

VIRGINIA  
CAPITOL  
CONNECTIONS  
QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

draw  
the  
Lines

PLUS

ABC Privatization: the arguments are in (on page 9)

The Federal Debt: it's time to get worried (on page 15)

In Photos and Words: Poorman's Dinner is Rich Tradition in Southwest Virginia (on page 16)

Winter 2011



# Providing compelling public service media for Central and Southwest Virginia

***This Week in Richmond***, hosted by Virginia Capitol veteran David Bailey, features discussions with Virginia elected officials. Many episodes originate from the Capitol in Richmond, with the rest from the Blue Ridge PBS studio in Roanoke. In addition to WBRA (Roanoke), WMSY (Marion) and WSBN (Norton),



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## 2011 SCHEDULE

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HAR: HARRISBURG SENATORS (WASHINGTON NATIONALS)  
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NHM: NEW HAMPSHIRE FISHER CATS (TORONTO BLUE JAYS)  
POR: PORTLAND SEA DOGS (BOSTON RED SOX)  
REA: READING PHILLIES (PHILADELPHIA PHILLIES)  
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# State's Investment in the Arts Leverages \$40 Million

*The Arts Build Communities in Virginia* BY TRISH POUPORE



Quilts crafted by an artisan from the Arts Council of the Twin Counties

In 2010-2011 the state's investment in grants to the arts delivered through the Virginia Commission for the Arts is \$3.36 million. Last year, this investment made possible 37,014 arts events for the public attended by 7.7 million people. State funding provides critical seed money that spurs cultural tourism; 30 percent goes to rural, underserved areas.

## Powerful ROI

Each dollar invested in the arts through the Virginia Commission for the Arts generates an additional twelve dollars in economic activity. **Last year, this funding leveraged \$40 million in Virginia:**

- \$13 million in individual giving
- \$17 million in corporate giving
- \$1.7 million in gifts from private foundations
- \$7 million from local governments
- \$1 million from the National Endowment for the Arts

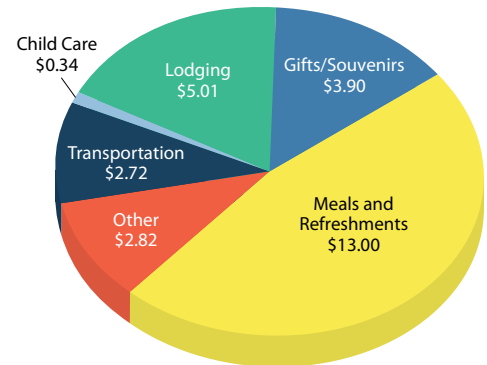
Art museums, performance halls, theatres, galleries and local arts festivals bring in crowds of people, who stay in hotels, eat in nearby restaurants and shop locally—It is estimated that each Arts Attendee spends \$27.79 beyond the cost of a ticket.

Arts venues attract business because they enhance a community's quality of life and help to attract a young, educated workforce. Said David Goode, former CEO, Norfolk Southern, "My predecessors at Norfolk Southern were clear that the arts were key in bringing our headquarters here."

The arts can become transformational assets for revitalization. South Boston, Virginia, is experiencing resurgence since the opening of The Prizery arts center in 2005.

The Prizery draws 12,000 people annually, and two upscale restaurants have opened downtown.

## Nonprofit Arts Attendees Spend an Average of \$27.79 Per Person



Source:  
Arts & Economic Prosperity Study III,  
Americans for the Arts, 2007

## The Business of the Arts

Arts organizations depend upon a wide base of funding sources to survive—ticket sales, memberships, contributions from individuals and businesses, and support from local and state government. They are small businesses that provide jobs for actors, musicians, carpenters, stagehands, box office staff, bookkeepers and marketing staff. In addition, the arts organizations provide work for local printing firms, graphic designers, travel agents and accountants.

**Each additional million dollars invested in the arts through the Virginia Commission for the Arts restores hundreds of jobs and generates \$12 million in economic activity.**



Bluemont's Arts-in-Education initiative wows Virginia students

# VIRGINIA CAPITOL CONNECTIONS

QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

WINTER 2011 ISSUE

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Richmond Resident Jim Bacon is author of the book "Boomergheddon," and publishes the Bacon's Rebellion and Boomergheddon blogs.

A graduate of the University of Virginia, Mr. Bacon is a lifelong journalist. He has worked for the Martinsville Bulletin, the Roanoke Times & World-News and Virginia Business magazine. In 2002 he launched the website Bacon's Rebellion. Most recently, he worked as Senior Vice President-Publications for the Boomer Project, a consumer research firm specializing in marketing to the Boomer generation. He has since re-booted his career as a free-lance writer and author.

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### Scott O'Donnell

Scott O'Donnell is a 2010 graduate in political science from Virginia Tech. He proudly hails from Virginia Beach, and is considering his opportunities for continued involvement in state government. Scott's currently living in the D.C. area and working for The Richard Norman Company, a communications firm specializing in direct mail fundraising.

### Senator Mark Obenshain

Senator Mark Obenshain was elected in 2003 to represent the 26th District, which includes Harrisonburg and all of Page County, Rappahannock County, Rockingham County, Shenandoah County and Warren County. In the Senate, Mark serves on four committees: Courts of Justice, Local Government, Agriculture, Conservation and Natural Resources, and Privileges and Elections. He currently serves as the Republican whip.



### Senator Toddy Puller

Senator Toddy Puller was first elected to the House of Delegates in 1991 where she served for eight years. In 1999, she was elected to the Virginia Senate's 36th District and was re-elected in 2003 and 2007. She represents the historic Mount Vernon area and serves on the following committees: Chair, Rehabilitation and Social Services; Commerce and Labor; Courts of Justice; Local Government; and Rules.



# Priorities for the 2011 General Assembly Session

By GOVERNOR BOB McDONNELL

The start of the 2011 General Assembly session brings with it new energy, new ideas, and colder weather. Over the last year our administration has been hard at work generating ideas and putting in place new policies to help the private sector create new jobs and more opportunities for Virginians. As we look toward this upcoming session, our focus remains the same. Our four legislative priorities: Economic Development, Government Reform, Transportation, and Higher Education, are all built around using limited state dollars to spur job creation and economic growth statewide.



bridges; construction prices have fallen, and interest rates are at historic lows. Virginians will also benefit from the good jobs that will come from the development of these projects. Since the announcement of our plan in December, 38 of the leading organizations representing Virginia's transportation construction industry and businesses have announced their strong support of our plan.

Higher education remains a top issue for this administration, and it will remain that way throughout my term as Governor. I have called for a \$50 million investment toward a goal that I set early on to graduate an additional 100,000 degrees in the Commonwealth over the next 15 years. Good jobs come from a good education. I

See *Priorities*, continued on page 8

Last January, when I was sworn in as the 71<sup>st</sup> Governor of Virginia, I signed two important executive orders. Executive Order #1 established the Governor's Commission on Job Creation and Economic Development. In the last 12 months, our Commonwealth has come a long way. We've created over 67,000 new jobs, the third highest net number in the country, and our unemployment rate has fallen from 7.2% to 6.8%. Using recommendations from the Job Creation Commission, our economic development legislation will build on the successes of 2010. We will invest \$54 million in job creation proposals, like the Virginia Research and Technology Innovation Program, to facilitate the growth of Virginia's innovation economy. Other areas of investment include tourism, the film industry, small business assistance, workforce development and the wine industry.

Executive Order #2 established the Governor's Commission on Government Reform and Restructuring. Working since June, this Commission came up with over 100 proposals to limit the size of government while making it more effective and efficient. Initiatives such as giving employees the option to telework from home or work a 4 day/ 10 hour work week would not only create less congestion on our highways, but also allow our state workers to adapt their work schedule to better suit their lives. In the upcoming session, we'll advocate bold legislation to ensure the long-term solvency of the Virginia Retirement System (VRS) and also support the creation of a State Inspector General to target waste, fraud and abuse. These commonsense ideas and proposals will save time, money and other valuable resources to make government work better for the citizens of the Commonwealth. We are committed to making state government smaller, smarter and more efficient.

Last month, I began to introduce components of my funding plan to fix our state's transportation woes. It started with the announcement of \$4 billion in new transportation funding over the next three years, without raising taxes. We must apply our resources now toward alleviating congestion and building infrastructure. Right now is the best time to build new roads and

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## Part Two of Jobs and Opportunity Agenda Moves Forward

By LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BILL BOLLING

During the 2010 General Assembly, Governor McDonnell and I successfully advanced the Jobs and Opportunity Agenda strengthening our economic development and jobs creation efforts in Virginia. The Jobs and Opportunity Agenda received broad bi-partisan support, including the passage of 36 out of 39 pieces of legislation and millions in funding for proven economic development initiatives.

Armed with these new tools and resources, we have been very aggressive with our business recruitment and business development efforts. Since the beginning of the McDonnell Administration, Virginia has added 67,900 net new jobs, which is the third highest number in the country behind only Texas and Pennsylvania. It is safe to say that we are doing everything we can to send the message far and wide that Virginia is open for business!

While we are very pleased with the progress we have made to date, we have a lot of work to do to restore economic opportunity for every Virginian. More than 280,000 Virginians are still without a job, and we are committed to do everything we can to get these citizens back to work.

This year, we will ask the General Assembly to stand with us once again. In December, Governor McDonnell and I proposed an additional \$54 million in new investments that will help advance our economic development efforts. These new investments, which are part of our Opportunity At Work Agenda, will build on the successes of last year's Jobs and Opportunity Agenda.

These budget amendments were largely generated from the work of the Governor's Economic Development and Jobs Creation Commission, which I co-chaired with Senior Economic Advisor Bob Sledd. These proposals address deficiencies identified by the Commission and other independent studies. They invest in proven job creating programs, transform our higher education system into an economic development catalyst, establish innovative new incentives to grow existing business and industry, and position all regions of Virginia to remain competitive nationally and internationally, while providing the highest return on investment to the Virginia taxpayer.

More specifically, these proposals include growing Virginia's innovation economy by investing \$25 million in the Virginia Research and Technology Investment Fund and supporting Virginia's small businesses by investing \$5 million in the Small Business Financing Authority. They include supporting Virginia's Tourism Industry through \$2 million in funding for the Governor's Motion Picture Opportunity Fund, \$2 million to establish a Tourism Development Micro Loan Fund and \$1 million for the Tourism Marketing Partnership Grant Program.

Additionally, the Administration proposed revitalizing communities through \$5.5 million in funding for Enterprise Zone Programs, Main Street Programs and Industrial Site Revitalization. We proposed promoting regional economic development cooperation with a \$400,000 Matching Incentive Fund. We believe we can institute job creation tax reform with roughly \$10 million in tax credits and incentives for the Virginia Port Tax Incentive, Virginia Winery and Vineyard Development Tax Credit and the Refundable Research and Development Tax Credit.

These additional investments in proven economic development and job creation programs are an important next step in our efforts

See *Part Two*, continued on page 8



# The AG's Agenda for the 2011 Session

By ATTORNEY GENERAL KEN CUCCINELLI

While my office is most known for handling the legal work of state agencies, consumer affairs litigation, and the prosecution of certain sexual predators, many people are not familiar with our equal attention to constitutional issues, our work to protect the elderly and the incapacitated from abuse and neglect, and our programs to provide security for the victims of domestic violence.

These latter issues are the ones I am highlighting in my legislative agenda for the 2011 General Assembly session.



## Investigating elder abuse

Virginians should be proud that their Medicaid Fraud Control Unit (MFCU)—a unit of the attorney general's office—has one of the most successful track records in the country in prosecuting cases of Medicaid fraud and returning stolen dollars back to the Commonwealth.

The MFCU also has an elder abuse squad that investigates complaints of abuse and neglect of people in nursing homes, home health care, and assisted living. Currently under Virginia law, the unit can only subpoena the records of patients receiving state medical assistance, even if there are other potential abuse cases involving those paying with private insurance in the same facility.

I have proposed changes in the law to also allow us to fully investigate complaints of alleged abuse or neglect of anyone in the care or custody of persons or facilities that receive payments from state medical assistance, regardless of whether an individual patient is a recipient of such medical assistance.

I have also asked the General Assembly to amend the law to clarify the definition of incapacitated adult and expand the definition of neglect in nursing homes and similar situations. Under existing state law, the evidentiary burden to prove that negligent conduct endangers the safety of an incapacitated adult is often misunderstood and applied inconsistently, even in cases in which the conduct at issue is clearly reprehensible and dangerous to the patient's health. The "incapacitated" element of the law also presents problems. In a recent case, a defendant was acquitted because the judge determined the victim "became" incapacitated only after the last interaction between the victim and the defendant—despite the fact that the victim was

confined to a bed for several months and was incapable of performing any of the activities of daily living.

## Helping the victims of domestic violence

I have asked the General Assembly to expand the Address Confidentiality Program (ACP) for victims of domestic violence to all jurisdictions in the Commonwealth. The ACP is run out of my office and helps victims who have relocated to residences unknown to their abusers. We maintain substitute addresses for victims to receive state and local services and mail, thereby keeping their actual addresses confidential. Currently, the program is a pilot program in three jurisdictions.

## Keeping the federal government within its constitutional bounds

The Repeal Amendment is a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would allow any federal law, regulation, tax, or rule to be repealed upon the passage of a resolution by two thirds of all the states' legislatures. The amendment is intended to provide a structural check on federal power. Such a state repeal power would enable targeted reversals of particular Congressional acts—like the federal health care law—and administrative regulations, without requiring a new constitutional amendment for each repeal effort.

Rooting out health care fraud and returning stolen dollars to the taxpayers, preventing the abuse of the elderly and victims of domestic violence, and pushing back against federal government overreach are among my high priorities as your attorney general. This year, I hope to encourage legislative changes that will enable my office to more easily accomplish these priorities, so that we can better serve you, our citizens, who have entrusted us with such tremendous responsibilities. █

## Priorities from page 6

believe that when we equip our students with the very best skills and knowledge available, they will be able to compete for and win the top jobs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

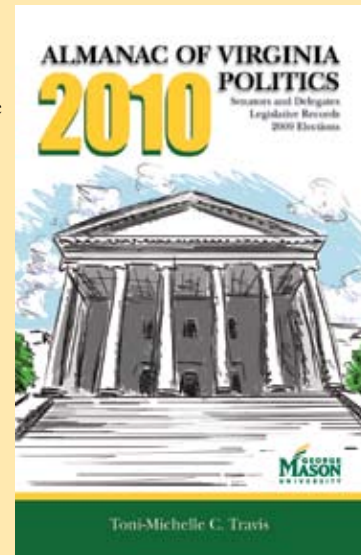
We have a lot to accomplish on behalf of the people of Virginia. I look forward to working with legislators from both sides of the aisle, as well as Lieutenant Governor Bolling and Attorney General Cuccinelli, to create more good jobs, get our economy back on track, and put in place opportunities for Virginians all across the Commonwealth.

## Part Two from page 6

to get Virginia's economy growing again and create jobs. It is our hope that they will be well received by the members of the General Assembly. We have used the resources they gave us last year wisely and the results speak for themselves. By making these additional investments, we can build on the progress we have made and help restore economic prosperity for more of Virginia's families.

*Bill Bolling is the 40<sup>th</sup> Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, serving since 2006. He is President of the Virginia Senate and Virginia's Chief Jobs Creation Officer.*

Published since 1977 and updated every two years, the *Almanac of Virginia Politics* is the leading source of information on the legislative process and key players in Virginia government. The 2010 volume covers the 2009 elections and is invaluable for those tracking the changing demographics that are bringing about ongoing shifts in Virginia's political leanings. The *Almanac* includes biographies of all members of the General Assembly, contact information for each, descriptions of their districts, election returns, and voting records, as well as a photograph of the member, all presented in an easily accessible format. Toni-Michelle Travis offers up the ultimate guide to Virginia politics, an invaluable reference tool for legislators, lobbyists, librarians, civic activists, teachers, students, and citizens. The 2010 volume continues a long tradition of ensuring that these various audiences are able to access this important public information in a single, concise resource.



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# Room 4 Debate

## Virginia's current ABC system doesn't need to be "fixed"

By SENATOR LINDA T. "TODDY" PULLER (D) 36TH

As the 2011 General Assembly begins to examine Governor Bob McDonnell's latest proposal to privatize Virginia's Alcoholic Beverage Control operation, it's worth remembering that JLARC, the Joint Legislative Audit and Review Commission, found that the Governor's first plan on the subject was undermined by faulty arithmetic and unrealistic assumptions. I believe that we as lawmakers have a responsibility to ensure that this latest plan receives serious scrutiny.

The architecture of the latest ABC privatization plan is based on a report from the consulting firm the Governor hired: Public Financial Management, Inc. (PFM), a company with deep experience working with the Commonwealth.

And I must give some credit to PFM for being straightforward when it points out that the new ABC privatization plan is, indeed, based on numerous assumptions. (In fact, the words "assumption" and "assumed" appear no fewer than a dozen times in just the Executive Summary of PFM's report of January 10, 2011.)

Addressing the Administration's prediction that the auction of 1,000 new retail liquor licenses to private interests would generate \$300 million, PFM notes, "there is significant risk associated with this estimate, which we believe to be in the range of \$100 million high or low."

And, regarding the Administration's prediction that there would be no significant change in retail prices for consumers of spirits in Virginia, PFM reports, "there are an infinite number of possible price variations that could result from privatization. On any given day, in any given store, on any given item, the price could be significantly higher or lower than it is today."

Here's my point: even the consultants hired by the McDonnell Administration essentially agree that privatizing Virginia's successful and very profitable ABC system is a gamble.

ABC has worked well for Virginians for nearly 80 years. The system makes a wide variety of products available in clean, reasonably-located and safe stores statewide.

The operation is transparent and free of the corruption that has plagued other states.

And ABC has been profitable. In good times and bad, ABC generates badly-needed revenue for critical state services, including public education, law enforcement and mental health.

In an uncertain economy and with budgets still under great stress, why would we want to risk a fruitful and effective operation?

Virginia's decision to get into the business of controlling and selling spirits was no accident. After Prohibition, the General Assembly carefully and deliberately created an ABC system that helps to fund vital public services and safeguards Virginia's quality of life, and those are "core functions" of state government.

The ABC has won numerous awards and is completely self-supporting. If ABC privatization occurs, many State employees working there will lose their jobs. The State would have to compensate displaced employees for severance and unemployment benefits, estimated to cost about \$36 million.

As the old adage puts it so well, when something's not broken, it doesn't need to be fixed. Virginia's ABC is not broken and doesn't need to be fixed. ▮



## Ending Virginia's Liquor Monopoly

By SENATOR MARK D. OBENSHAIN (R) 26TH

For as long as I can remember, many have asked, "Why is Virginia in the business of selling liquor?" Though the origins of why Virginia got into the liquor business are intertwined with the end of Prohibition more than 75 years ago, the answer today is simple—it wants the money. Sales of distilled spirits by Virginia generate \$320 million in "profits" every year. With each passing year, politicians in Richmond have become increasingly dependent on this money to fund their projects and programs.

Until we started talking about privatization, nobody ever focused on the fact that Virginia imposes an effective 89 percent tax on distilled spirits, which my proposal would reduce to 69 percent. For those who now express shock at that tax burden, they are a little late to the debate because this is the effective tax under the current system.

But this is not just about taxes; it is about transparency and the proper role of government.

Simply put, government should not be running a retail business—or for that matter, a wholesale business. Lawmakers and bureaucrats, however, have discovered the advantages that attach to owning and operating a distilled spirits monopoly—\$320 million advantages and counting. Virginia has been able to continually ratchet up the tax on alcohol without being accountable to the voters for such increases or accountable to the market by having to keep prices competitive.

It is also disturbing that unelected ABC bureaucrats—with the acquiescence of elected officials—have quietly but steadily increased the government tax, euphemistically called a "markup," on alcohol to the point where we currently pay an 89 percent tax on all alcohol. If government is going to tax its citizens, it should do so openly, honestly, and for all to see.

Because government should not be running a commercial operation like liquor wholesaling or retail sales, I, together with Senator John Watkins, have submitted legislation in the General Assembly that would get the government out of the distilled spirits business—retail and wholesale.

But I also recognize that this legislation is a big change that many of my colleagues in the General Assembly may not be willing to agree to all at once. Therefore, I have also filed legislation requested by Governor McDonnell to at least get the government out of the retail sale of alcohol through ABC stores. Virginia would still control wholesale operations, but at least it would be a first step.

With some level of privatization, at least we would begin to make the Commonwealth's role in alcohol sales more transparent, and hopefully we can incrementally begin decreasing our reliance upon these alcohol taxes. Weaning the state budget from this tax revenue is not going to be easy, but selling alcohol is not a "core government function."

Government holding a monopoly on the sale of a product is counter to economic essence of the American people; and hidden taxes make it too easy for politicians to spend without accountability to the voters. The time has come for Virginia to "go on the wagon" and "detox" from its addiction to alcohol. ▮

# draw the Lines

*Redistricting Returns in the Commonwealth* BY MICHAEL E. BELEFSKI

You've got to  
draw the line somewhere.  
And this year it's in Virginia.

Our Constitution requires that the General Assembly reapportion the Commonwealth's 11 congressional and 140 legislative districts every ten years following the U.S. Census.

In February, Virginia will be among the first states to receive detailed population statistics from 2010 Census tabulations for each Census Block because it is one of five states with legislative elections this year. (The other states are Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and New Jersey.)

Once the normal session adjourns and the data comes down from the feds, the General Assembly reconvenes at special session in April to approve the newly redrawn congressional, Senate, and House of Delegates districts.

Gov. Bob McDonnell can submit any amendments to the redistricting plans, to which the Assembly would have to agree. After that's worked out, then the federal Justice Department will start reviewing submitted plans as required by the Voting Rights Act. If all goes well, party primary elections will be held in late summer and all General Assembly seats will be up for general election on November 8, 2011.

But a redistricting process that requires legislative, executive and judicial agreements to proposed plans could become a long political and legal nightmare.

Virginia is one of eighteen states that have split control of the redistricting process. (Among the others are Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and North Carolina.) And our last redistricting plan resulted in four court challenges.

Since then, new U.S. Supreme Court cases have redrawn the rules on redistricting.

In *Bartlett v. Strickland*, the Court established what constitutes a minority district. The court ruled that race must be taken into account in redistricting "only when a geographically compact group of minority voters could form a majority in a single member district."

In *Larios v. Cox*, the Court affirmed a lower court decision that tossed out the state of Georgia's state legislative redistricting plan based on one-person, one-vote.

Republican control of the process rests with Gov. McDonnell in the executive branch. The legislative branch is split between Republican Speaker William J. Howell in the House of Delegates and Democratic majority in the Senate led by Richard L. Saslaw.

When the General Assembly convenes in January, redistricting will certainly be on the minds of incumbents of both chambers. It is in their best interests and their political parties to survive this highly political process without the impression of gerrymandering new political district lines. And it may be nearly impossible to do so.

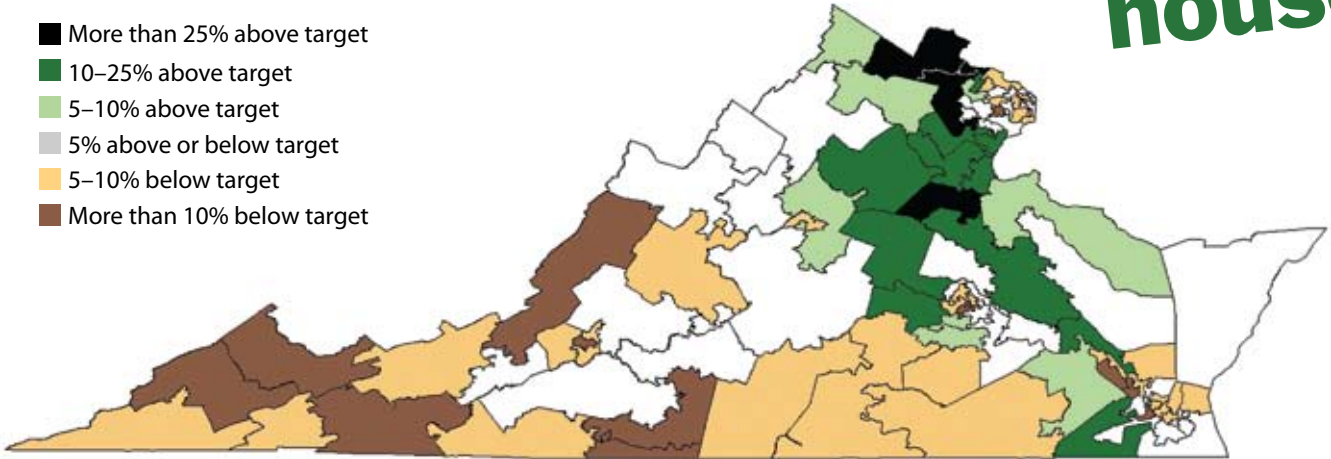
Creative line drawing is nothing new in Virginia politics. As a political consequence, the process of gerrymandering districts has been a tradition in Virginia that even pre-dates Elbridge Gerry himself. In 1788, the Virginia House of Delegates, under the control of Patrick Henry and the Anti-Federalists, unsuccessfully attempted to draw the 5th Congressional District boundaries to keep James Madison from being elected to the U.S. House of Representatives.



Courtesy of VPAP.org

virginia  
house

- More than 25% above target
- 10–25% above target
- 5–10% above target
- 5% above or below target
- 5–10% below target
- More than 10% below target



And Virginia's redistricting often has greater implications for state planning. J. Kenneth Klinge, a veteran GOP political consultant and lobbyist residing in the Shenandoah Valley, notes that the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT) Construction District Map was the 1932 Congressional Map originally drawn by Harry Byrd, Sr.'s political machine. The only major change since that drawing to the maps is the Northern Virginia Construction District that was created out of the Culpeper District in the 1980's.

Klinge argues that every redistricting cycle results in some gerrymandering. In his view, the biggest hurdle to overcome in this round may be the ideological split between the Republicans in power at the state level and the federal Justice Department.

"They are going to have to be very careful how they do this in terms of communicating back and forth so a redistricting act that involves a lot of shenanigans probably has a good chance to end up in court," Klinge said.

"I would be very interested in watching what the Justice Department decides to do about it," Klinge said. "There all kinds of nuances that didn't apply in earlier redistricting that will probably apply and I would imagine the Justice Department involvement will be a lot more than there has been in the past."

At GMU, McDonald predicts that Republicans around the country who are worried about the process could try to circumvent the federal Justice Department by taking the plans to the U.S. District Court of D.C. for pre-clearance.

## Drawing The Lines

In the age of computers, anyone can carve, slice and dice districts to the finest degree. In fact, our Virginia college students compete to see how much better they can do it than the state legislature (See sidebar).

How will the 2011 redistricting results change Virginia's political geography? At the federal level, McDonald says not much will change.

"On the congressional side, Republicans are not going to shake up the Democrats very much," McDonald said. "You're still going to have three Democratic districts."

At the state level, early estimates indicate the new maps will reflect population trends in Virginia that will lead to shrinking district sizes in northern Virginia and expanding district sizes in rural areas. As a result of the 2010 Census every Virginia Congressional District should have approximately 717,370 people; every State

Senate district 197,277 people; and every House of Delegates district 78,911 people.

"You are certainly going to have a noticeable shift towards not just to the eastern part of the state but to the northeastern part," says Quentin Kidd, chair of Christopher Newport University's Government Department and director of the Watson Center for Public Policy. "There's going to be a subtle shift in power that may not be felt immediately, but over two to four years you are going to see that shift have some impact on policy in the General Assembly."

"Redistricting maps provided by the Virginia Public Access Project estimate some Northern Virginia areas at 25% above the target population for each district.

"Over the last several decades, the population has been growing in Northern Virginia and Eastern Virginia and dropping in Southwestern and Southern Virginia," Kidd says when emphasizing that eventually the traditional power in Richmond that rural areas held will diminish and possibly shift to more urban areas.

## How Partisan Will the Newly Drawn Districts Be?

There's no guarantee that these two sides are going to achieve compromise, says redistricting expert Michael McDonald, an associate professor of government and politics at George Mason University. "In this situation," he identifies two likely developments: the primary date could get rescheduled to allow for more time and both chambers might try to roll their plans into one bill to simplify the process for agreeing to any changes later.

"In previous decades, where there is a divided state legislature, the bipartisan compromise that emerges is one where each chamber draws its own districts and then they do a bipartisan logroll and pass each other's plans and the governor, in that case, will sign off on that bipartisan compromise," McDonald explained. "That's what typically happens but it does not necessarily have to happen. There can still be alternative pitfalls along the way."

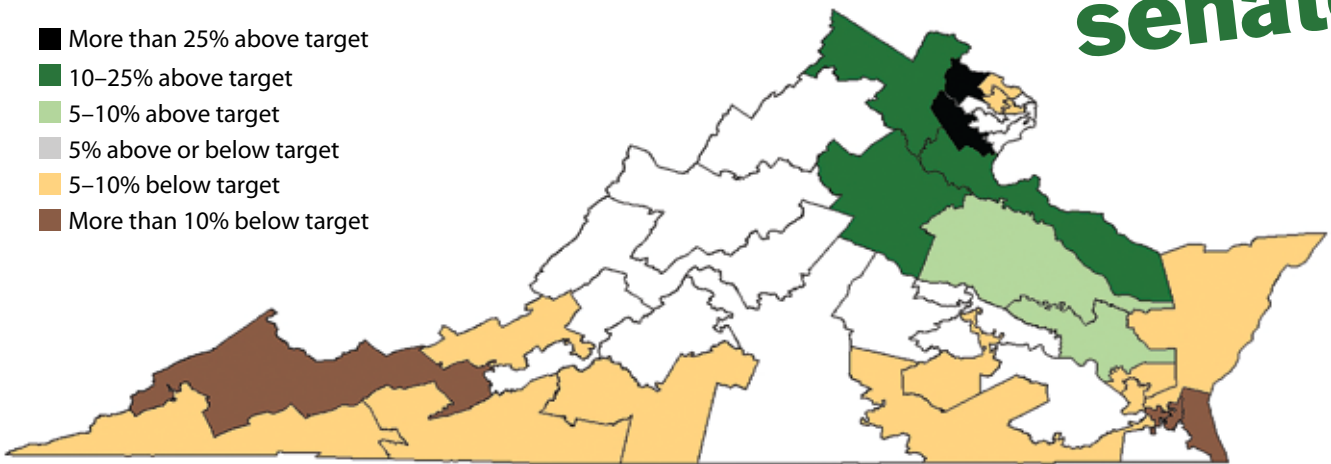
Even within the Senate's Democratic Caucus there are three distinct groups consisting of liberals, mostly from Northern Virginia, rural area Blue Dogs and African American members.

"We may see situations where there are trade-offs even within in the Democratic Caucus," McDonald says. "Just having control of the process doesn't necessarily mean that you're going to have a conflict-free resolution to the redistricting."

See *Draw the Lines*, continued on page 10

Courtesy of VPAP.org

- More than 25% above target
- 10–25% above target
- 5–10% above target
- 5% above or below target
- 5–10% below target
- More than 10% below target



## Draw the Lines from page 9

In addition to that, McDonald mentioned the hurdles of the Governor’s veto power and the required federal review. It could be the perfect storm for gridlock in the process.

At Christopher Newport University, Kidd agrees that the redistricting process is “structurally set up so it cannot avoid being partisan.”

“The lines are drawn by the parties who control the House and Senate chambers,” Kidd elaborates. “There’s going to be a partisan element. The Democrats and the Republicans will agree to let each other take care of their chamber so long as the Democrats in the Senate don’t try to really get one over on too many Republicans, and so long as the Republicans in the House don’t try to get one over on too many Democrats, then they will probably pass a redistricting bill that the governor will just sign.”

If neither side can agree to a plan, or if the federal review ends unsatisfactorily, everyone could get an undesirable outcome: lines drawn by the Justice Department or a federal judge.

But Kidd feels that neither party wants that, so there is an incentive for them to make a deal to let each other control the chambers that they control and let this thing get through.

## Public Input Into The Process

Though much public testimony has been given in support of a non-partisan redistricting commission, that reality remains tenuous at best. And members of the public can find it difficult to make sure their voices are heard and that their thoughts are considered on the process.

Last year, in order to obtain broad input from the general population, both the State Senate and the House of Delegates held a series of public hearings throughout the Commonwealth. The two chambers convened separate hearings on the issue until the last public input meeting last December.

For the Senate’s Committee on Privileges and Elections, Sen. Janet Howell conducted the hearings to solicit early input from citizens concerning their views on redistricting.

The House Committee on Privileges and Elections held hearings on redistricting led by Del. Mark L. Cole, chairman of the committee and the redistricting subcommittee.

“The purpose of these meetings is to hear from the public what their concerns are with the redistricting process and what their thoughts and ideas are,” Cole said. “There is no redistricting plan yet. We won’t really develop a plan until we get the final census numbers. I think this is the first time in Virginia history where we have a General Assembly that each house is controlled by a different party during redistricting so regardless of how we are going to do it, we got to have bipartisan redistricting.”

Del. Rosalyn R. Dance, a Democrat, mentioned that the public “wanted to see the four C’s—congruence, compactness, contiguity and competitiveness in the redistricting process.”

The testimony heard most often at the public meetings came from citizens favoring a bipartisan redistricting and reapportionment commission and keeping their areas traditional communities of interest. But that doesn’t mean this will necessarily be a priority, according to some experts.

“It is not a requirement in Virginia to respect communities of interest. It’s not in our constitution and it’s not in statute,” observes McDonald at GMU. “There are people out there in the public who do want to have their communities kept intact. I wouldn’t be surprised if the Republicans would also be sympathetic to that argument because generally keeping communities together or keeping respecting political boundaries generally benefits the Republicans. It leads to an over concentration of Democrats in urban areas.”

McDonald wouldn’t be surprised if that happened. From his perspective, it really has to do with Northern Virginia.

“If you can segregate all the Democrats in Northern Virginia and not draw district lines radiating outwards into some of the ex-urban counties then that’s going to be efficient Republican gerrymandering,” McDonald argues. “There are some places downstate where there’re going to be areas where it would be beneficial for the Democrats to keep a city intact rather than split it into two or three districts. It’s very complicated and hard to define. It’s good to go through the state and receive that public testimony as to what constitutes community of interest but because we don’t have a completely open and transparent process in Virginia it’s still possible that either the legislature will manipulate their interest to their own end and just completely disregard what the public wants.”



## Could a bipartisan or non-partisan commission on redistricting be in Virginia's future?

In 2009, candidates for governor Republican Robert McDonnell and Democrat Creigh Deeds both favored a bipartisan or non-partisan commission on redistricting. But past attempts to create a bi-partisan or non-partisan redistricting panel to draw the lines have died in the House Privileges and Elections Committee.

"It's my goal that it be as non-partisan as possible," says Sen. Creigh Deeds, who has proposed initiatives several times. "In my view, with the legislature drawing the lines there's always going to be an inherent conflict of interest. That's the way it always worked. I've tried to change that for years. I'm not going to stop."

"I am going to continue this quest to get it changed and hopefully, we're going to get it changed by the next redistricting. I am working on the legislation right now - probably a constitutional amendment," Deeds concluded.

Some scholars think this would help, but not eliminate the problem. At CNU, Kidd argues that such a plan, if approved is "not the silver bullet. It's not going to solve all of the Commonwealth's problems. But what it would do is it would remove the self-interested partisan element from the redistricting process so you will end up having district lines that were more contiguous with local communities and would probably encompass whole communities rather than splitting communities and it would probably make more sense in terms of populations that look similar."

"A Commission would also make districts more competitively electorally so you will probably have more competitive elections where the outcome was not such a foregone conclusion or consistently over time," Kidd said. "We have competitive elections in Virginia but they come and go. By bipartisan or non-partisan redistricting you have more consistent competitive elections over time and I think that would be more healthier than what we now have."

The Commonwealth, and each chamber, stands to benefit from more competitive elections in every district. In 2007, the last election for the State Senate, 17 incumbent senators were unopposed. In 2009, 31 members of the House of Delegates were unopposed.

Perhaps the legislature should heed the input they received from one constituent during the public hearings: "Use the 'Crayon Test'—if it looks like something that a child drew with a crayon, then it's wrong."

Maybe that's the simple way to go with the redistricting process this year. ▮



## Virginia College Students to Compete in Redistricting Contest

This year, Virginia's public college students will be able to participate in a Redistricting Contest using advanced computer technology that wasn't available a decade ago.

The Wason Center for Public Policy at Christopher Newport University and the Public Mapping Project are sponsoring the Virginia College and University Legislative Redistricting Competition to help educate students and the public about the process of redistricting.

Each team will be tasked with drawing legislative lines for the Virginia House of Delegates, Virginia Senate, and federal congressional lines for the House of Representatives. Using the Public Mapping Project software, teams will produce a redistricting plan with maps based upon the following criteria: compact; contiguous; equal in population; in compliance with the federal Voting Rights Act; encompassing communities of interest; and respectful of existing political subdivisions. Teams will not be allowed to use voting history data or incumbent addresses to develop maps or draw a plan to favor one party or the other.

A panel of experts will determine the top set of maps for each chamber (House of Delegates, Virginia Senate, U.S. House of Representatives) based upon the criteria listed above. The top map for each chamber will be awarded \$1,000. Second place maps for each chamber will be awarded \$500. All non-winning teams that submit final maps will receive honorary awards of \$200 per team. Faculty sponsors will receive an honorarium of \$500 per team. All prizes and honorarium are contingent upon the submission of final maps.

Participating schools are Christopher Newport University, George Mason University, James Madison University, Longwood University, University of Mary Washington, Norfolk State University, Old Dominion University, University of Richmond, Roanoke University, The University of Virginia, The College of William and Mary and Virginia Commonwealth University.

For general information about the competition and teams, contact Professor Quentin Kidd at Christopher Newport University ([qkidd@cnu.edu](mailto:qkidd@cnu.edu)). For information about the software, redistricting, and the Public Mapping Project, contact Professor Michael McDonald at George Mason University ([mmcdon@gmu.edu](mailto:mmcdon@gmu.edu)).

January 15, 2011	Software becomes available to teams for training and practice.
February 10, 2011 (approximate date)	Federal census data becomes available to teams and competition begins.
March 10, 2011 (approximate date)	Deadline for teams to submit final maps.
Late March, 2011 (TBD)	Teams present their maps at event in Richmond and winners are announced.

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# THE FEDERAL DEBT

## Batten Down The Hatches

By James A. Bacon

One unalterable fact will shape the debate over the size and scope of federal, state and municipal government over the next decade: Interest payments on the national debt will become overwhelmingly, mind-numbingly large. It is impossible to hold meaningful discussions about taxes and spending priorities without fathoming this harsh reality.

According to projections made by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) in its fiscal 2011 mid-year review, net interest paid on the federal national debt will metastasize from about \$220 billion this year to more than \$900 billion by 2020.

That's an increase of nearly \$680 billion, and it compares to the \$754 billion in increased spending planned for national security... plus discretionary domestic programs... plus Medicare... plus Medicaid.

In other words, the national debt is getting so big, and growing so fast, that servicing the national debt will, at a minimum, start crowding out all other types of federal spending, including aid to states and municipalities, by the end of the decade. And that's the *optimistic* view.

The Obama administration has every interest in putting the best possible gloss on the budget forecast. Last summer's estimate (there should be an update in February) was based on two critical assumptions: that economic growth would rebound strongly and that interest rates would remain tame throughout the decade. And, oh, by the way, the projections did not include the parting gifts from the last Congress, which extended the Bush tax cuts, temporarily reduced the payroll tax for Social Security and goosed unemployment benefits, all of which should add more than \$800 billion to the national debt over the next two years.

While the Obama administration projected the economy to come rip-roaring out of the Global Financial Crisis in an expansion rivaling the Clinton-era Internet boom, at least in the early stages, it seems increasingly apparent that the rebound will be tepid. The economy is improving, but it is not beating expectations. Tax revenues are likely to come in below forecast.

As for interest rates, the U.S. Treasury has been the beneficiary of the lowest borrowing costs in decades, resulting in interest payments that are considerably below forecast. But the rock-bottom interest rates will not last long. As the economy picks up speed, private borrowing will push interest rates higher. If Europe resolves its sovereign debt crisis, hot money will flow from the safe haven of U.S. Treasuries back to Europe, pushing interest rates higher. If Europe does not solve its debt crisis, it will be because Greece, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary and perhaps even Spain have defaulted on their bonds, which will mean terrified investors will demand a risk premium for sovereign debt everywhere, including the U.S. ... which will push rates higher. Finally, as older Boomers retire this decade, moving from the wealth-accumulation phase of their lives to the wealth-drawdown phase of their lives, they will exert downward pressure on the U.S. saving rate, which will... push interest rates higher.

What few Americans appreciate is how extraordinarily sensitive the U.S. budget is to interest rates when the national debt is \$14 trillion


and currently expected to reach \$21 billion by the end of the decade. While the Obama team assumes interest rates on 10-year Treasuries will never exceed 5.3% in the 2010s, some analysts say that rates could reach 10%. Nobody knows for sure what interest rates will do that far ahead. But it is indisputable that, if 10% interest rates transpire, they would be disastrous for the federal fisc.

When writing my book "Boomerageddon," I asked Chmura Economics & Analytics, a Richmond-based economic consulting firm, to run some alternate budget scenarios for me. We assumed that interest rates would stay low for three years, as the U.S. benefited from European debt woes, then started an upward march to 10% by 2020 for the reasons described above. Under that scenario, the "miracle of compound interest"—a miracle for savers—would become the "horror of compound interest" for the world's largest borrower, the United States. Propelled by swelling interest payments, deficits and the debt would mount higher with alarming speed. According to Chmura's projections, deficits by the end of the decade under that scenario would be running between \$2.5 trillion to \$2.8 trillion a year, and the national debt could reach as high as \$36 trillion!

Of course, we will never actually experience numbers like those. Financial markets would panic long before the national debt passed \$30 trillion. The combination of escalating retirement benefits for the wave of aging Boomers and runaway interest payments would plunge the U.S. into default—an event I call Boomerageddon. Investors would stop lending money, and federal spending then would be limited to what the government brought in from taxes, perhaps 60% of what it had been spending. The other 40%, equivalent to about one tenth of the entire economy, would go poof! The economic downturn would be two or three times as intense as the recent recession, as painful as that was.

Averting this scenario should be the No. 1 preoccupation of President Obama and the Congress. And preparing the Old Dominion to survive this trauma should be the No. 1 preoccupation of Virginia lawmakers. Our economy is more dependent than almost any other state economy upon federal spending. When Uncle Sam goes into default, the impact will be felt here first. Our AAA bond rating will not long survive a collapse in federal spending.

Even though Boomerageddon may be 10 or 15 years off, we need to start preparing now. We cannot conduct business as usual on the assumption that the dysfunctional political system in Washington, D.C., will fix the problem. We must avoid taking on new long-term debt, fully fund our public employee obligations—trust me, it will not get any easier to do it 10 years from now—enact productivity and quality reforms in our health care system, and otherwise batten down the hatches. Boomerageddon will be quite a storm.

*James A. Bacon is author of the recently released book "Boomerageddon" and publisher of the Bacon's Rebellion blog. He's a special contributor to this issue.* 





## Poorman's Dinner

By  
DAVID L. BAILEY

Pinto beans and cornbread. It's a poor man's dinner, but one extremely rich in political history. While beans and bread were the only menu items 32 years ago at the first gathering, today the fare has been upgraded to include Galax's award-winning Smokehouse barbecue (with all the trimmings, of course). And statewide political hopefuls are regularly among the 400 plus crowds each year who come hungry to meet and greet Southwest Virginia. It's Southwest Virginia's answer to Shadplanking...without all the long speeches. Poorman's Dinner is one of the biggest, ticketed dinners in the state. And it's not out of ordinary to see established political A-listers from the federal, state and local level. People like former U.S. Senator and Governor George Allen, U.S. Senator Mark Warner, Gov. Bob McDonnell. And many, many more. It's not unusual to find General Assembly members in the crowd who are far away from their home district, but come each year to enjoy the tradition. "Having attended since the 1980's, I know the Poorman's Dinner is a great tradition in midst of listening to the best music during the historic Old Time Fiddlers Convention," says former Senator George Allen. "It is a time of good camaraderie while considering ideas to improve job opportunities for people to have better suppers than just cornbread and beans. Marty Hall has done a great job with this." The idea for the Poorman's Dinner came in 1978, when Delegate Jerry Geisler, of Hillsville, and House Speaker A. L. Philpott, of Henry County, were looking for a way to get elected officials from around the state to gather in Southwest Virginia.

They identified the Olde Time Galax Fiddler Convention as the best venue. And Bruce Wingo from Norfolk Southern (then Norfolk and Western Railway), The Twin County Chamber of Commerce (then Carroll-Galax Grayson Chamber), Geisler and Philpott got the Poorman's Dinner together. From there it quickly went from 30 people to almost 500 people. "If you're planning on running for public office, this is the place to be," says Nathan Lyons, an attorney in Carroll County. Marty Hall has been chairman of the event for 14 years. Hall is chief of staff to Delegate Will Morefield, but he's also served as both a former staffer of Sen. George Allen and Randall J. Kirk. Under Hall's leadership the event has grown with an ever increasing statewide draw. "We have the best executive director of the chamber Judy Brannock and great board members," he says. Hall has enjoyed his role as chairman of the event and also as president and board member of the Twin County Regional Chamber of Commerce. Bruce Wingo, of Norfolk Southern Corporation, has put together a weekend trip for everyone for many years. Bruce knows everyone in the state. "This trip really helps Southwest Virginia," Wingo says. "It keeps us on the map in Richmond."

Other locals agree that the dinner is not only a celebration of Southwest Virginia's unique cultural heritage, but also a chance to bend the ears of the folks in Richmond and remind them of the region's distinct issues. "The Poorman's Dinner has always been a good source and meeting place for theelected officials to talk about issues and the betterment of South West Virginia," said Bill Webb, Galax City Council member and manager of the Virginia Employment Commission's Galax field office. 📌

**"Great Food,  
Music and Friendship  
All In One Place."**  
— Lois Fincher, Galax





## Poorman's Dinner from page 17



"The Poorman's Dinner is a great opportunity not only to visit with citizens from Carroll County, Grayson County and the City of Galax, but also to see and speak with members of the General Assembly and our state leaders. We appreciate the hard work of the Chamber of Commerce in hosting this event each year."



*Virgil Good, Former U.S. Representative From 5th CD*



For those interested in attending this year's 33rd Poorman's Dinner, it's scheduled for Saturday, August 13, 2011, the final day of the 76th Olde Time Fiddler's Convention.



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# Meet the Delegates



**The Hon. Roxann L. Robinson** (R-27th)  
Member, Virginia House of Delegates  
Optometrist

**Family:**  
Husband—Michael Lind and two dogs  
(Cricket and Diggers)

## **What got you involved in politics? Why did you run for office?**

I was asked if I would consider running for the vacated House seat. As a small business owner in Chesterfield County for 27 years I felt I could bring a new and different voice to the General Assembly. I was not someone who had been politically active but knew what I faced and what concerns my patients had when talking with them day to day about the state of things. What I realized was that we had the same concerns and I wanted to be a voice for us.

## **What's on your iPod or in your CD player right now?**

I listen to all types of music. On my iPod: Carlos Nakia, country, a little rap, classical, Disney Tunes and soundtracks.

## **The meal or restaurant you can't live without during session:**

Don't know yet but probably home cooking.

## **When you have the chance, what TV show(s) are you following?**

I like the Amazing Race.

## **What has been your strangest experience so far in the General Assembly?**

Nothing strange but some interesting reading.

## **If you had the ability to solve one public policy issue facing Virginia right now, what would it be and how would you solve it?**

Unemployment. I would love to see Virginia bring in more manufacturing. This would provide work for skilled and unskilled laborers as well as sales and technology.

## **What is your personal approach to the redistricting process that lies ahead of the General Assembly?**

The new lines will be drawn fair and by the law.

## **Any thoughts on the ABC privatization plans?**

I think it still needs some work. Many of my constituents' opinions have not been favorable.



## **Alpha Natural Resources**

Donald L. Ratliff  
VP—Virginia Government and External Affairs

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**The Hon. Tony Wilt** (R-26th)  
Member, Virginia House of Delegates  
President/General Manager of family business

**Family**  
Wife—Vickie; Daughter—Rebecca  
Son—Matthew

## **What got you involved in politics? Why did you run for office?**

I've always been interested in Government. Things are at such a place in our marriage, with our children (both are in college), and with work (winter is a slow time in the concrete business), that Vickie and I prayed about it, left it in God's hands, and here we are. Each one in our family was born and raised here, our business is here, we have a vested interest in our community, and this is a tremendous opportunity to give back.

## **What's on your iPod or in your CD player right now?**

I don't have an iPod, but my CD player in my pick up has a couple CDs my son burned for me (oldies), greatest hits from Simon and Garfunkel and The Little River Band.

## **The meal or restaurant you can't live without during session:**

A good hamburger.

## **When you have the chance, what TV show(s) are you following?**

American Pickers, Pawn Stars, Swamp People, College football and basketball.

## **What has been your strangest experience so far in the General Assembly?**

None yet.


## **If you had the ability to solve one public policy issue facing Virginia right now, what would it be and how would you solve it?**

Cost of governmental operations, which translates to taxes. Remind ourselves what the core functions are of the government, and trim, streamline, and/or eliminate to get back there.

## **What is your personal approach to the redistricting process that lies ahead of the General Assembly?**

We are required by law to ensure each citizen is equally represented.

## **Any thoughts on the ABC privatization plans?**

It is a great idea in theory. I applaud the Governor for his efforts to see the process through to an adequate ending. He's put a plan out there; there are shortcomings. He's pulling together more ideas to try and solve the shortcomings. Is he stubborn? Yes, and I like that. It beats throwing in the towel at the first sign of trouble. That's what the good folks of Virginia want, and that's what they deserve- a government that fights for them. In the end, if the plan fails, the Governor can honestly say, "I did everything I could." Will we as legislators be able to say the same? 



## From The Fellows Files:

### *Program Continues Sparking Passion for Public Service*

By SCOTT O'DONNELL, 2010 GOVERNOR'S FELLOW

Blacksburg, Virginia. May 15, 2010, a day I had worked for and looked forward to for as long as I can recall.

I walked across the stage to accept my degree I realized that the biggest challenges still lay ahead. But those challenges would not be cramming for exams or finishing term papers. Instead, I was faced with a final complex and difficult question: what will I do after graduation?

I'd always had a passion for government and politics which sprang from two distinctly different sources: my senior year AP Government class in high school and the television series *The West Wing*. My government teacher, Harold Jackson, was able to take a class which I thought would be just another mundane graduation requirement and turned it into an dynamic experience that made me think about how I could get involved in government. And *The West Wing* gave my newly found passion for government and politics its own characters, plots, drama and witty dialogue. My desire to be involved in the political process grew with each episode I watched.

After graduating from high school and enrolling at Virginia Tech I knew only wanted to study political science. Doing well in school has always been a priority in my life, and my years at Virginia Tech were no different. Throughout my student years in Blacksburg I fueled my interest in government and politics by getting involved in

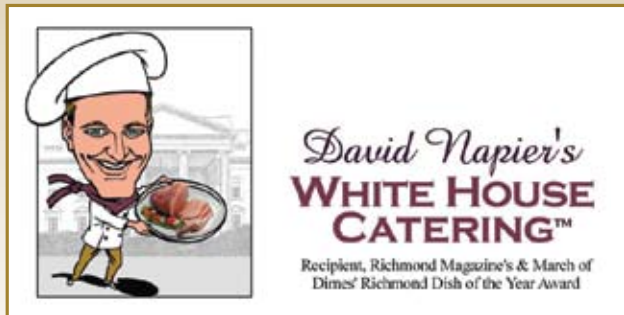
the student government as the Assistant Director of the Government Affairs. This was my first opportunity to gain practical experience and firsthand knowledge outside of the classroom about how state government works. I soon began to appreciate and understand the importance of this experience, and I knew in order to be successful after graduating I would need to continue my civic engagement with Virginia government.

Following my junior year I had the honor to serve as an intern for U.S. Representative J. Randy Forbes (VA-4). My time working for the Congressman exposed me to the sheer expanse and reach of the federal government. I worked closely with constituents to help them solve problems dealing with federal agencies. As I developed relationships with constituents I began to realize how crucial government can be for every American. I left Congressman Forbes's office with a growing passion for government and a renewed goal to continue my involvement in the process after leaving college.

One of the responsibilities I took on while involved with student government at Virginia Tech was helping to coordinate Hokie Day at the Virginia Capital. On Hokie Day, alumni, current students, and members of the administration meet with legislators to discuss the needs of our university. It was during this event I first met former

*See From The Fellows Files, continued on next page*





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## From The Fellows Files from previous page

Gov. Tim Kaine. While we spoke, he told me about the Governor's Fellows Program. The program began in 1982, and is designed to bring recent graduates and now also rising seniors to Richmond each summer to work within a governor's administration. As we discussed the program further I immediately knew that I wanted to be a Governor's Fellow. After applying, I was incredibly fortunate enough to be selected. On the first day of the program I had the opportunity to meet my colleagues for the summer and quickly learned that they were some of the Commonwealth's best and brightest people. We shared a common interest in learning how government worked and a common desire to make it work better.

Each fellow was allowed to select the secretariat in which they would like to work. I have always had a passion for education reform, and when the opportunity to work for the Secretary of Education presented itself, I knew that was where I wanted to be placed. Gov. Bob McDonnell had pledged during his campaign to improve the education system in the Commonwealth. His Secretary of Education, Gerard Robinson, demonstrates the Governor's commitment to improving Virginia's education system from pre-kindergarten through post graduate studies. I had the distinct pleasure of working with Secretary Robinson and his staff to help bring about quality changes to the education system in Virginia.

Secretary Robinson is a passionate and effective soldier in the fight for education reform. He and his staff work tirelessly to bring innovative reform to the education system in order to ensure the state continues to rank among the best education systems in the country. The Governor's Commission on Higher Education Reform, Innovation and Investment was created by Executive Order Nine in an effort to bring together experts from the fields of education and business to answer the tough questions facing higher education in the Commonwealth. It was a distinct privilege and great learning experience to work on a project for the Commission.

So whether it is a television show, a teacher, or a great summer experience, we all follow different roads to a life of public service. For me it has been all of the above. I'm confident that public service offers a unique opportunity to improve the lives of my fellow citizens. I am hopeful that whatever the future holds, it will always be one in which my passion goes unabated for working in and trying to make government a better servant of the people. ▮

## Program Highlights

### Substantive Involvement In Leading Initiatives

The Governor's Cabinet and staff trust Fellows with significant responsibility. Here's what Scott's fellowship project centered around:

*"My project was entitled Campus and Dating Violence Report and Policy Recommendations. I compared and contrasted the current policies in place on Virginia campuses with other schools around the nation to see what would be done to keep Virginia college students safer. In addition I researched what improvements could be made to reduce the number of cases of dating violence college aged citizens."*

### Special Tours Of The Commonwealth And Time With The Governor

In addition to firsthand policy development we took "field trips" to Martinsville, VA, the Port of Virginia, and visited with the Virginia Congressional Delegation on the Hill. On our last day we were treated to breakfast in the Governor's Mansion with most of the secretaries, senior staff, and Governor McDonnell.



# Towards Equality: *Developing Virginia's Disability Support Services*

By ED TURNER, SPECIAL ADVISOR TO THE GOVERNOR ON DISABILITY ISSUES IN THE WORKFORCE

Living with a significant disability in the Commonwealth for the past three decades has been challenging, but also rewarding. Few opportunities existed in the early 1980s for Virginians with disabilities who wanted to live and earn a meaningful salary in a career of his or her choice. It was rare for people with disabilities to interact with policymakers and legislators. This changed tremendously when disability leaders began organizing around common issues.

In the early 80's a statewide cross disability coalition formed to foster the growth of Centers for Independent Living across the state. Known as Handicaps Unlimited, the group worked with three localities to establish consumer-controlled independent living centers. It also became very involved in the 1981 gubernatorial race. Handicaps Unlimited secured commitments from the Democratic candidate Charles S. Robb to allow Virginia to re-enter the Federal Developmental Disabilities Program and to work on disability rights legislation.

Shortly after Gov. Robb took the oath of office, he kept his campaign pledge to the community and re-entered Virginia in the federal "DD" program. This called for the establishment of a Developmental Disabilities Planning Council giving consumer advocates and parents a seat at the table alongside policymakers. This occurred in early 1983 and was very important because it gave parents a voice as the Virginia Department of Medical Assistance Services applied for a variety of federal home and community-based waivers. Though limited, these waivers would give some adults with developmental disabilities the opportunity to get services to enable them to live in communities instead of institutions and to allow children with developmental disabilities to remain in their homes with loving families.

Gov. Robb made good on another campaign promise when he signed the Virginians with Disabilities Act. This legislation did two very important things. First, VDA established the Virginia Department for Rights of Virginians with Disabilities to assist with rights and complaint issues. Second, it established a 40-member board comprised of advocates, family members, and state agencies that served Virginians with disabilities and their disability service providers. This gave advocates and family members another opportunity to advise on housing, transportation, education and employment policy for people with disabilities.

During the 1990s, Lt. Gov. Don Beyer's leadership led to additional legislation which created the Disability Commission. The purpose of this commission, which Beyer served as chair for is to address the needs of people with physical and sensory disabilities. It has become a launching pad for many initiatives to help disability groups to be able to live and work in the community. The statewide Personal Assistance Services, Head Injury Trauma Program, the Assistive Technology Loan Fund Authority, and the Medicaid Infrastructure Grant Project, to name a few all came into being as a result of being an initiative endorsed by the Disability Commission. Until the 2005 gubernatorial campaign the lieutenant governor continued to serve as the commission's chair. Many Virginians with disabilities, parents of children with disabilities and advocates believe this is part of the reason why so many of its initiatives succeeded.

The new millennium brought continued to show progress towards equality for Virginians with disabilities. Gov. Mark Warner appointed a task force to examine ways for Virginia to comply with

*See Towards Equality, continued on next page*



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## Towards Equality from previous page

the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Olmstead v. L.C.* (1999), which established the state's obligation to provide community-based services to certain qualified people with disabilities who choose to live outside of facilities.

Notably, Gov. Warner also issued an apology to the disability community for the past practice of eugenics during the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Virginia led the way as one of the first states to issue such an apology. Gov. Warner also made good on a campaign promise to make the state's protection and advocacy agency separate from state

government. This cleared the way for the agency to fully investigate possible abuse and neglect of residents living in state facilities.

In the mid to late 2000s, Gov. Tim Kaine's efforts focused on improving employment outcomes for Virginians with significant disabilities. He appointed a special advisor on disability issues in the workplace to consult with all the interested stakeholders and come up with strategies to reduce the high unemployment rate among Virginians with disabilities.

I had the great honor of serving in this role for four years and I worked with Gov. Kaine on two major initiatives to increase employment opportunities for Virginians with disabilities. First, Gov. Kaine signed Executive Directive 8 (Oct. 2007), which ordered all state agencies including colleges and universities to examine their hiring and promotion practices. The intent of ED8 was to remove all barriers that may be preventing the hiring and promoting of qualified employees with disabilities. Secondly a statewide employment summit was held towards the end of Gov. Kaine's administration to bring together people from vocational rehabilitation, employers, employees with disabilities, and the economic development community to come up with a comprehensive plan on innovative ways to increase employment opportunities for Virginians with disabilities. Today I am hopeful that the McDonnell Administration will move forward with the implementation of the plan developed at this summit.

Although Virginians with disabilities have not reached total equality yet due to the continued lack of services in many areas of their everyday lives. Much progress has been made in educating policymakers and legislators about the needs of Virginians with disabilities. It has increased their understanding about what services are necessary for us to live and work along side of our non-disabled peers. And it is this increased awareness over the past 30 years that has made the Commonwealth a better place for us all to live and work.

*Ed Turner is a nationally known trainer and writer on the use of self advocacy for people with disabilities. He's written entering the workforce and managing workplace support for disabled individuals. Over the years, he's advocated for people with disabilities, whether students in Chesapeake's school system, or clients when those he counseled at Norfolk's center for independent living.*

*In the past, Ed has served as an assistant administrator of the Department of Rights of Virginians with Disabilities. From 2006-2010, he was the Governor's Special Advisor on Disability Issues in the Workforce. In September 2010, Gov. McDonnell appointed Ed to sit on the Virginia Board for People with Disabilities. He continues to advocate and serve those with disabilities in the Commonwealth. ▮*



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# Safety is Key to Surfing the Net

By CINDY CHARLTON-MATEJKA

The Community Idea Stations (CIS) recently received the FBI's *Director's Community Leadership Award* for their partnership and the work they are doing to promote the FBI-SOS (Safe Online Surfing) Internet Challenge program in central Virginia schools. The award was presented "in recognition of outstanding service to the local community and of enduring contributions to the advancement of justice".

The CIS/FBI partnership began in the spring of last year. This collaboration was an appropriate fit since WCVE Education provides K-12 services for educators in 44 school divisions (over 450 schools) in the central Virginia area. The FBI-SOS Internet Challenge is a FREE educational, online program that teaches children guidelines for



Pictured from left: Wayne Thomas, Technology Specialist; Iris Scott, Vice President of Educational Services; Cindy Matejka, Education Specialist; and Curtis Monk, CEO of The Community Idea Stations.

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Internet safety, including ethics, etiquette and online safety—especially as it relates to online dangers and Internet predators. The FBI-SOS Internet Challenge addresses many of the federal, state, and local laws related to school Internet Safety requirements and some of Virginia's Computer Technology Standards of Learning (SOL).

Several schools in our area have signed on to have students participate in the FBI-SOS Internet Challenge. One school in our region, Lakeview Elementary School in Colonial Heights, was recognized as the school scoring the highest points to become the FBI's 5th grade national winner for the month of October. As a national winner, the school was recognized by a visit from the FBI and members of the Community Idea Stations—and was awarded the national FBI-SOS Trophy.

Many schools are taking advantage of this program to fulfill some of their requirements to include internet safety in their curriculum. If educators would like a presentation to learn more about the FBI-SOS Internet Challenge—or want to know how they can bring the program into their schools—please contact the WCVE Education staff at (804) 560-8133. ■





## Meet 2011's Virginia Sports Hall of Fame Inductees

The 2011 inductees into Virginia's Sports Hall of Fame were recently recognized by both chambers of the General Assembly at the Capitol. They are:

**Jeff Rouse**, native of Stafford, VA and 7-time NCAA Champion at Stanford University; Olympic Gold medalist and World Champion swimmer.

**Bill Littlepage**, Bridgewater College alum and the winningest coach in Virginia AAA High School League history with 775 career wins;


**Dr. Jim Jarrett**, led Old Dominion athletics in 28 National Championships and a reclassification to Division I in his 43-year career as Director of Athletics;

**Tiki Barber**, 2nd all-time leading rusher in University of Virginia history and 10 year NFL career with the New York Giants, scoring 68 touchdowns;

**Johnny Newman**, the all-time leading scorer for the University of Richmond and the veteran of a 16-year NBA career with 12,740 career points;

**Pernell "Sweet Pea" Whitaker**, native of Norfolk, VA and six-time World Champion boxer with a professional record of 41-3-1 with 17 knock-outs;

**Eugene "Pappy" Thompson**, native of Bristol, VA, held a 50-year career as a journalist with the Bristol Herald Courier and 1982 inductee into the Tennessee Sports Hall of Fame.

Hall of Fame President, Eddie Webb, says "The Class of 2011 is an example of the quality of athletes and coaches that are being produced across the Commonwealth. Each nominee's resume is recognized on a national or international level proving the point that the State of Virginia is one of the leaders in producing this nation's top competitors." 



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## Jane Bowen, Tax Commissioner

By JOEL DAVIDSON

When Tax Commissioner Janie Elizabeth Bowen, 56, died unexpectedly at her home in Richmond on June 15, 2010, she left behind a legacy of accomplishments that helped transform the Virginia Department of Taxation into a modern, highly efficient agency recognized as one of the best-managed in state government and among the top revenue departments in the nation. Ken Thorson, her predecessor as the Commonwealth's top tax official, called Bowen "a consummate example of a dedicated, lifetime, exceptionally competent state government employee who was repeatedly recognized for her vast knowledge of Virginia's tax structure, state and local."



As Tax Commissioner, Bowen embraced new challenges to find creative ways to do the critical business of the agency that brings in most of the state's revenue. She was the driver behind the department becoming the state government leader in teleworking, for which she received a national award just days before she died. As more employees began working from home, saving the agency money while building morale, she guided the development of an Intranet to improve internal communications, streamline work flow and keep employees working from home connected. Bowen also had the department develop a cross-training program to increase the knowledge and flexibility of employees. When she died she had just been elected president of the national Federation of Tax Administrators. She was president of the Southeastern Association of Tax Administrators for 2008.

Bowen realized her career-long goal of becoming Tax Commissioner on May 1, 2006 when Thorson retired. She was Virginia's fifth Tax Commissioner in the 80-year history of the department, and the first woman to hold the top post. Prior to her appointment she served for four months in the Governor's cabinet as Deputy Secretary of Finance. But except for the brief stint at Finance, she spent her entire career at the Tax Department, beginning in 1978 as an entry-level tax examiner.

Bowen was born in Charlottesville, Va., on December 8, 1953, the daughter of Virginia Brown Bowen and the late Howard Wellman Bowen. Along with her mother, she is survived by her brother, Arthur N. Bowen III. She graduated number 15 in her class of 500 from Albemarle High School in 1971. She earned a bachelor's degree cum laude in political science at the University of Georgia and a master's degree in public administration at the University of Virginia.

Danny Payne, who directed the agency's Sales and Use Tax Division at the time, hired Bowen and worked with her for 24 years. Between two tours of duty at the Tax Department, Payne served for six years as Deputy Secretary of Finance. He became Tax Commissioner for eight years beginning in 1994. "Through the years she was very inventive, innovative and creative," said Payne, now Chief Administrative Officer at the State Corporation Commission. "She was always very professional and when you had something you had to get done, she was the go-to person. She also had a natural charisma and felt very comfortable talking to everyone in the organization and making them feel important in the jobs they did."

Bowen was the first analyst in the newly created Tax Policy Division in 1979 and Payne said one of her gifts was taking complex tax policies and summarizing them so a lay person could understand. Mark Haskins, who directs the Policy Development Department, recalled that Bowen "really blossomed when she was promoted to Tax Policy. She played a major role in the development of the agency's first comprehensive set of tax regulations in 1985." He noted that for many years Bowen "was the face of the Tax Department with the General Assembly, industry groups and taxpayers in general." She worked closely with several governors to help implement legislation, including the massive federal retiree settlement program under Governor George Allen, car tax relief under Governor Jim Gilmore, and the major tax reform plan of Governor Mark Warner in 2004.

During her 32 years at the Tax Department, Bowen held the top position in every area except technology. These jobs included Director of Tax Policy, Assistant Commissioner of Tax Operations, Assistant Commissioner of Tax Policy, special assistant to the Tax Commissioner, and Deputy Commissioner of Administration.

Those who knew Bowen learned she had a clever sense of humor, loved music and craftwork, liked to have fun at work, and had a caring heart. When she left the agency to go to Finance, she emailed employees to say goodbye, crediting them for her promotion: "It is the results of your work that enabled me to move into a new position, and I cannot thank you enough."

But when then-Governor-elect Tim Kaine appointed her to lead the Tax Department she was thrilled to go "home."

Governor Bob McDonnell praised her, saying she "leaves behind a Commonwealth grateful for her service, and friends and family who will miss her dearly." ■

Our magazine welcomes submissions for those servants of the Commonwealth who have recently died. Please e-mail submissions to [editor@capitolsquare.com](mailto:editor@capitolsquare.com).

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## David Bailey Associates Welcomes a New Associate

Kim Gray is a committed mother, civic leader, and dedicated public servant. For over 15 years she has helped to shape the lives of children through her involvement in non-profit and civic organizations. In 2008, she was elected to serve on the city's School Board for the Second District.

She's served two of Virginia's governors. Both Governor Mark Warner and Governor Tim Kaine appointed her to serve in their administration. Most recently, she worked as a policy assistant in the Virginia Department of Transportation.

In 2003, Governor Warner appointed Kim to work on his innovative Partnership for Achieving Successful Schools (PASS). Through Kim's efforts of promoting partnerships between the business and non-profit community the PASS initiative raised student achievement in some of the lowest performing schools in the Commonwealth. Gray's ability to connect in a positive manner with diverse audiences for causes important to our community is evident in her involvement with groups ranging from the Historic Jackson Ward Association and the NAACP to the Parent Teacher Student Association and the Richmond Crusade for Voters.

Her leadership skills were recognized by her selection and participation in the 2006 class of Leadership Metro Richmond. In 2009, Style Weekly recognized her as one of the "Top 40 under 40." She was also selected to be in the Sorensen Institute for Political Leadership's 2010 Political Leaders Program. Kim has received numerous organizational awards for her service, including being recognized in 1997 as a United Way Emerging Leader.

A native of Richmond, Kim Gray was educated in Richmond's public schools. Gray's children also attend Richmond public schools.



## Sen. Houck Awarded for Dedication to Education

By CHRISTIAN TILLER

On January 13, the Virginia Conference of the American Association of University Professors presented Sen. Edd Houck (D-Seventeenth) with the Col. Michael S. Harris award. The Col. Michael S. Harris award is given annually on Virginia Higher Education Advocacy Day. This award is given to a government official who shows outstanding service in support of higher education.



At a young age, Sen. Houck had a love and drive for education. He attended Wytheville Community College and received his B.S. in education from Concord College. Sen. Houck went on to receive his M. Ed. from University of Virginia. Sen. Houck began his career as a public school middle school science teacher in Spotsylvania County in 1973. Since then, he has been a guidance counselor, assistant principal, and director of student services. Now, he works for the Medicorp also called Mary Washington Healthcare as their Director of Corporate and Community programs.

In addition to his teaching career, Sen. Houck has been a senator for the 17th district for about 27 years. Sen. Houck now serves on the Senate's Finance, Education and Health, Transportation, Rules, and the General Laws and Technology committees. He is one of five senators who serve as a budget conferee.

In addition to the Col. Michael S. Harris Award, Sen. Edd Houck has also been recently recognized with awards such as Virginia School Board Association's Legislator of the Year, University of Virginia's Distinguished Public Service Award, and recognized as a Child Advocate by Virginia PTA and Teacher Association. [Z]



First Lady of Virginia Maureen McDonnell and Mrs. Alicia Bernal Colgan pose for a photo at the launch party for the Hispanic-Latino Redbook, which is David Bailey Associates' newest directory publication.



## Paul Brockwell, *Editor*

David Bailey Associates and Virginia Capitol Connections thank Paul Brockwell for his outstanding work during the 2011 Session. Paul, you did a great job editing this issue of *Virginia Capitol Connections Quarterly Magazine*. When we secured Paul's services we knew that he was accepting a position scheduled to begin March 1st, and now we congratulate Virginia Public Access Project (VPAP) where Paul has begun a new position.

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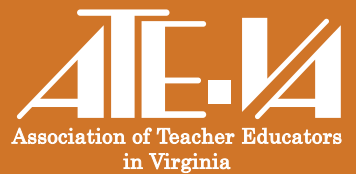
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