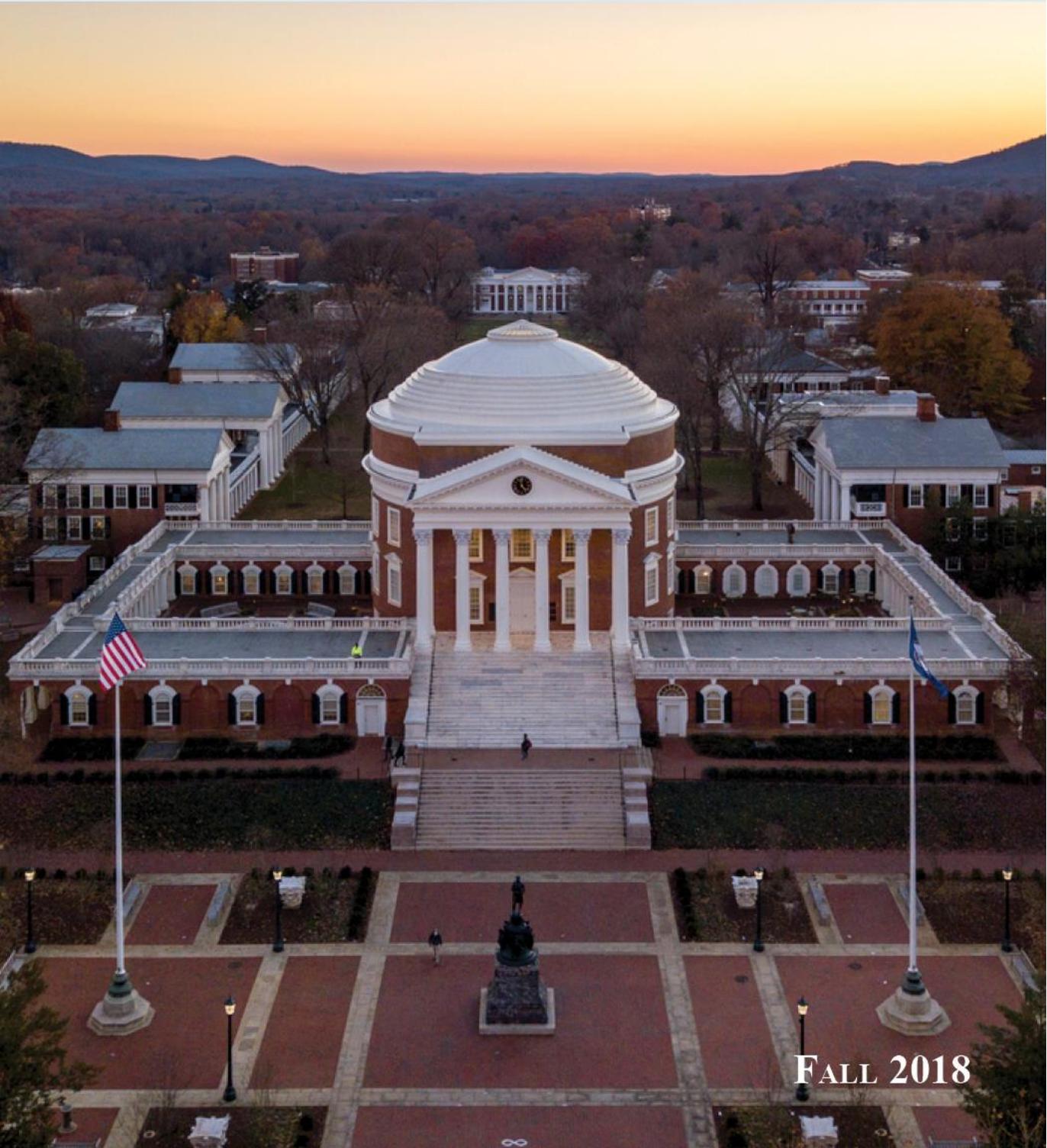


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## From the Editor

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Dear Readers,

Thank you for your support of Virginia Policy Review and our Fall 2018 issue. My name is Jack DiMatteo and I am the new Editor-in-Chief of the Journal. It is an honor to follow Dylan Kolb, my predecessor, and others who have come before him to produce a journal worthy of the Frank Batten School of Leadership and Public Policy's name.

This issue features a new section, which includes interviews that I have conducted with prominent alumni of the University and others with ties to the Commonwealth. I am deeply grateful to everyone who agreed to do an interview, including two United States Senators, Tim Kaine and John Kennedy (UVA Law, 1977). I was also able to interview former White House officials Mary Kate Cary and Marc Short, former Congressman Tom Perriello, former Ambassador Robert Hutchings, and the Dean of the Batten School, Allan Stam.

These interviews, in addition to the excellent op-eds and article submissions, contribute to an issue that our entire staff is proud of. I would also like to extend my deepest appreciation to the Virginia Policy Review staff, and especially Ellie Beahm, James Leckie, Josh Margulies, and Anna Haritos. Our team has worked diligently to solicit articles, edit them, and prepare the journal for publication. None of this would be possible without their hard work.

In addition to the interviews included in this issue, our journal has launched a podcast called Academical. Josh Margulies has taken the lead in building out the infrastructure to make this possible. It was a huge undertaking and is an important part of our efforts to expand our reach throughout Virginia and beyond.

In closing, I would like to offer a word of gratitude to the Batten School and everyone who supports the Virginia Policy Review. We acknowledge that one student-run journal has a relatively limited impact on the broader discourse. However, we think that our commitment to providing thoughtful analysis of pressing policy issues is an important service, particularly right now. At a time when the notion of truth is being undermined for political gain, we are focused on allowing empirical evidence to guide difficult conversations about complex challenges.

I expect that you will disagree with some of the ideas in this journal, particularly ones in the interviews. But I hope that you will consider those ideas with an open mind. I have always been moved by the words of Robert F. Kennedy: "It is not enough to allow dissent. We must demand it. For there is much to dissent from." That idea echoes loudly across generations. There is much to dissent from today as well. Let's enter into these conversations with an assumption of good faith towards those with whom we disagree

and consider ideas based on their merits rather than their source. Thank you for reading our publication.

Sincerely,  
Jack DiMatteo  
Editor-in-Chief

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## Why the “Space Force” is not that ridiculous

By Layla Bryant

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How important are your cell phone, your satellite TV, and your Internet access? Now imagine that the United States does not have access to transport, power, communications, and computer systems. The “Space Force” has become a joke to late night talk shows, and the military alike. People think the name is funny, the idea is funny, and that it is another of President Trump’s far-fetched ideas. Twitter and Reddit have shown no mercy, relating the proposed military branch to Star Wars and Star Trek. However, this idea is not new. When the Soviet Union launched Sputnik in the 1950’s, the U.S seriously considered developing a military space division. In a similar sense, President Eisenhower created DARPA in 1958 to conduct Space Operations until the formation of NASA the next year (Spires, 1998). Most recently, the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee headed a bipartisan effort to include Space Corps creation in the National Defense Authorization Act of 2018, though they faced resistance in the Senate and from high ranking military officials (Gould, 2018). The president is not alone in proposing a Space Force and the need to monitor American assets in space is not a joke, as amusing as the name is.

Space Force is not about fighting a war in space, but protecting satellite infrastructure that is vital to everyday life. What we often do not realize is the vulnerabilities in our reliance on satellites. Satellites can be disrupted in a variety of ways including jamming the signals that communicate with Earth, missile attacks, intentional or unintentional collisions with other satellites, hacking, and even lasers (Weedon & Samson, 2018). These vulnerabilities need protection, which the U.S. Space Command within the Air Force attempts to provide, but the Air Force has a history of prioritizing other issues.

The Government Accountability Office (GAO) has issued five reports in the last 15 years on the challenges of the Air Force in Space Acquisitions. The reports, written by Christina Chaplain, conclude on the failure of the Air Force to manage Space Procurement. This includes the 2017 report in which the GAO recommended separating the Air Force and Space Procurement Systems. Potentially, this could be achieved by creating a Marine Corp style system for space, or a separate military department. Additionally, the Rumsfeld report from 2001 concluded that the Department of Defense “requires space systems that can be employed in independent operations or in support of air, land, and sea forces...” (Rumsfeld, D., Andrews, D., Davis, R., Estes, H., Fogleman, R., Garner, J., ... & Necessary, D., 2001). They recommended to first realign the Air Force Space division, then in the midterm the create a Space Corps within the Air Force, and then eventually meet the security needs with a separate military department for space.

Many of the questions surrounding the creation of the Space Force have to do with the expected capabilities and functions of the force. The main answer to these questions is that there are many different visions for a militarized space. It may be a Star Wars visualization to a layperson, while military officials envision more of a passive guarding and surveillance force. Meanwhile, other debates range from what uniforms will look like, to whether there should be the creation of a new military academy and rank structure. How a new military space structure ends up looking like is ultimately up to the legislators, so it is important to understand the serious implications of getting a command structure wrong. It is worth noting that Russia previously had a separate military division for Space from 2002-2011, but it was demoted back under the Air Command (Rogatchevski, A., 2011).

The United States', and the rest of the world, are incredibly reliant on technology enabled by space satellites - in fact the U.S. market would crash without secured access to space. If someone were to find a way to jeopardize these satellites (military or commercial), the United States would face catastrophic consequences. Russia has already demonstrated some ability to interfere with satellites by blocking cell phone usage in Ukraine during the Crimean Crisis of 2014 (Weedon & Samson, 2018).

Having established the importance of the Space Force, it is important to understand that a new Space Force would resemble a grand space fleet with thousands of astronauts. Rather, the job will most likely consist of satellite monitoring and research, very similar to the design of U.S. Space Command within the Air Force. If there is going to be a military space restructuring, they should structure the department around the existing framework. Former Secretary of the Air Force Deborah Lee James said if you are going to move U.S. Space Command within the Air Force, it must be done comprehensively. She also warned of the distraction and costs of a bureaucratic restructuring this summer at a Brookings Space Force Debate. President Trump does not have the power to make a new branch of the military, instead Congress will need to decide how to increase the accountability of the U.S. Military in space systems. Even if the name sounds like a joke, there is a change coming for how the military acts in space, will it be a Space Force is yet to be known but an indicator will come from the Center for Naval Analysis and Shanahan Report from DOD in December 2018. It is very possible we will not end up having a Space Force, but just because Donald Trump promoted the idea, that should not disqualify it from being something the U.S. should seriously consider.

*Layla Bryant is a Master's in Public Policy Candidate, from Stafford, VA. She is interested in Space, Science, and Technology Policy and holds a Bachelor's degree in Astronomy. In her spare time, she volunteers at the McCormick Observatory and avidly follows NASA and the private space industry. She is currently working on a project evaluating potential regulations to commercialize satellite recycling and on-orbit manufacturing with the Aerospace Corporation. Layla has interned with the Legislative Affairs Team, at the Aerospace Industries Association, The Department of Commerce, International Trade Administration's Aerospace Team, and volunteered at the National Air and Space Museum.*

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## **Disparities in perceptions of PREA among offenders and correctional staff: Policy and programming implications**

**By Brittany Crowley, James Reed, and Janet I. Warren**

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The unanimous passing of the Prison Rape Elimination Act (PREA) of 2003 (P. L. 108-79) ushered in a decade of activity as researchers, state and federal agencies, advocates, and victims sought to understand the nature and prevalence of sexual victimization experienced by incarcerated individuals. The impact of these efforts has been far-reaching, underscoring the significance of this issue to those who live and work in correctional facilities. Research has further helped to identify the individual, social, and organizational factors impacting rates of sexual violence and victimization across institutions, and the complexity of reporting and programming required to address this problem within state and federal systems (Dumond & Dumond, 2015). While some studies have focused on perceived and actual victimization rates within correctional institutions, there is little recent research focusing on perceptions of sexual victimization and the PREA policies created to regulate it. The present study seeks to investigate this topic by analyzing offender and staff knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of PREA, perceived safety while incarcerated, and willingness to report victimization, as well as the potential discrepancies that exist both within and between the two groups. Findings have the potential to inform policies addressing the detection and prevention of sexual victimization in correctional facilities.

### **Literature Review**

Since 2004, the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) has undertaken the Survey of Sexual Victimization (SSV), the National Inmate Survey (NIS), and the National Former Prisoner Survey (NFPS). A systematic review of the incidence and effects of prison victimization is still collected annually by BJS (Prison Rape Elimination Act of 2003). In 2005, the first BJS study of sexual victimization indicated that there were 8,210 allegations of sexual violence reported nationwide in 2004. Using this same methodology over time, BJS reported that allegations continued to increase, although substantiation rates did not, hovering around 10% (Beck & Hughes, 2005). From 2011 to 2012, it was estimated that 4.0% of state and federal prison offenders and 3.2% of jail offenders reported experiencing one or more incidents of sexual victimization by another offender or staff member in the past 12 months, or since admission if incarcerated for less than 12 months. Female offenders reported victimization rates four times higher than those of

male offenders, and offenders with a mental illness were found to be at a substantially higher risk of being sexually assaulted by a fellow offender. Among offenders who had been released, the NFPS found that 10% of these men and women reported being sexually victimized while incarcerated (Beck, Berzofsky, Caspar, & Krebs, 2013; Beck & Johnson, 2012).

These offenses were found to be perpetrated at similarly high rates by offenders (51%) and by staff (40%), although the profile of offender-on-offender sexual victimization differed from that of staff-on-offender victimization. In 2011, 90% of both victims and perpetrators of offender-on-offender non-consensual sexual acts were male, and 44% involved physical force. The most frequent consequence for perpetrators of these offenses was solitary confinement (73%), although half of the substantiated non-consensual acts resulted in legal action (Beck, Berzofsky, Caspar, & Krebs, 2013). Regarding staff-on-offender offenses, about 50% of substantiated sexual misconduct and harassment incidents were committed by female staff. Although any physical relationship between staff and offenders is illegal in all 50 states, female staff-on-offender incidents appeared to be willing 84% of the time, as compared to 37% of those perpetrated by male staff. Only 11% of staff-on-offender incidents involved physical force. The most common outcome was for staff perpetrators to resign (78%), with 45% being arrested, referred for prosecution, or convicted (Beck, Berzofsky, Caspar, & Krebs, 2013).

In June 2012, the National Standards to Prevent, Detect, and Respond to Prison Rape, known as the PREA standards, were first published in the Federal Register. The PREA standards contain 50 recommendations addressing topics such as prevention planning, training and education for both offenders and staff, and reporting procedures (U.S. Department of Justice, 2012). Since then, studies in recent years have sought to investigate the rates of sexual victimization in correctional institutions, as well as the individual and institutional factors that affect victimization, perpetration, reporting, and prevention of such crimes (Molleman & Leeuw, 2012; Privott, 2014). For example, Privott (2014) found that male offenders who were less trustful of correctional staff were more likely to estimate a higher prevalence of sexual victimization in their facilities. Studies such as these offer interesting contributions to the literature on staff-offender prison dynamics and their relevance to sexual victimization in correctional institutions. However, few studies to date have included both offender and staff data within and across institutions, and to the best of our knowledge there are no recent studies that utilize concrete comparisons of offender and staff attitudes as a means of examining institutional climates relating to sexual victimization in U.S. correctional facilities.

## Methods

The current study was conducted as part of an evaluation of a PREA programming initiative, designed to develop a curriculum for implementing a peer-led PREA educational program to both staff and offenders. In conducting this evaluation, data were collected regarding the knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions of PREA in prison by

offenders in the general population and the correctional staff working in the same institution. These data were collected to facilitate comparisons of the similarities and differences between offenders and staff concerning the institutional climate, their experience of PREA policies, and the effects of PREA on life in prison.

The project was reviewed and approved by the Institutional Review Board for the Social and Behavioral Sciences (IRB) at the University of Virginia (UVA). Due to the nature of the information being collected, data were collected devoid of identifying information. Data collection occurred at three correctional facilities within the Virginia Department of Corrections: one maximum security men's prison (MP-Max), one medium security men's prison (MP-Med), and one women's prison (WP), between November and December of 2015. Data were collected from male and female offenders and correctional staff at each of these facilities.

### **Offender Sample**

Each facility was asked to develop a random list of offenders in their facility and to approach these offenders using a structured script to ask if they would be willing to participate in a research project being conducted by UVA. On the day of data collection, those offenders who had indicated a willingness to participate in the research were directed to report to an easily accessible, large room of the prison to meet with researchers from UVA. Research staff explained the purpose and content of the survey, and assured the offenders that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to leave at any time if they wished or decided to terminate their participation in the research. Offenders who chose to participate were provided a copy of the informed consent form and a copy of the climate survey.

### **Correctional Officer and Prison Staff Sample**

The majority of correctional officers at each facility agreed to participate in the research. Their participation was obtained primarily at morning and afternoon muster, a daily meeting at which all security staff convene to be informed by the security officer about the upcoming shift. These surveys were completed at the beginning of the meeting and handed directly to the research staff in attendance at the meetings. The participation of other non-correctional prison staff was solicited as they entered the institution in the morning, with the opportunity being provided for them to either complete the survey at that time or to take it with them to their work location and return it in a sealed envelope as they exited the institution later that same day.

### **Instrumentation**

Offenders were administered the Virginia Correctional Climate Survey for Offenders 2015 (VACCS-O15), a 52-item survey created to assess their sexual experiences while incarcerated, their knowledge and perceptions of PREA programming in their institution, their perception of safety within the institution, their willingness to utilize safety and

reporting procedures, and their beliefs and experiences concerning retaliation for sexual victimization. Offender analyses are based on N=262 respondents before accounting for nonresponse rates of individual items.

Staff were administered the Virginia Correctional Climate Survey for Correctional Officers (VACCS-CO15), a 58-item survey created to assess their knowledge about the PREA standards, their perceptions about the effects of PREA on their work, and their beliefs and experiences concerning the reporting of victimization in their facilities. Staff analyses are based on N=258 respondents before accounting for nonresponse rates of individual items.

### **Analytic Framework**

The results were organized first by the analogous conceptual sections of both offender and staff surveys: Knowledge of PREA; Perceptions of PREA; Perceptions of Safety, Compliance, and Consent; and Use of PREA and Perceptions of Reporting Abuse. We presented the individual responses of both offenders and staff from each facility, and grouped the offenders and staff by gender across all facilities. Comparisons were then conducted across the staff and offenders for analogous items from each conceptual section. Tests of significance utilized chi-square analyses to examine these response patterns within and between the two samples.

## **Results**

### **Demographics**

Table 1 illustrates individual demographic frequencies for offender and staff samples, and Table 2 illustrates analogous demographic characteristics of offenders and staff.

As reflected in Table 1, demographic frequencies for offenders were relatively consistent across facilities, with some differences in the distribution of age and race. MP-Max had the highest proportion of African American offenders across the facilities, as well as the longest average duration of previous incarceration. Male offenders were generally more likely to have previously been incarcerated than female offenders, and reported longer average times in prison.

Regarding staff demographics, Table 1 demonstrates that there was a predominance of African American correctional officers and staff, and a higher proportion of staff in the youngest age category at MP-Max. The majority of staff (67%) had undergone at least some college education. On average, they had been involved in work as correctional staff for significant periods of time, averaging 7.4 years for male staff and 10.2 years for female staff. The majority of staff were employed in security functions that involved direct contact with offenders. Table 2 illustrates that the offenders and staff were quite consistent across analogous demographic items.

Table 1: Offender and Staff Demographics

<b>Offenders</b>	<b>MP-Max (109)</b> N (%)	<b>MP-Med (41)</b> N (%)	<b>WP (112)</b> N (%)	<b>Male (150)</b> N (%)	<b>Female (112)</b> N (%)
<b>Age</b>					
18-29	22 (20%)	2 (5%)	24 (21%)	24 (16%)	24 (21%)
30-39	32 (29%)	18 (44%)	23 (21%)	50 (33%)	23 (21%)
40-49	29 (27%)	9 (22%)	34 (30%)	38 (25%)	34 (30%)
50-59	12 (11%)	8 (20%)	20 (18%)	20 (13%)	20 (18%)
60+	10 (9%)	2 (5%)	11 (10%)	12 (8%)	11 (10%)
<b>Race</b>					
White/Caucasian	23 (21%)	11 (27%)	49 (44%)	34 (23%)	49 (44%)
Black/African American	67 (62%)	21 (51%)	51 (46%)	88 (59%)	51 (46%)
Other	14 (13%)	8 (20%)	10 (9%)	22 (15%)	10 (9%)
Hispanic or Latino	4 (4%)	1 (2%)	3 (3%)	5 (3%)	3 (3%)
Previously in jail/prison	70 (64%)	25 (61%)	61 (55%)	95 (63%)	61 (55%)
Avg. time in prison (years)	11.9	8.1	6.1	10.8	6.1
<b>Sexual orientation</b>					
Heterosexual	99 (91%)	39 (95%)	67 (60%)	138 (92%)	67 (60%)
Non-heterosexual	4 (4%)	0 (0%)	43 (38%)	4 (3%)	43 (38%)
<b>Staff</b>	<b>MP-Max (96)</b> N (%)	<b>MP-Med (65)</b> N (%)	<b>WP (97)</b> N (%)	<b>Male (125)</b> N (%)	<b>Female (126)</b> N (%)
<b>Age</b>					
18-29	32 (33%)	14 (22%)	24 (25%)	44 (35%)	26 (21%)
30-39	24 (25%)	13 (20%)	16 (17%)	29 (23%)	24 (19%)
40-49	21 (22%)	15 (23%)	19 (20%)	23 (18%)	32 (25%)
50-59	10 (10%)	13 (20%)	16 (17%)	14 (11%)	25 (20%)
60+	4 (4%)	8 (12%)	8 (8%)	13 (10%)	7 (6%)
<b>Race<sup>2</sup></b>					
White/Caucasian	17 (18%)	33 (51%)	31 (32%)	47 (38%)	33 (26%)
Black/African American	67 (69%)	30 (46%)	52 (54%)	68 (54%)	81 (64%)
Other	7 (7%)	2 (3%)	5 (5%)	9 (7%)	5 (4%)
Hispanic or Latino	3 (3%)	1 (2%)	2 (2%)	1 (1%)	5 (4%)
Average time in corrections	7.8	10.1	9.3	7.4	10.2
Average time at current facility	6.0	9.1	7.8	5.8	9.0
<b>Gender</b>					
Male	51 (53%)	37 (57%)	37 (38%)	N/A	N/A
Female	42 (44%)	28 (43%)	56 (58%)	N/A	N/A
<b>Highest education level</b>					
High school (no degree)	14 (15%)	14 (22%)	18 (19%)	18 (14%)	28 (22%)
High school (degree)	11 (12%)	8 (12%)	14 (14%)	20 (16%)	11 (9%)
Technical training	3 (3%)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)	2 (2%)	2 (2%)
Some college	39 (41%)	31 (48%)	43 (44%)	58 (46%)	54 (43%)
Bachelor's degree	14 (15%)	6 (9%)	7 (7%)	14 (11%)	13 (10%)
Some graduate work	3 (3%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	3 (2%)	2 (2%)
Grad./professional degree	10 (10%)	5 (8%)	10 (10%)	10 (8%)	15 (12%)
<b>Position category</b>					
Security	72 (75%)	46 (71%)	69 (71%)	107 (86%)	76 (60%)
Non-security	21 (22%)	17 (26%)	25 (26%)	18 (14%)	45 (36%)
<b>Supervisory status</b>					
Supervisory	16 (17%)	16 (25%)	23 (24%)	33 (26%)	20 (16%)
Non-supervisory	72 (75%)	47 (72%)	65 (67%)	87 (70%)	96 (76%)

No tests of significance were conducted for demographics tables, due to the fact that some multi-category variables such as Age would have created unwieldy comparisons, and some variables such as Ethnicity (Hispanic or Latino) had high rates of missing values.

Table 2: Comparison of Offender and Staff Demographics

	Offenders (262) N (%)	Staff (258) N (%)
Age		
18-29	48 (18%)	70 (27%)
30-39	73 (28%)	53 (21%)
40-49	72 (28%)	55 (21%)
50-59	40 (15%)	39 (15%)
60+	23 (9%)	20 (8%)
Race <sup>1</sup>		
White/Caucasian	83 (32%)	81 (31%)
Black/African American	139 (53%)	149 (58%)
Other	32 (12%)	14 (5%)
Hispanic or Latino	8 (3%)	6 (2%)
Average time in corrections (years)	8.8	8.1

No tests of significance were conducted for demographics tables, due to the fact that some multi-category variables such as Age would have created unwieldy comparisons, and some variables such as Ethnicity (Hispanic or Latino) had high rates of missing values.

## Knowledge of PREA

Table 3 examines various aspects of offender and staff knowledge of PREA regulations, and Table 4 illustrates offender and staff comparisons for analogous survey items.

Table 3: Offender and Staff Knowledge of PREA

Offenders	MP-Max (109) N (%)	MP-Med (41) N (%)	WP (112) N (%)	$\chi^2$	Male (150) N (%)	Female (112) N (%)
Average sum PREA knowledge <sup>1</sup>	4.94	5.46	5.85	N/A <sup>2-***</sup>	5.09	5.84
Know what PREA means	85 (78%)	34 (83%)	109 (97%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	119 (79%)	109 (97%)
Protect from victimization	89 (82%)	36 (88%)	111 (99%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	125 (83%)	111 (99%)
Know how to report	92 (84%)	39 (95%)	107 (96%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	131 (87%)	107 (96%)
Know compliance manager	15 (14%)	12 (29%)	35 (31%)	9.74**	27 (18%)	35 (31%)
Know sex assault hotline #	93 (85%)	39 (95%)	99 (88%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	132 (88%)	99 (88%)
Staff-offender sex illegal	88 (81%)	34 (83%)	103 (92%)	4.11	122 (81%)	103 (92%)
Sexual assault info at intake	77 (71%)	30 (73%)	90 (80%)	2.58	107 (71%)	90 (80%)
Staff	MP-Max (96) N (%)	MP-Med (65) N (%)	WP (97) N (%)	$\chi^2$	Male (125) N (%)	Female (126) N (%)
Average sum PREA knowledge <sup>3</sup>	5.55	5.45	5.07	N/A <sup>2-***</sup>	5.36	5.40
Know what PREA means	96 (100%)	63 (96%)	95 (98%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	124 (99%)	124 (98%)
Protect from victimization	92 (96%)	65 (100%)	92 (95%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	124 (99%)	122 (97%)
Know how to report	94 (98%)	64 (98%)	91 (94%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	121 (97%)	122 (97%)
Know compliance manager	79 (82%)	49 (75%)	48 (49%)	28.45***	83 (66%)	91 (72%)
Know sex assault hotline #	78 (81%)	48 (74%)	74 (76%)	1.22	96 (77%)	99 (79%)
Staff – offender sex illegal	94 (98%)	65 (100%)	92 (95%)	N/A <sup>4</sup>	122 (98%)	123 (98%)

\* p<0.05, \*\* p<0.01, \*\*\* p<0.001; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] Average Sum PREA Knowledge: for offenders, this is the mean score on a sum variable of seven knowledge-related questions.

[2] Due to these values being mean scores, a one-way ANOVA was run instead of a Chi-Square or Fisher's Exact Test.

[3] Due to these values being mean scores, an independent samples t test was run instead of a Chi-Square or Fisher's Exact Test.

[4] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

[5] Average Sum PREA Knowledge: for staff, there were only six knowledge-related questions (as compared to seven for offenders)

The offender data reported in Table 3 reveal relatively high average Knowledge of PREA scores for the male and female offender samples combined (M=5.41 out of 7.0) with only seven (3%) of the offenders obtaining knowledge scores of 0 or 1. Significant

differences in Knowledge of PREA composite mean totals were observed across both facility and gender. There was a difference between the mean scores of the three facilities ( $F(2,259)=13.37, p < 0.01$ ), with Knowledge of PREA composite scores being lower for MP-Max ( $M=4.94, SD=1.59$ ) when compared to WP ( $M=5.84, SD=0.89$ ),  $p < 0.001$ . There were no differences between MP-Med ( $M=5.46, SD=1.25$ ) and the other two facilities. Females' Knowledge of PREA scores ( $M=5.84, SD=0.89$ ) were higher than those of males ( $M=5.09, SD=1.46$ ),  $t(260)=4.68, p < .001$ ).

Analyses of staff response frequencies in Table 3 revealed very high average knowledge scores for the overall sample, with a mean score of 5.34 out of six questions. Staff demonstrated higher knowledge scores than offenders (although the staff means in Table 3 appear to be quite similar to the offender means in Table 3, the staff means are calculated out of six items, while the offender means are calculated out of seven items.) There was a difference among the mean knowledge scores of the three facilities,  $F(2, 255)=9.20, p < .001$ , such that the mean knowledge scores for WP ( $M=5.07, SD=0.94$ ) were lower than those for MP-Med ( $M=5.45, SD=0.71$ ) and MP-Max ( $M=5.55, SD=0.72$ ),  $p < 0.5$  and  $p < .001$ , respectively.

Table 4: Comparison of Offender and Staff Knowledge of PREA

	Offenders (262) N (%)	Staff (258) N (%)	$\chi^2/t$ value
Average sum PREA knowledge <sup>2</sup>	4.66	5.35	7.78***
Know what PREA means	228 (87%)	254 (98%)	30.48***
Protect from victimization	236 (90%)	249 (97%)	9.34**
Know how to report	238 (91%)	249 (97%)	10.15**
Know compliance manager	62 (24%)	176 (68%)	109.90***
Know sex assault hotline #	231 (88%)	200 (78%)	9.69**
Staff – offender sex illegal	225 (86%)	251 (97%)	22.04***

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

[2] Due to these values being mean scores, an independent samples t test was run instead of a Chi-Square or Fisher's Exact Test.

As illustrated in Table 4, all of the analogous knowledge items (the six knowledge items that were asked for both offenders and staff) yielded significant differences in response patterns between offenders and staff, with staff scoring higher on five of the six knowledge items. The largest discrepancy between offender and staff scores is in their knowledge of their PREA Compliance Manager, with only 24% of offenders endorsing this knowledge as opposed to 68% of staff. At least one of the three facilities did not have an active PREA Compliance Manager at the time of data collection. Despite this low percentage, offenders demonstrated a generally high rate of endorsing every other knowledge item, with their mean sum knowledge scores being within a one-point margin of staff mean scores.

## Perceptions of PREA

Table 5 examines various aspects of offender and staff perceptions of the PREA laws and regulations, and Table 6 illustrates offender and staff comparisons for analogous survey items.

Despite relatively high knowledge scores (Table 3), offenders demonstrated comparatively lower positive endorsements of PREA. As summarized in Table 5, only 11% of offenders reported all positive perceptions of PREA, whereas 51% reported all negative perceptions of PREA. There was a significant relationship between gender and endorsing negative PREA perceptions for several items, with men being more likely than women to endorse the negative views that PREA has had no effect on life in prison, that PREA has not made them feel safer in prison, and that PREA hinders staff-offender communication.

Table 5 illustrates that staff endorsed comparatively higher positive views of PREA than did offenders. However, perceptions were still varied overall, with 71% of staff endorsing both positive and negative views of PREA. As was true for staff knowledge (Table 3), there were very few significant differences across gender or facility.

Table 5: Offender and Staff Perceptions of PREA

Offenders	MP-Max (109)	MP-Med (41)	WP (112)	$\chi^2$	Male (150)	Female (112)
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		N (%)	N (%)
Complaints handled fairly	42 (39%)	24 (59%)	43 (38%)	9.01*	66 (44%)	43 (38%)
“Need to know” sharing only	52 (48%)	24 (59%)	57 (51%)	2.59	76 (51%)	57 (51%)
PREA not affect prison life	78 (72%)	33 (80%)	70 (63%)	5.96	111 (74%)	70 (63%)
PREA changed sex behavior	26 (24%)	19 (46%)	39 (35%)	7.36*	45 (30%)	39 (35%)
PREA helped feel safer	17 (16%)	17 (41%)	52 (46%)	24.22***	34 (23%)	52 (46%)
PREA hinders communication	35 (32%)	13 (32%)	54 (48%)	5.53	48 (32%)	54 (48%)
All negative PREA perceptions	67 (61%)	17 (41%)	50 (45%)	8.08*	84 (56%)	50 (45%)
All positive PREA perceptions	12 (11%)	5 (12%)	13 (12%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	17 (11%)	13 (12%)
Mixed PREA perceptions	18 (17%)	18 (44%)	44 (39%)	17.60***	36 (24%)	44 (39%)
Staff	MP-Max (96)	MP-Med (65)	WP (97)	$\chi^2$	Male (125)	Female (126)
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		N (%)	N (%)
Complaints handled fairly	88 (92%)	61 (94%)	87 (90%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	120 (96%)	112 (89%)
“Need to know” sharing only	79 (82%)	57 (88%)	81 (84%)	1.11	102 (82%)	111 (88%)
PREA not effect work	29 (30%)	23 (35%)	40 (41%)	1.98	44 (35%)	45 (36%)
PREA made job more difficult	10 (10%)	13 (20%)	18 (19%)	3.00	18 (14%)	22 (17%)
PREA reduced sex behavior	70 (73%)	39 (60%)	57 (59%)	6.53*	92 (74%)	69 (55%)
Staff gender policy harmful	40 (42%)	25 (38%)	32 (33%)	2.07	49 (39%)	43 (34%)
PREA hinders communication	21 (22%)	15 (23%)	30 (31%)	2.21	28 (22%)	35 (28%)
Prison safer due to PREA	73 (76%)	50 (77%)	70 (72%)	0.27	101 (81%)	88 (70%)
Staff respectful due to PREA	66 (69%)	41 (63%)	63 (65%)	0.74	87 (70%)	78 (62%)
Staff more aware of language	84 (88%)	52 (80%)	80 (82%)	2.24	106 (85%)	104 (83%)
Staff more boundary-aware	91 (95%)	57 (88%)	86 (89%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	116 (93%)	113 (90%)
Staff more cautious	86 (90%)	59 (91%)	88 (91%)	1.30	113 (90%)	115 (91%)
No way to improve PREA	55 (57%)	37 (57%)	47 (48%)	1.15	72 (58%)	65 (52%)
All negative PREA perceptions	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
All positive PREA perceptions	26 (27%)	16 (25%)	18 (19%)	2.05	30 (24%)	29 (23%)
Mixed PREA perceptions	70 (73%)	49 (75%)	79 (81%)	2.06	95 (76%)	97 (77%)

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher’s Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

Table 6 illustrates that there are significant differences in offender and staff response patterns on all analogous items other than the composite variable Mixed PREA Perceptions, which indicates those who endorsed both positive and negative perceptions of PREA. It is clear that the concept of fairness and effectiveness of PREA policies is an area of the attitudinal climate that is highly discrepant for offenders as compared to staff. For example, only 42% of offenders endorsed the statement that complaints of victimization are handled fairly, whereas 92% of staff endorsed this item. Although there is a comparable number of mixed responses for the two groups, very few offenders endorsed all positive perceptions (7% of offenders compared to 40% of staff) and very few staff endorsed all negative perceptions (2% of staff compared to 30% of offenders). Furthermore, on an offender-only item addressing the issue of staff protection of offenders, respondents indicated that they think some staff do less to protect certain offenders from sexual abuse because of their age (19%), gender (22%), race/ethnicity (34%), size (15%), disability status (15%), mental health issues (18%), and sexual orientation (45%).

Table 6: Comparison of Offender and Staff Perceptions of PREA

	Offenders (262) N (%)	Staff (258) N (%)	$\chi^2$
Complaints handled fairly	109 (42%)	236 (92%)	138.74***
“Need to know” sharing only	133 (51%)	217 (84%)	62.24***
PREA not effect prison life <sup>2</sup>	181 (69%)	92 (36%)	58.02***
PREA changed sex behavior	84 (32%)	166 (64%)	54.67***
PREA hinders communication	102 (39%)	66 (26%)	13.27***
All negative PREA perceptions	78 (30%)	4 (2%)	77.94***
All positive PREA perceptions	18 (7%)	103 (40%)	79.54***
Mixed PREA perceptions	164 (63%)	150 (58%)	1.08

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher’s Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

[2] This item was constructed slightly differently on the VACCS-O15 and the VACCS-CO15; the exact wording on the VACCS-O15 was “I believe PREA has had no effect on my life in prison” and the exact wording on the VACCS-CO15 was “I believe PREA has had no effect on my work in prison.”

## Perceptions of Safety, Compliance, and Consent

Table 7 examines various aspects of offender and staff perceptions of safety, compliance, and consent regarding sexual behavior in prison, and Table 8 illustrates offender and staff comparisons for analogous survey items.

There were facility and gender differences in offenders’ experience and expression of concerns about physical safety. For both males and females, rates of endorsement were low on items measuring a need to ensure personal safety by feeling compelled to engage in behaviors like sexual favors (6% of both male and female samples), joining a gang (3% of males and 1% of females), and joining a prison family (10% of males and 6% of females). However, rates of endorsement were comparatively higher pertaining to the need to engage in violence to stay safe, with males (49%) being significantly more likely than females (30%) to endorse this view. Furthermore, 65% of offenders endorsed the belief that they would be put in segregation for making an allegation of sexual victimization. Female offenders (65%) were significantly more likely than males (46%) to endorse all positive perceptions of PREA.

Table 7: Offender and Staff Perceptions of Safety, Compliance, and Consent

Offenders	MP-Max (109)	MP-Med (41)	WP (112)	$\chi^2$	Male (150)	Female (112)
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		N (%)	N (%)
Make allegation, put in segregation	72 (66%)	24 (59%)	75 (67%)	0.37	96 (64%)	75 (67%)
Most sexual activity consensual	82 (75%)	29 (71%)	100 (89%)	4.35	111 (74%)	100 (89%)
Some sexual activity forced	53 (49%)	11 (27%)	49 (44%)	7.8*	64 (43%)	49 (44%)
Staff have means to protect	42 (39%)	20 (49%)	65 (58%)	6.41*	62 (41%)	65 (58%)
To stay safe, perform sex favors	6 (6%)	3 (7%)	7 (6%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	9 (6%)	7 (6%)
To stay safe, use violence	62 (57%)	12 (29%)	34 (30%)	21.84***	74 (49%)	34 (30%)
To stay safe, join gang	4 (4%)	1 (2%)	1 (1%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	5 (3%)	1 (1%)
To stay safe, join prison family	13 (12%)	2 (5%)	7 (6%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	15 (10%)	7 (6%)
Felt safer during past year	25 (23%)	17 (41%)	40 (36%)	6.39*	42 (28%)	40 (36%)
Staff protect offenders equally	50 (46%)	24 (59%)	47 (42%)	3.76	74 (49%)	47 (42%)
All negative safety perceptions	2 (2%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	2 (1%)	0 (0%)
All positive safety perceptions	41 (38%)	28 (68%)	73 (65%)	20.80***	69 (46%)	73 (65%)
Mixed safety perceptions	64 (59%)	13 (32%)	39 (35%)	15.89***	77 (51%)	39 (35%)
All negative staff perceptions	32 (29%)	9 (22%)	26 (23%)	1.43	41 (27%)	26 (23%)
All positive staff perceptions	15 (14%)	7 (17%)	17 (15%)	0.27	22 (15%)	17 (15%)
Mixed staff perceptions	61 (56%)	25 (61%)	69 (62%)	0.80	86 (57%)	69 (62%)
Staff	MP-Max (96)	MP-Med (65)	WP (97)	$\chi^2$	Male (125)	Female (126)
	N (%)	N (%)	N (%)		N (%)	N (%)
Staff don't discriminate	77 (80%)	55 (85%)	84 (87%)	5.00	110 (88%)	101 (80%)
Staff do all they can to comply	85 (89%)	61 (94%)	88 (91%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	116 (93%)	113 (90%)
Staff have no problem following PREA	78 (81%)	55 (85%)	72 (74%)	1.57	105 (84%)	95 (75%)
All negative staff perceptions	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
All positive staff perceptions	26 (27%)	16 (25%)	18 (19%)	1.21	30 (24%)	29 (27%)
Mixed staff perceptions	70 (73%)	49 (75%)	18 (19%)	1.23	95 (76%)	97 (77%)
Staff-offender sex compromises safety	86 (90%)	63 (97%)	86 (89%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	114 (91%)	114 (90%)
Staff can prevent retaliation	91 (95%)	60 (92%)	90 (93%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	117 (94%)	117 (93%)
Offenders can be manipulative	91 (95%)	63 (97%)	85 (88%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	115 (92%)	118 (94%)
Most sexual activity consensual	40 (42%)	44 (68%)	65 (67%)	13.88**	68 (54%)	78 (62%)
Some sexual activity forced	49 (41%)	31 (48%)	44 (45%)	0.68	61 (49%)	59 (47%)
Some staff think harassment okay	21 (22%)	9 (4%)	19 (20%)	1.96	15 (12%)	32 (35%)

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

As illustrated in Table 7, staff perceptions of safety, PREA compliance, and sexual consent in their facilities were relatively positive. No staff endorsed all negative views of fellow staff, although 35% of males and 39% of females endorsed mixed views (at least one negative and one positive view of staff). One item yielded significantly different response patterns for male and female staff, with male staff (12%) being significantly less likely than female staff (35%) to endorse the negative view that some staff think harassment is acceptable. Overall, male staff endorsed more positive perceptions than females, including the views that that staff do not discriminate when applying PREA, that staff do all they can to comply with PREA, and that staff have no problems following PREA policies.

Table 8: Comparison of Offender and Staff Perceptions of Safety, Compliance, and Consent

	Offenders (262)	Staff (258)	$\chi^2$
	N (%)	N (%)	
Most sexual activity consensual	211 (81%)	148 (58%)	35.50***
Some sexual activity forced	113 (43%)	124 (48%)	1.08
Staff have means to protect	127 (49%)	241 (93%)	130.07***
All negative perceptions	26 (10%)	6 (2%)	13.00***
All positive perceptions	79 (30%)	121 (47%)	15.40***
Mixed perceptions	153 (58%)	128 (50%)	4.04*

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

Pertaining to offender-staff comparisons illustrated in Table 8, although the two groups endorsed at comparable rates the belief that some sexual activity in their facility is forced (43% for offenders and 48% for staff), there was a substantial difference in beliefs about consensual sex. While 81% of offenders endorsed the belief that most sexual activity in their facility is consensual, only 58% of staff agreed. The most significant offender-staff response discrepancy is in the belief that staff have the means to protect offenders from victimization and retaliation, with only 49% of offenders endorsing this item as compared to 93% of staff.

### **Use of PREA and Perceptions of Reporting Abuse**

Table 9 examines offender and staff use of PREA and perceptions of reporting abuse, and Table 10 illustrates offender and staff comparisons for analogous survey items.

As illustrated in Table 9, there were significant facility and gender differences observed pertaining to items measuring offender willingness to report victimization by staff and fellow offenders, as well as their perceptions related to the outcomes of reporting at their facilities. Despite generally negative views of PREA (see Table 5), many offenders indicated that they would report at least some forms of victimization. Females were more likely than males to report both abuse and harassment. However, they were also more likely to endorse negative beliefs about reporting, with 36% endorsing all negative reporting beliefs (versus 23% of males).

Table 9: Offender and Staff Use of PREA and Perceptions of Reporting Abuse

Offenders	MP-Max (109) N (%)	MP-Med (41) N (%)	WP (112) N (%)	$\chi^2$	Male (150) N (%)	Female (1) N (%)
Report abuse, experience retaliation	35 (32%)	14 (34%)	62 (55%)	12.63**	49 (33%)	62 (55%)
Would report abuse by staff	70 (64%)	34 (83%)	94 (84%)	10.94**	104 (69%)	94 (84%)
Would report harassment by staff	67 (61%)	32 (78%)	91 (81%)	11.17**	99 (66%)	91 (81%)
Would report abuse by offender	65 (60%)	38 (93%)	96 (86%)	18.09***	103 (69%)	96 (86%)
Would report harassment by offender	57 (52%)	37 (90%)	86 (77%)	19.41***	94 (63%)	86 (77%)
Would report, other abused	32 (29%)	24 (59%)	72 (64%)	23.97***	56 (37%)	72 (64%)
Would report, other harassed	31 (28%)	25 (61%)	67 (60%)	21.91***	56 (37%)	67 (60%)
Report abuse, not feel safe	49 (45%)	14 (34%)	47 (42%)	1.72	63 (42%)	47 (42%)
Report harassment, not feel safe	43 (39%)	12 (29%)	48 (43%)	2.05	55 (37%)	48 (43%)
Report abuse to any staff	28 (26%)	16 (39%)	46 (41%)	5.10	44 (29%)	46 (41%)
Report abuse to only some staff	40 (37%)	20 (49%)	72 (64%)	15.00**	60 (40%)	72 (64%)
Less likely to report if abuser female	68 (62%)	23 (56%)	5 (4%)	92.47***	91 (61%)	5 (4%)
Less likely to report if abuser male	16 (15%)	6 (15%)	4 (4%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	22 (15%)	4 (4%)
Report some abuse	75 (69%)	39 (95%)	103 (92%)	25.99***	114 (76%)	103 (92%)
Report all abuse	26 (24%)	22 (54%)	65 (58%)	28.51***	48 (32%)	65 (58%)
Report some harassment	69 (63%)	37 (90%)	98 (88%)	23.09***	106 (71%)	98 (88%)
Report all harassment	26 (24%)	23 (56%)	59 (53%)	23.38***	49 (33%)	59 (53%)
All negative reporting beliefs	26 (24%)	8 (20%)	40 (36%)	5.66	34 (23%)	40 (36%)
All positive reporting beliefs	45 (41%)	22 (54%)	41 (37%)	3.60	67 (45%)	41 (37%)
Mixed reporting beliefs	35 (32%)	11 (27%)	31 (28%)	0.68	46 (31%)	31 (28%)
Staff	MP-Max (96) N (%)	MP-Med (65) N (%)	WP (97) N (%)	$\chi^2$	Male (125) N (%)	Female (1) N (%)
Report offender abuse male staff	95 (99%)	65 (100%)	97 (100%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	126 (100)
Report offender abuse female staff	95 (99%)	65 (100%)	97 (100%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	126 (100)
Report offender harassment male staff	95 (99%)	65 (100%)	96 (99%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	125 (99)
Report offender harassment female staff	95 (99%)	65 (100%)	96 (99%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	125 (99)
Report offender-offender abuse	96 (100%)	64 (98%)	96 (99%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	125 (99)
Report offender-offender harassment	96 (100%)	64 (98%)	96 (99%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	124 (99%)	125 (99)
Fear retaliation if report staff	11 (11%)	8 (12%)	13 (13%)	0.17	11 (9%)	20 (16%)
More likely to write charge now	71 (74%)	34 (52%)	56 (58%)	11.89**	74 (59%)	82 (65%)
Staff-offender touch suspicious	85 (89%)	57 (88%)	86 (89%)	0.62	115 (92%)	106 (84)
More on guard now	79 (82%)	49 (75%)	66 (68%)	2.01	95 (76%)	93 (74%)
Use PREA to prevent sex	86 (90%)	56 (86%)	81 (84%)	2.15	112 (90%)	105 (83)
Use PREA to prevent abuse	88 (92%)	60 (92%)	87 (90%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	116 (93%)	113 (90)
Offenders retaliated on if they report	48 (50%)	30 (46%)	29 (30%)	8.49*	55 (44%)	47 (37%)
Angry at staff sex with offender	78 (81%)	52 (80%)	76 (78%)	0.90	97 (78%)	102 (81)
Gossip occurs if report on staff	46 (48%)	25 (38%)	68 (70%)	18.33***	65 (52%)	69 (55%)
Would report all abuse	95 (99%)	64 (98%)	97 (100%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	123 (98%)	126 (100)
Would report all harassment	95 (99%)	64 (98%)	96 (99%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	123 (98%)	125 (99)
All negative reporting beliefs	5 (5%)	6 (9%)	3 (3%)	N/A <sup>1</sup>	6 (5%)	7 (6%)
All positive reporting beliefs	31 (32%)	28 (43%)	22 (23%)	7.57*	42 (34%)	37 (29%)
Mixed reporting beliefs	60 (63%)	31 (48%)	72 (74%)	11.81**	77 (62%)	82 (65%)

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note—the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

Moreover, although offenders were relatively likely to endorse a willingness to report their own victimization, comparably lower rates were observed on measures of whether offenders would report if someone else was victimized. Female offenders were significantly more likely to report if someone else was abused (64%) or harassed (60%) than males (37% for both abuse and harassment). These rates are 17% to 30% lower than the observed rates of willingness to report one's own abuse or harassment.

As illustrated by Table 9, staff overwhelmingly endorsed a willingness to report offender victimization (98% to 100% positive endorsement for all reporting items); rates of positive endorsement were not substantially affected by whether abuse or harassment was the type of victimization in question or whether the abuser was staff/offender, or male/female. Staff also demonstrated relatively high endorsement of items pertaining to the effects of PREA on their monitoring and reporting of other behaviors, such as endorsing the view that they are more likely to write a charge now than they used to be (59% of males and 65% of females).

Table 10: Comparison of Offender and Staff Use of PREA and Perceptions of Reporting Abuse

	Offenders (262) N (%)	Staff (258) N (%)	$\chi^2$
If report abuse, would experience retaliation <sup>2</sup>	111 (42%)	107 (42%)	0.20
If report abuse, not feel safe <sup>3</sup>	110 (42%)	32 (12%)	62.66***
Would report abuse by staff <sup>4</sup>	198 (76%)	257 (100%)	59.68***
Would report harassment by staff	190 (73%)	256 (99%)	69.80***
Would report abuse by offender	199 (76%)	256 (99%)	54.11***
Would report harassment by offender	180 (69%)	256 (99%)	79.20***
Would report some abuse	214 (82%)	258 (100%)	52.07***
Would report all abuse	183 (70%)	255 (99%)	82.25***
Would report some harassment	201 (77%)	257 (100%)	64.89***
Would report all harassment	169 (65%)	255 (99%)	101.79***
All negative reporting beliefs	78 (30%)	21 (8%)	39.46***
All positive reporting beliefs	108 (41%)	139 (54%)	8.35**
Mixed reporting beliefs	73 (28%)	98 (38%)	6.03*

\*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$ ; note-the percentages displayed in table are based on the Ns at the top of each column.

[1] When the data did not conform to a  $\chi^2$  analysis, a Fisher's Exact Test was run, with N/A entered in the  $\chi^2$  column.

[2] This item was constructed slightly differently on the VACCS-O15 and the VACCS-CO15; the exact wording on the VACCS-O15 was "I believe that I will experience retaliation if I make a report of sexual abuse" and the exact wording on the VACCS-CO15 was "Offender will likely experience retaliation if they report sexual abuse."

[3] This item was constructed slightly differently on the VACCS-O15 and the VACCS-CO15; the exact wording on the VACCS-O15 was "I believe PREA has had no effect on my life in prison" and the exact wording on the VACCS-CO15 was "I would fear retaliation by other staff if I reported staff on offender abuse."

[4] For all of the items addressing willingness to report, offenders were asked about their willingness to report victimization of themselves and staff were asked about their willingness to report victimization of offenders.

Consistent with the other offender-staff comparison tables, Table 10 demonstrates that nearly all of the items pertaining to the use of PREA and perceptions of reporting yielded different response patterns between offenders and staff. Offenders were moderately willing to report all scenarios of victimization directed at themselves, with endorsement ranging from 69% of offenders (Would report harassment by an offender) to 76% (Would report abuse by staff). Staff, on the other hand, endorsed a willingness to report both harassment and abuse perpetrated against offenders at consistent rates of 99-100%. For staff, rates of positive endorsement were not affected by the type of victimization or whether the abuser was staff/offender, whereas these factors did seem to impact offender willingness to report.

## Discussion

Our study has found significant differences between offenders and staff with respect to their knowledge, perceptions, and responses to PREA. When viewed together, these disparities suggest little common ground between the two groups regarding the implementation and effects of the PREA initiative. It is difficult to disentangle the programmatic significance of these empirical differences in the experiences/behaviors of offenders and staff, particularly when they are coexisting in the same institution. They may reflect fundamental differences in position, authority, and control that are intrinsic

to the hierarchical structure of a correctional institution. Alternatively, they may reflect cultural differences that can be addressed through programming with the potential for invigorating the cultural change that is central to the realization of the intent of PREA. Our analyses also reflected gender differences within both the offender and staff samples, underscoring the added complexity of generating policies and programming that are effective for men and women in both populations.

Despite the widespread use of the single term “PREA education” when discussing PREA programming and policy implementation, the data indicate that learning about, accepting, and using PREA regulations involves different processes that are necessary for and embedded within the behavior and responses of both offenders and correctional staff. For example, although most offenders endorsed high knowledge scores and therefore demonstrated the ability to learn about PREA regulations, many of them endorsed negative views of the effectiveness of PREA and lacked willingness to report PREA incidents, indicating perceptions and behaviors that deviate from their learning processes. Similarly, correctional staff exhibited a pattern of high PREA knowledge, but at least one-third endorsed the belief that the PREA legislation had no effect in altering sexual behavior in prison. These discrepancies confirm that issues of less than full adherence to PREA policies do not emerge because of a deficiency in knowledge concerning PREA, but rather due to a complex interplay of perceptions, experiences, and behavior between correctional staff and offenders. It would be beneficial for future research to further investigate the other factors that impact PREA adherence in order to inform the creation of more effective PREA programming in correctional facilities.

The data also reflected highly significant differences between offenders and staff in relation to perceptions of fairness of PREA implementation. While a minority of the offenders endorsed the view that complaints of victimization were handled fairly in their institutions, the vast majority of staff endorsed this view. This difference reflects what appears to be a significant gap concerning the effect of PREA on prison life. It is not possible within the scope of this study to discern which of these perceptions are more accurate, although they do underscore the importance of continuing dialogue between offenders and staff to better capture the different experiences that are being described by the two samples. No matter how carefully crafted, policies should be routinely examined to ensure fairness of implementation. Furthermore, even if there is an equitable and standardized implementation of such policies, the perceptions of such implementation by affected populations should still be taken into account if the laws are to achieve their maximum effectiveness.

As reflected in the data, PREA is experienced differently by men and women and by offenders at different levels of security. For example, female offenders were more likely than males to endorse PREA’s ability to enhance their safety while incarcerated. Maximum security male offenders more often endorsed the need to use violence to ensure personal safety, as compared to medium-security males and female offenders. Gendered response patterns were also found among the correctional staff within and across facilities. Male correctional staff more often than female correctional staff

endorsed the view that PREA reduced sexual behavior in prison. These differences suggest that there are different perceptions and experiences being reported by men and women within both offender and staff populations, and that programming that is geared to the concerns of women may not be responsible and applicable to the concerns of the men. These differences argue against the use of PREA training that is overly rigid in content and structure, and suggests the need for programming that provides both factual information and the opportunity for ongoing dialogue and discussion by participants.

The data further suggest that offenders not only dispute the equality and fairness of the PREA legislation, but also fear that it might directly affect their quality of life. Concerns about being placed in segregation if a PREA report is made is a pervasive belief among both male and female offenders. Further, a substantial amount of both male female offenders believe they will experience retaliation if they make a PREA report. These types of concerns could be especially salient to offenders given the closed and impermeable nature of prison life, and could be expected to influence offender decisions about whether to make a PREA report in response to sexual victimization. Moreover, protective placement in segregation can undermine an offender's employment and earning potential, while breaks in educational programming can hinder meeting important educational deadlines. Such policies should be monitored regarding the ways they impact institutional life and offender safety.

### **Conclusion**

Our study underscores the multidimensional nature of policy and programmatic changes within correctional facilities. Several important considerations can be drawn from the findings.

1. It is clear that knowledge of PREA is not the only factor impacting offender and staff perceptions and adherence to PREA. While it is important to educate both groups about PREA policies and to routinely assess knowledge of said policies, correctional facilities should also consider other factors such as past victimization experience that can impact belief in and use of PREA. Future research could investigate the other factors that may impact PREA adherence in order to inform the creation of more effective PREA programming in correctional facilities.
2. PREA policies and programs should be created with input from all affected parties, and routinely evaluated for effectiveness and fairness of implementation. PREA programming should provide both factual information and the opportunity for ongoing dialogue by participants.
3. Policy-makers and administrators should be aware of how facility demographics such as gender and security level may impact the way PREA policies and programs are viewed and adhered to in their facilities. PREA education programs should not be “one-

size-fits-all”, but rather should be adapted to the specific needs of different groups within facilities.

4. Facilities should clearly communicate to offenders the process that will result from reports of sexual victimization in order to avoid misconceptions such as concerns about segregation. Facilities should be conservative in their use of protective placement in segregation during PREA investigations, keeping in mind that it can undermine an offender’s employment and educational deadlines and lead to stigma surrounding PREA reports.

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## Increasing Rural Access to Oral Care in Virginia

By James Leckie

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### Executive Summary

Rural Virginians disproportionately suffer from chronic disease, poor health, and poor nutrition. Lack of oral care is a major component of this, and action must be taken. Poor oral health is associated with a range of health issues around the entire body. The Commonwealth of Virginia can: authorize dental therapists to practice, expand dental hygienist scope of practice, allow Medicaid to pay for adult preventative dental care, expand school sealant programs, increase funding for school-based health centers, provide dental school scholarships for rural students, and increase dentist and dental hygienist class sizes and the number of schools in Virginia. It should prioritize the first four, with work on the remaining three if possible. These policies could significantly expand oral care services to rural Virginians and help increase their quality of life.

### Problem Statement

Too few rural Virginians have access to oral care services. About 43 percent of rural Americans lacked access to dental coverage in 2016 (Kim, 2018). In Virginia, 747,000 people under age 65 do not have health insurance and 3.8 million lacked dental insurance. These Virginians suffer pain, discomfort, social stigma, and more from lacking oral care (Virginia Dental Association, n.d.; Virginia Health Care Foundation, n.d.). People are subject to increased risk of heart disease, stroke, diabetes, and many other health problems due to poor dental care (Meurman, Sanz, & Janket, 2004; Virginia Health Care Foundation, n.d.). Despite the recent expansion of Medicaid, many Virginians, particularly its rural residents, lack dental insurance. Because of this, we must expand access to oral care in rural Virginia.

### Background

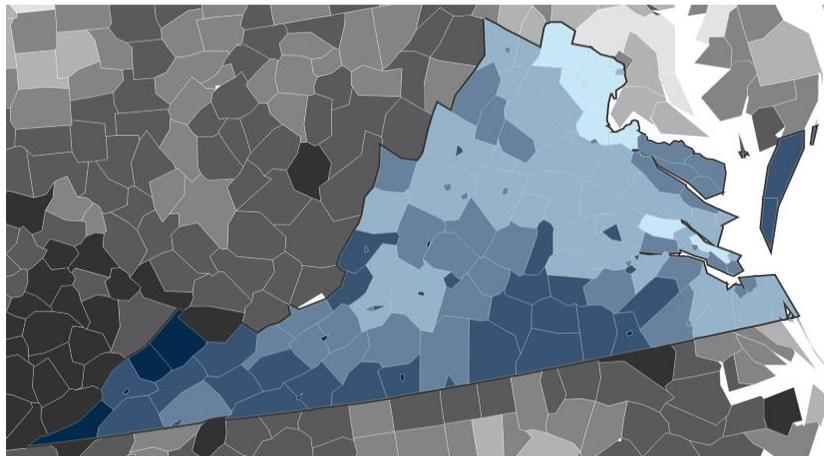
The Office of the Management and Budget defines nonmetro (rural) areas as any county that is not part of or adjacent to an urban core area of at least 50,000 people. In 2013, according to this definition, 62.8 percent of counties were considered rural, encompassing 15 percent of the total US population. These areas have higher rates of diabetes, heart disease, chronic obstructive pulmonary disease, obesity, and other major health problems. This leads to 13% higher mortality rates and life expectancy two years below the national average. Additionally, 64% of noncore counties are defined as “persistent poverty counties,” with roughly a third of rural counties having 20% or more of their population living in poverty in 2010 (Jackson et. al, 2017). Rural adults are more likely to have all their teeth missing compared to non-rural populations and untreated tooth decay is observed more frequently; this also leads to worse nutrition. Seventy-four percent of dental health professional shortage areas (DHPSAs) are in non-metro counties

(Boynes et. al, 2017). People in rural areas are thus shown to be in overall worse health, with fewer economic resources to address these health needs.

According to the Surgeon General's Oral Health Report: the 2011-2012 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey, almost half of Americans aged 30 years and older have periodontal disease, with more prevalence among African-Americans, the economically disadvantaged, those with lower educational attainment, and smokers. In 2016, it was estimated that nearly 50,000 Americans would contract oral or oropharyngeal cancer, and as many as 10,000 Americans would die of them; much more than the original prediction of 30,000 and 8,000 in 2000. Poor children also have twice as many cavities, as children of well-off parents. Cavities and diseases were also higher among the poor, and social determinants of health were found to be related to these disparities (Satcher & Nottingham, 2017). Exacerbating this, only 1 in 5 children covered by Medicaid receive preventive oral care, even though they are eligible. Children from low-income and minority families have poorer oral health outcomes, fewer dental visits, and fewer protective sealants. Water fluoridation, the most effective measure in preventing cavities, was only used in 62% of water supplies in 2000. This is likely to affect poor and minority children disproportionately (Mouradian, Wehr, & Crall, 2000).

The best predictor of accessing dental services is income. Fewer than 46 percent of people earning under \$15,000 a year received care in the past year, while 80 percent of those earning \$50,000 or more had been to a dentist (Jones, 2013). Medicaid was found to cause a 28 percentage-point increase in visits by children or adolescents to the dentist in the last six months, from 27% to 55%. Privately insured individuals were still higher at 68%, but this is a profound increase that is both statistically significant and large. Furthermore, increasing the Medicaid payment from \$20 to \$30 for preventative dental care increased likelihood of seeing a dentist by 4 percentage points as well as increasing the number of dentists that accept Medicaid patients (Decker, 2011). Therefore, expanding preventative payments among those without access does increase receiving treatment and access to dentists.

Personal Income Under \$25K - Virginia 2016



Source: US Census ACS, 2010 and 2016 5-year estimates.

Issues of oral care are far from just cosmetic, it is estimated that that 160 million work hours a year are lost due to oral disorders (Allen, 2003). Preventable dental conditions were also the primary diagnosis in 830,590 visits to the emergency department in 2009 (Virginia Oral Health Coalition, n.d.). Emergency departments for preventable conditions like this are not only expensive, but they also take time away from people with other conditions. Oral health is an issue of great importance, even before factoring in quality of life and prevention of disease and chronic illness.

### Health Issues Related to Oral Health

Oral health is linked to health outcomes and diseases throughout your entire body. Untreated gum disease can raise blood sugar levels, increasing risks for complications, especially for people with diabetes. It has also been found to increase a pregnant woman's chances of giving birth prematurely (Families USA, 2016). Periodontal disease has been associated with increased risk of cardiovascular disease and stroke (Meurman, Sanz, & Janet, 2004). Periodontal disease can as much as double your likelihood of a fatal heart attack and triple your risk of suffering a stroke (Virginia Health Care Foundation, n.d.). Plaque and oral health were found to be significantly correlated with coronary heart disease and mortality, even when controlling for factors like smoking, age, gender, and heart health at the start of observation (Jansson, Lavstedt, Frithiof, & Theobald, 2002). Chronic oral infections have been found to promote the clogging of arteries and blood clots (Virginia Health Care Foundation, n.d.).

Dental care is the greatest unmet health need for children nationwide. Cavities are the most widespread chronic disease for children ages 5-17 at a rate four times that of asthma. Oral examinations can detect this and other issues such as nutritional deficiency, systemic diseases, immune disorders, and even cancer (Virginia Health Care Foundation,

n.d.). Untreated dental disease can lead to emergency room visits, hospitalization, and death. In 2008, the US spent \$104 million on 215,000 preventable visits because of dental issues. Children with untreated tooth decay also have trouble eating, socializing, sleeping, and learning; all vital to child development. This affects low-income children disproportionately, and almost half of children with Medicaid did not receive dental care in 2013 (Koppelman, Cohen, & Mass, 2015). In the Minneapolis-St. Paul region, \$5 million was spent in a single year on 10,000 dental related emergency room visits with a large number of repeat visits (Davis, Deinard, & Maïga, 2010). Those costs averaged \$500 per visit, a large amount that would hurt any middle-class family. Other studies found that emergency department visits can cost anywhere from \$760-\$1,000 per visit on average; while dental office visits cost \$50-\$100. The American Dental Association (ADA) estimated that 80% of these visits were preventable through fluoridation, hygiene, and routine care (Virginia Board of Health Professions, 2014). Prevention for people with diabetes is especially important, the ADA found that giving people with Type 2 diabetes periodontal intervention care saved \$1,577 in healthcare costs excluding pharmaceuticals (Boynes et. al, 2017).

Lack of oral care can even cause spillover effects into other health crises. People without dental insurance often go to emergency departments for care, which do not typically offer dental services. Writing a prescription for opioids and a referral for dental care is typically all these departments can do (Paradise, 2016). This can inadvertently lead to addiction and exacerbate the opioid epidemic.

### **Oral Care Programs**

Oral care is crucial for preventing disease. Early interventions are key; one study found preschool children who undergo a preventative dental visit by age 1 are more likely to utilize dental services in the future and have lower dental costs overall (Lee, Bouwens, Savage, & Vann, 2006). Dental sealants—plastic coatings placed on the chewing surfaces of teeth—can reduce decay by 80 percent in the two years after placement and continue to be effective for nearly five years and at a third the cost of fillings (Koppelman, Cohen, & Mass, 2015).

School-based sealant programs, usually managed by dental hygienists with portable equipment can provide cleanings, fluoride, education, and screening with potential referral to a dentist. These programs focus primarily on high-needs schools with many low-income children as defined by the National School Lunch Program (Koppelman, Cohen, & Mass, 2015). These programs have been found to decrease tooth decay by 60 percent on average in five years (Grant & Peters, 2016). School-based health centers (SBHCs), health centers located in schools and funded via Medicaid, have also shown promise. In a study from 1997-2003 involving 5,056 students, it was found that SBHCs that provided healthcare closed the cost gap for African Americans and saved an estimated \$35 per student per year; amounting to saving of \$1.35 million for the 4 school districts in 3 years (Guo, Wade, Pan, & Keller, 2010). Applying dental programs to these

health centers may result in further savings. Some workplaces have experimented with oral health promotion programs of their own. Among 357 adult men, it was found that 2-4 visits with a dentist and dental hygienist reduced dental issues and saved \$1.46 per dollar spent per participant (Ichihashi, Muto, & Shibuya, 2007). Therefore, workplaces with dental coverage could save money on dental places by scheduling visits with dental care workers.

Dentists are not the only way patients receive restorative oral care. Dental therapists, midlevel providers similar to physician assistants, deliver restorative care such as: filing cavities, placing temporary crowns, and extracting badly diseased or decayed teeth (Koppelman, 2018). Typically, dental therapists complete two to three years of training from a dental therapy education program. Their training parallels the training that dentists receive, but they are trained to perform a narrower scope of procedures than dentists (Families, USA, 2016). They are often used to address shortages of dentists in remote areas. Minnesota, Maine, and Vermont all allow them to practice, and dental therapists extended care to 45,000 underserved Alaskan Native Tribal peoples (Families USA, 2016). Opponents of dental therapists cite their lack of education compared to dentists as well as potential to harm dentists' practice and create "second class care" for underserved populations (Jones, 2013). However, they practice in low-income or underserved communities in Minnesota that lacked care prior to utilization, with 80 percent of recipients on Medicaid. In Alaska, emergency care was almost 40 percent of all care in a clinic, decreasing the less than 25 percent after dental therapists were introduced; the most common service becoming preventative care. Minnesota dental therapists decreased wait times and patient distance to providers (Families USA, 2016). Dental therapists increase quality of care in the regions they serve. Additionally, a study comparing a conventional clinic and a clinic with more dental hygienists over a six-year period found the test clinic had fewer cavities per patient and a benefit-cost ratio of 1.48 or saving \$1.48 dollars for every \$1 increase in costs (Hannerz & Westerberg, 1996). While hygienists have less responsibility than therapists, this shows that mid and low-level providers not only save money but may actually find ways to decrease overall oral decay due to optimization.

Outside the healthcare workforce, communities are also taking action. Many religious organizations include health promotion as part of their mission and often institute health committees and participate in community outreach activities such as soup kitchens. Churches also provide an attractive venue to recruit and retain participants. Black churches were involved in outreach programs to address community health needs through free health clinics. Pastors provide congregational leadership for social action and community outreach in addition to their typical spiritual role. The church is typically a visible, respected, and credible agency in the community. Therefore, partnering with churches can enhance public health agency credibility. Church-based health promotion (CBHP) programs can also reduce disparities among rural whites and low-income people. These programs can be: collaborative, faith-based, or faith-placed. Faith-based is typically based in or affiliated with a religious organization, while faith-placed typically only utilizes areas like churches or other religious meeting places. The review found

significant health improvements from all three models of CBHP, especially from the faith-placed programs that were more likely to use study designs able to test efficacy (Campbell et. al, 2007). Building trust with churches may take time, but these programs can be effective in rural areas where access to care is limited and preventing health issues is key. Working with these groups to educate residents on proper oral hygiene can help curb many of the health issues suffered in Appalachia.

Even after all these actions, payment and affordability is still an issue. Millions of people received health insurance from Medicaid expansion, but dental benefits are an optional benefit in many states and are often seen as an easy cut to save money for state budgets. Using Medicaid to give low-income adults access to basic care, like crowns and dentures, can help increase quality of life. Some states with less expansive programs even consider helping low-income residents pay for toothbrushes and toothpaste (Paradise, 2016).

### **Virginia Rural Access to Oral Care**

Oral health is far from ideal in the Commonwealth of Virginia, with 3.8 million people lacking dental insurance, 66 localities having no dental safety net provider, and many of the 81 localities only having safety net providers part-time. There are 2.6 times as many children without dental insurance as those without health insurance. Students lose 250,000 hours each year to dental disease (Virginia Health Care Foundation, n.d.). The Virginia Oral Health Coalition estimates that 312,184 children ages 3 to 15 and 653,566 adults ages 35 to 74 suffer from dental decay to severe dental disease (Virginia Board of Health Professions, 2014). In Virginia, 14.9% of adults aged 65 and older have had all teeth extracted compared to 11.3% in Maryland and 14.5% nationally (Kaiser Family Foundation 4, 2018).

Virginia has major issues with dental care, but some areas are better than others. Virginia's "Smiles for Children" Medicaid program connected 45.7% of children enrolled in Medicaid to dental care in 2009. Compounding with this, 95% of residents had fluoridated water in 2008, Medicaid pays for early preventative dental care, and child dental health data is tracked (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011). Only 11.1% of Virginian children aged 1-17 experienced oral health problems compared to the national average of 13.5%. 71.7% of Virginian children had medical and dental care in the last 12 months compared to the national average of 67.6%. and 70.5% of Virginian adults visited the dentist compared to 65.7% nationally (Kaiser Family Foundation 2, 2018; Kaiser Family Foundation 3, 2018; Kaiser Family Foundation 5, 2018).

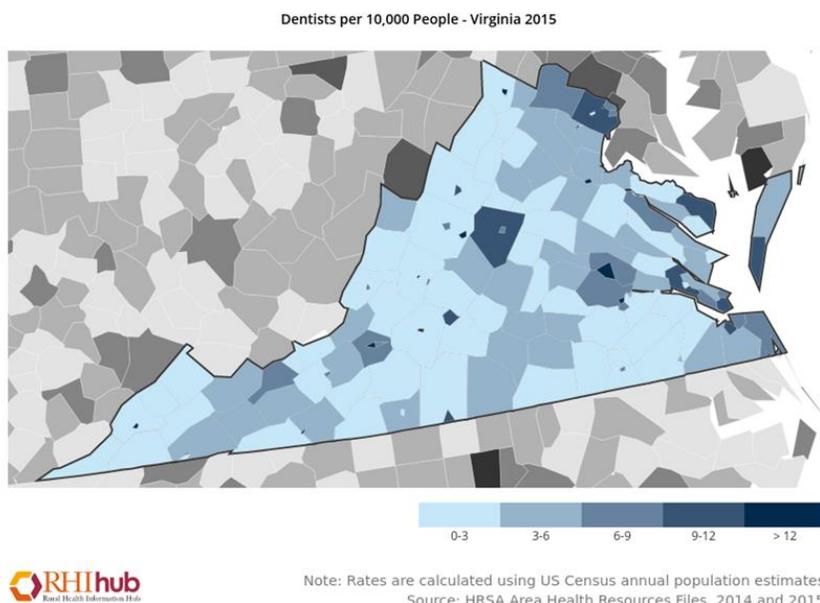
Regarding prevention, Virginia has school-based sealant programs, dental screening programs, an early childhood caries prevention program, and a fluoride varnish program, but no dental health screening at school entry (CDC, n.d.). However, less than 25% of high-risk schools in Virginia have sealant programs, only 59.4% of median dental fees are paid by Medicaid (below the national average), and dental hygienists

cannot place sealants without a prior dental exam (Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011). Fourteen localities do not have access to a single Medicaid dental provider (Virginia Oral Health Coalition, n.d.). Even among Federally Qualified Community Health Center patients, 1 in 7 had not seen a dentist in at least 5 years. These centers are successes otherwise, with over half of patients seeing a dentist in the last year even without dental coverage (Jones et. al, 2013). Overall, Virginia achieved a C-minus from the Pew Charitable Trust for its sealant program, due to its lack of sealant programs and dental hygienist restrictions (Koppelman, Cohen, & Mass, 2015).

Virginia has relatively restrictive laws on dental hygienists and therapists. Virginia does not currently allow dentists to hire dental therapists (Koppelman, 2018). Dental hygienists in Virginia perform mostly preventative care such as: removing tartar/stains/plaque from teeth, applying sealants and fluorides, taking x-rays, keeping track of treatment plans, and teaching patients oral hygiene techniques (Virginia Board of Health Professions, 2014). Virginia allows dental hygienists to work under remote supervision of a public health dentists if the hygienist has two years of prior experience and additional training. There is no limit to the number of dental hygienists a VDH dentist may supervise under the remote supervision protocol. Hygienists may only perform tasks including: prophylactic cleaning, scaling with hand or ultrasonic instruments, applying topical fluoride and applying sealants. The protocol does not allow root planning, scaling with rotary instruments or anesthesia use. VDH dental hygienists are required to refer patients without their own dentist to a dentist with the goal of establishing a dental home (Virginia Board of Health Professions, 2014). These hygienists are no longer required to work for the supervising dentists and can treat patients prior to consultation (ADEA, 2017). However, dental hygienists in Virginia can only do so if they work at a federally qualified health center, free clinic, long-term care facility, elementary or secondary school, Head Start program, or a Women-Infants-Children program (American Dental Hygienists' Association, 2018).

Statewide, only a third of dentists accept Medicaid, due to reimbursement rates and other issues (Virginia Oral Health Coalition, n.d.). In Virginia, 21% of dentists grew up in rural areas, 54% in the suburbs, and 25% in urban areas. Forty-one percent of Virginia's dentists went to high school in Virginia, 42% got their DDS in Virginia, 26% got their DDS in neighboring states, and 24% of Virginia's dentists interned in Virginia. There is a correlation between growing up in a rural area and returning there as a dentist, but this effect is modest, as 80% of dentists with a rural background practice in urban areas (Cribbs, 2012). While dentists with rural backgrounds are more likely to work in rural areas, this alone is still not enough to provide rural Virginia with enough oral care access. Merely 3% of dentists work primarily in Southwest Virginia, 3% in Southside, 5% in the Valley, 1% Eastern, and 9% West Central compared to 20% Central and 39% Northern Virginia. Secondary locations for dentists were largely the same. Although salary is often thought to be a cause of this distribution, and rural dentists in Southwest Virginia only make \$125,000-\$150,000 annually compared to \$150,000-\$175,000 in Northern Virginia, rural status was not statistically relevant as a factor in wages (Cribbs, 2012). Finally, 17% of dentists surveyed planned on retiring within the next five years

(Cribbs, 2012). However, there were 5,133 active dentists in March 2018, a 14.7% increase in 7 years (Kaiser Family Foundation 1, 2018). This shows that newly trained dentists can quickly replace the current workforce while expanding on overall numbers. Still, while Virginia's metro areas had 7 dentists for every 10,000 residents, non-metro areas have only 4 per 10,000 residents in 2015. Russell, Dickenson, Buchanan, Lee, Scott, and Wise have: 1.1, 0.7, 1.8, 2, 2.3, and 2 (Rural Health Information Hub, n.d.).



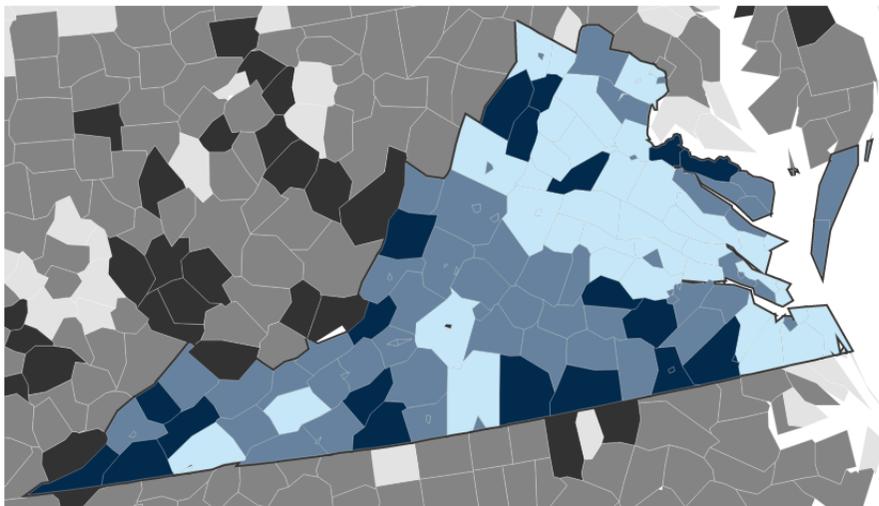
Virginia is home to 5,631 licensed dental hygienists that are almost universally female with salaries around \$50,000-\$60,000 annually. Just over a third were brought up in a rural area and 71% have an educational background in the state. Despite this, only 19% of dental hygienists in Virginia work in a non-metro area (9% rural); Southwest and Southside Virginia have only 3.3-3.5 and 2.6 full time equivalent dental hygienists per 10,000 residents (Virginia Department of Health Professions, 2016). Only 6% of dental hygienists work at a dental or health clinic, while 72% work in a solo practice, and 17% work in a group practice. Only 22% of dental hygienists work in more than one location. 73% of the workforce is in Northern Virginia, Central Virginia, and Hampton Roads (Virginia Department of Health Professions, 2016). Of Virginia's 8.4 million residents, 1,196,328 live in rural areas and 7,215,480 live in urban areas (Virginia Department of Health, n.d.). Based on this information, rural residents of Virginia only have 4.2 dental hygienists per 10,000 residents compared to urban residents 6.7 per 10,000, or similar to the rates in dentists. Considering only around 500 dental hygienists work in rural settings, this is a gap of about 300 hygienists.

## Recommendations

The Commonwealth of Virginia has many opportunities to improve oral health for its residents, including:

1. Allow dental therapists to work in Virginia, focusing on counties that are wholly or partially a Dental Health Professional Shortage Area (DHPSA).
2. Expand the dental hygienist scope of practice to work independently on routine cleanings and preventative care regardless of place of work in DHPSAs with the requirement that patient contact with a dentist be scheduled after clean up.
3. Allow Medicaid to pay for preventative dental care and treatment of caries for adults.
4. Expand school sealant programs to more high-risk schools.
5. Increase funding for school-based health centers in rural Virginia and include oral care screens and preventative care.
6. Provide scholarships for rural students to enter dental school.
7. Increase class sizes for dentists and increase the number of dentist and dental hygienist programs in Virginia.

Health Professional Shortage Areas: Dental Care, by County - Virginia 2016



None of county is shortage area    Part of county is shortage area    Whole county is shortage area

Source: [HRSA Area Health Resources Files, 2016](#).

Dental therapists increase access to dental care, as cited above. By allowing them to work in DHPSAs, we can give many people access to care for the first time, decrease wait times, and save money by reducing emergency care and preventing costly chronic

conditions. Beginning in the areas with the lowest dentist to resident coverage will create a more immediate impact that will benefit rural Virginians in need.

Expanding the scope of practice of dental hygienists in DHPSAs will remove regulatory barriers that hinder them from preventing chronic diseases like total tooth loss and severe tooth decay. Explicitly allowing them to do so will also make dental hygienists less apprehensive to do this necessary work for fear of violating scope of practice laws. This can also expand resident education on dental hygiene by increasing contact with the necessary professionals.

Allowing Medicaid to cover preventative dental care for adults will resolve many payment issues and thus increase usage of dental care. Doing so for children increased the percentage of children that saw a dentist in the last 12 months from 27% to 55% (Decker, 2011). Expanding this coverage to adults could have similar effects and reduce tooth decay and prevent many other health issues.

School sealant programs can decrease tooth decay by an average of 60 percent, but less than 25% of high-risk Virginia schools implement them (Grant & Peters, 2016; Pew Charitable Trusts, 2011). Expanding these programs to the level of our neighboring state, Maryland, could have dramatic effects on oral health for children in these areas.

School-based health centers (SBHC) provide a wide range of services for children and adolescents. Rural SBHCs represent 60% of new SBHCs and 68% of rural SBHCs serve populations in addition to their students. These programs, combined with oral care education, screenings, fluoride treatments, and sealants via a dental hygienist can increase access to large portions of Virginia's rural population (School-Based Health Alliance, n.d.). With a savings of \$35 per student per year, this has the potential for large returns for the state while meeting the needs of an underserved population and their families (Guo, Wade, Pan, & Keller, 2010).

As mentioned in the state report, there is a modest correlation between a rural dentist growing up in a rural area and returning to work in a rural area (Cribbs, 2012). While this alone is not enough to solve this problem, providing scholarships for rural students to study in dental school may increase the number of dentists in rural areas further. Increasing the number of dentists in rural areas by a few hundred statewide would resolve the rural-urban dentist to resident discrepancy (Rural Health Information Hub, n.d.).

Finally, the number of dentists and dental hygienists being trained in Virginia could be increased by adding more slots or increasing the number of programs statewide. Most dentists and dental hygienists in Virginia have an educational background here, so increasing the number trained could help alleviate this problem in combination with scholarships as mentioned above (Cribbs 2012; Virginia Board of Health Professions, 2014).

Priority should be given to recommendations 1, 2, 3, and 4; allowing dental therapists to practice, expanding scope of practice for dental hygienists, allowing Medicaid to pay for adult preventative dental care, and expanding school sealant programs. Dental therapists and hygienists can more easily handle these basic preventative and restorative services sorely missing in rural Virginia, and they can do so cost effectively. Their increased role also works well with expanding school sealant programs, which rely more on hygienists than dentists. Therapists and hygienists are also more affordable, which can be a significant factor with low-income and underserved populations. The usage of Medicaid for adult dental care can further supplement this.

Increased funding for SBHCs, scholarships for rural students becoming dentists, and increasing slots for dental care professionals are also important. However, SBHCs require significant investment and take time to set up. Scholarships can have a modest effect on some of the rural upbringing correlation but results will only appear 4-8 years down the line and effects would be more modest than immediate direct care. Expanding class sizes for dentists and creating more schools will undoubtedly help, but the number of dentists in Virginia grew by 14.7% in seven years even without this intervention (Cribbs, 2012; Kaiser Family Foundation 1, 2018). This could also run into resistance from groups that would be against any rapid expansion in the workforce that could lead to decreased employment and wages in certain areas.

Oral care is of vital importance to overall health, and there is a considerable shortage for rural Virginians. This problem is longstanding and is unlikely to end without serious efforts statewide. These recommendations cannot fully resolve all the issues in our communities, but they can help many of our most vulnerable residents in Virginia and make a significant improvement in their quality of life.

*James is a second year MPP student from Adamstown, Maryland who serves as the Executive Editor for the Virginia Policy Review. He earned his Bachelor's degree in Government & Politics and Philosophy from the University of Maryland, College Park. He is primarily interested in health policy and the intersection of policy and politics. Prior to enrolling in the University of Virginia, he worked on several state and federal political campaigns and worked for the American College of Radiation Oncology.*

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## Improving the quality of the public early childhood education workforce in Virginia

By Joshua Margulies

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### Executive Summary

Virginia's public preschool programs lack quality teachers to serve those students who are in most need. Policy alternatives proposed to address the problem are evaluated on political feasibility, cost, the time it would take to implement the policy, the alternative's ability to address market failures, and if an alternative actually improves the quality of the Early Childhood Education (ECE) workforce. I recommend Alternative 3, a tiered credential system for the ECE workforce, eliminating the state's requirement for teacher licensure in Virginia Preschool Initiative (VPI) schools. This alternative will have the most outsized impact in the long-term.

### Background and Problem Definition

There is an overwhelming consensus in the literature that early childhood education (ECE) is enormously beneficial to students and society (Early et al., 2007; Huang, Invernizzi, & Drake, 2012). State-funded preschools are a relatively new phenomenon in the ECE space. There is also a great variety in how these programs are administered, the students they accept, and the teachers they employ (Chesnut, Mosier, Sugimoto, & Ruddy, 2017).

A significant portion of Virginia children are not equipped with the necessary skills to succeed when they begin kindergarten (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017c). *At present, Virginia's public preschool programs lack quality teachers to serve those students who are in most need.*

### *Virginia Programs and Funding*

The Virginia Preschool Initiative (VPI) was launched in the 1990s with the goal of equipping students with the necessary skills to succeed in kindergarten (Jonas, 2016). Currently, VPI serves just shy of one fifth of the Commonwealth's four-year-olds (Washington, 2017). VPI is currently funded at \$70 million annually, targeting at-risk four-year-olds in the Commonwealth. These funds come from the Lottery Proceeds Fund. VPI serves those individuals not benefiting from Head Start (2017 Virginia acts of assembly, 2017).

Localities have a strong influence on the VPI program. Whether or not a locality participates in VPI is determined by if they apply, as well as the locality's ability to afford the program (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017c). Virginia requires that for a locality to benefit from VPI, they must participate in a state-local

matching fund scheme (2017 Virginia acts of assembly, 2017). This could conceivably lead to less well-off localities being less willing to participate if they do not have the financial means to do so. Per capita local revenue in Virginia is below the national average (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2018). Localities participating in VPI matched at roughly \$40 million. (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017a).

2015 saw the introduction of Virginia Preschool Initiative Plus (VPI+), a largely federally funded expansion of VPI. The expansion served to target those not being served by VPI (Chesnut, Mosier, Sugimoto, & Ruddy, 2017). VPI+ in 2017 received \$3.6 million in funding from the Commonwealth's general fund, \$17.5 million in federal funding, and \$4 million from localities (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017a).

As enrollment in VPI has steadily increased each year, funding per student per year has decreased (Chesnut, Mosier, Sugimoto, & Ruddy, 2017). Virginia is below the national average in state and local per pupil funding for preschool through grade 12 (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2018). Virginia is also below the national average in purely state funding for per pupil funding for preschool through grade 12 (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2018).

In 2016 and 2017, Virginia received through its Department of Social Services (VDSS) \$189,560 in federal funding to train ECE teachers. In addition, the federal government awarded \$168,000 in scholarships. At least 8,700 teachers were targeted for assistance (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017a). Virginia Quality, yet another assistance program, serving more than 800 providers was wholly federally funded. The lead agencies for this program are the state-affiliated non-profit organization Virginia Early Childhood Foundation (VECF) and VDSS (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017a). The Virginia Department of Education (VDOE) and VCEF in 2017 received from the state's general fund \$600,000 for Project Pathfinders, a program targeting more than 350 ECE professionals (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017a). One of the biggest hurdles in Virginia is maneuvering between all of the different agencies and programs attempting to tackle shortfalls in the ECE space (Virginia School Readiness Committee, 2017).

Students participating in VPI showed early gains in literacy. These students were also more likely to move on to the 8<sup>th</sup> grade on schedule as opposed to their classmates that did not participate in VPI (Jonas, 2016). Further analysis of data gathered on students attending VPI schools found significant educational returns to those students. VPI students were better prepared for kindergarten than those who did not attend and were also less likely to repeat kindergarten (Huang, Invernizzi, & Drake, 2012). But the long-term benefits of the program are not clear as some of the VPI data is incomplete; lacking was information on attendance and whether or not a student attended a full-time or part-time VPI program (Jonas, 2016).

### *Current Events*

The Dean of the University of Virginia Curry School of Education Robert Pianta argues that there are a number of factors contributing to problems in the Commonwealth which include low pay for teachers, attrition among new teachers, and the high cost of teacher training (Pianta, 2017). Virginia is below the national average in teacher salary for preschool through grade 12 public school teachers; \$50,834 compared to the national average of \$55,119 (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2018). Pianta further states that there is ample opportunity for immense analysis efforts as the state collects a plethora of data (Pianta, 2017). Because they are administered locally, concerns exist regarding the state's ability to monitor VPI schools. Furthermore, there is variability in the VPI school curriculums, which makes comparisons difficult (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017c).

Governor Northam recently spoke at William & Mary, where among other things he spoke to the need for Virginia to expand its ECE efforts (Harris, 2018). As part of his proposed budget, the Governor is looking into student loan forgiveness for those teachers working in facilities with teacher shortages. The budget proposal also seeks an additional half a billion dollars to fund schools in the Commonwealth (Freeman, 2018). The newly proposed budget achieves this goal via the Governor's plan to expand Medicaid. As the Medicaid expansion would be Federally funded, the Commonwealth would be able to use more of its own resources toward funding education (Moomaw, 2018).

In speaking to the concerns raised by Dean Pianta, Governor Northam agreed that the Commonwealth needs to raise the salaries of teachers in order to both attract teachers as well as retain them in the long-term (Ballou, 2018). However, simply improving teacher pay, as Governor Northam seeks to do, will not address underlying issues in the ECE job market. Literature suggests that providing good feedback to teachers is vital to teacher retention (Firestone & Pennell, 1993). Professional development specifically geared toward ECE, coupled with regular feedback, is necessary in improving the ECE field at large (Ackerman, 2004). This is not to suggest though that teacher pay should be ignored.

### *Early Childhood Education and Teacher Credentials*

The Virginia Education Association last year published a piece by Valora Washington. She notes that not just any teacher can simply jump into a role in ECE. There exist fundamental differences in preschool students compared to their kindergarten through high school counterparts. She argues that credentialing is vital and a Child Development Associate (CDA) credential is nationally recognized for its proven success (Washington, 2017). Literature suggests that having a CDA credential was associated with better quality preschool teachers, but in regard to retention, it was a matter of a teacher's initial motivation for being in the profession (Torquati, Raikes, & Huddleston-Casas, 2007).

It must be noted that Miss Washington is the CEO of the Council for Professional Recognition, the professional organization profiting from offering credentialing services.

The firm charges anywhere between \$425 and \$500 per application, which is non-refundable. (“Steps to earn your preschool CDA credential,” n.d.). Certifications must be renewed every three years at a cost of between \$125 to \$150 (“Renew CDA,” n.d.).

Focusing on academic achievements/credentials of the teachers may be misguided. Literature indicates that learning in ECE occurs through interaction. Simply being exposed to peers in a welcoming educational environment is more impactful than focusing on a teacher’s credentials (Mashburn et al., 2008). School administrators should focus on minimizing child-to-teacher ratios and class size in order to have the most outsized impact on developmental outcomes (Mashburn et al., 2008). Fortunately, Virginia is already performing better than the national average on this metric (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2018).

The Virginia School Readiness Committee, an initiative of the Office of the Secretary of Education, agrees and recommends placing less emphasis on teacher credentialing. Teachers with bachelor degrees are not by default the ones best geared to teach preschool students (Virginia School Readiness Committee, 2017). Educators in VPI and VPI+ schools are licensed teachers, but the majority of ECE teachers in Virginia are not licensed (Virginia School Readiness Committee, 2017). Importantly, research shows that requiring ECE teachers to have earned their bachelor degree does not have a significant impact on long-term educational outcomes of students. While the quality of the teacher remains important, a teacher’s level of education is not necessarily a proxy for skill (Early et al., 2007).

In a report co-authored by Virginia’s Deputy Secretary of Education Holly Coy, the authors endorse the model of a continuum, or a tiered structure, that other states have adopted. In this model, members of the ECE workforce have the ability to advance in their careers as they advance in their own education and professional development (Glazer, Miller, Schull, Coy, & Hamre, 2017). Illinois, for example, allows individuals with just a high school diploma or general education diploma (GED) to work as “assistant teachers.” They cannot become a “teacher” without having earned an associate degree. Only those with a bachelor degree may advance to become “lead teachers,” and further levels are attained with graduate education (Bernoteit & Holt, 2017).

Virginia is also unique in that there do not exist robust ECE programs throughout the Commonwealth’s community colleges and universities; they largely serve the K-12 teachers (Glazer, Miller, Schull, Coy, & Hamre, 2017). Thus, the potential ECE workforce is limited. Complicating matters still is that there are significant barriers to entry for ECE teachers. Even if an individual aspires to advance in their own education, achieving that goal is extremely challenging. Aside from just cost, there is imperfect information available to prospective teachers. Charting one’s educational path can be cumbersome and confusing (Glazer, Miller, Schull, Coy, & Hamre, 2017; Virginia School Readiness Committee, 2017).

Speaking to more national trends, ECE professionals typically earn very low wages (Torquati, Raikes, & Huddleston-Casas, 2007). This metric alone can be problematic as it accounts for private preschool teachers, too. Private and public preschools may not even be comparable as regulations vary greatly across states. It is hard to generalize findings from national studies to just one state's program (Mashburn et al., 2008). In many states, teachers in private preschools are not required to hold the same types of credentials as public preschool teachers; things like a CDA or bachelor's degree. Virginia has no educational requirements for private ECE teachers (Ackerman, 2004).

Private preschool teachers, while they are often less educated than their public preschool teacher counterparts, are subject to more monitoring and supervision. They may also be afforded mentors. Ultimately, while private preschool teachers may not start out on the same footing as public preschool teachers, the private preschool environment still contributes to effective teaching behavior (Fulgini, Howes, Lara-Cinisomo, & Karoly, 2009). Literature suggests that across the nation there exists great variability in how states approach training their ECE workforce. This too makes it difficult to study ECE as a whole, with researchers recommending more narrowly focused research design, perhaps by state (Hyson, Tomlinson, & Morris, 2009).

In constructing a viable education program, there must be a balance in teacher qualifications and affordability. More highly qualified teachers are more expensive to employ. To have the most outsized impact, education reforms should address a wide variety of issues affecting the ECE workforce (Early et al., 2007).

### **Evaluative Criteria**

Each of the proposed policy alternatives will be measured against how they are projected to meet each of the following evaluative criteria:

#### *Political Feasibility*

Garnering bipartisan support will be key to any alternative where unilateral action cannot be taken by Governor Northam or the Department of Education.

#### *Cost*

Policy alternatives will be measured against their effect on costs/budget.

#### *Time to Implement*

Policy alternatives will be measured against their ability to be implemented in a timely manner.

### *Addresses Market Failures*

Policy alternatives will be measured against their ability to reduce barriers to entry that exist in the ECE market. Additionally, policy alternatives will be measured against their ability to reduce the imperfect information that exist in the ECE market.

### *Improves Quality of Public ECE Workforce*

Policy alternatives will be measured against their ability to address the crux of the policy issue, improving quality of the public ECE workforce, both current and prospective.

## **Policy Alternatives**

### *Alternative 1: Improve monitoring and feedback efforts in VPI schools*

This alternative will largely see that present trends continue with the VPI program. VDOE will introduce an enhanced monitoring program for participating VPI schools. Where the feedback may have in the past come from colleagues and mentors, we now have big data and machine learning at our disposal. The Department of Education collects enormous amounts of data. Virginia's Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission (JLARC) estimates that a classroom monitoring program for VPI schools would cost approximately \$250,000 annually (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017b). Costs associated with this alternative are low. As this alternative keeps additional education expenditures to a relative minimum and it will largely see that current trends continue as they are, it is highly unlikely that instituting this monitoring and feedback strategy will disrupt policymakers from either political persuasion. This alternative can be implemented relatively fast.

This alternative does not provide much by way of addressing the market failures at work. The current public ECE workforce will benefit from the feedback they will be afforded from increased monitoring and evaluation. The quality of the current workforce will increase. But prospective ECE teachers will still likely experiences significant barriers to entry. Furthermore, this alternative does little to improve the imperfect information that exists in the ECE market. There will remain much confusion as to how best to begin finding work in ECE.

### *Alternative 2: Consolidate ECE programs across the commonwealth under VDOE*

This alternative consolidates the many disparate programs targeting ECE throughout the commonwealth. The VDOE will incorporate into its responsibilities the administering of programs like Virginia Quality and Project Pathfinders. These programs, which are currently led by VDOE, VDSS and VCEF will now all be run by VDOE. Most of the costs associated with this alternative will be associated with the actual restructuring

effort, which will in turn significantly reduce administrative and bureaucratic costs. With a consolidation of funding sources, ECE teachers will gain easier access to professional development funding. JLARC estimates that enhancing professional development programs at VPI schools would cost approximately \$1 million annually (Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, 2017b). Costs estimates are low to moderate for this alternative.

Reduction in barriers to entry for teachers will be moderate. As many of the state's ECE programs become more accessible directly through VDOE, finding funding for advanced education will become easier. Similarly, the consolidation effort will lead to moderate gains in the information available to prospective ECE teachers since VDOE will become the central repository for ECE program information. There will be slight gains in the quality of both current and prospective public ECE teachers.

Governor Northam will necessarily be charged with final approval of this alternative as more oversight and authorities will be granted to the Secretary of Education and the VDOE. This alternative may require approval from the House of Delegates, as well. Consolidation efforts will only take a few months to implement.

### *Alternative 3: Eliminate licensure requirement for ECE teachers and establish tiered credential system*

This alternative will see an overhaul of the ECE workforce requirements across the state. In order to be more competitive with private ECE providers, VDOE will eliminate the requirement that public ECE teachers be licensed teachers. The VDOE will also introduce a tiered credential system allowing high school graduates and those with their GEDs to enter the public ECE workforce as entry-level employees. This alternative will significantly reduce the barriers to entry for the ECE market. Likewise, the new standards for employment will by their very nature see improvements to the currently imperfect information that exists in the market. Quality of the public ECE workforce are likely to see significant improvements.

The costs associated with this alternative are relatively high. With an easing of employment eligibility restrictions in VPI facilities, costs will rise in the immediate future. There are also significant administrative and bureaucratic costs associated with implementing the policy across the Commonwealth. Such a scheme already has the endorsement of Deputy Secretary of Education Holly Coy. However, it is uncertain if this policy alternative will have bipartisan support or if VDOE can unilaterally implement this policy. While Governor Northam has proposed significant budget increases in education, it is not clear where he intends for those funds to go; VPI may only receive a small portion of the total funding. Furthermore, the budget has not yet been approved. This policy will necessitate a lengthy review process.

## Recommendation

I recommend Alternative 3 (See Appendix: Outcomes Matrix). Eliminating the licensure requirement for public ECE teachers will undoubtedly be very costly and its political feasibility is uncertain. At the same time, this alternative is best poised to address the market failures present in Virginia's public ECE market.

While the literature suggests that a comprehensive reform package would likely lead to the best outcomes for students and ECE teachers, pursuing such an approach would be politically infeasible at this time. A piecemeal approach seems to be the more reasonable strategy.

This alternative, as compared to the others, will have an outsized impact on workforce quality in the long-term. While it will likely take years to bring together all of the necessary regulatory authorities, the long-term gains significantly outweigh any delays in the short-term. As the literature indicates, an educated workforce is vital to a thriving economy.

*Joshua is a second-year postgraduate MPP student from Edison, NJ. He received his B.A. in Psychology from Rutgers University in 2013; he minored in Public Health. This past summer he served as a Research & Policy Intern with the National Commission on Military, National, and Public Service where he researched the Selective Service System, among other things. Throughout the school year, Joshua will continue his work with the commission as they prepare their report for Congress and the President. Upon graduation, Joshua hopes to work in emergency operations for the federal government.*

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**Appendix: Outcomes Matrix**

<b>Alternatives</b>	<b>Evaluative Criteria</b>				
	Political Feasibility	Cost	Time to Implement	Addresses Market Failures	Improves Quality of Workforce
1: Improved Monitoring & Feedback	High	Low	Weeks to Months	No	Slight improvements
2: Consolidation	Moderate	Low to Moderate	Months	Moderate improvements	Moderate improvements
3: Eliminate Licensure	Uncertain	High	Months to Years	Significant improvements	Significant improvements

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## Interview with Senator Tim Kaine

By Jack DiMatteo

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**Jack DiMatteo:** I know one of your priorities in the Senate as a co-chair of the bipartisan Career and Technical Education Caucus has been expanding the job training access program. I saw a couple of your proposals were just signed into law by the President, and I'm curious how you would assess how our leaders in Washington have done so far in responding to the changes in the U.S. economy and what you think our priorities should be moving forward with the forces of automation.

**Tim Kaine:** I think in some areas we are doing pretty well but I think there is a lot more to do. So, I think the piece of it that I really take is career and technical education. But it's even broader than that. I think you need to redefine what higher education means. We just did the Perkins Act, which is career and technical education, but the next big act we will take work on is a higher education act. And I think that we have had too narrow a definition of what higher ed is. I think in today's work world to be competitive everybody is going to need some education or skills training after high school. Whether it's college, community college, a high-quality career and tech program, an apprenticeship, or a coding academy, there's a real big spectrum of activity that we should value as higher education. We should incentivize with Pell grants and Stafford Loans, so as we move into the next phase of my work, I'm really going to be trying to help my colleagues see that we need to fund higher ed more broadly.

You asked about changes in the economy, I think there will be constant change. The way to equip people to be successful is largely through human capital and policy. So that's education, workforce, immigration reform. We dramatically need to do comprehensive immigration reform. Because the way the economy is going, if we don't do that, we're going to really hurt ourselves economically. Comprehensive immigration reform is one of the few things the CBO says will dramatically increase GDP at no cost. Other things would increase GDP but you have to put a lot of money into it. This is something that really doesn't have a cost and would increase GDP substantially. So, I think the changing nature of the economy, more automation, trade, artificial intelligence; it's going to really put more of a burden on all of us to make sure that we are committed to giving everybody the skills to succeed over the course of their life. It doesn't just stop when you graduate from college. There's got to be the ability to get skills over the course of your life. That's the way we should be thinking about the economic future.

**JD:** Another domestic issue that's been at the center of a lot of debates has been healthcare. And that's also been one of the most important issues to you. We've seen everything from calls for the complete repeal of the ACA and efforts to do that and on the other end of the spectrum something resembling single payer system. What you think the next best steps would be to strengthen the U.S. healthcare system?

**TK:** Well we need to stop the Trump Administration sabotage of the current system in which the President is openly bragging about trying to repeal the Affordable Care Act. That's intentionally trying to hurt people with respect to their health care, and the most important aspect of people's lives which is their health. So, we have to stop the Trump Administration sabotage, whether it's in Congress, in legislature, or court.

But there is also the next step forward and I'm very proud to be the architect of a proposal with Senator Bennet of Colorado that we call Medicare X and the idea would be to ask Medicare to develop and sell on the exchanges a policy that would cover the Obamacare essential health benefits. Because Medicare already has a distribution network, a fee schedule is active in every zip code in the country. Because Medicare doesn't have to cover a profit margin, make a return to shareholders, pay fancy salaries, or do a national marketing campaign, Medicare would be able to offer that Medicare X policy at a very favorable price. People wouldn't be forced to buy it, but if people wanted to buy it, they could. If you qualify for an Obamacare subsidy, you could even bring that reasonable premium down further. I think this is the most likely next step forward that could get both Democratic and Senate votes. In communities like Charlottesville where the increases in the premiums charged on the individual market are some the highest in the country, I think putting an additional choice into the exchange that is a reasonably priced and one would promote competition and lower costs is an important step.

**JD:** Switching gears a little bit to foreign policy, one of the issues you've worked on most is congressional authorization of war. How do you think the dynamic threat of terrorism has undermined the notion of checks and balances with respect to a president's war powers?

**TK:** I'm working hard, but am disappointed in some of my congressional colleagues. I think the Congress now – this is over a period of many years – under both parties, Congress has largely taken this power to declare war – which is congressional and it's congressional for a very specific set of reasons when the framers drafted the Constitution in 1787 – they've largely allowed presidents to initiate military action because they're afraid to vote on it. And I think that was the case under President Obama and I think it's continuing under President Trump.

I'm very worried because it's clear based on some of the military activities President Trump is engaged in with Syria, that he believes he can take military action without coming to Congress at all. I'm worried that that will lead into an unnecessary war, and I am particularly concerned about him plundering us into some unnecessary military action with Iran. I don't think we should be getting into an unnecessary war in the Middle East and I think the President is raising the risk of doing that in a dangerous way. So, I have been working with colleagues in both parties to make sure we never go to war without a vote of Congress.

I also don't think a President should be able to start a trade war without a vote of Congress. Trade is also a congressional power under the Constitution, but we've delegated the ability to the president to impose tariffs willy-nilly without congressional approval. I think we need to pull some of that back and Congress needs to be accountable for these things that the Constitution says are congressional responsibilities.

**JD:** By the time this journal is published, we'll be past it, but the anniversary of the events of August 11th and 12th in Charlottesville are coming up and I think emotions are pretty raw for those of us with ties to the community. Can you reflect back on what happened a year ago and what you think the path forward might be, particularly as a public servant?

**TK:** Well I would say this to everybody who lives in Charlottesville and is connected to the University, this is a very, very personal. And it's personal to me. I knew both of the state troopers who were killed. They probably normally wouldn't have been working that day. But they had to work that day to try and protect people when folks committed to violence and hatred decided to descend on Charlottesville and try to promote violence and hatred in this wonderful community. Trooper Cullen – Jay Cullen – flew me pretty much every time I flew in a helicopter as Governor because he was on the Governor's detail and a pilot for a very long time. Trooper Bates I did not know as well. He wasn't on my detail - he was on Governor McAuliffe's detail - but my wife was in Governor McAuliffe's cabinet and knew Trooper Bates too. And then Heather Heyer, who I didn't know but I heard so much about her from her family, and others, and many others who were injured including the daughter of a very close friend of mine in Charlottesville who was injured that day...this shook us to our core.

So, I know the campus Hillel minister, Jake Rubin, who is a rabbi and was with new students who had just come to campus. They're there getting oriented to campus and they're in Friday night worship when people were chanting the slogans from Nazi youth rallies like "blood and soil" or "Jews will not replace us" and they're terrorized. And members of the Charlottesville church community who were at their own services at synagogue also felt trapped in the building as these people were bringing their hatred to the community. So, it was a very, very painful time.

Now, what I will say is I think the community of Charlottesville – the University – but, Virginia generally, responded in a very dramatic way, elected officials and everyday citizens, to say this is not who we are. The people who were arrested for violence were largely people from out of state who came to bring their hatred to Virginia. There were people like the organizers of the rally who were from in-state, but the people who were prosecuted for violence largely were coming from elsewhere. They thought they could bring their violence to Virginia, but I think Virginians stood strong to reject them.

And I will say about Virginia that we are a state that understands hatred, bigotry, violence. The first slaves that came into the English colonies were captured on a Portuguese slave ship and brought here in 1619. We were the center of many of the laws

that enshrined slavery as an institution. We were the capital of the Confederacy. We had a lot of bloodshed on Virginia soil: the blood of slaves, the blood of people fighting to maintain or to defeat slavery. So, I've often said, you know when it comes to hate and bigotry and division and the violence that it creates, Virginia has been there, done that, got the scar tissue and we're not going back. We are not going back.

I think that the reaction of Virginians to these haters who came was: we're not going back, we are a state that's committed to the equality ideal that Jefferson enshrined into the Declaration of Independence. We're a state that's committed to being a commonwealth – a community – we're a state that's committed to being about lovers, not about haters. And if anybody was complacent about those ideas, about the continued importance to stand strong for those values, I think that August 11th and 12th last year showed us that we have to be strong and diligent in promoting the right values and speaking out against anybody who is going to try and drag us back.

**JD:** What advice would you give to UVA students as we leave Charlottesville and enter the world with a desire to serve the common good, recognizing your career of public service?

**TK:** UVA has a great tradition of service. UVA puts a lot of people into the Peace Corps, UVA puts a lot of people into diplomacy careers, UVA puts a lot of people into the military. So, UVA is a community that is already very focused on public service. I think the new president, Jim Ryan, has been clear about the importance of opening discussions about what he hopes to do at UVA clearly being about public service and civic engagement in a time of polarization and division that I think is a mission for the University.

So, what I would encourage is first, be about public service, broadly defined. There are so many ways to be about public service: you could be in elected office, you can work for a local charity, you can be a PTA president, you can be an attorney helping an organization get their tax-exempt status so they can do good things. There's so many ways to be about public service at the most local level, or state or federal or international.

My wife and I have both been public servants throughout our careers but in very different ways. At first, I was with a private law firm doing civil rights work and that was a form of public service. My wife has been a judge and she has been a cabinet secretary. I've been an elected official. There's so many different ways to serve, but it's what makes life worth living. Titles and possessions don't make life worth living, but relationships and a sense of purpose is what makes life worth living. And the service that you provide to others is going to be the thing that, over the course of your life, will make you the happiest, and will make you feel the most fulfilled because you're leaving your mark on your community. You're not just passing through eternity without leaving your mark.

UVA has that spirit in its DNA and especially when a new leader comes, it's time to recommit to that fundamental value and take it even further. I have confidence in the University and the students who are there that you'll continue to do it.

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## Interview with Senator John Kennedy

By Jack DiMatteo

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**Jack DiMatteo:** I'll start with the high-profile Senate hearing of Mark Zuckerberg in April, which exposed some of the ways that technology can be used with harmful consequences. It speaks to broader issues of tradeoffs between privacy and security. How do you think we go about protecting our communities and homeland without infringing on individual liberties?

**John Kennedy:** I don't know yet. But we're going to have to learn together. And when I say together, I mean U.S. Senate and, of course, the United States House of Representatives and the social media platforms. I'm hoping that the social media platforms, which know their businesses better than anyone – and I'm very proud of them by the way, they're wonderful American companies -- But I'm hoping they stand up and confront these issues. Right now, in return for – let's say Facebook – in return for us giving up all of our data to Facebook we get to see what some of our friends have for dinner Saturday night.

Now, if people want to do that, that's their decision. But they should be able to make an informed decision. And I have strongly encouraged the social media platforms – if they don't do it then eventually Congress will do it for them – to set up user agreements that make it very clear what data is being collected on consumers, what that data is being used for, and who else is getting to see that data. Some people think that the only data that they are sharing are the pictures of their dog that they put on Facebook, but it's a lot more than that. And if people want to share that data it is their business, but they should be able to make an informed decision and I think that many of the social media platforms have not done a very good job of explaining to consumers. That's the first issue.

The second issue is how we stop foreign agents who want to hurt American democracy from using social media platforms to do so.

And the third issue is that I think we can all agree that poison is being spread on the internet. But what is poison? And that's a First Amendment issue. On the one hand, social media programs shouldn't let people put things on there – particularly foreign agents, but not only foreign agents – put things on there that just aren't true. Or that incite hatred. On the other hand, I don't want social media platforms to be able to censor what we can see. So, these First Amendment issues may be the most complex of all.

I don't think anybody ever expected that our social media platforms would become as big and as successful as they are. They have created issues that we never dreamed about. And the issues are going to get bigger because artificial intelligence and machine learning are going to present new issues and we're going to have to deal with them.

I asked Mr. Zuckerberg when he testified before Congress to please step up to the plate, be transparent, and offer suggestions on how we can do this together. And I meant it. But I also meant it when I told him that his user agreement sucks. It does. It was written by his lawyers and it doesn't inform anybody about what data they're giving up. And by the time you read and understand the thing, you're too old to use Facebook; it's complicated. And they can have their lawyer-drafted user agreement but they need to draft another one that truly informs people because the American people are busy. They don't read every word in it because they don't have time. They're intelligent but they don't have time to go over a nine-page user agreement in fine print. And I know that Facebook and the other platforms can do a better job in terms of informing people than they're doing.

**JD:** You spent three years here in Charlottesville as a student at UVA Law. In what ways have your experiences at UVA shaped your career that followed?

**JK:** I got a great legal education, but more than anything else it taught me discipline. Most of the people in my class were as smart as or smarter than me and I could see that early on. I could give you two examples: Paul Stevens, Professor Stevens, he was in my class. I don't know how many IQ points Paul can spot me, but there are a bunch. Another classmate of mine when I went to Virginia was Professor Dan Ortiz and he's one of the smartest guys I've ever met.

UVA taught me discipline because I knew that to be able to hold my own, I had to work harder than everybody did, or as many people did, because I wasn't as smart as a lot of them. And I did. My normal routine, well I didn't have much time off. I would generally go seven days a week and I always took Saturday nights off. But I had to do that to be able to keep up and that more than anything else, that experience taught me that there's no substitute for working hard. People talk about good luck and bad luck and hard work is generally the mother of good luck, in my experience anyway.

**JD:** How has your faith informed your thinking on political issues and more broadly, what you think the role of faith is in the public square today?

**JK:** Well I'm a Methodist. I was raised Presbyterian: my mom and dad founded two Presbyterian churches. I was raised Presbyterian but when Becky – my better half – and I got married, I was a Presbyterian and Becky was a Methodist. So, we compromised and I became a Methodist. We are founding members of a little church, a Methodist church, in the small town I live in.

When I pray, I pray for wisdom. I pray for courage. I pray for love and I pray for faith. I believe in religious liberties but I also believe in the separation of church and state. That's the way I approach it. My faith is important to me. And I do believe one of the founding principles of this country is one of the things I'm proudest of that you can worship the God of your choice or no God at all.

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## Interview with Ambassador Robert Hutchings

By Jack DiMatteo

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**Jack DiMatteo:** To start, recognizing that you were the Director of European Affairs with the National Security Council, I'd be curious as you look at Europe today, to what extent are you fearful that the European Union could be at risk for further dissolution and what do you think are the greatest internal and external threats that it faces?

**Robert Hutchings:** It's a great question and I am worried. I think after the end of the Cold War, everyone was feeling euphoria and exuberance. I felt it too, but it was tinged with worry about the future because the very thing that helped us to get there was the Soviet threat. Of course, you have shared values and shared interests and all the rest, but I think the Cold War brought us all together, both the Europeans among themselves and Europeans and Americans together in ways that we didn't fully appreciate. We didn't fully appreciate how difficult it would be to sustain these communities, our Western communities, absent an external threat. So, the European Union at that time was a very ambitious integrationist program which may have gone too far too fast. I think there was a concern that Europe would fragment, or at least Europe would be in for a difficult time to continue the progression toward political and economic union. I think on this side of the Atlantic we took for granted the achievement of a united Europe, or at least a more united Europe, not fully realizing what a monumental achievement this was and how much worse off the world would be if we reverted or began to revert to a period of European nationalism.

**JD:** How do you think the EU should respond to surging illiberalism in some of its member states in eastern Europe?

**RH:** I think that you have to meet some of these challenges one by one. The EU simply has to accept the fact that there will be a kind of asymmetrical union in which not every country shares every liberal value. Ideally you would hope that one country's liberal democracy would strengthen the next countries, but there's always been through outliers. Greece for many years was not entirely a liberal democracy and I think now we simply have to reckon with the fact that there are 28 or 29 members so there will be some backsliding. I have no magic formula except to say that the core values that bind the continent together need to be preserved even while allowing for some outlier countries like Poland and Hungary.

The other kind of pressures the European Union faces simply have to be addressed one by one: trying to find a way to have a common perspective on Russia, which is made harder because of the U.S. administration; thinking more imaginatively with the Greek debt crisis, which has just been papered over; and immigration, which even looks a bit better than it did a year or two ago. So maybe this a hopeful sign that the worst may be

over in terms of the immigration crisis Europe faced. And then there's Brexit: this needs to be managed in a way that keeps Britain as close as possible to the European Union even though it won't be a full member any longer.

**JD:** You alluded to the United States, and I'm curious how you think the actions of this administration in the first year and a half or so have affected Europe, and what do you think that the United States can do that would be helpful in preserving the bonds of the union?

**RH:** I think the administration has been an absolute catastrophe in this respect and in many others. I don't think President Trump has given a moment's thought to the lessons of history. The point I was making earlier about the monumental notion of a more united Europe and the amazing success of the NATO alliance, the longest living alliance in human history - these things don't tend to just happen. They shouldn't be taken for granted; they could be more easily destroyed than recreated.

This again goes back to your earlier question at the end of the Cold War. A lot of us were asking the question: can NATO survive the collapse of the threat that gave rise to its existence in the first place? I think it was a subject of concern. Even back then, nobody quite imagined it would be threatened in this way, this kind of crude and heedless way, but I think that a lot of attention needs to be paid not only to preserving the alliance but to reinvigorating it and finding a new formula for keeping the alliance strong.

The alliance has sort of been on autopilot for the last 15 years. There was no crisis that caused anybody to think about dismantling the alliance, but it was increasingly hollow and less vital to the foreign policies of the member states. Europeans didn't mind it because it was a kind of cheap insurance policy for them and the Americans sort of liked it because we get to rule the roost and use the alliance to advance American interests. But there loomed a whole lot beneath the surface. I used to lament these anodyne communiques for every NATO summit that were kind of hollow and there wasn't enough imagination there. I think in my time in government we deserve some criticism for not being imaginative enough to see what kind of transatlantic relationship ought to emerge after the Cold War. It certainly isn't going to be the same one that existed during the Cold War, yet the default position was to keep doing what we had done before, so it's difficult to cede more responsibility and authority to the Europeans.

The Europeans found it difficult to step up and create a more balanced relationship. I think the lesson history ought to teach is not that NATO per se has to be preserved at all costs, but that if NATO is to be undone, something equally good has to replace it in some sort of Europe-wide security system with a strong connection to the United States. There are lots of different forms of this that might be tried, but simply to undermine the alliance with no sense of what might come in its place is just dangerous. Congress needs to provide checks to prevent the president from undoing the alliance.

**JD:** Building off of that final point, and to close the loop here on the European questions, what do you think are the greatest causes for optimism for the future of Europe and for western liberalism generally?

**RH:** You can go back to the basics and the core values, and this is going to sound a little hokey and banal, but some of the core values that underpin the liberal enterprise are still as valid as ever. People want a say through their elected officials, and how decisions are made that affect their welfare. Democracy, liberalism, constitutionalism, republicanism...all of these things are pretty firmly held in most of the countries in the alliance even though they are under new threats in several countries.

**JD:** To change gears a little bit looking at another role you served in as the dean of the LBJ School of Public Affairs and where you remain as a professor, I'm curious what you think the most important skills and lessons are that schools of public affairs and public policy like the LBJ School or the Batten School here at UVA should be teaching their students particularly in this moment?

**RH:** It's a good question. Some public policy schools focus a little too much on skill sets. Of course, graduate students, people who have committed to a career of public service, want to leave their master's program with a set of skills that are marketable and usable, but I think that it's more the understanding of the ethos of public service that is what we really ought to instill. It's interesting that the Batten School has leadership in its name. As I introduced myself to our entering students every year, I always told them that what you want is to see your soul. You want to see your mission right now as learning to lead, because you may not realize it yet, but you'll be thrust into leadership positions pretty soon. Not necessarily leadership in the old sense of being in charge of a position or a group of people, but leadership in whatever walk of life you are aiming to enter.

So, you need to start thinking now about how to develop those skills. The temperament, the ethical sensibilities, the maturity, the judgment, all these elusive qualities that go into making good leaders. I always tell them that leadership is not just something that just happens to you at a certain age where you turn 40 and you're put into a leadership position, or you turn 50 and you suddenly become a leader. Leadership is something that people should start working on as early as possible, probably before they get to graduate school actually, but certainly when they are beginning to embark on a professional career.

**JD:** And this final question will have some overlap with that for me and my classmates who are soon to be graduates of the University of Virginia, where you received your Ph.D. What additional advice you'd offer to us who hope to pursue careers in public service?

**RH:** I counsel a lot of students. My advice is free, though it may not be any good. At least for me, especially in these days, it's really hard for those aspiring towards the

federal government. It's really hard for many to find a happy place in government. I encourage them to take the long view and think of your career as a sort of long progression. It's not the old pattern that used to exist when I was your age. You enter a career service, you join the foreign service or the intelligence service, or you go into corporate America and you stay in the same organization for a career and then you get a gold watch at the end and you retire.

Nobody lives like that anymore. I didn't live my career like that. So, you think of the career as a long trajectory and try to plan ahead how you see your career developing in the general sense. I don't mean a blueprint in which you've got it all planned out for the next 15 to 20 years, nobody should do that. But have a general sense for where you want to go and how you can build toward that end. It's one of those things that's iterative.

Interestingly, one of the things I did as dean was to create a Washington D.C. campus of the LBJ School, and with the students down from DC, I led a one-credit course every fall helping them think about their careers. The only deliverable from that course was a 10-year career plan — they had to look out 10 years. Of course, I didn't want them to know exactly where they thought they'd be in 10 to 15 years, but I did want them to think about what kinds of jobs they would hope to be competitive for later on, the kinds of places they'd like to find themselves, and then work backwards to figure out how on earth they would get from where they are now to there. Or if people don't like that and want to think from the present forward, think about your first internship or your first job and what you hope that will build toward. How does the internship then lead into a first job, and what would you want to do in that first job that would take you to the next job, so that you can see your way ahead?

I also did this with my own career. I had a very broad sense of where I wanted to go, certainly not a blueprint, but a broad sense of where I wanted to go. Within that I tried to stay flexible because opportunities come along that aren't in your plan, but you want to take a chance on. UVA was a really good place for me. I'm eternally grateful for what I got there and my first job, I was all set to be an academic. I had a couple tenure track offers and was mulling those, but then there was an offer that came out of the blue to be deputy director of Radio Free Europe at the tender age of 32. This wasn't in the plan, but I thought that this would take me to an interesting place in my career. So, my wife and I debated it for a while and said, "why not?" So, we went to Munich for five years and it turned out to be really good, but then we had to navigate back to the United States. We were flexible enough to take the job, but then didn't allow ourselves simply to be trapped in that position just because it was fun and we liked the lifestyle and liked living in Europe. So, we made the commitment to, with some difficulty, go back and start a career in the States.

The other thing is I always embed ethics in the courses I teach, whether it's international or domestic affairs. I think that ethics is too little taught. The way I put it is that every day in the public policy arena, otherwise ethical people do unethical things and it's oftentimes because they don't give the same level of attention to the ethical dimensions

of their jobs as they would routinely give to the technical dimensions. So, you need to think through these things as well. And it's not just a matter of being a good person and hoping that will be good enough, because the ethical choices can really be quite difficult. I'm sure people in the Trump Administration are going through this on a daily basis. How much do you go along with without compromising your ethics, or can you do an ethical job and still be faithful to the administration's policies? The Trump Administration is an acute case, but it comes up in every administration in one way or another unless you're fortunate. You'll always have a job in which you don't fully agree with the policies that you're called on to implement, so you have to figure out how you navigate in this.

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**Interview with Dean Allan Stam****By Jack DiMatteo**

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**Jack DiMatteo:** Much of your academic background focuses on wars and how to end them, and for the overwhelming majority of my life and many of my classmates' lives, our country has been at war in Afghanistan. What impact do you think the recent efforts to reach out to the Taliban could have in reducing violence in the country, and what elements generally should a peace strategy, from an American perspective or otherwise, include in Afghanistan?

**Allan Stam:** It's an important but sad question. I think probably the closest and most apt analogy would be the end of the Vietnam War during the Nixon Administration. Both Nixon and Trump came into office, Nixon to a greater extent, Trump to a lesser extent, but both in part, with the claim or promise to end the war that the United States was engaged with at that time, when the United States has become involved in essentially a civil war. World War I and World War II were quite different because that's one independent nation state with a long history of independence at war with another. So, those are clearly interstate wars, and essentially the goal of the United States in both World War I and World War II was simply just to return the state of affairs, the territorial status quo ante. It didn't stick in World War I, and so after World War II, we recognize that and we do essentially two big things. We put in place a set of international institutions, both financial and security, and we keep troops stationed as an occupying peacekeeping force in Spain, Italy, England, France, and Germany. France we're out of quite quickly, but we still have troops in Germany, we still have troops in Italy, we still have troops in Spain.

Those forces there serve a very different role, though, than forces in Korea. Forces in Japan serve a very different role. The forces were sent there ostensibly to do what the British Lord Ismay said very famously about the purpose of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in the 1950s: to keep the Russians out, the Germans down, and the Americans in. The American role in Western Europe post-1945 has been sort of all three and to provide stability for the region. This is sort of ironic given President Trump's position on these things, but one of the principal purposes was so that the Europeans could cheat on their security commitments, so that no European state would feel the need to one-up their neighbors.

Afghanistan is like Vietnam and it's like Korea in the sense that it's an intrastate war. It's a civil war. It's like Vietnam, it's like Korea, in the sense that in 1950, in 1965, or a couple of years earlier in the Vietnam case, neither Vietnam nor North Korea were part of what we might think of as intrinsic U.S. interest in the same way that Western Europe would be. But, in the 1960s, it was referred to as the Domino Theory. There's no question that Korea is linked to broader security interests that the United States has in East Asia. The same goes true for Vietnam. In the Vietnamese case, in the Korean case, they were

nationalist wars. It's true that the North Koreans were communist and the North Vietnamese were communist, but they were nationalist movements. Political scientists, policy analysts, still have not reached consensus about how important or not great state, great power reputation is in international politics. The people who think reputation is very important think that exercising power in places like Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan is very important. There are other groups of scholars and policymakers that say, "no, reputations aren't what matter, interests at any point in time are what really matter." And this is where it gets tricky. The United States has limited direct interests in those types of places. We do have significant indirect interests.

The indirect interest with Afghanistan is further removed from being a significant issue for the United States, largely because of geography. Landlocked countries have it bad, doubly landlocked countries have it quadruple as bad. Afghanistan is in an incredibly remote place. It's not really connected to the international trading system the way that South Korea today is or Vietnam is becoming. It's not coastal. For the better part of, depending on when you count history beginning, the better part of two thousand years, 200 years, or 50 years, the Afghans basically wanted to be left alone, with one, relatively more recent, significant proviso having to do with transnational terrorism. For the Romans, Afghanistan mattered because of its location and connection between East Asia and Central Asia. Similarly for the British, but it was more symbolic than critical. For the Russians, Afghanistan was a southern border state that was creating problems, and the Russians were very concerned about spillover in a variety of other related but peripheral issues.

The rise of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan transformed the concerns and risks of these pretty geographically removed places. So that's why Afghanistan matters today, the concern if we leave. Interestingly, the Taliban per se is not really an intrinsic U.S. problem. The Taliban's historic, over the course of several decades, willingness to tolerate organizations like al-Qaeda within the borders of Afghanistan is an interest of the United States and other European powers. There are a couple of issues. One is, if you take a sort of realpolitik view, you'd say, "well, let's talk with the Taliban. 'Here's the deal guys, we'll let you do whatever you want to do, with the proviso you cannot allow organizations like al-Qaeda, ISIS, and others to use your territory as a rear training base from which they can launch or train operators or parts of their network.'" That's a plausible set of negotiations. It would be something that I would want to be talking about if I was having a conversation with them.

The related but distinct issue is the future of Afghanistan itself. So the Bush Administration, the Obama Administration to significant extent, the Trump Administration to much lesser extent, have talked about the future of the Afghan government as an interest per se for the United States. Again, there's no consensus on this. Folks that believe that fostering, supporting, and spreading democratic institutions is an intrinsic interest to the United States would look at a Taliban takeover of Afghanistan or a collapse of the current Afghan government with, at best, deep chagrin. Others of us

would be more sanguine and say, “that would be unfortunate, but it doesn't have a direct impact on U.S. national interests.” I think U.S. interests in spreading democracy to places like Afghanistan, from an empirical perspective rather than a normative one, is sort of tenuous at best. Others disagree. There are others who feel very strongly that the support of and spread of democratic institutions is a really intrinsic interest of the United States.

Interestingly, nobody in the Defense Department, the Army in particular, the Defense Department more broadly, wants to be the ones in charge at the time when Kabul falls to the Taliban. Nobody wanted to be the people in the Defense Department when Saigon fell in 1975. Interestingly, in 1975, it precipitated a significant migration crisis. We ended up with several hundred thousand Vietnamese refugees entering into the United States, the vast majority of whom have become an extraordinary addition and asset to the United States. People were somewhat skeptical at the time, but that falls into the category of “All's Well That Ends Well.” Vietnam is turning into being, if not yet a full ally, certainly a regional partner and somebody that the United States is looking to as we look increasingly like developing a containment policy or certainly forward aggressive engagement policy with China. Vietnam is emerging as a plausible partner in that effort, if only because we're now starting to realize how badly we misunderstand the Vietnamese intense dislike of the Chinese in the late 50s or even the 1940s, going back to the Paris talks.

With Afghanistan, because of the geography, because of the Taliban's history of essentially non-engagement with neighboring states with the probable exception of Pakistan, if you can contain or prevent any future Afghan government from being willing to tolerate or allow non-Afghan nationalist movements to operate within its borders, I think from a U.S. security perspective, we're fine. It falls into the category of man. What do you say to the families of the 4000 American soldiers who died in the war? That's an unfortunate and horrible conversation that would have to be had. But, at the same time, I don't think the unwillingness or lack of desire to be willing to have that conversation should lead us to conclude that we should put more American lives at risk going forward. With Vietnam in 1975, we negotiated what the Nixon Administration referred to, Kissinger referred to, as peace with honor in 1973. Two years later, Saigon fell. I would not be surprised at all if a similar process took place in Afghanistan, where the United States would negotiate a withdrawal within an either tacit or somewhat more explicit understanding, at least internally, that whatever the state of affairs were on the ground in Afghanistan in 2020 or 2019, whenever this withdrawal would occur, probably would not persist for the long haul.

So again, coming back to my remarks in the beginning, the places where the stability that U.S. engagement brought persisted has essentially only persisted when American troops have remained present. That is true in the Middle East. That is true in Western Europe. It's been true in East Asia. It's proven true in Central Africa. What seems to be the case almost universally is, deploying U.S. troops does two things minimum, in addition to creating these security benefits. One, if you deploy several thousand U.S. soldiers, there will be friction with the local population. Probably the most salient example would be

U.S. Marines in Okinawa. Unfortunate events will occur that create friction between the host country and the United States. The second is that there will be U.S. casualties. We saw not long ago four U.S. Special Forces operators in Nigeria. That really led to sharpening the discussion and focus on “do we really need to be there?” For example, in Germany in the 1990s, there was a terrorist bombing. Thirty-one soldiers died. People said, “it’s horrible, it’s unfortunate, but we’re not leaving Germany, because Germany is a core intrinsic interest of the United States.” The challenge becomes when we have these quite far flung engagements in places like Afghanistan, and you say, “Is it really necessary? Is this an intrinsic interest to the United States, or is this some peripheral interest, some extrinsic interest that can be managed in a different way?”

If you go back further in history to the 1890s to the 1930s, the United States managed interests like this quite differently, if we think about the Caribbean and Latin America and South America. Following most of the sort of nationalist revolutions, most of them against Spain in the 19th century in South American and Central America, the Monroe Doctrine finally comes fully in force. The United States has quite extraordinary business interests in these countries, and we can have a conversation about whether we should see that as beneficial to one, or both, or any of the parties, but for this conversation it’s neither here nor there. If there were a threat to U.S. business interests in the Caribbean, Latin America, or South America, we would send troops forward, typically Marines. If you go to the Iwo Jima Memorial in Washington D.C., around the base of the statue, there’s all of the Marine campaigns named, and one of the things you see is the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and their brief periods. So there’d be a problem, the Marines would be sent in to rescue businessmen, take control of the customs house until debts were repaid, and then they would return to the United States. This had been essentially the United States’ central M.O., with the exception of the Philippines, for the better part of a hundred and fifty years.

There were individual exceptions. After the Filipino war, the United States remains an occupying power in the Philippines, basically ever since and certainly until the 1990s, depending on how we look at that. But, after World War II, there’s definitely a changed sense that we have to stay there, and partly that’s because the interests and the scale of threats to those interests in Europe were just profoundly different than the interests and the threats to those interests in Latin and Central America and the Caribbean. I don’t know any serious people who talk about a return to an isolationist business and security posture. I think that’s completely a popular press political red herring. There are very serious people, though, that argue for a policy of restraint and some disengagement, where the United States stands prepared, not with forward deployed forces permanently on the ground as we’ve had in a handful of these places I mentioned, but through the U.S. Navy and a relatively smaller number of forward operating bases, stands ready, as we did through the 1890s to the 1930s, to intervene to protect U.S. interests and then withdraw back to either naval forces or a very small number of forward deployed ground locations.

Alternatively, the other view is “No, no, no, business as usual. We just need to do what we're doing better.” There are people in the Defense Department that think, for example, in Afghanistan, we're just not doing what we should be doing well enough. I'm deeply skeptical. Given the political, moral, and ethical constraints on the U.S. military, I don't think the war in Afghanistan is winnable.

**JD:** Changing gears to another issue that we've actually discussed in the past, this issue of the tension between the need to protect free speech and open dialogue, and the idea that you might be promoting odious views. One way that this manifested recently was the decision by *The New Yorker* and their editor David Remnick to invite Steven Bannon to an ideas festival, and then because of backlash from Remnick's own staff and the general public, Remnick rescinded the invitation. What frameworks would you use to analyze those situations, both on college campuses specifically and in other public settings, like an ideas festival, more generally, if those contexts are different for you.?

**AS:** I take a pretty rigid and interestingly, what at one point, probably 20 years ago, was a fairly centrist view, now has evolved to become, as the grounds have shifted underneath us, a bit more of what some would characterize as an extreme view when it comes to First Amendment rights, but also the desirability of hearing out and presenting arguments to deflect or refute the claims and positions of true extremists.

As I've said as Dean of this school pretty consistently over the last four years, I, we, my colleagues, condemn violence in any form, regardless of whether it's on the right, left, up, down. Violence per se, except where authorized by the state, has no place in political or social discourse, debate, bargaining. That's not to say it doesn't occur, but it's beyond unfortunate and in my view, should be condemned in all manners. It's very interesting when you think about organizations that either through their actions or words provoke violence. Should we allow them, should we listen to them? I think that's the more nuanced and complicated position. In all ends of the political spectrum, the advocates of violence have become more sophisticated. And this presents the conundrum. The United States is very different in terms of its views on free speech. The United States is an outlier internationally. We historically, from a legal perspective, have taken a quite extreme position in protecting fairly radical speech, both today and historically, and I support that view.

In the specific case of Steve Bannon, I think that is an unfortunate choice on the part of *The New Yorker*. Somebody like Steve Bannon has, arguably, ideas that some people think are good and many people think are bad. I think shutting those types of voices down, if it doesn't drive them completely underground, it certainly plays into their conspiratorial rhetoric. There is a group of people, Steve Bannon and Alex Jones, others on the right, and their equivalents on the left, that frame the political issues, strife, and problems of today in very conspiratorial terms: there's this master plan amongst a small group of people, whether it's Bannon, George Soros, Barack Obama, or whomever. Personally, I just don't believe it.

There are sort of three basic explanations for unfortunate or bad outcomes: ignorance, stupidity, or duplicity. It's usually a combination of former two, not the latter. That's not to say that individuals aren't and groups aren't duplicitous, but it's really, really hard to hold together a vast, centrally coordinated conspiracy. Now this isn't to say that, absent that, people's behavior can't come to be highly coordinated. But I think that shutting down thought leaders, to use a little current jargon, makes it easier for those individuals to sustain the claim that there is a vast conspiracy operating against them, which I don't think is beneficial to anyone. My personal view is, if you can't refute somebody's arguments or positions with the basis of accurate demonstrations of historical fact or consistent logic and rhetoric, you need to go back and look in the mirror yourself, not simply say, "well, this individual, this group, has an argument I can't figure out how to refute in a way that's persuasive to other people, so therefore, I'm simply going to shut them down." I don't find that a compelling process.

**JD:** One of the points that stood out to me during your "State of the School" address was these questions that we need to be asking: "How do you know that?," "How sure are you?," and "What happens if you're wrong?" , and you contextualize it in the case study of the opioid crisis and the origins of that crisis. I'm curious what issues you see emerging today that you don't think we're asking those questions enough about, that could become problematic down the road.

**AS:** I think it's true for almost every policy, whether it's social policy, security policy, where we as a society or community are asked to essentially go all in, to make a broad commitment, where we're basically requiring people to participate in some set of actions, policies, requirements, without them being tested, tried out. Social psychology is in the midst of what they and some others refer to as a "replication crisis." Brian Nosek, here at the University of Virginia, at the Center for Open Science, they and others now have been replicating not just social psychology, but that's been a big part of their focus, lab experiments for the past several years, and to many people's chagrin, a lot of those lab experimental results don't hold up in replication, somewhere between a third and half of them. Some of these things have had very important implications or policy implications.

It's not so much the issue that is controversial, so issues about race, diversity, individual identity, and pluralism as friction points within our communities and society, that's uncontroversial. It's how we address those tensions that I think we need to be more careful than we're being right now. And I think the replication efforts, the Center for Open Science findings, should give us pause about some of these broad-based social engineering solutions. Where we have consensus or near consensus about problematic issues, the solutions to many of these social ills, we need to be very careful about, because the solutions may in fact, as we've seen in a number of issues, make things worse.

**JD:** What advice would you offer to us, soon-to-be Batten graduates, as we go out in the world and try to make a difference?

**AS:** A great piece of advice I got, when I was in a similar position, was from one of my senior professors, a World War II veteran. His family had emigrated first from Russia to escape pogroms to Italy, and then they emigrated from Italy to the United States because of Mussolini. Ken was in the first landing wave in Okinawa. His brother was in the landing wave at Omaha Beach on D-Day, and they both survived. Ken went on to become a quite renowned political scientist and his brother became a quite renowned photojournalist.

I always listened to their words of advice, and I had that similar question when I was in my late 20s, and Kent said, “One thing we know for sure about employment opportunities and professional networks is they operate like a market. There’s an employment market. There’s a job market. They may be inefficient, but they’re markets nonetheless. There’s a couple of things we know for sure about markets, and the most important one is we know you can’t time them, because if you could time them, you would. Everybody’s trying, but no one’s succeeded systematically. Individuals by chance do succeed, but collectively, we can’t time them.” I was like, “Yeah, that makes sense.”

Ken’s next observation was if you can’t time a market, it means you always have to be in it. That means that in life, when we think of our professional opportunities, we always have to have our eyes and ears open to opportunities because we don’t know when the next great opportunity will come. It could come tomorrow, and then it might not come for a very long period of time. He said people make mistakes of two kinds. One is a great opportunity comes along, and you think, “wow it just came along, the next one will come with the same frequency.” It might not. If a great opportunity comes along, and it strikes you as a great opportunity, unless there’s a compelling reason not to take it, take it, because you don’t know when the next one might come along.

The other corollary to that is if it’s been a while since any opportunities came along, be patient. They will come. No matter what, stay in the game. And you know the old song: Carpe Diem, seize the day. When the opportunities come, take them. They say that the harder you work, the more luck you have. I think that the truth in that lies in the sense that, the more you interact with others, the more you’re part of broader, face-to-face real social networks, as opposed to electronic ones, you simply have more chances for opportunities to present themselves. If you’re sitting alone in your basement and you’re not putting yourself out there, the odds are you’re not going to have very many create opportunities or to receive opportunities or to see opportunities. If you put yourself out there, if you travel, if you meet new people, even if it may feel uncomfortable, if it’s awkward or anxiety inducing, opportunities arise out of interactions with other people. You don’t create them directly. The more you interact with other people on a daily, weekly, annual basis, the more times the circumstances will be created from which great opportunities can arise. People say, “oh, that person was so lucky,” and that’s probably

true, but at the same time, our choices have a very powerful way of shaping the kind of luck that we enjoy, be it good luck or bad luck.

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**Interview with Tom Perriello****By Jack DiMatteo**

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**Jack DiMatteo:** Beginning with your time in Congress, one of the votes that you made was in favor of the Affordable Care Act. I was curious what the criteria were that you used to decide you'd vote on that legislation and where you think we go from here to improve America's health care system?

**Tom Perriello:** For me, the number one question was whether this was going to improve the lives of my constituents by ensuring that a greater number of people have access to more affordable care. The hope was that this would meet that goal through a variety of means, including, obviously, direct expansion of access, but also bending the cost curve over time. I think we have accomplished those goals more slowly than we might have hoped, in part because there have been so many efforts to sabotage it. I think that is leading people now to look at, what might be considered more transformative reforms. As a representative, I wanted to know that this was something that was going to meet that standard of greater access and more affordability for people I represent.

**JD:** Later in the Obama administration, you led the Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review, which covered a range of ideas that continue to threaten American security and stability, one of them being climate change. I'm curious if you could talk a little bit more about the primary ways in which climate change represents a risk to our national security.

**TP:** One of the things we talked about in the QDDR was the importance of not treating this as a strictly environmental issue, but understanding this as something that affects everything from stability to economic development to counterterrorism and conflict prevention. We have already seen the number of conflicts, including the dynamics of the Arab Spring, at least in part exacerbated by the effects of climate change, including the creation and exacerbation of droughts. This is something that affects how we think about refugees, and disease vectors, and stressors in areas of conflict or instability.

**JD:** Another issue that emerged in the QDDR was the political weaponization of othering. It seems like that trend has only accelerated in the years since the report was released. I'm curious what you think the consequences of that are, and then what can be done to reverse that trend.

**TP:** We sometimes treat domestic policy and foreign policy as separate issues. But when you actually zoom out, as we did in QDDR, you see that's it's actually the same dynamics that are driving domestic and global tensions right now, including the spiking of inequality, the emergence of jobless growth - where you're seeing GDP become less and less attached to either job growth or middle-class growth, and the persistence of othering and racism, where there was some belief that perhaps modernization, modernity, and

global integration would actually reduce these dynamics...which I think in the megacities, you have seen to be true.

But it is actually something that remains a political weapon in the hands of some more demagogic leaders around the world to dangerous effect. The United States is in an interesting role because the extent to which we are seen as beacon of pluralism and integration is being challenged by the persistence of racial injustice in this country, particularly for those in the African-American community, and then also obviously the rise of a resurgence of white nationalist politics. That has global implications as well, so when we look at conflicts around the world, and when we look at things that could drive us to world war, these are the facts that we think about.

I think right now there are 4-5 disruptive forces that are driving us towards a much higher probability of world war than we have since the early days of the Cold War, and certainly one of those has been attack on pluralism, in the form of racial demagogic politics in both the global north and the global south. This is not something that we're seeing as unique to one type of country or another. We see it in countries that already have a great deal of ethnic or racial diversity, and we also see it in countries that are arguably homogenous.

**JD:** To continue on this point about the resurgence of white nationalism, you obviously represented Virginia's Fifth District, which includes UVA and Charlottesville. As we just passed the one-year anniversary of the events of August 11th and 12th of last year, can you share your reflections on what happened and how we can heal?

**TP:** That was shocking to be in the streets of my hometown on that August day last year, and again this year. It is already shocking to see that form of heavily-armed racial hatred that I know exists, but it is even more shocking to see it at that scale in my hometown, to have people spitting on me, to have people throw anti-Semitic slurs at me, to watch people give a Nazi salute while saying, "Heil Trump," and to know that I had to record and post all of this, because some people would deny that it was even happening

The question that has not yet been answered is whether it has shocked us towards disaster or shocked us awake about the need to address issues that we have too long ignored. I believe that history will look back not just at that day but on the work of advocates before, during, and after that day - advocates who insisted on turning it into a teachable moment about the work that needs to be done for real racial justice and accountability. I think it was a major contribution that a significant number of the organizers, enablers, and armed soldiers of hate from that day were held accountable - whether that is those who are serving time in jail, those who had to go into hiding, those who have been bankrupted, or those who have simply been outed and fired from jobs. Many people that I met and talked to that day from the hate group in Charlottesville were ready for a race war. They were very clear about that. I think for that group, they were like, "Wait a second, this is very serious and people are going to jail." As a society, both how we

enforce laws and how we enforce norms is a defining element of the values in place of that society.

So, I think the fact that many people in the UVA and Charlottesville communities have demanded accountability and have reclaimed those physical spaces in the way that those courageous UVA students did that the night of the torch rally was deeply significant and symbolic. The symbolic becomes significant.

We need to understand that it is not a historical anomaly that we will see armed white nationalist efforts. In fact, it has almost always come in the wake of racial progress that we have seen both in the symbolism of Barack Obama's presidency, but also in the demands for valuing black lives, that the march forward is not one without hurdles, complications, or reactions. So, I think that day was evil.

The other thing that has been very interesting to see in the year since then is how much the effort has backfired on the white nationalists in terms of educating people about the truth of segregation monuments. I think far more Charlottesville and Virginia residents today understand that these monuments were not put up in the wake of the Confederacy, but in the wake of integration. And the Confederate generals, who were far more successful during the war, but embraced black citizenship after the war, were denied statutes, whereas those who continued to fight against black citizenship were honored.

Since a majority of Charlottesville and Albemarle residents at the time of the Civil War were black not white, when we think about how Virginians experienced that war as one of invasion or one of liberation, do we continue to erase the human beings who experienced it one way even within our community from how we tell that story?

Obviously, that event was in some ways about the statues, and in many many ways it was not, but I do think in addition to the accountability, it has been important in terms of the actual education about real history, about the contestation of facts, about the fact that these are not statues to our accurate history: these are part of a propaganda effort that it is trying to replace real fact and accurate history.

And people will say something like “why can't we go back to the uncontroversial approach of Dr. Martin Luther King,” without acknowledging that he was always considered controversial and provocative in his time, much like Muhammad Ali was. And in retrospect, when justice advances, their very reasonable requests come to be seen as mainstream. So, we are going through a period of that in our country that I think is very interesting. I believe the country politically is going through what California went through with Proposition 187 about 20 years ago, an event similar to national politics today where the state was reaching a new threshold of diversity and Republicans ran a very racially charged ballot initiative on immigration that allowed them to tap into white grievances. They were able to win the one election, but it lost them the state for the rest of the generation because communities of color and white people of conscience came to reject that type of politics. I believe that President Trump will be for the country what

Prop. 187 was for California: a one-time play that has really galvanized a lot of people around the country who were not that political before to get engaged and to feel like passivity or non-engagement in the face of this kind of racialized and utterly corrupt politics is not an option. Being neutral in this not an option and that's why I think you're seeing this significant political shift, because of people who can see that. I think Virginia set the tone for that in 2017, one that we will probably continue to see around the country.

To some extent you can see this crossroads coming in the wake of the horrible tragedy in Charlottesville. That happened as we were headed into the most significant election of the Trump era: the Virginia gubernatorial race and delegate races. You saw the two parties respond very differently to the attack. You saw Ralph Northam, born and raised in rural Virginia, went to VMI, the quintessential Virginia gentleman, who was appalled by this tragedy, calling out the hatred and calling for an inclusive Virginia, making that central to his message. On the other hand, you saw Ed Gillespie, who came from the country-club wing of the Republican Party, embrace that racially charged politics and focus on fear of brown people. Even the Washington Post called out Gillespie for running one of the most racist and nativist campaigns in history. You saw that the two parties responded differently and that led to unprecedented gains for Democrats in 2017.

While that event was not primarily partisan in nature, it was significant in that the two parties chose to take very different directions in its wake and, at least in Virginia, that more divisive approach was soundly rejected. The message of an inclusive Virginia was embraced not just with the landslide victory for the governor but also with electing the most diverse set of women delegates in the history of Virginia. We stand on a knife's edge of which way this is going to be cut, but I believe that it could prove to be the last gasp of long-festering issues that we're starting to address in order to move forward to the highest ideals that we have is a commonwealth and a country

**JD:** Thinking about me and my classmates, we're preparing to graduate and go out and hopefully enter careers in public service and I'm wondering what advice you might offer to us as we proceed to this next chapter in our lives

**TP:** First and foremost, if you feel a calling to service, that calling has taken a lot of different forms in my life in a lot of different parts of the world and it has always produced meaning and rewards far greater than the higher incomes than I could have made elsewhere. I believe service can take lots of forms, from teaching or curing illnesses to serving in public office or engaging in advocacy. Service can happen in your communities or around the world, and as I mentioned earlier these issues are deeply interconnected. There used to be a time when you could ask yourself "am I going to work at issues either at home or abroad?" Now I believe they are the same issues. If we are working on the issues of racial justice and reconciliation in this country, that has implications around the world. If you are overseas looking at how we are going to create an inclusive economy in an increasingly automated and unequal world, that is something

that has huge implications at home. I think if you choose a life of service you will never regret it, and it does not need to fit neatly into a linear path that might have made sense 20 years ago. Everyone has their own path to walk, but I do hope that public service in whatever form it takes can be a part of that for a great many of the folks reading this.

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## Interview with Mary Kate Cary

By Jack DiMatteo

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**Jack DiMatteo:** Looking back at your time as a speechwriter for President George H.W. Bush, a key emphasis of the administration seemed to be promoting global cooperation, with the North American Free Trade Agreement being one example. Why do you think some people have turned away from free trade, international institutions, and the idea of America as a leader in global affairs?

**Mary Kate Cary:** President Bush felt that the end of the Cold War presented a tremendous opportunity for defining the post-Cold War era. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait and President Bush himself tried to assemble this tremendous international coalition to stand up to Saddam Hussein, that was the beginning, in his mind, of this new era, where for the first time the Soviet Union and the United States were on the same side of the table. He started building a new alliance that was based on taming aggression by rogue states, and he wisely could see that if that didn't take place in that first confrontation after the end of the Cold War then we'd all be in big trouble. It was a positive step to build that coalition by reaching out to Mikhail Gorbachev and having such a successful team in this Trans-Atlantic partnership, and that's why I think it's unfortunate that we would turn away from that idea because we still have rogue states and bad actors on the international scene. Whether we are increasing our ties through military alliances or through trade agreements, the more connected we can be with our allies, I think the safer we'll all be in the long run. The reason I think people have started to turn away from some of these alliances is that not everyone is paying their full share in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the military alliances, and some trade agreements. I think that's why people are losing sight of these overall good ideas because of some of the tradeoffs that were made.

**JD:** How do you think that faith can be restored in those ideas, particularly for the people who have been left behind?

**MKC:** I don't think there's anything wrong with renegotiating some of them, with an eye towards making sure they're fairer and that they're more inclusive of the people who were left out. I don't think we should walk away from them. I think there is a certain crowd that just wants to completely walk away from them, and I don't think that's going to be the answer in the long run. So certainly, as President Trump is doing in renegotiating NAFTA with Mexico and Canada, that's not an entirely bad thing, and certainly getting all of our NATO allies to make sure they are at the - percent level for military spending in NATO, I think all of that's a good thing. Anything we can do to strengthen the alliance is great. I would just argue that it doesn't help any of us if we walk away from these alliances, and I think President Bush would be the first to say that

they weren't perfect, but you can't let perfect be the enemy of the good. If people need to re-negotiate them and make them better that's great, but let's do that and not just walk away.

*[Editor's Note: Since this interview was completed, President Trump has reached an agreement with Mexico and Canada that must now be reviewed by Congress.]*

**JD:** I think the Republican Party of President Bush seems to have evolved a lot in recent years, and I'm curious what you would say the Republican party should stand for and what you think it stands for right now during the Trump Administration.

**MKC:** Traditionally, the Republican party has been the party of free markets, free people, and free ideas, and I think that's always a good thing. That's part of the American idea: a free and open exchange of people, goods, and ideas - whether you're talking about internationally or state-to-state or just in your own neighborhood. The Republican Party lately seems as though it has turned more towards protectionism, and the party has always been the party in favor of national security and strong borders, but we've also had the flip side of being very welcoming to legal immigrants. So, the latest debates about strengthening our border through building a wall didn't go so well once they started implementing the policy of separating families, which really backfired, and is causing a lot of people to make the wrong connection that the Republican Party is not only against illegal immigrants, but all immigrants, and that's not the case. I think Republicans have always been pro-immigrant, and many of us are the sons and daughters of immigrants, so the equating of illegal immigrants with legal immigrants concerns me.

**JD:** On the flip side of my previous question what would you say the, and I think you alluded to this with getting our European allies to spend more on defense, but what do you think are the most praiseworthy policy achievements of the Trump administration thus far?

**MKC:** I would say on the domestic side, the rollback of regulations has not gotten that much press. I think that the rollback of regulations really is at the top of the list for me because you can make the argument that the stock market has started coming around again at the end of the Obama years, but you can pretty much guarantee that President Obama was not going to be rolling back any regulations. I think that is one of the reasons the stock market is doing so well and consumer confidence is so high.

The number of judges he has is going to have a transformative effect for generations as well. Thirdly, I think that there was kind of a need to shine a spotlight on some of these trade agreements. I know that a lot of the critics on the left really were very upset when there was that string of walking away from Trans-Pacific Partnership, Paris Climate Accords, and the Iran Nuclear Deal. I can understand why people were upset, but it isn't the worst thing in the world for some of these to be renegotiated, as long as he doesn't totally walk away from them. The list that, for example, the administration put out on what they would like to see in an Iranian nuclear deal was a very reasonable list that I

think most Americans would say, “why wouldn’t that be included in the original deal?” I think the fact that he singlehandedly backed out of it was a result of the fact that President Obama did not negotiate it as a treaty, which he should have done. The reason he did not negotiate it as a treaty was because he didn’t think he would get it passed because there were so many Democrats opposed to it, and everyone seems to have forgotten that now. So to shine a spotlight on it and say that this really should have been a treaty, it shows that the process is just as important as the policy because the process dictates whether it can be reversed or not.

Another thing from a policy point of view was when President Trump said the U.S. would no longer be participating the Paris Climate Accords. There were a number of states and even cities, where the governors and the mayors came forward and said, “well, the president can back out but we’re still going to abide by it.” To me that was showing the new federalism on the left. The right has always been in favor of states’ rights and laboratories of democracy across the United States, but the left not so much. They love a big strong federal government that has the ability to mandate pretty dramatic changes in all 50 states. People on the right want a limited government, the idea that a “one size fits all solution” isn’t the best. All of a sudden now when President Trump now pulls out of the climate accord, this an eye-opening experience for some people on the left. Maybe we don’t always have to do what the federal government does; maybe we can do what we want in our state in a way that works better for us. So I love that angle of that policy being reversed: there was a new federalism, which I thought that was a great, unintended consequence.

**JD:** I would like to ask you about a recent issue that sparked a lot of controversy here at the Miller Center and at The University of Virginia, which was the hiring of Marc Short. What do you think were the most compelling cases for and against that decision, and how you would ultimately evaluate it?

**MKC:** I have met Marc Short, and certainly know him by reputation, and he has a very good reputation as far as I have ever heard in Washington. I have a lot of respect for him. When I heard that he was getting hired as a senior fellow, I thought it was terrific because you can’t say that you’re the Miller Center for Presidential Studies but only for some presidents. And so, I think historians are going to want a window into the Trump Administration, and as controversial as it is, I think it’s going to be a fascinating moment in history because he has done things so differently than any other president. And Marc has a fascinating view into that because he was so involved with the legislative end of it, and I don’t think that the critics who were upset about this were fair in their criticism. The legislative office of the White House is not necessarily generating policy. They are reacting to things on Capitol Hill. The president cannot introduce legislation; it has to originate on Capitol Hill, and so I don’t think it was fair to associate Marc with the most controversial things the President had done, because they weren’t necessarily from the legislative office. I don’t think he had that much to do with some of the most controversial things. So, I was thrilled that we were able to get Marc to be a senior

fellow, and I'm hoping that we can get some of the other good members of the Trump Administration to continue to work with the Miller Center and with historians so that we can get a better insight into the decision-making process in the Trump White House.

I guess the most controversial aspect of it is most of the other senior fellows are from former administrations, and I think maybe that was the only thing that I can say: should it have been a consideration that maybe you wait until after the current administration leaves office before you have members of the team at the Miller Center? But to me that's not a valid argument. If they were able to recruit Marc and he was willing to do it, I think the right answer was to say yes and to have him on our team.

**JD:** To conclude I wanted to switch gears. I know many Batten students probably aspire to have a career trajectory like yours, as you certainly have been a major player in some of the most consequential moments of the past several decades. What advice would you give to students like me and the cohort in Batten as we prepare to graduate from UVA and begin our careers?

**MKC:** I'd be happy to do that. While a UVA undergrad, I was an international relations major, and I took the foreign service exam, and to my great shock I passed. And really what they don't tell you is that, if you go on the waitlist, and you're ranked by your score on the test, they don't tell you what your score was. You don't know if you're at the top of the list or the bottom of the list, and so I went on the list for two years, basically with my hand on the phone, waiting for it to ring the whole time, for the foreign service to send me to Paris, London, Tahiti, wherever...and the phone never rang. I joke all the time that the foreign service not calling is probably the best thing that ever happened to me. And in the meantime, I realized I had to put some food on the table. I'd been involved with the Cavalier Daily, I was a columnist there, and I loved to write, so I started taking writing job after writing job, and ended up at the White House and became a speechwriter to the president. Never in my wildest dreams would I have thought that's what I was going to do with my life. So many times in my life, I have been in the right place at the right time, and been open to saying yes and trying something, and been willing to fail. You've got to take that gamble.

The other advice I would give is: I've been offered various positions over the years where I thought, "Oh I've never done that before, I don't think I can do that, but why don't I say yes and the worst thing that happens is I'll get fired." Well it turns out I was sitting there focusing on the title of the job and not the job skills. For example, when they came to me and said, "We'd like you to be a speechwriter for the president, I said "Well, I've never written a speech before in my life. Why would I start with the President of the United States?" And they said, "Oh, you'll be fine." And it turns out I was fine. And it's because there is a very real correlation between the job skills of being a speechwriter and the job skills of being a columnist. And I had been a columnist for the Cavalier Daily, and if you're a columnist, you're writing fact-based, persuasive writing on a deadline, and that's what a speech is.

And so, my advice would be to think about transferable job skills that you can get your 10,000 hours, as Malcolm Gladwell would say. Find something that you enjoy and comes easily to you, and usually that means that's the path you should keep going on, and that certainly worked for me. Even though it was not a very linear path, it worked. In all kinds of crazy jobs, I've had a blast, and I'm still doing stuff like that. I made a documentary about President Bush. I never thought I'd be a filmmaker. I've got a podcast now. I never thought I'd be a podcaster. But some of those things are very similar to the persuasive, fact-based storytelling on different platforms. But it's very similar: it's all about trying to marshal your arguments and change people's minds, on whatever platform they're on.

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**Interview with Marc Short****By Jack DiMatteo**

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**Jack DiMatteo:** I know the Trump administration was supportive of efforts to repeal the Affordable Care Act, which the Congressional Budget Office said could result in 32 million Americans losing their insurance if it was done without a replacement. Although that effort failed, what do you think the next step should be on healthcare?

**Marc Short:** I think Republicans made a significant step in the tax reform bill by repealing the individual mandate, which is what most people view as the most cumbersome element of Obamacare - that the government should not be forcing people to buy something that they may or may not want. But I also think it's going to be a difficult path forward for any substantial legislative changes to Obamacare in the short term. I also think that in many cases those CBO projections have been grossly discredited and create a lot of frustration for a lot of members on the Hill because the CBO is effectively a budget forecasting office, but their projections on the number of people covered by Obamacare have been woefully off from day one, so when they projected the number of who would lose insurance I think that figure is grossly inaccurate too.

**JD:** Sticking to domestic policy and recognizing the tax cuts that you just mentioned, the Republican party has touted fiscal conservatism as one of its core pillars for a long time, and yet again these projections for the tax cuts is that they will increase deficits by over a trillion dollars. I'm curious if you would object to those projections, or if you'd be able to describe how a true fiscal conservative can maintain two seemingly contradictory stances: being fiscally conservative while supporting these tax cuts.

**MS:** I think there's no doubt that as fiscal conservatives, we need to do more to combat the enormous debt this country faces. Having said that, if you were to actually look at revenues to the Treasury, revenues this year will break an all-time record. That is a factual statement. So, when we talk about deficits, the reality is that economy growth is bringing in more revenue. Our problem is not a revenue problem; our problem is a spending problem, and that's one that Republicans have not effectively addressed when they've had the ability to address it. But deficits are not created by tax relief. Our bigger concern is a spending issue; it's not a revenue issue.

**JD:** To conclude on the domestic policy front, one of the more controversial policies of the Administration so far was separating children from their parents at the border. Looking back, how would you assess that policy, and then looking forward, do you think that the proposed physical wall at the border is the appropriate way for this Administration to advance its immigration agenda?

**MS:** So, the physical wall is a matter of border security and is a small piece of the immigration agenda. The wall that the Administration has pushed forward is not some

30-foot concrete wall from sea to shining sea; it is actually a very responsible plan put forward by the career, not political, officials at Customs & Border Patrol. It is what they've come forward to the Administration to say: in order to stop human trafficking and drug trafficking at those porous areas of the border, this is what we need. In many cases, the actual construction of that barrier is a see-through fence because Customs & Border Patrol has said they want to be able to see what's happening on the other side. So, the wall is in no a panacea to our immigration challenges, but the wall that has actually been put forward to be funded by Congress is exactly what career officials at CBP have asked for. It is not a political document.

Regarding the separation of children and parents at the border, that is an issue that plagued the previous administration. It is a result of a 1990 decision between Health & Human Services and other agencies in the federal government that said we have concerns about the number of children who are coming across the border who are being sexually abused and we are not confident in all cases they're actually coming across with a parent. And so therefore, we need to separate them and put them in the appropriate custody where they will be cared for. That 1990 decision during the Clinton years was then codified into law in the Flores decision and it was codified into law in 2008, in which they said that a reasonable number of days to keep parents and children separated was up to 21 days. If at that point after 21 days, the parents' situation had not been rectified, then your choices are to keep them together, to release the parent and child freely into the United States, and assume that parent will show up for his or her trial at a later date, or you keep them in custody together, which is something that the law did not allow them to do. So, it was an attempt to try to address a very, very broken system - one that ultimately needs to be legislated and Congress has failed to do its job for decades. That is ultimately how we ended up in the situation we're in, and it's one that remains, I think, unsolved to this day.

**JD:** Changing gears a little bit to foreign policy, Senator McCain believed America should embrace its responsibility as a moral leader for the world and refuse to let human rights abuses go unchecked wherever they existed. I'm curious if you think that worldview is compatible with President Trump's "America First" ideology, and if not, in which of those two directions you think future American foreign policy should be oriented.

**MS:** I think that there is a healthy debate ongoing about what America's role in the globe should be. There is a natural tension that I think is still playing out in the Donald Trump administration. There are certainly some who want and advocate for American engagement, and some who advocate for more of an isolationist approach. But if you look at the actual actions of the administration, this administration stepped in when Syrian children were being gassed and the previous administration drew a red line and did nothing about it. So, despite a lot of the media critique of what this administration's foreign policy is, I think it's fair to go back to what its actions actually are, and where the administration is looking to try to combat evil.

**JD:** I want to conclude with one other question, and I ask this respectfully, and with gratitude for how you've responded. As a graduate of the university, and as a human being, how could you not condemn President Trump's response to the event of August 11th and 12th last year in Charlottesville?

**MS:** Jack, I appreciate the question, and I'd encourage you to go back and look at the comments that I've made in which I've said that the administration's response was unfortunate in that its messages were mixed. I'd ask that you look at those public comments. I also do believe that the administration had mixed messages that were unfortunate, but if you go back to the statement that the President issued on August 14th, he also spoke out against the evils of racism and Nazis and white supremacy, and did so by name.