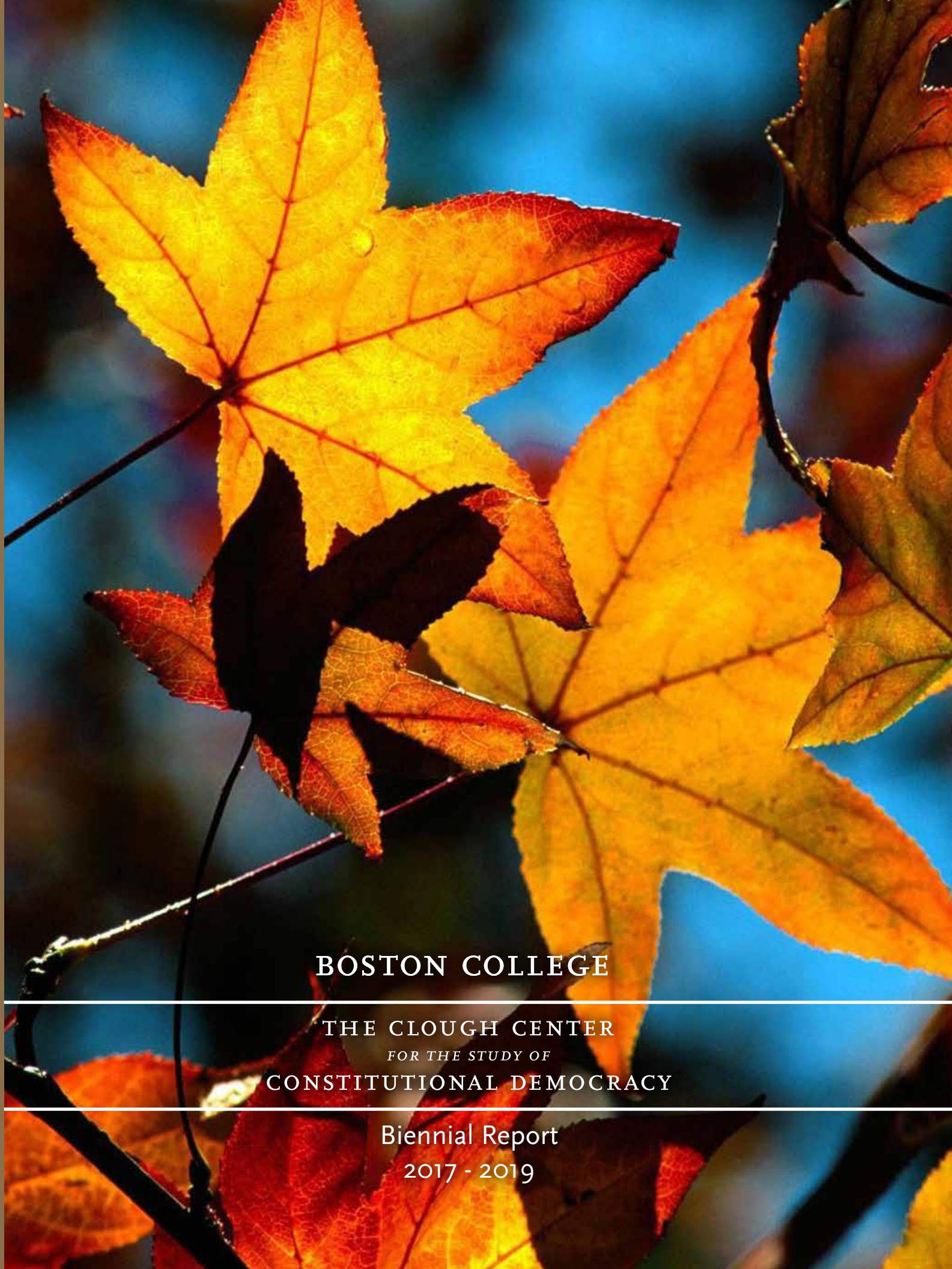


BOSTON COLLEGE

THE CLOUGH CENTER
FOR THE STUDY OF
CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

Biennial Report
2017 - 2019

Biennial Report 2017 - 2019

THE CLOUGH CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

Table of Contents

3 FROM THE DIRECTOR

4 CENTER LECTURES & EVENTS

106 CLOUGH JUNIOR FELLOWS

107 CIVIC INTERNSHIP GRANTS, 2017-2018

119 CLOUGH GRADUATE FELLOWS, 2017-2018

131 ACADEMIC LAW FELLOWS, 2017-2018

135 PUBLIC INTEREST LAW SCHOLARS, 2017-2018

139 CIVIC INTERNSHIP GRANTS, 2018-2019

151 CLOUGH GRADUATE FELLOWS, 2018-2019

163 ACADEMIC LAW FELLOWS, 2018-2019

167 PUBLIC INTEREST LAW SCHOLARS, 2018-2019

PEOPLE

From the Director

It is a pleasure to welcome the readers to the 2017-2019 Biennial Report of the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy at Boston College. This Report offers a picture of a wide range of academic activities and projects organized or hosted by the Clough Center during this period.

As always, the Center has invited to Boston College scholars with particularly creative and influential approaches to core aspects of constitutional democracy. Our speakers have explored the crisis of constitutional democracy during a time when its values are questioned and when its structures are coming under extraordinary pressure. The Clough Center has explored, through major international conferences as well as through panels and lectures, the situation in Venezuela, Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America, in the United States during the Trump administration, in Africa and across the European Union. In addition to these events, we have continued to offer a space for scholars to present their original research. For instance, we have hosted debates on the philosophy of Confucianism and on ways of structuring and imagining the institution of property, on the history of arbitration or on moral and political tradition of cosmopolitanism. A new series, which explores the challenge of climate change to constitutionalism, started during the period covered in this Report and will continue in the coming years.

This Biennial Report offers brief written accounts of the Center's public programs. These events are also available online. I invite you to watch the events that of interest to you, in their entirety, on our website **www.bc.edu/cloughcenter**.

The Center has also continued its flagship student fellowships programs. As you can see from the accounts included in the second part of this Report, our students have been involved in projects that make a difference in the life of communities across the United States and the world. The Center currently offers three categories of fellowships: civic internship fellowships for undergraduate students, graduate fellowships for doctoral students from across the University, and academic and public interest fellowships for which students currently enrolled at Boston College Law School are eligible.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge our benefactors – Chuck and Gloria Clough – as well the amazing team at the Center for Centers that supports our activities: Peter Marino, Stephanie Querzoli, Gaurie Pandey, Shaylonda Barton, Susan Dunn and Jackie Delgado.

Sincerely,

Vlad Perju
Director, the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy

About the Director

Vlad Perju is the Director of the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy and Professor of Law at Boston College Law School. He holds a doctorate (S.J.D. degree) from Harvard Law School; an LL.M. degree summa cum laude from the European Academy of Legal Theory in Brussels, Belgium; and two law degrees from the University of Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne and the University of Bucharest. While at Harvard, he served as a Byse Fellow, a Safra Fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Foundation Center for Ethics, and a Research Fellow in the Project on Justice, Welfare, and Economics.

Professor Perju's primary research interests are comparative and global constitutional law, European law, international law, and jurisprudence. His recent publications include "Reason and Authority in the European Court of Justice," 49 *Virginia Journal of International Law 307* (2009) (awarded the 2009 Ius Commune Prize for the best article on European integration); "Cosmopolitanism and Constitutional Self-Government," *International Journal of Constitutional Law (I-CON)* vol. 8(3): 326-353 (2010) (selected for presentation as the best paper in constitutional law at the 2010 Yale/Stanford Junior Faculty Forum); "Impairment, Discrimination and the Legal Construction of Disability in the European Union and the United States," 44 *Cornell International Law Journal 279* (2011); "Proportionality and Freedom: An Essay on Method in Constitutional Law," *Journal of Global Constitutionalism (Glob-Con)* vol. 1(2): 334-367 (2012); "Constitutional Transplants, Borrowing and Migrations," in the *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Constitutional Law* (M. Rosenfeld & A. Sajo, (eds.), 2012); "Cosmopolitanism in Constitutional Law," 35 *Cardozo Law Review 711* (2013); "The Romanian Double Executive and the 2012 Constitutional Crisis," *International Journal of Constitutional Law* vol. 13(1) (2015); "Proportionality and Stare Decisis: Proposal for a New Structure," in *Vicki Jackson and Mark Tushnet (eds.), Proportionality: New Frontiers* (Cambridge, 2017); "Double Sovereignty in Europe? A Critique of Habermas's Defense of the Nation-State," 53 *Texas Journal of International Law* (2018), "On Uses and Misuses of Human Rights in European Constitutionalism", in *Silja Voeneky and Gerald L. Neuman (eds.), Human Rights, Legitimacy and a World in Disorder* 263-295 (Cambridge, 2018); "On the (De-)Fragmentation of Statehood in Europe: Reflections on Böckenförde", *German Law Journal*, Vol. 19 (2): 403-434 (2018); Supranational States and the Postnational Constellation, 19 *International Journal of Constitutional Law- ICON* 1068 (2019); The Asymmetries of *Pouvoir Constituant Mixte*, 25 *European Law Journal* 515 (2019); Identity Federalism in Europe and the United States, 53 *Vanderbilt Journal of Transnational Law* 208 (2020) and Against Bidimensional Supremacy in EU Constitutionalism, 21 German Law Journal (2020).

Professor Perju was a Visiting Associate Professor at Harvard Law School in the 2011 fall term; a Visiting Professor of the Theory of the State at the European Academy of Legal Theory in Brussels, Belgium, in 2008 and 2009; and a research fellow at NYU Law School in 2009. In 2008, he received appointment from the President of Romania to the President's Special Commission on Constitution Reform. He has lectured widely around the world and across universities in the United States.

2017–2018 Lectures & Events

FALL 2017

José Ignacio Hernández · The Constitutional Crisis in Venezuela

Constitution Day Panel · The Trump Administration & the Constitution

James Q. Whitman · The Two Primitive Modes of Imagining Property: Owning Land, Owning Human Beings

David McCullough · The American Spirit

After Charlottesville

Anne Applebaum · Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine

Venezuela: The Origins, Development and the Future of the Crisis

Sungmoon Kim · Pragmatic Confucian Democracy: In Search of Normative Confucian Democratic Theory

Educating for Modern Democracy

SPRING 2018

César Ariona Sebastia · The Catalan Crisis

Susanna Mancini · Islamophobia as a Challenge to European Democratics

Samantha Power · The State of the World: Challenges and Opportunities

Bojan Bugarič · Europe's Descent into Authoritarian: Populism Lessons for Democracy in America

Amalia D. Kessler · The Public Roots of Private Ordering: An Institutional Account of the Origins of Modern American Arbitration

Claudio Corradetti · Kant and the Cosmopolitan Constitution

The Legitimacy of Transnational Orders: Discussing the Idea of a World State

2018–2019 Lectures & Events

FALL 2018

Judge Eduardo Ferrer Mac-Gregor · The Protection of Human Rights by the Inter-American Court: Main Challenges and Perspectives

David Hopkins · 2018 Midterm Elections

Paulo Barrozo Pablo Riberi · Politics After Bolsonaro's Election: Brazil and Latin America

SPRING 2019

Jennifer Greiman · Ruthless, Militant, Round: On Melville and the Aesthetics of Radical Democracy

Dr. Phil Duffy Woods · Climate Constitutionalism Series--Climate Change: Science, Impacts, and Solutions

Frank Garcia · Consent, Coercion and Democracy: Trade & Foreign Relations in the Trump Era

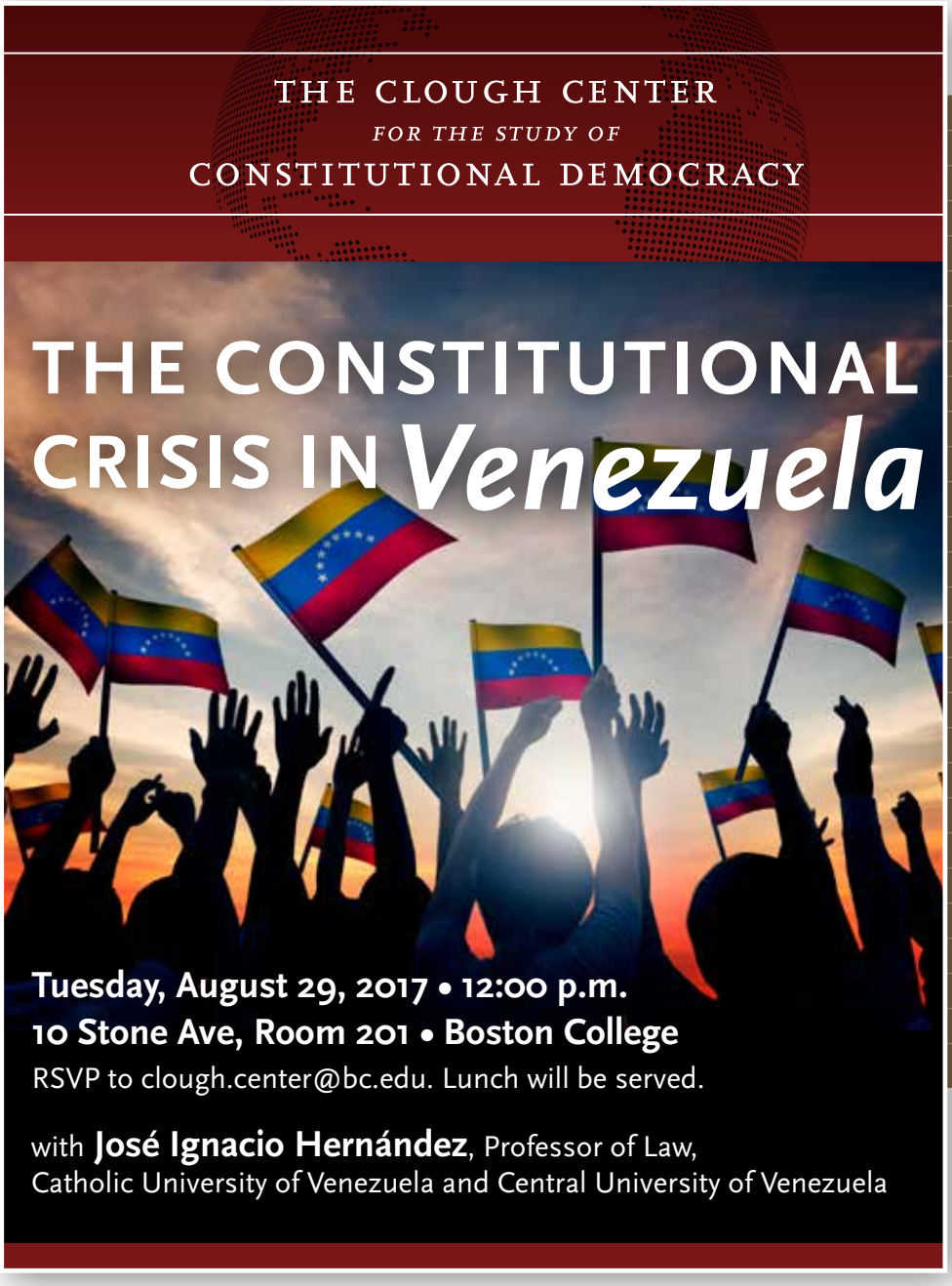
Prime Minister Anders Fogh Rasmussen · Clough Colloquium

Ábor Halmai · The Rise of Illiberal Member States within the EU, and How to Cope with Them?

Raymond Akongburo Atuguba · Human Rights in Aid of Development in Jinxed Africa

Dimitry Kochenov · Citizenship and Residency in the Age of Technology

Keynote: Jan Werner Müller · Democracies in Peril Conference



Thomas Jefferson's suggestion that Americans revisit the Constitution every 20 years and rewrite it from scratch has been invoked by both left and right. Advocates of Jefferson's idea might do well to consider Venezuela, which, since its founding in 1811, has had 26 constitutions—each one preceded by a major political crisis.

Venezuela is currently in the midst of just such a crisis. In 1999, Venezuelans elected Hugo Chavez, a socialist revolutionary, to the presidency. By 2012, Chavez's autocratic economic policies, enabled by his country's vast oil reserves, had led to skyrocketing inflation and shortages of basic goods like food and medicine. Nicholas Maduro, who succeeded Chavez upon his death in 2013, vowed to continue his predecessor's "Bolivarian Revolution." By 2016, Venezuela had the highest inflation rate in its history, and Harvard's Center for International Development found that nearly 75% of the population had lost an average of 20 pounds due to lack of nutrition. This year, protests against the Maduro government spread across the country—as has Maduro's use of violence and political repression to quell them.

According to José Ignacio Hernández, the roots of Venezuela's constitutional crisis lie not in the constitution per se, but in the lack of an independent judiciary. Hernández, Professor of Law at

the Catholic University of Venezuela and Central University of Venezuela and currently a visiting scholar at Harvard's Kennedy School, says instead that Venezuela is governed by "an authoritarian regime amid the constitution." Here, he is referring to a series of changes to the 1999 Constitution by the Chavez and Maduro governments that have increased the powers of Venezuela's highest court, the Supreme Tribunal, while sidelining opposition parties in Congress. The key difference is that unlike the U.S. Supreme Court, which acts primarily as a "negative legislator" in striking down laws it deems unconstitutional, Venezuela's Supreme Tribunal can also *make* laws if it decides Congress has not fulfilled its duties under the Constitution.

Pack the Supreme Tribunal with government loyalists, and you can predict the results. For instance, in 2007, during a massive oil boom, Chavez proposed a constitutional reform to organize Venezuela as a "socialist state" along the lines of Libya. However, Venezuelans rejected the reform when put to a public referendum, per the Constitution. Not to matter, Hernández explains. Chavez could simply defer to the Supreme Tribunal, who, of course, granted him the powers he sought on the grounds that they would be used to fulfill the social justice goals promised by the 1999 Constitution. Thus, Chavez set out on another massive spending spree accompanied by Tribunal-approved expropriations, media censorship, and human rights abuses.

Venezuela was thus spectacularly unprepared for the crash in oil prices that began in 2013. In 2015, a discontent public elected the democratic opposition to a supermajority in Congress. Again, no worries—the Supreme Tribunal served as Maduro's personal veto stamp, declaring nine of out ten new laws passed null and void, compared to one out of ten during the ruling party's majority. When the opposition would not approve Maduro's 2017 national budget—a "basic constitutional principle," Hernández emphasizes—the Tribunal declared the Congress "in contempt" and passed the budget itself.

According to Hernández, the democratic opposition had only one option for the 2017 elections: not to participate. With no international observers, the government declared a turnout of 8 million; the opposition placed turnout at around 2 million. "They invented 6 million votes," Hernández explains. "They committed a fraud within a fraud." This proved to be too much for even some Chavez loyalists. In May, the nation's top public prosecutor said the Supreme Tribunal had initiated a "judicial coup." She was promptly removed from her position. As Hernández summarizes Maduro's logic: "I have the power to violate the Constitution, by the power of the Constitution."

Perhaps most troubling at the moment is the fact that anti-Maduro protests are beginning to die down. Hernández says that people are tiring of the protests and constant unrest, and protestors are tiring of the government's violence. In 2017 alone, 133 protestors have died (101 killed by gunfire and beatings), 4,000 were injured, and another 5,000 were detained without cause and access to independent counsel.

A series of government bond sales to Goldman Sachs and other investment banks have also helped to prop up the regime. In August, the U.S. Treasury Department banned American entities from purchasing new bonds, though they are still allowed to trade in existing ones. Hernández thinks these sanctions will have an impact, but it will involve yet more pain. With less access to foreign capital, the government will have to spend more of its dollars on interest payments and fewer of them on food and medicine, which it already imports at unsustainable levels. This means the humanitarian crisis will get worse. It also means that the demonstrations are likely to return. "Venezuela [will be] put in the position of a failed state," he warns.

About José Ignacio Hernández

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

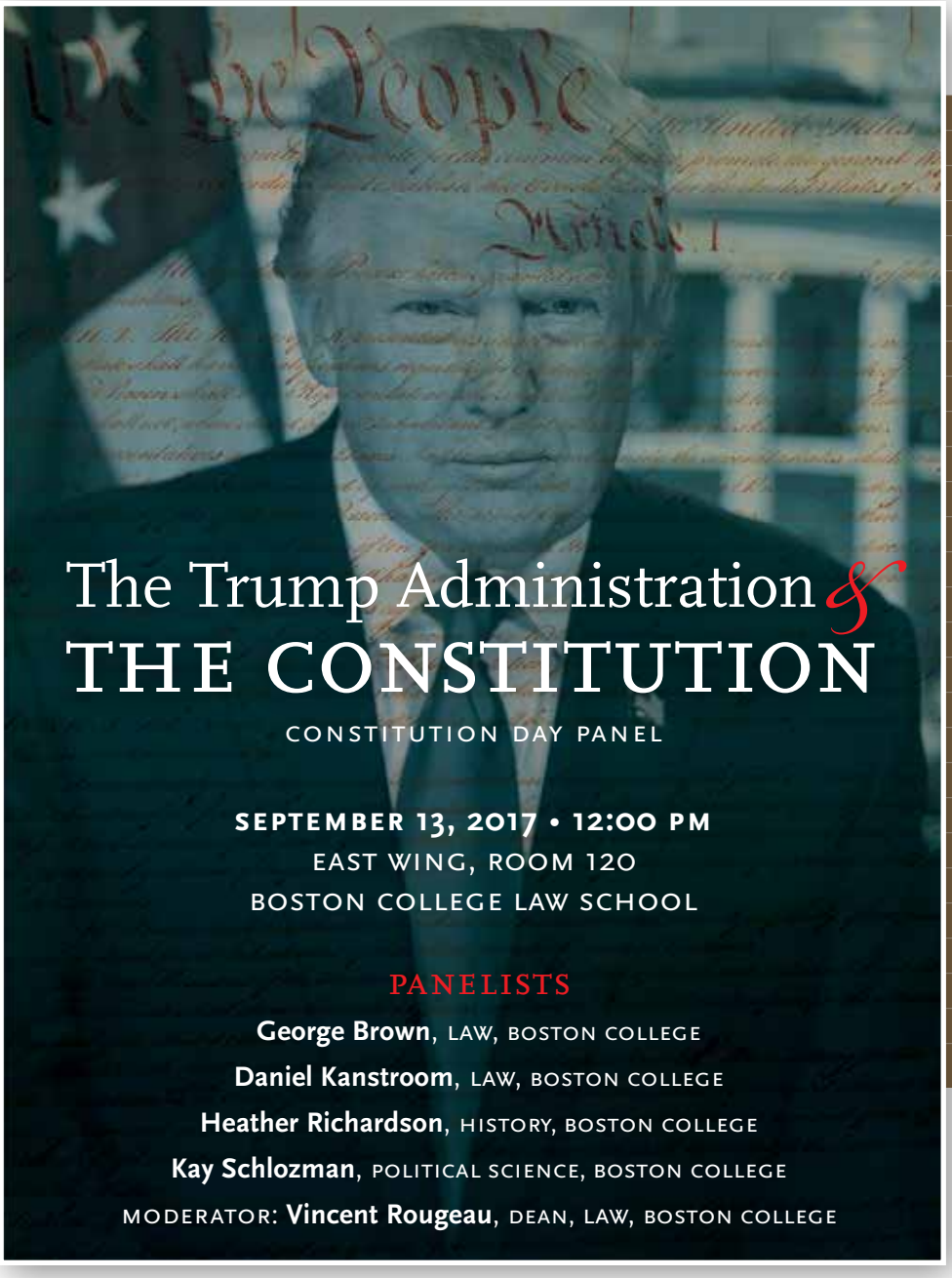
José Ignacio Hernández G. is a Venezuelan attorney, specialized in Administrativa Law and Regulation.

José Ignacio earned his Ph.D. cum laude from the Complutense University. In Venezuela he is Professor of Administrative Law at the Universidad Central de Venezuela and the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello. Also, he is the Chairman of the Public Law Center of the Universidad Monteávila. He has been visiting researcher at Georgetown University Law Center.

José Ignacio is a member of the International Administrative Law Association; the Ibero-American Forum of Administrative Law; and the Ibero-American Association of Economic Regulation. He has conducted several investigations about regulation, international investment arbitration and Global Administrative Law.

José Ignacio is author of more than 12 books on administrative law, and has also published more than 100 articles in Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Spain, and Italy.

He is a partner at Grau, García, Hernández & Monaco, and has participated in several international investment arbitrations as local advisor and as legal expert witness.



Searching for a legal and philosophical foundation from which to take stock of eight months' worth of controversial and largely unprecedented moves by the Trump administration, four Boston College scholars gathered on the Law School campus to discuss the Constitution, the administration's relationship to it, and the role it might play in upcoming judicial and political battles. In a conversation that ranged from the legal particularities of current lawsuits to expansive commentary on national politics, the speakers highlighted, from their different disciplinary perspectives, an unfolding political drama still in its early acts.

Boston College Law Professor George Brown began the discussion by detailing recent attempts to use the Constitution, itself, as a response to what he called "Trump's disturbing attitude toward the law." One prominent case, *Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington [CREW] v. Trump*, attempts to demonstrate not only how Trump's business dealings (from which, they assert, he has not fully detached himself) and the "opaque channels" through which he benefits are in violation of the Constitution's emoluments clauses but also that these dealings have hurt CREW because they must now focus all their time and resources on investigating them. Whether this constitutes sufficient "legal standing," Brown suggests, "is dubious." *Clapper v. Amnesty International* seems to provide grounds for the argument that it is CREW's *choice* to focus on these matters, and that, to the ex-

tent they have been injured, it is due to a "self-inflicted wound." In light of these dilemmas surrounding proper legal standing, Brown suggests that it might be political action, itself rooted in legal interpretation, to which citizens might have to turn. "I believe it is perfectly possible," he argues, "to read the foreign emoluments clause as a grant of power to Congress," who could "pass a statute outlawing the things that President Trump is doing." Yet regardless of how things develop, Brown comments, the ways in which the law is deployed will continue to hold interest for those who teach on the Newton Campus.

From a similarly legal perspective, Boston College Law Professor Dan Kanstroom raised the issue of the president's constitutional power to pardon in light of his highly controversial, decision to pardon Maricopa County Sherriff Joe Arpaio. Other than impeachment, are there any limits to this power? Can the president, as some have wondered, pardon *himself*? Kanstroom intimated several ways that limitations on pardon power can be inferred from the Constitution, including its general aversion to unlimited power—as James Madison famously put it in *Federalist* 10, "No man is allowed to be a judge in his own cause"—and more particular readings of the language of Article Two, Section Two ("to grant," Kanstroom suggests, typically means something that one does to another, not to oneself). And, of course, there is always what Kanstroom calls the "negative precedent" of Richard Nixon *not* pardoning himself. Widening his scope, Kanstroom argues that it is important to recognize that in pardoning Sherriff Arpaio, Trump was likely just "continuing his battle with the judiciary by proxy," which is part of a larger war Trump seems to be fighting against the idea of the separation of powers. If Trump can override the "criminal contempt" violation that the Justice Department issued against Arpaio, then, as Kanstroom puts it, "we face a potentially dangerous constitutional imbalance," one with enormous constitutional complexities. Of course, the "million-dollar question," he suggests, is if federal judges will take up the issue or ignore the pardon and its potentially significant implications.

Shifting the focus from legal matters, Boston College Political Science Professor Kay Schlozman positioned the Trump administration in the "broad configuration of institutions and practices that we would call 'institutional.'" Trump, she reminded the

“a television conception of the presidency,” and as a result he does not understand “the constitutional, legal, institutional, and political constraints on presidential power.”

audience, is the first president since Eisenhower not to have held significant elected office before assuming the presidency. And his business background, she points out, is, in fact “very unusual.” He has never had to answer to a board of directors or to company stockholders. Trump, she argues, “has had very limited experience with accountability,” and he seems to have little concern for transparency. Instead, he seems to have what she calls “a television conception of the presidency,” and as a result he does not understand “the constitutional, legal, institutional, and political constraints on presidential power.” As the “self-appointed deal-maker in chief,” he seems to have forgotten—or perhaps never realized—that “the presidency is,” at its core, “the power to persuade.” Instead, he appears simply to command loyalty on what he expects to be an unfettered march toward better deals and widespread adoration.

Despite her bona fides as an academic historian, Boston College History Professor Heather Richardson chose to take a “political view” of the Constitution and, in doing so, to look forward, not backward. “We are at an enormous crisis in this country,” Richardson proclaimed, “because power does not reflect the will of the majority,” citing such Republican efforts as gerrymandering and voter suppression, which have created imbalances between the electorate and those who represent it. Of course, one must look backward to realize that this is not the first time we have arrived at such a juncture, and past experience indicates, Richardson argues, that when such imbalances occur, the Constitution tends to come back into the conversation. Many states, Richardson highlights, are currently considering constitutional conventions with the goal of significantly weakening the federal government—an exercise not entirely dissimilar to what the Confederate States of America undertook in 1860 as they sought to limit the government’s power to interfere with slavery. Our own historical moment, Richardson suggests, might however look more like the 1890s, when populist movements transformed the political landscape. “Governing principles” at such times, Richardson argues, “go back to the ground” and prompt citizens “to take a look at the principles by which they want to live.” And her closing warning indicated the stakes of accurately interpreting our present situation: “I think we have to grapple with the fact that many American voters believe that the Constitution is on the table again”—a point that Kanstroom later echoed when he remarked that “there is a yearning” at the present moment “for a coherent theory of government in tune with our historical political ideals.”

Of course, the problem that this “yearning” raises is who gets to say what those ideals are and how we are to interpret them—a problem that leads us right back to the Constitution. The clash of interpretations that will inevitably arise is what still remains to be played out in the remaining acts of this political drama in which we might all be playing prominent roles.

About the Panelists

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

GEORGE BROWN is the Robert Drinan, S.J., Professor of Law. Most recently he served as Interim Dean of the Law School, 2010-2011. He is a specialist in the field of federal-state relations and government ethics. In both areas he draws on his extensive experience in state government. He has served as Legislative Assistant to the Governor of Massachusetts and as Assistant Attorney General of Massachusetts. In 1994, Governor William Weld appointed him Chair of the Massachusetts State Ethics Commission. In the field of federal-state relations, Professor Brown is best known for his articles on the jurisdiction of federal courts and on the federal grant-in-aid system. He has also served as Chair of the Section on Federal Courts of the Association of American Law Schools.

DANIEL KANSTROOM is Professor of Law, Thomas F. Carney Distinguished Scholar, Director of the International Human Rights Program, and an Associate Director of the Boston College Center for Human Rights and International Justice. He teaches Immigration and Refugee Law, International Human Rights Law, Constitutional Law, Administrative Law, and the International Human Rights Semester in Practice. Professor Kanstroom was the founder of the Boston College Immigration and Asylum Clinic in which students represent indigent noncitizens and asylum-seekers. Together with his students, he has won many high-profile immigration and asylum cases and has provided counsel for hundreds of clients over more than a decade. He and his students have also written amicus briefs for the U.S. Supreme Court; organized innumerable public presentations in schools, churches, community centers, courts, and prisons; and have advised many community groups. He was a co-founder of the Immigration spring break Trips, where students work on immigration law cases during their Spring Break. Professor Kanstroom's newest initiative, the *Post-Deportation Human Rights Project*, seeks to conceptualize and develop a new field of law while representing U.S. deportees abroad and undertaking empirical study of the effects of deportation on families and communities.

HEATHER COX RICHARDSON is a political historian and author of five books, including To *Make Men Free: A History of the Republican Party* and *West from Appomattox: The Reconstruction of America After the Civil War*. She has appeared on C-SPAN and has contributed to *Salon*, *Bloomberg*, the BBC, *New York Times, Washington Post, Chicago Tribune*, and *Huffington Post*, among other media. She is also the founder and co-editor of the web magazine *We're History*.

KAY LEHMAN SCHLOZMAN teaches undergraduate and graduate courses in American politics-among them, Parties and Elections in America, Inequality and Politics, and Gender and Politics. Her research focus is citizen participation in American politics. She also has expertise in broad areas of American political life: parties and elections, interest groups, voting and public opinion, political movements, money in politics, and the gender gap in citizen political activity. Schlozman is the co-author of five books, including *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*.

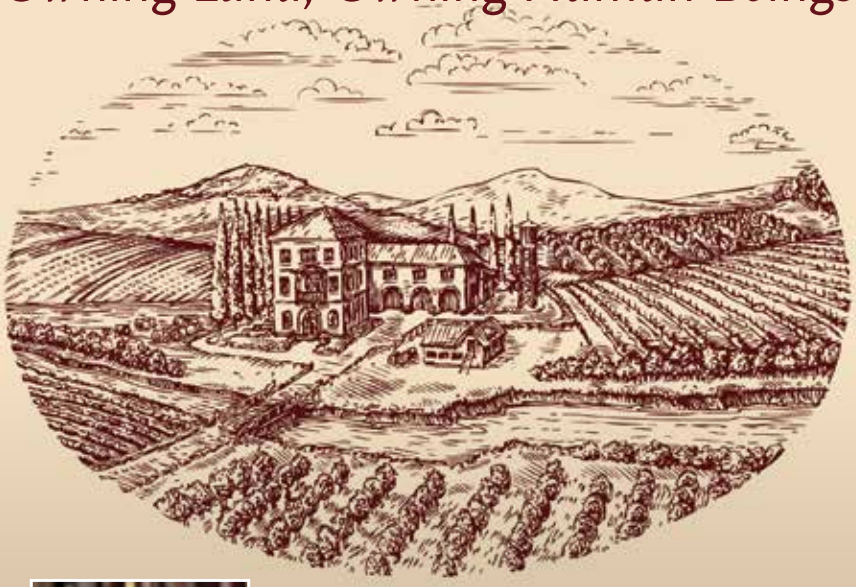
ABOUT THE MODERATOR

VINCENT D. ROUGEAU became Dean of Boston College Law School on July 1, 2011. He previously served as a Professor of Law at Notre Dame, and served as their Associate Dean for Academic Affairs from 1999-2002. He received his A.B. magna cum laude from Brown University in 1985, and his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1988, where he served as articles editor of the *Harvard Human Rights Journal*.

THE CLOUGH DISTINGUISHED LECTURES IN JURISPRUDENCE

The Two Primitive Modes of Imagining Property:

Owning Land, Owning Human Beings



Monday, September 18, 2017 • 5:00 p.m.
Barat House, Boston College Law School

with **James Whitman**
Ford Foundation Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law, Yale Law School

Yale Law Professor James Q. Whitman lectured on two early concepts of property ownership—that of owning land and that of owning human beings—at the Clough Distinguished Lecture Series in Jurisprudence at BC Law on September 18, 2017.

Citing 18th century English jurist William Blackstone and drawing on centuries of thought, Whitman provided a relevant and nuanced perspective on the development of property law. He gave historical anecdotes of the cultural attributes of these imagined views in Europe, Africa, and America, explaining that the distinction between the notions of property ownership in Europe, for instance, weren't based so much on economics as on the "*difference in the psychology of ownership*." He was meticulous as he traced the "*imagination*" of property ownership to the "psychology of ownership" from historical Roman serfdom times to Blackstone's notion of right of property that have laid the foundation for American property law.

Whitman's talk was filled with nuanced historical anecdotes of the cultural attributes of the imagination of property ownership and domineering in early modern Europe, early African tribal norms, and modern age America. He emphasized that while European traditions included owning land and slaves, the distinction between the two primitive modes of the imagination of property ownership wasn't based on property economics, but

there is difference in the psychology of ownership, Whitman calls this the "*climate of justification*." For example the Romans considered themselves the masters of the slaves and the Englishmen viewed themselves as despotic real estate owners. It is this distinction of the human affection and psychology of the imagination of property law that set the tone for Whitman's talk.

He engaged in Blackstone's conception of affection for property and presented the legal cultural histories of property as ownership of land and human beings. He argued that the imagination of property law ownership is not limited to the histories of serfdom and feudalistic systems but rests in the primitive human psyche and the imaginative relationship of human affection, power, and domination toward property. He noted that the connection of property to land is evident in American scholarship that reads "*theory of property*" is "*the theory of land*." This naturalized understanding of property as land to Americans stems from the historical dominion of ownership. Yet there are cultural differences in the rights of property.

In Germany, for instance, to distance themselves from Nazi politics, Germans reject the idealization of land, since the affect toward land can have startling implications between racial and Nazi Germany. Romans considered themselves the masters of slaves while the English viewed themselves as the owners of real estate. On the other hand, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English traders sailed to West Africa to purchase slaves. Africa was the source of black slavery and human slaves were as property. They were transported in horrendous conditions to work on plantations and considered merely as property for creating profits. Thus there exists a psychology of ownership of humans as property; and land as property a sense of domination of ownership vs. owned.

Whitman calls these the two primitive modes of imagining property.

"Owning humans and owning land: "I am going to call these the two primitive modes of imagining property. They are 'primitive' in two senses of the word. They are 'primitive' in the descriptive sense that they are root conceptions of ownership, from which other conceptions have been generalized. They are also 'primitive' in the normative sense that they are both conceptions of ownership that stand in some tension with ideals of civilization and rule of law. Owning human beings is a practice whose evils we can all see. But it is not clear that owning land has always been all that much better."

Whitman recalled the Marxist exploitation of labor in the means of production and Weber's version of exploitation of slaves for the omnipotence of the Roman Empire as core of imagination of property and ownership.

"There is a history to be written of a great shift from the law of owning humans to the law of owning land, for which we can still proudly cite Marx and Weber. It is just not the history Marx and Weber wanted it to be. It is a history of the Western property law imagination, and the right question to ask about it is how much, and in what way, a large-scale historical shift in the property law imagination mattered."

The conception of ownership is intertwined with dominion, and "despotic dominion" is a the language of rulership, not ownership.

"It is entirely right to see that history through the dark prism of the Marxist tradition, or through the eyes of the Nazi Max Kaser. It is a history that begins with slave masters and continues with feudal lords, and its message, again and again, is the message that humans, like Blackstone when he spoke of 'despotic dominion,' have found it difficult to imagine themselves owners without also imagining themselves as masters or lords. Making a healthy property law means combating some deep-seated and primitive human inclinations. It is very difficult to imagine ourselves as owners without also imagining ourselves as rulers."

Whitman stressed that humans devour love of domineering and it is important to acknowledge this affection for ownership. The psychology of territorial rights and ownership stems from the conviction for wealth and power. This human affection for owning property and owning land is more complicated than the economics of property and material interests. But there is a deep psychic link of domineering and ownership that drives the imagination of ownership of property and land.

About James Whitman

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

James Q. Whitman is Ford Foundation Professor of Comparative and Foreign Law at Yale University, where he has taught since 1994.

He holds a Ph.D. in Intellectual History from the University of Chicago and a J.D. from Yale. He is the author of five books, including *Hitler's American Model: The United States and the Making of Nazi Race Law* (Princeton, 2017), *Harsh Justice: Criminal Punishment and the Widening Divide between America and Europe* (Oxford, 2003), *The Origins of Reasonable Doubt* (Yale, 2008), *The Verdict of Battle: The Law of Victory and the Making of Modern War* (Harvard, 2012), and many articles, among them "The Two Western Cultures of Privacy: Dignity versus Liberty," *Yale Law Journal* 113 (2004): 1151-1221.

Whitman has received a variety of awards, including an honorary doctorate from the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, a Guggenheim Fellowship, and a lifetime achievement prize from the American Society for Comparative Law.

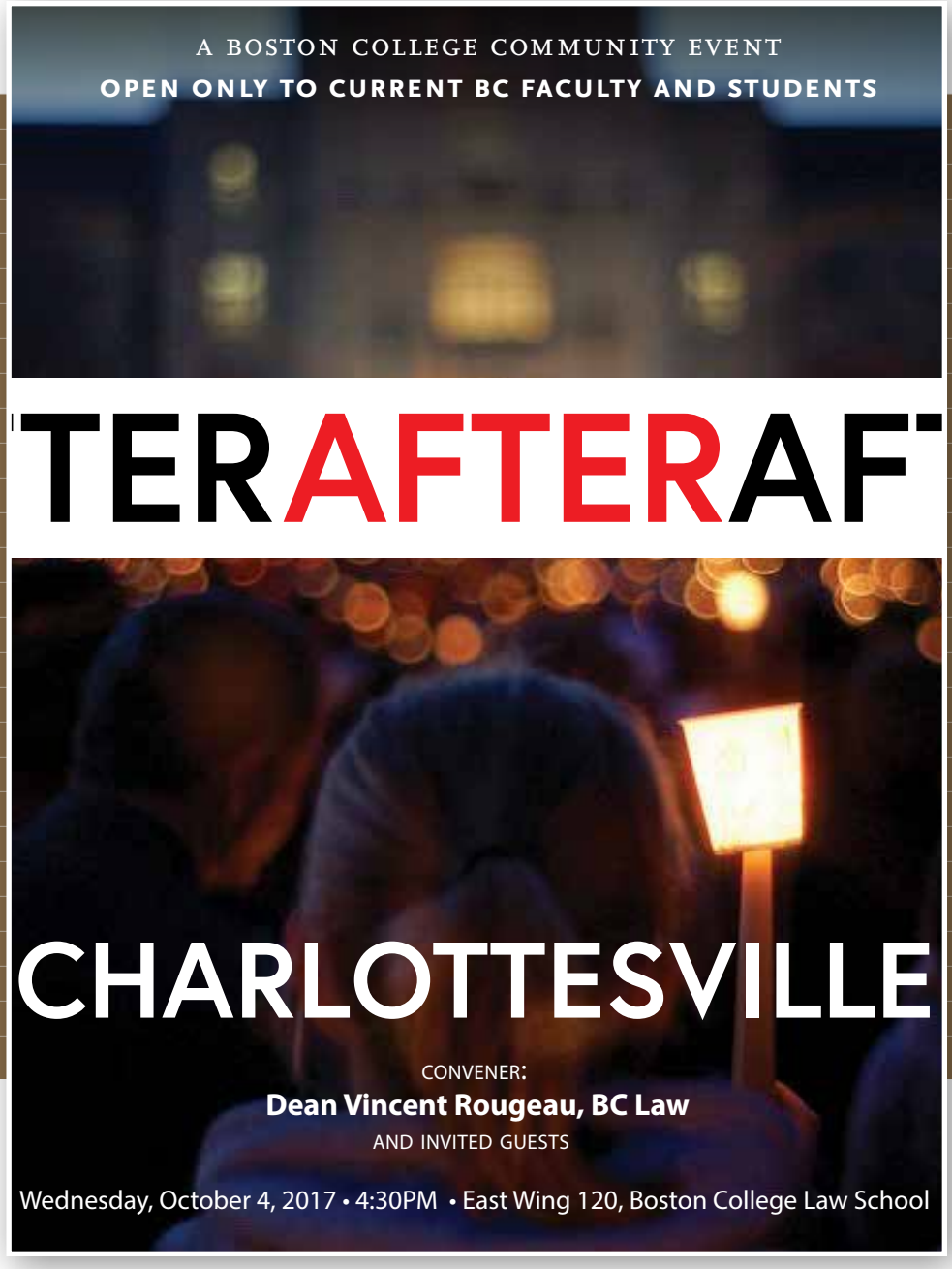
CLOUGH COLLOQUIUM:

The American Spirit *with David McCullough*

On September 26, 2017, Boston College, the Winston Center, and the Clough Colloquium welcomed David McCullough, who presented a talk on the American spirit. Much like his prolific work, McCullough was incisive and timely. There are few people in the world more qualified than McCullough to speak on the subject of the American spirit. Aside from his book that bares that very name, McCullough's most famous work includes *1775, The Wright Brothers, John Adams, and Truman*. He was also a narrative for Ken Burns's Civil War. This broad and detailed career has given McCullough special insights into the American Spirit and where it goes from here.

McCullough took the opportunity to talk about some of America's most contentious ongoing issues. He mentioned that, in light of recent events in Charlottesville and others, that there is now some controversy surrounding Francis Scott Keys. Keys' poem, "The Defense of Fort McHenry," would eventually be set to an old English tune and become America's national anthem. The anthem, like Keys, are both facing controversy today. The former because of the protests started by Colin Kaepernick and mentioned by President Trump, the latter because the man himself was a slave owner (along with other issues). McCullough, while not offering an opinion on the controversy, suggested that if the national anthem is to be replaced, it should be replaced with "America the Beautiful." He said this is because of the lyrics, citing lines like, "Who more than self their country loved and mercy more than life."

True to the nature of the talk, McCullough was quick to jump into the most controversial of issues dealing with the American spirit today: Confederate statues. MuCullough suggested that we shouldn't be concerned with whether or not to take down monuments to the Confederacy. Instead, he said we should be more concerned with what monuments we put up rather than take down. Following from this, McCullough suggested that we should be putting up statues of teachers, and that teaching is one of the most underappreciated professions in America. He then used this to talk about a project he's working on where he looks at the teachers who shaped the lives of some of history's most important people.



On Wednesday, October 4, 2017, members of the Boston College community gathered in the Law School to reflect on recent events in Charlottesville, VA. The discussion was led by panelists Dean Vincent D. Rougeau, Professor Cathleen Kaveny, and Professor Daniel Farbman.

Center Director Vlad Perju remarked in his introduction that "the values on which constitutional democracy rests have been profoundly shaken by the events in Charlottesville." Echoing Dean Rougeau's statement at the time of the initial violence, he emphasized the importance of making explicit the opposition of our community to violence, bigotry, and racism. In this spirit, the panelists sought to explore what recent events reveal about the current state of democratic values, freedoms, and practices in the United States as well as to identify ways forward.

Dean Rougeau spoke first of political polarization in the U.S., describing the "increasing inability to speak to each other around difficult issues" as a crisis. He suggested that President Trump may not have caused but fuels the notion that we may now engage in public conversations which have no rules and are "not rooted in any notion of respect for the person on the opposite side of the dialogue." He argued that it is imperative for the BC community to model respectful democratic conversation and "create the kind of community that we would hope our entire nation could be." He noted that BC's emphasis on the value of

universal human dignity should serve as a resource for this.

Moving to the specific events in Charlottesville, he asked the audience to consider whether Neo-Nazis, for example, simply express "another opinion in the marketplace of ideas" or whether they "represent something which is so anathema to our democratic values, so truly toxic to our common life, that it requires a special kind of response." Concerning the removal of statues, he questioned whether the U.S. ought to be willing to tolerate an ongoing veneration of the Confederacy. Racism and slavery are "realities of the past that need to be talked about in a meaningful way," but the public monuments in question sanitize the past and falsely suggest that the majority of citizens in these cities "acquiesce in their presence." Decisions to place monuments in public are made for reasons which need to be exposed and critically addressed. The need is especially acute when large sections of society have been excluded from the original decision-making processes.

Professor Kaveny also remarked on the "disorientation" of American democratic life and the need to develop new resources to address this. She brought her perspective as both a lawyer and a theologian to bear on the questions raised by Charlottesville, suggesting that the creative use of resources from religious traditions could shed light on the situation.

As such she discussed the ambivalent relationship of major religious traditions to visual images as a way of approaching the discussion about public monuments. In particular, she drew on the distinction in Christian tradition between idols and icons. The tradition implies that two questions should be asked about an image in order to tell the difference. Namely, "does it tell the truth?" and "does it work for the good, particularly the good of the most vulnerable?"

Professor Kaveny suggested that we can apply this notion to public images which function as American idols and icons. For example, the Lincoln memorial can be thought of as an icon. It tells the truth by acknowledging the reality of slavery while simultaneously highlighting reunion and redemption and encouraging work toward the good of the equal dignity of all Americans. On the other hand, statues of Robert E. Lee function more like idols. They fail to tell the truth both about his own character and the cause for which he stood (they imply that it was for a way of life only incidentally related to slavery). They do not work toward the good but, on the contrary, were generally erected to help perpetuate Jim Crow laws.

Professor Farbman framed his remarks by expressing his dissatisfaction with the notion that "we once knew how to disagree civilly and we don't anymore." While earlier political times may have felt more comfortable, "we should be sceptical about the settlement of that political discourse," because it has often rested on the exclusion of those who would present more foundational challenges.

Thus there is cause for optimism. Previous moments of unrest, although difficult, have represented ruptures which ultimately led to the novel inclusion of many people. The danger of the notion of civility is that it can be used to suppress uncomfortable activism which pushes current boundaries—as seen in objections to recent protests in the NFL. Change comes about through

political engagement and democratic participation. The ultimate goal of such engagement, however, is not civility but justice.

In the conversation between the panelists and the audience which followed, three major themes emerged. The first was the scope and purpose of the law in responding to events such as in Charlottesville. Professor Kaveny suggested that while appropriate legislation is important, we must also ask how to change hearts and minds rather than simply silencing opponents.

The second was the BC community's own symbols and practices. One conversation here centered around the issue of the Law School's predominantly white male portraiture. Dean Rougeau highlighted the complexities of this discussion but also acknowledged that "it is well past time for our hallways to reflect the community we are today."

The third was the relation of civility to political action. The panel considered whether civility could be equated with politeness. They also complexified standard typologies of political action by discussing the way in which Martin Luther King Jr.'s nonviolence was designed precisely to expose latent cultural violence. As the conversation concluded, Dean Rougeau warned against the loss of the memory of the suffering risked and endured by those who did so. After Charlottesville and beyond, we must ask ourselves personally and as a community, "what are we willing to give up…to demonstrate that we are actually serious about what we believe in?"

About the Panelists

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

VINCENT D. ROUGEAU became Dean of Boston College Law School on July 1, 2011. He previously served as a Professor of Law at Notre Dame, and served as their Associate Dean for Academic Affairs from 1999–2002. He received his A.B. magna cum laude from Brown University in 1985, and his J.D. from Harvard Law School in 1988, where he served as articles editor of the *Harvard Human Rights Journal*.

CATHLEEN KAVENY, a scholar who focuses on the relationship of law, religion, and morality, joined the Boston College faculty in January 2014 as the Darald and Juliet Libby Professor, a position that includes appointments in both the department of theology and the Law School. She is the first faculty member to hold such a joint appointment. A member of the Massachusetts Bar since 1993, Professor Kaveny clerked for the Honorable John T. Noonan Jr. of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit and worked as an associate at the Boston law firm Ropes & Gray in its health law group.

Professor Kaveny has published four books and over 100 articles and essays in journals and books specializing in law, ethics, and medical ethics. She serves on the masthead of *Commonweal* as a regular columnist. Her books include *Law's Virtues: Fostering Autonomy and Solidarity in American Society* (Georgetown University Press, 2012); *A Culture of Engagement: Law, Religion, and Morality* (Georgetown University Press, 2016); *Prophecy without Contempt: Religious Discourse in the Public Square* (Harvard University Press, 2016); and *Ethics at the Edges of Law: Christian Moralists and American Legal Thought* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

DANIEL FARBMAN joined the Boston College Law faculty as an Assistant Professor of Law in 2017. He teaches and writes in the areas of local government law, legal history, constitutional law, the legal profession, civil rights, and property. His work focuses on the legal history of radical reform movements in public law both from an institutional perspective and from the perspective of the practice of cause lawyering.

In *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine,* the U.S. journalist Anne Applebaum details the events and decisions that created the Ukrainian famine. A former *Washington Post* columnist, Applebaum also runs Arena, a project on propaganda and misinformation. The primary questions Applebaum addresses in her book are: what was the famine, and why did it happen?

In the spring of 1932, peasants all over the Soviet Union are starting to go hungry. Secret police reports were sent to Moscow, reporting that children were going hungry, and that people were resorting to eating grass and acorns. One letter from Ukrainian peasants remarks that, "The bourgeoisie has created a famine here, part of a capitalist plot to create a backlash against the Kremlin." According to Applebaum, this was not a plot from the bourgeoisie, but was rather due to policies that created chaos in the agricultural economy; policies that were instigated by Stalin.

By 1932, it was becoming clear that the program was not working. It was causing chaos, disaster. Peasants were sending letters to Communist Party leaders in the Ukraine that were explicitly stating that people were going to die, and requested help. According to Applebaum, at that moment, Stalin could've helped, for example by asking for international assistance, like they did in the 1920–21 famine. Stalin could have called for the halting of grain exports. He could have also stopped demanding a requisition of grain from peasants. Instead, the political bureau made a

series of decisions that widened and deepened the famine in the countryside. Stalin considered this important for the program. In doing so, roadblocks were set up that were designed to keep peasants in their villages. At the height of the crisis, teams were organized, motivated by conspiratorial rhetoric, and entered peasant households and took everything edible. The result was a complete catastrophe. The famine went from being spotty, to being something very intense, particularly in the central region of the Ukraine. Peasants began eating moss, bark, frogs, crows, etc.

Some people survived because they had a cousin or a friend in the bureaucracy, some survived because the state expanded its network of hard currency shops (at their peak in 1933, there were 1,300 of these) and they would trade gold and jewelry for grain. For silver and gold, one could procure grain, flour, etc. In the spring of 1933, there was a spike of deaths, and villages were emptied. People died at railway stations, as they couldn't get tickets to leave. At about the same time, the Soviet Political Police launched an attack on the Ukrainian intelligentsia, political elite, professors, writers, artists, bureaucrats. Anyone who was connected to the short-lived Ukrainian republic, as well as anyone who promoted Ukrainian history or language, could get sent to labor camp, or executed. At the same time, Ukrainian churches were destroyed, and art was confiscated. Taken together, these two policies, the famine in the winter and the repression of the Ukrainian political class, brought about the Sovietization of the Ukraine.

Applebaum argues that the Ukrainian famine is a case of genocide as opposed to a natural occurrence or unplanned catastrophe. The famine not only affected the lives of individuals, but culture and a nation. Why did Stalin do it? Why did people go along with his decision? In order to understand the Bolshevik animus toward the Ukraine, it is important to go back in time. The problem of the Ukraine, according to Applebaum, has a precise starting point in 1917. In Kiev, there was a third revolution, spearheaded by a group of intellectuals. At the first moment they appeared, the Bolsheviks started to undermine them. They were revolutionary, but they were not Bolshevik. They wanted a redistribution of land, but didn't want to be part of the Soviet Union. As imperial Russia collapsed, they wanted to be part of the same spring of nations that were being born across Europe. Their ambition was to join those nations and become independent. Completely contrary to what to Bolsheviks wanted. As men educated in the Russian empire, it was difficult to see Ukraine as a separate entity. As Marxists, they had mixed feelings about the peasants, didn't trust their revolutionary credentials, and felt like they need to keep Ukraine within the USSR.

One letter sent to officials read, "For God's sake, use all energy and revolutionary measures to send grain, grain, and more grain." Applebaum argues that this obsession with grain is part of the goal of keeping Ukraine inside the Soviet Union. Stalin not only denounced Ukrainian sovereignty in 1917, he followed up with active measures: psychological games that were meant to destabilize the enemy. By establishing mini soviet republics inside of the Ukraine. Eventually they conquered Ukraine in 1918, and conquering Kiev a second time in 1919. This was followed by a massive peasant rebellion, the largest to take place in Europe.

For a brief time, the Bolsheviks almost lost the Revolution in 1919, when the White Army got close. The "cruel lesson of 1919" was often discussed years after, leading to a different set of policies in the 1920s. Soviet leaders were thinking about collectivization in 1929 and 1930, specifically about "what could go wrong in the Ukraine." As collectivization began to go wrong in 1931 and 1932, Stalin became fixated with chaos in Ukraine. He wrote a letter, "The most important issue now is Ukraine." Stalin refers to one of the Ukrainian leaders in the rebellion, and Ukraine as a source of instability.

Applebaum argues that it is important to understand the Ukrainian famine for a variety of reasons. It is the background to the Russian and Ukrainian struggle today. Because it had such a profound effect on the politics and psychology of the Ukraine, the famine shapes the way people think of the Ukraine and Russia. Even three generations later, a lot of the Ukraine's political problems can be traced to the first-generation murder of the elite. The men and women who would've led the country were removed. Those who led the Ukraine in the aftermath of the famine were taught to be wary and cowed. The state was something to fear. Politicians and bureaucrats were never thought of as benign public servants. All of these political pathologies date back to 1933. The Russification of the famine left its mark. Russians don't think of it as part of their own history. It also explains Ukraine's mixed loyalties.

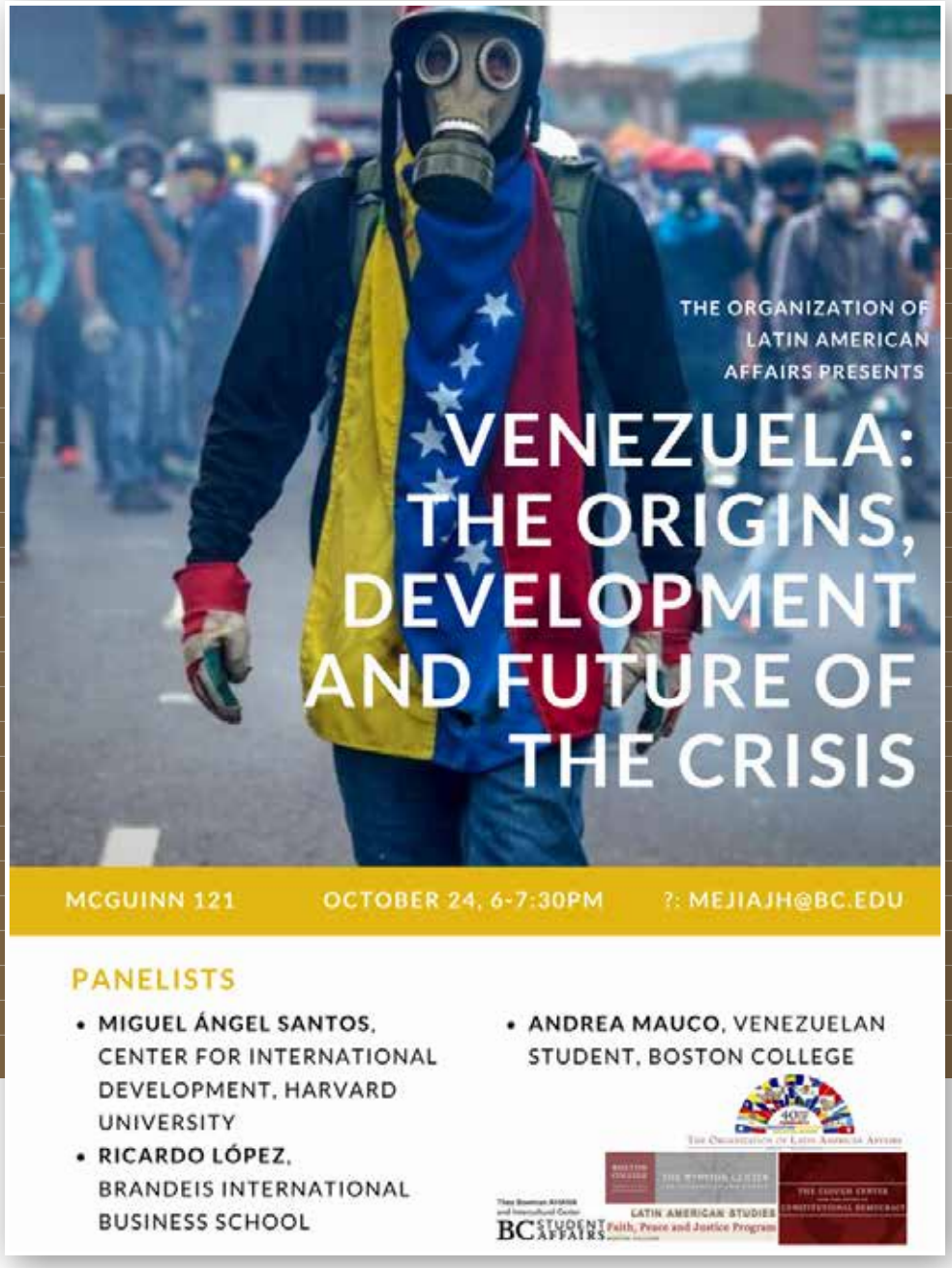
From the time of the revolution, the Bolsheviks knew they were a minority. They used virulent forms of propaganda, dedicating some as loyal Soviet citizens, others as enemies. That language helped explain why some of the ordinary men and women who helped facilitate the famine went along with it, as they felt morally justified. Eighty years later, the Russian FSD (successor of the KGB) continues to demonize its opponents. The nature and form of hate speech has changed, but some of the intentions haven't.

Stalin spoke obsessively about loss of control in the Ukraine. He knew that a sovereign Ukraine could rob Russia of their legitimacy. If Ukraine had rejected Soviet ideology, that would've cast doubt on the entire Soviet project. Russia's current leadership knows this same history. If Ukraine became "European" then Russians could ask "why might us?" Young people are currently calling for rule of law, denouncing corruption, etc., which could very well prove contagious. Which is why the Russian government believes it must be stopped by any means possible, whether through disinformation, corruption—anything to undermine Ukrainian sovereignty. Constant talk of war and enemies is part of Putin's strategy of keeping power. He can protect Russians from Nazis in the Ukraine and Islamic radicals in Syria. In the end, the famine failed. It is always important to remember that Ukraine was not destroyed, its language still exists, and the desire for something better is still there. Years of terror left their mark, and people still speak of it.

About Anne Applebaum

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Anne Applebaum is a columnist for the *Washington Post* and *Slate*, and a historian of Central and Eastern Europe. She is the author of several books including *Gulag: A History*, which won the 2004 Pulitzer Prize for non-fiction, as well as *Iron Curtain: The Crushing of Eastern Europe, 1945-1956* which was nominated for the National Book Award in 2012 and won the Cundill Prize for Historical Literature. Her reviews appear regularly in the *New York Review of Books* and the *New Republic*, and she also writes occasional columns in the *Daily Telegraph*. Applebaum directs the program on Global Transitions at the Legatum Institute in London, and in 2012–2013 she was the Phillipe Roman visiting Professor of History and International Relations at the London School of Economics. Between 2001 and 2006, she was a member of the editorial board of the *Washington Post*. She is a former deputy editor of the *Spectator* magazine, a former political columnist for the *Evening Standard* newspaper, and a former Warsaw correspondent for *the Economist*.



This event, organized by the Organization of Latin American Affairs, featured a panel of two graduate students, and two economists, who discussed the reasons for Venezuela's path to economic ruin and dictatorship.

The panel commenced with personal reports by two undergraduate students, Rodolfo Postigo and Andrea Mauco, who have both experienced Venezuela's political and economic decline firsthand. Mr. Postigo, whose family still lives in Venezuela so he travels there often, painted the picture of a country falling into disarray. Before coming to the United States "in search of a better education" in 2015, Mr. Postigo reported having fought "for freedom and justice against our repressive regime," in the widespread street demonstrations against the socialist government of Nicolás Maduro that have repeatedly flared up since 2014. The 2017 demonstrations were the most violent, costing the lives of 160 demonstrators in three months of street battles.

Andrea Mauco left Venezuela with her family at the age of six, following the failed 2002 coup d'état against Hugo Chavez, bound for Colombia, then Panama, and lastly Florida. Even though she has not lived or visited Venezuela in 15 years, Ms. Mauco feels the agony of being "*lejos pero no ausente*...We can't physically be present...but we're still there." She has done this via collection drives to support people in Venezuela with "basic needs, food, diapers," etc. Ms. Mauco has supported in particu-

lar activists who are resisting the state by sending them tennis shoes, hats, and clothing so that they are able to keep protesting. She tried to relay to an American audience accustomed to abundance the scarcity existing in Venezuela. It is this fact of life in Venezuela that leads her to believe that the system cannot exist for much longer, given that there are millions of people starving in a country that was one of the most prosperous of Latin America at the end of the twentieth century.

Miguel Angel Santos, Senior Research Fellow in International Development at Harvard and Venezuelan opposition activist, believes that the trajectory of Venezuela's path toward economic hubris is "surprisingly boring." Venezuela enjoyed one of the "largest oil bonanzas ever but managed to multiply its foreign debt by six." State policies to increase the welfare state created an artificial consumption boom but did not encourage domestic production. The absence of a private domestic economy ensured that Venezuela could not cope with the severe fall in the price of oil after 2010. The government drastically reduced imports of goods and foodstuffs in order to pay for its increased liabilities, which has plunged the country into deep scarcity and near-starvation levels.

Ricardo Lopez, Assistant Professor of Economics at Brandeis University, compared Venezuela's situation to Chile's under the government of the socialist Salvador Allende, which underwent a similar economic crisis in the years 1972–73. Lopez, who is Chilean, reported that the Venezuelan situation may actually be worse since the government no longer publishes data on its economic performance, and estimated inflation at lying somewhere between one and two thousand percent. What is more, an estimated 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, as opposed to 48 percent when Hugo Chavez, the father of Venezuela's Bolivarian Socialist experiment, won the 1998 elections. This negative development has wreaked havoc with Venezuela's economic human development, which has fallen to the levels of the 1960s and early 70s, causing a dramatic brain drain and the end of foreign direct investment. Whereas before Chavez, Venezuela attracted three percent of its GDP via FDI, and even under Chavez still constituted one percent, under the rule of his successor, Nicolás Maduro, no foreign money flows into the country.

Responding to a question from Boston College Sociologist Gustavo Morello, S.J., about the causes for Chavismo's continued popular support, Lopez explained that Chavez rode to power thanks to Venezuela's structural problems, which were caused by unequal economic and political development. Venezuelan elites had amassed political and economic control of the country, leaving a large segment of the population poor and effectively disenfranchised. Lopez explained, however, that these problems are common to other Latin American countries. Chavez was able to point to these problems, and to the fact that Venezuela's oil wealth did not enrich the country equitably. He noted that Chavez had never been completely wedded to socialism, as Chile's Allende had been, because he wanted the market to continue to function, albeit guided by a strong state with the task of preventing monopolies.

Angel Santos broached the topic of how a political transition might take place, which is for him the only way in which Venezuela will come out of the crisis. He ruled out a partial transition whereby Chavista leaders retained some power. Rather, it has to be a complete transition preceded by a complete control of the streets by the opposition and international support, including institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, through sanctions. Given Venezuela's penchant to engage itself in world politics by financing terrorist groups in the Middle East and business deals with Iran and Russia, such international isolation of the regime is possible. Otherwise, he fears, Venezuela will become another Cuba.

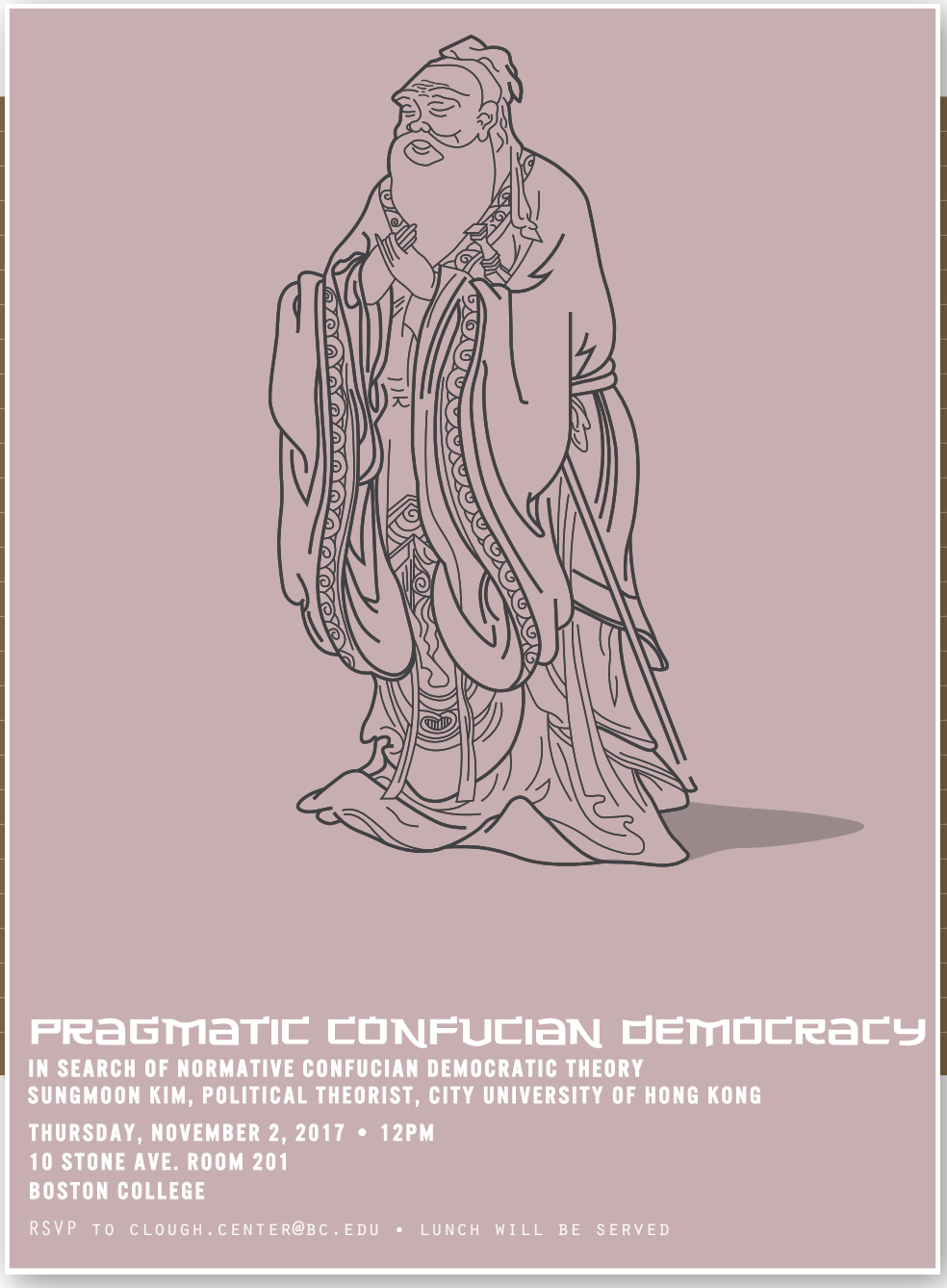
Lopez focused on internal aspects that might cause the collapse of the Venezuelan regime. Having borrowed too much money without possessing significant assets as a consequence of oil's continuing low prices, the Venezuelan government might default on its debts. This might cause the collapse of Mr. Maduro's government, but this could be offset by support from China, Russia, and other BRICs. Venezuela will only get out of the crisis if it figures out how to diversify its economy and begin exporting alternate goods. As of this moment, the country is not competitive in the world market. There was fundamental consensus amongst the speakers that while substantial economic reforms were needed, from privatization to the promotion of FDI, a political transformation is required to change the negative trajectory that Venezuela has taken under the aegis of Chavismo.

About the Speakers

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Dr. Miguel Ángel Santos is a Senior Research Fellow at the Center for International Development at Harvard. Before joining academia, Miguel Ángel accumulated more than 10 years of experience doing corporate finance and business development in Latin America, working for a large family business, investment banks, and multinational companies. In 2013, he was the head of the Macroeconomic Policy Team for presidential candidate Henrique Capriles Radonski in the Venezuelan elections of that year. He is also a frequent contributor for the Brookings Institution.

Ricardo López is Professor of Economics at the Brandeis International Business School. He specializes in international trade, economic development, productivity analysis, and Latin America. His research focuses on firms' behavior in international markets and the role of international trade as a source of economic growth.



On November 2, 2017, the political theorist Sungmoon Kim (City University of Hong Kong) spoke in the Conference Room at 10 Stone Avenue on his latest project, which he calls "pragmatic Confucian democracy."

As Kim explained, the late Harvard Professor Samuel Huntington argued in his 1991 book, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*, that democracy depends on certain social prerequisites that are not to be found in many non-Western societies. Huntington's book prompted a large number of scholars to investigate the prospects for non-Western forms of democracy, such as Ubuntu democracy, Islamic democracy, and Hindu democracy. But Huntington also argued that "Confucian democracy" is a contradiction in terms. As a result, for the last two decades, the study of Confucian democracy has become something like an academic subfield of its own.

There are, Kim said, two main models defended by proponents of Confucian democracy. First, there is communitarian Confucian democracy, inspired by John Dewey's reaction against the atomistic strain of Western thought (a strain of thought culminating in what Michael Sandel has called "the unencumbered self"). Communitarian thought has had a certain appeal among supporters of Confucian democracy because, according to Kim, the very notion of "the individual" is absent in East Asia, where the human being is understood to be essentially a relational or

"in-between" being. Thus, the communitarian Confucian model of democracy has emphasized patriarchy, rituals, and social harmony.

The other main model, which might be called meritocratic Confucian democracy, has been developed over the past decade in reaction to the communitarian model. Scholars like Joseph Chan, who spoke at the Clough Center in May 2017, have argued that the communitarian model does not do justice to the governmental dimension of Confucianism that emphasizes rule by moral-intellectual elites. For proponents of meritocratic Confucian democracy, therefore, political equality and popular sovereignty are relatively unimportant; good governance is what matters, and good governance will be achieved only by putting the most intelligent people in charge, they argue. Thus, they advocate forms of democracy that are strongly tempered by elite decision-making bodies.

Kim explained that, although he is quite sympathetic to communitarian Confucian democracy, he has problems with both models. For one thing, he said, there are not all that many strict "Confucians" in East Asian countries today. Young people have become highly Westernized over the last 150 years. In any case, there is no single Confucian way of life to which most East Asians are committed. And, most importantly, East Asian societies have become increasingly diverse. Under these circumstances, what does it mean to promote Confucian democracy?

In 2014, Kim published a book airing these reservations, *Confucian Democracy in East Asia*. This book, he said, was subject to two main lines of criticism. First, strict Confucians criticized him for embracing liberal institutionalism at the expense of genuine Confucianism. (In response to this, he wrote another book, *Public Reason Confucianism*, which was published in 2016.) Second, democratic theorists criticized him for not being clear enough about the sort of democracy he was promoting. And in response to this, he wrote *Democracy after Virtue: Toward Pragmatic Confucian Democracy*, published in 2018.

The primary aim of this book, Kim explained, was to clarify what kind of democracy he had in mind for East Asian countries. But he also hoped to identify the social circumstances that require democracy in the first place. Finally, he wanted to explain the connection between democracy as a political system and democracy as a way of life. (Whereas ordinary political scientists tend to understand democracy in the first sense, Kim said, political theorists tend to focus on democracy in the second sense. Few bring them together.)

Pragmatic Confucian democracy involves justifying democracy for modern East Asian societies on pragmatic grounds. According to Kim, East Asians should adopt democracy not because it is demanded by Confucianism but because it is the best (i.e., most useful) available system for coordinating complex social relationships. Kim's argument is not that democracy will make people better Confucians; it will simply do a better job of meeting their needs by solving the "complex coordination problems" in their societies.

East Asian democrats have rarely discussed what kind of democracy they want, Kim said. As a result, their thought has been largely parasitic on institutions developed in the West (such as juries), despite the fact that they live within a broadly Confucian cultural context. Kim argued that in order for democracy to become "meaningful" for these peoples, it should be adapted to this cultural context. To avoid "backsliding," he said, democracy must be made "intelligible to us"; it must be "ours." Precisely as a system of popular self-government, the value of democracy should not be comprehensible only to those trained in John Rawls, Jurgen Habermas, and Ronald Dworkin.

Democracy is required in East Asia, according to Kim, because neither the ideal of the sage-king (whose job is to elevate people morally) nor "virtue politics" in general are taken seriously any longer. This is largely because these ideas had cosmological and metaphysical underpinnings that are no longer accepted. Very few people in China and Korea, for example, believe in a "heaven" that chooses leaders, Kim said. Nor are there any agreed-upon, "monistic" conceptions of virtue, merit, or the common good. In short, democracy is required because none of the old approaches make sense under the prevailing condition of pluralism. And Kim pointed out that this "pluralism," which is producing so much uneasiness among East Asian peoples, is only a fraction of what has come to be seen as the norm in the West over the past 50 years.

About Sungmoon Kim

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Sungmoon Kim is a political theorist at the City University of Hong Kong who specializes in contemporary Confucian political and constitutional theory, the history of East Asian political thought, and comparative philosophy. Kim's research has appeared in journals such as *American Political Science Review*, *Journal of Politics*, *British Journal of Political Science*, *History of Political Thought*, *Review of Politics*, *Contemporary Political Theory*, *Philosophy East and West*, and *Philosophy & Social Criticism*, among others. A 2016/17 Berggruen Fellow at Harvard University's Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Kim is the author of *Confucian Democracy in East Asia: Theory and Practice* (CUP, 2014), *Public Reason Confucianism: Democratic Perfectionism and Constitutionalism in East Asia* (CUP 2016), and *Democracy after Virtue: Toward Pragmatic Confucian Democracy* (OUP, 2018).

Report on Modern Democracy, the Present Situation, and Higher Education. A Public Conversation. Conference on Educating for Modern Democracy: An Exploration of Philosophical and Religious Resources, November 7, 2017.

This panel, which opened the conference "Educating for Modern Democracy," was initially slated to feature a conversation between two of the most renowned scholars of public religion, the philosopher Charles Taylor and the sociologist José Casanova. As a result of Prof. Taylor's absence, however, the talk was held between Erik Owens, Professor of Theology at the Boisi Center at Boston College, and Professor Casanova, from Georgetown University.

Owens commenced the conversation with a general question about the contemporary problems of American society. Casanova pointed to the dislocations caused by economic inequality and stagnant growth on a large segment of the American population. One novel development is that white Americans are increasingly hit with poverty. In fact, one of the most drastic decreases in the standard of living since the Great Recession is underway. This has in turn nourished the rise of nativist populism, which has a long tradition in American politics, as Casanova is quick to point out—the anti-Catholic Know-Nothing party in the 1850s being an example. Yet, populist nativism had never enjoyed the success of capturing the White House. This is not just an American story. In fact, many countries in Europe and the world, including

majority Catholic ones such as Poland and the Philippines, have also fallen to authoritarian rulers with disdain for democratic institutions. The election of Donald Trump is part of a serious global crisis analogous to that of the 1930s.

Responding to a follow-up question about whether the "loss of control" evident in this global crisis could be tackled with structural changes, Casanova replied in the affirmative, but cautioned that it was impossible to undertake structural changes if the real causes were not recognized. Simply put, many Americans are making political decisions based on misinformation and fabrications. Alluding to the issue of "post-truth," the proliferation of purposely false news and interpretations via social media and presidential tweets, Casanova pointed to the inherent impossibility of coming to a solution if there is no agreement on the actual existence and nature of the problem. A democratic revival and the strengthening of civil society are the only answer to the expansion of authoritarian tendencies. Drawing on the strength of civil society has been the only way in which the support for dictatorship has been rendered mute, says Casanova, who was born under Franco's authoritarian regime in Spain.

Owens wondered if the United States was in a crisis of democracy, or whether excessive democracy itself was the cause for the current crisis. He cited Alexis de Tocqueville's famous musings on the dangers of too much political representation. Casanova argued that the crisis lay in the toxic nature of "tribal" politics that emphasized fundamental opposition to perceived foes. Casanova linked the absence of a welfare state to the lack of solidarity in the United States. Regrettably, Americans only felt united in times of war or foreign aggression, such as a terrorist attack. To overcome this "tribalism," a "fractured polity" as Owens restated it; Casanova argued that the United States needs a healing of its social fabric. Since populism thrives on Othering, it has to be countered via inclusion and social solidarity. He also pointed out the importance for civil society to maintain an active online presence, but recognized that this was a task exclusively for the younger generation.

The conversation turned towards the role of the Churches in creating this social healing. Casanova believes that the Catholic Church has a particular role because of its ethics. The election of Pope Francis, who embodies the sentiment of the 1960s renovation and Pedro Arrupe's 'preferential option for the poor,' means that the Church has become an even stronger ally in the promotion of inclusivity. In fact, he argued modern Catholicism served as a model for cosmopolitanism and inclusiveness. Catholics no longer recognize barriers or borders within the large Catholic family. Catholics already provide a model for a type of a global civil society. Catholic inclusivity had already borne important results. The European Union, for example, which Casanova credits with ushering in an era of social solidarity that has ensured that war amongst European countries is now impossible originated as a project of postwar Christian Democrats. At the same time, Casanova pointed out that humility is required. No one, he insisted, has a monopoly on the truth. This means collaborating with Protestant churches as well as other faiths. He cited Pope Francis's aspiration for religious people to "build bridges and not walls."

Casanova then turned to the question of cosmopolitanism. He belabored the importance of thinking internationally to counteract the sort of toxic nativism that is in evidence in the United States of today. This is difficult for working class people without the means of international travel, as Casanova admitted, but it is not impossible. He pointed, for example, to the role of migrant workers, whom he termed "cosmopolitans from below," in bringing diverse perspectives to the United States. He pointed to the role of cosmopolitan large cities such as New York in creating spaces whereby long-term residents, migrants, organizers, and the Churches could collaborate and create inclusive alliances. Casanova also pointed to the example of Latin America, with its rich array of diverse ethnic groups and cultures that featured "tremendously pluralistic societies." Unfortunately, the Latin American experiment in inclusivity is simply ignored as an example to follow in the United States.

Finalizing the talk, Casanova turned to the role of the universities, and specifically Catholic universities. He argued that universities were symbols of the Church's cosmopolitan ethos. He singled out the Jesuits' emphasis on a humanistic education as the way to create individuals conscious of the world abroad and the community at home. Yet, he also criticized the fact that many universities were still a luxury good only affordable to a rich minority. To fulfill their social function, however, universities need to enhance their inclusivity by admitting ethnic and class minorities.

PANEL: Civility in Public Discourse

As part of the Educating for Modern Democracy conference schedule, the Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy sponsored a panel, "Civility in Public Discourse," on November 8, 2017. Moderated by Professor Mark S. Massa, S.J. of the Boston College Theology Department, the panel discussed how to define civility, the rules civility places on public discourse, and the current state of public discourse in America. Addressing these issues were Boston College Theology and Law Professor M. Cathleen Kaveny and Boston College Law School Dean Vincent D. Rougeau.

Professor Massa began the discussion by asking the panelists to provide their own definition of civility, and to comment on how strongly you can challenge an opinion while remaining civil. Dean Rougeau noted, from a lawyer's perspective, discourse needs rules in order to be productive. Typical boundaries on public discourse have been crumbling, and this may be due to the lack of sanctions for breaking rules. Professor Kaveny expanded on this idea, arguing that rules of civility can be exclusionary because they come from academic halls.

Even within the rules of civility, both panelists suggested commentary with cultural and contextual undertones could convey judgment, misogyny, and racism, and this blurs the boundaries of acceptable public discourse. To illuminate the need for clear boundaries, Dean Rougeau outlined how rule-following forms of protest and discourse helped create progress during the civil rights movement.

As an initial step in restoring civility, Professor Kaveny proposed efforts to broaden the worldview of participants in public discourse. Rather than teaching individuals that misogyny and racism are wrong, for example, she suggested focusing on why they are wrong. Adding empathy to the perspective of those engaged in public discourse could improve the civility of the conversation.

Dean Rougeau agreed with the idea of focusing on underlying beliefs. Speaking on the heels of the August 2017 events in Charlottesville, Virginia, he used the example of Civil War monuments to highlight the historical context of black suppression represented by the statues. Much of the current discourse ignores this historical context, he argued, and allows for a veil of civility to harbor deeply troubling beliefs. Echoing Professor Kaveny's comments on the exclusionary rules of civility, Dean Rougeau contended that power is driving the direction of public discourse through the exploitation of civility, defining what can and cannot be questioned.

While clearly setting boundaries for civility is essential for achieving progress, it can also serve to deflect real issues. As noted by Professor Kaveny, once we start to acknowledge underlying judgment in public discourse we may open the door to calls of incivility on both sides. She went on to suggest we must draw a clearer line to distinguish between justice and injustice. In particular, she commented on the need to reserve claims of victimhood for individuals who have suffered an injustice. Too often, one side uses victimhood to prevent a challenge to their argument.

Adding to this idea, Dean Rougeau separated the concept of injustice from harm. Drawing attention to harm forces us to put people into victim groups. However, this allows groups like white men to hide behind victimhood. Rather than acknowledging mistreatment, identifying harm and the consequences of harm may obscure the true victims of injustice. Ultimately, Professor Kaveny contends, victimhood may be counterproductive. The conversation then turned to other factors that define public discourse. Dean Rougeau made the point that class is a major obstacle for engagement. Conversations rarely cross racial lines due to money and wealth disparities. He argues that the wealthy are able to distract and divide using race, which raises moral questions about the civility of the discourse.

Professor Kaveny again offered some guidance on how to work through distractions and divisions, urging the study of rhetoric. The benefits of understanding techniques of rhetoric would be twofold. First, it would allow those engaged in discourse to learn how political actors manipulate so that we can address underlying policies. Second, it would allow participants to be versed in how to convey political persuasion.

An important caveat is that the techniques of rhetoric are constantly evolving. Just a few years ago, policy and reason drove political discourse. Oftentimes, reason made the discussion seem too inhumane, so political comedians rose in popularity to deflate the cold commentary. Now, President Trump has channeled more feeling to make politics more human. His didactic rhetoric highlights praise and blame, and comedians no longer produce an adequate counter.

Without comedy, Dean Rougeau suggested that making the other more relatable and human might be the best way to engage with one another in communities. Referencing back to the class divide, he commented on the fall in empathy as inequality has increased and as mobility has led to the physical separation of classes. He summarized by noting that it is easy to demonize the other that you never see. Professor Kaveny concurred with this argument, adding that fear plays a role too.

Moving forward, both panelists believe that a local focus could promote progress more effectively. Highlighting the example set by diverse and thriving cities, they noted how local leaders could stand up for civility.

Another challenge facing civility is the rise of new forms of communication and the prevalence of fake news. Professor Kaveny discussed how, just as reason has fallen out of political discourse, popularity has replaced rationality on many social media platforms. Both panelists agreed that this has led to the rise of more so-called experts, whose loud ideas drown out more

nuanced arguments. Exacerbating this shift is the inability of readers to be thoughtful consumers of news.

To counteract this trend, Dean Rougeau argued the need to educate students at low levels to be literate in thought. Expanding on this idea, Professor Kaveny believed students should understand a fixed point of truth exists, and that differing perspectives around that fixed point are valid. There is importance in multiple viewpoints, and the representation of different values focused on justice will allow diverse populations to converge around civility.

PANEL: Politics and Economics

The Clough Center sponsored a panel discussion on "Politics and Economics" for the November 8, 2017 conference Educating for a Modern Democracy. Professors Marc Landy and Kay L. Schlozman, both from the Boston College political science department, served as panelists while Professor Joseph Quinn of the economics department moderated the conversation. The talk began with prepared remarks from Professors Schlozman and Landy, followed by questions from the audience.

Professor Schlozman began by highlighting how the processes to exercise political influence lie at the intersection of politics and economics. In particular, she outlined three specific pairs of options. Citizens can devote time or money to their cause, they can support their cause individually or through an organization, and they can work to influence policy directly through policy makers or indirectly through electoral outcomes. Affluent citizens, Professor Schlozman argued, have more voice because of the unconstrained, organized, and direct influence that money creates in politics.

Expanding upon this idea, Professor Schlozman noted that, along politically relevant characteristics such as wealth, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and homeownership, the input into political voice is not representative. The well-educated and the affluent are overrepresented in the current political system. Due to the correlation between education, wealth, and race, this means that whites are overrepresented in their political voice and visibility.

Compounding the problem is the misuse of more indirect or constrained methods of exercising political influence. For example, Professor Schlozman noted that the indirect effort of voting is largely driven by those who are interested and informed. Education is the best predictor of poll turnout, but those who do are also the people who best understand the irrationality of voting. Similarly, even when significant time can be devoted to political activities, the participation often falls on educated individuals and the effectiveness depends upon the civic skills of volunteers.

Professor Schlozman summarized by arguing that political voice largely boils down to money and income. As such, she went on to highlight two major changes in political finance that have shifted political power more toward wealthy individuals. First, the Citizens United decision in the U.S. Supreme Court, which protected campaign giving as free speech under the first amendment and lifted the cap on political contributions by corporations, led to an unequal ability to provide campaign funding. Second, rising income inequality, driven by rapid income growth at the top of the income distribution, has made it so that the benefits of economic growth are not shared equally. Wage growth is unequal, and the shift in corporate structure from stakeholders to shareholders has altered who receives the stream of corporate revenues and profits. These two components concentrated wealth and allowed it to be put toward political ends.

In what followed, referencing 2012 congressional election data, Professor Schlozman made clear that there have since been large increases in campaign spending, and they have come from a small number of very big donors. In particular, 28% of disclosed political contributions have come from 0.01% of the population. Importantly, nearly every candidate that won a 2012 congressional election received money from one of those donors, and the funds from the top 0.01% were usually more than the combined contributions from small donors. Campaign contributions from organizations follow similar patterns. Most organizations have stakeholders rather than members—things like corporations, universities, or hospitals—and they hire paid professionals to be advocates. These stakeholder organizations regularly spend over three-quarters of their total budget on political lobbying. Meanwhile, just 2% of organizations and lobbies represent socially disadvantaged groups.

Professor Landy then spoke on how the legitimacy of political systems depends on economics and republican democracy, where a republican democracy requires a mass and heterogeneous population. In particular, he highlighted the tension that inherently exists between commercialism and republican democracy. Trade can encourage ties across and within borders, and promote economic growth, but it also encourages misanthropy, materialization, and it can generate inequality. In combination with liberalism, which promotes rule of law through things like property rights, inequality allows the rich to use their power to impose rent-seeking.

Using the United States as an example, Professor Landy highlighted three distinct periods. The first was in America's found-

ing period, when the anti-Federalists were skeptical of commercialization and were opposed to displays of wealth. Led by Thomas Jefferson, anti-Federalists favored farming and saw it as a way to cultivate self-government. Yeomen were the stewards of their own land, and it gave people agency. Alexander Hamilton, on the other hand, thought manufacture was better for national security, as it makes the country rich and strong and produces goods to trade with the South.

A second period occurred during the Civil War. President Lincoln argued for the dignity of labor, noting that working is better than not working. He believed that work is egalitarian when everyone works hard. Confronting this notion were slave owners, who favored the commercial aspects of labor. The Civil War partially played out this tension.

Finally, the late nineteenth century saw the advent of limited liability corporations. This served the democratic purpose of allowing more ordinary people to pursue larger economic endeavors, but it led to economic concentration, inequality, and rent-seeking. In fighting this growing trend, a debate on regulation occurred in America in the early 1900s to determine how to manage powerful corporations.

In summarizing these periods, Professor Landy noted that we cannot eradicate the commercial spirit or the free labor principles put forth by democratic ideals. A balance must exist between these two competing forces, founded on an idea of equality of sweat and equal wage growth.

Professor Landy went on to call for the economic elite to recognize their responsibility to cultivate social ties and work toward socially optimal outcomes. He believes that these social ties may help temper the excesses of commercialization. While corporations have been making progress on environmental matters, and some wealthy individuals are well-known philanthropists, corporations do not seem to be making the same strides on social issues. Ideally, the government could develop these ties, but policy judgments are hard to target and may not appeal to those with political voice.

PANEL: The Anti-Theological and Neo-Liberal Problem of Whiteness: Toward an Ontology of No Edges

In this compelling and disturbing lecture, Dr. George Yancy argued that American democracy itself is white and racist. Rather than propose "solutions," he challenged especially his white listeners to "tarry" and "linger" in the space of affective and cognitive discomfort opened up by the contemplation of their own racism.

> "democratic white America is willing only to provide pity and charity, but not justice?"

Dr. Yancy was introduced by Dr. M. Shawn Copeland, of Boston College's Department of Theology. Dr Copeland highlighted Dr. Yancy's expertise in the critical philosophy of race, critical whiteness studies, and philosophy of the black experience. She also highlighted Dr. Yancy's national recognition, including as a recipient of the CHOICE Outstanding Academic Book Award, an Honorable Mention from the Gustavus Myers Center for the Study of Bigotry and Human Rights, and the American Philosophical Association Committee on Public Philosophy's Op-Ed Award. She noted that he is well known for his public articles and interviews, and that his work has had significant international impact, for example in Turkey, South Africa, Sweden, and Australia. Dr. Copeland thanked Dr. Yancy for calling on us to "excise the malignancy of white supremacy in our culture and our lives" throughout his many publications. She promised a challenging and enlightening talk ahead.

Dr. Yancy began with a series of "dangerous questions," which asked whether black hope for a truly just America is unfounded. What if, he asked, to be black in America is already to be "duped" by the kind of hope which serves to keep people in their place? He told the audience that the recent killings of unarmed black bodies by "the state or proxies for the state" had, for him as a black man, caused "a deep sense of existential angst." What if, in response, "democratic white America is willing only to provide pity and charity, but not justice?" What if, "to be black within our white society is already to be dead, always already disposable?" What if hope, therefore, is "part of the very structure of white hegemony?" Dr Yancy said that he believed in black resistance—in taking a stand—but worried that on the other side of resistance may simply be more resistance, *ad nauseam*.

Black people in America, he continued, desire radical democratic inclusion and the recognition of their full humanity. White people can barely imagine "waking up each morning wondering whether your humanity matters," because within the "white, racist beast called American democracy," to be white is to be human. An adequate response requires both courageous speech and courageous listening.

Courageous speech, or *parrhesia*, requires telling it all. It is risky, harsh and asks something directly of the listener. Drawing on Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel's understanding of the role of the prophet, Dr. Yancy described the way in which courageous speech about racism must take the form of interference. As Martin Luther King Jr. put it, the courageous speaker must be "maladjusted" to militarism, racism, and hatred. "I don't consider myself a prophet," Dr. Yancy said, "but I'm certainly maladjusted." He explained that for a black man in America, not to be maladjusted would be a form of bad faith that may even be suicidal. As Heschel said, "the prophet's word comes as a scream in the night." Dr. Yancy asked the audience, "Have you heard [this scream]?...what does it sound like?" Referencing Eric Garner's devastating final words before his death at the hands of a white police officer in 2014, he suggested that it might sound something like: "I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe. I can't breathe."

Courageous listening, then, involves an openness "to have one's white assumptions shattered." Dr. Yancy referred to author bell hooks's claim that she "came to theory because she was hurting"; she needed to come. Was this true of those of us at the conference, he asked? If not, the *optional* nature of white engagement with conversation about race itself represents privilege. White people must be open, vulnerable, and linger within the space of confrontation with their own whiteness. Whites who consider themselves "enlightened" must be ready to die to their own self-righteousness. Dr Yancy asked the audience to consider: what if to be white in America is to be racist? Heschel claimed that racism is worse than idolatry. Dr. Yancy agreed that, indeed, racism is "anti-theological." But "where are those whites who are refusing to accept whiteness in the name of love?"

As an exercise in courageous speech and (for the audience) listening, Dr. Yancy shared some of the vitriolic, explicitly white supremacist hate mail he received in his response to his article/letter, "Dear White America," which was published in the *New York Times* in December 2015. This mail included several death threats. He invited the audience to witness "how America sounds and feels to me," and asked them again to sit with the affective impact of the language of the hate mail. This mail had confirmed for him, in a visceral way, what he had already known to be true. Namely, the idea that America is a "post-racial society" is a lie. He subsequently highlighted the distorted perspectives on black bodies that have long facilitated brutal racist violence—from lynchings to more recent police shootings. For example, in the killing of unarmed African immigrant Amadou Diallo, 22, in New York in 1999, the wallet in the hand of a young black man "phantasmatically becomes a weapon." Diallo was shot 41 times by police. This, Dr. Yancy expressed, "is the democratic America that I know."

He asked again whether white people are "ready to bear witness to the terror of your own whiteness?" Again, this involves letting go of the attempt to "arrive," conclusively, at a point of anti-racism. It involves the continuous attempt to "unsuture" oneself from one's whiteness and to accept the self as already "haptic." A *relational* ontology accepts that bodies are already "traditional." Bodies unavoidably impact one another. To do away with the "fantasy" of separateness is to accept the way in which white bodies already impact black bodies by their mere presence. Thus, while "some are guilty," "*all* whites are *responsible* for white dominance since their very being depends upon it." Against this background, to educate is firstly to admit such a state of "moral emergency." Accordingly, we—white people in particular—should tarry in this "space of breakdown." We should become apostates to the God of whiteness. We should listen for the word of the prophet as a scream in the night, "for it is that scream that might radically embolden us towards educating for modern democracy."

PANEL: Inclusive Gender Education and Democratic Imperative to Love Our Neighbors

From November 7–10, 2017, Boston College hosted a conference entitled Educating for Modern Democracy: An Exploration of Philosophical and Religious Resources. The conference was sponsored by the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences, the Clough Center, the Boisi Center, the Departments of Philosophy and Theology, and the Lonergan Institute. At 11:30 am on November 10th, Judith Green delivered a plenary talk entitled "Inclusive Gender Education and Democratic Imperative to Love Our Neighbors."

Judith Green is a Professor of Philosophy and Co-Director of Women's Studies at Fordham University in the Bronx, NY. She is the author of *Deep Democracy: Community, Diversity, and Transformation* and *Pragmatism and Social Hope: Deepening Democracy in Global Contexts*. Her areas of interest include American philosophy, ethics and applied ethics, philosophy of education, philosophy of religion, African American philosophy, Native American philosophies, and feminist theory.

Dr. Green started her talk by mentioning that recent gender-related events in American society, particularly concerning the actions of President Trump, have caused many Americans to worry that "our culture fabric of basic civility is wearing out and that our nation's long-enduring commitments to basic justice,

moral equality, and community solidarity are no longer generally shared." Such events illustrate the need for a change in American culture, and Green argues that inclusive gender education can be a highly effective strategy for promoting such a change, and deepening the broader democratic character of American culture.

Dr. Green divided her talk into three parts. In the first, she discussed how "gender matters intersectionally." She asserted that when talking about gender, it is important to move beyond essentialism. In other words, no one is solely a gender. Not all persons who identify as the same gender are exactly the same. Furthermore, "gender, sex, and sexuality are not fixed individual attributes, but rather interlinked relational characteristics over which individuals have some limited development and expressive control." Norms concerning gender and sexuality have changed over time due to a variety of factors, and how such changes occur is affected by other aspects of our social intersectionality, which explains why black feminism is different from white feminism, and Catholic feminism is different from secular feminism. However, when norms concerning gender are challenged, this often provokes a strong reaction from various sectors of society. Even today, Green said, many American heterosexual males define their "masculine" gender identity negatively, in terms of how they are different or opposite from the "feminine." Americans have witnessed such behavior from Donald Trump, who has called "ugly" and "nasty" those women who possess high intelligence, corporate leadership, political success, and other stereotypically "masculine" attributes.

The second part of Green's talk asserted that gender equality requires democracy to "go deep." This means that we must let go of what she calls "atomic individualism" and embrace a vision of democracy for which every "I" emerges out of and requires the continuing support of one or more "We's." According to Green, American society is filled with persons whom she refers to as "predators." These predators use other people as disposable means to achieve their personal ends, and misuse the revolutionary texts of the Founding Fathers to support their self-serving visions. In light of this, Green stated that today's citizens have a responsibility that goes beyond just voting and paying taxes. We must fulfill our deeply democratic imperative to "love our neighbors." Feminists have often described this imperative as a "loving gaze," recognizing and supporting individuals in their diverse and distinctive identities.

In the third and final portion of her talk, Green argued that "inclusive gender education advances loving democratic solidarity." Inclusive gender education, when done rightly, can increase our ability to put a "loving gaze" into practice. Green provided us with some necessary components of inclusive gender education. It must teach about women's intersectionality, not just paying attention to a certain type of woman, namely the white, heterosexual, able-bodied Christian woman. It must gain inspiration not just from well-known texts but through the process of dialogue with others in a classroom or community. Men must also take part in this inclusive education along with women. Men and women should be encouraged to be "gender rebels" and engage in activities that defy gender stereotypes. For example, men should cook and do laundry, and women should learn the martial arts and finance. Both men and women also must question religious and cultural norms that enforce a gender hierarchy. A major example of this is the Catholic Church's ban on women's ordination, which Green called "a refusal of the work of the Holy Spirit." Finally, an inclusive gender education must always strive to share and spread the imperative to "love our neighbors."

Dr. Green's talk was very inspiring, especially to an audience of university professors and students. In a pluralistic society where individuals hold different and often contradictory religious, philosophical, and political views, some may back away from addressing issues like gender, race, or sexual orientation in the classroom. However, such confrontation is necessary in order to truly put into practice the injunction to "love our neighbors" in today's political climate. Green also addressed a recurring question in the post-Obama era, which is, What can we do? She reminded us that our responsibilities go beyond just voting and campaigning, and we must be mindful of the imperative to "love our neighbors" in our scholarship, teaching, and in our everyday lives. Democratic ideals are not solely promoted at the voting booth, but in schools and communities. We must try to live the democracy we hope to see.

PANEL: Christianity, Philosophy, and the Public Square

In this penultimate conference session, participants gathered to reflect on the role of Christianity in the "public square" as well on the nature of the democratic "public" itself. The panelists were Pablo Iturrieta (Department of Philosophy, Dominican University, Ottawa), Maria Sozopoulou (Department of Philosophy, University of Ioannina), and Kevin Kennedy (Department of Philosophy, St. Johns University). Drawing on the work of major figures in the Western philosophical and theological traditions, the speakers offered timely reminders of the challenges and opportunities for "public" religion in a pluralistic age.

Iturrieta's paper was entitled "Aquinas, Religion and the Public Square." He began by describing the usual conversations about religion in "public," for example, about the display of religious

symbols on public buildings, or the mention of God in political speeches. These are seen to be different from religious actions which take place in "the privacy of your own soul." Referencing his own experience of education in Canada, he highlighted the ways in which secularity can facilitate the co-existence of multiple religions.

Iturrieta stated that his goal was to challenge the very concept of "religion" used in such discussions. He did so through a retrieval of Thomas Aquinas's idea of religion *as a virtue*, rather than a "system of belief." Religion is a virtue which may be expressed in a constellation of acts (e.g., prayers, oaths, vows, or tithing). For Aquinas, "religion" is not directly connected to the theological virtue of faith. Rather, it is annexed to the cardinal moral virtue of justice. Therefore, religion is the settled disposition to render what is due *to the divine*. Noting that Aquinas's discussion of this virtue allows a broad notion of the divine—such that this virtue is not limited to Christians—Iturrieta argued that this notion of religion is a more effective tool for dealing with questions about religion in public. One reason for this is that it relocates certain debates about "religious freedom" (e.g., the need for Catholic institutions to facilitate access to contraception for employees) as really about freedom of conscience or "faith." He argued that this more accurately describes what is at stake.

Drawing also on Hannah Arendt's concept of politics as "a stage for virtue," Iturrieta concluded by describing four "stages" on which the virtue of religion is practiced. Suggesting more of a continuum than a dualism between "public" and "private," he described these as: the inner life of the soul; liturgy; physical spaces for liturgy and service of the poor; and the political public forum. On the final stage, religious acts such as swearing an oath in God's name may help define and protect the *common* good.

Sozopoulou turned to classical resources. Her paper focused on "Plato's Critique of Democracy."

She admitted that Plato makes a strong critique of democracy. He thought that real happiness would be attainable in the polis only after a radical reconstruction of society based on true philosophy. Some of Plato's modern interpreters have thus taken him to be an enemy of modern democracy. This view, however, represents a misinterpretation. Rather than a total overhaul, "the Platonic critique would suggest a reconceptualization and reformation of democracy."

On Sozopoulou's interpretation, Plato admits three basic elements as necessary for a healthy polis. These are freedom, friendship, and prudence. While a degree of freedom facilitates true human flourishing, unlimited freedom is problematic. For Plato, his contemporary Athens embodied just such an *extreme* version of democracy, which he rejected. In the *Laws*, however, he describes an earlier age of Athenian democracy, where everything was under the rule of the laws, not simply the *demos*. This enabled a moderate freedom, where the voluntary subjection of the citizens to the laws also promoted civic friendship. In Plato's eyes, the decline of Athens began when the pleasure of the audience came to be seen as the only criterion with which to judge musical performances. This led ultimately to a situation of "loose discipline," where a lack of proper education (in virtue) created "a vacuum of knowledge, honorable pursuits and true thoughts."

Sozopoulou thus argued that while Plato admits freedom as a good, he warns against an unlimited freedom that may lead to the inability of citizens to discriminate between right and wrong. Such an inability correlatively leads to the rise of populist demagogues, who may become tyrants. Therefore, Plato thought that "when freedom…becomes unlimited it is transformed from the ultimate good of democracy to its ultimate enemy."

Kennedy spoke on "J.H. Newman and Educating for Democracy in a Pluralist Society." His paper highlighted surprising connections between the thought of Newman and the philosopher Richard Rorty concerning the nature of knowledge.

Kennedy noted that democracy requires a space for the discussion of the common good. But the idea of such a discussion assumes shared values and a shared conception of rationality. Given contemporary pluralism, where it seems as though such shared ground has eroded, how could it possibly proceed?

Newman's "conception of both reasoning and education…sees them as the development of a philosophical cast of mind." Newman sees philosophy as enabling a vision of certain relationships between individual disciplines. But Newman is *not* subject to Rorty's critique of the idea that philosophy enables a comprehensive vision of truth. Rorty criticizes the enlightenment version of the latter idea because it rests upon the assumption that there is an independent standard of truth by which the truths of particular disciplines may be assessed. According to Rorty, such "universal commensuration" is impossible. Newman, however, does not assume such a standard. Furthermore, his view of philosophy is "in some agreement with Rorty's neo-pragmatic rejection of the enlightenment conception of reasoning." Preferring to focus on the wisdom of persons themselves, Newman sees the enlightenment conception of reasoning as philosophically inconsistent and lacking in psychological insight.

The sophistication of Newman's understanding of philosophy makes his vision of university education all the more useful today. Newman does not propose that the university should dictate the way in which particular branches of knowledge are to be related. Although he rejects relativism, he advocates for a university environment in which opposing perspectives should be presented as they are.

Likewise, and echoing a core theme of the wider conference, Kennedy argued that in university education today: "we must not seek to silence others but enter into dialogue with them, since this is the only way our own views can be justified."

PANEL: Christianity, Gender, and Self-Determination

From November 7–10, 2017, Boston College hosted a conference entitled Educating for Modern Democracy: An Exploration of Philosophical and Religious Resources. The conference was sponsored by the Office of the Dean of Arts and Sciences, the Clough Center, the Boisi Center, the Departments of Philosophy and Theology, and the Lonergan Institute. The final session of the conference took place on Friday, November 10, at 3:30 pm and was entitled "Christianity, Gender, and Self-Determination." It featured presentations by Todd Salzman and Mara Willard.

Todd Salzman is a professor of theology at Creighton University in Omaha, NE. He is the co- author of *Sexual Ethics: A Theological Introduction* (with Michael Lawler) and *Gaudium et Spes: Fifty Years Later* (with Eileen Burke-Sullivan and Michael Lawler). His primary areas of interest include fundamental moral theology, biomedical ethics, sexual ethics, and Catholicism and politics.

Mara Willard is a professor of religious studies at the University of Oklahoma. She is the author of *Politics after the Death of God* (forthcoming), which examines Hannah Arendt's theories of totalitarianism and politics as action as secular outgrowths of German debates about religion. She is currently a Visiting Scholar at the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life at Boston College.

Todd Salzman's talk was entitled "Religious Liberty, Gender, Sexual Orientation, and Nondiscrimination Legislation: A Critical Analysis of the Catholic Perspective," and addressed the issue of how to balance the civil right of religious freedom with the civil rights of others in a religiously pluralist society. This question has become particularly relevant in light of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), which would prohibit discrimination in hiring and employment on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity. Such legislation is, unsurprisingly, opposed by the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops (USCCB), who, in April 2012, stated that religious liberty is under attack by reductive secularism and relativism. According to the USCCB, compliance with ENDA legislation would require going against Catholic teaching. Catholic teaching distinguishes between sexual inclination and sexual conduct, a distinction that courts do not make. Same-sex inclinations are not sinful, but acting upon those inclinations is morally wrong. According to the USCCB, the Church has a right to discriminate since the inclination of a homosexual person might eventually lead to conduct.

According to Salzman, recent sociological studies on Catholic positions on ENDA legislation reveal a disconnect between the Magisterium and the Catholic population on the topic of sexuality. Polls, such as one taken in 2017 that indicates 68% of Catholics oppose letting businesses discriminate against persons based on sexual orientation or gender identity, give insight into the *sensus fidelium*, or the "sense of the faithful." This raises the question of how to realize the public good in the midst of pluralism, and what role the Catholic Church is to play in promoting its vision of the public good.

The concept of morality has already undergone a major shift in American society, and what was once considered public morality is now considered private morality. This can be seen in the repeal of laws forbidding sodomy, and the recent Supreme Court decision to legalize same-sex marriage. Salzman argued that a corresponding shift must take place in our understanding of religious freedom. From his perspective, ENDA legislation is a civil rights obligation that the Catholic Church is obligated to respect. He believes the burden of proof is on the Church to convince both the Catholic and non-Catholic masses that their arguments are valid, and so far, this is not something the Church has been able to do. Salzman insisted that the Church can no longer ask the state to enforce beliefs about homosexuality that it cannot even convince its own members to accept. Bishops, in his opinion, have a right to advocate for their moral position and can even encourage Catholics not to participate in certain activities, but they do not have the right to impose their teaching legislatively.

Mara Willard's presentation was entitled "Lumen Gentium is the Best Disinfectant: Catholic Women Educated for Citizenship and the 2002 Crisis in the Church." Willard dealt with the difficult question of how people can be feminist while also being religious and fulfilling their obligations to God. This is a question that is still being worked out and is brought to the forefront by the sex abuse crisis in the Catholic Church.

Willard described how Catholic women have been responsible

for bringing attention to this issue. In 2001, Kristin Lombardi published an article entitled "Cardinal Sin," which interviewed the victims of Fr. John Geoghan on the record and received a lot of pushback from the Church. *Boston Globe* columnist Eileen McNamara led the call for the opening of court records involving Geoghan, and it was a Catholic Superior Court Judge, Constance Sweeney, who overturned another judge's ruling and ordered the release of thousands of documents concerning Geoghan. These events were the motivation behind the 2015 film *Spotlight*, which tells the story of how the *Boston Globe* uncovered the sex abuse scandal and its cover-up by the local Catholic Archdiocese. Thus, while Catholicism has been a target of liberal feminism, there are indeed Catholic women who are responsible for challenging the Church and bringing justice to those who have been deeply wronged by its actions.

Salzman and Willard's presentations provoked some lively discussion. Professor Judith Green asked what the worth of personal conscience is when it is ultimately the clergy who control the teachings, practices, and purse strings of the institution. It is clear that the answer to this question is one that is still being pondered. According to Salzman, the Church has done a good job of suppressing the conscience. Pope Francis has made some positive strides toward emphasizing the authority of the conscience, but does not see this trickling down at the level of diocese. Willard expressed that there is a gap between Church teaching and actual practice in the Catholic Church today, and it can be hard for one to know when to truly call themselves a dissenter.

Many of the people in the audience were either Catholic philosophers or theologians. As scholars, it can be sometimes difficult to balance the love and devotion one has for the Catholic tradition with the need to question and challenge some of the features of the Church as an institution. Getting together to dialogue and learn from other scholars is a great benefit for Catholic students and professors both spiritually and academically.

Conference Program

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 7

7:00 PM WELCOMING REMARKS
David Quigley, Provost, Boston College
Jeffrey Bloechl, Boston College

7:15 PM MODERN DEMOCRACY, THE PRESENT SITUATION, AND HIGHER EDUCATION. A PUBLIC CONVERSATION
Jose Casanova (Department of Sociology and Berkley Center, Georgetown University)
Moderated by **Erik Owens** (Boston College, Department of Theology, Boisi Center)

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8

10:00 AM WELCOME, INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

10:00 AM "AN ALMOST-CHOSEN PEOPLE: THE PROSPECTS, PROMISES, AND PERILS OF PUBLIC THEOLOGY IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY UNITED STATES"
Charles Mathewes (Department of Religion, University of Virginia)

12:00 PM LUNCH BREAK

1:00 PM CIVILITY IN PUBLIC DISCOURSE A PANEL DISCUSSION
M. Cathy Kaveny (Department of Theology and Law School, Boston College)

2:30 PM "POLITICS AND ECONOMICS," A PANEL DISCUSSION
Kay Schlozman (Department of Political Science, Boston College)
Marc Landy (Department of Political Science, Boston College)

4:00 PM "RELIGION AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN A SECULAR AGE"
David Campbell (Department of Political Science, University of Notre Dame)

5:30 PM DINNER

6:30 PM COMIUCAP INTERNATIONAL PANEL
Maria Guadalupe Trejo Estrada (Universidad Vasco de Quiroga, Mexico), "Family, Communication, and Democracy, Reflections on the Construction of Society from its Roots"

Nikolo Panganoro (University of the Philippines Diliman), "The Philippine Experience of Democracy and the Task of Archipelagic Thinking"

Ivan Garzon Vallejo (Georgetown University), "Violence, Religion, and Democracy in Colombia"

*Reception and open meeting organized by **COMIUCAP***

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 9

10:00 AM "THE CASTOFF CHILDREN OF CAIN: DE LA MALINCHE A DACA"
Eduardo Mendieta (Department of Philosophy, Pennsylvania State University)

11:30 AM "THE ANTI-THEOLOGICAL AND NEO-LIBERAL PROBLEM OF WHITENESS: TOWARD AN ONTOLOGY OF NO EDGES"
George Yancy (Department of Philosophy, Emory University)

12:45 PM LUNCH BREAK

2:00 PM SECULARISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS
Gregory Floyd (Department of Philosophy, Seton Hall), "Between the World and Me. The Critical Religions in the Secular Square"

Nicholas Buck (Divinity School, University of Chicago), "To Live in Dialogue, Theorizing Democracy with the Letter from a Birmingham Jail"

Joseph Petitt (Department of Philosophy, Morgan State University), "The Democratic Imperative for Racial Justice"

3:30 PM "POLITICS AND THE ENVIRONMENT," A PANEL DISCUSSION
Brian Treanor (Department of Philosophy, Loyola Marymount University)
David Storey (Department of Philosophy, Boston College)

5:00 PM DEMOCRACY AND POST-SECULAR RELIGION

E. Paul Colella (Department of Philosophy, Xavier University), "William James's Philosophy of Religion and the Varieties of Democratic Experience"

Brendan Sweetman (Department of Philosophy, Rockhurst University), "Post-secularism, Religion and Democracy"

6:30 PM RECEPTION

Banquet in Faculty Dining Room

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10

10:00 AM "ON THE SOURCES AND DIRECTION OF ANGLOPHONE GENDER AND SEXUALITY STUDIES—OPENING A CONVERSATION"

Candace Vogler (Department of Philosophy, University of Chicago)

11:30 AM "Inclusive Gender Education and Democratic Imperative to Love Our Neighbors"

Judith Green (Department of Philosophy, Fordham University)

12:45 PM LUNCH BREAK

2:00 PM Christianity, Philosophy, and the Public Square

Pablo Iturrieta (Department of Philosophy, Dominican University, Ottawa), "Aquinas, Religion and the Public Square"

Maria Sozopoulou (Department of Philosophy, University of Ioannina), "Plato's Critique of Democracy"

Kevin Kennedy (Department of Philosophy, St. Johns University), "J.H. Newman and Educating for Democracy in a Pluralist Society"

3:30 PM CHRISTIANITY GENDER AND SELF-DETERMINATION

Todd Salzman (Department of Theology, Creighton University), "Religious Liberty, Gender, Sexual Orientation, and Nondiscrimination Legislation: A Critical Analysis of the Catholic Perspective"

Mara Willard (Department of Religion, Oklahoma University) "Lumen Gentium is the Best Disinfectant: Catholic Women Educated for Citizenship and the 2002 'Crisis in the Church'"

5:00 PM CLOSING REMARKS

About the Panelists

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

DAVID CAMPBELL, University of Notre Dame

JOSE CASANOVA, Georgetown University

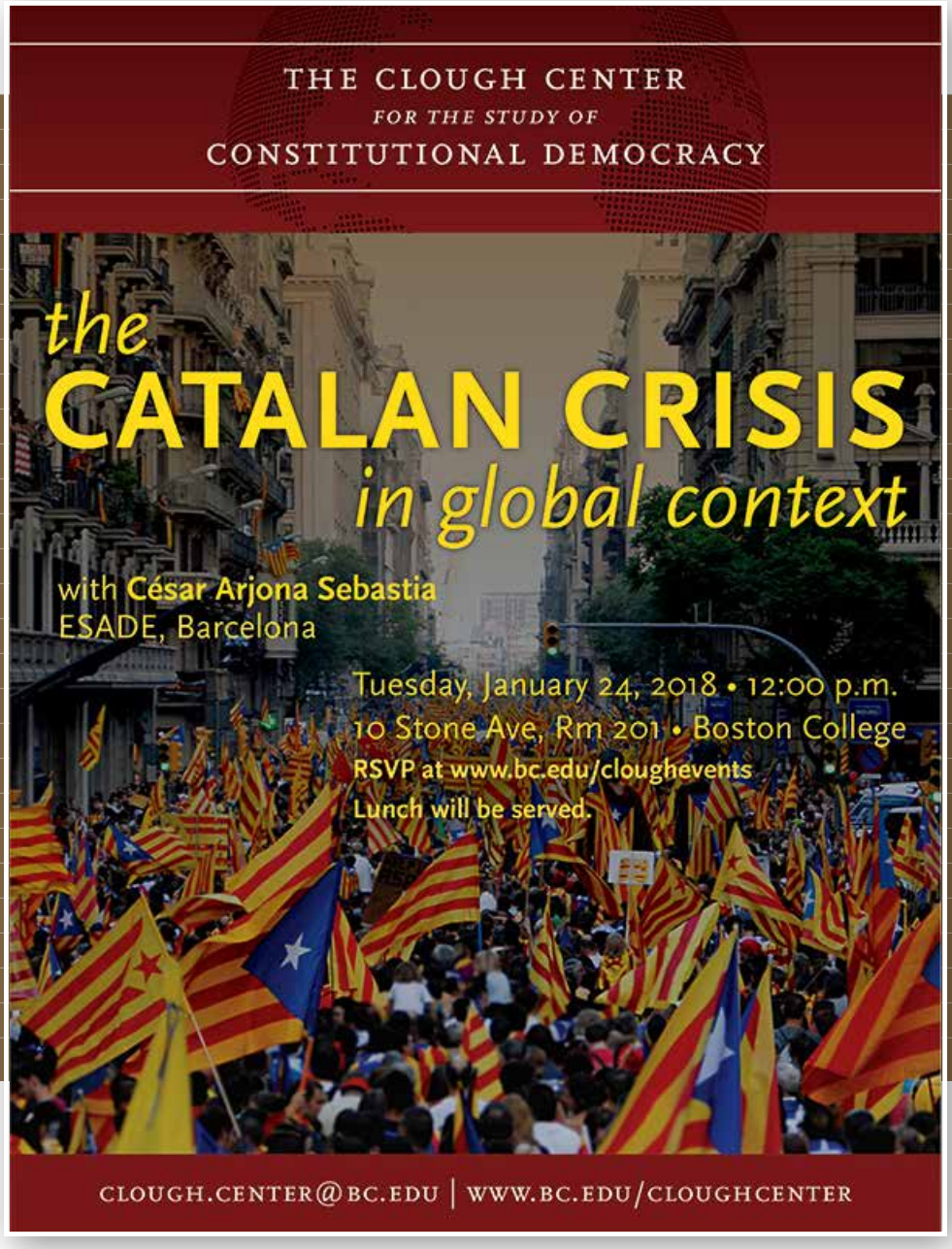
JUDITH GREEN, Fordham University

CHARLES MATHEWES, University of Virginia

EDUARDO MENDIETA, Pennsylvania State University

CANDACE VOGLER, University of Chicago

GEORGE YANCY, Emory University



In the midst of the recent upheaval within Western democracies, which has left many grasping for answers and explanations, Professor César Arjona provided a welcomed dose of clarity while also contextualizing much of what makes our current political moment appear so transformative—and, of course, so unsettling. And though his primary area of analysis was the Catalan crisis, he highlighted what the events in Spain reveal about the more general relationship between legal theory and political life for Western democracy.

Understanding the Catalonian push for independence, Arjona argues, requires that one first sift through the various misconceptions that have proliferated in its aftermath, the first of which is that the clash is between the "Spanish," on one side, and the "Catalans," on the other. Distinguishing between such ostensibly distinct groups, Arjona points out, is extremely difficult, if not impossible. It is therefore not a purely "identitarian" conflict. Nor is it, as some have asserted, an economically motivated endeavor (i.e., the region just wants to be richer). Rather, Arjona argues, we must recognize that the conflict involves a combination of factors—e.g., cultural, linguistic, economic. In other words, it is what we might call a "political" conflict, since this is the term we have invented to describe such a multifaceted event.
Arjona asserts that it is important to consider the imperative-questions those who are analyzing the situation in Spain appear to be asking themselves, the most significant of which is, How

do we decide if Catalan should be independent? Of course, the more general question underlying this is, How do we solve complex political problems in pluralistic societies? For Arjona, what the events in Spain reveal at their core is a clash of legal paradigms, the outcome of which will likely reverberate well beyond Catalonia. He argues that the Catalan crisis is a distinctly postmodern phenomenon—a product of the twenty-first century—but the Spanish government and the European Union (EU) are both addressing it through nineteenth-century frameworks that privilege the nation-state. Perhaps most salient here is the fact that the official presidential candidate for Catalan, Carles Puigdemont, has fled to Brussels, and Spanish citizens have converged on that city to demonstrate about events taking place back in Spain. As Arjona puts it, the conflict therefore involves "an intermixture of jurisdictions and legalities" that far exceeds the nineteenth-century frameworks of the nation-state.

The EU, of course, never wanted such an event to occur, and, since the onset of the conflict, has largely deferred to the Spanish government (thus privileging the nation-state paradigm). But, somewhat ironically, the events in Catalan could not have happened without the EU given that it is a model for inter-state political agreements. It is not surprising that people in Catalan would have turned to the EU model, Arjona argues, because one of the root problems in Spain was, in his view, a federalist system in which the central government did not adequately incorporate autonomous regions into the national political processes. The Spanish government, of course, denies this, but as Arjona remarks, "the root of all political problems is to deny that there is a political problem." But what appears to be at stake in the conflict between the Spanish government and the people of Catalan is something akin to a new form of legal and governmental structure much like the EU, itself, represents (though on a smaller scale, of course). And while "political" issues always represent a complex array of concerns, the outcome of the crisis is now likely to depend in large part on what happens in courts and tribunals.

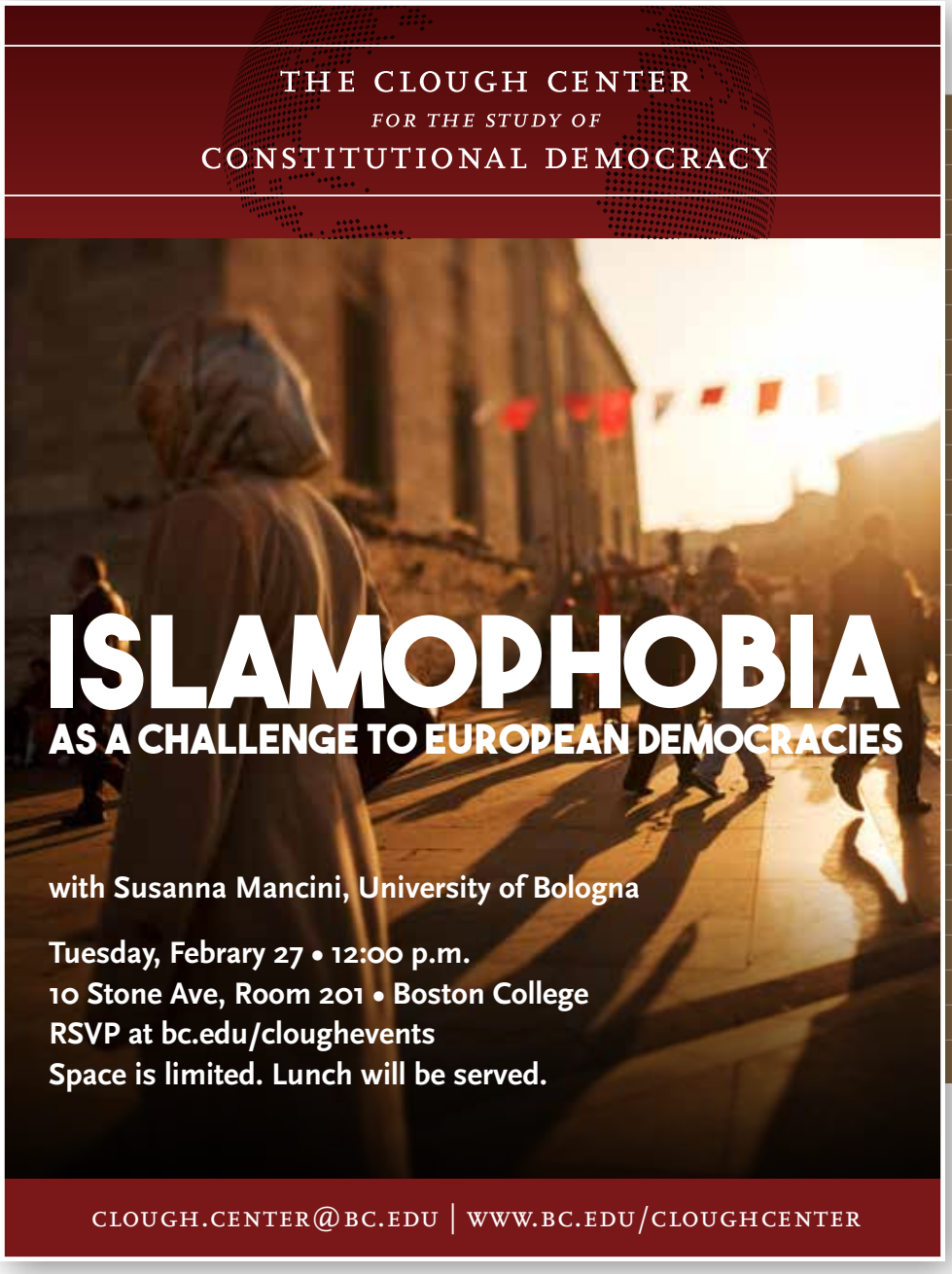
After Arjona concluded his formal remarks, the discussion shifted to the viability of his main thesis: that the Catalan crisis represents a clash between so-called modern and postmodern legal and political paradigms. One respondent, for instance, pointed out that it is possible to view the situation as one in which Catalan does not want to "be" postmodern, but is simply using postmodern means to be a part of the Westphalian order—that privileging the nation-state—that Arjona claims is perhaps no longer viable.

Arjona responded by pointing out that his conception of "post-modernism" is one in which a mixture of methods—what Frederic Jameson would likely call "pastiche"—is employed. Moreover, it is not clear, he argues, that the ends toward which those methods are being employed are those of Westphalian sovereignty, for it is not entirely clear what Catalan's demand actually is. "We don't always see who is asking what," Arjona asserts. Sifting through the haze and ambiguity and the clash of legal forms currently operative in the Catalan crisis means that, like any authentically postmodern phenomenon, certitude and resolution are difficult to come by. Yet whatever the ultimate outcome is, Arjona contends, it will more than likely represent something fundamentally new for modern political life.

About César Arjona Sebastia

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

César Arjona (JSD, Cornell; LL.M.; M. Phil.) is Professor at ESADE Law School in Barcelona, where he teaches in the fields of Legal Theory and Ethics. He has published extensively in English and Spanish. His research interests include professional legal ethics and the theory of transnational law. He has been a visiting professor at Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona), ICADE (Madrid), Bucerius Law School (Hamburg), and at the Center for Transnational Legal Studies (London), where he also served as academic co-director. He has been a speaker at several European and North-American institutions, including the Free University of Berlin, the Max Planck Institute in Halle, the University of Southampton, Santa Clara University, Boston College, and Georgetown. He is a non-practicing member of the Law Society of Barcelona.



Over the last few years, there has been a surge in support for populist and nationalist political parties in Europe without precedent in the postwar era. This has correlated with a rise in anti-Islamic speech and immigration restrictions that raise troubling questions for the future of the European Union's liberal founding principles. In September 2015, Viktor Orban, the far-right prime minister of Hungary, proclaimed that it was important to secure his country's borders against Muslim migrants to "keep Europe Christian." A month later, anti-EU French presidential candidate Marine Le Pen was charged with (and later acquitted of) inciting hatred after comparing Muslims praying in public to the Nazi occupation.

These views have been encouraged by America's own populist insurgent, Donald Trump, who as a presidential candidate called for a complete shutdown of Muslims from outside the U.S. and implemented a more limited "Muslim ban" once in office. Trump's success prompted controversial Dutch politician Geert Wilders, leader of the anti-Islam Freedom Party, to declare his own 2017 campaign to "Make the Netherlands Ours Again."

Anti-Islam parties gain support by fueling public opinion and anxiety toward immigration in a time of economic distress, explains Susanna Mancini, a fellow at the Italian Academy for Advanced Studies in America at Columbia University. Mancini,

a legal scholar, points out that all of the myths about the threat posed by Islamic immigrants are contradicted by data. As a major 2017 British survey revealed, Muslim immigrants are "amongst the country's most patriotic, law-abiding members": they want to integrate, they pay taxes, and are overwhelmingly opposed to terrorism. But this makes no difference to supporters of populist parties, says Mancini, in the sense that "post-truth propaganda is not interested in data."

Mancini is studying Europe's Islamophobic discourses to see how they are impacting its democratic system. She identifies three key fields where Muslims are being targeted: attire, mosque registration, and citizenship laws. For instance, in a 2009 federal referendum, the Swiss voted to ban the construction of new minarets. The EU has also introduced new citizenship tests that contain ambiguous cultural questions such as "Are you aware that the Dutch support gay marriage?" Additionally, European governments have expanded powers to denaturalize citizens. Most cases concern young Muslim males who often lose citizenship when abroad and have no way of returning to their homes and families in Europe. Restrictions on attire, on the other hand, target Muslim women. Despite the very small number of women who wear the veil, the issue is constantly in the headlines, and Belgium, France, Austria, and the Netherlands have all issued restrictions against wearing the veil in public. Here, "gender and racism intersect to impact Muslim women in work, education, and access to the public sphere."

The fight against the veil is not a new one, Mancini explains, and is rooted in Europe's imperial past. The veil played an important part in Algeria's war of independence against France, which held "mass unveiling" ceremonies to show that Algerian women had been won over to European values and away from the independence struggle. European courts and legislators have revived this idea by arguing that the veil is anti-feminist and banning it "liberates" Muslim women from a patriarchal culture. But these paternalistic and imperialistic arguments have been exposed by the lack of Muslim women's voices in the veil debate, Mancini says: "Muslim women have the agency to decide what they want to wear."

Mancini has identified a more recent shift away from the feminist argument, in which women are victims, to a new rationale in which women wearing the veil represent a threat to public safety. Both France and Belgium made this claim when adopting laws criminalizing the full veil, a decision which was challenged in the European Court of Human Rights. The Court rejected the idea of public safety as a justification for a blanket ban; it also rejected the feminist argument, stating that "state parties cannot invoke gender equality to ban a practice that is defended by women." However, while maintaining that "expressions of cultural identity contribute to pluralism, which is essential for liberal democracy," the Court subsequently reduced its definition of pluralism to say that veils jeopardize "living together," meaning that the ban could be upheld. The Court also accepted the use of criminal sanctions on women who wear the veil—"light sanctions," Mancini adds, "but the stigma attached is enough to construct women as pernicious outcasts."

Legal responses to Islam in the public sphere are a challenge to the idea of democracy in the postwar era. The construction of a racialized enemy that needs to be kept from the public sphere was theorized most notoriously by Carl Schmitt, Mancini notes, whose influential conception of democracy was adopted by Adolf Hitler and others. Schmitt was an anti-Semite, not racially but culturally. He argued that the main problem posed by Jews to Germany was that their modernity challenged traditional European values embodied by the Catholic Church. The accusation against Muslims today is the opposite: Muslims are challenging European liberal modernity and values. In Schmitt's friend-and-foe dynamic, when homogeneity is challenged by pluralism as a product of history, the state is entitled to react by constructing the enemy. The enemy does not have to be a "grotesque monster," but it must be seen as "jeopardizing the mythical and metaphysical unity of the people." Schmitt's democracy is a militant one that has to defend itself against those who challenge its unity, which ultimately requires, in his own words, "eradication." Both Schmitt and modern-day Islamophobia raise disquieting questions concerning the limits of European liberalism, Mancini concludes. "We cannot take pluralism and liberalism for granted."

About Susanna Mancini

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Susanna Mancini holds the Chair of Comparative Constitutional Law at the University of Bologna School of Law, and is a vice president of the International Association of Constitutional Law. She is interested in exploring how race and gender-related social and cultural constructs have shaped the balance of power and privilege in a liberal society, and in the role of the law in perpetuating and/or combating the marginalization of women and racial, religious, linguistic, and sexual minorities. Her work explores issue of law and religion, reproductive rights, the partnership of feminism and multiculturalism, self-determination, and secession. Her latest publications include *The Conscience Wars* (Cambridge University Press, 2018, with Rosenfeld), *Comparative Constitutionalism*. *Cases and Materials* (with Dorsen, Rosenfeld, Sajo, Baer, and West, 2016), and *Constitutional Secularism in an Age of Religious Revival* (Oxford University Press, 2014, with Rosenfeld).

THE CLOUGH CENTER
FOR THE STUDY OF
CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY

Samantha Power's talk focused on her experiences as a foreign policy advisor to Barack Obama, and subsequently as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. Furthermore, she gave her prescriptions for the future course of American foreign relations in the post-Trump era. Speaking to a crowd primarily of Boston College undergraduate students, whom she encouraged to apply for careers in foreign service, Power's talk had four main points. First, she pleaded for strong United States leadership in the world because "the international community is more of a phrase or an idea than a reality." Furthermore, she spoke of the rise of China and the importance of diplomacy as the "cornerstone" of the American ability to advance its interests in the world. Lastly, she spoke of the challenge of domestic polarization to the making of foreign policy.

In a talk peppered with personal stories that highlight the contingent ways in which she came to be one of the main faces of U.S. foreign policy-making in the Obama era, Power spoke of her doubts about crafting foreign policy as an "outsider" who had initiated her career as a journalist critic of U.S. foreign policy and the United Nations. In *A Problem from Hell* (2002), Power had lodged a strong challenge to the standard non-intervention-

ist stance of U.S. foreign policy in cases of humanitarian crises. Following stints as an intern, campaign aide, and foreign policy advisor to Senator Barack Obama, she rose to U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations from 2013 to 2017.

At the United Nations, Power claimed to have consistently advanced American interests through diplomacy. The leadership of the United States is "indispensable" because the "United Nations is a building," and buildings cannot be blamed for failures in international cooperation. U.S. leadership is crucial for overcoming the inertia and to "get other countries to do what they need to do." She mentioned the example of Ebola, where President Obama took the initiative in sending 3,000 soldiers and medics to West Africa, which prompted the Chinese and Cuban governments to send medicines and health workers, Japanese companies to offer technologies such as Hazmat suits befitting for hot weather, etc. Power attributes the success of stemming the Ebola epidemic to American leadership initiatives.

She believes that the Trump administration's isolationist stance has robbed the world of American leadership, which also fundamentally weakens U.S. interests. The gutting of the State Department currently underway has effectively robbed the United States of its brightest diplomatic minds, something which will cost the country dearly in the years to come. The young American generation will have to manage the rise of China, which she somewhat hyperbolically named "the most transformative event on our planet." Power believes that China must not necessarily be a foe like Russia is. China and Russia have fundamentally different foreign policy goals. China is striving to be the regional hegemon in Asia, but also has its sights on the world. Trump's policy of withdrawing from the TPP has already opened the doors to hegemony for China in the Asia-Pacific. Chinese power in the international system will have deleterious effects on international civil society (NGOs) and on human rights provisions. At the same time, China benefits greatly from the international economic and political system. There is, therefore, an area where the U.S. and China can cooperate. U.S.-Chinese cooperation on climate change is an example of this. There has been some cooperation on stemming inter-state cyber warfare. At the same time, "China flouts the rules upon which global stability rests" and pursues an alternate "model of development that does not imitate Western values." Power sees U.S.-Russia relations in a more critical light, however. Russia is politically and economically isolated. Consequently, it does not benefit from the international system as much and its foreign policy is aimed at disruption and the support of rogue dictators such as Bashar al Assad of Syria.

The key to face these international challenges is a strong diplomatic corps. Power recounted that following the election of Donald Trump, the vast majority of State Department officials she knew were ready to keep working and advancing U.S. interests. However, as the months went by, the Trump administration began a radical transformation of U.S. foreign policy that drove many seasoned diplomats away. The polarization in the United States, she claimed, has driven an ideological wedge between those who maintain their belief in diplomacy as the solution to ensure peace, and a growing number (overwhelmingly on the side of Republicans) that reject diplomatic channels. Therefore, she called on "young people" to "take the foreign service exam." The challenges, however, are many. Congress, and especially the Republican Party, are reluctant to support the Foreign Service and this needs to be reversed. Power claimed that Maybe the rise of China can be motivational in that sense. "Maybe like a Cold War narrative" it can be mobilized for strengthening the institutions necessary to rise to the occasion.

Lastly, Power made a case for increased engagement on the part of Americans to overcome the polarization within the United States that has only been strengthened following the victory of Donald Trump in 2016. She believes that conversations regarding domestic polarization occur very far apart from conversations about foreign policy. It is necessary to collapse this artificial divide: "There is no greater threat to our national security than domestic polarization. During the Cold War it was a tactic of the Soviets" and the Russians are "relishing…their ability to exploit" social media for their own goals of hurting the United States. They are "exacerbating the fault lines in our own society." At the same time, Power is hopeful to see social movements in the United States challenging the Trump administration.

In her conclusion, Power reiterated the importance of returning to a state of American leadership in the world by recounting the story of a number of imprisoned human rights activists from around the world whose portraits she hung up in the American legation to the United Nations during her time as ambassador. Most of them were freed by the time she left office, which demonstrates the importance of America's role as protector of human rights in the world.

About Samantha Power

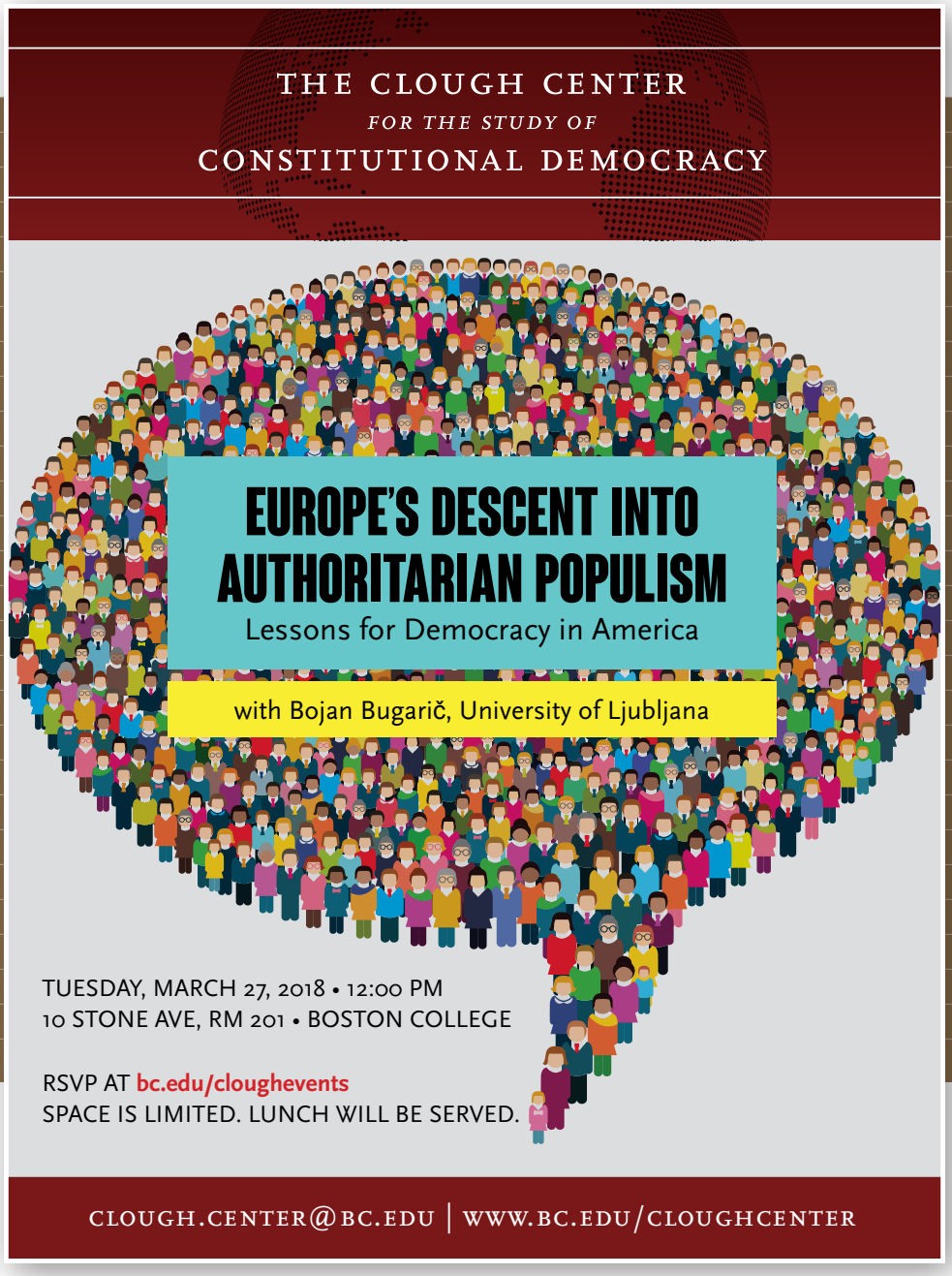
For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Samantha Power is an American journalist, human rights scholar, and government official who served on the National Security Council (2008–13) and as the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations (2013–17) in the administration of President Barack Obama.

Prior to her role with the United Nations, she served on the National Security Council as special assistant to the president and senior director for multilateral affairs and human rights, focusing on issues such as human trafficking, religious freedom, and LGBT and women's rights.

An Irish immigrant who came to the U.S. at age nine, Power earned a BA from Yale University and a JD from Harvard Law School. Her early work as a journalist covering the Bosnian conflict inspired her Pulitzer Prize-winning book *A Problem from Hell: America and the Age of Genocide*. She is also the author of the New York Times best-seller *Sergio: One Man's Fight to Save the World*.

Power is now the Anna Lindh Professor of the Practice of Global Leadership and Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School of Government and a professor of the practice at Harvard Law. She is also a fellow for Harvard's Radcliffe Institute for Advancing Study and is writing a book, *The Education of an Idealist*, which will chronicle her years in public service and reflect on the role of human rights and humanitarian ideals in contemporary geopolitics.



On March 27, several weeks after the Italian general election in which the populist Five Star Movement emerged as the big winner, Bojan Bugarič spoke at the Clough Center on the kind of "authoritarian populism" that is emerging especially in Central and Eastern Europe.

Bugarič, an associate professor of law at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, dedicated the bulk of his talk to recent political developments in Poland and Hungary. He argued that "authoritarian populism," has global appeal and which has become increasingly popular in Europe since the turn of the century, is fundamentally opposed to "liberal constitutional democracy," not merely to particular policies. Authoritarian populists are against economic openness, multiculturalism, respect for human rights, and the rule of law, he claimed.

What is populism? Bugarič adopted a minimalist definition. Populism, he said, is a form of politics based on the denigration of elites and the veneration of ordinary people, on the one hand, and on the subversion of institutions on the other. With respect to the latter point, Bugarič pointed to skepticism toward representative democracy, and the preference for rallies, referendums, and other forms of "plebiscitarian politics."

Populism is a changeable phenomenon, Bugarič stressed. It has been parasitic on a wide range of ideologies—ethno-nationalist,

agrarian, reactionary, authoritarian, and socialist. The national context is therefore quite important. Whereas the main populist parties in France, the Netherlands, Germany, and Austria are strongly opposed to mass immigration and Islam, for example, the main ones in Spain, Greece, and Italy are not especially interested in either immigration or Islam. For this reason, Bugarič was not prepared to accept the common view of populism as essentially "anti-pluralist."

In Central and Eastern Europe, however, the anti-pluralist streak is clearly evident. Populists in this region, led by Viktor Orban in Hungary and Jaroslaw Kaczynski in Poland, have gone further than populists in the rest of Europe in attacking core European Union values and policies, in objecting to the very legitimacy of EU institutions, and in dismantling constitutional democracy, Bugarič said. Their "authoritarian ethno-populism" emphasizes consanguinity and "authoritarian values" (orderliness, security, monoculturalism), but also a "style of governance that attempts to circumvent the rule of law and democratic norms in favor of centralized authority and limited political freedom." Nostalgia for the 1930s is central to their appeal.

Historically, when populists have come to power in democracies, Bugarič said, they have launched concerted attacks on courts, the free media, civil rights and liberties, and election rules. In Central and Eastern Europe, populist governments have largely followed this pattern, beginning with attacks on the constitutional courts, which were key defenders of the rule of law during the first 25 years of democratic transition.

In addition, Orban's government has changed the election law, captured the Election Commission, and gerrymandered electoral districts in favor of the Fidesz party. Fidesz goes not jail opponents or impede overseas travel, Bugarič said, but it punishes political dissent, fires members of the political opposition from state sector jobs, and intimidates families of critical journalists.

Bugarič added that the next item on the Hungarian populists' agenda would be taking over the regular courts. To this end, the compulsory retirement age for judges is being lowered. The state bureaucracy is another soft target, in part because there is no strong Weberian tradition of professional civil service in the region.

The local populists are also making efforts to "colonize" the media with their most loyal supporters. In Hungary, a hinge moment came with the shutting down of its leading oppositional daily newspaper, *Népszabadság* ("Liberty of the People"), in October 2016. Takeover of the media market in Poland has reached only the first phase ("colonization" of the state media), but Bugarič suggested that a more radical takeover of the entire media market was likely to be attempted.

Rather than directly attacking civil rights and liberties, Bugarič explained, the populist governments in Hungary and Poland tend to prefer an indirect, legalistic approach. For example, the operations of the Soros-funded Central European University have been severely hampered by putatively neutral laws passed by the Hungarian Parliament.

But there have also been more direct approaches, the most notorious example being the "Lex Gross" in Poland, which makes it a crime (punishable by three years in jail) to accuse the Polish nation of complicity in the Holocaust or any Nazi crimes committed by the Third Reich. Likewise, the so-called Stop Soros laws in Hungary would radically hinder the work of refugee-related NGOs.

How is it possible that seemingly consolidated liberal democracies have gone so far in the direction of "authoritarian ethno-populism"? Bugarič listed a number of contributing factors: the weakness of Eastern and Central Europe's initial commitment to liberalism; the fading importance of EU conditionality; corruption; the Great Recession; the dissatisfaction of the poor and

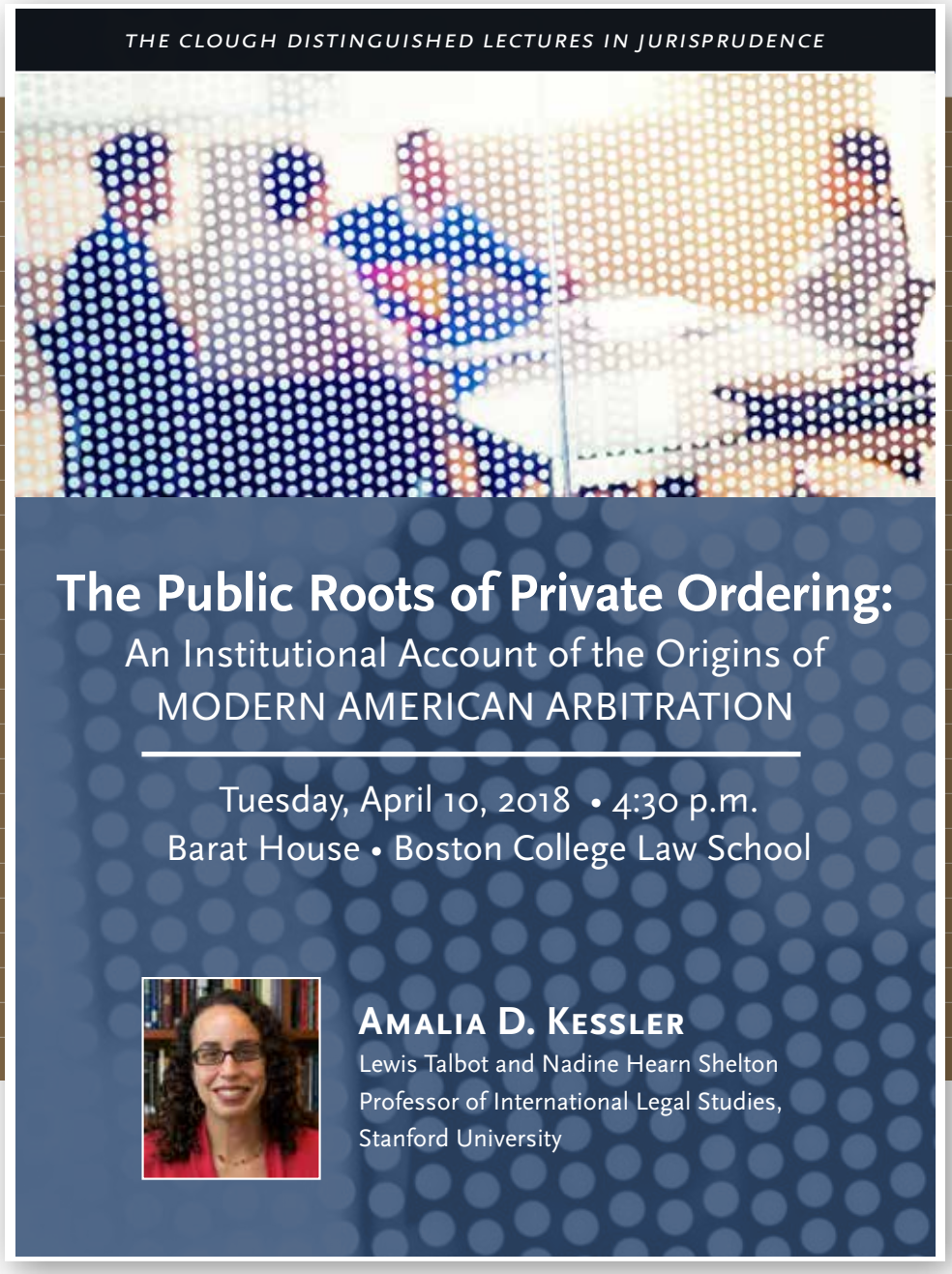
the unemployed in Poland; the migration crisis; the absence of liberal alternatives; and the institutional fragility of constitutional courts.

To this list of contributing factors, we might add one more. Bugarič insisted that populist movements pose a threat largely insofar as they oppose independent courts and independent media. But since the very idea of intellectual independence has been called into question over the past few decades by scholars who insist that all thinking is an expression of a certain structure of power, it is not surprising that those "independent" institutions have come to be disdained as masks for the imposition of a particular ideology. After all, if all principles are merely high-minded rationalizations for self-interest, and if all truth-claims are merely attempts to shape the discourse, then how can we fault the populists when they claim not to be putting partisan cronies in the place of truly independent institutions—no such institutions exist, we have been taught by Foucault and his descendants—but merely replacing one manifestation of power with another?

About Bojan Bugarič

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Bojan Bugarič is Professor of Law at the University of Ljubljana, Slovenia. He served as Deputy Minister at the Ministry of the Interior in the Slovenian government from 2000–2004. He was a Fulbright Visiting Professor at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), in 1998 to 2000, and a Visiting Researcher at the Center for European Studies, Harvard University (2015). He holds a Doctor of Juridical Science degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and a Master of Law from UCLA.



The recent flood of high-profile sexual harassment cases, and the resulting #METOO movement, has brought arbitration into public light. To take two prominent cases—former Fox News boss Roger Ailes and casino magnate Steve Wynn—the allegations (and settlements) are numerous and stretch back decades. This leads us to ask, Are the rich and powerful using arbitration to conceal bad behavior and avoid accountability for their actions?

Listening to Amalia D. Kessler, professor of law at Stanford University, one would conclude yes. According to one recent study, since the early 2000s, the number of American workers subject to mandatory arbitration more than doubled. Consumers, too, have forfeited their right to sue, both individually and collectively, in everything from credit card agreements (included in 53% of new cards) to gym memberships.

This did not come out of nowhere. As Kessler explains, beginning in the 1980s, a series of Supreme Court decisions have "radically reinterpreted" the Federal Arbitration Act of 1925. But what was that act about? In her latest project, Kessler reconstructs the institutional foundations of arbitration in America, specifically the American Arbitration Association (AAA), founded in 1926 with the stated goal of implementing the 1925 act and institutionalizing arbitration nationwide.

Using new documents from the AAA's archives, Kessler shows that arbitration did not develop as an alternative to a state regulatory or judicial apparatus, but was a product of it. The early AAA understood itself to be a private entity that served key public functions, and its authorities struggled to ensure that it would act to promote the "public good." AAA arbitrators were not allowed to take payments for their services, and authorities insisted that all awards be made public.

How and when did this change? According to Kessler, the answer is in the remarkable life of Frances Kellor, the AAA's first vice president from 1926 until her death in 1952. Educated at the University of Chicago and Cornell, where she was one of the first women to receive a law degree, Kellor was a leading progressive reformer and believer in "industrial democracy," a way of moderating capitalism by organizing both labor and capital into bargaining units.

The New Deal was an enormous boon to the AAA, which continued growing even after the Supreme Court struck down FDR's 1935 National Industrial Recovery Act. A 1938 anti-trust suit brought against the Motion Pictures and Television Administration expanded the AAA's activities outside of Manhattan, but it also brought another change: the first time AAA arbitrators charged fees (although Kellor stuck to her policy of making settlements public).

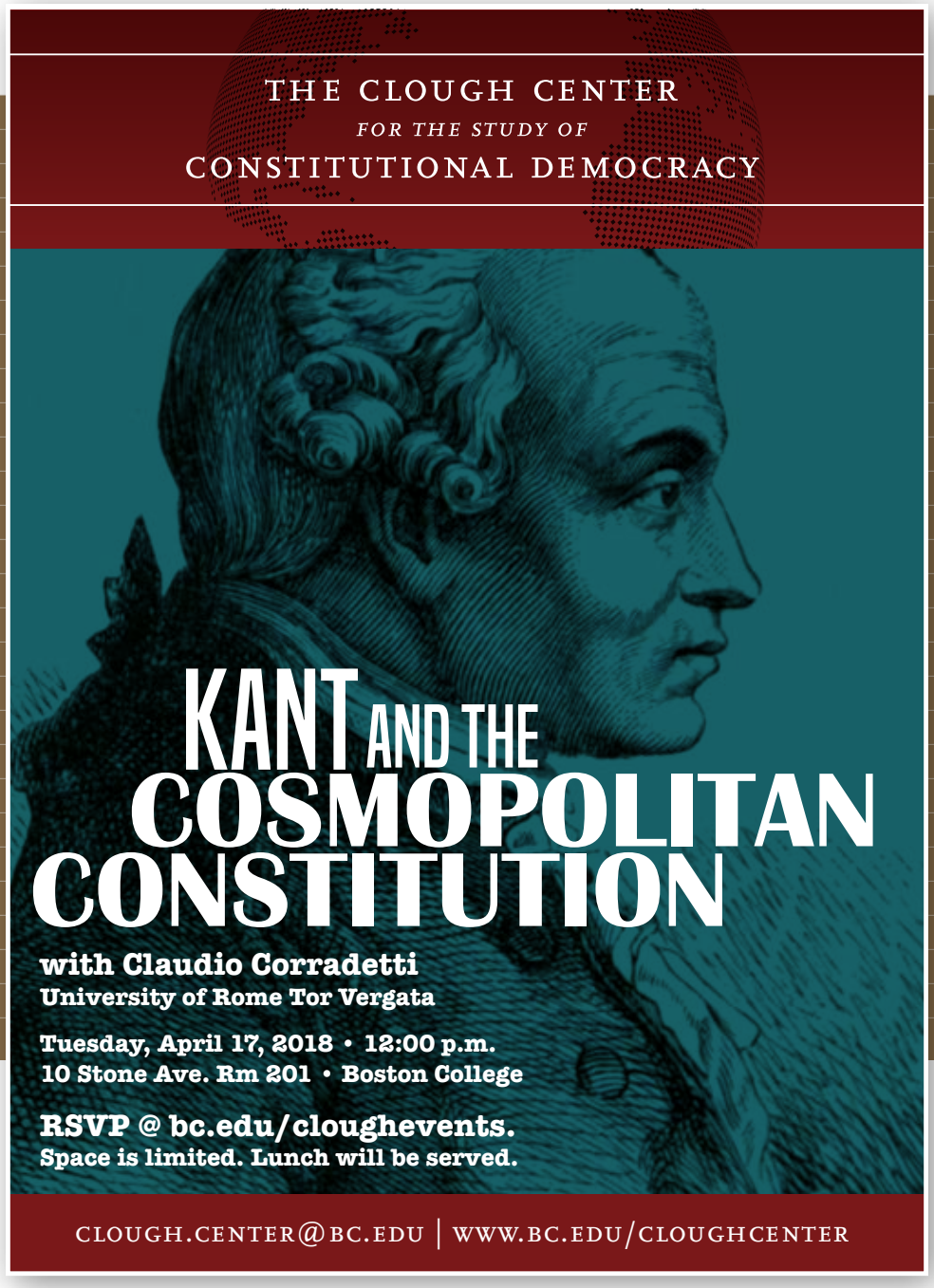
World War II impacted the AAA even more than the New Deal. In 1941, the AAA agreed to play a role in ending strikes that threatened the U.S. defense buildup. The resulting organization, the National Defense Mediation Board, provided the AAA with a vast opportunity for lucrative new clients in that industry, and the prohibition against fees was quickly dropped. In 1948, the AAA abandoned its policy of making settlements public, and it was Kellor, under threat from a rival who wanted to turn the AAA into a for-profit business, who led the charge in 1951 to allow fee-taking arbitrators on its board.

Kellor died in 1952, accused of having exercised "dictatorial control," and her reliance on wealthy friends for the AAA's funding, rather than fee-paying clients, was dismissed by her successor as unfit for the modern postwar economy. From then on, arbitration was thoroughly embedded in the market, and the dream of arbitration as a form of public service forgotten.

About Amalia D. Kessler

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Amalia D. Kessler is the Lewis Talbot and Nadine Hearn Shelton Professor of International Legal Studies and Professor (by courtesy) of History at Stanford University as well as the Director of the Stanford Center for Law and History and the Jean-Paul Gimon Director of the France-Stanford Center for Interdisciplinary Studies. Her research has ranged broadly, including work that explores the intersections between law, market culture and process norms in both France and the United States. Her most recent book—*Inventing American Exceptionalism: The Origins of American Adversarial Legal Culture, 1800-1877* (Yale University Press)—appeared in 2017. Her first book, *A Revolution in Commerce: The Parisian Merchant Court and the Rise of Commercial Society in Eighteenth-Century France* (Yale University Press) was awarded the American Historical Association's J. Russell Major Prize for the best book in English on any aspect of French history. She has also received article prizes from the American Society for Legal History and the American Society of Comparative Law. While based primarily at Stanford, Kessler has held visiting professorships at various universities around the world, including Yale Law School, the Université Panthéon-Assas, the École des hautes études en sciences sociales, Osgoode Hall Law School, and the Tel Aviv Law School.



On April 17, Claudio Corradetti spoke at the Clough Center on Immanuel Kant's ideal of a "cosmopolitan constitution." Corradetti, associate professor in political philosophy of human rights at the University of Rome Tor Vergata, based his remarks on his recent journal article in *Global Constitutionalism*, "Constructivism in Cosmopolitan Law: Kant's Right to Visit."

The cosmopolitan constitution, Corradetti said, is perhaps the most challenging idea in all of Kantian political thought, in part because Kant fails to give it a systematic presentation. But it should be of no small interest to political thinkers today, given its close connection to the idea of perpetual peace that inspired first the League of Nations and then the United Nations.

Many commentators, including the influential scholar of international relations Michael Doyle, have emphasized the importance of republicanism in Kant's sketch of the conditions necessary for the attainment of peace. But not many commentators have understood the importance of international and cosmopolitan *Recht*, according to Corradetti. (The word *Recht* is central to Kant's thinking. Although it might be translated as "law" or

"right," in fact it means something more expansive than what we tend to mean by either of those words. It includes morality, justice, and positive law; it implies not merely an ideal but also coercive justice.)

A quintessentially liberal thinker, Kant's politics are based around the preservation of individual rights. For Kant, rights can be divided into innate rights (such as freedom) and acquired rights, that is, rights which require an authority to recognize and preserve them (such as property which, pace John Locke, cannot truly exist in a pre-political state of nature, according to Kant). How do we get from innate rights to acquired rights? This is the primary problem that Kant thinks has to be solved. How do we exit the state of nature and enter the state of *Recht*?

Corradetti explained that, for Kant, the state of nature is an a *priori* hypothesis rather than an actual condition. In other words, we should postulate the state of nature in order to make sense of our legitimate rights and social relations, but we should not waste our time looking for historical evidence about the state of nature, as if that evidence might somehow guide us. The state of nature is a kind of thought experiment we have to run in order to make sense of our mutual relations.

The key assumption of the state of nature is that individuals come into the world having relations with each other on the basis of the exercise of their innate rights (i.e., the use of their external freedoms). In this condition, they exercise their wills unilaterally, and this generates a contradiction among their various wills. Eventually, individuals in the state of nature become conscious of the contradiction and therefore formulate a principle, the postulate of right, by which to exit the state of nature. As self-reflective individuals, they understand that they need some sort of harmony among themselves. Hence they establish societies held together by general wills. And this, in turn, leads to the construction of a cosmopolitan will that unites peoples across all of human society, since otherwise each particular society would remain in a state of contradiction with other particular societies.

Cosmopolitan constitutionalism is more than a pleasing ideal, Corradetti argued. It is something which should bring with it binding, enforceable obligations on citizens and governments. One of these obligations is the cosmopolitan right to visit, which Kant treats in the Third Definitive Article of his *Perpetual Peace*. The cosmopolitan right to visit must be distinguished from the right to be a guest. Whereas the right to be a guest involves longer stays and specific contracts, the right to visit is merely the right to be a foreigner in a state for a short time and for a limited purpose. The right to visit bestows a strong (absolute?) claim on people who wish to enter a foreign country. And the purpose of the visit need not be merely commercial in the narrow sense; it is equally legitimate to assert a claim of entry for the purpose of intellectual interaction, for example. Corradetti argued that this right can be directly derived from our innate right to have a place on earth, since the earth is given in common—private ownership and national sovereignty are not the fundamental facts.

As Corradetti stressed, Kant's approach to political right is thoroughly formalistic: any action is just if it can coexist with everyone's freedom in accordance with a universal law. That is, our external action is just—and should be protected as such—if it can coexist with the same actions conducted by others. This formalism is a strength inasmuch as it brings much-needed light to certain moral intuitions that might otherwise remain obscure and arbitrary. In light of recent political developments, however, one wonders whether this kind of formalistic approach is likely to make much headway in the real world. To be sure, one could say that European history after World War II showed that something like the cosmopolitan right to visit could make more rapid progress than Kant himself might have believed possible. Still, the equally rapid rise of anti-EU, anti-immigration, anti-Islam parties—not just on the fringes of Europe but in the very heartland of European idealism—suggests that the formalistic approach carries serious risks, particularly when it can be suspected (however unfairly) of being contaminated with considerations of factional power and interest.

About Claudio Corradetti

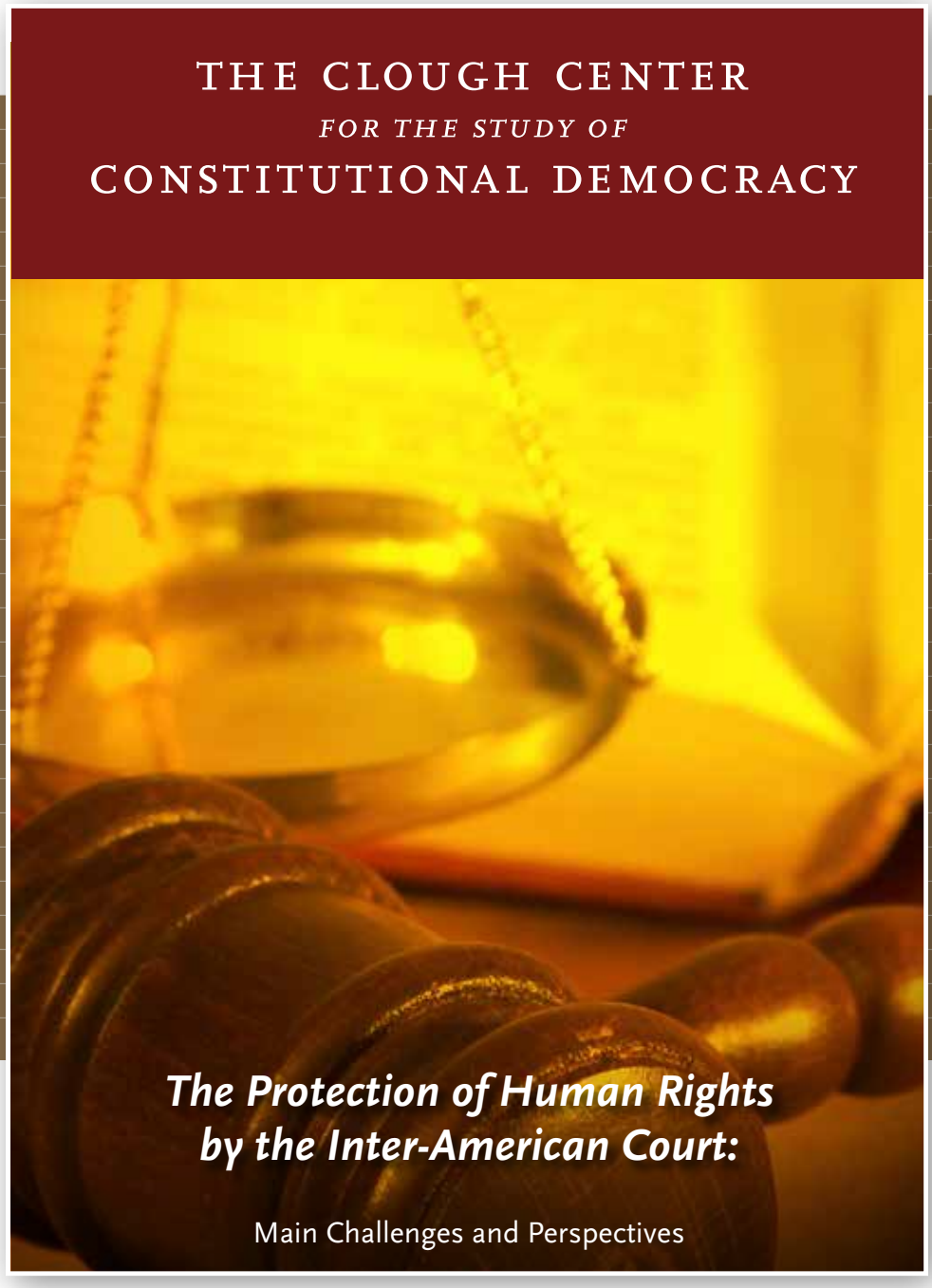
For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Claudio Corradetti is Associate Professor in Political Philosophy of Human Rights. He was an undergraduate at Oxford University (Trinity College). After a degree in philosophy cum laude from the University of Rome La Sapienza, he has obtained a M.A. in Philosophy (London) and a Ph.D. in Political Theory at LUISS Guido Carli, Rome.

Claudio has been trained also in law. He has received a Diploma in European Public Law by the European Group of Public Law, University of Athens, and has qualified to the Directed Studies advanced seminars and the prestigious Diploma Exam of the Hague Academy of International Law.

Before returning to Italy, Claudio taught and conducted research at the University of Graz and at the University of Oslo, PluriCourts, Centre of Excellence.

Claudio serves as a peer-reviewer for some among the major publishers: as Cambridge University Press, Sage, Springer, Oxford University Press, Ashgate, Routledge, etc.



In a well-attended lecture at Boston College Law School on October 11, 2018, Clough Center Director Vlad Perju introduced Judge Eduardo Ferrer Mac-Gregor. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor is not only an accomplished legal scholar but also well-versed in the practical judicial world. He is the current president of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights (IACHR), on which he has been a judge since 2013. After receiving his doctorate from the University of Navarre in Spain, Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor worked in the judicial branch in Mexico and as a professor of constitutional law.

Ferrer Mac-Gregor brought his significant judicial and academic experience to his presentation on the main challenges for the protection of human rights by the IACHR. His talk was entitled "The Protection of Human Rights by the Inter-American Court: Main Challenges and Perspectives." The IACHR hears cases throughout Latin America, and Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor framed his talk in the context of the 50th anniversary of the American Convention on Human Rights as well as the 70th anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The presentation was laid out in three sections. The first was an introduction to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Ferrer Mac-Gregor described the functionality, structure, and efficacy of the court from his academic and inside perspective. The second section of the presentation was an analysis of the main lines of case law relevant to the judgments of the court. The third section of his presentation analyzed the latest and most important developments and challenges to the IACHR.

Ferrer Mac-Gregor went on to introduce the Inter-American system of human rights and the IACHR, the monitoring body created to monitor the American Convention of Human Rights. He emphasized that the American Convention of Human Rights has been ratified by only 25 out of the 35 states of the Organization of American States, or OAS, and does not include the United States or Canada. Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the American Convention of Human Rights in 1998 and Venezuela withdrew in 2012.

He then went on to describe the composition and function of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. The court is seated in San Jose and composed of seven members who serve terms of six years with the possibility of one reelection. The members of the court are elected by the OAS annual assembly. The judges are prohibited from hearing cases concerning their nations of origin. The president and vice president are elected by the judges themselves for terms of two years. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor has been the president of the court since January of 2018. The IACHR rules on cases and can adopt provisional measures "in matters that are extremely grave and urgent," which it has undertaken roughly 600 times. The court has heard 235 cases throughout its existence.

The next section of the presentation discussed the main lines of the jurisprudence of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor described three main lines of jurisprudence, the first of which falls under the category of "gross violations of human rights." These violations include those related to: torture, extrajudicial killings, the death penalty, limits to military jurisdiction, responsibility when exercising freedom of expression, forced disappearances, and amnesty law. Many of the cases described by the judge fall under these categories. The other two lines of jurisprudence are "groups in a situation of vulnerability" and "reparations." Ferrer Mac-Gregor then went on to describe in greater detail common types of cases evaluated by the IACHR. He described disappearances both by aliens of the state and with the acquiescence of the state without being official acknowledgment. He then described the type of amnesty laws that the court considers violations of human rights: those amnesty laws adopted by governments to protect themselves or former governments. In 2001, the court established that amnesty laws and other efforts to remove responsibility are unacceptable under the American system of human rights. This issue was brought to the court after taking place in Peru and Chile and in 2006 the IACHR established that any amnesty laws removing government responsibility are violations of human rights, not just those known as self-amnesty.

The third category of jurisprudence presented is that of reparations to victims. According to Ferrer Mac-Gregor, Article 63 of the American convention says that "if the court finds that there has been a violation" of rights protected by the convention, reparations may be ordered. He describes the goal of reparations as being for victims to be comprehensively repaired through compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction, and guarantees of non-repetition. The judge discussed this line of jurisprudence extensively as he described the position of the IACHR on reparations as very advanced and "perhaps the most important contribution of the court to international human rights law." He then described that reparations often include pecuniary compensation but also the state acknowledging its role in disappearing people and apologizing or commemorating victims.

After he related these three categories of jurisprudence, Ferrer Mac-Gregor described new challenges to the court and new case law developments. He described challenges to the Inter-American Court of Human Rights as "concerning the protection of economic, social, cultural, and environmental rights." The judge described great hunger and social inequality endemic in Latin America, stating that "Latin America continues to suffer from the worst income distribution in the world," and denoting social rights such as adequate housing and education as within the purview of the court's efforts to preserve "the dignity of life" and avoid social exclusion. The judge concluded his presentation by "stressing the indispensable character of human rights which should not be taken for granted," stating that these 40 years of the court and human rights have contributed to democratization in Latin America, and "I am confident that during at least the next 40 years, the court will keep its institutional role" of protecting human rights. He tempered this positive conclusion with an emphasis on the court's need to streamline and expand its processes in order to provide justice more promptly.

About Eduardo Ferrer Mac-Gregor

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Eduardo Ferrer Mac-Gregor is the President of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, where he has been a Judge since 2013. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor is a recognized Mexican jurist who works as Principal Researcher in the Institute of Legal Research of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM) and Professor of the Faculty of Law.

He worked in the Supreme Court of Justice of Mexico and held different positions at the Judicial Branch. He is the President of the Latin American and Mexican Institutes of Constitutional Procedural Law and member of more than 20 academic and scientific associations. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor is the author of numerous publications on constitutional, procedural, and judicial remedies and human rights. Judge Ferrer Mac-Gregor was visiting professor in leading universities in Latin America, Europe, and the United States. He holds a J.S.D. from the University of Navarra, Spain, with studies in human rights at the Institut International des Droits de l'Homme, Strasbourg, France, and holds a Bachelor of Law and Doctor Honoris Causa by the Autonomous University of Baja California.

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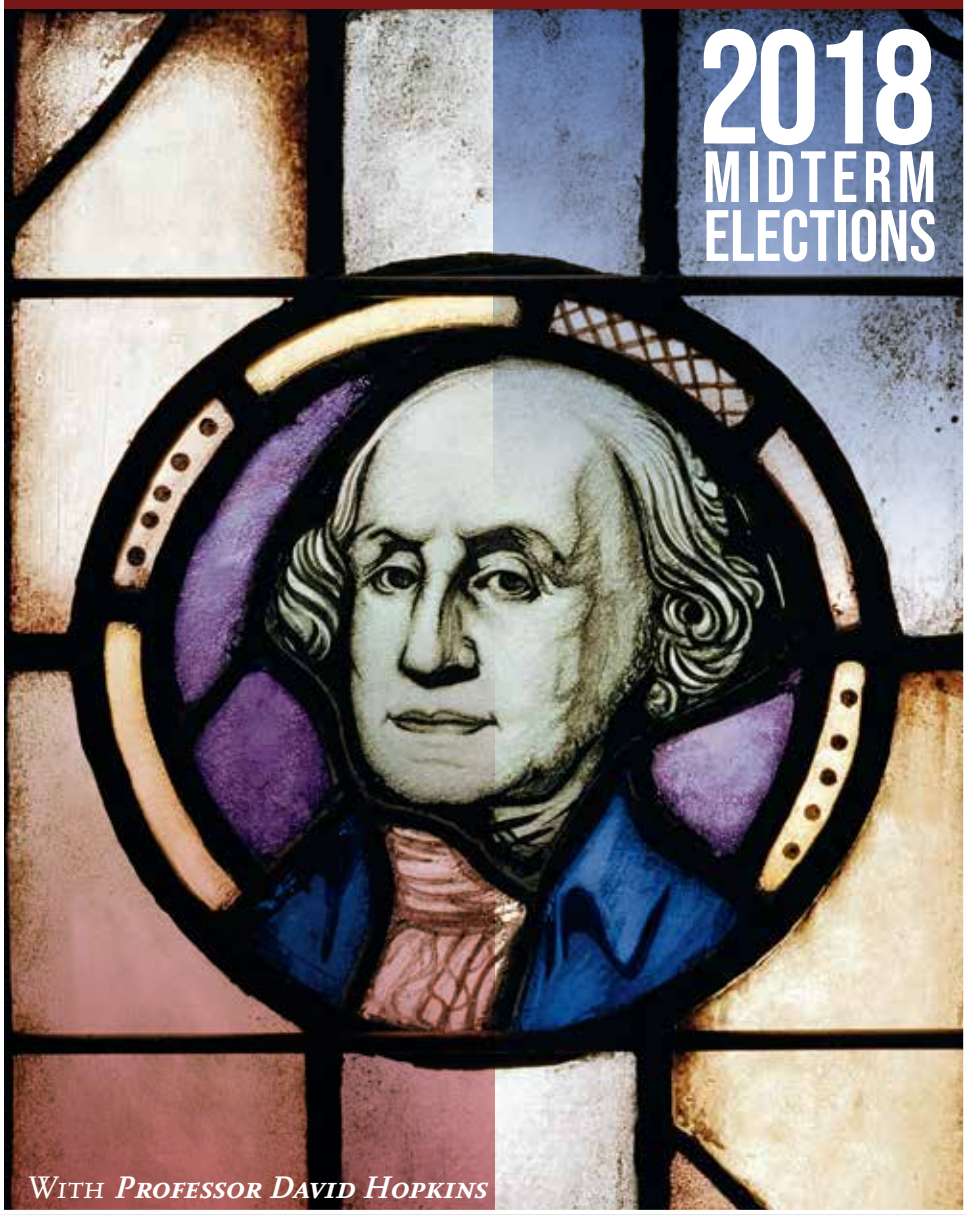

With mere hours before polls open for the much-contested 2018 midterm elections across the United States, Professor David Hopkins (Political Science) offered comments for the Clough Center. Speaking on the state of American politics on the eve of the first major national election since Donald Trump's victory in 2016, Dr. Hopkins shared careful assessments and cautions about how observers should understand the election and its results.

Hopkins, an expert on elections and polarization in American politics, gave an initial presentation of the raw numbers in contention as well as the current general consensus on *likely* outcomes. The Republicans have held a respectable majority (240-195) in the House of Representatives, and a razor-thin one in the Senate (51-49). Emphasizing that no prediction is ultimately reliable, Professor Hopkins expressed that there currently seems to be a *greater than likely* chance of a Democratic majority in the House, and the same of the Republicans maintaining their

majority in the Senate. The governor races are less clear, but he claimed that a shift to a Democratic majority of governorships is (while probably not the most likely) not impossible.

Dr. Hopkins regularly underscored the variability of predictions and polling. The results could be very different than these current forecasts suggest. Besides the fresh memory of fumbled forecasts on the eve of Trump's unexpected win in 2016 there are several further reasons to be suspicious in this midterm. The first reason is that there is a surprising amount of closely contested races in this election. Several are "dead heats." Typically, Dr. Hopkins explained, the most contested races would have solidified into fairly decisive patterns by this point. This is not the case, however. Second, data on absentee and early voting so far suggests a significant increase in turnout. Pre-election polls are based on assumptions on likely voters but *actual* voter demographics can be completely different. High turnout means that assumptions about likely voters in pre-election polling are probably at least somewhat wrong, but it is not certain yet which groups are turning out and how they are voting.

Several factors make this midterm election unique, according to Professor Hopkins. Most dramatically, the prospect of a split in the majorities of each legislative body is very unusual. One of the most significant reasons for this is that increasing polarization is leading to less variation between how states vote in presidential elections and in state-wide elections. This benefits Republicans since they tend to win a majority of states in Presidential elections (even when not winning the electoral college). If those states stay red for Senate elections, it bodes well for Republicans, even if individual House districts might go blue. Another crucial factor, mentioned later in the presentation, is the new and growing disparity between college-educated and non-college-educated whites. In 2016, the former voted more solidly Democrat, the latter more Republican. For a variety of reasons, especially geographical concentration, college-educated whites are more consequential in congressional races while the opposite is true for the Senate. In short, if the prediction of a flip in one body but not the other is correct, it will be unprecedented. But it may be based in dynamics that were present in and before 2016 and could persist into the future.

Professor Hopkins drew particular attention to what he considered to be the misguided belief that U.S. elections come down to turnout between two monolithic parties. While American politics *is* increasingly partisan, there is still a significant role for swing voters—both independents and 'defectors.' If the Democrats have a successful election, it will be at least as much due to voters who voted for Trump in 2016 voting for Democrats in 2018 as to turnout among consistent Democrats.

Dr. Hopkins ended his presentation by listing several other notable features about the election that are already clear, regardless of the outcome:

1. While midterms are often a referendum on the president, this election is especially so. The election is very much about Trump, for people on both sides.
2. The election will provide insight into how party allegiances may or may not be shifting. Republicans seem to be losing their typical base of suburban whites. Will the distaste for Trump among suburban white Republicans translate into Congress? Similarly, will growing party divisions based on education and gender persist?
3. Democrats have an unprecedented economic advantage in this election. We can't know for sure how much of an impact this will have on the results. But the numbers themselves are, in Dr. Hopkins' words, "remarkable and unprecedented." Democrats rarely outspend in midterm elections.
4. Women have been mobilized as key activists against Donald Trump. This began immediately after the 2016 election with the Women's March and is continuing in the midterms. The number of Democrat women running for office in 2016 is a tremendous increase from previous elections.
5. The gubernatorial campaigns of Stacey Abrams in Georgia and Andrew Gillum in Florida might herald a new era of black politics. They are running in majority-white, typically Republican states as progressives not moderates. They are attempting to build a new coalition of non-whites and white liberals.

The audience was left with a sober awareness that the next day's midterms likely hold many surprises for analyst and layperson alike. Yet, Dr. Hopkins maintained, when we remember that political science as a field is not primarily meant to predict but to help us *understand* it can be a powerful tool for making sense of our political landscape.

About David Hopkins

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

David A. Hopkins joined the Boston College political science department in 2010. His research and teaching interests include American political parties and elections, the U.S. Congress, voting behavior, public opinion, and research methods.

His latest book, *Red Fighting Blue: How Geography and Electoral Rules Polarize American Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), demonstrates how the rise of the culture war, in combination with winner-take-all voting rules, has produced a regionally divided electorate and an ideologically divided party system in the United States. His previous book, *Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats* (Oxford University Press, 2016), co-authored with Matt Grossmann, investigates the ways in which the two major American political parties think differently about politics, rely on distinct sources of information, appeal to voters on different grounds, and choose unique governing styles. He is also the co-author of *Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structures of American Politics* (with Nelson W. Polsby, Aaron Wildavsky, and Steven E. Schier, Rowman & Littlefield, 2016) and his research has appeared in *Perspectives on Politics, Polity,* and *American Politics Research*. He is the author of a forthcoming book analyzing the causes and consequences of geographic polarization in American national elections that will be published by Cambridge University Press in 2017.

Professor Hopkins has written about contemporary political issues for news outlets such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and *Vox*, and he frequently serves as an expert commentator on American politics for international, national, and Boston-area media organizations. He blogs regularly about current events at honestgraft.com and can be found on Twitter at @DaveAHopkins.

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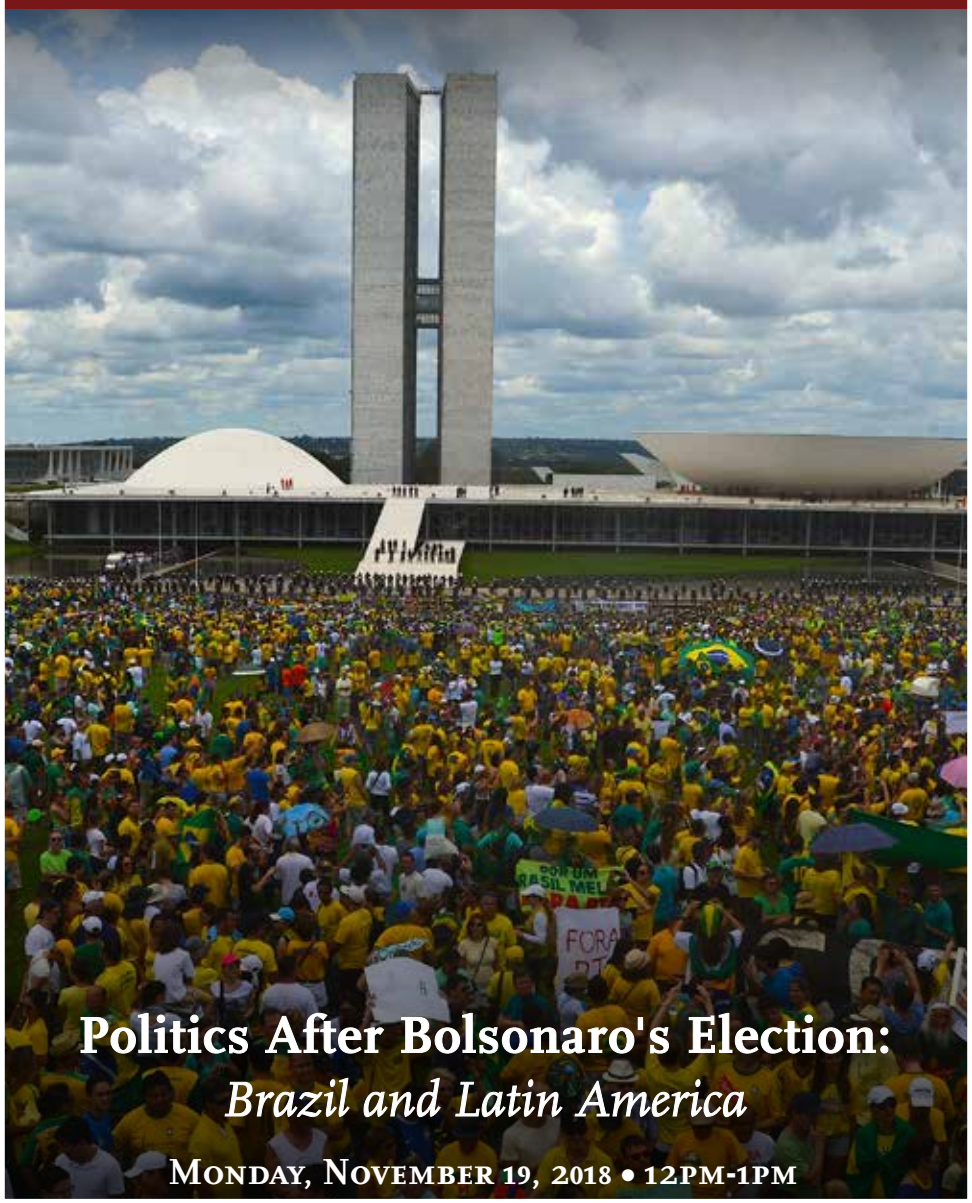

What does the election of Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil's new president, signal for Latin America's largest democracy? Two experts in Latin American law and politics addressed the question on November 19 at a Clough Center lunch event. Pablo Riberi, a professor of constitutional law at two universities in Cordoba, Argentina, and Paulo Barrozo, associate professor at BC Law School, contextualized the political moment in Brazil. Riberi and Barrozo examined the historical context of law and legal institutions in Latin America as well as the global wave of populist politics, which seems to show significant commonalities despite appearing in very different national contexts.

Given his favorable comments on military coups and calls for civil war, Bolsonaro's election brought concerns that, like other populist leaders in North America and Europe, he would undermine the independence of Brazilian democratic institutions. Painting a portrait of Latin America in general, Pablo Riberi described widespread "democratic backsliding," shallow politi-

> “ the institutional framework of the eighteenth century will be able to tame the wild horses of the longing for simplicity”

cal debates that enable “partisan hijacking of the levers of state power,” and hyper-presidential systems that reflect low esteem for deliberative legislatures. “My portrait is dire,” he admitted.

Riberi provided a historical overview of some of the common problems in constitutional design that have reinforced executive power across Latin America. Latin American democracies that designed constitutions in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often adopted the American model of separation of powers, which was not always adequate to the political needs of countries like Argentina, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil. In the past, different political strains that Riberi labeled “conservative,” “liberal,” and “radical” often compromised to achieve common goals, with even conservatives and radicals sometimes forming alliances. But frustration with quibbling and ineffectual congresses led to a style of Latin American leader that claimed strong executive powers to overcome these hindrances. The outcome was a cycle that Riberi called “self-imposed crisis”: Strong executive powers enabled political newcomers to be swept into power with broad mandates for radical reforms, powers that enabled them to make major governing mistakes. Fixing their errors became a justification for even more powers, reinforcing a path toward hyper presidentialism.

Riberi suggested that, while Latin American nations have sometimes truly needed stronger executives, the American model of a popularly elected president may have hurt more than it helped. He advocated a reinvigorated constitutional separation of powers—especially a reinforced check on executive power—as a response to what he called “the constant deterioration of institutional quality.”

Paulo Barrozo looked not just to the Latin American context but also the direction of global politics. Brazil, he argued, has a unique political context that created an opening for Bolsonaro. Brazil’s democratic government was overthrown by a military coup in 1964, which endured until it lost legitimacy in the 1970s and gave way to a constituent assembly that gave Brazil, in Barrozo’s words, a “very progressive” constitution that featured presidentialism and a “laissez-faire” party system. The specific rise of Bolsonaro was related to the fall of Lula, the social-democratic leader who promised an ethical politics that would break out of the country’s corrupt system of patronage politics. When Lula’s success story was broken by a massive corruption scandal, intensified and exaggerated by political opponents who had never accepted the legitimacy of his Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers’ Party), the country was left open to Bolsonaro’s right-wing version of anti-corruption politics.

Barrozo compared Bolsonaro’s election to the victory of Donald Trump in the United States in 2016, which shattered the illusion of a broad popular commitment to democracy. These politicians were simply the vessels of a more general worldwide zeitgeist that Barrozo described as a longing for simplicity, an escape from the “heavy cognitive burden” that globalized politics have increasingly placed on individuals around the world. From knowing the names of cities in Afghanistan and the differences between Islamic sects post 9/11 to understanding how words and terms injure sexual minorities, “the demand of thoughtfulness” is being rejected everywhere in favor of a return to simplicity. The U.S. and Brazil are alike in that they are gigantic, ethnically diverse, religious countries facing the question of whether “the institutional framework of the eighteenth century will be able to tame the wild horses of the longing for simplicity.”

A lively discussion followed the two speakers’ presentations, focusing on the sources of the various types of inequality that have created the divisions of contemporary politics, including both inequality of wealth and of education and ability to participate in substantive democratic debate. Like Trump, Bolsonaro’s victory rested on his unique use of social media to reach an electorate outside the bounds of traditional media. Riberi linked these problems back to the “shallow” democracy created by hyper-presidentialism in Latin America, while Barrozo suggested that inequality and even opposition to immigration could not explain the rise of global populism. The event ended on an ambivalent note, as Barrozo noted that there was little chance of escaping the increased complexity that many voters seem to be trying to escape.

About the Speakers

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Paulo Barrozo's work offers new understandings of rights, childhood, human endowments, punishment, cruelty, structural mercy, the political, legal education, markets institutionalization, and the nature and evolution of law. Barrozo received an S.J.D. from Harvard Law School and a Ph.D. in Political Science from the Rio de Janeiro University Research Institute. Before joining Boston College Law School, he was a Lecturer in social thought at Harvard University, where he was the first recipient of the Stanley Hoffman Prize for Excellence in Teaching. In his pro bono activities, Barrozo advocates for the rights of children and the neurodiverse. His work is available here: http://ssrn.com/author=400119.

Pablo Riberi holds a Philosophy degree, a Law degree, and a Doctorate degree in Law and Social Sciences granted by the Universidad Nacional de Cordoba, Argentina. He has also "Specialized" in Constitutional Law in the Center for Constitutional Law Studies in Madrid (Spain). Finally, he was awarded an LLM by Temple University which was obtained through a Fulbright Commission Scholarship.

Pablo Riberi is a full Professor of Constitutional Law at the School of Law of the National University of Cordoba as well as a Professor of Constitutional Theory at the School of Political Sciences of the Catholic University of Cordoba, Argentina. He has lectured at many conferences on Constitutional Law, Constitutional Theory, Comparative Constitutional law and Political Philosophy. He has also been a professor, lecturer, and/or researcher iat several universities, both in Argentina and abroad. Among other distinctions, for example, he has been a visiting scholar at Science-Po, Paul Cezanne, Aix-en-Provence, France, three times (2009, 2014, 2017) and he has been twice awarded a Max Planck scholarship for the Advancement of Science to pursue a research time period at the Max Planck Institute for Public Comparative Law and International Law in Heidelberg (fall semesters 2014 and 2016).

He has published widely. Within his selected works, it is worth noticing: *Teoría de la Representación Política*, Rubinzal Culzoni, 2014; and with co-editor Konrad Lachmayer, *Philosophical or Political Foundation of Constitutional Law*, Nomos-Facultas, 2014.

He has held several public responsibilities in the past. For example, through a general election, Pablo Riberi was elected representative (and appointed by his peers) the Second Vice-President of the Assembly that reformed the State Constitution of Córdoba (2001).
He is currently a member of the Executive Committee of the International Association of Constitutional Law (IACL-AIDC).

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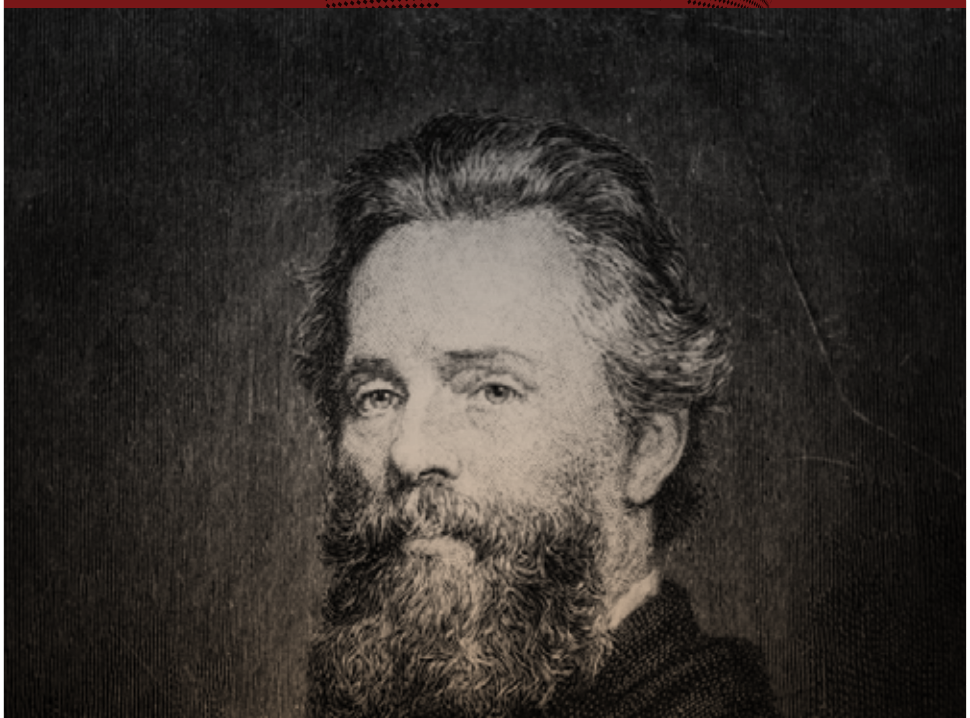


Ruthless, Militant, Round:

On Melville and the Aesthetics of Radical Democracy

With Jennifer Greiman, Associate Professor of English, Wake Forest University

Jennifer Greiman is Associate Professor of English at Wake Forest University; she is the author of *Democracy's Spectacle: Sovereignty and Public Life in Antebellum American Writing* (Fordham University Press, 2010) and the co-editor, with Paul Stasi, of *The Last Western: Deadwood and the End of American Empire* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013). She is also the co-editor, with Kir Kuiken, of a special issue of the journal *Postmodern Culture* on the work of Etienne Balibar, "The Citizen Subject Revisited" (2013). Selections from her current book project, *Melville's Ruthless Democracy*, have appeared in *The New Cambridge Companion to Herman Melville*, *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-century Americanists*, and *Leviathan: A Journal of Melville Studies*.

A stimulating presentation, co-sponsored by the Clough Center and the Boston College Department of English, elucidated the significance of the work of Herman Melville for contemporary debates in political theory. Jennifer Greiman, a literary critic, spoke on material for her upcoming book on Melville and democracy. Her research analyzes the political significance of various images Melville uses throughout his novels, arguing that in doing so he presents an aesthetic theory of democracy.

The event was organized by Clough Graduate Fellow Alex Moskowitz, who introduced the speaker.

Professor Greiman framed her lecture by introducing one of the central contentions of her upcoming book: that democracy is just as central of a topic in Melville's writing as any theme typically attributed to his work. Specifically, Melville maintains a relationship between democracy and aesthetics. Greiman would later go on to clarify that this contention is not simply to say that

his theory is aesthetic for the fact that his medium is literature but that the theory evident in his literature is an intentionally aesthetic notion of democracy. Greimain further argued that Melville's theories bear interesting resemblance, and can be put into conversation, with several contemporary political theorists.

The first portion of the lecture surveyed recent philosophical and political theories on democracy—especially those attempting to grapple with the future of democracy in light of the wave of neo-fascism and populism in the U.S. and Europe. Greiman focused on a trajectory of thought that strives for radical democracy. She mentioned late 20th century French thinkers (Derrida, et al.) who understand democracy as a negation—something undefined, in becoming, not yet here. For these, to call democracy "radical" is to emphasize that democracy is becoming and always in becoming. Dr. Greiman also focused on other more contemporary theorists, specifically William Connolly, describing radical democracy in aesthetic terms. Namely, democracy is an act of creativity—always becoming. Connolly sees this as a politics that stands as a response to the rise of populism in the 21st century. Radical democracy must reform and respond in light of contemporary pressures, changes, and risks of anti-democratic violence, rather than remain stagnant in previous forms of action and systematization.

Greiman argued that Herman Melville stands in a comparable tradition for thinking about democracy. He similarly maintained that democracy should constitute radical creativity. However, while many contemporary thinkers have avoided any sort of positive grounding for democracy other than to call it a negation, Melville still values egalitarianism as democracy's positive basis. This does not take away from the fact that democracy is always being reinvented, as equality is never fully recognized, understood, emphasized, or able to be maintained without changes. It must always be rediscovered.

Greiman argued that this "specific political ontology" is present at the beginning of Melville's literary career and comes to maturation throughout his work. This ontology is figured in images. A particularly important image is that of animal or vegetable life. Democracy is indefinable and unpredictable growth, an unending process of death and rebirth and new possibility. This compares to a concept in Connolly, for whom radical democracy in the 21st century requires a grappling with the fact that current political realities are paradoxical and lie beyond our full ability to understand. Like the presence and absence of plant life, the state is present and absent: minimized underneath the forces of neo-liberalism and ecological destruction, yet also of necessitated large size to manage these realities.

Both Connolly and Melville rely heavily on animal metaphors. For Melville it is, of course, the whale. For Connolly, democracy is like an alligator. For both, the beast could represent a few different things, but in at least one sense it is the wildness and creativity of democracy as something that changes, is sometimes dangerous, but is a creative force to engage with rather than kill.

Melville's most important image is that of the circle. Democracy is not a process with a beginning and end, nor a word or concept, but rather something amorphous and unpredictable, creative, yet egalitarian. The first use of the circle as such appears in one of his earliest novels, *Omoo*, and also has a significant function in *Moby Dick*. The sequel to *Typee*, *Omoo* tells of a sailor who is rescued by a pirate ship whose crew is restless and ripe for mutiny. The pirates issue a declaration of mutiny to the captain (while he is on shore in Tahiti) in the form of a Round Robin. The Round Robin allows the men to sign their names without any one person appearing as the leader. Melville traces the evolution of their declaration and formation as a community as a council that transforms into a parliament, and ultimately a full democracy. This narrative depicts the emergence of a miniature democracy as a creative event. The circle is the creation of something new and egalitarian and indefinable, a creative and (literally) aesthetic act that forms a new relationship and reality. Greiman thinks it significant that Melville depicts the Round Robin in the text of the novel, rather than giving the list of demands of their statement. The circle is a symbol of resistance, a creative task—just what democracy is.

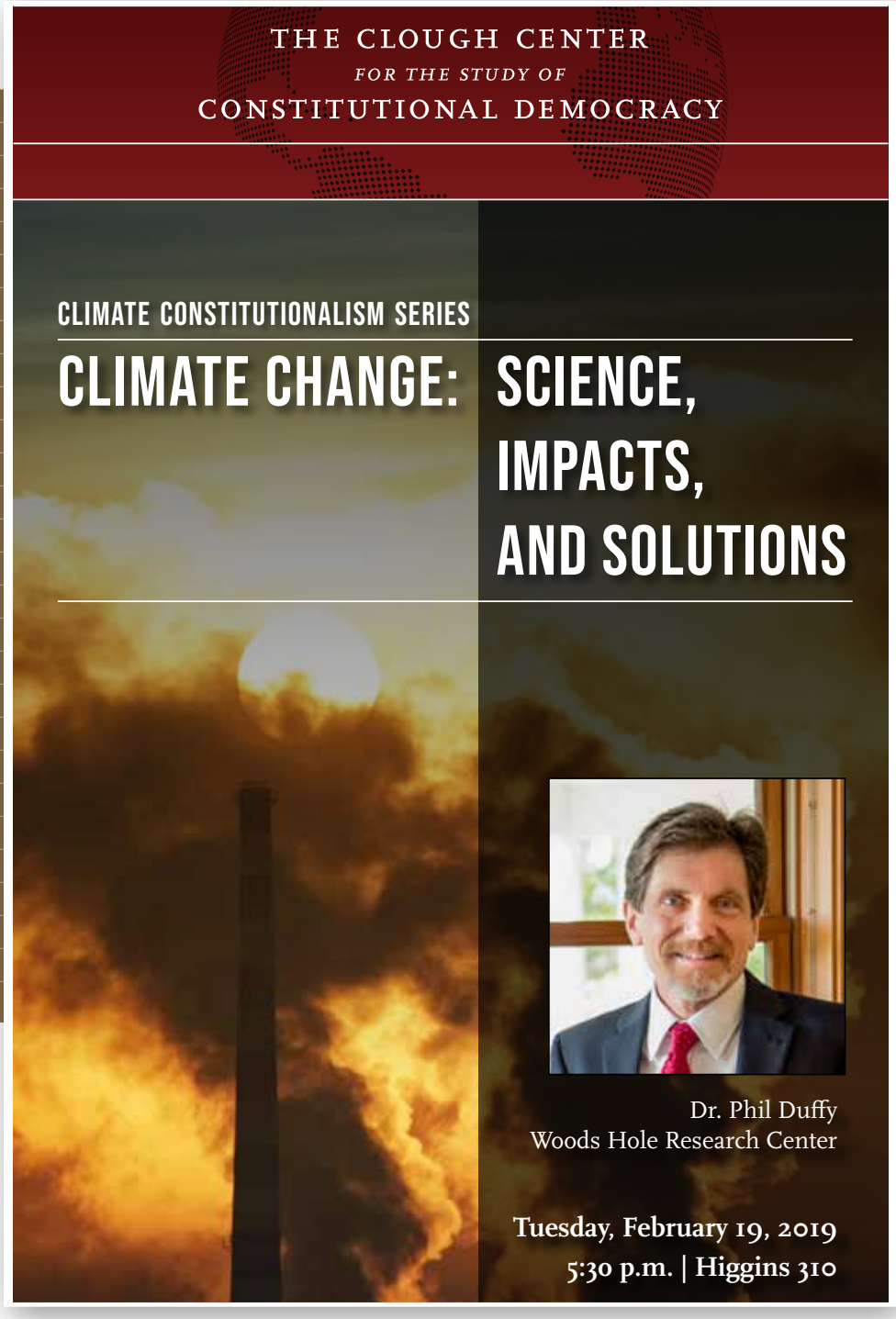
In an extensive time of Q&A, several participants pressed Professor Greiman to share more about her research on Melville. She expanded on some of his other metaphors for democracy, such as greenness as something that is neither blue nor yellow, both is and isn't. She also was asked about Melville's own political activities and whether it might further flesh out the ideas in his literature. (Notably, there is no evidence that he was politically active at all). A particularly vigorous discussion interrogated the dangers of relating politics and aesthetics, citing Walter Benjamin's claim that aestheticizing politics is fascist. Another participant made the point that Benjamin's definition of aesthetics is as anti-rational emotional expression (military parades), while it sounds as if Melville and Connolly define aesthetics as creativity. Greiman concurred with this clarification.

As Alex Moskowitz remarked while introducing the speaker and topic, this was certainly an important instance of much-needed politically engaged scholarship.

About Jennifer Greiman

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Jennifer Greiman is Associate Professor of English at Wake Forest University. She is the author of *Democracy's Spectacle: Sovereignty and Public Life in Antebellum American Writing* (Fordham University Press, 2010) and the co-editor, with Paul Stasi, of *The Last Western: Deadwood and the End of American Empire* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2013). She is also the co-editor, with Kir Kuiken, of a special issue of the journal *Postmodern Culture* on the work of Etienne Balibar, "The Citizen Subject Revisited" (2013). Selections from her current book project, *Melville's Ruthless Democracy,* have appeared in *The New Cambridge Companion to Herman Melville, J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-century Americanists*, and *Leviathan: A Journal of Melville Studies*.



Inaugurating the Clough Center's occasional lecture series on "Climate Constitutionalism," Dr. Philip Duffy gave an informative and engaging lecture on the most up-to-date scientific conclusions about climate change and the policy revisions needed to limit dangerous environmental changes and consequent political upheaval. Dr. Duffy holds his Doctor in Applied Physics from Stanford University and has worked in a variety of policy and academic posts—notably serving as a science advisor to the Obama administration and currently sitting as the president and executive director of the Woods Hole Research Center.

Dr. Duffy began his talk with a historical, data-driven overview of the Earth's climate over time, and the history of recent scientific concern about human-made climate change. He underscored that over the past 10,000 years, Earth's climate has seen a relatively stable average temperature that has allowed human life and society to develop. A change in this stability, as is threatened by climate change, will have huge impacts on human life and society generally. Throughout his presentation, Duffy pointed out that the threat of global warming is a social and political threat—likely to make agriculture difficult, increase droughts,

and expand migration from the hottest parts of the Earth to the Northern Hemisphere (increasing the likelihood, in his mind, of populist and authoritarian regimes reacting to such waves of migration).

Dr. Duffy discussed the current general consensus that climate change needs to be limited to a 2-degree Celsius increase in the earth's average temperature in order to limit some of its most devastating impacts. We are only a few decades from the deadline to reach that goal. Many argue that this goal is too generous, noting that a 1.5-degree rise will have tremendous negative impact. This more ambitious goal has especially been advocated for by low-lying island countries that will be greatly affected by sea level rise. Permitting the climate's average temperature to rise by 2 degrees could be catastrophic for these countries.

Climate change is already having marked influence on the environment and society today, Dr. Duffy argued. This impact includes the marked loss of ice sheets in Greenland and Antarctica, for example. The Greenland ice sheet, he explained, is already nearing a point of "no return" that will have significant impact on sea level, though it may take centuries for consequent sea level rises to take full effect. There are also some merely theoretical claims about current impact, such as increased intensity of hurricanes. While there is good reason to suspect that hurricane intensity levels will rise as a result of climate change, it is difficult to know yet if this is already taking place, largely because of the lack of much data about hurricanes that never reach landfall, which were unobservable until more recent satellite technology. There is clear evidence that the historic features of recent Atlantic hurricanes—high rates of precipitation, slow movement, and rapid intensification—are the direct consequence of climate change. Duffy also noted other expected consequences, such as increased droughts and more intense wildfires, hydrological extremes (periods of high precipitation and drought in a particular region), and significant sea level rises. Notably, he argued that many of these consequences are already inevitable. Even if all carbon emissions ended today, it will take several millennia for carbon levels in the atmosphere to dissipate. The temperature would stabilize to at least the current average temperature, which is .75 degree above previous averages.

The presentation also featured insights on what steps are necessary to reach stated temperature goals. In the broadest term, meeting these goals requires reducing emissions while increasing carbon-removing mechanisms (through increased forestation, for example). Duffy identified four specific tools for pursuing these ends: 1. Decarbonization, 2. Energy efficiency, 3. Reducing other non-CO_2 gases that contribute to climate change, 4. CO_2 removal.
In terms of public will, Dr. Duffy noted the good news that every state has a majority of people that believe in the existence of human-made climate change and agree with the need to use regulations to limit emissions. Yet, there is still difficulty translating this opinion into strong policy, largely because most Americans do not believe that climate change will impact them directly.

While acknowledging that individual actions do not really have much impact, he argued that it is important to set a personal example with choices to reduce one's own carbon footprint. This can translate into greater political will. The most effective ways to reduce carbon footprints is to have fewer children, reduce air travel, not own a car, or eat less or no meat, among other recommendations. The most important avenue for reversing course, however, is in systemic policy change by involvement in local and national politics.

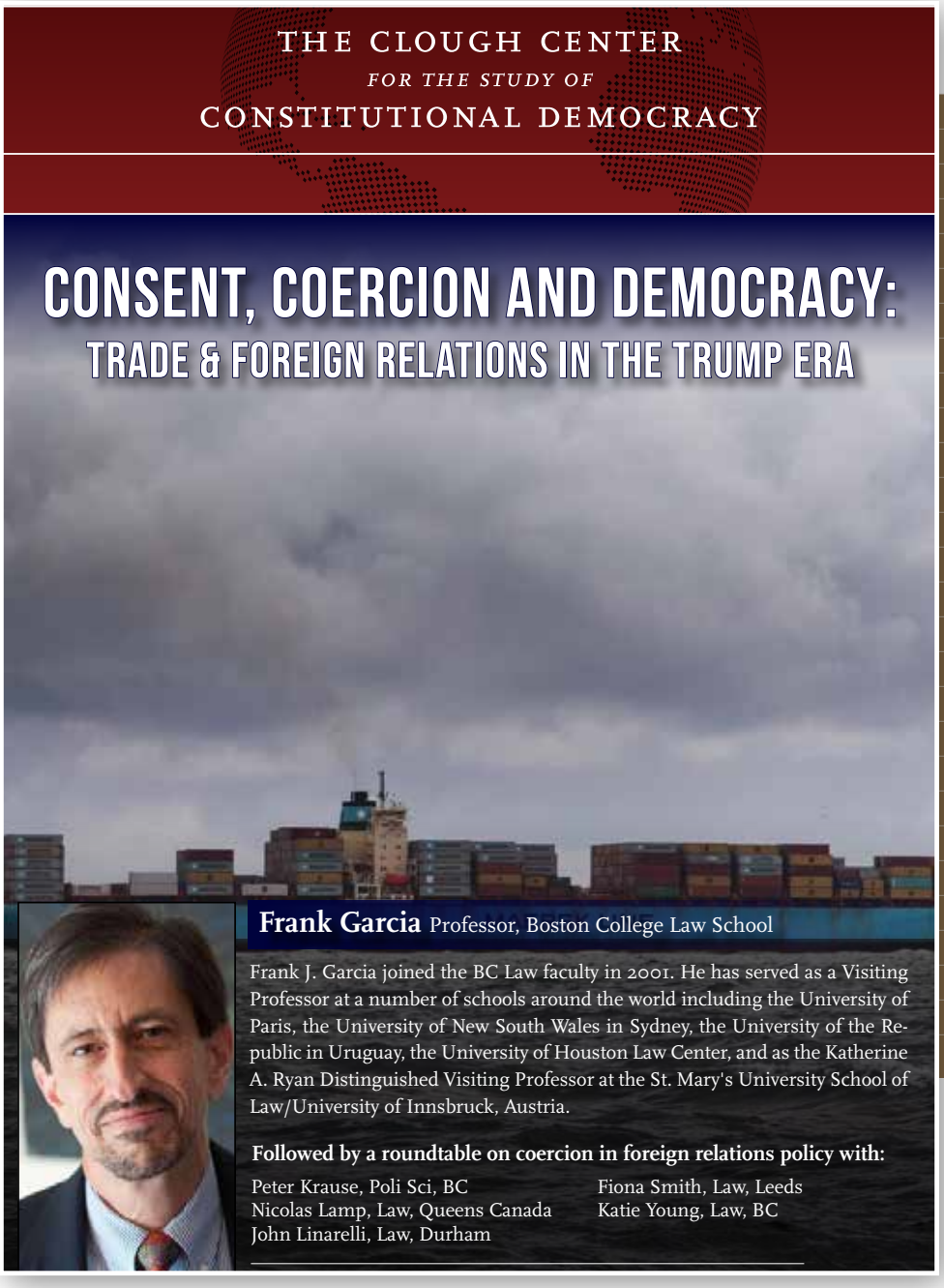
In an engaged time of questions and answers, Dr. Duffy was encouraged to give more specific insight on particular policy proposals and advocacy action steps. In response to one question about activism on BC's campus, focused on fossil fuel divestment, Duffy had reservations about the efficacy and necessity of advocating for divestment, arguing that large institutions should instead be pressured to take concrete steps to lessen their own carbon footprint. He was also asked about the continued existence of climate-change deniers. While it is clear that they are losing in the realm of public opinion, Dr. Duffy soberly warned that they still clearly have tremendous impact on U.S. policy—as evinced by Donald Trump's administration. He was also asked about the Green New Deal, recently proposed by Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez. While Duffy agrees with most of the policy proposals in the program, he worries that it will increase political polarization surrounding climate change, stoking fears by conservatives that climate change policy is a path toward socialism. He would rather policies that evoke broader consensus. The last question gave him opportunity to reflect on the Woods Hole Research Center's increased relationships with religious leaders, namely Cardinal O'Malley, noting that this has been a very positive development in advocacy. The involvement of religious leaders helps religious constituencies see that climate change is a moral issue.

About Phil Duffy

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Dr. Duffy is a physicist who has devoted his career to the use of science in addressing climate change. He frequently speaks on climate issues to public and specialized audiences, including philanthropic funders and professional investors. He also frequently engages policymakers, including delegates at the United Nations climate conferences, and the House of Representatives Committee on Science, Space, and Technology, where he testified in 2018. Dr. Duffy is frequently quoted by outlets such as the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post, Science*, the *Boston Globe*, NPR, CNN, and MSNBC. He has served on committees of the National Academy of Sciences and has advised state and local policymakers. Dr Duffy is particularly interested in working with diverse groups to address climate change, and has formed a coalition with Cardinal Sean Patrick O'Malley, the Archbishop of Boston, to organize faith leaders and scientists dedicated to addressing climate change.

Prior to joining WHRC, Dr. Duffy served as a Senior Advisor on the White House National Science and Technology Council, and as a Senior Policy Analyst in the White House Office of Science and Technology Policy. In these roles he was involved in international climate negotiations, domestic and international climate policy, and coordination of U.S. global change research. Before joining the White House, Dr. Duffy was Chief Scientist for Climate Central, an organization dedicated to increasing public understanding and awareness of climate change. He has held senior research positions with the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, and visiting positions at the Carnegie Institution for Science and the Woods Institute for the Environment at Stanford University. He has a bachelor's degree from Harvard and a Ph.D. in applied physics from Stanford.



At a panel discussion on March 14, 2019, at Boston College Law School's Barat House, six panelists discussed "Consent, Coercion, and Democracy: Trade & Foreign Relations in the Trump Era." Boston College Associate Professor of Law Katharine Young served as moderator. Professor Young introduced the keynote speaker, Boston College Professor of Law Frank Garcia, and the other four panelists: Associate Professor of Political Science at Boston College Peter Krause, Professor of Commercial Law at Durham University John Linarelli, Professor in International Economic Law at the University of Leeds Fiona Smith, and Assistant Professor of Law at Queen's University Nicholas Lamp.

Long-term Boston College Law School Professor Garcia began the panel by providing an accessible overview of his newly published book, *Consent and Trade: Trading Freely in a Global Market*.

While this book is not explicitly about the impact of Donald Trump's presidency on trade politics, Professor Garcia expressed his goal in this panel discussion "to take this as an opportunity to get a little bit under the surface of the current turmoil in trade politics." He sees this current turmoil as an opportunity to reaffirm that trade is what it has always been, consensual exchange. Specifically, Garcia discussed what can be done in trade law to reaffirm this consensual view of trade in contrast to what he

characterizes as a process of globalization that has been coercive or predative rather than consensual, and particularly disadvantageous for the developing world. He characterizes the change in global trade brought about by globalization as transforming the periphery and the core of the global economy from geographical to based on who owns the production.

Garcia then went on to pose the question of why academics and trade professionals do not think of exploitive trade as theft, making the point that it is lack of consent that designates an exchange as theft rather than violence. He then discussed how coercive trading may be viewed differently by the parties involved; what the coerced participant might view as a forced exchange equivalent to theft, the coercer might view as a successful and positive trade.

Garcia then related this distinction to domestic law, pointing out that, in domestic law, we regulate consent carefully across a range of different areas of human behavior, prohibiting active coercion. However, these same legal standards are not in place in the global market and coercive agreements are presented as free trade. Garcia states that "this administration has made coercion a hallmark" of its trade relations, bringing the issues highlighted in his book to the forefront. Trade agreements can be a coercive tool for more powerful states to reform the domestic laws of trading partners as well. Garcia describes how, as part of the implementation of the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA), a manufacturer's association in the United States targeted a practice in Central America protecting agents or distributors. Specifically, this association demanded the elimination of judicial scrutiny of certain contracts in Costa Rica, including for those already in place.

Professor Garcia characterized the aluminum and steel tariffs ordered by the Trump administration on many of the U.S.'s trading partners as part of a pattern of coercive bargaining that has resulted in low economic gains from these aggressive trade practices but high negative impacts on US alliances.

After Professor Garcia finished his overview, Professor Young spoke from the perspective of a scholar on human rights law and comparative public law. She particularly celebrated in Garcia's new book, "the contractual analogy that undergirds the work," "the knowledge and detail," and "the moves made between this long-standing paradigm" of consent in trade to mounting dissent.

Professor Krause then spoke from the perspective of a political scientist. He highlighted that violence or the threat of violence inheres in the use of the term "coercion" in political science. In

> "this administration has made coercion a hallmark"

contrast to the legal perspective expressed by Professor Garcia, the political science definition of coercion implies consent obtained through the implicit or explicit threat of violence. He then posed a question for the rest of the panel to ask if consent without leverage is possible in the international system. Krause asked if we can avoid the dynamics of coercion in the international system, given the overwhelming economic and military strength of the United States. Professor Krause also raised the point that in security issues, stronger powers often do not achieve more of their goals by using coercion and asked if that held true in coercive economic relationships as well.

Professor Linarelli then presented briefly on "Trade Agreements, Renegotiation, and the Structure of Coercion." He posed several thought experiments to illustrate the inconsistency in common thinking about coercion, highlighting that academics and non-academics alike tend to think about coercion as threats of physical violence although it is also present in economic relationships.

Professor Smith spoke about the implications for international economics and trade law of the imminent British exit from the European Union (Brexit). She stated that Brexit smashes what trade lawyers, businesses, and lawyers saw as the trade orthodoxy and characterizes it as "the final death throes of empire." She concludes by stating that trade lawyers will have an opportunity to bring their values and view of trade as a vehicle for economic prosperity and peace to the practical application of whatever trade agreement is reached between the United Kingdom and the European Union.

Professor Nicholas Lamb then brought his perspective to international trade as a former employee of the WTO. He stated that over the past 40 years, developing countries have seen major changes in their economic capabilities but not their treaty commitments. He characterized this development as an issue for international trade law based on contracts.

Professor Young then transitioned to audience questions, which focused largely on the legal and political consequences of the Trump administration's policies.

About Frank Garcia

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Frank J. Garcia joined the BC Law faculty in 2001. He had been an Associate Professor at the Florida State University College of Law since 1993. He has served as a Visiting Professor at a number of schools around the world, including the University of Paris, the University of New South Wales in Sydney, the University of the Republic in Uruguay, the University of Houston Law Center, and as the Katherine A. Ryan Distinguished Visiting Professor at the St. Mary's University School of Law/University of Innsbruck, Austria.

Professor Garcia received his B.A. in Religious Studies from Reed College in 1985, and his J.D. from the University of Michigan Law School in 1989. He was a law clerk for Andrews & Kurth in Texas and Davis Wright Tremaine in Oregon , and an associate in the Oregon firm Stoel Rives Boley Jones & Grey from 1990–1993.

Professor Garcia was a Fulbright Scholar, as well as a professorial fellow at the Law Institute of the Americas, SMU School of Law, and the Associate Director of the Caribbean Law Institute, FSU College of Law. He has served on the Executive Board and as Vice-Chair of the ASIL International Economic Law and International Legal Theory Interest Groups, and on the Board of the Law School Admissions Council. He currently serves as book review editor and board member of the *Journal of International Economic Law*, and advises the *BC International & Comparative Law Review*.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY: A FUTURE OF RISKS AND OPPORTUNITIES

The distinguished former Danish Prime Minister (2001–2009) and Secretary General of NATO (2009–2014), Anders Fogh Rasmussen, was jointly hosted by the Winston Center for Leadership and Ethics and the Clough Center for a Clough Colloquium open to the wider Boston College community. During his talk, "American Foreign Policy: A Future of Risks and Opportunities," Rasmussen addressed some of the most pressing challenges facing American foreign policy and presented his own vision of the way forward.

He opened with a strong statement in favor of an interventionist foreign policy on the part of the NATO allies under American leadership. The inaction of the international community in the face of authoritarian regimes, civil wars, and massacres around the world "costs human life," he said. Granting that the domestic costs of intervention in terms of blood and treasure are sometimes high, Rasmussen insisted that "the cost of inaction is greater."

The recent failures of Western interventions can be explained by a few different causes, Rasmussen argued. In Libya, the military intervention was successful, but had no political follow-up. In Iraq, the problem was not the invasion itself, but Obama's precipitous withdrawal of American forces. Politically, the Iraqi government was allowed, under American supervision, to trample the rights of minorities: "we were too soft on minority rights." The result was sectarian warfare following the American withdrawal.

Rasmussen directed his most severe criticism toward the foreign policy of President Obama, whose "red-line" to the Syrian regime on the use of chemical weapons petered out in action. This was

a "dangerous signal" which "emboldened autocrats" around the world. "Now we must all pay the price," he noted. Likewise, President Obama began the struggle against ISIS too late, only in August 2014. The result has been, Rasmussen said, a humanitarian disaster, a boost in Russian ascendancy, and "refugees flooding Europe."

But is it fair to ask America to shoulder the burden of being the "world's policeman"? Rasmussen's answer was a clear yes. Quoting Robert Kagan, he explained that "superpowers don't get to retire." Nor should Americans see foreign military and political intervention to spread liberal democracy and prevent humanitarian disaster as a simple cost without benefit, or merely as an act of benevolence.

American self-interest, he argued, demands an interventionist policy for several reasons. If liberal powers do not intervene in foreign conflicts, the enemy "will come to you." Conflicts are easier to manage at the beginning: "the costs of stability rise." Finally, the post-war international order established by America that served from Harry Truman to George W. Bush benefits America and the entire free world.

Rasmussen also presented some more concrete suggestions for strengthening NATO and buttressing the liberal world order. He suggested closer NATO cooperation with Japan and India, powers with similar interests. In the question period, he even suggested that China, as "a rising power," might be induced to cooperate. Russia, on the other hand, a "declining power," must be contained. But above all, said Rasmussen, there is a need for "democratic renewal" within Western democracies and a "united front" among Western powers. Embracing the doctrine that democracies are only secure when democracy is spreading, Rasmussen argued that "our security depends on the spread of democracies."

World leadership must fall to the U.S., since Europe's proclivity for "talking rather than action" makes it ill suited to defend the liberal world order. Rasmussen ended his talk with a wry and smiling reference to President Trump: "Let's make democracy great again!"

Thereafter followed a very lively question period, cut short only due to time constraints. Several of the questions gave Rasmussen the opportunity to expand on the ideas he had presented in his talk, while others compelled him to respond to sometimes sharp criticisms of his positions.

One questioner wondered how Rasmussen could justify the harm caused during past American and NATO interventions to civilians, and why the U.S. should not be obliged to pay compensation to those injured in its foreign military actions. Rasmus-

sen, however, rejected the premise of the question, arguing that Western interventions rarely serve immediate economic interests, but rather the interest of preserving the liberal world order. "I'm not a neo-con," he said in reply, "I'm a European. My interest is to be protected."

Another questioner wondered whether Turkey, given its authoritarian turn, should be considered a reliable NATO member. Rasmussen shared the questioner's concern about Turkish policy, but enjoined "critical dialogue" with Turkey due to its strategic importance to the alliance.

Asked whether imposing democracy around the world would not be undemocratic, Rasmussen retorted that he is a partisan for "universal rights." He suggested also broadening the Western alliance to include African nations and India.

Finally, in responding to a number of other questions, Rasmussen presented a few more controversial positions. He emphasized the need to secure Europe's external border and control the flow of migrants into the continent for the sake of maintaining the European welfare state. Along these lines, he suggested making welfare available to migrants and immigrants only after a period of acclimatization of up to seven years. Populism in some cases, he said, is simply "policy the elites don't like." Rasmussen also suggested that the high-handed decision-making process in Brussels has had the effect of alienating European populations, expressing both concern and understanding of the turn away from the EU by countries like Poland and Hungary.

Rasmussen's talk responded to some of the most important and topical questions in American foreign policy. His positions were generally lucid, but in keeping with his training as a diplomat, at times veered toward platitude. In particular, given the importance Rasmussen ascribed to "democratic renewal," he might have presented more concrete policy suggestions in this direction. Nevertheless, he offered the Boston College community an invaluable opportunity to engage directly with an experienced and thoughtful statesman, whose ideas reflect not only his own idiosyncratic views but one of the major streams of thought about foreign policy in the Western world and beyond.

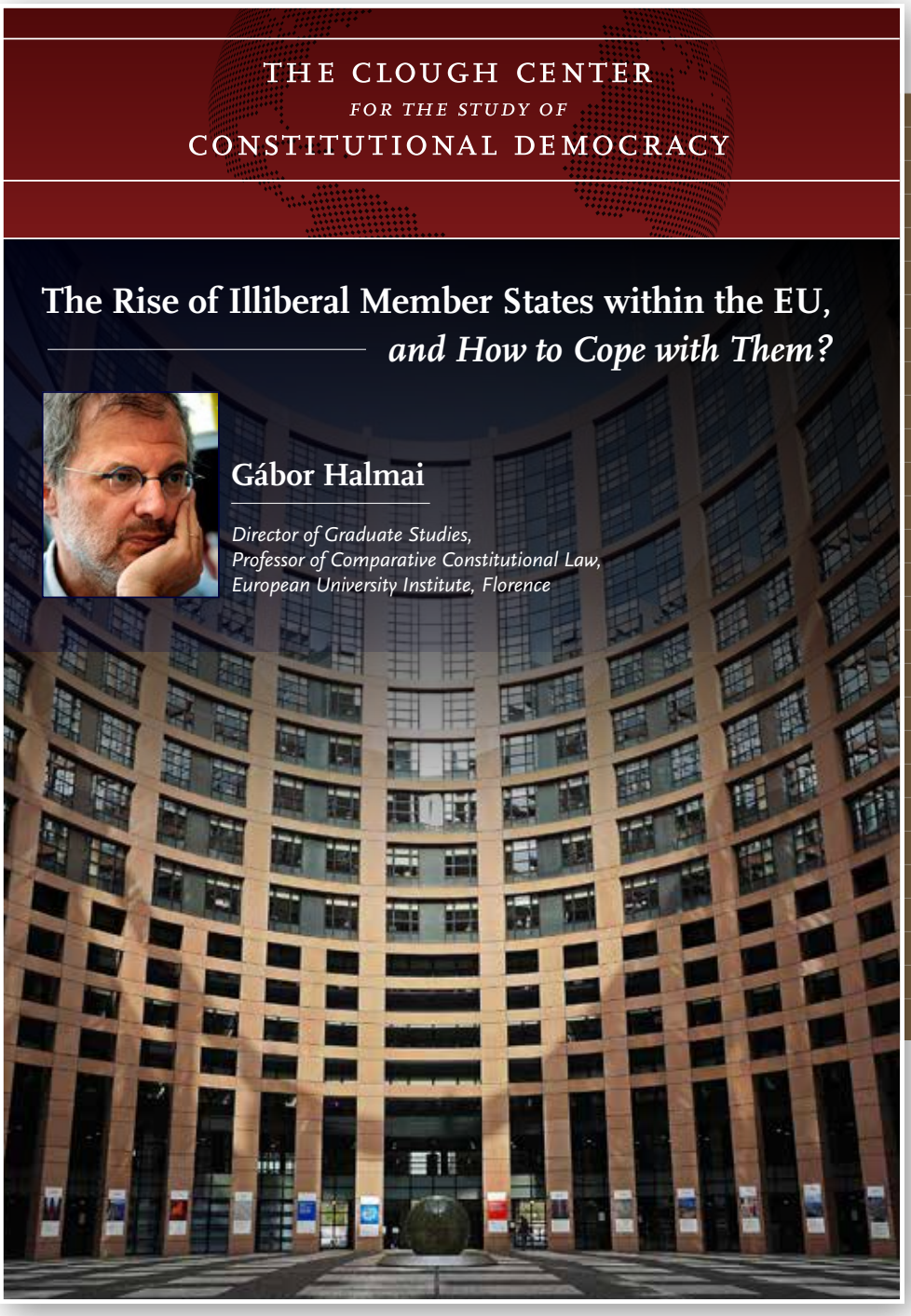
About Anders Fogh Rasmussen

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Anders Fogh Rasmussen has been at the center of European and global politics for three decades as Secretary General of NATO, Prime Minister of Denmark, Danish Minister of Economic Affairs, and a leading Danish parliamentarian.

Rasmussen has advocated for stronger ties between the world's democracies, including a truly "Integrated Transatlantic Community," a Transatlantic Free Trade Agreement between the EU and North America, and a global community of democracies.

He is the founder of Rasmussen Global, which advises clients on a wide range of issues such as international security, transatlantic relations, the European Union, and emerging markets. In his latest book, *The Will To Lead: America's Indispensable Role in the Global Fight for Freedom* (September, 2016), Rasmussen argues that Western democracies, with the steadfast leadership of the United States, must stand up to authoritarianism around the world.



One of the current main challenges of the European Union is the rise of authoritarian populist movements and illiberal regimes. Although these phenomena are not purely specific to East Central Europe, two new member states, Hungary and Poland, stand out by systematically violating a series of fundamental European values related to rule of law and democracy.

On March 25, 2019—only six days after the party of Hungary's Prime Minister Viktor Orbán was suspended by the center-right European People's Party, the European Parliament's largest party, over the violation of EU values—the Clough Center was honored to have Professor of Comparative Constitutional Law Gábor Halmai to speak about the series of events that led to the rise of illiberal member states and explain the European Union's possible toolkits to cope with these phenomena. Halmai, as a former chief advisor to the President of the Hungarian Constitutional Court, a member of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency's Management Board, and the author of several publications on the topic, is certainly one of the most qualified experts on these issues.

Professor Halmai began his talk by contrasting the strong rules described by the Copenhagen criteria—that determine whether a potential new member state is eligible to join the EU—with the much softer requirements for existing Member States. Article 2 of the Treaty on European Union, often referred to as the "homogeneity clause," describes the principles of fundamental rights and mentions respect for the rule of law as one of the core values of the European Union. As Halmai revealed, Article 2 has been violated by multiple member states in the past, such as the 2008 Roma census in Italy or the 2010 attempted Roma expulsion in France. However, the case of Hungary and Poland is special due to the systematic nature of these events. The signs of the violation of European values included, he said, the rise of illiberal democratic regimes, the lack of checks and balances (the independence of judiciary), and the lack of fundamental rights (independent media, religion, and assembly).

Halmai then turned to the discussion of potential factors that could explain the backsliding toward illiberal democracy in Hungary and Poland. The authoritarian past of these countries and the lack of democratic traditions are clearly among the main roots of the problem since due to these historical factors there has been no consensus among the elite on liberal democratic values at the time of transition in most former communist states. Disappointment in quick economic changes and increasing income inequality following the countries' transition to democracy, he said, also contributed significantly to the popularity of the illiberal views. Furthermore, the lack of constitutional culture and participatory democracy, the external stimulus generated by the low threshold of the Copenhagen criteria, and the lack of review mechanisms also had a significant role in the rise of illiberalism in these East Central European new member states. Finally, Halmai explained that in the case of Hungary, the disproportional election system allowed Viktor Orbán's party to win a two-thirds constitution-making majority and push through several modifications in order to strengthen its position by winning only 45 percent of the votes.

Halmai next turned to the discussion of the potential sanctions the European Union could use in order to cope with member states' deviation from its core values. He divided the potential strategies of the EU into political and economic categories. The traditional political sanctions include infringement procedures and Article 7 of the Treaty on European Union. This rule of law framework describes the formal tool of sanctions and investigations the EU can apply against Member States deviating from its fundamental values in order to protect constitutionalism.

The recent events in Hungary and Poland, however, show that these political sanctions are not effective to prevent the violations of core European values. As an example, Halmai mentioned the case in 2012 when Hungary suddenly lowered the retirement age of judges in order to remove the most senior members of the judiciary, including members of the Supreme Court. Although the European Court of Justice decided against Hungary, the decision was ineffective in restoring and preventing further steps against the independence of the judiciary in the country. Halmai argued that this incapability of the EU institutions in enforcing the compliance of member states can be explained by the fear from unanimity of these actions with core values and various political reasons.

This ineffectiveness of the traditional toolkit, he continued, leads to the desirability of introducing new financial and economic sanctions against member states violating European values. These types of sanctions would mainly operate through the suspension or withdrawal of EU funds from member states deviating from the fundamental values of the EU. Since Hungary and Poland rely heavily on these subsidies that consist of about 5 percent of their GDPs, such financial sanctions are expected to affect the positions of the ruling parties.

However, Halmai said the challenge in applying these potentially more effective economic sanctions to cope with illiberal member states would not only require new institutions to ensure a more effective monitoring and assessment of the EU funds but also raises the question whether these types of sanctions could be applied without modifying the existing European Union law.

Professor Halmai concluded that the ideal framework to cope with the rise of illiberal EU member states would be the use of a hybrid approach, which combines the benefits of political and economic sanctions.

About Gábor Halmai

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Gábor Halmai was appointed in September 2016 as Professor and Chair of Comparative Constitutional Law at the European University Institute, and in January 2018 as Director of Graduate Studies at the Law Department. His primary research interests are comparative constitutional law and international human rights. He has published several books and articles as well as edited volumes on these topics in English, German, and Hungarian. He joined EUI in 2016 after a teaching and research career (at the Eötvös Loránd University in Hungary, Princeton University in the USA, the European Master's Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation in Italy) as well as years of a professional career as Chief Advisor to the President of the Hungarian Constitutional Court, member of the EU Fundamental Rights Agency's Management Board, and numerous other civic activities.

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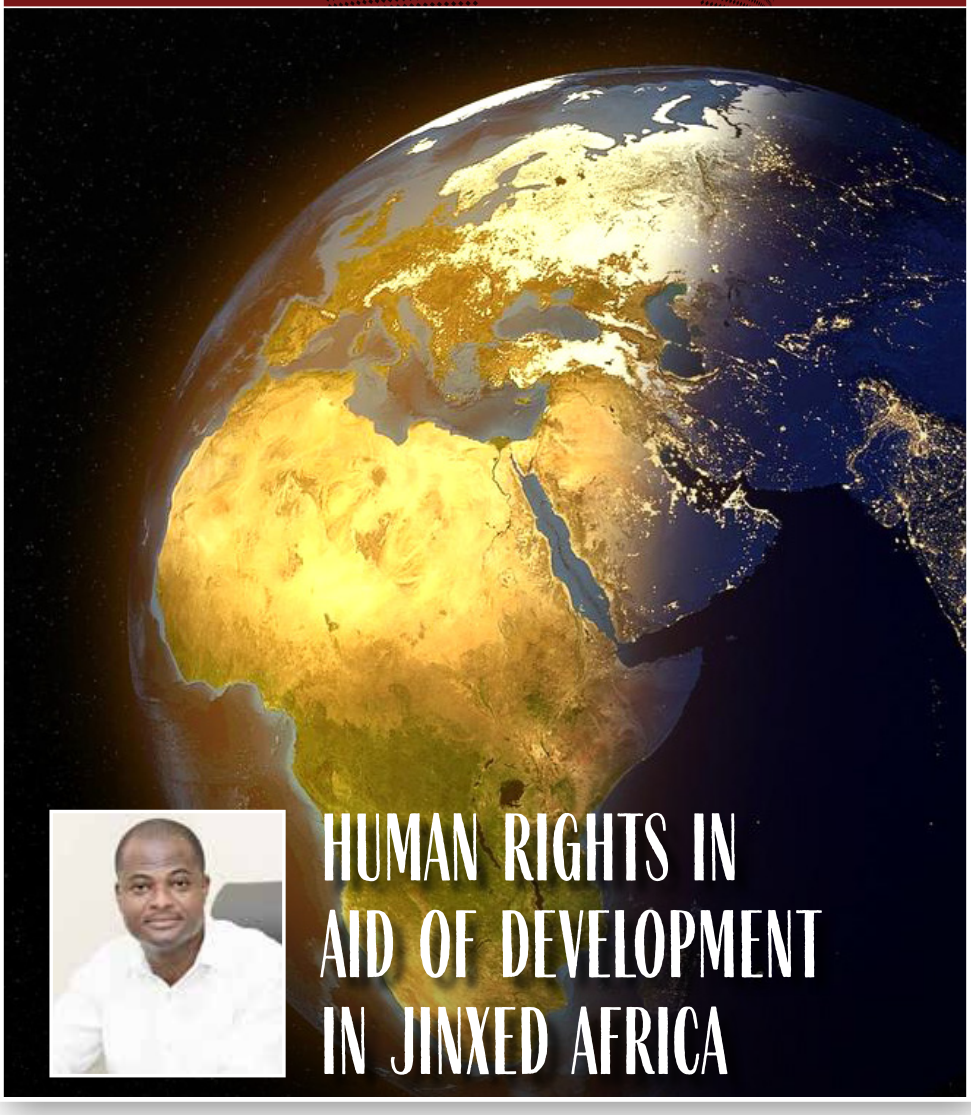

HUMAN RIGHTS IN AID OF DEVELOPMENT IN JINXED AFRICA

On March 27, 2019, Professor Raymond Atuguba presented a talk on "Human Rights in Aid of Development in Jinxed Africa" at Boston College Law School's Barat House.

Professor Atuguba was introduced by Boston College Law Professor Katie Young, who described her decades-long professional collaboration with him as well as his varied legal and practical experience. Atuguba is not only an academic but also founded a legal aid project in Ghana and served as an advisor to two of Ghana's recent presidents.

Atuguba began his remarks by speaking about the overall question of development in Africa. He pointed out that ordinary people in Africa display resilience, drive, and the willingness to take risks in their everyday lives, stating that "if they can do this, doing development should be easy." Professor Atuguba then set out to address the question of why development has been so difficult to achieve in Africa. He first illustrated a key development issue by describing the fishing industry in Sierra Leone. Atuguba described how local fishermen in Sierra Leone are being driven out of business by fleets of foreign, mostly Chinese, fishermen. These non-local fishermen use trawling fishing techniques that

not only deprive local fishermen of their catches but also harm the ecosystem and fishing yield of the area long term. In addition, there are no institutional mechanisms in place for Sierra Leone to address the issue of fishermen from other countries illegally fishing in its waters.

Professor Atuguba characterized the issues facing the fishing industry in Sierra Leone as illustrative not just of foreign exploitation but of misalignment between the government of Sierra Leone and the needs of its people. He characterized this issue as central to the development of Sierra Leone yet hardly addressed by its government.

After describing this example, Professor Atuguba went on to speak about the Ghana Health Project that he helped to found. This project not only sought to provide legal aid to Ghanaians but to comprehensively evaluate the state of the healthcare delivery system in Ghana. An international array of students of law, public health, and other related fields conducted extensive research on the problems faced by the citizens of Ghana in their efforts to receive medical care. After gathering this information, the Ghana Health Project presented it to the government of Ghana, which asked the organization to design a strategy for reform of the healthcare system.

Atuguba described how the Ghana Health Project developed a comprehensive reform plan comprised of one top priority, four policy issues, 59 legal or institutional issues, and 108 operational issues. The top priority highlighted in the report was that of funding; at the time of the report, Ghana's government was spending 70% of its entire budget on health and education. The four policy issues were recommendations to shift focus from (1) financing healthcare to building healthcare institutions, (2) curative efforts to preventive health strategies, (3) providing drugs to providing nutrition, and (4) either traditional or modern medicine to traditional and modern medicine in tandem.

Atuguba then went on to describe how the Ghanaian government adopted most of the legal/institutional and operational recommendations of the Ghana Health Project, but did not address the primary five issues it highlighted.

After this partially successful effort in reforming the healthcare delivery system in Ghana, Atuguba advised two Ghanaian presidents. During his time as a presidential advisor, he set out to determine why governments will not pursue radical change even when it is in the clear best interests of their people. He describes the primary issue as one of prioritization. Atuguba stated that the priorities for a new government, in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa, must be to (1) pay their election bills, (2) build a war chest for the next election, (3) gather protection money to protect themselves after they are no longer in office, (4) negotiate terrorist attacks on the policy space, and then (5) do something for the people. Atuguba described these terrorist attacks in the policy space as effective efforts by business interests to occupy political spaces in developing countries and limit the government's ability to effect radical policy change if it may reduce profits. Atuguba concluded that the most promising approaches toward these intransigent problems stymying development in Africa are campaign finance reform and the efforts of nongovernmental groups to combat interests occupying policy spaces.

About Raymond Akongburo Atuguba

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Raymond Akongburo Atuguba is Associate Professor of Law at the University of Ghana School of Law, where he has taught since 2002. After his first law degree from the University of Ghana (1997) and his call to the Ghana Bar (1999), he received both his Master of Laws (LL.M) and Doctor of Juridical Sciences (SJD) Degrees from Harvard Law School in 2000 and 2004. He has been a Visiting Scholar and Visiting Professor at University of Nottingham in the UK, Harvard in the USA, Ku Leuven University in Belgium, Université Sciences Po in France, and Monash University, Australia.

Prof. Atuguba has researched and published extensively, mostly in relation to the intersection of law, human rights, policy, governance, the politics and economics of development, institutions, and institutional change. He has written over 100 monographs, articles, book chapters, research reports, and technical papers on issues of Public Policy, Constitutionalism, Human Rights, Law and Development, and Institutional Renewal in Africa. He has also presented over 200 papers on these subjects at national and international conferences on all the continents of the world, including expert papers to the leadership of Parliament and to Parliamentary Committees in Africa, and facilitated dozens of training workshops.

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Citizenship and Residency in the Age of Technology

DIMITRY KOCHENOV
University of Groningen

Professor Dimitry Kochenov of the University of Groningen is an expert in citizenship, nationality and immigration law and constitutional law of the European Union with a particular emphasis on the Rule of Law and other key principles of EU law, EU external relations law, and EU Law of the Overseas: the former colonial possessions and their upgraded ties with the European Union.

On April 1, Dimitry Kochenov, a former Senior Clough Fellow at Boston College (2013), spoke at the Law School on the need for change in the meaning and function of citizenship. The majority of the presentation made the case for a new notion of citizenship, but also considered the ways technology could potentially aid such a transformation.

He began by describing an Estonian project of developing an "E-citizenship" program, where persons could gain citizenship without having stepped foot in Estonia.

To explicate the importance of this program, Professor Kochenov argued for the indelible significance of citizenship in patterns of global equality: more than class or nationality, what he called the "lottery" of citizenship status is the highest predictor of wealth and quality of life. Citizenship, largely governed by geography, defines access to resources or ability to participate in global markets. An individual with French citizenship not only has access to numerous domestic resources but also the ability to travel or do business freely in several other countries that recognize or value French citizenship. The rights inherent to French citizenship can be transferred to many other places. In poorer coun-

tries, however, your domestic resources are limited and other countries will not allow you much, if any, mobility or financial access on the basis of your citizenship. You are quite literally trapped in terms of access and movement.

Professor Kochenov showed data from his Quality of Nationality Index program, an online database that rates and compares the "quality" of various citizenship statuses. He demonstrated the comparative significance of the index by relating France to several poorer countries. If someone is born into a citizenship with a low "quality" attached to it, their chances of upward mobility are near impossible. No amount of hard work, education, or even foreign aid, will dramatically improve one's chances of increasing their quality of life in the majority of the world because their citizenship status is a liability in terms of resources attached to it and the lack of mobility it provides—it's remarkably different to work, do business, or migrate to the 17% or so of countries with dramatically higher "quality" than the majority. Some countries in the "majority" are certainly improvements on others—someone living in Venezuela, if they can migrate to Mexico, will likely have some improvement in prospects, but there is still a wide gap between Mexico and the United States.

And so, Kochenov argued, any chance of lessening global inequality requires breaking down the barriers set up by citizenship. We need to, for one, demystify the sanctity of citizenship as anything more than a global lottery, an accidental quality. Looking forward, he noted that while there has been some liberalization of citizenship in wealthier countries, it has done little to change the overall situation. It is remarkably expensive for most to upgrade their citizenship status, even just to a higher-tier but still "majority" country (e.g., to Mexico). The United States has the only sort program that is random (the green card lottery) for gaining access, itself a drop in the bucket of the problem, but that may disappear under the Trump administration.

Returning to the Estonian example, Professor Kochenov described the thought process behind the e-residency program as a way to defray some of this difference. It would theoretically allow an Iraqi citizen, who cannot expect any kind of reliable banking services, or any way to be confident that land they have purchased truly belongs to them, access to first world legal and financial infrastructure. It would give them everything needed to run a business in Iraq or the DRC as if living in Estonia. Physical presence is overcome as a block to the access of residency status.

However, the program failed miserably. No bank in Estonia would offer services to any e-residents, and economic regulators ensured this. It was seen as too risky. And so, the logic of citizenship remains unchallenged, with private interests of the richest countries controlling the system of citizenship, residency, and what these imply. However, there are other possible ways that technology could transform citizenship. Security-check verifications, distinct from citizenship status, are already beginning to exist and provide some mobility. If you can receive a security check from a country whose checks are trusted by most other countries, it increases the possibility of mobility and access. The next step, Kochenov argued, is creating a universal digital system, a "card," that can completely surpass citizenship as a symbol of access. He expressed some cynicism, however, about this step as it will not be acceptable to nationalist elements in developed countries and will ultimately undermine the current logic of nation-states.

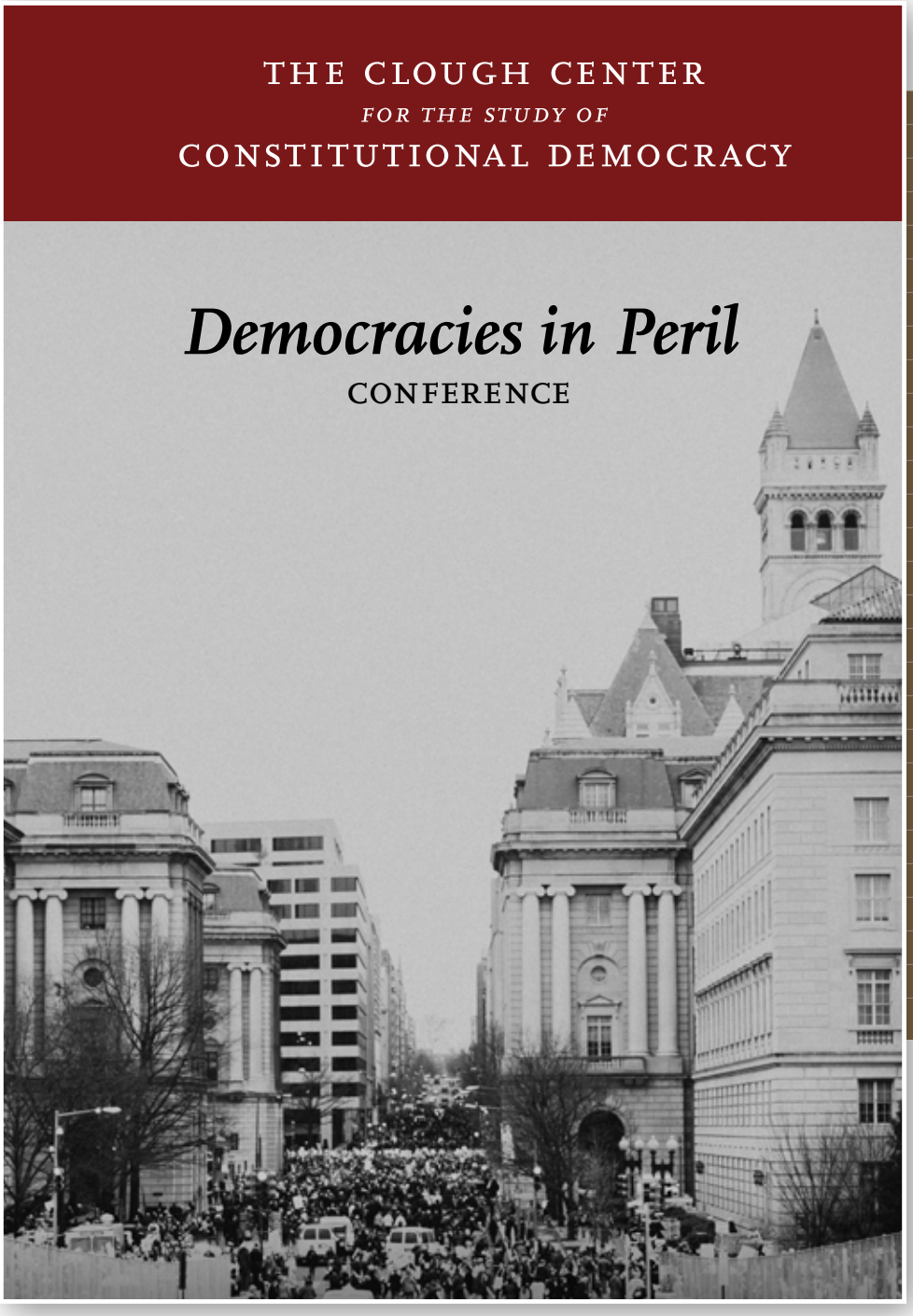
During the question and answer session, Professor Kochenov responded to some pointed criticisms of his analysis and proposals. One audience member made the case that the ranking system (the Quality of Nationality Index) is problematic on a number of levels: it ignores the access and mobility of those in certain privileged class or racial groups (not to mention gender gap) within low-ranked countries. The questioner also argued for a renewal of human rights language to ground a belief in the human right of access beyond citizenship. Professor Kochenov responded by acknowledging limitations of the Index model, but expressed skepticism about human rights language as grounded as it is in the logic of the nation-state—countries can claim to have a high value of human rights while there is actually tremendous inequality, such as in the United States.

It was also asked whether or not these proposals will only help those already set up to have upward mobility (based on some level of wealth or education) that others don't have: Will large swaths of the population be left behind by a culture of global access? Only those with some capital or education to start a business, for example, would be able to take advantage of access to other countries' infrastructures and resources. Professor Kochenov's response seemed to be somewhat aside of the question, but did point out how changes in citizenship practices in Europe are giving countries license to privilege naturalized citizens who are not residents, despite moves to attach rights to residency more than former definitions of citizenship. This, it seems, was an acknowledgment of the concern that nation-states will find ways to use new definitions of citizenship to privilege certain persons.

About Dimitry Kochenov

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Professor Dimitry Kochenov of the University of Groningen is an expert in citizenship, nationality and immigration law and constitutional law of the European Union with a particular emphasis on the Rule of Law and other key principles of EU law, EU external relations law and EU Law of the Overseas: the former colonial possessions and their upgraded ties with the European Union.



KEYNOTE LECTURE: "What Is the Crisis of Democracy a Crisis of?"
by Jan-Werner Müller

After much lively conversation, the conference participants gathered in anticipation of Müller's keynote address.

He commenced by enumerating what he called a "rogues-gallery" of today's populist authoritarians: Donald Trump, Viktor Orbán, and Recep Tayyip Erdogan, with the potential addition of Jair Bolsonaro, Jaroslaw Kaczynsky, and Benjamin Netanyahu. Although these figures operate in different contexts, face different constraints, and the reasons for why they came to power are very different, he contended they are still one political family. Müller suggested the term "smart authoritarians," which he expanded upon later in the lecture.

The fact that this family of authoritarians shares a common strategy shatters two illusions maintained since the end of the

Cold War, Müller explained. The first is the idea that by definition, populists cannot really govern. Liberals very often say that populists have horribly simple ideas about policy; and it will become obvious to everyone that these promises can't be kept. Either they'll stick with the policies and thus failure will be even more obvious, or they will moderate and become more reasonable. Either way, the problem solves itself: the people become disenchanted or populists cease to be populists. This also leads to the mistaken idea that although populists are anti-elite, the moment they come to power they become part of the elite and so the problem will again solve itself.

The second illusion is that although democracy is a system of constant failure, it is also the only system to learn from history. In other words, only in a democracy can governments admit to mistakes and correct them, while authoritarians are unable to do so. However, the "rogues" of the introduction have disproven this in that they are constantly learning from each other. Indeed, they have established a populist art of governance.

Müller proceeded to enumerate three common but misguided takes on the contemporary predicament. The first is the attempt to understand the present on the basis of historical analogies (in this case mainly the 1920s and 30s). He suggested that the invocation of fascism is misleading for several reasons: Many characteristics of fascism simply don't fit. Fascism is unthinkable without a systemic cult of violence or systematic racism and mobilization of the people. While today's authoritarianism can be racist and does live on conflict, it does not cultivate the same notion of war and violence, nor a systematic, institutionalized racist approach. He also added that the historical analogy fails to see that everyone can learn from history, in particular, that smart authoritarians do. Indeed, they are very careful not to evoke images that remind us of the 1930s.

The second take is to try to identify a thought system or a philosophy behind these new regimes. The idea behind this is that there is an underlying philosophy or ideology that guides the smart authoritarians. The reason this is mistaken is because such a system of values or thought would only constrain these populists.

Lastly, Müller suggested, liberals often blame the people themselves. One reason to be wary of this is that one can't assume that everything populists do in government reflects what people wanted. Populists seldom campaign with the agenda to disman-

tle the rule of law.

Then he went on to outline what he sees as the "populist art of governance." Müller's definition of populism is that it is not sufficient to criticize the establishment. One also has to claim to be the exclusive representative of the "real people." This implies that all other claims to power are illegitimate, and moreover the people who don't support the populist are thus by definition not part of the people. Thus populism in essence is anti-pluralist.

This leads to several predictions about how populists will behave. Firstly, populists will hit back against any opposition. Secondly, if they have sufficient power, they will try to replace what in theory should be a nonpartisan entity with partisan actors. While others try to do this in secret, populists will do this openly with the argument that it's the people who take possession of what is rightfully theirs. Thus populists actually celebrate this act. Thirdly, populists will engage in "mass clientelism": they will pass benefits and favors to those in support of the government. Fourthly, in populist regimes we often see what Weber termed "patrimonialism," or Bálint Magyar the "extended political family /mafia state." This is a system where public procurement is designed in such a way that only the ruling family can benefit. Crucially, however, it appears to be legal on the surface and indeed isn't directly illegal. However, it is a mafia in the strict sense of the word because it is a mechanism to compromise people and ensure their loyalty.

In this context, Müller suggested to update the idea of the Nazi state as a double state where there exists a sphere of normality in which everyday life is carried out in parallel with a sphere of power where rule of law is suspended. In these populist regimes, Müller argued, there is also a double state but the other way around: the politics is normal in the sense that it doesn't appear fascist or undemocratic, but the economy is a site where political pressure can be exerted.

Lastly, Müller offered some tentative ideas on how to counter smart authoritarians. Firstly, populists always strive to divide the opposition. A referendum can be a solution here because the outcome is binary and thus doesn't require a perfectly united opposition. Secondly, since populists are always fighting cultural wars and attempting to define belonging it's important for the opposition not to engage in this but to change the conversation. Lastly, populists want to do away with intermediary powers (media and other political parties) because they want "direct representation." Social media is great for this purpose because it cuts out intermediaries. Bringing intermediaries back is crucial because it fosters pluralism.

ROUNDTABLE: *Democracy and Economics*

Participants: Kosaku Dairokuno; Meiji University; Wolfgang Merkel; Humboldt University; Devin Pendas; Boston College
Moderator: Daniela Urosa

After a gloomy, rainy morning had kicked off the second day of the conference, participants reconvened to focus on the interaction between economics and democracy.

Dairokuno opened the conversation by attempting to sketch what he called a non-economist's view of the co-development of economics and politics in post-WWII Japan. He contended that in Japanese post-war society, the main political divide was along the ideological lines of left and right. Older Japanese tended to hold more traditional values and to support a conservative, more right-leaning political agenda, whereas younger generations held modern values and supported socialist, indeed communist parties.

According to Dairokuno, this changed fundamentally in the late 1960s, and especially in the early 1970s due to the oil shock hitting the country. Modern value types shifted away from the socialist agenda while traditional value types sought to consolidate the conservative position. This is why the Liberal-Democratic Party (LDP) came to dominate Japanese politics.

Dairokuno explained that the Japanese economy was growing rapidly until the 1973 oil shock. The GDP growth rate that had previously averaged around 10% now dropped to around 3–4%. This intensified the process of shifting the population's attention away from political ideology to questions of economic well-being.

Another economic phenomenon to heavily affect the political climate was government debt. Today, government debt constitutes about 200% of Japanese GDP. Every year, 30–40% of the government budget is used for debt repayments.

Lastly, the working conditions in Japan have steadily deteriorated. While in 1985 only about 16% of workers worked part time, in 2018 this number had crept up to around 30%. Dairokuno saw this as a sign of less job security. He offered the high Gini-coefficient (0.57 before, 0.37 after income redistribution) as further evidence that income inequality in Japan is rising.

Furthermore, the aging of the population poses another severe problem for Japan. Dairokuno stated that at the current Japanese fertility rate of 1.39, younger generations will have to bear more than double the burden as older ones in order to finance the pensions of the growing number of retired persons.

Dairokuno expressed that these economic issues lead to disillusionment in the population concerning the efficacy of politics and governance. When surveyed about the effectiveness of politics, the population today is much more skeptical than it was in 1970. Similarly, the participation rate in elections is lower than ever (around 50%).

Devin Pendas took the floor next. His talk focused on two questions: Firstly, what's changing in the world now that makes popular authoritarianism feasible today? Secondly, he offered to consider the deep hostility to migrants and immigration as one defining characteristic of authoritarians.

Pendas expanded on Dairokuno's talk to suggest that the developed world in general is in a low-productivity period. At the same time, income inequality is increasing. Since the 1970s, 60% of the increase of U.S. income went to the top 1% of earners. To Pendas, this means the end of the technologically driven economic growth that characterized the end of WWII and the 2nd industrial revolution. He suggested that adding workers to the labor force is another way an economy can grow. However, he said the U.S. labor force is growing very slowly due to slow population growth. Again, the latter causes similar problems in the US as in Japan: the cost of care for the elderly and of pension funds rises.

He went on to explain that there are parts of the world that suffer from the opposite problem: too high population growth with a high fraction of young people. For example, there is a 2% population growth in Africa, and 40% of the population is under 14 years of age. At the same time, the continent faces dire poverty: average African income was 2000 dollars per year in 2014.

The conclusion, according to Pendas, is: "global population is maldistributed. The solution is incredibly obvious: migration." However, he continued, today's populists see migration as a threat, not as an opportunity. Therefore, the outcome is a backlash against the perceived crisis of sovereignty and governance. Populists' claim that governments are inefficient or corrupt means that governments are incapable of addressing this threat or don't want to because they benefit from cheap labor. So populists effectively articulate the claim that the economy is a zero-sum game rather than a win-win. The problem with this is that migration is the solution to this problem, not the cause of it. So this reaction is an affective misdiagnosis of the problem. Populists' affective sense of their identity prevents them from seeing how migration could solve the problem.

Last up was Wolfgang Merkel, who posited a fairly antagonistic view of democracy and capitalism. "Democracy needs capitalism but capitalism doesn't need democracy," he began, and went on to differentiate the forms of capitalism: social/welfare capitalism, neoliberal capitalism, state capitalism, and oligarchic capitalism. Then he outlined several tensions between democracy and capitalism. In his view, capitalism is based on unequal distribution of income, while democracy is based on equal rights. Capitalism is individual, while democracy aims to reach the common good. Capitalism focuses on individual, rather than democracy's consensual decision-making. In capitalism, power is based on property, while in democracy on citizenship and participation. His list of similarities was much shorter: competition, mutual checks and balances, and checks on state power.

He suggested that while there wasn't a golden age of democracy, there was a golden age of the coexistence of capitalism and democracy: the "embedded social welfare Keynesian capitalism" that we saw in post-war Europe, in Scandinavia most of all. The central aim of such a society was employment and regulation of capital markets. This coexistence broke up, however, starting in the late 1970s, which saw the "financialization" of capitalism: deregulation of markets, the dismantling of the welfare state, and reduction in progressive taxation.

Conference Program

FRIDAY, APRIL 12

9:20 AM **Dean Gregory Kalscheur, S.J.**, Morrissey College and Graduate School of Arts & Sciences
Vlad Perju, Director, Clough Center for the Study of Constitutional Democracy

9:30 AM Presentation, **Pippa Norris**, Harvard University: "Varieties of Populism"

10:45 AM Coffee Break

11:00 AM ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: POPULISM AND DEMOCRACY?

Participants: **Jan-Werner Müller**, Princeton University; **Jim Cronin**, Boston College; **Amílcar Antonio Barreto**, Northeastern University

Moderator: **Katharine Young**, Boston College

12:30 PM Break

1:30 PM Presentation, **Ipek Cinar**, University of Chicago: "The Populist Toolkit: Authoritarian Rhetoric on Democratic Discourse"

2:45 PM Coffee Break

3:00 PM ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: ALTERNATIVES TO DEMOCRACY (CONFUCIANISM, POLITICAL ISLAM, ETC.)

Participants: **Mirjam Künkler**, Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study; **Sungmoon Kim**, City University of Hong Kong; **Justin Frosini**, Bocconi University

Moderator: **Vlad Perju**, Boston College

4:30 PM Coffee Break

4:45 PM KEYNOTE ADDRESS, JAN-WERNER MÜLLER, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

"What Exactly is the 'Crisis of Democracy' a Crisis of?"

Chair: **Devin Pendas**, Boston College

SATURDAY, APRIL 13

9:30 AM Presentation, **Wolfgang Merkel**, Humboldt University: "Crisis or Challenge: Is the Crisis of Democracy an Invention?"

10:45 AM Coffee Break

11:00 AM ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: DEMOCRACY AND ECONOMICS

Participants: **Kosaku Dairokuno**, Meiji University; **Liubomir Topaloff**, Meiji University; **Devin Pendas**, Boston College

Moderator: **Daniela Urosa**, Universidad Católica Andrés Bello Caracas, Venezuela

12:30 PM Break

1:30 PM Presentation, **Shujiro Yazawa**, Hitotsubashi University: "Radical Change, Subjectivity, and Democracy"

2:45 PM Break

3:00 PM ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION: IS DEMOCRACY FAILING?

Participants: **Mark Plattner**, *Journal of Democracy;* Mabel Berezin, Cornell University

Moderator: **Devin Pendas**, Boston College

About Jan-Werner Müller

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

Jan-Werner Müller studied at the Free University, Berlin; University College, London; St. Antony's College, Oxford; and Princeton University. From 1996 until 2003 he was a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford; from 2003 until 2005 he was Fellow in Modern European Thought at the European Studies Centre, St. Antony's College. Since 2005 he has been teaching in the Politics Department, Princeton University.

Müller has been a member of the School of Historical Studies, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton, and a Visiting Fellow at the Collegium Budapest Institute of Advanced Study, Collegium Helsinki, the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna, the Remarque Institute, NYU, the Center for European Studies, and Harvard, as well as the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies, European University Institute, Florence. He has also taught as a Visiting Professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris; the Ludwig Maximilians-Universitaet in Munich; the Humboldt Universitaet in Berlin; the Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris; and Peking University. He delivered the Carlyle Lectures at Oxford University and the Tanner Lectures at Cambridge University.

Müller is a co-founder of the European College of Liberal Arts (ECLA; today: Bard Berlin), Germany's first private English-speaking liberal arts college, for which he served as founding research director. He maintains a strong interest in international teaching and research initiatives centered on the liberal arts.

About the Participants

For more information, including a video recording of the event, visit the event page at www.bc.edu/cloughevents.

AMILCAR ANTONIO BARRETO, Northeastern University

MABEL BEREZIN, Cornell University

IPEK CINAR, University of Chicago

JIM CRONIN, Boston College

KOSAKU DAIROKUNO, Meiji University

JUSTIN FROSINI, Bocconi University

DEAN GREGORY KALSCHEUR S.J., Boston College

SUNGMOON KIM, City University of Hong Kong

MIRJAM KÜNKLER, Swedish Collegium of Advanced Study

WOLFGANG MERKEL, Humboldt University

JAN-WERNER MÜLLER, Princeton University

PIPPA NORRIS, Harvard University

DEVIN PENDAS, Boston College

VLAD PERJU, Boston College

MARK PLATTNER, *Journal of Democracy*

LIUBOMIR TOPALOFF, Meiji University

DANIELA UROSA, Universidad Catolica Andres Bello

SHUJIRO YAZAWA, Hitotsubashi University

KATHARINE YOUNG, Boston College

Clough Junior Fellows

The Junior Fellows Program (JFP) provides a wide variety of opportunities for undergraduate scholarship pertaining to the study of constitutional democracy. The JFP hosts members-only events and discussions, providing a unique forum for intellectual discourse. Additionally, Junior Fellows have privileged access to private events sponsored by the Clough Center, enabling undergraduate students to interact firsthand with some of the most distinguished political science scholars in the country. The 2017–2018 and 20–19 Junior Fellows are:

Class of 2017

Mackenzie Arnold
Joseph Arquillo
Teighlor Baker
Miles Casey
Nathan Dahlen
Grace Denny
Adrianna Diradoorian
Ryan Duffy
Christina Fallon*
Domenick Fazzolari
Alyssa Florack*
Kayla Fries
James Gilman*
Steven Gingras*
Thomas Hanley*
Jessica Ilaria*
Konstantinos Karamanakis
Abigail Kilcullen*
Kathleen Larkin*
Christine Marie Lorica
Sean MacDonald
Olivia McCaffrey*
Lidya Mesgna*
Emily Murphy*
Anna Olcott
Matt Phelps*
Jordan Pino*
Samantha Spellman*
Luke Urbanczyk
Keara Walsh
Joon Yoo

Class of 2018

Michael Alario
Kayla Arroyave*
Juan Bernal
Austin Bodetti*
Miriam George*
Conor McCadden*
Juan Olavarria
Alexandra Pilla*
Nanayaa Pobee*
Sydney Sullivan*
Amelie Trieu
Elijah Waalkes
Daniel Yang*
Nicholas Yennaco

Class of 2019

Angela Arzu*
Patrick Fahey*
Davis Goode*
Grace Harrington*
Meredith Hawkins*
Janet Lee*
Sarah McCowan*
Timothy Morrissey*
Ninutsa Nadirashvili*
Madeleine Nation*
Kathryn Peaquin*
Dorothy Peng*
Charles Power*
Beckett Pulis*
Elizabeth Roehm*
Hariharan Shanmugan*
James Singley*
Luke Tannebaum*
Hunter Tracey*
Stephanie Walsh*
Feier Zhao*

*Civic Internship Grant Recipients

Civic Internship Grants
2017–18

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College undergraduates for what would otherwise be uncompensated work on behalf of government, non-profit, or other civic organizations during the summer. The 2017 Civic Internship Grants have been awarded to:

OMEED ALIDADI, originally from White Plains, NY, is a senior in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences studying Political Science and Islamic Civilization and Societies. He returned from a semester abroad in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, where he took classes in intensive Persian (Farsi). While abroad, Omeed served as an active volunteer at the American Corner, Dushanbe—a community center sponsored by the U.S. Embassy in Tajikistan—leading a biweekly English language club as well as workshops in TOEFL iBT preparation. Omeed has a strong interest in studying the quality of education systems across the Islamic world, particularly in the MENA region and throughout the former Soviet Republics. Before living in Tajikistan, he received a Mizna Fellowship to serve as a volunteer teacher in Morocco and speak to representatives from the U.S. Embassy about the state of U.S. government-funded English teaching programs in the region. Omeed also received an Advanced Study Grant and a Summer Research Grant from BC's Center for Human Rights and International Justice to travel to Kuwait and participate in Professor Kathleen Bailey's Oil & Politics in the Gulf summer course.

On campus, Omeed serves as an undergraduate research assistant at the Boisi Center for Religion and American Public Life, and participates in the McGillycuddy-Logue Fellows Program. He is also the co-founder of the Eagle Writers Program, which provides free English-learning resources to international graduate students in the University community. His three years at the Heights have also afforded him with the cross-cultural knowledge and diplomatic skills needed for a career in public service.

Omeed has interned in the Communications Department of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a multinational think tank headquartered in Washington, D.C. Moreover, he is interested in assisting the Endowment with its mission to advance cooperation among nations and promote active international engagement by the United States. He hopes that his work at Carnegie will help educate other Americans about their nation's foreign policy agenda.

Looking ahead, Omeed plans to pursue a master's degree in international education policy and work as an education specialist at a multilateral development organization after he graduates from Boston College.

JACQUELINE ARNOLD is a senior majoring in International Studies. Her time at BC has given her the opportunity to engage in the BC and Boston communities and by serving as a tutor at Jackson Mann and the Edison school, as well as being a literacy buddy at the Campus School. She hopes to pursue a career in the journalism, non-profit, or political sector, and then graduate school.

Originally from a small town outside Baltimore, MD, she spent a semester studying abroad in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Jacqueline learned more about Latin-American politics through courses taken and by

conversing directly with the local Argentines, who have lived through tumultuous political chapters and power transitions in their nation's history.

She has interned full-time for World Youth Alliance, an international non-profit whose mission is "to promote the dignity of the person by building a global coalition of young people able to articulate, defend and live the dignity of the person in their lives and influence the communities and world in which they live." WYA aims to accomplish this mission through advocacy, education, and cultural programs.

DEVEN BHATTACHARYA is a student in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences majoring in International Studies with a concentration in Political Science, originally from Freehold, New Jersey. He came to Boston College because of the opportunities to study theoretical concepts in a stimulating classroom environment and apply these concepts to the real world. At BC, he is the Secretary of the Bellarmine Law Society, which is the largest undergraduate pre-law society on campus. In addition, he is the Chief of Staff of EagleMUNC, a non-profit that hosts over 500 high school students from the United States and around the world to debate a great variety of topics in a UN forum. He is passionate about political theory and studying the nexus between philosophy and political movements.

During the summer of 2017, he served as an intern in the Middlesex District Attorney's Office. He worked with the homicide unit, a specialized division within the DA's office that is responsible for representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in homicide trials. He worked alongside paralegals, victim witness advocates, assistant district attorneys, and support staff to prepare and execute prosecutions of homicide cases at the Superior Court level. He was the liaison between several different parties including the state police, medical examiners, and third party entities related to investigations in order to support the prosecution throughout the trial process.

Upon graduation, he would like to continue his academinc career at a master's program focusing on public policy. He hopes to join the United States Department of State as a foreign service officer so he can help deliver U.S. foreign policy to different countries. These academic and career ambitions revolve around the importance of constitutional democracy at home and abroad, and he intends to dedicate himself to the pursuit of these studies for years to come.

ANNE BIGLER is from West Chester, PA, and is a rising senior majoring in Political Science and minoring in Management and Leadership. In addition to being a student in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Honors Program, Anne was also selected for the Political Science Departmental Honors Program, the MCAS Dean's Scholars, and for the Phi Beta Kappa Society as a junior. Her work has been featured in the most recent issue of *Kaleidoscope*, Boston College's International Studies journal. On campus, Anne is involved in 4Boston, volunteering weekly at Women's Lunch Place, a homeless shelter for women in downtown Boston. Anne also is actively involved in research on campus. She has been assisting Professor Kay Schlozman with her new book for more than a year, editing manuscripts and making maps and graphs for the upcoming book. She previously was an Undergraduate Research Fellow with Professor David Deese, researching comparative international environmental policy, as well as a researcher for Professor Peter Krause's Project on National Movements team, collecting and analyzing data on insurgencies throughout history. In past summers, Anne has done on-campus research, as well as interned at Environment Massachusetts, an environmental non-profit campaign in downtown Boston.
During the summer of 2017, she will be interning at the Massachusetts Attorney General's Of-

fice, the state's foremost law enforcement authority. Here, she will be working in the Consumer Advocacy and Response Division. This division covers issues spanning from defective products and identity theft to debt collection and mortgage servicing. It provides information, referrals, and assistance to consumers through a written consumer complaint system as well as a hotline. As an intern, Anne will primarily be doing casework for consumer complaints as part of an industry-specific team. She will also work on administrative projects and tasks, like operating the switchboard for callers voicing complaints.

After she completes her undergraduate education, Anne hopes to go to law school, and is looking to specialize in constitutional law.

AUSTIN BODETTI is a rising senior in the Gabelli Presidential Presidential Scholars Program majoring in Islamic Civilization and Societies and minoring in Arabic Studies. He has published his research on the Arab and Muslim worlds in *Motherboard*, *The Daily Beast* , *USA Today*, *Vox*, *Wired*, and *Yahoo News*.

Austin has interned at the Institute for the Study of War (ISW) as part of the Iraq Team, compiling information on the Iraqi Civil War. This opportunity has improved his understanding of conflict in the Middle East, allowing him to become an expert on a country where Americans have spent thousands of lives and billions of dollars. Austin's work includes drawing maps of and writing reports on battles and other current events in the country.

After graduating, he hopes to find a job in the intelligence community, news media, or at a think tank. Careers at the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the National Security Agency; *The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*; and the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institution, and Washington Institute for Near East Policy are of interest.

JACOB CIAFONE is a German and Linguistics major in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences, Class of 2018. Originally from Colorado, he developed an early interest in languages and culture. His main focus has been on Germany, where internships at the Hessian Ministry for Social Affairs and Integration, and at the Friedrich Ebert Memorial and Archive exposed him to German history and politics. He spent a semester at the University of Heidelberg, and hopes to return to the country for graduate studies. To go along with German, Jacob has more recently begun learning Chinese. A summer at an intensive language school in Beijing proved a major step toward establishing working proficiency. He is excited to explore the potential of using Chinese professionally. After graduation, Jacob wants to find a way to integrate these two passions. While a link between the two may not be immediately obvious, Germany's leadership in the European Union and China's undeniable presence on the world stage create a need for Americans who can navigate the intricacies of both countries.

Jacob has spent a summer as a research intern at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies in Washington, D.C. He was involved with several projects, including research into the role of reconciliation in foreign policy, security, immigration, and the transatlantic dialogue on China. He also had the opportunity to pursue his own research interests by contributing to the think tank's blog. Work in a wide range of topics will provide exposure to different facets of U.S.-German relations, and help him more closely define his own interests. Jacob is confident his work at the American Institute for Contemporary German Studies will be a stepping stone toward graduate studies, and ultimately becoming an analyst at a research institute or within the government.

BROGAN FEELEY is originally from Los Angeles, CA. He double majored in History and Theology and minored in ancient civilizations at the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences. Before college, he traveled to Europe to teach English in rural parts of Italy, thus developing a great interest in communication and international politics. While at Boston College, he was involved with the Screaming Eagles Marching Band as a drummer; Liturgical Arts Group as an executive board member for the bell choir; St. Joseph's Project, which provides food and clothing to the Boston homeless; and the Appalachian Volunteers. Previously, he served as a staff writer for the online publication *The Gavel*. His international experience and interest in communication led to Brogan working for the Patrons of the Arts in the Vatican Museums at their central office in Vatican City for summer 2016. The Vatican Patrons is the principle development office for the Vatican Museums. While there he wrote and edited several articles and blurbs for the organization's monthly and annual publications, revised and refined English articles drafted by non-native English speakers, and assisted tours of the Vatican Museums. This experience further exposed Brogan to international and Church politics. Moreover, while living in Continental Europe during the Brexit vote, he interacted with people directly connected to the British political process.

For summer 2017, Brogan interned for the Taxpayers' Alliance (TPA) in London, England, which is a British-based think tank founded in the early 2000s that produces several weekly and monthly articles, reports, and analyses related to governmental spending and efficiency. The primary goals of TPA include reforming tax policy, encouraging responsible spending, and empowering taxpayers. Part of his internship role was writing and editing official publications as well as working with TPA's various social media platforms to broaden the group's message. TPA has published several analyses of Brexit and prominent policy makers and newspapers have cited TPA research into Brexit policy. Working with some of the leading policy voices behind Brexit strategy has provided Brogan with valuable insight into the inner workings of international law and policy. He plans to utilize this experience with TPA to potentially work for a policy institute, foreign business, or international law firm.

AMY FELDMAN is in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Honors Program, double-majoring in Political Science and Economics. At BC, she has served as a Big Sister in the BC Bigs program, an Op-ed columnist for *The Heights*, a dancer on the Boston College Pom Squad, and a member of the Executive Board for the Dance Organization of Boston College.

Originally, from Needham, MA, Amy graduated from the Noble and Greenough School with academic high distinction. For four years, she has volunteered at the Charles River Center, a facility for adults and children with developmental disabilities. Her work at the center inspired her to create a research project that received an Advanced Study Grant from BC. Amy plans to study the Massachusetts Department of Developmental Services' decision to close sheltered workshops and the affect of this decision on the disabled individuals and their employers. Her experience at Charles River Center has instilled in her a desire to achieve civil rights and social justice for all. After graduating from BC, she hopes to attend law school.

Amy has interned for Denise C. Garlick, a Massachusetts State Representative and chairwoman of the Joint Committee on Mental Health, Substance Use and Recovery. While at the State House, Amy learned about MassChallenge— a non-profit organization that provides office space, resources, and mentorship to startups. She has also worked at MassChallenge in Boston, MA, as a marketing intern. In this role she helped the director of marketing plan and execute a series of events, which included speaker series, fundraisers, and competitions where startups pitch new product or service ideas to potential investors and representatives from the private sector and government. MassChallenge aligns with the mission of the Clough Center as it helps to promote innovation, openness, and economic equality.

CAMILLE FORD is an International Studies and Islamic Civilizations and Societies double major in the Morrissey College of Arts and Science class of 2018. She was born and raised in Geneva, Switzerland, and now lives in Summit, NJ. She has studied Spanish abroad at the University of Granada in Granada, Spain. In her sophomore year at BC, she enrolled in Professor Salameh's States and Minorities in the Middle East course, and has been fascinated with the interaction of Islam, the Middle East, and the Western world ever since. At Boston College, she was involved with Generation Citizen, a non-profit which works to bring civic education to low-income and minority students in the Boston Public Schools. She is also a member of Boston College Democrats, and a circulation desk worker at Bapst Library. She has also dedicated her extra time to working as a finance intern for the Hillary for America campaign.

Camille has worked at the Maghreb Center, based in Washington D.C. The Maghreb Center is a non-profit organization which provides research and education in the North Africa region. The organization focuses on the political, social, economic, and cultural facets of the region in hopes of creating an expanded knowledge base of Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, and Tunisia. The center also includes Egypt and the Sudan-Sahel region in its research endeavors. The main responsibilities associated with her role include research on North Africa-related issues, both on the domestic and international front.

Upon graduation, she aims to find work at the intersection of government and international non-profit work by pursuing a career in the field of foreign policy, with a focus on Muslim countries. She hopes to work abroad for a few years, and then return to the U.S. to pursue a master's degree in international relations.

MIRIAM GEORGE is originally from Singapore, but has lived in Shrewsbury, MA, for most of her life. She is studying Political Science and Hispanic Studies at Boston College. Miriam is particularly passionate about protecting the civil rights and liberties of minority and immigrant individuals. She has worked to end discrimination against these groups through her work at the MA Commission Against Discrimination and the Civil Rights Division of the MA Attorney General's Office. At BC, Miriam is Chapter Executive Director of Generation Citizen, a non-profit organization which works to bring an action civics education to low-income and minority students in the Boston Public Schools. In addition, Miriam is a member of the Undergraduate Government of Boston College, and a chair at BC's annual EagleMUNC Model UN conference, which is attended by hundreds of high school students from around the world every year. She is a resident assistant and a member of the BC Flute Ensemble as well.

Miriam is especially interested in protecting the employment rights of marginalized individuals and has interned at the Department of Labor in Washington, D.C. She will be working within the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Policy (OASP), which provides advice to the Secretary, Deputy Secretary, and Department on matters of policy development, program evaluation, regulations, budget, and legislation that will improve the lives of workers, retirees, and their families. OASP is the policy innovation arm of the Department of Labor, and as such, it invests in research and analysis of current and emerging labor issues, including the growing wage gap for working families, ensuring protections and opportunity for all workers, policies that promote work and family balance, and labor standards for the rapidly changing 21st century economy. As an intern with OASP, Miriam has conducted research on existing and prospective DOL policies to determine their efficacy and impact on American workers. She has aided staff members in drafting legislation and conducting inter-departmental initiatives that further the DOL's labor policy goals.

In the future, Miriam hopes to attend law school and eventually work as a lawyer or public official in the field of civil rights and anti-discrimination law, with a special focus on the interests of minority and immigrant individuals.

AUDREY HERSMAN is from Chevy Chase, Maryland, and majored in International Studies and Biology with a concentration in global health. She was a council member for BC's PULSE Program for Service Learning. She has served as a liason between the PULSE office, students, and community service partners. She was also a fellow in the McGillycuddy-Logue Fellows Program, which strives to help students to become global citizens. Her membership in BC's GlobeMed chapter has most directly served this objective, supplementing coursework with real world applications and thoughtful discussions of public health issues.

She has interened at CORD (Chinmaya Organization for Rehabilitation and Development) Siruvani, a grassroots community health non-profit in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, India. CORD Siruvani works to address and tackle the myriad of issues present in the surrounding rural communities – everything from open defecation to lack of opportunities for women. She participated in a three week intensive internship working directly with CORD staff to support their community-based health and sanitation programs.She also worked to identify and refine projects that address different sectors of community health.

Audrey's time at BC fostered a strong interest in global health – a field that unites her passions for science, international affairs, and social justice. Her coursework has provided her with the foundational knowledge and tools to contextualize issues of health inequity, to recognize impediments to quality healthcare access, and how to formulate potential solutions. This internship with CORD Siruvani offered a chance to acquire and practice practical global health skills while learning about how civil society supports these efforts in an international context. It will also provide a unique opportunity to examine potential disconnects between policy makers and members of society that rely on social services, allowing her to explore ways to bridge that divide within local, state, national, and international spheres.

REBECCA HORTON majored in International Studies with a focus in Political Science, as well as a minor in English. Originally from Natick, MA, she attended Natick High School. She took part in an exchange program in Switzerland for several weeks. She also returned back to Geneva, Switzerland to take part in an International Relations internship program.

At Boston College, she worked as a Student Worker at the Career Center. She also served as Co-Chair on the Model United Nations committee of the Red Cross, where she was able to learn a great deal about current affairs and help lead important debates about global issues. I am also the Secretary of a volunteer and mentorship club, Learning to Serve, as well as a member of Boston College's Appalachia Volunteers Program. As I have discovered my interests in travel, writing, and service, I have begun to work toward a future career in international non-profit work. After graduation, I plan to attend graduate school to focus upon either law or international journalism.

This summer, I will travel to Dublin, Ireland to work with a Senator within the Irish Parliament. Senator Jerry Buttimer serves as Leader of Ireland's Fine Gael political party, one of the largest political factions in Ireland and the party currently holding the majority within Parliament. As an intern for the Senator, I will attend many hearings and briefings on current legislative issues in addition to conducting research on bills and completing daily administrative tasks. This internship opportunity will help me to gain valuable work experience related to my major in International Studies and Political Science. Furthermore, I will be able to explore my interest in international governmental affairs while participating in public service. I am very much looking forward to serving the Senator and the Irish public and am grateful for the Clough Center's help in pursuing this opportunity.

AMEET KALLARACKAL is from Atlanta, GA and studied computer science and philosophy, CSOM

Class of 2018. He was the co-president of The Philosophical Society as well as a member of the BC Men's Club Soccer team, and he helped found a startup called Campus Insights that offers user testing to firms that target college students. Ameet worked as a product manager intern for non-profit organization Caravan Studios, which builds applications for social change. Caravan Studios recently won a Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Grant. His role as a Product Manager intern was to ideate, design, and build one of these apps, based on a specific concept called ByBus. In the rural outskirts of Brazilian city Porto Alegre, citizens use a number of bus routes to get to work each day without any means of knowing where the buses are at a given time or when they will be arriving at the bus stop. Ameet created an app that catered to over 1 million lower income Brazilians while using minimal data. He co-led the project, working directly with the project manager as well as a team of developers and librarians located in Porto Alegre.

After graduation, he would like to utilize the skills as a product manager and entrepreneur, and from working towards solving global problems. Ameet's goal is to help build organizations that are technically grounded and which ultimately serve the common good, and continue being an activist in his community.

CLINT KEAVENY is from Madison, Wisconsin and studied Political Science and Economics. He is particularly interested in American government, the effects of extreme political spending and partisan media on American democracy, and the widening wealth gap and subsequent loss of social mobility in the United States. He worked as a legislative intern for the Massachusetts Senate President, Senator Stan Rosenberg. In this position he studied and summarized proposed legislation, responded to the concerns of Senator Rosenberg's constituents, and researched possible future legislation. This position provided insight into the actual process of policymaking.

He wants to continue to work in politics and possibly attend law school. Whether or not he works in government, he plans to advance progressive causes, particularly universal healthcare and campaign finance reform. As he continues his studies at Boston College, he will explore the myriad ways to affect political change and find the path where he believes that he can create the most significant impact. Possible dream jobs include working for the Department of Justice, the Brookings Institution, the American Civil Liberties Union, or running for public office.

JOSEPH KIM is from Irvine, California and a double major in Political Science and Sociology within the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences. He is interested in public policy and government and has numerous involvements in political campaign work and press internships. He is particularly passionate about social justice causes, specifically socioeconomic empowerment.

He was involved with many groups such as the College Democrats of Boston College (CDBC), Climate Justice at Boston College (CJBC), and the Student Organization Funding Committee (SOFC), a body dedicated to overseeing the budgeting process of over 200 on-campus student organizations. He was also a voting member and the secretary of the SOFC.

He interned for U.S. Senator Elizabeth Warren in her Washington D.C. office. As the senior senator of Massachusetts, Senator Warren does extraordinary work in public service, particularly in the fields of civic and economic empowerment. During the Congressional 2017-18 session, and for Joseph's internship term, Senator Warren will sit on several significant committees in the U.S. Senate. Joseph's duties included a variety of responsibilities such as conducting research for the legislative staff, drafting and writing letters to constituents, and assisting with the overall administrative operations within the office. As a senatorial intern, Joseph also assisted with Capitol tours for constituents, engaging with them both

in-person and via various media. Additionally, he attended legislative hearings and press briefings to aid the office staff. He had the opportunity to meet and work with a variety of people, including distinguished guests, business men/women, public office figures, Capitol Hill staff, and other congressional interns. Joseph hopes to pursue a career in public service

LARA LASIC is from Pelham, NY in the Morrissey College of Arts & Sciences, with a major in Islamic Civilizations and Society (concentrating in Political Science) with a minor in Managing for Social Impact (concentrating in Economic Development, Equality and Enterpise). She had an internship at the Middle East Institute (MEI). At MEI, the oldest Washington-based institution focused on nonpartisan research of the Middle East, she worked as the Staff Assitant/Development Intern. Se served as an Assistant to the Chief Operating Officer and Chief Financial Officer Tamara Kalandiya, as well as Development Assistant Hayley Smart, working approximately half-time for the Development department and half-time for the Finance department. In the Development Department, she supported fundraising initiatives, created and executed marketing and communications strategy, as well as conducted major donor, foundation, and corporate prospect research. In the Finance Department, she managed grants and contracts, took inventory and calculated depreciation for the think tank's assets, and aided in managing a $15 million renovation budget. Post graduation, she hopes to complete a research Fulbright in Jordan and later attend business school. Future aspirations are to one day work in international development in the MENA region or run her own social enterprise.

KYLA MACLENNAN double majored in Economics and Communication. Kyla grew up in Ridgewood, New Jersey and went to Ridgewood High School, where she sang a cappella, contributed to her high school's student-run newspaper, and participated in youth ministry at her local parish, in addition to sailing for the Canadian Youth National Development Team. At Boston College, Kyla is a member of the Varsity Sailing Team. Within athletics, she is a member and sailing team representative for Boston College's Student Athlete Advisory.

As a dual Canadian-American citizen, Kyla wanted to extend her academic and travel pursuits outside of North America, and spent a month studying theology through a BC abroad program in Rome, Italy. There, her group had the opportunity to tour the US Embassy to the Holy See and meet with then-Ambassador and Boston College alum, Kenneth Hackett. After her visit to the Embassy, Kyla thought of no better organization that catered so well to her interests and her desire to serve both her country and marginalized populations while assisting in truly enacting change.

Kyla worked for the US State Department as a Public Affairs Intern at the US Embassy to the Holy See. Currently, the United States and the Holy See consult and work together on international issues of mutual interest, including human rights, promoting peace and preventing conflict, eradicating poverty, protecting the environment, and inter-religious understanding. As an intern, Kyla will be drafting the Embassy's primary news product that is distributed to policymakers in Washington, managing the Embassy's social media pages, assisting in correspondence with journalists covering the Vatican, and planning diplomatic functions and conferences. Kyla is thrilled to serve her country and echo Pope Francis's message of peace, freedom, and justice, and is looking forward to sharing what she learns from her internship at the US Embassy to the Holy See with the Clough Center. Someday, she hopes to pursue a career in public service or policymaking.

JULIANNA MARANDOLA, a native of Cranston, Rhode Island, is in the Carroll School of Management Honors Program. She is pursuing a dual concentration in Finance and Entrepreneurship and a major in History. Outside of the classroom, Julianna is a Resident Assistant in the First Year Honors

House, a member of the Boston College Splash Executive Board, and a trombonist in the Boston College Pep Band. She is also the Co-Chair of the Carroll School of Management Honors Program Executive Board's Special Projects Committee, a branch of the program that works to create interdisciplinary academic and business-based experiences for all Boston College students.

Julianna is very passionate about her involvement in Boston College's research community, particularly with respect to the exploration of the intersection of business and public policy. She is an Undergraduate Research Fellow in the Department of Management and Organization and a research intern at the Boston College Center for Work and Family. She also serves as the Chief Research Officer for the Boston College chapter of Smart Woman Securities, a national organization committed to promoting financial literacy among collegiate women. In addition to her internship this summer, Julianna was selected by the University Fellowships Committee for a 2017 Advanced Study Grant. As a Grant recipient, she is pursuing independent research on the impact of Right to Work labor union regulations on construction industry performance metrics on a state-by-state basis.

In the summer of 2016, Julianna interned in the Office of Rhode Island Lieutenant Governor Daniel J. McKee, where she supported his office's communications, policy research, and "Advance RI" initiatives. Julianna also interned in the Office of Congressman James Langevin of Rhode Island's Second District. As an intern, she worked with both Congressman Langevin's constituent relations and legislative research teams. She is confident that her internship experience will provide her with a stronger research skill set and a deeper appreciation for the intricacies involved in developing sound policy that encompasses the needs of both the private and public sectors.

CECILIA MILANO is a political science major in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Honors Program class of 2018. She grew up in Wellesley, MA and just returned from a semester abroad in Florence, Italy! At Boston College, Cecilia is a co-founder and the career director of the Boston College Policy Council, which aims to be a catalyst for students to develop their interest in and involvement with the public sector. She is the co-president of Americans for Informed Democracy, a non-partisan organization that fosters open discussion about current events. Cecilia is also a volunteer at Samaritans Crisis Hotline with 4Boston, an Americorps alumni having taught in a Boston preschool classroom with Jumpstart, and a tour guide with the Student Admissions Program.

Cecilia interned in Washington D.C. as a part of a larger summer program titled "Leadership and the American Presidency" with The Fund for the American Studies in conjunction with the Ronald Reagan Presidential Foundation. She also interned with the Junior Statesmen Foundation, the non-profit educational corporation that supports the Junior State of America. JSA remains the largest student run organization in the United States, and seeks to strengthen civic education in high school students. Today, the Junior Statesman Foundation conducts college-level summer programs on three college campuses in the U.S. and one abroad, offering a rigorous curriculum and a robust speaker's program. This speaker program allows students to engage with public administrators, members of the media, business leaders, and elected officials about the public policy issues that face our nation.

As an intern with the Junior Statesman Foundation, Cecilia's primary role is to organize and carry out the speaker series for the summer program at Georgetown University. This includes collaborating with many think tanks, military experts, journalists, policy analysts, and the offices of elected officials to put together a speaker series that represents both the many challenges our nation faces and the diverse points of view that are held. On top of managing the speaker series, Cecilia worked on the curriculum and goals for the year's civic education.

Cecilia has always been interested in government and public service and intends to go into the field

of education policy in the future. After graduation, Cecilia will be serving with Teach for America in Greater New Orleans. Following her two-year term of service, she plans to pursue joint degrees of J.D. and M.Ed. Policy.

HANNAH MUNRO is a young politico and aspiring lawyer with a heart and passion for serving others. Hannah was born and raised in Reno, Nevada. Hannah is a proud member of the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences pursuing a major in political science on the pre-law track here at Boston College. Hannah transferred to Boston College from the University of Nevada, Reno after her freshman year of college. Hannah is a member of the Boston College Pom Squad, and has become heavily involved in the Bellarmine Pre-Law Society and the Boston College Dance Marathon. After college, Hannah aspires to serve in the Peace Corps in Latin America before attending law school. After law school, Hannah would like to enter into a career in public service, preferably in her home state of Nevada working in areas of domestic policy concerning poverty and education.

Hannah previously worked as a finance intern for newly elected senator Catherine Cortez Masto's (D-NV) campaign. She is grateful to be working as an intern this summer in the senator's Northern Nevada office. Catherine serves on six different U.S. Senate Committees that allow her to address grievances Nevadans are dealing with across our state, especially issues regarding veterans, senior citizens, and the Native American population in Nevada. Hannah's role as an intern will be focused around constituent services, which allows staff members to help constituents with casework and dealing with current state policy issues. Hannah's job during the summer will also require duties such as answering incoming calls from constituents, organizing files, researching and drafting memos, helping with various projects, attending different events, and interacting with all levels or Senator Masto's staff. Hannah is looking forward to interning for Senator Cortez Masto this summer to make a positive impact in her home state of Nevada.

MADDIE NATION is majoring in Political Science with an interdisciplinary minor in Managing for Social Impact and the Public Good. She has an interest in American government, specifically social assistance programs on a federal and local level. Maddie is a member of PULSE Council, a team of 18 students dedicated to assisting in the work of Boston College's learning-service program, and the Editor-in-Chief of Colloquium, the political science journal on campus. Maddie hopes to continue to engage with service-related organizations on campus and take classes that focus on government as a means to address social ills.

Maddie is originally from Milwaukee and interned with Community Advocates' Public Policy Institute. Community Advocates, Inc. is a community-based organization that helps individuals meet their basic needs. The largest human needs advocacy agency in Wisconsin, Community Advocates focuses in housing, utilities, and healthcare both in addressing the immediate needs of the community and looking to prevent need in the future. Through their Public Policy Institute, Community Advocates has created long-term change for struggling families in Wisconsin and beyond. Notably, the Institute was instrumental in writing The Stronger Way Act, recently proposed by U.S. Senator Tammy Baldwin, which focuses on large-scale subsidized employment across the country and the expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit.

Maddie's internship will be primarily focused on the development side of the Public Policy Institute, but she will also be helping with research surrounding poverty in Milwaukee and preventative measures. She hopes to transition to more policy-focused work as a way of synthesizing her passion for community service and change-making through government. Maddie has been fortunate enough to intern on many campaigns and as an intern at U.S. Senator Tammy Baldwin's Milwaukee office in the past. Maddie looks forward to continuing her career in civic service. After college, Maddie hopes to obtain her Masters

in Public Administration from the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

SAMANTHA SCHNEIDER is from New York majoring in Psychology and minoring in American Studies with a concentration in Law, Politics, and Culture. At Boston College she is the Vice President for the school's chapter of charity: water, a non-profit that works to raise money to solve the water crisis and provide people around the world with access to clean water. Samantha volunteers at St. Stephen's Youth Programs, an afterschool program in Boston that helps to provide inner-city children with academic as well as emotional support during their elementary and middle school years. She was also able to participate in the Appalachian Volunteers (APPA) last March and spent spring break volunteering in Hurley, Virginia. Samantha is a member of the Alpha Sigma Nu Jesuit Honor Society.

Samantha studied abroad for a semester in Venice, Italy. This was a very formative time for her, as she was able to interact with the world in an entirely new way through her conversations with international classmates and professors as well as with locals and refugees through her coursework. Samantha's classes abroad opened her eyes to the nuances of countries and cultures around the world, and challenged her to question norms that she had previously taken for granted. These experiences as well as those at Boston College helped Samantha to understand the impact that the legal system can have on people's lives, and how there are countless new ways by which one can approach a problem.

Samantha also interned at the Queens County District Attorney's Office in New York, working in the Domestic Violence Bureau. She worked on the level of a Paralegal and assisted in legal preparations as well as observing the court proceedings. The bureau takes pride in its community outreach as well as personal interactions, and Samantha looks forward to ensuring the community's freedom, dignity, and equality under law. The program also provides presentations on each bureau within the office, allowing the interns to briefly engage in each field. This internship is extremely helpful in assisting her pursuit of helping her community and in providing a voice to the voiceless.

CARLY SULLIVAN is from South Boston, in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences, majoring in Political Science. Carly is a member of the Gabelli Presidential Scholars Program. At Boston College she is involved in Model United Nations (EagleMUNC and the Eagle Global Leadership Initiative), the First Year Service Program (Carroll Center for the Blind), and Relay for Life. Her interests stem from a commitment to the individual within society and the protection of human dignity.

Carly interned at the New England Innocence Project. The Innocence Project serves to exonerate wrongfully convicted individuals and to reform the flaws of the criminal justice system in order to prevent future injustice. A network of innocence organizations exists throughout the United States to combat these issues, and extend the influence of this work. The New England Innocence Project is a non-profit that promotes the mission of the Innocence Project throughout New England. As the only independent organization in New England with a focus on innocence work, the NEIP addresses a fundamental need to rectify wrongs in the criminal justice system—70 individuals have been exonerated due to the efforts of this organization. Carly worked as a development/outreach intern, which will provide the opportunity to integrate the tactical work of seeking justice for individuals with the ability to develop a lens through which to view the criminal justice system, informing future work toward reform.

After college Carly is interested in joining the Peace Corps prior to attending law school. She plans to enter the field of international human rights law, working to protect the rights of vulnerable individuals and promoting the reform of institutions that rob people of their humanity. Carly hopes that her career will integrate a passion for the law, a concern for the individual, and an interest in international relations.

SARA VALDEZ is from Elgin, Illinois, double majoring in Political Science and Philosophy, and minoring in Latin American Studies. Through the ability to learn more about her Hispanic roots in the classroom, she has become more and more fervid in her search for opportunities to experience these phenomenon abroad. Particular points of interest for Sara are the marginalized groups that exist within Latin American societies, and how their relationship to the society ultimately effects their political progression. Recently, Sara has been working on a photo project, shot on 35mm film, about Bolivian women and their role and importance within the country's society. This project highlights the strength and responsibility that these women carry and their ability for self-sustenance, while also portraying the obstacles that they must overcome in order to achieve their autonomy.

Sara worked in Cochabamba, Bolivia with Diabla Cine, which is a media production company whose mission is to create multimedia productions that aim to promote and conserve the Latin American culture and history, primarily in Bolivia and Chile. Sara's role in Diabla Cine was to develop research for a documentary project that revolves around the issues of political, societal, and cultural integration of the Afro-Bolivian community and aims to explore the question: "Why has the Afro-Bolivian community not been able to consolidate a political sphere?" This project uses a critical lens to analyze the Bolivian state's efforts in political inclusion, and the irony that exists in the Bolivian society. With this project, Sara aims to analyze the relationship between the Afro-Bolivians and Bolivian society, and how it affects their ability to create a political sphere.

As for Sara's career plans, she would like to take a year or two off after graduation in order to teach English abroad, and then return to the States to attend graduate school. Sara wants to continue doing research on marginalized groups in Latin America. This desire has made her strongly consider the possibilities of pursuing a career in education.

Clough Graduate Fellows
2017–18

The Clough Center welcomes Boston College graduate students conducting research on any aspect of constitutional democracy to participate in its Graduate Fellows Program. The Center appoints Fellows from among graduate students in the social sciences (Economics, Political Science, Sociology) and the humanities (English, History, Philosophy, Theology) as well as the other professional schools.

The program fosters an interdisciplinary dialogue among graduate students studying the issues of constitutional democracy, broadly understood, in the United States and the world. In addition to its other objectives, the program offers a forum for Fellows from an array of disciplines to present research and receive critical feedback from other graduate students.

The 2017–2018 Graduate Fellows are:

WILL ATTWOOD-CHARLES, *Sociology , PhD. Candidate*
Will Attwood-Charles is a Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at Boston College and a member of Juliet Schor's Connected Consumption and Connected Economy research team. His research interests include economic and organizational sociology, and the sociology of work. He is particularly interested in efforts at creating alternative institutions that are capable of meeting everyday needs. His previous research examined the practices of "makers" in the context of a multi-purpose shop space, often referred to as a "makerspace." This research focuses on problems that are familiar to many collectivist organizations, particularly around issues of purpose, governance, and composition. His current research explores the role of technology in constructing digital labor platforms as well as the experience of workers laboring on these platforms. This research is interested in the potential of platform technology for scaling and linking solidarity economy initiatives.

TIMOTHY BRENNAN, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*
Timothy Brennan is a doctoral candidate in Political Science. He is originally from Sydney, Australia, and received a bachelor's degree from the University of Melbourne. His areas of interest include the political theories of the Enlightenment, American public law and the political development, ancient and contemporary political thought, religion, and Australian government. At the moment he is writing a thesis on the grounds of the disagreement between the early liberal Baron de Montesquieu and his republican critic Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In previous years at the Clough Center, he has presented work on the political effects of the popularization of the arts and sciences, the competing arguments for cosmopolitanism and patriotism, and the conflict between living constitutionalism and originalism in the United States.

JULIANA BUTRON, *Political Science, M.A. Candidate*
Juliana is working towards her M.A. in Political Science, focusing on American politics. She is originally from Brooklyn, NY, and received her B.A. from Boston College in 2016. Her primary areas of interest

are American political development, public law, and urban policy. She works as a graduate assistant at the Thea Bowman AHANA and Intercultural Center (BAIC), where she works closely with the undergraduate AHANA community on campus. Consequently, her study of American politics is informed by considerations of race and inequality.

Juliana is drawn to our nation's politics because of its idiosyncrasy. As the daughter of Latin American immigrants, she takes nothing about the American experiment for granted. Her research employs a historical approach to chart the evolution of this country's unique policies and political institutions.

Her M.A. thesis explores litigation against state sponsors of terrorism. For the past quarter century, Congress has passed legislation that enabled victims of terrorism to sue foreign governments in American courts. Though much of the voting public is unaware of this policy, its development is a product of a fascinating separation of powers conflict between the three branches of government. As Congress broadens the scope of jurisdiction, the executive branch voices vehement opposition, with the courts stuck in between. While the White House and the State Department tend to see these lawsuits as a threat to the executive's power to conduct foreign policy, many victims of terrorism interpret this opposition as a betrayal on the part of their government. Further complicating matters, litigants are beginning to use lawsuits as a means toward obtaining classified information. Federal courts could use civil procedures to subpoena officials and declassify pertinent documents during the pretrial discovery phase. Thus, the courts might reveal information that the executive branch would rather keep concealed.

As a result, this obscure corner of the law could have major consequences for American foreign policy further down the line. Her goal for this project is to put this policy under the microscope, and determine whether this is the most effective means of bringing state sponsors of international terror to justice.

In a broader sense, she hopes that this project is the first of many investigations of American institutions and public policy. Her desire to unwrap difficult political questions led her to pursue her M.A. in political science. She hopes to continue this pursuit at the doctoral level, and will be applying to Ph.D. programs in the fall.

YOOSUN CHU, *Social Work, Ph.D. Candidate*

Yoosun Chu is a Ph.D. Candidate in Social Work at Boston College. She is originally from Seoul, South Korea. She received her M.S.W from Boston College, her M.Sc. in poverty reduction and development management from University of Birmingham, United Kingdom, and her B.A. from Seoul National University, South Korea. Before coming to Boston College, Yoosun worked as a researcher at Korean Women's Development Institute in Seoul and project manager at non-governmental organizations in Africa.

Her main areas of interest include civic engagement/participation and social capital among low-income people in low-resource settings. She is especially interested in how civic engagement affects the lives and well-being of the marginalized, and the intersection of civic engagement and social development in developing countries at the societal level. Additionally, she focuses on quantitative cross-national analysis.

In this year's Clough Center workshop, Yoosun will present her three-paper dissertation, tentatively titled "Civic Engagement, Governance, and Subjective Well-being among Low-income People: A Two-level Cross-national Analysis in Low and Middle Income Countries." First, her dissertation seeks to create the instrument to accurately measure civic engagement. Next, the paper aims to explore what country-level factors affect civic engagement of low-income people. Most mainstream research has been focused on the socio-demographics of individuals in exploring their engagement. Lastly, her dissertation examines the effect of civic engagement on subjective well-being. By delving into civic engagement among low-income people in developing countries, where not enough attention was given by mainstream research,

Yoosun would like to draw scholarly attention on the issue and to contribute to policy development.

HESSAM DEHGHANI, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*
Hessam Dehghani is a fifth-year Ph.D. student in the Philosophy Department at Boston College, where he was awarded a doctoral fellowship in 2012. He received his M.A. and first Ph.D. in Linguistics from Tehran and Allameh Tabatabai University, Iran.

Hessam's first dissertation was focused on Hermeneutics and Literature, particularly Islamic mystic texts in Persian, and Arabic. In 2010, He did a post-doctorate at University College Dublin, where he worked on phenomenological Hermeneutic interpretation of Islam.

During his studies at Boston College, and as a fellow at Clough, he has been working more specifically on the notion of community in Islam. His dissertation is titled "The Topology of Community in Islam," in which he is tracing the metaphysical grounds for different kinds of community in Islam from 12th century Philosopher-theologian Ghazali to the 14th century mystic Hafi.

MICHAEL FRANCZAK, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*
Michael Franczak is a Ph.D. candidate and Presidential Fellow in the Department of History, where he studies U.S. foreign relations, international history, and economic history. His main area of interest is the intersection of U.S. foreign policy and international economics during the Cold War, especially during moments of crisis and confrontation between the developed countries of the global "North" and underdeveloped or developing countries of the global "South." He is also interested in the relationship between economic ideas and global governance, or how conceptions of economic growth, development, and justice are contested by individuals, states, and institutions.

Michael's dissertation is titled "American Foreign Policy in the North-South Dialogue, 1971-1982." Using newly declassified materials from two presidential libraries, the papers of U.S. cabinet members and one ambassador, and interviews with former National Security Council officials, he presents a reinterpretation of several critical turning points for U.S. foreign policy in the 1970s from the perspective of North-South relations. Michael focuses in particular on debates within the American foreign policy establishment concerning the nature of "interdependent" forces in global political and economic relations, which connected North-South confrontations over trade, food, and debt with U.S.-European concerns about worldwide inflation, oil prices, and human rights.

Michael received his B.A. with high distinction and highest honors in history from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 2011. His research has been supported by the Clough Center, the Society for Historians of American Foreign Relations, the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Foundation, the Cushwa Center at the University of Notre Dame, and the Karnes Center at Purdue University. This is his fifth year with the Clough Center.

PERIN GOKCE, *Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Candidate*
After attending college at Bilkent University in Ankara, Turkey, Perin completed his master's degree in International Relations at Boston University focusing on political economy and the Middle East. His master's thesis explored the rise of political Islam in Turkey, with a particular focus on economic factors and demographic changes, and analyzed the policies pursued by the Islamist Justice and Development Party with respect to political and social reform since it assumed power in November 2002. Before coming to Boston College for a Ph.D. in Comparative Politics in the Political Science Department, Perin worked for the Turkish Consulate General in Boston, and part-time for a research project on social movements in the Middle East based at the Harvard Kennedy School. His research interests include democratization and the role of religion in Middle Eastern politics, state building, nationalism and identity with a regional focus on the Middle East but also including Muslims in Western Europe. His current

research focuses on nation building and in particular the role of the Ataturk's Republican People's Party in the process of state formation and later years. His dissertation examines Turkey's transition to democracy and how decisions made by political elites at critical historical junctures affect the trajectory of their party and the state's development.

MAHEEN HAIDER, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*
Maheen Haider is currently a Doctoral Candidate in the department of Sociology at Boston College, where she studies the processes of immigration and acculturation, and issues of race and ethnicity. Her dissertation focuses on the integration experiences of high skilled non-white Muslim immigrants specifically Pakistani migrants in the US and looks at the contemporary changes in the immigrant experience that has increasingly become more diverse and complex around the issues of race, religion, and skill levels.

The intersectional non-white, high skilled, Muslim migrant identity presents a unique window in studying contemporary immigration in post 9/11 and Trump America, across the lines of racially and religiously diverse, high skill immigrants today. She studies these intersectional immigrant identities using the case of Pakistani migrants that continue to be the largest Muslim immigrant group in the US, with higher skill levels than the native population (MPI 2015).

Maheen's dissertation research looks at the experiences of both short-term migrants as Pakistani international students studying at American universities and long-term migrants as Pakistani permanent residents to study their acculturation and assimilation in the U.S. The study of these populations (high-skilled Muslim migrants of color) is situated intellectually at the confluence of three bodies of sociological theory: immigration, racialization theory, and life course studies. The complexity of the high skilled, non-white, and Muslim Pakistani migrant identity at the cross section of the American mainstream are important factors in unraveling the processes of integration.

Prior to coming to Boston College, she received a Masters in Social Development from the University of Sussex and holds Bachelors in Software Engineering from Pakistan. She has experience of working within the corporate and non-profit sector in Pakistan and the UK.

FUMI INOUE, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*
Fumi Inoue is a doctoral candidate in the Department of History at Boston College, where she studies postwar Japanese history and the history of Japan-U.S. relations. Originally from Nagasaki, Japan, Fumi received her bachelor's degree from the School of International Liberal Studies of Waseda University in Tokyo (2010). During the academic year of 2007-2008, she studied journalism as an exchange at the University of Maryland.

Fumi's dissertation interrogates the formation, trajectory, and implications of postwar American criminal jurisdiction policy on cases involving its military personnel stationed in mainland Japan and the Island of Okinawa, where the U.S. military maintained administrative control between 1945 and 1972. Seeking to historicize the rise of popular public opinions and movement calling for revisions to the postwar Japan-U.S. Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) in contemporary Japan, as seen especially since Okinawans' 1995 unprecedented, massive rally against the rape of a 12-year-old Okinawan girl by three GIs, her research project synthesizes diplomatic, legal, and social histories.

In the aftermath of the American occupation of Japan (1945-1952), state elites of the two countries concluded a confidential agreement in 1953, which has ever since compelled Japanese authorities to waiver criminal jurisdiction over most off-duty U.S. military criminal cases. In Okinawa, American authorities secured extraterritoriality in the more blatant form of military occupation. The dissertation explores how the de facto and de jure extraterritorial policies manifested in both spaces by drawing on declassified

American, Japanese, and Ryukyuan (Okinawan) state papers, legislative bodies' debate transcripts, legal journals, court documents, protest statements and poetry, activist newsletters, newspaper reportage and magazine articles, as well as interviews with diverse historical actors.

It illuminates American political elites' divided opinion in the early Cold War period on the exercise of the extraterritorial policy toward Japan as a new "democratic" ally, Japanese officials' subjective role in adopting the 1953 Japan-U.S. Confidential Agreement, Okinawan political leaders' proactive engagement with grassroots movements for local jurisdiction, both Japanese and Okinawan civil societies' responses to major incidents, which galvanized popular protests (including an explosive riot in 1970-Okinawa), and the transformation (i.e. the unification) of the movements for local jurisdiction after Okinawa's reversion to the mainland in 1972.

Based upon the findings of research in the United States, mainland Japan, and Okinawa, Fumi's dissertation also highlights significant roles transnational activism has played in deconstructing state-centric discourse on the extraterritorial U.S. criminal jurisdiction policy and the legal boundary drawn between Americans, mainland Japanese, and Okinawans by the power elites. For instance, the American Civil Liberties Union aided the foundation of the Japan Civil Liberties Union in the late 1940s and the Okinawa Civil Liberties Union in the early 1960s, and actively communicated with the U.S. government to solve the issue of criminal jurisdiction. A group of Afro-American GIs, or members of the Black Panther Party, also supported Okinawans' call for local jurisdiction in the late 1960s and early 1970s by distributing letters of solidarity and collaborating in anti-Vietnam War activism.

FELIX A. JIMÉNEZ, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*

Felix A. Jiménez Botta is a fifth year Ph.D. candidate in the History Department. He has received a bachelor's degree in international affairs and history from Florida State University (2011), and began the PhD program at Boston College in the autumn of the same year with a diversity fellowship. Born in Cuba and raised in Germany, Felix has a particular interest in transnational histories linking the German-speaking world and Latin America. His dissertation, "West Germany and the Human Rights Revolution: Human rights activism and foreign policy in the Age of Latin America's military Juntas, 1973-1989," analyzes the significant role that the campaigns against human rights violations in Chile and Argentina played in the development of a human rights consciousness in West Germany. At the same time, by investigating the particularities of West German human rights activism, it fills a historiographical gap in the field of human rights histories dominated by studies focusing on the Anglo-American situation.

The dissertation investigates the response of West German civil society (that ranged from radical leftists, the churches, trade unions, and human rights organizations such as Amnesty International, to eventually also include center-right Christian Democrats) to the repression that Argentinean and Chilean military governments unleashed on their populations in the 1970s-80s. Their spirited campaigns for the acceptance of political refugees from these countries, and to lobby the West German government to translate its affirmative semantic stance towards human rights into action, found numerous supporters and also detractors, who maintained that "human rights" were best reserved to attack East Germany and the Communist Block.

The dissertation also investigates the role of the churches, whose engagement gradually changed from traditional humanitarianism to a rights based talk in the years under review. Moreover, it analyses the impact of grassroots human rights activism on the foreign policy of West Germany, a state saddled with a genocidal and warlike past, and which was attempting to position itself as a responsible member of the global community and initially spurned human rights in the name of Realpolitik and a responsible foreign policy.

A wide range of original primary sources from 23 archives in Germany, Chile, Argentina, and the United

States, and interviews with contemporary witnesses form the source base for the dissertation. It has been supported by the Clough Center since 2016, by a DAAD Fellowship (2015-2016), the German Historical Institute in Washington DC (Summer 2017), and by a Boston College Dissertation Completion Fellowship (2017-2018).

DAVID CHIWON KWON, *Theological Ethics, Ph.D. Candidate*

David Chiwon Kwon is a Ph.D. candidate in Theological Ethics, focusing on the topics of religion and public engagement, war and peace, economic justice and business ethics, and human flourishing and globalization. While all these social concerns are important for him, his primary interests are in the topic of postwar justice and peace, especially with regard to issues of nation building and democracy promotion in post-conflict societies.

David graduated with a triple major in Religious Studies, Journalism, and Business Administration with honors from Sogang University, South Korea. He received her Master of Divinity from University of Chicago, where he also received his Master's Degree in Social Welfare Policy. He also has a MBA degree in Business Ethics and Organizational Development from Johns Hopkins University. David is highly motivated in working with the department (and the wider university) to create opportunities for mutually beneficial conversation and service among scholars, students, and communities. In light of his interdisciplinary academic training and professional experiences in diverse organizations, David always attempts to make reference to other disciplines as a means of illuminating the theological discourse in his work. Further, he plans to develop his work into two projects in the near future: a book on just war and just peace in the discourse of postwar ethics, and a book on personally- and socially-responsible leadership development in light of both religious virtue ethics and Catholic social teaching.

Currently, David is working on his dissertation, entitled "A Study on the Role of Jus Post Bellum in the 21st Century: Human Security and Political Reconciliation." This project endeavors to challenge the view of those who argue that reconciliation, mainly political reconciliation, is the first and foremost ambition of jus post bellum (jpb, or postwar justice and peace). Rather, this work attempts to justify the proposition that achieving just policing, just punishment, and just political participation are key to building a just peace. Thus, he proposes that the establishment of a just peace must be primarily directed toward human security, not political reconciliation. In the immediate aftermath of war there is little or no policing, punishment, or political participation to protect the lives of individuals, especially those most vulnerable. Therefore, this thesis argues (i) that human security is a neglected theme in the discourse of moral theologians; and (ii) that a more balanced understanding of jpb must pay direct attention to the elements comprising human security in a postwar context as well as the quest for reconciliation.
David is hoping that his interaction with other Clough Graduate Fellows will help him sharpen the interdisciplinary aspects of his work and, more importantly, help him in addressing readers who may prefer that postwar justice exist separately from explicitly moral traditions such as theology. As a scholar of theological ethics, he is convinced that religious traditions have an important role in increasing participation, justice and fairness in public life, and he will hopefully bring this viewpoint to his engagement in the Graduate Fellow Program.

ZHUOYAO "PETER" LI, *Philosophy, Ph.D. Candidate*

Zhuoyao Li is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Philosophy, where he studies social and political philosophy, ethics, philosophy of law, and philosophy of economics. His main interests are contemporary debates between political liberalism and liberal perfectionism, the implications of political liberalism in non-liberal societies, as well as global justice theories. His dissertation focuses on bridging these issues together to present a more coherent understanding of political liberalism, and its application in non-liberal societies with an emphasis on the East Asian region. His paper, "The Public Conception of Morality in John Rawls' Political Liberalism," appears in *Ethics & Global Politics*, a peer-reviewed journal. His most recent work, "The Discontents of Moderate Political Confucianism and the Future of Democ-

racy in East Asia," is forthcoming in *Philosophy East & West*, a peer-reviewed journal.

In addition to working on his academic dissertation, Zhuoyao Li serves as the managing editor of *Philosophy & Social Criticism*. He also taught Philosophy of the Person, a year-long introductory philosophy course for undergraduate students at Boston College. He was awarded a Donald J. White Teaching Excellence Award. He also participated in numerous conferences. With the generous help of the Clough Center, he was able to present a paper at the 2nd International Conference on Economic Philosophy in Strasbourg, France.

JOHN LINDNER, *Economics, Ph.D. Candidate*

John Lindner is a sixth year doctoral candidate in Economics at Boston College. He received his bachelor's degree in Economics with honors from Oberlin College, with a concentration in Mathematics. He is also a Graduate Research Assistant for the Center for Retirement Research (CRR) at Boston College. His research focuses on the role that government policies play in shaping the incentives of economic agents and the ways in which these agents alter their behavior in response to government programs or laws. His work often draws on insights from other academic disciplines, as well, such as psychology and sociology.

The primary part of John's dissertation explores how federal unemployment insurance (UI) influences the actions of unemployed workers when these unemployed workers have unrealistic expectations about their job prospects. Empirical evidence shows an optimistic bias among unemployed workers, as they underestimate the length of time they will remain unemployed. Given this disconnect between reality and what individuals believe, it is important to understand the degree to which this bias exists and the influence that this bias has on the behavior of different types of job searchers. John employs a novel dataset and new statistical techniques to address these topics, finding that this bias is widespread and persistent. In particular, the bias is strongest for younger and less-educated individuals. Compared to those with more realistic expectations, individuals with this optimistic bias have less money saved for a possible unemployment spell. Observing that certain groups of unemployed workers are more greatly impacted by this bias than others, a constitutional government should heed such differences when designing a UI program. John's research will derive implications for the optimal level of UI benefits, for the design of the UI program, and for alternative welfare-improving government interventions.
In other research, co-authored with Matthew Rutledge, John studies how Social Security retirement income can be influenced by the late-career labor market decisions of female workers compared with male workers. Labor market involvement of retirement-age women has historical and sociological explanations. Notably, women that are currently retiring are much more likely to have taken time out of the labor force early in their careers.

JOSEPH MCCRAVE, *Theology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Joseph is a third-year Ph.D. student and Flatley Fellow in Theological Ethics. He is from the United Kingdom, and received his B.A. in Philosophy and Theology and his M.Phil. in Christian Ethics from the University of Oxford. In between his undergraduate and master's level studies, he worked as a youth minister in the Catholic Archdiocese of Liverpool, England.

Joseph's main research in theological ethics focuses on foundational questions about natural law, virtue and political theology. He is interested in the relation between the sources of and audiences for theological ethics, as well as the extent to which Christian ethics is distinctive.

The current trajectory of his dissertation proposal suggests an analysis of forgiveness as a virtue with special reference to transitional justice contexts. From the perspective of a theological ethic of virtue, the proposal argues that forgiveness as an excellence of character is unqualifiedly good but particular instances of forgiveness are only qualifiedly so. The latter must be assessed according to the ends for

which - and the circumstances in which - they occur. Thus the proposed account aims to distinguish true forgiveness from its mere semblances. Some contemporary ethicists worry that any such attempt will unduly constrain the possibilities for the shape that forgiveness might take in the complex realities of human existence. If forgiveness is a virtue, however, flexibility in external acts remains, as any virtue's acts adapt creatively to specific situations. Additionally, the language of virtue provides a useful framework for a non-competitive understanding of the relation of forgiveness to other essential virtues for responses to wrongdoing (especially justice and prudence), given traditional notions of the interdependence of the virtues. From the above conceptual basis, the proposal suggests the exploration of two further dimensions of this topic.

The first is the application of this analysis to political-level "transitional justice" debates of the sort brought to prominence in recent decades by South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It is against the background of grave and widespread wrongdoing that forgiveness, reconciliation, and the public advocacy of both can do the most serious harm or good. The language of virtue - largely absent from current discussions of transitional justice - enables an appropriately qualified appreciation of forgiveness' potential to aid social co-existence in societies which have experienced such wrongdoing internally.

The second is the evaluation of the role that a specifically theological account of forgiveness can play in the pluralistic public spheres typical of liberal democracies today. While a Christian conception of forgiveness might have significant parallels with other conceptions, it will also have distinctive features and sources. These may include an understanding of God's unconditional forgiveness as revealed in the person of Christ and witnessed to in scripture. The proposed research would explore how this dynamic affects attempts to demarcate "appropriate" forgiveness in terms of gravity of offense or repentance of offenders.

KATE MROZ, *Theology, Ph.D. Candidate*

Kate Mroz is a PhD candidate in Systematic Theology with a minor in Comparative Theology at Boston College, where she was awarded the Presidential Fellowship. She received her Master of Theological Studies from Harvard Divinity School in 2013, and her BA in theology and political science from Fordham University in 2011. Her work has been published in the Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, and the Journal of Comparative Theology. Her article, "Dangerous Theology: Edward Schillebeeckx, Pope Francis, and Hope for Catholic Women," will be published later this year in the volume Salvation in the World: The Crossroads of Public Theology (Bloomsbury, 2017). Kate also regularly blogs for God In All Things. Kate has presented at numerous conferences, including the Edward Schillbeeeckx Centenary Conference at Radboud Univeristy in the Netherlands, the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies Conference at Villanova University, and the Engaging Particularities Conference here at Boston College. She also serves on the executive board of the American Council for the Study of Islamic Societies.

Kate's main research interests include theological anthropology, feminist theology, soteriology (study of the meaning of salvation), and Muslim-Christian dialogue. In particular, her research has focused on the need for dialogue between Muslim and Catholic women, as patriarchy is manifest in both traditions, albeit in different forms. The false notion that Muslim women need to be saved by Western Christianity does not allow for recognition of the exclusion and oppression that occurs in churches and in Western society. True liberation, in a world where Islam and Christianity are often portrayed as being inherently opposed to one another, requires appreciation of and learning from the wisdom of both traditions.

Currently, Kate is working on her doctoral dissertation, "No Salvation Apart from Religious Others: Edward Schillebeeckx's Soteriology as a Resource for Understanding Christian Identity and Discipleship

in a Religiously Pluralist World."

Kate argues that the Flemish Dominican theologian Edward Schillebeeckx's (1914-2009) understanding of salvation provides a resource for understanding how one can maintain one's unique Catholic identity, while also realizing not only the benefit, but the necessity of working with and learning from other religious traditions. This must be done without reducing all religions to a least common denominator, or striving to remove all doctrinal differences and disagreements between religious traditions.

HEATHER PANGLE, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

Heather Pangle received her B.A. from Middlebury College and is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science at Boston College. She studies ancient and modern political philosophy, with a particular interest in themes of democracy, liberty, greatness, and empire. She completed her doctoral coursework in political theory, American politics, and comparative politics. Her doctoral research examines the liberal imperialism of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805-1859) and J.S. Mill (1806-1873). These two political thinkers were each in their own way prominent proponents for and practitioners of liberal politics, and yet also argued for the imperial projects of their respective countries. How they understood their support for liberalism to be compatible with their support for colonial empire is the question that she investigates in her thesis. In the course of giving an account of their positions, her study sheds light on how these thinkers saw the interplay of moral principles and practical political necessity. As two thinkers sympathetic to liberalism and yet supportive of imperialism, Tocqueville and Mill present considered hesitations about the dangers and limitations of liberalism and different understandings of what justice requires in foreign relations. They offer differing accounts of what compromises with liberal moral principles are acceptable for the sake of national strength and greatness. They also exhibit different approaches for how best to shepherd liberal nations to stable flourishing. The dissertation makes the case that their support for imperialism can only be understood in light of their thoughts about liberalism's prerequisites and limits.

Heather has an article forthcoming in the Adam Smith Review: "Rousseau and Julie von Bondeli on the Moral Sense," co-authored with Christopher Kelly. The article considers the engagement between J.J. Rousseau and one of his lesser-known correspondents, a Swiss aristocrat "famed," in the words of Goethe, "as a woman of sense and merit."

In addition to her affiliation with the Clough Center, Heather holds an Adam Smith Fellowship and an Institute for Human Studies Fellowship for the 2017-2018 academic year.

ERIC PENCEK, *English, Ph.D. Candidate*

Eric Pencek is a fifth-year Ph.D. candidate in the Department of English specializing in British Romanticism. He holds an MA in English from Boston College and a BA from the University of Scranton. Pencek's research tends to focus on the overlap between the construction of national identity and issues of class and political consciousness. In addition to empire, slavery, and the ongoing domestic responses to the French Revolution, his work takes a particular interest in the working-class radical subculture of the 1790s-1820s. His dissertation, tentatively titled "Romanticism Against the Law," focuses on the textual representation of what he terms "antinomian spaces" – localities inaccessible to enforcement of the law, in which political and judicial norms can be re-thought and constituent power employed to construct alternatives to incorporation in the British nation – to explore how authors employ such spaces to express anxieties regarding the stability of British identity and the British constitution.

In his third and fourth years, Pencek taught four courses – a Freshman Writing Seminar focused on the analysis of propaganda, Studies in Poetry, a Literature Core section on literary representations of the Devil, and an upper-level elective, "Britain in the Age of Revolution, 1789-1848." He has presented his work at the North American Society for Studies in Romantics, the Nineteenth Century Studies Associa-

tion, the Northeastern American Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, and the Mahindra Center for the Humanities at Harvard University. Recent publications include "Intolerable Anonymity: Robert Wedderburn and the Discourse of Ultra-Radicalism" (Nineteenth-Century Contexts 37.1 [2015]) and "Antinomian Spaces and Godwin's Thieves" (English Language Notes 54.1 [2016]), the latter introducing key concepts to be expounded upon in his dissertation.

SCOTT REZNICK, *English, Ph.D. Candidate*
Scott Reznick is a doctoral candidate in English. He holds a B.S. in mathematics from Dickinson College and an M.A. in English from Trinity College. At Boston College, he specializes in American literature of the long nineteenth century. His research interests include American romanticism, transcendentalism, literary realism, the literature of slavery and the U.S. Civil War, political oratory, and political and moral philosophy.

Scott's dissertation, "'Principles that Astonish': Morality, Skepticism, and Liberal Democracy in Antebellum American Literature," examines the way in which literary narratives both registered and engaged in the debates about the nature of U.S. democracy that took place at three important antebellum moments: the ratification of the Constitution, the "nullification crisis" of the 1830s, and the fallout from the "compromise" of 1850. By drawing important connections between political speeches and writings and the narrative works of Charles Brockden Brown, Robert Montgomery Bird, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Frederick Douglass, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, Scott aims both to open up new conceptions of the "politics" of American literature and to demonstrate the way in which literature can enable a deeper understanding of the American political tradition.

Central to this effort is a more deliberate engagement with political liberalism, which has long been attacked—or ignored outright—in literary studies. Challenging the misconceptions that political liberalism entails a rigid adherence to moral neutrality or is synonymous with the market logic of "neoliberalism," Scott aims to recapture the moral dimensions of the liberal tradition and to shed light on how antebellum American writings reveal the inspiration and promise, as well as the skepticism and doubt, that are inherent elements of democratic political idealism. By examining the way in which American writers and thinkers conceived of the democratic individual and his or her lived relationship to moral ideas such as liberty, equality, and justice—a relationship that entails both reasoned reflection and emotional conviction—Scott hopes to demonstrate how literature can help us foster a deeper understanding of both the moral foundations of political ideas and the sensibilities that are an integral part of the culture of democracy.

CEDRICK-MICHAEL SIMMONS, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*
Cedrick-Michael Simmons is a Ph.D. student in the Sociology Department at Boston College. He holds a B.A. in Sociology from Ithaca College and an M.A. in Sociology from Boston College. Currently, his research interests include race theory, class, educational inequality, and higher education policy.

Cedrick's dissertation will focus on the mechanisms that shape how administrators document, manage, and address discriminatory practices and assault against students in higher education. Although racism, sexual assault, and labor exploitation are typically viewed as separate social problems, a subset of university administrators are responsible for addressing these oppressive practices against students on campus. His dissertation seeks to examine the opportunities and constraints for these administrators as they attempt to marshal university resources to address these problems. By comparing how these administrators work to address different forms of discrimination and assault on campus, his work will explore the conditions in which the political and economic imperatives of universities may or may not incentivize administrators to focus on changing students' reactions instead of the costly organizational practices.

Cedrick's previous work has examined how administrators use "diversity" and their opposition to colorblindness as a strategy of social control. Both studies demonstrate how opposing colorblindness can function as a strategy for regulating student conduct and exploiting student labor as "diversity advocates." His first paper demonstrates how race scholars can use role conflict as a theoretical tool to specify how organizational officials can simultaneously "see race" and racism, but disassociate themselves from public attempts to highlight and address racist practices. He shows how student affairs administrators were constantly reminded by their employers that their status, as at-will employees of the university as opposed to students, requires them to dissuade students from engaging in practices that jeopardize the revenue and reputation of the university. In his second paper, he explores the ways that administrators position themselves as "educators outside the classroom" to students. By teaching students the "appropriate" way to engage in race relations with their "allies," the administrators were able to use their willingness to "see race" and racism to build a rapport with students. Once that rapport was established, however, the administrators taught students that the only way they can really be "anti-racist" is to use dialogue, never challenge authority, and take on the "personal responsibility" of documenting and addressing racism themselves.

ADAM WUNISCHE, *Political Science, Ph.D. Candidate*

Adam is originally from North Idaho, and graduated high school early to join the U.S. Army. He spent a year training in Arizona, then Airborne School, and then was stationed at Fort Bragg, NC. He was deployed to Afghanistan twice and completed his enlistment in 2010 with the rank of Sergeant. Adam immediately started college under the Post-9/11 G.I. Bill and as a first-generation college student. He transferred many times, studied abroad in Chiang Mai, Thailand, did language training in Oaxaca, Mexico, and ultimately completed his undergraduate degree at Portland State University in political science with department honors. His thesis looked at the effects of institutions on comparative deforestation rates. He is currently a PhD student in the political science department at Boston College. He is also a contributing analyst at Wikistrat, an online consulting firm, and a teacher at the Cambridge Center for Adult Education.

Adam's research interests revolve around war and conflict. He studies comparative politics and international relations. Within those subfields, he works on state failure and armed statebuilding operations, security studies, US foreign policy, civil-military relations, and non-state violence. Some of his ongoing research projects include studying the ability of provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan to generate legitimacy in the local governments, testing the long-term effects of simulations in the political science classroom, as well as creating a typology that defines the various types of terrorist attackers beyond the standard operative/lone wolf dichotomy.

Academic Law Fellows

2017–18

With this fellowship appointment, the Clough Center recognizes Boston College Law Students of exceptional academic ability and accomplishment who are enrolled in any of the Law School's degree programs. The 2017–18 Academic Law Fellows are:

MICHAEL BERRY is a second-year law student at Boston College. He graduated from MIT in 2010 with a BS in Aerospace Engineering. As an undergraduate researcher, he worked with civil engineering professors studying crack propagation through granite and worked with industry leaders to test wingsuits in the Wright Brothers Wind Tunnel at MIT. After studying at MIT, he stayed on campus conducting historical research and planning an Institute-wide open house that was open to the greater Boston community; approximately 40,000 people attended this event where MIT departments, labs, and student groups were able to engage and educate visitors on the work done within MIT.

Michael's interest in technologically-driven startups and the government's role in small businesses led him to Boston College Law School. Since classes began he has been engaged with the BC Law community. Working with the Harvard Law and International Development Society, he researched the current state of drone regulations and provided feedback to a non-profit looking for humanitarian uses of autonomous drones. He is also starting a BC Space Law program with the hope to see the new, incoming students class continue the organization once he leaves.

We constantly see our world becoming more technical as technology continues to become an integral part of our lives. Michael's long term goals include bringing more science and engineering students into the study of law. Many scientist and engineers who study law follow a path towards Intellectual Property and while it is a great fit for many of them, Michael would like to see scientists and engineers involved in every area of law. He hopes to find more ways to integrate law and science so that the legal profession is not only on the cutting edge with technology, but actively helping to define that edge.

MITCHELL J. CLOUGH is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2019. He grew up in East Providence, Rhode Island, and earned a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy and Political Science from Boston College in 2016.

Mitchell has a passion for giving back. He has interned in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and in the Rhode Island Department of Administration's Labor Relations Unit, working on labor disputes between union members and the State. He has also volunteered across the country and the world, focusing particularly on a passion for the poor and marginalized. He has built homes in Peru, helped people rebuild their homes in New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, and worked at a day care for the children of migrant workers in Florida. While in law school, he has volunteered for Project Citizenship in Boston, assisting legal permanent residents in the often-cumbersome process of applying for citizenship in the United States.

In his senior thesis, Mitchell extended this passion for the marginalized as he conducted a critical analysis of the contemporary philosophical landscape surrounding human rights. Particularly, he argued

that many contemporary political philosophers take the moral truth of much of the human rights doctrines for granted, without recognizing the deep pluralism of political and moral views in the world. He shaped his analysis through the lens of John Rawls, reconstructing Rawls's human rights scheme from the ground up, seeking to find a global overlapping consensus of views regarding fundamental human rights. He hopes to extend this project through law school, focusing on the role of constitutionalism in the contemporary human rights debate.

In the summer of 2017, Mitchell will be interning for The Honorable O. Rogeriee Thompson of the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit in Providence, Rhode Island. Upon completing his legal studies, Mitchell hopes to pursue a career in litigation before returning to academia.

VALENTINA DE FEX is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2018. Born in Monteria, Colombia, Valentina and her family moved to the United States in 1999 to Dallas, Texas. In 2015, Valentina graduated from the University of Pennsylvania with a B.A. in History and Political Science with concentrations in Diplomatic History and International Relations. There, she worked for the Netter Center for Community Partnership's Department of Evaluation, serving on the Netter Center's Student Advisory Board in 2014-2015. Through this work, she gained exposure to several legal issues that plagued low-income communities, This experience, along with her family's personal experience and hardships faced as immigrants, motivated her to pursue a career in law.

At Boston College Law School, Valentina has been active with the Latin American Law Students Association, where she served as President during her 2L year, and was a member of the Planning Committee for the 2016 National Latino/Latina Law Student Association Conference hosted in Boston. Also during her 2L year, Valentina coordinated BC's Immigration Law Group's Bond Project, leading several teams to successfully secure the release of several indigent immigration detainees. In addition, she participated in BC Law's Immigration Clinic in Fall 2016 and Spring 2017, working on a variety of cases dealing with complex issues before federal and immigration courts. She also served as a Teaching Assistant for two 1L courses in the Spring, Criminal Law and Immigration Practice. During her 3L year, Valentina will participate in BC Law's Ninth Circuit Appellate Clinic, where she will argue a case before the Ninth Circuit in the Spring of 2018.

In the Summer of 2016, Valentina was awarded an MCBA Diversity Summer Clerk position at Woods, Oviatt, Gilman in Rochester, New York, where she will be returning as a Summer Associate for the Summer of 2017. After graduation, Valentina hopes to continue working with indigent detainees, particularly high-risk youths, facing complex immigration issues and their efforts to remain in the United States.

KATHRYN DROUMBAKIS is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2018. She grew up in Staten Island, New York and earned a Bachelors of Arts degree with College Honors in Philosophy from the College of the Holy Cross in 2014. Her undergraduate thesis was entitled "The Art of Time: Living and Loving as Mortals," which explored human mortality through the lens of art and philosophy. At Holy Cross, Kathryn had the opportunity to spend her junior year at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland where she continued to pursue her philosophy degree. After graduating, Kathryn spent some time as a paralegal in New York with the law firm Cleary, Gottlieb, Steen & Hamilton working on the litigation surrounding Argentina's debt restructuring.

While at BC Law, Kathryn has served as a Research Assistant with the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project at Boston College's Center for Human Rights and International Justice, focusing on international deportation and asylum practices. She also participated in Boston College's 2017 Wendell F. Grimes Moot Court Competition, earning a Top Oralist Award. Her interests are in international human rights, international comparative law, legal theory, constitutional law, and litigation, taking classes such as In-

ternational Economic and Social Rights, European Union Law, Universal History of Legal Thought and Globalization.

Kathryn will spend summer 2017 at a small law firm in New York, honing her skills in litigation, while also serving as a Research Assistant to BC Law's Professor Paulo Barrozo. Kathryn plans to spend her final year of law school continuing to pursue her academic interests while also dedicating pro bono hours to helping those facing deportation in the United States. In the future, Kathryn hopes to pursue a career in international human rights, with a focus on advocating for those who are politically disenfranchised.

RAFAEL PERRUZZO is from Porto Alegre, Brazil and was have accepted into the LLM program at Boston College. He holds a bachelor's degree in Law and Social Sciences from the Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, and a specialization certificate in International Law. During his specialization, he became particularly interested in linguistic minority rights and public policy, which were the main topics of his thesis. In Brazil, he worked at the Rio Grande do Sul Supreme Court for four years, two as an intern and two as a law clerk. He was responsible for legal research and drafts for decisions on cases concerning consumer law, civil liability and traffic accident liability. Through this role, he developed a broader and more impartial perspective of legal issues, learning that impartiality plays a key role to ensure that law is interpreted and applied properly, in order to deliver high quality justice to all. He is a member of the Brazilian Bar Association (Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil - OAB) and also worked as an attorney at a boutique law firm.

After moving to Boston in August 2015, he volunteered to the "Somerviva" Department at the City of Somerville. He participated in the city events and activities concerning immigrants' rights, translated written material from English into Portuguese and Spanish and worked as a Portuguese interpreter representing constituents. Later, he worked as an immigration paralegal at a law firm, where he interpreted for clients (Portuguese speakers) in interviews at the USCIS/NVC, drafted immigration forms and conducted case researches as well. In August 2016, he started working at the Brazilian Worker Center as an ESOL teacher, where he taught basic English and topics of social justice to students as a part of a series of programs designed to reduce marginalization of immigrants and promote their empowerment as workers and civic participants. Also in the fall, because of his involvement in the Allston-Brighton community, he was awarded a scholarship by the Harvard Extension School, where he studied Public International Law. In December 2016, he began working at the Consulate General of Brazil in Boston as a consular agent and, two months later, he was promoted to be the coordinator in the Culture and Education office. He was responsible for promoting the Brazilian culture, acting as a liaison between the Consulate and universities/research institutions to support Brazilian students abroad and establish new partnerships, as well as organizing culture and education events focused on the needs of the Brazilian community.

He has a passion for social justice, so, through the LLM program, he will be able to deepen his knowledge in the U.S. perspective on human rights, which will provide him with models and solutions that he can deploy in the legal arena in Brazil. He intends to work to rectify injustices in his country, empower the people, and help to reshape the nation to make it accessible and equal for all.

Public Interest Law Scholars
2017–18

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College first- and second-year law students for uncompensated public interest work, in the United States or abroad, during the summer. The 2017–18 Public Law Scholar grants have been awarded to:

ALEXANDRE BOU-RHODES is a member of the Boston College Law School class of 2019. He graduated from BC High ('11), and BC ('15) with a BA is psychology. Alex is currently pursuing a dual-degree in Law and Social Work. Alex has spent many years working with underprivileged youth in communities throughout Boston, first at the South Boston Boys & Girls Club and most recently at Franciscan Children's Hospital.

This summer, Alex will intern at the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office in its Child Protection Unit. This coming academic year, he will intern at Community Public Counsel Service's Youth Advocacy Division.

Recently, Alex presented a talk to the BC community titled Unlock the Vote: Restoring Felons' Rights, which addresses the issue of felon disenfranchisement and how Massachusetts as a state can address the issue. He looks forward to a career working with those who are marginalized or silenced by our legal and political systems.

EMILY MITCHELL is a rising 3L at Boston College Law School. She graduated from Eckerd College in St. Petersburg, FL with a degree in environmental studies and a minor in coastal management.

She spent the summer after her 2L year at the Conservation Law Foundation's (CLF) Boston Chapter as a legal intern working on ocean planning. CLF uses a comprehensive approach to today's environmental problems combining law, science, and the market to find creative solutions.

During the spring semester of her 2L year she participated in a semester in practice in London. During this time she worked at ClientEarth, an environmental organization working across Europe and beyond to find solutions for environmental challenges. ClientEarth uses law and science to tackle issues from climate change to air pollution and deforestation across Europe and beyond. At ClientEarth she worked on projects related to energy, clean air, and strategic climate change litigation.

She worked as a law clerk at the Environmental Enforcement Section (EES) of the Environmental and Natural Resources Division of the Department of Justice. The statutes the EES is responsible for bringing civil actions under have been enacted to protect public health and the environment from adverse effects of pollution. Such statutes include the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, Safe Drinking Water Act, Oil Pollution Act, RCRA, and the Superfund law (CERCLA). A large portion of the work the EES has done involves bringing actions against responsible parties to either clean up hazardous waste sites,

or to reimburse the U.S. for the cost of the clean up. In doing this, the EES is ensuring that the cost of cleanup falls on to the polluter, and not onto the public.

She is interested in environmental law broadly and also interested in energy law as it relates to climate change solutions. Additionally, she is interested in how climate change intersects with human rights. She hopes to work doing government or public interest environmental law upon graduation.

Outside of school she enjoys sailing, skiing, and traveling as much as possible.

KELLY MORGAN is an incoming fourth year JD/MSW student with an interest in immigration, criminal justice and human rights. She grew up in Western Massachusetts and graduated from Wesleyan University in 2011 with a BA in Music and French Studies. She then spent a year teaching English and working in an immigrants' rights organization in Marseille, France and coordinating a music and theater workshop in Rabat, Morocco focused on engaging youth of diverse nationalities in combating xenophobia. After moving to Boston in 2012, Kelly worked for several years at BEST Hospitality Training, where she managed a program providing English classes to workers at the Boston Convention and Exhibition Center.

In 2014, Kelly began her dual degree program at the BC School of Social Work, where she specializes in macro social work with a global practice concentration. As part of her social work studies, she completed two year-long field placements, first with the Massachusetts Bail Fund and then with the Muslim Justice League.

Kelly spent the first summer of her legal studies interning at the Political Asylum and Immigrant Representation Project, and is spending her final summer interning with the Immigration Impact Unit at the Committee for Public Counsel Services. This summer she will also be the teaching assistant for a social work course that will travel to Brussels and Paris to study migration in a European context.

This coming year, Kelly is looking forward to participating in the BC Immigration Clinic for a second semester. After graduating, she plans to work at the intersection of immigration and criminal law. Her goals are to support immigrant organizing and provide direct representation to individuals facing deportation as a result of overly punitive immigration policies.

LAUREN SPOSA is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2018. She grew up in Nashville, Tennessee and received her B.A. in Philosophy and Theology from Boston College in 2011. Prior to attending law school, she spent two years with the Jesuit Volunteer Corps Northwest—first in Anchorage, Alaska with the American Red Cross and then with the Northwest Justice Project in Omak, Washington. In Omak, Lauren served as a Tribal Court Spokesperson and Community Liaison. During her time with the Northwest Justice Project, Lauren was admitted to the bar of the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation and represented low-income tribal members in civil matters before the Colville Tribal Court. She also organized community outreach programs on issues such as landlord-tenant disputes and public benefits, as well as attended legal outreach programs to farmworker communities in Central Washington. It was this work that sparked Lauren's interest in pursuing a career in law and eventually led to her return to Boston College.

Lauren is dedicated to public service and is particularly passionate about public defense. While at BC Law, she has interned for the Innocence Program of the Committee for Public Counsel Services and the United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit. Additionally, Lauren participated in the Law School's

Prison Disciplinary Clinic in the Fall of 2016, where she represented clients at disciplinary hearings in Massachusetts state prisons. Lauren will spend the summer of 2017 as an intern with the New Hampshire Public Defender's Office in Nashua, New Hampshire, where she will represent indigent clients in both juvenile delinquency and adult misdemeanor cases.

During her final year at law school, Lauren will participate in the BC Defender Program of the Criminal Justice Clinic. She will also serve as an Articles Editor for the Boston College Law Review. After graduating, Lauren plans to pursue a career in public service in order to continue serving and working with marginalized and underserved communities.

Civic Internship Grants
2018–19

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College undergraduates for what would be otherwise uncompensated work on behalf of government, non-profit, or other civic organizations during the summer. The 2018 Civic Internship Grants have been awarded to:

ANGELA ARZU, is a rising senior in the Morrissey College of Arts majoring in Sociology with a minor in African and African Diaspora Studies. At BC, Angela serves as a Big Sister in the BC Bigs program, a Resident Assistant in the sophomore housing community, a member of the executive board for the Black Christian Fellowship, and a mentor in the Ella Baker Mentorship Program, which aims to foster connectedness and accountability within the AHANA community at BC.

This summer, Angela will be working as an intern at the Dutchess County Public Defender's Office in Poughkeepsie, NY. The office provides quality legal representation to clients who have criminal charges filed against them and who have been determined to be indigent. They are also available to assist indigent individuals who have been contacted regarding a criminal police matter, before they have been formally charged. The office advocates for the protection of the constitutional rights of their clients and works toward achieving results that have the greatest likelihood to help and/or rehabilitate their clients. As an intern, Angela will be placed in the in-take unit where she will be trained to conduct one-on-one interviews with prospective clients. The interviews will contain components of the crime, a detailed statement and a financial component to determine eligibility. Angela will also attend case conferences with the county court judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys and a probation officer. Additionally, she will assist the legal secretaries in pulling court calendars and adding case notes from the attorney into the electronic files of the defendants.

Through Angela's course work, her semester long internship at a civil rights law firm in Boston and her independent study on recidivism rates of young men of color, Angela sees that the criminal justice system favors those with resources; whether that is wealth, connections and networks, or the social capital of certain races. She is overcome with passion for prisoners' rights and the eradication of police brutality and mass incarceration as they sustain systems of oppression that keep people of color barred from accessing their civil rights. Angela aims to dedicate her legal career to serving those who enter this system without proper resources, without guidance, and render themselves most vulnerable.

PATRICK FAHEY is a rising Junior studying economics. During High School in Madison, CT, he earned his Eagle Scout award and worked extensively on projects relating to mental health awareness among students. At BC, he is a member of the MCAS Honors Program and the Screaming Eagles Marching Band. He also is a Big Brother to a 3rd grade student from Brighton, and he is a Vice-president of the Class Council of 2021. Next fall, he will begin working in the BC Career Center as a Peer Career Coach. He looks forward to being a Clough Center Junior Fellow.

This summer, Patrick will be working in the office of Congressman Joe Courtney. Congressman Courtney represents Connecticut's second district, which comprises most of Eastern CT. The congressman is a tireless advocate for many of our nation's most marginalized communities. He works to fund veterans programs, aid for victims of the opioid epidemic, and manufacturing workers who are being adversely affected by globalization. He is a role model for all politicians who strive to be bipartisan and responsive to their constituents.

Patrick will perform various duties for the congressman. He will work with other interns to communicate with constituents via phone and mail, draft letters, and aid staff members with casework and organization. Patrick hopes to learn about the legislative branch and the issues that affect Eastern CT. He also hopes to learn from the role models in the office who choose to dedicate their lives to public service. In the future, Patrick hopes to use his study of economics and his passion for public service to work on problems that interest him. One problem that urgently needs addressing is the lack of mental health awareness in America, especially among young people. He hopes to further study health economics so that he can prevent rising healthcare costs and discriminatory insurance policies from keeping people from accessing mental health treatment. He also looks forward to working on substantial research projects relating to fields like development and monetary economics.

DAVIS GOODE is a rising senior from Hingham, MA studying History in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences. Davis is a History Department peer mentor and has spent time as a research assistant and research fellow for BC's History Department. He spent much of junior year working on a research project for Youth Enrichment Services. This project involved chronicling the history of YES for the group's fiftieth anniversary. His experience with YES encouraged him to explore opportunities at non-profit groups during the summer. His mother, who spends most of her time volunteering at local schools and charities, also inspired him to pursue non-profit work, particularly with groups concerning children.

This summer, Davis will work for the Children's League of Massachusetts. The Children's League is a statewide non-profit which advocates for policies and services that are in the best interest of Massachusetts' children. At CLM, Davis will research best practices in child welfare policy in other states and prepare for the state's child welfare legislative agenda. He will advocate directly for CLM policies at the Massachusetts State House, which is a short walk from the CLM office. This internship will provide invaluable insight into the field of non-profit work at the state level. In the past, Davis has worked in the public sector at Governor Charlie Baker's Office of Constituent Services and in the private sector at the Massachusetts Business Roundtable, a Boston-based business group.

Davis' academic interests center on two areas: constitutional history and military history. In particular, he enjoys studying the history of the First Amendment and the history of counterinsurgency. He will write an honors thesis this year on successful counterinsurgencies in southeast Asia. He will pursue his interest in constitutional history by working as an undergraduate research fellow for Professor Alan Rogers. Davis hopes to find a career which involves a combination of his interests in government, the law, public policy, and foreign policy. Outside of work and studying, Davis spends his time watching the Red Sox and Patriots, playing with his dog, hiking, fishing, and relaxing on the water.

GRACE HARRINGTON is a rising senior at Boston College majoring in psychology and minoring in medical humanities and inclusive education. She is an active member of the GlobeMed chapter at BC.

GlobeMed creates sustainable partnerships between colleges and international non-profit organizations. Through these equitable partnerships, college students are able to aid in supporting effective change by listening to the community health workers on the ground witnessing these issues. Grace has worked on the communications committee in GlobeMed creating a newsletter about the chapters local and international activities. This year she is serving as GROW coordinator for the chapter. GROW is the internship that takes place every summer with the partner organization. She is responsible for selecting the team of interns as well as coordinating the internship and completing any projects discussed by the previous intern team.

BC is partnered with CORD Siruvani in Coimbatore, Tamil Nadu, India. CORD stands for the Chinmaya Organization for Rural Development, a grassroots non-profit that works to create holistic public health initiatives that attack the root causes of health problems in rural communities. To address immediate health concerns, CORD Siruvani provides weekly clinics that offer essential medical care. To address environmental health determinants, CORD has constructed outhouses in the villages to combat the persistent problem of open defecation. CORD addresses the social determinants of health with Mahila Mandals (women empowerment groups) and counseling services. Through their interdisciplinary work, CORD combats public health issues at the source, reaching far beyond medical care into the community's social structure.

During her time at BC, Grace has become increasingly aware of her interest in public health and passion for social justice. The field of public health has given her a direction in which to apply her science based education. Grace has learned about effective and sustainable public health practices through partnerships and interdisciplinary work and is excited to apply them in practical settings. This internship will allow her to see an effective grassroots partnership in action and study programs that are currently working. She hopes to be able to develop the skills of analyzing and improving current initiatives as well as collaborating to devise new ones that work to break down barriers to healthcare.

MEREDITH HAWKINS has been fascinated by different ways of life. The immense diversity between every individual has often led her to further question how small-scale, intercultural human interactions play out in the grander scheme of the entirety of interactions within the international community. Meredith yearns for a deeper understanding of the interplay between the religions, languages, traditions, and social institutions of different cultures, and the influence of government and economic policies on the execution of issues such as accessibility to basic human rights, equal opportunity for women, and the propagation of poverty and other injustices. Appreciation of these issues is imperative to our understanding of the world, and she knows that, in order to fully gain a better understanding of the global community, she needs an enhanced knowledge of the people and cultures of which it is composed. This level of knowledge can only be granted through full immersion, exposure, and side-by-side collaboration with individuals directly experiencing some of society's greatest injustices.

This summer Meredith will be working as the legal intern for Catholic Charities Maine: Immigration and Refugee Legal Services where she will serve as an advocate and system of support for New Mainers. Meredith has lived in Maine her entire life and has a strong affinity for this state as her home. Meredith feels fortunate to be able to have the opportunity to welcome and facilitate the integration process for recent immigrants, refugees, and aslyees as they navigate the system and work through the citizenship process. Meredith believes this internship will be a tremendous opportunity for a chance to learn more about the difficulties of the current system and the practice of immigration law, gain cultural exposure, and engage in genuine human interaction through the lens of radical empathy. Through all of this, she hopes to learn more about her position in relation to many of the important political and social issues of today and how she can best utilize her education and experience in working to combat injustice in the pursuit of individual freedom and access to equal opportunity.

JANET LEE is rising senior with a double major in both Political Science and Applied Psychology & Human Development, and is a part of the pre-law track at Boston College. Although born in Seoul, South Korea, she was raised her whole life in Portland, Oregon. Outside of the classroom, Janet is involved in a number of different extracurricular and professional organizations. She is a co-captain of the Boston College Mock Trial Association and serves as a family leader for the Boston College Korean Students Association. Janet also spent the past year working as a Program Assistant for the Corcoran Center for Real Estate and Urban Action, an organization which aims to promote positive community transformation through a multidisciplinary approach.

This summer, Janet will be interning with the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination (MCAD), whose mission is to eliminate and prevent discrimination throughout the state in domains such as employment, housing, public places, access to education, lending, and credit. The MCAD investigates Complaints of Discrimination, filed due to discriminatory treatment based on membership in a protected class, such as race, age, sexual orientation, and more. She will be working as an intake intern for the Commission, meeting directly with clients and working alongside investigators, lawyers, and staff members to draft discrimination complaints and reports. Janet will be exposed to areas of the law related to employment, public accommodation, and housing discrimination, and will be responsible for other administrative and investigative duties, such as case review. Janet is especially interested in the fields of discrimination law and policy.

After graduation, Janet intends to work for a year or two as a paralegal for a law firm or government agency, particularly in a field pertaining to immigration, discrimination, business, or family law. Janet then plans to attend law school in order to work as a lawyer or civil servant in her fields of interest. Working at the MCAD is an educational and professional opportunity which serves directly in furtherance of those ambitions, and would not have been possible without the aid of the Clough Center. Janet looks forward to serving as a Clough Center Junior Fellow for the upcoming year and thanks the Clough Center for its generosity.

SARAH MCCOWAN is a rising senior from Scituate, MA, studying to become a Nurse. Sarah transferred out of the School of Arts and Sciences as a biology pre-veterinary major into the School of Nursing because of a heightened appreciation of equitable, holistic health on both local and global scales. Sarah has been involved in a number of community service, social justice clubs and volunteer opportunities in her time at BC. As a participant in Appalachia Volunteers of Boston College and the PULSE program's Values and Social Services in Health Care service-learning course, Sarah has come to further understand the importance of recognizing, understanding and fighting against the social injustices many people face in daily life. As a Teaching Assistant in the Values in Social Services and Health Care course, Sarah hopes to help others discover a love for social justice and public health.

Sarah is currently involved with Boston College's Chapter of GlobeMed for which she will be an intern in Coimbatore of Tamil Nadu, India this summer. CORD is a grassroots organization focused on understanding and addressing the public health concerns of the people in the villages in which she will be living and working with. CORD is successful in its efforts because it takes advantage of a partnership model that supports its long-term, sustainable success. This sustainability is made possible by building a relationship between colleges in the U.S. and the villages they work with.

GlobeMed has worked on a variety of public health efforts through raising awareness on campus, fundraising and more. Past internship teams have worked to promote the role of education in the promotion of health within these villages. This year, their efforts will include smoking, rabies, Rubella vaccinations and fetal transmission of disease. More specifically, their efforts in India this summer will be in understanding alcohol abuse and domestic violence and how that plays a role in communities.

Sarah plans to carry her experience as a CORD intern with her in her professional career. She hopes to foster similar communication and relationships to those of the GlobeMed partnership, as trust and reliability are the foundation of sustainable, remarkable change on local and global levels.

TIMOTHY MORRISSEY is a rising junior from Ashland, MA majoring in English with a minor in Managing for Social Impact. Tim is an active member of Outdoor Adventures, a Presidential Scholar, and a Winston Center Student Ambassador. For the past year and a half, Tim has volunteered with Project Bread: The Walk for Hunger, working at its food resource hotline. In his free time, Tim reads, writes, and loves to explore both the backcountry and the city. As an English major, Tim has focused his efforts on classes about the Environmental Humanities, the study of place, geography and ecology within literature and media, as well as Urban writing and contemporary Irish and Irish American literature. He is especially interested in urban studies, community building, the environment, the private sector, and how each overlaps the others in complex ways. Tim sees his English major as the means of developing a goal oriented, practical, and holistic outlook on his future career. Combining English with an interdisciplinary minor in the Business School puts meaning, story and purpose behinds otherwise solely financial and managerial decisions.

This summer Tim will be working on multiple projects. In May and early June, he will be in Dublin doing research on Environmental Humanities and Urbanism in post Celtic Tiger Ireland and attempting to create a podcast from this experience. From June to August Tim will be attending a program through SIT in Panama City. While taking classes in Spanish and other topics, Tim will have an internship with Techo, a housing and community building NGO that works in settlements to establish permanence, and/or the Municipal Government of the City of Panama within their new Board of Resiliency.

Tim is aiming at a career in socially minded Real Estate Development, combing the practices of community building, urban studies, and sustainability with the construction of physical space to bring change to a part of the private sector that historically has been in opposition to the public. In the future, Tim would like to run his own Development firm and work closely with local governments of towns and cities both big and small to produce effective, affordable, and mixed use communities.

NINA NADIRASHVILI is an International Studies major and a Women and Gender Studies minor in the Morrissey College of Arts and Science class of 2019. She was born and raised in Tbilisi, Georgia, and now lives in Hawthorne, NJ. In the spring semester of 2018, she has been studying abroad at University College Utrecht in the Netherlands, which has given her the chance to explore Europe.

Since entering Boston College in 2015, Nina has known that International Studies was the right major for her. At Boston College, Nina helped found the Alexander Hamilton Society, an on-campus organization which serves to bring professionals working in political fields in Washington to debate with Boston College professors, in hopes that it will facilitate a varied discussion on campus. Last summer Nina worked as an intern in Tbilisi for an NGO focused on giving legal aid to religious and ethnic minorities in the region. During that same time, she worked on an independent research concerning gender relations in the Georgian capital. This convinced her of her interest in eventually being part of non-governmental organizations and specifically the research they do as part of their mission.

This upcoming summer of 2018, she will be working at the Georgian Embassy to the Kingdom of Netherlands, based in The Hague. The Embassy of Georgia has been functioning in the Netherlands since 2007 and its main aim has been to strengthen the bilateral relations between the two countries. The Georgian diplomatic team in the Hague has been working hard to popularize Georgia abroad and to

aid Georgian citizens living in or visiting the Netherlands. At the embassy not only will Nina be working for the betterment of Georgia's foreign relations but will also be directly involved in research and event-planning that centers on the ideas of nations interacting. By interning at the embassy she will be able to experience how democracy works on an international scale first hand.

Upon graduation, Nina aims to find work that interacts with the governmental and non-profit sectors both. Her dream is to start by working in outside of the United States, doing research concerning gender issues. After obtaining her Bachelor's degree, she will be taking a couple years to work before applying to Law School, where she will most likely be focusing on international law.

MADELEINE NATION is a rising senior majoring in Political Science with minors in Managing for Social Impact and the Public Good and Philosophy. Next year, she will be a member of PULSE Council, a team of 18 students dedicated to assisting with the implementation of Boston College's learning-service program, as well as completing a thesis on political advocacy efforts on behalf of the homeless. In her last year on campus, she hopes to continue to engage with service-related organizations and take classes that focus on complex social problems and potential solution finding efforts.

Maddie is originally from Milwaukee and will be interning at Community Advocates' Public Policy Institute with the support of the Clough Junior Fellow Grant for the second year in a row. Community Advocates, Inc. is a community-based nonprofit that helps individuals meet their basic needs, specifically in the areas of housing, utilities, and healthcare. Through their Public Policy Institute, Community Advocates is committed to creating long-term change for struggling families in Wisconsin and beyond through policy and prevention programs. Last summer, Maddie was fortunate enough to assist in writing many grants that received funding and will be implemented this summer. Maddie is excited to pick up where I left off and continue to develop my skills and relationships with researchers and coordinators at the Institute.

Maddie's internship will be primarily focused on the development side of the Public Policy Institute, but she will also be helping with research surrounding poverty in Milwaukee and preventative measures. This summer she hopes to transition to more policy-focused work as a way of synthesizing her passion for community service and change-making through government. Maddie looks forward to continuing her career in civic service this summer and beyond. After college, Maddie hopes to obtain her Masters in Public Administration from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and conduct research at their Institute for Research on Poverty.

KATHRYN PEAQUIN is a rising Junior from Seattle, WA. She is a member of the Presidential Scholars Program at Boston College where she is a double major in mathematics and economics within the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences Honors Program.

Since freshman year at Boston College, Kate has served as a senior executive board member for the Boston College Computer Science Society. Kate is also the Social Good Director for the Computer Science Society. In that role she works to improve the philanthropic outreach of the Computer Science Society both on campus and throughout the greater Boston Community. In addition to her work with the Computer Science Society, Kate is a Health Coach for Boston College's Office of Health Promotion. As a Health Coach, Kate teaches her fellow students about alcohol education through interactive events and by teaching Choices classes. This Spring, Kate was selected to serve as a student member of a Dean's Committee that worked to improve alcohol safety and education across Campus. This committee reviewed the policies and procedures already in place and then suggested improvements based on this analysis.

This Summer, Kate will be working as a Research Assistant at the Paris School of Economics in Paris, France. At the Paris School of Economics Kate will be doing developmental economics research into voting corruption within Mexico. This research is done by compiling rainfall data by municipality and the corresponding insurance payouts. This is then cross referenced with voting records to try and detect corruption. The goal of this research is to improve the democratic conditions within Mexico.

In the future, Kate's goal is to get her PhD in economics and then go on to work as a professor and researcher. Kate's research interests are developmental economics and the ways in which public policy and reform can be used to improve both developing economics as well as the lives of the people who live within them. This summer helped Kate's towards her goal by introducing her to developmental economics research as well as many of the methods and methodologies that are used within this discipline.

DOROTHY PENG is a rising senior pursuing a B.S. in Biology and a minor in Medical Humanities. She is from Los Angeles, CA and some of her interests include reading, singing in the University Chorale at Boston College, and advocating for global health equity.

This summer Dorothy will be serving as an intern at CORD | Siruvani in Tamil Nadu, India which is sub-chapter of the larger CORDUSA, or Chinmaya Organization for Rehabilitation & Development by Undertaking Sustainable Activities. Some of her main goals are to assess initiatives that CORD is funding to see if they are effective and to work alongside CORD to figure out additional needs of the community. More recently, CORD has also become involved in rehabilitation and help programs addressing social problems like domestic violence. Another ongoing problem within the villages is alcohol abuse and this summer Dorothy will help work on improving and increasing the outreach of an alcohol abuse rehabilitation program that can be easily accessible by the residents of the local villages.

Other work that Dorothy will perform as a CORD intern is creating comprehensive infographics for the communities to use as an educational resource. Because the majority of the population in Thennamanallur are illiterate, it is difficult to convey critical information about topics such as disease prevention, the importance of hygiene practices, and when they should go to the clinic to people without personally speaking to each person face-to-face. Therefore, having infographics with informative images that would help community members understand basic practices that would help prevent diseases and inform them of what symptoms signify that they should visit the clinic would be extremely beneficial to the general health of Thennamanallur.

One of Dorothy's main career goals is to go into the medical field on an international level. She is currently planning on furthering her studies by obtaining an M.D. after graduating from Boston College. Due to the nature of her future goals, this summer internship will be instrumental in giving Dorothy the skills she needs to succeed in the medical field overseas.

CHARLES POWER is a rising sophomore in the Carroll School of Management, concentrating in Economics. He is a member of the Gabelli Presidential Scholars Program and Carroll School of Management Honors Program. On campus, he is involved with *The Heights*, Boston College's independent student newspaper, where he works as the assistant news editor. He is also on the board of the Student Organization Funding Committee, a group of students that oversees the budgeting process of over 200 on-campus student organizations.

This summer, Charlie will be interning with U.S. Senator Richard J. Durbin in his Chicago, IL office. Throughout the internship, he will be rotated through several areas of the Senator's office. In the press

office, he will be assisting staffers in crafting media releases and writing memos to facilitate the communication of the Senator's policy objectives and legislative work to Illinoisans. Additionally, another part of the internship will be devoted to community relations, which includes assisting constituents with federal services and hearing the concerns of organizations who seek to bring policy concerns to the Senator's attention. Another dimension of his work will consist of constituent outreach and general office support duties.

He hopes interning in a federal government office tasked with managing local needs will give greater insight into how citizens interact and perceive policies formulated in Washington. He also hopes to learn more about the implementation side of legislation, observing first hand what currently works and what needs to be rethought and reformed.

In his next three years at BC, he is interested in learning more about the intersection of Economics and public policy through his coursework, as well as getting more involved with the clubs he is currently involved with. After college, he isn't sure what type of career he would like to pursue, but possible interests include going into consulting or applying to law school.

BECKETT PULIS is a member of the class of 2019 majoring in Political Science and Economics in Boston College's Morrissey College of Arts & Sciences. He is originally from Denver, CO where he attended the Denver School of Science and Technology. At Boston College, he serves as the Secretary of Finance for Model United Nations, where oversees the second largest budget of any student organization on campus. He also has worked extensively with two nonprofits, Generation Citizen and EagleMUNC. He is a tour guide and panelist for prospective BC families and loves to answer questions about BC's extracurriculars, academics, and culture. Previously, he has worked with UNICEF through an NGO based in Lesvos, Greece called "Better Days for Moria" which aims to provide support services to displaced persons and refugees. There, he provides consulting on the NGO's financial statements, budgeting, and fundraising strategy. Beck is also an avid lover of boxing and skiing; he is a member of a boxing club in Boston and skis as much as he can when he is home in Colorado.

Beck will work with AMIGOS, a development firm based in Houston, this summer on projects in Panama focused on sustainability and water purification. AMIGOS is an NGO focused on sustainable international development in various projects all throughout Latin America. Each location works with partner agencies and the designated communities to determine strategies for sustained development. He will coordinate with the Panamanian

Ministries of Education, Social Development, and Environment for funding and logistical support. He must also translate and relay information to the headquarters in Houston as well as cooperating US agencies like the Peace Corps.

Beck is very passionate about the economics and strategies of various NGOs as well as implementing social welfare strategies to corporate models. Upon graduation, Beck hopes to work in a field that synthesizes his interest in business, legal studies, microfinance, and economic development. Eventually, Beck wants to continue his studies by attending law school.

ELIZABETH ROEHM is a rising junior in the Lynch School of Education. She is double-majoring in Mathematics and Secondary Education with concentrations in Special Education and Teaching English Language Learners. At Boston College, Elizabeth is an executive board member of the Liturgical Arts Group. Additionally, she is a research assistant for Dr. Karen Arnold, a researcher in first-generation and

minority student post-secondary education access and persistence. It was her work with Dr. Arnold that piqued Elizabeth's interest in the field of higher education research. Through her classes in the Lynch School of Education, her passion for social justice was strengthened.

During the summer of 2018, Elizabeth will work at GlobalMindED, an educational non-profit organization working to reduce the achievement gap for first-generation and minority youth. Historically, these communities have persistent disparity in the levels of academic performance in comparison with other subgroups within the nation. She will work closely with the equity and innovation network at GlobalMindED to close the equity gap through education, entrepreneurship, and employment for first-generation, low income, at-risk, and minority students. As a research assistant, Elizabeth will identify the various programs and institutions that support and work with first-generation and minority students pursuing post-secondary education. In addition to working closely with the staff to prepare for GlobalMindED's national conference and First-Generation Student Leadership Program, she will analyze the data from surveys of the conference attendees and report the company's findings. Lastly, Elizabeth will research existing literature that will inform the creation and continuing education of GlobalMindED's efforts.

Elizabeth is also a recipient of an Advanced Study Grant through Boston College. She will be further researching the array of organizations and institutions which advocate and help first-generation and minority students to pursue post-secondary education.

After graduation, Elizabeth will pursue a Masters in Education to begin teaching in public schools across the country. She intends on establishing a teaching career and then pursuing further education in Higher Education or Curriculum Development. She ultimately wants to become involved with policy advocacy. Elizabeth desires to transform the current climate of public education within the country to provide a more equitable education for all students.

HARIHARAN SHANMUGAM is a rising sophomore from Hopkinton, MA in the Carroll School of Management, concentrating in Management and Leadership while also pursuing a double major in Biology on the pre-medical track. He is a member of the Gabelli Presidential Scholars Program. At BC, Harry serves as Vice President of BCMUN, Boston College's travelling Model UN team, and is on the executive board of the Carroll School of Management's Honors Program.

He is a panelist for the Student Admissions program, is involved in GlobeMed, and Consult Your Community. Harry is also an undergraduate research fellow under Professor Summer Hawkins in the School of Social Work, conducting research into the translational effects of prescription drug policy on drug abuse by adolescents.

This summer, Harry will be working in Tamil Nadu, India, with CORD, the Chinmaya Organization for Rehabilitation and Development. CORD is a grassroots non-profit organization located in Siruvani, one of the poorest parts of Tamil Nadu. Their mission is one of creating systemic change at the community level; through projects in women's empowerment, waste management, open defecation, sanitation, and alcoholism, as well as maintaining a robust health clinic that provides screening and treatment services. As an intern, Harry will be responsible for evaluating each of CORD's programs and determining how best to optimize them in the context of CORD's larger portfolio of services. He will also be spending time in the field and using his day-to-day experiences as well as analysis of data to design new public health programs for CORD to pilot. Most importantly, though, he hopes to use this experience to gain valuable insight into the struggles faced by vulnerable populations around the world and learn more about existing mechanisms to promote public health and well-being.

After graduation, Harry hopes to go to medical school and pursue a career that combines clinical work with global health and public policy. Since coming to BC, he has been challenged to think broadly in terms of ways he can work to further the common good. He is profoundly grateful for the Clough Center's support and is excited to learn more about public health and development this summer.

WILLS SINGLEY, class of 2019, is a rising senior majoring in History with a minor in International Studies at the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences. Wills is from Berwyn, PA, a suburb of Philadelphia, and graduated from Episcopal Academy before spending a year at Northfield Mount Hermon in Gill, Massachusetts as a postgraduate student. While pursuing his history courses, he has spent much of it researching early 20th century Ireland and is pursuing an Irish Studies minor as well. He is a private pilot and flies during the summer out of Norwood Memorial Airport.

At Boston College, Wills is a member of the Navy Reserve Officers Training Corps and will commission as an Ensign following graduation in May of 2019. He expects to serve in the surface warfare community. During his training, he has had the opportunity to serve on the USS Bonhomme Richard (LHD-6), off the coast of Australia. The NROTC program has sent him to Yale, Notre Dame, and the Naval Academy to study leadership philosophy. He plays intramural hockey as an attempt to continue his hockey career. Each summer, Wills rides in the Best Buddies Challenge, a 100 mile bike ride from Boston to Hyannis, to support employment opportunities for those with intellectual and developmental disabilities. Although he enjoys his time in Boston, he is excited to get to the Fleet.

For Summer 2018, Wills will work in the Massachusetts State House for Governor Baker's Office. As part of Constituent Services, he will secure a first-hand look at how state government operates. He will be a first point of contact between constituents and the Governor's Office, managing casework and collaborating with state agencies to help the people of Massachusetts benefit from their government. It is his first experience in a government office.

Following his career in the navy, Wills is uncertain of what he will pursue, but is interested in law school and continuing in public service.

LUKE TANNENBAUM is a rising junior at Boston College. When Luke decided to come to Boston College, he had no idea what he wanted to study or what he aspired to be after he graduated. However, in the middle of his freshmen year, he took an interest in the international studies major at Boston College and later, the leadership and management minor offered in the business school. Through these areas of study Luke has been able to combine his passion for international relations and political science with his interests in business administration. Now, with the help of the Clough Center, he is able to pursue an internship with Human Connections in Bucerias, Mexico where he will be helping local entrepreneurs expand their business models and attract a greater customer base. During his internship, Luke will be focusing on three main projects, one with direct connection to a local partner that will center around developing new products and business plans and two for the organization itself. For Human Connections, Luke will be working on marketing optimization as well as program development with reflections and educational programs on social issues in Mexico, such as gender equality and unemployment. Luke has participated in trips such as Arrupe International and the Appalachia Service Project over the past four years and consider immersion and volunteering a core part of his perspective of important issues throughout the world. As he looks to the future, Luke remains uncertain of what specific profession he wants to pursue, whether it be international service, consulting, government or business administration. However, Luke now have a greater understanding of the professional sectors that intrigue him the most compared to when he first walked on BC's campus and he hopes to carry with him the important lessons and values that he has learned along the way into his professional career. Luke knows that his experience

in Bucerias, Mexico will without a doubt contribute to his growing professional aspirations, and thus he is beyond excited to see where the internship takes him.

HUNTER TRACY is a rising sophomore from New Orleans, LA. He is enrolled in the Morrisey College of Arts and Sciences as a political science major on a pre-law track. His interests in politics vary greatly, with his primary interests being foreign policy and healthcare. Additionally, Hunter is interested in the constantly-changing culture of American politics and the effects that today's media platforms have on the public's perception of government.

At BC, Hunter is involved in the Sports Business Society, WZBC Radio, the Ignatian Society, and volunteers with Coaching Corps. He also went on a "ServeUp" trip to Houston during spring break to help repair homes damaged by Hurricane Harvey. He enjoyed the ability to not only repair damaged houses, but also to hear the stories of the residents who lived through the flooding. In addition, Hunter worked for a political campaign last semester. He has prior experience in politics through working in political offices in Louisiana.

This summer Hunter will intern for House Majority Whip Steve Scalise in Washington D.C. He will work in Whip Scalise's personal office and his whip office, allowing him to gain knowledge of the workings of both congressional offices and leadership offices. While in Washington, Hunter will assist staffers with drafting documents that summarize and explain certain legislation, and he will be able to work closely with staffers who focus on specific topics. Hunter's responsibilities will include assisting political and operations staff members with their daily tasks, answering constituent phone calls, and giving tours of the Capitol to constituents. He will also attend several hearings within the House of Representatives, and he will have the opportunity to watch floor proceedings in both the House and the Senate.

Following the completion of his undergraduate studies, Hunter hopes to work in public policy or with a think tank prior to attending law school.

STEPHANIE WALSH is a rising junior from Norwalk, CT. She is an honors student in the Morrissey College of Arts and Sciences with a major in Political Science and a minor in English. On campus, Stephanie is a member of the mock trial team and serves as the Outreach Director for BC's chapter of Generation Citizen. She will be spending this summer off campus, though, working in Washington, D.C. for the Administrative Office of the United States Federal Courts. The Administrative Office of the United States Federal Courts (the AO) is an administrative agency that provides financial, legal, legislative, managerial, technological, and programmatic support to the Judicial Conference and to all levels of the federal judiciary (including the Supreme Court!). Over the course of her internship with the AO, Stephanie will take on a number of responsibilities that range from research to customer service to data management. She will, for example, maintain case files; prepare and analyze reports; draft correspondences and memoranda; proofread, revise, and edit documents; support web contents; and assist with liaison matters for Judiciary committees and subcommittees. She will also help build up the AO's database by summarizing and inputting court cases as digital files. Additionally, outside of office tasks, Stephanie's internship will provide her with numerous opportunities to network and to learn about a career in law. Throughout the summer, Stephanie will attend training programs, a U.S. Supreme Court and U.S. Capitol tour and luncheon, and a roundtable luncheon with a senior attorney. Excited to explore Washington, D.C. and to learn more about the federal judicial process, Stephanie looks forward to gaining government-related skills and experience. She hopes to attend law school soon after graduation and one day go on to be an attorney.

FEIER ZHAO is a rising senior double major in International Studies and Applied Psychology & Human Development at Lynch School of Education. She was born and raised in Beijing, China and moved to the U.S 3 years ago for college. At BC, Feier has been actively involved in the International Assistant program, a year-long mentorship program for international freshmen and exchange students. She loves to meet people from various backgrounds and learn about different cultures and languages. In her Junior year, Feier was a participant in the Arrupe program and travelled to the Dominican Republic and Haiti where she learned about the complex realities of people in both countries who struggle in poverty from a historical, social, economic, political and religious perspective.

This summer, Feier will intern with the development team at Seeds of Peace, a peacebuilding and leadership development non-profit organization headquartered in New York City. Every summer, Seeds of Peace brings teenagers from Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, Qatar, Tunisia, Afghanistan, Yemen, India, Pakistan and U.S to its camp in Maine to engage in difficult dialogues and develop conflict resolutions and leadership skills. Seeds of Peace also provides local programming to support Seeds of Peace graduates, known as Seeds, once they return home. Feier's main responsibilities include assisting with grant solicitation, writing language for large and small scale fundraising campaigns, researching perspective donors, and receiving a broad overview of corporate giving and social responsibility. This internship opportunity is closely in line with Feier's interest in international development, education empowerment and peace issues in the MENA region. In addition, Feier is currently learning Arabic and will be travelling to Israel/Palestine next January with professor Spangler as part of the Social Justice in Israel/Palestine class.

Feier looks forward to working in the international development field in the future with a focus on peacebuilding, poverty alleviation and human development. She hopes to work abroad for a few years to improve language skills and gain some field experience before she returns to school to pursue a Master's degree in development studies.

Clough Graduate Fellows
2018–19

The Clough Center welcomes Boston College graduate students conducting research on any aspect of constitutional democracy to participate in its Graduate Fellows Program. The Center appoints Fellows from among graduate students in the social sciences (Economics, Political Science, Sociology) and the humanities (English, History, Philosophy, Theology), as well as the other professional schools.

The program fosters an interdisciplinary dialogue among graduate students studying the issues of constitutional democracy, broadly understood, in the United States and the world. In addition to its other objectives, the program offers a forum for Fellows from an array of disciplines to present research and receive critical feedback from other graduate students.

The 2018–2019 Graduate Fellows are:

SELENE CAMPION, *Political Science, PhD.*
Selene Campion is a PhD student in the Political Science department at Boston College. She holds an MA in Political Science from Boston College and a B.A. in International and Global Studies and French and Francophone Studies from Brandeis University. Before coming to Boston College, Selene was a research assistant at the Western Jihadism Project.

At Boston College, Selene specializes in the comparative politics of Western Europe. Her primary area of interest is religion and politics, specifically the integration of religious minorities. Currently, her research focuses on Islam in the West and issues of immigration and integration. She is also interested in the intersection of Islam and secularism in Western Europe, and religious pluralism and social cohesion.

Selene's dissertation addresses the politics of social provisions for Europe's ethnic minorities, specifically, European Muslims. Western Europe is known for its unique social model, and the region's welfare states are some of the most extensive in the world. Despite its comprehensive welfare system, however, social provisions are not necessarily equitably distributed among vulnerable populations. The region confronts demographic and social transformations that continue to alter established political-economic orders. It is critical to understand how democratic welfare states respond to these pressures. There have been myriad attempts to remedy this unequal access to social provisions, including efforts by the state and its bureaucratic components, political parties, and Muslim communities. Her research seeks to understand the political and social ramifications of these differences.

Selene's work examines variation in how these social provisions are provided and the political implications that arise from these differences. Her research looks to the political consequences of different strategies for providing these resources, as well as the actors that affect these political-economic outcomes. She seeks to understand the importance of social and economic structures, political practices, and institutions in determining policy variation in countries throughout Western Europe.

JACLYN CARROLL, *Sociology, Ph.D.*

Jaclyn Carroll is a PhD Student in the department of Sociology at Boston College. She holds a B.A. in Sociology from The College of William & Mary and a M.A. in Advocacy Communication from James Madison University. Jaclyn's work is concentrated in critical criminology and critical philanthropy studies, and confronts deviance and discourse in the context of neoliberalism. In particular, she focuses on the way that suggestive rhetoric and media interface power structures, constrain public discourse, and produce community definitions of progress, health, and humanitarianism.

Her current work focuses on the unconventional advocacy strategies taken up by low-income communities in Virginia in their resistance against industrial development. Jaclyn focuses on tactics that have deviated from National Environmental Policy Act guidelines and that have bypassed the rulebooks of large environmental nonprofits. Her project revisits the critiques of policy experts who regard environmental decision-making to be convoluted and inaccessible, and it highlights episodes where at-risk communities were not so easily or obviously disenfranchised by "red tape." She argues that by focusing on a community's right to public hearing spaces rather than simply their right to be publicly heard, we can better understand the successes of at-risk communities and their abilities to leverage regulatory uncertainty.

PATRICK COATARPETER, *Sociology, Ph.D.*

Patrick CoatarPeter is a PhD student in the Sociology Department at Boston College. He holds a B.A. in Environmental Studies from the University of Montana and an M.A. in Sociology from Loyola University Chicago. His current research interests span the intersections of environmental politics, international development, and participatory governance.

Patrick's previous research has spanned a wide range of methods and locations. He assisted on interview based environmental justice research on the Blackfoot reservation in Montana while an undergraduate and performed a short-term ethnography in homeless shelters around Chicago while pursuing his Master's degree. His current research builds on his previous methodological experiences and utilizes multiple approaches including content analysis, interviews, and ethnography. His dissertation combines these methods to focus on questions centered on environmental policy and politics in the emerging semi-periphery of the world-system.

Recent research lauds the democratization of environmental governance during the early stages of the twenty-first century, noting a marked shift from traditional political-economic emphases of command and control regulation directed by the state and market-based neoliberal reforms piloted by the private sector. However, the efficacy of governance using a multi-actor, multi-level, and multi-sector model remains in question. Patrick's dissertation will empirically investigate the ways in which power and agency shape natural resource decisions at various scales by investigating the formulation of Chile's national forestry and climate change strategy. The development and implementation of this strategy interact with and are shaped by Chile's rich history, strong institutions, and robust civil society as well as global forces of environmental politics and capitalist market demands. Additionally, the materiality of forests and other ecosystems must also be considered. Ultimately, the ways in which actors at different scales and from different sectors navigate the intricacies of national and international environmental governance can be instructive for scholars, policy-makers, and activists struggling to create more responsive and participatory conservation and development regimes.

PIERRE DE LEO, *Economics, Ph.D. Candidate*

Pierre De Leo is a doctoral candidate in Economics at Boston College. He received his bachelor's degree in Economics from the University of Milan in Italy. His research interests are in the areas of Macroeconomics, Monetary Policy, and International Finance.

Part of Pierre's dissertation, co-authored with Vito Cormun, explores the role of global economic factors on the conduct of monetary policy by central banks around the world. The effect of monetary policy in small open economies (SOEs) is thought to operate through the exchange rate channel. Economic theory predicts that a monetary policy easing leads to a depreciation of a country's nominal exchange rate, in turn stimulating global demand for the country's products. In contrast, recent empirical evidence on the exchange rate channel uncovered puzzling results: the nominal exchange rate tends to appreciate in response to a monetary easing, especially in developing economies. De Leo and Cormun argue that these estimates result from misspecification of the econometric model adopted by previous studies. In particular, estimates that fail to account for the influence of anticipated changes in the U.S. economic outlook on SOEs' monetary policy actions. They show that, if anticipated U.S. economic fluctuations are accounted for, empirical estimates of the exchange rate channel conform to the prediction of economic theory. SOEs' exchange rate and interest rate movements largely depend on U.S. economic conditions.

In other research, co-authored with Susanto Basu, Pierre studies the optimal design of monetary policy within the widely-adopted inflation-targeting framework. De Leo and Basu present a model that has sluggish prices for both consumption and investment goods and imperfectly correlated shocks to the two sectors, which reproduces key features of the data. Optimal policy in the model requires that the central bank should target investment prices, and failure to do so leads to substantial welfare losses. This result arises because of an economic difference between consumption and investment goods: the intertemporal elasticity of substitution (IES) is likely to be higher for investment than for consumption demand. Thus, small changes in the own real interest rate for investment due to expected changes in the price of investment goods have huge effects on investment demand, which is not the case for consumption. It is more important to avoid fluctuations in investment price inflation than in consumption price inflation.

HESSAM DEHGHANI, *Philosophy, Ph.D.*
Hessam Dehghani is a 6th year Ph.D. student in the Philosophy Department at Boston College, where he was rewarded the doctoral fellowship in 2012. He received his M.A. and first Ph.D. in Linguistics from Tehran and Allameh Tabatabai University, Iran.

Hessam's first dissertation was focused on Hermeneutics and Literature, particularly Islamic mystic texts in Persian, and Arabic. In 2010, Hessam did a post-doctorate at University College Dublin, where he worked on Phenomenological Hermeneutic interpretation of Islam.

During his studies at Boston College, and as a fellow at Clough he has been working more specifically on the notion of Community in Islam. His dissertation is titled, "The Topology of Community in Islam" in which he is investigating the metaphysical foundations of community in phenomenological-deconstructive reading of Aristotle. He is studying the ways such a reading can lead to an alternative version of community among Muslims. The one that we can trace not least in the works of 14th century Iranian Mystic Hafez.

STEPHANIE EDWARDS, *Theological Ethics, Ph.D. Candidate*
Stephanie Edwards is a Ph.D. candidate in Theological Ethics at Boston College. Her research interests include interdisciplinary trauma studies, feminist and womanist theology, race and whiteness, and liberation theologies. Her dissertation, "Pharmaceutical memory modification and Christianity's 'dangerous' memory", focuses on Christian bioethics. She is also a practicing social worker and community advocate in Biddeford, Maine.

During undergraduate studies at Santa Clara University, Stephanie studied abroad in El Salvador, which

influenced her decision to serve as a Jesuit Volunteer after graduation. She spent a year in post-Hurricane Katrina New Orleans, working as a labor organizer, immersion trip coordinator, and homeless shelter assistant. Inspired and challenged by these experiences she pursued graduate studies in social work and theology at Boston University.

After earning her masters, Stephanie served as a grant coordinator for the Massachusetts Office for Victim Assistance as well as worked in non-profit management and grant consulting. Returning to Boston College for doctoral studies, she has written extensively on victimization via aid programs in post-disaster contexts. Her work in the former Yugoslavia focuses on the construction of competing post-conflict trauma narratives in Bosnia, and the failure of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia to effectively counter them (Routledge, forthcoming; Bosnian translation TPO Fondacija, 2017).

Her dissertation explores pharmaceutical memory modification, which is the use of a drug to dampen the effect of, or eliminate completely, the memory of a traumatic experience. These treatments range from relatively "mild" (those that reduce the body's sympathetic response during recall of the event), to "extreme" (those that eliminate the memory of the event itself from a survivor's brain). Her thesis is that while standard therapeutic treatments can potentially offer individual, biomedical healing, they are missing an essential perspective offered by Christian bioethics; namely the need for re/incorporation of individuals and their traumatic memories into communities that confront and reinterpret traumatic events and related suffering. This project is grounded in Christian ethics. It engages womanist/feminist authors regarding incarnational, embodied personhood and Johann Baptist Metz's "dangerous memory" to develop an "enfleshed counter memory" that responds to the challenge of pharmaceutical memory modification.

ROBERT ELLIOT, *Theology, Ph.D.*
Robert Elliot is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Theology, concentrating in systematic theology and minoring in theological ethics. His research takes place at the intersection of political theology and political philosophy, focusing especially on the legitimation of both ecclesial and national authority as well as the nature and function of theological and philosophical thought in political life.

Before entering the Ph.D. program in 2017, Robert completed his B.A. at the Templeton Honors College at Eastern University, where he majored in philosophy and minored in theology. Robert then received a two-year Joint-Master's Degree in Philosophy and Theology at Boston College and a one-year Master of Theology at Boston College's School of Theology and Ministry, in which he furthered his research twentieth-century systematic theology and theological ethics.

Robert's main interests revolve around the relationship between theology and political theory, but he is presently focusing on how tragedy functions or becomes covered over in the politics of late liberalism. He is especially concerned with reading modern political theorists to uncover the ways in which they may attempt to prevent or remove the tragic dimensions of human existence so as to arrive at some supposedly ideal form of political life. Robert's concern here is that the Christian narrative presents an at least quasi-tragic political narrative, which may be at odds with certain aspects of modern political theory. Working out this relationship in more detail is Robert's goal in the present academic year.

LAURA GÁTI, *Economics, Ph.D.*
Laura Gáti is a Ph.D. student of Economics at Boston College. She holds a B.A. in Economics from the University of Bern, Switzerland, an M.A. in Art History from the University of Bern, an M.A. in Economics from the University of Bern and an M.A. in Economics from Boston College. Prior to Boston

College, she worked as an art curator in various institutions in Bern, and as an economist at the Swiss National Bank in Zürich, Switzerland.

Laura's research interests encompass two very disparate economic fields. The first one concerns modeling short-run economic fluctuations as stemming from deviations from the standard assumptions of full information and rational expectations. This means investigating the dynamics of the standard workhorse macroeconomic model when one drops the full information assumption, or the rational expectations assumption respectively and asking what features of human economic behavior such models can capture. In this regard, Laura's interest aligns with the economic literatures on imperfect information and dispersed information (global games) on the one hand, and with the small but growing literature on behavioral macroeconomic models on the other.

Laura's second main interest is to gain a fuller understanding of the main drivers of long-run economic growth. Growth is a well-studied field within the economics profession and there is a large consensus on technological progress as one of the most fundamental engines of economic growth. Laura's research attempts to delve deeper into this commonly held view and explore specific roots of technological progress.

Currently, Laura is working on one project from each of these fields. The first project aims to quantify the role of the information and technology sector for US economic growth in the 1990s up to today. According to preliminary results, investment into the IT sector helped boost US productivity considerably in the time period from the mid-1990s up to approximately 2005. In the second project, Laura is working on a model in which central bank communication to the public can be excessive. This project aims to capture the idea that too much communication may overwhelm economic actors so that information is lost instead of transmitted. This has major consequences for central bank policy because it implies that central bank communication needs to be conducted differently, trading off informing the public against overwhelming them with information.

MAHEEN HAIDER, *Sociology, Ph.D. Candidate*
Maheen Haider is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the department of Sociology, where she studies the processes of immigration, acculturation, and issues of race and ethnicity. Her dissertation focuses on the integration strategies of high skilled, non-white, and Muslim immigrants especially Pakistani migrants in the US. She examines the contemporary changes in the immigrant experience that has increasingly become more diverse and complex around the issues of race, religion, and skill levels.

The intersectional non-white, high skilled, Muslim migrant identity presents a unique window in studying contemporary immigration in post 9/11 and post Trump America, across the lines of racially and religiously diverse, high skill immigrants today. Her dissertation research looks at the experiences of both short-term migrants as Pakistani international students studying in the American university and long-term migrant as Pakistani permanent residents to examine their acculturation and assimilation in the US. The study of these populations (high skilled Muslim migrants of color) is situated intellectually at the confluence of three bodies of sociological theory: Immigration, Racialization theory, and Life course studies. The complexity of the high skilled, non-white, and Muslim Pakistani migrant identity at the cross-section of the American mainstream are essential factors in unraveling the processes of integration.

Before coming to Boston College, she received a Masters in Social Development from the University of Sussex, and has a Bachelors degree in Software Engineering from Pakistan. She has experience of working within the corporate and non-profit sector in Pakistan and the UK.

KRISZTINA HORVATH, *Economics, Ph.D. Candidate*

Krisztina Horvath is a fifth year Ph.D. candidate in the Economics Department at Boston College. She is originally from Hungary, and holds an MA in Economics from the Central European University and a BA in Finance from the Corvinus University of Budapest. In between her studies, she worked as an analyst at a large commercial bank and as a researcher at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Krisztina's primary research interest lies in the intersection of Health Economics, Behavioral Industrial Organization and Public Finance. Her current work focuses on different aspects of the Affordable Care Act.

Motivated by the current intense health care debate in the US and recent advances in Behavioral Economics, Krisztina's dissertation research examines the importance of higher enrollment rates in stabilizing the private individual health insurance market. She studies how simple nudging policies could increase enrollment rates among the healthier population by reducing the cognitive effort costs associated with enrollment. The main results of her paper show that these simple behavioral policies have the potential to increase enrollment rates and maintain the stability of the private individual health insurance market in the long run. These findings provide important new insights for health care policy design, especially given the recent repeal of the most important stabilizing tool of the ACA, the individual mandate.

In other co-authored research, Krisztina also works on a project sponsored by the American Cancer Society that aims to study the impacts of the health care reform on prevention and early detection of women's cancers using insurance claims data.

S. KYLE JOHNSON, *Systematic Theology, Ph.D.*

S. Kyle Johnson, is currently pursuing his PhD in Systematic Theology at Boston College with a minor focus in Historical Theology. Kyle earned his B.A in Bible and Humanities at Houghton College. He also has a Master of Divinity from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary and a Master of Theology from the Boston College School of Theology and Ministry.

Kyle works at the intersection of spirituality, mysticism, and political theology. His research investigates the way that spiritual practices and mysticism are both embedded within but can also transform political and social life. Other recent research projects have dealt with topics such as the place of spirituality in anti-racist activism, theological resources for combating mass incarceration, spirituality and social theories of affectivity, and monasticism. Kyle also has research interests in embodiment, ecumenism, peace studies, and the 'lived theology' of religion in the United States.

Beyond the academy, Kyle is committed to religious leadership and political praxis. He has experience in Christian ministry in mainline Protestant and evangelical Christian contexts, and regularly uses his writing and research skills in anti-racist activism. He has also traveled widely, with particular experience in areas marked by religious and ethnic conflict. He has traveled and studied in Central Asia, Southeastern Europe, the Middle East, and elsewhere.

His intended dissertation topic will investigate the place of language and practices involving the devil, demonology, and exorcism in a contemporary theology and spirituality. The project will consider the two-pronged nature of demonology: First, the relationship between language about the demonic and the demonization of 'others.' And, secondly, the positive role such language and practices have in describing and galvanizing activity against evil and injustice—such as the function of "the devil" in African American religious culture as a category that describes the mysterious, but radically evil, existential realities of systemic racism. The project will engage contemporary thinkers who have revived the category of the demonic in creative ways.

Kyle is particularly passionate about teaching in interdisciplinary contexts that emphasize the relationship between the humanities, especially religion and theology, and practical political and social issues. He hopes to do theological work that is deeply engaged with the public sphere and serves the promotion of peace and justice.

EMILY KULENKAMP, *Political Science, Ph.D.*
Emily Kulenkamp attended the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where she received a Bachelor's degree in Global Studies with a focus on politics, nation-states, and social movements. At the University of North Carolina, she studied European Union politics in the wake of the financial crisis of the late 2000s. She also completed minors in History and German and participated in a summer program at the Freie Universität Berlin. After working outside of academia for several years, she began a PhD program at Boston College in the Fall semester of 2016 in Political Science. Her primary focus is on International Relations while her secondary focus is on Comparative Politics.

Her research interests center around security studies with a particular focus on alliance politics and structures. Alliances are one of the key instruments states utilize to promote their security in the international arena. Collective security agreements and bilateral alliances shape the politics between states from ancient through modern times.

The research project generously funded by the Clough Graduate Fellowship will analyze the connection between alliances and regime type, asking: Are states with similar regimes more likely to enter into formal security alliances and collective security agreements? Do liberal democracies tend to ally with one another more than with other types of regimes? Why or why not? Analyzing whether states form security alliances with other states with similar regime types will provide insight into the role of regime type in international relations, including the role of democracy.

Her other research interests include the politics of hegemonic power transitions and 19th and 20th century European politics.

MICHAEL MCLEAN, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*
Michael McLean is a fifth year Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History. His dissertation looks at the relationship between democracy and empire in Dakota Territory in the 1870s and 1880s. Dakota Territory established a thriving democracy that welcomed immigrants, former slaves, migrant workers, and women, but its politicians were convinced that the Territory's success depended on the complete subjugation and displacement of the region's native peoples. Only by conquering new lands, the politicians argued, could American democracy survive and expand. The dissertation begins during the American Civil War, when the Territory was created, and ends with the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. Dakota Territory captured the promise, chaos, contradictions, and uneven consequences of republican ideology in the nineteenth century.

Michael received his master's degree in History from Boston College in 2016. One of his great joys has been to serve as a teaching assistant in American history courses. He also writes history and politics for a popular audience; his work has appeared in *Jacobin Magazine*, *We're History*, *History News Network*, and the *Hartford Courant*. He has maintained a close relationship with the Lakota Sioux reservations in North and South Dakota during his studies, and can speak and translate the Lakota language.

Prior to Boston College, Michael received his B.A. in History with honors and summa cum laude from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut in 2014. He won the best thesis prize from both the History and American Studies departments for his project, "We Thought We Had Some Trouble Last Year: Destruc-

tion, Survival, and Community during the Civil War on 'Indian Territory.'" Michael values a wide range of perspectives and took courses in a variety of different fields, from philosophy to Greek mythology to human rights, and he eventually earned minors in both Classical Antiquity and African Studies. He studied abroad and taught English in Cape Town, South Africa while earning his undergraduate degree, and proudly spoke as the student speaker at his commencement ceremony. Michael has a passion for American literature and poetry; one of his favorite books is Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*.

COLIN MCCONARTY, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*

Colin McConarty is a Ph.D. candidate in the History Department at Boston College, where he studies race and politics in the United States. His research focuses on the period 1865 to 1900, in particular, the reestablishment of formalized white supremacy in the South during this period and its ramifications for the character of the United States. He analyzes the construction of policy at the national level and the effects of policy on the lived experiences of people at the local level.

His dissertation, titled "'The Final Solution to the Negro Problem': Militarization, Imperialism, and the End of Reconstruction in America", investigates when, how and why Reconstruction failed in the United States, arguing that the actions of southern Democrats in the federal Congress were essential to that development. Throughout the nineteenth century, southern Democrats had one objective: the preservation of white supremacy. In the decades after the Civil War and immediate post-war Reconstruction, southern Democrats sought this through "Home Rule," or a South where they could reign free from federal intervention. In the mid-1880s, southern Democrats in Congress shifted the spotlight of national politics from Reconstruction to national security. They played up fears of foreign invasion to unite North and South around expansion of the U.S. Navy. The southern Democrats who drove naval expansion became symbols of reconciliation and, when Republicans sought to shore up voting rights, used this reputation to destroy the bill and end Reconstruction. Congress did not make another major effort to pass voting rights legislation for more than sixty years. Meanwhile, the Republicans who had failed with voting rights sought to restore their own party's reputation by continuing naval expansion and eventually leading the U.S. into its experiment with extra-continental imperialism.

The dissertation seeks to demonstrate the connection between the end of Reconstruction and the start of U.S. imperialism. This historical development offers a case study of how U.S. political leaders have played up national security concerns to shift the focus of national politics away from domestic affairs and towards national defense and especially the expansion of the U.S. military.

Colin graduated *magna cum laude* from Boston College with a B.A. and distinction as "scholar of the college" in 2013. Before returning to pursue his doctorate, he taught world history at R. B. Hudson Middle School in Selma, Alabama.

ALEX MOSKOWITZ, *English, Ph.D. Candidate*

Alex Moskowitz is a doctoral candidate in the English Department at Boston College. He holds an MA in English from Boston College and a BA in Literature from SUNY Purchase. Alex specializes in early American literature, Marxism, and critical theory. His research focuses on opening up the study of American literature to radical democratic politics through an encounter with economics, labor, production, and history. Alex's dissertation seeks to demonstrate how early American writers were interested in the possibility of a type of democracy beyond what can be contained within the politico-economic discourse of progress, rationalism, and the supposedly inherent democratic nature of capitalist economics. Alex is currently at work on a project on the relation between sensory perception, hermeneutics, and economics in Thoreau's *Cape Cod*.

Alex's article, "The Production of the Subject: Foucault, Marx, and the Ontologies of the Market" is forthcoming in *Polygraph: An International Journal of Culture and Politics*. His reviews have appeared or will appear in *SubStance*, *Studies in Romanticism*, and *Modern Language Studies*.

At Boston College he has taught an undergraduate literature course called "Capitalism and Resistance" and will this year teach a section of Literature Core called "The Political Labor of Literature," and an upper-level elective called "Discontinuous Histories in American Literature."

DAVID SESSIONS, *Modern European History, Ph.D. Candidate*

David Sessions is a Ph.D. candidate in modern European history at Boston College. He received his M.A. in Humanities and Social Thought from New York University, and a B.A. in journalism from Patrick Henry College. He previously worked as a journalist and editor for publications including *Slate*, *Newsweek*, and *The Daily Beast*, and currently writes review essays and criticism for *The New Republic*, *Jacobin*, and others.

At Boston College, David has served as a teaching assistant for European and global history courses and courses on European intellectual history. In 2015-2016, he served as a co-director of the Intellectual History Reading Group at Harvard University and was a Clough Center Graduate Fellow. David also served as an officer of the Graduate Arts and Sciences Association (GASA), a mentor in Office of Student Life's Graduate Mentor Program, and member of the organizing committee of BCGEU-UAW, the graduate student union at B.C.

David wrote his M.A. thesis on the philosophy of Jacques Derrida, and his interests have spanned European intellectual history, the history of religion, the history of science and technology, and the history of capitalism, labor, and Marxism.

David spent the previous academic year as a visiting student at the École Normale Supérieure in Paris, where he conducted archival research for his dissertation, "Man, Machines, and Modernity: The Sciences of Industrial Society in Postwar France." Drawing on over 20 archives, in France, the Netherlands, and the United States, David's dissertation shows how the concept of "industrial society" became an organizing rubric for a set of social-scientific and political debates in France after World War II, reshaping the topography of French intellectual life and bringing it into close dialogue with global conversations about social systems, economic development, class conflict, and civilizational "progress." The dissertation shows how French social scientists contributed a unique perspective on the debates of the Cold War period and the period leading up to 1968.

David has presented his research at the Congress for the Humanities and Social Sciences in Canada, the Western Society for French History, the Biennial Conference on the History of Religion at Boston College, and the American University in Paris. His work as been supported by the Boston College History Department and the Lilly Foundation.

CEDRICK-MICHAEL SIMMONS, *Sociology, Ph.D.*

Cedrick-Michael Simmons is a Ph.D. student in the Sociology Department at Boston College. He holds a B.A. in Sociology from Ithaca College and an M.A. in Sociology from Boston College. Currently, his research interests include race theory, class, educational inequality, and higher education policy.

Cedrick's dissertation will focus on the mechanisms that shape how administrators document, manage, and address discriminatory practices and assault against students in higher education. His dissertation

seeks to examine the opportunities and constraints for these administrators as they attempt to marshal university resources to address these problems. His first paper demonstrates how race scholars can use role conflict as a theoretical tool to specify how organizational officials can simultaneously "see race" and racism, but disassociate themselves from public attempts to highlight and address racist practices. He shows how student affairs administrators were constantly reminded by their employers that their status, as at-will employees of the university as opposed to students, requires them to dissuade students from engaging in practices that jeopardize the revenue and reputation of the university. In his second paper, he explores the ways that administrators position themselves as "educators outside the classroom" to students. By teaching students the "appropriate" ways to engage in race relations with their "allies," the administrators were able to use their willingness to "see race" and racism to build a rapport with students. Once that rapport was established, however, the administrators taught students that the only way they can really be "anti-racist" is to use dialogue, never challenge authority, and take on the "personal responsibility" of documenting and addressing racism themselves. His third paper will examine how the political structure of universities shape the ways in which administrators address racism.

ISAIAH STERRETT, *History, Ph.D. Candidate*
Isaiah Sterrett is a Ph.D. candidate in the History Department, where he concentrates on the cultural, intellectual, and political history of Britain and the United States. He is especially interested in ideology, nation and nationalism, and the modern state. His research focuses on official policy vis-à-vis children, parents and parenting, and the home during the last third of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth. Isaiah's work suggests that, on both sides of the Atlantic, state-building often entailed the extension of official authority into the traditionally private realm of childrearing. During this period, the most liberal governments in the world approved and implemented new modes of intervention aimed at promoting the putative welfare of children—and, through children, society at large.

In his culminating doctoral project, Isaiah intends to concentrate on the British state's ideological efforts vis-à-vis children and childrearing during the First World War. He is interested in official measures to inspire patriotism and sacrifice in children, as well as in broader measures to promote sound morals among British youngsters. What were those measures? Did their implementation depend on infrastructural capacity already developed by 1914, or did the war call for novel instruments of authority? How, if at all, did conceptions of children change during the war, and how did such conceptions relate to ideas about government and its proper scope? Isaiah will draw on primary sources and an interdisciplinary secondary literature to address these questions. In so doing, he hopes to shed light on the critical intersection between children, parenting, and the development of the modern liberal state at the end of the long nineteenth century.

Isaiah holds a B.A., *cum laude,* and an M.A. in Political Science, both from Boston College.

SARA SUZUKI, *Applied Developmental and Educational Psychology, Ph.D. Candidate*
Sara Suzuki is a Ph.D. candidate in Applied Developmental and Educational Psychology at the Lynch School of Education. She holds a B.A. in Psychology from Washington University in St. Louis.

Sara studies the civic development of young people from a Positive Youth Development perspective, meaning that she focuses on the strengths that youth possess and how to best support youth in utilizing and growing their strengths. She is interested in what young people think about their roles as citizens or members of a community (their civic identity), who influences their beliefs and behaviors (schools, peers, parents, media, etc.), and how we can best promote youths' civic participation. More specifically, she is interested in youth experiencing social and/or economic marginalization and how their back-

ground affects their civic development.

The focus of her recent research and the topic of her dissertation is *critical consciousness*, a construct that was first popularized by Paulo Freire. Critical consciousness consists of awareness about structural barriers to opportunities, and actions to combat these barriers. It is about discerning the root cause of problems in society and becoming empowered to do something about these problems. With critical consciousness, those who are marginalized by society are less likely to fault individuals for the consequences of inequality. Instead, they can adopt a more structural view of issues that takes into account the impact of institutions and policies. Her research focuses on how youth develop this critical consciousness, and how they can transform the awareness of systemic inequity into powerful civic actions.

AMELIA MARIE WIRTS, *Philosophy, Ph.D.*

Amelia Marie Wirts returned to Boston College's Philosophy Department in 2018 to complete her dissertation. In addition to her previous four years in the philosophy department, she recently graduated from Boston College Law School as a part of a dual degree program in philosophy and law. Last year she worked as a law clerk to Judge Harris Hartz of the United States Court of Appeals for the Tenth Circuit in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Her decision to pursue the law in addition to philosophy arose from her interest in understanding justice and oppression from the perspective of actually existing social conditions, inspired by non-ideal theory.

Ms. Wirts's work in law has centered on civil rights, with internships at the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights and Economic Justice and the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, and her clerkship enabled her to understand the workings of federal anti-discrimination statutes from the perspective of the federal courts. These experiences in the legal field have given her to insight into the imperfect workings of our legal system.

Ms. Wirts's legal experience, paired with her philosophical training in political and moral theory, led her to the key questions of her dissertation. When our collective attempts at remedying past and ongoing oppression are insufficient, how do we collectively go about improving them? Given the fact that there are social and political structures that create inequality along racial, gender, class, and other identity divides, what obligations arise for those who benefit from structural inequality? What are their obligations morally, i.e. what do they owe to other people, particularly those who are being harmed by the structures? What are their obligations politically, i.e. how are they to engage with these structures, in concert with others, to transform them into more just structures?

Ms. Wirts' dissertation draws on her philosophical training in political justification and theories of democracy, conditioned by non-ideal theory and working experience of existing law, to critique our current methods and framework for addressing oppression. She will consider the realities of imperfect interpersonal and public justification where the opinions, beliefs, and experiences of some are valued over those of others, and the moral and political duties that this fact creates for those who hold more justificatory power.

JONATHAN YUDELMAN, *Political Science and Government, Ph.D. Candidate*

Jonathan Yudelman is a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science and Government at Boston College. His research focuses on early and contemporary liberal thought, early modern theories of progress, and the relationship between political theory and the changing international order. He is interested in the related fields of democratic peace theory, political development studies, and a wide range of 20th and 21st century critiques of liberalism.

His dissertation will be an attempt to understand the challenges and setbacks facing the liberal world order in light of the original theories and hopes giving rise to liberal progressivism in the 17th and 18th centuries. Specifically, he will examine how the thoughts of Immanuel Kant, Thomas Hobbes, and Gambatista Vico continues to shape political life in the Western world and beyond, both by originating the progressive hope for a more prosperous, equal and free world, and by foreshadowing ways in which that hope faces obstacles.

Jonathan's broader academic and intellectual interests include ancient Greek and German philosophy, Jewish and Biblical thought, early modern science and philosophy, and American political thought.

Jonathan holds a B.A. in Jewish Thought and an M.A. in Philosophy, both from the Hebrew University. He has published a number of articles on issues of culture and politics for journals including the *LA Review of Books, Azure*, and *First Things*. In addition to the Clough Center Fellowship, he currently holds a fellowship with the Institute for Humane Studies (IHS) and a Presidential Fellowship at Boston College.

Academic Law Fellows
2018–19

With this fellowship appointment, the Clough Center recognizes Boston College Law Students of exceptional academic ability and accomplishment who are enrolled in any of the Law School's degree programs. The 2018–19 Academic Law Fellows are:

ARIEL BORGENDALE is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2020. She grew up in Montpelier, VT, and graduated magna cum laude with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and History from the University of Connecticut in 2012.

After graduating from UConn, Ariel moved to Portland, Oregon, where she spent three years working in asset management, doing trading and operations support for an institutional investment firm. She also spent a year working in development and fundraising for Planned Parenthood Columbia Willamette, where she coordinated a capital campaign and supported and spoke at community member-hosted fundraising events. While working, Ariel volunteered for four years leading after school programs with Girls Inc. For this work, she was named their 2015–16 Volunteer of the Year and invited as the special appeal speaker at their 2016 annual fundraiser. Ariel also volunteered as a financial coach, helping low-income individuals set and formulate game plans to reach their financial goals.

In her first year at BC Law, Ariel spent her spring break on a pro bono service trip to the Navajo Nation, where she worked on solving legal questions regarding land use and fair housing in the tribal setting.

Ariel will spend summer 2018 in the SEC Student Honors Program in Washington DC, interning for Commissioner Kara Stein, honing her legal research and writing skills while expanding her knowledge of how federal securities regulation and enforcement works. She plans to spend her next two years in law school continuing to advance her understanding of business and financial regulations, consumer protection, and white collar crime, while becoming more active in the Boston community through pro bono service work. Ariel plans to pursue a career in consumer financial protection and financial regulations with the goal of promoting a more fair and inclusive economy.

SUSANA FERRÍN PÉREZ was born in Vigo, Spain, and will be in the LLM program at Boston College. Susana earned a bachelors of arts degree in International Relations and Translation and Interpreting from Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid, Spain) in 2017. Success in the degrees depended heavily on one´s ability to develop and defend arguments in written and oral communications. Thus, Susana was a finalist in the English Debate Tournament Jose Pignatelli on international affairs for two consecutive years. In addition to English (bilingual proficiency) and French (full professional proficiency), she also speaks Spanish and Galician as a native speaker, Italian with limited working proficiency and Russian with elementary proficiency.

Her thesis for the B.A. in International Relations was "The Socialization Process within the EEAS: Supranational Values Shall Prevail Over Intergovernmental Values," which explored the internal dynamics of this brand new diplomatic service created after the Treaty of Lisbon. "Interpreting Refugees: the right to access interpretating services," was her thesis for her B.A. in Translation and Interpreting, which

examined interpreting in a refugee context from a legal, cultural, linguistic, and professional perspective. Some of her other areas of research were the Spanish constitutional process, and the 1812 and 1978 Constitutions, women's rights in Nigeria, social welfare and competition policies of the European Union, and the Israeli constitutional process. Hence, these projects led her to be named to the Dean's List for Foundations of Law, European Institutions and Policies, Spanish History, and Foreign Policy, among others.

Susana's academic experiences have featured significant periods overseas. Her sophomore year was spent at Bentley University, where she was named to the Bentley University President's List for both fall and spring semesters. She pursued summer programs at the Université Catholique de Lille (France), and at the University of California in Los Angeles. While pursuing these studies, she acquired professional experience both nationally and internationally. She held internship positions at the Spanish Embassy in Washington ,D.C., in the Education Office, at the strategic international consulting company Kreab Gavin Anderson in Madrid, and at Herbert Smith Freehills, working in its Legal Knowledge Department in Madrid.

After graduating, Susana moved to London to pursue her legal studies with the Graduate Diploma in Law, an intense, condensed program, which she will be completing at the University of Westminster this June. Upon completion of her legal education, she expects to practice international and human rights law.

LILIANA MAMANI CONDORI from Cusco, Peru, is part of the LLM class of 2019. Lili grew up in the mountains of Peru and studied law at the Universidad Andina del Cusco. She worked in a number of projects related to human rights law and access to the legal system, particularly with indigenous populations around Cusco. As someone who grew up connected to the land and to the struggle of the indigenous population, she worked for the Peruvian government as the founding director of the municipal legal defense office for women and children in Ocongate, Peru. It was an office that allowed her to utilize her legal training and her fluency in Quechua to serve the needs of that community.

When she moved to the U.S. four years ago, she began to study theology at BC. Having attended a Jesuit high school, she had spent a lot of time working in ministry with the Jesuits of Peru and wanted to better connect her work as a lawyer to her faith. Her Master in Theological Studies was focused on ethics and she completed BC's Certificate in Human Rights and International Justice at that time. Her Master of Theology degree focused on the pastoral care and spiritual accompaniment with regards to experiences of suffering. During this time, she also worked with BC's Center for Human Rights and International Justice as a research assistant. The focus of her work at the Center has been on the experience of indigenous women in Guatemala following the country's civil war.

Lili is returning to law school to better understand the many different systems of justice available to indigenous and minority populations at a domestic and international level. With this formation, she hopes to serve indigenous and minority populations in the future through non-governmental organizations or international entities, with the goal of creating systemic changes to benefit all persons.

CHRISTIAN MILDE is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2019 and an alumnus of Tufts University, from which he holds a B.A. in Drama with a minor in Entrepreneurial Leadership. He has a broad professional background, which includes work as a consultant, classical singer, emergency medical technician, and kayak instructor.

Christian has a particular interest in how the law interacts with human behavior. Having worked on ambulances in nearly a dozen 911 systems and having interned in a court that hears thousands of evictions

annually, he is keenly aware that humans are rarely entirely rational actors. The law frequently assumes, however, that human actions are informed solely by rational self-interest and that phenomena such as memory and bias can be intuitively understood without formal study.

Concerned by the disconnect between psychological science and the law, Christian has focused his work on understanding how legal policy can better reflect an evidence-based understanding of behavior. He is also interested in how the law can better incorporate a modern understanding of psychology to encourage prosocial behavior instead of merely punishing bad behavior.

During his second year at Boston College Law, Christian interned in the school's Innocence Clinic, where he performed research related to legislative and judicial policies regarding wrongful convictions and investigated the cases of currently incarcerated clients. His work in the Innocence Clinic inspired him to further research the law's fundamental misunderstanding of memory. The result is Christian's forthcoming note in the *Boston College Law Review*, which proposes a simpler and stricter standard for admitting eyewitness identifications obtained using a type of suggestive identification procedure known as a "showup." See J.P. Christian Milde, "Note, Bare Necessity: Simplifying the Standard for Admitting Showup Identifications," 60 B.C. L. REV. (forthcoming April 2019).

In addition to his research, Christian's activities at the Law School also include leadership in several organizations. He currently holds the position of executive notes editor on the *Boston College Law Review's* editorial board, is a past chair of the Law Student Association's Faculty Appointments and Promotions Committee, and is president emeritus of the school's Criminal Law Society.

Public Interest Law Scholars

2018–19

Consistent with the Center's mission to support students committed to service to others, the Clough Center provides grants to Boston College first- and second-year law students for uncompensated public interest work, in the United States or abroad, during the summer. The 2018–19 Public Interest Law Scholar grants have been awarded to:

ELIZABETH AGHILI is a rising 2L at Boston College Law School. She was born in Vancouver, Canada, but grew up in Tehran, Iran, and Ashburn, Virginia. Elizabeth attended college at the University of Virginia, where she double-majored in foreign affairs and public policy. She was very involved in community service and leadership at UVA, serving as the president of the Persian Cultural Society, the vice-chair for Spread the Love, and volunteer coordinator for the Middle Eastern Leadership Council. Upon graduation, she started her career by working for the Office of Refugee Resettlement. She then worked at Crowell & Moring LLP in Washington, D.C. for over two years, before starting law school. At Crowell & Moring, Elizabeth worked as a senior practice group coordinator, managing all aspects of practice management and business development for the International Trade Group, among others. At Boston College Law School, she has been involved in the Harvard Law & International Development Society, the Middle Eastern Law Students Association, and the Client Counseling Competition. Elizabeth is spending the summer of 2018 working as a human rights & international law intern at Just Atonement, a human rights nonprofit in New York City. In her free time, Elizabeth enjoys cycling, cooking, and traveling.

ALEXANDRE BOU-RHODES is a rising 3L at Boston College Law School. He graduated from BC High ('11), and BC ('15) with a B.A .in psychology. Alex is pursuing a dual degree in Law and Social Work. He spent many years working with marginalized youth and their families throughout Boston communities, at organizations like the South Boston Boys & Girls Club and Franciscan Children's Hospital. Last summer, he interned with the Child Protection Unit of the Suffolk County District Attorney's Office in Boston.

This summer, Alex will intern at the Capital Appeals Project (CAP) in New Orleans, Louisiana. CAP is a non-profit organization that is contracted with the sSate of Louisiana to provide appellate representation to indigent capital defendants. Alex will help lawyers draft motions and memoranda, and do post-trial investigative work.

ANNIE LEE is a member of the Boston College Law School Class of 2019. She grew up in Columbus, Ohio, and graduated with honors from the University of Chicago in 2016 with a B.A. in Public Policy Studies and political science.

Throughout her career, Annie has pursued interests in crime and education, most recently as a Rappaport Public Policy and Law Fellow at the Youth Advocacy Division of the Massachusetts state public defender agency, the Committee for Public Counsel Services. There, Annie helped provide research and

writing support for a white paper seeking to understand the impact of education advocacy in dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline. During the school year, she focused on the micro side of crime and education and developed her advocacy skills, participating in both the Juvenile Rights Advocacy Project and Innocence Clinic at BC.

Annie is dedicated to public service and is particularly passionate about advocacy through a civil rights, racial justice, and intersectionality lens. She is passionate about innovative preventative programs, detention alternatives, and justice reform. She hopes to use her legal skills and advocacy experiences to inform larger policy and law reform in our local, state, and national systems. She looks forward to a career working alongside communities of color. This summer, Annie will intern at the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc in New York.

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

FALL 2017

SEP 12
Scott Reznick, English
"The Sense of Liberty": Democracy, Consensus, and Liberal Sentimentality in Harriet Beecher Stowe's Political Novels

SEP 19
Juliana Butron, Political Science
Tilting at Windmills: Damages Suits Against State Sponsors of Terror

SEP 26
Michael Franczak, History
Human Rights and Basic Needs: Jimmy Carter's North-South Dialogue

OCT 3
Cedrick-Michael Simmons, Sociology
"It's Like, Let's Control Them": Racial Reaffirmation, Diversity, and Administrators' Response to "Racial" Issues

OCT 10
Zhuoyao Li, Philosophy
Confucianism and Multivariate Democracy in East Asia

OCT 17
Felix A. Jiménez Botta, History
"Solidarity with the Fighting Chilean People!": Apogee and Decline of the Chile Solidarity Movement in West Germany

OCT 24
John Lindner, Economics
Biased Beliefs and Job Search: Implications for Optimal Unemployment Insurance

OCT 31
Will Attwood-Charles, Sociology
Technology and Control: Organizing Through Digital Platforms

NOV 7
Eric Pencek, English
Raymond's Community of Thieves: Godwin, the Burke-Paine Debates, and the British Constitution

NOV 14
Heather Pangle, Political Science
Liberalism in Nineteenth-Century Europe: The Friendship and Political Thought of J.S. Mill and Alexis de Tocqueville

NOV 21
Joseph McCrave, Theology
Is Forgiveness a Political Virtue?: A Theological Perspective

NOV 28
Yoosun Chu, Social Work
Civic Engagement and Governance among Low-Income People: A Two-Level Cross-National Analysis in 37 Low- and Middle-Income Countries

DEC 5
Fumi Inoue, History
The 1970 Koza Riot in U.S.-Occupied Okinawa and the Politics of Anti-Base Protest

This workshop provides an opportunity for Clough Graduate Fellows to present research and receive critical feedback from their peers.

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

SPRING 2018

JAN 30

Kate Mroz, Theology
Creation and Salvation as Ongoing Projects: Edward Schillebeeckx's Soteriology as A Resource for Interreligious Dialogue

FEB 13

Tim Brennan, Political Science
Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Populism

FEB 20

Adam Wunische, Political Science
A Terrorist Attacker Typology

MAR 13

David Kwon, Theology
Jus Post Bellum: Human Security, Political Reconciliation, and the Reconstruction of Just Punishment

MAR 20

Maheen Haider, Sociology
Pakistani Graduate Students Navigating US Culture: Acculturation Strategies of the -0.5 Generation

APR 3

Perin Gokce, Political Science
Bringing 'Political Parties' Back In: The Role of Political Parties in Democratic Transition in India and Turkey

APR 10

Hessam Dehghani, Philosophy
From Praxis to Poesis: zs Re-Reading of Aristotle on Community

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

FALL 2018

SEP 18
Emily Kulenkamp, Political Science
Great Power Alliances and Regime Type

SEP 25
Patrick CoatarPeter, Sociology
International Environmental Governance in Chile: World Society and Governmentality Perspectives

OCT 2
Isaiah Sterrett, History
Inside the Blue Pig': Children, Moral Contamination, and the Edwardian State

OCT 16
Stephanie Edwards, Theology
Pharmaceutical Memory Modification and Christianity's 'Dangerous' Memory

OCT 23
Krisztina Horvath, Economics
Adverse Selection and Switching Costs in Health Insurance Marketplaces: Using Nudges to Fight the Death Spiral

OCT 30
Amelia Wirts, Philosophy/Law
'Himpathy' and Intersectionality: Non-Ideal Theory and Feminist Praxis

NOV 6
Alex Moskowitz, English
Imperception: Economic and Otherwise

NOV 13
David Sessions, History
The Era of Organizers: Managerial Revolution Between New York and Paris (1945-1950)

NOV 27
Maheen Haider, Sociology
Adaptation Strategies of the High Skilled Non-White, Muslim Immigrant in the American Mainstream

Clough Graduate Workshop Schedule

SPRING 2019

JAN 15
Selene Campion, Political Science
The Politics of Goods Provision: Explaining Clientelistic Variation in Western Europe

JAN 22
Maheen Haider, Sociology
Aspirational Mobility of the High Skilled Immigrant

JAN 29
Colin McConarty, History
"A Final Solution of the Negro Question": Militarization, Imperialism, and the End of Reconstruction in America

FEB 5
S. Kyle Johnson, Theology
Race and the Mystical Body of Christ

FEB 12
Alexander Somek, Outside Speaker - University of Vienna
Unpopular Sovereignty

FEB 19
Michael McLean, History
Power on the Plains: Dakota Territory during the Civil War and Reconstruction

FEB 26
Jaclyn Carrol, Sociology
"All this Regulatory Uncertainty in the Air": An Unconventional Case of Public Participation

MARCH 12
Jamie Draper, Outside Speaker - University of Reading: *Responsibility and Climate-Induced Displacement*

MARCH 19
Jonathan Yudelman, Political Science
Thomas Hobbes and the Inauguration of Modern Politics

MARCH 26
Laura Gáti, Economics
Informativeness versus Persuasion: Dynamic Central Bank Communication with Correlated Fundamentals

APRIL 2
Krisztina Horvath, Economics
Adverse Selection and Switching Costs in Health Insurance Marketplaces: Using Nudges to Fight the Death Spiral

APRIL 9
Hessam Dehghani, Philosophy
Pilgrimage of Hajj: The Case of the Islamic Community

APRIL 11
Sara Suzuki, Education
Young People's Critical Reflection (Analysis of Societal Inequities)

APRIL 16
Robert Elliot, Theology
Theology and Sovereignty

APRIL 23
Cedrick-Michael Simmons, Sociology
Racial Responsibilization: How Administrators Use Race and Exploitation to Resolve Complaints about Racism

APRIL 30
Pierre De Leo, Economics
International Spillovers and the Exchange Rate Channel of Monetary Policy

People

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PROFESSOR, BOSTON COLLEGE LAW SCHOOL

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