Fourth Year Thesis Titles and Abstracts—April 2019

Jordan Arnold

Rural Municipal Networks and Community Resilience

Twenty-four million Americans—many of them rural—do not have access to high speed internet. Low population density means telecommunications companies struggle to make a profit building infrastructure and providing internet in rural areas, leaving many Americans without convenient or affordable ways to get online. Many rural communities, frustrated with the lack of options available to them, have created publicly owned or operated broadband internet networks. This paper explores the impact of these "municipal networks" on three rural communities in Virginia through a framework of rural resilience.

In Chapter One, I provide a brief history of "universal service," or the idea that every American should have access to the internet. I summarize the ongoing legal and political conflict over municipal broadband, a highly contested phenomenon, and describe the state of municipal broadband in Virginia.

In Chapter Two, I review the relevant literature on broadband. Much of the discussion around broadband surrounds its potential to impact economic growth, so I begin by reviewing studies about the impact of broadband at both the national and local levels. I then turn to several case studies of municipal broadband; some focus on economic impact, and some, like mine, consider the qualitative impacts of broadband on a community. Finally, I provide an overview of the popular concept of resilience, eventually locating the term in rural studies.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the three networks and communities I study in depth: the Rockbridge area, Nelson County, and Grayson County. I use a framework established by Ashmore, Farrington, and Skerratt, rural sociologists from the United Kingdom, to analyze the impact of the network along three dimensions: agency, capital, and sense of place. I argue that municipal networks do make rural communities more resilient, allowing them agency, increasing the social and economic resources of the community (if unequally), and helping to maintain an existing sense of place.

In Chapter Four, I offer policy suggestions: First, I reject any policy that fails to recognize the unique characteristics of each community, because these differences affect which broadband initiatives will be successful. Second, I encourage the continued funding of and partnership with local electric cooperatives because they are better structured to offer internet service in rural areas than traditional ISPs. Finally, I encourage a reconsideration of restrictive municipal broadband laws, given the simple truth that rural communities often have no other options.

Liza Ayres

Liminalities of Death: An Intersectional Analysis of Sally Mann's Photography

Sally Mann remains one of the most accomplished American ph0tographers to date. Her work, focusing intimately on her life in the American South, provokes audiences on global scales. In this thesis, I undertake an analysis on the overarching themes and understandings that Mann conditions and perpetuates in her work. I argue that, throughout her work, Mann focuses immensely on death and death-making.

In Chapter One, I undertake an analysis of Mann's *Body Farm,* drawing heavily on necropolitics, spirituality, and the politics of labor to capitulate the relationship between dead bodies and the landscape. I then turned to analyze some of the photographic theory that I drew on throughout the study, calling in Barthes, M. Jacqui Alexander and Fred Moten.

In Chapter Two, I focused on Mann's series *Proud Flesh,* which depicts her husband Larry's experience with muscular sclerosis. I problematized the victim/hero binary by relating his posturing to that of the fallen Greek hero. I then outlined the relationship between disability and debility, as positioned by Jasbir Puar, when examining photography of her husband in relation to her Black caregiver Gee-Gee. I examined the relationship between artistic and medical photography, and undertook an analysis of stillness and agency as they relate to the camera's gaze. I noted the dynamics of liberalism and neoliberalism as they relate to "shock" and photography. I concluded with an analysis of Mann's perspective of Larry's disability in relation to shame and death, and ended with meditations on Larry's resistance.

In Chapter Three, I turned my attention to *Abide With Me,* a series in which Mann photographed Black men. Here I problematized Mann's understanding of Blackness, as evidenced in her choices for development. Progressing through historically rooted comparisons to the auction block, blackface, medical anatomization, lynching, and incarceration, I argued Mann's camera maims the Black body, drawing her subjects closer to death in a variety of modalities. I constructed an analysis of Mann's perception of her photography through a close reading of *Hold Still,* and concluded the chapter with meditations on resistance, as occurring through blur.

In Chapter Four, I studied the series *Southern Landscapes, Battlefields,* and her work with Southern swamps. I centered my argument in the shadows when discussing the romanticization of the South as evoked by her photographs. I complicated the South's position in the hegemonic imaginary, and identified Mann's portrayals of the South as existing within the death-making process. I argued that the South exists within the intersection of Blackness and disability as conditioned by its histories and position within development. I noted the disparity between Mann's depictions of sites of Black resistance: the Southern swamps; and sites within the plantation imaginary.

My conclusion begins with a reflection on revolution, as interconnected with resistance. It continues to underline the major themes and arguments throughout the study.

Brian Cameron

Unaffordable Injustice: Segregation, Gentrification, and Urban Policy in Charlottesville, Virginia

Though Charlottesville, Virginia is a small college town, its history of race and housing is as storied as any American city. From Emancipation to the present day, whites Charlottesville have utilized a fierce array of tactics to control and limit African-American opportunities for property ownership and fair housing: segregation ordinances, expulsive zoning, municipal neglect, slum capitalism, racially restrictive covenants, urban renewal, public housing, single-family zoning, gentrification, and studentification. While extensive historical literature documents these processes nationally, non-black residents of Charlottesville generally misunderstand the local history of race and housing, instead choosing to herald the city's liberal voting record and regular placement on "best place to live" rankings. In this thesis, I seek to examine this local history and present its current implications, drawing particular attention to the distinct power and responsibilities of local actors creating and one day redressing racial inequities.

In Chapter One, I present the history of African-American settlement in Charlottesville from Emancipation to 1929. At first, African-American communities became *de facto* segregated as the sites of antebellum free black enclaves and because white generally saw these lands as undesirable. In 1912 after the Jim Crow political order took hold, Charlottesville City Council passed an ordinance to segregate the entire city by block by race. While the U.S. Supreme Court ruled such ordinances unconstitutional in 1917, whites quickly found ways around this through expulsive zoning and racially restrictive covenants in the 1920s.

In Chapter Two, I detail the era of urban renewal in Charlottesville between 1954 and 1980. During this period, the city hired urban planning firm Harland Bartholomew and Associates to complete the city's first comprehensive plan. Known for inventing racial zoning in St. Louis, this firm systematized the urban renewal of many Charlottesville black neighborhoods, most famously Vinegar Hill, carried out by the city as well as the University of Virginia.

In Chapter Three, I analyze how single-family zoning since 1991 imposed a limit on housing stock throughout Charlottesville, leading to the gentrification of several historically black neighborhoods. Exclusionary single-family zoning combined with the attraction of an affluent, highly-educated "creative class" in Charlottesville, causing housing costs to skyrocket and altering the demographic composition of many historically black neighborhoods. Today, more than 3,000 households in Charlottesville spend over half their income on housing.

In Chapter Four, I argue for an array of policies and collective action that could begin to redress the long history of racist and exclusionary housing policy in Charlottesville. The city could upzone residential districts to allow for "Missing Middle" housing that would ease the affordable housing shortage. The university could contribute payments-in-lieu-of-taxes to the city to better fund ongoing affordable housing investments. Finally, residents and students should urge their governing bodies to pursue these policies insofar as inclusive housing policy should constitute the new standard of American liberalism.

Hahna Cho

The Racial Triangulation of Asian Americans: Depictions of Power and Powerlessness in Visual Culture

Racial triangulation, a term coined by Professor of Political Science and Asian American Studies at UC Irvine, Claire Jean Kim, refers to the unique process of racialization undergone by Asian

Americans through which white power and privilege are reproduced. Kim posits that Asian Americans "have been racially triangulated vis-à-vis their relationship to Whites and Blacks," whereby they are simultaneously valorized over African Americans and ostracized by White Americans. She argues that this pattern has proven "remarkably robust over time" and cites examples of discernable triangulation from as early as the mid-nineteenth century. This thesis explores the historical persistence and proliferation of racial triangulation as it is continually reproduced through visual culture.

In Chapter One, I begin to trace of origins of East Asians in America and the emergence of explicit forms of anti-Asian racism. Through the exploitation of Chinese laborers on the Transcontinental Railroad and the enactment of restrictive immigration policies, the United States, led by dominantly white institutions of power, created the specific yet diverging tropes of Asians as efficient hands, the "dregs of Asia," and also rapacious foreigners. The production of derogatory images in visual forms like newspaper illustrations is a theme that will continue especially as white hegemons required the stable subordinate position of Black Americans to rationalize the developing interstitial social location of Asian Americans.

In Chapter Two, I focus on the proliferation of international fears during World War II and how they produced a heightened sense of paranoia over the presence of Asian Americans. While the late 19th and early 20th centuries produced mostly pictorial representations of a Black-Asian conflict, the latter half of the twentieth century saw the rise of actual disputes especially within the respective Civil Rights and Asian American Movements. I will argue that this strife did not erupt out of an inherent anger or intergroup antagonism but rather as a reaction out of a felt need for self-preservation. The visual culture examples of this period include the classic films, *The King and I* and *Breakfast at Tiffany's*, both of which present Asian Americans as hyper-foreign and at times, disdainful towards African Americans.

In Chapter Three, I investigate the ways in which the model minority myth engrained a belief in Asian exceptionalism on the part of all actors involved in triangulation. The perception of an escalating Black-Asian conflict lead to the charge that the Los Angeles Riots, rather than as a reaction to police brutality, erupted as a result of the hatred Korean and Black Americans harbored against each other. Unlike prior time periods, the twenty-first century has witnessed the blossoming of representative portrayals of Asian Americans but ones that continue to operate within the dynamic of racial triangulation.

The present-day Harvard affirmative action lawsuit and the arguments against racial quotas in school admissions policies reveal how racial triangulation is now more evident than ever. Its historical persistence begs the questions: What are the boundaries of race and racial presentation? How do we distinguish between cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation? What does an Asian American identity look like if not approximated in relationship with blackness and whiteness?

Shai Cohen
Israel After Oslo: The Evolution of Israeli Public Opinion on the Two-State Solution

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict has been my primary academic interest throughout my team at the University of Virginia. While studying here, I've attempted to take classes that would give me more

insight on the conflict, including religion, international relations, and Middle Eastern Studies. In this thesis, I finally had the opportunity to focus specifically on the conflict itself and what I'm most interested in—the two-state solution.

Chapter One begins with the First Intifada, which I argue was the true beginning of the peace process between the Israeli and Palestinian leaderships. After the First Intifada forced the Israeli public to confront the issues of occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the peace process slowly began. During and after this phase, Israelis began to consider the real possibility of an independent Palestinian State. In this chapter, I explain what happened during the Intifada and then I analyze Israeli responses to it, including responses from religious leaders, political leaders, and the Israeli public.

In Chapter Two, I explain the peace process of the Oslo Accords, and, more importantly, discuss what the reactions of the Israeli government and public were. In this chapter, I argue that the Israeli public was becoming increasingly optimistic about a successful peace agreement with the Palestinians. This represented the peak of Israeli willingness for territorial concessions. In Chapter Three, I then look at the beginning of the decline of that optimism. In this chapter, I tell the story of the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, and I explain what the motivations behind the attack were. Then, I discuss the reactions of the Israeli public and the impact the event had on the peace process. I assert the assassination deeply polarized Israeli society, and began the steep decline in Israeli efforts towards a two-state solution, the effects of which are evident today.

Finally, Chapter Four concludes with a discussion of the Second Intifada, and how it affected the peace process. Here I explain the aftermath of the assassination and the lead up to the Second Intifada. During this time, a major peace summit failed at Camp David, causing Israeli belief in a lasting peace with the Palestinians to take a nosedive. After the failure at Camp David, I argue that the Second Intifada drove the nail in the coffin of Israeli optimism towards a two-state solution. Then, I explain how Israeli society reacted to the Second Intifada, and ultimately, how it led the Israeli public to veer away from the two-state peace process. The decline in Israeli optimism towards a two-state solution has only continued until today, making the chances of a successful two-state deal less and less likely with the passage of time.

Rawda Fawaz

Student Protest: An Exploration of Black Student Movement Organizing Tactics at Columbia University, San Francisco State College, and University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

The Black Power Movement gave birth to the Black student movement in the late 1960s, as Black students decided to make campuses their own, and demand equal standing to their white counterparts. Students fought for a variety of causes, including labor, housing, and the creation of Black Studies departments. Black student organizing would take place on hundreds of campuses around the United States. This paper focuses on three campus case studies: Columbia University, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and San Francisco State College, and analyzes the effectiveness of student-community collaboration during campus organizing.

In Chapter One, I give an overview of what the Black student movement looked like around the country. I briefly delve into the different dimensions of the movement including academia, community service, protest, and cross-campus collaboration. This chapter illustrated the context in which the events at the three universities occur in order to show that none of the individual movement occurred in a

vacuum; rather, they were inspired by a national phenomenon.

I devote Chapters Two, Three, and Four to conducting a historiography of the events that took place at Columbia, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, and San Francisco State College. In these three chapters I explore what happened at each respective campus movement, what the concerns were, how the local community did or did not play a part, and what the outcomes of student efforts were. I use these chapters to conduct a neutral historical probe into what student movements can look like on campuses.

In my final chapter, I conduct an analysis of the tactics used at each university, and explain the implications of the results and the steps leading to the outcomes. I also consider the dynamics between community members and students within student movements, and how their involvement in the fight against university administration alongside students affects organizing results. I conclude that the most effective tactics includes calculated student-community collaboration.

Morgan Feldenkris

Towards a New Route: The "Smart Growth" Planning Movement and Gentrification in Diversifying Suburbs

American suburbs are no longer simply the paragons of white middle-class sprawl they once were. For decades, suburban jurisdictions have diversified thoroughly by incorporating immigrant communities and African-American residents. Meanwhile, suburban jurisdictions across the country have recently invested in sprawl-mitigating and walkable "Smart Growth" mega-developments, appearing like micro-cities on the landscape. While rarely discussed in urban planning and racial justice literature, these two suburban trends of diverse settlement and grand redevelopment are deeply linked. The term gentrification, though usually reserved for cities, is a useful descriptor to characterize the impact of these developments. Some suburban communities of color are, in fact, at a similar risk of displacement as neighborhoods in inner cities. In this thesis, I will explore how a coalition of planners and developers organized to transform suburbia towards urban forms attractive to young, creative professionals. In turn, I will elucidate how these developments replicate the urban crises of economic and cultural displacement among long-term and low-income communities of color. Finally, I will present alternative community and planning solutions for this under discussed but distressing pattern.

In Chapter One, I discuss the rise of national skepticism towards the suburban development form deemed "sprawl". American suburbs, defined hazily as low-density areas surrounding urban settlements, attracted criticism for their extensive land use and open space destruction in the latter third of the 20th century. In addition to mitigating these impacts, suburban planners and growth control advocates eventually coalesced around arguing for densifying the American suburbs, to yield fiscal returns, save land, and build community. Under the national "Smart Growth" banner, encompassing an array of solutions to sprawl skepticism, suburban planners by the 1990s set out to transform suburbia in a distinctly urban image.

In Chapter Two, I interpret the planning process and design principles of four case study "Smart Growth" developments in Fairfax County, Virginia and Washington County, Oregon. These two jurisdictions are generally affluent, highly populated, and diverse counties around the large cities of Washington, D.C. and Portland, Oregon. In Fairfax County, I explore the mixed-use outdoor mall

Mosaic District, and the in-process Embark Richmond Highway plan, which seeks to fully revitalize an eight-mile stretch of communities. In Washington County, I focus on the diverse City of Hillsboro's long-standing commitment to "Smart Growth," in its now historic Orenco Station neighborhood and the soon-to-be built South Hillsboro, the largest housing development in Oregon's history.

In Chapter Three, I explore the recent history of immigration and settlement in these counties, focusing especially on Hispanic communities. Included is an analysis of persistent patterns of residential segregation and disparities in economic opportunity among suburban communities. Using an array of planning documentation, census data, and media coverage, I return to the "Smart Growth" development case studies, describing how these developments have or likely will gentrify and displace low-income communities of color in and around them.

In Chapter Four, I illuminate the enterprising community-led efforts to secure housing and political influence for these very communities in the counties written on here. Moreover, I advocate for the potential of "Smart Growth", itself a coalitional movement, to invite these organizations, and in turn these communities, to the table. In this manner, I argue that the attractive qualities of "Smart Growth" development in reducing suburban sprawl do not require displacing long-term communities, whose "right to the suburbs" should not be overlooked.

Caitlin Flanagan

"Someone who Looks:" Influences of the Transcendentalist Tradition in Contemporary American Thought

Prominent American intellectual historian Perry Miller wrote in 1957, "By now almost as much has been written about the New England Transcendentalists as they ever wrote by themselves." The centrality of this group of mid-nineteenth century writers, preachers, and activists to American intellectual history might be the only constant, though, as the meaning of their legacy has been continually re-configured in the nation's mindset. Some critics have begun to note a surprising revitalization in Transcendentalist studies in contemporary American thought, despite simultaneous prevalent cultural skepticism surrounding the identities inhabited by figures like Thoreau and Emerson. My thesis looks at contemporary American writers Mary Oliver, Rebecca Solnit, Annie Dillard, and Marilynne Robinson to see the relationship they establish to the Transcendentalists and the way that tradition manifests itself in their work.

In my first chapter, I will turn to Mary Oliver, focusing on her work in *Upstream* as a way to understand her Transcendentalist vision of the responsibility of the poet, the meaning of language, the place of the sublime, and a responsible reverence for the soul. Second, my chapter on Rebecca Solnit will look across her writing with an eye to her view of place, capacity for connection-making, and belief in the importance of hopeful stories. Next, I will study Annie Dillard, who writes her new Transcendentalist *Pilgrim at Tinker Creek* as a modern investigation of Thoreau's questions of solitude as a political statement and the power and limitations of human subjectivity in the natural world. Finally, I will consider the Transcendentalist components of themes of generous liberalism, American mythologies, and awe across Marilynne Robinson's nonfiction essays.

This project contends that a certain type of revived interest in the American Transcendentalists is occurring across notable contemporary American writers' work. Oliver, Solnit, Dillard, and Robinson,

despite their political and artistic differences, are breathing life into the conflicted historiography surrounding the movement by focusing on the epistemological resonances of Transcendentalism. Their shared commitment to the Transcendentalists' ways of both challenging and elevating human perspectives suggests that there might be questions which have emerged from the idea of American democracy, identity, and community from Emerson's days to the present. My thesis endeavors to shed light on tensions in the current moment by means of exploring connections to a group of American thinkers whose interdisciplinary and often shocking revolution against a social and industrial world going through rapid changes penned an indelible mark in the United States.

John W. Fry
The Role of Facebook in the Resurgence of Teacher Strikes

2018 was the first banner year for teacher strikes in decades. West Virginia came first, as educators and other public employees negotiated pay raises and protection from benefits reductions. Next came Oklahoma, where teachers secured higher taxes on fossil fuel production in order to fund the state's struggling schools. Then came a wave of other strikes across the country, from Arizona to Kentucky and many places in between. Many factors contributed to this rebellion on the part of teachers, including declining real wages and per-student funding levels in many states. However, these worrying trends went on for decades without widespread strikes. What changed in 2018? Facebook groups created for teachers by teachers were a major catalyst for the strikes that began the wave. In West Virginia, Oklahoma, Arizona, and elsewhere, frustrated individual teachers started groups on Facebook, invited their colleagues to join, and started sharing their personal struggles and their frustration with state governments. These Facebook pages grew rapidly, providing an outlet for teachers who were disillusioned by their unions or not union members at all. Over the course of months, or in some cases weeks, the collective members of these pages became the first voices advocating for teachers to strike in their states. Despite reluctance on the part of union leaders, the strikes happened, forcing policy change at the state level.

This thesis analyzes the political and technological conditions that made these strikes possible and explores two of them in depth as case studies. The first chapter discusses the use of digital tools in activism, as scholars debate whether the internet is a blessing or a curse for those organizing movements for social change. The second chapter describes recent trends in mass media consumption and the emergent dominance of the internet and especially social media sites in the distribution of news in the United States. The third chapter summarizes the history of American teacher strikes and their public perception, examining why teachers went on strike in the twentieth century and why they largely ceased to do so near the end of the Reagan administration. The fourth and fifth chapters are case studies on the 2018 strikes in West Virginia and Oklahoma. These chapters dive into the state politics and public education systems of the two states and give a play-by-play account of how the strikes unfolded. Each case study ends with an analysis of the role of social media, specifically Facebook, in prompting the strikes and directing them once they were underway. The thesis concludes with a set of lessons drawn from these strikes. Facebook is a flawed platform with the potential to lead activists astray, but in states with weakened unions and discouraged, downtrodden teachers, the site played a key role in triggering a historic wave of strikes that have improved public education for millions of students.

Nathaniel Quinn Grevatt

Artificial Intelligence and Variable Recognition

This thesis questions how the varied, and sometimes inaccurate, lenses through which algorithms perceive individuals to make decisions can affect how individuals see themselves. Specifically, I use theories of recognition and misrecognition to identify the ways in which algorithms treat individuals and theorize how these forms of variable recognition impact the individuals in addition to affects related to the decisions the algorithm makes.

In the first chapter, I explore how existing forms of artificial intelligence can variably recognize human individuals. I discuss Google Duplex, a conversational virtual assistant, to illustrate how the design of AI can lead to recognition or misrecognition and analyze Equivant's COMPAS software as an unfortunate example of how biased training data can result in an algorithm which is incapable of recognizing individuals. I also employ Virginia Eubanks' analysis of LA's coordinated to describe how an algorithm which combines poor design choices and questionable data collection and analysis practices can harm the individuals it claims to help. To summarize the current state of variable recognition by algorithms, I suggest that instances of artificial narrow intelligence can participate in the social process of recognition, but I argue that these algorithms are not independent subjects of recognition because they express the attitudes of their creators.

The second chapter looks forward to consider if future forms of artificial intelligence, specifically those with general intelligence, might participate in the process of recognition. I provide a background on theories artificial general intelligence, and I use this understanding of the future of AI to consider if future forms of AI could satisfy a capabilities-based definition of a subject of recognition. I argue that more advanced AI could express independent variable recognition and offer some examples of how this could occur. However, because of Honneth's understanding of recognition as a reciprocal phenomenon, I question how much such variable recognition would affect human individuals.

The third chapter builds upon the second to theorize about variable recognition by forms of artificial general intelligence with power and authority. To approach this dimension of recognition by AI, I make a comparison between algorithms and Weberian bureaucracies, a previously studied phenomenon with power and authority. I suggest that the internal functioning of an AI mirrors that of a bureaucracy, and I use Avishai Margalit's theory of how bureaucracies can humiliate individuals to offer a vision of how misrecognition by algorithms with power and authority might impact individuals in the future.

In the conclusion, I attempt to come to terms with the assertion that existing algorithms can variably recognize individuals and often trend towards misrecognition by providing suggestions for how to mitigate this and address occurrences of misrecognition by algorithms. Developing strategies for ensuring that future forms of AI will recognize individuals presents a considerable challenge, as the mechanics through which forms of general intelligence will manifest are not yet certain, but I make some recommendations for how we might attempt to do this based on the findings of the second and third chapters.

Olivia Hampson

Femininity and Instability: Female Novelists Talk Back to Silencing Psychiatric Representations

Since the rise of the asylum in the Victorian period, photography has been used by the psychiatric field as a medical archive and a tool to visually represent certain conditions. Women have been overrepresented as patients in the psychiatric field who are subjected to domesticating forms of treatment and they are similarly overrepresented in psychiatric photographs. In such images female patients were often staged to display their disorder or seen undergoing treatment methods. These representations capture patients as an object of the viewer's gaze and silence them beneath a two-dimensional characterization. My thesis interrogates the tension between silencing representations of feminized madness and women's voices in works of fiction. Using psychiatric photographs and novels from different time periods, I investigate the ways gender, race, sexuality, and social class have affected female responses to evolving characterizations of mental illness produced by Anglo-American psychiatric discourse.

In Chapter One, I discuss Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1847) and Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966) in relation to the emergence of psychiatric photography, which captured morally based Victorian treatments. Here I consider the discrepancy between Jane's agency as a prototypical western feminist and Bertha's role as the physicalized, racialized "madwoman." Though Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* was written much later than *Jane Eyre,* her novel speaks back to Brontë's by considering the social conditions that led up to, and caused, Bertha's mental degradation.

Chapter Two explores Virginia Woolf's *Mrs. Dalloway* (1925) and Nella Larsen's *Quicksand* (1928) in conversation with Freudian psychoanalysis and "before" and "after" pictures of patients subjected to the rest cure. Woolf troubles gender roles by drawing parallels between the treatment of men whose World War I induced shell shock brought into question masculinity and women of the same time period who were considered mentally unstable. While Woolf centers the rest cure, Larsen makes use of psychoanalytic language as an avenue to rearticulate identity. However, Larsen ultimately points out the failure of psychoanalysis to account for gendered and raced experiences.

Chapter Three examines Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar* (1963) and Toni Cade Bambara's *The Salt Eaters* (1980) as responses to photographs of female patients undergoing lobotomy and electroconvulsive therapy. Plath describes her protagonist's subjection to electroshock and insulin therapy during her time in an asylum and emphasizes the prevalence of interventional treatments at this time. Unlike *The Bell Jar,* which predates important social movements, Bambara's novel is written in the wake of Second Wave Feminism and the Black Nationalist Movement. Emphasizing intersecting oppressions of race, gender, and class as the root of her protagonist's mental suffering, Bambara suggests that mental distress should not be treated and labelled as the problem of an individual but should be viewed as a microcosmic reflection of society's ills at large.

My thesis concludes with some further thoughts about the contemporary implications of feminized characterizations of mental illness and the ways literature has continued to evolve to combat the stigmatization of mental health.

Brandon Kim

The "Color-blind" Rockefeller Drug Laws: Weapons and Illusions of Progress

The Rockefeller Drug Laws were a package of anti-drug reforms introduced by New York's former governor, Nelson Rockefeller, in 1973. Because they were deemed to be the most draconian anti-drug laws our country had ever seen, they set the foundation for America's course in dealing with drug and law enforcement thereafter. Throughout the history of the United States, legislation has been weaponized to subvert non-white Americans in the United States and maintain white supremacy. I take this one step further in my thesis by setting out the ways that anti-drug legislation, particularly the Rockefeller Drug Laws, has been used to achieve this process.

My thesis is divided up into an introduction, three chapters, and then a conclusion. Each chapter encapsulates its own distinct time period in relation to the Rockefeller Drug Laws. The first chapter examines the time period leading up to the creation of the Rockefeller Drug Laws; the second chapter looks at the time period between their inception, 1973, and the growing pushback on anti-drug legislation in 1992; and the third and final chapter focuses on the time period between 1992 and present day, which has been filled with major strides against harsh anti-drug laws and a dismantling of the Rockefeller Drug Laws. I structure each time period, as well, by arguing that each fits the characteristics of a "criminal-justice model" or a "rehabilitation model." A criminal-justice model represents a period of punitive measures and criminalization of drug abusers, and a rehabilitation model represents a period of preventative measures and treatment-based solutions.

In Chapter One, I contextualize the Rockefeller Drug Laws through a racial lens. By incorporating Critical Race Theory, Edward Bonilla-Silva's concepts of structural racism and color-blind ideology, and Michelle Alexander's idea of New Jim Crow laws, I argue that the Rockefeller Drug Laws do, in fact, serve to maintain white supremacy and harm minorities, particularly black and brown people. I also argue that the time period before 1973 shows the characteristics of a rehabilitation model. And I finish this chapter by pointing out how the years leading up to 1973 represent an emerging criminal-justice model. In Chapter Two, I explore what caused the birth of the Rockefeller Drug Laws, pointing to a heightened "moral panic" caused by media representation of black people, misleading pseudo-science and prejudicial data, and influential political figures that incited the myth of black criminality. I also argue this time period represents a flourishing criminal-justice model, fueled greatly by the War on Drugs, which eventually dissipates as 1992 approaches. In Chapter Three, I look into how the heightened moral panic surrounding the deviancy of black folks lessened as more people began to push back on the ensuing tragedy of the War on Drugs and as a new moral panic eclipsed the former. I also argue that this most recent time period signaled a shift towards a rehabilitation model—but one that emphasized color-blind racism and fails to take into consideration structural racism.

My conclusion aims to explain what sort of model the United States should attempt to follow, based on revisions to the rehabilitation model. And I end by urging us all to stay vigilant about the content and character of future anti-drug legislation.

Mary Garner McGehee

Nothing to Hide Here: Transparency as Diversion in the Clothing Industry

The average American sends about 65.4 pounds of textiles to landfills every year. This is one of many signs of a seismic shift that has taken place in the fashion industry over the past 20 years. While western

nations are preoccupied with "development" in the rest of the world, they rarely look at how their own corporations and consumers create the systems and incentives that motivate economic exploitation and labor abuse around the world. In this thesis, I will examine how clothing retailers and consumers in the US and Europe responded to a number of different scandals involving the conditions of workers in the garment supply chain. I found that corporations shirked the demands of garment workers, unions and activists by framing the entire conversation around ethics in supply chains around the word "transparency" at the expense of considering what constitutes an ethical or an abusive job.

In the first chapter, I examine how fast fashion retailers like H&M, Zara, Old Navy and Uniqlo communicate with consumers about their brands and supply chains. I pay particularly close attention to the large British clothing retailer, Primark, which has been involved in seven major labor abuse scandals over the past ten years Most fast fashion retailers promote a culture of excess in line with their business model that is based on young, middle and upper class consumers buying new, cheap clothing constantly.

In Chapter Two, I look at a few of the major scandals that Primark has been involved in and how the company, workers, and consumers responded. I also examine how peer companies that sourced from the same factories or factories with similar conditions and issues responded to their own scandals. Primark and other companies point to their commitment to "transparency," by selectively sharing some auditing data, but consistently failed to make real changes in their supply chains.

In Chapter Three, I compare fast fashion brands to conspicuous production brands, studying to what extent these companies with better intentions are able to successfully ensure better conditions in their supply chains. Different companies often struggled with the same issues but were more likely to make meaningful changes and improve conditions.

In the fourth chapter, I list a few of the main demands put forward by labor activists and unions and offer some suggestions for how companies and consumers could better enact and support these demands.

The clothing and textile industry has always been intricately bound up in slavery, capitalism, and environmental destruction. The demands of pollution and dwindling natural resources will strengthen the incentives for companies to further exploit workers. However, the impending crisis of climate change also provides an opportunity for a new ethics of clothing consumption that better compensates workers around the world and in the US.

Alaina V. Robinson

We Shall Overcome: The Fight for Education Equity, Civil Rights, and Racial Justice in Prince Edward County, Virginia

The Civil Rights Movement in Farmville, Virginia represents a political moment in American history that exemplifies the self-determination of African-American citizens and their battle for educational reform in Prince Edward County. Through direct-action protests and civil litigation lawsuits, Farmville citizens engaged in community-centered activism to fight for better school conditions at Robert Russa Moton High School. Prince Edward County constitutes an historic case study for school desegregation movement in the South. This thesis explores the educational impact of African-American activism in Farmville, which informed political strategies and legal tactics during the Civil Rights Movement.

In Chapter One, I identify Prince Edward County, Virginia as a location to study educational inequality during the Jim Crow Era. Through a sociological analysis, I critically examine W.E.B. Du Bois' *The Negroes of Farmville, Virginia (1898).* Du Bois' study contextualizes the sociocultural conditions that shaped an African-American community during the height of Jim Crow segregation. I argue that Farmville represents a city with a detailed history of social reform and community-based activism.

The theory of "Black political persistence" constitutes the sociological framework for understanding the tradition of African-American political protest and activism in Farmville, Virginia. The Farmville community's political battles are marked by a narrative of "Black persistence" in the face of legal segregation and racial discrimination. In April 1951, the student strike at Robert Russa Moton High School signaled a turning-point in the grassroots movement for educational equality in the Virginia Black Belt. African-American citizens' incessant demands for educational reform demonstrated their self-determination to end school segregation in Virginia.

Chapter Two examines the sociolegal implications of the *Dorothy Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (1952).* The Davis case constituted one of five litigation cases that comprised the historic *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)* Supreme Court case. The *Dorothy Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County (1952)* marked a critical inflection point for the school desegregation battle unfolding in Virginia. The NAACP Legal Defense Fund attorneys filed a lawsuit for 117 plaintiffs from Robert Russa Moton High School. Oliver Hill and Spottswood Robinson legally challenged the *separate but equal doctrine* from *Plessy v. Ferguson (1896)* upheld by the federal courts.

In Chapter Three, I consider the broader political implications of the *Brown v. Board of Education (1954)* decision. During the Massive Resistance Era, Governor Stanley, Senator Byrd, and State Senator Gray enacted segregationist policies in the Virginia General Assembly. I analyze their political rhetoric and the detrimental effects of their legislation upon the school desegregation movement in Virginia.

Chapter Four examines the broader educational impact of the five-year public school closings in Prince Edward County for African-American students. More specifically, I consider the modes of resistance African-American teachers employed to educate their children. Nevertheless, the Kennedy Administration funded the Free Association Schools for African-American students in 1963. I conclude my thesis with an analysis regarding the role of federal government intervention during the political struggle in Prince Edward County.

Gabe Rody-Ramazani
  Collateral Civilian Death in Contemporary Western Wars

Since the Vietnam War, Western militaries appear to have taken significant steps to prevent civilian killings. They have tightened rules of engagement, instituted training programs, and above all officially mandated that their soldiers not target civilians as such. It is precisely because these steps appear to reflect a real desire to protect noncombatants that their concurrent collateral damage killings of hundreds of thousands of civilians are perplexing. In this thesis, I attempt to understand that continued production of massive undesired but foreseen (collateral) civilian death in contemporary Western

warfare.

In Chapter One, I ask which moral principle best helps distinguish between permissible and impermissible instances of collateral civilian death. I explain the traditional just war and international humanitarian law principles of discrimination, reasonable precaution, and proportionality, and show that only proportionality can help facilitate the moral questions that collateral damage requires us to ask. Proportionality is a very basic principle, simply dictating that collateral damage is only permissible if its expected harm to civilians is not excessive in relation to the military gain expected to result. I argue that only through this genuine philosophical reflection on the value of innocent human life can one honestly approach moral questions of collateral damage. In the rest of the chapter, I defend the principle of proportionality against a set of contemporary revisionist critiques of the doctrine.

In Chapter Two, I ask why Western war continues to kill massive numbers of civilians as collateral damage. Here, I accept Martin Shaw's characterization of contemporary Western wars as "risk-transfer wars." Such wars' risks to Western society and politicians are kept to an absolute minimum, primarily through minimizing Western militaries' on-side casualties. I argue that it is through this overriding emphasis on force protection—the preservation of one's armed forces—that risk-transfer wars become primed to cause the deaths of enormous numbers of civilians. Here, I set out two mechanisms through which risk-transfer war leads to mass civilian death: first, risk-transfer war's overriding emphasis on force protection undermines states' capacities to carry out proportionality considerations, and thus renders them unable to spurn certain tactics on account of the excessiveness of their harm. Second, that same absolute emphasis on force protection insulates republican citizenries from the costs of war, degrading their traditionally held robust checks on warfighting. In those two ways, risk-transfer war is guaranteed to cause massive amounts of civilian death.

Chapter Three examines U.S. involvement in the Saudi-led coalition's war in Yemen. Through an investigation of the U.S.'s developing involvement in the war as it was described in *New York Times* articles of the past four years, I demonstrate that although the U.S. has not used its own military forces in Yemen, it has effectively fought a risk-transfer war there. The U.S.'s knowing facilitation of a humanitarian disaster in Yemen is a prime example of risk-transfer war's ultimate force protection emphasis—precipitating a degraded capacity for making genuine judgments about proportionality. Moreover, the American public's general ambivalence about the conflict illustrates the power of such force protectiveness to undermine domestic political checks on warfare.

Matthew Salit

A Crisis in Black and White: Maternal Mortality in America

Maternal mortality is a public health epidemic and human rights crisis in the United States. Each year, more than 700 women die and 50,000 women encounter life-threatening health complications during pregnancy or within one year of giving birth. More than half of these deaths and near-fatalities are preventable. Among peer nations with similar economies, the United States is the only country with a rising maternal mortality rate. Racial disparities fuel the national crisis. Black women are at least three times more likely to die from pregnancy-related conditions compared to white women, and geographies with primarily minority populations have the highest rates of maternal death. There are no known biological explanations among black women that increase their risk of dying during childbirth. The problem is racism.

This thesis seeks to understand, illuminate, and respond to the contemporary maternal health crisis in America. The death of any woman as a result of preventable complications during pregnancy is unacceptable. That black mothers die far more often than white mothers is emblematic of a paternalistic medical experience, unequal health system, and prejudiced society that values black lives less than white lives. The state must accurately measure pregnancy outcomes, spotlight the diversity of black perinatal experiences, and recognize how social and political factors shape health inequities. Protecting mothers during childbirth is necessary for ending avoidable maternal deaths, but it is far from sufficient. We, as public and private actors, must actively create conditions that empower women to effectively seek health care, make healthy choices, and thrive. The lives of our mothers depend on it.

Chapter One begins with a broad overview of pregnancy and maternal health in the United States. I delineate the risk factors for morbidity and mortality throughout the perinatal period and describe the landscape of American health care systems. I argue that social determinants have greater effects on pregnancy outcomes than medical interventions and should receive greater attention for achieving health equity across communities. Chapter Two describes the disparities in the experiences of having a child for black women compared to white women in America. I refute theories of biological inferiority and the "blameworthy black" to understand health inequities, and instead offer implicit biases and "weathering" effects from allostatic loads as alternative explanations. Two case studies illustrate how perinatal health outcomes differ based on geography and income: one in Washington, D.C., an urban setting, and another in rural Alabama, which is part of the Black Belt region of the Southern United States.

Chapter Three explores maternal health disparities through a human rights lens and explicates the American maternal death epidemic as a human rights crisis. I describe obligations of the state to secure the right to health care for everyone, particularly vulnerable women and women of color, and I offer preliminary suggestions for interventions that could close maternal health gaps between white and black women in the United States. Chapter Four highlights how different actors at the local, state, and national level can work together to promote safer pregnancies. Coordinating community-based organizations, regional maternal health agencies, and the federal government can improve measurements of maternal mortality and morbidity, promote healthy pregnancies, and elevate the lived conditions of women throughout their lifespan. I argue that states should lead maternal health efforts nationally, and I analyze federal maternal mortality legislation that can improve maternal care for all women. This thesis concludes by advancing universal health care coverage as a public health and human rights imperative for achieving maternal health equity in America.

Tsering Say

Displaced Centers: Women's Religious Practice in a Post-Monastic Tibet

I explored how modern monasteries in Khams, Tibet enable laywomen and nuns alike to receive unprecedented levels of religious education. Although the Chinese invasion in 1949 inadvertently led to a renaissance of Tibetan thought in exile, it reduced to rubble the monasteries and nunneries responsible for Tibetan scholasticism within Tibet itself. Today most monks therein typically do not receive an education past roughly an eighth grade level, while many nuns hardly receive any formal schooling. Nuns may play an active role in the religious lives of their communities through religious praxis, but their contributions are rarely scholastic or expressly intellectual; even on those occasions when they

receive the esoteric ritual initiations foundational to Tibetan Buddhism, such initiations are rarely followed by the teachings or commentarial expositions that would allow a nun to meaningfully utilize such practices in her religious life past doing them for the practices' sake. The monasteries I approach are emerging as exceptions to this rule; in defiance of Tibetan tradition, Larung Gar, Yarchen Gar, and Bha Lhagong Monastery are making available to women knowledge traditionally only entrusted to men. In my exploration, I find that the unprecedented addition of esoteric knowledge to nuns' education alters their status within religious communities, and to a smaller extent, within the lay communities of Khams, Tibet, generally.

   In Chapter One, I review the current literature on feminist Buddhism and introduce the three monastic institutions I investigate. I contextualize the beginnings of the Khenmo degree in the meteoric rise of Khenpo Jigme Phuntsok. I describe Khenpo Phuntsok's influence on re-enchanting the ravaged land of Tibet after the Chinese conquest, and his establishment of the sprawling Larung Gar, the site of the first Khenmo degree.

   In Chapter Two, I explain the process of becoming a Khenmo within the three institutions, identifying similarities between them and noting differences that are almost so small as to be cosmetic, and foundational schisms between the Rinpoches' concepts of what a Khenmo should be.
I detail the debates around bhiksuni ordination, a contemporary controversy that also has to do with allowing female practitioners to achieve the same educational levels that male practitioners have always been able to achieve.

   In Chapter Three, I seek to interrogate gender as prescribed in Tibetan Buddhism, particularly after one dons the maroon robes. I present that practitioners who join the order of Tibetan Buddhism become male-coded, whether they identify as male or not. I will then investigate the gendered economics of Tibetan Buddhism as they relate to donations; specifically, I focus on how and why monasteries historically, and still today, receive more donations than nunneries do.

Zachary Schauffler

  Radical Reimagination: Satirizing White Supremacy toward Racial Justice

As part of the foundation of the United States, white supremacy is deeply entrenched in society. Because it benefits white people at the expense of people of color, it is incumbent upon white people to renounce these benefits and challenge the system. Most white people, however, resist any implication in white supremacy, insulating themselves from the truth that they benefit from systemic racism in order to avoid a flood of negative emotions. This will not change unless white people challenge their current understanding of the world by reimagining it as one influenced by white supremacy.

   Arising from a moral calling to challenge injustice, satire is a form of comedy that both entertains and critiques. By creating and contrasting imagined worlds with reality, satire pushes its audience to envision new possibilities. Satire thus presents the possibility of skirting white people's defensive and hostile reactions to implication in white supremacy by compelling them to imagine humorous alternate worlds that accomplish this same goal. This thesis analyzes satire's ability to interrogate white supremacy within its three realms of explicit racism, implicit racism, and whiteness. I ultimately argue that while satire of white supremacy faces many issues, it retains potential as a radical educative tool for dismantling systemic racism.

After Chapter One expands these foundational ideas, Chapter Two analyzes *Saturday Night Live*'s satire of Donald Trump and explicit racism. Trump embodies explicit racism, serving as a reminder of white supremacy's power. Yet *S.N.L.*'s satires rarely reflect this serious danger, instead initially portraying Trump's explicit racism as self-defeating. After the election proved this was not the case, *S.N.L.* reformulates Trump's racism as simple idiocy, eschewing the idea it could be deliberate or strategic. Only recently has *S.N.L.* shifted its critique to the institutional level, leveraging satire's power to imagine a world without Trump in office. Even so, *S.N.L.*'s interdependence with Trump problematizes its critiques.

Chapter Three analyzes how Jordan Peele's satirical horror film *Get Out* creates a world in which white liberals and implicit racism are not well-intentioned or harmless but rather indicative of larger evil. The Armitage family demonstrates how colorblindness invalidates the experiences of people of color; Peele also uses these characters to problematize white liberal support for former President Obama. The party guests espouse unchecked racist assumptions presented as compliments, making it nearly irrational for the Black protagonist Chris to challenge them. Finally, the blind art dealer reveals the dangers of the combination of these two facets of implicit racism. Yet despite the film's clear villainous portrayal of white liberals, their real-world counterparts still evade the critique by confining the problems to the characters on the screen.

Chapter Four analyzes how three satirical sketches on YouTube challenge whiteness as expressed in the work of flawed white allies who fail to confront their own unjust privileges and reproduce inequitable power dynamics. These sketches exaggerate white savior mentalities, intellectualization of racism, and self-indulgent white guilt to expose their detrimental effects. Despite their imaginative depth, these sketches faced explosive blowback from online alt-right communities, revealing that these less-mainstream satires are in danger of mob censorship.

Chapter Five concludes the inquiry by arguing for the value of eliciting hostile reactions and for the need for more white comedians to take up this work. I conclude that there is inherent value in exposing the absurdities of white supremacy and that satire is uniquely poised to catalyze laughter into understanding and, ultimately, action.

Katherine Smith

Mask Off: Deconstructing the Hero in Alan Moore and Dave Gibbons' Watchmen

After *Watchmen's* publication in 1986, the world of comics was in a state of upheaval. Instead of preserving the tradition of flawless superheroes that everyone could venerate, *Watchmen's* cast of vigilantes destroyed the concept (and literary archetype) of a clean-cut hero. Instead, *Watchmen's* heroes represent a more accurate version of what real superheroes would look like in a complicated, fraught contemporary landscape. These heroes range from downright despicable to painfully lame, undercutting their two dimensional heroic predecessors with a dose of strong psychological realism. Beyond just destroying the legacy of the hero within superhero genre, Moore and Gibbons deconstruct the concept of a hero. By causing the superhero genre "to commit suicide," readers of *Watchmen* are left to grapple with the shards of their former heroes. I argue that this deconstruction elevates both the genre and the concept of the hero altogether. In unfurling psychological and aesthetic elements needed to create a convincing hero, readers must contend with the implications of using the hero as particular type of distinction. Over the course of my thesis, I tackle individual heroes of *Watchmen* and analyze

the particular ways they deconstruct the concept and/or archetype of the hero.

In Chapter One the Comedian takes the hot seat. As one of *Watchmen's* pivotal heroes, his influence during life and death extends throughout the entire graphic novel. In this chapter, I explore the particular heroics of the Comedian — one that extends from rescuing Americans during the Iranian Hostage Crisis to murdering a pregnant woman point blank — and their consequences. What does it mean to see a realistic Captain America rendered as a nihilist?

For Chapter Two, I explore Dr. Manhattan's position as the only true superhero within *Watchmen.* His powers are so vast that his character doubles as almost a god incarnate. With these extraordinary abilities, Dr. Manhattan takes on major valences; what does it mean to understand God as a hero? What does it mean to see science or the nuclear bomb as heroes, or divine beings? Within this chapter, I unpack the ramifications of character such as Dr. Manhattan that stretches the concept of heroics to its zenith — and that same time, deconstructs itself.

In Chapter Three I deeply critique the actions of heroism of Ozymandias, "the world's smartest man." As a corporate tycoon and former mask, Ozymandias' influence hangs over the plot, not only though his actions, but also through his corporate, neoliberal power, which crops up all over the physical landscape of the setting. Ultimately, Ozymandias' controversial peace plan solidifies his heroic status — either he's the world greatest hero, or its most dastardly foe. Using utilitarian metrics, I will unpack the consequences of Ozymandias' behavior and decisions to determine his status as a hero.

Chapter Four examines Nite Owl, a character that represents an atrophied Batman. While his inability to perform as a hero, a man in the contemporary world, or sexually with a partner, Nite Owl's slow reclamation of his personal agency represents a new form of heroism. In this way, Nite Owl taps into the bildungsroman roots of the superhero as a grown man, challenging assumptions about the nature of maturation and ultimately, heroics.

For Chapter Five, I connect Rorschach to the heroic tradition of the Quest. As *Watchmen's* closest equivalence to a central protagonist, Rorschach's staggering complexity both fulfills the requirements of this ancient narrative form, while also deconstructing both the Quest and the concept of hero simultaneously. I suggest that this disintegration of normative form showcases an elevation or a rebirth of both the hero and Quest.

Zaakir Tameez
    Antitrust, Big Tech, and Our Digital Future

Today's digital economy is marked by intense concentration among a few dominant internet platforms, including Amazon, Google, and Facebook. These firms have recently come under growing public scrutiny. In this thesis, I argue that they pose unique economic and political challenges that should be addressed by antitrust law.

In Chapter One, I tell the story of antitrust, the body of law that keeps the American economy competitive. I talk about how competition is critical for maintaining lower prices, greater quality, higher wages, more innovation, and more diffused political power. However, scholars differ on what counts as anticompetitive and what antitrust should do about it.

I introduce two scholars whose opposing views help inform the tensions of antitrust and technology. Robert Pitofsky, a notable antitrust enforcer in the federal government, saw antitrust as a powerful tool for promoting economic growth and protecting political stability. Richard Posner, a

prominent federal judge, saw antitrust as a modest tool for protecting *only* economic growth in extreme situations. In the United States, Posner's view on antitrust is now the standard doctrine in our court system. This standard doctrine advocates for less antitrust enforcement, and emphasizes price and output effects as the primary ways to study cartels, monopolies, and mergers.

In Chapter Two, I discuss what is partly the result of price and output-centric antitrust enforcement: the rise of Big Tech and the concentration of the technology industry today. I discuss many anticompetitive behaviors of Big Tech firms that have gone overlooked, which have manifested as consumer data exploitation, platform abuse, and innovation stifling.

First, I explain how data-centric business models have led to incentive distortions that promote consumer exploitation. The supermassive size of these firms has also magnified the economic and political harms of these distortions. Second, I explain how Big Tech companies have abused their role as seemingly neutral platforms to unfairly advantage their own products. In effect, these firms have functioned simultaneously as both *player* and *referee*. Finally, Big Tech companies have choked up the startup world, by rapidly appropriating innovations and acquiring potential competitors. Their actions have led to dynamic inefficiencies that antitrust enforcers have not properly grasped.

In Chapter Three, I propose remedies to the three issues raised in Chapter Two. First, I argue that Big Tech firms should disclose information about their data and its market value to the federal government and to individual users. Second, I propose regulations for platform neutrality that prevent companies from leveraging their platform power to advantage some products over others. Finally, I propose a new framework for antitrust case law that will allow courts to better consider the dynamics of innovation by paying attention to non-price and non-output market effects within a given case.

I conclude by reiterating the significance of these reforms for data transparency, platform neutrality, and a dynamic antitrust framework, in an era of increasing political turmoil. As the Big Tech giants continue to shape our world, it is more important than ever for citizens to reclaim their shared digital future

Melanie Weiskopf

Lonesome Lovesick: An Affective Study of Black Family Separation

Throughout U.S. history, systemic white oppression has severed meaningful social relationships among Black people. Loneliness, an internal emotion subject to external conditions, was often the outcome of family separation. This thesis argues that loneliness is a product of racism.

In Chapter One, I study family separation during slavery. I share the stories of eight enslaved people who each felt lonely after being sold apart from their parent, sibling, spouse, or child. I explain how the term loneliness can serve as a verbal consolidation of any feeling—grief, dismay, disbelief, sorrow, shock—caused by the loss of a meaningful relationship. I discuss how loneliness, like any other kind of psychological, intellectual, and physical degradation during slavery, was inflicted to force enslaved people into submission. I tell stories to suggest that the misery of slavery is best limned by enslaved people themselves.

In Chapter Two, I study family separation during the Great Migration. I describe how migrants fled the South to escape unbearable deprivation and violence, forcing them to leave behind family either temporarily or permanently. I argue that the loneliness felt thereafter, by recent migrants or family members left behind, was the direct outcome of southern racism forcing their move. By analyzing letters sent to the Chicago Defender, I demonstrate how dire southern conditions were. Then, I consider how

blues songs and poetry captured the loneliness of the displaced, serving as an emotional outlet for migrants and their children.

In Chapter Three, I study family separation during mass incarceration. I overview the history of incarceration and detail the specific discriminatory mechanisms which define it as a racist institution. Upon sharing lonely poems, essays, and memoirs by incarcerated people, I suggest that separation from loved ones is oftentimes one of the most painful features of prison. While prison writing shows outsiders an experience we can never know, I argue that it is mediated by barriers that challenge any research on the topic.

Maria Isabel Yoder

Foodways as Power: Indigenous Farmer Responses in Southern Mexico to External Forces of Colonization and Globalization

Since the creation of pre-Hispanic societies in Mexico, food and foodways have played a significant role in constructing identity for indigenous farmers in southern and south-central Mexico. Yet, comparable historical processes of Spanish colonization in the early 16th century and Mexico's global economic integration in the mid- to late- 20th century have unleashed violent and powerful external forces that disrupt foodways for small indigenous farmers, thus threatening their livelihoods. In the face of these external pressures, indigenous farmers resist, taking measures to sustain their food systems, thus ensuring their livelihoods.

In Chapter One, I explore the structures of food production and consumption that made up pre-colonial Mexico. By looking closely at the elements of pre-Hispanic food systems, I identify the role of food in constructing social relations within families, communities, and societies at large. I draw out an understanding of the division of labor at that time, between the noble elite and the farming masses, and also between men and women. The chapter then discusses how, upon colonization of Mexico, Spaniards targeted indigenous food systems to effectively conquer and forcefully control indigenous populations in southern and south-central Mexico, restructuring labor systems and disrupting existing connections between indigenous communities and their land.

Chapter Two jumps ahead to Mexico's global economic integration in the mid- to late- 20th century, and the often coercive power of policies intended to industrialize the rural indigenous workforce and reorganize their communities in commercial farms. By analyzing the impact of the implementation of Green Revolution technologies starting in the 1940s, soon followed by successive trade liberalization policies through the late 20th century, I argue how Mexico's global economic integration decreased the capacity for smallholder farmer self-sufficiency, and further dislocated indigenous populations to serve the process of industrialization of agriculture, and the Mexican economy at large.

The third chapter then conducts a comparative analysis between Spanish colonization and later globalization, and how these forces displaced indigenous farmers by imposing upon their preexisting food systems. This chapter lays out similar features of the forces imposed by both colonization and globalization, and similar displacement experienced by farmers as a result. This chapter also emphasizes parallel struggles of resistance by indigenous communities, thus leading to the final discussion of the thesis.

In Chapter Four, I analyze how organization into cooperatives, especially by women, reinforces and challenges traditional notions of community and identity building in rural regions of southern- and south-central Mexico. By analyzing how coffee cooperatives allow an opportunity for farmers to directly engage with national and international market demands, this chapter argues that increasing consumer attention to specialty coffee could help maintain farmer livelihoods in their struggle for food sovereignty. The thesis ends by identifying the threat of another external force displacing indigenous farmers that often excludes these voices in policy decisions: climate change.