

EXPLORE  
Big May Calendar:  
Music, moms,  
munchies, plays  
and more 1D



NEWS  
Britain, the world  
honor Shakespeare,  
400 years after the  
Bard’s death 10A



# Idaho Statesman



BOISE STATE AND NFL  
**First-round talent, but Correa won’t mouth off**  
Kamalei Correa, who left Boise State early to enter the NFL Draft, likes to let his play do the talking. Off the field he is “kind of a quiet dude,” he says. Still, he’s not afraid to speak up, or even “talk smack,” on the field. Most mock drafts have Correa going in the first round Thursday to a team that will welcome a hard-hitting pass rusher. **SPORTS, 1B**



BOISE WISH LIST  
**BIETER OFFERS HINTS ABOUT THE NEXT BIG THING**

A light-rail system is still on Mayor Dave Bieter’s radar, and he might back a state-wide campaign to win local-option taxing authority to pay for it. A Downtown stadium and replacement or renovation of the main library branch also are still major goals. **NEWS, 4A**

DEPTH: IDAHO POLITICS AND 2016 ELECTION



DARIN OSWALD doswald@idahostatesman.com

## When legislators just say no — a lot

A small but consistent bloc of Idaho House members regularly votes against appropriations bills that pay for some of the basic functions of government. Why? They favor less spending and smaller government, but their reflexive action can make it hard to get votes for must-pass legislation and breed resentment among colleagues. As voters consider their choices in the May 17 election, who are these naysayers and what do they tell us about Idaho government? Bill Dentzer takes a look. **DEPTH, 1C**

**GUEST OPINIONS:** Three Idahoans, two of whom are citizen members of the Statesman Editorial Board, write about how voting makes a difference — in their lives and the lives of all of us. **OPINION, 4C, 6C**

**INSIDE:** There will be some good GOP primary battles, with far-right challengers and incumbents alike facing well-organized foes. A look at some of the key races. **NEWS, 7A**

TIM WOODWARD  
**ROAD TRIPS TAKE ON NEW MEANING**  
The future of cars — with crazy self-driving vehicles — has Tim thinking about the past, his VW and the open road. It was quite the love affair. **EXPLORE, 1D**

THE WEATHER  
**METEOROLOGISTS TRY TO READ MINDS**  
Predicting severe storms that spawn tornadoes has become easier, but when is it best to provide warnings so that people will really heed them? **NEWS, 8A**



VARSITY EXTRA  
**FLYING HIGH AT YMCA TRACK MEET**



# Depth



**GEORGE WILL**  
PROGRESSIVES PUT  
'SETTLED SCIENCE' TO  
WORK WITH CLIMATE  
CONSENSUS DU JOUR  
8C



KYLE MILLS Lewiston Tribune

Rep. Vito Barbieri, R-Dalton Gardens, is one of the most frequent no voters in the House, and cast votes against more spending than any other lawmaker in the 2016 legislative session.

LEGISLATURE

## In Idaho, the politics of voting no

Some lawmakers consistently oppose routine appropriations

They cite ideology and desire to shrink government, but others see obstructionism

Why do these naysayers serve in a government that they seek to dismantle?

BY BILL DENTZER  
bdentzer@idahostatesman.com

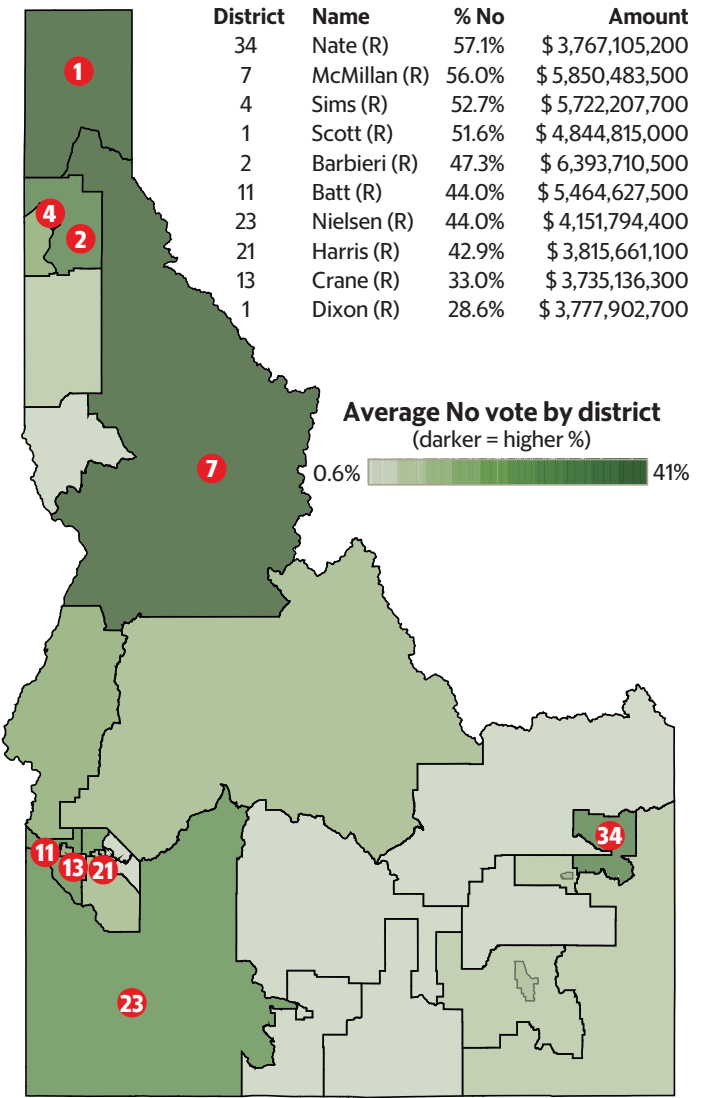
Every year a bloc of lawmakers in the Idaho Legislature votes against billions of dollars in spending for routine functions of state government, and this year was no exception. When the 2016 session ended March 25, one lawmaker had voted against nearly 60 percent of spending bills, while another opposed 85 percent of all spending for the fiscal year that starts in July. Four of the top five naysayers, and half of the top 10, hail from North Idaho. All are Republicans serving in the House. Sitting just outside the top 10 are the second- and

third-ranked members of the House Republican leadership. The top no-voting senator also is a Republican from North Idaho. The naysayers almost never get their way, but their opposition occasionally imperils budgets for seemingly noncontroversial programs or measures. Especially within the House, where lawmakers vote no most often, their reflexive opposition splinters coalitions, gives rise to friction and breeds resentment among colleagues who support appropriations in the interest of good government, even when they might take issue with the amounts or policies involved. Increasingly, just voting no

SEE VOTING NO, 2C

### Who said no?

Here's how the two members of each House district voted on 91 major appropriations bills in 2016, representing a total of \$7.6 billion for 2016-17. Listed are the top 10 no voters and the amount of spending they opposed.



Source: Statesman research



EYES ON IDAHO  
BY ROBERT EHLERT

## Your vote needed for our republic, future

In today's Opinion section we are featuring guest opinions authored by three long-time Idahoans who share an identical wish: that as many people as possible will get educated, get active, and get out and vote in the May 7 primary and the November general election. Because early voting already has begun in Canyon County, we know some of you already have cast ballots, and many more are about to fill out absentee forms. Our authors are happy about those who are already in the game, but I know the real audience they target is those of you in the stands — those who, at the moment, don't see the point and doubt they will go to the trouble to vote this year. There was a time when all of our authors were among that group "not yet engaged" to their civic duty or wed to a political point of view. Former Idaho Rep. Larry LaRocco, who served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (1991-1995), describes how he had his political and civic awakening back in 1974. Though he chose the Democratic Party to launch his activism and public service, I know from my conversations with him that his biggest concerns are the extreme wings of both parties, which sometimes focus on ideology and lose sight of what is best for Idaho. William Myers, a Boise attorney and a community member of the Idaho Statesman Editorial Board, points out that sitting on the sidelines during this election would be missing out on one

SEE EHLERT, 2C

MORE INSIDE

Read all of the guest opinions on voting. 4C, 6C



Senate sees fewer disputes on routine spending

The voting dynamics on spending bills differ markedly between legislative bodies. In the Senate, 64 of 91 appropriations bills reviewed by the Statesman passed with unanimous support. In the House, 18 did. Among those that drew the most opposition:

- The \$169 million Welfare Division budget passed 46-20 in the House, this time with all 14 Democrats supporting it, and 29-6 in the Senate.
- The \$104 million budget for the Department of Fish & Game passed the House 36-34. Even House Speaker Scott Bedke voted no. The same bill passed the Senate 32-3. A supplemental, mostly federal allocation for a North Idaho conservation easement passed the House 48-21 and the Senate 22-11. Opponents portrayed it as a government giveaway.
- The vote on the \$24 million Attorney General’s Office budget was 44-24 in the House. The appropriation was held in the Senate for political reasons until the final day of the Senate session, when it was approved 29-6.
- The \$104 million Labor Department budget, which includes funding for unemployment insurance, passed unanimously in the Senate but 48-21 in the House.
- The \$42.6 million Tax Commission budget passed the House 45-20 and 32-3 in the Senate.
- Education spending mostly drew overwhelming support, but where there was opposition, it came mostly from North Idaho Republicans. Five lawmakers voted no on 11 to 16 of the 22 education-related funding bills in the Statesman’s survey.
- The Hispanic Affairs Commission budget, at \$283,400, is one of the smallest appropriations before lawmakers. It passed the Senate unanimously, but just 44-26 vote in the House.
- And the \$2 million Arts Commission budget? After failing on a 36-33 vote on its first go-round in the House, the budget passed on the second try, 51-17, with an extra \$200 for its trouble.

FROM PAGE 1C  
VOTING NO

is a sign of the times in government, beginning with Congress. For voters considering candidates in an election year, a look at how lawmakers vote on basic appropriations bills can reveal a lot about their overall attitude and approach to governing. The Statesman looked at the Legislature’s votes on 91 key appropriations bills to fund government operations for the fiscal year that starts July 1. The sum of those appropriations topped \$7.6 billion, the money for which comes from federal and state sources.

All the budget bills passed, as they almost invariably do, typically by margins better than 2-1. And if they didn’t? The 2016 session provided some insight. One relatively small outlay was defeated this year when minority House Democrats, in a protest vote, voted no along with the conservative anti-spending Republicans. The appropriation was later resubmitted and approved, but the Democrat protest showed what can happen when normally compliant lawmakers decide not to be taken for granted. It also showed the divisions within the ruling Republican majority, which holds 4-1 advantages in both houses. The “loyal opposition” in most legislatures is the minority party. In Idaho, more often than not it resides within the most conservative Republican faction, even on routine budget bills. “I think this is sort of what we’re seeing nationally as well, and it’s not uncommon in one-party

states,” said Corey Cook, dean of Boise State University’s School of Public Service. “It’s a really difficult leadership challenge. I think we certainly saw that with Speaker Boehner,” Cook said, referring to former U.S. House Speaker John Boehner, who finally stepped down after much opposition from within his own party. “These are fairly straightforward governing tasks. These are appropriations bills.”

JUST SAY NO

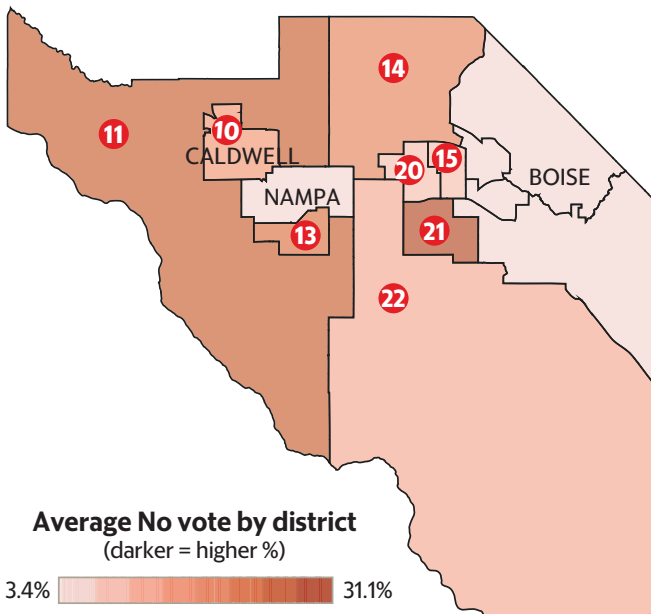
The spending opponents, often with little or no comment, vote against spending for health and social welfare programs, for culture and recreation, even administrative budgets for agencies including the Labor Department, Tax Commission and Attorney General’s Office. What do these voters want? Smaller budgets or smaller government, or both? Sometimes objections focus narrowly on a specific program or expense within a larger appropriation. More broadly, however, opposition from the bloc derives from a fundamental philosophy and desire to limit the size and role of government in Idaho, especially from the federal level. “Especially with those of us representing the north, you have to start with the overall premise ... to not just limit the growth of government but somehow begin to shrink the size,” said Rep. Vito Barbieri, a third-term Republican from Dalton Gardens in Kootenai County. Of the 91 bills

How Canyon and Ada lawmakers voted

The top 10 no voters and the amount of spending they opposed.

District	Name	% No	Amount
11	Batt (R)	44.0%	\$ 5,464,627,500
21	Harris (R)	42.9%	\$ 3,815,661,100
13	Crane (R)	33.0%	\$ 3,735,136,300
14	Moyle (R)	26.4%	\$ 3,631,183,800
22	Vander Woude (R)	22.0%	\$ 753,608,300
21	Dayley (R)	17.6%	\$ 649,502,800
10	Hixon (R)	16.5%	\$ 937,477,200
15	Luker (R)	16.5%	\$ 355,415,500
20	Palmer (R)	14.3%	\$ 999,267,000
22	Den Hartog (R)	13.2%	\$ 293,335,900

Source: Statesman research



DARIN OSWALD doswald@idahostatesman.com

The Idaho Legislature gathers in the House chambers for the governor’s State of the State address in 2015. House members, especially those from North Idaho, are much more likely than senators to vote against routine spending bills.

reviewed by the Statesman, Barbieri voted against 43 of them, totaling nearly \$6.4 billion, or 84 percent of all spending. That topped all lawmakers. “You don’t have to be against the principle or the program,” he said. “The program can be useful, but is it wasteful? Is it too expensive? Is there another way that government can address the issue without increasing the burden? And that’s what I’m looking at.” Democrats hold a different view. “Those are people who don’t like government anyway, and so of course they don’t want to pay for it. I always question why they’re in government then,” said John Rusche, the House Democratic minority leader from Lewiston. For the North Idaho electorate, he asks: “What would happen if their

legislators got their way? What would North Idaho be like?” What sets North Idaho apart? Often cited is the separation bred by physical distance and a different time zone, with the area north of the Salmon River on Pacific time. Other factors are fairly intangible: North Idaho looks different from the rest of the state, and attracts a more conservative resident relocating from out of state. Barbieri describes a “disconnect from much of the ideology of the country” and intensified attitudes relative to other parts of the state. “These things that all of Idaho believes in somehow have been concentrated up here in a way that says government is intruding and we’ve got to stop that intrusion,” Barbieri said. “Somehow it’s manifest itself in the north a little bit more strongly.”

SPLIT INCLUDES LEADERSHIP

Typically, party legislative leaders vote together, and usually in support of the party line, but not in the Idaho House. Majority Leader Mike Moyle of Star voted no on about one-quarter of appropriations bills totaling more than \$3.6 billion. Assistant Majority Leader Brent Crane of Nampa voted no a third of the time, rejecting \$3.7 billion in outlays. “I voted against more budgets the last two years than I have probably in the rest of my career combined, because I’m very concerned about the growth of government,” said Crane. Among his no votes, he opposed the department budget submitted by his father, Idaho Treasurer Ron Crane, because it was “too high.” On budget votes, “I think that you’re seeing that the party’s large enough to embrace both sides,” Crane said. “We

do have a large enough tent, and we tell people, vote your conscience, vote your constituency.” Twenty-four lawmakers — 13 in the Senate and 11 in the House — did not oppose any spending bills. Half of those serve on the Joint Finance Appropriations Committee, the House-Senate body that initially reviews the governor’s proposed budget and writes the budget bills. Seven JFAC members voted no three or fewer times. The one outlier among the compliant legislative budget writers was North Idaho Sen. Sherry Nuxoll, R-Cottonwood, who voted no on more budget bills than any other senator. After Nuxoll, the Senate’s most frequent no voters were Sens. Steve Vick of Dalton Gardens and Bob Nonini of Coeur d’Alene, both from North Idaho, followed by Sens. Jim Patrick of Twin Falls and Jim Rice of Caldwell.

VOTING IN PROTEST

The House Democratic protest vote in March came in response to Republican moves to bottle up the minority party’s bills. Democrats voted as a bloc against the \$2 million budget for the state Arts Commission. With the customary opposition from conservative Republican lawmakers, that bill failed, although it was later resubmitted and approved. In the overall state budget, \$2 million is minuscule. But opposition bordering on brinkmanship nearly sank the massive \$2.2 billion Medicaid appropriation in the Department of Health and Welfare budget, the single largest appropriation that lawmakers vote on. The bill passed the House narrowly when all but one Democrat voted no, to protest Republican foot-dragging on expanding Medicaid. “Our bloc voted no because (Republicans) substantially underfunded and ignored 78,000 Idahoans,” said Boise Rep. Mat Erpending, House assistant minority leader. Idaho Medicaid spending is 63 percent federal money. Barbieri voted no, calling it “unsustainable.” Just because most of it is federal money is “not an adequate rationale,” he said. “I am just as concerned with federal taxpayers as I am Idaho taxpayers.” Bill Dentzer: 208-377-6438, @IDSBillD