

**UNDERGRADUATE CONCENTRATION IN PUBLIC POLICY  
CLASS OF 2019**

# **Engaged Analysis Senior Theses and Capstone Projects**

Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs  
Brown University



# Engaged Analysis

UNDERGRADUATE CONCENTRATION IN PUBLIC POLICY

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## SENIOR HONOR THESES

Kendall Crawford  
Dylan Elliott-Hart  
Zachary Goldstein  
Madison Rivlin

## SENIOR CAPSTONE PROJECTS

Khalif Andre  
Manuel Ávalos  
Ellen Baker  
Andie Corban  
Yvonne Diabene  
Anna Fireman  
Luna Floyd  
Michael Fuller  
Sophia Giglio  
Eve Grassfield  
Katie Hancock  
Austin Hearst  
Laura C. Henny  
Lina Lalwani  
Amanda Lane  
Fernando Medina  
Molly Naylor-Komyatte  
Rosette Nguyen  
Yacine Niang  
Uchechukwu Onwunaka  
Patrick Orenstein  
Jayleen Paula  
Sam Reidt  
Austin Rose  
Evelyn Santos  
Clare Steinman  
Sabrina Stillwell  
Drew To  
Sabrina Whitfill  
Shawn Young



## **PUBLIC POLICY SENIOR HONORS THESES**

### ***Kendall Crawford, The Dismissal: An Analysis of the Democratic Effects of Removal from a Jury Box***

Alexis de Tocqueville famously asserted that the American jury system acts a pathway for ordinary citizens to participate in democratic systems beyond the judiciary. While there has been some research in the past 50 years testing this effect, these works focus on studying the effects of jury empanelment on post-service civic engagement. Little has been done, however, to test the civic effects of jury dismissal on civic behaviors and attitudes. This work examines de Tocqueville's ideas as they relate to dismissed jurors using a mixed methods approach. Regression analysis of post-service voting and confidence rates reveal that individuals who are shown the courtroom and dismissed do not experience significant demobilizing effects. At the same time, interviews with 34 dismissed jurors at the Rhode Island State Court House demonstrate that there is a significant financial burden to the jury selection process. While people were relieved to have been dismissed for financial reasons, many were disappointed that they could not serve. These seemingly paradoxical results suggest that, despite the obvious financial burdens to civic engagement, there is a strong desire to participate in the political sphere that the current selection process fails to recognize.

*Readers: Professor Ross Cheit, Professor Margaret Weir*

### ***Dylan Elliott-Hart, Concentrating on Wages: A Theory of Total Market Power in Local Labor Markets***

Antitrust theory and practice have traditionally focused on concentration in product markets. In this thesis, I propose a theory of total market power that includes both labor and product market components. I model the response of wages to a shock to a firm's total market power (e.g. a merger). I show that the wages of workers in labor markets that are more concentrated within their industry are expected to fall more (or rise less) for any increase in total market share. I then empirically estimate the concentration of occupations across industries at the metropolitan level. This allows me to estimate the differential response of wages to changes in the four firm concentration ratio (CR4) for workers in high and low concentration occupation-by-city labor markets. I find that, on average, a one standard deviation increase in CR4 causes wages for high occupational concentration workers to decrease by roughly \$1,000. Additionally, I find that workers with a bachelor's degree and above are particularly responsive to occupational concentration; I estimate a decrease of just under \$3,700 for a standard deviation increase in CR4 among workers with graduate degrees in concentrated occupations. I conclude by providing a framework for potential public policy responses.

*Readers: Professor John Friedman, Professor Ari Gabinet*

**Zachary Goldstein, *The “Deserving” Farm: Assessing the Effects of U.S. Farm Program Eligibility Requirements on Farm Structure and Practices***

The United States Farm Bill authorizes commodity programs which provide payments to farmers. Eligibility requirements limit participation based on amount received, adjusted gross income, and whether the person or entity is “actively engaged in farming.” Prior literature has modeled the effects of these rules but has not sufficiently described how farms restructure to maximize payments or why eligibility seems most concerning for rice and cotton farmers. This thesis uses mixed methods, including data analysis and fifteen interviews with farmers, attorneys, and agricultural consultants, to examine the effects of eligibility requirements. I conclude that crop variation is not merely due to differences in farm size as prior literature suggested. I also find that conversations surrounding eligibility focus disproportionately on “deservingness” and ought to instead examine the broader outcomes at stake. Future studies should further assess causal mechanisms behind crop variation and account for restructuring when modeling the effects of eligibility changes.

*Readers: Professor Ross Cheit, Professor Dawn King*

**Madison Rivlin, *Tolerance and “Zero Tolerance”: An Investigation of the Evolution and Political Potency of the Language in the Liberal Media Surrounding “Zero Tolerance” Policy***

In this thesis, I explore the rollback of “zero tolerance” and “family separation” policies as instances in which liberal rhetoric influenced American policy. I contend that the nature of the evolution of rhetoric in the liberal media contributed to motivations for the outpouring of conservative opposition to “family separation” and “zero tolerance” policies and prompted the policies’ formal reversal. This rhetorical shift resonated with powerful conservative actors and religious groups, who responded to rhetoric that highlights moral violations of “community” and “religious” values. Situated within previous literature that explores the power of language in influencing and shifting opinions, I perform a mixed-methods content analysis of 1,011 articles from *The Washington Post*, released statements from the White House, and released statements of opposition to the policies by 26 commonly cited, prominent conservatives that either have not expressed criticism of the Trump Administration and its policies or have not done so to the degree that they did in regards to “zero tolerance” and “family separation” policies. I find that *The Washington Post* coverage evolved to more explicitly mention “family separation” and the conditions at the southern U.S. border as they resulted in separations of families and children. Additionally, I find that conservative actors respond to this evolution in language, as their opposition statements consistently cite violations of “community” and “religious” values as justification for their opposition. The rhetoric of opposition statements also more closely parallels that of the liberal media than of Trump. I conclude with both policy recommendations and suggestions for constituents as media consumers.

*Readers: Professor Kevin Escudero, Professor Robert Hackey*

## **PUBLIC POLICY SENIOR CAPSTONE PROJECTS**

### ***Khalif Andre, On the Ground: Protecting Manhattan's Most Marginalized From Residential Displacement***

During internship at the Office of Manhattan Borough President Gale Brewer, I was tasked with improving the Borough President's ability to interact with and deliver services to her constituents. Due to growing concerns over affordable housing insecurity in Manhattan, the office's resources are often dedicated to advocating on behalf of low-income tenants and vulnerable communities. This paper discusses the way that public officials leverage bureaucracy, research and grassroots community connections to mitigate residential displacement in Manhattan. Firstly, I explore the current trends of gentrification and displacement in Manhattan and the general functioning of borough presidents within New York's political hierarchy. From this foundation, I consider the impact that the internal organization and leadership of the Manhattan Borough President's Office has on its ability to accomplish its objectives for community uplift. Finally, I discuss my internship research findings and their implications for housing policy in New York City.

### ***Manuel Ávalos, Forman vs. Fortner***

This book review compares James Forman Jr.'s *Locking Up Our Own: Crime and Punishment in Black America* and Michael Javen Fortner's *Black Silent Majority: The Rockefeller Drug Laws and the Politics of Punishment* against the popular discourse ignited by Michelle Alexander's *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness* in order to better contextualize the current system of American mass incarceration and its racial undertones. As a comparative book review, this paper seeks not only to find the weak points and strong points of each book, but to also to put them in conversation with each other. Lastly, this book review summarizes the points made in *The New Jim Crow* and uses all three authors' arguments to attempt an extrapolation of their statements if all three were to enter a discussion.

### ***Ellen Baker, The Struggle for Safety: Barriers to Success for the United States Consumer Product Safety Commission***

My capstone reflects on my time interning at the United States Consumer Product Safety Commission (CPSC) during the summers of 2017 and 2018. Touching upon the work that I did in Commissioner Robert Adler's office, I explore the function and inner workings of the CPSC, an agency most people know nothing about. What does it mean for it to be a bipartisan commission? Does this make it more difficult to make substantive strides in safety? Why does it take so long to

create a mandatory standard? Why are they so rare? How does the agency account for the opinions of their many stakeholders? Why are recalls so ineffective? How can the CPSC improve their communications strategy and increase awareness about important safety information and product failures? How does section 6(b) of the Consumer Product Safety Act limit the ability of the agency to communicate about issues in real time? Why does an agency that is responsible for more than 15,000 types of consumer products have such a small budget? How can they respond to the growing world of technology and the obstacles to regulation that arise from online marketplaces and the Internet of Things? I answer these and other questions in my reflection paper.

**Andie Corban, *Temporary Assistance for Needy Families: History, Failures, and Possibilities for Reform***

When people talk about “welfare,” they’re likely referring to assistance the government gives to poor families. This form of welfare began in the 1930s as a small program in the New Deal and grew substantially until it was changed drastically as part of President Bill Clinton’s famed welfare reform. Renamed Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, or TANF, the program has shrunk significantly in the past twenty years. According to a 2016 study, about one in five children in the United States lives in poverty. Only one in four families living in poverty receives TANF assistance. This paper analyzes TANF’s political history and how its perceived outcomes differ from reality. Several options for reform, as well as their political feasibility, are discussed.

**Yvonne Diabene, *Civil Asset Forfeiture: Unconstitutional Yet Legal Property Seizure by Law Enforcement***

Civil asset forfeiture, a process by which law enforcement authorities unilaterally seize property suspected of being related to criminal activity, has a long history, but has become a tool of oppression, upending the protections of criminal procedure in the United States. Although the concept of seizing the property of suspect criminals has some logical historical antecedents, concerns about its fundamental unfairness have been around almost as long as the process itself has been used. Remarkably for a remedy that is supposed to be a form of retribution for criminal behavior, most forfeitures happen without any prosecution of an underlying crime, and without the constitutional and procedural protections afforded to the accused. Moreover, the procedure for recovering seized property is byzantine, expensive, and underutilized. This explains the socioeconomic impact of forfeiture – it disproportionately affects low-income neighborhoods and racial minorities. In the latter half of the 20th century, primarily under the Nixon and Reagan Administrations, forfeitures were resurrected as a tool in the War on Drugs, and predictably, have had the same impact on poor, black, and Hispanic populations as the War on Drugs. Forfeiture has been reined in incrementally over the last twenty years, but the constitutional limits on its use are still unclear, and law enforcement agencies, state and federal, continue to wield forfeitures as a revenue generating tool and as a tool to intimidate poor communities. The time has come to recognize what advocates

recognized at the dawn of American independence: that the general power to seize private property without proof of a crime is “the worst instrument of arbitrary power.” Civil asset forfeiture should be abolished.

**Anna Fireman, *Improving Third Grade Reading Outcomes in Rhode Island***

In 2018, statewide testing showed that only 39% of Rhode Island third graders were reading at grade level. Third grade reading scores serve as a primary indicator for a child’s future success because students switch from learning to read, to reading to learn in third grade. The Rhode Island Office of the Governor and two prominent Rhode Island nonprofit organizations both launched strategic plans with the goal of doubling the percentage of third graders reading at grade level by 2025. This paper aims to understand third grade reading as both a state and federal policy issue, to examine the purpose of having two separate plans in Rhode Island, and to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of each plan from the perspective of different stakeholders. I assess the feasibility of achieving the goal by 2025 and provide recommendations to improve third grade reading levels by engaging families and prioritizing the needs of English language learners. I also offer supplementary educational materials to Rhode Island parents and students.

**Luna Floyd, *Child Welfare Providers and Religious Exemptions: Discrimination in Foster Parent Licensing***

While the United States experiences a massive shortage of foster families and the number of children who need foster care continues to rise, licensed child placing agencies (CPAs) are claiming religious exemptions that allow them to refuse to license foster families that do not conform to their specific set of religious beliefs. State and federal Religious Freedom Restoration Acts (RFRAs) are being used to justify this discrimination against potential foster families. This memo provides an overview of current RFRA-based religious exemptions in child placement and recommends lawmakers and regulatory bodies at the state and federal level commit to anti-discrimination in child placement through increased enforcement of existing laws and passage of new laws. By refusing to allow CPAs to discriminate against potential foster parents, the foster parent pool is widened to include non-Christians, LGBTQ families, and other nontraditional families that could easily care for a vulnerable child.

**Michael Fuller, *Flyover State: The Grassroots Revival of Progressivism in Oklahoma***

In 2018, investment strategists in Oklahoma drafted a new slogan, “Have you considered Tulsa?” This phrase, adorning pamphlets, tote bags and other promotional materials ponders a question plaguing communities across America’s heartland, “is anyone thinking about us?” Misunderstood by coastal powers, ignored by national media, and facing a declining economy, the Sooner State is firmly situated in flyover country. Since winning the Oklahoma House of Representatives in 2004 and the State Senate in 2008, Republicans have dominated local governance. Successive legislation induced deep tax and spending cuts — actions that decimated Oklahoma’s public education system

and led to a 40,000 teacher-strong strike. After a period of Republican ascendancy, cracks are starting to show. This paper will explore how, despite a lack of national attention or funding, grassroots driven Democrats are winning elections in Oklahoma.

### **Sophia Giglio, *Paid Family Leave: Paving the Pathway to Women's Power***

This report was first drafted during my internship with the Women in Public Service Project (WPSP). It explores the link between paid family leave and women's leadership. I first set out three arguments articulated by public and private sector advocates: the economic case, the child development case, and the gender equity case. However, WPSP's focus — promoting women's leadership—rarely emerges as a goal or outcome of paid leave. I include a series of questions to guide future research efforts, serving as a road map in building the women's leadership case for paid family leave. I also draw lessons from the summer of 2018, when discussions of a federal Democracy Coached: Impacts of Participation in Generation Citizen on College Volunteers 2019 and another “policy window” opening appears on the horizon, it is essential to understand what hindered the efforts in 2018, and how 2019 may be different.

### **Eve Grassfield, *Healing Stories: Restorative Justice and the Future of the U.S. Criminal Legal System***

Right now in the United States, 2.3 million people are incarcerated, a black person is six times more likely to be jailed than a white person, and dehumanization is often the tragic byproduct of a correctional system in need of repair. In its present state, this system is unjust and unsustainable. Restorative justice offers a new approach to criminal justice — one that emphasizes reconciliation and healing rather than retribution. In the summer of 2018, I interned at the Peacemaking Program, one of the first restorative justice programs to offer peacemaking circles as a formal alternative to alternative to incarceration. In this role, I interrogated the U.S. retributivist system, pursued a visionary alternative to punishment, and produced 45-minute audio documentary about the intricacies of this innovative approach and the role of personal storytelling in healing.

### **Katie Hancock, *Incentivizing Healthy Eating and Economic Growth through SNAP Reform***

The Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) is one of the largest welfare programs in the United States. With high efficacy and efficiency, low rates of program fraud, and great success in stabilizing the economy, SNAP has supporters on both sides of the aisle. While SNAP has a durable political coalition, it is not without faults. Because poverty and food insecurity are correlated with lower-quality diets and worse health outcomes, SNAP is ideal for encouraging and supporting low-income persons in making healthy decisions at the grocery store. Additionally, while there are higher rates of SNAP participation in rural areas compared to metropolitan regions, rural areas have fewer SNAP-approved grocers. This leads to areas of high demand and low supply for grocers.

My proposed reform intends to encourage healthy eating while increasing access to food in rural areas through refunding a portion of every sale made on healthy foods such as fruits and vegetables back to the participant, offering tax breaks to small, local grocers in rural America, and taxing chain supermarket corporations who largely benefit from SNAP.

**Austin Hearst, *Institutions and Values: Why the U.S. Healthcare System is Different***

This paper explores the differences between the American, Canadian, and German healthcare systems looking at how the structure of government and values have shaped each. In particular, I argue that the U.S. healthcare system differs from the system in Canada and Germany because U.S. society places greater emphasis on individualism and limited government whereas German and Canadian society are much more collectivist. In addition to the value differences, I also argue that the institutional framework of the U.S., in comparison to the parliamentary systems of Germany and Canada, has allowed special interests greater sway over legislation. Because of these institutional “choke points,” special interests have successfully blocked, altered and or stopped U.S. healthcare reform which is a major reason in explaining why the U.S. has been unable to enact comprehensive healthcare reform or cost control legislation.

**Laura C. Henny, *Structural Barriers to Justice in the International Criminal Court and the Trust Fund for Victims***

The International Criminal Court (ICC) and the Trust Fund for Victims (TFV) are precedent-setting institutions established by the Rome Statute in the late 1990s. The ICC exists to enforce international criminal responsibility for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and crimes of aggression, while the TFV aims to provide reparative justice to victims. Although they have made great strides towards fulfilling their missions, these organizations are held back by complex structural barriers both inside and outside their walls. The ICC’s bureaucratic nature and reliance on the international community causes cases to drag on interminably, while its lack of a police force prevents trials from starting at all. Similarly, the TFV’s critical underfunding hobbles its implementation of court-ordered reparations and its establishment of assistance programs around the world.

**Lina Lalwani, *Advancing Justice, Bettering Lives: My Semester In Washington D.C.***

My public policy capstone reflects on my time interning at Asian Americans Advancing Justice (AAJC) in Washington, D.C., through the Brown in Washington Program. AAJC’s mission is rooted in fighting for the civil rights of Asian Americans and other marginalized communities. As a Policy and Litigation Intern, I conducted assignments in a wide range of policy areas, ranging from Civic Engagement to Telecommunications and Technology. Some of my most notable projects include drafting subsections on Asian immigration for a major organization report and working with the Census Team to create 50 fact sheets providing state-level data on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Here, I reflect on my experience during the internship and as a Public Policy concentrator.

**Amanda Lane, *Sustainable Energy Development and Energy Policy Initiatives: The Green Program Iceland Reflection***

This capstone reflects on my experiences studying abroad in Reykjavik, Iceland with the Green Program. Through my coursework, industry experience, and outdoor activities I was given the chance to study sustainable energy development in a country that utilizes almost 100% of its energy from renewable energy sources. The lessons I learned in Iceland on sustainable energy development can be applied broadly to public policy. The benefits of pursuing efficient energy policies affect businesses, governments, the environment, and social welfare. Throughout my capstone I outline my experience with the Green Program in Iceland and discuss the policy implications I learned while abroad. I then address the current issues policy officials face in sustainable energy development and provide recommendations for policy reform.

**Fernando Medina, *Improving College Persistence and Degree Completion for Low-Income Students***

Children born to poor families are more likely to drop out from college and earn less money. Low-income people also have worse health outcomes, further affecting their productivity and happiness. Given the wage premium for a college degree, increasing college access and completion for these children has become a policy priority for improving the social mobility of disadvantaged communities. In spite of a decreasing gap in college participation between the highest and lowest income families, the gap in college completion between these groups is increasing. In this paper, I explore some of the literature surrounding different methods for improving college retention for college students. Legislation offering free tuition to students fails to address the central issue affecting their ability to stay in school full time: living expenses and unexpected fees. Tying financial incentives to institutional services such as advising maximizes the effectiveness of both types of support.

**Molly Naylor-Komyatte, *Chasing Justice: A Caution Against Applying Restorative Justice to Intimate Partner Violence***

In recent years, some feminist practitioners and left-wing criminal justice reformers have proposed deploying restorative justice (RJ) to address intimate partner violence, as an alternative (or, less frequently, supplement) to the criminal justice system. RJ has mainly been used for juvenile offenders and relatively minor crimes, only infrequently applied to domestic violence. While there is potential for RJ to offer survivors more flexible options than a prosecution, and proponents see it as returning agency to abused women more effectively than a trial, there is not sufficient evidence to justify applying RJ in these cases. Empirical evidence from RJ pilots is mixed, and there are many areas in which the RJ framework diverges substantially from the unique realities of domestic violence, risking the perpetuation of manipulation and abuse. Overall, neither criminal nor restorative justice effectively captures the desires of survivors, and presently RJ does not present a compelling policy direction.

**Rosette Nguyen, *ECONorthwest: A Case Study of a Private Firm Participating in the Public Policy Arena***

ECONorthwest is an economic consulting firm in the Pacific Northwest, specializing primarily in natural resources and development and transportation, among other areas. In addition to shifting political and macroeconomic conditions, the firm faces challenges to its identity and objectives, work allocation and priorities, and growth and maintenance. These challenges are explored with case studies and organizational analyses when relevant. As ECONorthwest looks toward the future, it should expand by creating more depth in its current practice areas and human capital accumulations. This expansion should be complemented by the development of institutional knowledge, a formal work allocation system, and improved project management, ranging from the start of a proposal to the delivery of the final work product. ECONorthwest exists at the intersection of public policy and knowledge production. Thus, an analysis of the firm highlights the current challenges of participating in the public policy arena, which might otherwise be overlooked.

**Yacine Niang, *The Socio-Political Factors for Migration from Senegal***

In this paper, I identify and explain some of the main push factors for migration out of Senegal, how that connects back to immigration policy in the European Union, and what the implications are for current and future policy decisions. Legacies of colonization, globalization, and militarized borders help frame my discussion of these issues and provide context for these push factors. I pull heavily from the works of Professor Aladji Jinkang, a Gambian journalist and researcher, who was the main inspiration behind this body of work. I also pull heavily from my own interviews and conversations with Senegalese migrants in Senegal, the United States, and Europe. The observational research I conducted in Italy and Senegal supplement the narratives and data collected from these parties. I argue that in order to create safe, long-term solutions that address immigration problems in Europe, these immigration problems must be re-defined as symptoms of global inequity facilitated by legacies of European colonialism.

**Uchekukwu Onwunaka, *Addressing Racial Disparities in School Discipline: How Do We Move Forward?***

This semester I conducted research as a member of a research team formed by Professor Jayanti Owens in Brown University's Department of Sociology studying racial disparities in school discipline processes in public middle and high schools across the United States. The purpose of this research was to collect and contribute new empirical data to address gaps in the existing literature concerning the disproportionate effect of school discipline processes on Black youth: a phenomenon which has been proven to have a disparate negative effect on the educational and life outcomes of Black youth. In this reflection paper, I will conduct a review of the existing literature that seeks to address why racial disparities in education persist in the contemporary before detailing how the

research I conducted under Professor Owens expands on areas previous studies highlighted as requiring greater investigation.

**Patrick Orenstein, *Watering the Border: Environmental Regulation, Cooperative Water Management, and International Diplomacy at the International Joint Commission***

Water resource management in the United States is dominated by deeply entrenched central authorities on the state, local, and national level, and it is extremely difficult to experiment with new approaches such as community management. Due to a quirk of history, the watersheds along the border between the U.S. and Canada are prime examples of government-stakeholder partnerships. The boards which coordinate the monitoring and management of these watersheds are overseen by the International Joint Commission (IJC), a binational agency dating back over a century. The cooperative structure of these boards gives them a uniquely holistic view of the issues facing rivers and lakes and allows stakeholders to anticipate conflicts rather than allowing them to develop into legal actions. The IJC's structure also comes with its own issues, however, including a dependence on the political support of the two governments and a constant struggle over jurisdiction with both state and federal agencies. When the system is working at its best, it is a model of cooperation and efficiency in natural resource management

**Jayleen Paula, *The Cost of Water: An Analysis of Water Utility as a Commodity and Indigenous Resistance in Exerting Water Rights***

Indigenous people have a distinct cultural relationship with water and feel responsible for protecting it. Water is a healing source and necessary for all life. But what are the costs of exerting the right to clean accessible water, and who bears the burden of ensuring this right? In this paper I examine Mayor Jorge Elorza's proposed budget for the City of Providence and interrogate of national legislation and policy efforts to insure water as a right, to demonstrate the ways in which water is not guaranteed and has been commodified. Then through a discussion of indigenous resistance movements, and their attempts to build solidarity and community beyond the imaginaries of national borders, I highlight new ways to understand environmental justice. I argue that unsustainable production and climate change are endangering our water, and that acknowledging indigenous understandings of our ecology is critically important to enacting the shift in values that will be necessary to change our behaviors.

**Sam Reidt, *Democracy Coached: Impacts of Participation in Generation Citizen on College Volunteers***

This paper analyzes the experience of Generation Citizen Democracy Coaches throughout and after completing at least a semester of volunteering with Generation Citizen, a youth civics advocacy organization. While Generation Citizen has completed extensive analysis of its program impacts on middle and high-school classes and students that Democracy Coaches facilitate, it has not com-

pleted an in-depth analysis of the Democracy Coach experience. The paper uses mid-semester, end-of-semester and alumni surveys, as well as a reflective component of my own experience as a Democracy Coach, to understand significant impacts of the program on Democracy Coaches. Major results include that the program tends to broadly support Democracy Coach leadership and communication skills, and that Democracy Coach career paths in government and education may be impacted by the program, but it would require further analysis to determine the program's causal relationship to government or education-related careers. This implies that the program broadly supports the professional development of Democracy Coaches while providing them with specific government and education exposure which supports career paths in those respective sectors.

**Austin Rose, *Public Service in the Marine Corps***

In this capstone reflection essay, I critically examine the organizational traits of the Marine Corps and, in particular the Marine Officer Candidate School (OCS), through the lens of my participation in the program. Marine OCS is a unique sort of public service organization worth studying for its strengths and its weaknesses. It is an incredibly focused and efficient institution operating in the service of the public, but it still has weaknesses. In my experience, OCS struggles with teaching a balance between hierarchical and holistic authority structures, decision making rules, and national political influences. A continued appreciation for the fundamental meaning of public service and the Marine Corps' mission in that light will be important in ensuring that the Corps remains relevant and useful as a fighting force in the 21st century.

**Evelyn Santos, *How Do Economically Disadvantaged Students Interact with Health Services?***

At the end of 2017, Brown hired Dr. Vanessa Britto to lead health and wellness services for the university. Because of this transition in university healthcare leadership, I thought it especially important to learn from students about the shortcomings of the university's health and wellness services under the previous director. This study focuses on students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds since historically these students have had the hardest time accessing healthcare. Through formally interviewing six students, informal conversations with numerous other students, and my own personal knowledge, this study yielded several important findings. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds felt that they did not deserve better care than the care they were receiving but they also identified several problems with the university's healthcare practices including undisclosed costs, an information gap, and trouble with communicating with providers.

**Clare Steinman, *Impact Reporting: The "Final Frontier" of Financial Metrics***

Impact investing, the act of generating financial returns in conjunction with a positive social, environmental, or governance impact, is rapidly maturing and increasing in popularity. Alongside this rise, the question of how to measure and report the actual impacts of these investments is becoming

more and more critical. Once generated, impact reports can be used as part of the due diligence process, to assess a fund's strategic alignment, or to measure improvement over time. However, issues of reliability, data acquisition, demand, and oversight all complicate the process of assessing impact. Drawing on examples from the traditional financial sector, public and private oversight boards, and impact investing thought leaders, this paper analyzes the usefulness of existing frameworks and identifies some of the key dilemmas in attempting to create a standardized process. Impact metrics are likely to be critical to understanding the financial markets of the future, but infrastructure and measurement tools to support them remain in the early stages.

**Sabrina Stillwell, *Recapitalization of the Rhode Island Historic Tax Credit: Promote Historic Preservation***

The purpose of this memo is to promote the Rhode Island Historic Tax Credit (HTC), a credit that incentivizes the restoration of historic buildings throughout Rhode Island. The tax credit has not been capitalized since 2008, and this memo aims to provide recommendations towards a restructure of the policy, in order to incentivize recapitalization. By evaluating other state's historic tax credit programs, and what makes them successful, there are a few recommendations for Rhode Island's program. The findings from evaluating the programs in Ohio, New York, Colorado, and Connecticut, conclude that the Rhode Island HTC should target small projects, revitalize their education and outreach programs, focus on incentivizing specific developments, and require standardized impact reports. It is important to restructure the tax credit because it makes the redevelopment of historic, income-producing properties much more affordable. Historic preservation is vital for protecting the culture of Rhode Island. The state's historic buildings, structures and districts are a huge part of the Rhode Island economy and have been attracting vast tourism for years. This tax credit celebrates and protects what has been one of Rhode Island's most crucial resources.

**Drew To, *Reflection on Policy Behind Millennium Management***

This reflection will focus on my summer internship at Millennium Management. It will explain the main objectives of the company, "consistency" and "generating returns," and how work is organized to achieve these objectives. My work experience at the firm will be used to highlight some of the firm's organizational problems, specifically time-consuming inefficiency that arise from firm policies and culture. I will then attempt to define some possible solutions to solve these inefficiencies to better align towards the firm's goals.

**Sabrina Whitfill, *Community and Connection: A Comparative Reflection on Policymaking, Advocacy, and Service***

This paper offers a comparative perspective on two distinct internship experiences over the course of an eight-month period. My internship experiences at the National Council of Asian Pacific

Americans and Kyrsten Sinema's congressional office offer a dual perspective on the nature of policy, power, and the networks that make up the foundations of Washington. I observed the countless relationships that tied advocacy organizers and legislative stakeholders together as they worked to further a mission of progress. As I helped to prepare advocacy briefs and listened to the concerns of my community members, I gained insight into the smaller details of how policy and politics are truly accomplished. This reflection highlights both the many strengths and the challenges that both of my host organizations face in this turbulent political moment. Ultimately, this reflection centers on the power of human connection in our constantly shifting political world.

**Shawn Young, *How Are the Exchanges Doing? An Analysis and Theory of the Performance of the Affordable Health Care Act's Healthcare Exchanges***

This paper examines the performance of the healthcare exchanges set up by the Affordable Care Act. Focusing on three measures of performance, overall enrollment, insurer participation, and premium changes, I argue that not only are performance metrics a measure of the overall health of the exchanges, they also have feedback effects on themselves. The exchange's performance metrics often instigate policymakers and regulators to take action, which are often aimed at pushing the performance metrics in a certain direction. Thus, not only are these metrics a function of the performance of the exchanges, they also function to affect the performance of the exchanges. I also argue that these effects are profoundly affected by the regulatory context of the exchanges and that, overall, a stable exchange, broadly defined, is a healthy one. I conclude by making policy recommendations for how to ensure exchange stability.