

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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Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship Program in Leadership and Social Policy  
website: [www.lgfellowship.rutgers.edu](http://www.lgfellowship.rutgers.edu)  
email: [gardner.fellows@gmail.com](mailto:gardner.fellows@gmail.com)

2017-2018

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

# Gardner Fellows Policy Conference



Thank you for joining me at the United States Senate.

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Patrick Leahy".



May 1, 2018 12:30-4:00pm  
The Rutgers Club

# Program of Events

**12:30-1:00 pm: Lunch**



**1:00-1:15 pm: Opening Remarks**

Professor Lisa L. Miller



**1:15-2:30 pm: Session I**

**“Forms of Violence and Their Consequences”**

Sonya Abrams, Anu Chugh,  
Courtney Davenport, Daria Martin,  
Elizabeth O’Brien, Nick Pellitta, Paige Tetens



**2:30-3:30 pm: Session II**

**“Politics, Ideology, Violence, and the State”**

Christine Botvinik, Max DuBoff,  
Aysenur Guc, Ioannis Lovoulos, Briony Smith,  
Andrea Vacchiano



**3:30-4:00 pm: Reception**

# Welcome!

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

It is a pleasure to welcome you to the 2018 Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship Policy Conference. I have had a wonderful first year as Director, an easy transition, given the excellent previous leadership of Professors Dennis Bathory and Andrew Murphy.

The Gardner Program and, the more recent Gardner Alumni Network, remain deeply indebted to John Adams for the generous gift that makes these programs possible. This year, we were able to bring some of last year’s Fellows, whose 2017 trip was cancelled because of a snow storm, along on our journey to Washington D.C. As the photo on the cover of the program shows, one of our stops was with Senator Patrick Leahy!

The Gardner Program functions so well because of the hard work of many individuals, and, though I cannot name them all, I particularly want to thank; Graduate Assistant, Bailey Socha, who learned the job with aplomb, despite a novice and often absent-minded Director; Emily Wolfrum, our ace finance support in the SAS Honors Program; as well as the many Friends of Gardner throughout the University who help with a variety of intangibles during the semester.

Of course, it is the Fellows themselves who make the program the intellectually stimulating and challenging experience that it is. It has been a pleasure to teach them, learn from them, work with them, and to watch their maturation and growth. I look forward to where senior year takes them, and to welcoming the new 2018-19 class of Gardner Fellows.

Lisa L. Miller  
Gardner Program Director

## Session I

**Sonya Abrams, *Political Science***

**Advisor: Lisa L. Miller, *Political Science & Criminal Justice***

### **Can the Master's Tools Dismantle the Master's House? Domestic Homicide, Race and Gender in the Liberal American State**

Domestic, or interpersonal, violence is a continued threat to women, and its most fatal consequence, homicide, remains all too common. In addition, not all women are equally vulnerable to such violence. Interpersonal homicide (IPH) rates in the United States are racialized, as Black women are killed by intimate partners at higher rates than are white women. This research examines domestic homicide rates in America, with a particular focus on gender and race, and seeks to understand how and whether state intervention can mitigate the risk of IPH to women. Specifically, this project draws on critiques of the Liberal state from feminist and critical race scholarship using the 1994 Violence Against Women Act as a policy lens. Using these sources, I analyze the extent to which policy approaches to IPH directly confront and disrupt violent gender and racial hierarchies. I find that most policy responses to IPH focus on helping women avoid patterns of abuse and removing them from abusive settings, rather than that seeking to identify and reduce male violence against women through more direct intervention with men.

## Session II

**Christine Botvinnik, *Finance & Economics***

**Advisor: Diego Anzoategui, *Economics***

### **Effect of the Catalan Secession from Spain on Equity Markets**

This paper examines the effect of Catalan secession on the markets, in particular through changes in stock prices of relevant companies on the day of key events of the movement. It begins by discussing similar studies, including those about Catalonia. Specifically, I examine extant research on separatist movements in other areas and their effects on stock prices, the impact of secession movements on other economic indicators, and the general effect that violent and political conflicts have on the economy. Overall, I find that research suggests that political uncertainty, whether it be due to violent or nonviolent events, has some impact on an economy. This paper concludes with an experimental design on this same question. The design delineates key events of the Catalan secession movement between 2010 and 2015, identifies each as political, violent, or both, and offers a regression equation with stock prices as a dependent variables and the aforementioned designations as dummy variables. Thus, this paper will offer a method for testing if changes in equity markets are due specifically to violent events as opposed to any news regarding the secession movement.

## Session I

**Anu Chugh, *Political Science***

**Advisor: Edward Ramsamy, *Africana Studies***

### **Nonviolence and Violence: A Crossroads in Liberation**

This project reconsiders two classic historical cases of nonviolent liberation movements by challenging the commonly accepted notions that the Indian Independence Movement and the South African Anti-Apartheid Movement were nonviolent monoliths. While it is generally believed that the successes of these two liberation movements centered wholly on civil disobedience led by Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela, nonviolent tactics were not the only ones employed in the campaign for liberation, nor were these social movements homogeneous. Instead, my historical research reveals a dynamic interplay between violent and nonviolent tactics that co-existed as strategies to resist oppression. Drawing from more than 20 historical sources and monographs, I recount that while Gandhi and Mandela advanced nonviolent efforts, independent actors concurrently engaged in violence. Moreover, prominent leaders of nonviolent efforts, like Mandela, not only tolerated but also directed militant groups. Finally, I suggest violence perpetrated outside the confines of the organized nonviolent movements reminded their oppressors that their power was penetrable such that the British and South African governments were swayed to negotiate with peaceful nonviolent leaders rather risk all-out war.

## Session I

**Courtney Davenport, *Political Science***

**Advisor: Eric Davis, *Political Science***

### **Humans as Weapons: Tools for the Cause**

Conventional wisdom in the post September 11<sup>th</sup> world has it that terrorism is caused by Islamic fundamentalism. Suicide terrorism, in particular, has become prominent in the global sphere as the deadliest form of terror. Although suicide attacks amounted to just 3 percent of all terrorist incidents between 1980 and 2003, they account for 48 percent of all terrorism fatalities. The perpetuation of this narrative by Western media has largely foreclosed the possibility of other explanations. This research brings attention to some of the other motivating factors behind suicide terrorism aside from “religiosity.” Rather, my research suggests that nationalism, religion, and gender are major factors driving participation in these deadly attacks. I conclude that without properly understanding the reasons for participation in such acts, we will never be able to stop its rise.

## Session II

**Max DuBoff, *Classics & Philosophy***  
**Advisor: Robert Bolton, *Philosophy***

### **Aristotle's Rhetoric and the Moral Reasoning Behind Violence**

Aristotle claims in the *Nichomachean Ethics* and elsewhere that certain types of intellectual and moral knowledge require *orthos logos* (sometimes translated as "right reason"). A prominent recent interpretation of *orthos logos* in Aristotle holds that, particularly as applied to moral reasoning (*phronēsis*), right reason requires an agent to grasp an explanatory account of the knowledge in question. Prima facie, this interpretation seems accurate for discovering scientific knowledge. However, drawing on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and other sources from his corpus, I push back against this argument and show that Aristotle presents multiple cases, such as rhetorical and eristic reasoning, where one can grasp an account of certain knowledge with *orthos logos* without identifying a corresponding explanation of it, because the account itself is more fundamental than an explanation for it. I thus cast doubt upon the claim that *phronēsis* in Aristotle requires explanatory accounts. Then, drawing on moral psychology and considering the impact of this conclusion about *phronēsis* on Aristotle's discussion of moral weakness (*akrasia*), I consider the causes of violent actions on an individual ethical level with an eye to how practical philosophy can help reduce violence.

## Session II

**Aysenur Guc, *Philosophy***  
**Advisor: Dennis Bathory *Political Science***

### **Introspection as a Vehicle for Change: A Comparative Study of St. Augustine and Said Nursi**

It is often thought that the amelioration of violent conditions comes with external action—engaging in war, using police force, or holding elected officials accountable. Through a comparative study of the work of St. Augustine and Said Nursi, this project explores how introspection, or action within, can play a role in peacemaking in times of social conflict. St. Augustine, a fourth century philosopher and public figure of his time (354-430 CE), offers a remedy to societal problems by emphasizing a process of individual introspection through a reorientation of the self's object of love and value. Said Nursi, a Muslim scholar from the twentieth century (1877-1960 CE), expresses in his magnum opus, the *Risale-i Nur*, an existentialist framework that shares great similarity with that of Augustine's. Fundamental to understanding this framework is the knowledge of how the writings of both scholars are reflections of their personal experiences, not detached theological text. Despite a lifetime of war, exile, and oppression, a recurring theme imbued in Nursi's writing is on the importance of reforming one's internal state for lasting societal transformation. Directing the gaze inwardly towards one's self-loving and prideful tendencies results in the formation of an individual consciousness that serves as a building block of a peaceful society.



## Session II

**Ioannis C. Lovoulos, *Political Science***  
**Advisor: Daniel Kelemen, *Political Science***

### **Greek General Elections 2019: Why Play the Russia-Putin Card?**

This project analyzes the major contenders for the Greek General Election in 2019. Specifically, I ask why each of them—New Democracy, SYRIZA, Independent Greeks, and Golden Dawn—increasingly look to Russia in terms of their respective foreign policy. I identify and analyze three motives for why Greece’s political parties seek alignment with Putin’s political agenda. I then consider whether Greece’s flirtation with Russia poses a long-term danger to western, namely American, interests as well as Greece’s status as a western democracy. I theorize how the proverbial gates are opened to Russian influence: whether at the national level, or via individual political parties, or even influential individuals, which make certain states like Greece vulnerable. This project thus complicates the dominant account in the relevant literature that frames nations as passive “Trojan Horses,” which serve as conduits for Russian intervention. I conclude by assessing the ramifications of Greece’s ties with Moscow not only for the future of Greek politics, but for the future of an American presence in an ever-more important strategic part of the world.

## Session I

**Daria Martin, *History***  
**Advisor: Benjamin Justice, *Graduate School of Education***

### **State Education Laws in the United States: Enumerated Protections for LGBTQ Students**

This project assesses public policies that are most effective in limiting bullying, social rejection of and violence against LGBTQ students in K-12 public schools in the United States. This project takes as given the need for enumerated protections for LGBTQ students within state law, specifically, [legal] prohibitions on bullying and discrimination based on the actual or perceived sexual orientation and gender identity of a student. In assessing the protections and restrictions within the legal codes of the fifty states and Washington D.C, this project found that only thirteen states and D.C. provide legal protection for students against both bullying and discrimination on the bases of sexual orientation and gender identity. Twenty six states have no enumerated protections against bullying and discrimination on the bases of sexual orientation and gender identity, while eight states restrict the inclusion of LGBTQ topics and/or mandate that LGBTQ identity be portrayed negatively. Additionally, only six states mandate that sexual health education include LGBTQ identity and experience. This research demonstrates the need for every state to adopt policies that ensure the safety and wellbeing of students of all sexual orientations and gender identities.

## Session I

**Elizabeth O'Brien, *Psychology & Women's and Gender Studies***  
**Advisor: Julie Rajan, *Women's and Gender Studies***

### **Mother Dearest: The Complexities of Rape, Gender, and Motherhood During Conflict**

Mothers who perpetrate rape subvert every moral norm and ideal of woman's parenthood such that to imagine "mother" and "rapist" as one person staggers the conscience. Yet, my research explores how during periods of violent conflict women have perpetrated rape against other women under the banner of 'motherhood.' In my case studies of the Rwandan Civil War and Sierra Leone Civil War, I find that women-rapists during periods of Civil War perpetrated sexual violence by deploying distorted cultural and biological notions of motherhood that had been reappropriated by patriarchal forces beyond their control. I contend that while women in these contexts may have sexually victimized other women of their own volition, their agency was constrained by social hierarchies of patriarchal oppression and overwhelming needs for basic survival. I also explore a contrasting case wherein notions of motherhood were used to eradicate rape during conflict in Sri Lanka, calling attention to ways that motherhood can be deployed to resist patriarchal hierarchy and sexual violence, and even to dismantle it. Thus, women, rape, conflict, and motherhood engender complicated dynamics of oppression and power that cannot be understood through an absolute moral binary based on liberal notions of individual agency.

## Session I

**Nick Pellitta, *Political Science & Economics***  
**Advisor: David Hughes, *Anthropology***

### **Mashonaland to the Moon: Colonial Administrations on the Frontier**

This project examines how publicly and privately run colonial administrations in southwestern Africa during the 1890s resulted in vastly different human rights outcomes for the African peoples that inhabited them. Colonies administered by a combination of public and private elements, such as charter companies, had the least lethal human rights outcomes. This is because the competing interests of both parties developed a more humanitarian rule of law. I analyze three test cases: the Congo Free State, which was run privately by King Leopold II of Belgium and his International Association of the Congo; German South West Africa, which was administered by the German metropole and its agents; and the British South Africa Company, a private entity that was awarded a royal charter to operate in the territories of Mashonaland and Matabeleland. Although native African populations were brutalized in all three territories, they faced worse outcomes in the two former ones. German authorities killed over 100,000 in a genocide against the Herero people, and King Leopold's exploitative labor practices caused millions of deaths in the Congo. I argue that these findings can extend to future extraterrestrial expansion. As humankind moves to colonize the moon and other systems, we should look to systems of governance that will best protect human rights.

## Session II

**Briony Smith, *Political Science and Spanish***  
**Advisor: Robert Kaufman, *Political Science***

### **Justice Delayed: Rethinking Transitional Justice Theory in a Chilean Context**

While conventional transitional justice (TJ) theory suggests that TJ must precede democratic stabilization, the Chilean experience indicates that the reverse is true. TJ has two primary goals (to provide some degree of justice to victims, and to facilitate institutional reforms) and operates on two fundamental postulates (establishing norms will socialize bad actors into the new society, and truth telling creates a process of national catharsis). The report of the *Comisión nacional de verdad y reconciliación* (National Truth and Reconciliation Commission, or, Rettig report) in 1991 attempted to accomplish these goals, but was hampered by concessions to the remnants of the previous authoritarian regime. Throughout the 1990s, efforts toward TJ in Chile stagnated, but Chilean democracy continued to stabilize. By the end of the 1990s, Chilean courts began to reinterpret laws in order to prosecute disappearance cases from the dictatorship. In 2004, the *Comisión Nacional Sobre Prisión Política y Tortura* (Valech report) released a report that completed the work that the Rettig report had begun. This paper concludes that the Chilean experience reveals that TJ is an ongoing process that is completed following the democratic stabilization of a country. Greater stability permits more complete truth telling and therefore more complete justice.

## Session I

**Paige Tetens, *Philosophy & Political Science***  
**Advisor: Kevin Rhiney, *Geography***

### **Not-so-Natural Disasters: Gender and the Intersectionality of Vulnerability**

Hazard events like hurricanes, floods, and earthquakes amplify already-existing vulnerabilities such as socioeconomic status, physical mobility, and geographic location. I contend that the violence that people suffer in natural disaster events is the result of such factors. My research explores how gender, in particular, functions as one of these vulnerabilities. Specifically, I identify why women are often more vulnerable than men using two case studies: the effects of Hurricane Katrina on the Gulf Coast, and the effects of typhoons and extreme floods in South Asia. These cases occur in two very different parts of the world and demonstrate that vulnerability to hazard events exists regardless of location. Through thoughtful and sensitive public policy and social action, policymakers and citizen groups can prevent the worst effects of natural disasters and minimize their disparate impact on vulnerable populations.



## Session II

**Andrea Vacchiano, *History & Political Science***  
**Advisor: Jennifer Jones, *History***

### **Edmund Burke and the Revolutionary Controversy**

During the early stages of the French Revolution, a pamphlet war broke out between prominent British intellectuals about the legitimacy of the upheaval in France. This project analyzes Edmund Burke's criticisms of the French Revolution within the context of violence, drawing upon Burke's famous pamphlet, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Burke claimed that the Jacobin ideals of abstraction and the dismantling of traditional institutions posed a threat to the stability of society. This project also seeks to analyze the arguments of one of Burke's fiercest critics, Mary Wollstonecraft. While it may seem obvious to analyze these works within the context of violence, they are rarely so interpreted because they were penned before the Reign of Terror. Yet, I argue they represent anticipations of this period in the French Revolution. Ultimately, Burke and Wollstonecraft offer timeless, if opposing, arguments that can help shape our understanding of political violence today.