Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2015

Marissa Bialek

Troublesome Limitations of HHFK: Why Policymakers May Take a Different Approach

The Federal government created an official National School Lunch Program following World War II in order to reroute wartime, price-depressing surplus commodities to school institutions and address sprouting childhood under-nutrition associated with extreme poverty. However, recent changes to the National School Lunch Program show the nation's primary concern is no longer surplus commodities or under-nutrition, but rather the dangerous incidence of childhood obesity plaguing the country. By 2012, more than one in three children and adolescents were overweight or obese, costing our nation approximately $14 billion annually. As a result, Michelle Obama led the passage of the 2010 Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids (HHFK) Act that make wide-sweeping changes to the nutritional requirements in the National School Lunch Program.

The policy required reductions in school lunch levels of calories, salt, sugar, and fat, and increased amounts of fruits, vegetables, and whole grains. HHFK has far-reaching potential as over half of schoolchildren participate in school lunch. Research has shown schoolchildren are consuming more fruits and vegetables than they were prior to HHFK. However, since the policy's rollout, debate has sparked over the effectiveness of the Act in addressing childhood obesity. In my thesis, I argue a policy that relies on children making the "right" choice in the school lunch line is subject to troublesome limitations in its ability to combat childhood obesity.

HHFK ignores the political, social, and economic environmental constraints on children that restrict free choice. Big Food is driving these constraints. Big Food lobbying, the "revolving door," and its funding of nutrition science, has allowed Big Food to seep into the school food policymaking process itself. The influence of Big Food on our schoolchildren is also tangible in the walls of America's school institutions through marketing and advertising campaigns. The United States food industry now spends nearly $2 billion per year on marketing and advertising to children alone. Out of the thousands of food advertisements children see each year, whether via television, cellular devices, Internet, or the plethora of school-based marketing, 86% of these ads are for products loaded with salt, sugar, and fat.

Underlying the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act is a disregard for Big Food's influence on our children's ability to make healthy decisions as it puts individual responsibility to achieve

health on our schoolchildren. Policy formulated as such has at least three troublesome unintended consequences: (1) shovels the cost onto the schools themselves, which has resulted in some schools dropping out of the school lunch program altogether; (2) neglects the important cultural value of food within the family dynamic; and (3) results in stigmatization and judgment being passed onto sick children because of their poor food choices, paving the way for the development of severe physiological distresses, while the corporate institutions that set the terms for food choices remain powerful and unscathed.

Alexander Bozicevich
Science Fiction as Myth: Visions of the World Order

This thesis explores the mythological underpinnings of world government in the genre of science fiction, from its acknowledged conception in the late 1800s to the so-called "Golden Age of Science Fiction" beginning in the 1950s. It combines anthropological, literary, historical and political theory to synthesize an account of how popular fiction has exemplified the changing trends of thought on global organization and the possibilities of humankind's future. Myth, in this context, is not a stale consolidation of moralistic stories, but a dialectic for the cultural consciousness, and in this time span, a cultural consciousness expanding upon a global scale.

The goal of this thesis is to explore not just history, politics, or literature, but the unconscious underpinnings of all three and where they intersect in modern myth. Science fiction as a genre is novel in the sense that authors try to envision the future and understand the possibilities of human development. Science fiction explores current impossibilities to imagine how they can be real, and in this way, science fiction creates self-conscious myths. Therefore, mining the genre of science fiction of political, cultural, and social insights could provide a blueprint for the progression of our current world order, and possible revisions we will see in coming years. In this way, much like the science fiction authors themselves, I hope to understand not only our past but perhaps the future.

Evidence for my claims will be drawn from the fictional works of the authors in question, the theoretical tools of the other writers, and corresponding events and aspects in the political/social reality of the changing world order. This situation of myth and its relationship with political/social realities relies mainly upon the theories and writing of Levi-Strauss, with secondary influences from Fredric Jameson, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Samuel Moyn to clarify the more political aspects. In an attempt for specificity, fictional authors will be limited to prominent figures of science fiction who wrote specifically on the topics of utopianism, dystopianism, and a changing, collective order of humanity. These authors—H. G. Wells, Jules Verne, Aldous Huxley, George Orwell, Issac Asimov, and Arthur C. Clarke, Robert Heinlein— will be situated into three distinct periods of temporal analysis: pre-World War I, the interwar period between World Wars I and II, and post WW II. These three periods will also be given general classifications that illustrate thematic trends for the speculative fiction of the time: Utopian, Dystopian, and Complicated Reality. These markers will be especially useful for situating the authors and their works along Levi-Strauss's Culinary Triangle and also his

canonical formula, two powerful, conceptual tools for analyzing myth. Although all three periods and their respective markers are crucial to understanding the myth of world government in science fiction, the Utopian and Dystopian periods will also serve as background and context for a more in-depth discussion of the Complicated Reality, on the notion of the third as a mediate transformation of the first two.

Several events serve as landmarks for the shifting themes of science fiction: World War I, the creation of the League of Nations, World War II, the creation of the United Nations, and the Cold War. This historical arc will be mapped on a mythical analysis to show that human rights are the result of an evolution borne out of the interaction between man and machine.

Emilia Alexandra Gore

Chasing the Agrarian Dream: The Local Food Movement, Pedagogy, and Possibility

The connections between food and agriculture are obvious, but often forgotten. Agrarian thought and practice has always sought to reconnect the health of the land to the health of people. In the past decade, there has been a growing local food movement, driven by people eager to eat unprocessed, "real" foods, to understand where their food comes from and who grows it. The organization of this thesis mimics a plant's design, the plant, which represents the local food movement, hasn't reached maturity, but has grown large enough to merit examination.

"Chapter One: Roots" explores the history of the agrarian approach in the United States through the writings of J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, George Washington Carver, and Wendell Berry. To begin, de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from An American Farmer* dispels the myth that one archetype for the American farmer ever existed. However, de Crèvecoeur himself exemplifies the agrarian ideal. For him, agriculture is more than an occupation; it is a way of life. De Crèvecoeur's letters become our framework for understanding the main characteristics of an agrarian. Next, we study George Washington Carver's work that embodies the same agrarian qualities; he teaches impoverished farmers and demonstrates the possibility of uniting ecological and social goals. He believes that the treatment of the land can transform the condition of a people. A century later, Wendell Berry expands on these connections between agriculture and culture.

"Chapter Two: Stem" examines the stalk of the local food movement, represented by four farms in central Virginia: Polyface Farm, Wolf Creek Farm, Timbercreek Farm, and Free Union Grass Farm. Though one can argue that our dependency on industrial agriculture in the 21st century has grown to the point where it is now indispensable, these farms refuse to believe that industrial agriculture was historically inevitable. Though their farming methods take more time, require more intense management, and have higher costs, they have greater outcomes on both the natural and social environment. Agrarian producers and consumers prove that it is possible to create a restorative economy.

"Chapter Three: Leaves" analyzes efforts to make fresh local food more accessible to low income communities. Paulo Freire writes that any pedagogy for the oppressed "must be forged

with, not for, the oppressed (whether individuals or peoples) in the incessant struggle to regain their humanity." These initiatives confront and sometimes transform the political, social, and economic contradictions in the current industrial food system. With concepts from Paulo Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, we can analyze the methods used to improve health, community, and lead to a fuller humanity. The extent to which each program methodology fosters dialogue and participation can be used as a predictor of its long-term efficacy. The projects examined include a Fruit and Vegetable Prescription Program, Common Good City Farm, the Urban Agriculture Collective of Charlottesville, and Burnside Farm.

Finally, I conclude that the local food movement unifies not only food and agriculture, but thought and action. The local food movement has political and social repercussions that extend far beyond a plate. In the words of artist Paul Cezanne, "The day is coming when a single carrot, freshly observed, will set off a revolution."

Eda F. Herzog-Vitto

Realizing the Nation: Linguistic Nationalism in the United States, France, and Norway.

The belief that a shared language is an important, or even indispensable, quality of a nation is not uncommon. Nationalist movements around the world, and over the course of many decades, have placed great deal of emphasis on language. For example, language planning was particularly important to nation-building in Eastern Europe following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as many nations of the former Soviet bloc have called on language to legitimize their claims to statehood. Underlying linguistic nationalism—be it on the part of a Croatian nationalist or of xenophobic Americans—is an assumption that a national language ensures or promotes a unified national identity. However, in the increasingly globalized world of the new millennium, the likelihood of nations achieving linguistically homogenous populations seems to be diminishing. Populations are constantly in flux; contact with foreign cultures is practically unavoidable; and the global mobility of people, goods, and ideas has reached unprecedented rates. Some scholars have suggested that era of nationalism might be coming to an end, but others have staunchly refuted this claim. Nationalist ideology has had extraordinary global prevalence since the 18th century, and it continues to influence policymaking, to inspire social and political movements, and to give rise to conflicts around the world.

The central purpose of this paper is to examine both how nationalism has shaped language policy and how language policy has advanced nationalist aspirations over the course of the past two and a half centuries. The paper considers the cases of the United States, France, and Norway, first independently and then in comparison. These three countries are all "Western" and quickly felt the influences of the European Enlightenment, during which the modern concept of the nation emerged. All three countries are home to "native" linguistic minorities and have received large numbers of immigrants since the end of World War II. However, these three countries also have certain peculiarities that will variably affect the relationship between language and nation in each case. One of these peculiarities is that each nation emerged from a distinct political context. In addition, the three countries' native languages have differing degrees of

utility on the global stage. Before examining the country-specific cases, this paper discusses existing theories of, and discourses on, nations and nationalism. It also discusses the theoretical underpinnings of linguistic nationalism.

Audria Jude Hezbor

The Taming of Tribes: Devotional Aspects and Bedouin Identity in the Social Theory of Ibn Khaldun

In this thesis I explore the political and social thought of the medieval Tunisian scholar Ibn Khaldun as manifested in his Introduction to History, focusing on the Islamic devotional aspects to his theories of social development. The body of work I analyze is the *Muqaddimah*, translated by Franz Rosenthal. With the analysis of his work, I contemplate Ibn Khaldun's rational conception of society's dependence on the nature of its humans and its temperate zones. I then unfold Ibn Khaldun's perception of the Bedouin style and its cohesion that develops into a political unit, as a product of the merging tribal and monotheistic traditions.

The tribal interpretations of the Islamic ideals provide a devoted basis for the political unit. The Islamic creed binds the group in solidarity when the tribal norms are firmly rooted, allowing it to expand in breadth and support towards a wide scale sedentary civilization. I argue that the tribal values that form the basis of the social collective are shaped and strengthened by the Islamic ideals as exemplified in the Qur'an and prophetic tradition. The reorientation of the traditional conception of honor towards a consensus interpretation that revolved around a believing community allowed collective political action justified by universal devotion and perseverance to the community's well-being.

This thesis will examine the social development theories of Ibn Khaldun and how they remain consistent with the Islamic traditions and conceptions of divine will, in the context of the political history of the Medieval Near East Islamic dynasties. The first chapter will describe the foundations of the Islamic community and trace its progression to the political landscape of the medieval period. I will focus on conquests, social hierarchies, and cultural developments that characterized Ibn Khaldun's time. The second chapter will give the context of Ibn Khaldun's life, his early upbringing, education, and political career between Tunisia, Morocco, Andalusia, and Egypt. I will focus on his experiences at the dynastic courts that employed him to negotiate with various Bedouin tribes for their political allegiance. The scholar's interactions with rulers, witnessing their shortcomings and the disintegration of their royal authority heavily influenced his theory on the fatalistic cycles of political dynasties.

The third chapter will be an analysis of the Muqaddimah that asks what religious conceptions led to Ibn Khaldun's focus on the Bedouin tribes as the basis for political power. Although Ibn Khaldun praises the Bedouin kinship ties and moral values as the basis for socio-political unity, he indirectly emphasizes religion's role as a taming factor that effectively brings the group to sedentary civilization. Religion was the social environment that served to eliminate

hostility between believers and encourage individual charity and spirituality. The fourth chapter will examine the nature of the Bedouin tribe, focusing on its transformation from pre-Islamic Arabia. Ibn Khaldun's exploration of human social behavior treats the qualities of the Arab tribes as part of a singular identity produced by the nomadic environment. Yet this picture is a result of the mitigation of Islam and the Pagan customs, a process that brought tribal communities together as a united social political entity and formed the basis of the Medieval Islamic dynasties. I conclude with a modern application of the tribal understanding to the tribal diversity in Libya that became an organized form of resistance against the oppressive Qadhafi regime.

Nicholas Tift Hine

Defenders of the Dao: Investigating the Idea of the Chinese Public Intellectual

The public intellectual is, according to most American scholars, an individual who disseminates ideas and knowledge related to issues of public concern and who does so to a general, non-academic audience. The notion of the "public intellectual" has been popular in China since the early 2000s, and scholarship and reporting about the Chinese public intellectual tends to apply a similar understanding as the one developed in the West. In this thesis, I explicate the many differences between the Chinese and Western intellectual and public intellectual, and defend the recently coined "citizen intellectual" as a more appropriate way to understand those who are commonly called "public intellectuals" in China.

In 2004, a relatively liberal Chinese newspaper, *Southern People's Weekly*, published a list of the "Fifty Public Intellectuals Who Influenced China." This publication sparked a sharp rebuke from official government publications, which condemned the proposition that "public intellectuals" exist in China. This controversy frames my analysis of the public intellectual's complicated role and relationship to the Chinese party-state.

I begin by tracing the development of the term "intellectual" and "public intellectual" in both English and Chinese. While intellectual and public intellectual are often used interchangeably with the Chinese translations of *zhishifenzi* and *gonggong zhishifenzi*, the unique development of the English and Chinese terms suggests that a distinct difference between the words is often lost in translation.

I then analyze the history of the modern Chinese intellectual, which has historical antecedents that reach back to China's dynastic era. I will demonstrate that the unique role and responsibilities of the Chinese scholar-official continues to inform the identity of the modern Chinese intellectual and public intellectual in a way that distinguishes them from their Western counterparts. The history of China since the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 explains the restrictions, pressures, and repression that have further influenced the development of the modern Chinese intellectual identity.

Finally, I present three contemporary Chinese intellectuals who could be described as public intellectuals; however, I argue that the development of a unique Chinese intellectual identity renders the "public intellectual" insufficient as a classification for relevant intellectuals in

China today. Rather, I defend William Callahan's recently coined "citizen intellectual" as a more appropriate account of Chinese intellectuals who engage in public life with a motivation to act as a "moral conscience" for Chinese leaders and society. These citizen intellectuals produce important intellectual work in the interstitial space between the party-state establishment and China's limited civil society, and to whitewash them as generic "public intellectuals" is to misunderstand the role and responsibilities of outspoken intellectuals in contemporary China.

Katy Hutto

The Bait, the Arms Race, and the Rising Tide: Merit, Need, Access, and Aid in American Higher Education

In this thesis, I set out to examine tensions between merit and need in both the rhetoric and the policies surrounding financial aid in American higher education. The first chapter offers a social and historical overview of access and college culture in the United States. The chapter moves into analysis of a mid-twentieth century explosion of demographic access to college before moving on to problematize an increasing shift toward merit-approaches to aid (especially in the last thirty years). Throughout this period and well into the present, implicit assumptions about who "deserves" both functional and financial access often frame purely need-based approaches as impractical and/or unrealistic.

The second and third chapters delve deeply into a case study of Georgia's state-sponsored, lottery-funded HOPE Scholarship. As an opportunity that clearly delimits eligibility by merit yet often markets itself to the tune of statewide access and service, HOPE stands at a compelling intersection of hotly debated educational values, policy challenges, class conflicts, political entanglements, and ultimately moral concerns that underlie at least to some extent *all* tensions between merit- and need-based aid. In addition to synthesizing some existing histories and evaluations of the program, this case study also takes as a serious priority the examination of public opinion through rhetorical analyses of the Atlanta paper and the University of Georgia's student newspaper. In short, I hope to shed light on HOPE's more nuanced complexities, unifying its public history with a combination of ethical debates surrounding the program's implementation, peer-reviewed scholarship examining various aspects and impacts of the scholarship and lottery, and trends over time in responses from students, politicians, academics, reporters, parents, and other stakeholders – all of whom are deeply invested in HOPE's future for reasons as diverse as their most personal anxieties.

The choice of HOPE, though admittedly influenced by personal familiarity with the program, is no small statement either. As a trailblazing state program that has since incited massive amounts of attention and, in some cases, outright imitation, HOPE has set the pace in many ways for states rethinking how they might take an active role in the changing landscape of college cost and culture alike. Furthermore, the fact that HOPE is a clearly merit-based program nevertheless de facto perpetuating social inequality in the State of Georgia offers an ideal example

of the struggles inherent in critiquing merit programs fairly when their stated goals are so functionally narrow to start.

Ultimately, through this project I hope to offer readers a body of thorough evidence and pointed questions through to which to conceive in their own terms of how this merit-need tension contributes to our conceptions of higher education and access today.

William Woodward Laverack

One Pocket or Two? Examining an Effort to Transform the 'Invisible Hand' With an 'Invisible Heart'

In the past thirty years, social entrepreneurship—the practice of using business to address social problems—has become increasingly prominent in both national and global contexts. For many proponents, it represents a conception of business that challenges conventional wisdom. It can be viewed as a shift from "two-pocket" thinking, where the financial objectives of business are separated from the social aspirations of government and philanthropy, to "one-pocket" thinking, where they are intrinsically intertwined. In this thesis, I consider the extent to which social entrepreneurship can be regarded as a paradigm shift. I argue that it can only be a paradigm shift if rational incentives are aligned with social good. In other words, such a shift would mean that "doing well" and "doing good" are intrinsically intertwined.

In the first chapter, I provide context by highlighting the growing appeal of the field and the paradigm shift that it can be claimed to represent. I suggest that there are a variety of interpretations of social entrepreneurship, and I provide and justify my own definition: using business to address social problems in a way that seeks to align financial returns with social good. In the second, third, and fourth chapter, I analyze three case studies to support my claim. I begin with SKS Microfinance, a social enterprise that uses market-based strategies to increase financial inclusion in India. The case is valuable because it demonstrates the harm that can occur when incentives are misaligned with social good. I next investigate Aavishkaar, an initiative that invests in social enterprise with the intention of generating a social impact along with a financial return. Aavishkaar appears to exhibit a stronger ability to align incentives and to represent a paradigm shift. In my third case study, I analyze the first social impact bond, a method of social entrepreneurship that aligns private and public capital with non-profit services. The case is significant because it illustrates how business and social good can become more aligned when there is a profit incentive. Taken together, the cases demonstrate that social entrepreneurship can be a valuable tool in certain contexts and under certain conditions, but it should not be viewed as a "solution" to social problems.

In the final chapter, I discuss what can be a common feature of social entrepreneurship: lack of a critical perspective that appreciates systematic, interdependent conditions and their role in constraining agency and markets. I argue that regardless of whether or not it is viewed as a paradigm shift, social entrepreneurship is not a panacea and is influenced by political, economic, and social conditions that can limit social advancement. I first examine the contexts where markets and social problems have the potential for being linked. I then interrogate the notion of

'social impact,' particularly illustrating the underlying interaction between markets, structural conditions, and the power hierarchies embedded in these conditions. I conclude the inquiry by exploring the potential moral and ethical implications of an expanding market, arguing that we ought to be cautious about market thinking in the realms of life that we value most. My intent in drawing attention to the need for critical awareness is not to discredit what can be an important method of ameliorating social problems. A more holistic perspective reveals a demand for effort across all sectors—public, private, and philanthropic. Ultimately, viewing social entrepreneurship through this lens can help augment the field's credibility and capability to faithfully serve vulnerable constituencies.

Rebecca Lim
Occupy Central: Political Identity and Political Distrust in 21st Century Hong Kong

The Occupy Central movement, which also became known as the "Umbrella Movement" after the umbrellas protesters used to shield themselves from tear gas became a symbol of bold resistance, was in many ways a point of intersection for the various themes explored in each chapter of this thesis: East-West political hybridity and conflict, Hong Kong-Mainland power asymmetries, and political identity formation. On the surface, the movement had a clear and singular goal: persuade the government to allow truly free and universal elections for the Chief Executive in 2017 by attracting international attention through a mass civil disobedience movement.

However, beneath the David and Goliath story that made flashy headlines all over the world was the story of a complex society churning under the pressure of living between "one country" and "two systems." The Occupy Central story is one of young, passionate, and frustrated students struggling to make for themselves a future worth striving for. It was one of identity—of old and young, Hong Kong and Mainland, rich and poor, and everything in between. And it was a story about power: it illustrated the culmination of years of ever-encroaching PRC influence on a small region with a distinct identity rooted in fundamentally opposite political ideals.

Chapter one offers a brief history of British colonial rule, which started in 1942 with the Treaty Nanking and ended in 1997. The remaining legacies of British administration—the rule of law, freedom of speech, an independent judiciary, and being "Hong Kongese"—have been adopted and ingrained into the Hong Kong identity. They have been especially interesting as a point of tension and conflict after Hong Kong returned to Chinese rule in 1997.

In Chapter two, I seek to illuminate these tensions by explicating the inherent East-West contradictions present in Hong Kong's quasi-constitution, The Basic Law. I argue that the Basic Law exemplifies the limits of the "one country, two systems" framework, which subsumes Hong Kong under China while preserving its capitalist and liberal systems with a "high degree of autonomy." This "high degree of autonomy" hits a ceiling at the level of electoral or any other democratic reform—a key point to understand the context for the Occupy Central movement.

Chapter three centers more specifically on the development of political identity and democratization in Hong Kong. I use polling data to show that in recent years, Hong Kong has diverged from the Mainland both in terms of cultural and social identity markers as well as political sentiments. Hong Kongers' relegation of the Mainland to "other" status coincides with growing distrust and dissatisfaction with a Special Administrative Region government largely seen to cater to Beijing and her interests.

Lastly, Chapter four identifies the key players in the Occupy Central movement and their motivations, the methods they used, and the provisions they demanded. I emphasize that though the entire movement was subsumed under one name—Occupy Central—it was much more fragmented and not as unified as one might think.

Jean-Paul Martinod-Sánchez

Understanding Social Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice

The aim of this thesis is to examine social entrepreneurship through its main theories and practices in order to determine whether or not current research can offer a clear understanding of social entrepreneurship. I examine research on entrepreneurship that paved the way for social entrepreneurship, the most widely accepted theories and prescriptions for social entrepreneurship, and select case studies on social enterprises.

In the first part, I track the conceptual evolution of entrepreneurship through looking at the most influential perspectives on the entrepreneur. The evolution of theories on the entrepreneur shows that there is no consensus among scholars about the meaning of entrepreneurship or the function and qualities of entrepreneurs.

The second part examines the social entrepreneur through the most influential theories and prescriptions that have been proposed so far within the field. In a detailed analysis of the most widely accepted theories on the social entrepreneur, this section finds that social entrepreneurship suffers from similar theoretical challenges as its conceptual predecessor. An examination of social entrepreneurship theories shows that there is no consensus among scholars with regards to the key concepts of social entrepreneurship.

The third part considers real world examples of how social enterprises are developed and maintained. The case studies are considers through the lens of the theories on social entrepreneurship explored in the previous section. This section finds that the current intersection between theory and practice in the field of social entrepreneurship does not provide a clear enough understanding of the realities surrounding social entrepreneurship.

In the conclusion, I restate my findings and express my conviction that a better understanding of social entrepreneurship would ensue if we analyze the phenomenon through an evolutionary perspective. I suggest that social entrepreneurship is emerging at this moment in time in reaction to a set of processes that have been occurring since the beginning of time and in response to circumstances that are unique to our time.

Aaron Ojalvo

"And Screamed With Joy": How Allen Ginsberg Created and Disseminated the Notion of a Public Gay Identity

After riots broke out in front of New York City's Stonewall Inn during the summer of 1969, the gay liberation component of the already-underway sexual revolution unfurled its flag. Demanding respect, recognition, and encouraging gay Americans to "come out," the gay liberation movement was able to make great strides toward its goals without fear of censorship because earlier writers and activists had changed the cultural climate of the United States in their favor. In this thesis, I examine Allen Ginsberg's poems, his public persona, and his activist agenda in order to illustrate how he created and then popularized the concept of a "public" gay identity. I argue that Ginsberg used his fame to espouse a vision of homosexuality where shame could be replaced with celebration; I also show that his frank and often-shocking language played a critical role in shifting public opinion of homosexuality enough so that the gay liberation movement could take hold.

In my first chapter, I will briefly summarize the social, medical and literary history of homosexuality leading up to the 1950s in order to contextualize popular understandings of homosexuality in the postwar era. I will use Ginsberg's words –his journals, letters, and his early poems—to portray the obstacles that many gay men were forced to consider as they explored their own identities. I will also highlight the different experiences and interactions that colored Ginsberg's understanding of his own homosexuality, and which helped to develop the public gay identity he would share with the world.

In my second chapter, I examine the poem "Howl," and the obscenity trial that followed its publication. In doing so, I will attempt to illustrate that Ginsberg but conscious effort into fashioning his popularity and his image as a gay celebrity. I will also highlight Ginsberg's reverence of Walt Whitman in order to better understand the public role that Ginsberg imagined for himself and for all poets.

In my third and final chapter, I will explore Ginsberg's relationship with counterculture movements to examine his efficacy as an activist. I will also highlight the strength of his most widely circulated interviews, to show that Ginsberg's victory over censorship and his promotion of frankness allowed for the gay liberation movement to burst on to the national scene in the way that it did.

I will conclude by reflecting on how the AIDS crisis in the 1980s changed the way that many gay Americans viewed Ginsberg and his radical political stances. In doing so, I hope to shed light on the animating question that fueled this project: What is it about Ginsberg's language—in his poetry and outside of it—that so profoundly changed the light in which gay Americans saw themselves? How is it that after 60 years, his language retains the ability to profoundly resonate with gay men who are "coming out" in radically different post-sexual-revolution, post-gay-liberation, post-AIDS-crisis world?

Caroline Parker

Contested Essence: Segregation and Historical Representation in Major Works of American History

Across major works of American history, "segregation" is a concept whose definition is deeply contested. I examine the different representations of "segregation" in these three works: C. Vann Woodward's *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955), James Anderson's *Education of Blacks in the South* (1988), and Thomas Sugrue's *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* (1996). In each I identify what the historian constructs as the "essence" of segregation. I contextualize these differences by describing the political moment in which each was writing. Finally, I suggest their implications for ameliorative political action in the present.

Applying a philosophy of history informed by the work of Hayden White and F.R. Ankersmit on narrative and representation, I argue that historians always infuse their historical accounts with presentist political and ethical perspectives. To distill these subjective dimensions in the work of Woodward, Anderson, and Sugrue, I analyze their narratives in terms of five variables: temporality, geography, representative examples, data presented, and essential definitions. I argue that choices in each of these categories reflect the particular questions and commitments with which the historian approaches the past.

Because the narratives and definitions offered by historians are consumed into political and popular consciousness, I argue, history has a critical place in the politics of the present. I end by examining the potential political implications of the different definitions of segregation offered by Woodward, Anderson, and Sugrue.

History has tremendous potential to guide humanity. For it to be useful, we must be willing to recognize its subjective dimensions, lest we be deceived by claims of scientific objectivity. I call on readers and writers alike to acknowledge and embrace the "politics of history."

Stephen Paul

Exceptional Measures, Uncertain Times: The Law and Executive Authority during the Vicissitudes of Emergency

Large, serious and unpredictable emergencies—wars, crises, and disasters—create uncertainty and threaten health, property, and life. The role of government in these situations is often limited to reaction. A successful reaction to an emergency limits and alleviates harm. The unusual amount of resources and coordination necessary for an emergency response means that a government response requires an expansion of the authority and discretion of public officials. I argue that codifying explicit provision for expanded authority and discretion, in both theory and historical experience, often allows these expanded powers to persist after the emergency ends. These are "security ratchets," which happen because legal accommodation of emergency powers facilitates their normalization.

I argue that security ratchets result from the choices that public officials make when they set policy. The policy of a government involves balancing society's interest in security against certain rights and liberties that conflict with security. These rights include freedom of speech, due process, and privacy. I argue that, because one of the main tasks of executives is to prevent emergencies, they tend to prefer a higher level of security than society might otherwise accept. I argue that emergency response requires changing the balance of security and liberty because higher levels of security in emergencies allow society to recover more quickly and more fully from emergencies. Policy shifts during emergencies, however, allow executives to influence government policy toward increased security as policy shifts after the emergency.

Legal accommodation by a constitution or by statute allows the executive to affect the policy of the government after an emergency. A model of emergency powers that relies on executive prerogative to act outside the law to secure the public good better preserves the distinction between normal powers and emergency powers. This is primarily because, after the emergency ends, society reverts to the legal *status quo ante*. Emergency policies do not become law and so are isolated from the effects of judicial precedent and legislative status quo bias. Additionally, when executives must act outside the law in order to respond to emergencies, the threat of public sanction creates incentives for them to tailor their measures to the severity of the emergency.

For the threat of public sanction to provide proper incentives, the judgment of the public or its representatives must be consistent. I argue that the existing literature has not developed a basis for making these judgments that sufficiently takes into account the complexities of extra-legal action. The unique features of extra-legal action include the potential implementation of repressive measures, deviation from normal procedures, and conflicting duties. The just war tradition reckons with similar problems and its criteria provide a basis for evaluating the most important aspects of extra-legal measures. My argument is intended to structure public debate and criticism regarding extra-legal measures. The criteria are not a decision machine and reasonable people may disagree on whether any specific case is justified by their standards. I conclude by discussing whether the criteria would justify certain extra-legal actions of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, and Bush.

Daniel C.A. Pontón

Liberation, a Theological Account: Examining the Concept of Liberation in Gustavo Gutierrez's Theology

Gustavo Gutiérrez's theology is an account of liberation that aims to comprehend, orient, and animate the struggle of the poor in history. In this thesis, I investigate the political and social implications of this theology particularly in the concept of liberation. In the final analysis, I argue that the concept of liberation in Gutiérrez's theology requires a theological and political understanding of a church of the poor.

I begin my investigation by exploring the methodological formula of Gutiérrez's theology, famously termed a "critical reflection on historical praxis." This theological method comes as an epistemological break from traditional theology, grounding itself in the struggle of the poor for liberation as opposed to the a priori approach of canonical theology. As a critical engagement with reality this theology becomes liberative by its own enactment.

In the second chapter I examine the concept of liberation in the more categorical sense, referring mainly to Gutiérrez's three most popular works: *A Theology of Liberation*, *The Power of the Poor in History*, and *The Truth Shall Make You Free*. I notice that Gutiérrez identifies a process of liberation that necessarily involves three distinct, yet not separable, levels of liberation: the socio-political level, the personal psychological level, and the spiritual level. Upon surveying all three of these definitions I consider what it means for there to be one, so-called "integral liberation" that expresses "unity, without separation."

In the third chapter I engage the critical works of four sources on Gutiérrez's theological project in order to clarify my findings and better determine an answer to my central question about liberation. I discuss the historically well-known pushback from the Vatican represented best by critiques from the Congregation of the Doctrine of Faith, an arm of the Catholic church charged with defending doctrine, and its once-prefect Cardinal Ratzinger. I then consider the work of Ivan Petrella, who writes about the necessity and possibility of liberation as a historical project in his book *The Future of Liberation Theology*. Next I engage the work of Marsha Hewitt who questions the validity of liberation theology in light of Gutiérrez's sudden and apparent rejection of the connection between his theology and Marx—a connection she found to be crucial in defining liberation. In the last instance I consider the work of Denys Turner, who analyzes the possibility of a renewed and fruitful relationship between liberation theology and Marx via the apophatic tradition. These critiques and analysis provide the conceptual space needed to clarify Gutiérrez's notion of liberation as a function of radical solidarity with the poor.

In the final chapter I return to my initial question of liberation via Gutiérrez's redefinition of the church as a church of the poor and the sacrament of total and complete liberation in Christ. I argue that without first comprehending Gutiérrez's redefinition of the church, we lose a critical understanding of liberation as the moment of communion with the poor. I discover that through the church of the poor, Gutiérrez's notion of liberation becomes both a gift of communion and a demand for an active solidarity with the poor. Liberation, in the final analysis, finds its fulfillment in the complete communion of the kingdom of God, which demands historical liberation in the here and now.

Scott Lyden Tilton

"Liberty on the Walls of Prisons": The Louisiana Tripartite Racial System and the Fight Against Segregation

I argue that the tripartite racial system imported from colonial Saint-Domingue (Haiti) to New Orleans was instrumental in the formation of Louisiana's Creole society and influenced the black

Creole fight against binary segregation. The tripartite racial system emerged in the Caribbean and classified people into three distinct categories: whites, *gens de couleur libre* [free people of color], and slaves. The three-tiered racial system recognized whites as a privileged class. But whiteness was gradating, which allowed individuals of multiracial backgrounds to claim privileges afforded to whites based on their percentage of white ancestry. In this system, terms such as *octoroon* (1/8th black) and *quadroon* (1/4th black) described degrees of blackness. These multiracial identities became closely associated with free people of color in colonial Louisiana. The French and Spanish implemented slave laws that liberally offered manumissions for slaves while sexual relations between white males and black females produced multiracial offspring.

Because the three-tiered racial structure became strongly associated with claims to Creole identity in Louisiana, I examine the origins and links between white Creoles and black Creoles in shaping a larger group identity centered on New Orleans. Here, I demonstrate how white Creoles and black Creoles grounded their claims to *Créolité* in being native to Louisiana but adapted their claims to reinforce their racial identity in the three-tiered racial system.

After presenting the historical circumstances that created a cohesive Creole identity in Louisiana, I lay out how Creoles reinforced their three-tiered racial system to offset Anglo-American competition after America bought Louisiana in 1803. I argue that the arrival in New Orleans of tens of thousands of refugees fleeing Saint-Domingue (Haiti) during the Haitian Revolution reinforced Creole society and the three-tiered racial system. However, as Americans came *en masse* after the 1810's, Creoles and Americans increasingly fought over whether Louisiana would accept a binary racial system that accepted absolute differences between whites and blacks or keep the gradating three-tiered Creole racial system.

My research looks closely at how the Creole racial system collapsed after the Civil War. I contend that the Civil War opened a political space for the wealthy black Creole community to demand political rights. However, in fighting for racial equality, black Creoles accepted the end of the Creole racial structure by recognizing that their fight for racial equality was better than preserving their privileges in a fraying racial system. With their racial privileges being compromised, white Creoles allied with white Americans and adopted a binary racial order because they feared that black political activism would lead to their subordination. In the ensuing chaos of post-war Reconstruction, black Creoles struggled to fight for racial equality, but the prevailing climate of racism robbed them of their vaunted achievements.

I conclude my thesis with the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case that established the doctrine of "separate but equal" built on a binary racial conception. I argue that the black Creoles grounded their legal fight against binary segregation on the three-tiered concept of race. In losing their legal challenge against segregation, the Supreme Court effectively dismantled the Creole tripartite racial system and the remaining Creole community.

Claire Xiaozhi Wang

Imagining the Future Through Demographic Lens: Challenges and Realities for China's Aging Population

In this thesis, I offer a comprehensive description of the population-aging phenomenon in China, which will be one of China's most significant new realities in the next three to four decades. Taking a cross-disciplinary approach, I construct a narrative that includes social, economic, policy, and personal perspectives of China's population aging. I incorporate a comprehensive approach by integrating a range of authoritative secondary sources: up-to-date data, peer-reviewed academic research, and institutional reports that present statistics and recommendations. The literature informs and builds on one another. Because aging is such an intimate experience in one's life course, I will contextualize statistics and discuss real-life experiences to meaningfully convey implications.

In Chapter One, I describe China's demographic outlook against the background of global population aging. The One Child Policy, which is unique to China, played an important role in shaping this outlook. The economic prospect of an older world is often deemed pessimistic, but this may not be true if we can accept population aging as an emerging societal norm.

In Chapter Two, I offer an overview of how the traditional value system of filial piety and familial power structure underwent significant changes due to political and economic programs after1949 and will continue to change. Older parents gradually lose their authority over their children, and this trend will impact elderly care. This chapter provides a cultural context of aging in China.

Chapter Three investigates four main policy areas that will be most seriously challenged by a rapidly aging population. The government needs to create a fair and sustainable pension system, terminate the One Child Policy, gradually raise retirement age, and increase investments in education to sustain economic growth and meet the occupational demands of an older population.

In Chapter Four, I restore the elderly as the object of the aging process and explore how the conception of old age is constructed. By reconsidering old age, I show the possibilities of a positive and active attitude towards later life, which may lead to greater personal attainment and wellbeing.

In the Conclusion, I acknowledge that making clear predictions about the future is virtually impossible because of the complexity and interconnectedness of factors. I argue that change and adaption will be constant themes while imaginative and forward-looking attitudes are crucial to successfully transitioning into an older demographic structure. More cross-disciplinary dialogues on the impact of aging need to be heard by the public. An older population should be viewed as a new norm instead of as a "burden" or "problem." Both the state and individuals need to make fast decisions and adapt, preferably in a proactive, not reactive, way.

Rosa M. Waters

"Cidade Para Quem?": Participatory Urban Planning in Recife, Brazil

In this project, I examine the idea of participatory urban planning by using a case study from Recife, involving the Novo Recife redevelopment plan and a subsequent social movement opposing the plan. I define "participatory planning" as a contemporary bottom-up model of urban planning through which civil society not only has a voice but also the capacity to make decisions in local planning processes. Participatory planning can be contrasted to traditional modes of top-down planning, which focus on urban form, and oftentimes fail to consider the social, political, and economic implications of formal plans.

Traditional modes of planning, in which decision-making is concentrated in the hands of a few authorized municipal planners, has dominated for much of history. I describe how traditional planning models, which are largely rooted in Enlightenment ideas of scientific rationality and organization, have been carried out in Brazil. These top-down models guided "modernization" efforts as Brazil industrialized and sought to make a name for itself in the global scene. Critical theory, like that of Paulo Freire from the 1960s, began to question the process through which cities, like Recife, were being "modernized," eventually sparking discussions about a more inclusive and participatory models of government and planning processes.

Participatory planning was written into Brazilian law when the country officially transitioned to democracy in the late 1980s. The Brazilian Citizen's Constitution of 1988 encourages more citizen-involved forms of planning and the 2001 City Statute require formal processes of participatory planning by law. By understanding Recife's history of planning and closely examining a recent planning case study, we are able to understand how everyday citizens are attempting to realize their so-called "right to the city" and engage in democratic city management.

In evaluating how the Novo Recife Project has been handled in Recife's municipal government, I ultimately conclude that residents of Recife are not talking part in formal participatory planning because they are largely cut off from local decision-making institutions. However, by organizing in opposition to the Novo Recife development through the Ocupe Estelita social movement, citizens in Recife are engaging in their city and taking part in a more participatory form of planning. The social movement has been able to successfully hold off the implementation of the Novo Recife Plan for over three years, and by participating in the movement, Residents have, in effect, involved themselves in the process of urban planning. They are striving towards more participatory urban management, and thus, I argue, truer democracy in their city.

"Cidade Para Quem?"—which translates from Portuguese to "City For Whom?"—is a tag spray painted throughout the streets of Recife, Brazil. I argue that citizens in Recife, by participating in planning processes, are answering this fundamental urban question with a simple response: Cities can and should be for all.