Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2018

Andrew Bronstein

A Look at Public Defense: an Analysis of the Federal Defender Services Program and State Public Defense

The Sixth Amendment laid the groundwork for the adversarial nature of criminal justice. It gave the accused the right to an attorney to mount a defense. Before the Criminal Justice Act of 1964, federal courts provided defendants who could not afford counsel attorneys that volunteered to defend them. In 1963, the Supreme Court extended the right to counsel for the accused in state courts through the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment in *Gideon v. Wainwright*. The Criminal Justice Act of 1964 and *Gideon v. Wainwright* forced federal and state governments to institutionalize the practice of providing counsel to defendants who could not afford representation. Since the mid-1960s, the federal government and state governments have struggled to secure properly funded independent defense organizations that can also administer meaningful oversight.

In Chapter 1, I delve into the history of federal public defense. Using the Criminal Justice Act and various reports through the years as guides, I argue that a strong and independent commission capable of oversight has been the goal of the Federal Defender Services Program. I will argue that the model, having lacked complete independence, has impeded federal defenders' responsibility of zealous advocacy for their clients. The Oaks Report of 1967, Prado Report of 1993, and preliminary hearings of the Cardone Committee in 2017 have repeatedly come to this conclusion. The Cardone Committee, the most recent committee to study federal public defense, will provide the opportunity to secure an independent model when it releases its final report.

In Chapter 2, I analyze the current model of the Federal Defender Services Program and the structural weaknesses within it. The lack of independence strains CJA panel attorneys in their selection, appointment, and performance. While giving federal public defenders more independence within the judicial branch of government may be more feasible, I argue that a better model would create an independent Federal Defender Services

Program outside any branch of government with the ability to request funds directly from Congress.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the features of an independent model. I will argue that a new model should contain three layers—a national board, regional local boards, and federal districts. Such a system will be able to aggregate data more effectively, create a budget, and administer proper oversight. In addition, I will recommend successful models currently in practice in some federal districts.

In Chapter 4, I look at state public defense systems. I will address the rampant problems associated with securing the right to counsel in state courts. I will argue that the best chance at reform occurs after a study highlights the flaws in a state system and a third-party organization files a class-action lawsuit on behalf of defendants against the state. I will use New York as a model for that process since they are in the midst of a seven-and-a-half year reform.

I conclude by advocating for a federal organization of public defense that states can use as a resource for securing the right to counsel for public defendants.

Yuang Cao

Scars or Badges? Looking at Official and Popular Framings of the Chinese Cultural Revolution Through the Lenses of Literature and Art from 1965 to 1995

The Chinese Cultural Revolution is a period of mysteries. Because of censorship from the Chinese government, a comprehensive historical account of the period presents great challenges. In contemporary China, the Cultural Revolution is a topic that people choose to avoid intentionally. However, from 1976 to 1995, public discourse about the newly ended Cultural Revolution was prosperous. From various literature and art produced within that twenty-year period, we can receive shattered, varied, yet touching and sharp observations and reflections of the Cultural Revolution itself. This thesis explores the various ways in which people frame the concept of the Cultural Revolution from 1965 to 1995 and the goals they sought to achieve.

The first chapter of this thesis presents a chronological account of the political construction and development of the concept of Cultural Revolution. From 1965 to 1976, I examine the various changes and continuing conflicts that had taken place under the overarching rhetoric of class struggle and explore the ways in which highest leaders wielded the paradigm of class struggle to achieve their own goals for power struggles within the party. The latter half of this chapter is an examination of the cultural aspect of the official framing from Jiang Qing's cultural regime, which entails Jiang's technique in constructing the idea of Cultural Revolution in the language of class struggle through limited supply of cultural

products. This part also explores people's own interpretations of those cultural products and the limitations of the cultural aspect of political maneuvering.

The second chapter examines the various popular memories of the Cultural Revolution after its end in 1976. I divide the accounts along the lines of social groups, namely the young revolutionaries, the victims, and the relatively apolitical bystanders. By looking into personal accounts from 1976 to 1995, I analyze the various ways in which people constructed memories of the Cultural Revolution. The complexity of the Revolution can be further exposed when different social groups understand the same historical period with different lenses, and when they construct different images of the Revolution with their memories. Through this process, I present the Cultural Revolution with personal nuances and examine it from the perspective of social history.

The third chapter offers a thematic comparison of the previous two chapters. By comparing official and later popular representations of the Cultural Revolution, I will discuss two major contrasts between those two forms of representations, which resulted in the dichotomies of the sublime and the mundane, and collectivity and individuality. I will also examine one similarity, which is the continued political censorship from the party throughout the thirty-year time span in this thesis. In this chapter, I also discuss the gradual ineffectiveness of political mobilization and the differences people present their experiences in the form of memories.

I then conclude the thesis with an argument that the complexity of the Cultural Revolution requires us to understand it from different angles. By looking at different ways people frame the Cultural Revolution, I urge students of this period to examine more perspectives in order to reach comprehensive conclusions. Finally, in an Epilogue, I discuss the contemporary condition of constructing Cultural Revolution in the 21st century, and I raise possibilities that people present the 10-year period with new forms of representations.

John H. Chellman

The English Language Belongs to Us: Fighting Phallogocentrism with James Joyce's Finnegans Wake

This paper explores the viability of James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* as a model for linguistic efforts to oppose systems of patriarchal oppression. The deconstructionist notion of *phallogocentrism* contends that modern linguistic and discursive practices are dominated by the *phallus* and *logos*: masculinity and classical reason, respectively. Our phallogocentric society privileges male and majority voices while subordinating women and other marked

categories of social identity. In response to this subordination, feminist theorists like Hélène Cixous and Monique Wittig have argued for the potency of anti-phallogocentric writing: what Cixous terms *écriture féminine*. Though theorists debate the role that "femininity" or "womanhood" should play in such transgressive writing, theories of *écriture féminine* tend to agree on the need for language that offers an alternative to established systems of masculine logic.

This paper highlights James Joyce's *Finnegans Wake* as a possible framework for such literary transgression. As an Irish modernist author at the beginning of the twentieth century, Joyce made a name for himself through his novel *Ulysses*. Written in the 17 years following *Ulysses*'s publication, *Finnegans Wake* pushes literary experimentation even further than its predecessor, rejecting conventional standards for plot, syntax, and structure. Palimpsestic, portmanteau words serve as the essential building blocks of the *Wake*, combining to challenge mainstream understandings of the reading process and create a text notorious for the opacity of its prose.

In its opacity, however, *Finnegans Wake* represents a radical diversion from the linguistics inherent to phallogocentric systems. Chapter One offers an overview of Joyce's life and social milieu, the *Wake* as a literary project, and the theory of *écriture féminine*. Chapters Two, Three, and Four each address an aspect of the *Wake*'s linguistics that corresponds to the models of anti-phallogocentrism for which *écriture féminine* advocates. The *Wake*'s multilayered portmanteaux question the traditional relationship between the sign and the signified and toe the line between meaninglessness and infinite meaning. The text's concern with the connection between language and bodies leads it to remind readers of their physicality and incorporate senses beyond sight into the reading process. Deliberately feminine sections of the *Wake* seek to reappropriate authority and agency from masculine powers. Each chapter calls attention to literary critics' perspectives on the *Wake*'s linguistics before turning to the text to speak for itself. In focusing my textual analysis on self-reflexive sections of the *Wake*, I seek to address the work's form through its content and avoid imposing logocentric external systems of reasoning on the text in the process.

In the world of academia, literature becomes infamous for a reason. *Finnegans Wake*'s linguistic rebelliousness opposes the literary establishment in a manner that sheds light on some of society's most pressing political questions about language and power. The Conclusion applies findings from Chapters Two through Four to contemporary debates over identity, socially constructed bodies, and the reappropriation of derogatory terms.

Lou Cross

Defying the Master Narrative: The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1961 to 1967

The Civil Rights Era is infinitely complex and our knowledge of it is ever expanding. Yet many widely disseminated and popular accounts of the Movement reflect what historian Charles Payne calls the "master narrative." In this thesis I study the "master narrative", a popularized, mythologized story of Civil Rights in the United States. While the master narrative is written much like a neat timeline, the Civil Rights Movement is much more a tangled web of stories, connections and influences. I analyze the master narrative through the history of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee's work from 1961-1967.

In my first chapter, I begin by characterizing the master narrative of the civil rights movement. In this thesis, I use Payne's notion of a "master narrative, to describe the broader American public understanding of the civil rights movement in the 60s. I analyze the master narrative, synthesizing some of its key claims.

In my second chapter, I dive into the history and complexities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee from 1961 to the end of the Freedom Summer in 1964.1 rely on many primary source documents accessed through the Wisconsin Historical Society's extensive Freedom Summer digital collection. I chronicle SNCC's early work registering voters in Mississippi through the end of the Freedom Summer program in August 1964.

The third chapter turns to the major transformations that occurred within SNCC from August 1964 to 1967. I describe several key moments of growth including the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's challenge at the 1964 Democratic National Convention. I relay the impact SNCC organizers said this moment had on them, and then chart the changes that happened in SNCC during this period.

In my fourth chapter, I return to some of the claims made by the master narrative that are complicated by this history of SNCC. Through a historical analysis of the progression of SNCC, I demonstrate the shortcomings and inaccuracies master narrative implicated by SNCCs history. Overall, I hope to offer a more vibrant picture of SNCCs work in order to complicate the master narrative; in doing so I hope to weave together a more honest, animate story of the development of black struggle through the 1960s.

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John Devine

Giving up on Utopia: How American Urban Thought Came to Accept the Social and Economic Status Quo

In recent years, many cities in America have struggled with a contentious debate over the future of urban development. Rising housing prices and the threat of displacement and gentrification have led communities to consider blocking all new development or conversely, removing government regulations to encourage rapid private development. Both sides of this debate treat existing economic and social conditions as a given and see their only options as either giving full power over urban space to the market, or attempting to preserve cities in their present state indefinitely. This thesis explores how debates over urban space became so constrained, ultimately looking to the utopian urbanism of Le Corbusier and Ebenezer Howard as inspiration for how the design of urban space can be used to critique and improve upon existing social conditions.

In Chapter 1, I present a brief overview of the utopian urbanism that emerged at the turn of the twentieth century in response to the harsh conditions of urban life associated with industrial capitalism. Instead of seeing these ideal cities as impossible dreams, I argue that they are in fact a useful mode of critiquing social conditions and using this critique to inform specific and implementable urban designs. Far from imagining far-flung cities of the future, the utopian urbanists often created practical proposals for implementing their ideas in the present day. The specific thinkers discussed are Edward Bellamy, Ebenezer Howard, Patrick Geddes, Daniel Burnham, and Le Corbusier.

In Chapter 2, I look at why utopian urbanism lost intellectual favor in the United States in the second half of the twentieth century, instead being supplanted by the urban thought of Jane Jacobs. I argue that Jacobs' urbanism stripped urbanism of much of its critical political and economic character, especially in comparison to the utopian urbanists. Instead, Jacobs recommends the preservation of certain forms of already existing urban design while remaining optimistic that the free market will facilitate unconscious cooperation and mutually beneficial development, as long as no force tries to exert top-down control over urban space. I claim that her urbanism lacks a critical framework for interpreting and criticizing the emergence of neoliberalism, which has given the free market she champions a more competitive and destructive character.

In Chapter 3, I examine how Jacobs has influenced contemporary urban design practice, and how those she influenced fail to use urbanism to address neoliberalism or gentrification. I outline the emergence of the New Urbanist movement, the most influential school of urban planning practice since the utopian urbanists as well as a recent shift of focus to informal forms of urbanism, including tactical urbanism. These modes of urbanism ultimately accept existing economic and social institutions as given, and for that reason fail to engage critically with issues of race and economics. In their attempt to remain apolitical, they

exacerbate existing inequities while offering only minor and incremental improvements to urban space.

Margaret Draper

"Large and Startling Figures": A Theory of Gothic Catholicism in the Life and Literature of Breece D'J Pancake

In this thesis I aim to present a cohesive framework for the analysis of West Virginian short story writer Breece D'J Pancake's work in terms of his young but fascinating Catholic theology, and to make a case for that theological reading. Because Pancake is so little known and so little studied, I offer relevant biography by way of introducing the reader to a very interesting man about whom little is known and much is left to the imagination beyond his own letters and a few secondary sources. I discuss his late conversion to Catholicism and the theology that developed in the two years between the time of that conversion and his death, and make the argument that the theology of his literature evolves from the literary theology of a much better known short story writer and Catholic, Flannery O'Connor.

I use O'Connor's stories and several interpretations of her work to present to the reader how Pancake's stories might be emblematic of a similar brand of violent Gothic grace so crucial to O'Connor's stories. I draw out O'Connor's unique and famous trajectory of violence and grace and make the case that the violence in Pancake's work, particularly in his later stories, which has for so long been chalked up to simple grittiness and honesty is actually something more human and more indicative of the theological concept of grace he had so suddenly taken on. In this exposition of violent transgression in Pancake's work I propose that his earlier stories betray in their penchant for violence an urgent desire to present to the reader and to his characters something inexplicable to the nihilist mind, and force them to consider the possibility that a community with nihilist tendencies fails confronted with the mystery of malicious evil.

Using, briefly, Walker Percy's *The Moviegoer*, I offer a presentation of the urgent opposition of not only the Catholic mind but the mind inclined to "wonder" to a nihilist mindset. I then discuss the marked change in his work upon his conversion, a break across which very little changes in his use of violence *except* that all at once it offers the possibility of something like O'Connor's grace. I use Flannery O'Connor's own use of violence in her stories to illustrate the elusive and famously off-putting philosophy of violent grace that I believe Pancake turns to upon his conversion. O'Connor's body of work includes a number of essays on her own writing and her reflections on the responsibilities and inclinations of the Southern writer and the Christian writer; throughout these chapters I use her musings to help explain what O'Connor saw as a natural kinship, even an inevitable evolution, between the Catholic and the novelist.

In my final analytical chapter, I discuss the culmination of this theory of violent grace as a paradoxically redeeming iteration of the Oedipal tragedy. I present Pancake's stories as members of the body of Southern gothic literature for which the Oedipal tragedy becomes an eerie conscience. In my analysis of the Oedipal trajectory I consider the literary problem of communal sin and communal redemption in the play and in Pancake's work, drawing out a favorite O'Connorian link between the stories of modern regional falls and their redemption (in her case, the South) and the fall and salvation of Moses and the Hebrew nation in the desert of Exodus. I briefly discuss Pancake's treatment of women in this context, which is conflicted enough that it warrants discussion. Finally, in my conclusion I address his suicide and draw out for the reader why I think his work bears reading in this particular modern context.

Joan Isabel Fasulo

"*Who is their God?": Recovering the Black Social Gospel's Critiques of Slaveholder Religion*

The clergymen who wrote to Martin Luther King Jr. as he sat in a Birmingham city jail cell inherited a version of Christianity that was developed in white communities that historically did not consider the liberation of others and was a product of the justification of oppression of African Americans. Their faith was not concerned with crafting a Christian ethic that could be applied to all in society.

Because of this inheritance, many characteristics of King's "Letter of a Birmingham Jail," and his critiques of white Christians and moderates, can be traced back to the works of early thinkers. King wrote that power would not be given up voluntarily; in 1857, Frederick Douglass wrote, "power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will." White Christians outlawed the dissemination of David Walker's *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World* in 1829—a document that questioned the validity of Thomas Jefferson's writings on equality when African Americans were so clearly left out of these conceptions. White Christians believed it would incite violence (albeit against a violent system of power) – just as white clergymen denounced the direct action of King in favor of "negotiations." Harriet Jacobs chronicled the hypocrisy of white Christians engaging in inhumane systems through her autobiographical novel, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl* just as King did with his confrontation of the clergy who attacked him in the vestiges of Bull Connor's Birmingham.

In a rather deft political move, these writers, along with other abolition era writers, engaged the religious convictions that they shared with their oppressors in order to push them to reconsider their understanding of the Gospel. These writers worked to challenge the social ethic of white southern Christians regardless of whether the defense of slavery was

found in separating it from faith, or by selective use of biblical or biological justifications. In my thesis, I aim to recover an antebellum black social gospel by profiling three abolitionists—David Walker, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Jacobs—and explicating their critiques of a white Christian slaveholding ethic.

My introduction discusses King's Letter and the critique of white Christianity in the context of segregation. Chapter One discusses the theologies of white Christianity that allowed for the justification of slavery in an American context. In this chapter, I also outline black liberation theology as James Cone studies it, and consider the scholarship on both the black and white social gospels, with a focus on Gary Dorrien's books on the black social gospel.

I begin close readings of these writers in Chapter 2, with David Walker's *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*. Chapter 3 considers the contributions Frederick Douglass made to the abolitionist iteration of the black social gospel through analyzing his speeches and select portions of his autobiographies – especially focusing on his distinction between the Christianity of Christ and American Christianity. Chapter 4 profiles Harriet Jacobs, who is rarely acknowledged as the embodiment of liberation or womanist theology. She lives out these ideologies far before names are put to them. The publication of her experience acts as a point of resistance against the hegemony of the white church and the white male in power.

Margaret Grace Haltom

Citizens of the Old Forest: Roads, Race, and Resistance in Memphis's Overton Park

The Supreme Court case *Citizens to Preserve Overton Park v. Volpe*, 401 U.S. 402 (1971) is often cited and well studied, easily identifiable by conservationists, land-use attorneys, and administrative policymakers alike. Known for three primary precedents: the preservation of public green spaces, the judicial review of administrative agencies, and the agency of citizen groups to curtail government action, the case remains a landmark decision for environmental law. But the background of the case is largely untold—nationally unknown, and locally misunderstood—despite nearly fifty years of citation and enduring significance. And the story of the *Citizens to Preserve Overton Park v. Volpe,* while studied from a legal perspective, has not yet been considered through the lens of urban planning history as a case of citizen advocacy and historic landscape preservation.

This thesis seeks to examine the historic and modern implications of the case, to share the story of a thirty-year social movement in Memphis, Tennessee that reshaped the future of American interstate development to preserve public landscapes. I present *Citizens to Preserve Overton Park v. Volpe* as an intrinsic and instrumental case study that provides insight on 1) the emergence of civic participation in auto-centric urban planning, 2) the impetus of the Civil Rights movement on freeway development, and 3) the capacity for citizen groups to

leverage the judicial system. Through personal interviews and archival analysis of newspaper articles, citizen memoir, and legal transcripts, I explore the grassroots advocacy that brought Jane Jacobs' "eyes on the street" into law. And, with a broader exploration of the relevant federal policies, Supreme Court decisions, national social movements, and planning theories that shared the national stage, I situate the movement within a nationwide debate on the presence of public landscapes—how they should be preserved and to whom they belong.

Chapter One shares the background of the case, looking closely at how the Federal Highway Aid Act of 1956 transformed landscapes at a local level. Chapter Two turns to Memphis, introducing the Citizens to Preserve Overton Park (CPOP) as the coalition that rallied in response to the proposed construction of Interstate 40 through Overton Park, an old-growth urban forest. The details of Memphis from 1955 to 1964—the decision to build the road, the influence of the Civil Rights movement, and the rise of CPOP—establish the local origins of the case as a highly polarizing grassroots movement. Chapter Three relates the movement to the auto-centric planning theories of the 1950s and 1960s and the emerging subfield of community-centered design within urban planning. Chapter Four returns to Memphis from 1965 to 1979, considering the citizen's decision to turn to the courts, the impact of the Sanitation Workers Strike and assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. on the approval of the expressway, and the judicial proceedings that led to a Supreme Court victory. Finally, I consider the lasting implications of arterial freeways on Memphis, demonstrating the foresight of the citizen movement and dispelling misconceptions that their grassroots advocacy economically harmed Downtown Memphis.

Sarah Denise Killian

Polarization and American Democracy: A Historical Comparison Between the New Deal and Obama Eras

As he started his final year as the President of the United States, Barack Obama said, "The one thing that gnaws on me is the degree of continued polarization… It's gotten worse over the last several years, and I think in those early months my expectation was that we could pull the parties together a little more effectively." President Obama's statement echoes the common outcry of citizens and legislators across the United States who bemoan the current state of extreme partisanship, legislative gridlock, divisive rhetoric, and inability to compromise in Washington. According to these voices, Washington is operating in a completely new environment, full of partisan rancor and void of the cooperative spirit that characterized the "good old days." However, logic suggests that multiple periods of polarization exist in American history, the Civil War being the primary example. What can we learn if we step away from the dominant narrative of polarization as a modern

phenomenon and compare polarization during two similar time periods in American history?

This thesis is a historical comparison between polarization in the New Deal Era and polarization in the Obama Era aimed at elucidating how polarization has changed over time. The New Deal offers a valuable comparison to the Obama Era because Roosevelt and Obama were both Democratic Presidents, elected with Democratic majorities in Congress, during times of severe economic crisis. The thesis examines the sources and character of polarization in each era in order to gain a holistic understanding of the issues that led to ideological division and how polarization manifested in the federal government. The first chapter examines three sources of polarization in the New Deal Era: the Great Depression, Roosevelt's new social contract, and civil rights, and finds that scholars often inaccurately assess polarization in the New Deal Era because the two parties did not capture the ideological division of the time. The second chapter shows that polarization in the New Deal manifested in all three branches of the federal government, but largely within the Democratic Party, and politicians in the New Deal Era exhibited many of the behaviors that are decried in the media today as signs of heightened polarization.

The last two chapters of the thesis compare polarization in the New Deal to polarization in the Obama Era in order to identify important changes. The third chapter finds that the sources of polarization in the Obama Era were similar to those in the New Deal Era. But, in the Obama Era, the two parties perfectly captured the resulting ideological division. The new alignment in the Obama Era marked a harmful change in polarization because research shows parties exacerbated division for political gain and drove the division so far that it appeared the partisans no longer shared common ground. The fourth chapter reveals that there were many similarities in the character of polarization in the New Deal and Obama Eras. However, in the Obama Era, politicians began using partisan warfare tactics that prioritized obstructive partisanship over legislative progress. Using this information, the final chapter of the thesis draws more nuanced conclusions about how to combat the harmful aspects of polarization today.

Attiya Latif

Rabi'a the Myth: Gendered Re-Imaginings of a Sufi Icon

Rabi'a al-Adawiyya is, all things considered, an iconic Sufi saint. Born in 717 C.E. in modern day Iraq, she is considered one of the earliest female Sufis of her time. She is also the creator and preeminent example of the Sufi concept of Divine Love, the notion that one must erase every aspect of selfhood in the eyes of God so as to focus solely on the most important task- loving the Divine free of inhibition. Yet Rabi'a's significance does not end simply at this list.

She is most significant for her existence as an icon of gendered activity who paved the way for young activists and religious reformers.

In Chapter One, I argue that current understandings of the hagiography of Rabi'a embody a faulty approach not only to Rabi'a's story, but also to hagiography as a whole. I point out the ways in which hagiographic accounts cannot be used to discern verifiable biographical facts that characterize Rabi'a. Rather, hagiography should be taken as an often-fictional account that best exemplifies the thought process of the writer. A writer's reactions to Rabi'a and their impositions of gender tropes upon her better indicate the ways in which she complicates the religious space. I argue that a faulty approach to hagiography results in a mischaracterization of the reasons for Rabi'a's exceptional status. I then present a brief survey of the varying gender tropes at play in Rabi'a's story, and differentiate between inconsequential tropes and those that have a basis in significant instances of inequity.

In Chapter Two, having debunked the accepted reasons surrounding Rabi'a's significance, I engage with the broader question: Why does Rabi'a stand as such an icon to so many? I argue that Rabi'a is influential primarily because she deviates from the gendered tropes at play in most hagiographies of Sufi women. I utilize the accounts of Farid ud-Deen al-Attar and as-Sulamī in order to address first the ways in which Rabi'a transcends gendered expectations, and second the ways in which her writers struggle to react to the tensions she creates.

In Chapter Three, I present an analysis of the ways in which Rabi'a's status as one who rejects normative gender roles allows her to appeal to the marginalized and the supporters of progressive religious movements. I provide a survey of the Queer and Gender Inclusive Mosque Initiative, looking at the parallels between Rabi'a's tomb and the mosques in question and providing a linear path of influence from Rabi'a to her modern-day champion, Amina Wadud. I utilize interviews with queer and feminist Muslims living in the West to characterize the way Rabi'a serves as a legacy and an icon through which individuals situate themselves into religious tradition. Lastly, I address the fact that al-Adawiyya functions as an icon for Muslims in primarily Western contexts, and question whether Rabi'a's progressive base-point is solely a Western lens for progress. I conclude by questioning whether the resulting creation of Sufism as a fad is worth the progress and validation that Rabi'a creates.

Zainab Atinuke Oni

Reviving the Federal Principle in the Nigerian Constitution: The Challenge of Biafra

Nigeria is perceived as a federal success because of how long its federal structure has held Nigeria together. In reality, Nigeria's federal system is deeply flawed and has contributed to the rising violence that threatens to destabilize one of Africa's leading countries. The

contemporary crisis of Nigeria represents a tragedy of its colonial past and the incomplete transition from the military government that emerged in the aftermath of the Nigeria-Biafra civil war. The challenge for Nigeria's federalism is the unitary constitutional order entrenched by military rulers as an expedient measure to prevent another secession movement like Biafra. However, the centralization of Nigeria's federal structure has produced regressive political, societal, and economic effects. To this end, my thesis aims to revive the federal principle, as defined by K.C. Wheare, in the Nigerian constitution without reviving the separatism that led to the Nigeria-Biafra civil war.

Chapter One defines the two forms of federalism, namely classical or "coming-together" federalism, and post-conflict or "keeping-together" federalism. This chapter provides an analysis of how the federal system that resulted from Nigeria's complex history fits into these two definitions of federalism. It finds that the 1963 constitution of the First Republic was a conscious design to protect the diversities and identities of the federating units with a central government to serve as a uniting force. The Nigeria-Biafra civil war instituted a military government that gradually diluted the powers and autonomy of the federating units over the course of its thirty-year rule in the Second and Third Republic. Despite the transition to civilian government in 1999, it is obvious that the basic tenets of federalism that defined the federal structure of Nigeria in the First Republic have been abandoned and replaced by a unitary structure disguised within the seemingly federal constitution of the Fourth Republic. The unitary nature of Nigeria's federation and the concentration of power at the center are most visible in its' hierarchical division of power and its excision of fiscal federalism

Chapter Two argues that the skewed allocation of functions and resources between the federal government and the federating units has created high levels of political instability, ethno-religious crises, and fiscal indiscipline. The concentration of power at the center coupled with the hierarchical division of powers and the excision of fiscal federalism has had crippling political, societal, and economic effects on the country. The uniform policies and one-fits-all solutions of the federal government has caused stagnation and decay of the country's infrastructure. This point is supported through a case study of the national education and housing systems. The case studies suggest that the failure of these uniform national policies has reinforced the appeal of violent alternatives. The chapter also argues that the wide-spread dissatisfaction with the revenue allocation formula has created an ethnicity-based power struggle for a greater share of the "national cake," which has further fragmented the country across ethnic and regional lines. This fragmentation is largely evident in the ethnicization of party politics, the rise of resource-based militias and the proliferation of secessionist movements as a function of the exclusionary structure at the center.

Chapter Three acknowledges that while the military government had good reason to attempt to quell disintegrative forces, the adoption of centralization to achieve the overarching goal of ensuring that the nation's diversities are held together has exacerbated

the threat of disintegration. There is a demonstrable need for a reconsidered federalism and nationalism framework to address the co-existence, poor governance, and inter-group accommodation issues that confront Nigeria as a state and its people as a nation. To this end, the chapter contains recommendations for a revised constitutional arrangement to tackle the country's complex federal history and its debilitative effects. The recommendations are structured within a framework of reviving the federal principle and nation-building, respectively. Taken together, the recommendations aim for the revival of the federal principle in the Nigerian constitution while maintaining a balance between centralization and decentralization to avoid the extremes of assimilation or secession.

The conclusion considers the possibility of restructuring Nigeria's federalism and nationalism framework in the reality of a political elite that actively fights to maintain the status quo. The thesis concludes that a grassroots Sovereign National Conference modeled after Jon Elster's hourglass constitutional design process has the potential to transform the recommendations in this thesis into viable courses of action to address the challenge of Biafra and revive the federal principle within a reconsidered constitutional arrangement.

Bhakti Raval

The Crisis of Indian Secularism

In 2017, India achieved seven decades of freedom and in these seven decades, India has been a labyrinth of democratic challenges. India defies many of the odds that generally lead to a healthy democracy. However, in the spirit of defying odds, India has also held sixteen successful national elections with open and fair competition and has also seen a prospering economy. Despite all of this, India remains a paradox for democratic theorists around the world. India has been free for a considerable period of time but these periods have also been permeated with undemocratic features.

One of the most distinguishing factors of India is its cultural and religious diversity, but it is also one of the major obstacles to achieving a true democracy because of the volatile ways these divided cultures and religions express their insecurity. The role and viability of secularism has been questioned since the emergence of independence and the drafting of the constitution. Thus, in this thesis, I am interested in analyzing the forces underpinning the changing forms of secularism in Indian politics. I do this by exploring the three pillars, which most directly impact the manifestation of secularism: The National Congress Party, the Hindu Right groups, and the Supreme Court. I argue that secularism has had a contested

position in Indian politics since its very origins; there is no consensus on what it means for India, in the views of both prominent politicians and political parties. This lack of clarity and consensus has allowed the Hindu Right (organizations advocating for an all-Hindu India), to manipulate moments of political weakness and pave the path for an anti-secular agenda.

In the first chapter I will introduce the historical and intellectual origins of secularism in Indian politics, which will consist of an exploration of India's founding father's definitions of secularism and how their different understandings led to a dubious role of the principle in the political arena. In Chapter Two, I will explore the Congress party and how its lack of political legitimacy and stability led to an even more compromised position of secularism, which was taken advantage of by the Hindu Right groups. I will do so by analyzing a few separate political moments within the Congress Party. Chapter Three will examine the Bharatiaya Janata party and its secular, or rather, anti-secular agenda. I will begin by uncovering the origins of the Hindu Right ideology and how that ideology has manifested in politics. This will then lead me discuss BJP engineered events, which have shaped the role of secularism in India for the past decade. This chapter will also include the role of current Prime Minister, Narendra Modi in cultivating a Hindu Majority.

Lastly, Chapter Four will focus on the Indian constitution and the Supreme Court and how decisions made by the judiciary rendered the position of secularism even more uncertain. I will do this by first exploring the way in which the constitution and the Supreme Court have interpreted secularism in theory but not in practice. I will then analyze two major decisions made by the court, which were then appropriated by the Hindu Right ideology.

Alexandra Reed

From the Traditional to the Corporate Sector in Humanitarian Response

As the number of humanitarian crises around the world increase, the private sector is becoming more involved in humanitarian assistance, much through public-private partnerships. In the past, tensions have existed between the humanitarian and private sector, but collaboration through these partnerships has found success. The private sector can leverage its expertise in areas, such as logistics and telecommunications, and supplement humanitarian responses of more traditional humanitarian organizations, such as UN agencies and the Red Cross. This thesis investigates the relative successes of the private sector in delivering humanitarian assistance in two different corporate foundations, UPS Foundation and Vodafone Foundation, and in a more traditional humanitarian organization, Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF/Doctors Without Borders), to provide a comparison. The introduction outlines measures of success that I will implement in each case study: overall effectiveness, cost efficiency, operational accountability, transparency, and do no harm. Addressing the root cause is an additional measure for the corporate foundations.

In Chapter One, the case study on MSF discusses the medical organization's commitment to the classic four humanitarian principles—humanity, impartiality, neutrality, and independence—along with other principles that define MSF. I then examine MSF's responses to Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, and the on-going global refugee crisis in the Dadaab refugee camp, Lebanon, and Jordan. I then implement the measures of success and find that MSF has been largely effective in its responses but has room for improvement in cost-efficiency measures, which its evaluations address.

In Chapter Two, the case study on UPS Foundation, the philanthropic arm of a global transportation and logistics corporation, explores interactions with the traditional humanitarian sector, which include grants, emergency funding, and public-private partnerships. Through describing UPS Foundation's responses to the Haiti earthquake, the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, and the global refugee crisis, I find that the UPS Foundation does add value to humanitarian responses through offering pro-bono transportation and logistics expertise. However, its operational accountability and transparency could improve.

In Chapter Three, the case study on Vodafone Foundation, the charitable foundation of a multinational telecommunications company, finds that its engagement with the traditional humanitarian sector through providing technology and telecommunications expertise has been successful at filling gaps in the responses to the Haiti earthquake, Typhoon Haiyan, and the global refugee crisis. Reconnecting and setting up telecommunications require skills in telecommunications engineering and permission from companies to use their networks. Thus, Vodafone Foundation can provide invaluable telecommunications services and technologies to the humanitarian sector. Similar to UPS Foundation, Vodafone Foundation could improve its operational accountability and transparency in some areas.

Jordan Rohrlich

Fake News, Social Media, and the Underworld of Digital Influence

This study looks at the influence that social media platforms have on political information. Built around the context of Fake News (specifically fabricated political news stories) in the 2016 U.S. presidential election, it builds a model to help understand the extent to which digital social content can influence individuals' political beliefs and actions. The model consists of four interlocking mechanisms through which Fake News can spread on online social spaces. Two of these are driven unintentionally by social content consumers while two are operated intentionally by malicious digital agents. Each chapter looks at one of the mechanisms, describes its core processes, and measures the extent to which it enabled fabricated news stories to tip the 2016 election.

The first chapter discusses Viral Growth, which involves the contagious spread of fabricated content (videos, posts, articles, or photos) through open social networks like

YouTube, Reddit, Twitter, and Facebook. Seeded in corners or sub-communities of these sites, this material spreads within and across networks, shared by users who may not know that the story is fabricated. Community engagement and trending algorithms drive this mechanism. Although research supports the idea that Viral Growth can powerfully boost fringe content, I find that this mechanism has neither the targetability nor the reader receptivity to have influenced the election.

The second unintentional mechanism, the Filter Bubble, helps fabricated content spread through politically homogenous networks by way of curation algorithms. Platforms like Twitter and Facebook curate biased newsfeeds, which surround users with ideologically reinforcing material. This encourages radicalization and prevents fact-checking. Empirical evidence supports this claim, but not so much as people think. I find that, although content environments can powerfully influence political attitudes, polarization may have kept Fake News contained within pro-Trump spheres. Thus, the effect on the election is very possible, but uncertain.

The third mechanism, Platform Manipulation, explores the intentional abuse of social content platforms by ideological communities like the alt-right or single-agents like the Russian government. By gaming content platforms and using artificial accounts, these actors can strategically direct their activity to have fringe content trend in highly visible spaces. I find that, not only are these manipulation methods effective, but they also have the targeting power to have significantly influenced the election.

The last mechanism, Paid Propaganda, represents the second intentional system of influence, and supplements Platform Manipulation. Malicious actors may use this channel of ad-propelled Fake News to promote fabricated content within the newsfeeds of users. Specifically looking at Facebook, I find that both the social traffic on Fake News websites and the volume of promoted Fake content fail to meet the level needed to have tipped the election.

The thesis concludes with a summary of key findings and a discussion of the road ahead. Fake News played an overhyped role in the 2016 election—only two mechanisms could have influenced voters significantly, and neither played a determining role for certain. In the long run, however, trends in news consumption, digital polarization, and ad targeting make all four of these mechanisms relevant for future conversations about the power of social content. I end this chapter with a list of possible solutions, and the suggestion that social platform regulation could jumpstart progress toward securing the world of digital information.

Devin Rossin

Money Bail: The American Criminalization of Poverty and the Necessity of Bail Reform

Money bail, the practice of requiring defendants in criminal proceedings to pay a sum of money as a means of assuring their attendance at trial, is a practice that discriminates against the nation's most vulnerable demographics. This institution results in low income and minority defendants facing a disproportionate rate of pretrial incarceration and due process deprivations. This paper will explore the structure of money bail with a specific focus on its evolutions throughout time, the problems that the system creates for both those accused of crimes and society on the whole, alternative systems to money bail, and recommendations on improving how appearance at trial is incentivized.

Chapter One provides a a historical understanding of the money bail model and how it has reached what it has become in the modern era. This chapter explores why bail was originally conceived, what limitations it originally had, and what presumptions of release that governed its usage. I then move into the American conception of bail, the creation of the eighth amendment, and how bail was altered by federal legislation. There is a particular focus on the Bail Acts of 1966 and the Bail Reform Act of 1984. These two pieces of legislation provided criminological ideologies that were directly in opposition to one another. The liberalization of pretrial liberty that the 1966 Act presented was quickly replaced by the "tough on crime" ideology that underpinned the 1984 Act. The 1984 Act, in conjunction with its approval by the Supreme Court, allowed for the inclusion of presumed dangerousness in determining pretrial release; this fundamentally changed the landscape and purpose of bail.

In Chapter Two I argue that money bail is an inherently flawed institution that must be replaced. These arguments are structured into two areas: the impact of bail on those charged with crimes and the burdens that bail places onto society. Individuals who are unable to pay their bail face not only the threat of incarceration, but higher likelihoods of taking plea bargains, decreased ability to prepare for their trial, and harsher sentences. Money bail impacts more than just case outcomes, but also personal lives. Incarceration due to an inability to post bail can result in the loss of employment, residence, and child custody. Taking a plea bargain to get out of jail also impacts the ability of individuals to receive government assistance in the form of housing and food stamps. Societal costs are just as great. Money bail and the incarceration it results in costs taxpayers billions every year, allows for predatory practices by for profit bail bondsmen, and violates fifth and fourteenth amendment protections.

Chapter Three focuses on alternatives to money bail. Actuarial models, pretrial service agencies, drug testing, diversion programs, the use of citations, and pretrial supervision are evaluated. Each system comes with its own strengths and weaknesses; but pretrial services

offer the greatest balance between the necessity to preserve individual liberty and the obligation to protect public safety. Still, I argue that no single, universal solution to bail exists. Every locale is different and requires individualized solutions to its problems.

Nojan Rostami

The End of Counterterrorism: A Study of Theories, Strategies, and Best Practices in Domestic Counterterrorism

Terrorism is a multi-faceted problem without a definite solution. Since 9/11, the United States has struggled to articulate a consistent, effective, and ethical domestic counterterrorism policy. As the Federal government conducts its War on Terror abroad, American cities have taken on the task of securing themselves against terrorism by building robust, locally-focused counterterrorism initiatives. These counterterrorism programs, often built as an expansion of a city's existing police force, are less focused on pursuit and prosecution of known international terrorists as they are on preventing attacks from occurring in the first place. This paper explores the theoretical and operational structure of such counterterrorism programs; particularly the civilian component of London's counterterrorism program, with a focus on prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation efforts directed at non-violent radicals.

In Chapter One, I explore the status quo of counterterrorism in the United States. With attention to the effect of terrorism on cities, I describe the insufficiencies of the status quo in regard to the tools available for countering homegrown domestic terrorism. I argue that the physical, financial, and social toll of these insufficiencies is hard on cities in particular, and propose that cities are uniquely able to respond to these insufficiencies in ways the Federal government cannot. Using New York as an example, I present what I call are the consequences of a counterterrorism response grounded in bad theory, and argue that a new theoretical understanding of terrorism is necessary.

In Chapter Two, I present what I argue is a more holistic, more effective way of theoretically framing terrorism. I argue that terrorism is not a singular event, but a process of escalation that results in violence. Using threat management theory and social analyses of radicalization, I argue that terrorism begins with a radicalization process that is comprised of ideological, social, and violent elements. I then propose that civilian-run counter extremism and deradicalization programs are the appropriate response for countering the radicalization process, and that cities are better suited to develop and deliver such programs than national governments.

Chapter Three offers a case study informed by field research that I conducted on London's civilian counterterrorism programs: Prevent and Channel. I describe how these programs appear on paper, and demonstrate, with examples, how they apply theory to

practice. I evaluate Prevent and Channel both in regard to how faithfully they perform the duties proscribed by the Home Office, and how they are received by the communities they engage. I also identify some of the theoretical and operational shortcomings of the programs.

In Chapter Four, I address Prevent and Channel's shortcomings in the broader context of their socio-cultural impact. I discuss the inability of the programs to build trust with London's Muslim communities by exploring multiculturalism, assimilation, and the articulation of Muslim youth identity in London. I also explain the theoretical limitations of Channel in the context of the state of London's dwindling youth services budget. I suggest that counterterrorism alone is insufficient when broader social problems inhibit counter extremism and deradicalization efforts.

Isir Said

The Somali Refugee Crisis: Struggles for Safety, Security, and Stability in an Era of Global Displacement

The global refugee crisis represents one of the greatest challenges of our contemporary moment. Every 24 minutes a person is forced to flee their homes, resulting in 34,000 displaced persons per day. The magnitude of the crisis cannot be overstated, as there were a total of 65 million displaced persons worldwide in 2017. This thesis highlights the challenges with current approaches to the refugee crisis as well as the need for sustainable solutions that emphasize the safeguarding of human rights of forcibly displaced persons. This theme is traced through an in-depth study and analysis of the humanitarian response to the Somali refugee crisis. Although this thesis specifically follows Somali refugees in Dadaab, Kenya, many of the issues and themes addressed are universal in scope and application.

Chapters One and Two provide frameworks in which to understand the conditions that have resulted in the protracted displacement of Somalis living in the Dadaab refugee complex. Refugees, by virtue of their status as forcibly displaced persons, do not have the protection of their country of origin. Chapter One reviews relevant institutions, laws, and policies concerning the rights and protections of refugees, both regionally and internationally. This chapter explores the evolution of the global refugee regime, paying particular attention to the role and influence of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Chapter Two argues that contemporary political and humanitarian problems cannot be understood outside the legacies of colonialism, dictatorship, and humanitarian intervention that have scarred the nation-state of Somalia.

Chapter Three argues that international community has failed to properly address the human rights concerns in the Dadaab refugee camps. Refugee camps are conceived as temporary solutions to the inabilities of nation-states and intergovernmental organizations t

to provide long-term sustainable solutions for people fleeing violence, persecution, and war. Yet, this solution is a paradox, as camps are rarely temporary; rather these refugees live in a state of protracted displacement. The Dadaab refugee camps are plagued with resource shortages, which compromise refugees' right to health and security of person. Thus this chapter argues not only for increased donor funding to ensure that Somali refugees in Dadaab have the necessary access to service provisions and protections but also for the pursuit of sustainable alternatives to protracted displacement.

Chapter Four explores the shift in policies and protocols regarding Somali refugees in Kenya, the conditions in which refugees are returning, how these conditions violate international refugee laws and policies, and the experiences of returnees. Although UNHCR works to protect and assist refugees, the organization's ultimate mission is to find permanent solutions that empower refugees to rebuild their lives. UNHCR recognizes that it has minimal resources to aid Somali refugees in Dadaab. This reality, compounded by the growing backlash from the host government, resulted in the creation of a tripartite commission to outline the "voluntary" repatriation process for Somali refugees. Ultimately, this chapter asks: should repatriation be the goal for refugee aid agencies working to improve the lives of refugees?

Chapter Five traces the historical narrative of migration and identity along the Swahili Coast. Prior to the birth of the nation state, there were ways in which communities of "outsiders" were able to integrate within their new society. The establishment of Dadaab represents not a break with patterns of city formation in East Africa but an extension and elaboration of it. In addition, this chapter juxtaposes past modes of integration on the Swahili Coast with a contemporary application of the local integration of Burundi refugees in Tanzania. By approaching the refugee crisis in Dadaab through these frameworks, one can envisage the possibility for the local integration of Somali refugees into Kenya as a durable solution.

Saúl Sandoval Navarrete

Problematizing Monolithic Understandings of Chicanismo

This paper contextualizes the Chicana/o/x term as a marker rather than overarching label. Chicana/o/x was created by the Mexican-American community in order to unify many of the struggles facing the Mexican-Americans. However, over time these terms have led to the erasure of the particular identities that exists underneath the label. In this thesis, I explore some of the individual identities that exists underneath Chicana/o/x in hopes of presenting how each identity is different from one another. More particularly, I will be analyzing the Migrant, Pachuca/o, Pinta/o, and the Chicana experience. In marking these differences between identities I will present that Chicana/o/x is not one sole group of individuals with a shared struggle rather there exists diversity in the Chicana/o/x spectrum. I will use both

James McGee's "Identity as an Analytic Lens for Research in Education" and Chicana/o/x poetry from the 20th and 21st century in order to analyze how each identity and their sense of self has been shaped over time.

In Chapters One and Two I will provide background that will be used to analyze the identities studied in chapters 2,3,4, and 5. Chapter One will be a summary of Chicana/o/x history spanning from the Treaty of Hidalgo in 1848 to the epoch of Trump. The events chosen in this chapter will be important to understanding the Chicana/o/x identity and their struggles. Dates and events included in this chapter are curated to highlight the development to a particular set of identities that will be explored in later chapters. Chapter Two will summarize James McGee's theory on identity perspectives. These tools will be used to provide the necessary terminology needed to breakdown each identities poetry and its relation to the identity's sense of self.

Chapter Three will look at the Migrant identity. The Migrant will take poetry from Rodolfo Gonzales, Tomás Rivera, Gary Soto, and Paola Gonzales and Karina Gutierrez. The Migrant experiences will highlight the ancient land of Aztlán and its conquest and relationship with the Chicana/o/x Migrant and the Migrant's development into the rural, urban, and the undocumented worker.

Chapters Four will explore the development of the Pachuca/o by using poetry from José Montoya, Kenneth Chacon, and other unnamed Pachuca/o artists. This chapter will look at the Pachuca/o from their height in the 1940s and Zoot-Suit era to its transition as the Chola/o or the modern Mexican-American gangster.

Chapter Five will look at the Pinta/o's, or the Mexican-American prisoner, identity and how isolation of the body from the Chicana/o/x community can drastically reshape identities.

Chapter Six will address the Chicana identity and its perception as subservient to the Chicano within Chicano *Michista* culture. I use poets like Anna Montes, Alma Luz Villanueva, and Gloria Anzaldua to separate the Chicana from the Chicano as well as opening the conversation of intersectionality between identities that will be later discussed in the conclusion.

Every chapter used will combine historic Chicana/o/x poets and more modern artists to outline the conversation these identities have been having among each other over the years. And although the identities covered in this thesis do not encompass the whole of all those under the label of Chicanismo, it will provide insight to the unique experiences and characteristics of each identity, separating the identities from one another.

Mary Grace Sheers

Defining Disability: Advocates' Differing Approaches within the American Disability Rights Movement

This thesis argues that the Disability Rights Movement, similar to other social justice movements, contained advocates with a variety of schools of thought. When discussing the Civil Rights movement, most American high school history courses cover two schools of thought: Malcolm X's approach of complete justice by any means necessary and Martin Luther King, Jr.'s approach of non-violent protesting. These two figures both advocated for anti-racism, yet their different strategies and tactical approaches reveal how they conceived of Civil Rights movement differently. In this thesis, I establish a similar discourse around the differing schools of thought within a unified Disability Rights Movement.

This thesis focuses on the American Disability Rights Movement in the 1960-1990s that worked to establish federal civil rights legislation. Justin Dart, Jr., Judith Heumann, and Frank Bowe all worked together as leaders of this movement, yet they each have slightly different approaches to disability rights. In order to identify these approaches, I look at the language leading advocates use to describe and define disabilities. Each advocate used different rhetoric to define, describe, and discuss disabilities, which reflect their perspectives on disabilities. The advocates of the Disability Rights Movement can and should be understood in more nuance than our current academic focus.

In Chapter One, I argue that the history of the American Disability Rights Movement fits within other social justice movements in America. Through this chapter, I understand the Disability Rights Movement as a movement for a marginalized identity's social and political rights, similar to the Civil Rights movement, Feminist movement, etc. In chapter two, I consider how language is a social tool that reflects and affects societal treatment of marginalized identities. I show how rhetoric serves as a tool to reveal these often-overlooked nuances within the Disability Rights Movement.

In Chapters Three, Four, and Five, I preform a critical discourse analysis on interviews and published pieces by Justin Dart, Jr., Judith Heumann, and Frank Bowe. Dart's linguistic features show his dedication to normalizing disability by grounding disability in a larger Civil Rights movement and emphasizing the personhood of people with disabilities. Heumann, in contrast, takes pride in the label *disability* and discusses disability culture; she frames the Disability Rights Movement as anti-discrimination. Bowe focuses the Disability Rights Movement on empowerment and independence of disabled people. He, at first, views disability as a hurdle to overcome but later acknowledges Deaf culture.

Finally, I discuss the various causes of these different approaches within the Disability Rights Movement. Academic study and popular media should be more aware of the nuances of the Disability Rights Movement.

Emily Vaughan

She My Daughter, She Mine: Analyzing Motherwork Behind Bars with Beloved

Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987) stretches Margaret Garners's infamous act—the murder of her own daughter—across time and space, so that it reaches back to the moment of captivity on the shores of Africa, across the Middle Passage, to the American South, and finally to our present moment of hyperincarceration. In this thesis I claim that *Beloved*, centered around a shocking act of subversive motherhood, provides a lens through which to view motherwork as a means of engendering agency within women and their children. Specifically, the thesis treats *Beloved* as a theoretical apparatus through which to contextualize and analyze motherhood in testimonies written by black incarcerated women.

   Chapter One explores how *Beloved*'s othermothers resist the fragmentary forces of slavery in order to illuminate comparable acts of resistance written in incarcerated women's testimonials. The definition of othermothering proposed by *Beloved* and echoed in contemporary narratives reformulates and expands the scope of motherhood without necessarily usurping the role of the biological mother. This particular brand of othermothering, I conclude, allows both children and othermothers to engage in positive identity formation.

   In the following chapter, I argue that *Beloved*'s conception of maternal cultural transmission clarifies why incarcerated women feel empowered by their enslaved ancestors. For confined black women across all time periods, tapping into maternal memory encourages disenfranchised women to locate themselves within a long line of survivors who believed fiercely in their own value. Maternal cultural transmission inspires disparaged women to insist on their own dignity and self-worth.

   In Chapter Three, I focus on the provision of nurturance as a form of resistance. *Beloved*, I continue, proposes a theory of maternal nurturance through bodily reclamation and the construction of safe spaces. This theorizing emphasizes the subversive power of incarcerated women's attempts to reclaim their children and, despite their confinement, relocate themselves and/or their children in order to better nurture them. Motherlove, I conclude, generates a sense of agency and subjectivity within both subjugated women and their children.

   Finally, in Chapter Four, I place Sethe's incarceration in conversation with the testimonial of single incarcerated mother, Mamie. I describe *Beloved*'s theory of "self-authoring" as a crucial step in healing, and I use this theorizing to analyze Mamie's revised narrative. The very act of writing a testimonial signifies resistance on Mamie's part, and, particularly when viewed through *Beloved*'s theoretical framework, her inscribed expressions of motherlove facilitate the ongoing process of reconciliation between Mamie and her daughters. *Beloved*, I conclude, provides an instructive theoretical framework through which to appreciate the subtle and often overlooked but powerful acts of rebellion performed by thousands of incarcerated African American mothers every day.

Lucas T. Williams

Black Moves: Theorizing Political Mobilization in the Black Freedom Struggle

The central claim of this thesis is that a Dance Studies framework can reveal new insights in political discourse. While traditional liberal political discourse places an emphasis on structural or material analyses, Performance Theory privileges the semiotic interpretation of individual bodies. I argue that Dance Studies, as an approach that understands both approaches, holds underutilized potential. I support my argument with four case studies that demonstrate the need to simultaneously understand both the material and the symbolic potential of bodies engaged in political mobilization.

In Chapter One, I present the historical example of the Harlem Cultural Council's grassroots campaign to create the Dancemobile. By analyzing the performances, the spaces, and the individuals involved, I demonstrate how a Dance Studies analysis can move from analyzing only the semiotics of staged performance to understanding the larger context of materiality in black political mobilization.

In Chapter Two, I argue for approaching the political tactics of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense with an eye toward the performative techniques. The history often occludes the dual strategies that the Panthers employed to regain material and symbolic positionality for the purpose of self-representation. Their positional tactics, I argue, reversed the direction of the gaze, giving them the power to render their opposition symbolically. After COINTELPRO terrorized the Panthers into dissolution, the jockeying for positionality continued into the performative platforms of history and memory.

In Chapter Three, I disturb conventional understandings of black political mobilization by approaching contemporary discourse around protests in Charlottesville following the white supremacists rallies on August 11, 2017. By tracing the historical policy regulations of the public space of the lawn, I argue for the importance of paying attention to the current attempts to regulate the space and as a result who is allowed to appear in it.

In Chapter Four, I present a narrative experience from participating in the Performing Arts and Community Exchange class at the University of San Francisco. As a guest in the class, I assisted in the creation of a performance piece with students from USF and men participating in the Resolve to Stop the Violence Program in the San Francisco Jail #5. By applying a Dance Studies framework to the performing arts in my experience with the program, I challenge conventional understandings, ethics, and opportunities that arise in the performing arts as they relate to the social issue of incarceration.

Maria (Masha) Winchell

Cracks in the Crackdown: The Differing Effectiveness of Nigeria's Anti-Corruption Agencies

This thesis will explore the reasons behind the differing effectiveness of Nigeria's two main anti-corruption agencies. Previous literature agrees that the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) more effectively combats corruption than the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC). Few have accounted for this difference, however. Though both agencies were born out of the same anti-corruption push, the political environment surrounding the agencies differed dramatically. And though the establishing acts of both agencies mirror one another in several ways, too many differences remain to easily isolate the origin of their distinction. Answering the thesis's motivating question, then, requires knowledge of both the political and legislative contexts of the two agencies and a familiarity with how these agencies operate in practice.

Accordingly, Chapter One looks at Nigeria's history with corruption and summarizes the events that culminated to create the circumstances necessary for the emergence of these two agencies. This chapter mainly draws on previous academic works for evidence. Chapter Two takes a deeper look at each agency and enumerates the differences in their powers and structures. Its main sources of evidence are the establishment acts of both agencies. Chapter Three builds on the foundation laid by the previous two chapters and examines the operations of the agencies from their inauguration to roughly the present day. Cases make up the bulk of this chapter's evidence, and information about these cases is drawn from news articles as well as academic sources. This chapter deals directly with the question of what accounts for their differential effectiveness and discounts some explanations while supporting others. Some explored mechanisms are case selectivity, funding and staffing, competence, use of publicity, use of plea deals, and political contexts. Ultimately, the chapter concludes that leadership, which involves itself with an agency's decision to pursue plea bargains or engage in publicity, accounts for the different effectiveness of the two agencies. Chapter Four establishes the link between an agency's leadership and its choices and operations. It too largely sources its evidence from Nigerian newspapers. It concludes that the police background of the EFCC chairmen shaped the agency's tactics in pursuing suspects.

This is not to say that an anti-corruption agency should require its head to have police experience. The police and EFCC alike are infamous for their human rights abuses, and it is their human rights abuses that give the EFCC its relative success. Therefore, my conclusion refrains from making a normative argument. Instead, it reinforces and contextualizes the causal argument made throughout the work.

Sam Yu

Damaged Lifeworld and Its Reconstruction: Perspectives from Jürgen Habermas

Jürgen Habermas has been the flagbearer of the Frankfurt School and Critical Theory, a school of political and social thought aimed at "human liberation from all forms of oppression." For over five decades, his thinking has been influential across different disciplines. This paper goes back a

foundational paradigm he proposed in the 1980s – the distinction between instrumental and communicative rationality, between system and lifeworld, and between the mediatization and colonization of lifeworld – and explores its contemporary relevance. Through an empirical examination of our present time, I argue that his theory has been perspicacious and prophetic: many of the most troubling issues now can be better framed and resolved through his paradigm.

In Chapter One, I define conceptual terms required for this paper and explain the central thesis in Habermas's *Theory of Communicative Action*: in modernity, our economic, political, legal, and technological systems aimed at advancing material reproduction and to reconcile competing claims to truths and rightfulness have turned against us as their systemic imperatives (instrumental rationality) have threatened another essential form of rationality in human society (communicative rationality) that typically resides in the lifeworld.

In the remainder of this paper, I identify and interpret instances of such "colonization" and "damages" to communicative rationality in different spheres of our society.

In Chapter Two (political), I look at our restricted, instrumental thinking about rights as redistributable goods and its consequences: our political and legal systems, while efficient and effective, should not replace the essential role that symbolic reproduction in the lifeworld plays in preserving the deontological meaning of rights. I then consider another conceptualization of the normative core of democracy based on its capacity for communicative rationality and how this capacity has diminished because of the system of lobbying groups and campaign finance.

In Chapter Three (social), I unpack our current systems upholding social justice should not replace the role of lifeworld; in fact, they have ironically incentivized discriminatory conducts and justified social justice claims on the grounds of economic calculus.

In Chapter Four (economic), I propose the concept of the "dilemma of profit-maximization" and how it has strained labor relations while using the German codetermination system to offer a communicative rationality-based alternative. I also challenge the strategy of market segmentation.

In Chapter Five (technological), I question our exuberance with Big Data because of its tendency to shape human preferences against their will in the pursuit of instrumental rationality. I also clarify how social media has deviated from its communicative purpose.

In Chapter Six (legal), I articulate my concerns about law and economics as a legal methodology for its one-sided emphasis on the systemic justification of laws (while ignoring their origins in the lifeworld), our current confusion with who deserves legal rights, and our current justification of legal obligation.

Through all these critiques demonstrating the damages on our lifeworld because of the dominance of instrumental rationality, I hope to show the promise of its reconstruction, as inspired by Habermas's theory of communicative rationality.