

2020
WATSON
UNDERGRADUATE
THESIS CONFERENCE



Development Studies

International Relations

Public Policy

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Katherine Tate—Political Science
Neil Thakral—Economics, Watson Institute
Meltem Toksöz —History
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Katharina Galor—Judaic Studies
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Naoko Shibusawa—History
Jan Stockbruegger—Political Science
Yesmin Sungu-Eryilmaz—Urban Studies Benjamin
Weber—Watson Institute
Lauren Yapp—Cogut Institute

MONDAY, MAY 18, 2020

12:00 Welcome Remarks

Edward Steinfeld

Director Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Professor of Political Science

12:10 PANEL I: Markets, Communities, Globalization & Belonging [Moderator: Patsy Lewis]

Cultural Political Threads: Weaving Discourses of Textile Development, Minzu Politics, and Hmong Identity

Ntxheb Change (DS)

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 (IR)

Forging a Home for the Liberal Ideal: Brown University's Postwar Impact on Local Housing Opportunities

Nathaniel Pettite (PLCY)

Globalization and Indigeneity: The Socioeconomic Impact of the Moroccan Argan Oil Market on Amazigh Women

Mohammad-Reda Semlani (DS)

Q & A

1:30 PANEL II: Big Data, Voting Rights and Policymaking [Moderator: Ivan Arreguín-Toft]

The New Politics of State Level Minimum Wage Policy: Ballot Measures, Gerrymandering and Preemption

Brandon Charnov (PLCY)

Re-centering Diaspora Enfranchisement: Erdoğan's AKP and the Political Recognition of Turkish Nationals in Germany

Allison Meakem (IR)

The Types and Political Effects of Social Capital for Young Americans

Samantha Randall (PLCY)

The Uses and Abuses of Big Data: User Protection vs Innovation?

Isabella Saker (PLCY)

Q & A

**2:45 PANEL III: Spatial Uncertainties—Mapping Geo-political and Cyber Change
[Moderator: Claudia Elliott]**

Pipeline Politics: Natural Gas Reflecting the Political Will of States

Gerri Tess (IR)

Riskland: Uncertainty and Disaster in Pucayacu, Ecuador

Aubrey Calaway (DS)

Re-Defining the Online Relationship: State Cooperation in Cyberspace—An Interdisciplinary Approach

Anna Kramer (IR)

Rethinking the Governance of Unclaimed Territories: The Effects of Climate Change on Arctic Geopolitics

Olivia Nash (IR)

Q & A

4:00 Closing Remarks

Ivan Arreguín-Toft

Director International Relations

TUESDAY, MAY 19

12:00 Welcome Remarks

Tony Levitas
Director Public Policy

12:10 PANEL IV: Assessing American Interventions [Moderated by: Tony Levitas]

Evaluating Community Schools: The Challenges of Reflecting Real World Issues Through Existing Data

Henry Gaylord (PLCY)

Making Personalized Learning Personal: Keys to Success in Vermont's Flexible Pathways Initiative

Asher Leher-Small (PLCY)

Making Youth Pre-Arrest Diversion Work: Lessons for Rhode Island from Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Cambridge

Rebecca Markus (PLCY)

Q & A

1:15 PANEL V: Human Rights, Imagined Geographies, and Gendered Identities [Moderator: Geri Augusto]

Feminist Mobilization in the Post-Dictatorship Generation: Rethinking Collective Memory and Collective Identity-Building in the 2018-2019 Chilean Student-Feminist Movement

Isabel Guarnieri (IR)

Words of Governance: A Discursive Approach to Mexico's Humanitarian Migration Policy

Paula Pacheco Soto (IR)

Imaginary Rivers: An Environmental History of the Amu River, 1920-1970

Frishta Qaderi (DS)

The Cultural Ideology Factor: Policy Effectiveness, VAW, and Mapuche Women in Chile, 2006-2019

Kelsey Turner (IR)

Q & A

2:30 PANEL VI: Gender, Justice, and the Politics of Citizenship and Love
[Moderator: Elena Shih]

Transnational Feminism in Revolutionary Contexts: Fault Lines in the Tunisian Women's Movement Post-2011

Olivia Hinch (IR)

Surviving Gender and Genocide: Queer Cambodians under the Khmer Rouge Regime

Tabitha Payne (DS)

Rethinking Justice: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of State Responses to Gender-Based Violence

Camila Pelsinger (IR)

Re-Evaluating the Relationship between the State and Civil Society: Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Jordan and Egypt

Jamie Smith (IR)

Q & A

3:45 Closing Remarks

Steven Bloomfield

Associate Director Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs

Cultural Political Threads: Weaving Discourses of Textile Development, Minzu Politics, and Hmong Identity

Ntxheb Change (DS)

Advisors: Elena Shih, Lauren Yapp

Cultural Political Threads considers how the production and consumption of contemporary Hmong textiles and costumes entangles with ethnic identity. Through a series of government reforms in the 1980s, ethnic minority culture in China became heavily commercialized and traditional hand-made textiles were quickly overtaken by machine production. In this backdrop of China's economic reforms and technological changes, Hmong ethnic costume styles blended, creating new styles that transcend

locality while preserving old motifs. While the language of these motifs is no longer legible to costume designers, they continue to play an important role in creating a sense of ethnic identity and solidarity. Through interviews with Hmong Chinese costume designers and college students, Cultural Political Threads discusses how costumes reflect the fluidity of cultural identity and the growing sense of pan-ethnicity among younger Hmong Chinese.



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 (IR)

Advisors: Cary Krosinsky, Richard Locke

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.



Forging a Home for the Liberal Ideal: Brown University's Postwar Impact on Local Housing Opportunities

Nathaniel Pettite (PLCY)

Advisors: Marijoan Bull, Yesim Sungu-Eryilmaz

A few short decades ago, working class communities, communities of color, and immigrant communities thrived in neighborhoods at the edges of Brown University's campus on the East Side of Providence, Rhode Island. These neighborhoods offered some of the city's most affordable rents. Today, the East Side is an enclave of wealth and whiteness in an otherwise predominantly low-income and non-white city. This Public Policy honors thesis examines the roles that Brown

University and Brown community members played in disrupting these affordable housing opportunities and in displacing and disintegrating these communities. It documents this role through archival work, spatial documentation, and interviews with key stakeholders. Ultimately, this thesis imagines frameworks and strategies for Brown University and its members to address this historic impact and, in moving forward, become a leading player in solving Providence's housing crisis.



Globalization and Indigeneity: The Socioeconomic Impact of the Moroccan Argan Oil Market on Amazigh Women

Mohammad-Reda Semlani (DS)

Advisors: Neil Thakral, Louis Putterman

This paper examines the socioeconomic impacts of the Argan market on indigenous North African (Amazigh) communities in the Southwest of Morocco. Specifically, the paper focuses on the impact of the Argan market in three areas: quality of life, the relationship between the Amazigh and the Argan plant, and women's empowerment. Through performing a difference-in-differences analysis using Morocco's Census data between 1982 and 2004, the research shows that, after the Argan market boom, Argan-producing provinces have witnessed higher levels of literacy and access to sanitation and basic facilities than non-Argan-producing provinces. Nevertheless,

using interviews collected during fieldwork in Agadir and Taroudant, the paper argues that although the Argan market has created new economic opportunities for Amazigh women, it did not increase their agency and did not emancipate them from their traditional societal roles. Additionally, the paper also asserts that the increased value of the Argan oil forced a process of dispossession upon the Amazigh, which was exacerbated by the emergence of "fraudulent" cooperative that do not pay the Argan workers fairly. The research contributes to the academic debate on the effect of globalization on indigenous communities in developing countries.



The New Politics of State Level Minimum Wage Policy: Ballot Measures, Gerrymandering and Preemption

Brandon Charnov (PLCY)

Advisors: Benjamin Armstrong, Richard Arenberg

The federal minimum wage has not risen since 2009, marking the longest period without a federal minimum wage increase since its creation in 1938. As a result, more states now than ever before are raising their minimum wages. Previous literature has successfully detailed how deep red states and deep blue states act regarding their minimum wage policies but has failed to explain vast discrepancies in minimum wage policies among purple states. Analysis of six purple states with Republican legislatures reveals that the ballot measure plays a significant role in determining minimum wage policy in these states. Purple states that deny citizens the opportunity to draft and approve legislation through ballot initiatives consistently failed to raise the minimum wage. In purple states that allow ballot measures, two factors played a large role in the state's ability to raise the minimum wage: existence of a large "blue

dot" city and the state's preemption of local minimum wage increases. Ballot measures are consistently successful when they reach the ballot, where they are put up to a popular vote. The success of a ballot measure is instead determined by the ability of its advocates to collect the necessary signatures to get the ballot initiative onto the ballot. Large "blue dot" cities have high populations and liberal ideologies, making it easier to collect large numbers of signatures. Preemption of local minimum wage increases raises advocacy and awareness of the minimum wage fight, which also aids the signature collection process. This research demonstrates the important role the ballot measure plays as a tool used by citizens of purple states to raise their minimum wages. Ballot initiatives have become a check on state legislatures and are often successful in creating substantial changes in state minimum wage policies.



Re-centering Diaspora Enfranchisement: Erdoğan's AKP and the Political Recognition of Turkish Nationals in Germany

Allison Meakem (IR)

Advisors: Meltem Toksoz, Katharina Galor

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 misrecognition 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.



The Types and Political Effects of Social Capital for Young Americans

Samantha Randall (PLCY)

Advisors: Katherine Tate, Jayanti Owens

This thesis looks at social capital, age, and political participation. Although there exists a large body of research and literature that looks at social capital and its impact on political activity, there is not much research that examines social capital in connection with age. Young Americans tend to have more informal connections and non-traditional measures of social capital but fewer formal associational ties. Young Americans also have historically participated at significantly lower rates than older Americans. Considering the tendency for young Americans to have more informal associations (non-traditional measures of social capital), this thesis looks at how informal measures of social capital may also support traditional theories that argue that social capital increases the likelihood that

one will participate in politics or civic life. Through survey data from the 2014 General Social Survey, this thesis further supports the argument that formal measures of social capital – participation in voluntary associations – are both more common in older generations and contribute to an increase in political participation through voting and other means. Additionally, informal measures are more common for younger individuals and contribute to a smaller increase in political participation in several forms, including voting. Although formal measures of social capital contribute more to political participation, these results suggest that the informal social connections of young people may be leveraged to increase youth turnout.

The Uses and Abuses of Big Data: User Protection vs Innovation?

Isabella Saker (PLCY)

Advisors: Deborah Hurley, Richard Arenberg

With the increased usage of the internet, tech corporations have been able to collect personal data on users that they then use to their advantage. Recent work has shown that this data poses privacy threats to all internet users. Due to the speed at which the tech industry has evolved, policymakers have not been able to keep up with legislation that appropriately regulates modern data uses and abuses. Despite consumer privacy risks, we are dependent on the services the tech industry offers.

Through an examination of recently proposed and enacted United States legislation that will affect consumer privacy and tech growth, this thesis aims to educate readers about the tradeoffs that personal data availability poses to both consumers and tech alike. It is evident that current policies only regulate the collection of personal data and not the use of that data, which is where the most severe harm on user protection occurs.



PANEL III: Spatial Uncertainties—Mapping Geo-political and Cyber Change

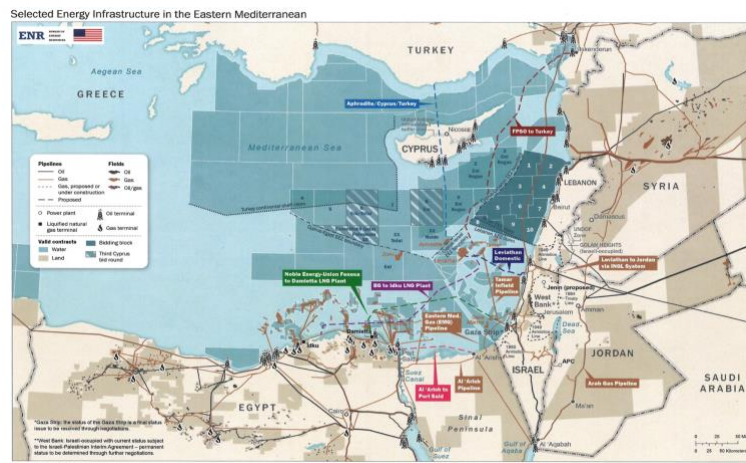
Pipeline Politics: Natural Gas Reflecting the Political Will of States

Tess D. Geri (IR)

Advisors: Meltem Toksöz, Jan Stockbruegger

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).



Riskland: Uncertainty and Disaster in Pucayacu, Ecuador

Aubrey Calaway (DS)

Advisors: Alex Nading, Rebecca Louise Carter

This thesis explores the ways in which uncertainty is produced and navigated in the times in-between cyclical natural disaster. In the rural, subtropical town of Pucayacu, a seemingly idyllic status quo is recurrently disrupted by seasonal threats from the Quindigua River and the cyclical inundations of El Niño. Drawing on ethnographic data collected over three months of fieldwork, I examine how events like floods and landslides are embedded within this community's quotidian regularities- both political and climatic. This cyclical framework allows for further investigation of the temporal and infrastructural mechanisms through which uncertainty is reproduced for

marginalized populations. I draw on the narratives of a wide range of local residents in order to understand how river walls, hillsides, and bridges- as well as the means of infrastructure required to build and maintain them- intersect with care by the state. By paying careful attention to the affective aspects of risk mitigation, I then analyze the emotion-risk assemblage of tranquilidad (tranquility) constructed by Pucayacans as they navigate various precarious edges. I employ an analytical approach that seeks to complicate dominant narratives of damage, instead looking at the potential for desire- based anthropological study of other disaster-impacted "risklands."



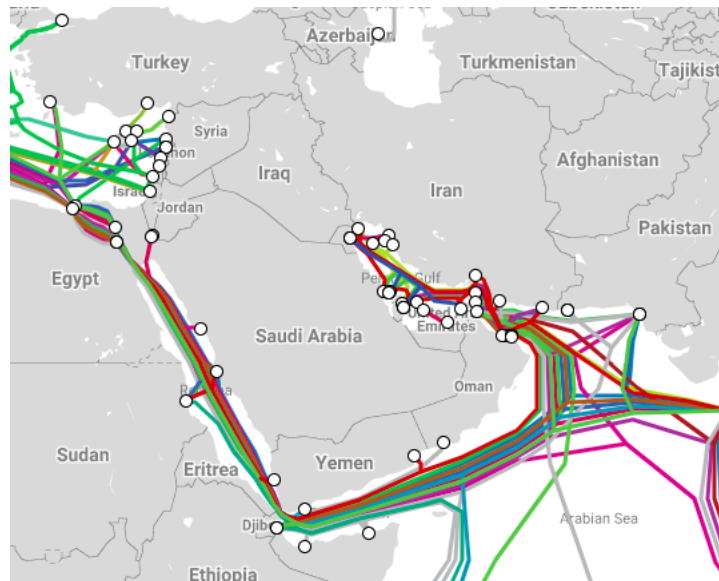
Re-Defining the Online Relationship: State Cooperation in Cyberspace—An Interdisciplinary Approach

Anna C. Kramer (IR)

Advisors: Timothy Edgar, Stephen Kinzer

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.



Rethinking the Governance of Unclaimed Territories: The Effects of Climate Change on Arctic Geopolitics

Olivia Nash (IR)

Advisors: Rose McDermott, Walter Berbrick

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.



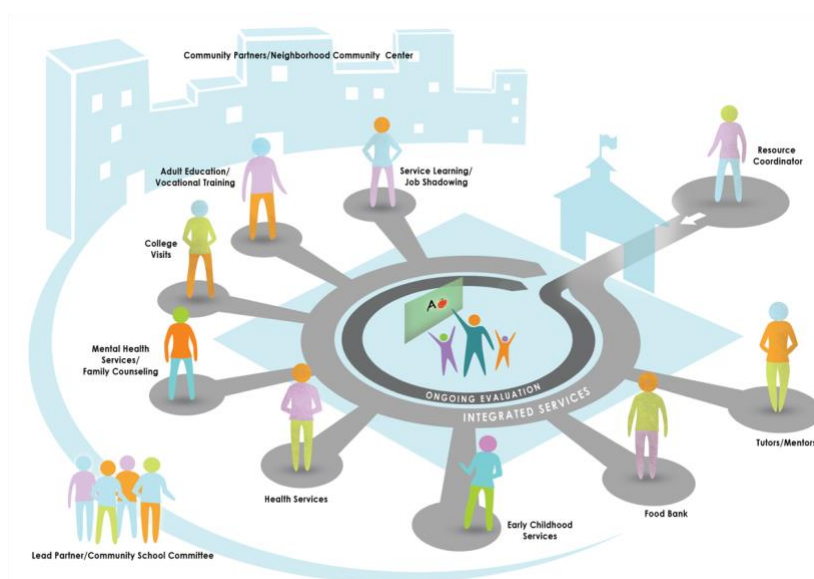
Evaluating Community Schools: The Challenges of Reflecting Real World Issues Through Existing Data

Henry Gaylord (PLCY)

Advisors: Ken Wong, Susan Moffitt

Every Student Succeeds Act (2015) calls for positive findings of school improvement strategies from rigorous, well-designed studies for federal funding. Transforming a traditional public school into a Community School is one strategy. Community Schools dedicate a staff member to coordinate partnerships that address students' non-academic barriers to learning and then integrate those partnerships into the school culture through collective leadership. However, there is a limited number of rigorous, well-designed studies, particularly of Community Schools, operating in multiple cities. Moreover, few studies examine performance indicators other than those associated with traditional measures of educational achievement. This study integrated of number national database in

order to analyze the impact of Community Schools in different cities on student engagement, academic achievement, and neighborhood health outcomes. Using propensity score matching and regression analysis, the study highlights the challenges of quantitatively evaluating Community Schools. These challenges include the fact that each Community School is different based on the unique needs of its neighborhood, that Community Schools take time to mature; and that full implementation is hard to identify. More importantly, schools are often selected to be Community Schools based on high-need and low historical performance making finding comparison schools difficult. This thesis discusses those challenges and makes recommendations for future evaluations.



Making Personalized Learning Personal: Keys to Success in Vermont’s Flexible Pathways Initiative

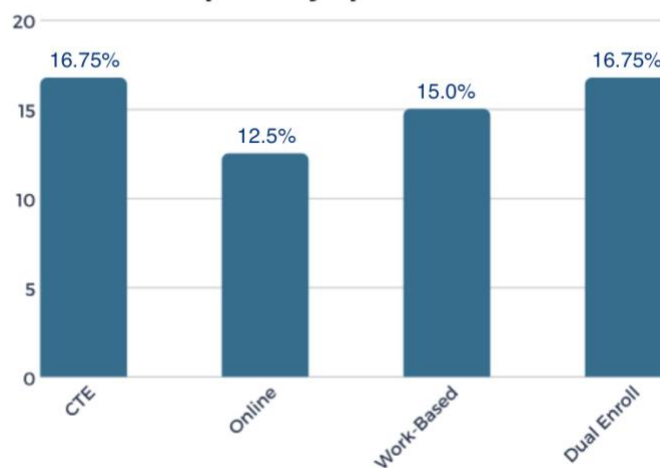
Asher Leher-Small (PLCY)

Advisors: Susan Moffitt, Jonathan Collins

Personalized learning (PL) has become a hot topic in education discourse for its potential to tailor students’ learning to their individual skills and interests. Drawn by this possibility, schools and districts across the country have increasingly begun to implement PL techniques (Gross et al., 2018; Patrick, Worthen, Frost, & Gentz, 2016). Yet while existing studies have found that students attending PL schools tend to score higher on standardized tests than their peers at non-PL schools, no studies have yet determined which actual PL practices—and in what combinations—lead to positive outcomes for students (Pane, 2018; Pane et al., 2017). This study fills that research gap by linking

on-the-ground practices used by PL schools to their success in engaging students. To do so, I examine a sample of thirty-five public high schools in Vermont, where a 2013 state law required the adoption of numerous PL practices including personalized learning plans and “flexible pathway” learning options. A mixed-methods approach reveals that school-level factors such as having a flexible pathways coordinator on staff, offering in-school internship opportunities, and using student voices to guide the development of PL programs are all associated with significant increases in student participation in their schools’ PL programs.

The percentage of Vermont students participating in each flexible pathway option:



Making Youth Pre-Arrest Diversion Work: Lessons for Rhode Island from Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Cambridge

Rebecca Markus (PLCY)

Advisors: Tony Levitas, Benjamin Weber

This thesis examines the formation, institutionalization, and operation of successful pre-arrest diversion programs in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Cambridge. The analysis shows that effective programs require shifting from a criminal justice approach to a public health paradigm. Institutionalizing these systems change requires youth and community groups take leadership roles in program design and implementation, law enforcement build partnerships with health agencies and community-based organizations and partners adjust goals and practices through continual monitoring and evaluation. Rhode Island is well-positioned to drive integrated systems change towards more equitable youth outcomes: The Providence Police Department has called for a formalized system to divert youth from arrest, the state

is rich in public health resources, and youth-led movements have long demanded a shift from approaches rooted in the justice system to community-driven alternatives. The comparative analysis informs the following recommendations for Rhode Island policy makers: (i) The health department leads a multi-agency coalition in program development, performance, and resource allocation informed by public health research. (ii) Expertise in meaningful community leadership guides development and implementation. (iii) Program design and data-driven adjustments prevent net-widening and emphasize public health and community-based alternatives. (iv) Case management coordinated across agencies provides holistic supports for youth and families.



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 (IR)

Advisors: Nadjie Al-Ali, Daniel Rodríguez

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.



Words of Governance: A Discursive Approach to Mexico's Humanitarian Migration Policy

Paula Pacheco Soto (IR)

Advisors: David Lindstrom, Kevin Escudero

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 reinstating a national narrative. In Mexico, migration policy is intrinsically linked to a much broader human rights crisis and political efforts to move beyond it.



Imaginary Rivers: An Environmental History of the Amu River, 1920-1970

Frishta Qaderi (DS)

Advisors: Shahzad Bashir, Naoko Shibusawa, Geri Augusto

As the boundary between the USSR and Afghanistan, the Amu River straddled two competing modernization visions championed by the political entities it demarcated: communism and capitalism. These trajectories of modernity and progress, however, were not only articulated through slogans, posters, and speeches, but also expressed through environmental narratives espoused by distant metropolises. Drawing from archival research at the British Library and the Library of Congress, this thesis explores how promises of modernity were articulated through Kabul and Moscow's respective rhetorical productions of the Amu River over 1920-1970. Both Kabul

and Moscow attached imaginary histories and geographies to the Amu River, refashioning the river to serve individual goals. I argue that environmental imaginaries were imbued with ideas on how the Amu should be valued, distributed, and re-arranged, ideas that shaped perceptions of nature and influenced development interventions and public policy. In the 1950s, western and Soviet visions met and mixed in northeastern Afghanistan on a cotton farm along the banks of the Amu River. There, I ultimately argue, the contours of Soviet and western visions of modernity blurred, their similarities in nature management overshadowing ideological differences.



The Cultural Ideology Factor: Policy Effectiveness, VAW, and Mapuche Women in Chile, 2006-2019

Kelsey Turner (IR)

Advisors: Claudia Elliott, Susan Moffitt

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.



**Transnational Feminism in Revolutionary Contexts: Fault Lines in the Tunisian Women's
Movement Post-2011**

Olivia A. Hinch (IR)

Advisors: Nadjie Al-Ali, Paul Kohlbry

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.



Surviving Gender and Genocide: Queer Cambodians under the Khmer Rouge Regime

Tabitha Payne (DS)

Advisors: Elena Shih, Lauren Yapp

A quarter of Cambodians died under the Khmer Rouge's genocidal state, Democratic Kampuchea (DK, 1975 – 1979). Despite DK's brutality, queer Cambodians found love and friendship, making the most of the absurd spaces the regime inadvertently opened for queer relationality, like the dormitories, rice fields, and work units. This thesis draws from queer survivors' oral histories, collected during my ethnographic fieldwork in Cambodia with the grassroots group, CamASEAN Youth's Future. I focus on the stories of three transmasculine friends and testimony of Sou Sotheavy, a transgender woman, at the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. I embed their narratives into the long arc of Cambodian

history to affirm how they experience DK not as an isolated period of anti-queer violence but rather as an exacerbation of ongoing oppression. I argue that DK enacted trans- and homophobic violence via its system of binaried gender, heteronormative forced marriages, and anti-queer rape culture. But DK's discipline was uneven. Some queer people met state ambivalence; once, authorities overlooked a transgender man's relationship. Addressing a yawning gap in Cambodia scholarship, this thesis uniquely presents a pre-1980s queer Cambodia, writing of in-community languages, transmasculine and lesbian polyamory under DK, and pre-DK Khmer terms for queer subjects.



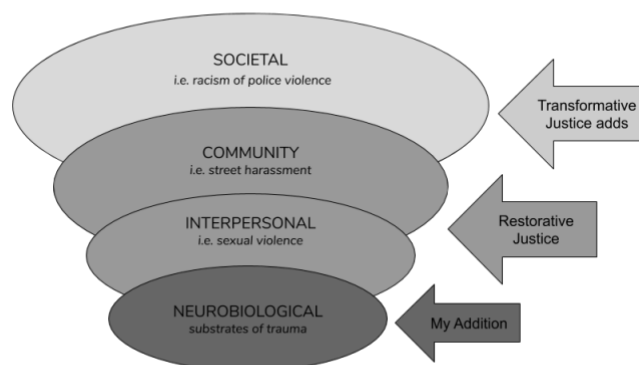
Rethinking Justice: An Interdisciplinary Analysis of State Responses to Gender-Based Violence

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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.



Re-Evaluating the Relationship between State and Civil Society: Addressing Gender-Based Violence in Jordan and Egypt

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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.

