

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

2018-2019 Advisory Committee:

Professor Lisa L. Miller, Program Director, Political Science

Professor Dennis Bathory, Political Science

Professor Alastair Bellany, History

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Professor Jennifer Jones, History

Professor Kevon Rhiney, Geography



Above: Fellows touring NPR in Washington DC, Spring 2019.

Cover: Fellows meeting with Japanese Ambassador, Fall 2018.

Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship Program in Leadership and Social Policy
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2018-2019

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

Gardner Fellows Policy Conference



May 7, 2019 9:30am-2:00pm
The Rutgers Club

Program of Events

9:30-10:00 am: Breakfast and Opening Remarks
Professor Lisa L. Miller



10:00-11:45 am: Session I
**“Intimate Disasters: Trauma, Difference, and
Personhood in Society”**

Melanie Arroyave, Angela Febres,
LaVee Johnson, Megan O’Boyle, Terese Osborne,
Neeha Pathan, Sara Safa, Jonas Tai



11:45-12:45 pm: Session II
**“The Ecology of Rupture: Natural Disasters,
Cultural Conflict, and Reconciliation”**

Lior Ben-Zvi, Samantha Chen,
Yuma Do, Ashley Fowler, Isaac Margolis,
John Milligan, Michelle Wong



1:00-2:00 pm: Lunch

Session II

Michelle Wong, *Supply Chain & Marketing Science,
Political Science*

Advisor: Kevon Rhiney, *Geography*

Disaster Management in the United States: a Case Study of Puerto Rico After Hurricanes Maria and Irma

This study analyzes the United States government's failed response to Puerto Rico following Hurricanes Maria and Irma. By leveraging supply chain concepts, this study aims to isolate the root causes of FEMA's failures to implement its disaster management processes effectively, then provide potential remedies for these operational gaps. The sources used in this study include FEMA publications, congressional records, and popular press. I find that chief failings in the US disaster relief effort were: FEMA's practical disaster management frameworks; FEMA's mistakes prior to, during, and after the hurricanes made landfall in Puerto Rico; and longstanding impediments to the people of Puerto Rico to shape their own policy regarding disaster management. Based on these findings, I contend that Puerto Rico was set up for failure and the US Federal Government has not been held accountable for failing to deliver on its responsibilities as defined by its own policies. To address some of these failures, I recommend that disaster management in the United States should leverage supply chain integration, create mechanisms for accountability in fulfilling roles and responsibilities, and ensure that for all government organizations, designated responsibilities correspond with relative capacity and resources.

Welcome!

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

It is a pleasure to welcome you to the 2019 Lloyd C. Gardner Fellowship Policy Conference. This is our seventh annual conference, which began under the leadership of the previous Directors, Professors Dennis Bathory and Andrew Murphy. This is my second year directing the program and I enjoy these students and this program more than ever.

The Gardner Program and the Gardner Alumni Network are deeply indebted to John Adams for the generous gift that makes these programs possible. This year, our trip to the United Nations included visits to the Japanese and Greek missions, and our trip to Washington D.C., coordinated by Professor Ross Baker, took us to CBS News, NPR, Politico, USA Today, and the Committee for Responsible Ethics in Washington.

The Gardner Program functions so well because of the hard work of many individuals and I am particularly indebted to my Graduate Assistant, Bailey Socha, and Emily Wolfrum, our ace finance support in the SAS Honors Program. In addition, though I cannot name them all here, we are grateful as ever to the many Friends of Gardner throughout the University.

Of course, it is the Fellows themselves who make the program the intellectually stimulating and challenging experience that it is. It is 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 this year's cohort, and to welcoming the new 2019-20 class of Gardner Fellows.

Lisa L. Miller
Gardner Program Director

Session I

Melanie Arroyave, *Labor Studies*

Advisor: Yalidy M. Matos, *Political Science & Latino & Caribbean Studies*

Assessing the Impact of Domestic Workers' Legislation

This project uses a mixed-methods approach to explore the impact of states with domestic workers bill of rights (DWBR) to states without DWBR, and how that impacts immigrant domestic care workers in relation to the quality of patient care. A high proportion of domestic workers are predominantly female immigrants. New York is the very first state in the nation to pass DWBR followed by eight other states, but does not include the neighboring state of New Jersey, which shares a diverse demographic and a history of progressive legislation. Labor force legislation and data indicates New York's DWBR has resulted in higher quality of treatment to both immigrant domestic care workers and patients. New Jersey's lack of labor legislation and enforcement for domestic care worker protections indicate domestic care workers are exposed to exploitative practices and patients are at risk of experiencing lower quality of care. More in-depth policy analysis suggest that New Jersey's patient quality of care can be addressed by a "domestic worker bill of rights" as passed in eight other states or by targeted domestic care work legislation that includes increased wages, benefits, and job responsibilities.

Session I

Jonas Tai, *Classics, History & Medieval Studies*

Advisor: Thomas J. Figueira, *Classics*

The Archaic Evolution and Classical Parameters of Andrapodismos

This project examines the concept of "*andrapodismos*"—the military action in which a conquering army would execute men and enslave women and children of the subjugated population—in Herodotus and Thucydides to argue that that the term included a variety of different methods of enslavement and population displacement, depending on the actor and the specific historical context. Specifically, I find that when perpetrated by Greeks against Greeks in the Archaic period, it often referred to the piecemeal capture and enslavement of relatively small portions of the enemy population. When perpetrated by Persians against Greeks, it typically designated the large-scale deportations of enemy populations to the internal territories of the Achaemenid empire, consistent with other examples of Achaemenid and other Near Eastern deportation policies after conquest. Athenian *andrapodismos* during the Peloponnesian War (431-404 BCE) was predicated on the extermination of urban populations to crush dissident factions and resettle the *andrapodized poleis* for further economic exploitation. I conclude that the unmatched brutality and frequency of *andrapodismos* in the Peloponnesian War can be linked with the last stages of the larger development of state structures in the city-states during the preceding years of the late Archaic period (776-480 BCE).

Session I

Sara Safa, *Political Science & Psychology*
Advisor: Patrick Carr, *Sociology & Criminal Justice*

A Little Love Goes a Long Way: Effects of Intimate Partner Violence on Young Children

This project reviews the effects and frequencies of child exposure to Intimate Partner Violence (IPV) for the purpose of raising awareness and understanding the detrimental outcomes that can result. For this study I conducted a synthetic literature review on the subject of child exposure to IPV and I analyze the frequencies of exposure from the combined 2016 and 2017 National Survey of Children's Health (NSCH). Specifically, I investigate what the effects of child exposure to IPV are, and how exposure to IPV varies according to the child's age, gender, family structure, household income, and race/ethnicity. I find that while there are variations in exposure according to the characteristics of age, gender, and race/ethnicity, the most striking variations are found in child exposure on the basis of household income and family structure. Overall, a significant number of children that are exposed to IPV come from poor and non-intact families. These children often experience many adverse effects that can extend into adulthood. It is critical that we pay greater attention to this issue and increased social supports are necessary in order to help provide the services needed to help at risk children overcome the effects of IPV.

Session II

Lior Ben-Zvi, *French & Middle Eastern Studies*
Advisor: Maya Mikdashi, *Women and Gender Studies*

From Settler Colonialism in Israel/Palestine to Settler Colonialism in Mandatory Palestine

This project conducts a comparative analysis of modern Israel's settlement and land use from the dominant cultural perspective of Zionism and settler colonialism. I find that where Israelis envisioned a return to a utopian homeland, Palestinians experienced displacement. While early Zionists romanticized their liberation through labor, that very process engendered conditions in which Palestinians faced unemployment. According to Israeli history, the colonial period ended with British withdrawal in 1948. Palestinian narrative asserts that the colonial period is not over yet. This project explores what it means to be a settler colony for the settled, as well as for the settler, revealing how these opposing frameworks for understanding Israel are both viable, depending on perspective. I contend that crossing the incommensurable gap between Israeli and Palestinian cultural and political understanding requires coming to terms with the gulf between these historical narratives.

Session II

Samantha Chen, *Biology*

Advisor: Edward Ramsamy, *Africana Studies*

Truth, Reconciliation, and the #MeToo Movement

This project theorizes a pathway through the fraught terrain of the #MeToo movement through a comparative analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) in post-apartheid South Africa. I detail the complications of the #MeToo movement through news articles, opinion pieces, and social media posts of prominent public figures. Using public records and Archbishop Desmond Tutu's novel, I examine the process of South Africa's TRC which I then use to develop a reconciliation plan for the #MeToo movement in the modern United States. In particular, I identify public hearings as a crucial avenue through which #MeToo victims tell their stories and begin the process of personal and societal healing.

Session I

Neeha Pathan, *Biology*

Advisor: Paul Manowitz, *Robert Wood Johnson Medical School*

The Biological Impacts of Child Abuse and their Legal Implications

This project bridges biological studies and criminal justice literature to elucidate the mechanisms by which abuse suffered in childhood can induce violent behavior in the victim as an adult through a criminal justice lens. Few researchers have attempted to isolate the specific biological impacts of child abuse and then critically evaluate their impact on a victim's future. This review aims to address that gap. Multiple searches of the PubMed database were conducted, and the results analyzed, to first isolate resultant biological alterations in humans following abuse. One of the most prominent alterations uncovered in this first phase was research, changes to the function of the Hypothalamic-Pituitary-Adrenal (HPA) axis, was then further studied in relation to aggression in adults. The clear majority of literature reviewed supported the notion of a link between abuse, an altered HPA axis, and violent or criminal tendencies in an adult. Even with the establishment of this potential link, courts are divided on whether behavioral genetic evidence can and/or should be used. Continually, though this form of evidence has been increasingly used, though still sparingly, in the court of law, it has largely failed to impact legal outcomes. This project concludes with suggestions that the use of behavioral genetics be more strictly regulated in court in an attempt to strengthen its claims.

Session I

Terese Osborne, *English*
Advisor: Renée Larrier, *French*

Abjection and the Ecological Metaphor in Edwidge Danticat's *Breath, Eyes, Memory*

This project approaches Haitian writer Edwidge Danticat's book *Breath, Eyes, Memory* with three questions: how is the trauma of sexual assault addressed in the works? Why is it so particularly horrifying? And how does Danticat use language to help her characters heal from such trauma? After providing a brief background of the history of sexual assault in Haiti, particularly its use as a political tool during the Duvalier regime, I address the first two questions by using psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva's theory of abjection from *Power of Horror* to argue how, in *Breath, Eyes, Memory*, the root of the damage and horror of sexual assault is the abjection of main character Sophie and her mother Martine's perception of themselves as well as the abjection of the mother-daughter relationship. To address the second question, I argue that Danticat's use of ecological metaphor in *Breath, Eyes, Memory* allows both Sophie and Martine to regain empowerment due to the connections made between nature and their identities. I additionally use Danticat's book *Krik? Krak!* to highlight the significance of the mother-daughter relationship and the use of ecological metaphor.

Session II

Yuma Do, *History & International & Global Studies*
Advisor: Ewan Harrison, *Political Science*

An Evaluation of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon

This project analyzes the effectiveness of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNFIL), one of the oldest UN Peacekeeping forces that remains active to this day. To do this, I review the limited literature available on this mission from distinguished experts, such as Ramesh Thakur and Vanessa Newby. I find that, due to the intertwining of the two conflicts of the region, the Arab-Israeli Conflict and the Lebanese Civil War, and how rushed its creation in 1978 was by the hands of the United States, this particular UN peacekeeping mission was set up for failure. Despite this, UNIFIL has contributed much for the local citizens and the community through humanitarian aid and more, thus earning credibility among the local populations and proving to be a beneficial entity in the region.

Session I

Angela Febres, *Political Science*

Advisor: Katherine McCabe, *Political Science*

The Effect of Voter Identification Laws on Voter Turnout: A Three-State Study

This study examines the question of whether voter identification laws have an effect on turnout. Using an original typology, I classify states as having minimal, non-strict, or strict laws. Rather than classifying based on the stringency of the requirements within laws, I use the logic of the calculus of voting theory to classify states based on the options presented to a voter when they do not have the proper identification at the polls. Requirements dictating what voters who lack the proper ID should do might impose greater costs than whether a photo or non-photo identification is required to vote, possibly decreasing turnout. Using county-level election turnout returns from 2008, 2012, and 2016 as well as demographic data, I use the difference-in-differences method to compare voter turnout in South Carolina, a state that created a non-strict voter identification law in 2013, to North Carolina and Virginia, states that maintained the same laws during this timeframe. I find that the non-strict voter identification law had a negative but small and non-significant effect on voter turnout. It is possible that the effect is not measurable solely through an analysis of turnout and might disproportionately affect minority groups, requiring further study.

Session I

Megan O'Boyle, *Political Science*

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

Portrayals of Death in War: Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan

This project analyzes the portrayal of dead bodies in mass media, particularly film, in wars involving the United States since the Vietnam War. Over time, I find, by way of footage from Vanderbilt Television News Archive, that the portrayal of dead bodies is increasingly sanitized and controlled in the news. I also find that as the number of deceased Americans shown in the footage increased, the individualization of the segments also increased. Those of other nationalities remain consistently unnamed and appear less frequently over time as segments tend to feature individual fallen Americans rather than battlefield carnage in Iraq and Afghanistan. While it is even easier to obtain graphic raw footage in real time, the news has a tendency to sanitize the footage in a way that was not done in Vietnam and chooses to no longer show such graphic pieces without warning. Based on these findings, it can be said that news has changed the way it chooses to portray death, American or other over time. News sources continue through both Vietnam and Iraq/Afghanistan to portray American soldiers in a more humanized light, allowing for an "othering" of non-Americans featured, while becoming increasingly more sanitized overall.

Session II

John Milligan, *Political Science*
Advisor: Kevon Rhiney, *Geography*

People, Forests, and Fire: Instances and Management in California

This project promotes a new explanatory paradigm to assess the “new normal” of wildland fires with their longer-lasting, more expansive and expensive burn seasons. Policymakers have long interacted with wildfires in a narrow approach -- to suppress all fires as part of a fire exclusion paradigm. Increasingly, however, wildfires are becoming too large and intense to put out before they reach human communities. Tension exists among the driving forces and causal factors of increasingly devastating wildfires in California. This paper frames two lines of analysis at the center of explaining increased costs and intensity associated with more devastating wildfires: A biophysical discourse and a socially critical discourse. The biophysical focuses on ecological factors, linking worsening effects of climate change to longer droughts, higher temperatures, and other factors that underpin increased devastation of wildfires. The socially critical frames issues through human action/inaction, highlighting poor forest management practices, human-started wildfire accounting for a majority of fires, and increased human migration to wildfire-prone wildland-urban interfaces. I contend that approaching causes, effects, and responses to wildland fire in a more holistic socio-ecological framework will help stakeholders create a clearer picture of what factors influence wildfire destructive capacity, including the specific and interlinked factors, social and ecological, which influence this capacity.

Session II

Ashley Fowler, *English*
Advisor: Richard Dienst, *English*

Room and Time Enough

This project employs Rebecca Solnit’s analytical method to consider the many intertwined histories of place. In particular, I examine the representation and act of dispossession in the Owens Valley in California. The Owens Valley is north of the Mojave Desert and in between the Sierra Nevada Mountains and White Mountains. There are many examples of violence and dispossession in this place—the displacement of Native populations, the Japanese internment camp, Manzanar, which operated during WWII, and water policy, specifically the construction of the LA Aqueduct, which takes water from the valley to Los Angeles. The valley is also interestingly strung between two wealthy entities—LA to the south and Mammoth to the north, a ski resort town. History in the valley can be told through a variety of methods—through examining landscape, through literary texts as well as photographs, landscape and otherwise, and federal documents which describe the establishment of National Parks or re-location native populations.

Session I

LaVee Johnson, *English*

Advisor: Elin Diamond, *English*

Reconstructions from Home: Passive Confrontation

This project examines Solange Knowles' music videos and supplementing aspects such as lyrics, essays, and her ideology. Through the medium of the music video, Solange invites the viewer into another dimension in which she discards the confines of our current society. Her use of aesthetic, gestures, diverse representation and camera perspective outlines her command over an acknowledgment of social hierarchies. This project analyzes the music video as an aesthetic, non-narrative, object first and as second as an object that bears political weight simply because it presents the world anew. In the hands of Solange Knowles, I argue the music video outlines a new form of resistance that discards passive resistance- one that seems to express passive avoidance. Instead, Solange confronts and both powerfully and gently discards the silent treatment. She creates a voice, sense of belonging, and command over one's agency. In comparison to her contemporary peers, Solange Knowles' compositions and visual representation paired with thought-provoking lyrics, help plant a seed that allows others to escape the binding social structures. In her videos, social structures and hierarchies are not acknowledged and even the most deserted locations places are hotspots for freedom. Solange creates an anti-form of an embodiment of social experiences. Ultimately, her work has the ability to inform social resistance and individual behavior and thought.

Session II

Isaac Margolis, *Political Science & History*

Advisor: Marisa Fuentes, *History*

“A Perfect Picture of Africa:” The Impact of the Haitian Revolution on Race in San Domingue

This project seeks to analyze the impacts of the 1791 Haitian Revolution on the social and racial structure of colonial and post-colonial San Domingue/Haiti. In it, I analyze speeches, correspondence, and government documents from the predominant racial groups at the time to break down how each of them viewed race before and after the war. Specifically, it looks at the role that the violence of the rebellion played in transforming perspectives of race and racial hierarchy within colonial whites, enslaved Africans, and free people of color. These findings illustrate that the chaos and mass violence of the revolution broke down the racial hierarchy on the island, while forcing the white colonists to redevelop an oppressive social utility to slavery.