



Brown University
Department of Political Science
Senior Thesis Presentations

April 15, 2021

2021
Department of Political Science
Thesis Presentations

WELCOME

Professor Ross Cheit
Professor and Director of Honors Program
Department of Political Science

PANEL ONE

Kasen P. Aboitiz
Introduction by: Professor John Tomasi

Aidan Brice
Introduction by: Professor Robert Blair

Kelly Raymond
Introduction by: Professor Jeff Colgan

Benji Turono
Introduction by: Professor Richard Snyder

PANEL TWO

Catherine McClenahan

Introduction by: Professor Rose McDermott

Jason Carroll

Introduction by: Professor Marion Orr

Jenna Israel

Introduction by: Professor Richard Arenberg

Samantha Messing

Introduction by: Professor Richard Arenberg

PANEL THREE

Hanci Lei

Introduction by: Professor Edward Steinfeld

Molly Lavin

Introduction by: Nina Tannenwald

Maeve Wiesen

Introduction by: Professor Wendy Schiller

Oscar Rousseau

Introduction by: Professor Andrew Schrank

KASEN P. ABOITIZ: *An Investigation of the Causes, Consequences and Nature of the United States' Involvement in the Huk Conflict (1950-1953)*

In September 1950, Colonel Edward Lansdale arrived in the Philippines, working on behalf of the Office of Policy Coordination, a predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency. All within the period of three years, from 1950 to 1953, Lansdale and his team worked with Filipino Defense Secretary Ramon Magsaysay to defeat an insurgency movement called the Hukbalahap. Next, Lansdale planned a highly effective presidential campaign to bring the Defense Secretary to the country's highest position. This thesis seeks to situate American intervention in the 1950s against the Hukbalahap movement in an anti-subversion continuum which stretches back to the beginning of US colonial rule in the Philippines. Furthermore, this thesis explores the specific ways in which the US helped to defeat the Hukbalahap insurgency while ultimately raising questions about the extent to which the episode should be considered a success, given the perpetual waves of internal violence which followed Lansdale's departure.

First Thesis Advisor: Stephen A. Kinzer, Senior Fellow in International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: John Tomasi, Romeo Elton Professor of Natural Theology, Professor of Political Science and Director of the Political Theory Project

AIDAN J. BRICE: *How Varying Methods of Policy Implementation Influence Public Opinion: An Examination of Federal Anti-Poverty Programs Implemented as Tax-Based Transfers*

Federal anti-poverty policies may vary in popularity and purported legibility. A survey was used to examine the relative popularity and legibility of tax-based anti-poverty programs among low-income Americans. Choice-based conjoint analysis was used to determine whether alternative methods of implementing anti-poverty policy are preferred to tax-based methods. Full sample results suggest a preference for direct cash transfers over tax-based benefits. In a more representative educational attainment subgroup, this preference became significant at the 95% confidence level. A secondary assessment was conducted to determine the legibility of a tax-based transfer program relative to a voucher program and a cash transfer program. The respondents' perceived eligibility for each of these three programs was measured. Additionally, a series of financial

questions were asked to proxy their actual program eligibility. A comparison of perceived eligibility and proxied eligibility suggests that the least legible of these three policies is the tax-based policy.

First Thesis Advisor: Robert Blair, Joukowsky Family Assistant Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Richard Arenberg, Visiting Professor of the Practice of Political Science, Senior Fellow in International and Public Affairs

JASON C. CARROLL: *From Apartheid to AIDS: The Role of the Congressional Black Caucus in Shaping American Foreign Policy with South Africa*

The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) was established in 1971 by the 13 African American Members of the U.S. House of Representatives. Under the leadership of prolific Black legislators, the CBC would soon transform itself into a major advocacy vehicle for Black Americans, and moreover, develop into one of the most resounding and organized political voices for Black Americans since the civil rights movement. However, despite the CBC playing a major role in shaping the American relationship with Africa, even in its earliest days, it is rarely mentioned as a major foreign policy power player. This comparative case study examines how members of the CBC shaped the U.S.-South African relationship studying its advocacy against apartheid and later the CBC fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. It finds that throughout both cases, the CBC maintained special allegiance to the people of South Africa often battling politicians from their own nation and party in order to support Black South Africans thousands of miles away.

First Thesis Advisor: Marion Orr, Frederick Lippitt Professor of Public Policy, Professor of Political Science and Urban Studies

Second Thesis Advisor: Gauri Wagle, PhD Candidate Department of Political Science

JENNA E. ISRAEL : *Red God, Blue God: A Comparative Analysis of Religious Political Rhetoric on the American Right and Left*

Religious rhetoric is a common feature of political communications on both the American right and left, but the left has struggled with drawing religious voters. What is the right doing to appeal to religious Americans that the left is not? I explore this question by analyzing the religious language used by the right and the left around three issue areas – abortion, poverty, and criminal justice – and piecing together upon what religious ideas the language draws. My sources are congressional floor statements, press releases, op-eds, social media posts, and more. I find that the right and the left base their religious justifications on two different Gods: one who is more active and cares about the moral decisions of individuals and deems individuals worthy of reward or punishment, and one who is less active and cares about how societies treat individuals.

First Thesis Advisor: Richard Arenberg, Visiting Professor of the Practice of Political Science, Senior Fellow in International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Andre Willis Associate Professor of Religious Studies

MOLLY K. LAVIN: *Hidden Wounds That Cannot Be Healed: The Effectiveness of Retributive and Restorative Justice in Kosovo*

This thesis aims to analyze the strengths and weaknesses of retributive and restorative justice in supporting survivors of conflict-related sexual violence by using Kosovo as a case study. I emphasize the importance of including women in decision-making processes by highlighting how the establishment of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the implementation of reparations in Kosovo was heavily tied to lobbying efforts by women; this involvement is especially important considering Kosovo is a deeply patriarchal state. I explain the factors behind the collapse of several retributive processes in supporting survivors of conflict-related sexual violence in Kosovo at the international, supranational, and national levels. After outlining these failures, I focus on the strengths and weaknesses of alternatives to retributive processes by analyzing the reparations process for survivors of the Kosovo conflict implemented in 2015. Ultimately, this thesis argues that there is no singular form of justice that can completely satisfy the needs of every victim;

however, for this exact reason, it is important to integrate alternative solutions that are led by survivors and attempt to transform the oppressive conditions that allowed sexual violence to occur in the first place.

First Thesis Advisor: Nina Tannenwald, Senior Lecturer in Political Science

Second Thesis Advisor: Robert Blair, Joukowsky Family Assistant Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

HANCI LEI: No Free Market for Oil: Examining the Effects of State Ownership in the Oil Industry Through Analyzing the Financial Internationalization of Chinese National Oil Companies

The oil industry is one characterized by close relationships between state and industry. However, few have examined the mechanisms by which these relationships manifest through comparisons between National Oil Companies (NOCs), which have gained a newfound prominence in the international oil industry in the late 20th century, and more established Western incumbents, such as ExxonMobil, Chevron, BP, Total, ENI, Shell. This research hopes to shed light on these mechanisms by examining possible explanations for the empirical observation that Chinese NOCs seem to financially internationalize similarly to their western peers, while maintaining several fundamental differences in ownership and financing. Utilizing a creative synthesis method of analysis, I study latecomer firm, state-centered, and corporatist theories to conclude that the relationship between Chinese NOCs and the Chinese state can be best characterized by a corporatist association of interest alignment, cooperation, and compromise.

First Thesis Advisor: Edward Steinfeld, Dean's Professor of China Studies, Professor of Political Science, Director of China Initiative, Howard R. Swearer Director of the Thomas J. Watson Institute for International and Public Affairs, Professor of International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Cary Krosinsky, Lecturer in the Practice of Management at the Yale School of Management, Adjunct Lecturer at Institute at Brown for Environment and Society

CATHERINE R. McCLENAHAN: *Borders, Ballots, and Bombs: The Effects of Political Violence on Civilian Political Ideology in Northern Ireland*

This thesis explores the relationship between Northern Irish civilians and the politics of the violence they were subject to – how they were socialized by the violence and the effects that the violence had on Northern Irish society during and following the conflict, and how the perpetration of violence fell along sectarian lines. This exploration engages with data on the levels and phases of violence during and following the conflict, civilian accounts and surveys, and literature concerning the perpetration of violence against civilians and the accountability process following conflict. With the seeming intractability of sectarian boundaries two decades after the conflict, and Brexit threatening further devolution of the peace process, it is important to examine just how these identities were hardened and the power they have to perpetuate widespread harm against civilians.

First Thesis Advisor: Professor Rose McDermott, David and Marianna Fisher University Professor of International Relations, Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Ivan Arreguin-Toft, Lecturer in International and Public Affairs

SAMANTHA R. MESSING: *Build It, and She Will Soar: Title IX and Athletics as a Road to Social Equity*

Understanding that Title IX is championed as the ‘great equalizer’ and sports are championed as the legacy of Title IX, this thesis endeavors to answer the following questions: Does Title IX foster holistic equality and opportunity for women? Is nondiscriminatory access to athletic programs sufficient for providing women with holistic equality in the broader society? Holistic equality is established by three principles, and sports are evaluated through the lens of these principles: 1) expectations of achievement, 2) critical skills, and 3) access to education and jobs. This thesis uses a multi-faceted case study to compare Rhode Island and Connecticut at the high school level and Brown University and the University of Connecticut at the collegiate level.

First Thesis Advisor: Wendy Schiller, Royce Family Professor of Teaching Excellence, Chair of Political Science and Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Richard Arenberg, Visiting Professor of the Practice of Political Science, Senior Fellow in International and Public Affairs

KELLY A. RAYMOND: *Decarbonization in U.S. States: Forming Political Coalitions in Unlikely Settings*

What explains the variation across U.S. states in adopting policies to decarbonize? I investigate the nuances of state politics that drive some states to lead on climate policy and others to lag behind. This paper examines Iowa, Texas, Colorado, and Nevada's decarbonization experiences which reveal that coalition building in support of decarbonization is possible in unlikely structural settings. The case studies show that economic development and job creation are salient policy frames that allow states to transcend partisanship. Electric utilities are a key partner in decarbonization since they have the ability to hasten or slow the transition to renewable energy; thus, it is critical to have their support. States where the government fosters continued stakeholder engagement after policy adoption prove to achieve the best policy outcomes. The lessons learned from decarbonization in the case study states inform the remaining 13 states, specifically Wyoming, who have not yet decarbonized on how they can transition their grid toward renewable sources.

First Thesis Advisor: Jeff Colgan, Richard Holbrooke Associate Professor of Political Science and International Studies

Second Thesis Advisor: Kurt Teichert, Senior Lecturer in Environment and Society

OSCAR M. ROUSSEAU: *Rebel Developers? Micro-Development Under Rebel Governance*

This thesis observes the relationship between variations in rebel governance and development outcomes in Colombia. Using a dataset that regroups variables on rebel presence, the imposition of law and order by rebels, and development indicators (primarily in education and wealth), several conclusions are arrived at. Firstly, it is established that rebel territories have lower development outcomes than non-rebel territories. Secondly, it is observed that lower developmental outcomes are associated with rebel groups that exercise the "legal" functions of governance, namely imposing

laws. These results are likely explained by reverse causality (rebels are better able to establish control in territory with lower measures of wellbeing) or by the fact that the cases represented in the sample are situations in which rebel rule actively harms populations more than is made up by welfare services.

First Thesis Advisor: Andrew Schrank, Olive C. Watson Professor of Sociology and International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Robert Blair, Joukowsky Family Assistant Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

BENJI TORUNO : *Analyzing the Impact of Rio's Pacifying Police Units on Violence in Favela Neighborhoods*

This thesis examines the impact of Rio's Pacifying Police Units (UPPs) on the characteristics of violence in *favela* communities. By analyzing pacification as it occurred in three distinct favelas, one controlled by a militia, one controlled by a single drug trafficking gang, and one contested by rival gang cells, I shed light on the relations between the state and criminal actors in the governance of urban spaces. While the UPPs were heralded as an innovative policing strategy, they were unable to achieve durable peace, revealing how the program's administrators were attending to interests connected to the 2014 and 2016 international sporting mega-events, rather than those of *favela* residents. I argue that pacification by the UPPs created incentives to hide visible violent actions for drug traffickers and police alike, contributing to a short period of collaborative governance in Rio's *favelas*, without addressing the root causes of disenfranchisement that give rise to conflict in those neighborhoods.

First Thesis Advisor: Richard Snyder, Professor of Political Science

Second Thesis Advisor: Peter Andreas, John Hay Professor of International Studies and Political Science

MAEVE A. WIESEN : *Red and Blue States: How Legislation in “Safe” States Complicates the Landscape of Abortion Politics*

This thesis explores the passage of legislation pertaining to abortion in states that are considered safely “red” and “blue” by first discussing Rhode Island and Massachusetts, which both passed protective legislation in 2019 and 2020 and then exploring the passage of restrictive abortion bills in Alabama and Georgia. This thesis examines the roles of interest groups, religious institutions, and political forces within state legislatures that impact the passage of legislation. Ultimately, this thesis concludes that while pro-life advocates pass restrictive legislation with relative ease, pro-choice advocates have to overcome substantial political barriers to protect or expand abortion access, even in traditionally Democratic states.

First Thesis Advisor: Wendy Schiller, Royce Family Professor of Teaching Excellence, Chair of Political Science and Professor of Political Science and International and Public Affairs

Second Thesis Advisor: Kristen Essel, PhD Candidate Department of Political Science