMU to recruit and retain a talented crew of faculty members dedicated to the success of our students and alumni.

As this newsletter went to press, we received welcome news. Beginning with the fall 2015 semester, JMU will have its own address in Washington, D.C.: 1400 16th St. NW, Suite 330. The JMU Washington Center will house a conference room, the office for the Washington Semester, a multipurpose classroom and event space, and shared access to a larger event space in the building. Look for more news on this forthcoming facility later in 2015. P

→ CONTACT Charles Blake at [blakech@jmu.edu](mailto:blakech@jmu.edu).

## Facing Ebola in Liberia: One alumnus' experience in the Peace Corps

BY DANE SOSNIECKI ('10, '14M)

In May of 2014, I said my last goodbye to JMU and to my adopted home of Harrisonburg, Va. I achieved Double Duke status and graduated with a Master's Degree in Public Administration. I intended to put my hard-fought, yet rewarding degree to good use as a Peace Corps Volunteer. My assignment: teach students and work with local officials to improve educational opportunity and equality in the West African country of Liberia.

In June, I arrived in Liberia. Although naturally beautiful, Liberia is a boisterous, dirty and dangerous country. It remains in shambles after a generation of armed conflict and civil strife. But for what Liberia lacks in basic infrastructure and rule of law, its people make up for in compassion, curiosity and resilience. I knew from very early on that it would be the people who define my experience in Liberia.

By mid-July, it became apparent that an Ebola flare-up afflicting Liberia was not subsiding. However, its impact remained relatively small and was not impeding our efforts. In fact, its effects were hardly noticeable. At most, the last week we were in the country we had to start washing our hands in public places. Only after the virus spread to the capital, and later to two American aid workers, was the decision made to

pull all Peace Corps volunteers out of the affected countries.

Because things still seemed so normal, it was difficult for our host families and our students (much less us) to understand why we were leaving. At the time, I assumed we would return in a month or two, and I told my host family as such. Our last day together was full of sadness yet cautious optimism that the situation would quickly resolve itself. Eventually, I came to the unfortunate realization that my hosts, while saddened by my untimely departure, were accustomed to such letdowns and that this was nothing new to them. For me, this situation was the worst possible thing. For them, this was life in Liberia.

Of course, after we left on July 31, the situation quickly deteriorated. Infection rates jumped, schools shut down and rights were curtailed. I soon realized I would not be going back. Two months later, I received the worst possible news: my host mother

**'For what Liberia lacks in basic infrastructure and rule of law, its people make up for in compassion, curiosity and resilience.'**

— DANE SOSNIECKI ('10, '14M)



PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF DANE SOSNIECKI ('10, '14M)

had contracted Ebola and succumbed to the virus. Not once did I think my host family, living in a country of 4 million people, would contract Ebola. I was devastated. Fortunately, I was able to help raise over \$2,700 for a funeral and to help my host family get back on their feet. Although they still face an uphill battle, my Liberian family members are ambitious and resilient.

Suffice it to say, this experience has been staggering, and yet also humanizing. It took me out of my comfort zone and made me conscious of things I had not before contemplated. I am returning to the Peace Corps this June, this time to the West African country of Benin. While I hope to do some good there, I know Liberia will not be far from my thoughts. P

(Left): Dane Sosniecki ('10, '14M) and Peace Corps volunteers meet the Liberian soccer team at an afternoon match. (Right): Dane with his Liberian host father Adolphus.



## Giving back to pay it forward

Board facilitates relationships among students, faculty, alumni

BY CATHERINE CROOKS HILL ('89)  
CHAIR, JMU POSC ALUMNI BOARD

I first met Doug Skelley in the spring semester of my junior year at JMU. It had taken me five semesters to realize that business school was not for me. I was new to the political science department, my father was dying of cancer, and I needed some help. Enter Dr. Skelley.

He helped me identify my goals and craft a plan for my academic success and professional career. He did these things without me ever asking. I imagine he knew I needed help even if I did not know it at the time. That was more than 25 years ago. I am forever grateful for his genuine interest in my well-being and success.

I was recently appointed as Secretary-Treasurer of the Virginia Board of Bar Examiners. This agency of the Supreme Court of Virginia ascertains the qualifications of applicants for admission to the Bar of Virginia and licenses those applicants who meet the requirements established by the Supreme Court of Virginia, the Virginia General Assembly, and the Rules and Regulations issued by the Board. This new role is a big change for me, as I spent the better part of the past 20 years as a trial attorney in the Virginia Attorney General's Office. In making the decision to accept the appointment and in transitioning to this new phase in my career, I reached out to my friends and mentors for support and guidance. It reminded me, once again, of the importance of giving back.

JMU's Political Science Department Alumni Board consists of more than 20 alumni and faculty dedicated to facilitating new and existing relationships among the department's students, faculty and alumni. Since its inception four years ago, the board collectively has



given its time and talents to the departmental community through career workshops, fundraising initiatives and social events. For example, the board hosted the first annual Alumni Day last October on the Friday of Homecoming. Alumni came to JMU to speak with students about career choices during classroom visits. In conjunction with the Public Affairs Student Organization and the faculty, we also hosted an alumni-student reception to provide an informal setting for nearly 100 students to network with alumni. Next year, this event also will include career panels.

The board is also proud to support the department's Endowment Honoring Retired Professors. The endowment honors all long-serving members of the political science department: Devin Bent, Paul Cline, Marion Doss, Tony Eksterowicz, Kay Knickrehm, Dick Nelson, Robin Teske and, of course, Doug Skelley. The board hosted a reception honoring Dr. Skelley last fall and hosted

similar events in spring 2015 honoring Kay Knickrehm and Robin Teske. To learn more about the endowment or to make a donation online, please visit [www.jmu.edu/give/funds/cal-funds/1000705-poli-sci-retired-profs.shtml](http://www.jmu.edu/give/funds/cal-funds/1000705-poli-sci-retired-profs.shtml).

Dr. Skelley has said that JMU students are "joiners" — they join organizations, they enjoy going to school at JMU, and they enjoy contributing to university life. For most of us, this did not end when we graduated. We have moved on with our lives and our careers, but we still give back. In the world beyond JMU, the work we do is important. But I believe that it is the relationships we make along the way that matter most. P

Please give back.

Go Dukes!

→ **LEARN MORE** about board membership, serving on an event committee, and the schedule of upcoming activities, please contact Dr. David Jones at [jones3da@jmu.edu](mailto:jones3da@jmu.edu).

## ARE YOU CONSIDERING GRADUATE SCHOOL?

The JMU Department of Political Science offers two master's degree programs: **Public Administration** and **Political Science** with a concentration in European Union policy studies.

To learn more about these degree programs, go to: [www.jmu.edu/mpa](http://www.jmu.edu/mpa) or [www.jmu.edu/eupolicystudies](http://www.jmu.edu/eupolicystudies)

## The view from 'The Hill'

Students join D.C.-area alumni for assessment of congressional politics

BY JIM HEFFERNAN ('96)

JMU political science students traveled to Washington, D.C., in December to hear from two retiring Virginia congressmen as well as a panel of JMU alumni who work on Capitol Hill. The 32 students, mostly from Dr. Timothy LaPira's U.S. Congress class, joined about 20 Madison alumni from the D.C. area and 16 participants in JMU's Washington Semester program.

The alumni panel consisted of congressional staffers Lee Brooks (Rep. Tom Petri, R-Wisc., 6th), Kristen Fallon (U.S. Sen. Jeff Flake, R-Ariz.), Carrie Meadows (Rep. Bob Goodlatte, R-Va., 6th), Sean Miller (Rep. Dave Loebsack, D-Iowa, 2nd), Jacquyn Schneider (U.S. Senate Committee on Agriculture, Nutrition and Forestry) and Susan Swinehart (Office of the Speaker of the House). Members shared stories and advice and fielded questions from the students.

Over lunch in one of the House Judiciary Committee hearing rooms, Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va., 10th) and Rep. Jim Moran, (R-Va., 8th) — both of whom squeezed in appearances between floor votes — offered their assessments of the state of congressional politics.

"Having the opportunity to listen and network with JMU alumni currently working on Capitol Hill was an invaluable experience," said senior political science major Lueth Akuak. "With graduation

**'Every day is an adventure on the Hill, and I have enjoyed every moment of it thus far. I have made connections here that will last a lifetime.'**

— MICAH BARBOUR ('15), INTERN IN THE OFFICE OF U.S. SEN. MARK WARNER, D-VA.

steadfastly approaching this spring, I, like many of my peers, am both excited and apprehensive as to what lies ahead. The alumni panel alleviated some of these worries by discussing their transition from undergraduate life to the work force."



Micah Barbour ('15), a senior in the Washington Semester program who is interning in the office of U.S. Sen. Mark Warner, D-Va., said he has learned a great deal during his time on Capitol Hill. "Every day is an adventure on the Hill, and I have enjoyed every moment of it thus far. I have made connections here that will last a lifetime."

The event was sponsored by the Washington Semester program, the JMU political science department and JMU Politicos, an organization for alumni interested in politics, policy and related fields. P

→ **LEARN MORE** about JMU's Washington Semester program at [www.jmu.edu/polisci/washington.shtml](http://www.jmu.edu/polisci/washington.shtml).



(Top): Students heard from a panel of JMU alumni who work on Capitol Hill. (Above): Retiring Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va., 10th) speaks with associate professor of political science Dr. Timothy LaPira and Tom Culligan ('05), right, founder of the JMU Politicos alumni network, at an event on Capitol Hill for political science students. (Left): The students joined about 20 Madison alumni living in the D.C. area and 16 participants in JMU's Washington Semester program.

## BETHECHANGE

## PASO WHO?

Student organization focused on service, professional development

BY EMILY BENNETT ('15)

The Public Affairs Student Organization, more commonly known as PASO, is a student-run organization with the primary goals of promoting professional growth, networking and philanthropy within James Madison University's political science department, and the community at large. The purpose of PASO is to provide opportunities for community service, political discussion and professional development. PASO also works to serve JMU undergraduate students who are interested in political science, public policy and administration, and international affairs.

(Top): Public Affairs Student Organization executives at the PASO & FVC Scholarship Color 5k last spring. (Bottom): PASO Executive Board at the PASO and political science department professor meet and greet (l-r): Emily Bennett ('15), Jenna Beattie ('16), Lauren Scannelli ('15), Matthew Lawson ('17), Kathryn Zic ('15) and Kate Thwe ('18). (Far right): Kathryn Zic and Jenna Beattie recruiting new PASO members at JMU's fall 2014 student organization night.



PASO is still considered a "new" organization on campus; it was founded in the spring of 2012 and has commonly been referred to as "those people who sell the major shirts." At first PASO faced many start-up challenges, but with new leadership in 2013, a clear purpose and vision for the organization was established. With a newfound identity, PASO made many new connections on campus and in the community by creating partnerships with other JMU student organizations and Harrisonburg nonprofits. A breakthrough was made in spring of 2014, when PASO co-hosted the FVC & PASO Scholarship Color 5k with



Friends of Valley Charities, a local Harrisonburg nonprofit. Raising over \$6,000 for the FVC Scholarship, the 5k was named the most successful color run on JMU's campus.

Now that PASO has developed a stronger presence within the JMU and Harrisonburg communities, they have tripled in membership and hosted more events in 2014 than ever before. One of these events was the Political Science Department Professor Meet & Greet. This event gave an opportunity for students to make connections with professors in a fun and relaxing environment. PASO also worked in conjunction with the political science department to sponsor Alumni Day, where political science alums and current JMU students



were brought together during Homecoming week for yet another networking event. Wanting to increase professional development, PASO organized a LinkedIn Workshop, hosted by Dr. Robert Alexander of the political science department. Over the holidays, PASO ended the fall semester by giving back to the community and sponsoring a book drive to support the Harrisonburg/Rockingham Big Brothers Big Sisters.

Looking towards the future, PASO already has plans for hosting another 5K on JMU's campus in April, with proceeds going toward the Friends of Valley Charities once again.

The current PASO President, Kathryn Zic, and Vice President, Emily Bennett, are hoping to expand PASO's reach in the community by sponsoring more philanthropy and professional development events. If you are interested in partnering with PASO or would like more information about the organization, please contact Kathryn at zicka@dukes.jmu.edu.

→ LEARN MORE at [www.jmu.edu/polisci](http://www.jmu.edu/polisci) or contact PASO at [publicaffairsso@gmail.com](mailto:publicaffairsso@gmail.com).

(Top): Amanda Andere ('02), center left, and Catherine Hill ('89), center right, chat with students during the Alumni Day reception organized by Sierra Shaw ('09). (Left): Advertisements from PASO events in fall 2014. (Far left): Kathryn Zic ('15) and Emily Bennett ('15) at the fall 2014 Big Brother Big Sisters Holiday Book Drive.

## My experience in Preparing Future Faculty

BY SAIDAT ILO

During the Fall 2014 semester I taught Introduction to International Relations and enjoyed teaching the course. I was quite impressed with the depth and breadth of my students' knowledge of global events. Typically, during the last five minutes of class we discussed current events, and I would ask students to tell me what was going on in the world. Each time several students would voluntarily present a global issue and its relation to international relations and the



various international relations theories we discussed in class. My students also enjoyed the interactive lecture nature of my course, from the Model U.N. simulation to activities that required them to apply what they've learned in class to international issues of our time. I often explained to them that as future leaders they may be tasked with addressing these issues in their profession. They took each activity seriously, and we had meaningful discussions because of it. I could not have asked for a better

group of students. The experience heightened my anticipation for teaching an upper-level topics course at JMU in Spring 2015.

Saidat Ilo is a doctoral candidate at Howard University in Washington, D.C. Her areas of specialization are international relations and American government. She is currently working on her dissertation, titled *Governance and Growth: Examining the Competing Bilateral Economic Relationship among Nigeria, China, and the United States 2001–2011*. Saidat is a native of Nigeria but was raised in Houston, Texas. She has recently accepted a tenure-track position at Lincoln University in Missouri.

**About the program:** *The Preparing Future Faculty program at JMU borrows from a concept discussed by the American Association of Colleges and Universities and American Council on Education that dates to the early 1990s. PFF recognized the need to provide teaching opportunities to doctoral candidates prior to the completion of their dissertations and to create opportunities to attract more minority candidates to the teaching profession. JMU has established partnerships with Howard University and Morgan State University for dissertation-year doctoral candidates to participate in the JMU PFF experience.*

PASO PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF KATHRYN ZIC ('15); PFF BY HOLLY DONAHUE

## The Undergraduate Moot Court Experience

BY CHRISTIAN JOSHUA MYERS ('15) AND VICTORIA PRICE ('15)

The JMU Moot Court Association provides students with a rare opportunity to explore constitutional law and strengthen public speaking skills in a constructive environment. This organization has only been in existence for three years at our university, but it is already making numerous achievements. We recently qualified to compete in the National Championship Tournament of the American Collegiate Moot Court Association. It was an honor to represent James Madison University on the national level for a rigorous day of appellate arguments. The scores of our team were competitive against more established programs and our rapid progress impressed other universities. We have been fortunate to contribute to the success of the JMU Moot Court Association and look forward to hearing about its future accomplishments.



Constitutional law requires creative thinking and in-depth analysis. The JMU Moot Court Association nurtures both of these essential life skills. We constructed unique arguments regarding the First and Fourteenth Amendments and argued them in front of various lawyers, law professors and law students. Additionally, we read opinions of the Supreme Court and examined the legal reasoning behind controversial decisions. This aided with

defending our arguments against challenging hypothetical situations during argumentation, which cultivates extemporaneous speaking skills and high-functioning logical thinking. This has been wonderful preparation for a legal or public service career. The intellectual benefits gained from this organization have empowered us to seek meaningful answers to some of the most difficult questions facing our society.

MOOT COURT PHOTOGRAPHS BY HOLLY DONAHUE AND CHASE MASZLE ('17)

## Lobbying and advocacy

Continued from Page 1

**Omberg:** Meet and engage with those currently in the field. Include those at the state and federal level, those working for private sector profit and nonprofit entities.

**Stone:** I'd suggest working to build expertise in a specific issue area before pursuing a career in lobbying. Many lobbyists at firms are generalists with political connections and/or big personalities (both of which are very helpful!), but it is my opinion that issue-area expertise will make your career more sustainable over the long term. Personally, I wish I had developed more issue-area expertise before leaving the Hill, but on the House side you often become a generalist by default.

**What, if anything, should be taught to early/mid-career professionals interested in advancing their careers in lobbying and advocacy?**

**Edwards:** Excellent communication skills are a prerequisite. I often have only a few minutes with a policymaker to discuss an important issue. My charge is to be both informa-

tive and persuasive. In the same vein, strong writing skills are important. More often than not, we are charged with explaining complex issues in clear, succinct and impactful ways. Start with this premise: Your message must be condensed to less than one page. Developing a "one-pager" helps to refine your argument and convey the essential points.

**Harlow:** Be willing to be humbled and still anxious to learn.

**Hauck:** Don't be afraid to ask questions. I think that applies to many jobs but, especially in Washington, people feel like they always need to appear to have all the answers. Asking for more information or an explanation is not a sign of weakness but confidence that you know what you don't know and know how to find it out.

**To what extent is lobbying a misunderstood practice? What are some of the common misconceptions that you would like to see corrected?**

**Edwards:** Lobbyists provide expertise and knowledge that help legislators to make informed decisions. This is particularly true for part-time legislators like members of the Virginia General Assembly. Proficient lobbyists assist legislators in many ways such as helping with research and drafting legislation and testimony. The best lobbyists are well versed in both sides of key issues.

**Hauck:** I think there is still a perception that it is somehow a covert, shady kind of career. But it is important to understand that this is a reciprocal relationship. Good lobbyists understand that there is value in information from downtown, that bringing groups together can be helpful to members and that it is important to staff on the Hill to know what the message is coming from the other side.

**Omberg:** Lobbyists do not spend all their time buying expensive meals and drinks for elected officials. We represent the interests of our clients/companies before the government in order to achieve positive outcomes.

**Stone:** I lobby for a nonprofit, and I can tell you that I am not in it for the money!


**In 2009, President Obama signed an executive order aimed at closing the "revolving door" between the executive branch and K Street. Have there been any unintended consequences of this and other recent lobbying reform efforts? Do you have any other thoughts on lobbying reform?**



**Edwards:** In Virginia, the conviction of former Governor McDonnell has brought increased scrutiny to those working in and around "the arena." Transparency is important. The public has a right to know the relationship between their representatives and lobbyists.

**Harlow:** It has had the unintended, or perhaps intended, consequence of limiting the talent pool in both business and in the executive branch. Limiting people from practicing in their areas of expertise makes folks hesitant to get involved in the first place.

**Hauck:** I think this idea of a "revolving door" being some kind of nefarious plot to get industry people into important jobs is ridiculous. Most staffers who have worked on the Hill or in the Administration have a respect for the institution, not to mention the ability to separate former client priorities from those of their boss. There have been a few former Hill staffers who have returned for this new Congress. It is helpful to have people with experience from when the Senate was actually voting, processing bills in regular order and getting their work done. That kind of experience is vital on a staff level. In addition, understanding how all aspects of the system work — the Hill, the Administration, lobbying firms, corporations, think tanks — is tremendously helpful when returning to the Hill. Also, the ban on staff trips has really limited the time that many staff from different parties and House and Senate spend together. Those personal relationships are missing, and it is clear that affects the ability of Congress to get things done.

**Stone:** You see many people get around registering as lobbyists by claiming they don't spend 20 percent of their time lobbying. Many of these people are very clearly lobbyists, but they don't want to register and have a scarlet "L" on their record for fear of being blacklisted for future jobs in the Administration. 

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF DAVID JONES

### FACULTY RESEARCH CORNER

## Making the once invisible primary more visible

BY MARTY COHEN


New Year's resolutions haven't been broken yet and already the political pundit class has turned the calendar to 2016 to discuss who will be the major party nominees. Why the rush? Why the flurry of news stories about 2016 when flurries are still falling a full year in advance of the first votes being cast? The media is rushing to cover what scholars have termed the invisible primary. It is the battle prospective candidates wage for support that takes place largely out of the public's view. Thanks to increased research into this phenomenon the media has caught on and is making the once invisible primary more visible to those desiring to follow it. Scholars and pundits alike agree that what happens in 2015 will largely determine what happens in 2016. The candidates who raise the most money, garner the most endorsements and achieve the highest poll standing will be very difficult to beat when voters actually begin to go to the polls many months from now.

In 2008, my co-authors and I published *The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform*; the book chronicles the history of presidential nominations and sheds some light onto why the invisible primary is so important to the outcome of the nomination battles waged in both parties. The main premise of *The Party Decides* is that party elites no longer are able to control nominations the way they used to in the era when they got together at the national convention and brokered

the nomination in those infamous smoke-filled rooms. Reforms to the process in the 1970s took power out of the hands of the party elites and gave it to rank-and-file voters by requiring convention delegates to be selected in primaries and caucuses across the country. No longer could party elites privately assess the candidates, wait until the convention to share that information with each other and discreetly pick who the party's standard-bearer would be. However, we argue in the book that party elites have adjusted to the new system and now use the year before voting begins (the invisible primary) to feel out the candidates and give their support to the one they like the most. This support comes mainly in the form of endorsements, which are cues to other party leaders (and to voters) that a candidate is legitimate and worthy of support. These endorsements are a strong predictor of success. From 1980-2000, the candidate with the most elite endorsements prior to the Iowa caucuses won the nomination every single time. Furthermore, we find that endorsements are a better predictor of success than poll standing, money and media coverage.

So, if you are looking to this article for a prediction about who will be fighting it out in November of 2016, it is still too early to tell. The invisible primary is underway but it still has months to go before it concludes. When the ball drops on Jan. 1, 2016, I believe we will have a good idea of who will be the nominee despite the fact that not a single vote will



have been cast. Look for the candidates with the most party support, as measured by elite endorsements, to be the ones that come out on top with the voters. 

**About the author:** Dr. Martin Cohen (above) is an associate professor in the political science department and the co-author of "A Theory of Parties," which won the Jack Walker Award for outstanding contribution to the field of parties and political organizations. He teaches classes on religion and politics, interest groups and the introductory American government course.

### The Party Decides: Presidential Nominations Before and After Reform

BY MARTY COHEN, DAVID KAROL, HANS NOEL AND JOHN ZALLER  
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 2009; ISBN-13: 978-0-226-11237-4

For the past several decades, unelected insiders in both major parties have effectively selected candidates long before citizens reached the ballot box. Tracing the evolution of presidential nominations since the 1790s, *The Party Decides* demonstrates how party insiders have sought since America's founding to control nominations as a means of getting what they want from government. Contrary to the common view that the party reforms of the 1970s gave voters more power, the authors contend that the most consequential contests remain the candidates' fights for prominent endorsements and the support of various interest groups and state party leaders. These invisible primaries produce frontrunners long before most voters start paying attention, profoundly influencing final election outcomes and investing parties with far more nominating power than is generally recognized.



PHOTOGRAPH BY HOLLY MARCUS ('03)

# Political Science Faculty News & Notes

**Mary Ann Abbott** received the College of Arts and Letters Staff Recognition Award. This award recipient is chosen annually from nominees across CAL by a committee of fellow college staff members. The selection is based on the person's dedication and job performance.

**Rob Alexander**, assistant professor in the political science department and Master of Public Administration faculty member, received a 2015 Impact Award from the JMU Graduate School. The Graduate Student Association Impact Awards honor both a member of the graduate faculty and a graduate student for their outstanding contributions to our graduate community. Recipients are honored for their exceptional dedication and service to the community, highlighted by their unique contributions.

In 2014 **Marty Cohen** received the Jack Walker Award from the American Political Science Association Section on Political Organizations and Political Parties. The Jack Walker award recognizes an article published in the last two calendar years that makes an outstanding contribution to research and scholarship on political organizations and parties. Dr. Cohen received the award for his article "A Theory of Political Parties: Groups, Policy Demands and Nominations in American Politics," published in *Perspectives on Politics* 10 (03): 571-597. See [www.jmu.edu/](http://www.jmu.edu/)

[news/2014/09/08-marty-cohen-apsa-award.shtml](http://news/2014/09/08-marty-cohen-apsa-award.shtml) for more.

**Manal Jamal** was selected as a Middle East Research Fellow at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government for the 2014-2015 academic year.

**Bernie Kaussler** gave his Madison Scholar public lecture, "A Decade of Death: The U.S. and the Middle East Since 2008," on Nov. 10, 2014.

In April 2014 **Tim LaPira** received a \$3,500 grant from the Dirksen Congressional Center for his project "Revolving Door Lobbying: Public Service, Private Influence, and the Unequal Representation of Interests."

**Kenneth Rutherford** delivered his paper "Dangerous Urban Development: Spontaneous and Unplanned Ammunition Stockpile Explosions" at the January 2015 International Student Conference on Global Citizenship, Universitas Katolik Parahyangan, Bandung, Indonesia. He also delivered "Decreasing the Risk of Man-Made Disaster and Lessons Learned to Nullify the Hazard of Natural Catastrophe" at the February 2015 International Studies Association Annual Conference in New Orleans, Louisiana.

**Nicholas Swartz** serves as the Director of the newly created Madison Center for Community Development, an applied research and com-

munity outreach center which provides services including technical assistance and training; organizational capacity and development; and research and analysis around economic, community, environmental and social issues. Swartz was the 2014 recipient of the Provost's Award for Excellence in Graduate Advising. He received a \$1,000 honorarium and was publicly recognized at the provost's award luncheon in spring 2014. This recognition comes from a university-wide committee choosing among nominees via a review of the nomination letters, letters of support and CVs.

**Jennifer Taylor** was named one of the 2014 recipients of a Dolley Award from the JMU Office of Student Activities and Involvement. The Hall Outstanding Faculty/Staff Achievement Award recognizes a faculty or staff member who has demonstrated an exceptional commitment to student learning outside of the classroom, who has given of their time apart from office hours and job requirements and who has had a significant influence on the lives of students. The award was selected by a university-wide committee. Taylor, with Katrina Miller-Stevens and John C. Morris, published "Are We Really on the Same Page? An Empirical Examination of Value Congruence Between Public and Nonprofit Managers" in *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*.

See what political science emeriti faculty are doing at [www.jmu.edu/polisci/emeriti/index.html](http://www.jmu.edu/polisci/emeriti/index.html)

## NEW FACULTY



**Kerry F. Crawford** earned a B.A. in political science in 2007 from St. Mary's College of Maryland. In 2014, she completed her Ph.D. in political science at George Washington University, where she specialized in international relations and comparative politics. Her teaching interests include international affairs, human security, international ethics, gender and war, and peacekeeping. Crawford's research examines the way in which advocacy groups and foreign policy decision-makers defined sexual violence as a weapon of war in order to gain broad political support for efforts to prevent and mitigate sexual violence. Her current book manuscript traces the development of an international prohibition of wartime sexual violence, with a particular focus on the influence of gender norms and weapon imagery. Crawford's previous research on sexual violence was published in *Gender & Development*. She is also actively involved in side projects on women in peacekeeping (published in *Armed Forces & Society* and *Air and Space Power Journal*) and the impact of gender on survey respondents' perceptions of civilian casualties in Afghanistan.

## Class Notes & Alumni News

**92 Sharon Choi Stuart ('92)** was named one of Virginia Lawyers Weekly's Influential Women of Virginia for 2015. A Richmond-area attorney with her own bankruptcy practice, Choi Stuart is also the current President of the Metro Richmond Women's Bar Association.

**02** In June 2014 **Jason Bauer ('02)** marked 10 years in service with the federal government, all at the Defense Intelligence Agency.

**05 Kellie Hanlon Burke ('05)** announces the birth of Adelyn Clara Burke on Aug. 21, 2013.

**08 Lauren Brice ('08)** graduated from George Mason University School of Law in May 2013, passed the Virginia Bar Exam in October 2013, and was licensed to practice law in Virginia December 2013.

**11 Jane Hughes ('11)** began working at EMILY's List at the end of January 2014 as the digital content manager.

**14** After interning with Jefferson Waterman International for the last seven months, **Kelsey Jensen ('14)** began a new position as an associate Aug. 1, 2014.

Visit [www.jmu.edu/polisci/alumni.html](http://www.jmu.edu/polisci/alumni.html) for current news and events

## Political Science Class Notes/Gift Card

### Please provide your contact information

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### Tell us more about yourself so we can include your news and information in future editions of the newsletter.

What's new with you? \_\_\_\_\_  
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**Please share your email address so we may send you department updates.** Return the card above with your complete contact information to Advancement Gifts and Records, 220 University Blvd., MSC 3603, James Madison University, Harrisonburg, VA 22807, or share your current email address at [www.jmu.edu/polisci/alumni.html](http://www.jmu.edu/polisci/alumni.html).

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**Thanks for thinking of Political Science!** 71808

## Current Student Notes & News

**Ian Baxter ('15)**, a political science major and modern European studies minor from Richmond, has been selected as a Governor's Fellow for summer 2015. Each year, roughly two dozen students from across the Commonwealth are selected.

**Jacob Bosley ('15)**, a double major in political science and philosophy, received the Phi Beta Kappa Best Thesis Award for 2015. Jacob, a graduating senior from Chesapeake, Va., studied the legal, political and philosophical conceptualizations of sovereignty expressed over time by Native Americans and by the U.S. Supreme Court. His thesis was selected after a university-wide review of senior honors projects nominated from across James Madison University.

Two of the department's majors were selected as Governor's Fellows for summer 2014: **Micah Barbour ('15)**, a political science major and history minor from Dublin, Va., and **Daniel Humphreys ('16)**, a political science major and public policy and administration minor from Covington, Va.

**Nicole Yohe ('16)**, a political science major with minors in Africana Studies and Women's and Gender Studies, received a Boren Scholarship to take intensive Swahili this summer and to study abroad in Tanzania during the 2015-16 academic year.

At the same awards ceremony for which Jennifer Taylor received a Dolley Award, master of public administration candidate **A.J. Good ('15)** received

the Taylor Award for Outstanding Individual Contribution to a Student Organization for his work with the Graduate Student Association.

**Students who participated in the Spring 2015 Washington Semester program and their internships:**

**Nahla Aboutabl ('16)**, Middle East Institute, Jerusalem Fund

**Justina Ambroz ('16)**, U.S. Trade Representative

**Catherine Antosh ('16)**, Women's Foreign Policy Group

**Sarah Ashe ('16)**, National Peace Corps Association

**Kelsey Beckett ('15)**, C-SPAN

**Kathryn Bell ('16)**, C-SPAN

**Hailey Bennett ('16)**, U.S. Department of State

**Katja Butts ('15)**, American Solidaria, NORML.org

**Caitlin Hill ('16)**, Center for International Policy

**Jennifer Morgan ('16)**, Amnesty International

**Erica Qualliotine ('15)**, Human Rights First

**Karina Touzinsky ('15)**, U.S. Department of State, National Defense University

**Leah Utley ('15)**, Jubilee USA Network

**Gabriela Vargas ('16)**, League of United Latin American Citizens

**Lauren Wallace ('16)**, International Justice Mission



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## Peace Corps volunteer

Alumni participation in the Peace Corps builds on JMU's service culture that prepares students to be educated and enlightened citizens. One example is Dane Sosniecki ('10,'14M), who writes about his Peace Corps service in Liberia on Page 3. His work in the country was cut short when volunteers had to be evacuated due to the Ebola epidemic. When Sosniecki received word that his host mother had succumbed to the disease, he helped raise funds for a funeral and to help the family get back on their feet.

**'What Liberia lacks in basic infrastructure and rule of law, its people make up for in compassion, curiosity and resilience. I knew from very early on that it would be the people who define my experience in Liberia.'**

**– DANE SOSNIECKI ('10,'14M)**

# BE *the* CHANGE

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF DANE SOSNIECKI ('10,'14M)

Be the Change for a brighter future! [www.jmu.edu/BetheChange](http://www.jmu.edu/BetheChange)