University of Virginia
Political and Social Thought

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Jennifer L. Allen

The Paradises That We Have Lost: Weimar Republic Historiography and the Bauhaus Experience

In this text, I defend the argument Frank Ankersmit outlines in *Sublime Historical Experience*. Ankersmit contends that historians must detach themselves from epistemologically, archivally focused methods of historiography and must remain open to allowing experience of the past to enter their historical narratives. In order to form a bridge between Ankersmit's largely theoretical text and the world of concrete historical narratives, I situate his ideas in the context of historiography of Germany's Weimar Republic. Its wealth of complexities within a short, well-defined period of time, in conjunction with its historical significance make the Republic an appealing case study in an application of Ankersmit.

To introduce Ankersmit's idea of historical experience, I begin by setting his argument in conversation with two narratives of the history of the Republic. Their methods, though divergent, represent larger historiographical trends. I look first to Stephen Lee, in *The Weimar Republic*, who explicitly aims to keep his own narrative from impacting interpretation of archival data and attempts to present this data in the most 'objective' way possible. I then turn to Peter Fritzsche's text, *Germans into Nazis*, which attempts to create a 'sense' of what things might. Fritzsche utilizes his position as a subjective historian to craft an imaginative sensory experience behind the archival information he includes.

In the language of these two texts, I clarify what Ankersmit means by sublime historical experience. He compares a successful (sublime) historical experience to a powerful aesthetic experience, which develops as the result of a specific set of components, namely a unity between subject and object and a sense of loss in experience the artwork. Both Lee and Fritzsche lack these features. Unfortunately, Ankersmit also argues that historians cannot include these components at will, and it seems luck alone governs the ability to produce sublime historical experience.

In order to make Ankersmit's theory a useful one, I overturn his argument for the irreproducibility of sublime historical experience in historical narratives. I offer a distinction between the pictorial arts on which Ankersmit focused and the practical arts. Sublime historical experience relies on the subject's ability to engage with a work of art (and historical narrative) on an interactive and intimate level. By shifting our focus to the practical arts, I suggest we can

achieve this unity, access of which necessarily lies beyond the scope pictorial arts. Returning to the Republic, I engage the architectural works of Bauhaus Weimar and Bauhaus Dessau which feature three pivotal elements: (1) they exists as works of art in which the subject can participate; (2) they were created by an institution whose lifespan and ideology mirror that of the Republic; (3) they were created in fulfillment of an institutional objective which shares striking similarities with the idea of sublime historical experience.

To conclude, I create a blueprint for an application of Ankersmit's theory in the context of a history of the Weimar Republic. I demonstrate how to employ Bauhaus art as a medium through which we can begin to create sublime historical experience in a historical monograph. My own narrative, though only a segment of a complete Ankersmitian narrative, forms a crucial bridge between historical theory and practice that validates the interrelation of these components and justifies the need for attention to theory to illuminate the potential of historical narratives.

Kathleen G. Baireuther

Service Learning in American Higher Education: Re-Directing the Debate

I argue that the debate surrounding service learning in higher education is misdirected because it stresses model design over fundamental philosophical tenets. I demonstrate that effective models of service learning can be achieved in practice by: establishing a clearer definition of service learning; identifying the objectives of key stakeholders; and creating models that are intentionally embedded in an institution's mission statement and larger development goals. This methodology can be applied both across colleges and universities as well as within them to create a spectrum of unique opportunities. The variety of potential models stemming from this methodology reflects the diversity of institutional missions across American higher education as well as the internal diversity of each institution.

Service learning is a form of experiential education that intentionally links community service to academic coursework. I distinguish the philosophical foundation of the service learning pedagogy from practice and argue that definitions of service learning should not encompass program objectives. Based on its philosophical and historical development, I derive an elemental definition that includes six criteria: (1) clear mission; (2) relationship to an academic context; (3) reciprocity and collaboration; (4) autonomy and creativity; (5) guided reflection; and (6) mutual evaluation. Establishing these criteria as a working definition liberates the pedagogy of service learning from a discussion of case studies and emphasizes its adaptability.

The institution, the community, faculty, and students can all potentially benefit from the establishment of service learning programs. Service learning serves as a response to public criticisms of higher education, generates institutional renewal, and forges a stronger connection between the institution and the community. Students benefit academically and personally. Civic engagement and leadership experience are frequently identified as important objectives of service learning in the American context. I argue that programs can be intentionally designed to

achieve specific goals for each party involved; coordination and consistent communication are essential to effectively achieving these goals.

I offer a general discussion of practice and emphasize how an institution's mission statement can direct the creation of locally embedded models. I stress the importance of reciprocity, collaboration, and diversity and argue that these values, in addition to the six criteria in the definition, a clear understanding of program objectives, and mission statement can all serve as general guidelines for program creation. This methodology demonstrates the inclusive and flexible nature of the service learning pedagogy. I argue that this holistic approach to the educational enterprise is inherently democratic and therefore is especially relevant to American higher education.

Abigail Bellows

Into the Jungle: An Ethnography of International Service-Learning

International service-learning advocates argue that by influencing the paths young people pursue, their programs can make a long-term contribution to global justice. Yet we lack the longitudinal data to defend this point, and ironically, participants' experiences may run counter to the ideals of grassroots sustainable development. Others advocate service-learning based on a commitment to community-based experiential education, in opposition to what they perceive as academia's disconnection from the "real world." Social justice educators add an edge to this field, with their greater attentiveness to power, privilege, and the potential for harmful impact in the server/served binary. Still, these scholars generally continue to speak *for* "the community" and their criticisms are muted by an attachment to service-learning in some form. On the whole, there is a remarkable absence of ethnographically-oriented studies conscious of the complexities of service-learning interaction with host communities.

Thus I present ethnographic material, enriched by outside literature, on Volunteer Summer (VS), an international service-learning program organized by the American Jewish World Service (AJWS). In my participant observation of VS-Peru, fifteen North American college students and two facilitators spent five-and-a-half weeks in the Amazonian village of Santa Rosa, interacting with local residents and each other, and working daily with a grantee of AJWS, Minga Peru. My formal research was restricted to the American participants, though I include Peruvian perspectives from what I could gather, supplemented by secondary sources.

Some VSers did not recognize poverty among the Peruvians with whom we stayed, which participants theorized could be due to the participants' inattentiveness, denial, or variations in distinguishing between wants and needs, poverty and culture. The majority, though, recognized poverty and reflected on it intellectually and emotionally, with varying degrees of surprise, condemnation or romanticization. Likewise, while a few did not see their privilege, most processed its manifestations, including being "put on a pedestal," with varying degrees of acceptance. I discuss cross-economic engagements, including concerns about exposing Santa Roseñas to privileged lifestyles, restrictions on our gift-giving, and the dissonance between

AJWS's sustainable grassroots ideology and much of our activities and presence.

In similar terms, some participants did not express recognition of substantial cultural difference, reflecting the subjectivity of "the cross-cultural" as a category in itself. For those who did perceive cultural difference, I trace several responses to it: disengagement, minimization, and embracing it with an ideal of sincere, personal, "real" relationships. Such cross-cultural engagement was facilitated by several factors, including our role as worker/volunteers and our relationships with children, and was challenged in some cases by the spatial divide, time constraints, language difficulties, and lack of motivation, perhaps out of an awareness of the potential harm interaction could cause. I examine fields of cross-cultural interaction including the tourist encounters in which participants ambivalently engaged.

Just as they entered with different motivations, participants left the summer with a variety of stories to take home. Most were grateful for first-hand encounters with poverty and cultural difference, and articulated greater wariness about the complexities of service-learning. Yet this study opens the door to a more systematic and longitudinal evaluation of positive and negative outcomes for all parties. Such research is vital if we are to understand the risks and possible successes of international service-learning.

Daniel Robert Ciarrocki

Nussbaum's Capabilities Approach: An Alternative Feminism

I argue that Nussbaum's capabilities approach to social justice represents a successful alternative to both first and second-wave feminist theories if one accepts its concept of the human individual. I define first-wave feminism as including any approach that primarily pursues civil and political rights as a basis for social justice. Second-wave feminism, on the other hand, involves a focus on the way certain social structures (such as gender or the family) engender injustice.

The capabilities approach diverges from both first and second-wave feminism by using a universal notion of humanity to create a list of functions that everyone should possess. In short, Nussbaum believes that some activities are constitutive of human life itself. To be human, then, she holds that one must have the capability of exercising all of the functions in her list of central human capabilities. This approach contradicts the first-wave feminist's desire to use a procedure that fairly aggregates individual's preferences to decide on the "good" and how society will enable its members to pursue it. By starting with an intuitive account of the good that society should facilitate rather than arriving at one via individual preferences or some procedure, Nussbaum distances herself from the first-wave feminist's preoccupation with civil and political rights and procedural equality. Nussbaum's use of this account of the human essence also distances her from second-wave feminism. Specifically, Nussbaum holds that her notion of proper human functioning provides a guide by which social change can be measured and enacted. This strongly disagrees with the second-wave feminist's belief in the impossibility of assembling a universal picture of humanity, as well as with the more radical second-wave idea that harmful social structures inhabit such a prominent place in society that little can be done to escape them.

Although Nussbaum's capabilities approach diverges from first and second-wave feminism, I argue that it successfully addresses the concerns raised by both groups without giving way to their inadequacies. By suggesting a framework in which individuals can form preferences in their own best interest, apart from the influence of traditions of male domination, Nussbaum seeks to advance the goals of first-wave feminists. She accounts for the necessity of providing the proper social basis for the effective use of civil and political rights. Furthermore, Nussbaum addresses the concerns of second-wave feminists by offering an objective standard of the good by which injustice can be measured and reform proposed. Overall, the capabilities approach's focus on enabling Nussbaum's specific vision of properly human functioning dissociates it from first and second-wave feminism. However, Nussbaum ably uses this focus to tackle both groups', concerns while avoiding first-wave feminism's ineffectiveness and second-wave feminism's pessimism. For these reasons, Nussbaum's capabilities approach provides a successful and comprehensive alternative to first and second-wave feminism, though it contains the caveat that one must accept the specific vision of properly human functioning underlying it.

Maddin Meredith Corey

Chinese Socialism Meets Global Capital: The Fate of Industrial Labor in the Post-Mao Era

I argue that China's post-Mao era economic liberalization and restructuring of state-owned enterprise have disadvantaged the industrial workforce. While many of the social changes that have accompanied economic reform are paradigmatic of global capitalism, the plight of industrial labor in post-Mao China is a result of a unique collision of global capitalist forces, China's socialist legacy, and the continued authoritarianism of its political leadership. China offers a particularly salient example of capitalist labor exploitation because it is supposed to be a workers' state, founded in opposition to capitalism.

Beginning in 1949, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) initiated the socialist nation-building project and proclaimed workers "masters of production" and "rulers of society." The result of this process was an imperfect egalitarianism where urban workers benefited from equal wages, benefits, pay and lifetime job security—the "iron rice bowl" of socialism—and lived consistently above the means of their rural counterparts. The industrial enterprise became the fulcrum of all political, social and economic life and the locus of the Party-proletariat social contract.

But the economy by the end of the Mao era was stagnating. Maoist socialism thus created an unviable economic model and an industrial workforce that was, nonetheless, morally committed to it and economically dependent upon it. This model was also integral to the Party's political legitimacy. The Party's liberalization of foreign direct investment (FDI) and use of market forces, and the subsequent dismantling of the state-owned apparatus, was thus a politically volatile process—ultimately constituting the Party's abandonment of the social contract.

I argue that the means of reforming the industrial economy were synonymous with the means of disarticulating China's socialist legacy and the political stature and economic security that it guaranteed to industrial workers. Liberalization of foreign direct investment and integration into the global economy demanded the abandonment of the socialist proletariat and "iron rice bowl" and the recreation of the workforce to respond to global capital. A new industrial workforce composed of once-socialist workers and once-rural migrants has thus emerged along the traditional fault lines of social inequality. This workforce is subject to economic deprivation and physical exploitation that were unseen in the pre-reform era, and the Party leadership has failed to develop an alternative form of social security to replace the socialist "iron rice bowl" and protect its workers.

Through the analysis of CCP plenum documents, I argue that the Party is attempting to justify its socially painful reform program through appeals to a new nationalism that rationalizes capitalism as "socialism with Chinese characteristics," necessary for national economic survival. But nationalism will only go so far. The communist revolution and Maoist socialism, although now only vestiges of history, armed workers with a profound sense of political agency and a memory of a life where workers were the elite and integral to the important task of socialist nation-building. This memory will be a powerful force in mobilizing workers against their plight. If the Party does not find a way to extend the "fruits of development" to its workers, social unrest is almost certain for the future.

Jade Alexander Craig

Felt Like Livin': Black Women, Leisure and Liberation in the Second Wave of the Great Migration

I argue that lower-class black migrant women joined in a culture of consumption and pursued leisure activities in order to create an experience of personal and racial liberation in the North. They rejected white racism and black bourgeois values in favor of adopting a lifestyle based on black pride, cultural authenticity and a lower-class community that afforded them a sense of racial pride and roots. Their legacy of using leisure and consumption for personal empowerment shaped the black-centered cultural ethos that informs the worldview of their descendants.

The first chapter begins this argument in the Jim Crow South. I argue that black women took flight from the region because they were frustrated by the lack of personal freedom and power in their own lives. They keenly experienced their disempowerment in the physical dominance that whites had over their bodies and the world around them. Poverty constricted their ability to pursue opportunities for leisure and physical adornment that would make their lives worth living.

The second chapter focuses on migrant women's arrival in Chicago and their acculturation to urban life. Newly arrived women often entered recent migrant communities mired in poverty and constricted by racial segregation—similar to the conditions they had left behind. These neighborhoods, however, also helped newly arrived women find jobs to pursue the

economic opportunity that they sought. Working-class migrant women used their economic resources to escape the white racism surrounding them and enjoy the consumer pleasures of the city, including beauty culture opportunities. Consumption gave them membership into a free society in which their blackness was beautified, affirmed and empowered.

The third chapter examines the class conflict between lower-class urban migrants and upper-class black Chicagoans, or "old settlers." Pride and solidarity found in black Northern communities encouraged poor and working-class migrant women to ignore white racism and pursue leisure and liberation on culturally black terms. Old settlers consistently chastised lower-class black migrants for their public display of black Southern cultural norms, which challenged the image of respectability that they had constructed for white Chicagoans. Migrant women used entertainment, social expression and the joy that consumption would afford them to make life in the North, even with the same societal flaws as in the South, worth living.

The epilogue explores how migrant women's rejection of white middle-class culture and black assimilation has shaped the cultural identity of lower-class black Northerners and American culture today. After the postwar economic boom ended in the 1950s, industrial decline, residential segregation and the failure of public housing turned black neighborhoods into racially isolated and economically depressed ghettoes. The Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s generated a sense of black cultural nationalism, pride and a rejection of the larger, majority-white society. In these communities, lower-class black Northerners, many of them the children and grandchildren of poor black migrant women, developed a variety of ways to survive outside the mainstream economy. These types of "hustling" ranged from cooking and doing hair to selling drugs and prostitution. They looked to the lifestyle that came out of these practices as the definition of authentic black culture. They took pride in these lifestyles and their roots in "the ghetto" through forms of popular media, including "blaxploitation" films and hip-hop music celebrated and affirmed them. The descendants of black migrant women, often known as "ghetto divas" and "welfare queens," use leisure and consumption to find liberation in their poverty, carrying forward the legacy of their ancestors.

Pooja Ramesh Dadhania

Killed in the Name of Honor: A Demographic and Socio-legal Analysis of Honor Killings in Jordan and Pakistan

I argue that honor killings in Pakistan and Jordan have similar origins in patriarchal, honor-based societies from the pre-Islamic era. In addition, I contend that although similar gender-biased legal provisions and applications of the law in both nations have led to the perpetuation of these crimes, I claim that different population demographic and socio-economic variables contribute to the contrasting demographic patterns of honor killings in Pakistan and Jordan. I define an honor killing as a murder perpetrated by a family member or a community with the stated intention of punishing a female for alleged misconduct in order to restore a family or community's honor, which her act ostensibly would have compromised.

Economic considerations and social ideals from pre-Islamic tribal societies led to the emergence of honor as a central tenet to gain status within a community. Despite the fact that many perpetrators of honor killings use religion as a justification, I argue that the concept of honor and honor killings did not stem from Islam. As a result of patrilineal modes of inheritance within the patriarchal system from pre-Islamic times, men increasingly began to regulate the sexual activity of women through restrictions on mobility in order to ensure the legitimacy of offspring to inherit the possessions and land of a family. The honor and status of a familial unit is thus not only derived from the economic possessions of its members, but also from the chastity of its women, which preserves the family's integrity. Women are objectified as their actions are strictly monitored and controlled, because they are regarded as the vessels of honor for a family.

A woman who violates a social norm that leads to the subsequent diminishment of a family's honor can be targeted by an honor killing in order to punish her, and to restore the lost honor of the group. In the eyes of an honor-based community, the crime is not the honor killing, but is the behavioral transgression committed by the woman. The victims are perceived as woman's the male relatives whose honor is tarnished as a result of her act.

Gender discrimination within the penal codes of Pakistan and Jordan, in addition to through the application of laws by conservative police and judges, allows perpetrators of honor killings to receive minimal sentences for murder. The judicial systems and governments of Pakistan and Jordan do not provide an effective deterrent to curb the practice of honor killing as perpetrators are not adequately held accountable for their crimes.

In addition, various socio-economic factors within Pakistan and Jordan perpetuate honor-based patriarchies that condone honor killings. These variables also affect the patterns of crimes in these nations. The vast majority of Pakistan's honor killings occur in rural areas that are dominated by conservative, feudal structures. My evaluation of the feudal system in Pakistan reveals that the roles of women have not changed significantly in these areas as a result of minimal development and educational initiatives. Feudal lords preserve the lower status of women and retain the practice of honor killings because they confer economic benefits to the parties in power.

Honor killings in Jordan, conversely, occur in an equal proportion in both rural and urban areas. My assessment of the pattern of honor killings in this nation finds that urbanization and the subsequent loss of physical proximity to tribal structures of power prompts individuals to extremism. Honor killings are used to punish transgressors of behavioral norms to demonstrate an individual's adherence to these customs in order to preserve social standing, especially in more liberal urban areas that often promote increased rights and autonomy for women.

My research illustrates that honor killings have origins in honor-based patriarchal societies. The perpetuation of these crimes depends on the role of the government through the judicial system to provide an effective deterrent, in addition to socio-economic factors and population demographics that dictate the strength of the values of honor-based patriarchy.

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Kurt Leo Davis Jr.

Re-Imagining the Black Power Movement: The Cultural Politics of Black Identity

I argue that the Black Power Movement is not a separatist movement but rather a movement that works to articulate a new black identity in contention with the racialized and sexualized identity of American citizenship. Furthermore, I argue that Black Power challenges the normative criteria for and ideas of citizenship in America. Often, the movement can be relegated to that of a foreign opposition to the existence of America or, even at some level, that of a terrorist movement. Such dictations, as rationalized and indirectly explored by my thesis, illustrate ignorance of not only the Black Power Movement but also of the complexities of this cultural-political movement.

Because identity politics can often be negated as non-essential to the *proper* political discussion, it is my effort to transform the discussion of the political and the cultural. Indeed, this thesis is also a work to illustrate the intimate and dialectical relationship between the cultural and political agenda of the Black Power Movement. This thesis highlights the self-empowerment notion of the new black identity as aligned with the political integration aspect of Black Power.

Finally, this thesis is an effort to devise a new framework for investigating identity politics in a broader sense. My examination of the initiation of the Black Power Movement in chapter two illustrates the historical roadmap that infused the movement. The formulation of identity, as described in chapters three, four and five, arrives as more than an expression of discontent or an articulation of culture in America. In essence, this thesis confronts this casual and subtle disregard for identity politics as the external because it has been relegated simply to the cultural.

Farah Dilber

From Gastarbeiter *to Citizen: The Integration of Turkish Immigrants into the German* Volk

I argue that the longstanding belief that "Germany is not a country of immigration" is a blatant denial of fact that has prohibited the proper integration of Turkish guest workers in the postwar period. This credo has been elevated to official and normative dogma that, when coupled with Germany's ethnocultural nationality law has positioned a well-defined and bounded German *Volk* against Turkish immigrants, leading to the inevitable exclusion of Turks from both the institutional and cultural order. I take the Nationality Law reform of 2000 and the Immigration Law of 2005 as departures from the standing policies and argue that they have great potential to reverse the hitherto ghettoization and stigmatization of Turkish immigrants.

I begin by tracing theoretical accounts of citizenship and multiculturalism as a mode of integration. I find consensus among leading scholarship that citizenship bestows both material and symbolic benefits and postwar immigration has tipped the scales such that citizenship now functions primarily as a status-conferring tool. States therefore play a critical role in either

affirming or denying one's belonging in the *Volk*. Postwar immigration has created the conditions for multiculturalism to take place and I evaluate several critiques of multiculturalism as this is one of the potential outgrowths of the recent policy reforms.

My next point of interest is the heretofore integration of Turks since their arrival in 1961. This study of integration identifies four main dimensions where integration takes place and I conclude that Turks are poorly integrated on all four fronts. The practice of Islam is a key barrier to proper integration, not so much because of the religion itself, but because of the trepidation and insecurity it engenders on the part of the host society.

I then evaluate more closely the public perception of Turks that have circumscribed their ability to integrate into German society. Despite these persistent negative sentiments, 2000 saw the liberalization of naturalization procedures followed by a 2005 law promoting integration and multiculturalism. I highlight here the tensions between the two positions and the factors that prompted these reforms.

My attention then turns to the evolution of nationality and immigration laws, noting the resilience of the former and the capriciousness of the latter. In both cases, the standing policies militated against the integration of Turkish immigrants. I conclude that the new policies show great promise and may work to undo current trends and rewrite the normative and political maxims guiding German policies.

Jessica Christine Fowler

Who Will I Become? A Comparison of Race and Gender Identity Formation and Affinity in Girls of Early Adolescence

This work addresses the process and patterns by which identity formation takes place for girls in early adolescence. Girls' biological, psychological, emotional, and intellectual development are all affected by the changes that occur during the period of adolescence, and this paper seeks to address how these changes are manifested in the formation of identity. Concentrating on racial identity and gender identity, the internal processes and external pressures young girls experience are described and discussed in order to gain a better understanding of how the self-concept is impacted by their self-perceived racial and gender labels. I argue that by comparing the studies that have occurred and examining the ways in which both gender and racial identity formation take place, one can see that race is more salient for girls of color and that gender is not a primary consideration or factor for girls of color when examining their overall self-concept.

A great deal of research on girls in early adolescence has only recently taken place. Much of the work done previously was focused on white, middle class females, and the findings were then projected onto all females of that age. It has become clear that the same types of issues are not important or influential for all middle-school aged girls, because they grow up in different environments, amidst varying cultures, with different economic and education advantages or disadvantages, and enduring different types of racial and cultural experiences. This work, therefore, seeks to approach the question of identity formation from the sides of multiple groups of pre- and early adolescent girls in order to grasp a greater understanding of the different factors that play into the self-concept these girls develop.

The studies and research reviewed demonstrates that much is left to be discovered with regard to the development and maturation of girls in early adolescence. While much more is known about their identity formation, some variations between racial groups, as well as inconsistencies regarding girls of varying socioeconomic status make it difficult to grasp a complete picture of the process undergone by these young girls. It is clear from my research that there are differences in the racial and gender development of girls of varying race, particularly when comparing majority or White adolescents to non-White minority adolescents. Race is more salient and a central factor in the general self-concept of minority girls, reflective of the importance of their racial formation in comparison with that of their majority counterparts. I argue that because of the pressures and expectations placed on racial minorities, early adolescent, minority girls are more prone to cling to their racial or ethnic identity than White girls who have greater agency with regard to their racial identity determination. I also argue that minority girls, because of the salience of race as a central defining factor, do not show or, in some cases, have as much concern with issues of gender.

Allyson Elizabeth Gold

New Urbanism and Inner Cities: How HOPE VI Grants Transformed a Neighborhood from the Ellen Wilson Dwellings to the Townhomes on Capitol Hill

I argue that the New Urbanist ideology, adopted by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development's (HUD) Housing Opportunities for People Everywhere (HOPE VI) grant program, has succeeded in improving the quality of life for residents of distressed inner city neighborhoods. New Urbanist ideology champions mixed use, mixed income neighborhoods that are architecturally consistent with the surrounding city. New Urbanists believe that such physical elements can achieve positive social outcomes.

I determine quality of life by using Amartya Sen's capabilities approach, which measures individual well being on the basis of one's choices and opportunities. The individual's options are called his capabilities, which determine his functionings, or the realized state of an individual's opportunities and choices. Sen's capabilities approach is contrasted with Robert Putnam's theory of social capital, which influenced HUD's decision to adopt the New Urbanism charter and incorporate New Urbanist ideology into the HOPE VI grant program for distressed inner cities. However, while social capital helped HUD conclude community design that encourages interaction among residents is vital to improving neighborhood conditions, I argue that Putnam's theory is flawed for three reasons: misappropriation of the word capital, falsely assuming that inner cities are devoid of social capital, and ignoring individual agency. Due to these flaws, I offer Sen's capabilities approach as a more appropriate measurement of individual well being and use it to determine the success of a HOPE VI grantee.

In 1993, the District of Columbia Housing Authority was awarded a HOPE VI grant in order to revitalize the former Ellen Wilson Dwellings, which had been officially closed in 1988

because of deteriorated conditions. The grant awards for the neighborhood eventually exceeded $25 million; these grants radically changed the neighborhood, both physically and socially, using designs influenced by New Urbanism. Architecturally, the neighborhood was redesigned in the style of the surrounding Capitol Hill District historical housing units. Whereas before, the Ellen Wilson Dwellings were barracks style apartment buildings, the newly redesigned neighborhood, renamed the Townhomes on Capitol Hill, were modeled after local townhomes and carriage style housing units. Accompanying the physical change, the neighborhood became mixed income, with residents representing a variety of income levels. The mixed income structure allows the neighborhood to sustain itself without further government support, despite the fact that fifty percent of the residents have annual incomes below fifty percent of the median area income.

My research on the transformation of the Ellen Wilson Dwellings shows that residents' lives have improved since the 1993 grant award. The New Urbanist inspired changes have successfully improved the well being of residents, according to Sen's capabilities approach, by reducing crime, increasing employment, increasing sustainable funding and increasing community morale. Based on transformation of the Ellen Wilson Dwellings to the Townhomes on Capitol Hill, I argue that HOPE VI's decision to adopt New Urbanism design principles is successful at improving the quality of life for residents in inner city neighborhoods.

Peter Kang

What Balaam's Talking Ass has to Say: Shared Interpretive Tendencies among Postliberal Christians and Aftermodern Jews

I construct this thesis around three central claims. First: a group of Christian theologians emerging around the 1980's and a group of Jewish philosophers writing in the early 20th century both attempt to repair problems they find within their respective religious communities in a surprisingly similar fashion. For ease of reference, I label the former group "postliberals" and the latter group "aftermoderns." Second: when put into relation with each other, their reparative efforts can be mutually enriching. Third: the postliberals' interpretive tendencies motivate them to reject supersessionism and to enter into dialogue with members of the Jewish community, and likewise, by their own method of reasoning, the students of the aftermoderns are led to embrace dialogue with the postliberals

I use my first two chapters to elucidate the first claim. I argue that both groups find that their religious communities are suffering through a crisis of identity and moral authority. They identify the cause of this crisis with patterns of thought associated with Enlightenment rationalism. And they maintain that both liberal and orthodox theologies fail to abate this crisis. In response, they attempt to repair their communal crises by arguing for a return to scripture and its traditions of interpretation as the central means for knowing the world and their place in it. However, unlike traditionalist orthodoxy, they affirm the polysemous nature of the biblical texts, and they claim that scripture only acquires meaning in relation to context-specific instances of communal interpretation.

In my third chapter, I choose representatives from each group to support my second claim. From the postliberals I pick George Lindbeck, and I use Franz Rosenzweig to speak on behalf of the aftermoderns. I argue that while Lindbeck's most popular book *The Nature of Doctrine* is ostensibly a response to conceptual problems he observed within intra-Christian ecumenical discussions, it also addresses problems that Rosenzweig focuses on within the Jewish community. I claim that their proposals for repairing their analogous communal problems are both isomorphic and mutually enriching. Accordingly, I analyze how Rosenzweig's system of speech-thinking both confirms Lindbeck's theories of religion and doctrine, and provides them with a missing level of epistemological reflection. In turn, I show how Lindbeck's cultural-linguistic theory of religion confirms and clarifies some of Rosenzweig's theological endeavors.

In my final chapter, I discuss how the traditional form of Christian supersessionism is dramatically exacerbated during the modern period. I connect this change to the same modern trends of thought that the postliberals criticize. This connection provides me with one reason why the postliberals reject supersessionism. The second reason is connected to the postliberals return to scripture. When they attempt to recover a scriptural self-understanding, the postliberals find that their identity as Christians is predicated on the continued existence of the people Israel's covenant. Yet, by rejecting supersessionism, the postliberals also suggest that more than fifteen-hundred years of traditional Church teachings need to be reevaluated. For help with this project, the postliberals actively seek dialogue with members of the Jewish community.

Ellie Kates

"The Desire To Be Important": A Comparative Analysis of the Effect of NGO Size, Origin, and Scope in a Changing Global Context

I argue that nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) of different sizes and contexts affect their target groups differently. In addition, I argue that though we rely increasingly upon large, international NGOs, there exist certain subtleties that only intimately connected organizations can recognize. I explore how NGOs of different sizes and contexts affect communities differently by examining how the different NGOs themselves evaluate their work and evaluate success. I compare four NGOs, all with programs in Central America or Mexico. The organizations I compare are: Oxfam America (large/international), The Hunger Project (medium-sized/international), the Highland Support Project (small/partially local) and The Foundation for Autonomy and Development on the Atlantic Coast of Nicaragua (small/completely local).

In addition to comparing how success is characterized, I also evaluate each of these organizations on its own terms. I look at each NGO in reference to terms and standards promulgated by the greater NGO community. NGOs currently promote a general set of universal human rights. Certain ideals appear in nearly all NGO literature and analysis. Most prevalent and most pertinent to my analysis are the following three: *empowerment*, *partnership*, and *sustainability*. Instead of defining these terms myself, I examine each term as it relates to each organization's mission and practice. In addition, I examine whether or not the NGOs examined

incorporate the terms into their respective definitions of success.

I couch my analysis in a context we all share: globalization. Though the concept of globalization holds great potential, its challenge has been and will continue to be maintaining equally distributed economic benefits among different sectors of society. If globalization is to be truly effective, I argue, it must be made to benefit everyone—the affluent and impoverished alike. NGOs serve a valuable function in helping communities in the developing world make the transition to globalization. NGOs help communities adapt to new global and technological demands and help those that have suffered because of them.

At the same time, I argue that international NGOs rely heavily upon international donors and thus promote agendas that do not match the needs of those they mean to help. Moreover, though they offer considerable resources, international NGOs are often outsiders to the particular context and thus either inadvertently or purposely promote their own ideology and framework. For example, many workers in large NGOs believe their concepts of justice, human dignity, peace and respect can translate into any context, i.e., are universal. I remain skeptical. In the context of rights-based initiatives, many NGOs focus their energies on more marginalized groups—those most deprived of these rights. Unfortunately, these marginalized groups are often also the most vulnerable and thus most susceptible to the influence of outsiders.

Though international institutions are increasingly relied upon, I am not convinced that they provide the support they intend to. On the contrary, I argue, it is the locally enmeshed organizations that are best equipped for such aid and support.

James L. Kennedy

Intellectuals in the Information Age: Confronting the Crisis of Public Authority

Intellectuals are those individuals who cultivate a unique passion for ideas and publicly bring those ideas to bear on contemporary social and political issues, in a style accessible to a general audience. In this thesis, I defend this definition of intellectuals while challenging two competing definitions: the Dreyfusard definition, which refers to the Dreyfus Affair in late-nineteenth century France, and the recently-invented term *public intellectuals*.

I begin by presenting a genealogy of the term *intellectual.* The dictionary definition of the term is too broad; the only criterion it suggests for intellectuals is intelligence. However, intellectuals are a much more than just intelligent persons; this definition is too broad. On the other hand, the Dreyfusard definition, which overemphasizes an intellectual's marginality and reliance on universal principles, is too narrow. The account that I offer and defend attempts to explain how intellectuals operate in contemporary, developed societies. The core of this definition is the intellectual's engagement with a tension between her personal autonomy, or free relationship to ideas, and her public authority, or ability to address a public on matters of general concern.

I analyze two predominant categories of intellectuals in contemporary society: *critical*

intellectuals and *expert intellectuals*. Critical intellectuals attempt to maximize their personal autonomy to maintain the freedom to critique existing authority and the status quo. Although many authors claim that critical intellectuals must resist institutions and pursue a free-floating status, I claim that critical intellectuals can (and should) affiliate with contemporary institutions. Some claim that challenges to universal values, such as reason, truth, or justice, invalidate the critical intellectual's ability to address the public sphere. I claim that contemporary critical intellectuals can pursue new epistemological foundations and continue to voice critical opinions.

Expert intellectuals are those professionals and specialists who not only cultivate expertise in an intellectual field, but enter the public sphere to apply their expert knowledge to contemporary social and political questions. Though some claim that expert knowledge is too rarefied to be communicated to a general audience or applied to public matters, I claim that experts can (and do) successfully engage the public sphere. In the end, I challenge the very distinction between critical intellectuals and expert intellectuals. I claim that contemporary conditions offer the opportunity for *critical expert intellectuals* to emerge and play a positive and provocative role in the public sphere.

Finally, I analyze four contemporary conditions that simultaneously present new challenges to and opportunities for intellectuals in the information age. These conditions are: professionalization, the challenge to universal values, fragmentation of the public sphere and diffusion of authority. Though intellectuals face new challenges, a closer look reveals that contemporary society offers intellectuals many promising opportunities for engaging in public discourse and criticism. Contemporary conditions call for a new account of intellectuals.

Daniel Edward Lipton

Civil Marriage: New Directions, Old Values

I argue that the federal recognition of same-sex couples is a social and political necessity in the United States. Civil marriage is currently the only kind of federal recognition afforded to intimate couples. It provides married partners with added financial and legal security, and social recognition. These benefits secure a more stable union for married partners, and greater stability for their family. The benefits and espoused political purposes of civil marriage do not preclude the recognition of same-sex couples. Nevertheless, the federal government continues to deny same-sex couples legal recognition on account of exclusive religious and moral convictions. In light of the religious and moral roadblocks to same-sex marriage, civil unions offer the most viable alternative for the federal recognition of same-sex couples.

Civil marriage is first and foremost, a political institution. The state registers married couples for the purposes of distributing benefits, structuring families, encouraging stable relationships and preserving social stability. Critics of civil marriage argue that in light of its socially and morally constraining effects, marriage has no place as a political institution in the liberal state. But, the liberal state cannot afford to ignore intimate and sexual relationships, given their significant role in reproducing society and its basic institutions. Similarly, married couples depend upon civil marriage to validate, stabilize, and give private and public meaning to their

commitment.

Adversaries of same-sex marriage contend that same-sex couples threaten to undermine the tradition of civil marriage, and shatter the marital ideal. But, recent court rulings – both in favor of and in opposition to same-sex marriage – offer no evidence that same-sex relationships would undermine the most fundamental characteristics of the tradition of civil marriage. The traditional interpretation of civil marriage, as put forth in the federal government, is a narrow construction of an evolving and diverse tradition. The social ideals of monogamy, fidelity, spirituality, and long-term commitment apply to both heterosexual and homosexual couples. The proposed amendment to ban same-sex marriage threatens to place artificial constraints on the tradition of civil marriage for present and future generations.

Despite the federal government's unwillingness to recognize same-sex marriage, it still has a social and political responsibility to grant same-sex couples equal rights and benefits. A federal system of civil unions is the best alternative in light of the deadlock over civil marriage. Granting same-sex couples social and legal recognition would shore up inconsistencies in American law and society. Same-sex couples and the gay community are a well-established cultural, economic and political force. They embody the most central qualities of the marital arrangement and marriage-like relationships. By failing to recognize same-sex couples, the federal government reinforces harmful ambiguities in the moral fabric of American society.

The federal recognition of civil unions and same-sex couples requires competing political camps to permit ideological concessions for the sake of a more coherent social policy and stable society.

Srinivas Chidambaram Parinandi

Revisiting a Repudiated Dream: A Critique of Economic, Nationalist, and Geopolitical Approaches to the Soviet Collapse

This thesis critically reviews historiography that deals with one of the most important events of the last quarter century: the December 1991 disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. During the last fifteen years, a new area of academic debate has opened up surrounding the issue of the causes and motivations of Soviet collapse. Scholars have framed the collapse in a number of different ways but have largely settled on three explanations in response to the question of "why" the USSR broke apart.

The first explanation focuses on the economic deficiencies of the Soviet system and maintains that the USSR was destroyed by a combination of inept management and foolish development practices. It particularly suggests that the absence of private property in the USSR created a situation in which the Kremlin was responsible to no one and pursued economic projects with political rather than financial considerations in mind. The end of the Soviet Union came, according to this explanation, in 1986 when a drop in global oil prices forced Moscow to embark on the disastrous reform programs of glasnost and perestroika.

The second explanation focuses on the national deficiencies of the Soviet system and

situates the Soviet collapse in the context of ethnic turmoil. Here, the argument is that the USSR imploded because its diverse and multiethnic population was tired of Marxism-Leninism and wanted to be rid of a regime that perpetuated cultural chauvinisms in the name of eliminating them. The Russians, even though they were the "imperial" ethnicity of the Soviet state, agreed to let the non-Russians secede because they no longer wanted to shoulder the burdens of empire. According to this explanation, 1991 represented the culmination of a process of decolonization that began in Russia in 1917.

The third explanation focuses on the so-called geopolitical deficiencies of the Soviet system and argues that the defeat of the Soviet Union in the 1945-1989 Cold War fueled the collapse of the Soviet state two years later. This explanation also posits two smaller claims: one that America (and Ronald Reagan) spent the USSR out of existence and showed the Soviets the virtues of democracy; and two that Mikhail Gorbachev unwittingly provoked the Soviet demise when he repudiated Cold War conflict with the United States.

The three explanations make provocative and valuable points about the nature of the Soviet collapse but have not been compared against each other to determine the strengths and weaknesses of their respective claims. In this thesis, I conduct such a comparison and try to evaluate the persuasiveness of these "economic," "nationalist," and "geopolitical" schools of thought. I devote the three body chapters of the piece to surveying and critiquing prominent works of history that are associated with each particular school of thought. Each chapter is a self-contained historiographical paper that deals with one specific issue of the Soviet collapse in depth. The thesis thus represents a series of review essays rather than one whole integrated piece.

In the conclusion of the thesis, I link the different review essays together and comment on the persuasiveness of the three explanations. I argue that the economic explanation is the most convincing of the three and base my claim on a "proximate" reason related to glasnost and perestroika and an "ultimate" reason related to the nature of the Soviet experiment. I end the thesis with a short discussion about the future of Sovietology and about how future monographs on the Soviet collapse might differ from current ones.

Johanna Peet

Broodje Kaas Met Falafel, Astublieft: An Analysis of Muslim Immigrants in the Netherlands

In this thesis, I analyze and explain the variations in the absorption of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands. I will focus specifically on the period of between 1945 and 1989, when the largest waves of Muslim immigration took place and also the period during which the Netherlands shifted from assimilationist polices to a clear multicultural immigration policy in 1983. Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands are identified not according to sect, but by according to their ethnic identity. Ethnic identity, therefore, remains the most useful analytical unit, and in this thesis, I will focus on five major ethnic immigrant groups: Indonesian-Dutch, Surinamese, Moluccan, Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. I argue that their divergent integration

experiences can be explained by three critical factors: colonial legacies, the time of their immigration, and the nature of their of Islamic identity.

Colonial Legacies prove significant in three ways: language, culture, and citizenship rights. Indonesian-Dutch and Surinamese immigrants coming from former Dutch colonies spoke Dutch, had extensive interaction with Dutch culture and society, and came over as Dutch citizens. I argue that these three characteristics led to weak ethnic identity formation amongst the immigrants, including Muslims, and resulted in a fairly successful integration process. Moreover, since the immigrants came over as citizens, the Dutch government 1) recognized their immigration was permanent; and 2) responded to their arrival with strong economic, education, and housing policies to ensure a smooth integration process. Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, in comparison, lacked Dutch language skills and an orientation to Dutch culture and traditions. Instead of weak ethnic identities, the immigrants came over with strong cultural identities and ties to their country of origin. Finally, unlike the colonial immigrants, the Dutch government viewed their immigration as temporary and failed to implement policies to ensure their integration.

Time. In the case of Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands, two broad periods can be distinguished: pre-economic recession and post-economic recession. Immigrants, such as the Indonesian-Dutch, that came *earlier* and at the height of Dutch economic growth in the 1950's, quickly became absorbed into the Dutch labor market. In comparison, the guestworkers arrived in the 1960's and early 1970's and gradually brought their families in the late 1970's and 1980's. The severe economic recession left many of the unskilled guestworkers unemployed. Lacking sufficient knowledge of Dutch or strong educational backgrounds, many of these guestworkers and their families continue to suffer economic marginalization and limited economic integration.

Islamic Identities Unlike the Indonesian and Surinamese immigrants, the Turkish and Moroccan guestworkers represented a very homogenous population, bringing to the Netherlands a strong commitment to Islam and a cultural identity centered on their religion. I argue that Christian background of the Netherlands and the recent secularization of Dutch society, immigrants practicing a more secular version of Islam integrate much easier than those practicing a more fundamentalist or radical Islam. Moreover, the more visible one's Islamic practice, the more likely members of society are to criticizes your presence as a threat to national cultural integrity.

Finally, I argue that the failure to integrate Turkish and Moroccan immigrants represents the failure of multiculturalist polices in the 1980's and has led, instead, to a gradual return to assimilationist polices. I therefore conclude with a brief commentary on the future of Dutch immigration policies, arguing due to the failure of multiculturalist policies, the Netherlands is gradually returning to an assimilationist policy.

Kathleen Pennock

"For the Life of the World": Christian Mission and the Postmodern Condition

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the contemporary cultural context of mission, both in its challenges and opportunities, and treat this as an occasion to recall some essential aspects of biblical Christian mission. Missiology is the theological study of the mission of the church—of the purpose of the Christian church's existence in the world. While written in its theological content for a Christian audience, this thesis contains extended sociological insights which should be relevant to all—the postmodern condition is the cultural context of everyone. Summarizing the work of four contemporary missiologists—N.T. Wright, Lesslie Newbigin, Richard Bauckham, and Brian Walsh—I define the church's mission as to live for the life of the world, and to do so, in the power of God's Spirit, by being restored to the image of God and anticipating the life of the kingdom of God.

The first chapter then attempts to lend perspective on important facets of contemporary culture through an extended cultural history that explores both intellectual and institutional developments from the 18th-century Enlightenment onward. After characterizing these cultural developments, it highlights the phenomenological consequences of modernity—how modernity affects our very way of being-in-the-world and making sense of reality—especially the experience of radical deinstitutionalization and subjectivization. It names the contemporary situation, for lack of a better term, "the postmodern condition." The chapter concludes by raising three issues which both are part and parcel of the postmodern condition and are imperative for mission—meaning, authority, and power.

In Chapter Two I take on the question of meaning and suggest that the cumulative effect of modernity has been to render universal truth and coherent meaning intellectually incredible and institutionally implausible. Then, using foremost the work of N.T. Wright, I lay out an alternative epistemological account—"critical realism"—which attempts to make room for the credibility of coherent meaning, while reorienting epistemology towards the essentially relational character of human life. I then take the work of Bauckham and Newbigin to reconsider the doctrine of election, which actually rests on a type of critical realist epistemology, as the biblical concept of the navigation of universal and particular meanings—precisely the very relational activity that takes place as the local church goes out in mission.

In Chapter Three I look at the question of authority, considering the way authority transitioned from a primarily sacred form into the radical subjectivism present in therapeutic culture today. I consider the way that authority functions within mission, both in how the church lives under the authority of the biblical narrative and, as bearers of the image of God, reflects the rule of the God she worships into the creation. And finally, in Chapter Four, I address the question of power—both the postmodern suspicion of all truth as expression of the will-to-power and the experience of life under modern forms of empire. I propose that mission involves the church acting as witness to the liberating truth of Jesus and embodying a profoundly anti-imperial ethic, one that will include suffering, weakness, and identification with the marginal and forgotten.

I conclude that the temptation for mission today will be either for the church to behave as a vender in the therapeutic spirituality marketplace or a coercive political body enforcing an inflexible moral agenda. Against these, I argue for the importance of reimagining mission as the vocation of living for the life of the world, reflecting the image of the triune God into the creation and anticipating in the church's communal life the fullness of life in the coming kingdom of God.

Lauren Kelley Ross

Honor in Contemporary Universities: History, Tradition and Inclusion

The history of honor in the United States is deeply rooted in the South. Honor was one of the primary values for southern society. I explore the key factors that defined southern honor, such as an emphasis on community and individual reputation. The concept of southern honor, though, was founded on exclusivity. White, southern men derived power from honor by excluding certain groups of people. After establishing the history of honor in the southern United States, I explore how honor became institutionalized in colleges throughout the South. Using the University of Virginia as a specific example, I consider the early history of the school and the formation of the original Honor System.

I then introduce four other schools and their honor systems: Washington and Lee University, Vanderbilt University, Duke University and the University of South Carolina. I explain the history of each university and the history of honor at the university, expanding on the earlier history of the University of Virginia. I also explore the current honor system in place for each school; I characterize each system as either traditional or modified. I focus particular attention on the philosophy and processes of the contemporary honor system.

After establishing these five schools, I ask whether or not the systems are effective. I measure one aspect of their effectiveness: the ability to mitigate levels of cheating. Drawing on two important studies conducted by Donald McCabe and Linda Trevino, I contend that schools with honor codes have lower levels of cheating than schools without a code; I also find that traditional honor systems have the lowest levels of cheating, followed by rates of cheating at schools with modified honor codes. An honor system in and of itself will not reduce the level of cheating; one key to the success of an honor system is its integration within the school environment.

Given the importance of congruence between the community and the honor system, my research considers this factor at each of my five sample schools. I ask whether or not the schools' honor systems have adapted to their changing environment. I argue that the most traditional honor systems are the slowest and least likely to change. A more modified system however, came from a desire to serve the needs of the contemporary students. Though all systems reflect some aspects of southern honor, traditional systems have the strongest ties to their southern heritage; modified systems seem include and to adapt to the current student body better than their traditional counterparts.

Despite its troubled history, the concept of honor is not irredeemable; many schools work, in good faith, in teach students the value of integrity and honesty. An awareness of this

history is crucial in moving forward. Schools must consider how they can separate themselves from the exclusive, traditional aspects of honor while retaining the value of integrity. The ideal is important to preserve, and changing the processes and certain aspects of the systems makes honor inclusive of the entire student body.

David Szakonyi

A Theory of Student-led Revolution: Examining Three Cases of Modern Student Protest

I argue first that students must be studied as a specific demographic responsible for initiating and leading social movements. As the dominant paradigm of social movement theory, the "political process" model offers tangible insight into student movements, but fails to address the specific challenges students face when constructing mass oppositions. I contend that, as isolated, inexperienced, and often radical actors, students encounter numerous obstacles that prevent them from mounting successful political challenges. Without avenues into the polity, students must take to the streets to actualize their demands, but the risk of such a venture requires careful, calculated strategizing. These characteristics of student activism often determine both the trajectory and outcome of the student activism.

I argue that students can best achieve their revolutionary aims by creating a "critical mass" of thousands of supporters challenging a government. Capitalizing on ritualized public events, such as commemorations or elections, student activists need to mobilize large sections of the populace into street protests against a regime. To achieve a high level of mobilization, students must first earn the trust of the society that they claim to represent by employing a formidable movement strategy.

My research suggests that three main areas of strategic decision-making affect the possibility of a successful outcome for student-led revolutions. First, the organizational structure of the movement must incorporate both decentralized and centralized elements. Leadership and responsibility must be diffused across a wide range of movement participants, but a central executive committee is also needed to regulate action-committees and facilitate discussions and debates within the movement. Next, students' choice of tactics influences the reception of the movement by potential participants and allies. All strategic actions must be *diverse*, *innovative*, and *nonviolent*, as the moral suasion offered by a strong adherence to pacifist principles will attract the most bystanders to an emergent movement. Lastly, as leaders of a movement, students must generate collective action frames that appeal both emotionally and rationally to bystanders. The moral suasion of injustice frames or nonviolent direct action may activate the consciences of bystanders, but ultimately sustained participation depends on the offering of pragmatic solutions to society.

By looking at three case studies of student-led revolution, I have undertaken a comparative analysis of these decisive factors affecting the chances of students to overthrow regimes. Chapters of my thesis will be devoted each to two abortive cases (France in 1968 and

China in 1989) as well as one successful revolution (Georgia 2003). In each case, a verifiable political opportunity existed within society for a student movement to exploit and build a challenge against different degrees of authoritarian regimes. All three of the student movements attempted to dramatically reshape the political climate of the state by pressing for increased political participation and representation. I finish the work by offering a set of questions concerning the future of student-led revolution.

Lucas L. Thornton

Argument and the Aesthetic Attitude of Kant and Schopenhauer

I argue that Schopenhauer's attempt to formulate an aesthetic attitude theory of beauty—a theory that understands beauty as a quality of the relation that exists between a subject and the world during a moment of "disinterested contemplation"—leads him to develop an "aesthetic argument" that stands in marked contrast to Kant's analytic method. I define an analytic argument as an argument wherein every premise, proposition, and conclusion stands in a logically necessary relation to every other premise, proposition, and conclusion in that argument.

In the *Tracatus Logico-Philosophicus* Wittgenstein asserts: "that about which we cannot speak, we must pass over in silence." This statement is a curious analytic tautology. Obviously, if you cannot speak about a subject, you must pass over that subject in silence. Consequently, one might take Wittgenstein to mean that all subjects about which we can speak are analytic. To make such a statement one commits to the belief that all subjects can be exhaustively described in language. I argue that it is possible to think of good art as a kind of language that speaks of "that about which we cannot speak." When you look upon the beautiful can you conceptually define all that you feel? Neither Schopenhauer, nor I, can provide such a definitive account. This, however, presents a unique problem for philosophy. How does one speak philosophically about art, if one believes art defies conceptual knowledge? I argue that Schopenhauer's opus, *The World as Will and Representation*, provides a response to this question.

Understanding Schopenhauer's "aesthetic argument" demands a familiarity with Kant's *Critique of Judgment*. In the first part of my thesis, "The Analytic Approach to Beauty in the Philosophy of Kant," I show how Kant develops a theory of taste that focuses on the interrelation, or free-play, of man's cognitive faculties during a moment of aesthetic reflection. I argue that the subject of Kant's argument stands in tension with his commitment to the analytic method and leads to two diametrically opposed interpretations of the *Critique of Judgment*. On the one hand, Kant's attention to the "subjective feeling" lays the groundwork for Schopenhauer, and others, to develop a more complete aesthetic attitude theory of beauty that emphasizes the creative role of the aesthetic judge in any experience of the beautiful. On the other hand, Kant's clinical method of argument inspires many to focus on the objective properties of a beautiful object in complete isolation from the aesthetic judge.

The second part of my thesis, "The Aesthetic Appropriation of Kant's Idea of 'Disinterested Contemplation' in the Philosophy of Schopenhauer," examines the way in which

Schopenhauer responds to both the form and the content of Kant's argument. The first three books of Schopenhauer's *World as Will and Representation* form a synthetic whole. The integrity of this whole manifests in both the formal composition of parts and in the thematic content of the narrative. It is my argument that the thematic progression of the *World as Will and Representation* (epistemology to metaphysics to aesthetics) runs parallel to a shift in how Schopenhauer thinks about argument. In his first book, I argue that Schopenhauer presents an argument that expresses methodical continuity with Kant by offering an analytic interpretation of Kant's Transcendental Aesthetic. Schopenhauer's second book moves away from Kant's style of argument by exposing the limitations of logical (or transcendental) deductions. Finally, I argue that Schopenhauer's third book represents a completely new kind of aesthetic argument. It is my contention that only an "aesthetic argument" can capture the importance we ascribe to everyday judgments of beauty.

Zaahira Wyne

On Icy Heights: An Exploration of Genius in Nietzsche's Philosophy

A recurrent theme in Nietzsche's work is the longing for genius, for a "higher" kind of human being. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*, the genius is solitary Zarathustra, a herald of the overman (*übermensch*) and prophet of the doctrine of eternal recurrence. In his own lifetime, Nietzsche singled out the philosopher Arthur Schopenhauer and, before the disappointment at Bayreuth, the composer Richard Wagner as "men of vision." Finally, Nietzsche recognized early on in himself the seeds of genius and marked himself as heir to the line of men—including Beethoven, Goethe, and Montaigne—who possessed "natures of iron." Mankind's highest aim, Nietzsche claimed, should be to create the conditions under which geniuses—as the most fully realized members of humanity—can live and, indeed, flourish.

In my thesis, I address the question: Who is the "Nietzschean genius" and what makes him possible? In "Schopenhauer as Educator," the philosopher's most explicit discussion of genius, Nietzsche identifies three types of genius as well as a number of basic traits that the genius must possess. The most important of these traits—which perhaps encompasses all the others—is "unmodern-ness." Nietzsche's ideas on the genius and its conditions are important because they form the basis of his critique of German culture. Nietzsche's cultural critique, I argue, arises, in part, from his views of great men and, in turn, reinforces and re-conceptualizes these views; in my thesis, I trace and analyze the relationship between Nietzsche's critique and his conception of great men.

A secondary question I have explored, which adds context to my main question is: Who is Nietzsche addressing in his work and why—when he talks about the genius? In *Reading the New Nietzsche*, David Allison observes, "Perhaps more than any other philosopher who readily comes to mind, Nietzsche writes exclusively for *you*....For you, the reader....Like a friend, he seems to share your every concern—and your aversions and suspicions as well." I argue that this is only partly true, since Nietzsche's audience appears to shift from the general, educated public in his *Meditations* to a subset of that public, namely men who have the potential to be great, in

Beyond Good and Evil.

Finally, I offer a critique of the genius, as Nietzsche seems to have characterized him. As is well known, the Nazis used Nietzsche's work to justify and exalt the crimes of the Third Reich and, in particular, used those concepts—such as *übermensch*, will to power, and slave/master morality—that have crucial bearing on the discussion of the Nietzschean genius. In light of this (mis)appropriation and the general tendency of Nietzsche's work to lend itself to misunderstanding, I explore what many consider to be some of the more disturbing aspects of Nietzsche's thoughts on genius.