

# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

# 30

YEARS  
of **RED**  
**BOOK**  
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Winter 2016





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About The Cover:  
David Bailey Associates celebrates 30 years of Redbook! Photographer Wanda Judd helped commemorate this historic event by photographing a layout of several covers of the Redbook throughout the past 30 years.

### On The Web

[www.vccqm.org](http://www.vccqm.org)







# VIRGINIA'S *First Lady* ON A MISSION

By BONNIE ATWOOD

- 51 % of U.S. public school children qualify for free or reduced price school lunches.
- One in six Virginia children struggle with hunger
- Virginia received an \$8.8 Million USDA demonstration grant to end child hunger
- The Governor's budget included \$537,000 for Breakfast After the Bell

**W**e all know that man does not live by bread alone; neither do women and children, for that matter. But it's a good place to start.

Having fed her own children for 25 years now (her oldest is 25; her youngest is 13; and there are five of them), Dorothy McAuliffe has been acutely aware of the importance of food, good food choices, and its many effects on mind and body.

Her signature project, dating from her husband Terry McAuliffe's election as governor, has always been feeding the hungry children of the Commonwealth of Virginia. On the front lines of combating hunger, she is in search of solutions, and she is finding them in many ways.

Mrs. McAuliffe has taken the lead in studying the needs of Virginia families, advocating for funding, both federal and statewide, and creating new ways to serve the needs she has observed.

She is all business. Mrs. McAuliffe, quite possibly one of the most private First Ladies in recent history, is the first to set up office space in the Patrick Henry Building. In her base of operations on the third floor, the office walls are inspiring and relevant, with colorful vintage posters: "Grow Your Own." "Your Victory Garden." "Food is Ammunition."

Another source of ammunition is her knowledge of the history of the fight against hunger. When the nation was coming out of The Great Depression, a World War, experienced an unprecedented boom in babies, the U.S. Department of Agriculture started the National School Lunch Act, nicknamed "the milk program," in 1946. Since then, the Congressionally-funded program has provided some funding for milk and other wholesome foods for children who qualify.



Mrs. McAuliffe speaks highly of another national campaign that she works with: Share Our Strength. The program started in 1984 when Billy and Debbie Shore, a brother and sister, were moved by the Ethiopian famine. Their slogan is "No Kid Hungry." That pretty much sums up Mrs. McAuliffe's philosophy, too, and she leverages these connections to achieve that goal.

The Commonwealth has a lot of need, said Mrs. McAuliffe. It is not evenly spread throughout the state. Southwest Virginia makes up a "rural horseshoe," which does not fare as well as the "golden crescent," stretching from Tidewater to Northern Virginia.

"One is one too many," said Mrs. McAuliffe.

Sometimes solutions which at first sound obvious, need some creativity, she said. Take breakfast for example. Half of our children are eligible for free school breakfasts, but many do not show up for them.

"There are a myriad of reasons," she said. One clear reason is transportation. School starts notoriously early, and for some children, it is impossible to get to school even earlier. For that reason, Mrs. McAuliffe is promoting "Breakfast After the Bell." It's a concept that allows for the availability of breakfast even after the official start of the school day. The program helps "shift the model," she said.

She has raised awareness of the need for good meals for children.

When a grant was offered, 550 schools applied. The grant money was awarded to 245 public schools. People are realizing that in the fight against hunger, just a little bit of money goes a long way.

It is not only the fact of providing food that Mrs. McAuliffe advocates for. It is also the quality of the food. The fresher, the better, and there are many ways that she says that communities can work on that. One is the "Farm to School" program sponsored by the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services (VDACS). They help purchase locally-grown food, and they educate schools, families, and even children, about the products. A school in Harrisonburg, for example, has visits from "Farmer Joe" who tells the students all about the foods he grows. Even elementary schools have salad bars. Children make wiser choices "when they feel a connection to the foods and where they come from," said Mrs. McAuliffe.

A Northern Virginia school health class has made an educational game of it. In their version of "Top Chef," the students compete for the best dish. The winner gets his or her winning entry offered on the school lunch menu. At some point in our history, said Mrs. McAuliffe, Americans lost that keen connection to the foods that we eat. She just may be turning that around.

Summer is particularly challenging because most students spend three months away from their schools. Mrs. McAuliffe said that other institutions have stepped in to fill the gap. The Library of Virginia, for example, coordinates provision of meals at public libraries. In Fredericksburg, advocates are using mobile food trucks to serve these meals.

Mrs. McAuliffe also works with the Boys and Girls Clubs, the YMCA, and faith-based organizations. Her travels cover the state.

"Agriculture is our number one private industry," said Mrs. McAuliffe, since the defense industry is not private. She does, however, also work with military-connected children, such as those who are just now moving to Virginia and need food services.

One useful tool to move these ambitious projects forward is her belief in "dedicated service." She encourages young people to devote a year or two to the Peace Corps or Americorps. She said not only does it build resumes, it promotes good citizenship and helps meet the challenges that she addresses. "Dedicated service gives you higher and more tangible skills," she said.

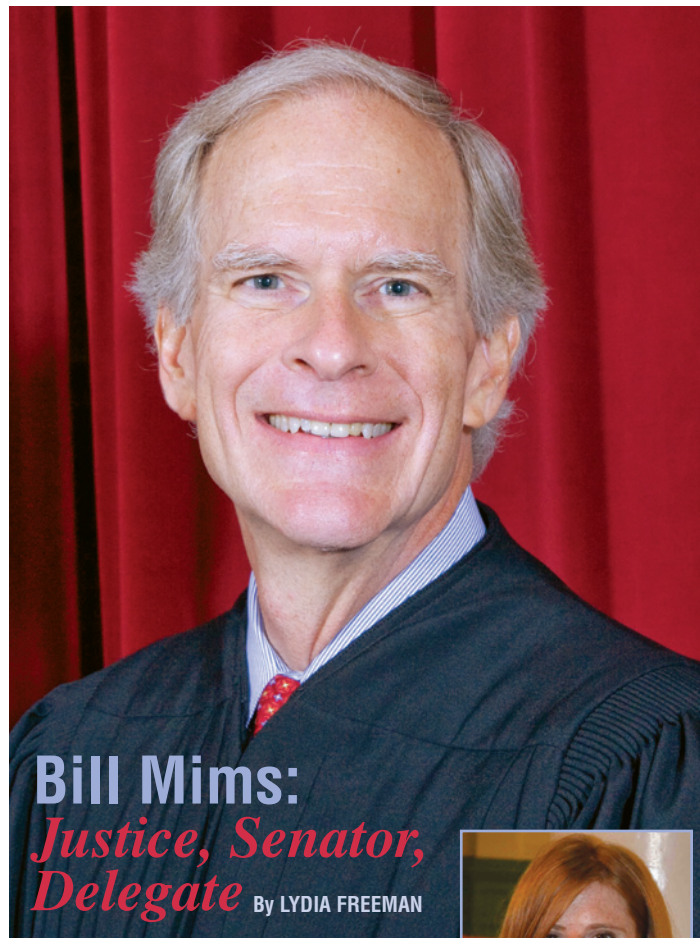
Her vision is to make life better for children, the elderly, and the working poor. She shares her husband's view of the "new Virginia economy," and a workforce that is skilled and diversified to bring all of these goals together.

*Bonnie Atwood, a freelance writer with Tall Poppies Freelance Writing LLC, is the winner of 30 national and state writing awards, and represents legislative clients with David Bailey Associates. She can be reached at [BonAtwood@verizon.net](mailto:BonAtwood@verizon.net).*



The First Lady works often with The Honorable Todd Haymore, Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry.





Before I called Justice Bill Mims, I created a quiet place in the floor of my grandparents' spare bedroom, using the rollaway bed as a table and hoping no one would burst in to ask me if I wanted to play chess.

"Hi, is this Mr. Mims?" As soon as the words leave my mouth I'm berating myself because I think I'm supposed to address him as "Justice Mims."

"You must be Lydia."

"Yes, sir. I'm excited to talk with you."

And I dove in to my questions, completely forgetting my customary speech where I preview my questions and explain my interview style. I'd been on the phone with this man for twenty seconds and I was already asking him how his "intense focus on the values of service and justice were instilled."

But Justice Mims rolled with it.

"The service aspect really was instilled when I was a boy," he began. "My father—my entire family—were ones who," he paused. "I am the youngest of four children—so my earliest memories are of my family serving others in the community. I came to faith, I began to follow Jesus when I was fifteen years old, my faith also instructs service to others as our highest calling. It has really become ingrained."

I pried into the comment on his family, wanting to know what example they had set. I wanted the story. He shared about his sister, Diane, and her service to disabled young people in her own youth. He shared about his mother's service to the church and his father's to the community. How they didn't push him to serve, but provided a powerful example of service.

Mims decided on law because he felt like it was a career in which he could do the most good. When I asked him about it, he said he didn't know how he came to that realization, but he'd believed it since he was a young teen.

"I have a memory of that if someone is a lawyer, they can help people, and I wanted to help people. Becoming a lawyer was a possibility in my far distant future. I also considered becoming a high school history teacher, and I also considered going to seminary. Ultimately, I decided to pursue law. I'm sure that my teenage view was naïve; most teenagers are naïve," Mims said.

We both chuckled at that last comment, and I was taken back to my teenage dreams and the idealism that has simultaneously pushed me to be a better person and left me disappointed when I haven't reached my goals. But Mims said that he had great moments of satisfaction in law, especially when he was able to guide individuals or small companies through the complexities of the legal system.

"I tell young law students now that a lawyer really in many ways holds the keys to the kingdom in a highly regulated society. Lawyers are the ones that can help others find a safe path through difficult circumstances," Mims said.



In 1991 a position in the Virginia House of Representative opened, and Mims decided to run. One of his greatest motivators in this decision was Congressman Frank Wolf, a man he had worked for several years prior.

"The memory of working for him [Wolf] was still quite fresh," explained Mims. "He was, is, a person who believes that one man or woman can make a significant difference in the public arena. I recall from my first campaign that I wanted to create a prepaid tuition plan in Virginia. I wanted there to be regional transportation authority in Northern Virginia. One of the greatest satisfactions that I had was that I was part of the legislation that created these things."

Mims began working with the Senate of Virginia several years later.

"There was an unexpected vacancy that resulted in a special election. Less than 24 hours to decide if I was going to run or not. I can honestly say I have no recollection other than it seemed to be the right thing to do at the time," Mims said.

"And the greatest challenges of being a legislator?" I asked.

"My own ego and the egos of others," Mims said. "I tried to pay particular attention to the people who told me I wasn't as special as I might think. That's a little bit of a smart aleck answer. The elected office is an ego inflating experience. At some point along the way I learned that the biggest obstacle to making a difference is my own ego. I'm not the only person who has that challenge. I think that negotiating a place where power is wielded really requires taking a long view and trying to practice having a humble spirit."

"And how does one do that?" I said.

"I try to pray and have quiet times and meditate to the greatest extent that I can," Mims responded. "Those practices have shown me that one of the significant problems that we face first as humans, and on a smaller scale as public officials, is placing our own wants and needs too high. Jesus was asked 'what is the first and greatest commandment?' love God and the second is like it, to love your neighbor as yourself. If one takes that seriously then humility is the path to a purpose filled life. It is a daily struggle for any person, and for a legislator, it is an even greater struggle."

The interview had been all business from my side up to this point. I asked questions, but I hadn't made a connection. I hadn't shared who I was or how I interviewed. I was asking and recording and writing.

"I find that meditation brings a greater perspective," I said. "I enjoy it very much."

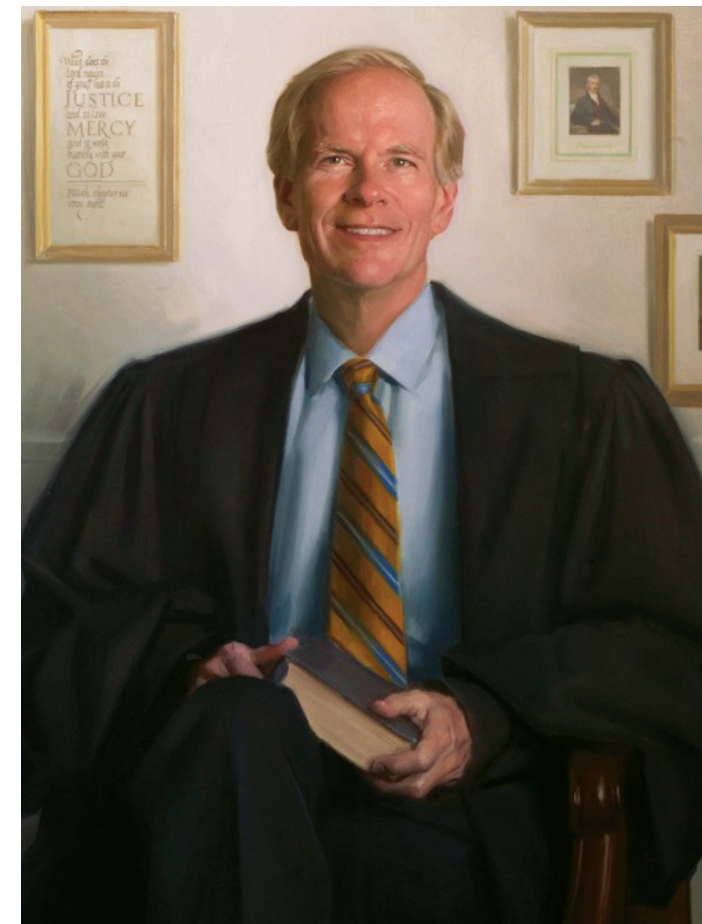
Mims responded by asking me about my life—who I was and what I did and how I ended up calling him for this interview. The stark beginning of the interview softened into something that was conversational.

"I'm a teacher," I explained. And my story began pouring out. My own passion for social justice, the work that I do as an educator at a public charter in a low-income community. The constant battle to remember the greater good and the motivation behind my work. He told me his daughter had done similar work in Baltimore, and suddenly because he took the moment to know who I was, Justice Mims became even more human to me.

Several years before his appointment to justice of the Supreme Court of Virginia, Mims was appointed to the position of Chief Deputy Attorney General in 2006. In February of 2009, the then-Attorney General Bob McDonnell resigned in order to run for governor. Mims was elected by the Virginia General Assembly to complete McDonnell's term. Mims did not run for reelection.

I asked him about becoming a justice for the Supreme Court of Virginia, and he told me about his feeling of not being qualified when the idea was presented. The first vacancy was in 2007—a friend encouraged him to place his name forward—Mims said that he hadn't practiced law full time since 1991.

"I eventually realized that the worst thing that could happen was that I was not chosen," said Mims. "And I was not chosen, but it got me thinking that I had a set of experiences that might be a benefit. I was not appointed the first time there was a vacancy but three years later I was. It was not a stop along the career path that I would have



expected but it certainly has been an honor to serve."

Mims continued to place an emphasis on the importance of justice and service. He shared that he led a book discussion on Tim Keller's book, *Generous Justice*, and said that he continually tries through his talks and his writings "to advance that concept of justice that will both be thought-provoking and inspiring for those who are in public life."

Mims also is a contributor on the Richmond Times-Dispatch column, "Faith and Values."

We ended the conversation with my planning to buy a copy of *Generous Justice* and a sincere moment of gratitude. Gratitude that no one had burst into the room and interrupted the interview. Gratitude for Justice Mims' taking a moment to ask me about my life because of the perspective it had provided me. And gratitude for his honest reflection on the struggle to overcome pride in order to create a more fair and just world.

Lydia Freeman is a graduate of Bluefield College and former Intern at David Bailey Associates. Currently Teach for America fifth grade teacher in Northampton County, NC. [i]

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# 30 YEARS of RED BOOK



By  
BONNIE ATWOOD

It was spring of 1986 at the Virginia State House. Reconvened Day had ended, so it had quieted down a little at Chicken’s. Chicken’s, in case you’re fairly new here, was the cozy two-room eatery on the first floor of the Capitol, back in the day. That’s where legislators, lobbyists, reporters, and sometimes tourists, gathered for hot coffee, sausage biscuits and apple pie. The Capitol was a bustling place, with Carmella Bills stationed at the information table, pages running in and out of the bill room, and newsmakers wandering informally in and out of the Capitol newsroom. There were no mobile devices, not even cell phones. No metal detectors. No bag inspection.

David Bailey, a new lobbyist on the scene, sat with two veteran lobbyists at the high stools at those round tables, surrounded by decorative plates from every corner of the Commonwealth hanging on the white plaster walls. The three, David Bailey, Sumpter Priddy, and “Judge” Williams were drinking coffee and chatting as they shuffled paperwork from the General Assembly Session. Back then, paper or conversation was THE source of all information.

David Bailey’s clients, the Virginia State Firefighters Association and the Virginia Conference United Methodist Church, depended on him to keep up with the What, Who, When, Why and How of everything at the legislature. He pored over his copy of the familiar blue and white directory published yearly by the C & P Telephone Company. This was THE best source of portable information, and all the lobbyists found it to be very helpful.

“I’m trying to get the date of the next Session,” he said.

Sumpter Priddy known for responding quickly with his own unique wisdom gleaned from years of working on behalf of the Retail Merchants Association: “It’s already begun.”

“Red book—what a great resource for everyone. Thank you David Bailey!”

—Delegate Will Morefield

“The Redbook is one of the most prized resources I receive each session; I really don’t know what I would do without it! Thanks to David Bailey Associates and all of the sponsors who make it possible.”—Senator Bill Carrico

“The VA Capitol Connections Redbook is an essential resource for connecting with our elected officials. All of the key information is right at your fingertips!”

—Susan G. Magliaro, Ed.D  
Professor, Educational  
Psychology Director,  
VT-STEM Virginia Tech

“Receiving the current Red Book is a welcomed custom at each legislative session. It’s a great service for constituents, especially those who may be visiting the General Assembly for the first time, and the publication is much appreciated by members and staffs.”

—Delegate Daun Hester

“The Redbook has been so helpful to my organization and myself, especially at events so we can put names and faces together and know who we are talking to! I really appreciate that David Bailey and Associates takes the time each year to put this valuable resource together.”

—Renée Zando  
School Counseling Director

“The Red Book is clearly the go to publication for the Virginia fire service when reaching out to our legislators in the General Assembly.”—Jeff Flippo,  
President Virginia State  
Firefighters Association.

“Redbook plays a significant role in helping us get to know each other as honestly “respected colleagues”—as well as who to watch out for!”

—Delegate Vivian Watts

Everyone who works in that sausage factory known as the legislative branch of government knows what that means. There is no real rest. There is always work to be done, and it is only the early birds who succeed.

David Bailey contemplated his 60-year-old colleague’s advice and stapled more 3 X 5 index cards into his directory. He was supplementing each page with additional information about the legislators, and he told his friend that he wished somebody would publish a book with more of the facts already included.

“Bailey, why don’t you do it?” It was quintessential Priddy. The solution was in motion even before the problem was fully articulated. If there is anyone almost as quick as Priddy, it is Bailey.

“I’ll do it if you buy the first one hundred,” he said.

“Put me down for a hundred.”

And that was the birth of the Virginia Capitol Connections, later to become known as “The Redbook.” It is a pocket sized listing of the Session calendar, the names and contact information of both Legislative and Executive officials, district maps, and just about everything else that an advocate or legislator needs to have in the palm of his hand.

Bailey got the book out that first fall. He remembers laying it out on his living room floor. The process was relatively simple that year, because it was not an election year. Later, he had help, most notably from printer Bill Groome and graphic designer John Sours. The book evolved into one with photos of each official (suggested by Speaker Bill Howell in 2003), their legislative aides, spouses’ names, birthdays, and much more.

See 30 Years of Red Book, continued on page 10

“During my first election campaign in 2009, I used the Redbook as a tool to understand the structure and membership of the Virginia General Assembly. It remains a useful tool today as I work with my legislative colleagues...and it’s a valuable public relations tool that I give out to constituents in my district...and they go like hotcakes!”—Delegate Rich Anderson

“The Redbook is the roadmap for navigating the General Assembly. A valuable reference tool for staff and visitors alike.”—Senator Richard Saslaw

“The Redbook is my compass and companion. I rely on its ease of use 12 months a year. The pages become filled with notes and I archive it for posterity. I wouldn’t be without it.”

—David DeBiasi,  
RN , AARP Virginia  
, Associate State  
Director – Advocacy

“The notorious ‘Red Book’ is the most sought after, most used and most helpful printed item in the General Assembly Building. Kudos to David Bailey and Associates for their 30 years of hard work and dedication in creating a tool that makes life more manageable for those of us involved in the political arena.”

—Donnie Ratliff,  
Commonwealth  
Connections, LLC.

“Citizens and advocates have a very easy way to know their representatives in state government: they can simply turn to the red book. That helps to make democracy work better.”—Delegate Kenneth R. “Ken” Plum,  
Delegate, 36th District

“David Bailey’s Redbook is our ‘go to’ source for quick and accurate information for contact information on our colleagues in the General Assembly and Governor’s Cabinet. You will always find a copy within reach at all the desks in our office.”—Senator Steve Newman

“Redbook is a must have resource for session.”  
—Delegate Patrick Hope

“Congratulations to the Redbook on 30 years of keeping Virginians informed! The publication provides an invaluable service to everyone interested in public policy.”—Delegate Sam Rasoul

“CONGRATULATIONS”  
—Nancy Rodrigues  
Secretary of Administration

“David Bailey’s compilation of all the legislators’ and elected statewide officers’ contact information in one resource has been an invaluable tool in my legislative office—both during Session and back home in the district. The inclusion of photographs of the elected officials has been most helpful—particularly during years such as 2013 when we had 19 new members join us in the House of Delegates! Thank you, David, for sharing your genius with us these past 30 years, and while I do not anticipate being on those pages then, I do hope it will continue for another 30 years! Great job!”

—Delegate David Toscano, House Democratic Leader, 57th District  
(D-Charlottesville)

## PUBLISHER’S NOTE

There have been many people and firms whose contributions have made it possible for the Redbook to celebrate its 30th birthday. First among them is Bill Groome, a friend whom I had only known for a couple of years. Bill worked at William Byrd Press in Richmond and his without his expertise the first Redbook might never have been printed.

During the decades we have sought the best printers, and for many years it was Clinch Valley Printing in Tazewell, owned by my good friend Doyle Rasnick. Doyle, a creative entrepreneur, helped with marketing and was a most helpful friend. One of his ideas was to create a Spanish language version, and we did it. After Doyle sold the firm that he had founded, we moved to another outstanding SWVA printer, Bill Gilmer of Wordsprint.

With family roots in the coalfields of Kentucky and Virginia, our firm was honored that Donnie Ratliff and Alpha Natural Resources underwrote the free distribution of thousands of copies over several years. In the 30th year we thank the Virginia Chamber of Commerce for support in underwriting a record 35,000 copies.

John Sours’ creative designs and Kristen Bailey-Hardy’s proofreading skills make our firm proud of our publication. Through the years many interns and staffers have worked on Redbooks, and we thank them one and all.





There is one resource document I use daily during the General Assembly and throughout the year—the Virginia Capitol Connections Redbook. Don't leave home without it!

—Jim Dunn  
Vice President, Bon Secours Richmond Health System Advocacy and Community Affairs

The Redbook without a doubt is one of the best tools for the citizens to have in Richmond and in the Home Districts

—Marty Hall, Chief of Staff, Delegate Will Morefield

“The Redbook is a staple in our office. Everyone in our office has one on their desk and we reference it daily.”—Senator Richard H. Black, 13th District.

“Congratulations and thank you for being an invaluable resource in connecting citizens, legislators and staff for the past 30 years.”  
—Delegate Lamont Bagby

“Capitol Connection's Redbook has been a handy and useful tool for legislators, lobbyists, and the public. Many use it for a quick reference as they move among the legislative offices in the General Assembly Building.”—Senator Frank Ruff

“The Redbook has been a consistent source of important information about State Government for 30 years. I congratulate David Bailey and his team for this quality publication.”—John G. “Chip” Dicks

**30**  
YEARS  
of RED  
BOOK  
from page 8

With each year, more people started asking for copies, and more were printed. Companies and individuals started underwriting the costs, with well-placed advertising. Now at about a half a million copies, the book is compared to, as Delegate Rich Anderson put it: “hotcakes.”

Says Delegate Vivian Watts: The book helps us get to know our respected colleagues “as well as who to watch out for!” Delegate Margaret Ransone uses the book to plug her constituents into state government: It is “a great resource for visitors, students, and businesses...” she said. Lobbyist David DeBiasi uses not only the current books; he archives his old annotated copies “for posterity.” Consultant Donnie Ratliff agrees: It is “the most sought after, most used and most helpful printed item in the General Assembly Building.”

And the book is more than just a convenience. Delegate Ken Plum says it “helps to make democracy better.” Senator Richard Saslaw likens the book to “a roadmap.”

The addition of the photos especially was a hit. Delegate David Toscano cited the year 2013, when the House welcomed 19 new members, and the photos in the book were a lifesaver. Lobbyist James Dunn says he never leaves home without it.

“Congratulations on the 30th year of redbook! I fondly remember talking with David and looking at the redbook at Republican Conventions many years before I even ran for the House of Delegates. Thanks for the decades that you have provided this valuable resource!”

—Congressman H. Morgan Griffith (VA- 09)

“Thanks, David. Your “little” red book has come a long way since I last saw it many years ago! Very impressive, very thorough, and very informative. Glad to know you are still making this important tool available so that ordinary people are empowered to impact the political process in the great Commonwealth of Virginia!”

—Linnéa Petty Hedgecock  
Pastor of Administration,  
Crossroads Church of Fremont

“Capitol Connections is a great resource for visitors, students, and businesses during session and back at home. Each year, I share copies with the school districts and local governments so they have helpful contact information regarding their state government. Thanks for the great books!”—Delegate Margaret B. Ransone

“The Redbook is an absolute compendium of who's who in Virginia politics. The current contact information under one cover has made legislators accessible to me. The Redbook started before the internet was a major point of information, so it surely is historical in that it was one of the first places that legislators' contact information was put under one cover, making them more accessible.”

—Dr. Edgar H. Thompson, Professor Emeritus, Emory & Henry College

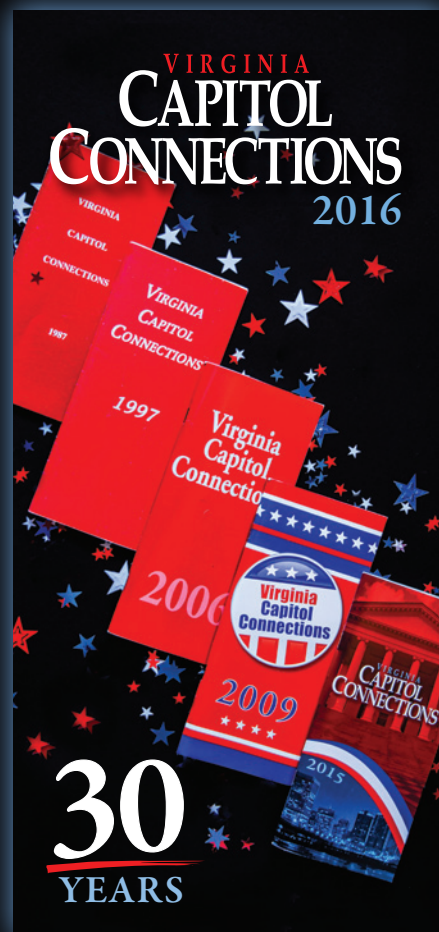
For a span of 30 years, there have been precious few glitches, and the book always comes out by Session, even when a Second Edition records later changes. It has been difficult to explain to some consumers that the book is not published with taxpayer dollars. Its availability is thanks to the generosity of David Bailey Associates and the book's sponsors. Only once was a name misspelled, and the whole batch of books in error were tossed and replaced by a new printing.

As we all know, technology has changed lightning fast in the past 30 years. The book is no longer laid out on Bailey's floor. The legislators no longer have to be individually faxed with forms to fill out, and papers to return. Photos are all digital and pages are scanned and proofed much more easily.

And Sumpter Priddy, dubbed the “Dean of Lobbyists,” now retired, can now enjoy retirement knowing what he put in motion with: “Bailey, why don't you do it?”

Bonnie Atwood, a freelance writer with Tall Poppies Freelance Writing LLC, is the winner of 30 national and state writing awards, and represents legislative clients with David Bailey Associates. She can be reached at BonAtwood@verizon.net. [V]

Cover of 2016 Red Book.



## VIRGINIA GENERAL ASSEMBLY *New Faces in 2016*



**Lashrecse D. Aird**  
House District 63



**Mark Dudenhefer**  
House District 2



**Jeremy McPike**  
Senate District 29



**John Bell**  
House District 87



**Siobhan Dunnavant, M.D.**  
Senate District 12



**Jason Miyares**  
House District 82



**Jennifer B. Boysko**  
House District 86



**Nicholas J. Freitas**  
House District 30



**Marcia S. “Cia” Price**  
House District 95



**Amanda Chase**  
Senate District 11



**Steve Heretick**  
House District 79



**Glen H. Sturtevant**  
Senate District 10



**Chris Collins**  
House District 29



**Paul E. Krizek**  
House District 44



**David R. Suetterlein**  
Senate District 19



**Bill DeSteph**  
Senate District 8



**Mark H. Levine**  
House District 45



**Scott A. Surovell**  
Senate District 36



# Gerrymander

By STEPHEN J. FARNSWORTH

Following Virginia legislative elections in which 137 out of 140 state Senate and House of Delegate districts remained under the control of the same political party, Virginians surveyed recently said they overwhelmingly favored taking authority to design the districts away from state lawmakers.

In a November 2015 statewide poll sponsored by the University of Mary Washington, 72 percent said that an independent board should draw the district lines. Only 14 percent of those surveyed said the legislature should retain that authority.

There was no gender gap in the responses to the question, and there was little difference among whites, African Americans and Latinos or among Democrats, Republicans and Independents. More than 65 percent of all those subgroups in the survey said they thought that the lines should be drawn by an independent panel.

For those not familiar with public opinion research, a 72-14 split among survey respondents is almost unheard of in public policy questions during these days of deeply divided politics.

Gerrymandering, the process by which incumbent lawmakers design their districts to maximize the prospects for their own re-elections and the fortunes of their party, is a process as old as the republic. Modern computer technology has made a bad situation worse, giving the majority party the ability virtually to eliminate competitive elections in most parts of Virginia (and in nearly every other state lets lawmakers create their own districts).

In Virginia's 2015 elections, for example, only 29 of 100 House of Delegate districts featured both a Republican and a Democrat on the ballot. In the senate, only 20 of 40 seats had two-party competition on the ballot.

In practice, though, even most of those elections weren't close. Only six of 100 seats in the house had less than a ten percentage point gap between the top two candidates, and only five of the 40 seats in the senate met that admittedly generous definition of a competitive election.

High-tech gerrymandering has a number of consequences that undermine effective representative government. Noncompetitive elections reduce turnout and discourage participation by quality



candidates from the disadvantaged party. To make matters worse, gerrymandered districts place the real power for the selection of elected officials in the hands of the tiny minority of voters, usually less than 10 percent, who participate in the primaries where the party nomination is determined.

Politicians who must cater to the most extreme ten percent of the district's voters have zero incentive to compromise and instead legislate from the far left or the far right. When legislative compromise is nearly impossible, difficult problems fester.

Not only does the public oppose that the lawmakers draw the line, they also disagree with how they draw the lines.

When asked whether they preferred "a geographically compact district that keeps nearby communities together" or "a district drawn to give supporters of one party an advantage over others," survey respondents preferred the compact district 84 percent to 4 percent, with the rest undecided.

Of course the best way to gerrymander is to create long thin districts that divide people likely to support your opponents into a number of districts. And Virginia has a lot of those. When you can't do that, the best approach is to pack as many members of the opposite party into a single district, leaving the nearby districts ripe for the picking by the line-drawing party.

But this time lawmakers may have gone too far, according to some preliminary court rulings. The lines drawn for congressional and state legislative districts have faced a number of lawsuits over whether they are too gerrymandered. The way things look right now, the courts will be debating the legislative lines in Virginia until 2021, the year Virginians draw the new lines based on the 2020 US Census.

*Stephen J. Farnsworth is professor of political science at the University of Mary Washington and director of the University's Center for Leadership and Media Studies.*

*The November 2015 Virginia Survey, sponsored by University of Mary Washington (UMW), obtained telephone interviews with a representative sample of 1,006 adults living in Virginia. Telephone interviews were conducted by landline (402) and cell phone (604, including 303 without a landline phone). The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). Interviews were done in English by Princeton Data Source from November 4 to 9, 2015. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is ± 3.5 percentage points. [7]*

# Evenwel and the Coming Crisis in Redistricting

By MARK RUSH

For decades, the basic principle of and constraint upon the redistricting process has been the one person, one vote principle. It was established some 50 years ago in *Baker v. Carr* and *Reynolds v. Sims*. There, the United States Supreme Court rejected the tradition of using geographic boundaries as the basis for allocating voters among voting districts.

While geography made sense (and was by no means nonsensical or irrational) and still can make sense as a redistricting principle, it clearly discriminates against voters in urban areas where the population density is quite high. Without the establishment of the one person, one vote constraint, it remained possible for legislators to represent constituencies of radically different sizes. As a result, the impact of one's vote on the democratic process was dependent upon where one lived. This was unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court has enforced the one person, one vote principle with different levels of rigor. While it has acknowledged that states might have compelling interests to deviate from it under particular circumstances, the Court has enforced mathematical precision and equality at the congressional level.

The *Evenwel* case presents an important, natural development in voting rights law. The appellants in the case have challenged the Texas legislative districting scheme because adherence to the one person, one vote standard now results in radical differences in the number of voters in legislative districts. Essentially, the appellants have separated the two parts of the one person, one vote standard and argued that its current interpretation is not only illogical but also is contrary to the principles that inform American voting rights law. Persons do not vote; voters do. Herein lies the conundrum.

In *Reynolds v. Sims*, Chief Justice Warren urged that "legislators represent people, not trees or acres." But, litigation under the Voting Rights Act has forced line-drawers to take into account the number of minority voters as well as minority residents in a legislative district in order to ensure that minority voters have the opportunity to elect a "representative of their choice."

Accordingly, American redistricting law is now fraught with tension. It is not possible to adhere to the one person, one vote standard, and treat voters equally if we also take into account the numbers voters in some districts and the numbers of residents in others. If the voting population of one district is only half the size of another's it is much easier for candidates to campaign and win election in the smaller district. Similarly, the voters in the smaller district have twice as much impact on the legislature as those in the larger.

In the space of this article, it is not possible to do justice to the history of the Voting Rights Act and the important, vital impact it has had on ensuring the fair treatment of minority voters. But, as the act has been implemented and as voting rights law has evolved, it comes as no surprise that new questions arise in the same way that they arise in every other aspect of U.S. constitutional law. So, how should the Supreme Court rule and how will states need to adapt?

If the Court rejects the challenge, then legislatures will be free to create districts with equal populations of residents and radically different numbers of voters. This procedure has been helpful to legislatures as they seek to abide by the Voting Rights Act's demands to create minority influence districts. But, as *Evenwel* indicates, it results in disparities of voting power from one district to the next. In this regard, we have returned to the days before *Baker* and *Reynolds* where your voting power depended on where you lived.

If the Court agrees with the appellants and rejects one person, on vote in favor of "one voter, one vote", we can expect to see a



newly intensified redistricting process that forces line drawers to pack more minority voters into minority voting districts (instead of simply packing minority residents into those districts) to ensure that their state complies with the Voting Rights Act. Insofar as minority voters traditionally vote Democratic, this will have a negative impact on the number of Democratic candidates that get elected.

In the end, *Evenwel* demonstrates the illogic at the heart of the U.S. voting system. So long as we rely on single member electoral districts and seek to ensure that minority groups have a fair shot at representation, concerns about gerrymandering will endure. At the end of the day, legislative districts are drawn with an eye to increasing the likelihood of a particular result (in terms of Democratic, Republican, or minority representatives). Regardless of whether the district lines are drawn benevolently or in the most partisan of manners, it is clear that voters' rights depend on the whim of whoever is drawing the legislative districts. Voters no longer choose their representatives. Instead, the representative s draw district lines and choose their voters.

There is a solution to this conundrum: states could return to the tradition of electing their legislators at large or in districts with more than one candidate. This would alter the dynamic of elections. But many students of elections maintain that it would increase the quality and quantity of election day choices, ensure minority representation rights and make elections more competitive. Nationally, the Center for Voting and Democracy ([www.fairvote.org](http://www.fairvote.org)) has advocated for these changes for two decades. In Virginia, OneVirginia (<http://onevirginia2021.org/>) currently calls for redistricting reform.

U.S. constitutional law has evolved over time. Our definitions of free speech, due process, religious freedom, privacy, voting and other rights evolve as our society grows, modernizes and changes. *Evenwel* is certain to produce a new view of the voting right. Perhaps we Virginia might follow the lead of Fairvote and OneVirginia and lead the nation in producing a new, fairer vision of voting and democracy.

*Mark Rush, Stanley D. and Nikki Waxberg Professor of Politics and Law and Director of International Education at Washington and Lee University, writes and teaches extensively on voting rights and elections around the world, constitutional issues, and religion. His current research addresses the intersection of law, science and religion, academic integrity, and statistical analysis of baseball. [7]*



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## In Service to Our Country

Virginia Officials and  
their Military Service

Coming in 2016

This informative directory recognizes and celebrates the sacrifices and struggles of veterans serving as state officials in the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Included are branches of service, dates of active duty and membership in veterans organizations, in addition to political affiliation and contact information.

*In Service to Our Country* is an informative reminder of the exemplary military service by these officials to help keep our country free!

Direct questions or comments to:

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## Crunching the Numbers: See How Much Each Vote Cost in the 2015 General Assembly Races

By MICHAEL E. BELEFSKI

Nearly \$72 million dollars were spent in last year's General Assembly races that produced very few election surprises in the 2016 composition of the State Senate or the House of Delegates according to the Virginia Department of Elections Campaign Finance Reports of Individual Expenditures (Section D) for the election cycle ending November 26th and Current State Election Results.

State Senate expenditures amounted to over \$45 million dollars while the House of Delegates expenditures were over \$26 million dollars.

State Senate Democrats spent \$23,045,377 or \$38.65 per vote while Republicans spent \$22,405,918 or \$31.27 per vote. Other political party expenditures totaled \$112,655.72 or \$8.12 per vote for five Independents; \$5,842.92 or \$11.08 per vote for one Libertarian candidate; and \$5,703.07 or .42 cents per vote for one Independent Green candidate.

In the State Senate, no contested seat changed hands by Democrats and Republicans retiring and contested seats held by incumbents running for re-election.

The most contested seat and most expensive campaign to replace an incumbent was in the 29th State Senate District where \$5,876,986.50 was spent for both candidates competing for the retiring seat of Democrat Chuck Colgan. The winner Democrat Jeremy Pike spent \$178.26 per vote. Republican Harry Parrish II spent \$150.62 per vote.

In the 10th State Senate District to replace retiring Republican incumbent John Watkins, expenditures totaled \$4,891,532.40. The winner was Republican Glen Sturtevant who spent \$1,936,422.66 or \$70.03 per vote. Democrat Daniel Gecker spent \$2,938,153.67 or \$112.25 per vote.

In winning his re-election to the 7th State Senate District, Frank Wagner spent \$1,978.107 or \$108.29 per vote while his Democratic opponent Gary McCollum spent \$2,144,726.30 or \$138.96 per vote with total expenditures of \$4,122,833.30.

State Senator William Stanley of the 20th District spent \$1,820,919.61 or \$80.21 per vote. His Democrat challenger Kim Adkins spent \$361,589.37 or \$21.97 per vote.

21st District State Senator John Edwards spent \$939,719.20 or \$45.00 per vote while his Republican challenger Nancy Dye spent \$1,154,436.23 or \$66.20 per vote.

In contested State Senate seats held by incumbents running for re-election, State Senator George Lincoln Barker of the 39th State Senate District spent during the election cycle \$2,779,548.88 or \$138.40 in winning re-election while his Republican opponent Joseph Murray spent \$605,529.87 or \$35.40 per vote.

House of Delegates Republicans spent \$16,499,491.00 or \$20.65 per vote while Democrats spent \$9,731,488.50 or \$21.53 per vote. Five Independent candidates spent \$31,251.01 or \$1.87 per vote; four Libertarian Party candidates spent \$10,298.59 or \$2.06 per vote; and three Independent Green candidates spent \$9,472.63 or .86 cents per vote.

In the House of Delegates, contested seats held by retiring incumbents, Democrats lost one seat while Republicans lost two seats. There were no changes with incumbents running in contested seats held by either major party.

See *Crunching the Numbers*, continued on page 26



## The Virginia Transition Assistance Program (VTAP) Connecting Veterans and Transitioning Service Members to Opportunities and Resources

By ALLEN FRYMAN, PROGRAM COORDINATOR

The Virginia Transition Assistance Program, or VTAP, is a program of the Virginia Department of Veterans Services, a state agency that provides services to Virginia's nearly 800,000 veterans—over 500,000 of whom are of working age. Nearly 30,000 service members will transition out of the military from Virginia bases within the next three years, and we want them to stay in Virginia—joining Virginia's workforce, pursuing educational opportunities at Virginia schools, or starting their own small businesses.

Retaining this large pool of skilled veterans will play an integral role in economic development. Veterans are exceptional fits for jobs in fields such as manufacturing, healthcare, information technology, STEM and logistics—all sectors predicted to grow in the next several years. Virginia is experiencing both a shortage and skills gap in these fields; veterans can fill it. The Commonwealth has been working towards utilizing certification and credentialing programs within the Virginia Community College System (VCCS) and other educational institutions to streamline military training and experience directly into high-demand and well-paying jobs. And veterans have the leadership and drive necessary to be successful entrepreneurs.

The Commonwealth of Virginia is well positioned to capitalize on the extraordinary amount of talent coming out of the military, and that's where VTAP fits in: to help connect transitioning service members and veterans to employment, education, and entrepreneurship resources and opportunities.

VTAP has established strong partnerships across Virginia with federal, state, local, and private sector entities to increase opportunities for veterans in all categories of workforce development, and has assisted over 3,000 veterans to date; but that's just the start. As the military drawdown continues and Virginia's veteran population continues to grow, so will the need for services like VTAP to help veterans on the



path to success by connecting them to the myriad of resources that are now or will soon be available to them. With the additional resources proposed in the current introduced budget, VTAP will be able to meet this demand through a more effective regional approach to the transition needs of service members and veterans. Additionally, VTAP staff will be better positioned to provide services in areas of the Commonwealth that are not proximate to an active duty military installation. With the continued investment in key veteran programs like VTAP, Virginia will continue to be the most veteran friendly state in the nation!

Virginia's government and industry leaders realized early on that Virginia needed to take proactive measures to keep veterans in the Commonwealth after they've taken off their uniforms. Through such partnerships as the Virginia Values Veterans (V3) Program, Virginia employers are hiring, training and retaining veterans across the Commonwealth. Many other initiatives are underway or have been proposed, including a new VCCS workforce portal, a program at George Mason University to help veterans prepare for careers in cybersecurity, and placement of dedicated veteran resource advisors on VCCS campuses. Virginia is competing with other states for these valuable employees; it's an economic imperative that we convince them to stay in the Commonwealth.

Jobs are going unfilled in key industries here in Virginia. In order to overcome this, we must continue investment in new programs and resources to attract veterans and transitioning service members to our state. We need solutions that both inform them of the opportunities available to them in Virginia and connect them to those opportunities make a direct impact on the lives of our veterans and on our Commonwealth's bottom line. VTAP is part of that solution!

*Allen is an Army Veteran with five years of service in the Logistics Corps, serving tours of duty in Kaiserslautern, Germany and Ft. Lee, VA. He served in various capacities to include command staff positions and small unit leadership. Allen now manages the Virginia Transition Assistance Program serving the Transitioning Service Members and Veterans of the Commonwealth. ▮*

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**WCVE 23.1** (Richmond)—Sunday at 9 a.m.

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**WVPT** (Harrisonburg)—Tuesday at 5 p.m.

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Weekly show information is on Facebook—**THIS WEEK IN RICHMOND**

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## A Year of Celebration for DCR

By SHANNON JOHNSON

2016 marks an important year for the Virginia Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR). Three of six areas that make up DCR will celebrate anniversaries—Natural Heritage, Planning and Recreation Resources, and Virginia State Parks—along with The National Park Service’s centennial celebration.

### Virginia State Parks celebrate 80 years

The Virginia State Park system, recognized nationally as a National Gold Medal Winner for “Excellence in Parks and Recreation Management,” was built in 1936 during America’s Great Depression by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Park Service in partnership with the Commonwealth. Since then, Virginia State Parks have grown to include 36 operating state parks with six new sites in the planning and development stage.

State parks are an important component of Virginia’s outdoor recreation and tourism, contributing an economic impact of \$208 million created by state park visitor spending and hosting nearly 9 million visitors in 2014. The parks provide visitors opportunities to enjoy camping, cabins, swimming pools and beaches, boating and paddling, hiking, biking, fishing, horseback riding and many other activities, as well as educational programs, events and festivals.

Engaging with young people in environmental conservation and labor assistance is a top priority and is achieved through annual programs including Youth Conservation Corps, AmeriCorps Interpretive Trail Program, and the Virginia Service and Conservation Corps, which promote a strong sense of stewardship for the Commonwealth’s natural and cultural resources.

In addition to these programs, there are many opportunities for people of all ages to volunteer with state parks and give back to their community. Volunteers contribute 160,000 hours of service annually, which is the equivalent of 77 fulltime employees valued at nearly \$4 million. According to Virginia State Parks Director Craig Seaver,



“Virginia State Parks could not manage without volunteers.”

In celebration of the 80th anniversary, Virginia State Parks will be introducing a new customer loyalty program, hosting tree planting events, releasing a cookbook including 80 recipes from Virginia State Park employees, burying time capsules in several parks and creating additional awareness of this award-winning park system through special events and contests.

### Planning and Recreation Resources celebrates 50 years

The Commonwealth’s first comprehensive outdoor recreation plan, *Virginia’s Common Wealth*, was published in 1965 and highlighted the importance of outdoor recreation and open space to the quality of life for Virginians. It established recommendations to protect and expand outdoor recreation opportunities for the public.

In 1966, the Commission of Outdoor Recreation was established to “guide and coordinate continuing statewide implementation of the Virginia Outdoors Plan” and to “advise the Governor on resources and needs, coordinate the outdoor recreation activities of local, state and federal agencies, provide technical assistance to localities, and receive and allocate federal Land and Water Conservation funds.” Planning and Recreation Resources (PRR) has carried forth that mission for decades.

Over the past 50 years, this division has provided financial assistance for state and local parks through administration of the federal Land and Water Conservation Fund for Virginia. To date, Virginia has received more than \$80 million in state and local assistance, which has in turn been granted to 108 localities and every congressional district in Virginia, funding more than 400 projects, providing opportunities for public outdoor recreation in perpetuity.

In addition, since 1993, \$18 million in federal funds has been applied to Virginia trail projects through the Virginia Recreational Trails Program, which has resulted in 295 completed trail projects.

The Department of Conservation and Recreation’s Planning and Recreation Resources Division develops Virginia State Parks’ Master Plans, manages design and construction of many types of facilities

from cabins to playgrounds, protects Virginia’s scenic resources and coordinates statewide trail efforts.

To celebrate 50 years of dedicated service to the commonwealth, PRR will be celebrating regionally at planning meetings and preparing for the openings of additional parks that might occur during the McAuliffe administration.

### Natural Heritage Celebrates 30 years

In 1986, Virginia Natural Heritage was established within the state Department of Conservation and, then, Historic Resources. Three years later, the Virginia Natural Area Preserve Act charged the Natural Heritage Program with “maintaining a statewide database for conservation planning and project review, land protection for the conservation of biodiversity, and the protection and ecological management of natural heritage resources (the habitats or rare, threatened, and endangered species, significant natural communities, and other natural features).”

In 30 years, biologists of the Natural Heritage Program (NHP) have discovered 36 species new to science and 313 species not formerly known to exist in Virginia. NHP has also discovered 3,894 state and global rare plants, 3,361 animal species and 1,586 rare natural community types.

In 1990, the Virginia Natural Area Preserve System was established to protect some of the most significant natural areas in the commonwealth. The first preserve was protected in 1990, this system is managed by the NHP Stewardship staff and includes 62 natural areas totaling more than 55,600 acres, all of which are protected and managed for the natural communities and rare animals and plants found there. Natural Area Preserves are publicly accessible either openly, or via contact with Natural Area Stewards.

In 1994, and again in 2006, the Virginia Natural Heritage Program was recognized by NatureServe as the most outstanding natural heritage program in the Western Hemisphere.

This year, Virginia Natural Heritage celebrates its 30th anniversary and will continue to bring awareness to the program via

See *Celebration*, continued on page 20



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# Women’s Monuments

By SANDY TREADWAY

In 2010, a small band of intrepid ladies approached state Senator Walter Stosch of Henrico County with an idea that they were determined to make happen. They wished to see a public monument commemorating the contributions and achievements of Virginia women over the course of the past four centuries, and they sought Senator Stosch’s support to have the monument placed on Capitol Square, at the very center of state government.



The group was inspired and led by Em Bowles Locker Alsop, a distinguished community leader in Richmond, whose passion for the monument was compelling and infectious. She spoke eloquently about women’s accomplishments throughout Virginia history and explained to members of the General Assembly that most Virginians knew so little about women’s contributions not because they weren’t significant but because there were so few statues honoring women on our public landscape and so few mentions of women in history textbooks. A monument on Capitol Square, she believed, would call attention to the vital role that women have played in our Commonwealth and spark curiosity especially among young Virginians. Senator Stosch introduced a joint resolution calling for the creation of the Virginia Women’s Monument Commission to plan and raise funds for a monument, and the resolution won approval by the General Assembly in March 2010.

The resolution specified that members of the commission would include the Secretary of Administration, the chair of the Senate Rules Committee and another member of the Senate, the Speaker of the House and another member of the House of Delegates, the clerks of the House and Senate, and several citizen and ex officio members. Once the commission membership was in place, the group’s first order of business was to work with the Capitol Square Preservation Council and the Department of General Services to secure an appropriate site. The location selected is a lovely grassy area on the west side of the Capitol, just south of the Washington Equestrian statue and north of the statue honoring Edgar Allan Poe. Next, the commission invited citizens across the state to suggest themes that the monument might convey in depicting women’s experiences. Participants in several statewide community conversations agreed that the monument should reflect the diversity of Virginia women and be inclusive, elegant, welcoming, approachable, thought-provoking, inspiring and educational. The commission then solicited proposals from architectural, sculpture, and design firms for a monument design. After reviewing thirty-four submissions, the commission chose the design proposed by the talented team of Studio EIS (New York) and the 1717 Design Group (Richmond) to produce the monument. Their winning design is elliptical in shape with two

curved walls that are open on either side, providing entrances that allow the visitor to walk into the monument and stand (or sit) eye-to-eye with twelve life-sized figures.

Selecting twelve women from the thousands who might have been included was a daunting task and took many months, but in November 2013 the commission announced the names of the women to be depicted in bronze on the monument: Ann Burras Laydon (ca 1594-after 1625), a Jamestown colonist; Cockacoeke (fl. 1656-1686), an Indian leader and Pamunkey chief; Mary Draper Ingles (ca. 1732-1815), a famous Indian captive and pioneer; Martha Custis Washington (1731-1802), wife of our nation’s first president; Clementina Rind (ca. 1740-1774), printer and publisher of the *Virginia Gazette*; Elizabeth Hobbs Keckley (1818-1907), a slave who became a successful seamstress and confidant of Mary Todd Lincoln; Sally Louisa Tompkins, wartime hospital administrator; Maggie L. Walker (1864-1934), bank president and entrepreneur; Sarah G. Boyd Jones (1866-1905), early female physician and founder of a medical association for African-American doctors; Laura Lu Copenhaver (1868-1940), businesswoman and advocate for improving the economic life of Appalachian farm families; Virginia Estelle Randolph (1870-1958), prominent educator; and Adèle Clark (1882-1983), artist and suffrage leader.

In addition to these bronze figures, a curved glass wall across the back of the monument will bear the names of several hundred other Virginia women who have made significant contributions to our history. Once again, the commission is seeking suggestions of names to be included on this wall. To be considered, a nominee must have been a native Virginian or have lived a large portion of her life in Virginia and must have demonstrated notable achievement, made a significant contribution, or set an important example, within her chosen field of endeavor. Nominees must no longer be living and should have died at least ten years prior to consideration. To nominate a woman for Wall of Honor, you can visit the commission’s website at <http://womensmonumentcom.virginia.gov/index.html> or call (804) 786-1010. The deadline for nominations is March 1, 2016.

The commission, working closely with the Virginia Capitol Foundation, is hard at work raising the \$3.7 million that is needed to create the monument. If you are interested in contributing or know prospective donors or foundations who might like to be part of this exciting and unprecedented effort, please contact the commission at [WomensCommission@virginiacapitol.gov](mailto:WomensCommission@virginiacapitol.gov). To show your support for the monument be sure to follow the Virginia Women’s Monument on Facebook and share the commission’s web address with your friends. Together, we can make this monument a reality.

*Sandra Gioia Treadway has served as the Librarian of Virginia since her appointment in 2007. She holds a doctoral degree in American history from the University of Virginia and a master’s in information sciences from the University of Tennessee. She is a member of the Virginia Women’s Monument Commission and, most recently, the coeditor (with Cynthia Kierner) of Virginia Women: Their Lives and Times, published by the University of Georgia Press.*

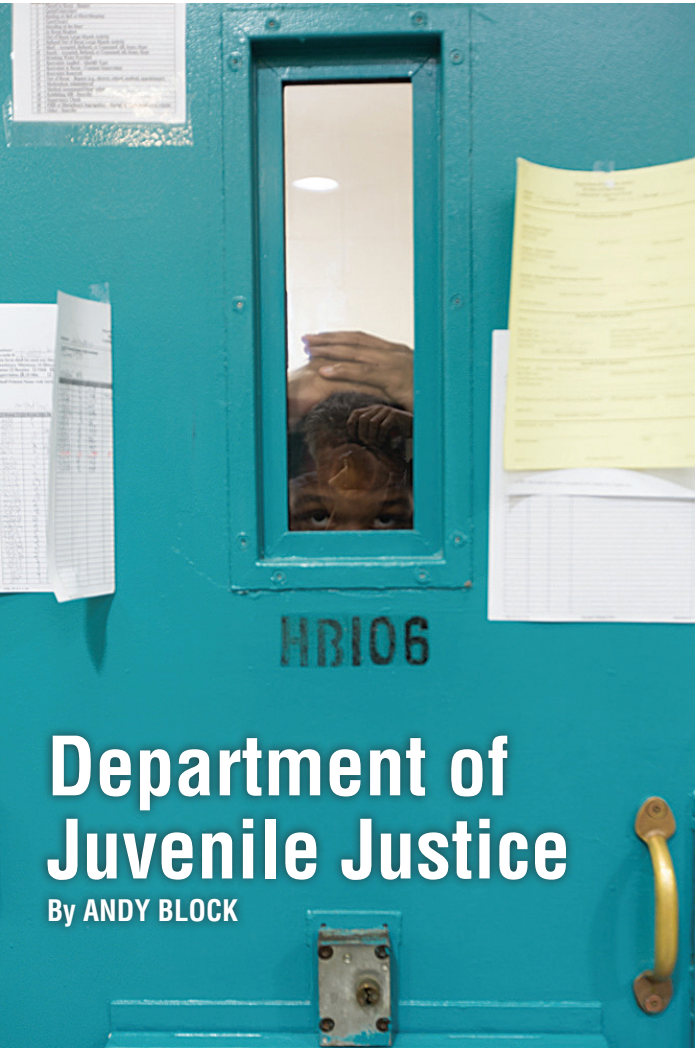
## Celebration from page 19



multi-media outreach activities, including hosting Fall Field Days at Natural Area Preserves. Celebratory outreach activities will share stories and illuminate the successes of conservation of Virginia’s highest priority natural heritage resources, through on-the-ground conservation and partnerships, using current science and knowledge of Virginia’s natural history.

For more information on the events and programs taking place in this year or to learn more about the good works of the Department of Conservation and Recreation, visit [dcr.virginia.gov](http://dcr.virginia.gov).

*Shannon Johnson presently serves as the Public Communications and Marketing Director for the Department of Conservation and Recreation (DCR) where she manages the Public Communications Office in charge of public relations, communications, statewide advertising, marketing and web management.*



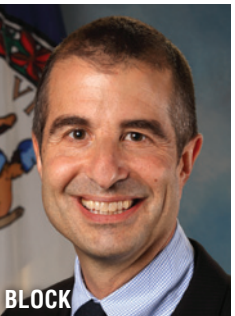
While the Virginia Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) has made many improvements to its system over the years, a comprehensive analysis of Virginia’s juvenile justice system, undertaken by the Annie E. Casey Foundation, has revealed significant challenges: long periods of incarceration in state juvenile correctional centers (facilities) that actually increase recidivism instead of reducing it; over-reliance on two large, expensive, and aging facilities (Beaumont and Bon Air) that do not effectively meet the complex needs of incarcerated youth; and a lack of alternative placement options for committed youth that are closer to their homes. As a result, nearly 40% of DJJ funds are spent on the 9% of youth under DJJ supervision who are confined in the two facilities—yet nearly 80% of these youth are rearrested within three years of release.

DJJ has a unique opportunity to address these challenges, improve public safety, create better outcomes for youth, and better invest limited state resources. In Virginia—and, in fact, across the United States—declining numbers of youth are coming into the juvenile justice system. It is because of this shrinking population that DJJ is poised to transform its system. The transformation plan consists of three core initiatives: (1) safely **Reduce** the use of the large and aging juvenile correctional facilities; (2) **Reform** outmoded practices within the facilities and with youth returning to communities; and (3) develop a plan to **Replace** DJJ’s two facilities with smaller, regional juvenile correctional centers and a statewide continuum of local alternative placements and evidence-based services.

### REDUCE

Given the negative recidivism outcomes associated with commitment to a state facility, the high costs involved with such commitments, and the research—both local and national—

See *Department of Juvenile Justice*, continued on page 22







Residents in Garden.

demonstrating that longer lengths of stay do not limit recidivism but can actually increase it, DJJ has sought to safely reduce the number of youth who are confined in Beaumont and Bon Air. Through a more effective approach to release decisions, the implementation of a new length of stay system, the continuing decline in new admissions, and the development of alternative placements in local detention centers, the Department has begun the process of safely reducing the population in its facilities. For example, DJJ partners with locally-operated juvenile detention centers to operate Community Placement Programs (CPP) and place appropriate committed youth in local detention centers, keeping them closer to home. This reduction also makes it easier to reform programming within the facilities and provides opportunities to reinvest savings into more effective community alternatives.

DJJ is also using data and research to improve probation practices to ensure that the local probation officers are making the right dispositional recommendations to judges, allocating supervision resources effectively, and engaging and strengthening families.

## REFORM

To achieve better outcomes for committed youth as well as staff in the facilities, DJJ is implementing a more rigorous rehabilitative approach to youth corrections, overhauling out-of-date reentry practices and working closely with juveniles' families.

DJJ has introduced the Community Treatment Model with the goal of improving services and safety in the facilities and decreasing recidivism after release. It is focused on developing a consistent, rehabilitative community within each living unit in

the facilities. By training an interdisciplinary cohort of staff, and placing them in a unit with a consistent group of youth, this model results in more rigorous rehabilitation and engagement throughout the day.

The new model works better for staff as well. They receive more training, have a consistent group of youth with whom they work, and a consistent team of colleagues of which they are a member. As they convert to their new units, their work shifts are decreased from 12 hours to 8 hours per day. There are now seven units converted at Beaumont and Bon Air Juvenile Correctional Centers and DJJ expects full conversion by the end of 2016.

Additionally, this fall, Virginia became one of only three states to receive a major federal grant (\$725,000) to create a model reentry system. These resources will provide for increased training; transportation for families to visit incarcerated youth; new technology to improve remote contacts between staff, families, and confined youth; and the development of a new system to improve both planning and outcomes.

## REPLACE

As a result of many years of state and federal budget cuts impacting DJJ, Virginia has lost the range of community-based services and local placement alternatives to state commitment. For comparison, less than 15% of committed youth nationwide are held in facilities with more than 200 beds while more than 85% of committed youth in Virginia are placed in either Beaumont or Bon Air Juvenile Correctional Center, each of which has more than 250 beds.



Beaumont Juvenile Correctional Center.

Governor Terry McAuliffe supported a replacement plan in his biennial budget by including funding for two small, state-of-the-art juvenile correctional centers in his bond package and authorizing the reinvestment of correctional savings into building a statewide continuum of alternative placements and evidenced-based services.

The two new centers, planned in Central Virginia and Hampton Roads, will improve family contact and reentry planning, be less expensive to operate, have smaller residential pods and modern technology, and provide more effective treatment and educational space. Giving DJJ the authority to reinvest savings as its population declines will allow the agency to create better treatment options and alternatives for communities across the Commonwealth, which research demonstrates work more effectively than incarceration for

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most youth. The continuum will include expanding partnerships with locally-operated juvenile detention centers to increase the number of CPPs.

These two measures will give DJJ the financial tools required to fulfill the promise of transformation and continue the work it has already started. Through reinvestment of savings secured as the committed population continues to decline, DJJ will continue to expand community-based alternatives in lieu of state facility placements.

DJJ staff is working hard to transform into a more effective and efficient system—a system that will get better public safety and life outcomes for youth, families, and their communities. The upcoming General Assembly session will determine how far this transformation can go.

*Andrew K. Block Jr. was appointed as the Department of Juvenile Justice (DJJ) director, effective April 7, 2014. He was most recently an associate professor and director of the Child Advocacy Clinic at the University of Virginia School of Law from 2010-2014. From 1998 until the spring of 2010 he was the founder and Legal Director of the JustChildren Program of the Legal Aid Justice Center.*



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# SHAV Cultivates Student Advocacy

The weather was perfect in Richmond on November 4th, 2015 and it was a great day for the Speech-Language-Hearing Association of Virginia’s very first Student Advocacy Training Event! SHAV’s goal with this event was to cultivate advocacy and create a training that was specifically geared toward students so that they would feel knowledgeable and more confident about important legislative issues impacting our professions of speech-language pathology and audiology. This training would then empower the students to join the rest of the SHAV membership for our annual Advocacy Day event at the state capitol in Richmond on January 18th, 2016 (MLK Day).

SHAV worked diligently with our Lobbyist, David Bailey, to coordinate an event that would not only be educational, but also useful and impactful for the students. We strategically planned for the student advocacy training to coincide with the meeting of Joint Commission on Health Care (JCHC) in hopes that the students might have an opportunity to see some legislators in action. We hoped the training would not only educate the students about the legislative processes, but it would also help them to see how legislative issues impact all of us and the public that we serve.

David Bailey, SHAV’s lobbyist, and members of our Executive Board opened the training session by explaining the importance of advocacy, how grassroots advocacy works, and how it can indeed make changes in laws. The Board members then discussed the background and history of some of the current professional issues within our state (i.e. provisional licensure of clinical fellow SLPs, regulation of speech-language assistants, and limited cerumen management for audiologists), and the impact of the legislation on the public that we serve.

SHAV wanted to be certain to provide the students with more than just a lecture about advocacy. Therefore, it was crucial that the students have a chance to observe legislative action first hand, and be given the opportunity to connect directly with legislators and their staffers. We did this initially by ushering the students into one of the Senate rooms at the Virginia Assembly to see a committee at work. The room was so packed with interested stakeholders that the students had to line the wall in the back of the room as they observed the Joint Commission on Health Care (JCHC) in action. While there, the students heard the committee discuss timely topics such as the voluntary, inpatient psychiatric treatment of minors, as well as the funding and treatment for geriatric psychiatric treatment facilities within our state. Many of the students reported that this was their favorite part of the training, and it made the legislators and the issues seem “more real” to them.

The students appeared to truly enjoy learning about advocacy in this interactive way. The momentum was continued when Abby Phillips, Legislative assistant to Delegate Jennifer McClellan and Gail Henderson, Legislative assistant to Louise Lucas shared their own real life experiences with the students about working with legislators and the public on important issues within our state. Abby



and Gail’s friendly and approachable demeanor quickly engaged the students in a way that was both informative and definitely made them feel at ease. Senator Louise Lucas then further reinforced the notion that legislators are “real people” when she made time in her busy schedule to speak to the students about the importance of getting involved and the impact of advocacy. Her passion and enthusiasm about serving the public were absolutely contagious!

The turn-out for the student advocacy training was quite good with 33 students and 3 faculty members from Longwood University and Hampton University attending the event. Each student was given a SHAV swag bag of goodies and a certificate for attending the training. The advocacy training day concluded with a lunch-and- learn session over pizza, cookies, and beverages. The informal setting allowed the students to discuss the day, debrief, and ask questions in a pressure-free atmosphere. The interactive opportunities and real life examples during

*Continued on next page*



# Accountability Overhaul for School Counselors

By BRETT WELCH

Accountability is a huge buzz word in schools today, and rightly so. We talk about accountability for teachers to ensure students are learning, growing and meeting benchmarks. We talk about accountability for students to be independent and responsible for their choices and their schoolwork. We even talk about accountability for parents to make sure students get to school on time and to be involved in their child’s education. As school counselors, we too want to be held accountable for providing students a comprehensive counseling program that addresses their academic, social/emotional and college/ career growth. But what happens when accountability measures do not adequately reflect the job assessed? This is a dilemma that many school counselors face today.

In most districts in Virginia, school counselors are being measured using classroom teacher accountability tools. This leads to confusion for administrators in understanding exactly what counselors are supposed to be doing and how to measure their effectiveness with students. Many of the teacher evaluation components must be marked “n/a” for school counselors, and therefore result in incomplete monitoring of programs and of counselors themselves. Using SOL scores and other benchmarks are invalid measures of student social/ emotional growth and academic planning. Similarly, trying to measure college and career readiness using curriculum standards doesn’t work either. Yet, school counselors serve an essential role in helping students manage behavioral and emotional issues that impact

# Where Are They Now?

By CHARLIE TODD

E. Hatcher Crenshaw, Jr. served two terms in the Virginia House of Delegates while building a family real estate business and enjoying a colorful and unusual military career.

Hatcher grew up in Concord, N. C. and was drafted into the U. S. Army early in World War II. On the third day of his service, he was promoted to corporal because he had two years of college and held this rank for the next three years. He was sent to language school in California, became proficient in Italian, and was put in charge of a large number of Italian prisoners of war. “They taught me a lot of words that were not in the nine-month course the Army offered me,” said Hatcher.

After he was released from service, Hatcher attended Duke University on the G. I. Bill, earned a degree in business, and a commission as a second lieutenant. In the following years, he



# VSCA Virginia School Counselor Association

learning, identifying and overcoming obstacles to academic success, making students and parents aware of higher learning opportunities and ensuring that the coursework they choose challenges them and prepares them for what lies beyond their K-12 education. We need to measure that!

The good news is that school counselors in Virginia already have our own professional growth and student standards, which directly apply to what we should be doing, to make sure we do it well. Our evaluations need to be based on those to adequately measure student progress and counselor effectiveness, but they aren’t right now except in a select few districts. To solve this issue, VSCA, the Virginia School Counselor Association, has created a statewide school counselor evaluation tool to ensure that school counselors across Virginia can be held accountable and evaluated in an appropriate and relevant way to our profession. Our goal is to publish this evaluation through the VDOE so that all districts have access to it and administrators can effectively measure their school counselor(s)’ professional growth and efficacy. The proposed document is formatted similarly to the state teacher evaluation so that administrators will be more familiar with it. It also includes an observation form for administrators to use detailing what is and is not appropriate to observe a counselor doing due to student confidentiality constraints. VSCA would love input from stakeholders on this document before it is submitted to the VDOE. If you are interested in giving input, please email [vscapepresident@gmail.com](mailto:vscapepresident@gmail.com). Thank you for all you do in supporting school counselors, schools and students!

*Mrs. Brett C.A. Welch, MA, NCC is VSCA President.*

established a successful real estate business in Richmond and continued his military work in finance, rising to colonel. But that was not the end of the military for Hatcher.

As an affable and active business leader and member of the Downtown Kiwanis Club, Hatcher was elected to two terms in the Virginia House, serving the 68th District. Gov. George Allen appointed him as his aide for military affairs with the rank of General.

I asked Hatcher what he liked most about the General Assembly and he said, “I enjoyed bringing young people to the Assembly. I brought a group of hearing impaired students in 1987 to sit in the balcony and be recognized by the Assembly. I was able to tell the students what was being said and done by ‘signing,’ perhaps the only time an elected official in Virginia was able to perform this act.”

Hatcher Crenshaw, 92 in the fall of 2015, goes to his real estate office most days, and has written two humorous books. He and his wife, known as Spots, enjoy life at The 5100 Building in Richmond.

*Dr. Charles Todd is a retired Virginia teacher and administrator.*

# SHAV continued from previous page

the training were effective and clearly impacted the students as we had hoped they would. In fact, many students reported in their survey questionnaire that they would like to see more of these opportunities in the future and they would also like to have opportunities to interact with one another during future advocacy training events. The some also indicated that they did not find the thought of speaking to the legislators nearly as intimidating or overwhelming as they did before the training.

Overall, the student specific advocacy training was a successful one. Students commented on the training day that they found the event to be extremely informative. Many of them indicated that they really understood the importance of staying involved with advocacy, and they are motivated to get involved in professional issues now. Three students were so interested in getting involved that they inquired about the application process to become the student representative for SHAV. Others reported they definitely planned to attend SHAV’s

advocacy event at the state Capitol in January 2016.

The student specific training provided the students with a greater knowledge base about professional issues and heightened their interest in advocacy efforts. It also gave them the sense that they can make a difference as well as the realization that legislators are “real people”. However, SHAV’s work with student advocacy is not done. In future trainings, we must continue to reinforce the students’ confidence and comfort level about advocacy. Students are the future of our professions. We must continue to cultivate advocacy in them, and empower the students so that they may competently discuss professional issues with Virginia legislators and advocate for our professions and those that we serve throughout the Commonwealth.

*Darlene D. Robke, M.S., CCC-SLP is VP for Governmental & Professional Affairs and President-Elect of Speech-Language-Hearing Association of Virginia.*



# Connecting Career Preparation to the Workforce

By BRENDA LONG

Let's take a look at what our Virginia public school Career and Technical Education (CTE) students accomplished during the 2014-2015 school year:

- More than 586,000 students enrolled in one or more CTE courses.
- The total number of credentials earned by high school students increased from 103,599 to 128,850.
- For five consecutive years, 95 percent or more CTE completers graduated high school with a Standard or Advanced Studies Diploma, with 49 percent receiving an Advanced Studies Diploma.
- One year after graduation, 73 percent of CTE completers were enrolled in postsecondary education.
- And 13 percent were employed full-time, 7 percent part-time, 3 percent were in military service, 2 percent were out of service, and 2 percent were unemployed.

These achievements occurred throughout Virginia's 329 high schools, 304 middle schools, 47 school division CTE centers, 23 Governor's STEM Academies, nine Governor's Health Sciences Academies, 10 jointly operated regional CTE centers, along with 99 school divisions offering dual enrollment courses in CTE. The full report is available on the Virginia Association for Career and Technical Education (Virginia ACTE) website, <http://virginiaacte.org/public-policy.html>.

The report also includes data that show the connection between career preparation and the job market in Virginia. Our students are designing their plan of study to advance their career goals through CTE programs and other options. Check out student success stories from across the state and additional information in the "R U Ready?" publication, both of which can be accessed from the Virginia ACTE website.

High-quality CTE programs prepare students for further education by engaging them in high school, which lowers the dropout risk, and by integrating academics with technical skills to improve student performance and success. Through the integration of technical skills with academic learning, along with a focus on real-world problem solving and work-based learning, CTE takes the lead in instructional strategies to engage students and improve their academic and technical performances. Career and Technical Education programs require highly specialized equipment and up-to-date manufacturing equipment and simulators to closely mirror that which is used in business and industry. All of this is necessary to educate a qualified workforce and distribute funding resources among 134 school divisions.



As one reviews the options available during a student's high school career, and in order to sustain the rigorous and challenging CTE programs, additional funding becomes critical. As outlined in the Virginia ACTE brief, "Issues and Solutions for Career and Technical Education in Virginia, 2015-2016," CTE has been leveled funded for both classroom equipment and credentialing initiatives since 2006. With the addition of the 23 Governor's STEM Academies and nine Governor's Health Sciences Academies—both coordinated through Career and Technical Education programs—since that time, the funding is shifted to local school divisions to sustain these programs.

Many skills required in the STEM-related industry require less than a four-year degree. These skills are often referred to as "middle skill jobs." However, these are "critical skill jobs," and the foundation for these critical skills begins in the Governor's STEM Academies and the Governor's Health Sciences Academies, as well as within rigorous CTE programs. A National Skills Coalition analysis shows that middle-skill jobs (i.e., critical skill jobs) will represent nearly 50 percent of future job openings.

There is an opportunity to not only increase CTE funding but expand programs to continue the connection to career preparation and the workforce during the students' high school career, including options for dual enrollment opportunities and earn industry credentials.

Virginia Association for Career and Technical Education (Virginia ACTE) provides leadership in developing an educated, prepared, adaptable, and competitive workforces. Virginia ACTE advocates for, supports, and serves all aspects of Career and Technical Education for the benefit of career preparation and the economy in the commonwealth of Virginia.

Let's provide the best options for our Virginia students: Connecting career preparation to the workforce through Career and Technical Education programs.

*Dr. Brenda D. Long, Executive Director, Virginia Association for Career and Technical Education.*

“*Virginia Association for Career and Technical Education (Virginia ACTE) provides leadership in developing an educated, prepared, adaptable, and competitive workforces.*”

## Crunching the Numbers from page 14

In House District 2, Republican Mark Dudenhefer won his old House seat replacing Delegate Michael Futrell spending \$451,944.51 or \$77.40 per vote over Democrat Joshua King who spent \$181,345.42 or \$31.73 per vote.

In House District 86, spending amounted to \$1,774,665.10 with Democrat Jennifer Boyasco spending \$558,068.00 or \$82.55 per vote in her win against Republican Danny Vargas who spent \$520,102.92 or \$168.42 per vote to replace Delegate Thomas Davis Rust.

In House District 87, to succeed Delegate David Ramadan, spending amounted to \$1,082,192.50 with Democrat John Bell spending \$558,068.00 or \$68.03 per vote to defeat Republican Chuong Nguyen who spent \$520,102.92 or \$65.97 per vote.

In the most expensive race this year, Delegate Kathleen Murphy spent \$1,001,827.34 or \$92.59 to win re-election while her Republican opponent Craig Parisot spent \$1,109,923.06 or \$104.39 per vote for a

\$2,111,750.30 total spent for House District 34.

In House District 93, total spending amounted to \$1,452,330.00 with Democrat Delegate Monty Mason spending \$739,194.45 or \$82.96 per vote to beat Republican Lara Overy who spent \$713,135.55 or \$96.97 per vote.

The 2016 General Assembly session will consist of no changes in the State Senate composition in which Republicans hold a 21-19 majority while in the House of Delegates the Republicans hold a 66-34 advantage.

*Michael E. Belefski is President of CPC CORPORATION, a Communications and Marketing Firm specializing in Performance Management Analysis in Business, Law and Political Systems. He can be contacted at [cpccorp@verizon.net](mailto:cpccorp@verizon.net).*

# The Every Student Succeeds Act and American Education's "Scarlet Letter"

By PHIL WISHON



After it landed on President Obama's desk in the wake of broad bipartisan support from the House and Senate, the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) was signed into law on December 10, 2015. Intended to be an update to the widely criticized No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) which George W. Bush signed into law in 2002, ESSA significantly scales back the federal government's authority to intervene in schools that were underperforming, falling short of meeting student achievement targets, and failing. Under ESSA, moreover, states will now have a lot more leeway to identify and fix struggling schools.

Many critics of NCLB lamented what they saw as a denaturing of educational practice as a humane, uplifting, and (historically anyway) a noble endeavor and—citing its emphasis on teaching/testing a very narrow band of academic skills implemented with a high stakes "blame and punish" mentality—a diminishment of the art of teaching. Under pressure from NCLB mandates to reach specific achievement benchmarks, the educational enterprise in countless public school districts nationwide was reduced to little more than a scramble each year to make a certain quota of students who attained or exceeded a certain score on a standardized test set by decision-makers who were often far removed from classroom and neighborhood realities. Under the threat of punishment and censure, teaching and learning in thousands of our nation's schools became a game of "chase the cut score", or else. The "or else" included such possibilities as firing staff members, replacing the principal, and closing the school down.

The Progressive Network for Public Education and others say that the new bill still puts too much emphasis on testing—ESSA retains mandatory testing from third through eighth grade, for example—and concern remains that tests will continue to be misused and misapplied. Under ESSA however, automatic mandatory punishments would be detached from test results, and teachers would no longer be compelled to bow to the constant pressure and stress under which they operated and the wrath that might befall them during their teacher evaluation reviews as a result of students performing poorly on narrowly-focused, standardized tests.

To its credit, NCLB did expose for the first time the staggering achievement gap between America's poorest schools and schools located in more affluent communities, and between students from low-income families, English Language learning students or students with disabilities, and students from stable homes and families with adequate incomes. While ESSA is a much-welcomed step in the right direction, no law—whether administered at the federal or state (or local) level—will be effective in narrowing the shameful achievement gap—American Education's *scarlet letter*—that now exists in our public schools, unless we are successful in our attempts to address underlying issues of broader concern (e.g. families living in poverty; ravages of crime and neighborhood violence; inequitable access to quality early childhood education; under-resourced schools; lack of access to quality health care; high incidence of under employment).

Unfortunately, not all students arrive at school every day well-rested, well-nourished, fit, emotionally secure, in good health, and ready to learn. To the critical needs of these students the foundational academic narrative of contemporary educational reform has been insufficiently responsive. Passage of the Every Student Succeeds Act provides us an opportunity to improve things by

giving educators, parents, policy-makers, and members of allied professions the opportunity to decide—at the community level—what experiences and practices are best and that make sense for students in our communities.

While the task before us is not easy, it is essential. It includes assessment of what students most need based on a suite of measures, rather than a single test score. It also includes embedding into our most challenged schools a cross-disciplinary, multi-faceted approach to student development and learning whereby teachers are much more closely supported by school counselors, nurses, social workers, bi-lingual interpreters, nurses, specialists in the varying domains of learning needs, etc.—whatever supports that any given school needs most urgently. In our poorest schools warm breakfast and lunch programs should be available, along with engaging after-school enrichment and learning-support programs. No, it's not easy, and it's not cheap. However, it does little good (and could do much harm) to continue hammering low-performing schools if we are not willing or able to provide the support (resources, professional development, incentives, etc.) and the technical capacity these schools need.

With ESSA we have a chance to institute measures that enable us to determine many of the important ways that individual students, their teachers and administrators are improving. Again, analyzing what the evidence from multiple and varied assessment tools reveals about students' and teachers' accomplishments, consideration regarding changing things in the classroom or staying the course can be undertaken. In what areas is progress being made? In what areas are more support, effort, and resources indicated? In what ways might we be better able to customize learning experiences that are effective for individual learners?

Lastly, with ESSA we also have a chance to acknowledge the importance of development and accomplishment of the *whole* child (e.g. students' capacity for ethical decision-making; their artistic and self-expressive impulses; their passion for exploration and creativity; their interest in civic engagement and social justice, their pursuit of wondrous things), not just performance on a narrow band of academic skills. Our schools can do better, and hopefully ESSA provides us with a realistic chance this time around of rising more successfully to the challenge.

*Phil Wishon is the Dean of the College of Education at James Madison University and President Emeritus of the Virginia Association of Colleges of Teacher Education in partnership with the Association of Teacher Education in Virginia.*

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# Students Cannot Be Allowed To Choose Not To Learn

By EDGAR H. THOMPSON

When Jesse Stuart, the Kentucky writer and educator, was a young teacher in a one-teacher rural high school in Kentucky in the 20s or 30s, he believed that he could hike over the mountains to his parent’s home in the dead of winter. He wanted to do two things. First, he needed to bring back more books for his students whose intellectual skills were stretching both his abilities and resources. Also, he felt their academic performance was so impressive that he believed they could compete academically with the big flagship county high school. He had a proposal to make about such a competition to the school superintendent whom he knew he could find in his office on Saturday morning. Stuart didn’t anticipate getting lost on top of the mountains in a blizzard with sub-zero temperatures. Had it not been for the dry clothes he was carrying in his suitcase and the shelter of several fodder shocks he found in a deserted corn field, he might have frozen to death. Ah, the hubris of youth.

This story is one of the many anecdotes that Stuart included in his bestselling, award-winning book *The Thread that Runs So True* that was published in 1949. I was fifteen when I first read this book. I was impressed with the sacrifices Stuart was willing to make to help his students, and I was thrilled that his risk paid off. When I finished the book, I committed myself, in prayer, to a life of service and teaching, particularly in the Appalachian region. I achieved my goal. The world of teaching and learning that I saw myself going into at that time, is harder to find these days, but young people still go into teaching believing they see and feel the commitment that I saw so many years ago.

In order to help our committed teachers continue their good work, they need help from everyone *in the neighborhood*: parents, students, and politicians. There are many things in schools—e.g., the emphasis on that which is mundane, repetitive, and routine driven by high stakes testing—that need to change. But for sure, we must communicate to all students that though learning can be difficult, it can also be joyful and thrilling. Getting to a point where this kind of positive experience can be achieved often requires ridiculously hard work. Students at all levels must be convinced, motivated, taught, and told that their job is to learn whatever their parents, teachers, and scholars say they should be learning in order to move forward.

Most readers would not disagree with what I have just said. However, what is to be done when some students choose not to do what they are asked or expected to do. There should be consequences. In my day, such consequences were being grounded, being denied something I wanted until I adjusted my behavior, or being spanked—not beaten. Today, there is still a need for consequences, but often there aren’t any. The reason why there aren’t consequences goes back about 30 years. At that time due to fears of litigation, corporal punishment disappeared in Virginia’s schools. Nothing was created to take corporal punishment’s place.



As a result, to this day, if students say no, that is often the end of what educators can do.

Whatever direction we go, when a pronouncement is made, a law passed, and a policy created, the problem has not been solved. All constituents—students, parents, educators, scholars, politicians—must keep talking about and evaluating what is important and keep at it continually and forever. The method and mode of learning is constantly shifting, and we must all keep up. We have to agree upon that which is truly right, that which is truly wrong, and that which is truly needed. I can tell you this with certainty—to improve schools and learning, we need more than just data. We need consequences beyond test scores to hold students accountable. Once we figure out what the accountability should be, then maybe we can figure out how to truly measure the successes and failures of all involved.

*Herb Thompson is a Professor Emeritus of Education at Emory & Henry College, Emory, VA. He is currently President of the Association of Teacher Educators–Virginia.*

## In Memoriam

### Remembering Speaker Moss

By DELEGATE KENNETH R. “KEN” PLUM

Almost anyone who met and certainly everyone who knew the late Speaker of the House of Delegates Thomas W. Moss, Jr. can recount a funny story they heard him tell. His gregarious personality would dominate any conversation, and he had a way of making himself the center of attention at any gathering. Serious debate before the then Corporations, Insurance and Banking Committee when he was chair was often dispelled with a quip or wise-crack. Orations on the floor could be deflated with his humorous observations as Speaker, but his comments were not always politically correct. During tense time in the legislative process his levity helped to move along the business of the House.

Too much attention to Speaker Moss’ personality and style can overlook the important transitional role he played in his nearly 50 years of public service. Speaker Moss was first elected to the House of Delegates as an anti-establishment Democrat. His campaign slogan, “Get Norfolk Out of the Byrd Cage,” reflected the fact that while a Democratic-controlled political machine dominated the state since Reconstruction it was not good for urban areas like Norfolk. That machine was headed from the 1930s by Governor and then Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., a tight-fisted conservative who called himself a Democrat but could more appropriately be labeled a Dixiecrat as many white Southerners were known. Byrd vehemently opposed racial desegregation of Virginia’s schools, and his opposition to government spending kept Virginia a backward state for decades. Mr. Moss was a national Democrat and succeeded in getting himself elected to the House of Delegates where he was in the minority among the more conservative members. Changes in Virginia’s political alignment came about because of the work of leaders like Moss working within the system and federal laws and court decisions influencing the system from the outside. Getting rid of the poll tax and other restrictive voting laws that kept mostly African Americans from voting, passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and court decisions on redistricting brought about a shift of power where Delegate Moss as a more progressive member became Speaker and the more conservative Democrats switched parties and became Republicans. Eventually this realignment



of political allegiance and federally-enforced fairer representation among the regions of the state led to Speaker Moss losing his leadership role in 2000. He retired from the House after the next term when the new Republican majority drew him into a legislative district with another Democrat. He was elected Treasurer of the City of Norfolk where he served until January 2014.

Virginia became more progressive during Mr. Moss’s tenure—in the areas of public school spending, investments in higher education, improved mental health and social service programs, and roads. In areas of civil rights it languished. The Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) for women was opposed by Mr. Moss until he was challenged by a woman who came close to defeating him in a primary. Virginia still has not passed the ERA.

Not only did Mr. Moss get Norfolk and Virginia out of the Byrd cage, he helped move the state into a modern era where public education and strong institutions of higher education were valued and transportation and infrastructure were recognized as critical investments. Speaker Moss provided leadership for the Commonwealth during the passing of a critical era. As funny as he could be, he did serious work to make the Commonwealth a better place in which to live.

## Virginia’s Growing

By JOY GIBSON and KEN JESSUP

*Virginia’s Growing* advocates and supports sensible legislation, policies, and education of the plant Cannabis Sativa. We represent the plant in its entirety, including its research, medicinal uses, industrial hemp, and advocating for legislation on tax regulation, policy, and personal use. Virginia’s Growing will work closely with legislators on a conscientious model stating who is authorized to obtain, sell, and handle cannabis.

*Virginia’s Growing* is cognizant of the evidence that Cannabis Sativa contains numerous cannabinoids and phytochemicals that are useful for the treatment of various medical conditions. Cannabis preparations exert many therapeutic effects; by its nature, they have analgesic, antispastic, antiemetic, anti-inflammatory, and neuroprotective actions, and it is effective against particular psychiatric disorders. Unfortunately, Virginia’s current laws allow only certain variations for few selective medical conditions with no legal means to obtain medical cannabis preparations.

We recognize that there is an urgency for research and clinical studies to be implemented on the efficaciousness and the therapeutic potential of cannabis products. *Virginia’s Growing* will encourage citizens in the Commonwealth of Virginia who are experiencing dire life threatening illnesses, to participate in clinical trials with Virginia’s universities and hospital research centers. Additionally, those who are

suffering from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, chronic neuropathic pain, Parkinson’s disease, and other medical conditions that previous research indicated might benefit from cannabis, can request to participate in the clinical trials.

Furthermore, *Virginia’s Growing* aims to expand the research, initiated in 2014, on the possibilities of reintroducing industrial hemp to Virginia. The industrial hemp industry has evolved to create 25,000 products that can be made from hemp, e.g., construction materials, biofuels, and plastic composites. Our goal is to expand an industry that could possibly provide Virginia with the largest economic return on post-production of raw hemp products.

*Virginia’s Growing* will advocate for an economic impact study to understand the tax effects for regulation of policy for the Commonwealth of Virginia. We believe the study should include all statistics regarding law enforcement and with tax avenues.

The responsibility of our legislators is to ensure that Virginians can purchase products safely. Cannabis Sativa should be regulated in the same manner as all other products. We cannot ignore the benefits of cannabis.

*Virginia’s Growing* believes that there is irrefutable demand of the plant Cannabis Sativa for all of its properties.

*This article was written by Joy Gibson and Ken Jessup. Joy is a freelance writer based in Williamsburg and can be reached at [JoyGibson79@gmail.com](mailto:JoyGibson79@gmail.com). Ken is a registered lobbyist and can be reached at [KenJessup@cox.net](mailto:KenJessup@cox.net).*



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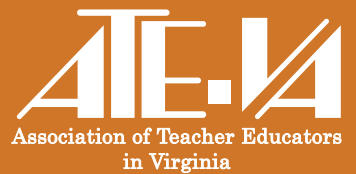
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