Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2017

Kienan Adams

Invisible Bits: Viewing Software as Infrastructure

Software, once regarded as closely connected to computers, hardware, and systems, has taken on a life of its own in recent years, apparently threatening innovation from every angle. In this thesis, I present a counter narrative to the unstoppable disruptive force of software, framing my own narrative through the longer, slower lens of infrastructure. While an innovation-centered approach focuses on novel software applications, I focus on the lasting roles of software services and systems, which have become increasingly invisible and embedded as software has been moved onto the web.

I detail how software has incrementally been separated from its very real hardware and systems origins and attempt to reconnect to them. Software does not exist as a monolithic whole or as a single form at certain points in time, but as many coexisting forms across decades. To capture the vast array of software's modular parts and coexisting forms in addition to its social and relational dynamics and tensions, I argue that we must imagine an infrastructure. Silently embedded in and layered on top of existing infrastructures, software is inseparable from their disparate functions. In our own work and play, the many layers of software have become taken-for-granted much like the lights overhead and roads beneath. While software at times seems to come to the fore—in viral mobile applications or websites—these applications represent not software but "experiences," detached from the layers of infrastructure enabling them. Software, then, is boring, mundane, unremarkable. While at once invisible, it has very real consequences. Its development is uncertain and seemingly untenable, wrestling with the legacies of old systems and visions of the new. Most importantly, software itself breaks down, ages, and decays. It must be maintained, updated, and repaired.

In particular, I complicate the history and development of software by looking at the development of software services. In covering these services, I first of all highlight how they have existed in some form since the very concept of software and data processing existed. I look especially at the recent interconnection of these services through standardized interfaces on the web. I argue that web APIs, or application programming interfaces, embody especially the infrastructural characteristics of software, serving to seamlessly connect the computing resources

of one provider with another. The software services that I trace and examine to a large extent represent a sort of standardization process, working with existing software systems and standardizing their disparate legacy components through uniform interfaces with the wider web. Finally, I argue that software as infrastructure suggests looking at working with software as contributing to systems not at their beginnings, but during their middles and ends. To develop software is largely to update, maintain, and repair existing systems rather than to create, hack, and build new applications. This sort of analysis, I hope, provides an understanding that favors continuity over invention.

Jackie O. Akunda

Plus Ones: The Role of Political Parties in Kenya's Constitutional Commitment to Gender Inclusion

In 2010, in a national referendum, Kenyan ushered in a new constitution. The 2010 Constitution promises to "redress any disadvantages suffered by individuals and groups from past discrimination." Women are one of the primary groups whose plight the Constitution aims to redress. It does so by instituting a gender quota in all national and subnational, elective and appointive governmental bodies. The Constitution states that no more than two-thirds of any governmental body should comprise of one gender. In this paper, I argue that the 2010 Constitution empowers political parties to implement women's, and more generally marginalized people's, inclusion into formal politics.

In Chapter One, I examine the constitutional reform moment and the events that precipitated reform. I examine the current Kenyan government's role in reform and argue that preoccupation with reforming the powers of the president and devolution, sublimated women's issues in the national agenda. I suggest that the primacy of "other" issues on the government's agenda may explain the current deficits in women's political participation. In Chapter Two, I explore women's historical political participation, arguing that although women were excluded from formal political participation, they created informal organizational networks that supported and addressed the issues their issues as women. In Chapter Three, I begin to interrogate the Kenyan political party system, asking, what about the emergence, development and nature of political parties in Kenya predisposes them to a politics of exclusion. I find that ethnicity is the primary organizational mechanism in Kenyan politics. The centrality of ethnic politics in Kenya means that it lacks the tolerant pluralism that democratic theory exalts.

In the paper, I present an opportunity for later works to explore the role of women in political parties and the limiting factor of ethnic politics in the formal inclusion of women and other marginalized people in the state.

Will Brewbaker

The Poem Waits On Experience: Towards an Integrated Understanding of Daniel Berrigan's Poetry, Theology, and Political Activism

During the 1960s, few Catholic priests found themselves in the American public eye as frequently as did Daniel Berrigan. A Jesuit priest from a lower-income family in New York, Daniel Berrigan gained public notoriety for his protest in Catonsville, Maryland. There, along with his brother Phillip and seven others, Berrigan burned hundreds of draft cards in protest of the Vietnam War.

But Daniel Berrigan's protests do not offer, on their own, a complete understanding of his life's work. All too often, any mention of the Jesuit priest's name brings with it discussions of either nonviolence or the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament. While these are important topics, they neglect a key facet of Berrigan's worldview: his lifelong commitment to writing poetry.

In this thesis, I propose an integrated view of Berrigan's life's work that does not separate his poetry from either his theology or his political activism. Instead, I attempt to show how these three different interests – poetry, theology, and political activism – inform and influence one another in a recursive conversation.

In chapter One, I present this initial proposal, and then spend the rest of the chapter providing Berrigan's biography. While some poets' biographies serve only to complicate the reading of their work (e.g., T.S. Eliot), Daniel Berrigan's political activism necessitates an understanding of what led him from childhood to the Jesuits, and from the Jesuits to the cover of TIME Magazine.

In Chapter Two, I offer an overview of Berrigan's roughly twenty books of poetry. I spend the most time with his first six books, which were released over a thirteen-year period spanning from 1957-1969. From a biographical standpoint, this period brought the most tumultuous change to Daniel Berrigan's life. His poetry reflects this constant personal and political upheaval. By close reading specific poems from each of these books (as well as excerpts from his later works), I offer the reader an entry point into Berrigan's prolific poetic career.

With this foundation of biography and poetry, I use Chapter Three to explain this holistic understanding of Daniel Berrigan's poetry, theology, and politics. Through a discussion of how his poetic imagination engaged with his understanding of Christ's resurrection, I suggest that Daniel Berrigan's poetry, theology, and protest all sought the same goal: affirming life and (perhaps more importantly) rejecting death. I support this claim through a detailed look at the Catonsville protest, as well as a close reading of excerpts from Berrigan's play, *The Trial of the Catonsville Nine.*

In Chapter Four, I examine Daniel Berrigan's writings on the Old Testament prophets in order to understand better his life from 1980 until his death in 2016. Berrigan spent these years quietly serving those in need. Using both his poetry and his prose writings on Isaiah as a guide, I

offer these final decades of humble service as evidence for the consistency of Berrigan's integrated worldview, which never required either accolades or attention.

William Cochrane

The Formation of the Black Denizen: Tracing the Development of Collective Community Consciousness in Central Brooklyn's Black Liberatory History

Brooklyn, New York lives today as a poster-child of gentrification in the modern American imagination. The weight of the borough's newly earned reputation squashes the complicated, interwoven histories of community mobilization that laid the foundation for life as it exists today in Brooklyn. The failure of modern stereotypes of the region to invoke these histories comes at a significant cost. The influx of new residents into Brooklyn and its heightened public cache place the disadvantaged, historically black communities that have called Brooklyn home for decades in an environment of pugnacious market pressures. These pressures wield the conflicting capacities to both build community wealth but also to reproduce systems of racialized poverty. Now more than ever, the onus to nuance histories of ghettoization and subsequent anti-poverty programming bears greater consequence for development endeavors that work towards an equitable future for the residents of the region. This thesis works to build a new historical framework of "collective community consciousness" of the historically black neighborhoods of Central Brooklyn. My framework collects the seemingly disparate elements of Central Brooklyn's black liberatory narrative and gathers them in a way that highlights interrelatedness and regional distinctiveness to push back against reductive historicizing.

In Chapter One, I seek to provide a demographic primer for Central Brooklyn's ghettoization to better understand the idiosyncratic ways in which the region was underdeveloped, and the distinctive infill it experienced during and thereafter. I use this chapter to explore the divides that emerged along ethnic and class lines as both West Indian and Southern black migrants found community in their travels north during The Great Migration, and how the existing housing infrastructure in Central Brooklyn and Bedford Stuyvesant in particular reinforced ethnic and class identities.

Chapter Two tells the story of a radicalized civil rights activist group's diminution in Central Brooklyn during the early 1960s. I explore how this group – the Brooklyn Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) – collected the varying interests of Central Brooklyn's black population and reoriented them towards the shortcomings of a purportedly progressive New York City government.

Chapter Three offers an in-depth examination of the parties of interest that converged in the midst of the infamous Ocean Hill-Brownsville Teachers' Strike of 1968, more commonly remembered as The Crisis. Premised by historians within a reductive framework of "cultural"

differences between blacks and whites in Central Brooklyn, I seek in this chapter to offer an expanded framework of "cultural" difference that places the Crisis in conversation with the historical developments in black nationalist community consciousness before and after.

Chapter Four investigates the emergence of The East – a black nationalist cultural institution – within the fallout of The Crisis. Significantly underexplored in the existing scholarship of Central Brooklyn's black liberatory history, and dismissed at points as an inconsequential or less important element of this history, I argue that The East constitutes a significant development within the crystallization of black nationalist thought on the grassroots level that surprisingly dates back to the heyday of Brooklyn CORE.

Jo Claire Constantz

On Zadie Smith: Literature, Ethics, and Politics Beyond Critique

The publication of her debut novel, *White Teeth,* swept Zadie Smith to literary fame at the age of twenty-one. She has since cemented her reputation as a preeminent writer-critic, publishing an assemblage of novels, short stories, and essays to significant critical acclaim and holding teaching positions at Columbia, Harvard, and New York Universities. Since World War II, ambitious writer-critics like Smith have become increasingly embedded in the institution of the university. Through engagement with the reflexive processes characteristic of the academy, these writers are induced to absorb and account for dominant critical discourses and reflect on these in their work. Educated in literary studies at Cambridge during the 1990s, Smith was taught to read through the lens of postmodern and critical theory as an undergraduate. Through her fiction, Smith attempts to address the challenges raised by such philosophical and political thought.

In Chapter One, I review the recent history of literary studies, focusing in particular on the rise and fall of "critique," a particular style of literary criticism that employs postmodern and critical theory; I then provide an account of emerging methodologies that seek to move beyond the perceived limitations of critique. To this end I work closely with the well-regarded work of Rita Felski. I then turn my attention to the landscape of contemporary literature, reviewing various ways writers have sought alternatives to these dominant critical discourses through their fiction. Both scholars adopt a characterological lens, arguing that a focus on "ethos" offers the most perspicuous approach for analyzing such critical and literary trends.

For the remainder of my thesis, I attempt to situate Zadie Smith in the sociological context of these trends.

In Chapter Two, I examine the influential relationship between critical discourse and the production of fiction, considering Smith's particular case. I then analyze a relevant selection of Smith's critical essays to assess her individual sensibility with regard to the dominant critical culture. In particular, I focus my attention on Smith's "Rereading Barthes and Nabokov," "Read Better," "Two Paths for the Novel," "That Crafty Feeling," "*Their Eyes Were Watching God:* What

Does *Soulful* Mean?," "Love, Actually," "Fail Better," and "*Middlemarch* and Everybody."

In Chapter Three, I conduct a post-critical reading of *Swing Time,* Smith's most recently published novel. Aligning myself with the characterological approach, I analyze how Smith responds to these discourses by incorporating an examination of different models of "reading" in her work. In *Swing Time* Smith tests the merits and shortcomings of familiar "critical" and "uncritical" methods through the actions (and inaction) of various characters. Through her narrative, Smith articulates an alternative ethos that refuses the critical-uncritical dichotomy. This postcritical ethos seeks to transcend naïve and solipsistic styles of reading in order to more fully recognize the reality of the "other"; a task that Smith argues lies at the core of both fiction and our ethical lives. Beyond mere concern for critical methodology, Smith contends that one's approach to texts can inform one's approach to other people, thus carrying significant ethical weight.

Kathryn (Katie) Deal

"Purpose Built" from Privatization: The Evolution of Affordable Housing through Public-Private Partnerships

In the United States, an individual's housing represents one of the most important predictors of social stability and wealth security. But an increasing number of Americans cannot access safe, affordable homes. Because of exploitative governmental and market practices, de facto segregation and concentrated poverty have become institutionalized in the nation's most under-resourced neighborhoods. To meet the needs of a swelling low-income population, community development corporations (CDCs) emerged: using their cross-sector connections to assemble all possible resources to create affordable housing units, and protect the families living within them. Today, these private-public partnerships have been described as the most effective vehicles for delivering affordable housing. This paper explores the rise of public-private partnerships from the privatization of public housing, and how one of the nation's foremost housing models—Purpose Built Communities—illustrates the challenges and opportunities faced by community development corporations today.

To explain the need for public-private partnerships in the creation of affordable housing, I begin my first chapter by tracing the historical narrative of privatization in public housing. I profile important political decisions within three periods of privatization, and explain their implications for the real estate market, households across income levels, and racial minorities. I find that many federal programs perpetuated and institutionalized the "profitable-yet-damaging segregation" that came to characterize American real estate. I also discuss how these programs incentivized and permitted discrimination within the private market.

In Chapter Two, I analyze the outcomes of this historical narrative: concentrated poverty; a reductive, supply-demand framework of creating "affordability," and de facto segregation. I

then explain how the field of community development responded to these concerns, and provided an approach to solve the problems created by federal disinvestment.

With this analysis, I posit that community development arose as a reaction to the privatization of public housing. In Chapter 3, I test this assertion by mapping the history of community development corporations (CDCs) onto shrinking public sector involvement in the creation and provision of affordable housing. I find that CDCs create more and better affordable housing with public-private partnerships than the government and private sector alone. I also explain how CDCs redefine "affordable" housing to encompass the additional costs of living in poverty. This "place-conscious" approach creates a "new vision of comprehensiveness" that supplements federal social services, and improves the lives of low-income families. I then explain the weaknesses of CDCs, and how where this "vision" may be shortsighted.

Purpose Built Communities (PBC) represents the most recent evolution of public-private partnerships in community and affordable housing development. In Chapter 4, I narrate the history of PBC, explaining how it improves upon traditional CDC models. I then evaluate PBC's success in achieving its stated goal: eliminating concentrated poverty. While the PBC model in East Lake "deconcentrated" poverty, I argue that it did so through the displacement and exclusion of former residents. I then describe how stakeholder interest, risk aversion, and a desire to eliminate the "optics of disinvestment" influenced East Lake's outcomes.

In the Conclusion, I evaluate the lessons learned from East Lake, and explain how PBC has become more inclusive in its community: Renaissance West in Charlotte, North Carolina. Given the mixed success of PBC, I provide suggestions for the organization, and address implications arising from those improvements. I then use PBC as a proxy to discuss the true potential for CDCs to become the nation's central providers of equitable affordable housing.

Casey Cyrus Eilbert

The 'Diversification of Decline': Workforce and Workplace Transformation in the Twentieth Century United States

The second half of the twentieth century saw dramatic changes in the character of work in the United States. The period saw the decline of employment contracts centered on security and the advent of a "*new* new deal." In this "*new* new deal" employee benefits and tenure declined, replaced with employment relationships based on the principle of flexibility, incorporating features of flat management, worker autonomy, and performance-based pay. Accompanying these workplace changes were changes in the demographics of the workforce; the same period ushered women and underrepresented minorities into the workforce at unprecedented rates. Chapter One traces these simultaneous changes. In the remaining chapters, I explore the relationship between these two phenomena on a micro-level, looking to the cases of three prominent U.S. corporations and their responses to diversification. I argue that in response to

new workforce populations, corporations changed the nature of their employment relationships in a way that hollowed employment benefits for all employees.

Chapter Two considers the material implications of the Boeing Company's rhetorical shift from understanding its workforce as a "family" of breadwinners to that of a more inclusive "team." I argue that in denying breadwinner status to diverse workforce populations, the company absolved itself of its obligation to provide gainful, stable employment. Chapter Three argues that IBM similarly abandoned a "family" model based on corporate paternalism in favor of more flexible relationships with a more diverse group of employees. I argue that this flexibility shifted employer-employee relationships in favor of the company, ultimately serving IBM's bottom line.

In Chapter Four I advance the case of Intel, founded in 1968, as the embodiment of the workplace features embraced by Boeing and IBM in the name of diversification, namely flattened hierarchies and flexible employment relationships. This chapter serves to evaluate these workplace features in terms of their effectiveness in accommodating diverse workforce populations. I argue that in failing to meet its claims of egalitarianism, in in actuality stifling diversity, Intel demonstrates the inadequacy of corporate responses to diversification in the twentieth century.

Nick Favaloro

South African Township Music and the Celebratory Narrative

Hybridity has a way of stoking controversy. While some view hybridity as a vehicle for creativity and inspiration, others worry it will lead to cultural diffusion and appropriation. This complexity is reflected in the fraught history of South African music, with its mix of indigenous, colonial, African and Western sounds, conflicts and traditions. Thus, South African music provides fertile grounds for a discussion of the concept of hybridity. In order to enter the conversation on cultural hybridity in South African music, I borrow a framework from ethnomusicologist Steven Feld. Feld sets out a discourse waged between an anxious narrative and a celebratory narrative. The anxious narrative claims hybridity contributes to a loss of artistic value whereas the celebratory narrative positions hybridity as a means of positive innovation. Throughout the pages of this thesis I continuously raise the question: what is gained by situating a study of South African music within the celebratory narrative – anxious narrative discourse?

Chapter One opens with a description of a "Youth Day" celebration in Khayelitsha Township. I use this nugget of ethnographic detail to introduce three analytical threads: music's diverse functionality, cultural hybridity, and the complicated role of the onlooker. These threads flow into and further the anxious/celebratory debate. I take up this debate by putting ethnomusicologists in conversation with political philosophers. Drawing upon the work of

Steven Feld, Bob White and Veit Erlmann, I describe the viewpoints often associated with the anxious side of the dialectic. Next, I consider the scholarship of Tzvetan Todorov and Martha Nussbaum as a means of illustrating what a well-constructed celebratory argument looks like. Finally, I ground the discussion of the anxious/celebratory discourse with the voices of those most immediately implicated in the debate: musicians themselves, and community members of South African townships.

Chapter Two examines the formation of South African township music, specifically the emergence of the genres of *marabi* and *mbaqanga*. These musical forms offer a window into the political and cultural landscape of the black urban periphery from the 1940s to the 1960s. The chapter considers these themes by placing them into the narrative of Sophiatown, a vibrant freehold area outside Johannesburg, and also by sprinkling in personal anecdotes to put historical tensions and dynamics into contemporary relief. The key questions this chapter grapples with include: what material factors prompted the formation of *marabi*? How does music embed meaning and also act as a potent and revealing cultural force? In what ways and to what effect did Western influences shape the formation of *mbaqanga*? I suggest hybridity created a "third space" within which township inhabitants could defy the expectations and oppressions of the apartheid regime.

In Chapter Three I investigate how the celebratory and anxious narratives can inform our understanding of Paul Simon's *Graceland* album. The album represents a hybrid combination of *mbaqanga* sounds with an American folk rock style. I first explore the narrow criticism levied against Simon, and then analyze *Graceland* through a more structural lens. I conclude by embracing the celebratory narrative.

Nicholas Budd Fenton

Neither East nor West: Neo-Eurasianism and the Russian Rejection of Western Liberalism

This thesis is an exploration and analysis of the Russian ideology of neo-Eurasianism. The following questions are answered over five chapters: What are the roots of neo-Eurasianism in Russian intellectual history? What are the key components of neo-Eurasianism? How has neo-Eurasianism influenced the Kremlin-backed ideology of "sovereign democracy?" How should the supporters of liberalism respond to neo-Eurasianism in the context of Kremlin-backed disinformation campaigns?

Chapter One argues that neo-Eurasianism has deep roots in Russian intellectual history. Russian conservative thinkers during the imperial period consistently positioned Russian culture and values in opposition to Western liberalism and culture. During the interwar period, a group of Russian émigré scholars conceived of Eurasianism, arguing Russian culture had not just been influenced by Europe, but had indelibly been marked by Asian culture after the Mongol conquest. These writers, especially Nikolai Trubetzkoy, firmly placed Russian culture, which

they viewed as part of a broader Eurasian civilization, in opposition to secularized Western liberalism. Finally, this chapter turns to Lev Gumilev, a Soviet historian who popularized Eurasianist ideology through sensationalized accounts of Russian history.

Chapter Two turns to Alexander Dugin, the key ideologue in popularizing neo-Eurasianism. A former neo-Nazi, Dugin today has a wide following in the Russia media and commentariat, and enjoys significant access to the Russian elite. His neo-Eurasianist theories center on the belief that Russia must lead the nations of the world in a geopolitical alliance against American international unipolarity and hegemony. Dugin believes that American dominance in the foreign-policy sphere translates into the imposition of America's Western liberal values onto cultures he views as inherently conservative.

Chapter Three examines the writings of Vladislav Surkov, a major policy-maker in today's Kremlin. In 2006, Surkov gave a speech in which he outlined the tenets of an ideology he named "sovereign democracy," which embraces neo-Eurasianist opposition to Western universalism, but tones down Dugin's more extremist language into a more politically palatable rhetorical variant.

After addressing these questions, this thesis explores the contradiction inherent in civilizationist defenses against Western mores and values, of which neo-Eurasianism is the latest iteration in a long history of Russian conservative thought. While conservative Russian civilizationists reject the imposition of Western values on the peoples of Eurasia, they implicitly defend Russian chauvinism and imperialism through essentialist arguments grounded in romanticized accounts of history.

In the context of Kremlin-backed disinformation campaigns designed to discredit liberalism, the supporters of global liberalism must respond with a positive argument that substantiates their worldview. This thesis identifies Isaiah Berlin's conception of pluralism as the ideal guide for Western liberals in articulating a firm defense of their values, while still working to find common ground and understanding with the supporters of neo-Eurasianism.

Isabelle Ann-Jingyi Han

"Insurgent Articulations of Difference": Political Correctness, the Neoliberal University, and the New Campus Activism

Universities have historically served as the center of the political correctness debate, from the canon wars of the nineties to today's "snowflake" generation. Current public criticisms of political correctness are levelled at college students, perceived to be coddled and oversensitive because they are offended by everything from Ovid to Halloween costumes. Hand-wringing over political correctness in higher education is undergirded by the caricature of the college student as an irate child, at once fragile and perpetually outraged. Claims of political correctness in universities resonate deeply with the public, perhaps because—according to mainstream

commentators—this new student intolerance signals the breakdown of liberal democracy. If students refuse to engage in constructive, civil dialogue in their elite bubble sheltered from the "real world," what are the implications for American democracy?

In the first chapter, I look at the historical origins of the concept of political correctness. I examine how the university became a center of social unrest in the sixties, thus setting the stage for the academic canon wars and the reactionary backlash to multiculturalism in the nineties. I offer an overview of present-day conceptions of PC through a discourse analysis of opinion editorials about college student protests.

In the second chapter, I position the contemporary PC debate in the context of privatized higher education. Universities in the U.S. have dramatically shifted their funding and organizational structures to align with private interests, resulting in skyrocketing tuition costs and student debt. I focus on two facets of the neoliberal university that are key to understanding student protests and subsequent claims of political correctness. First is higher education's co-optation of the language of diversity, which is "non-performative" in that public institutional commitments to equity are never operationalized. Through a historical analysis of discourses of diversity in higher education, I demonstrate how diversity has been thoroughly commodified and thus politically neutralized. I then discuss a trend toward corporate risk management methods in quelling student dissent, arguing that such methods are a symptom of the neoliberal university in that protecting the brand and reputation of the institution supersedes minority student demands for accommodation.

In the latter half of the thesis, I examine three institutions of higher education in the U.S. that experienced significant campus unrest in 2015 over issues of racial equity: the University of Missouri, Yale University, and Claremont McKenna College. In comprehensively re-constructing the complete trajectory of student protests, and offering my own analysis of the events, I illustrate how characterizations of protests and protesters in the mainstream media fundamentally misunderstand higher education and the root of student grievances. I conclude with a cross-case analysis of student activists' demands. Overall, I hope to provide a fresh perspective on the debate in examining the relationship between the neoliberal turn of higher education and the PC debate's characterization of college students, and how those tensions play out in the recent surge of student protests.

Elaine Harrington

When Facts Prove Futile: How the Contemporary Anti-vaccine Movement Confronts Scientific Evidence

In 1998, *The Lancet* published a study by Andrew Wakefield which first alleged that the MMR vaccine may have caused the autism epidemic. He would go on to assert this vaccine-autism connection as fact and become a prominent figure in the anti-vaccine movement that his work accelerated. As recently as 2016, he released a documentary promoting this vaccine-autism link.

In the intervening years since Wakefield first made headlines, significant epidemiological data has refuted this connection. Nonetheless, he persists. In this thesis, I sought to understand how Wakefield and other members of the anti-vaccine movement have maintained their position despite increasing, persuasive evidence that their allegations about vaccine safety are wrong.

In Chapter One, I explore the history of the anti-vaccine movement and its prominent arguments. Opposition to vaccination began with a legitimate fear the new technology would cause harm. At the anti-vaccine movement's heights in Victorian-era England and Progressive-era America, citizens mobilized against the new, intrusive state action of compulsory vaccination. Safety reforms squashed some opposition, but require one believe the state's assertion that vaccines are safe.

Contemporary anti-vaccinators, unlike their predecessors, oppose a medical establishment that has data to refute their claim that vaccines cause harm. To maintain their case, they must deny scientific consensus. In Chapter Two, I explore the tactics developed by other groups committed to denying scientific consensus. AIDS denialists and Intelligent Design creationists argued the scientific consensus is incorrect because it was formed on insufficient evidence. Anti-vaccinators' initial claims about the whole-cell pertussis vaccine, MMR, and the vaccine preservative thimerosal similarly argue the scientific consensus on vaccine safety is lacking because researchers have failed to examine whether vaccines cause long-term neurological damage.

Phillip Morris-funded and Exxon-funded groups made the case that tobacco and climate change, respectively, are scientific controversies. Anti-vaccine activists used similar tactics when they disputed the methodologies of CDC studies and pointed to dissident researchers to claim a scientific consensus on the vaccine-autism link does not exist.

Chapter Three explores the evolving relationship of the contemporary anti-vaccine movement with science, beginning with the 1982 film about the harm of the DTP vaccine. Its attempts to deny scientific consensus faced significant challenges, most notably in the 2009 Omnibus Autism Proceeding. When their best case failed, anti-vaccine activists stopped insisting the extant scientific research supported their case. I then examine their turn to conspiracy theories to justify why the scientific consensus does not support the vaccine-autism link. From this viewpoint, the CDC and "Big Pharma" have colluded to hide their responsibility for the autism epidemic by publishing fraudulent research.

Alexa L. Hazel

"*First fight. Then fiddle.*": *The Politics of Form in Assia Djebar's* L'Amour, la fantasia

Assia Djebar (1936-2015), her 1985 novel, *L'Amour, la fantasia*, this novel's critical reception, and the limitations of this critique animate my thesis. The primary goal of this project is to nudge Djebar's critics, and perhaps postcolonial studies in general, toward a more nuanced

understanding of the relationship between aesthetics and politics in non-Western fiction. Provoked by Françoise Lionnet's comments in an essay entitled "Ces voix au fil de soi(e)," this thesis proposes that the creation of a new interpretative space—one in which politics and aesthetics more equally, productively, and unexpectedly commingle—offers one path for saving Djebar's novel from relative obscurity, as a book known mainly to postcolonial academics.

In my first chapter, I examine how Djebar's critical reception, the way postcolonial scholars write about this complex and aesthetically dense novel, situate her in the category of postcolonial feminist writing. To frame my discussion I give a brief description of the sprawling field of 'postcolonial studies,' one particular and unwieldy branch of 20th century literary theory. In the second half of my first chapter, I turn my attention to Djebar's laudatory criticism. Hailing Djebar as doubly resistant against the twinned systems of patriarchal and colonial oppression, applauding her revisionary and politically impactful historiographical project, this criticism is quite limited in its insularity and treatment of form. In predictable ways, scholarship on Djebar conscripts her novel's aesthetics into a fight against power and discourse.

In my second and longest chapter, this project's focal point, I conduct my own structural analysis of Djebar's complex, polyphonic work. Offering one possible interpretative space expansive enough for politics and aesthetics to comingle, I reconsider the tools with which Djebar sculpts her novel. "Modified repetition" and its extended family of concepts – recall, echo, imitation, mirror – are analyzed as structural motifs. I organize this chapter according to the tripartite division in *L'Amour, la fantasia*. This chapter concludes by reassessing the work's relationship to its genre.

In my third chapter, drawing from the work of Édouard Glissant and Rita Felski, I argue that academics have a special role in curating – caring for, guarding and protecting – histories and narratives that might otherwise slip into oblivion. I suggest that one effective way to curate a text is to convey it: open up the echo chamber and translate the text into different contexts. If postcolonial theory – a relevant network of ideas with a high theoretical bar for entry – is to preserve important narratives of postcolonial resistance, it would do well to open up its interpretation to aesthetic analysis. Attention to a text's specificity might create unexpected and generative horizons of comparison.

Lauren Christine Jackson

The Responsibility to Persuade: Advocacy, Aid Politicization, and a Humanitarian Identity Crisis

In 1999, communications scholar John Zaller coined the term "media politics" to describe the series of exchanges between politicians, journalists, and citizens acting in rational self-interest. He posited that in the 21st century, political capital would be acquired and maintained by those who most effectively influenced public opinion through news coverage. In this thesis, I situate

humanitarian advocacy within this struggle, questioning how the game of media politics has influenced the politicization of aid. I argue that, averse to self-interested calculations, humanitarian advocates have neglected to engage strategically in the game of media politics — failing populations in crisis in the process.

Though they rarely acknowledge it, humanitarians are interlopers, and at times central players, in the game of media politics. As arbiters of information, pseudo-state actors with power over crisis-affected populations, and international lobbyists, the political power wielded by humanitarians deserves critical analysis; nonetheless, minimal scholarship exists on the topic of humanitarian advocacy. This thesis begins to address that gap by tracing the historical evolution of humanitarian advocacy and parsing its current ecology. In doing so, this thesis answers the question: *What is humanitarian advocacy's role in the landscape of "media politics"?*

In my first chapter, I analyze humanitarian advocacy as an institution. I find that the humanitarian community has been engaged in advocacy since its inception; however, for the majority of humanitarian history, advocacy took the form of direct lobbying to states, policymakers, and parties to conflict or disaster — what I call "private advocacy." However, I also trace the recent shift from predominant reliance on private advocacy to a focus on public advocacy within leading humanitarian organizations.

In Chapter Two, I argued that advocacy is a microcosm of an identity crisis within humanitarianism regarding the acceptable politicization of assistance. I identified the Global War on Terror as a critical juncture in the recent history of advocacy, serving to fracture analyses of advocacy into "diplomacy" and "public communications," misnomers which further obscure the work of humanitarian advocates. I located this discussion within scholarship on the recent politicization of humanitarianism, specifically after Somalia, Afghanistan, and Iraq.

In Chapter Three, I argue that humanitarians are irrational actors in Zaller's landscape of media politics. After analyzing the current state of public advocacy amidst increasingly mediatized humanitarian crises, I use quantitative analysis to assess the efficacy of recent humanitarian-media engagement strategies. This quantitative analysis provides evidence that press releases are ineffective in orchestrating news coverage and frames, underscoring the need for the humanitarian sector to address their identity crisis. To do this, they must carefully identify the contours of advocacy and determine acceptable levels of political engagement.

The methodology for this thesis consists of 1) an extended literature review, 2) qualitative interviews with humanitarian practitioners and journalists, and 3) a quantitative assessment of humanitarian-media engagement in recent years. Ultimately, I conclude that more strategic, self-interested media engagement, including direct story pitches to journalists, could help humanitarians carve out space for themselves in the landscape of media politics — making assistance more potent and participatory in the process.

Zeke Reed

Speramus Meliora; Resurget Cineribus: The Origins of the Urban Resurgence

Once the "Arsenal of Democracy," Detroit is now the poster child for American post-industrial decline. Decades of disinvestment, racialized poverty, suburbanization, diminished tax bases, shortsighted local politics, and federal abandonment left the city to languish in the absence of the once-robust auto-industry. It is both the poorest and blackest major city in the country. Once home to over 2 million, Detroit now has only 700,000 residents plus 90,000 vacant buildings and 20 square miles of empty land. The situation is dire. Still, Detroiters demonstrate remarkable resiliency in the face of economic collapse. This thesis explores different currents in the city's complicated rise from the ashes.

In Chapter One, I provide a brief firsthand account of one of my walks through Detroit before outlining the root causes of the city's devastation. My analysis depends heavily on Thomas Sugrue's exhaustive description of the interconnected dynamics of politics, economics, class and race that eroded financial security and social trust in Detroit. I contrast this structural history with meta-narratives that blame "urban (read: black) cultures of poverty and corruption" for the city's predicament. I explain how these internal and external forces led to Detroit's Chapter 9 bankruptcy in 2013.

After this historical overview, I introduce the urban ecological paradigm to frame Detroit's trajectory. This paradigm views cities as complex networks defined by competition and cooperation between institutional actors. Ecological disturbances, like Detroit's economic decline, create opportunities for new institutional arrangements as new coalitions form and assert their visions for the future. To understand these agents of change, I adopt Chris Benner and Manuel Pastor's concept of "epistemic communities": groups of actors who share overarching perspectives, values and goals. My next three chapters examine the philosophies and practices of three of Detroit's epistemic communities: the private sector, grassroots activists and urban designers. Each chapter combines a discussion of the literature with two case studies.

Chapter Two evaluates the private sector in conversation with urban theorists Richard Florida, Richard Schragger, and Michelle Wilde Anderson. It draws on their insights to contextualize Detroit's Downtown Development and its neo-industrialism. I argue that while these private initiatives create value, the city must do a better job of redistributing local economic gains.

Building on these critiques of business as usual, Chapter Three looks at the grassroots activists working outside of traditional power structures. It borrows from planning professor Kimberly Kinner to describe the human costs of austerity budgeting, before exploring the hopeful prescriptions offered by activist extraordinaire Grace Lee Boggs. It contextualizes this

discussion by looking at the work of urban gardener/artist/PST-grad Kate Daughdrill and the progressive media organization Allied Media Projects.

Chapter Four analyzes the urban design world with help from the original critic of modernist planning Jane Jacobs and the contemporary moral compass for progressive community development, Theaster Gates. It digs deeper by examining the new city planning department directed by Maurice Cox and the Detroit Collaborative Design Center directed by Dan Pitera, both of which are helping make planning more inclusive.

In this spirit of inclusivity, Chapter Five concludes my thesis with a review of the city's cross-sector strategic framework entitled "Detroit Future City." I elaborate on the framework's attempt to create a combined vision for the city's future. I conclude with my own recommendations based on my research.

Lia Russell
"The Miracle of a Few Written Signs": Richard Rorty and Vladimir Nabokov on the Novel

In *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, Richard Rorty provides a compelling reason to value literature in modern society: he explicates the importance of the novel as a social tool that fosters empathetic solidarity by depicting the suffering that a wide range of individuals' experience. According to Rorty, novels allow readers to imagine the pain that others endure and thereby encourage readers to refrain from cruelty by indulging their potentially harmful idiosyncrasies in private. He envisions a liberal utopia in which literature preserves harmonious coexistence by reminding its citizens to keep their personal desires from infringing on their public obligation to spare others pain.

In my first Chapter, I contextualize Rorty's conception of the novel as a public resource and argue that however uplifting, his valuation of the novel is incomplete. While he emphasizes the novel's social utility, Rorty largely overlooks its import as a means of self-formative, personal expression and neglects the possibility that novels both improve society and satisfy individual needs. Instead, he cites Nabokov's *Pale Fire* as a testament to the fundamental incompatibility of personal desires and social goals because its protagonist, Charles Kinbote, illustrates the cruelty of self-indulgence in Rorty's view. I conclude this chapter by suggesting that Rorty's incomplete characterization of the novel raises doubts about his claim that an insurmountable divide exists between private and communal concerns, and about his underlying assumption that novels like *Pale Fire* attest to their separation rather than bringing them together.

This thesis re-examines *Pale Fire* in light of Rorty's promising, though limited, conception of the novel and reconsiders the novel's potential through *Pale Fire*'s lens. In Chapter Two, I review *Pale Fire*'s critical reception to illustrate that while many readers agree with Rorty about Kinbote's cruelty, several contend that *Pale Fire* captures Kinbote's suffering

sympathetically. Within this diverse range of interpretations, none entirely reject Rorty's conjecture that Kinbote constitutes a cautionary figure.

My interpretation of *Pale Fire* challenges this appraisal of Kinbote's function. In Chapters Three and Four, I offer a reading of *Pale Fire* with the aim of uncovering Nabokov's stance on the novel's capabilities by re-evaluating Kinbote's character. In Chapter Three, I argue that *Pale Fire* victimizes Kinbote as a suffering character who invents an imaginary world, Zembla, to overcome his social alienation, loneliness, and suicidal ideation. The creative process of a poet, John Shade, inspires Kinbote's imaginative mitigation of his own pain and pushes Kinbote to realize his figment's self-preserving potential by sharing its details throughout the Commentary he decides to write on Shade's poem, "Pale Fire."

In Chapter Four, I explore Kinbote's nascence as a writer who deserves credibility and respect, and whose work constitutes a genuine effort to support himself but also remains attentive to another individual. I propose that the altruism inherent in Kinbote's Commentary as a means of personal, literary salvation marks his success as a self-creating though conscientious novelist. And I conclude that Nabokov validates the novel as a means of achieving both personal fulfillment and empathetic awareness that transforms readers and writers alike.

Mary R. Russo

French in the World: Linguistic Culture and Policy in the Francophone Space

The central claim of my thesis is that the linguistic culture of French has allowed it to assume a unique position among global languages. I argue that the historical success and contemporary status of the language is best understood in terms of the assumptions encoded within this linguistic culture. I theorize the assumptions of francophone linguistic culture as the following: (1) French is pure, rational, and clear; (2) French is the language of philosophy and humanist values; (3) French is well-suited to the communication of political ideas; (4) French is an elite language, deserving of a high social position.

In Chapter One, I argue that globalization is a sociolinguistic subject matter. I formulate a methodology for the study of global sociolinguistic phenomena that centers history and discourse as two key processes of globalization. Then, I relate francophone linguistic culture to the preceding analysis of globalization.

In Chapter Two, I consider the historical basis of francophone linguistic culture, tracking myths about French to their origins. By highlighting certain moments—the founding of the French Academy, the French Revolution, the Enlightenment, and colonialism—I demonstrate how policies were born of and served to reinforce various aspects of francophone linguistic culture.

In Chapter Three, I perform a Critical Discourse Analysis on the websites of two francophone institutions: The French Academy and the International Organization of the

Francophonie. I explore their orientation towards norms, values, democracy, colonialism, and the universality of French. In my analysis, I find that both institutions operate according to historically based mythologies about French language. Despite divergent approaches to language, the AF and the OIF manipulate various aspects of francophone linguistic culture to meet their strategic goals.

In Chapter Four, I argue that language policy can both challenge and reinforce linguistic culture. I use several examples from the francophone world—France, Quebec, Algeria, and Haiti—to illustrate the complexities of contemporary language policy problems in super-diverse communities. I suggest that language policies should be informed by an understanding of micro-level sociolinguistic issues as well as macro-level global sociolinguistic issues. Finally, I discuss the potential for sociolinguistic methods of conflict resolution.

Benjamin Schlichting

Unconstitutional Sentencing: The Forgotten Promise of the Eighth Amendment

This is a story about broken promises. Contained within the Eighth Amendment's ban against "cruel and unusual" punishments is an implicit promise of equality. This promise demands that like people be treated alike and different people be treated differently for appropriate and relevant reasons. This underlying requirement of the Eighth Amendment asks that law-makers craft sentencing statutes which are clear and compels judges and juries to exercise their discretion impartially and equally to similar criminal defendants.

The interpretation described above is a teaching of the Supreme Court that has gone unnoticed in recent years; this thesis seeks to restore that forgotten promise which—through obliviousness—has been broken. With the broader interpretation of the Eighth Amendment that this thesis offers, it will be applied to the current advisory federal guideline sentencing scheme in the hopes of showing the constitutional transgressions that currently underscore this sentencing system.

The first chapter will discuss the development of something called guideline sentencing systems and how the Federal Sentencing Guidelines transitioned from a mandatory to an advisory state in the 2005 case of *United States v. Booker*. In the second chapter, I will illustrate how the Eighth Amendment's language historically promised equality in the sentencing process. This connection between "cruel and unusual" and "equal protection" was largely ignored in the Court's interpretation of the Eighth Amendment until the 1972 case of *Furman v. Georgia.* In that case, Justice William O. Douglas identified a fundamental, albeit implicit, right to equality in the language of the Eighth Amendment's "cruel and unusual" punishments clause. This method of interpretation was not novel. It aligned with underlying precepts of a judicial method known as substantive due process and extended Douglas's so called penumbra theory from the 1965 case of *Griswold v. Connecticut* to the context of the Eighth Amendment. Yet, where *Griswold*

identified penumbras of privacy in certain constitutional amendments, *Furman* discovered penumbras of equality in the text of the Eighth.

In the third chapter, we will illustrate the Eighth Amendment's strong association with the death penalty in modern constitutional discourse. This overwhelming connection overlooks key facts and recent legal developments and therefore deserves criticism. Nevertheless, it is this conventional definition of the Eighth Amendment which helps explain why the Supreme Court would have not thought that their actions in *Booker* were problematic. With new insight provided and fresh attacks made, it is the hope of this paper that the Eighth Amendment's current association with the death penalty can be dislodged and replaced by an interpretation which promises far broader constitutional protections in the context of sentencing and punishment. Finally, we will return to our introductory stories once more, quipped with our new understanding of the Eighth Amendment, to illustrate how the implementation of the *Booker* opinion must be remedied if the broader promises of the Eighth Amendment are ever going to see the light of day.

Ella Shoup

Urban Traces of History: On Nationalism and Identity in post-Colonial Algiers

Successive regimes in Algeria have manipulated history in order to validate claims of political legitimacy, a trend that has revealed itself most expressively in Algiers' built environment and its sites of public memory. From French urbanism to efforts by the National Liberation Front (FLN) to reclaim that territory, Algiers reflects the contested and conflicted visions of national power and identity. Algiers became the magnum opus of official memory espoused by both the French and post-independence states, and is today a palimpsest which reveals how the city's built environment shapes and is conversely shaped by power relationships and national identity.

Each of three chapters is devoted to a different period of Algeria's history, and together they chart the city's rich historical roots, examining the complex dynamic between colonial and postcolonial periods. I mediate between these histories and memorialization activities in the city to demonstrate how Algiers became emblematic of different phases of the FLN's national vision. French urban planning was an integral foundation for these efforts whose legacies are still seen and felt today.

Chapter One sets the stage for a detailed discussion and analysis of how the post-independence state began to define a national ethos as a deeply rooted anti-colonial resistance, presented as a single political force, at once historically constant, socially united and ideologically uniform. I provide a broad overview of the French colonial project in Algiers, specifically focusing on the choices made by the French occupying powers to either alter or leave untouched certain quarters of the city. These decisions reflect the colonial vision as it was applied to the

Algerian population, as well as a desire for Algiers to emerge as the French capital in Africa. I explore the forces that have shaped the ways in which post-colonial Algiers has engaged with the legacies of colonialism, and selected or neglected pre- and post-colonial events for attention, expressed over decades in urbanism, architecture and public art. The chosen moments and sites are reflections of the greater national tension between official memory and the experience of individual Algerians.

In Chapter Two I analyze how the city's urban fabric became an active participant in the infamous Battle of Algiers. I discuss the FLN brand of nationalism and constructed history as its leaders began to develop the postcolonial state. Driven by this vision, the FLN began to symbolically reclaim the city, efforts which are covered in the last section of this chapter. I argue that the *urban repossession* that occurred in this period began the first of many complications inherent within the official memory construct.

Chapter Three examines the socialist policies of President Boumendienne that led to a period of intense nation-building and made Algiers into a center for decolonial and revolutionary movements. I review events of the 1970s and 1980s, decades during which Algeria experienced periods of extreme instability. I discuss how and why Algiers was neglected in the nationalist agenda during this time, and how Algiers today continues in the public imagination— and the historical record—as a symbol of the follies of empire and the powers of revolution.

Elizabeth Surratt

Beautiful Revolution and Just Reconciliation: A Theological Examination of the Watts Riots and their Aftermath

The rioting that broke out in the summer of 1965 in the South-Central neighborhood of Watts remains one of the most-studied outbreaks of urban violence in American history, for both its duration and its scope. But among the multitude of voices speaking to what happened in Watts, the most crucial ones seem to be missing: the voices of the people most affected, the people of Watts themselves. Through this thesis I aim to show that theology, in particular liberation theology, provides a methodological and theoretical framework from which to view a social phenomenon such as Watts that prioritizes the voices of the people and provides a way forward that maximizes dignity and leads to liberating transformation.

In Chapter One, I lay out some of the interpretations of the Watts riots that emerged in the wake of the violence. By looking at the media portrayals of the events I argue that the majority of the reporters considered Watts to be nothing more than a dramatic show of pent-up rage, proof of a community-wide pathology. I then focus on the kinds of interpretations made by the politicians and researchers who descended on Watts after the riots. After looking at the kinds of meaning they assigned to the outbreak of violence, I argue that the motivating impulse behind these passionately pursued studies was fear that a similar event could and would break out. By

studying and understanding Watts, there was hope that future violence could be quelled and the status quo maintained.

In Chapter Two, I give some background information on the Watts Writers' Workshop, the focal point for my later theological analysis. The Workshop, begun by Hollywood screenwriter Budd Schulberg, who came to Watts to see what could be done after the riots, blossomed into a thriving community of artists who shared their stories, wrote compelling literature, and supported each other in the search for identity and meaning in a racist and dehumanizing world. The need to focus my analysis on a specific community becomes clear in Chapter Three, where I introduce the discipline of theology, lays the groundwork of the specific tradition of theology in which I will work, and explicate my own theological methodology. Drawing mainly from the tradition of Black Liberation Theology, I explain how the method of encountering, reflecting, and acting, undertaken from the perspective of the oppressed themselves, provides a uniquely appropriate lens through which to view social events such as Watts.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I employ the method set out in Chapter Three within the specific context of Watts using the writings produced by the Watts Writers' Workshop as well as a break-off group, the Watts 13. By encountering the lives of the people most subject to the oppression of white supremacy through their written words, reflecting on the revelations in their writing, and learning from the way they took action in the wake of such a tragedy, I hope to gain an understanding of the lived experience of the dehumanization, rage, and bitterness, but also the joy, love, and beauty, that exist within this space. From this understanding hopefully will arise a clearer sense of how we as a society are to engage with those who have experienced oppression and violence in an uplifting and ultimately transforming manner.

Mitch Wellman

Trump y Clinton: A Critical Discourse Analysis of 2016 U.S. presidential race coverage by Spanish-language newspapers

U.S. Spanish-language newspapers serve as a platform for politically relevant information to the Spanish-speaking population, especially during the time of official elections—local, state, or federal. The presidential election of 2016 similarly saw a wealth of coverage of both major party candidates, the Republican Donald Trump and the Democrat Hillary Clinton. It's known that newspapers portray events and the political candidates differently, with some sources as

"right-leaning" and some "left-leaning." It's these potential differences in news coverage of the same events during the 2016 election that help drive the central questions of this thesis

regarding how to analyze Spanish news coverage to identify trends, what these trends are exactly, and how these trends may be relevant in the U.S. political sphere.

In Chapter One, I give a brief historical overview of the Spanish-language press in the United States from its inception in 1808 and, referring to past scholarship, how media exposure relates to the contemporary Latino political landscape. I also contextualize Spanish-language media in the larger and more dominant English-language media world in the United States.

The remainder of my thesis seeks to answer the key questions of how to analyze this sect of news discourse and how to relate those analyses to more general political ideologies and trends. I conclude that the two news sources under analysis—*La Opinión* based in Los Angeles, California and *El Nuevo Herald* based in Miami, Florida—portray the two candidates differently through oppositional frames, strategies of referencing or naming, and through altering verbs introducing their direct or indirect quotations.

In Chapter Two, I seek to answer the question of how one can analyze newspaper discourse, particularly as it relates to electoral coverage. I argue that Critical Discourse Analysis—a field of critical linguistic studies—provides an adequate framework and that the specific tools of oppositional frames, referential strategies, and verbs introducing quotes are best suited for presidential election coverage. I argue these tools will help measure the favorability each news source shows for Clinton and Trump and will help expose instances of editorialization on the part of the reporters.

In Chapter Three, I scrutinize in great detail 17 news articles from two politically diverse news sources that cover four major event along the timeline of the 2016 election: the first and second presidential debates, the leaking of a video in which Trump makes sexually explicit remarks about women, and the announcement by FBI Director James Comey of the

re-investigation of Clinton's private emails. I argue that both sources clearly shared features in coverage such as high usage of metapropositional quote verbs but also differed in coverage style, for example, with regards to the favor shown towards candidates during the debate sessions.

In Chapter Four, I explore the political ideology of "lesser evilism" as it relates to the data of my current analysis as well as the larger Latino political landscape. My findings do not establish a causal relationship between possible undergirding ideologies of the text and the political behavior of Latinos. Instead, they offer a window into the coverage of the presidential election more closely through the eyes of Spanish-speakers living in the U.S.

Gray Whisnant

Left Behind: The Long Retreat of Social Democracy in France

Since the financial crisis and ensuing Great Recession, social democracy in Europe has come under attack, whether from austerity-minded politicians in the center or from anti-globalization movements on the far left and far right. While the sovereign debt crisis brought some the postwar welfare state's problems into focus, I argue in my thesis that social democracy's problems go much deeper. From its onset, social democracy has relied on a fragile class compromise in which capital would retain wide private property rights in exchange for broad distribution of its profits, but with the global market's ever-increasing pressure on nation-states to stay competitive, this bargain is falling apart. To find out why, I turn to France as a case study.

In my first chapter, I trace the origins of the modern French left back to May 1968, a moment when revolution seemed possible and 11 million workers went on strike. I examine why a revolution failed to materialize and how the French left approached the crisis and its aftermath. I place a special focus on François Mitterrand, the development of the Common Program, and the electoral tactics the Socialist and Communist Party used on their road to victory in 1981. Well before the Maastricht Treaty, Mitterrand and the Left made choices about coalition-building, Europe, and reform that would have consequences decades later for social democracy's political future.

Chapter 2 deals with Mitterrand's first term as president and the implementation of the Common Program. I look at how he managed his relationship with the French Communist Party, went about his nationalization program, and dealt with labor issues as he sought to implement his radical Keynesian agenda. When the early 1980s recession wreaked havoc on the French economy, Mitterrand and his party had to decide whether to abandon capitalism's constraints and pause European integration, or they would have to acquiesce to austerity and market discipline. I examine why Mitterrand made his infamous "U-turn" and how policy decisions he made before that forced his hand.

Mitterrand's decision to abandon socialism haunted Hollande's presidency some thirty years after 1981. Chapter 3 looks at the early optimism Hollande inspired and investigates why it almost immediately dissipated. As in the previous chapter, I focus on specific policy decisions the Socialists made while also asking to what extent globalization and the EU doomed Hollande before he started.

In my final chapter, I synthesize several theoretical arguments about social democracy's long-term efficacy or lack thereof, including Ralph Miliband's classic *The State in Capitalist Society* and Adam Prezworski's *Capitalism and Social Democracy*. In so doing, I conclude that maintaining such a fragile class compromise, not to mention the pressures of coalition building and electoral politics, make social democracy as conceived in the postwar period impossible today, and encourage the left to either push for a better European Union or rediscover the power of the nation-state to build an egalitarian political economy. By looking where Mitterrand and Hollande went wrong, the French left — and a European left badly in need of vision — can begin to chart a path forward.

Ian David Yanusko

Everybody's Favorite Foe: An Analysis of NAFTA, Its Critics, and Free Trade in the 21ˢᵗ Century

"Trade creates value." This maxim should appear familiar to any student who has opened a macroeconomics textbook. Yet it begs further questions: trade creates value *for whom*? Does trade benefit a society on the net, or merely a subset of its population? Does trade make some citizens materially *worse* off?

Americans have grappled with these questions since the founding of the country. For a century and a half, Americans looked askance at global integration; the United States adopted a heavily protectionist trade strategy until World War II. Led by Cordell Hull, voices in support of trade agreements turned the tide of federal policy in the postwar years, and the US became the primary force behind multilateral trade deals throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. However, the 2016 election saw politicians on both sides of the aisle excoriate trade deals such as NAFTA, and given President Trump's recent withdrawal from TPP, it seems that the US may soon revert to its protectionist past.

Does NAFTA actually deserve the level of vitriol it incurred during 2016? Across two chapters, I analyze the economic and non-economic impacts of the agreement from the American perspective. Largely a wash economically, NAFTA has benefitted US corporations and consumers but has contributed to job churn as well. Politically, the agreement has enabled relations between the US and Mexico to warm in the last two decades, and thus has proved an invaluable diplomatic tool. Although its environmental track record leaves much to be desired, NAFTA broke new ground by including environmental provisions for the first time in a free trade agreement, which influenced environmental language in subsequent agreements. In short, I argue that NAFTA has benefitted the US and thus does not deserve the lambasting it suffered from politicians during 2016.

I spend two chapters analyzing how public opinion has soured on NAFTA to an unjustified magnitude. One explanation is behavioral: trade agreements are complex, and most Americans fail to understand their nuances. In the presence of such ignorance, popular anti-NAFTA politicians like Donald Trump can effectively persuade a significant portion of the population to oppose NAFTA via information cascades. I argue that Trump, along with anti-NAFTA rightwing media outlets, contributed to the boom of protectionist sentiment among Republicans. Yet fundamental factors are at play as well: trade in general has left pockets of the country behind economically, and many of these communities have struggled to regain their footing. Moreover, the government has failed to provide a sufficient solution for displaced workers; Trade Adjustment Assistance continues to under-deliver.

I argue that the federal government should address the adverse effects of trade by fostering the growth of private retraining companies through prize grant offerings, and should also offer tax incentives to companies in order to encourage in-house training programs. I also argue that the federal government should commit to large-scale infrastructure renewal projects during times of higher-than-natural unemployment in order to provide jobs to displaced workers while boosting the overall productivity of the US economy. By committing itself to better economic strategies at home, the government can continue to pursue free trade agreements as tools of diplomacy and international environmental cooperation.