Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2007

A-J Aronstein

Realistically Speaking: New American Realists and the Politics of the Contemporary Novel

I argue that contemporary novelists find themselves at a crossroads when considering the future of the novel as a genre. In an era of unprecedented media penetration, novelists face declining readership even as they must somehow respond to questions posed by the implications of anti-foundationalist modern/postmodern theory. They must therefore confront both practical and abstract problems by writing serious but popular novels that address significant literary concerns while reaching broad audiences to compete with other forms of media. Introducing the problem with an analysis of the last thirty years of American literature, I suggest that a new school of realists presents the best response to these pressing issues. Their solution, an aesthetic that reexamines the goals of traditional realism and offers a new set of formal criteria, stands as the best chance to reinvigorate the novel's capacity for political and social significance. To argue this position, I use studies of three authors who I claim exemplify the New Realists in America.

Jonathan Franzen, Jhumpa Lahiri, and Claire Messud have written works that exemplify the means by which New Realists have redefined the role of the novel in contemporary America. In Franzen's novel *The Corrections*, he admits the impossibility of using the realist novel as a form of social instruction and instead uses the form of his novel to reflect on the interconnectedness and interdependence of individuals in contemporary society. Lahiri, who uses a different tactic in both *Interpreter of Maladies* and *The Namesake*, focuses almost exclusively on the revitalization of the everyday as a worthwhile arena of consideration for literary significance. Her portrayal of the everyday lives of Indian-Americans not only creates an account of their experience of assimilation, but more broadly considers questions of identity and self-definition in America. Messud's novel *The Emperor's Children* represents a combination of these two aesthetic approaches, as she combines an analysis of historical moment with a close examination of literature's place in the everyday lives of her characters. She asserts that the uniqueness of the novel as a genre rises out of its ability to appropriate and integrate different literary and media "languages" into one narrative. This integrated narrative realistically represents the world as individuals experience it.

All three of these novelists deal with the interaction of individuals with society, and though they borrow formal elements from traditional realist, they have different underlying assumptions about both the nature and purpose of literature. Using novels as a means of reflecting the world in a

given historical context, while recognizing a real need for accessible language and recognizable plot and characters, I conclude that the New Realists have transformed the realist aesthetic. In doing so, they offer a future course for the novel, and have redefined how authors should engage with politics and society in their fiction.

Josh Cincinnati

Edit This Thesis: The Power of Wikipedia, Community, and Democracy

With every great technological innovation comes a transformation in the way humanity organizes and socializes itself. The Internet has ushered in an age of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) and has fundamentally altered the way human beings collaborate and socialize into communities. While there are many Internet communities to study, there is one in particular that is unique among its peers: Wikipedia. I argue that Wikipedia represents a new model of online community, one that effectively combines mass collaboration and interaction with elements from more close-knit Open Source software projects. Through this unique model, Wikipedia instills democratic values into its users and encourages civic engagement. I suggest further that Wikipedia's community model could be applied to many problems outside the domain of a free encyclopedia project.

To prove my arguments, I first trace the historical development of the Internet, Open Source movements, and primitive communities online to provide context to Wikipedia's development. I consider Howard Rheingold's conception of *virtual community* and build a framework to discuss online communities. With that framework in mind, I examine the history of the Wiki concept, Nupedia, and ultimately Wikipedia, and show how the Wikipedia community developed into its modern state. Within that development, I trace both qualitative and quantitative elements of Wikipedia's community: how many contribute, who contributes, how much they contribute, and whether their contributions benefit the project. I compare Wikipedia's community model, which I dub the "wikiunity" model, with other Open Source projects, and ask why anyone would contribute to any of these projects.

After I show that Wikipedia's wikiunity is a largely effective community, I examine three of the major criticisms against the project through case studies, and show how the wikiunity model adapts to each of these criticisms. To see if the wikiunity model could benefit from other online communities, I compare the wikiunity model to several other modern models of virtual community, including blogs, media/content sharing sites, social networks, and online games. I demonstrate that the wikiunity model already incorporates most of the positive features of these communities, and make one final comparison: to Citizendium, an expert-edited version of Wikipedia that automatically constructs elitism and power differentials within the community. The wikiunity model may be superior to Citizendium, but the analysis is incomplete and speculative, since Citizendium is still not open to the public. After I establish Wikipedia as one of the most effective online communities, I demonstrate that the wikiunity model also instills democratic values and engages its users through the Wiki process of editing, the statistical accuracy of the project, innovative content licensing, and the hesitance of certain authoritarian states to unblock Wikipedia from their country-wide firewalls. Finally, I recommend that given Wikipedia's demonstrated efficacy and civic engagement, the

wikiunity model should be applied to other policy and government-based missions outside of the free encyclopedia.

Elena Maria Coyle
Public Housing and the Difference Principle: A Policy Analysis in post-Katrina New Orleans

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), acting in receivership of the Housing Authority of New Orleans (HANO), has violated the foundational precepts of social justice through its proposal to demolish more than three thousand units of public housing in New Orleans, Louisiana. Although these properties sustained only minor damage as a result of the heavy wind and high floodwaters of Hurricane Katrina, the St. Bernard, B.W. Cooper, and C.J. Peete developments will be subject to disposition, and to subsequent redevelopment, as private, mixed-income, mixed-used communities (barring an injunction in the pending civil action *Yolanda Anderson et al. v. Alphonso Jackson et al.*, 06-3298.) Should HUD be successful in these endeavors, the number of affordable rental units provided through federal housing subsidies will be decreased by nearly eighty percent— occasioning the permanent displacement, and the effectual homelessness, of as many as fourteen thousand low-income persons.

I argue that the current policy debate on the rehabilitation of these developments has need of normatively evaluative standards. These will provide a uniform basis for comparison among the three disparate redevelopment proposals with respect to considerations of equity and fairness.

The three proposals are as follows: the first, set forth by the housing authority is that described in the introductory paragraph; the second, advanced by the displaced tenants, calls for the right of all former residents to reoccupy their units; the third, presented by a coalition of the tenants, private investors, and socially responsible developers, advocates the creation of a Limited Equity Cooperative (LEC) to allow for the rehabilitation of seventy percent of the units to be demolished under the HUD plan and for the creation of affordable homeownership opportunities.

Efficiency, utility, and stability are insufficient standards within this policy analysis owing to the fact that they cannot secure the just entitlements of the displaced tenants. I illustrate, in contrast, the benefits of a deontological, social contract theory approach above those of these teleological alternatives. Moreover, I suggest how certain features of Rawlsian ideal theory, namely, the difference principle, could be modified to serve as the guiding precept of the policy analysis.

The difference principle maintains that the distribution of primary goods within the basic structure of society is to be to the advantage of the least well off. I argue that the HUD proposal ought to be rejected in accordance with this standard. I further conclude, through comparison of the right of return and LEC alternatives, that the latter best satisfies, the demands of justice expressed through the difference principle, and as such, ought to be adopted.

Kate Cristol
"No Little Lady'ing Her:" Gender and Electoral Representation in American South

Where are the women? Scholars of gender studies and political science have studied numerous explanations for the lack of gender parity in American government, particularly at the highest levels. Aggregate data guides much of their analysis, but this thesis approaches the issue at hand from a regional perspective. Throughout the summer of 2006, I conducted original field research in North Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas. Drawing upon this research, I assert that there are commonalities to the election of the female U.S. senators representing those states. I advance two major explanations for their successes and argue that certain characteristics of gender relations in the South served to benefit them as political candidates. I begin this thesis with the argument that the South's traditionalism creates a climate for women candidates that is unique to the region. To support this, I rely on polling data and representation statistics as compared with the rest of the nation, the model of political scientist Daniel Elazar for measuring political culture, and the historical perspective on the evolution of Southern politics of seminal southern political historian V.O. Key to substantiate my case for designating southern states as traditionalistic political societies.

I offer two potential explanations for the success of these women senators. The first explanation is that southern women benefit, in campaigns and electoral politics, from the residual chivalric code that still governs the interaction between the sexes in the South. I support this gentility explanation with a discussion of both the historical and contemporary public and private sphere relationships between men and women in the South. Using my case studies as illustrations, I argue that chivalry advantages southern women candidates by allowing them to opt out of the paradox of negativity that disadvantages their counterparts running in non-South states.

My second argument claims that southern women capitalize on familial stereotypes as a way of bridging historical private sphere power into the public sphere. This argument explores the role of these archetypes in electoral politics and asserts that women candidates are conscious of and directly involved in the perpetuation of gendered stereotypes in their campaigns as well as historical perspectives on matriarchal power in the southern private sphere. Paired with evidence drawn from my case studies, I use these findings to make the argument that familial stereotypes have allowed southern women candidates to negotiate power in a way that is unthreatening in a traditionalistic society.

More generally, I argue that these two phenomena work in concert to allow southern women candidates to benefit from gendered campaigning. From a normative perspective, I aim to shed insight into the broader question of achieving equal gender representation in traditionalistic political cultures within the United States.

Rachel Crouch
Property Formalization and Infrastructural Development in Peri-Urban Lima

In this thesis, I argue that in peri-urban Lima formal property titles have had significant positive effects on investment in public goods for the improvement of urban human settlements. Though—according to my findings—formal, individual property titles tend to have a negative effect on collective action and

investment in urban improvements *within* settlement communities, they do promote greater investment in community infrastructure by entities external to the settlements.

Since the 1940s, Lima—like other major cities in the developing world—has faced rapid population growth resulting from migration from the countryside. In the absence of adequate state- or market-provided housing options, the majority of migrants and their children have informally occupied land, without titles, and have built homes in informal human settlements on the periphery of the city. Since the 1960s, attempts have been made to legalize such informal property holdings, but bans on future informal settlement have made a sustainable property formalization regime impossible. I focus on the most recent, and perhaps most comprehensive, of these attempts: the Commission for the Formalization of Informal Property (COFOPRI).

I argue that once a community receives formal titles, although settlers are more inclined to invest in their own residences as a result of their greater tenure security, they tend to do so at the expense of effort and money spent in collective community improvement projects. This centrifugal tendency, however, need not doom effective community organization in human settlements; rather, with an effective leader, settlement governing organizations can use titles as tools for encouraging investment in their communities by public and private service providers and other agencies.

Indeed, in deciding whether to invest in infrastructure in a poor settlement community, these external entities put a great deal of stock in whether a settlement has received formal, registered titles; for this aspect of investment in public infrastructure, title and the cadastre that accompanies them have a very positive effect. External investors, like the public water company, take titles as a guarantee that the settlement will not move off the land it occupies. They rely on the cadastre to be certain that they are placing their infrastructure on land on which they have a right to so, in order to be certain that they will not have to move it or become involved in legal entanglements if someone claims it as private property. In order to fund this large-scale, more efficient provision of communal infrastructure, titles also provide the government with the opportunity to more efficiently tax settlement residents, both because they can now be obliged to pay taxes on property that is formally theirs and because they can be tracked by means of the cadastral system.

Because property titles are so important for facilitating the coordination of investment in public infrastructure in human settlements, the recent focus on titling programs by the Peruvian government and international development agencies is warranted. However, in order to prevent the accumulation of illegally held property and the bottlenecks to the legal system it has caused, a system of property titling and registration based on individual initiative should be explored. Such a system could allow for more humane urbanization by encouraging more rapid provision of basic urban infrastructure and could reduce the opportunity for national politicians to use centrally directed property titling initiatives as populist projects that have been shown to be unsustainable.

Kate Daughdrill
   Art Matters: The Role of Socially Engaged Art in Improving Local Communities

In this thesis, I explore the use of community-based, socially engaged art by arts organizations and collaborative groups in responding to local social problems. I argue that in order for this type of work to

be considered compelling art, it must be concerned with both its artistic and social effectiveness. I assert that community-based, socially engaged art is particularly successful in making a sustainable impact on both local social conditions and the broader discourse of art when it incorporates local communities into the *format* of the work. To demonstrate this, I analyze the varying approaches utilized by the international arts organization ArtCorps, the arts organization Sculpture Chicago's "Culture in Action" program, and the collaborative artist group WochenKlauser in creating community-based, socially engaged art that helps improve social conditions in local communities.

First I provide historical and theoretical context through with to understand community-based, socially engaged artwork. I explore Grant Kester's writings on dialogical and community-based public art, Suzi Gablik's arguments for a more relational, participatory model of art making, Nicholas Bourriaud's theories of relational aesthetics, and the broader field of arts-based community development. After situating this type of work within its developing critical discourse, I explore the artistic practices employed by Arts Corps, "Culture in Action," and WochenKlauser as I tease out how each organization or collaborative group defines artistic and social effectiveness. To better understand how these different approaches function, I analyze how content is generated, communicated, and received in each type of work and explore its varying relationships to its respective public and relevant bureaucratic agencies and organizations.

Ultimately, I compare and contrast these observations in order to demonstrate that the most compelling socially engaged, community-based artwork aims at both its artistic and social effectiveness. I utilize the modernist art critic Michael Fried's artistic criteria of fecundity; this considers what a work of art gives birth to or begets, to demonstrate how "Culture in Action" most successfully addresses the concerns of the critical discourse of art while incorporating participating communities into the format of the work in ways that allow for the art to continue influencing both the artistic and social realms. I argue that socially engaged art is most successful when it is employed as the *format* or *process* of social engagement rather than the *means*. In incorporating a local community into the format of the art, community members participate in artistic and social engagement in ways that shape them to continue working to improve local social conditions after the work's completion. Ultimately, I make demands that community-based, socially engaged art be concerned with its own fecundity—and that it be art.

Benjamin P. DeForest
        Translating the Boundaries: A Comparative Study of Ancient, Modern and Contemporary Conceptions of Disciplinarity

I analyze the works of three philosophers—Aristotle, René Descartes and Auguste Comte—with the aim of demonstrating that the conceptions of intellectual disciplines active or implicit in their works diverge in important respects from the conception of disciplines most prevalent in contemporary intellectual discourse. I suggest four characteristics according to which a conception of disciplinarity might be analyzed: the imagery and vocabulary employed in the conception, the manner in which the claims of various disciplines are coordinated, the means by which the aims or ideals of a discipline are established, and the relation between the subject and the object of a disciplinary inquiry.

In Aristotle's conception of disciplinarity, the imagery of *technê*—an art, or skilled craft—dominates. This imagery is characterized positively by a contingency and flexibility of constituent practices, a conception of action in a limited scope of time, the equivalence of particular identity with action, and the image of the human being engaged in the practice of any discipline. It is characterized negatively by a lack of any sense of spatiality. Aristotle coordinates the claims of various disciplines by admitting their mutual efficacy and explanatory power. Aims and ideals of particular disciplines in Aristotle's conception are stated with respect to the activities peculiar to their disciplines, and not with respect to an activity shared by all disciplines. The subject and object of particular disciplines in Aristotle's conception are characterized by a relationship of reciprocal determination.

The dominant set of imagery in Descartes's conception of disciplinarity is light, both as it emanates from the sun and as it is reflected off of various objects. This imagery is characterized by a dependence upon objects for the determination of particular identity and a subordination of particular inquiries to inquiry as such (like the subordination of reflected light to the light of the sun). Descartes coordinates the claims of various disciplines by evaluating their correspondence with the truth. The aim of every discipline in Descartes's conception is the same: the attainment of truth. The object of a disciplinary inquiry in Descartes's conception determines the subject of a particular discipline.

In Comte's conception of disciplinarity, disciplines are viewed as the branches of a tree. This imagery is characterized by a hierarchy of individual parts, a unity of substance among individual parts, structural connection among individual parts, and a dependence upon the relation between individual parts and the whole of the system for the determination of particular identity. Comte coordinates the claims of various disciplines by positing their relational dependence, with the activities of subordinate disciplines being dependent upon the claims of more foundational disciplines. Aims and ideals of particular disciplines in Comte's conception are determined with reference to the aims and ideals of the system as a whole. The subject and object of particular disciplines in Comte's conception are both determined by the relation of the particular disciplines to the system as a whole.

The imagery dominant in academic discourse today is that of disciplinary fields. This imagery is characterized by a conception of spatiality, a conception of interiority, an association with military and agricultural practices, and a dependence upon the subject of the inquiry for the determination of particular identity. We coordinate the claims of various disciplines by asserting their dominance with respect to certain sorts of claims. The aims and ideals of particular disciplines in the contemporary conception are determined by the particular disciplines with respect to the totality of all possible disciplinary activity. The subject of particular disciplines in the contemporary conception determines the object it studies.

I conclude that the various conceptions of disciplinarity analyzed in this study differ from one another in important respects. The premises according to which disciplinary work is evaluated vary among the different conceptions of disciplinarity, a circumstance which suggests that the evaluation of disciplinary work is dependent upon the conception of disciplinarity in which a disciplinary inquirer is operating. I suggest that an awareness of this dependence as it operates in past conceptions of disciplinarity can help us better explain the history of western thought in the context of its production. I further suggest that an awareness of the peculiarities of our disciplinary

situation today can help us avoid the wrongful explanation, interpretation and evaluation of contemporary disciplinary work by means of outmoded premises of disciplinary action and production.

Andrew Braedon Duncan
"The President in His Labyrinth": Chavismo & the Search for a Multipolar World

Since the Venezuelan elections of 1998, Hugo Chávez and his supporters have undercut the conventional wisdom that it is infeasible for Latin American states to resist the free-market neoliberal order. The *Chavistas* have begun to forge an alternative path to political participation and economic development that refuses to subordinate social equality and the pursuit of redistributive policies to the demands of globalized markets in the 21ˢᵗ century. *Chavismo*'s relative success in this effort calls into question assertions made frequently by U.S. policymakers regarding the "radicalism" of the Bolivarian Revolution. The counter-hegemonic nature of the movement also raises questions about the appropriate role of the nation-state in the era of "globalization."

The sociopolitical and ideological underpinnings of *Chavismo* must be understood in terms of the failures of Venezuela's *Punto Fijo* democracy after its founding in 1958. Elites from the dominant parties (AD and COPEI) of the *Punto Fijo* regime assumed that distributive policies funded by oil revenues would indefinitely contain social conflict. Although the regime was lauded as the region's most "exceptional" democracy, its elitist orientation rose to the surface as oil revenues declined in the 1980s. By 1989, resentment towards the regime peaked when the adoption of an IMF austerity package sparked riots across the nation. Living standards deteriorated among the poor during the 1990s, and voter abstention increased as the dominant parties were increasingly perceived as corrupt and unresponsive to the needs of citizens. In his 1998 campaign, Chávez excoriated AD and COPEI, and pledged to cure the nation's "moral cancer" by way of a "Bolivarian Revolution." Given the undemocratic elements of the *Punto Fijo* regime, it is difficult to argue that democratic governance has deteriorated under the Chávez administration.

With the Bolivarian Revolution, the *Chavistas* have attempted to endow the legacy of Simón Bolívar with renewed significance for modern Latin American identity by emphasizing his beliefs about the sovereignty and equality of citizens. This attempt can be traced directly to the "Cult of Bolívar," which raised the Liberator to a status worthy of near-religious adulation during the 19ᵗʰ and 20ᵗʰ centuries. The hero of Latin American independence has been invoked by countless despots, and *Chavismo* seeks to exorcise the Liberator from an insipid symbolism. Chávez also seeks to portray himself publicly as the rightful political heir to Bolívar. Furthermore, he claims that the 1998 elections marked the beginning of a new era in Venezuela's history in which the state responds to the challenges faced by *el pueblo*—the people. Rhetorically, the *Chavistas* emphasize the importance of humanized capitalism, participatory democracy, and pan-American political and economic integration.

My research shows that efforts to categorize *Chavismo* as another manifestation of "populism" prove misguided. Chávez's persistent electoral dominance (despite the efforts of a U.S.-backed opposition) and his movement's ability to bring tangible benefits to poor Venezuelans constitute a novel approach to stimulating civil society activism. These efforts include the creation of

community-based education programs, healthcare clinics, and the provision of credit for small business cooperatives. Popular diplomatic initiatives also suggest a novel role for oil in economic integration and trade among Latin American nations. Lastly, *Chavismo* has disproved critics who argued that its hostility to the private sector would cripple the Venezuelan economy. Although recent developments justify apprehension regarding the authoritarian tendencies of the Chávez administration, I argue that it is too early to judge *Chavismo* as a failure. Should the Bolivarian Revolution continue to prove successful in the years to come, *Chavismo*'s vision of pan-American integration and "twenty-first century socialism" may become a model of resistance to other nations struggling with the purportedly untamable forces of global capitalism.

Daniel Joseph Foré
High Politics and Political Theory: The Major Writings of Marvell, Sidney and Locke

I examine the writings of Andrew Marvell, Algernon Sidney and John Locke during the Restoration Crisis in England during 1677-1683. I argue that despite the fact that these three men used different forms of writing, all three sought to achieve the same ends. The three were all concerned with the arbitrary nature of the rule of King Charles II.

Writing in 1677, Andrew Marvell was concerned by what he perceived to be Charles's attempts to exert tyrannical rule over England. He believed that a plot existed to establish popery in England. Marvell's tract used historical examples in an attempt to prove that Charles had sought an alliance with the Catholic absolutist King Louis XIV of France. The two had formed a plot to remove sovereignty from the people of England in favor of a popish absolutist regime. The writings of Marvell and others like him kept the threat of popery and arbitrary government fresh in the minds of the people of England and contributed to the spread of the Popish Plot in 1678.

Writing between 1681 and 1683, Algernon Sidney sought to spread his vision of politics in England. In *Discourses,* Sidney argued that sovereignty resided within the citizens of a commonwealth. He argued that absolute monarchies were necessarily unjust and that absolute authority should be resisted by whatever means necessary. Sidney argued in favor of change and rebellion. *Discourses* was in many ways a call for a rebellion in England to replace Charles II. Sidney argued that the ideal form of government was a republic based upon virtue. Sidney made these claims because they supported his religious views. Sidney believed that a republic was designed to best protect the Protestant cause from the spread of Catholicism that the Counter Reformation represented.

Finally, John Locke's *Second Treatise* is often viewed merely as a work of political theory. I argue that Locke's entire argument in *Second Treatise* was designed to advocate rebellion in England. I dissect Locke's logical progression in an attempt to demonstrate that *Second Treatise* is similar to a polemic in that its designs were to achieve a certain end in England.

The theme of this paper is that political theory should be studied alongside the history of the period in which it was created. I argue that reading *Second Treatise* as a work of theory alone fails to adequately address Locke's motivations. Reading Locke alongside the history of the Restoration Crisis demonstrates that Locke had goals beyond merely producing a theoretical tract.

McKenzie Haynes
毛主席万岁 *Long Live Chairman Mao: How the Symbol of Mao Zedong Reconciles the Paradox of Modern Chinese Political Culture*

I argue that the symbol of Mao Zedong is an essential aspect that reconciles the paradox of modern Chinese political culture. Prior to the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, China adhered to a rigid socialist philosophy, Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Thought. However during the Reform Era, which began in 1978, China has undergone capitalist economic reform and is currently the second largest global economy. Despite these immense changes, the Chinese government considers itself a "socialist" government. China operates under an authoritarian one-party system led by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), engages in free-market practice yet spouts socialist rhetoric.

I will argue that the CCP appropriates the symbol of Mao to sustain its legitimacy as well as legitimize new economic reforms. I also argue that the people of China use the symbol of Mao to reconcile the changing social and economic nature of the society. Before Mao became a symbol used to reconcile the changing nature of the society, the symbol had to be created. My thesis will discuss the ways in which Mao, an iconic paramount leader in Chinese culture, became a symbol. I will argue that during the Cultural Revolution Era, Mao's political manipulations and ideological indoctrination resulted in a schism between the man and the symbol. The schism between man and symbol occurred during the height of Mao's personality cult. The creation of Mao's symbol transformed the society and replaced "old culture" with "new culture." The "new culture" existed on the principles of Maoist thought. The schism between Mao the man and Mao the symbol, entrenched Mao into the political and social culture. This allowed for the eventual appropriation of the symbol by the Party and the people.

Although the one-party government uses authoritarian measures to sequester revolt against the political system and sustain its legitimacy, I argue that this is only one part of the equation. The symbol of Mao is used by the CCP to legitimize the changing social and economic structures and maintain a balance between the past and a rapidly changing present. The Party's reassessment of Mao during the Eleventh Plenum of the Central Committee in 1981 left Mao Zedong Thought unblemished, where as Mao Zedong practice was denounced. The Party took ownership of Mao after 1981, and appropriated his symbol to legitimize the changing policy.

Similarly, the Chinese people appropriated the symbol of Mao to reconcile the changing society and economy. In the 1980s and 1990s, a new cult of Mao formed. This new cult was different from the Cultural Revolution cult. The new cult was a consumerist cult where Mao paraphernalia was sold on the emerging free-market. I will argue that the recent cult was a reaction to the new consumerist society and represents how the people reconcile the changing society with symbols of the past.

I use Social Interaction Theory to explain how the meaning given to a symbol allows a symbol to remain in the cultural sphere. The CCP and the people give meaning to Mao's symbol; whether to legitimize reform, sustain political legitimacy, or to reconcile the changes of the past, Mao is given meaning. Through this process, modern Chinese society is able to reconcile the paradox.

Caitlin N. Howarth
The Imprint of Violence: Studying Mutilation in the Context of Genocide

The study of violence frequently confronts acts that defy explanation and threaten to overwhelm both victim and analyst. In the context of genocide, these acts occur with even greater frequency: once we have moved beyond the horror of the sheer numbers involved, we find ourselves blocked again by the extent of the inhumanity. Through its extremity and scope, collective violence overwhelms the capacity of our expressions and silences us.

By studying the imprint of violence upon the body, we listen to the things that still echo in that silence. As awful as the mutilated body appears, its form can be recognized as a construct built by the perpetrator of violence, its deformation a kind of language to interpret. Pushing past the natural desire to avoid the subject altogether, we can discover how the mutilated body testifies to the crimes perpetrated upon it. Sometimes, it designates the victim's identity; other times, it demonstrates the perpetrators' intent. And it is always relevant to the witness of the body, for the witness is one of the vital keys to the logic of mutilation. By turning our attention toward this subject and refusing to look away, the witness can defy the plans of the perpetrator and make the commission of violence that much harder to deny.

Through a series of comparative illustrations and extended case studies, this thesis will explore the mutilated body's potential as a harbinger of violence. Combining a forensic form of analysis with more traditional, macro-level considerations of socioeconomic and political conditions, it may be possible to develop a more definitive analysis of genocide in the early days of its occurrence. To this end, we keep in mind that the first victim of genocide is no less important than the 100th or the 1000th, and contend that the first victims may be able to tell us more about their situation than previously thought, through the signs etched in violence upon their bodies.

What they say varies from case to case. In Germany they speak of uncertainty among the persecutors, and a challenge to local witnesses, daring them to speak out. In Cambodia they speak of the strategy of a disproportionate response, one that both punishes the 'offender' and seeks to protect the perpetrator against future reprisal; this mechanism propels extreme violence forward in a self-perpetuating manner that is unlikely to stop until a third party forcibly intercedes. In Iraq, the bodies speak of a people targeted for extermination on the basis of their religion, despite the swell of counterarguments and macro-level chaos. From witness to perpetrator to victim, the bodies bear testimony to each party's role in these acts of collective violence. Incorporating a collection of theories, many of which trace back to Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish*, these testimonies are deciphered and analyzed for what they contribute to our understanding of violence. Ultimately, they may provide insights into the vulnerabilities of perpetrators and the strengths of witnesses, insights that can be utilized against those who employ extreme violence and mutilation to mask their actions and hasten their success.

Jennifer A. Kane
In the Wake of the American Dream: The Duplicity of Progress

I argue the conflicting forces of the American Dream can claim responsibility for both the nation's greatness and its many flaws. I define the American Dream as an ideology containing the following notions: equality of opportunity, individual freedom to pursue one's vision of the good life, and the reasonable expectations of progress, success, and social mobility through hard work. My initial claim is that the American Dream is the singular and formative ideology of this country, and I use the term as a kind of shorthand for the defining national ethos.

Beyond that, I contend the Dream is beset with contradictory and problematic features which serve to exacerbate and perpetuate social problems. I strive to show how deeply embedded cultural contradictions simultaneously propel us forward and constrain our progress in everything we do-from public policy, to land use, to individual life satisfaction and achievement. Some of the key tensions I continuously revisit are: egalitarianism v. meritocracy, the individual v. the community, and private sector v. public interest.

I focus primarily on the ways in which unsustainable environmental, social, and economic behaviors are both manifestations and consequences of the Dream. I argue that particular expressions of the American Dream are deleterious to society and perpetuate an American culture of inequality. I also argue the American Dream and its inherent contradictions have always shaped the country's approach to social policy. Using the New Deal, War on Poverty, and Welfare Reform as case studies, I examine the possibility that this underlying influence can render policy efforts troublesome, inequitable, and often inadequate.

I trace the idealization of land through American history, as well as the nation's unique approach to property rights and ownership. The American Dream guided the way we regard land as sacred on the one hand, while exploiting and irresponsibly using land and resources on the other.

I argue the Dream has provided Americans with the ability to rationalize living in a nation of plenty that is replete with ascriptive inequalities and other injustices. It also provided the conditions for a consumer-driven culture to evolve into today's culture of consumption. When the Dream's promises prove unattainable, individuals are left with frustration, restlessness, and self-doubt on account of the heavy focus upon personal agency.

Nonetheless, there is hope. Throughout the chapters, I demonstrate the ways in which the American Dream has united disparate groups and provided the impetus for social reform. It has continuously challenged the American people to fulfill abstract promises of equal rights and opportunity. I conclude the thesis with a discussion of the ways in which the American Dream could be reformulated to alleviate the problems of social injustice and unsustainability.

Maha Kausar
"Let us tell them what is true:" Limiting and Enabling Women in Local Politics in Sahiwal, Pakistan

I argue that the literature on Pakistani women's political participation is not fully representative of the conditions on the ground, and that further, more localized research is necessary to be able to properly identify and analyze the factors constraining and enabling their participation. I base this critique on primary research conducted in Sahiwal, a city in the heart of the Punjab in Pakistan. I interviewed 100 women at different levels of political participation: women who do not vote; women

who vote; women who participate in campaigns; and women who run for election to local office. The purpose of this research was to identify and analyze the factors that limit and enable women's participation in local government at these four levels.

Much of the current literature is focused on the constraints facing Pakistani women, and little attention is given to enabling factors and successes. Even the literature that analyzes constraints places a disproportionately heavy emphasis on Islam as a patriarchal tool that limits Pakistani women's political participation, to the neglect of all other limiting factors.

I argue that three main factors limit women's political participation in Sahiwal: the gendered public sphere; the system of patronage in the political culture; and finally the low sense of personal efficacy among women.

The public sphere is gendered by three main socio-cultural factors: the patriarchal use of Islam as legitimation for traditions such as purdah, or the seclusion of women; the baradari system of organizing communities which elevates the seclusion of women; and the idea that women can shine only in the home.

The system of patronage means that many families and communities consolidate their vote so they can win patronage from local politicians. This is especially disadvantageous for women, for the consolidated vote usually serves to silence their preferences. The low sense of personal efficacy means that women feel unable to influence political decisions or outcomes, even through their vote, so refuse to participate in the political process. I argue that these three reasons interact to form a complex set of constraints to Pakistani women's meaningful political participation.

Despite these constraints, there are a large number of women who do enter local government. I argue that the space created by gender quotas enables women with political linkages to successfully run for election. These political linkages can be family members or higher level politicians, but these women make use the political experience, organizational skills, contacts and sometimes even financial aid offered by these political linkages to enter local politics. In fact, the stratification of Pakistani society means that the women with political linkages can often be poor and uneducated, but still enter local government. I argue that despite being dependent on support from established male elite these women maintain their independence in decision making.

I further argue that gender quotas enable women in a wide variety of ways above and beyond creating a space in local government. These quotas have a trickle down effect which generates women's interest in political participation; mobilizes women to campaign and vote; makes local government more accessible and accountable to women constituents; and also creates a support network which allows women to challenge patriarchy in the domestic and political spheres.

Further research should be conducted to see if the trends I have identified are visible in the rest of the Punjab, or even all of Pakistan.

Jackie Kruszewski
Eyes on the World: The Potato in Andean Agricultural Development and its Implications for Global Food Systems

The potato tells us many things about the Andean world it originated in and about the development world that champions staple food products as the end to global hunger. This thesis begins with the

curiosity of the potato, its influence, and its journey from the Andes to Europe, and argues for a shift in international agricultural and food policy. Andean agriculture conveys much about the potato's wealth and the natural diversity of species that flourished without the help of modern agricultural science. That the Lake Titicaca basin supported a higher population in the Inca era than the rural Andes does in the present begs the attention of sustainability proponents and the people of the development industry. But in chapter one I elucidate some remaining prejudice that may influence research on Andean agriculture.

Chapter two examines the modern potato in light of various interventions on its behalf. Framed by a visit to Idahoan potato farms, the chapter briefly traces the development of modern agricultural science and the industry of agricultural development. I critique an influential force in the potato field, the International Potato Center, by tracing its roots to the Green Revolution movement of the mid-twentieth century. This ancestry warrants a closer, critical look at the projects and discourse that the Center applies. In analyzing the power of this organization, I have to consider the external forces to the potato's advancement in the developing world—namely, the presence of an established global market for potato production and consumption. This chapter and the next observe an increasingly globalized potato in the tradition of western agricultural science, and the problematic implications of its extension by means of the agricultural development industry. Despite laudable goals of reducing hunger, I submit that there is something wrong with the agricultural development model as it augments powerful, international political and economic forces, and ignores alternative models provided by anthropologists, historians and scientists with a more holistic approach to the study of agriculture.

In chapter three I reexamine questions of agricultural production through a short evaluation of consumption habits in the developed world and the deeper implications of American conventional and commercial potato use. I reflect on the dominant patterns of the global potato and its corporate sponsors to understand the model that they seek to export to developing nations. I will also briefly examine more recent investigations into Andean potato agriculture and the organizations that employ alternatives to the CIP model, relying on a few scientists and anthropologists who are concerned about the future of potato agriculture in the Andes. These observations I use to advocate a more holistic, sustainable paradigm for agriculture in the Andes and, implicitly, globally. In conclusion, I return to some general ideas about the nature of the agricultural 'discipline' in environmental conservation, anthropology and the politics of our food production. Where the potato is concerned, a holistic understanding of its unique history, its social and political dynamics, and its ecological niche in the Andes and in America would do much to aid national and supranational organizations touting the international potential of the tuber.

Alana Levinson-LaBrosse
The Daughters of Storm-footed Steeds: Metaphor and the Hybridization of Rhetoric in India

I argue that Aristotle's rhetoric – a triangular structure based on content, style and composition – has, in the modern context of Indian communal and religious violence, as Paul Riceour outlines lost its connection to objective reality. In addition, through studying metaphor usage in instances of violence from Partition (1948) to Gujarat (2002), I have observed that a new rhetoric has emerged

dependent not on philosophy for its content but rather on the more subjective and emotionally volatile discipline of poetry. Within poetry, metaphor has traditionally been used to imitate a world in an inexact and subjective way for purposes of personal expression. However, incorporated into the political realm, the same poetic mimesis becomes a tool for constructing a world that encourages massive violence. Rather than producing reasoned discourse and giving voice to public and civic observations, rhetoric in areas of conflict in India now produces a directed catharsis that buttresses the emotions that help produce violence as opposed to ameliorating them.

As shown throughout the case study on the systemic metaphors revolving around gender, ritualized in physical attacks on the body, the 'vocabulary of violence' has become the metaphor that rhetoric uses to express and give direction to the rage of a given group of people. Jokes about 'castrating' the progenitive capacity of Muslim men or 'ravaging' the ability of Muslim women to bear or nourish children Muslims may sound like mere expressions of anger, helplessness, or aggression. But in instances of communal violence all over India, these expressions manifest quite literally with physical castration, rape, and cutting off of breasts.

Demonstrated by the virulence of metaphors of gender and the corresponding gendered violence, supported by the metaphors of space and the eventual ghettoization of Muslims in urban areas, language has ceased to exist only in the realm of expression. Rhetoric and its linch-pin use of metaphor in India performs such perfect mimesis that it enflames and perpetuates the very reality it describes. Rhetoric, through the use of metaphor towards the production of catharsis, encourages the literal form of violence it figuratively agitates for. As this continues, change in rhetoric becomes more and more difficult as the language, having in substantive ways, shaped the current situation, perfectly describes the violence and the emotion of the times.

Finally, I observe that the increase in language of this kind, hateful in intent and violent in repercussion, comes up in interviews as one of the most disturbing factors in recent years. Hate speech, unchecked, has taken over the public sphere. The paper concludes that the escalation and growing permissibility of violent metaphors that incite and perpetuate aggressive behavior, as put forward by both survivors of violence and more neutral bodies such as the court system in India, have contributed markedly to the greater frequency and destructiveness of recent riots and other outbreaks of violence.

Timothy Ly
>*Broken Structures, Not Broken Windows: How NGOs Can Mitigate the Structural Violence of Neoliberalism*

In this thesis, I argue that NGOs have the power to change the structural inequalities that have led to the AIDS epidemic in Africa. I begin my thesis by asserting that the real catalyst of AIDS is poverty. To prove this, I must dismiss three competing paradigms used to explain the spread of AIDS. These paradigms are the sexual, the individualist, and the economic poverty paradigms. The sexual paradigm blames the AIDS epidemic on a racialized stereotype of black sexuality and only serves to "orientalize" Africa. The individualist paradigm, understands the disease in scientific terms, but does not address the effect of socioeconomic circumstances. Finally, the economic poverty paradigm recognizes that poverty is the catalyst of the AIDS epidemic, but conflates economic growth with a reduction in poverty.

In place of these views, I use the paradigm of structural violence. Through structural violence, I show that the AIDS epidemic is a result of inequalities of state and international power. Using South Africa as a case study, I trace the historical progression of colonialism and apartheid in creating the South Africa of today. Moreover, I show that international financial institutions like the IMF, the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization profoundly influenced the maintenance of structural inequalities in the new democratic South Africa.

Because the international financial institutions use neoliberalism as the basis for their actions, I look at the way neoliberal ideology has shaped globalization and created poverty. During its heyday, neoliberalism promised to reduce world poverty. Today, we see that poverty has in fact increased and I argue that neoliberalism created this poverty at two levels. At the level of understanding, neoclassical models oversimplify the analysis of human interaction and cannot take into account the complexity of human interaction. This is compounded by a problem at the level of implementation. Although based on principles of "freedom" and "choice" the implementation of neoliberalism takes place in a non-democratic way. Thus, neoliberalism serves as a façade for the interests of transnational corporations and powerful nations.

Considering the fact that the neoliberal world order harms the least-advantaged of the world, I then make a moral case for global justice. In an effort to skirt the either/or debate between "statists" (who argue that global justice does not exist) and "cosmopolitans," (who argue that egalitarianism is the best principle for global justice) I use the "middle-ground" approach to argue that the prospects for global justice do exist. By using Thomas Pogge's theory of justice of malfeasance, I also assert that international institutions must be constructed so as not to harm the poor.

But because institutions are burdened by stagnant bureaucracy and powerful special interests, I begin the last part of my thesis by exploring the ways that NGOs can implement change at the "grassroots" level. I argue that many NGOs find themselves under the pressure of donors, governments, and their constituents. As a result, many NGOs invariably reproduce the same problems that plagued development projects or colonialism. But there are some NGOs, like the Treatment Action Campaign, who do manage to rearrange the structures of power to some degree. I conclude my thesis with some observations that should be helpful in guiding other NGOs on a similar path towards changing structural violence.

Daniel Pike
Unveiling War's Influence on Gender Dynamics

I begin with a curious finding from regression-based studies of 125 countries between the years 1960 and 2000: other relevant factors held constant, more patriarchal countries are more prone to civil conflict. In chapter one I revisit these studies and assess their attempts to control for economic, political and social factors that contribute to civil conflict. I then consider their central results and proffered explanations. The studies centrally claim that greater patriarchy increase the likelihood of civil war by granting men, who for either biological or non-biological reasons are more aggressive than women, more control over the use of force.

There is plausible evidence that men are, on average, slightly more aggressive than women. But there is little convincing evidence that these differences are biologically determined. Men's relative aggressiveness seems culturally determined. As the militarization of culture that precedes and follows

civil war tends to profoundly (en)gender male aggressiveness, the argument that patriarchy causes civil war by enabling male aggressiveness becomes somewhat circular. It runs, in effect: civil war is partly caused by patriarchy because men are relatively aggressive, and men are relatively aggressive because of war and its cultural effects.

Finding this argument inadequate, I consider evidence for other potential causal dynamics. In chapter two I investigate European colonialism's role in exacerbating modern patriarchy and political instability in colonized areas, demonstrating how British rule further subordinated women in Uganda and Nigeria. In chapter three I address connections between female subordination, high rates of childbirth and Malthusian-type population pressure, focusing on population pressure's role in the Rwandan genocide. In chapter four I consider connections between civil conflict, the documented rise in religious fundamentalism post-1960, and increased patriarchy, looking in-depth at the Taliban's ascendance in Afghanistan.

In chapter five I present unified statistical models that account for all the relevant factors identified in the literature, as well as those identified in chapters two through four. I also find strong evidence that patriarchy was strongly determined by civil war between 1965 and 2000. I argue that civil war could exacerbate patriarchy in three ways: (1) by directly diminishing women's personal and economic security; (2) by enabling fundamentalist, patriarchal religious movements to grow in stature; and (3) by reviving or reinforcing age-old hegemonic masculinities that idealize the warrior male and the doting, nurturing female. I also find strong evidence of a separate but nonetheless important causal mechanism: high fertility rates increase population pressure and land scarcity, which increases the chance of conflict, especially if land is unequally distributed.

I conclude by noting that, as civil war has become more technologically sophisticated, financially rewarding, and physically devastating, its gender effects have changed. In this postmodern era of entrenched, devastating conflict, mechanisms one and two seem to be growing in salience. Accordingly, education and economic empowerment programs for women should be central to post-conflict reconstruction efforts. Thankfully, though mechanism three may help explain gender dynamics in poorer conflict-torn countries, the ideal of the warrior male seems to be losing its appeal.

Elizabeth V. Stork
Radical Democracy: Grassroots Social Movements in Latin America and the Challenge to Global Liberalism

I argue that contemporary grassroots social movements in Latin America represent a viable challenge to the global dominance of economic and political liberalism. These movements articulate a platform that combines democracy with socialism to achieve "radical democracy." They receive political support from powerful states through transnational advocacy networks.

The radical democracy represented by these grassroots movements emerged in Latin American politics as an alternative to revolutionary socialism. The decline of the political left in the 1970s and 1980s that coincided with failed socialist projects, military authoritarianism, and a "Lost Decade" of economic crisis has opened political opportunities for new sectors of civil society. Formerly excluded from revolutionary movements based on *class*, women, ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples and other marginalized groups have used transnational networks to express their

political demands. The central tenets of radical democracy include: autonomy from the "top-down" influence of state corporatism and party politics; inclusiveness of all sectors of society in political decision-making; and an anti-neoliberal vision for social justice that acknowledges poverty as a political issue.

I explore three cases in which grassroots social movements emerged to advocate for radical democracy in the 1970s and 1980s amidst crises in party politics. The urban poor living in Chile's *poblaciones* mounted a formidable challenge to the military dictatorship led by General Augusto Pinochet. Feminists across Latin America created a women's movement that politicized gender in fights against political repression. The Zapatista movement in Mexico mobilized international support for indigenous struggles against the neoliberal program of the Mexican government. The Zapatistas, the *feministas* and the *pobladores* all prize consensus-based, non-hierarchical decision-making within their movements. They pursue radical social change through peaceful means by using demonstrations and democratic discourse to garner international support.

Transnational solidarity networks have formed to support these grassroots movements because their democratic ideals carry international appeal and because they advocate peaceful change from the bottom-up rather than violent revolution. By controlling funding and exercising discursive influence, liberal, Northern governments may tend to sideline radical goals for social justice in the interest of promoting a free-market-oriented vision of a *good* society. Movements for radical democracy also encounter obstacles when lobbying for change within liberal governments. Though a wave of democratic transition has swept Latin America in the 1980s and 1990s, the democracies that have resulted remain more accountable to international financial institutions than they do to popular demands.

Radical democratic movements have enabled minorities who were once side-lined by socialist struggle to become powerful political actors. While advocacy in the context of liberalizing regimes can tend to mute their radical efforts, the capacity of transnational networks to offer opportunities to these new social movements lays the groundwork for meaningful resistance to the neoliberal order in Latin America.

Charles A. Taylor
The Devil's Excrement: A Property Rights and Institutional Explanation of the Resource Curse

The resource curse theory suggests that countries with abundant natural resources are destined to underperform countries with less favorable resource endowments in terms of nearly every measure of development. Over the long run, resource curse proponents assert that natural resource fed growth breeds everything from economic stagnation to corrupt governance to domestic conflict and civil war. But some oil-rich countries seem to be 'cursed' by oil more than others. What is the omitted variable that explains why some countries utilize their oil resources for development while others choke on what the former Venezuelan oil minister Juan Pablo Perez Alfonso calls the 'devil's excrement'?

I seek to answer this question by analyzing how oil resources affect countries in the medium and long term. First, I develop a model of the oil market that elucidates the political and economic factors that influence the price of oil, production decisions, and the bargaining power of oil producers. I then employ an econometric analysis to both test whether there is a resource curse and to

understand what characteristics make some oil producers susceptible and others not. In the medium term, I find that the more dependent a country is on oil for its livelihood, the greater the likelihood that the country will mismanage its oil revenue. In the long term, I find that a country's initial level of dependency on oil, as well as changes in dependency over time, play a major role in determining long run growth outcomes.

I investigate possible political economic explanations of why highly oil dependent countries have such poor development records. I find that my empirical results are best understood in terms of social-property relations and institutions—what I argue are omitted variables in the resource curse equation. I then develop a comprehensive framework that traces the effect of oil, with an emphasis on who controls the oil rent and how these actors decide to disburse it. Capitalist countries with good institutions are immune to the resource curse, and in fact often benefit from increases in oil revenues. Countries with moderately capitalist social-property relations and poor institutions are susceptible to the rent-seeking effects of oil production. However, these countries are likely to cede more control of oil revenues to the private sector, which insulates them from some of the negative public spending effects associated with the resource curse. Pre-capitalist countries with poor institutions are doomed because ineffective and corrupt governments control the oil rent. These governments spend the oil rent in ways that increase future dependency on oil and institutionalize rent-seeking, thus precluding long-term growth and other positive developmental outcomes. I then elaborate on the specific channels through which the private and public sector can spend oil revenue, and speculate how these different spending decisions affect into a country's development.

In my case study of Angola, I describe in detail how the worst of the resource curse plays out on a country-specific level. I conclude by testing the robustness of the resource curse by checking how the presence of oil affects non-economic development indicators such as political rights, education, health, and inequality. I then suggest how globalization has altered the environment faced by oil-rich countries, and highlight some of the unprecedented opportunities and challenges for newly oil producing countries.

Mark D. Thyrring
Postwar Possibilities: The Allied Occupation and Gender Inequality in Japan

I argue that the Allied Occupation of Japan was a unique period of fluidity in gender relations and that the roots of Japan's postwar gender inequality in labor and politics can be traced to this period. I tie gender inequality in the postwar era to systems of inequality that emerged during the Occupation. I identify the structural components of gender inequality as stemming from Japan's system of 'convoy capitalism', which is built on the availability of women to act as labor force slack and to provide an informal system of social welfare. Women's position in this system ties them to the home and combines with an election system with strong gender biases to limit conventional participation by women in politics.

In arguing that gender relations under the Occupation were particularly malleable, I identify three key shifts in the nature of gender relations in the fifty years prior to the war. I argue that the Meiji Restoration, the rise of feminist movements during the Taisho Democracy, and the

mobilization of women as part of the war effort by the Showa government resulted in a drastic break from women's status under Japan's pre-Meiji feudal system. The 'family-state ideology' employed by the government to mobilize women as resources also served to elevate their status as subjects. I argue that these shifts, combined with the economic devastation experienced by Japan at the end of the war, poised the Occupation as a period of immense social upheaval with the potential to fundamentally reshape gender relations in Japanese society.

I divide the Occupation into two separate periods characterized by two distinctly separate sets of Allied goals. I define the initial phase as the first year and a half of the Occupation, during which policy was directed towards broadly liberalizing Japan's social, economic, and political structures. I examine the roots of the Occupation mission in order to identify its intersections with issues of gender equality. I argue that gender equality was absent from the core of Allied policy and, as a result, women's claims to equal opportunity in economic and political participation were not sufficiently secured. I further argue that, despite the fact that gender equality was not a primary goal of the Allies, women still received important incidental benefits because of the overlap between their interests and those of the Allies.

I identify the second phase of the Occupation as the period characterized by the Allied 'reverse course', an about face on its previous support for labor and the left in the face of growing Cold War concerns and the failure of initial phase policy to jump start Japan's economy. I examine the ways in which the weakening of labor unions and liberal political parties removed many of the incidental benefits women received during the initial phase. I also detail the ways in which the reverse course led to the development of a gendered employment system and a conservative political hegemony that largely excluded women. I argue that this resulted in a regression of gender relations to a state that paralleled that of the prewar era.