UNIVERSITY of VIRGINIA
POLITICAL and SOCIAL THOUGHT

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Bailee Ashton Barfield

What Is It About Northern Virginia? A Look at New Changes in the Old Dominion

Northern Virginia, or the counties of Fairfax, Loudoun, Arlington, and Alexandria that surround the District of Columbia, underwent an unprecedented evolution throughout the last century. Originally remote farmland and a buffer zone between the nation's capital and the state capitol in Richmond, the region is now considered one of the wealthiest and most influential areas of business and politics today. Its comprehensive development, which initially began in the aftermath of World War II and at the onset of the expansion of the federal government in the mid 20th century, has continued to develop proxy to the nation's capital. The community eventually grew to incorporate new modes of political power, and business establishments, leading the area to become a powerhouse on both the national and international stage.

This thesis poses the following question: Is Northern Virginia different from the rest of the state, and in what ways? Furthermore, what caused the impetus for the divergence between the two regions? This paper argues that the proximity to Washington and the interdependent geographical relationship plays a primary role in major differences between Northern Virginia and the rest of the commonwealth.

The thesis begins with a background on the long and colorful history of the Old Dominion with great detail focused toward the illustration of the state's atmosphere at the onset of Northern Virginia's growth in the mid 20tth century, highlighting the divergent yet simultaneous history of both the region in itself and the state as a whole.

Next, this thesis explores the "cultural cleavage" between the two regions to describe the central reason for division: While Northern Virginia has and continues to associate itself with the nation's capital in its growing industry, political ideology, and social atmosphere, the rest of the state takes a certain pride in its own Southern heritage and unique history. Touching on topics such as state's rights and the political bubble of Washington, the central argument states that the two have in fact developed distinct cultures that continue to set the tone for all aspects of the community.

In the next chapter, this thesis investigates the impact of suburban politics as the primary catalyst for Northern Virginia's political development; the massive growth of the Washington metropolitan area and the impact of this on the population and newly formed communities created a new set of needs of state political leaders. The chapter poses the central argument that this social change, and not the vacillating partisan ideology of the state, plays the central role in the direction of post war state politics.

Finally, this thesis looks at economic development in Northern Virginia and illustrates how the influence of federal bureaucratic growth contributed to the local economy not only by government agencies and public works but also with the arrival of high tech, defense, and other related industries. Using the widening economic gap between Northern Virginia and the state, this thesis argues that the economic "boom" in Northern Virginia can be attributed almost exclusively to its advantageous location.

Gardner B. Bell

Human Flourishing: Deciphering an Ancient Dilemma for the American Dream

From Enlightenment confidence that humanity can discover paths to happiness in this world, Thomas Jefferson engrained its pursuit on the minds and hearts of Americans ever since. The pursuit of Happiness, alongside Life and Liberty, remain the three sacred and unalienable rights endowed by our Creator. Yet, as Alexis de Tocqueville observed in *Democracy in America*, and social scientists continue to emphasize study after study, Americans are not becoming happier. Though working harder, longer, and more productively than ever before; though consuming inordinate amounts of goods; though enjoying a standard of living unparalleled in human history, Americans still find themselves chasing after that elusive happiness their founding document extols.

This thesis aims to reexamine what exactly we are chasing. I begin by distinguishing happiness from human flourishing. Happiness can be understood in a wide variety of ways. Many of the ancient Greeks espoused *eudaimonia*, or flourishing, as the ultimate end for which man acts. In his *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle takes a naturalistic, empirical approach to deciding what eudaimonia entails. The way of flourishing, Aristotle argues, must derive from the object's purpose, or *telos*, in nature. This can be found by distinguishing what characteristics are unique to that object.

From his framework, I endeavor to examine what qualities make mankind unique. By examining three pervasive authorities that appear throughout history—science, philosophy, and religion—I distinguish three qualities: happiness, morality, and love.

Through the lens of biology, neurology, and evolutionary psychology, along with a new science of subjective well-being, I delve into what happiness actually is under the microscope of scientific observation. Neural programs inside the brain have adapted to our ancestors' environments through natural selection along the long history of our species. We inherit these

'monkey minds', and with them, certain tendencies that undermine our happiness. By exploring the findings of the new field of Positive Psychology, I survey various theories that attempt to counter our unfavorable genetic dispositions, and, hopefully, direct us to a happier life.

Beyond happiness and beyond our biological selves, I next focus on how reason can direct us to what we *ought* to do. Through his relentless questioning method, Socrates unveiled that there exists a component of our selves that can break free from our inborn and socio-cultural tendencies, discover the good and the true, and direct us towards a more noble, deliberate life. Here, morality takes center stage as it illuminates our reasoning selves. Immanuel Kant, who based a universal theory of moral duty entirely on the grounds of reason, will be examined as the culmination of this project and capacity.

Thirdly, I will focus on the other foundation of Western thought: the Judeo-Christian tradition. Jesus of Nazareth, perhaps the most influential person in human history, acts as the paradigmatic example of another human characteristic: love. The characteristics of acting by his love commandment will be explored. However, Jesus' message cannot be divorced from his proclamation of the eminent Kingdom of God. A discussion of the Beatitudes from the Gospels of Matthew and Luke will, therefore, discuss the other ramifications to this Kingdom for happiness and human flourishing. Finally, the unique happiness that comes from conversion will be discussed through Saint Augustine's classic autobiography, *Confessions*.

Designing an avenue of eudaimonia is a lifelong and largely independent project. Though no firm conclusions can be drawn, the project will ultimately serve as an avenue to re-explore what it means to pursue happiness. In that regard, finding the means—and what constitutes the ultimate end—is up to the reader to decide.

Ryan Patrick Bugas

Divergence: An Analysis of the Political and Environmental Histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic

Because they share the same island boundary and similar geographic and geological features, Haiti and the Dominican Republic's environments should, in a controlled setting, be comparable. Today, however, the environments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic starkly contrast each other. As Jared Diamond suggests, "From an airplane flying high overhead, the border looks like a sharp line with bends, cut arbitrarily across the island by a knife, and abruptly dividing a darker and greener landscape east of the line (the Dominican side) from a paler and browner landscape west of the line (the Haitian side)." I argue that the turbulent political histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic directly reflect the condition of their environments and natural resource management strategies today.

In chapter one, I briefly trace the political histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic beginning at the island's pre-colonial roots. My second chapter uses the political history of Haiti

and the Dominican Republic to explore the environmental history of the two countries, focusing on the recorded history deforestation, agricultural land use, and water quality and quantity.

In chapter three, I dismiss the claim that geography is a primary reason of environmental divergence between Haiti and the Dominican Republic. I then argue that there are five major historical time periods of environmental divergence on the island of Hispaniola. I claim that the first point of environmental divergence on the island came as a result of the distinct legacies of French and Spanish colonialization. The second point of environmental divergence between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, I argue, came after Haitian independence and the French government's imposed reparations that fractured the fledgling Haitian economy. This did not allow for sustainable environmental and public works development in Haiti. I assert that the third point of environmental divergence between Haiti and the DR came when the United States occupied both nations, facilitating political, economic, and environmental growth in the DR but not in Haiti. The fourth point of environmental divergence on the island came when Rafael Trujillo came to power in the Dominican Republic; he invested in sustainable logging and agricultural practices to promote his personal wealth. The final point of environmental divergence on the island, I argue, came during the age of dictatorships on the island in the 1950s. I argue that Joaquin Balaguer in the DR made considerable environmental advancements through local and national environmental enforcement. In Haiti, however, the Duvalier family only exacerbated the environmental degradation that the country was facing.

In my final chapter, I offer recommendations on how to build a better environment in Haiti and the Dominican Republic today. I argue that through national environmental policies enforced at the local level, an improved national parks system, the implementation of riparian buffers, the investigation of alternatives to wood fuel, the examination of successful "eco-cities" in Central America and the Caribbean, the planting of food-producing trees, and through educational promotions, Haiti and the Dominican Republic can politically promote and value the environment in the years to come. I also offer brief recommendations to the Haitian government on how to restructure the city of Port-au-Prince in light of the earthquake in January 2010. Finally, I briefly touch on the HIV/AIDS crisis on the island to show how the natural environment has exacerbated the crisis and give recommendations for treating the disease to improve human rights of Haitians and Dominicans.

This thesis finds that the political histories of Haiti and the Dominican Republic have directly influenced the states of the environments in the two countries. Although points of political divergence have characterized the environmental history of the two nations since colonialization, the nations are in a unique place today. International attention to the island in light of the January 2010 earthquake brings hope for efforts to support a new environment in both Haiti and the DR in the years to come. Through continued domestic strengthening of natural resource management techniques, international aid supporting government institutions, and education on the benefits of environmental sustainability on a local, regional, and national scale, the environments of Haiti and the Dominican Republic now have the opportunity to do something that they never have: converge.

Alison Deich

A Theory of Global Justice: Extending Rawls's Theory of Justice to the Global Realm

In this project, I explore how plausible principles of global justice might be developed out of the ideas that Rawls presents in *A Theory of Justice*. I begin by explaining how Rawls himself draws on the ideas set out in *A Theory of Justice* to formulate principles of global justice in *The Law of Peoples*. I then suggest that Rawls's principles of global justice and the arguments that he adduces in favor of them are deeply unsatisfactory. As a result, I go on to consider two different ways in which the arguments presented in *A Theory of Justice* might be extended to support some other principles of global justice.

First, Rawls's arguments might be extended to support principles of global justice that are fair to individuals. Political philosophers who pursue this strategy are called cosmopolitans. I suggest that while cosmopolitan principles of global justice do not face most of the challenges that Rawls's principles of global justice do, they face some challenges of their own that seem difficult to overcome. Second, Rawls's arguments might be extended to support principles of global justice that, like Rawls's preferred principles of global justice, are fair to societies. Political philosophers who pursue this strategy are called statists. I contend that while there may be some advantages to adopting statist principles of global justice, statist principles are by no means a perfect alternative to cosmopolitan principles. Since I find neither cosmopolitan nor statist extensions of Rawls's theory of justice to be completely satisfactory, I try to explain how it might be possible to extend Rawls's theory of justice to the global realm in a way that will be satisfactory.

I take a few steps down a path of arguments that I think will lead to a plausible conception of global justice that is consistent with the ideas presented in *A Theory of Justice*. I think that two of these steps deserve particularly careful attention. One is the suggestion that the task of working out principles of global justice (that are Rawlsian in spirit) must be viewed as part of the larger task of working out principles of global right (that are Rawlsian in spirit). The other is the suggestion that some cosmopolitan principles of global justice *and* some statist principles of global justice will most likely be part of a plausible conception of global right (that is Rawlsian in spirit).

I suggest that this path of arguments presents both great opportunities and great challenges. One of the great opportunities it offers is a chance to clear up some confusion between the sorts of argument that can be adduced in favor of principles of global justice and the sorts of argument that can be adduced in favor of other principles of right, which muddies the debate over the conception of global justice that can be developed out of the ideas presented in *A Theory of Justice*. On the other hand, one of the great challenges it presents is the need to work out very complex conception of global right before many practical moral problems can be solved.

Stephanie Yawa de Wolfe

Hungry for Health: Big Food, Big Problems, Big Solutions?

Over 400 million cases of food-related chronic illness occur in America today. The Western Diet Epidemic (a term that consolidates all significantly present diet-related chronic illnesses) continues to threaten health and lives in ways that public health and medical professionals have never seen before. The growing rates of diabetes and obesity in children and adolescents necessitate effective intervention. There is no *single* cause for the Western Diet Epidemic. Applying a social determinants of health framework, I highlight key factors that provide the context for the understanding the epidemic: historical health disparities by social class and position, and the rise of subsidized cash crops that is characteristic of the neo-liberal phase of capitalism.

An effect of consumerist culture is that American's means of nourishment has transformed; we rely on a privatized industry of food production for nourishment. Along with this consent is a set of values and beliefs about food behavior that I challenge in my analysis of "food choice." While society is inclined to ascribe market-based language (unfettered freedom, self determination, individual responsibility, choice) to food behavior and related outcome, structural factors create a toxic food environment in which illness thrives.

I argue that the food industry occupies a particularly structured position of influence, from which corporate food representatives and allies generate various mechanisms of pursuing profit motives at the cost population health. These include a qualitatively simplified, but profitable, mode of food production that relies on heavily processed subsidized crops (corn, wheat, and soy), billions of dollars in marketing and a careful, manipulative strategy to sell food commodities. At the same time the industry promotes unhealthy consumer food behavior, urging us all to "eat more," instead of "eat less." The industry targets vulnerable members of the population, (as indicated by childhood obesity statistics) and has a thoroughly protected role in deflecting blame and regulation through political institutions. The food industry structures risk in the daily framework of Americans, which, when combined with other immovable constraints such as income, job-structure, class, and time, magnifies the effects on socially disadvantaged populations. The glut of highly profitable food products is harming millions of Americans physically and psychologically.

Thousands of products that are highly profitable—but enhance the risk of food-related illnesses—comprise the most popular, prominent and affordable foods that are marketed to the most vulnerable segment of the American population. I argue that the corporate food industry is driving illness in its quest for profit. Using its institutionalized political, economic, and social power, the food industry intentionally produces, promotes, and misrepresents the risk attached to its harmful food products. The ethical implications are clear: the interests of public health conflict directly with the interests of the corporate food industry. Embedded in social and political institutions, the behavior of the Food Industry amounts to a kind of structural violence and is profoundly unethical. When demonstrable harm comes to the consumers as a result of these commodities, and the behavior does not change, this amounts to a system of exploitation. Public health has a duty to challenge the profound risk-enhancers for the Western Diet Epidemic. Ultimately, current practices by the food industry violate fundamental human rights and the

millions of affected Americans deserve due justice. I conclude with several ideas for intervention and prevention of continued disease outcomes.

Matthew E. Dickey

Sustainable Liberalism: The Ecology of Intergenerational Justice

I argue that despite perceived conflict between liberal neutrality and norms for sustainable living, these ideological commitments can be reconciled through an idea of sustainable liberalism. Specifically, sustainable liberalism will promote and protect the freedoms of present generations without compromising the substantive freedoms of future generations.

Liberalism's commitment to normative neutrality, through adherence to a negative conception of liberty or a political conception of justice, avoids dependence on comprehensive moral doctrine and allows citizens to live according to their own idea of the good life. On the other hand, environmental sustainability promotes a set of substantive social norms that bring human living into harmony with the functioning of natural ecological systems. Thus, the argument against an idea of sustainable liberalism holds that liberal government, unable and unwilling to support any set of social norms, cannot institute the policies necessary for a sustainable society.

I disagree. Although these ideas may appear antagonistic at first, sustainable liberalism is possible because both sustainability and liberalism can be framed as partial and purely political normative conceptions, independent of comprehensive doctrine.

This counterargument rests on two critical premises: (a) that liberals can and do have obligations to future persons, and (b) that to take liberal aims seriously means valuing these aims through time. I defend both assumptions through the use of Rawls's thought experiment in which citizens choose the principles of justice for a hypothetical contract from behind the veil of ignorance in the Original Position. This approach is robust against the Non-Identity Problem and formally models the time impartiality of liberal principles.

In developing this approach, I argue that core human capabilities can serve as a tenable metric of transtemporal justice. If we: (a) take just institutions to protect and promote the ability of individuals to achieve a minimum level of functioning in the core capabilities, and (b) accept that persons in the original position would value their ability to exercise these capabilities regardless of the time and place in which they live, then (c) just institutions will promote and protect the ability of present generations to exercise core human capabilities without compromising the ability of future generations to exercise their own core human capabilities. Importantly, the ability to realize core human capabilities is contingent upon the functioning of natural ecological systems. The ways in which humans exercise their capabilities, however, also affect the functioning of these natural systems. Therefore, just institutions of liberal society must support sustainable policies prior to addressing other issues of justice in the basic structure. Furthermore, I argue that the various capabilities humans exercise within different conceptual communities create unique obligations in each community.

Finally, I argue that sustainable liberalism should achieve its policy goals by altering the choice architecture of society through a framework of exogenous management of macro-institutions and the endogenous activation of the human capacity for reasoned and informed thought. These policies can foster a strong overlapping consensus with comprehensive ecological doctrines. Still, civic education to develop the capacity for public reason is essential because the legitimacy of sustainable policy rests on the ability of *current* citizens to critically engage and understand their political justification.

Eamon Drumm

In Which I Learn To Read and Write (Two French Museums)

This thesis develops an analytical method that breaks down my research experience with two museums in Paris, France, to suggest how and why, between site visits in May 2009, library research, and reporting on both here, I supplied them with particular meanings. It draws on and adds to a body of qualitative social science writing that is either openly or not highly contingent, provisional, and essentially literary. Rather than pretend to a false or borrowed certainty about "what the museums mean," I make the conditions of its own production—the rhetorical issues involved in representing field experience and bias (what others have written and how they influence what I say), and the way they suggest certain meanings—this paper's object of study.

Chapter one reviews some of the methods and rhetorical strategies commonly used to write about museums and what they mean. Through an investigation of the work James Clifford, Richard Handler, Michel de Certeau, and others, it arrives at *ethnographic allegory* as an appropriate model for writing an account of my museum encounters and *description* as a rhetorical mode in which to write it.

Chapter two describes my experience in the museums via a series of movements (you walk up a ramp) and tableaux (the walls are brown). It foregrounds the sequential, repetitive nature of reading the museum text, and focuses on observations of their lights, labeling, signage, the art on display, and architectural motifs.

A case study of "narrative flattening," the third chapter examines how this motif cropped up in other accounts of the museums' representations, and proposes an intertextual relationship between them and the last chapter in which lies the unresolved "meaning" of both this exercise and the museums.

Megan M. Durkee

Comparative Perspectives on Illegal Immigration: Analyzing the Context of Reception and Incorporation Outcomes for Illegal Mexican Immigrants in California, Texas, Virginia, and Maryland

This thesis examines the subject of illegal immigration through the lens of a multi-layered state level comparison of the states of California, Texas, Virginia, and Maryland. I will not attempt to make an argument for or against illegal immigration, but rather I will examine the outcomes of those undocumented Mexican immigrants who are already living in the U.S. My analysis involves two distinct concepts and the relationship between them: the context of reception and the incorporation outcomes from the perspectives of both the immigrant group in question and their receiving communities. The first question I will examine is the difference in incorporation outcomes for illegal Mexican immigrants living in the new immigrant receiving areas along the East Coast (Virginia and Maryland), compared to their counterparts settling in traditional areas of Hispanic settlement, like Texas and California. Secondly, I will examine the relationship between an area's context of reception and the incorporation outcomes in that area through a state-level comparison of California and Texas and of Virginia and Maryland.

In response to my first motivating question, I found that a unique set of pros and cons is attached to the experiences of undocumented immigrants settling along the East Coast, in states like Virginia and Maryland in particular. With respect to the positive aspects, undocumented immigrants settling in untraditional receiving areas benefit from a small existing immigrant population due to less competition for unskilled jobs and a lack of preexisting negative sentiment from community members. They also tend to bypass the traditional urban settlement pattern of recent immigrants, instead settling in the booming suburbs where the cost of living is cheaper and the quality of life is better. Prior to the recession of 2008, there was considerable demand for immigrant labor in the construction and service sectors in the suburbs and in the agricultural sector in more rural areas.

With regard to the negative aspects, many Hispanic immigrants are thrust into the historical black and white racial framework of many Southern states, prompting tension from low-income African-Americans in many instances. Untraditional receiving areas also tend to be unaccustomed to accommodating culturally diverse populations, and so there is a general lack of special services, such as Spanish language services, to aid the assimilation process of new immigrants.

In response to my second motivating question, the comparisons of California and Texas and of Virginia and Maryland revealed the existence of an important interdependent relationship between the context of reception and the incorporation outcomes of undocumented Mexican immigrants and their receiving communities. In my analysis of the context of reception in California and Texas, I found that the passage of Proposition 187 and subsequent anti-immigrant legislation in the 1990s contributed toward the creation of a relatively negative context of reception, especially in comparison to Texas where blatantly anti-immigrant legislation was notably absent. The incorporation outcomes for both immigrants and their receiving communities were also much better in Texas than in California. While it is not possible to determine a directly causal relationship between the context of reception and incorporation, these findings indicate that the two concepts are correlated and mutually reinforce one another.

In my analysis of the context of reception in Virginia and Maryland, I observed a similar trend emerging where anti-immigrant legislation and public sentiment in Virginia defined its

negative context of reception, especially in relation to the more immigrant-friendly atmosphere of Maryland. Although the socioeconomic outcomes for undocumented Hispanic immigrants in Virginia and Maryland were roughly similar, the incorporation outcomes of immigrants in Maryland surpassed those of their counterparts in Virginia on the basis of cultural and structural indicators, bolstered by Maryland's more positive community-level incorporation outcomes.

Charles Rixey Gamper

Psychological Warfare: The Patriot Act's Impact on Fear in American Society

Terrorism is in essence a game of "psychological warfare" intended to influence a government through the institution of fear. Political theorists Judith Shklar and Corey Robin help us to understand how fear operates in democratic societies and, in turn, shed light on how to minimize its negative effects. Shklar's "liberalism of fear" provides a simple framework that directly engages the psychological element of the conflict with terrorist groups like al-Qaeda, and it supplies a principled approach to governance that is especially applicable to anti-terrorism. Specifically, Shklar demands that governments minimize fears of both external threats and the government itself. Additionally, Robin's description of political fear as a creation of power-hungry "elites" is useful to examine how political figures capitalized on— and manipulated— post-September 11 fears to pass legislation such as the USA PATRIOT Act.

The Patriot Act is an appropriate subject for inquiry because it both enhances security and causes American citizens, especially Muslims and Arabs, to fear their own government. Additionally, it remains subject to open hearings and debate and, therefore, presents an opportunity to put principle into action. The reported abuses of the Patriot Act are shameful, but the secondary effects of these abuses pose a greater threat to both the principle of freedom and to the increasingly important relationship between federal officials and Muslims and Arabs nationwide. The recent emergence of homegrown terrorism demands that the ideological battle for "hearts and minds" increasingly apply to these domestic communities.

My research shows that American citizens have become too afraid to exercise some of their most basic freedoms. Muslims across the country, from Brooklyn to Ann Arbor, have curtailed the way in which they observe their religion. Activist organizations in Colorado have found it difficult to attract other citizens to become members or to attend rallies because those citizens fear government surveillance. Fears stemming from the surveillance powers in the Patriot Act and the government's record of racial profiling operate as prior restraints upon free expression, free association, and freedom of religion. This flies in the face of liberalism and the democratic values of the United States and also confirms Shklar's argument that systematic fear makes freedom impossible. Unfortunately, institutionalized fear disproportionately burdens America's most important allies against the growth of domestic terrorism: American Muslims and Arabs.

I argue that the nation's elected officials must recognize the danger of ignoring how Muslim and Arab citizens' fears inhibit the full exercise of political freedom. The Obama administration should extend liberal values, more precisely the liberalism of fear, to its consideration of the Patriot Act. If the U.S. is to stay ahead of the curve in anti-terrorism policy, lawmakers must pair greater investigative capabilities with careful deliberation of how the Patriot Act undermines future security. Both principle and pragmatism demand that our nation's leaders make further reform of the Patriot Act a top priority in their efforts against terrorism and its effect on American society.

Meredyth Gilmore

'Pact with the Devil': The Structural Roots of Haiti's Vulnerability to the January 2010 Earthquake

On January 12, 2010, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake hit Haiti, taking the lives of 230,000 people. This thesis, initially a response to the US media's dismissive explanations of the tragedy, examines the global economic and political determinates of Haiti's vulnerability to this natural disaster. A review of the disaster and its aftermath reveals the magnitude of loss was not just a product of a geophysical extreme, but also of human-mediated factors. The thesis pursues two human-mediated causes of risk: overpopulation and the absence of state leadership in disaster preparation or relief. I argue that overpopulation and lack of state capacity, both situational causes of vulnerability, are products of Haiti's marginality in the world system. Haiti's marginal role as a peripheral state engendered a weak state and a low degree of autonomy. This allowed for the imposition of neoliberal policies over the past thirty-years, two of which in particular have contributed to increased population density and the lack of state capacity.

First, trade liberalization policies decreased rural incomes in Haiti by allowing Haitian markets to be flooded with heavily subsidized US foodstuffs, particularly rice. Unable to sustain themselves on their land, rural peasants migrated to the city. When the low-wage export-oriented sector in Port-au-Prince failed to absorb these rural immigrants, they crowded into hazardous living situations, increasing the population of Port-au-Prince beyond a level able to be sustained by existing infrastructure.

Secondly, a cycle of prebendary governance and state privatization, in which an environment of scarcity perpetuated a government of politicians motivated only by financial reward, resulted in a Haitian state unwilling or unable to play the vital protective role of disaster prevention, relief, response and recovery. The US reified this environment of scarcity by 1) imposing state privatization through aid conditionalities and 2) freezing loans to the Haitian public sector for political reasons while diverting funds to the NGO sector, which rose as a 'gap-filler' in the absence of the state.

Unfortunately, Haiti's marginality, both a cause and a result of the earthquake's damage, suggests that the country's future will likely be decided in conferences in Washington, DC, New York, Miami, etc., not in Port-au-Prince and certainly not in the communes of Haiti. Thus, I offer an alternative framework for US aid policy to Haiti that 1) directly addresses situational causes of risk by promoting reinvestment in the agricultural sector and requiring NGO accompaniment of state ministries and 2) opens up geopolitical space for Haiti, addressing the underlying cause of Haiti's vulnerability to natural disasters.

Grant Harbin

Between Self and World: Heidegger, Kant, and the Transcendental

This thesis offers a "Kantian" interpretation of the early work of Martin Heidegger. For the purposes of this essay, Heidegger's "early" work includes *Being and Time* (1927), *Kant and the Problem of Metaphysics* (1929), and the surrounding Marburg lectures (*History of the Concept of Time* (1925), *Basic Concepts of Ancient Philosophy* (1926), *Basic Problems of Phenomenology* (1927), *Phenomenological Interpretation of Kant's Critique of Pure Reason* (1927), and *The Metaphysical Foundations of Logic* (1928)). I argue that together these works represent a "radicalization" of Kant's transcendental project in the *Critique of Pure Reason*. This radicalization centers on the question of transcendental subjectivity. More specifically, Heidegger's early work can be read as an attempt to uncover what Kant believed was the unknowable "common root" of understanding or spontaneity and intuition or receptivity in *Dasein*, human being in its everyday, preconceptual understanding of self and world.

This "transcendental" interpretation of Heidegger's early work, I believe, provides a corrective to the common "irrationalist" conception of Heidegger's philosophy as an attempt to dissolve logos into the more 'primordial', prediscursive care-structure of Dasein's being-in-the-world. When we keep in mind that *Being and Time* represents a transcendental inquiry into *conditions of possibility*, we see that Heidegger's project is not in any way an elimintivist one—that is, he does not *dissolve* logos into feeling or affect, but rather attempts to demonstrate how our capacity for discursive reasoning is first made possible through our socialization into a system of shared practices.

This thesis is divided into three parts: part one provides an exposition and analysis of Kant's transcendental project in the *Critique of Pure Reason* as an attempt to provide a "metaphysics of intentionality"; part two covers Heidegger's specific and unorthodox interpretation of Kant's project in the *Critique* as an inquiry into the question of the meaning of being; finally, part three analyzes *Being and Time* as an attempt to transform Kant's dualism of spontaneity and receptivity into the unitary phenomenon of Dasein's being-in-the-world.

Zachary Arthur Knitter

Conceptions of the Person: Dignity in Contemporary Political Theory

I argue that conceptions of the person shape conceptions of human worth and dignity. How people are theoretically understood deeply informs the ways in which life is assessed as valuable by a political system's institutions. This thesis can be understood through an examination of the debate between Rawlsian liberals and communitarian thinkers.

I begin by noting a contrast between contemporary political theory and ancient and modern theory. The former transitions away from conceptions of human nature as the foundation for political theory in favor of conceptions of the person. Conceptions of human nature are universal, theorized to factually apply unconditionally across time and space to all human beings. Conceptions of the person, on the other hand, are more purposive than those pertaining to human nature and serve to represent persons in a certain way. Conceptions of the person do not present a series of facts about individuals as much as they underscore particular aspects of what might generally be considered valuable to human life.

Within contemporary political theory, a debate exists between Rawlsian liberalism and communitarianism based upon divergent conceptions of the person. For John Rawls, persons are characterized by the possession of two moral powers: a capacity for a sense of justice and a capacity for a conception of the good. I argue that recognizing individuals as possessed of these two moral powers plays a key role in Rawls's political theory in two senses. First, these moral powers provide the substructure for the very arguments Rawls makes for this conception of political justice. The introduction of a social contract theory illustrates the moral worth assigned to individuals as capable of forming their own views on social justice in accordance with the two moral powers. Second, the two moral powers inform the content of Rawls's principles of justice and result in an institutional structure that recognizes individuals according to those two powers. Both the content and method of Rawls's approach to social justice are deeply informed by his conception of persons with the two moral powers.

Communitarians object to Rawls's conception of the person on two grounds. First, it is objected that Rawls's conception is incoherent. I argue that this objection rests upon a misconception of Rawls's purpose, as it fails to take seriously a distinction between political and metaphysical claims. Rawls proposes a conception of persons as citizens that is intended for political purposes only, but communitarian critics misconstrue this conception as a metaphysical doctrine of individuals. Second, communitarians claim that even if Rawls's conception of the person is understood solely for political purposes, it remains undesirable because it bases political principles on an understanding of individuals that ignores important aspects of their identities. I argue that this second objection, although somewhat mistakenly applied to Rawls's theory, reveals an interesting theoretical foundation for his conception of justice as fairness in an ethic of authenticity or self-actualization. Through Rawls's use of the original position, his principles guarantee that institutions distribute the social basis of self-respect for all individuals in society.

Pierce Lamberson

Out In The Open: Unpacking The Post-Racial Idea In America

In this thesis, I argue that post-racial assertions of the kind witnessed surrounding the campaign and election of President Barack Obama will never be acceptable in American society. This claim holds for the present moment and for the indefinite future. I first identify four major elements of the post-racial claim: a race-neutral approach to racial issues, a belief that racial justice has been achieved, a belief that American society has been de-racialized, and a sense of racial optimism. I then connect these elements to the long-standing American tradition of racial colorblindness and the dominant narrative of American political culture. Through an historic analysis of racial colorblindness and a deconstruction of the dominant narrative of American political culture, I demonstrate the ways in which the post-racial idea most often serves to obscure the realities of racial injustice and limit effective efforts toward the achievement of racial justice.

I then examine the viability of race-conscious forms of activism. I argue that maintaining a racialized discourse can push American society towards a multiracial democracy in which egalitarian principles and outcomes are realized. Specifically, I advocate a narrow form of black solidarity that is based on common exposure to racial practice as an organizing principle and takes a universal form of human equality as its goal. I defend the conclusions that this framework actively resists racial oppression, is not essentialist, promotes racial harmony, and transcends many fragments within the African American community.

As a whole, this project stresses the importance of evaluations of the past in assessments of the present and future. I argue that the post-racial idea is dangerous because it reflects the recurring American tendency to bury the past and attempt to prematurely transgress it. This tendency directs attention away from the difficult challenges of race and minimizes thoughtful discussion on the topic. I propose that only by wrestling with the difficult challenges of race in American society will progress toward the post-racial ideal actually be made.

Brittany Reid

For Their Own Good: The Politics of Public Safety and Juvenile Care in the Construction of Contemporary Juvenile Justice Policy in Virginia

Juvenile justice policy had become a significant issue in the 2000s due to concerns about the effects of punitive policies passed across the nation in the 1990s. This time period is often represented as a historical moment where states easily enacted punitive juvenile justice policies without discussion or debate about their repercussion.

I argue that this model of juvenile justice policy hides many of the complexities and nuances that affected contemporary juvenile justice policy. Specifically, this project focuses on juvenile justice policy in Virginia and examines the number of forces at work in creating policy.

Rather than a simple push to convict juvenile offenders, there was widespread discussion and debate about the what this issue represented to Virginians, and how these understandings translated into policy. Furthermore, a thorough examination of the processes at work in constructing juvenile justice policy can highlight effective strategies for possible reform of juvenile legislation in the future.

In the introduction, I argue that public safety and juvenile welfare were in a dialectic throughout the construction of juvenile justice policy. In chapter one, I then offer a brief history of juvenile justice in Virginia, with a specific emphasis on the underlying principles that have guided this institution. There had been a historical emphasis on aiding youths, but that view would become unpopular in the 1980s.

In chapter two, I focus on rising arrest rates in Virginia and the role of media coverage in disseminating various messages across the state. This chapter will also focus on how the tensions between public safety and juvenile welfare are grappled with by the populace. At this point, it seems that many simply were not sure what direction to take with respect to juvenile justice, but felt something had to be done.

Chapter three move the focus to the various interpretations regarding juvenile justice reform in the mid-1990s. I then turn to consider how, and through what means different interpretations of juvenile delinquency came to be legitimated. The conclusion offers a reflection on juvenile justice policy in the last decade and ways of re-thinking it in ways that could aid juvenile offenders. The larger point at the end of this work is that there is hope in reform, since policies and ideologies are not set in stone, but can be re-imagined and re-created.

Desirée Smith

"Post-Soul" Politics: A Proposal for a Pragmatic, Black Identity Movement in the 21st Century

In a Shade of Blue is Eddie S. Glaude, Jr.'s philosophical proposal of how to resurrect the current state of black politics from its 1960s stupor. Through a critical analysis of John Dewey's conception of pragmatism, Glaude draws out ideas for a "Post-Soul" politics, a reinvigorated black politics that is relevant to 21st century African-Americans and their issues. Intending to open discursive space for the rethinking of black identity, history, and agency, Glaude provides a basic skeleton for bringing black politics out of the shadow of the Civil Rights and Black Power movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

Based on the foundation provided by Glaude, the purpose of this work is to flesh out how a "Post-Soul" politics might actually be constructed in the context of 21st century issues and available political strategies. More specifically, Part One (Concepts) consists of two chapters that navigate the conceptual frameworks by which to understand a "Post-Soul" politics. Chapter one introduces the term and basic tenets of a "Post-Soul" politics according to Glaude, with a

particular focus on his understanding of black identity and agency. The theme of "Post-Soul" black identity formation is further shaped in chapter two. Critiques of identity politics are engaged first, followed with the analysis of Tommie Shelby's proposal of a black pragmatic solidarity formed around common oppression (anti-black racism and inequality) as opposed to a common (black) identity.

In Part Two (Political Applications), chapters three and four serve as a bridge between the conceptual foundations offered in Part One and the more concrete applications of a "Post-Soul" politics in terms of policy issues and public elected officials. Chapter three starts by defining racism and narrowing the agenda of a "Post-Soul" politics specifically towards institutional racism. It then interrogates the sociological ideas of whiteness, privilege and colorblind racism as such notions present substantial obstacles to addressing the myriad of issues associated with institutional racism. Finally, chapter four ends Part Two, first, with a policy case study of affirmative action and, secondly, a critical examination of black elected officials through a "Post-Soul" lens.

The thesis ultimately concludes with the presentation of a manifesto for individuals and communities committed to the idea of a "post-soul" politics. The manifesto reinforces the components of a "Post-Soul" politics presented in Part One; but in making foundational recommendations, I seek to provide clarity on how the transition to a "Post-Soul" political state might actually begin to occur.

John David Thorpe

Towards a Durable Peace: Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone

I argue that a lack of funding for community-based socio-economic and institutional development is the main reason why Sierra Leone's peacebuilding has yet to address the root causes of the 1991-2002 conflict and to establish a durable peace. High profile peacekeeping and peacebuilding institutions like the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) and the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) have received disproportionately more funding than programs focusing on local police and judicial institutions, education, employment, health care, re-integration of ex-combatants, and the social marginalization of youth. As a result, Sierra Leone remains vulnerable to regional actors, armed groups, and international drug traffickers looking to cause protracted community and institutional instability in order to profit from the resultant climate of impunity.

While greed played an important role in Sierra Leone's conflict, illustrated by the rampant looting and the frequency and the duration of battles in diamond mining areas, it was a fueling factor, not a root cause, of the violence. Actors like the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) leader Foday Sankoh and Liberian President Charles Taylor were able to exploit Sierra Leone's natural resources during the 1990s through armed conflict because government misrule and corruption during the dictatorial regimes of Siaka Stevens and Joseph Momoh had created a

ready pool of recruits in marginalized and discontented youth and had left security institutions weak and vulnerable to collusion with the rebels for mutual profit. Infrastructural decline and widespread socio-economic inequality throughout this time radicalized many youth living in Freetown slums, rural villages, and diamonds mines. They held deep seated resentments against local and national leaders for the lack of both educational opportunities and prospects for socio-economic advancement in their communities and saw the RUF as an opportunity to increase their social standing and financial security.

My research shows that socio-economic conditions in Sierra Leone today resemble those before the conflict despite the investment of over three billion dollars in peacekeeping and peacebuilding projects by the UN, the Government of Sierra Leone, and other international actors. This is a direct result of peacebuilding actors underfunding community level development. Many of the peacebuilding successes that have occurred took place at high levels of government or in the SCSL and remain abstract from the daily lives of many Sierra Leoneans. I use the testimonies of ex-combatants, civilians, and the youth, gathered by NGOs, reporters, and researchers working on the ground in Sierra Leone, to illustrate the resentment that many Sierra Leoneans hold towards politicians and other leaders for the widespread lack of basic public services. Particularly worrisome, is the ease with which some ex-combatant graduates of UNAMSIL's deficient disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration program have been recruited back into violence in other regional conflicts for the chance to remove themselves and their families, at least temporarily, from poverty.

To demonstrate the far-reaching negative consequences of socio-economic neglect in Sierra Leone's peacebuilding, I focus on health care in Sierra Leone. I show how the lack of attention given to and the inadequate levels of funding being channeled towards programs addressing the cost and accessibility of health care, malaria, maternal mortality, and neglected tropical diseases depresses the economic and educational outcomes of many Sierra Leoneans and threatens community and family stability.

I put forward two community-based public health programs, based on successful smaller programs in Sierra Leone and similar countries in the West African region, to demonstrate that public health efforts are among the most cost-effective peacebuilding interventions Sierra Leoneans and international actors could jointly implement. They are the training of community-based health workers (or health teams) in hard to reach rural communities in both the use of basic diagnostic equipment and the allocation of medicines and the package delivery of preventative measures, vaccines, vitamins, and medicines through distribution structures similar to those used in community directed treatment with ivermectin programs for onchocerciasis.

Miriam Todras

Art & Identity: An Exploration of Four Jewish American Women Writer-Activists

This thesis analyzes the work of an era in which producing a literary discourse on identity became both possible and necessary for Jewish American women writers newly claiming the

arena of public discourse. The confluence of second-wave feminism, gay and lesbian liberation, and ethnic pride in the 1960's and 70's produced a rich new body of literature that marked the emergence of the "Jewish woman writer." I explore the essays, poems, and short stories of four writer-activists during the era of identity politics—Adrienne Rich, Irena Klepfisz, Cynthia Ozick, and Grace Paley—who collectively harnessed and questioned newly emerging gender, ethnic, and sexual consciousnesses to create a literary discourse on identity.

I argue that these writers both embrace and challenge the concept of identity in their writing. I define identity politics as large-scale rights-based political movements of the 1960's and 70's. I posit that identity politics freed Jewish women writers to claim their marginality as a site of creative expression and pride. However, in defining the "I" in terms of the "we," identity politics movements possess an essentializing and reductive tendency that created problems for the authors I analyze.

The postmodern literary movement, which began in the 1960's, challenged the rigidity and fixedness of identity. I define this movement by its emphasis on the diversity and multiplicity of human experience and its concept of the self as unstable and paradoxical. Together, the postmodern and identity politics frameworks created a knotty, contradictory set of conditions in which to develop a coherent discourse about the self. These four authors write out of and between these two movements. In her own way, each uses the written word to forge visions of identity that celebrate, rather than gloss over, the nuance and diversity of human and individual experience.

I devote one chapter to each author. In chapter one, I explore the poetry of the influential lesbian-feminist activist Adrienne Rich, for whom the process of writing engenders both personal and political change. In the second chapter, I analyze the poetry of Irena Klepfisz, a Holocaust survivor and lesbian-feminist activist. Both writers struggle to integrate the varied, competing aspects of their selfhood, ultimately blending the liberating potential of both political discourse and poetic expression.

In the third chapter, I explore a short story and essay by Cynthia Ozick, a centrally Jewish writer who uses fiction as an instrument of Jewish preservation in America. The final chapter analyzes the short stories of Grace Paley, a feminist pacifist for whom storytelling and political activism merge. Both writers believe in the ethical responsibility of the storyteller to capture the voices of the marginal and unheard.

I conclude by elucidating several common themes that underlie the varied styles of each writer. By creating a literary discourse that explores and challenges the concepts of personal and group identity, these authors allow for the freedom and enthusiasm of present day Jewish women writers.

Jasmine Wade

Expanding the Dominant Narrative: Cross Connections Between the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the Civil Rights Movement

In this thesis, I challenge what is known as the dominant narrative of the Civil Rights Movement. The dominant narrative refers to an understanding of the Civil Rights Movement at its most basic form—centered in the American South and set between the years of 1954 and 1965. I will argue that this dominant narrative is flawed because it does not address the international context of the movement. This broader context emphasizes the relationship between racism in the United States and in *apartheid* system in South Africa. I will examine the work of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X as case studies of the way leaders during this period engaged in an international dialogue against white supremacy.

These two leaders were obviously two of the most significant historical figures from this period. The first chapter focuses on Martin Luther King Jr. and his work with American Committee on African Affairs (ACOA). This organization combined the efforts of white liberals and prominent African American leaders to press for federal action against racial discrimination in various African nations. Using press releases, newspaper articles and speeches made by Dr. King, I examine his global consciousness around racism.

Chapter two focuses on the last two years of the life of Malcolm X and his journey in the founding of the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU). This chapter uses speeches and interviews to trace how the leader moved from a Black Nationalist perspective to a Pan-African Internationalist perspective, cemented with the founding of the OAAU. This chapter emphasizes a Malcolm X that history rarely acknowledges—a man consumed with international unity. The chapter briefly discusses Malcolm's role in the Nation of Islam in order to illustrate the extent to which his philosophy evolved between 1963 and 1965. This chapter will also discuss the Organization of African Unity, which was the source of inspiration for Malcolm X as he developed the idea of the OAAU.

Finally, this thesis will explore why this topic is relevant to present day issues. This topic has more than historical interest: it directly concerns how Americans, specifically African Americans, relate to the continent of Africa. We as Americans still struggle with depicting African nations as inferior, which can be seen in movies, television shows and news outlets. The issue of an American superiority complex is discussed in further detail in the conclusion of this paper. My hope is that by demonstrating the connection between such a significant period in American history and African history, I can contribute to changing the way people understand and relate to the continent in the future.