

## Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2004

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**David Timothy Buckley**

*Out of the Desert: Abrahamic Religions and Peacemaking in Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine*

Although the means for conflict resolution employed by modern secular diplomacy are of great service to the cause of peace, the inability of such efforts to bring lasting peace to some conflicting communities with Abrahamic traditions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, indicates that energy and ideas from religious communities may be necessary, and could certainly be useful, to both secular and religious individuals who work for peace. While the recent history of religion and politics in areas of conflict is a mix of violence and productive peacemaking, the persistent strength of religious devotions and the past successes of Abrahamic peacemakers indicate that religious communities can provide great aid to diplomats seeking yet another partner for peace. When integrated into traditional secular diplomatic strategies of economic development, international mediation, and security guarantees, religious involvement can do much to make agreements on paper become successfully implemented peace.

The first element of this account of Abrahamic interaction with diplomacy is a theology of peacemaking. Each of the Abrahamic traditions possesses a wealth of scriptural, theological, and ritual practices that are of use to peacemakers. This argument focuses on three Abrahamic themes of particular value to peacemakers: ethical concern for the Other, repentance and forgiveness, and hospitality. The development of this theology is important for two reasons. First, the same interests and ideas that inspire secular diplomats do not motivate religious actors. To reach out to an Abrahamic community requires at least some knowledge of what that community values. Second, by placing Jewish, Christian, and Muslim theologies of peace next to one another, members of those faiths might begin to see both the similarities and the differences between their traditions. This chapter is in no way an attempt to claim that each of the Abrahamic faiths says basically the same thing about peacemaking. Rather, it claims that certain peacemaking values exist in each tradition in unique ways that must be understood if one is to engage members of that faith in the diplomatic process.

The second part of this analysis shifts to the concrete interactions of religious individuals with the process of high diplomacy. By high diplomacy I mean official diplomatic processes involving states, leadership of conflicting parties, and large church hierarchies or organizations. The recent record of Abrahamic actors working with the high diplomatic process in both Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine is mixed. In some instances, courageous religious leaders have combined with open-minded secular diplomats to do substantial service to the cause of peace. However, there have also been times when religious leaders have not lived up to their duties to work for lasting peace, and when secular diplomats have ignored religious individuals who have the potential to contribute to the high diplomatic quest for peace. Both secular diplomats and Abrahamic leaders must learn from these mistakes of the past for religion and high diplomacy to have more productive interactions in the future.

The third chapter stays in the realm of politics, but moves to examination of grassroots peacebuilding. These grassroots religious organizations work to bring about peace through ministering to the needs of average members of a conflict-torn society rather than by working on

high-level governmental projects. While the successes of such grassroots ministry are often impressive and inspiring, these groups are hampered by a lack of professionalism to match their idealistic energy and by an inability to effectively interact with higher-level religious, political, and community leaders. That being said, grassroots peacemaking efforts in both Northern Ireland and Israel-Palestine have made substantial contributions to peace in the past, and can continue to do so with even more pronounced effect in the future.

After this analysis, it is my contention that calling upon the name of the God of Abraham to save contemporary societies from the wastelands created by ethnic conflict no longer seems so irrational and naïve. Indeed, when so many supposedly rational proposals have failed to bring lasting peace to these societies, the need to call on something beyond the rational understanding of diplomats is almost intuitive, at least to those not blinded by secular prejudices. By continuing to develop new and innovative strategies for acting on these values in situations of conflict and strife, Abrahamic actors can continue to contribute to the complex process of leading broken societies into lush new lands of peace and prosperity.

### **Cerissa Cafasso**

#### *Choosing Silence? Sexual Assault Policies and Adjudication on College Campuses*

I begin with an analysis of influential feminist thinkers. In exploring Catharine MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, Camille Paglia, bell hooks, and Martha Nussbaum, I deduce a cohesive feminist theory with which to assess university policies addressing sexual assault and sexual assault adjudication. The three main components of this new philosophy are: developing policy around the needs of survivors; supporting survivors without overemphasizing or forcing vengeance through adjudication; and focusing on education as a means of empowering students to change the acceptability of sexual violence in our culture.

With this in mind, I assess the University of Virginia and eleven other schools - Duke, UNC - Chapel Hill, Michigan, Texas, Berkeley, UCLA, Brown, Cornell, University of Southern California, Harvard and Virginia Tech. The evaluation is based on four areas: education and prevention; crisis response; investigation and adjudication; and adjustment and counseling.

At the end of my analysis, I recommend to UVA ways in which it can better support survivors and the community. The University could improve its educational efforts by offering first year students a resource handbook including available services and a general philosophy on the supporting survivors in sexual assault; leadership training through the Leadership 2000 series and as a mandatory part of the Contracted Independent Organizations' appropriations process; and through a pro-active effort on the part of the administration to support organizations working to raise awareness about sexual assault. To improve its crisis response, UVA could develop an advocate network to escort survivors to the hospital after an assault, but, more immediately, more attention could be given to educating students on all of the resources available to survivors. In regards to adjudication, the Dean of Students could improve the Sexual Assault Board (SAB) process by doing long-term follow-up with all parties involved in hearings; and to create a position of "educator" to inform students of the role of the SAB and the deans in the adjudicating of sexual assault. Finally, in terms of counseling and adjustment services, the University could offer group counseling for survivors and friends of survivors; and support organizations seeking to educate students on how to respond to survivors who disclose they have been assaulted.

I conclude with a response to the construction of the website, "uvavictimsofrape.com." The site seeks to classify sexual assault as an Honor offense, thus having every student expelled from the University who is found guilty of sexual assault. My assessment finds this change would require a stricter standard of evidence given the absolute severity of the punishment, moving the standard to "beyond a reasonable doubt." This change would be to the detriment of survivors as they would be less likely to report cases for two reasons. Students will be less likely to bring

forward cases if they know they will be responsible for another student being dismissed from the University, as a great deal of self-blame is associated with sexual assault. Additionally, survivors will find less closure with the stricter standard of evidence as fewer cases will produce a guilty verdict.

### **Nathan Carl Nagle Damweber**

*Regional Crisis, Global Solutions: Charity, Justice, and Law*

*The Impact of Rights Discourse, Theories of Global Justice, and Intellectual Property and Pharmaceutical Patent Restrictions on the AIDS Epidemic in Sub-Saharan Africa*

Today, over 45 million people live with the AIDS virus, 70% of which reside in developing sub-Saharan African nations. In many of these countries, including Uganda and Rwanda, AIDS rates have reached staggering percentages, adult infection rates reaching as high as 40% of entire populations, while average life expectancies have plummeted as low as 39 years. Although the overwhelming death rates, alone, suffice to bring the scourge to the fore of international discussion, the virus perpetuates political instability, economic volatility, and internal violence in the region. In an age of increasing interdependence and a globalizing international arena, HIV/AIDS, which has no respect for national borders, presents a global problem in need of a global solution.

I argue, first, that a decent basic minimum of healthcare and provisions for basic public health measures, like right to physical security and minimal economic subsistence, deserve the title of, and recognition as, basic human rights. As reasonably justified demands on an increasingly globalized society, these rights essentially stem from a notion of common humanity and common human dignity, derogation from which is impermissible. Provisions for reasonably adequate healthcare, a notion of universal interest, are necessary preconditions for the enjoyment of all other rights.

Next, I argue that theories of global justice, advocating for equality of opportunity and equitable redistribution of resources in the international realm, present potent arguments in the fight against HIV/AIDS. Charles Beitz's application of a global difference principle and Thomas Pogge's focus on negative rights and reparations for previous and ongoing harms point out the bases of perpetuation of poverty in the developing world, and provide valuable ammo for proponents of justice over charity.

I further maintain that the developed world, namely the United States, through establishment of Intellectual Property Rights and maintenance of pharmaceutical company patent laws, has facilitated and perpetuated a wealth gap between industrialized and underdeveloped nations. Stemming from theories of global justice, I argue that the developed world has an obligation, not only to assist the sub-Saharan region in the eradication of the epidemic, but also to reconfigure economic relationships with the developing world. Lack of respect for territorial boundaries from AIDS requires corresponding correlative duties, economic aid inextricably tied to the building and maintenance of just social institutions, from nations with advanced, developed societies, most of which contain a robust pharmaceutical industry.

Finally, I argue that international negotiation and consensus on human rights and global ethical norms has become increasingly organized into a network of binding international law through the formulation of treaty networks, the principle of *jus cogens*, and customary law. The developed world, not only morally obligated to assist in the elimination of the disease and building of healthcare institutions in underdeveloped world, also has a legal duty to facilitate the universalization of certain ethical norms pertaining to health and the AIDS crisis.

**Sean Kevin Driscoll***The Last Word on Reading First: Implementing Federal Policy in Local Schools*

The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) has elicited every reaction from happiness to outrage among American parents, educators, and voters. The law attempts to reform public schools by creating strict standards in subject area testing and teacher competency. In order to receive education funding from the federal government, schools must now show annual yearly progress (AYP) towards achievement goals, determined by each state. Additionally, schools must show AYP by every major subgroup of students (broken down by ethnicity, gender, disability, and socioeconomic status) or else become labeled "in need of improvement." Schools that do not improve after several years face a range of progressively harsher punishments under this law, ranging all the way up to the closing of the school.

While these provisions of the legislation have received the most media attention-and controversy-there is another major part of the law which has largely escaped the spotlight: Reading First. This program provides funding to improve reading instruction for at risk students in kindergarten through third grade. By focusing on early intervention, it hopes to catch at risk students before they fall behind in the critical area of literacy. The federal government, under NCLBA has allocated nearly one billion dollars annually for this program. Money is allotted to states based on the number of families living below the poverty line. From this point on, states distribute funds to individual schools. Unfortunately, because there is not enough money to fund all eligible schools (determined by consistently low reading scores), Reading First uses a competitive grant process to distribute funding.

Because of its smaller size and intricate regulations, Reading First is the perfect laboratory for examining the larger No Child Left Behind Act. In turn, I have chosen three elementary schools at which to study Reading First at work on the ground. Each school had a different outcome in the process: one received a grant, another applied but was denied, and the third did not apply for funding. By talking with principals, reading specialists, and teachers at these schools, in addition to school district administrators, I obtained a picture of the Reading First application process at each of these three schools. My findings offer an inside look at the implementation of federal policy in local schools.

These three schools suggest several important problems with NCLBA: first, excessive curriculum centralization at the cost of local initiative; second, an unclear role for school districts, which may overextend their authority; third, a lack of understanding for the time and personnel constraints faced by schools; and fourth, unequal apportionment of Reading First funds. These case studies also reveal a distinct ideological tilt in the legislation towards a business-like model for school performance.

By listening to the experiences of local schools and addressing these problems, national education policymakers can correct problems in this legislation, gain the support of teachers and parents, and strive towards the goal of leaving no child behind.

**Catherine Dunn***Good Citizens, Good Indians: Native American Identity in the Commonwealth of Virginia*

When they came to the land of Powhatan's chiefdom, they planted a colony and named it after their king. They called it Jamestown - a tiny wasteland of an island where British seafarers built a triangle-shaped fort and a church and a town almost four centuries ago. Today the cherished site of "America's birthplace" is a National Historic Park tended with federal dollars and an \$8 entrance fee. Congress has also authorized millions of dollars to honor the 400th anniversary of North America's first permanent English settlement. Planners herald Jamestown 2007 as an international commemoration.

The descendants of the people who were already here, however, still wait for the federal government to recognize them. Without the recognition they seek, six Virginia tribes get no grants for education, housing, or health care yet. Ancestors' remains linger in museum custody. The tribes want the United States to acknowledge their heritage: profits from powwows, craft shows, bake sales and yard sales go toward their lobbyist's tab - \$108,000 in 2002. The King William County Upper Mattaponi made about \$200 at a yard sale last summer. The delay has tribal leaders questioning whether they will participate in Jamestown 2007. Some see it as a chance to proclaim themselves to a world audience. Others view involvement without recognition as inappropriate and hypocritical. The conundrum is one Virginia Indians have encountered before: how to stand behind a government that consigns your identity to the shadows.

This paper seeks to trace the crossroads of Virginia Indian identity and state membership at moments of political and social confrontation in the past 80 years, dating to the passage of the 1924 Racial Integrity Act. I examine 1920s politics leading up to the stricter revision of the Racial Integrity Act in 1930, battles over Indians' World War II draft classification, the 1982-1983 state recognition process, and the current movement for federal recognition. The tensions surrounding these episodes have often required Indians to demonstrate their compatibility as citizens of a state that has wronged them in order to assert the identity they have been denied.

I discuss seven of Virginia's eight state-recognized tribes, with primary attention to five "citizen" Indian tribes: the Chickahominy Tribe of Charles City County, the Chickahominy Indian Tribe, Eastern Division of New Kent County, the Rappahannock Tribe, Inc. of King & Queen, Caroline, and Essex Counties, the Monacan Indian Nation of Amherst County, and the Upper Mattaponi of King William County. I will also consider the role of the state's two reservation-based tribes: the Pamunkey Tribe and the Mattaponi Tribe, both of whom reside in King William County.

## **Elizabeth Gould**

### *Does Being a State Mean Never Having to Say Sorry? The Case for Truth Commissions as Institutions of Collective Responsibility*

Truth commissions are a way for a society to respond to past human rights abuses. Unlike other institutions which bring accountability for human rights violations, truth commissions explore aspects of collective responsibility. Many states are using truth commissions, but there are differences in the models that different countries use. The purpose of this thesis is to set forth what truth commissions are and then to explain how they fit into collective responsibility.

When a state undertakes systematic abuses of human rights, a collective responsibility exists. Individual responsibility fails to accurately account for what happened, because it ignores the larger context in which the abuses occur. The model of a truth commission emerged in Latin America as a response to state-sponsored tortures and disappearances. When a state undertakes policies of torture, collective responsibility exists and to fail to address it would be to abrogate justice. A collective response is also important, because it encourages the reemergence of civil society, which state-sponsored abuse had shrunk.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa may be the most prominent truth commission, yet it is in many ways different from the traditional truth commission model. Primarily, it focused on reconciliation as well as the other goals which truth commissions attempt to achieve. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission tried to create reconciliation by involving perpetrators of human rights abuses in the truth commission process by offering them amnesty for crimes in exchange for their testimony. Unlike in Latin America where the project was to help civil society emerge, in South Africa the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had to respond to a civil society which was quite active in its support for apartheid.

Truth commissions are a recent development and before their creation most states failed to respond to past human rights abuses. In the United States, the Civil Rights Movement brought the end of segregation, but it did not respond to the legacy of such segregation policies. Comparing South Africa and the United States shows the difference between a society which chose to respond to its past and one that chose to leave it alone. This comparison serves to reaffirm the argument that states and societies must address their collective responsibility.

Truth commissions represent a way of tying responsibility to human rights to the collective, which is necessary for the cases when the abuses can be understood as part of a larger program of terror. Understanding collective responsibility is essential for states which are emerging from authoritarian rule and moving towards liberalization, because it offers an opportunity to create a definitive break from the past.

### **Katie Daly Hamm**

#### *Childcare Subsidies for Low-income Families: Considering Children's Needs*

I argue that in the wake of 1996 welfare reform, the developmental needs of low-income children became secondary to the federal government's goal of shrinking the welfare rolls. In the 1980s, the American public perceived welfare recipients as lazy and irresponsible while policy-makers claimed that government assistance undermined work ethic and perpetuated out-of-wedlock childbearing. Subsequent legislative efforts therefore focused on work requirements for poor mothers, resulting in the Family Support Act of 1988 and later, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Act (PRWORA) in 1996.

PRWORA effectively ended 60 years of government entitlements and transformed federal cash-assistance into a program focused almost exclusively on maternal employment. The law limited cash-assistance to five years, and punitive measures threatened to reduce benefits for mothers who failed to comply with work requirements. PRWORA also provided work supports for poor mothers, including childcare subsidies. I examine the legislative process that resulted in a drastic overhaul of the 60-year-old entitlement system and suggest that Republican's landslide victory in the 1994 congressional midterm elections and the upcoming presidential election compelled President Clinton to support the popular welfare reform legislation, despite his initial hesitation.

Despite the fact that two-thirds of people in families receiving welfare in 1996 were children, there is little mention of children's needs in the legislation. Clinton maintained that childcare provisions would protect children from the time limits and sanctions imposed by PRWORA. However, eight years later, just one-third of eligible mothers receive childcare assistance and some mothers report childcare subsidies are minimal considering the high cost of childcare. To assess the success of PRWORA in supporting the developmental needs of low-income children, I examine the implementation childcare subsidies programs in three states (Virginia, Nevada, and New Jersey). Mothers in these three states report difficulty accessing subsidies, including problems negotiating multiple bureaucracies and reporting standards, and long waiting lists. Preliminary evidence suggests that in some instances, children endure substandard, and even dangerous, care settings. All three states determine eligibility based on the mother's employment status, suggesting that childcare subsidies serve as a work support program. I conclude that childcare subsidy programs in these three states are inconsistent with Clinton's initial goal of serving poor children through childcare subsidies.

Though federal and state governments failed to provide low-income children with access to quality care, mothers must balance meeting government job provisions with finding adequate childcare. I examine components of childcare quality as defined by early education experts and suggest that while mothers hold some of the same ideals about childcare, financial and time constraints often force them to seek unregulated childcare. Mothers prioritize trust in the

caregiver and affordability, but generally lack the resources to purchase high-quality care that provides intellectual and social stimulation.

I suggest that inherent characteristics of the childcare market are not conducive to providing quality childcare to low-income children and that this warrants greater involvement by the federal government. The U.S. has much to gain from an enhanced role of the federal government in providing quality childcare for low-income children.

### **Brian Hanlon**

#### *The New Generation of Activists: An Analysis of Autobiographical Activist Texts*

I argue that three themes are present in five autobiographical activist texts that I analyzed. The themes are action-resultant-from-beliefs, identity, and community/connectedness. All five articles come from the same compilation of activist texts, *Global Uprising: Confronting the Tyrannies of the 21st Century: Stories from a New Generation of Activists*. The editors of *Global Uprising* seek to motivate readers to action based upon their beliefs. The theme of action-resultant-from-beliefs is present in each article. Whether or not the author intended to goad readers to action based upon their beliefs is unknown and irrelevant. The point is that every article has the effect of doing so. Each author makes known their beliefs, beliefs likely to be shared with the target readership, and then details the actions they took because of those beliefs. Some employ journey metaphors to conceptually aid the reader down revolutionary road. Others point out various ways of being an activist, so as not to scare potential activists, who may not wish to risk as much as the authors.

I borrow Charles Taylor's description of identity, which is "a person's understanding of who they are." Identity formation in a globalized world is complicated and problematic. Traditional forces of home, family, state, etc... compete with advertising, popular culture, and foreign cultures, to shape an individual's identity. As a counterculture, activists often assert alternative activist-based identities, or attempt to rearticulate existing identities, such as a broad human identity.

Issues of globalization complicate community association as well. The increasing suburbanization of America and loss of public space for some corresponds to the destruction of the community. A term with numerous meanings and interpretations, the term "community" holds differing meanings for the activists analyzed. Emphasizing the connection between issues, and acknowledging the existence of shades of gray is characteristic of much liberal thought. These activists frequently argue for establishing connections between people, and between people and nature. The public/public relationship is stressed, whereas the public/corporate relationship is often denigrated.

The appendix features a chapter detailing the histories of the Bretton Woods conference, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, and World Trade Organization (WTO). While not directly relating to my primary inquiry, the activists here discussed often critique, and may physically demonstrate against these institutions. Understanding the evolutions and rationales behind these organizations is important for activists in particular, and anyone interested in globalization in general.

### **Sarah Hinger**

#### *Private Lives, Public Voices: Women's Citizenship in a Post Socialist Czech Republic*

This thesis argues that neither socialism nor liberal democracy has been able to provide for the full equality of Czech women as citizens due to their incomplete address of gender issues beyond the scope of official policy. Firstly, I argue against the concept of transition in analyzing social change, as it cannot account for the complexity of actual existing society and particularly for women, as subjugated members of society, gives a false sense of the relationship between the state

and citizens. I argue that looking beyond official ideology and policy at the non-formal spaces of society gives a better picture of a political system's effects on society and of the varied possibilities for agency not directly connected to the state.

On this basis I show that while socialism treated gender inequality with mixed results, because issues of gender were not prioritized and the sphere of private community and families was largely ignored, many of the gendered outcomes of socialism were integral yet unintended. Women faced a taxing double burden of formal employment and housework, with both ideologically tied to their identities as citizens. Like all socialist citizens, women lacked a sphere of recognized public space within which to express their autonomy. However, I argue that women did develop many important social networks and acted meaningfully outside the dictates of the state within their informal relationships.

I then briefly outline Czech women's activism within socialist society as both openly against the state in dissident movements, and less visibly, within their families and communities throughout the socialist period. Across these areas, women's activism took on a non-political character focused on support services and the maintenance of normative values within the community. I argue that after 1989, changes in the social structure have relegated women to the private sphere and enforced their identities as nurturers. Women have continued to assert their autonomy through actions that again concentrate in the semipublic space of nonprofit and charity organizations and through their practices within the home.

Women's citizenship is a complex mediation of both socialist and liberal democratic values of citizenship, as well as the philosophical values of antipolitics developed around the 1989 revolutions. I argue that women's distrust of politics stems from their unique experience of the failure of political systems to truly create universal citizenship and that this distrust can only be dissuaded when their own agency is taken seriously by both outside feminists and their own government. I argue that the eradication of gender inequality will require both the willingness of women to utilize politics and a commitment by the government to solving gender issues, as they exist in their pervasive social form. The first step in this process will be for the government to develop policies that strengthen social institutions at a local level and thus allow for the autonomous voices of all people to affect society. In short, the inclusion of the socialist value of entitlement to basic economic and other provisions can aid liberal democratic society in reaching its proclaimed goal of universal citizenship.

## **Vicky Ayano Jones**

### *Understanding the American Hand Out: Examining Access to Healthcare in America*

My project looks at the translation of discourse into action within both the private and public sectors involved with healthcare access in America. My argument is that providing access to healthcare in America needs to be a more comprehensive process, unlike the piecemeal solutions used presently by both the government and healthcare industry. "Handouts" of healthcare, as they are constructed today, are products of American cultural ideology and have created a specific culture of health, health-seeking behavior, and healthcare provision strategies in America. Policymakers and industry leaders must become conscious of the complex process of healthcare in order to plan comprehensively and efficiently. My research proves that comprehensively understanding access to healthcare in America is one of the most important steps that the American society must take to 1) reform the current healthcare policy and 2) make valuable changes in health accessibility and health-seeking behavior in America.

With a basis in anthropology, this paper seeks to use medical, historical, economic and political research to examine what healthcare access means in America. It explores the idea that healthcare giving and receiving takes place within a context, a socio-cultural framework. It also tries to elucidate the reasons how and why humans are mind-full bodies-more than biological



vessels that host disease and ailments, and why this fact is important to consider when examining issues of healthcare access in America.

I discuss the origin of government healthcare institutions and private American healthcare institutions looking at not only infrastructure building but also evolution of cultural ideology. I also discuss the hegemony of managed care in America to show how the market economy has played an important role in the construction of the modern healthcare system and how the commodification of health and healthcare took place in America. Insurance, although very important, is only one determinant of access, however. This paper explores a collection of barriers that hinder healthcare access, from the structural to the cultural but does so in a manner that goes beyond statistics. Part of my analysis of the cultural meaning of access in America is a critical look at healthcare quality and access disparity. This is because access gains significance through indicators of quality and equitable distribution of healthcare.

Ultimately, I conclude that the question should not be one of America's ability to provide "healthcare for all." My research indicates that the question should be one of the prioritization of quality healthcare provision in both the private and public sectors. The point of this project is not to point a definitive finger but to show a more comprehensive picture of who wields the power within the process of healthcare provision and why. This picture is composed of the connections among cultural interpretations of methodology, ideology, and motivation within the American moral universe as it relates to the healthcare and well-being of the individual.

## **Ian Marcus Amelkin**

### *Normative Values and the Conceptualization of the Just American Welfare State*

While proponents of American welfare expansion have normally justified American anti-poverty programs as necessary to meet the most basic needs of citizens in the nation-state, opponents of American welfare couch their arguments against social services squarely in a values perspective; critics argue that the American welfare state is an illegitimate entity that defies the American ideals of Work, Independence, and Individual Responsibility. In this thesis, I offer a response to this conservative critique of the welfare state using the same approach as those who attack it; I offer a conceptualization of a just American welfare state based entirely on the values espoused by the collective conscience of American citizens.

Emile Durkheim defines the collective conscience as, "The totality of beliefs and sentiments common to the average members of a society [which] forms a determinate system with a life of its own." With this definition as my starting point, I compile and discuss six American value dimensions adapted from Robin Williams, Jr.'s 1969 value list that form the core of the American collective conscience. I explain how the Work, Mobility, Status, Independence, Individualism, and Moralism value dimensions interact with each other within the confines of the American welfare state, and I explain the deep tensions between and within each value dimension.

Then before offering a conceptualization of the American welfare state based upon these values, I explain how each was affected by the conservative elite's assault on the American welfare state during the 1980s and early 1990s. I explain how the New Right's opposition to welfare used a final value dimension, Ascription, to spread racial stereotypes and false characteristics regarding welfare recipients into the collective conscience in order to undermine the main assistance program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Ascription is defined as qualitative categories given to citizens on the basis of arbitrary or false qualities and not performance. Recipients were painted by opponents of the AFDC program as shiftless, dishonest, and immoral. The assault on welfare recipients culminated in the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, changing the American welfare state from a means-tested to a work-requirements welfare model.

I argue that the core American values regarding poverty-reduction and the welfare state remained constant over this period even with this large change in policy; I contend the policy shift resulted from a change in the way Americans viewed the worthiness of those enrolled in anti-poverty programs and not the values behind the programs themselves.

I offer a conceptualization of the welfare state using these constant core values as the basis for the model. The conceptualization that manifests is based around ensuring work ethic, personal responsibility, and independence for all able-bodied adult citizens, while expanding social services for children and the elderly.

This thesis allows those favorable to an expansive American welfare state to respond meaningfully using a values perspective long reserved for only the opponents of federal anti-poverty programs. The conceptualization of welfare offers a pragmatic and possible model for welfare state reform in the United States in true cohesion with the values of the American collective conscience.

### **Laura Elizabeth Parcells**

#### *Economics for the New Millennium: Production, Consumption, and Ecological Sustainability*

I argue that the discipline of economics is fundamentally unecological and unsustainable. Because the production model upon which traditional economic theory depends does not recognize itself as a subsystem of the global ecosystem, it is unable to attend to the demands of the environment in an adequate fashion. Rather, traditional economics addresses the environment in terms of abstract exchange value and attempts to assign such values to ecological damage. Because economics does not view natural resources as scarce in the long-run, externality calculations intended to internalize environmental costs cannot ever truly represent the damage inflicted by ecologically detrimental manufacturing and business practices. Scientifically, the limited nature of natural resources threatens to undermine future human survival should production based theory not be modified. Despite this, instead of working to move towards eco-friendly practices, the twentieth century has shown massive consumption increases and the implementation of government policies that favor the stimulation of economic growth over ensuring environmental sustainability.

Through an illustration of the mal-effects of large-scale monocrop agriculture and the pesticide industry that supports it, I demonstrate that the shortcomings of the production model are beginning to manifest themselves in the destruction of many of the world's ecosystems. Because conventional economic theory considers only economic efficiency in shaping its practices, it often externalizes the costs of production onto the environment and human populations of regions in which production takes place. The primary focus of the production model on profit often allows for the use of revenue-enhancing techniques like mass-pesticide use that pose threats to environmental and human health. The damage of these techniques accumulates over time and holds the potential to undermine long-run human survival.

In light of these facts, I argue that the discipline of economics needs to embrace a new model that recognizes the environment as the system upon which the economy rests. This model views production itself as consumption, and discrepancies between supply and demand are reconciled through the adjustment of demand instead of supply. Instead of viewing production strictly in terms of value added the consumption model views production as a using up of limited natural resources. This new model seeks to move away from highly commoditized methods of human need satisfaction towards a more integrated economy, and aspires to manufacture goods in an energy efficient fashion that does not undercut the demands of the global environment. Furthermore, the consumption model desires to implement tax and government policies that favor an at least partial shift back towards more localized production in order to help ensure corporate responsibility, foster community, and undercut current trends of wealth consolidation.

Viewed through the lens of a case study on the growth of organic farming, I attempt to document the feasibility of ecologically sustainable production. I argue that due to the pressing nature of ecological concerns, it is necessary to direct more research and development towards eco-friendly engineering and manufacturing practices. It is my contention that the profit motive can remain in tact under a consumption-based capitalist model, and that the decline in corporate profit that would occur under such a model would be reflective of the actual costs of production that have heretofore been externalized under traditional economic practice and theory.

## **Priya Parker**

### *Student Racial Climate: An Analysis and Assessment*

Most universities in America today value diversity. I define diversity as a situation in which individuals with different social, physical, cultural and intellectual characteristics live together within a community. Schools demonstrate this value through "structural" diversity such as mission statements, minority enrollment rates, ethnic centers, and minority-support programs. While these types of structural diversity are necessary, they are not enough to create a positive student racial climate. Those who want to improve race relations on college campuses must begin focusing on the problem area that is least addressed: student racial climate. I argue that despite the commitment of administrations, most schools experience a negative student racial climate. I define student racial climate as the mutually reinforcing relationship between the perceptions, attitudes and expectations of these groups and individuals and the actual patterns of interaction and behavior between both groups and individuals. I argue that one of the biggest impediments to creating a welcoming student racial climate is the prevalence of racial incidents and issues on every campus, and even importantly the responses they engender.

I describe the student racial climate at ten "peer" universities nation-wide, including five public and five private schools: Duke University, Emory University, Northwestern University, the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Connecticut, the University of Maryland, the University of Michigan, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Virginia, and Vanderbilt University. Through a survey of student newspapers between 2000 and 2004, I capture both the reported racial incidents that occurred on each campus, as well as the range of student and administrative responses. I include everything from racial assaults, slurs, and vandalism to black face incidents, racially-insensitive parties, affirmative action debates, self segregation and inflammatory opinion articles. I demonstrate at each campus both the incidents and the types of responses, and illustrate how the responses are perpetuating the problem. I argue that these responses are inadequate because they tend to be: (1) exclusively minority, (2) viewed as not corresponding to the actual incident, (3) decentralized and fragmented, (4) short term efforts that offer only temporary solutions, and (5) missing the point of changing student racial climate.

Before schools can apply effective interventions, administrators and students need to engage in conversations together to create a common vision for their community. I argue that an ideal student racial climate would be one in which students respect each other, are safe, feel equal, and do not feel restricted to racial and ethnic identities and group formations. Universities should provide safe spaces in which students are strongly encouraged to interact with, learn from, and engage one another. Keeping this vision in mind, goals of an intervention should be to improve student racial climate. Lastly, I create a framework in which I lay out six factors for an effective intervention to improve negative student racial climate. These factors include: (1) student-run and administration-supported, (2) a diverse set of student leaders, (3) a centralized approach, (4) target all students, (5) employ face-to-face interaction, and (6) long term. I argue that universities can and should be models to the rest of the country for improving race relations among groups and individuals.

## **Nina Anil Patel**

### *A Space for Freedom: The Church and the Left during the Solidarity Movement*

The events during the summer of 1980 at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk, Poland present a paradoxical picture. Thousands of workers were striking for the right to form independent unions and the right to strike in a workers' state. What is more, their daily activities of negotiating with the government and talking to the international media were scheduled around evening mass services delivered right in the middle of the shipyard. To Western observers and students examining the Solidarity movement, the involvement of the Church in what should have been a purely secular revolution is puzzling if not wholly out of place.

However the interaction between these two independent organizations during the brief legal existence of Solidarity as an independent trades union offers several insights into the nature of freedom and possible models for democratic transition. In this thesis, I examine the way in which the Church, despite the Bolshevik dictatorship's aim of complete domination of public life, maintained an independent space for freedom in the form of church buildings. By safeguarding its right to teach the Gospel and recite the liturgy, the Church helped to preserve a public form of association that was impenetrable to Soviet terror and propaganda.

I also examine the way in which the secular Left was able to secure the participation of millions of Poles in strikes across the country by finding a common vocabulary with the Church's teachings on human dignity and hope. Through this mass mobilization, the Solidarity leaders were able to force the communists into negotiations which allowed young Polish workers to have direct participation in the shape of their public life. What I conclude from the example of Solidarity in Poland is that, freedom if it is to have a permanent place in democratic societies, must maintain physical spaces for meetings and interaction and always demand participation in the public political sphere of human affairs. The secular Left is not necessarily the best protector of such spaces given the erosion of public town hall meetings and civic organizations. What it needs is an ally in the project of freedom and public life. The Church, in the case of the Polish example, has proven that it can be such an ally.

## **Bilal Qureshi**

### *Discrimination, Disadvantage, and the Disturbances: The Bradford Riots and the State of British Multiculturalism*

In the wake of 2001's violent race riots across northern England, it is evident that addressing the issue of multiculturalism and assimilation is a critical burden for contemporary British society. As the destruction caused by the riots clearly demonstrated, there is an increasing tide of resentment and distrust brewing within the new British-born generations of minority immigrant communities. Consequently, many Britons strongly feel that it is the government's shortsighted and inconsistent policies toward minority communities that are accountable for the lack of integration and understanding among ethnic communities in Britain. My thesis aims to explore this relationship between policy and practice in the field of multiculturalism and ethnic relations in contemporary Britain.

Through a detailed historical analysis of how the British Parliament and the Home Office have addressed the issue of racism and immigration over the last fifty years, I identify an ideological definition of multiculturalism as provided by British policymakers. How have the political attitudes toward immigrants from former British colonies and protectorates evolved during this time? While early administrations viewed the influx of immigrants from Africa and Asia with

hostility and suspicion, contemporary politicians in both the Labor and Conservative parties regularly commemorate the contributions of minority Britons and the resulting development of a new 'multicultural' Britain. However, judging by the sustained pattern of racial discrimination and violence against black and ethnic Britons, this political rhetoric falls short of reflecting social realities in contemporary Britain.

As a result, while the first portion of my thesis evaluates the shifting political paradigms in the field of multiculturalism and ethnic relations, subsequent chapters offer a detailed account of the social experiences of one ethnic community - Muslim immigrants in Britain. I have chosen the Muslim community since it has been the focus of much of the debate over discrimination and integration. In addition, the 1989 riots over Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* and 2001's race riots in predominantly Muslim towns in northern England serve as two pressing examples of the ethnic rifts across Britain. By drawing on personal interviews and sociological studies, I assess whether attempts to integrate minority communities have succeeded or failed. Through this analysis, I seek to determine the extent to which British policymakers are attuned to the experiences and resulting grievances of traditionally segregated and economically marginalized communities.

By comparing the theoretical and political discussion over multiculturalism with the social and economic experiences of one community at the center of this multicultural project, I hope to present a clearer picture of Britain as a multicultural society. Is it really possible to evolve from a traditionally homogenous society into a thriving and open multicultural environment? What does it mean to be British today, and can Muslims or other ethnic minorities ever really become 'British?' Are the government policies that are designed to uplift and incorporate British minorities into mainstream society succeeding in their aims or offering a temporary and surgical solution to a much deeper social issue? My thesis concluded by discussing the potential future of Britain as a multicultural society given the existing ethnic conflicts.

## **Guru Basava Raj**

### *Towards Greener Pastures: Government Payments, Social Welfare, and the Rise and Fall of Market Distortions in United States Farm Policy*

Beginning in the early 1920's, the US government identified what it dubbed the 'farm problem,' characterized by steady consolidation in the farm sector and marked reductions in farm profits. Over the course of the next decade, the federal government developed an agricultural policy that sought to provide increased financial support to farmers and greater price stability in farm commodity markets. Though it was initially hoped that these policies could be temporarily enacted during the depression period of the 1930s to solve the farm problem, such resolution never occurred and government interventions in agricultural markets have existed in one form or another ever since. In its various efforts to boost farm incomes the federal government has experimented with price stabilization, target pricing, acreage set asides, deficiency payments, and marketing loans, to name a few.

Yet these policies, over the course of the seven decades during which they have been enacted, have failed to inject any type of fiscal solvency or stability into farm commodity markets. This thesis details why government interventions have been both inefficient and unsuccessful in their attempts to aid the farm sector. Using the language of free-market analysis, I critique the way in which American agricultural policy has affected both producers and consumers in the markets for agricultural goods. The magnitude of these effects is calculated using producer and consumer surplus, which, when summed, yield an aggregate measure of social welfare.

I find that in numerous instances, government interventions have actually aggravated the farm problem by inducing overproduction, artificially inflating prices and inefficiently distributing welfare enhancing payments to farmers. Though the most inefficient government

policy interventions were done away with when direct farm subsidies were decoupled from commodity production in 1996, marketing loan and loan deficiency payments maintained in the 2002 farm bill still cause net social welfare reductions.

The record expansion of global agricultural markets that purchased US goods in the mid 1990s further amplified the effects of inefficiencies in US commodity policies to a world scale. By training a lens on US agricultural export policies, looking particularly at the coupling of commodity credit loans to US export purchases and crop dumping provisions in food aid programs, I point out trade distorting practices that reduce aggregate global welfare and inhibit the development of sustainable export markets that show potential for absorbing continuing increases in American crop output.

In spite of inefficiencies and overall social welfare reductions, specific agricultural policies remain in practice today thanks to the influence of an active farm lobby that seeks economic rents afforded it through government programs. In its structure of subsidies, price support systems, and land conservation programs, American farm policy as dictated by the 2002 Farm Bill benefits a numerically small special interest that commands marked political clout at the expense of the welfare of the American taxpayer, the American consumer, and, ultimately, the American farming sector as a whole.

## **Luke Smiley**

### *In Pursuit of Happiness: Chasing after the American Dream*

The idea of the "American Dream" is so fundamental to the history and current culture of the United States, that it is inextricably woven into the fabric of the American psyche. The history of the United States is filled not with noblemen fulfilling their natural duty, but with self-made men, succeeding due to nothing more than their abilities, and more importantly, their work ethic. Ben Franklin, Andrew Jackson, Andrew Carnegie, Babe Ruth, Bill Gates and Bill Clinton all serve as historical and living proof that "in America, anything is possible." Their success, and the culture of unlimited potential that they represent, inspires generation after generation of Americans to seek out a life that is in some way better than what they started out with. We as Americans generally accept this version of the American Dream without questioning how our culture and the Dream have changed over the centuries. We accept that the American Dream is a good influence that drives us to be more successful and happier than we would be otherwise. And yet, what exactly is the American Dream in today's society, and how does it affect our culture?

I argue that the ideals of the American Dream date back to the enlightenment theory popular in the Colonies during the revolution, and the early stages of the United States. In particular, the idea of the "indefinite perfectibility of man", and the belief that Americans could create better lives for themselves, and a better future for the country. I then analyze *The Great Gatsby*, to show how these inspirational ideals can also set a trap in that they inspire people to have unrealistic dreams, and insatiable hopes.

Having looked at ways in which the American Dream can lead people to depression, I then seek to explain how and why this tends to happen. First I look at the idea of success in America: both how hard it is to be successful in the eyes of the greater community, and how even those who do achieve success, and are the envy of the masses, are all too often distinctly unhappy.

This leads to the question of what is happiness, and how does one attain it. I explore this question by focusing on the theories of Sigmund Freud and Abraham Maslow, which help to explain why Americans are often no "happier" than people with far less political and economic freedom. I also argue the American thought and the ideals implicit in the American Dream actually prevent us from being "happy" by teaching us never to be content with what we have. Here I look at the way in which a constant drive for something better stands at odds with the general concept of happiness, which must involve some aspect passive contentment.

I then argue that these problematic characteristics of American Culture have been amplified over the course of the last century, particularly due to the breakdown of community ties, and the shift towards a more individualistic society. Finally, I focus on the concepts of materialism and entitlement as two factors that have played a large role in the transformation of the American Dream from an inspiration into a burden.

### **Kristin Carroll Tracz**

#### *Implementing Goals of Poverty Alleviation and Sustainable Development: The World Trade Organization and China*

Given the stated goals of the international governmental system, I argue that an international system of peace and prosperity for the global population depends on a cooperative effort between inter-national governmental institutions and individual nations. Examining the World Trade Organization (WTO), I evaluate the discrepancy between the stated goals of facilitating poverty alleviation and sustain-able development by promoting free trade; and reality of the narrow definition of economic development advanced by the WTO. By expanding the current conception of economic development to account for social implications of free trade and marketization, the WTO will be better able to lead its Members towards realizing the greater goals of a global higher standard of living.

In exploring the admission process by which a country joins the WTO through the accession of the People's Republic of China (2001), I evaluate the internal structures set in place to ensure compliance with WTO agreements in an international and domestic context. I argue that the rule based system guiding WTO Members requires Members to implement policies of compliance with the total international governmental system, including the United Nations. Such a comprehensive, multilateral system of government is the only means to achieving the goals established by the international community to alleviate global poverty and raise the standard of living for all the world's poor.

I examine the limits of bilateral negotiations as a means of achieving such global goals by assessing Sino-American bilateral relations under the Bush and Clinton administrations. The substantial shifts in policies resulting from domestic political pressures and leadership changes explain the inability of bilateral negotiations to secure consistent, rule-based policies on global issues such as rights and development. Such a framework, vulnerable to the changing demands of each country's domestic political landscape, is not the proper avenue to negotiate the definition and enforcement of the social implications of economic development.

Having established the superiority of multilateral institutions over bilateral negotiations in matters of global development, I examine the connection between trade and poverty. While trade growth often leads to a long term reduction in overall poverty, implementation of trade measures almost guarantee the incurrence of significant short term adjustment costs. Some costs, particularly as they affect the existing poor, ought to be ameliorated by a cooperative effort between international institutions and domestic policies. Issues such as the rampant spread of HIV and rise in the sex industry illustrate economic issues that incur significant social implications. The UN Millennium Development Goals, supported by the larger international community of nations, establish a framework for achieving tangible results in the international campaign against poverty and extending the benefits of global development to all nations.

The recent protests erupting throughout the world and the general discontent among Member nations with the ability of the WTO to include non-economic costs of development illustrate the need of the WTO to expand its conception of development. For the WTO to remain a relevant part of the global governmental system, free trade and marketization must be demonstrably working towards the greater goods of poverty alleviation, sustainable development, and a better quality of life for all people.

## **Luke Wagner**

### *U.S. Foreign Aid After the Cold War: Accounting for its Ineffectiveness*

The foreign aid system has been sharply criticized in recent years, and U.S. foreign aid is implicated in those assessments. Aid officials and institutions maintain that they have brought about great improvements in developing nations, but the high levels of people living in extreme poverty indicates that aid has been largely ineffective in securing development. This study considers one component of the international aid system: U.S. bilateral aid administered through the United States Agency for International Development (AID). The study is concerned with humanitarian and development assistance and not economic or military aid. I argue that AID has been ineffective as a means of promoting development in poorer nations because it has been overburdened by the pursuit of too many objectives. There are three primary justifications for aid: national security, economic interests, and humanitarian principles. However, there are not enough resources to pursue all three, and only the humanitarian approach is genuinely concerned with development.

I begin by assessing the most salient criticisms of the international aid system and provide justification for continuing to advocate for foreign aid rather than call for its elimination. The potential aid can have in offsetting the negative impact of markets and the challenges associated with development are too great to abandon it. However, in order to unleash this potential reforms of the system are necessary. In particular, aid must be driven by humanitarian objectives rather than donor interests and there must be greater accountability in all aspects of the aid process.

I frame my discussion of U.S. bilateral aid in terms of the foreign policy motivations that ultimately dictated its programs. After the Cold War, the Clinton Administration announced the policy of democratic enlargement, which called for U.S. involvement abroad to assist emerging democracies-but only when American interests could be secured. At the same time, Congressional disaffection with the U.S. aid program led to severe reductions in its funding throughout the 1990s. Moreover, there were increased demands on the programs that were employed and AID became overburdened by Congressional earmarks and special requests. These actions were intended to better orient AID to securing American interests, further undermining development efforts.

Finally, this study looks at the changes in U.S. foreign aid that have been initiated by President Bush. The establishment of the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) marks the first major change to U.S. aid since the Foreign Assistance Act in 1961, which established AID. The MCA's potential in addressing the failures of past aid programs is great, but so, too, is the possibility that aid will continue to be overburdened as national security as been reborn as the primary justification for U.S. foreign aid.

## **Mary Catherine Wellons**

### *"Mediated" Communication: Mass Media and the civil rights movement in Danville, Virginia in 1963*

This paper seeks to isolate a specific civil rights movement in Danville, Virginia in 1963, study the locale and its people, and then examine closely the way in which various forms of mass media impacted the entire community. Did mass media impact or change the attitudes and opinions of the community in Danville? I ultimately conclude that mass media critically aided the process toward dismantling segregation in Danville by facilitating a "mediated" communication across racial boundaries. Despite the difficulty in showing a causal relationship between mass media's effects and social change, I conduct a careful study of the news media and the public's response to it.



The first challenge to Danville's segregated society came in 1960 when a group of youth conducted sit-ins at the local library, which was located inside the Sutherlin House - the "Last Capitol of the Confederacy." Not until 1963 did the Danville Christian Progressive Association (DCPA), comprised of local civil rights leaders, take the protests inside the Municipal Building and into the streets. I argue that because the black community in Danville had no official political power, demonstrating in the city's public spaces was the most effective way to create a political platform for the movement. National, state, and local media sources expanded that public discourse and forced Danville citizens to take a stance on civil rights.

The events leading to June 10, 1963 - "Blood Monday" - when close to fifty protestors were hospitalized because of police brutality, made headlines in news sources across the country. Mass media had sparked conversations among Danville citizens, inspired its liberal white citizens to join the movement, and ultimately achieved what the city council and the courts could not - an integrated form of communication. I argue that without "mediated" communication the Danville movement would not have endured as long as it did.

Ultimately, the legal maneuverings that resulted from the more than 700 arrests in the summer of 1963 squelched the movement. The demonstrators could not afford to continue to challenge the legal system. The Danville community, however, was forced to change -socially and politically - as a result of the 1963 racial demonstrations and this paper will show that mass media played a significant role in making that happen.