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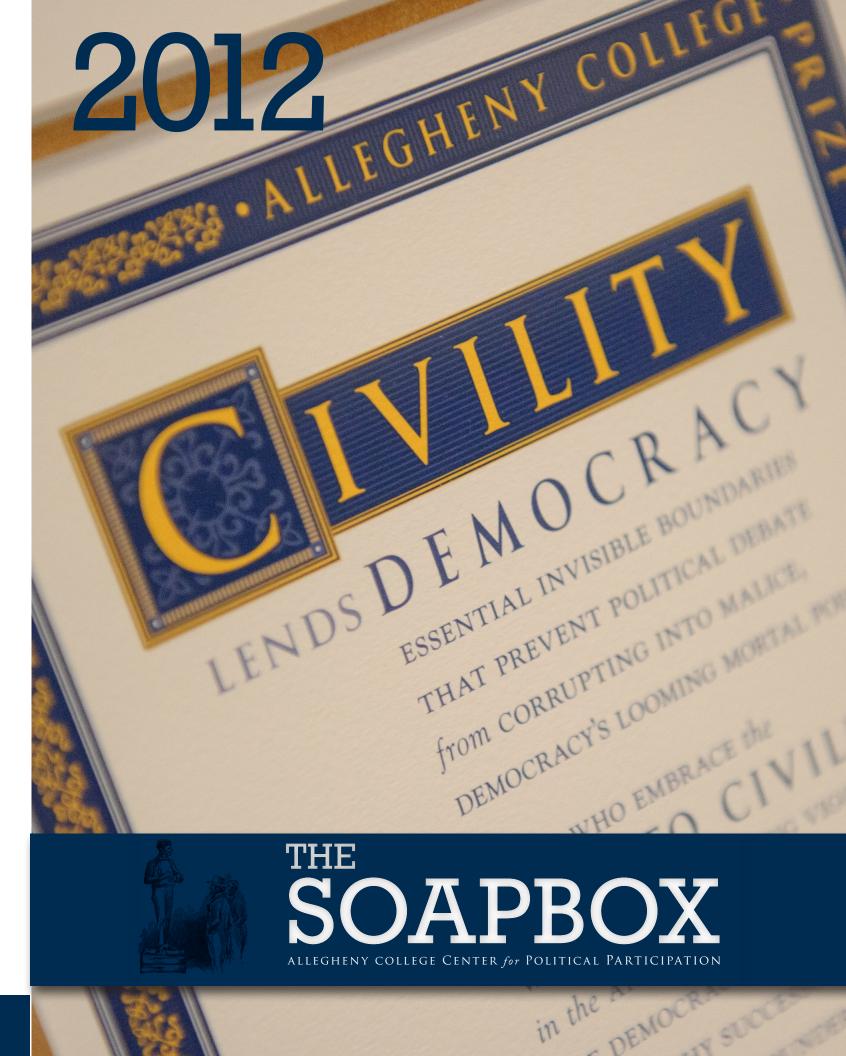
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Did you know

that in the past soapbox crates were used as temporary platforms for making impromptu public speeches?



SOAPBOX

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Writers Zachary Callen
Dan Shea
Mary Solberg

Photography The Neiman Group
Bill Owen

Mary Solberg

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ON THE COVER

The CPP's and Allegheny's work on civility made big headlines this year. The Allegheny College Prize for Civility in Public life was given to two respected journalists. See coverage on page 8. (Photo courtesy of The Neiman Group)

FROM the DIRECTOR



Saying farewell...

In the wake of the 2000 presidential election, a host of data suggested young Americans had grown indifferent to politics. While this generation seemed anxious to roll up its sleeves to do important community work, politics was clearly off the radar. Worried that a generation turned

off from politics did not bode well for the longterm stability of our nation, many understood the need for action.

Allegheny College took a bold step by launching the Center for Political Participation in the fall of 2002. Since then we have created cutting-edge programs, undertaken important research and offered a range of initiatives for Allegheny students. We proved that small colleges can do important, noteworthy things. The CPP has made a critical difference on campus, in the community and across the nation.

Likely due in no small measure to my work with the CPP, I have been invited to head a similar program at Colby College, the Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement in Waterville, Maine. So Christine, the kids and I are off for a new adventure in the Pine Tree State.

I leave Allegheny excited about the new challenge, but I also will maintain a deep, abiding appreciation for this special college. I have had the opportunity to work with so many thoughtful, dedicated faculty and staff, and to receive the support of many forward-thinking administrators. Numerous alumni have joined our efforts, and their support has made a key difference. I am particularly grateful to have worked with excellent program coordinators. In the past three years, Mary Solberg has demonstrated not only enthusiasm and skill, but a calm, friendly demeanor.

Also, a bit of a confession: When I proposed the creation of a Student Fellows program, pragmatic concerns were at the fore. I understood that resources would be tight, and that one way to get a lot done would be to rely on student help. After a decade of doing this work, I have come to realize that these incredible students have been the heart of the CPP. Their energy, initiative and insights have brought the operation to life. I have truly enjoyed working with all the Fellows and I hope we keep in touch through the years.

Thank you for your support and encouragement. I look forward to hearing about the continued success of Allegheny College and the Center for Political Participation.

All the best,

•

Daniel M. Shea, Ph.D.

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Brian M. Harward assumes reins of CPP

Brian M. Harward, an associate professor of political science at Allegheny College, became the new director of the Center for Political Participation on July 1.

He replaces outgoing director Daniel M. Shea, who has accepted a position as director of the Goldfarb Center for Public Affairs and Civic Engagement at Colby College in Maine.

"We are fortunate to have Brian take over the reins of the CPP," said Provost and Dean of the College Linda DeMeritt. "As a former faculty fellow at the CPP, he knows the center's programs and helped to guide them. As a teacher and mentor who won teaching awards at Southern Illinois University and at the University of Georgia before coming to Allegheny, he is ideally suited to work with CPP fellows and other students to ensure that they have the best possible experience. And as a respected scholar, he has both the perspective and the expertise to lead the CPP in the years ahead."

Harward teaches classes in constitutional law, judicial process and philosophy of law, among other courses in American



Brian M. Harward, Ph.D.

politics. His focus on constitutional law undoubtedly will broaden the work of the CPP to include other pathways of citizenship, including policymaking, courts and litigation, grassroots movement, and cultural change.

According to Harward: "The CPP has been wonderfully successful. Its success, as we all recognize, is largely a result of Dan Shea's leadership. No doubt his particular talents and scholarly interests will be missing from the work of the CPP. But we are hopeful that the path he has set for the center will serve us well as we move forward to develop and sustain a broad array of programs."

"Democratic governance... demands commitment to principles of citizenship and responsibility."

Harward affirms the academic core of the CPP and says its home will remain in political science. However, he wants to take youth engagement to a new level, beyond the episodes of activity that coincide with electoral cycles.

"Clearly, such moments of engagement are critically important, but they are not sufficient for sustaining the attention that a healthy democracy demands," Harward explained. "Democratic governance requires more than preference aggregation; it demands commitment to principles of citizenship and responsibility. Commitment to these principles informs our work at the CPP."

Here are the areas the CPP will focus on this year:

- Electoral Participation (Speakers, events on civility, compromise, polarization and accommodation; assistance with the college's Civility Prize)
- Global Engagement Programs
 (Internationalize domestic themes, including elections, policy, international

law, mass political movements)

- Law and Justice Programs (Affiliation with the Robert H. Jackson Center, Jamestown, N.Y., including Jackson Fellows and Symposium; home to Robert H. Jackson scholars, Jackson Dinner; work commemorating the 50th anniversary of the Civil Rights Acts and the Voting Rights Act; and Alien Tort Statute Conference).
- Public Policy and Participation (Policy symposia; home to policy-related senior project students and comp groups; resources on policy; facilitate relationship with policymakers)
- Journalism in the Public Interest (Cocurricular programming as coordinated with minor proposals; photojournalism conference).

Harward earned his doctorate at the University of Georgia, and his bachelor's degree from Gettysburg College, where he helped establish the Center for Public Service. He worked for several years at the American Association for Higher Education in Washington, D.C., developing a national program on civic education.

Harward also served as the Higher Education Secretariat's liaison to the AmeriCorps and Learn and Serve: Higher Education programs when the AmeriCorps program was being developed. He has published and conducted research in a number of areas of law, political philosophy, and American politics, including a recent book on presidential elections with Professor Shea, as well as a series of journal articles on the U.S. Courts of Appeals, legal ethics, human rights, poverty law, co-sponsorhip in the U.S. Senate, political efficacy, congressional oversight, and executive power.

He has also published articles and book chapters related to teaching, civic engagement and liberal education.

CPP will oversee new partnership with Robert H. Jackson Center in Jamestown, N.Y.

By Mary Solberg

The connection between Allegheny College and the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson goes back quite some time...to March 25, 1910, to be exact.

On that date, the young Jackson participated in the big high school debate between Lockport and Jamestown at Institute Hall in Jamestown, N.Y. Jackson competed before three judges, one of them Dr. O.P. Akers of Allegheny College.

Debate organizers, of course, respected Akers, a mathematics professor at the small college in nearby northwestern Pennsylvania. At the time, Allegheny was one of the few established institutions of higher learning in the region, located less than 90 minutes from western New York.

So it is little wonder that when the founders of the Robert H. Jackson Center in Jamestown began to acquire memorabilia and other important documents from Jackson's life, they stumbled across that debate flyer from 1910. Ironically, the founding chairman of the Jackson Center was Greg Peterson, an attorney and an Allegheny grad from the class of 1973.

"The presence of an Allegheny professor at that high school debate undoubtedly impressed the young Jackson," Peterson said.

Jackson, who grew up in Frewsburg, N.Y., became a leading lawyer of the New Deal Era, having served as solicitor general, attorney general, associate justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, and the chief U.S. prosecutor at the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

After the Jackson Center was founded in 2001, Peterson and his wife, Cindy '76, forged a loose, informal connection



Robert H. Jackson takes the oath as a justice of the U.S. Supreme Court on July 11, 1941. (Photo contributed by Robert H. Jackson Center)

between the Jackson Center and their alma mater. Working with Professor Emeritus Robert Seddig of Allegheny's Political Science Department, they arranged to have students conduct research at the Jackson Center, which remains the world's preeminent resource for primary source materials on the life, work and legacy of Robert H. Jackson.

Finally, this past summer, Allegheny College and the Robert H. Jackson Center formalized this relationship by signing an affiliation agreement to create the Robert H. Jackson Endowed Fellowship and Symposium Program.

The goal of the partnership is to broaden and improve the already existing informal relationship between Allegheny and the Jackson Center. The Jackson Center offers a bounty of historical archives, and Allegheny provides the creative energy of its students.

"One of the benefits is having a collaboration whereby Jackson's legacy

can be utilized by a wonderful academic institution," Peterson said.

Peterson worked all last spring and summer with Professor Brian Harward, the new director of the Center for Political Participation, in crafting the official partnership.

"Now that we're formalizing this relationship, there is much more we can do," Harward said. "This fall, we'll have students doing research for comps, and a junior seminar class in political science conducting research there."

At the end of August, Allegheny faculty and staff attended the Jackson Center's International Humanitarian Law Dialogues. And next spring, the CPP will co-host with the Jackson Center two conferences: one on the Alien Tort Statute before the Supreme Court (organized with Allegheny's Philosophy Department), and another on

(continued on page 4)

(Jackson continued from page 3) photographic images of war (organized with Allegheny's Journalism in the Public Interest program).

This past summer, two Allegheny students interned at the Jackson Center. John Nelson and Sarah DeLong, both from the Class of 2014, did mostly archival work, researching for new exhibits, and undertaking the arduous task of organizing a database.

DeLong, who is from Jackson's native Frewsburg, said she never knew much about Jackson until she started working at the Jackson Center. Regarding the formal affiliation, DeLong said, "I think it will be very beneficial to students, especially for comp research."

Here are some of the possible opportunities for collaboration between Allegheny and the Jackson Center:

- An annual Robert H. Jackson lecture and dinner at the Allegheny campus
- The Robert H. Jackson Senior Project Program





- Allegheny student internship experiences, and resources for faculty teaching and research
- Collaboration between Allegheny's Pelletier Library/Art Gallery and the Jackson Center
- Robert H. Jackson Scholars Program
- Robert H. Jackson Scholar-in-Residence program at Allegheny/ Jackson Center.

Administered by the CPP, the partnership will be overseen by the president of the college and the appropriate Jackson Center staff and/or board members. An advisory board, or leadership panel, will shape and govern the direction of the partnership. Until that board is established, the initial programmatic development will fall to the CPP in collaboration with the Jackson Center under the direction of the Jackson Center's Vice President for Academic Affairs Doug Neckers.

Neckers, a retired chemistry professor from Bowling Green State University in Ohio, believes the affiliation will offer great rewards to Allegheny students. Although the Jackson Center has always opened its doors to students and others interested in researching Jackson's work, especially in the Nuremberg trials, the Allegheny partnership is its first official agreement with a college or university.

"My interest is to make it possible for young people to interface with Jackson Center materials and archives, as well as the relatively large client base of people at very high places in the legal and historical communities that Jackson touched," Neckers said. "It's just a great opportunity."

At left, above: A timeline at the Robert H. Jackson Center shows the humble beginnings of Jackson in Frewsburg, N.Y.

At left, below: An Allegheny contingent visited the Robert H. Jackson Center last March. Pictured, standing, left to right: Professor Brian M. Harward, Michael Purcell '14, Alex Sproveri '13, Chris Plano '12, Professor Jackie Gehring, Professor Zac Callen, and Tim Kaspick '14. Sitting, left to right: John Nelson '14, Elise Swanekamp '12, Greg Peterson of the Jackson Center, Aurley Morris '15, and Dan Kochik '14. (Photos by Mary Solberg)

Briefs

CPP gives Harvard talk on compromise

CPP program coordinator Mary Solberg and CPP fellows Katie McHugh '13, and Justin Kirkwood '13 presented a talk on civility and compromise solutions at the annual conference of the National



CPP fellows Justin Kirkwood '13, left, and Katie McHugh '13, meet with Harvard's Institute of Politics Director Trey Grayson. (Photo by Mary Solberg)

Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement at Harvard University's Institute of Politics March 30 to April 1.

The CPP presentation, titled "Crossing Party Lines: Path to Civil Debate," included discussion of the CPP's efforts in political civility, its surveys, and national civility conference held in May. Particular focus was given to compromise tactics in debate, especially in the area of active listening.

The CPP contingent conducted a listening workshop, too, which required conference participants to discuss controversial policy issues.

The Harvard conference is held annually and includes students and staff from about 20 participating schools in the National Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement. This year's conference, titled "Mobilization 2012: Strategies and Skills," emphasized the new voter identification laws and how they affect college voters.

Jennie Bowser of the National Association of State Legislatures discussed the new voter laws throughout the country. Also speaking at the weekend were George Nethercutt, a former U.S. Congressman who served for 10 years on the prestigious House Committee on Appropriations. Margaret McKenna also spoke at a luncheon gathering. McKenna is a lawyer and educator who is a leading expert in educational opportunity and philanthropy.

Political Science faculty, students meet alumni in D.C.

About 60 students and faculty of Allegheny's Political Science Department traveled to Washington, D.C., April 19-20 for the muchanticipated biennial gathering of alumni and friends.

The event kicked off with a special meetand-greet occasion at the Grand Hyatt Regency in downtown Washington, where more than 200 faculty, students, alumni, trustees and friends gathered for hors d'oeuvres and drinks. President James Mullen regularly presides over the event, which is an opportunity for alumni to reunite, and for current students to do some networking with Allegheny grads.



Kelly Smith, left, Ty Smith '03, center, and Scott Reilly '71 enjoy some conversation at the alumni gathering in Washington, D.C. (Photo by Mary Solberg)

"It was so gratifying for the faculty to see students take advantage of our generous alumni and all the resources that D.C. has to offer," said Professor Shannan Mattiace, who organized the department trip. On April 20, political science students and faculty attended tours, panel discussions and lectures given at various sites in Washington. Professor Mattiace and Allegheny's Associate Director of Career Services Jim Fitch organized many of the daytime events that featured political science alumni.

Here is a list of alumni who offered lectures and talks:

- Dominic Randazzo '05: A U.S. State Department official, Randazzo and two other State Department workers talked with students at the U.S. State Department.
- Anne Shoup '03: Media director of the Center for American Progress, a research and advocacy group, Shoup talked about energy policy, international security, immigration and education.
- Susan Lexer '90: A policy adviser with 15 years of experience in the House and Senate, Lexer discussed her work history and gave advice to students. Current policy adviser to Senator Jeff Merkley, she has worked with health and education policy.
- Warren Payne '95: Payne organized a panel of about eight alumni to discuss their experiences working on Capitol Hill. He works for the GOP on issues for the House Ways and Means Committee.
- Roberta Miller '73: A retired EPA official, Miller discussed how to interview well and prepare for job interviews.

Other events included a tour of the U.S. Supreme Court with retired professor Robert Seddig and Professor Brian Harward, and a program titled "How to Land a Job with the Federal Government" at the Partnership for Public Service. Professor Shanna Kirschner took students on a visit to the National Endowment for Democracy, an NGO that works on democracy-promotion internationally.

Publications/Elections

CPP leaders publish books, articles

Outgoing CPP director Daniel M. Shea and incoming director Brian M. Harward have co-authored a book due out this September about critical moments in U.S. presidential elections in the late 20th and early 21st centuries.

Presidential Campaigns Decoded will be published this September by ABC-CLIO, Greenwood Press. The 200-page book includes speeches, advertisements, candidate platforms, press coverage, and internal campaign documents, plus photos, quotes, artwork, slogans and commercial stills.

"This publication should empower readers to better understand and analyze the electoral process," Shea said.

Also, Shea and Harward co-authored an article due out this fall for the American Political Science Association's publication *From Service Learning to Civic and Political Engagement.* The article, "Higher Education and the Multiple Modes of Engagement," explores the connection between electoral participation and young voters' disinclination to engage deeply with policy disputes.

Professor Shea's other works published this year include:

• Let's Vote, The Essentials of the American Electoral Process, Longman Inc.— Explores such topics as the role of the internet in modern campaigning, the



rise of new-style campaign consultants, the importance of negative campaign advertising, and the rise of new media.

• Can We Talk? The Rise of Rude, Nasty, Stubborn Politics (co-author Morris P. Fiorina), Pearson—Top scholars and journalists explore civility in politics, the history of civil discourse, the strategic use of uncivil rhetoric, the polarization of the electorate, the rise of tribal politics, the role of particular presidents, and the character and impact of the new media.

Other publications by Professor Harward this year include:

- "The Calculus of Cosponsorship in the U.S. Senate" (co-author Kenneth W. Moffett), *Legislative Studies Quarterly*— Investigates why a legislator would be willing to vote "yea" on final passage of a bill but would choose not to cosponsor that bill.
- "Congressional Response to Presidential Signing Statements" (co-authors Scott H. Ainsworth and Kenneth W. Moffett), *American Politics Research*—Popular and scholarly accounts argue that signing statements are important tools for presidents to shape the implementation of policy. Harward and Ainsworth find that Congress responds with oversight.

Meadville, CPP clean up clogged voter lists

In 2009, Melanie Mushrush, the director of Elections and Voter Services for Crawford County, sent a letter to an Allegheny grad asking him to remove his name from the county's voting lists. The student had not voted here since 2004.

It's been three years since that letter was sent, and Mushrush still hasn't heard from the student.

"It just sits here and legally I have to wait through two federal election cycles before they [an inactive voter] can be removed according to state statute," Mushrush explains.

Mushrush and her staff of one regularly send out these letters in the hopes of clearing some of the names of inactive voters, especially Allegheny students, from their voting lists. Not only does it take time and money to send the letters, but it has a significant effect on voter turnout figures for the county.

"We have 53,000 registered voters in Crawford County, and voter turnout figures could be 5 percent higher than they

actually are because there are so many registered voters who are not active," Mushrush adds.

In the four years since she has taken over Voter Services, Mushrush has managed to remove some inactive names. She also credits the Center for Political Participation for its efforts the past couple of years at notifying graduating seniors to remove their names if they plan to leave the area.

"It doesn't matter if we get one or 100 names removed. I think it's great because our statistics look that much better and we remove inactive voters," Mushrush says.

Since last year, the CPP staff has collected about 150 voter withdrawal forms from Allegheny graduates.

Allegheny graduates who were registered in Crawford County and no longer live here are asked to contact Voter Services at 814-333-7399, or e-mail Mushrush at mmushrush@co.crawford.pa.us.

New Allegheny ID's issued in wake of Pennsylvania's controversial voter ID law

By Mary Solberg

Allegheny's gator—posing on the lower right corner of all new student identification cards—holds something important in its jaws: an expiration date.



Beginning with this year's first-year class, and continuing in all subsequent years, Allegheny College will provide an expiration date on student ID's. A strict voter ID law enacted last spring in Pennsylvania is responsible for the change. If upheld in court, the law will require voters to present a photo ID with an expiration date when they go to the polls.

College students throughout the state—including Allegheny—petitioned administrators to provide expiration dates on student ID's. Without an expiration date, many students—particularly ones from out of state—would likely be prohibited in Pennsylvania from voting in the presidential election. Allegheny officials agreed to put an expiration date on all new student ID cards, and offer an expiration sticker to current students who wish to vote in Pennsylvania.

"It is the duty of Allegheny College to allow all students to participate in elections through the voting process," CPP fellow Alex Sproveri '13 wrote to college administrators on behalf of several other campus organizations. "It is the wish of our organizations to implement this simple change to our campus ID's in order to remove additional barriers to the voting process. The alternative is to disenfranchise our youth voters."

Besides the CPP, students representing Allegheny Student Government, Allegheny College Democrats, Allegheny College Republicans, and the Roosevelt Campus Network met last April with Jeff Schneider, the college safety director, to discuss options.

"I was unaware of it until the students approached us," said Schneider.

The safety office went into action, seeking out the support of Allegheny's Executive Council, Computer Services, and the Finance Department. AEC approved the change and Computer Services began the process of ensuring that all new student

ID's have an expiration date. The cost of redoing all rising sophomore, junior and senior ID's would have been prohibitive, so the college opted to provide stickers to any current student who wants to vote in Crawford County.

The Pennsylvania Department of State has agreed to allow special expiration stickers to be placed on existing student ID's. So Jodi Millin, financial systems coordinator in Allegheny's Finance Department, has made stickers for sophomores, juniors and seniors who plan to vote in Crawford County this fall.

"I think it's going to work out fine," Millin said.

The Center for Political Participation is taking responsibility for getting the word out to sophomores, juniors and seniors that the stickers are available. The CPP plans to host events on campus to distribute the stickers. Also, the CPP will be going into the Meadville community to educate local voters about the new voter ID law.

Just this summer, Pennsylvania Gov. Tom Corbett rejected a request by six civic groups to delay implementation of the new voter ID requirements. Despite pending litigation at press time, the law is still going forward. Pennsylvania has one of the strictest voter ID laws in the country, requiring a photo ID. Here is what is acceptable:

- Pa. driver's license or non-driver's license photo ID
- · Valid U.S. passport
- U.S. military ID
- Employee photo ID issued by federal, state, county or municipal government
- Photo ID cards from an accredited public or private Pennsylvania college or university, with expiration date
- Photo ID cards issued by a state care facility

The CPP's efforts in the community could help the many registered voters who do not have Pennsylvania driver's licenses.

For more information, contact the CPP at 814-332-6202.

Focus on Civility:

Allegheny presents civility awards CPP hosts Pathway to Civility Conference

by Mary Solberg

Felise Ortiz of Rutgers University founded the Douglas Divas on her East Coast campus. Divas stands for Determined, Innovative, Vivacious, Articulate Sisters—young women who want to make a difference at their school and in the world.

Zachary Israel of Bard College in upstate New York wants to run for political office someday.

Jayson Porter of Millsaps College, in the heart of Mississippi's capital of Jackson, wants to educate children.

Seeking a more civil society—both socially and politically—is the one thing that unites each of these students. That's why they attended the Center for Political Participation's Pathway to Civility: National Conference of College Leaders, held at Allegheny College May 15-16.

"I want to take time to consider another viewpoint and not completely discredit it even though it's different from my own," said Ortiz, who will be a junior at Rutgers in the fall.

Ortiz, Porter and Israel were among 70 college students and their advisers from 16 colleges and universities throughout

Gathering after the awards presentation at the National Press Club, were, from left to right: CPP fellows Emma Victorelli and Alex Sproveri, outgoing CPP Director Daniel M. Shea, New York Times columnist David Brooks, Allegheny College President James H. Mullen Jr., syndicated columnist Mark Shields, CPP fellows Katie McHugh and Chris Plano, and Allegheny junior Annamarie Morino. (Photo by Mary Solberg)

the country who attended the spring event at Allegheny. Their diversity geographically, politically and socially is a critical element in the CPP's effort to work with young people to stem the increasing nastiness in public discourse.

In his opening remarks to the group, outgoing CPP Director Daniel M. Shea said, "We are here to show that it's possible to be proud partisans yet be respectful."

The civility conference was the second of its kind to be held at Allegheny; the first was held in May 2010. It was the capstone of Allegheny's efforts this past year to recognize civility as integral to a fair and productive society.

On Feb. 21, Allegheny College President James H. Mullen Jr. presented the inaugural Allegheny College Prize for Civility in Public Life to

two nationally recognized journalists who "represent the best instincts of American public life."

In presenting the award to syndicated columnist Mark Shields and New York Times columnist David Brooks, President Mullen called on youth across the country to follow their example.

"That is the hope of today, that through this award and our college's focus on civility, we might empower young people across the nation, that we might help them—help all of us—find the faith and the courage to engage in the public arena with civility and respect and to honor those who by their example show us the way," President Mullen told those gathered at the National Press Club in downtown Washington, D.C.

Allegheny's recognition of Brooks and





Donald W. Harward, Ph.D. President emeritus, Bates College Director, Bringing Theory to Practice Senior Fellow at the American Association of Colleges and Universities

- 🜟 "What every college should do is to generate a context in which students can choose to be free.
- \star "The issue isn't the answers; it's the questions. We should generate a campus culture that allows risk-taking.

Shields set off a flurry of comments on the online edition of PBS NewsHour, for which the pair debate every Friday night. Judy Woodruff, anchor of PBS NewsHour, noted Allegheny's civility effort. And news of the award also hit the online editions of numerous sites, including the Washington Post, the New Jersey Herald, CBS Atlanta, the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette, Bradenton Herald, Philadelphia Inquirer, the Christian Science Monitor, and the Boston Globe. Molly Corbett Broad, president of the American Council on Education, attended the National Press Club event and lauded Allegheny for "stepping into this particularly treacherous moment in American history where civility is not part of political discourse."

So it was imperative this year that the CPP hold another Pathway to Civility conference, bringing together college

leaders who will make essential changes to public discourse in the future. CPP fellows who attended the Washington, D.C., civility prize event also led the Pathway to Civility conference this past May, participating in lectures, roundtable discussions, and workshops.

Participants listened to lectures from Dan Myers '05, an Allegheny grad and RWJF Scholar in Health Policy, School of Public Health, University of Michigan; Donald W. Harward, president emeritus of Bates College, director of Bringing Theory to Practice, and senior fellow at the American Association of Colleges and Universities; and Daniel Post Senning, great-greatgrandson of Emily Post and the manager of web development and online content at the Emily Post Institute. (See their boxed remarks in this story.)

In order to keep the conversation going with conference participants, Professor Wolf's team collected data and is planning to share the results, along with proposed solutions and recommendations.

"The town hall meeting is an imaginative and empowering piece of political discourse," Wolf said.

(continued on page 10)



Professor Thia Wolf and her students Brooke Myrman and Samantha Cary of California State University, Chico, Calif., presented a workshop that had students participate in a town hall meeting-style exercise. Students worked together on creative problem-solving: how to address contentious issues in a civil and productive manner and how to make needed changes.

Daniel Myers '05

RWIF Scholar in Health

* "Policy is made only on the

"Civility can be a barrier to

equality. I'm arguing for a deeper

conception of what civility is. It's

strength of arguments."

the obligation to listen."

Policy, University of Michigan



Daniel Post Senning

Manager of web development and online content at the Emily Post Institute

- * "Civility is a word synonymous with etiquette. It's a word I grew up with, based on the principles of consideration, respect and honesty".
- * "The etiquette person in me instantly goes to solutions."



(Civility, continued from page 9)

Those who attended the conference also got a chance to network with other students. They got to know each other during various lunches on campus, and at a dinner in nearby Conneaut Lake, Pa.

In other civility news, the CPP released last fall the results of a poll of nearly 500 local party officials from across the nation. Overall, the picture at that time seemed bright for local party organizations, despite increasing rancor on the civility front.

A vast majority of the party leaders surveyed (78 percent) believed their party committee was doing better than in the past. There was, however, one glaring problem: whether to stand firm on principles or try to find areas of compromise when grappling with difficult issues. Seventy-eight percent of Republican leaders surveyed contended

that elected officials should stick to their principles and not seek compromise solutions, while 12 percent of Democratic chairs said the same. Conversely, 88 percent of Democratic chairs thought politicians should find compromises. Just 22 percent of GOP leaders held a similar view.

The CPP and its civility work has been recognized increasingly in academic circles. Last spring, the CPP's program coordinator Mary Solberg and fellows Justin Kirkwood and Katie McHugh delivered a talk at Harvard University's National Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement on active listening and compromise techniques. (See article on page 5.)

At top: Angel Cerritos of Northern Arizona University listens intently to discussion at the civility conference.

At left: Lori Poloni-Staudinger, Ph.D., associate professor in the Department of Politics and International Affairs at Northern Arizona University, leads a discussion at the Tippie Alumni Center.

(All conference photos by Bill Owen)

Name one way you will change public discourse in America.



"I want to change the way we think, especially among kids because they are thinkers. We can learn from them and learn about ourselves."

—Jayson Porter Millsaps College



"I want to be a good example for civil participation. I try to lead by example to represent all our socio-economic groups.

> —Austin Matthews Louisiana State University



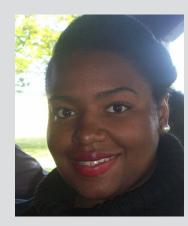
"I think just educating people about civility and how to listen to each other is important. That's the main problem; people don't listen. I think if we actively listened to each other, there would be a lot less misunderstanding."

—Samantha Norton
Northern Arizona University



"I think I might run for elected office someday. Whatever position I try to run for, the way I act will be in a civil way. I would actively promote civility by having conversations with many people."

—Zachary IsraelBard College



"On my campus, I am founding president of the Douglas Divas, which stands for Determined, Innovative, Vivacious, Articulate Sisters. I can take a lot of things back that I learned about civility at Allegheny. I want to take time to consider another viewpoint and not discredit it even though it's different from my own."

—Felise Ortiz
Rutgers University

WHAT'S ON YOUR MIND?

Tell us what you think of the tone of politics as we enter the 2012 general election season. Go to our Facebook page at

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Schools that attended the CPP's Pathway to Civility Conference in May:

Allegheny College Pennsylvania

> Bard College New York

Bates College Maine

California State University
California

Central Michigan University Michigan Chatham University Pennsylvania

Gannon University Pennsylvania

Loyola Marymount California

Louisiana State University
Louisiana

Millsaps College Mississippi Northern Arizona University

University of Pennsylvania

Purdue University/Fort Wayne Indiana

Rutgers University New Jersey

Slippery Rock University Pennsylvania

> SUNY/Brockport New York















(Photos in this two-page collage were taken by photographer Bill Owen.)







On-Campus Events

Poverty examined on local, international levels



Elise Swanekamp '12



Ben Dempe '12



Chris Plano '12

As an AmeriCorps Vista volunteer with Meadville's Creating Landscapes Learning Center, Inc., Erin Sweeney '10 works every day with people who don't have much...not even a small patch of land to call their own.

So for her it was heartening to see the CPP host "Perspectives on Poverty: Research & Action" at the Tippie Alumni Center last Dec. 6. The event featured local outreach programs along with presentations by three Allegheny seniors who had done work with the poor on the local and international levels.

"For us as a community of families it's interesting to see how academics talk about poverty. These families live it every day," Sweeney said.

In the past couple of years, Sweeney has worked through Meadville's Creating Landscapes to help low-income families develop a community garden. Participants include children of all ages and their families.

James, an 11-year-old, came to the CPP event along with Sweeney and other families associated with the community garden. Being in Tippie's Tillotson Room, with its ornate lights and skirted tables, was, as he said, "awesome."

"I think our garden is awesome, too," James said. "You grow stuff and you grow friendships and have a good time."

Besides Creating Landscapes, other outreach programs in Meadville participated in the evening to show the local viewpoint of poverty. Representatives from Food Rescue, Crawford County Mental Health Awareness Program (CHAPS), the Coalition on Housing, and Gill Village met with the 50 students who attended the event.

Also that evening, Chris Plano, Elise Swanekamp and Ben Dempe, all from the Class of 2012, presented their senior research projects on poverty.

Plano's presentation was titled "Transit Accessibility to Healthy Food and Employment." He discussed the barriers faced by low-income people in Baltimore, Md., in accessing essentials. They cannot afford cars or living in higher-income areas where supermarkets and job opportunities exist.

Elise Swanekamp, who was an International Studies major and a Spanish minor, spent a semester studying in Ecuador. Her senior thesis dealt with fair trade for Mexican coffee cooperatives. And Ben Dempe discussed his 10-week experience in Zimbabwe, where he learned about micro-loans for people who need capital for business ventures.



Representatives of Gill Village in Meadville participated in the CPP's poverty event last December. (Photos by Mary Solberg)

S(o)uper Tuesday collects items for food pantry



The CPP collected a lot of food for the Meadville Food Pantry during its S(o)uper Tuesday event last March. Pictured, left to right: Elise Swanekamp'12, Chris Plano'12, Emma Victorelli'12, Justin Kirkwood'13, Steven Jones'12, and Alex Sproveri'13. (Photo by Mary Solberg)

The Center for Political Participation collected nearly 350 non-perishable food items for its S(o)uper Tuesday event at the Campus Center March 6.

The food was collected for the Meadville Food Pantry on Super Tuesday, when 10 states had conducted presidential primaries.

As the primary results came in during the night, CPP fellow Justin Kirkwood conducted an informal straw poll. He found that of the nearly 60 people in attendance, more than half were Obama supporters. Of Republicans, 11 attendees voted for Ron Paul, 8 for Mitt Romney, and 1 each for Rick Santorum and Newt Gingrich.

Phi Kappa Psi fraternity donated the most non-perishables, with 217 items. The College Democrats came in second by donating 54 cans, and Delta Tau Delta fraternity came in third with 33 items.



Politics is too funny!

The intersection of comedy and politics is...well...plain funny!

The Center for Political Participation, along with Allegheny Student Government, hosted Open Mic Night April 14 at Grounds for Change. Students shared their sense of political humor by creating acts ranging from traditional protest songs, stand-up comedy, to improvisation.

Of the five groups that participated, three prizes were awarded. Luke Wronski '12 took first place for his stand-up comedy. He won a \$100 Amazon gift card. Loren Horst '12 captured second place, also for stand-up, and won a \$50 gift card. Dan Bauer '13 placed third for performing a protest song; he won a \$25 gift card.

A panel of judges considered creativity, originality, political relevance, and entertaining

Judges included Professor Mark Cosdon from the Communication Arts/Theatre Department, and psychology Professor Joshua Searle-White.

At left: Luke Wronski '12 does his winning stand-up routine at the CPP's Open Mic Night last spring.

(Photo by Emma Victorelli)

On-Campus Lectures

The Tea Party: A Lasting Impact?

Does the Tea Party matter? If you ask Vanessa Williamson, she'd say yes and no. OK, so maybe that's not as definitive an answer as political pundits would hope for, but it pretty much sums up the complexity of the movement.

Williamson, co-author of The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism (Oxford University Press, 2011), told a packed audience Sept. 22 at Quigley Hall that while the Tea Party's popularity is declining, it has had a lasting impact on American politics.



"The Tea Party motivated older conservatives to vote, it helped move the Republican Party to the right, and it reinvigorated the Republican Party at a time of crisis," Williamson said.

Conversely, the Tea Party's popularity has declined from September 2009 when 70,000 activists converged on Washington, D.C., Williamson added, saying, "That was really the peak of Tea Party activism. But as more people have become aware of what the Tea Party is, its popularity began to decline."

In 2010, the Tea Party did not elect conservatives in moderate areas, and may not even have increased the Republican landslide in the midterms, Williamson said. Nevertheless, the movement has had an impact, particularly in light of the emergence of Tea Party candidates, ongoing news coverage and its prevalence in major polls and surveys. Perhaps the most significant acknowledgement of its impact was in the fall of 2011 when CNN joined the Tea Party in hosting a Republican primary debate in California.

Williamson captivated her audience with her straightforward discussion of the Tea Party. Instead of presenting a pro or con presentation on the controversial organization, Williamson's viewpoint as an academic came off as refresh-



Above left: Vanessa Williamson

Above: Political Science Professor Bruce Smith poses a question to Vanessa Williamson about her Tea Party research.

(Photos by Mary Solberg)

ing. She discussed what it was like to interview Tea Party members throughout the country.

"There's a real sense that the American dream was betrayed for some of them."

Audience members asked Williamson about the makeup of Tea Party activists and what she thought of them. They are, she said, like kindly grandparents.

"The Tea Party is made up of mostly older white people who own their own homes and have pensions. They weren't hit hardest by the Great Recession, but there's a real sense that the American dream was betrayed for some of them," Williamson said.

Unfortunately, she maintains that many Tea Party members, while educated, are misinformed on issues. Williamson blamed an intense polarization of values in America today, where people seek like-minded people and groups that espouse only what they believe in.

"They believe in things that are just not facts," Williamson said, adding, "There is no accountability."

Herb Klions, a retired psychology professor from Allegheny, was in the audience and asked Williamson if she thought the Tea Party would have taken a different direction had Hillary Clinton, now secretary of state, beat Obama in the 2008 presidential election.

"I think the Tea Party would have been a little different. The symbolism would not have been as potent, but conservatives still would have been upset," Williamson said.

Williamson, whose primary research interest is the politics of taxation, co-wrote her Tea Party book with Theda Skocpol of Harvard. Before studying government and social policy at Harvard, Williamson served as the policy director for Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America. She received her bachelor's degree in French language and literature from New York University, and her master's from NYU's Institute of French Studies.

CPP hosts panel on Occupy Wall Street

For Silas Russell, a 2007 graduate of Allegheny College, the Occupy Wall Street movement is personal. It is, he says, "a movement of ordinary people" like him and the 20,000 Pennsylvanians for whom he works as a political organizer for SEIU PA, Pennsylvania's largest union for health care workers.

"People need to take back power," Russell told a luncheon gathering Nov. 10 at Quigley Hall on the Allegheny College campus. "We cannot have an economy that is controlled from the top."

In his work, Russell sees firsthand the effects of an unstable economy and how the average worker struggles to maintain financial security. Little wonder that the Occupy Wall Street movement appealed to him; he was intrigued with its call to equalize the financial playing field in America. In the early fall of 2011, he started working as an organizer for Occupy Pittsburgh, camping out the first week in a park on Grant Street in the Steel City.

"At this point," he added, "the movement is too big to fail."

By the looks of the packed audience at Quigley's Henderson Auditorium, the movement is too big to be ignored, too. Fittingly titled "Occupy Quigley," the panel discussion included Russell, who came from Pittsburgh for the day, and Political Science Professor Bruce Smith, and Economics Professor Russell Ormiston. While attentive to the two professors, students were clearly intrigued by Silas Russell and his activism. Several stayed afterward to talk to Russell about Occupy activities in Pittsburgh.

During a question-and-answer segment, Kimberly Langin '13 asked Russell if he thought the Occupy movement was anticapitalist.

"Occupy is a movement that wants to have capitalism work for everybody," Russell said.

For Professor Smith, Occupy Wall Street makes him sentimental for his own days of activism. "It's in the American gene," he explained. "It's radical, it's democratic. It's Jeffersonian."

For any movement to be successful, Smith added, it needs three things: skilled organizers, meetings that continue on a regular basis after the initial weeks, and promotion of public policies that address the majority of people, in Occupy's view, the 99 percent of Americans for whom it claims to speak for.

"Absence of leadership is not good, and actions like stomping on the flag can sully the movement," Smith said.

Professor Ormiston views the Occupy movement "through the lens of the American worker." From 1979 to 1990, union membership in the United States fell by one-third, creating the issue of income inequality that Occupy is protesting.

"From 1945 to 1979, the social contract was that if workers worked hard they'd be rewarded," Ormiston explained. "From 1979 to 1981, a new mode of thinking came to the fore [with more imports from Asia and with the firing of striking air traffic controllers]."

The gradual decay of unions has affected the power of the American worker, according to Ormiston, but no one has addressed some tough questions. In the past couple decades, there haven't been any significant protests over the decay of worker power. As Ormiston said, "We don't protest erosion."

That erosion, combined with the recent economic recession, has created the perfect environment for a movement such as Occupy. The Occupy movement, Ormiston explained, "has changed the conversation."





Above: Silas Russell'07

Right: Allegheny students participate in the Occupy panel discussion at Quigley Hall.

Photos by Mary Solberg

Redistricting expert talks politics

Professor Keith Gaddie of the University of Oklahoma has a lot to say about gerrymandering, a controversial process of defining electoral districts that has plagued the United States for the past 200 years.

A nationally recognized expert on redistricting, Gaddie shared his thoughts on the topic with an Allegheny audience Feb. 16 at the



Keith Gaddie

Black Theatre, Vukovich Center for Communication Arts.

"If you're going to get involved in politics in America today, you better get conversant in redistricting," Gaddie told political science students who packed the theater.

Gaddie, who is a professor of political science and has served as a redistricting and voting rights expert in numerous trials in several states, titled his talk "Redistricting and Briar Patch Justice," a reference to "the political thicket" that Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter warned the Court about in the 1962 Tennessee case of *Baker v. Carr.* Despite Frankfurter's stance that the federal courts did not have the right to tell sovereign state governments how to apportion their legislatures, the *Baker* case ruled that redistricting was within the purview of federal judges.

The case set off a wave of litigation, some of which Gaddie himself is called upon for expert opinion. He regularly addresses the thorny issues that arise from manipulating geographic boundaries to create partisan or incumbent-protected districts.

"Once redistricting got in the courts, we have not got out," Gaddie said.

The *Baker* case, according to Gaddie, allowed politics to happen. He told the Allegheny audience to watch elections with a keen eye toward the political advantages of redistricting. "As you watch the elections happen, ask yourself how the gameboard is sloped," Gaddie advised.

A political science professor at the University of Oklahoma, Gaddie also is the author, co-author or co-editor of more than a dozen scholarly and popular books. Also, he is general editor of *Social Science Quarterly* and is managing partner of Intelligent Robotic Solutions, an Oklahoma-based medical technology research enterprise.

White House correspondent examines the 'real' Obama

The twin themes of hope and change that won Barack Obama the presidency in 2008 have not defined his administration, according to a White House correspondent with the AFP news agency (Agence France-Presse) in Washington, D.C.

Stephen Collinson told an Allegheny gathering at Quigley Hall last April 26 that Obama—while an effective and pragmatic leader—has not lived out the image he projected when he first ran for office.

"Hope and change...I don't think this is that. After three years in the White House, he



is somewhat less lofty in tone than people thought in 2008," Collinson said. "It's very tough to argue that he has been successful in changing things."

Collinson has a personal perspective with an office right in the White House. Having traveled with Obama on trips throughout the world—including Korea for the 2012 Seoul Nuclear Security Summit, and Norway for the Nobel Peace Prize presentation—Collinson has formed a deeper impression of the chief executive than most people.

"You sort of see behind the veil sometimes," he said.

Once lifted, the veil shows a man of multiple images. While Obama is a passionate orator who infuses large audiences with emotion, he can be remote and quite pragmatic on a personal level, Collinson said. Obama is an academic, he said, who enjoys intellectual conversations, but in many ways, "he struggles to connect."

Obama was criticized severely for not being aggressive enough during his first couple years in office. Clinging to his belief that there should not be a red and blue America, the Democratic Party suffered in the mid-term elections.

"He cannot stand the posturing of Washington politics," Collinson explained. "He has a disdain of the Washington game and it has actually hurt him."

Collinson, whose Allegheny lecture was titled "The Opacity of Hope: The Enigmatic Politics of Barack Obama," said Obama is a left-center president in a right-center nation. Ever the pragmatist, Obama talks like a progressive, but governs like a centrist. The deep recession, the health care debate, and the ongoing war in Afghanistan all have contributed to Obama's learning curve.

"Obama," Collinson said, "has learned how to apply power."

The 2012 election is Collinson's fifth U.S. presidential election as a reporter. In 2008, he traveled regularly with the Obama, Clinton and McCain campaigns.

CPP Student Staff 2012-13



Aurora Arop'14 is an international studies major with a focus in Middle Eastern and North African Studies, and a minor in Value, Ethics, and Social Actions (VESA). She is interested in international law—particularly the rights of women and children in developing countries, and internal displacement.



Matt Kelley '14 is a political science major/philosophy minor. He is a captain of Allegheny's ultimate Frisbee team, a founder of Allegheny's mock trial team, a writing consultant at Learning Commons, and a brother of Delta Tau Delta. Matt spent this past summer researching the parallels between Marxist and Buddhist thought. Next spring, he plans to study in Denmark.



Justin Kirkwood '13 currently is president of Pi Sigma Alpha (National Political Science Honor Society), Tau Mu Chapter Allegheny College. Last spring, he presented a talk on civility and active listening at the annual conference of the National Campaign for Political and Civic Engagement at Harvard University. This past summer, Justin worked for Dallas W. Hartman, P.C., a law firm in New Castle, PA. He is a member of the Laurel School Board.



Clay Moran '13 is a double major in International Studies (Latin America focus) and Spanish. This past summer, he enrolled in a semester-long study abroad program in Buenos Aires, Argentina, through the Latin American Faculty of Social Science graduate institution. While in Argentina, Clay worked for the Madres de Plaza de Mayo, an organization of the civil society that led the fight for human rights in the late 1970s.



Aurley Morris '15 is a political science major/ American studies minor. Currently, she is president of Allegheny's mock trial team, and is a member of the Roosevelt Club. This past summer, Aurley worked as a marketing assistant for Sampson Morris Group, a Pittsburgh real-estate company.



Mara Silver '15 plans to major in international studies. This past summer, she interned with Carnegie Mellon University's Department of Social and Decision Sciences, learning how human nature and psychology play a role in economic decision-making. Mara also worked on projects with CMU's Tepper School of Business.



Alex Sproveri '13 is a political science major with a minor in Spanish. Previously, he was a legislative intern for Pennsylvania Senator Bob Casey Jr. This past summer, he interned for Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors, where he worked on legislative affairs and trade relations. Alex is a Doane Scholar, and was named Allegheny's outstanding junior in political science. Recently, Alex co-authored an article titled "The Rise and Fall of Nasty Politics in America," with Daniel M. Shea, outgoing director of the CPP, which was published in PS: Political Science and Politics.

Scholarly Work

Railroads are critical element of government power

By Zachary Callen, Ph.D. Assistant Professor of Political Science

Adapted from "Congress and the Railroads: Federalism, American Political Development, and the Migration of Policy Responsibility," American Politics Research 40, no. 2 (March 2012), 293-326.

The American federal state, as described in the Constitution, is fairly limited in its scope and powers. However, over the course of time, the American national state has



Zachary Callen, Ph.D.

grown considerably in power. A great deal of this growth in federal power happened during the 19th century, especially in the years just prior to the Civil War. Notably, in 1850, the federal government began to provide land grants to railroads throughout the nation, as a means to foster American transportation infrastructure development. While the federal government had some minimal involvement in earlier internal improvements, such as the Cumberland Road or dredging harbors, the rail grants were a significant step in American state-building. The rail grants, beginning with a series of grants to Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama, represented the federal state stepping into an area that previously had been the sole province of

state and local governments. The question that emerges: Why did the federal state suddenly become so interested in transportation infrastructure?

The federal government's interest in internal improvements was hardly surprising. Transportation infrastructure is a critical part of government power, extending even to ancient times, but it is a policy area that we rarely spend a great deal of time discussing. Roads, waterways, and railroads link together the disparate parts of the United States. Without effective transit technology, commerce, national defense, and communication are all hindered. Therefore, any government that wants to order its territory, govern its citizens, and grow economically must also pay serious attention to developing its transportation infrastructure network.

Despite the centrality of infrastructure to national power, the Constitution actually grants no explicit power to the federal government for building infrastructure, with the exception of post roads. With this barrier in place, the federal state was mostly silent on the issue of infrastructure development in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. In addition, outside of this clear legal barrier to federal action, sectional political rivalries also stalled infrastructure debates when the issue did arise in Congress. Specifically, given the lack of national action on infrastructure, many state governments funded infrastructure projects on their own. In building these projects, states took on a great deal of risk and debt. Hence, when other states sought federal aid, those states that had funded their own infrastructure were wary of providing aid. Simply put, Congressional representatives saw little value in spending federal dollars to build infrastructure in other states, thereby giving rival states a considerable economic advantage.

Despite these legal and political barriers, the federal government did grant land to state governments in order to support railroads. But how did this transition from locally supported to nationally funded railroads occur? The critical moment was when state governments began to fail to provide necessary infrastructure development within their borders. For instance, the Illinois state legislature engaged in an ambitious program designed to build a rail system that covered much of the state. Illinois could not support the debt load that such a project entailed, so little track was built.

Faced with a lack of rail development and cognizant of how important railroads were to local economic growth, political leaders in Western states turned to Congress for assistance in erecting railroads. Essentially, federal action on railroads did not occur because the national state pushed itself into new policy areas. Rather, federal action on infrastructure resulted from local political leaders pulling the national state into new political arenas. Significantly, federal

aid did

not come without a cost to local rail development plans. When requesting federal aid, states often proposed rail plans that primarily funded local roads, meaning railroads that minimized connections with other states and only served parochial commercial interests. Such a proposal, however, offered little incentive for other representatives—those not from the state requesting aid—to support it. As a result of coalitional forces, railroads aided by the federal state began to serve more and more national interests, such as directly connecting the frontier with major cities on the Atlantic coast, rather than solely local needs.

As time moved forward and more states requested federal aid, the national focus of federal aid only increased. The earliest land grants were supported by a coalition of Western states along with Eastern manufacturing inter-

ests. In this coalition, frontier states were well represented and able to extract more of their own preferences from the coalition. In practice, this resulted in railroads that still reflected local concerns. For instance, the Illinois grant built connections to Chicago, Iowa, and reached into the South while at the same time still having dense coverage all

across the state. As time moved forward, frontier states tended to drop out of the coalition, since these frontier states had little interest in granting rail aid to rival states. This meant that Atlantic states exerted more and more influence over future rail grants,

leading those grants
to primarily serve
Atlantic manufacturing interests over
Western (and more

local) demands. For instance, while the state of Iowa wanted rail grants to support a dense web of railroads, Congress only provided grants to build

east-west routes that connected the state with Chicago.

The experience of federal rail grants in the 19th century offers an important insight into how the federal state came to dominate new policy areas. In many cases, local interests—lacking resources to provide services demanded by constituents—drag the federal state into a new policy area. However, doing so has real consequences for policy provision, inviting external interests into what were previously solely local affairs. As a result, over time the federal state has come to dominate a range of policy areas, and slowly make the character of those policies more national and less

parochial in their delivery.

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Have an update? The CPP asks former fellows to update their contact information by e-mailing the CPP offices at msolberg@allegheny.edu.

Also, fellows can join in conversation and share photos and more at the CPP Facebook page (www.facebook.com/CenterForPoliticalParticipation) or join us on Twitter and YouTube.