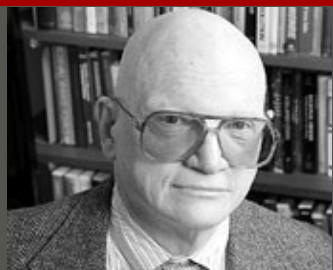


John Adams, a graduate of Rutgers College Class of 1965, endowed The Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship Program in Leadership and Social Policy to honor Rutgers Professor Emeritus Lloyd Gardner, a Board of Governors Professor and the Charles and Mary Beard Professor of History. Though Professor Gardner retired several years ago, he continues to serve Rutgers students through teaching and scholarship. Mr. Adams took Professor Gardner's course in "Recent American History," and remembers him as a professor "who instilled in us a lasting intellectual curiosity."



Lloyd C. Gardner

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2012-2013

The Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship
in Leadership and Social Policy presents:

Gardner Fellows Policy Conference



May 7, 2013, 9 am-1 pm
Busch Campus Dining Hall, Rutgers University

Program of Events

- 8:45-9:15 am **Breakfast and Opening Remarks**
- 9:15-10:15 am **Panel One: Democracy at Home**
Moderator: Dennis Bathory
Panelists: Kevin Dahaghi, Aniket Kesari, Abdul Rehman Khan, Michael Nanfara, Kristoffer Roohe, Rashmi B. Singh
- 10:15 am –10:30 am **Break**
- 10:30 am – 11:45 am **Panel Two: Global Democracy**
Moderator: Kelly Clancy
Panelists: Amani Al-Khatahtbeh, Sabrina Arias, Genevieve Campisano, Sivaram Cheruvu , Gregory Cui, Alexandra Jubb, Ami Kachalia, Gordon Morrisette, Evangelia Psarakis
- 12:00 pm -1:00 pm **Lunch and Closing Remarks**

Note from the Director

As we conclude our inaugural year of the Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship, there are a number of people I want to thank. First, the students. This year's Gardner Fellows have given me the most exciting and rewarding experience in my forty-two years at Rutgers. The breadth of backgrounds, interests, and enthusiasms that you brought to our seminar meetings and our visits to the UN and Washington, DC, combined with the respect you showed one another and this newly emerging program has been remarkable in many ways. You have set a standard for all classes that follow. Second, I want to thank all who participated as guest speakers and independent study mentors; your intelligence and good will have provided the backbone for the program. I look forward to working with you again! Third, I gratefully acknowledge and thank Kelly Clancy for her insight, her hard work and her unflagging good humor. Your organizational talent and technological skills were invaluable. Muffin Lord and Vanessa Coleman provided enthusiastic support and good counsel throughout for which I am very grateful. Finally, to John Adams who made this possible and to Lloyd Gardner who remains an inspiration to us all, a warm thanks to you both. Your examples will guide us all as we move forward.

With kind regards,
Dennis Bathory
Director, Lloyd Gardner Fellowship
Department of Political Science
Rutgers University

Professor Bathory, wielding a gavel in the Conference Room of the US Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, March 12, 2013



Panel: Democracy at Home

Kevin Dahaghi, *Sociology and Journalism and Media Studies*
Advisor: Catherine Lee, *Sociology*

This policy memorandum presents a case for extending and easing opportunities for undocumented immigrants to receive full driver's licenses. A broader goal of this document is to highlight systematic legal restrictions imposed on undocumented immigrants in the United States.

As both documented and undocumented immigrants comprise an increasing percentage of the US population, the changing demographics have resulted in a new push to expand civil rights protections. For many undocumented immigrants, the denial of driver's licenses and state identification cards has practical implications for access to transportation, employment, and safety, as well as more indirect implications on an individual's social capital and security. While New Mexico and Washington have allowed noncitizens to receive driver's licenses, other states, including New Jersey, have not. New Jersey, for example, has a strict six-points identification system.

Panel: Democracy at Home

Aniket Kesari, *History and Political Science*
Advisor: Milton Heumann, *Political Science*

This paper explores human rights litigation in the United States. Although the U.S. Bill of Rights as well as several state bills of rights list several civil and political rights, the conversation about human rights rarely emerges in a legal context. Moreover, international human rights documents hold little, if any, legal weight in American jurisprudence. Despite these challenges, people still successfully use litigation to achieve human rights objectives in the United States. However, it is not clear if these rights first emerge at a national level and are applied top down, or if they emerge in state courts and slowly earn national recognition. This paper asks the following questions: Do human rights more successfully emerge in state or federal courts? Is it sustainable for human rights to emerge through legal recognition in part of the country without spreading to the rest?

The paper primarily focuses on same-sex marriage as an emerging human right, and places it in a broader context by using both current data and historical precedents. The primary purpose is to uncover the institutional and political factors that lead to legal adoption of same-sex marriage through jurisprudence, rather than by a legislature or referendum vote.

Panel: Democracy at Home

Abdul Rehman Khan, *Political Science, Economics, Public Policy*

Advisors: **Alan Cander**, *Bloustein School*

Dennis Bathory, *Political Science*

Graffiti Wall runs along the Raritan River and has long been a haven for graffiti artists. It serves as a link between Buccleuch and Boyd Parks, and an approximately 2-mile long path, about 10-feet wide, runs between a fence and the concrete wall. This strip runs alongside the Raritan River and behind the College Avenue Campus River Dorms, the Rutgers Graduate School of Social Work, and the Johnson and Johnson Headquarters. Graffiti Wall has become a locally ostracized and criminalized—and at some entrances, barred off—haven for graffiti artists.

This policy memo examines policy initiatives that can potentially turn this stretch into a public art exhibit to promote and celebrate the existing and vibrant culture of New Brunswick. As New Brunswick becomes increasingly gentrified, the city has cracked down on graffiti, including making the once-legal activities at Graffiti Wall illegal. As a result, marginalized community groups express concerns of a suppression of culture, due to an increased emphasis on redevelopment and false illusions of inclusivity. The memo highlights the inconsistencies that emerge in attempting to create a truly public and accessible art space that can help connect existing and new populations, while simultaneously catering to the desires of high culture. The memo outlines the arguments for considering Graffiti Wall and the pathway a problem, and then evaluates various options, including the status quo. Ultimately, the memo recommends the legalization of graffiti on the stretch, through the creation and direction of local artists, for the social benefit of the residents while still reflecting the diverse interests of New Brunswick.

Panel: Democracy at Home

Michael Nanfara, *Molecular Biology & Biochemistry*

Advisor: **Peter Gillies**, *NJ Institute for Food, Nutrition, and Health*

The recent emergence and availability of internet based genetic testing companies have created a profound need for greater familiarity with genetic testing. The Institute of Food Nutrition and Health (IFNH) plans to develop an ethical framework surrounding direct-to-consumer genomic technology that introduces students to its limits and uses in the university setting. Incorporating genetic testing into undergraduate education poses several serious educational and ethical issues. Within this ethical framework, we hope to establish how direct-to-consumer genetic testing can provide personalized nutritional and health-related advice while remaining within the ethical, legal, and social boundaries surrounding one's own genetic information.

To create a framework which ethically implements these readily available genomic technologies into the undergraduate experience at Rutgers University, one must acknowledge several concerns which necessarily arise from the nature of information provided by these tests and the setting in which these policies are enforced. The most important concerns deal with consumer understanding of the information provided, the family's role, professional advising, and avoidance of persuasion in implementing this framework. Fully addressing each issue in a comprehensive framework requires the input and opinion of an array of individuals with varying levels of expertise in a multitude of fields.

To generate this multifaceted base of information, I conducted interviews with experts in several relevant fields including molecular biology, genetic counseling, psychiatry, and nutrigenomics. We also conducted interviews with several non-experts to understand the opinion of an average consumer of genetic testing, and layperson unfamiliar with genetic testing. The opinions and information provided from these interviews served as the foundation of this ethical framework.

Panel: Democracy at Home

Kristoffer Roohe, *English*

Advisor: Dennis Bathory, *Political Science*

During the first half of the Lloyd C. Gardener Fellowship Program three different observations became increasingly important and took on a particular salience in the formation of this policy paper. Alexis de Tocqueville noted that education is the first responsibility of a democracy. Carey McWilliams stressed the importance of “having a voice” over the ability to vote as the defining characteristic of citizenship. Henry Plotkin questioned notions of citizenship and democracy when pointing out that the poor and the illiterate are the least likely to be able to understand and to respond to issues which arise in a society like this—issues whose resolution will disproportionately affect them.

If education is the first responsibility of a democracy, and having a voice in that democracy constitutes citizenship, what matters most is an education that focuses on skills which allows students to comprehend complex arguments and which enables them to respond to those arguments with clarity. This policy paper is focused on recent research which shows that specific critical reading and writing programs boost test scores in all subject areas. Schools with the lowest performance rates need programs like these the most. This paper shows that these efforts are worthwhile and that students who gain critical competence enjoy greater confidence and become not only better students, but better citizens.

Panel: Democracy at Home

Rashmi Singh, *English*

Advisor: Ben Justice, *Education*

This proposal examines the difficulties of incorporating civic education in public schools. It begins with a brief overview regarding the current state of civic engagement, and then focuses on recommendations to more effectively include civic education in public schools. The three biggest difficulties facing civics are as follows: pressure on teachers to cover required material and teach to the test, discussion of controversial issues in the classroom, and contestation over what represents a good, democratic citizen. Despite these issues, however, teachers and schools can still promote a strong civic education. To handle state standards, teachers should adopt a should incorporate a thematically organized curriculum that allows them to cover required material while also connecting students to current events that are more relevant to their everyday lives. Rather than ignore controversy, teachers can help engage students to civic issues by creating an open classroom that helps students analyze social issues from multiple perspectives. Lastly, proponents of civic education should be clear about what kind of citizen they would like to develop in order to better link their approaches to their specific understandings of citizenship. With these recommendations, schools can better engage students in civic affairs and help build civic involvement.

Panel: Global Democracy

Amani Al-Khatahtbeh, *Political Science, Middle Eastern Studies*
Advisor: Hamid Abdeljaber, *Political Science*

The Arab Spring posed an opportune moment in Middle Eastern governance and our understanding of political behavior as a whole. From the youth uprisings that brought down generation-long rules of dictators, we have gained a glimpse into newly emerging patterns of democratic transition in different regions of the world. The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, however, has remained an oasis of calm in the midst of the violence that has plagued its neighbors. While Arabs across a large number of countries have risen to chants demanding that their rulers step down, Jordanian protests have simply not caught on with the rest. In order to gauge the direction Jordan is heading, it is imperative to explore the demands of Jordanian youth engaging in protest, their grievances, and, ultimately, the factors impeding on their progress towards reform. With 70 percent of the country being under the age of 30, observations ultimately lead to one necessary question: where are the youth in all of this, and can a democracy be possible without their participation? By interviewing participants of civil protests, leaders of democratic movements, and the head of political parties — including the Muslim Brotherhood — the research analyzes the complicated cultural fabric of Jordanian society and how it results in the quality of its evolving democracy. When everything is taken into account, it becomes clear that while Jordanians have a partially vivid image of the democracy they desire for their nation, factors such as national tensions, minimal turnout, and rampant fear render them incapable of actualizing it.

Panel: Global Democracy

Sabrina Arias, *Political Science, Philosophy*
Advisor: Kelly Clancy, *Political Science*

The United Nation's Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) will be the cornerstone of international development policy for the foreseeable future. Sustainable development seeks to continue international efforts to improve social and economic conditions in developing states, while preserving resources for future generations. The sustainable development model is more cross cutting and comprehensive than previous development strategies: with more interested parties, efforts to develop international sustainable development policy are attempting to include more voices and different actors, whereas previous policies had been determined by a small group of powerful actors.

This research project attempts to find the correlation between the expansion of actors in the policymaking process and policy outcomes. Current negotiations operate under the assumption that more actors will lead to better outcomes. The paper tests the validity of this assumption. A theoretical component of the project examines models of stakeholder participation that the UN may employ during the negotiations on the SDG framework. In particular, the project examines the relationship between participation in policy development and implementation of policy outcomes, and the impact of discursive participation as compared to bureaucratic processes.

Panel: Global Democracy

Genevieve Campisano, *English*

Advisor: Hamid Abdeljaber, *Political Science*

On December 17, 2010, frustrated by the oppressive authorities that threatened to shut down his local vegetable stand, Mohamed Bouazizi executed a self-immolation, a blazing display of defiance against years of subjugation by the authoritarian regime of Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. In the weeks that followed, the first protestors at the dawn of the Arab Spring took to the streets of Sidi Bouzid, Tunisia, in solidarity with their fallen brother, to force the autocratic leader to abandon his political role and leave the country altogether. Subsequently, more protests erupted throughout the Middle East as revolutionary ideas quickly gained momentum in Egypt, Syria, Libya, Lebanon, Oman, Yemen and Morocco.

This paper argues that, as the Arab Spring continues to unfold, the United States should play a significant role in the democratization, supporting the revolutionaries through diplomacy, foreign aid and educational assistance to promote popular sovereignty, civil rights and peace internationally. Paramount to realizing these goals, the United States must work with their allies in the region to broker peace between Israel and Palestine; a solution to this complex problem will allow a significant minority of Arabs to participate in democracy. As tension escalates in Syria, recognizing the rebels and sending them resources could help end the tyranny of Bashar al-Assad. Above all, programs to educate and empower women in the Middle East, offering them the civil rights they've been categorically denied, will solidify the transition from the antiquated authoritarianism of the past to a free and open future.

Panel: Global Democracy

Sivaram Cheruvu, *Political Science, History*

Advisor: R. Daniel Kelemen, *Political Science*

The Conservative Party of the United Kingdom is the most Eurosceptic mainstream political party among European Union member states. Euroscepticism is a term applied to criticism of the European Union and the deepening of European integration that exists throughout the political spectrum. Euroscepticism has defined a particular wing of the British Conservative Party for the better part of the last 30 years. The Conservative Party played an integral role in bringing the UK into the European Economic Community in the 1970s. However, the rise of Margaret Thatcher to the premiership drastically changed the course of British politics and the UK's relationship with the rest of Europe. Throughout the 1980s Thatcher proliferated Eurosceptic ideologies and used them to define the Conservative Party's platform. Although Euroscepticism became integral to Conservative Party philosophy, Euroscepticism was also a divisive force and eventually led to the downfall of Margaret Thatcher. Since the early 1990s the party has not reached a unified position on the European Union. This paper aims to summarize the origins of Conservative Party Euroscepticism from both a theoretical and historical lens, identify the divisions among the party on the issue, and provide a policy prescription through which the party can reach a unified position regarding the European Union. The British populace has always separated itself from the rest of continental Europe and theoretically is wary of the idea of yielding political and economic sovereignty to a larger European entity. This ideological perspective was embraced by the Conservative Party but to different degrees. The British Conservative Party must reach a consolidated perspective regarding the European Union that does not include talk of leaving the union but is centered around the extent to which Britain is integrated with Europe.

Panel: Global Democracy

Gregory Cui, *Economics*

Advisor: Roy Licklider, *Political Science*

Two years after the transition from authoritarian rule, Egypt stands at a major crossroads. The political instability inherent in this early stage of democratization has been compounded by a flight of investor capital and rising unemployment, leaving Egypt vulnerable to both civil war and international conflict. Prevailing democratic peace literature theorizes that an incompletely democratized regime such as Egypt's is at a greater risk of participating in international conflict and less able to back down during crises. In addition, Egypt's political institutions may be too weak to prevent competition among power-seeking groups from escalating into civil war. If the political and economic pressures on Egypt's government are not reduced, Egypt will pose a significant risk to Israeli security and Middle Eastern stability. This paper shall argue that the United States should build a coalition of regional and international partners for the purpose of extending Egypt a line of credit and guaranteeing a continued peace between Israel and Egypt. By mitigating two of the most significant sources of pressure on the Egyptian government, the United States will protect its most promising hope for a stable Middle Eastern democracy.

Panel: Global Democracy

Alexandra Jubb, *Public Policy*

Advisor: Marc Weiner, *Bloustein School of Public Policy*

The movement known as the Arab Spring is quickly and significantly impacting the shape of the world. The civil war in Syria has brought to light numerous international concerns in an already tumultuous region. Too often when discussing the conflict, the conversation moves directly to how the US can most effectively intervene in Syria. An important threshold question is missing from popular discourse: Should the United States become involved in Syria? As has been seen in the past, imprudent and poorly executed action can do more harm than good and thus any involvement should be rationally analyzed. This paper seeks to answer this critical question by examining three areas: humanitarian obligation, national interest, and sincere promotion of democracy. The balancing of these complex interests leads to the conclusion that a cautious approach to involvement in the conflict is in the interest of both the US and Syria. The outcome of this research should not only be integral in planning an intervention in Syria, but should also be a fundamental framework for the US to consider when formulating foreign policy in similar contexts.

Panel: Global Democracy

Ami Kachalia, *Political Science*

Advisor: Mona Lena Krook, *Political Science*

Internationally, there has been a move toward using gender quotas in legislative bodies in order to increase the descriptive representation of women, a group that has been traditionally excluded from political office. Though quotas have been successful in facilitating dramatic increases in the number of women in office, this research explores whether this increased political participation translates to legislative priorities that better reflect the policy concerns of women or if it results in little to no substantive policy change.

In particular, this paper focuses on whether or not Yemen should employ quotas in the future, an issue that Yemeni women have pushed into current political discourse in order to address the low representation of women in recent years. Moreover, whether quotas will result in substantive representation there and if substantive representation is necessary at this stage will also be explored. This policy memo will not only help Yemen determine its political future, but also be of use to other emerging democracies.

Panel: Global Democracy

Gordon Morrisette, *History, Political Science, Mathematics*

Advisor: Richard O'Meara, *Global Affairs*

The Obama administration has turned the use of unmanned aerial vehicles – colloquially known as drones – into a key component of the War on Terror. This paper examines the efficacy of drone strikes and places them in their larger political and historical context. It then summarizes the potential means of restraining or reforming the use of drones and the legal and political challenges to the implementation of each idea. First the paper will examine policy decisions which can be made within the existing government framework, such as the outright banning of unmanned aerial vehicles, the removal of so called 'signature strikes', and the categorical refusal to utilize UAVs in the assassination of American citizens. Then it looks at those ideas which would require the creation of novel institutions or precedents such as the establishment of 'drone courts' to increase judicial oversight, modeled off the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, or the use of nominal damages to change the incentive structure of decision makers. A broad approach that considers many methods is preferable to narrowly focusing on just one, since any individual idea could easily be rendered moot by the current changes drone policy is undergoing.

Panel: Global Democracy

Evangelia Psarakis, *History, Political Science*

Advisor: Eric Davis, *Political Science*

My research explores the complex realities of the ethnically divided society on the island of Cyprus, which has defied the best efforts of international mediation for two generations. Cyprus's geostrategic location in the eastern Mediterranean sea has kept several political actors invested in the outcome of the "Cyprus Issue" including Greece, Turkey, England, the UN, the EU, the US, and of course, Cyprus. Since 1974 Cyprus has been divided; the Turkish military occupies the north, and Greek Cypriots govern the south. The events leading up to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 and thereafter will be addressed and analyzed. While Greek and Turkish Cypriots lived peacefully for generations, in recent decades the relations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities have been vertical, with minimal opportunity for contact and collaboration. The opening of Cyprus's "green line" in 2003, however, has increased mobility throughout the island and civil society organizations have honed in the opportunity to connect people from both sides in hopes of spreading a common vision of a unified Cyprus. This paper focuses in particular on youth in Cyprus today, because they will ultimately determine the future of the Cyprus. The dynamics between the various communities will be examined, and the findings will point to certain policy proposals.

Democracy and Democratic Revolution

The inaugural year of the Lloyd C. Gardner fellowship program has focused on questions surrounding democracy and democratic revolution. Many of the questions about democracy are indeed as old as ancient Athens: What is a democratic citizen? Who participates? When? Where? What is the relationship between democratic participation and wealth? Does the economic marketplace dictate the nature of democratic society? Is democracy, which was the product of small, face-to-face communities both in ancient Greece and modern America, possible in ancient empires or modern global societies and economies?

The seminar, and the projects that have grown out of it, have explored the nature and history of democracy via examples of democratic societies – ancient and modern. This exploration has, of course, begun with the understanding that philosophers, political scientists, historians, economists, classicists, literary scholars, psychologists, geographers, anthropologists, lawyers and legal scholars, scholars of race, gender and class have all described, defined, and analyzed democracy; sought its origins, examined its development, assessed its strengths and weaknesses, explored its accomplishments and its excesses. From this understanding, the fellows have developed projects rooted in literature on education, sociology, political science, history, as well as the natural science and public policy.

Taken together, these projects examine the origin and development of democratic societies, the events, including revolution, that may precede democracy, and the often-difficult decisions taken by those who attempt to create democracies. Democracy can be taken-for-granted in some parts of the modern world. They explore its successes and failures; the economic, political, legal, constitutional, and cultural factors that are associated with these successes and failures; and the challenges continually faced by all democratic peoples.

These questions form only the beginning of what must be a multidisciplinary investigation, looking at scholarly assessments, policy alternatives, and practical dilemmas. However, the Lloyd C. Gardner fellows are beginning the intellectual and practical exercises that will let them intervene thoughtfully in future questions about the nature and practice of democracy.