**Pipeline Politics: Natural Gas Reflecting the Political Will of States**

Tess D. Geri

To what extent and under what conditions does natural gas affect regional cooperation and conflict? Natural gas is transported via pipelines that link suppliers and consumers in long-term relationships. Because of the direct physical connection, peaceful relations must exist prior to committing to bilateral contracts and investing in energy infrastructure. For countries that have peaceful relations, natural gas cooperation leads to interdependent energy relations and increased economic, military, and political cooperation. Once in the interdependent relationship, states will take measures to nurture stability. However, natural gas is not a tool to create peace and does not lead to increased cooperation among countries that do not have peace. In fact, natural gas discoveries are an increasing source of border delimitation conflicts. Thus, natural gas cooperation and conflict are a reflection of states’ pre-existing relations. This purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how natural gas is a driver for international cooperation among states that have peace and an incentive for border conflict among states that do not. This thesis examines how the natural gas discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean from 2009 affected relations between states that have peace (Israel, Cyprus, Egypt) and states that do not (Cyprus and Turkey, Israel and Lebanon).

**Keywords**: Natural gas, Eastern Mediterranean, pipeline, conflict, cooperation.

**Advisors**: Meltem Toksöz, Jan Stockbruegger

**Feminist Mobilization in the Post-Dictatorship Generation:**

**Rethinking Collective Memory and Collective Identity-Building in the 2018-2019 Chilean Student-Feminist Movement**

Isabel E. Guarnieri

Global movements like #NiUnaMenos and #MeToo exemplify the prominence of youth feminist activism today. Embedded in these movements are symbols and references to the past. Sociologists have turned to “collective memory” to examine how these references may help build new movements’ collective identities and even facilitate collective action. However, existing studies lack a gendered analysis and exclusively examine Western cases. Using the Chilean 2018-19 Student-Feminist Movement as a case study, how and to what extent do young feminist activists use the collective memory of anti-dictatorship feminist movements as a tool to build a new movement’s collective identity? How does collective identity based on this memory affect the strategic choices of a social movement? I argue that new political generations of feminist actors have a complex relationship to the memory of their predecessors and, based on their generational location and politicization in post-dictatorship society, transform a prior movement wave’s goals, strategies and collective identity, as well as reassemble memory to be a resource for collective action. I introduce a new framework using feminist, generational, and “critical transitional justice” theory to examine the sociohistorical conditions that politicize a new feminist political generation that is not accounted for in dominant identity-memory models.

**Keywords:** Chile, collective memory, feminism, generations, social movements, post-dictatorship

**Advisors**: Nadje Al-Ali, Daniel Rodríguez

**Transnational Feminism in Revolutionary Contexts:**

**Fault Lines in the Tunisian Women’s Movement Post-2011**

Olivia A. Hinch

Human rights regimes have become an integral feature of our globalized world. Such networks of knowledge and power facilitate Sustainable Development Goals and women’s empowerment. Local efforts for social change pale in comparison to the power and reach of such transnational networks. Yet, in the Tunisian Revolution of 2011, the flight of a repressive dictator due to mass protests challenged common understandings of local activism. This thesis argues that in a world shaped by human rights regimes and other universalized discourses, revolutionary contexts demand analysis of the solidarities, networks, and flows that inform sites of struggle. I take a gendered approach: How do transnational networks inform the participation of women in revolutionary contexts? At a theoretical level, I insist on the importance of contextualizing notions of women’s rights and feminisms. In Tunisia, transnational resources promote competing nationalist visions that divide “secular” and “Islamist” women’s rights organizations. Through personal interviews with Tunisian women activists, I argue that secular and Islamist activists ultimately invoke comparable notions of human rights, respectability, and morality justified by broader social development networks. This conclusion has implications for both transnational feminist theory and for the promotion of more productive solidarities among women’s rights organizations worldwide.

**Keywords**: Transnational feminism, revolutionary contexts, gender-based violence, secular women’s rights organizations, Islamist women’s associations, Tunisia

**Advisors**: Nadje Al-Ali, Paul Kohlbry

**Re-Defining the Online Relationship:**

**Cooperation in “Cyberspace”: An Interdisciplinary Approach**

Anna C. Kramer

Given the predominance of conflict-oriented expectations, when, how, and to what extent do digital technologies encourage cooperation instead of securitization between states? The study of digital technologies in international relations has largely asked whether “cyber weapons” make states more conflict-prone. I eschew the word “cyber” and instead call the impact of the internet’s proliferation the “internet effect.” Given the lack of literature on the relationship between digital technologies and cooperation, I examine how and when the internet effect facilitates inter-state relationships. By cooperation, I mean mutual state adjustments to build a beneficial relationship out of a historical pattern of discord. I argue that when states have political reasons to cooperate but lack motivation to shift from the hostile status quo, a “cyber catalyst” can propel a cooperative relationship. The cyber catalyst is made up of the new tools, possibilities, and norms created by the internet effect, ranging from digital weapons to disinhibited online behavior. By tracing the relationship between Israel and three Gulf states from 1990-2020 (Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, and the United Arab Emirates), I illustrate how the internet effect’s disruptive power propelled Israel and these states—already attractive allies because of shared hostility toward Iran—into a cooperative relationship.

**Keywords**: cooperation, Gulf, Israel, internet, cyber, conflict, interdisciplinary

**Advisors**: Timothy Edgar, Stephen Kinzer

**Recentering Diaspora Enfranchisement:**

**Erdoğan’s AKP and the Political Recognition of Turkish Nationals in Germany**

Allison A. Meakem

Since the Cold War, voting from abroad (VFA) has proliferated rapidly. This thesis asks what affects changes in countries’ VFA policies. Rather than reject current explanations—which center around the home, or policy-enacting country—it maintains they are incomplete. I argue that, to fully understand VFA, a diaspora’s contextual host state socio-political experience must be taken into account as well. More specifically, I contend that a host state’s politics of recognition vis-à-vis a diaspora community play a part in prompting home state VFA reform. Through a case study of the Turkish diaspora in Germany (*Deutschtürken*) from 1990 to 2018, I find that electoral and political outreach towards Deutschtürken has consistently worked to German politicians’ detriment and Turkish politicians’ benefit. This reality explains why the former group has been reluctant to expand recognition to Deutschtürken while the latter has instrumentalized their identity—and expanded VFA—for political gain. I conclude that there is a direct relationship between liberal citizenship policies and political recognition, and that political *mis*recognition of diaspora groups can be exploited for malevolent ends in home and host countries. This finding has implications for both the myriad of theories behind VFA and the effective governance of diverse, pluralistic democracies.

**Keywords:** Voting from abroad (VFA), diaspora politics, Turkey, Germany, citizenship, immigration, elections

**Advisors**: Meltem Toksöz, Katharina Galor

**Shared Value-Creation: Redefining the Private Sector’s Identity**

**A Multi-Method Analysis of Measurement, Management, and Reporting Practices of Multinational Companies in Brazil**

Tathyana Mello Amaral

What are the strengths and weaknesses of promoting sustainable development in Brazil using the shared value business model? This research study is divided in two parts. First it overviews Michael E. Porter and Mark Kramer’s Creating Shared Value (CSV) concept. Summarizing the evolution of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) theory, it considers how the rise of the network society and the crisis of liberal democracies are related to this new business concept. It then demonstrates how CSV can be operationalized – measured, managed, and reported - given new standards, data availability and technologies. The second part of the study is a case study of the Brazilian ecosystem, focusing specifically on the role of the state. Using a sociological framework to examine the extent to which the government can promote sustainable development, this thesis shows that firms have a unique opportunity to deepen their ties in Brazilian society. As the case-study of Johnson & Johnson, Procter & Gamble, Unilever, and Natura & Co. shows, firms must ensure that they do not ignore the important role of culture and procurement in the development of resilient supply chains.

**Keywords**: shared value creation, sustainable development, corporate strategy, CSR, Brazil, consumer goods industry

**Advisors**: Cary Krosinksy, Richard Locke

**Rethinking the Governance of Unclaimed Territories:**

**The Effects of Climate Change on Arctic Geopolitics**

Olivia Orr Nash

How has climate change affected the geopolitics of unclaimed territories? In what ways has a warming Arctic affected the behavior of Arctic and non-Arctic states? The Arctic is something of a new frontier. Climate change has accelerated the melting of sea ice, exposing vast deposits of oil, gas, and mineral reserves. The prospect of economic opportunity and control of new shipping routes has caught the attention of Arctic and non-Arctic states looking to stake claim in the region. If not managed, unfettered competition over resources will not only exacerbate the world’s climate and geopolitical challenges but also unleash new security threats for the region. Existing scholarship on this topic is split between those who believe international institutions are capable of governing unclaimed territories and those who believe conflict and competition are inevitable. I consider how climate change has affected the geopolitics of the Arctic and what this means for governance in the region. I argue that existing scholarship is too static to account for the dynamic nature of climate change, and that a regime complex, which prioritizes cooperation while acknowledging the competitive risk assessment posed by neorealism, is best suited to manage the behavior of Arctic and non-Arctic states.

**Keywords**: Arctic Circle, Geopolitics, Unclaimed Territories, Resource Extraction, Climate Change, Arctic Sea Routes, Sustainable Development.

**Advisors**: Rose McDermott, Walter Berbrick

**Words of Governance:**

**A Discursive Approach to Mexico’s Humanitarian Migration Policy**

Paula Pacheco Soto

Humanitarian ideas have become central to discussing care towards migrants and displaced populations transnationally. Yet, we know little about the use of humanitarianism as a policy framework. What mechanisms enable it and allow these policy shifts to take hold? This thesis contributes to critical approaches to studies of humanitarian migration policy. Taking a discursive approach, I complicate the limits placed on current conceptualizations of migration policy, instead positioning it within broader processes of governance. I examine the case of Mexico’s new migration policy, which has developed in the context of the migrant caravans, a period of mass migration from Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador towards Mexico and the United States. Using topic modeling, corpus linguistics, and post-structural discourse analysis, I examine contemporary state responses to migration and how mass displacement is targeted as a problem that requires fixing in practice. I find that the problematization of the migrant caravans in Mexico is exemplary of how humanitarian policy responses and migrant crises elicit a response by the government in the discursive context of crafting or reinstituting a national narrative. In Mexico, migration policy is intrinsically linked to a much broader human rights crisis and political efforts to move beyond it.

**Keywords:** migration policy, humanitarianism, discourse, Mexico, migrant caravans

**Advisors**: David Lindstrom, Kevin Escudero

**Rethinking Justice:**

**An Interdisciplinary Analysis of State Responses to Gender-Based Violence**

Camila S. Plesinger

Gender-based violence (GBV) remains a pervasive human rights and public health problem globally despite state interventions. Only a small fraction of incidences of GBV are reported, fewer result in convictions, and incarceration has failed to disrupt violent behavior. In the wake of ineffective criminal legal systems, how can state responses to gender-based violence prioritize the needs of victim-survivors? Though most scholars agree that existing legal systems fail victim-survivors of gendered violence, debate continues regarding the suitability of restorative justice (RJ) to address GBV. Through an interdisciplinary framework that examines violence from societal, community, interpersonal, and neurobiological perspectives, I present a set of victim-survivor justice needs and evaluate the world’s first court-sanctioned RJ program for sexual violence, Project Restore New Zealand. Using new survey data from Project Restore participants and interviews with stakeholders, I analyze how programs in New Zealand have modified RJ to account for the vulnerabilities specific to gendered violence. I find that community-based RJ provides an effective and satisfying justice process for victim-survivors of sexual violence. However, a crucial element, self-determination, is missing from theoretical conceptions of victim-survivor justice needs. States, therefore, have an obligation to dismantle harmful legal systems and invest in community-based RJ programs for gendered violence.

**Keywords**: Gender-based violence, sexual violence, restorative justice, victim-survivor justice

needs, self-determination, New Zealand

**Advisors**: Rose McDermott, Lisa Biggs

**Re-Evaluating the Relationship between State and Civil Society**:

**Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Jordan and Egypt**

Jamie Smith

Child marriage, a form of gender-based violence, is a world-wide practice that is accompanied by severely harmful consequences for the young girls it affects. The two most powerful entities fighting child marriage, state and civil society, are assumed by western scholarship to be separate institutional spheres designed to keep each other in check. However, I question the relationship between state and civil society in dealing with child marriage as a form of gender-based violence in Jordan and Egypt from the late 1980s through the 2000s. To examine this relationship, I analyze three aspects of governmental intervention in child marriage and civil society: direct government action--laws and treaties--on child marriage, laws of association regulating civil society, and government interference--monitoring, financial and professional connections, etc.--in specific civil society associations. I find that state and civil society in both Jordan and Egypt are not only heavily integrated, but that the state controls civil society through a variety of mechanisms, including surveillance and direct and indirect interference. Additionally, both the Jordanian and Egyptian states use feminism to enhance state dominance. These findings illustrate state feminism extends beyond direct state action, as defined in existing scholarship, and into indirect methods of control over civil society.

**Keywords:** state feminism, civil society, gender-based violence, Jordan, Egypt

**Advisors:** Meltem Toksöz, Nadje Al-Ali

**The Cultural Ideology Factor:**

**Policy Effectiveness, VAW, and Mapuche Women in Chile, 2006-2019**

Kelsey Turner

Violence against women (VAW) is a human rights violation experienced by millions of women worldwide, yet indigenous women experience rates far higher than national averages. Despite global and domestic efforts to eradicate and prevent VAW, why have VAW policies had limited success among indigenous women? Most scholarship attributes policy effectiveness to the policymaking process itself. Ineffectiveness, accordingly, can be addressed from within this process. Contrasting scholarship argues that policy is embedded within specific cultural ideologies that inherently marginalize certain women from legislation’s effects. Adding to this largely theoretical debate, I trace the influence of cultural ideologies of policymakers and Mapuche women in Chile across three phases of policymaking—issue identification, design, and implementation. Analysis of Chilean policy, government documents, and interviews with Mapuche women reveals that Chile’s VAW policy is influenced by neoliberal ideologies that contrast with Mapuche values of collectivism, equilibrium, and reciprocity. Consequently, Mapuche women are unwilling to report violence to state entities. Therefore, to ensure effectiveness for all women, policymakers must consider the cultural ideology factor—the ideological assumptions that underly policy. This finding has implications for theories of policy effectiveness and feminism as well as for the safety and well-being of indigenous women and women worldwide.

**Keywords**: Violence against women, policy effectiveness, indigenous women, cultural ideologies, policymaking process, Mapuche women

**Advisors**: Claudia Elliott, Susan Moffitt