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Javaria Abbasi

Challenges to Imperial Discourse: The Reactivation of Indigenous Visual Culture in 16th Century Imperial Cartography

Western historians have moved away from defining maps as neutral reproductions of the topographic reality of a space. They have come to recognize that even the most mathematical maps, reproduce cultural biases about objectivity as the ideal metric for spatial representation. Rather than consider maps scientifically, historians have started to reinterpret them as art; art that embodies the cultural interpretation of a space in order to position it within existing power dynamics.

This paper goes back in time to reinterpret 16th century Hapsburg maps of Spanish-America that claimed to be objective representations of reality. Rather than view these maps as scientific, it considers them as art that imagined unknown spaces for an imperial project. These maps reified *imperial discourse* —the method of defining what counted as knowledge based on what was expressed, how it was expressed, and who expressed — that silenced indigenous visual practices such as ideographic writing and genealogical map-making. They hierarchized space to reflect the development of an "order" of civilized *españoles* (Spaniards) over savage *indios* (Indians). I examine three 16th century imperial maps of the same space in the Valley of Mexico as a case study. For each map, I separate visual elements into those that inculcate imperial discourse and those that appear to contradict it. I argue that the elements that contradict imperial discourse are actually fragments of an indigenous worldview that Spaniards were seeking to destroy.

In Chapters One and Two, I outline the history and topography of the Valley of Mexico. I begin with an abridged account of its pre-Hispanic, Mesoamerican periods, with a particular focus on the rise of the Culhua-Mexica (Aztec) Empire in Tenochtitlan. I conclude with a summary of Hernando Cortés' (1485-1547) conquest of the Culhua-Mexicas and the reconstruction of Mexico City atop the former Culhua-Mexica capital. In Chapter 2, I provide an outline of 16th century topography of the Valley of Mexico based on modern archaeological reconstructions. I use this chapter as a reference to show how the three maps that I analyze later are not faithful or "objective" representations of the allotted space.

In Chapter Three, I analyze the 1524 Nuremburg Map of Tenochtitlan, the first map of the Valley of Mexico distributed in Europe. I challenge the existing hypothesis that because the map is based on an indigenous prototype it preserves the Culhua-Mexica "idea" of the city. Instead, I argue that the Culhua-Mexica elements on the map come through in a fragmentary way that would have made them unintelligible in the face of Cortés' ideological program.

Chapter Four analyzes the 1576 *Civitates* Map of Mexico as a reproduction of the 1524 map

that extends its ideological program. I argue that in contrast to the original, this map from the late 16th century embodies a Renaissance image of "indios" that attempts to make a European hierarchy of civilization consonant with burgeoning Renaissance humanism.

Finally, in Chapter Five, I examine the 1550 Uppsala map authored by an indigenous painter-scribe. I view its blending of indigenous visual practices with European iconography and planimetry as a subtle challenge to the imperial discursive order, unintelligible to its original European audience.

However, rather than denigrate this unintelligibility, in Chapter Six I conclude that the opaqueness of Culhua-Mexica visual culture to imperial agents actually allowed for its preservation on imperial maps. I examine how even maps that overtly defended the imperial "order," incidentally preserved elements of Culhua-Mexica culture and history for modern historians. Through this method, I explore the challenge that hybridization, or the encounter and amalgamation of two distinct visual cultures—"Spanish" and "Indigenous"— posed to 16th century imperial discourse.

Nathaniel Abraham

The Evolution and Impact of the Culture of Poverty Theory

The United States today is defined by racial and economic inequity. Across the nation, the average white family holds ten times more wealth than the average black family. Racial inequity has been a defining feature of the American economy for as long as the nation has existed. Because of the impact and persistence of this issue, scholars and political leaders have long sought policy solutions to turn the tide of economic inequality. Beginning in the late 1950s and early 1960s, Oscar Lewis, Michael Harrington, and Daniel Moynihan introduced and popularized a theory to explain persistent poverty, known as the culture of poverty theory. Locating the root cause of generational poverty in family life and the cultures of individual homes and highlighting black families as the primary affected population, these liberal scholars formed a conception of poverty that would inform federal poverty alleviation programs up to the present day. In this paper, I trace the use of this theory by liberal politicians through a process which cemented a national conception of poverty steeped in pathology and individual failings.

In my second chapter, I discuss the specific impact of the culture of poverty theory rhetoric on criminal justice reform. By demonstrating the connection between the theory and "tough on crime" campaign rhetoric of politicians from both parties, I reveal the extent to which policymakers utilized this foundational theory in drafting formative policy programs, most notably Bill Clinton's Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994.

In my third chapter, I write about political attitudes toward welfare reform throughout the 20th century. I reveal the political strategies of prominent politicians to discredit and stigmatize government welfare as an unearned handout for the "undeserving" poor. In doing so, these lawmakers utilized rhetoric steeped in personal responsibility and individualism informed by the ideology of the culture of poverty theory, later institutionalized through Bill Clinton's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996.

In chapter four, I investigate the ways in which key decision-makers utilized the logic of the culture of poverty theory in education reform. A true bipartisan effort, Project Head Start provides an insightful glimpse at the priorities of the federal government as well as their underlying assumptions that the root of educational struggles comes from a child's life at home as opposed to just the student experience in school. By studying evidence from early childhood education programs as well as

newer, innovative projects such as the Harlem Children's Zone, much can be taken concerning the key drivers of academic success and the most effective use of funding. I highlight the educational policies of Barack Obama as highly consistent with the culture of poverty theory.

In my concluding chapter, I argue that evidence from policy programs in each issue area demonstrates the failure of the culture of poverty ideology. Numerous studies indicate little impact on a widening racial wealth gap in the nation. Efforts guided by the ideology of the culture of poverty theory in criminal justice reform, welfare reform, and education reform fail to alleviate racial discrepancies and often exacerbate existing inequities. Ultimately, current and future policymakers must resist the temptation to blindly subscribe to a singular ideology and instead allow evidence to guide decision-making processes. Above all, the leaders of the nation must re-evaluate the national conception of poverty and move away from an understanding which holds individuals and families singularly responsible for an economic system rife with inequity.

Avital Balwit

Legislating the Future: Analyzing and Addressing the Novel Harms Caused by the Big Five Technology Companies

Consternation over big tech reflects something deeper than a faddish obsession of journalists and interdisciplinary courses. Instead, these fears seem to be about democracy and freedom. Big Tech companies seem to challenge the preeminence of our democratic government. Several have *profits* that rival the *budgets* of nation states. They make choices that affect larger populations than the world's largest countries. Their leaders are not accountable to the electorate, and their actions are not constrained by the constitution. The democratic governments that they operate under often have difficulty controlling them. They also challenge our freedom. These companies know more about us than our state intelligence agencies, and they could choose to gather even more information than they currently do. When the Americans revolted against King George III it wasn't because he was a particularly bad or brutal king — at least in the eyes of the American colonists — but because of the immense arbitrary power he held, regardless of what he chose to do with it. It is the intuition that big tech poses a similar threat of arbitrary power that makes it a worthy topic of study.

In this thesis, I address two distinct questions: First, does big tech cause harm, and if so, of what kind? Second, are these harms novel? After these two questions are answered, I turn to what, if anything, should be done about these harms. I aim to determine which of these views is accurate by looking at the behavior of the largest five technology companies in four areas of concern. These areas are taxation, privacy, antitrust, and attention. The first three are self-explanatory. Attention applies to time spent on these companies' platforms, essentially the concentration and harvesting of attention. The five companies are Microsoft, Amazon, Facebook, Apple, and Google. At the time of writing, these five are the most valuable publicly traded companies in the world.

My research finds that while these five companies exhibit bad behavior in the realms of taxation (Chapter Two) and antitrust (Chapter Three) — and I suggest potential remedies — they are not unique compared to other firms and other industries, and the strongest case for regulation does not come from these areas. The more novel harms caused by these five companies come in the areas of privacy (Chapter Four) and attention harvesting (Chapter Five). The Five also serve as useful models for the future economy—with profits primarily from intangible assets, markets that exhibit winner-take-all dynamics, and even more digital goods and services—and the kinds of regulatory

challenges it will hold.

Olivia Childs

The Pursuit of Consciousness in Modern Disaster: Examining Narrative after Hurricane Katrina

Hurricane Katrina struck New Orleans and the surrounding areas of Louisiana and Mississippi on August 29th, 2005. The storm's immediate impact and later flooding due to levee failure were exacerbated by poor response; pointing directly to a deeply unequal and flawed societal infrastructure. The result was characteristic of modern disaster in its grim exposure of the place in which the shock occurred, forcing a collective to ask questions that were previously suppressed. This paper explores the foundations of the response and recovery in what is regarded as one of the most, if not the most, multifaceted and dynamic crises in modern United States history. I move from considering the disaster's underpinning to asking how individuals have utilized narrative to traverse the memories of these events, pushing genre and seeking resonance in a world failing to learn from its mistakes.

In Chapter One, I discuss the practical and theoretical response to Hurricane Katrina, establishing a framework for both the painful legacy left by its failures and the definition of resonance after the storm. I then situate the crisis in the context of The Great Mississippi Flood of 1927 to emphasize the historical precedent for unequal opportunity disaster along the Gulf. Only by speaking to Katrina as both an idiosyncratic and reminiscent event can I then examine the place for both discovery and reflection through narrative in the wake of the floods.

For the remainder of my thesis, I analyze the preeminent work that has emerged out of Hurricane Katrina as piercing individual story with complex cultural commentary, first in instances of journalistic compilation and then in fiction in both film and novel. I place this analysis alongside the epic flood myth. Thus, as the work similarly finds strength in its dissection of destruction, demise, and faith, I ask how the universal parallels a forceful attention to a distinctive Katrina, informing modern responsibility through age-old themes.

In Chapter Two, I describe the legacy of the flood myth in conversation with Jed Horne's 2006 *Breach of Faith* and Chris Rose's 2005 *1 Dead in Attic*. The two volumes examine adverse effect alongside the ubiquitous nature of impact and reaction as discussed in Chapter 1. The works illuminate the unique position of journalism in the year after the disaster in its capacity to serve as a crucial demonstration of collaborative story-telling. Both endeavors transcend subject and self, illustrating how far individuals on the front lines must go, both literally and psychologically, to bring attention to the memory of an upheaval that remains, in many ways, misunderstood.

In Chapter Three, I continue to explore narrative's search for truth amidst muddled and disrupted memory. I ask how Benh Zeitlin's 2012 film *Beasts of the Southern Wild* and Jesmyn Ward's 2011 novel *Salvage the Bones,* in their exploration of bildungsroman and the surreal, further develop the capacity for a consciousness after trauma and uprooting. I ask how Zeitlin and Ward, like Horne and Rose, commit to an examination of the beauty alongside the painful, but push imagination further. Through this disruption, the works bend typical notions of flood myth in regard to who is hero. I then consider the criticism of the film and the novel to connect this innovation to my overarching question of duty and impact in disaster narrative.

I conclude with the conversation of rebuilding, home, and memory along the Louisiana and Mississippi coastline today, particularly in New Orleans as the city provided much of the thematic

content in my original framework. I emphasize the power of Katrina narrative today in its living and breathing nearly fifteen years after the storm, and the continual struggle for a consciousness of this place so distinct and yet so indicative of a broader American capability.

Sarah Corning

Legislating Abortion in the Heartlands: How Missouri Shaped Anti-Abortion Law in the United States

Anti-abortion laws in Missouri are almost as old as the state itself. According to Missourians, there was no chance abortion would become legal in their state, and then, the Supreme Court ruled on *Roe v. Wade* in 1973. The decision shocked the state. After *Roe,* Missouri anti-abortionists quickly established themselves in state and national politics, grassroots activism and the courts. Missouri acted as the original laboratory and testing ground for successful anti-abortion legislation. This paper explores the evolution of anti-abortion law in Missouri and ultimately argues that Missouri shaped the dominant strategies of the anti-abortion movement that led to draconian abortions bans and disappearing clinics in 2020.

In Chapter One, I tell the story of Missouri immediately after *Roe*. This period saw a broad attack on abortion rights in an attempt to determine what restrictions the courts would uphold. The main event of this decade was *Planned Parenthood v. Danforth,* which resulted from successful anti-abortion organizing in the state government. The other Missouri Supreme Court case, *Poelker v. Doe,* included Missouri in the legal debate over public funding for abortion and privacy rights. The successful mobilization of Missouri's anti-abortion coalition served as a wake-up call for the pro-choice movement.

In Chapter Two, I describe Missouri's establishment as the leader of the national anti-abortion movement. I analyze the impact of *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, a monumental case that altered the trajectory of abortion rights in the U.S. Battle lines were drawn in the country as the case returned much of the power over abortion rights to the states, essentially gutting much of *Roe.* Amid groundbreaking anti-abortion legal victories, Missouri's grassroots activists continued to lead and inspire anti-abortion volunteers across the country.

Chapter Three outlines the anti-abortion coalition's shift in strategy to a multiple-issue campaign. Restrictions started to take the form of health standards at clinics, doctors rights and counseling requirements. Anti-abortionists occupied much of the airtime of abortion debates, creating hysteria over late-term abortions. Missouri's prominence in this chapter is evidenced by state and national electoral politics. The pro-choice and anti-abortion movements battled over political leadership.

Missouri's role in the TRAP law movement is the subject of chapter four. Here I analyze the biggest shift in the anti-abortion legal argument. Missouri anti-abortionists used TRAP laws to ramp up restrictions, landing the state on the short-list of states with the most restrictive abortion laws. The TRAP laws, late-term abortion bans, and waiting period/counseling requirements were all argued for under the "woman-protective anti-abortion argument"; the anti-abortion movement shifted from primarily arguing for fetal rights to framing themselves as the champions of women's health.

I conclude by explaining how the forty-seven years of Missouri's anti-abortion efforts have created the fractured state of abortion law in the country. Each decade since *Roe* served as part of the anti-abortion puzzle, carefully designed by the anti-abortionists to create the picture of an America

ready to return to life without abortion.

Christopher Allen Deal

Buying an Election with Speech Rights: How Super PACs and Unlimited Political Spending Influence American Democracy

Political finance in the United States is an intricate system that funnels billions of dollars into elections. Elections were not always this expensive. Several landmark Supreme court cases dismantled political finance regulation in the name of protecting First Amendment rights. By conflating political spending and speech rights, the Court permitted unlimited amounts of money to enter elections through "Independent Expenditure-Only Political Committees," otherwise known as Super PACs. This paper will explore how such groups alter democratic norms and processes in American elections.

This paper begins by examining the foundations of contemporary political finance in the United States. In the second chapter, I explain the role of the Federal Elections Commission and the multiple ways by which money enters elections. Through this analysis, I demonstrate why it is necessary to focus on Super PACs in the broader context of political finance.

After expounding the United States' regulatory infrastructure, Chapter Three traces the development of political finance regulation since the passing of the Federal Elections Campaign Act of 1971. By focusing on how regulation was challenged in *Buckley v. Valeo*, *Wisconsin Right to Life v. FEC*, and *Citizens United v. FEC*, this chapter explains the legal decisions that enabled unlimited political spending by individuals and corporations. With these cases as crucial precedent, I then use Chapter Four to explain why the Court associated political spending with free speech, and how these judgements threaten potential democratic participation.

The final chapters of this paper then investigate the manifestation of unlimited political spending and the effects of that spending on American democracy. Using the 2012 and 2016 presidential elections as case studies, Chapter Five analyzes the role of Super PACs in affecting electoral outcomes. Further, these case studies also illuminate how large donations from individual families enabled influence over elected officials, thereby threatening the legitimacy of American democracy.

Chapter Six then expands upon those case studies by offering a theoretical perspective on Super PACs and how they fit into different models of democracy. I employ writings by Joseph Schumpeter and Robert Dahl to evaluate Super PACs in a competitive theory of democracy. I contrast this evaluation by using the writings of John Stuart Mill and James Fishkin to understand how Super PACs corrupt the American conception of representative democracy. Finally, I suggest potential approaches to reforming political finance in the United States, and evaluate what obstacles these solutions face.

Clare Draper

Architecture, Institutions, and Empire: Symbol as an Economic Product in the Athenian Propylaea

The Athenian Propylaea is one of the great masterpieces of classical Greek architecture. Commissioned by the powerful politician Pericles in 437 B.C.E., it was the monumental gateway to the

sacred grounds of the Athenian Acropolis, which contained a complex of religious buildings. By marking a point of transition between the human affairs of the city below and the divine space of the Acropolis, the Propylaea performed an ancient and traditional religious function. However, it also bent and broke the conservative paradigms of Athenian religious architecture, and the features of its design were like nothing ever seen before in the Greek world.

In this thesis I ask the question: why did the Propylaea deviate from the traditional Athenian architectural canon, and what does its sculptural, symbolic format reveal about the culture that produced it? Using the framework of a paradigm called New Institutional Economics that is useful for building economic models of culture from an interdisciplinary perspective, I argue that architectural symbol in the Propylaea reflects the incentives and ideology of the Athenian state, or *polis*, and its fifth century B.C.E. empire. Consequently, as a useful measure of culture, architecture should be weighted more heavily in economic models of the ancient world.

I begin Chapter One by introducing the academic debate over the economics of classical Greece and the challenges of applying modern economic theory to analyses of the ancient world. I also briefly tell the story of the relatively uncontroversial features of economic change in classical Greece. This background of economic conditions sets the stage for the introduction of New Institutional Economics, which provide the framework for asking meaningful questions about symbolism in the Propylaea's architecture.

In Chapter Two I turn to the Propylaea itself, diving into a more detailed reading of a selection of its architectural features. The Propylaea expresses a significant amount of tension between architectural conservatism and innovation, and I build on the analyses of the great archaeologists W. B. Dinsmoor and Robin Francis Rhodes to examine the results and significance of this tension.

In Chapter Three I argue directly for the utility of architectural analysis in building strong economic models of the ancient world. I introduce the paradigm of New Institutional Economics much more fully, especially based on the analytical frameworks constructed by the economists Douglass North and Carl Hampus Lyttkens. Before turning to the paradigm's meaningful ability to incorporate an architectural analysis of the Propylaea, I explore the few previous applications of New Institutional Economic theory to the ancient world

I structure Chapter Four's argument around four key characteristics of institutional change formulated by North, which I encapsulate in the terms 'Competition,' 'Learning,' 'Incentives,' and 'Ideology.' I explore how symbol in the Propylaea's architecture reflects the presence of each of these characteristics in the imperial activity of the Athenian *polis*.

Neely Egan

An Artistic Study of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: Poetry, Visual Art, and Theater Since 1948

The Palestinian-Israeli conflict is one of the modern world's most infamous struggles. Though its influence can be traced back centuries, most scholar regard the genesis of this conflict to be 1947 when the United Nations created a partition plan to divide Palestine in half to form a Jewish state. In May, 1948, this plan was put into action when Britain withdrew from Palestine and a group of provisional Jewish leaders declared a Jewish state called Israel. From 1948 until today, there has

countless violence and failed peace negotiations. Since 1948, generations of Palestinian and Israeli artists have used their art in order to portray their understanding of the conflict, while also trying to represent their peers in their work. My project attempts to use poetry, visual art, and theater since 1948 in order to distill popular Palestinian and Israeli sentiments and how it has changed over time.

In the first chapter, I analyze early poetry from Palestinian, national poets, Mahmoud Darwish, and Tawfiq Zayyad, and Israeli, national poets, Natan Alterman and Zelda. Darwish and Zayyad use their poems, "Identity Card" and "The Impossible," to address those that oppress Palestine, while also assert the strength of Palestinian resistance. They root their power in the land and history of their people. In "The Silver Platter" and "Each of Us Has a Name," Alterman and Zelda also use images of nature to justify their beliefs. Their poetry shows that after the creation of the Israeli state, many Israelis were only focused on celebrating a land of their own with their insular community.

Over time, Palestinian and Israeli art changed. In my second chapter, this change is captured by movements in visual art after the Six Day War in 1967 and the Oslo Accords in 1993. Israeli artists, Igael Tumarkin and Andi Arnovitz, use their art to portray a shift in Israeli sentiment. Their pieces, *He Walked in the Fields* and *Garments of Reconciliation,* manipulate materials, production habits and content in order to reflect that Israelis want to look more critically at their past. Tumarkin and Arnovitz have moved past the uncontested celebration of land. Naji Al-Ali and Emily Jacir are Palestinian artists that use their cartoons and installation pieces, respectively, in order to pull the issues of Palestine onto a more global scale. Al-Ali's *Handala* cartoons and Jacir's *Memorial to 418 Palestinian Villages Destroyed, Depopulated, and Occupied by Israel in 1948* urge their audiences to recognize the Palestinian condition and history. They want to be acknowledged as human beings, not just a political cause.

In my last chapter, I study modern Israeli and Palestinian theater, specifically Yehoshua Sobol's *Ghetto* and Abdelfattah Abusrour's *Handala*. These plays explore similar themes to their visual art counterparts. Sobol's play uses a combination of historical truth and satire to produce complicated characters who challenge the audiences understanding of their past. Abusrour uses less nuanced tactics in order to convey the message of his work. *Handala*'s blunt conversations and exaggerated characterization ensure that the audience will have to address Palestine's version of the truth.

This project shows that Israeli and Palestinian art has changed since the creation of the Israeli state. The art no longer focuses on themes of land, but on issues of people. These artists are able to capture a shift in the populations that they represent, and as such their work should be understood as a legitimate way to understand popular Palestinian and Israeli opinions since 1948.

Omar Elhaj

The Ideologies of the Islamic and the Islamic State

In 2014, the Islamic State terrified the world with its shootings, beheadings, and terror attacks. At its height, its conquered territory nearly reached the size of Great Britain. Despite the group's demise in 2018, it continues to maintain networks in the Sahel, Algeria, Libya, Yemen, and elsewhere. This political phenomenon has captivated the minds of Western security and scholarship.

In this thesis, I explore the ideological construction of IS. I aim to understand the politics of how scholars, policymakers, and the Western public-at-large conceptualize the caliphate. Western

academia has largely categorized IS with groups such as Al-Qaeda, Boko-Haram, Hamas, and Hezbollah. The common denominator of these categories has almost exclusively been religion—more specifically, Islam. I evaluate if there is something particularly valuable about these groups being Muslim in their political analysis. This thesis, therefore, explores the comparisons and structures of Islamic fundamentalism and jihadism in the Western mind.

In Chapter One, I study three emblematic political science journals and explore the lexicon in which academia understands IS, and separate these into three categories: the terrorist, the insurgent, and the proto-state. I then argue why scholarship thinks in this way. Moreover, I demonstrate how each of these categories fosters a universe of comparative cases that are almost exclusively Muslim.

In Chapter Two, I explain why scholarship categorizes descriptions of IS through Islam. Using Foucauldian discourse analysis, I explain that these three categories are principally informed by understandings of violence and statehood. I then show how Western scholarship violence distinguishes (and in effect, exceptionalizes) Islam in the context of violence and statehood.

Chapter Three expands the universe of cases related to IS beyond Islam to paramilitary Zionist groups in pre-1948 Palestine—namely, the Haganah, Irgun, and Stern Gang. Using the same three journals from Chapter One, I show how these groups are explicitly and implicitly categorized in the same way as IS. I then create a link between the two political phenomena and inspect the salience and significance of this comparison.

In Chapter Four, I use the same methods from Chapter Three, but in the context of the white power movement in the United States. I create a link between white supremacist and Alt-Right groups and IS, and use references in scholarship to show why this comparison is important.

My conclusion underlines the major themes of the thesis. I show what this study proves for the West's understanding of IS, and more broadly Islam. Ultimately I argue that it is in the interest of all Western academic disciplines and security analysts to push past the Muslim box in the academic study of IS.

Xinlu (Aurora) Guo

An Analysis of Eileen Chang's Literary Works and her Relevance in Chinese Society Today

Eileen Chang (1920-1995) was one of the most prolific and famous female Chinese writers. Having witnessed the violence of World War II in Hong Kong, Chang wrote with a unique sense of desolation, and her works are all set in periods of great uncertainty. Despite living during the quick rise of communism in the new China, Chang, unlike most of her peers, focused exclusively on romances in her works without any political elements. Although most scholarship situates Chang exclusively in her time period, this thesis investigates her continued relevance in Chinese society today.

In the introduction, I provide a chronological summary of Eileen Chang's life: her childhood, her two marriages, and eventually her journey of immigration to the United States. This chapter briefly touches on her and her works' significance in Chinese society today, which will be expounded on in later chapters.

In Chapter One, I focus on what Eileen Chang's works reveal about marriage and immorality. Through analyzing Chained Links (1944), "Red Rose White Rose," (1944) and "Love in a Fallen City," (1943) I show that both men and women hold fundamentally cynical views on marriage in Chang's fictions. Connecting Chang's works with China's increasingly monetarily-driven dating culture, I

explore people's attitudes towards marriage in China.

Sexuality is an almost forbidden topic in Chinese literature. In Chapter Two I discuss how Chang's works are subtly suggestive through their portrayal of female protagonists who use their sexual allure as a form of negotiation power. The second part of this chapter examines changes in women's reproductive and abortion rights to show women's advancement and restrictions in their social positions.

Chapter Three investigates Chang's self-translated works, "Shame Amah!" and *The Rogue of the North*. This chapter highlights the decisions Chang made in attempt to become successful in America, though she never succeeded, while staying true to her values. This understanding is important because her decisions can be inspirational for many international students as they embark on a journey of immigration themselves.

The thesis concludes with an epilogue. Here I summarize my view of Chang's relevance in contemporary China and share my sense of her importance to me persoanllly. I also suggest how Chang's works can contribute to the social discourse about the status of Asians in America that has arisen in midst of our current situation with COVID-19.

Sydney Halleman

Tech, Inc.: Foundation and Effects of Technology Industries in Charlottesville, Virginia

Startup companies and their employees have changed the way that cities interact with their population since the beginning of the dot-com boom. From giant tech companies like Uber in San Francisco and HP in Austin, city landscapes across the United States have transformed in reaction to the foundation and expansion of tech companies within their limits. While some cities have seen unprecedented levels of economic growth, others have also seen housing displacement, rapid increases in income inequality, and the closing of long-time businesses. Charlottesville, Virginia is on the cusp of a tech boom and influential technology leaders have returned to the city with intentions to remake its downtown core into an innovation center in order to attract and build new tech companies. In this thesis, I examine and analyze the effects of a growing tech industry in Charlottesville and how that impacts housing, real estate, inequality, and broader societal changes.

In Chapter One, I outline the history of innovation centers and tech companies stemming from government funding and university partnership at the end of World War II and throughout the Cold War. I analyze historic partnerships like the Morrill Act and the foundation of the Office of Scientific Research and Development. Further, I identify the characteristics of an innovation hub and explain why their various elements are crucial for the success of tech startup companies.

Chapter Two details and defines the technology companies that have succeeded in Charlottesville as well as their subsequent expansions. I also identify key individuals who have promised to transform Charlottesville into a tech city including Jaffray Woodriff, the millionaire who donated $120 million to found UVA's Data Science Institute. Building upon chapter one, I identify key incentives from both the University of Virginia and public incentives from the Charlottesville City government that encourage and subsidize the foundation and growth of tech companies. I also identify important angel investment and venture capital groups dedicated to funding startup companies within Charlottesville.

In Chapter Three I delve more deeply into the housing and real estate effects that the technology industry ushers into Charlottesville. I detail the current housing market in Charlottesville

including the lack of affordable housing. Further, I also use Census Data to analyze areas in Charlottesville that have seen housing inflation due to the movement of wealthy technology employees including real estate adjacent to the Downtown Mall. Neighborhoods with high-risk of housing displacement, like the 10th and Page Neighborhood, are also analyzed.

Finally, Chapter Four explores the social and cultural ramifications of a tech city. First, I explicate Richard Florida's "Creative Class" theory and demonstrate its widespread adoption in cities across the nation. I identify the critics of Florida's theory, including its possibility to expand inequality, promote racial homogenization, and segregate public space. I scrutinize this theory and its effects through the experience of numerous small businesses that have been displaced in Charlottesville as a result of the arrival of tech companies.

Isabelle Lotocki de Veligost

Is Christ Love? An Analysis of Episcopal Churches during "Massive Resistance" in Charlottesville, Virginia

In the late 1950s, Christians in Charlottesville were forced to contend with the important question of race, specifically in America's school system. In *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court in 1954 ruled that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. *Brown v. Board* mandated that states dismantle the segregated racial systems that had been in place since America's founding. Each state went about desegregation differently, but many states, especially in the South, strongly resisted implementing the federal ruling.

In Virginia specifically, state and local governments undertook extensive measures to reverse the decision in the courts while thwarting its implementation at the local level. This movement of "Massive Resistance" was Virginia's defense of segregated public schools. Massive Resistance meant undertaking any means necessary to prevent public school integration. Amidst this clash between the federal mandate and Massive Resistance at the local level, local houses of worship, particularly white churches, found themselves at a critical crossroad: would they adhere to federal law and support local desegregation and equal opportunities for quality public education, or would they support legacy segregated schooling? How would local churches decide on their response? Would they embrace education among the universality of Christian values or would they seek cover in legal decisions and the courts?

This thesis explores the response of three Episcopal churches in Charlottesville during Massive Resistance to the impending closure of two Charlottesville schools as mandated by Virginia state law. The three churches chosen for this case study include Trinity Episcopal, Christ Church, and St. Paul's Memorial. The paper addresses the responses of the churches in the context of two overarching questions: how do the Charlottesville church responses to Massive Resistance challenge their published histories and reframe the role of Christianity in the context of race and inequality? What are the implications of their responses?

Garrett Lukens

The Nation is the Fight: Liberal Nationalism and the Need for a New American History

Populist, right-wing nationalism has resurged as an animating political force. Across the world today, nationalist movements rally around xenophobia, nativism, and ethnocentrism. These movements

have become the preeminent threat to long-standing liberal, democratic institutions. This thesis attempts an understanding of nationalism that rejects this contemporary rhetoric and instead promotes a nationalism founded on liberal values. I address what would be required of a liberal nationalism, and apply it to the United States' political identity.

In the first chapter, I briefly describe the history of nations and nationalism. The first nation-builders were followers of liberalism who attempted a radical rethinking of what the largest political organizations could be. They arrived at democratic systems that emphasized rule of law and the consent of citizens – a significant departure from the commonplace assumptions at the end of the eighteenth century. From its early stages, nationalisms have been liberal and conservative, civic and ethnic, far-left and far-right. It is with this flexibility, prone both to uses and abuses, that we should understand the term.

The second chapter analyzes a theory of nationalism that works in concert with liberalism, put forward by Israeli philosopher and political theorist Yael Tamir. Tamir took nationalism to be a political necessity – that many political movements had achieved much with the concept, and few had achieved much without it. Political movements, she argues, cannot survive without nationalism, and for liberals to succeed, they must embrace it. Nationalism helps to fulfill basic human needs that greatly augment the possibilities efficacy of liberalism.

The third chapter takes Tamir's diagnosis and applies it to the American case using historian Jill Lepore's work. Lepore calls not for nationalism, but for a "new Americanism" –a national identity that emphasizes liberalism and rejects nativism. Nationalisms both liberal and illiberal have existed side-by-side throughout American history. The mainstream rhetoric of "America First" has defined American nationalism today with xenophobic, nativist, and racist terms. Lepore aims to draw out the liberal nationalism. To do this, we must first accept that national identity is something worth defining, and historians, Lepore argues, must once again seek some definitions. She acknowledges the outsized stature of this task, and realizes that these are projects only waiting for revision. But Lepore fears who will define the identity of the United States if not for historians.

Finally, the fourth chapter reviews Lepore's attempt at such a history. She begins with a critique of the "far-right" history of conservatism today, Lepore, then, offers her own history of the United States. She takes a fundamental national identity, that written in the founding texts of the nation, and traces their ideals over the course of American history. From this, she arrives at an understanding of the nation that draws out liberalism and squashes the nativism which has overtaken the discourse of what defines the nation.

Lindsey Page

Transgender Narratives in Young Adult Fiction

Scholars like Robin Dembroff argue that discrimination against the transgender community still occurs, in large part, because of a lack of literature centered on transgenderism. Given the high levels of bullying faced by transgender adolescents, pedagogy scholars believe that that increased representation of trans individuals in Young Adult (YA) novels, in recommended reading lists, and on middle school syllabi will help generate understanding of and empathy for transgender individuals within this demographic.

Of course, representation in and of itself is not enough. Scholars such as John M. Sloop and

Talia Mae Bettcher explain that representations of transgender individuals can be used to reinforce current gender paradigms, creating an ideal type of transgender individual who is able to conform to the gender binary and disguise their transgender status. To examine its potential as a normalizing force, this thesis critically analyzes YA transgender fiction (defined as fiction that features a transgender main character) in order to understand how these novels characterize and model transgender experiences.

The introduction explains the origins of my personal interest in this topic and the methodology undertaken. It offers a clarification of specific terms related to transgender studies and a brief history of the field. The chapter concludes with an overview of scholarly arguments for increased representation of transgender individuals in Young Adult fiction followed by arguments advocating the need to critically analyze these representations.

The first chapter discusses YA transgender novels' reliance on what Bettcher calls the "wrong body narrative," often expressed by characters as the feeling that they are "born in the wrong body." Characters focus intently on changing the gendered signifiers of their bodies to align with their sense of gender identity. This chapter analyzes the way the wrong body narrative affects characters' relationships with and perceptions of their inner selves and the impact of puberty on the relationship between the body and the self.

The second chapter explores the "gray area" of gender as it is presented in Young Adult transgender fiction. In these novels, characters who are afforded androgyny in childhood are asked to move out of the gray area of gender as they age. This chapter analyzes the discomfort with the gender gray area that exists in transgender characters (who wish to live comfortably within the gender binary, only as a different gender than they were assigned at birth) and in the people around these characters. It also explores the role that homosexuality plays in relation to the gender gray area as a "lesser" transgression of gender norms.

The third chapter explains the ways that gender is presented as either innate or performative in Young Adult transgender novels. Transgender characters see their gender as innate because they know their gender identity at a young age and feel "naturally" attracted to certain gendered clothing and mannerisms. They use this feeling of innateness as a way to validate their gender identity to others. At the same time, they deliberately practice certain norms of their gender identities because participating in these norms allows them to feel more like members of the gender with which they identify. Characters' desire to adhere to gender norms reinforces the current gender paradigm.

The fourth chapter uses publications of transgender scholars and personal testimony from memoirs of transgender individuals to critique the major themes of transgender YA novels. Specifically, it critiques the "wrong body narrative," which has been shown to be a pathologizing and normalizing force on the transgender community. In the novels examined, the theme of discomfort with the gray area is used in tandem with the wrong body narrative, but it could be used to explore the ways that society disciplines transgender individuals and gender expression. This thesis concludes that there is a need for a more diverse representation of transgender experiences in YA transgender fiction, including novels that do not rely on the wrong body narrative or reinforce the gender binary and novels that offer a more nuanced version of the wrong body experience. This will shape the canon into a more diverse collection of stories that represents a wider transgender audience.

Shaqual Deontae Reynolds

Hopes for a Glorious Future: The African-American Education Struggle in Essex County, Virginia, 1600 – 1971

The history of African American education in the United States dates back to the first arrival of African slaves, their hands chained and feet shackled, on the shores of the James River at Point Comfort, Virginia. Since that time in 1619, African-Americans have held belief in the inextricable ties between education and freedom. For the slaves, education was more than a symbol of freedom; it was freedom. The slave understood that education was also a mighty weapon in the struggle for freedom. Thus, slaves articulated that education and freedom were inextricable, that education served as *the* single most potent path toward empowerment and Black liberation.

Slaveholders and elite white Virginians were blatant in their campaign to limit education and repress literacy among enslaved African-Americans. Between 1800 and 1835 slaveholders and elite white Virginians renewed their campaign to contain education and repress literacy among enslaved African-Americans. By 1849, the Virginia General Assembly enacted legislation, known as Anti-literacy law, making it a crime to teach enslaved African-Americans to read and write. Yet some slaves found ways around Virginia's anti-literacy laws, and white opposition and prejudice towards education and literacy among African-Americans.

Contemporary scholars James D. Anderson in *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* and Heather Andrea Williams in *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom,* establish that during and after the Civil War, universal education and other educational opportunities for African-Americans—and for that matter poor whites too—arose throughout the South primarily from the efforts of African-Americans themselves. This thesis argues this is true specifically of Essex County, Virginia. By examining the little-known history of African-American education in Essex County, Virginia, *Hopes for a Glorious Future* seeks to situate Essex's narrative amongst the broader research literature on African-American educational history. From enslaved men and women pursuing literacy during the pre-Civil War era to African-American activists integrating county schools during the modern Civil Rights era, Essex epitomizes how grassroots initiatives and activities lead to current educational opportunities. In Essex County, formerly enslaved African-Americans and the generations that came afterwards, indeed, aided in the campaign for universal, state-supported public education — much like their counterparts across the Commonwealth of Virginia and throughout other Southern states.

Chapter One discusses and documents the educational efforts of African-Americans enslaved in Essex during the pre-Civil War era. In doing so, what's made evident is that these slave narratives all possess messages about the ties between education and freedom. This is similar to what scholars such as Andrea H. Williams and James D. Anderson have found encoded in the African-American literary tradition. Thus, the chapter argues these narratives are further evidence for an indigenous philosophy of African-American education.

Chapter Two develops this idea. It explores the slave narratives and their accounts of slave literacy. The chapter shows that thousands of enslaved peoples managed to learn to read and write in Antebellum Essex but few left any evidence of their accomplishments—besides the Reverend Henry L. Young. However, because of the array of abuses literate slaves were certain to suffer if whites discovered they were literate, many enslaved peoples kept their abilities a well-guarded secret. But the effort to deny

literacy to enslaved people, then brutally punishing them for attaining the feat, seemed to have only worked to fuel their passion and hunger for education. As observed by one slave, many enslaved peoples could read and write but they kept it "up [their] sleeve, [they] played dumb" –as if they could not read up until the end of the Civil War.

Chapter Three picks up in during the post-Civil War era. It explores African-Americans' educational efforts after emancipation and during Radical Reconstruction era to show how grassroots initiatives and activities established the first educational opportunities for African-Americans in Essex between 1862 and the early 1900s. This chapter further documents the role African-Americans in Essex played in establishing the first schools in the County, while also connecting them to a statewide campaign for state-supported, universal education. It further illustrates the grassroots initiatives local African-Americans took to establish educational opportunities in Essex County. Specifically, the chapter focuses on the Southside Rappahannock Baptist Association, organized in 1877, and its church-founded organizations and schools, namely the establishment of Antioch School. Antioch School symbolizes just how determined African-Americans were to remain at the helm of their educational pursuits.

Vittoria Richards

The Risks and Pleasures of Political Recognition: Acquiring Feminist Identity Through The Handmaid's Tale

Identity categories both allow us to be a recognized part of society and restrain us to the conditions required of that category. This paper explores identity acquisition through recognition, the act of feeling seen by or seeing oneself in another, whether it be a literary text, a friend, or the boxes available to check on a government form. Beginning with the framework that we acquire our identities socially I ask how women have acquired feminist identity though recognition with the Hulu adaptation of *The Handmaid's Tale,* and critique the content of that feminism. In doing so, I consider both selfhood's vulnerability to mass media influence, and the scope of viewers' agency in the impact and reception of a text.

In my first chapter, I provide an overview of debates surrounding recognition. These debates include different positions on recognition's positive or negative implications resulting from the initially divisive question of the self. Citing Charles Taylor, I show how recognition has been considered an issue of societal inclusion. I then pivot to more critical perspectives, from Judith Butler and Michel Foucault, which pose recognition as a regulatory. I then move to a moderate perspective, which combines the politicism of the previous theorists with the literary perspectives of Rita Felski and Margaret Somers. I adopt the final perspective, which accepts both the useful political pleasure of recognition, and its inherent risks.

I include in my second chapter my ethnography of viewers of *The Handmaid's Tale*, which details the ways that women rewrote their identities through recognition with the show. Before the ethnography, I discuss and critique the historical Marxist suspicion for mass media and the popular critical perspective which looks to the text, rather than the viewer, to determine meaning. I introduce feminist cultural studies as an alternate perspective, which recognizes the benefits of looking to the female viewer, rather than the text in isolation, to understand the meaning of a text. I show how my work is unique from other works of feminist cultural studies in its attention to the pleasure of recognition as a force for personal political development. I then describe the results of my ethnography, outlining the different experiences and impacts of recognition.

In my third chapter, I reflect on the implications of the feminist identities developed through recognition with the show. I locate the show and the community formed around it within the feminist counter-public sphere, arguing that media can be a force, though imperfect and risky, to further feminist consciousness. I then outline the positive and negative implications the narratives acquired through viewing, drawing connections between elements of those narratives and historical factions of the women's movement.

I conclude by emphasizing the ambivalent potential of recognition. I explain how our openness to influence makes possible our continuing development. Ultimately, we can only describe our experiences, create our identities, in the narrative language made available to us. The diverse voices of mass media each have a chance to construct our sense of self. Our agency gives us power to mediate, to select at least in part the stories we describe ourselves with. This is a chance for change, a way to gradually construct ourselves in opposition to hegemony.

Corey Runkel

Political Impacts of Residential Mortgages in Crisis

In response to the subprime mortgage crisis, the federal government authorized the Neighborhood Stabilization Program (NSP), a relief effort aimed at stabilizing prices. Though this program resembled Democrat-supported welfare programs, there are theoretical questions about the impacts it may have had on voting by raising prices. Political economists have predicted that increased home equity leads to preferences for less social insurance. This research would suggest that the Neighborhood Stabilization Program pushed voters towards Republican candidates, especially towards self-avowed members of the Tea Party Caucus, who sharpened the taxation–social insurance connection and derided the subsidy of home mortgages. Disambiguating these forces—one social, the other financial—is the object of this thesis.

Chapter One examines why federal relief was needed in the first place by breaking down other possible actors into three categories. For homeowners, the geography of the crisis and recent history of homeownership diffused activism aimed at local and federal office-holders. Local office-holders, closer to those homeowners, were anyways ill-equipped to handle the crisis due to the long 20th-century shift of responsibilities to the federal government. Creditors, if they wanted to take action, were thwarted by the organization of mortgage-backed securities.

In Chapter Two, I try to understand how the NSP fit with US politics. I find that, rather than sitting in a party, homeownership programs such as the NSP rested in the executive branch. I then chart the growth of homeownership, its underlying policies, and the simultaneous rise of a fervent anti-tax rhetoric on the right, concluding with the creation of the Tea Party, that made increasing home prices and decreasing welfare legible as Republican issues.

Then, in Chapter Three, I set out to model this behavior. I consider the political economy literature surrounding housing and political behavior to develop a theoretical relationship between Republican voting share and proxies for home equity. This model is then tested in Chapter Four. With a novel dataset connecting NSP target areas, 2010 midterm vote returns, home prices, and a range of demographic information, I find evidence that the behavior theorized *did* occur, but that the behavior may have been limited to races where a self-described member of the Tea Party did *not* run. Chapter

Five summarizes these findings, and offers some indication of where debt politics and offshoots of the Great Recession may be headed for greater visibility.

Julia Rupp

Political Imagination in Indian Politics: How Reinterpretations of the Past Shape the Hegemony of the Future

Hindu nationalism, or *'Hindutva'* is taking over the Indian political sphere. Over the last twenty-odd years, the movement's main political force, the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), has managed to find a political stronghold in India's community of Dalits. Dalits are the 'ex-Untouchables,' of India, whose political history reflects the complicated and diffuse nature of Dalit identity. The fact that the BJP has been able to find strong support within a community that has been historically disenfranchised by Hinduism has confounded scholar's, and much of the recent scholarship on Dalit and *Hindutva* politics surrounds this question.

This thesis seeks to evaluate the role that political imaginations play the mobilization of low-caste support, and how those imaginations transformed over time to inform the current strategies used by the BJP. More specifically, this thesis focuses on how *Dalit* identity has been co-opted into the *Hindutva* fold by analyzing the prevalence of their co-optation, and the complementary reinterpretations of India's history that help divide this community from other marginalized groups, particularly India's near 200 million Muslims.

Chapter One traces the three ideologies that emerged around Indian Independence, each with their own respective political imagination of what the new 'India' should be: Gandhian nationalism, Ambedkarian nationalism, and Hindu nationalism. The foundations for political imaginations in India are explored through the emergence of these three interconnected, but ultimately disparate, sentiments, highlighting the fragmentation that would contribute to the fractionalization of Dalit identity in the 1970s.

Chapter Two delves into the history of Dalit consciousness in India, particularly during the Dalit movements of the 1970s. I argue three strategies for Dalit political engagement emerge during this time. Conversion, mainstream politicization, and radicalization are analyzed primarily through their relation to Ambedkar, and the opposing ways organizations interpret his legacy to fit their mold. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism in 1956 sparked thousands of other conversions, which are briefly explored for their merits in bringing social mobility to the downtrodden. Mainstream politicization is explored through the trajectories of the Republican Party of India and the Bahujan Samaj Party, and radicalization through the protest movement led by the Dalit Panthers in Maharashtra.

The final chapter discusses the rise of the BJP in modern India, tracing how the failures and foundations of political imagination in the previous chapters create the conditions that aided the BJP in perfecting strategies of co-optation. The larger *Hindutva* project is defined, and I argue that the BJP's rise is precipitated by their balancing of a concept Tariq Thachil calls "embedded mobilization," along with an expansion of political imaginations surrounding the construction of two myths: Muslim 'outsiders,' and Ambedkar's role in Hindu cultural life. I conclude with the point that we can take lessons from the manner in which the 'past' is formulated in the 'present,' in order to better understand the implications those imaginations have on Dalit and Muslim groups, especially within the context of the BJP's growing political hegemony.

Jackson Samples

Reparative Justice on Campus: A 21st Century Story of Truth-Telling, Student Activism, and Institutional Branding

Prior to 2003, no university in the United States had ever made a concerted, institutional effort to dive into—let alone atone for—its history with slavery, the slave trade, or structural racism at large. Since 2003, however, over sixty schools have begun the process of addressing this past. Described as a "growing movement" to confront white supremacy's role in the founding and growth of U.S. universities, the recent surge in the prioritization and institutionalization of truth-telling and racial healing within higher education is unprecedented, and raises many important questions about the potentiality and limitations of repair at the university level. This thesis aims to track the rise of universities' reparative justice initiatives ("RJIs"), taking a critical lens to university history, student activism, and the contemporary environment of higher education.

Chapter One provides an introduction by briefly surveying a global history of reparations, with particular attention lent to the 20th century and reparations paid to identity-based groups. I also provide a clarification of terms surrounding reparations and a macro-level summary of universities' formal efforts to address their troubled histories.

In Chapter Two, I track the foundation of universities in the United States, identifying them as integral "racial projects" within the broader phenomenon of "racial formation." Using both sociological theory and historical accounts, I paint a picture of universities' complicity in upholding broader systems of racism and colonialism. In particular, I look closely at the pasts of my two chosen case studies: Georgetown University and the University of Virginia.

In Chapter Three, I piece out the recent histories of Georgetown and UVA's RJIs, all while situating this development in conversation with the work of student activists. Using universities' officially published materials, media reactions, and interviews with student activists, I provide a detailed picture of the two universities' RJIs, aiming to show that even small steps towards reparative justice have been colossal and complex undertakings. Involving a multitude of dedicated and often conflicting actors, with struggles that can transcend the boundaries of campus, these two cases provide insight into the broader institutionalization of repair happening at schools across the U.S.

Chapter Four considers and critiques the overall context in which universities' RJIs have taken shape, labelling their growth as the "commissionization" of racial repair. I provide this term as a near analog of the often problematized "NGOization" happening across the Global South. In drawing attention to the failure of the federal government to pursue reparative justice projects and the steady privatization of higher education, I show how universities' RJIs face significant limitations moving forward. These limitations arise because university administrations, being undemocratic and increasingly beholden to donors, are disincentivized from giving RJIs the capacity to engage in much-needed material repair.

In Chapter Five, I conclude by identifying four action-items that might facilitate the success of RJIs at universities, including changes that schools and state governments could implement in the short- to medium- term. These involve de-privatizing public universities; appointing committed, anti-racist attorneys to offices of university counsel; forming a group universities to lobby Congress for reparations;

and appointing local residents to universities' governing boards as voting members.

Alena Titova

The Post-Revolutionary Avant-Garde's Fleeting Visions of the New Everyday

Constructivism, at least in its origin, can best be understood as a series of divergent experiments conducted by artists in the intermediary period after the Russian revolution and before Stalin's deathly authoritarian grasp over the territory roughly between the years of 1920 and 1930. This was a period of negotiation, instability, and perhaps, one might even go as far to say as, a time of excitement.

The art that these artists create is explicitly political and represents an active response to the social effects of policies adopted by leaders in the early to mid 1920s. Artists renegotiate their own role as workers as well as the potential of their creative endeavors to contribute to the collective good. The dissonant strategies to redefining both the role of the artist and a method of making manifest concrete ideas to how society should be structured under the various visions of socialism's promises. Perhaps one of the greatest difficulties in studying the work of these artists is keeping oneself from unconsciously equating the future they dream of as the world that ultimately takes shape after. Knowing the brutality of the Soviet Union's final form under Stalin, it is easy to dismiss the avant-garde artists' creations and optimistic dreams as just fantastically utopian, unrealistic, and absurd. But are not all visions of change a little bit of the above?

Chapter One sets the stage for the subsequent explorations of artists' work. The chapter covers the rise of constructivism and situates the reader in the immediate post-revolutionary moment in Russia. I provide a brief overview of the historical moment immediately following the February and October Revolutions. I ground the first part of the discussion in the Russian Civil War's devastating blows to civilian life as a backdrop to the working conditions of the artists. Chapter Two examines the calls to restructure everyday life *(byt).* I assess architect Moisei Ginzburg's Narkomfin Communal House as a battleground for ideas for *byt* reform. In Chapter Three, I focus on the "productivist" realm of clothing design by accessing designs by Vladimir Tatlin, Varvara Stepanova, and Lyubov Popova. Throughout this study, I emphasize the plurality of visions within the constructivist experiments.

The Epilogue is dedicated to the legacy of the post-revolutionary avant-garde. I turn my attention to the 2017-2020 commercial redevelopment of the Narkomfin Communal House as an example of the changing tide in the attention provided to constructivist landmarks in Moscow. I evaluate the preservationist efforts "save" these cultural landmarks by turning them into commercial projects. Then, I follow the role of tourism and foreign interest in constructivism. Present day quotations of constructivist inspired aesthetics—in objects such as Russian Olympic uniforms, airport terminals, and silk scarves—neutralize the political charge of the early twentieth century constructivist experiments.

Devin Dushawn Willis

Afro-American Urban Agriculture: Re-imagining the Struggle for Food Justice in the Post-industrial American City

This project is interested in the terrain where race, food, and the city meet. I have identified the

grassroots struggle for food security, specifically the variant of this struggle happening now across predominantly African-American urban neighborhoods, as an important front within the larger battle between human civilization and the consequences of environmental degradation. In the available space I will elaborate on the emerging African-American food security tradition identifiable as the *good food movement* and why it has already become a paragon of alternative foodways in the hybrid struggle against both our conventional food system as well as the conventional mode of challenging it.

In my first chapter, I introduce the good food movement and its star players with a conversation about the definitions of food justice and food sovereignty. In defining food justice and related terms, I transition to a critical definition of the good food movement itself. This section asserts the distinctly African-American character of the movement's nucleus in the rust belt cities of the Midwest and indulges the collective history of the movement's progenitors in the Second Great Migration and the Black Freedom Movement of the mid-twentieth century.

In the second chapter, my work realigns with the good food movement to focus on issues of the present global food system. What's not working; what is the problem? In this chapter I underscore some of the deep social, economic, and environmental issues stemming from the conventional food system; additionally I will deploy the critical race theory of Anibal Quijano in order to capture the enduring coloniality of our modern food system, connecting Quijano's interpretation of coloniality to the good food movement's present-day insistence on the importance of culturally appropriate foods.

In chapter three, I explore several ways that the good food movement becomes dynamic in its ecological struggle against food insecurity. These dynamic strategies, abundant within black urban agriculture projects, evidence the strength of grassroots methodologies in the good food movement and the shortcomings of mainstream environmentalism. Chapter four uses lessons from the grassroots food justice movement to critique mainstream environmentalist actions in the realm of food justice.

My fifth and final chapter is concerned with spotlighting the obstacles facing the good food movement and the wider grassroots urban agriculture movement today. After considering challenges in arenas like zoning, ordinances and regulation, co-optation of social movements, and of course, gentrification, I reflect on the near future of the good food movement. This speculative conclusion weighs in on the possibility of a larger urban agriculture renaissance and how that may either clash with or compliment, from an urban planning perspective, with the environmental pressure to urbanize the human population as a means of protecting the natural environment.