Political and Social Thought Thesis Conference 2024

April 28, 2024

Jefferson Scholars Foundation, University of Virginia

112 Clarke Ct., Charlottesville, VA 22903

Each year, majors in the Political and Social Thought program at the University of Virginia write a thesis of 80 to 110 pages, addressing a topic of concern with the tools developed in their study of several disciplines of academic knowledge.

Conference Schedule[1]

8:30-9:00 Light Breakfast and Coffee

9:00-9:10 Opening Remarks (Isaac Ariail Reed)

9:10 Session I: Technique and Harm, Freedom and Regulation: Histories and Possibilities
Ronith Ranjan, Recoding the Citizen-State Relationship: Impact of Computational Technology on State Power
Kristin O'Donoghue, Embracing a Collective Duty of Care: Preventing Harm and Preserving our Humanity in the Era of Deepfakes
Ineke La Fleur, The Blade of the Cutting Edge: Co-creating Disease and the Other

10:00-10:10 Break

10:10 Session II: Displacement/Subjectivity/(non)Identity
Ayaan Said, Forging Black Identity: Perspectives of First- and Second-Generation African Immigrants

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[1] Submitted abstracts may be found on successive pages of this program. Each session will be chaired by the Director of Political and Social Thought. Each presentation will be 10 minutes long. After hearing all presentations in a given session, the remainder of time will be used for questions and discussion.

Keilah Gadson, Recalibration of Blackness: Towards Defining Ourselves Through Contradiction, Opposition, and New Realities of Being

Laura Kun, A Messianic Melancholic: Depathologizing Melancholia Through the Works of Walter Benjamin

11:00-11:30 Coffee Break

11:30-12:20

Session III: Memories and Fantasies of Violence in Literary Representation

Sofia Heartney, "Exiled from the Memory of Men:" Literature, History, and Memory in the Modern and Contemporary Americas

Wendy Gao, Moving Through Memory: Remembering the Afterlives of War and Genocide in the Southeast Asia Diaspora

Alec Kane, "I See War:" Tracing the Contemporary American Far-Right's Ideological Shift to Revolution

12:20-1:30 Lunch

1:30-2:20 Session IV: Global Political and Military Conflict and Repair

Yirui Gui, The Political Sociology of Global Data Governance: Renegotiating the Social Contract for Data

Lucas Baylous, "The Universe is a Ruined Village:" Land Politics, Identity, and the Moral Experience of Violence in Zimbabwe: 1965-1987

Gracie Heil, Historic Specificity of Trauma within Refugee Spaces: MHPSS in South Sudan

2:20-2:45 Coffee Break

2:45-3:50 Session V: Reading and Its discontents: Making and Unmaking the Subject through Knowledge and Ignorance

Talib Kante, Freedom, Justice, and Love v. the United States: A Trial of White Epistemic Ignorance

Donnie McKinney, Broken Mirror: Discussions on the Subjectivity of American Far-Right Hate as an Uncanny Double of Hegemonic American Subjectivity

Tichara Robertson Lewis, *Quare Study*: Book Bans and the Disruption of Black Queer Self-Making During Youth

Asia Harford, Education in Motion: Teachers in the Movement and the Usage of Freedom-Based Pedagogies

3:50-4:00 Break

4:00-4:50 Session VI: Race, American History and the Generation of Value(s)

Meredith Hicks, Beyond Accommodation and Resistance: Exilic Theology and its Role in the Black Church Tradition

Madeleine Green, Keeping Care Cheap: The Maintenance of Black Women's Occupational Segregation and Wage Inequity

Karen Sun, Developing the Divine: The Transformation of the American Courthouse into a Racialized Sacred Space

4:50-5:00 Closing Remarks (Isaac Ariail Reed)

Recoding the Citizen-State Relationship: Impact of Computational Technology on State Power

Ronith Ranjan

State power adapts to changes in its environment—this environment includes technological development. The modern state consolidates the use of violence, acts as power instrument, and mediates disputes between citizens. Initially, citizens were treated like subjects without many rights until enlightenment ideals fostered a change. The printing press, a type of technology, facilitated the spread of those ideas by increasing the circulation of books. Previously, books were a luxury item, and there was a limited ability to preserve knowledge and accumulate information. Competition in the printing industry changed the culture of learning, increased scholarship, and engaged citizens in dialogue about the state. The citizen-state relationship will further change with a new development: computational technology.

How will advancements in computational technology impact the relationship between citizen and state? My thesis strives to answer this question by considering the past, present, and future. The task requires an interdisciplinary approach: an understanding of political philosophy, public policy, economics, and even literature. Technology and the state affect all aspects of human life. As a result, readers must be prepared to understand computational technology's effect on the citizen-state relationship through multiple lenses.

Chapter 2 explains how computational power serves the state's operation and expands its capacity. This chapter analyzes the tension between theories related to decentralization and centralization of state power due to computational technology. Chapter 3 focuses on the past by examining two major state projects. The differences in the implementation between smart cities and the US Census Bureau underscore beneficial and concerning uses of computational technology. Chapter 4 moves the thesis to the present, analyzing the decision-making mechanism underpinning bureaucracies and voter choice that have been disrupted by computational technology. And finally, Chapter 5 uses scientific fiction to imagine how technologies will continue to reshape the state in the future.

From this research, I conclude that computational technology has allowed the state to be more involved in citizens' lives; however, how much the state should be involved is a question of preference. The chapters of this thesis work together to augment the reader's analysis of changes in citizen-state relations. Others can replicate his chapter-by-chapter approach of using multiple disciplines to understand the emerging innovations that come
after computational technology.

Embracing a Collective Duty of Care: Preventing Harm and Preserving Our Humanity in an Era of Deepfakes

Kristin O'Donoghue

With the development of any new technology comes a new set of problems. In order to use any technological tool effectively and carefully, society must reflect on potential problems it presents and deliberate about the values that will guide adaptation of it. In the social media era, we as a collective failed to consider potential harms, and the technology progressed faster than we could regulate it. This paper is an attempt to prevent that from happening at the advent of A.I., and to interrogate one harm introduced: gendered disinformation and the creation of deepfake pornography.

Chapter one of "Embracing a Collective Duty of Care" will construct the intersection of the digital and physical worlds as they currently appear, so that we have a better understanding of how to regulate the digital in a way that corresponds with the values of our physical world. This section will include an interrogation of the "town square" analogy used to describe social media platforms and the Internet more broadly, and will replace it with a more appropriate comparison to many versions of Times Square throughout time. Chapter one will investigate the gendered origins of privacy law and attempt to understand how the early landscape of privacy law informs the present.

Chapter two will examine the founding declarations that sought to govern the Internet and will describe the current "Information War" that has overtaken it. The paper will argue that a hyperfixation on protecting First Amendment rights has resulted in the privileging of certain voices over others. It concludes that Americans' preoccupation with the First Amendment has resulted in a resistance to sensible, productive regulation of speech that would promote the public good, and a cheapening of discourse online and offline. Next, the chapter will attempt to understand the psychological roots of disinformation and troll epistemology. The chapter concludes by opening the floodgates of gendered disinformation and online abuse with a discussion of the #Gamergate phenomenon of 2014.

Chapter three will introduce the concept of gendered disinformation and the harms introduced by deepfake pornography. To relay the harm that can be caused, the

chapter recounts the experiences of several women who have been targeted by gendered disinformation and online violence. While deepfake pornography has impacted women and girls from a wide range of ages, identities, and professions, this thesis focuses on the gendered disinformation campaigns launched against female politicians and journalists. Gendered disinformation is an attempt to intimidate, discredit, and shame women, especially female public figures, and to deter them from participating in the public sphere. Improved and widely accessible deepfake technology will make it easier than ever for malicious actors on the internet to produce deepfake pornography, and as a result, to deter women from participating in democratic discourse. This presents problems for our national security, the health of our democracy, and for our human relationships.

Chapter four seeks to establish a prescription for preserving our humanity at the advent of AI. This section compares the regulatory frameworks presented by the U.S. and the E.U., and the consequences of the market-driven approach and rights-based approaches. The paper will conclude with a call to action: the establishment of a duty of care owed to women by companies that host abusive content, and a call to reinvigorate our collective duty of care for members of the human community. The concept of a "duty of care" is much broader than just a fiduciary duty that a company must exercise for its consumers. Ultimately, "Women and A.I." urges serious deliberation about the harm that has come as a consequence of our passivity, and encourages us to act differently as we embrace a new technology that presents novel harms.

The Blade of the Cutting Edge: Co-Creating Disease and the Other
Ineke La Fleur

To borrow a phrase from Miriam Ticktin, who gets to be a "morally legitimate suffering body," deserving of care, and who is shut out by medicine and the state? This thesis will demonstrate how in our increasingly scientific world not simply access to medicine but how we construction of illness itself is a means to exclude those who are already Othered by society. This thesis uses a historical sociological approach and a biopolitical framework, interpreting the theories of Foucault, Agamben, and Mbembe to prove these examples are single examples of a larger process. If biopolitics seeks to make live or let die, and its primary focus is making live, then it needs a rationale for letting die. Biologized race provides this rationale.

The first chapter uses a Foucauldian foundation to establish the ways in which medical technologies, such as diagnostic algorithms, codify and objectify racialized stereotypes with the example of race correction in spirometry and the racialization of lung function. The second chapter illustrates how the diagnostic criteria of schizophrenia racialized and masculinized with the increasingly Black male patient population as a result of the civil rights movement, and how schizophrenics were excluded from society by way of the asylum or the prison because of this racialization. The third chapter shifts from biopolitics to necropolitics to discuss how the queering and racialization of AIDS enabled government intentional inaction, resulting in the moralized deaths of millions, and in my fourth, the necropolitical analysis is furthered with the example of Black obstetrics, creating conditions where those affected must die. This thesis implies that the medical field's treatment of genetics as a silver bullet is fallible, and the foundations of medical justice should instead be built on a social approach. Diagnoses are not only made

and remade, but shift with the priorities, fears, and understandings of society. As a social institution, medicine is a structural component of society that contributes to its overall functioning and stability, as well as a mechanism of social interaction, control, and inequality. It achieves this through policies and practices that shape social interactions, reinforce social norms, and construct and maintain difference and inequality.

Forging Black Identity: Perspectives of First- and Second-Generation African Immigrants

Ayaan Said

Identity construction is an ongoing journey that continues throughout one's lifetime. Several factors, such as cultural background, family upbringing, education, personal experiences, and societal expectations, can influence identity construction. While the literature on immigrant integration and identity construction in the United States is extensive, every immigrant population is encompassed in these discussions. The African immigration population has seen significant growth, with projections indicating further increases in the years to ahead. Despite this trend, discussions surrounding this population's integration and identity formation process are often overlooked.

Given the extensive focus on racial classifications in the United States, foreign-Black immigrants engage with unparalleled experiences regarding identity construction. Further, as subsequent generations of African immigrants emerge, how will these integration practices translate intergenerationally? In response to the lack of literature regarding the African immigrant experience, this thesis questions: How do first and second-generation African immigrants sustain their ethnic identity amidst the racialized social scripts and prevailing discourses of integration present in American society?

In chapter one, I examine the history of extensive immigration in the United States, focusing on significant shifts during the 20th century. In doing so, I underscore the entrenched exclusionary practices throughout this century. In shedding light on exclusionary practices within immigration policy, my objective is to explore how these pivotal moments sought to strengthen Anglo-Saxon identity, perpetuating narratives of white supremacy within immigration policy. After the passage of the 1965 Immigration Act, overt exclusionary practices on the terms of racial identifications were removed from policy language. The ramifications of this decision were unforeseen, resulting in a substantial shift in the composition of the American immigrant community.

In chapter two, I undertake a comprehensive review of prevailing assimilation theories. I elucidated key theoretical paradigms' definitions, objectives, and limitations throughout this analysis. These dominant paradigms often remove the importance of racial consciousness when analyzing the diverse populations migrating post-1965. I differentiate between historical ramifications and the enforcement of racial identities and provide social constructionist viewpoints on race and ethnicity, underscoring their influence on shaping the construction of American identity.

In chapter three, I share my empirical findings regarding the first and second-generation African immigrant populations. I conducted 13 interviews to illustrate the integration practices of African immigrants. I distinguish the emerging themes by underscoring this population's experiences of socialization, cultural expression, and racialization. I contextualize these experiences against the prevailing paradigms regarding assimilation theories, highlighting African immigrants' intricate and diverse experiences.

I conclude this thesis by reinforcing the nuanced experiences of the African immigrant population. I urge readers to recognize the power narratives have in illustrating how immigrants preserve their ethnic identity against the extensive history of exclusionary policies, the marginalization within assimilation theories, and the persistent racial hierarchy. No first- or second-generation African immigrant experience is the same; however, each story contributes significantly to underscoring the lived experiences of this population.

Recalibration of Blackness: Towards Defining Ourselves Through Contradiction, Opposition, and New Realities of Being
Keilah Gadson

This is a project created to ask questions without any sort of commitment to providing answers. It is, in many ways, a project intended to mirror the contradictions, confusion, and undefinable nature of Blackness. It begins with an introduction to the theoretical approach I will be using, which utilises Oyeronke Oyewumi's Invention of Women, Alexander Wehiliye's Phonographies: Grooves in Sonic Afro-Modernity, and The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study. From Oyweumi, I utilise the language of occularcentrism and a critique of the visual world that is then combined with Weheliye's distrust of a version of subjectivity based on the visual instead of the auditory that then corroborates the perpetual othering of Halberstram, Moten, and Harney's nonentity. These texts, and what I get from them, are intended to be the backbeat of the thesis, popping up at times while at others floating in the background for the reader to keep in mind.

From here there is a series of essays, each related to a way that the nonentity is occupied as a way of pursuing a truer subjectivity disconnect from the methods of categorisation that permeate what we are told to consider reality. Sun Ra presents himself as people post-temporal and mythic, embodying a questioning of the myth of linear time and its role in enforcing a colonial narrative; Dionne Brand shows us how to disavow nationalism and the notion of states as an entity that can 1) exist objectively or 2) be undertaken on the level of the subject, especially in Black people who have long been considered stateless; Akwaeke Emezi embodies the non/other than/post-human through their identification, allowing us to question the geographic/religious/bodified origins of human as a category and begin to thing opposition is a viable option; Sojourner Truth and Hari Ziyad present different sides of an argument against gender, on one hand saying that if everthing about the treatment, presentation, and needs of Black women is different than that of Women, perhaps Black woman has an altogether different relationship with the gender binary that is corroberated by Ziyad's argument that gender's colonial origins prevent Black people from every truly resonating with the male/female binary;

finally I conclude with insanity, which I define as the absense of a version of sanity defined by the rational, Enlightened Man that is truly just an articulation of an ability to live in reality, with Black radical creativity, white mental brutalisation, and Black female anger existing as the opposition to thie version of sanity. As a series of interwoven but independent essays, each section is like a piece of a much larger puzzle that even at the end is still only a fraction of the ways done. Understanding how Black people intentionally make themselves undefinable and uncategorical is an attempt at pointing us all towards a better conception of what Blackness is, mostly through an understanding of what it isn't and how we have always attempted to exist in otherwise imaginations of what could be.

A Messianic Melancholic: Depathologizing Melancholia Through The Works of Walter Benjamin
Laura Pichata Kun

Mourning, grieving, melancholia—all evoke a profound and pervasive sense of sorrow in response to loss. However, most scholars and psychologists generally only assume the latter temperament—melancholia—as pathological. Yet, there are fleeting moments where melancholia is viewed as positive, stimulating and productive. My thesis is one of them.

Drawing primarily from the works and philosophy of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940), this project seeks to challenge conventional understandings of melancholia as pathological, synonymous with unending depression, and associated with insanity. Rather, it posits that melancholia is a socially normative disposition that occurs as a healthy response to unhealthy—or more precisely—unjust forms of domination, marginalization, and loss. I argue that melancholia has the potential to imbue hope and liberation in a subject through begetting resistance and fostering the emergence of new forms of subjectivity.

My first chapter begins with an account of Sigmund Freud's theory of mourning and melancholia, which offers an intriguing springboard from which we can conceive alternative imaginations of melancholia. Freud's semi-contemporaneous account provides an organized framework for conceiving of Benjamin's philosophy of melancholia. Working from Freud's account, I then analyze the melancholia present in the following works by Benjamin: *Trauerspiel*, "Left-Wing Melancholy," and "Theses on the Philosophy of History." I illuminate the contradictory aspects within each text, but also highlight what I take to be Benjamin's ultimate perspective on melancholia. That is, while Benjamin's melancholic subject appears fixated on loss or the past, she ultimately refashions this paralysis into a catalyst for present and future struggles.

My second, and final chapter, applies my interpretation of Benjamin's conception of melancholia to Hualing Nieh's 1981 novel, *Mulberry and Peach: Two Women of China*, or *Sangqing yu Taohong* 《桑青与桃红》. Through this application, I intend to highlight a more realistic manifestation of melancholia as a productive—

but at times, problematic and pathological—sentiment. I split my second chapter into four sections. I will begin by providing historical context to the novel, as we cannot fully grasp the mastery and intricacy of *Sangqing yu Taohong* without developing a comprehensive understanding of the historical events that inform its plot. The chapter's second section applies Freud's account of mourning/melancholia to *Sangqing yu Taohong,* with a particular focus on the obscurity of loss and incorporation process. Building on Freud, it highlights Sangqing/Taohong as a subject *forced* into melancholia from America's racialization and assimilation scripts. The third section uses a standard account of Benjamin's conception of melancholia to illuminate its limitations in interpreting Sangqing/Taohong's melancholia. Finally, the fourth section applies my nuanced understanding of Benjamin's melancholia to demonstrate that Sangqing/Taohong strategically draws on her hypersexuality as a way of negotiating with her traumatic past to self-constitute a new, modern identity.

  In the epilogue, I provide some concluding reflections on melancholia and briefly explore its relationship with other emotions, particularly that of joy.

"Exiled from the Memory of Men:" Literature, History, and Memory in the Modern and Contemporary Americas

Sofia Heartney

Novels are widely understood as a way to enforce national narratives. They help develop them, disseminate them to a larger audience, and in doing so, create the concept of a nation. However, novels can also be used to disrupt national narratives. They can do so by pointing out hypocrisies and other inaccuracies. This forces the nation to develop more accurate national narratives, such as by better incorporating the stories and memories of marginalized communities into the nation. In doing so, I argue that novels are a unique medium that can be used to propagate a form of progressive nationalism, which embraces the concept of the nation, but in doing so pushes it to be more inclusive.

Chapter I focuses on *One Hundred Years of Solitude* by Gabriel García Márquez. It also introduces several key concepts that will be returned to throughout the thesis, including Linda Hutcheon's concept of historiographic metafiction and Pierre Nora's concept of the relationship between memory and history. The chapter includes discussion of how the novel incorporates events from the history of Colombia and Latin America. Ultimately, I argue that the novel brings attention to how past violence, including that arising from European colonization of Latin America, has shaped current political and social conditions in the region.

Chapter II is centered on *Beloved* by Toni Morrison. I begin by discussing how the novel incorporates the true story of Margaret Garner, and explore how the novel historicizes her story. Along with the novel's vivid stories of enslavement and its inclusion of African mythologies, the novel can be seen as attempting to include the histories of marginalized communities, in this case, primarily that of black women, into American national narratives.

Chapter III focuses on Tommy Orange's *There There*. The novel was published in 2018, and thus serves as a much more recent example in this analysis. It also takes on a quite different approach to examining history, as it incorporates history while the novel itself is set in the present. As a result, this chapter questions if it is possible for a

contemporary novel to be a historical intervention. I ultimately argue that it can be. Due to historical erasure of Native Americans, illustrated through the myth of the "Vanishing Indian," showing how Native American identity operates in the present itself is a historical intervention.

The Conclusion situates analysis of each of the three novels in the context of relevant social theory. Namely, that which explores the role of the novel in building national narratives and the importance of national narratives in creating national identity. These theories show how novels can be used to practice this type of progressive nationalism. It utilizes the concept of the nation to push it to be more inclusive and to incorporate stories from marginalized communities into national narratives.

Moving Through Memory: Remembering the Afterlives of War and Genocide in the Southeast Asian Diaspora
Wendy Gao

At the end of the twentieth century, U.S. nation-building in Vietnam spilled over into massive illegal bombing campaigns in Laos and Cambodia, producing millions of Vietnamese, Laotian, Hmong, and Cambodian refugees forcibly displaced as a result of war, imperialism, and genocide. How do we remember the Vietnam/American War, the so-called "Secret War" in Laos, and the Cambodian genocide? Do we remember them at all? This thesis turns to refugee aesthetics to understand how Southeast Asian diasporic subjects reconstruct memory and destabilize and generate new conceptions of the modern nation-state, history, archives, and knowledge. Due to the disembodying violence of war and forced displacement, I center the body and embodied interpretations in this thesis to contemplate the body as a site of knowledge production, memory, and trauma.

Chapter One reads *Yellow Rain*, a book of poetry written by second-generation Hmong American poet Mai Der Vang. Mai Der contests the state-curated archive to negotiate a distinct and living refugee archive that privileges the Hmong perspective. By writing poems over and against declassified state documents, Mai Der's refugee archive lays bare the secret of the yellow rain chemical attacks on the Hmong people while illuminating the necropolitical and debility frameworks underlying the disposal and disassembly of Hmong bodies. I argue that neither Achille Mbembe's sovereign right to kill nor Jasbir Puar's sovereign right to maim fully expounds the killing of and experimentation on Hmong bodies. Instead, I posit that the yellow rain attacks were the intersection of the right to kill and the right to maim.

Chapter Two explores an embodied reading of *The Best We Could Do*, a graphic memoir by 1.5-generation Vietnamese American illustrator Thi Bui. Challenging Western ocularcentrism that has spectacularized and disembodied the Vietnamese body void of sound and voice, she redefines and transposes the sound of her parents into the graphic narrative while reclaiming the body of the Vietnamese refugee subject by refusing to illustrate and show bodies of injury, thus defying voyeuristic tendencies

to passive consume. I then argue that Bui routes war, memory, and nation-building on and through the body by studying how she depicts illustrations of the body in the graphic memoir.

Chapter Three meditates on the materiality of clay as a repository of memory in the film *The Missing Picture*, which restages the Cambodian genocide with clay made by genocide survivor Rithy Panh. I consider and examine the ceramic process and the elemental properties of clay. Because clay is a unique union of earth, water, air, and fire, I ground the significance of each element to the ceramic process and the film. Then, I trace the history of the Cambodian genocide and make claims about the meaning of using clay to restage the Cambodian genocide in light of the bloody and brutal weaponization of the land against the Cambodian people under the Khmer Rouge regime. Finally, this chapter studies Panh's connection to the land as a displaced Cambodian subject filming from diasporic exile. The physical labor of sculpting, molding, and chiseling Panh's memory from clay extends a corporeal, embodied connection to his home-land, rendering his recollection material and enabling an infusion of new meaning and memory into the clay that nonetheless does not seek to reconcile or forget Cambodia's bloody history.

'I See War': Tracing the Contemporary American Far-Right's Ideological Shift to Revolution

Alec Kane

The ideological construction of the far-right has proved difficult to study. Researchers want to understand what the 'average' member of a far-right group is like, but gaining any kind of information about the groups as a collective has been a challenge. The far-right is inherently distrusting of outsiders and academia, and even if contact is established there is no way to verify the truthfulness or accuracy of the information the researcher receives. In this thesis, I study the ideological and cultural polarities of the far-right through the group's leadership, focusing on the intellectual elite and far-right terrorists. The leaders in the far-right publicize their ideology to recruit and educate new members. Using this top-down approach, we see that the contemporary American 'far-right' constitutes a "political religion" motivated by a gnostic pursuit of a white utopia.

In chapter 1 I use two sources to provide a historical overview of the contemporary American far-right. Kathleen Belew's *Bring the War Home* (2018) recounts the development of the American militia movement, starting with the Vietnam War and continuing through the Oklahoma City Bombing. Vietnam marks a turning point in the history of the far-right. The far-right shifts from a movement of disparate sects with distinct visions for white restoration to an ideologically diverse movement united around white revolution. David H. Bennett's *The Party of Fear* (1988) examines the development of extremist parties throughout all of U.S. history. I focus on his later chapters, which cover the transition of the contemporary far-right as it moves away from traditional nativist and anti-communist sentiments. The most powerful group in the post-Vietnam era is the "New Right," a coalition of Evangelical Christians with mainstream political influence. I then offer a continuation of each work into the twenty-first century, arguing that the far-right 'fringe' is now the conservative mainstream.

In chapter 2 I analyze the far-right canon, defining the ideologies contained in the novels. I look at William Luther Pierce's *The Turner Diaries* (1978) and Jean Raspail's *The Camp of the Saints* (1973). The ideologies differ but the narratives are almost identical: far-right soldiers are 'awakened' to the truth of the evil modern world and

sacrifice their lives trying to destroy it. In Pierce's work the soldiers win the 'war,' in Raspail's work the soldiers fall alongside the West. In this chapter, I also look at the first *Left Behind* (1995) novel, a mainstream evangelical work about the apocalypse. After a close reading, I argue that *Left Behind* is a radical work with many similarities to the novels from the far-right canon.

In chapter 3 I look at real far-right soldiers, discussing the manifestos of far-right terrorists. Timothy McVeigh, Frazier Glenn Miller Jr., Dylann Roof, and Patrick Crusius represent different ideologies within the far-right, but they too make a similar argument. Each man claims that they were 'awakened' to the evil world and its oppression of the white race. Their 'only choice' is to commit these acts of terror to awaken more white people to the imminent danger they face as a race.

In the conclusion, I elaborate on the contemporary far-right being a "political religion" held together by the pursuit of a gnostic revolution. I conclude by offering an opinion on what the future holds for the contemporary far-right.

The Political Sociology of Global Data Governance: Renegotiating the Social Contract for Data

Yirui Gui

"Data is the new oil." In today's digital economy, data's value surpasses that of traditional commodities, fundamentally reshaping socio-political dynamics and governance strategies across the globe. This thesis critically examines the evolving landscape of data governance in the three dominant digital economies—the United States, China, and the European Union—highlighting how global data extraction and usage norms are continuously crafted and renegotiated. The central focus is to explore how these negotiations are reshaping the social contract for data, impacting personal privacy, national security, international relations, and global sustainability.

Chapter 1 sets the stage by introducing the "social contract for data," an implicit agreement between platforms, users, and the state, which has developed from the historical progression of capitalism and is enhanced by digital innovations. This chapter contends that while users ostensibly exchange personal data for services, they are entangled in an information asymmetry where the true value of their data is obscured. This disparity has fostered a surveillance economy where technology platforms, acting as modern feudal landlords, enclose the Internet commons and establish new intermediaries for data extraction. As this social contract has evolved, users have faced a digital "tragedy of the commons," where individuals' privacy concessions cumulatively lead to significant collective repercussions.

Expanding upon the foundational social contract, Chapter 2 addresses the broader consequences of informal data extraction contracts, touching upon privacy, equality, liberty, surveillance, and sustainability issues. It argues that the existing data extraction frameworks necessitate urgent renegotiation to address the unanticipated harms and skewed benefits that have emerged, particularly as current Internet users lack feasible options to opt out of this inequitable arrangement.

Chapter 3 delves into the formal legal frameworks governing data through a comparative analysis of the regulatory approaches in the United States, China, and the European Union, which are characterized respectively by market-driven, state-

driven, and rights-driven models. This analysis illuminates how each model is shaped by its historical and cultural contexts and identifies the tensions between economic development, individual rights, and state control.

Chapter 4 uses TikTok as a case study to illustrate how various political actors navigate and renegotiate the terms of data governance. TikTok's challenges underscore the complexities of managing national security, cultural influence, and individual rights in a digital age dominated by shifting geopolitical dynamics. This case study exemplifies how political, economic, and social forces interplay in the governance of digital platforms, reciprocally influencing global digital policies.

The thesis concludes by advocating for a new paradigm in data governance that treats data as a public good. This approach reconceptualizes data within a modern social contract framework that emphasizes respect for privacy, enhances transparency, and promotes inclusivity. It calls for international collaboration to establish robust norms and standards that safeguard individual rights and invites further research on interoperability in the global data governance landscape.

"The Universe is a Ruined Village": Land Politics, Identity, and the Moral Experience of Violence in Zimbabwe, 1965-1987

Lucas Baylous

In this thesis, I draw from historical sociology and moral anthropology to outline an interpretive approach to understanding the developments of moral claim-making across time. This approach is applied to the question of Ndebele ethnic identity and the various moral significations it gained throughout Zimbabwe's history.

In my first chapter, I paint a picture of the relations of power articulated by nationalist historians. I begin by describing the initial colonial encounter and trace the history of the colony from its inception through the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. I attempt to describe the relations of power and the languages of value mobilized throughout the history of the region in an attempt to provide necessary historical context for those unfamiliar with the time and/or region, while also highlighting a normative critique of the relations of power identified by ZAPU membersâ€" that of the stark inequality suffered by non-white citizens of Rhodesia.

In my second chapter I critically examine accounts of ZAPU and ZAPU-sympathetic historiography on early colonial Rhodesia. In doing so, I analyze how the platform of ZAPU/ZIPRA formed a moral discourse surrounding violent resistance that gained meaningful force over time. I limit my attention to the manner in which ethnicity was mobilized by different members of the party to develop the moral claim to land that justified the nationalist movement. I examine how members of Rhodesian society who had lived in and undoubtedly perceived the relations of inequality described in Chapter 1 came to problematize their situation and identify a threshold past which violent revolution became imminent and justified. By focusing on rural forms of nationalist resistance that did not gain associations with Ndebele identity, I highlight the politically pragmatic ways in which ZAPU gained support through the mobilization of ethnic language, particularly around being Ndebele, while remaining a multi-ethnic party. Additionally, I focus on the international context of the Liberation War, looking at how the party's platform developed in relation to the global movement towards decolonization that resulted in the 1960s.

In my third chapter, I analyze interviews focusing on the legacy of the Gukurahundi periodâ€" a period of political violence targeted at Ndebele citizens and former ZAPU/ZIPRA "dissidents" following Zimbabwe's independence. I analyze how this genocide, which was justified on the heuristic connection between being Ndebele and belonging to ZAPU/ZIPRA, was the result of reproduced imperial categories that became politically useful for the newly independent ZANU-PF government to justify it desire for a one-party state in light of postcolonial anxieties about sovereignty. I look at how this resignification justified itself as a real phenomenon through violent actions that cited the connection between being Ndebele and belonging to ZAPU/ZIPRA, despite the historical falsity of this claim. I also suggest that the connection between being Ndebele and belonging to ZAPU that is seen in post-1987 historiography can be understood largely a protective response to this era of intense political violence.

Historic Specificity of Trauma within Refugee Spaces: MHPSS in South Sudan
Gracie Heil

The stage of foreign affairs and international relations is marked by violent conflict, whether it be over land, resources, or religious identities. Violence against civilian populations leading to displacement and resettling of millions of individuals is at the forefront of policy questions. Refugee populations are growing at exponential rates, as past conflicts leave displaced people in their wake for decades after the conflicts are resolved, while new disasters such as the war in Ukraine, the continuing and horrific violence in Palestine, and an earthquake in Afghanistan have left thousands of people dead, and millions of people without homes searching for safety and peace.

Every displaced life deserves to be saved with respect and dignity, and while saving biological life is at the forefront of humanitarian aid efforts, I am interested in exploring the ways that Mental Health and Psychosocial Supports (MHPSS) can be integrated into life-saving aid. To do this, the network of humanitarian systems must consider nuanced histories and the culturally specific traumas that have been endured by communities.

In Chapter 1, I will provide a psychological breakdown of what trauma is. Western psychology will be utilized for us to understand exactly what trauma is and how it impacts (or doesn't impact) people, and the traditional human responses to trauma. In this section, I will emphasize what is the most common response to trauma: Resilience. Resilience is the most common way that human beings deal with trauma, however just as resilience can be expressed differently from person to person, there are cultural nuances to trauma and healing. This will enable us to gain a better understanding of the specificity of addressing trauma that is needed for trauma healing within South Sudanese populations.

Chapter 2 will provide background for the Sudanese Civil War that first started in 1955 and ended in 1972 that was between the Arab/Muslim North and the African/Christian South, and how the war restarted in 1983, ending in 2005. Understanding the origins of this conflict are essential to track the populations of South Sudanese people that fled their homes following independence and ended up displaced

within South Sudan or within neighboring countries. Contextualizing this conflict, insight about specific South Sudanese traumas that have been endured will be provided through predominantly firsthand accounts that have been told through interviews, centering the voices of affected populations in this study.

Chapter 3 will first identify characteristics of South Sudanese life that give individuals and communities meaning. I will then provide specific examples of Mental Health and Psychosocial Support (MHPSS) programs that have been implemented in South Sudanese communities and how they address the historically specific traumas of South Sudanese populations and attempt to restore the facets of life that have been disrupted. Along with two programs that have been implemented within South Sudan, I will also examine a program of healing, justice, and reconciliation in Rwanda.

Concluding this paper, I will move forward in my argument that trauma informed MHPSS can open avenues of peacebuilding. We will identify creativity as a source of trauma-processing that can be fostered in existing infrastructures within zones of exception such as the Kakuma refugee camp and spaces alike. From here, I will conclude the paper by discussing the ways that trauma-processing can and should be used as a tool for peacebuilding, as originally argued by John Lewis Lederach in his Transformative Conflict Resolution framework.

Freedom, Justice and Love v. The United States: A Trail of White Epistemological Ignorance

Talib Kante

The inspiration for this thesis stems from my deep curiosity about dynamic interplay between order and justice. As I explored my curiosity, I began to question the influence of metaphysical concepts such as these on society more broadly. I wondered how these ideals have developed throughout history, the factors that have shaped their definitions in the past and present, and how individuals internalize and perceive these concepts. These questions led to more questions, ultimately uncovering an interesting inconsistency between the conceptions of justice and order within the United States. It seemed the 'democratic' order often skews the balance of justice within the country. Through this investigation, I discovered that numerous forces interact, intersect and sometimes clash within the democratic framework of the U.S.

Employing a narrative of a courtroom drama, the thesis dissects the relationship between Freedom, Justice, Love, and the American ethos, with a keen focus on the proliferation of White Epistemological Ignorance (WEI). Drawing from the scholarly framework of Charles Mills, the prosecution constructs a compelling case, arguing that WEI acts as a barrier to the realization of freedom, justice, and love for all citizens. Through a comprehensive historical analysis spanning centuries articulated by expert testimonies and societal analyses, the trial unveils the systemic nature of ignorance and its detrimental effects on marginalized communities. By directly confronting the nation's legacy of violence and oppression, the trial serves as a powerful catalyst, urging the collective consciousness to acknowledge and address the insidious influence of White Epistemological Ignorance (WEI). In doing so, it advocates for the pursuit of a more equitable and just America, where the corrosive impact of ignorance is recognized and rectified.

Each chapter serves as a distinct epoch in the American saga, illuminated by testimonies from influential figures like David Walker, Ida B. Wells, and James Baldwin. Their accounts unveil the insidious ways in which ignorance distorts perceptions of freedom, justice, and love across different eras of American history.

The culmination of this intellectual odyssey is a poignant letter from Sylvia Wynter, reflecting on the enduring legacy of ignorance in modern-day America, as evidenced by events like the Rodney King lynching. Through Wynter's words, the thesis underscores the persistent struggle against ignorance and the imperative for collective action to forge a more inclusive and enlightened future.As the jury, readers are invited to engage critically with the evidence presented, pondering its implications for the future of democracy in the United States.

Broken Mirror: Discussions on the Subjectivity of American Far-Right Hate as an Uncanny Double of Hegemonic American Subjectivity
Donnie McKinney

Hate groups have had an alarming and increasingly relevant role in American politics; as such, it is necessary to examine the conditions that create the possibility of these group's existence. Because of the growing connection between hate groups and the state, it would be helpful to specifically examine the state's role in the existence of these groups. Perhaps an examination of the groups themselves would also provide a helpful reference point for identifying potentially problematic aspects of the average American subject.

Hate groups, surprisingly, are made coherent through – and cannot be coherent without – an intense love of self that they feel they need to "defend." They do not just love themselves generally, however, and instead love where they see themselves reflected: white masculinity. This may be found in the words of hate groups themselves, from ethnographic literature about these groups, and from conclusions that may be drawn from data gathered from these groups in the literature.

Using this lens of white masculinity to examine the role that the state plays in the creation of a "hegemonic subject" provides interesting results. State history standards and frequently used textbooks, particularly Virginia's, are examined for how they seek to produce a subject that identifies with and loves white masculinity. A few sample quotes show how close this identification in K-12 standards comes (at its worst) to the same narratives that hate groups frequently make use of. Finally, a brief analysis of William Golding's Lord of the Flies serves to examine the production of this identification outside of history classes.

There is, however, a key difference between the two subjects: where one places blame. Through neoliberal education and neoliberal education structures (like

school systems), the student subject is trained to construct themselves within a "meritocratic" world where one is morally responsible and accountable for one's own station. This neoliberal influence also increases loneliness and competitiveness in the student subject, as referenced by existing literature. An analysis of Virginia state standards also makes clear how the student subject suffers from hermeneutical injustice – unable to access concepts which would help in the expression and symbolization of their own suffering. Hate groups however, while subscribing to often the exact same ideology of (certain aspects of) neoliberalism, offer a sense of community and a way to avoid "bad conscious." They place blame entirely upon an imagined "enemy" in incredibly harmful ways that deny many even the social existence of their body, beyond the physical violence they enact upon others' bodies.

This is why a different pedagogy is necessary in education. Simultaneously, this alarming similarity between the student subject and the subject of hate groups, with how they both identify with white masculinity, should be cause for alarm and reconsideration. I argue that we must negotiate ourselves as subjects differently such that the identification with white masculinity which makes possible the existence of hate groups can finally be put to rest.

Quare Study: Book Bans and the Disruption of Black Queer Self-Making During Youth

Tichara Robertson Lewis

Starting in the 2022-23 school year, the United States has experienced a surge in book bans in public schools and libraries. Organized parental groups and political figures have worked to prohibit these books from being read and taught in schools to shield children from "harmful" and "explicit" content. In recent years discussions of US racial history and race in the classroom as well as content surrounding LGBTQ+ identities have faced backlash. This intentional censorship undoubtedly impacts students who hold one or more of these marginalized identities, particularly youth who hold Black and queer identities. My thesis investigates how certain young-adult novels illustrate the ways that queer Black youth "read" to understand their social selves and how recent bans on books disrupt this emancipatory project of social identity formation.

The first chapter serves as an introduction to the recent history of anti-CRT and anti-LGBTQ+ book bans in the US, highlighting which states and organizations have played a role in these bans. I turn to George M. Jonhson's All Boys Aren't Blue as a case study to uncover the conservative arguments against the novel, revealing why it is currently the second most-banned book in the US. Following this overview, I discuss the politics of literacy to demonstrate how Black queer people have historically been harmed due to normative literacies, a term coined by scholar, Eric Darnell Pritchard. I then introduce my own term, quare study, to uniquely analyze the work of two young-adult novels, *You Should See Me in a Crown* by Leah Johnson and *The Stars and the Blackness Between Them* by Junauda Petrus, to connect literacy and Black queer subjectivity during youth.

My second chapter consists of a close reading of Leah Johnson's *You Should See Me in a Crown*, focusing on the ways in which literacy influences the protagonist's experience with the public and private spheres. I explore the enforcement of literacies in spaces of education, interrogate the experience of Blackness and queerness when surrounded by whiteness and heteronormativity, and ultimately reveal how Johnson illustrates restorative literacies to claim one's full intersectional identity. Junauda

Petrus' *The Stars and the Blackness Between Them* anchors the third chapter of this thesis. In reading this novel, I demonstrate queer ancestral reading as a mode of self-discovery and bodily autonomy. I explore how the main characters of the novel come to understand their Black queer girlhood, materially and emotionally, through channeling Black queer connections, both familial and non-familial.

The thesis concludes with me zooming out of the novels themselves to inspect the personal and political motivations for Black queer writing. I demonstrate the significance of writing for subject formation and exchanging liberatory ideas. Overall, I demonstrate an array of reasons why political challenges against books discussing race, non-normative gender, and sexuality, or all intersectionally, are harmful to the recognition of the Black queer community.

Education in Motion: Teachers in the Movement and the Usage of Freedom-Based Pedagogies

Asia Harford

There are some narratives regarding Black educators that try to assert that they were the antithesis of the progress of the Civil Rights Movement — standing in the way of their students who were ready to fight for equal rights. This viewpoint could not be further from the truth, as Black educators were prominent disruptors of the status quo — and they often did the bulk of this work in the classroom. Pedagogies characteristic of Black education are rooted in the struggle for liberation and the desire for an education that cultivates intellectual and physical freedom. This thesis will add to the many works that dismantle these harmful narratives. The study will examine the background, pedagogy, and career of four educators who taught during the Civil Rights Era. Their work will be examined utilizing theory grounded in education. The work of the educator will be applied to pertinent issues that education is facing to further express how rooted in activism Black education inherently is. The study ultimately aims to showcase the work of Black educators to portray that these everyday decisions were displays of political agency by the teacher with the goal of providing the best education possible to all students.

Chapter one explores Esther Vassar and her short stint teaching at Charlottesville's Lane High School. The chapter examines a traumatic event that occurred at Lane. Through looking at Vassar's retelling alongside theories presented by Tondra Loder Jackson and Jarvis Given, this chapter will argue that Black education is inherently political and that engaging in it is inevitably a form of activism. The chapter explores the effects of positive Black representations in the classroom. It also studies a current educator in Charlottesville that experienced a situation similar to Vassar to explore the effectiveness of representation.

Chapter two explores Diane Price, who taught at Lane immediately after Esther Vassar. It explores Price's fight towards getting Black history incorporated into the daily curriculum. Utilizing Jarvis Given's fugitive pedagogy theory, this chapter will examine why Price practices fugitive pedagogy in a de jure way, which

is less subtle than how Givens outlines it. The chapter will also explore a modern attack on fugitive education.

Chapter three explores Rosa Atkins, a teacher and administrator in Virginia public schools. The chapter will explore her pedagogy in connection with Monica White's ethics of care. It will examine what occurs without an ethic of care in the classroom. The chapter will also discuss the need for more Black administrators especially in the period immediately after integration — and how Atkins' filled that necessity. The chapter will also examine the reimplementation of ethics of care and how essential it is as administrators begin to follow restrictive bans on identity in schools,

Chapter four explores Patricia Ramón, who taught English classes in Atlanta, Georgia. This chapter will rely on Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed theory to examine the dialogical pedagogies utilized by Ramón. I will argue that when she created space for her students to freely discuss matters of Civil Rights, Ramón created a classroom that prioritized freedom mindsets. The chapter will explore how pertinent this sort of education is today, and the impacts that it has on students who engage in it

Beyond Accommodation and Resistance: Exilic Theology and its Role in the Black Church Tradition

Meredith Hicks

Modernity has relegated the once dominant, majority Protestant worldview to a minority worldview in America. In its place, pluralism has entrenched certain hegemonic social norms that contradict previously accepted Protestant norms. This contradiction has caused Protestants to engage with the broader culture through means of accommodation (toleration, empathy, civility, etc.) or resistance (anger, defensiveness, isolation, etc.). In this thesis, I ask if Protestantism, an essentially exclusivist religious system that once held power, can exist constructively—without accommodation or resistance—in our postmodern, pluralist world.

Using the theologies of Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King Jr., James H. Cone, and Esau McCaulley I examine the Black Church tradition, a subset of the Protestant tradition, and how it distinctly engages with the broader culture. I argue American Black Christians' exiled social position throughout history has forced them to balance the prophetic and pastoral traditions in a way that moves them beyond the spectrum of accommodation or resistance. Because both act under the same orthodoxy, Black Christianity's distinct orthopraxy sheds light on potential cultural engagements for the broader Protestant tradition.

This thesis will conclude by emphasizing the importance of exilic theology to the Protestant tradition to constructively exist in modern America. It is exilic theology that necessitates an effective balance of the prophetic and pastoral traditions, and it is this balance that enables constructive social engagement. The American Black Church has exemplified this constructive engagement throughout history in its embodiment of "faithful presence as a creative minority." They embrace a theology of exile, rather than engage in a culture war for hegemonic power. Through a posture of participation, exilic theology, and the Black Church canon, I illustrate how the broader American Protestant tradition can constructively exist in our postmodern, pluralist world.

Keeping Care Cheap: The Maintenance of Black Women's Occupational Segregation and Wage Inequity
Madeleine Green

No individual in the United States has carried a greater burden of labor or created more opportunity for the nation's economy than the Black Woman. The American economy's reliance on the labor of Black women stretches as far back as slavery and endures into the present day: without it, the financial holdings of White families would be greatly diminished, and Black men, White men, and White women's ability to pursue high paying careers outside of the home would be severely restricted. Since emancipation, Black women have been concentrated in a select set of jobs that embody the outsourced work of the household. Today, Black women's role in the labor force is relatively unchanged: they are our essential, frontline workers, disproportionately employed in the industries of child care, food service, home care, nursing assistance, retail, clerical work, and non-household domestic work.

But Black women are not compensated for their outsized role in the labor force, and never have been. This is true both in the sectors where Black women are heavily concentrated, and the ones where they aren't – controlling for both education, experience, and region, Black women's wages are lower than those of Black men, White men and White women at every level of education and within every occupation. That Black women hold up the economy but are consistently undercompensated for their labor is not and has never been accidental. The goal of this thesis is to demonstrate to the reader both why and how Black women have been maintained as a low cost labor force in the period since Reconstruction, specifically as it pertains to their work in the "care" sector of the economy. I'll follow a model provided by Black Feminist theorist Patricia Hill Collins, laid out in her text Black Feminist Thought, which observes that the oppression of Black women encompasses three interdependent dimensions – the ideological, the political, and the economic – all of which coalesce to create the experience of Black womanhood in the labor force.

Chapter One will lay the groundwork for the rest of the paper by exploring the landscape of ideological oppression that is used to justify Black women's place in the labor force. Its first section will develop a relationship with the economic theory that justifies inequality under capitalism. Its second section will survey the images generated

about Black women over the course of slavery and the Jim Crow era that served to normalize their exploitation. Chapter Two will investigate the role of the State in enforcing Black women's historical occupational segregation using a theory of racial capitalism, and documents how State force and legislative power were combined with racial ideology to produce value for Whites. Chapter Three completes the paper by exploring the economic and labor market dynamics that have caused Black women's modern occupational segregation and low wages.

Developing the Divine: The Transformation of the American Courthouse into a Racialized Sacred Space
Karen Sun

Courthouses have always placed a critical role in American culture and politics. The courtroom space marks a distinct break from the infrastructures of every day American life, and the courtroom experience is one carefully curated by the architecture of the space. In this thesis, I argue that the modern American courtroom behaves like a sacred space for Americans, making the Law sacred in the name of Justice. However, this American Justice, as many scholars have noted, is deeply racialized, and I seek to understand how the process of transforming the courthouse into a sacred space cemented a racialized hierarchy into a divine order while America crafted its national identity. Focusing on courthouses in Virginia, I note that Virginia courthouses were both a reflection of local needs that then transformed into projects and confrontations of national anxieties in the turn of the 19th century.

In Chapter One, I outline the theoretical foundations of what sacred space is using Mircea Eliade's *Sacred and Profane*. Reading Eliade alongside Henri Lefebvre's *Production of Social Space* and Rudolf Otto's *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, I offer three claims in the development of the canon concerning sacred space: (1) that sacred space transforms the ideological into divine truth, (2) that sacred space is inherently concerned with instilling and enforcing social order, including social hierarchy, and (3) that the experience of sacred space is not uniform – what is being made sacred and the religious experience evoked by the sacred space in fundamentally different for different subjects in the social order. Finally, I offer an analysis on how profane spaces can develop into sacred spaces.

In Chapter Two, this thesis applies these theoretical arguments to Virginia courthouses pre- Revolution. By tracking the development of the early Virginia courthouse, I argue that these courthouses were built as mimicries of the Anglican church to localize the practice of royal power. Behaving as county administrative spaces, these structures operated as important but not yet sacred spaces before the 19th century. However, this section also follows three critical developments that laid the groundwork for the transformation of the American courthouse post-Revolution. The rise of the

judge's bench, the specialization of space, and the increasingly violence and public ways Black enslaved peoples were punished in the 18th century primed the courthouse to transform into the sacred after the Revolutionary War.

Finally, Chapter Three looks into that very tradition. I argue that in the separation of religion and government, the State becomes sacred and public buildings become sacred space. In the case of America, American architects like Thomas Jefferson positioned the young country to present itself as the inheritor of the immemorial by adopting Neoclassical architecture as the face of the nation, creating a facade of a timeless, ahistorical, and absolute authority. However, while the virtues communicated by this architecture were presented as universal, the logics of this aesthetic were inherently racialized. The Neoclassical temple form of the American courthouse was designed to sanctify and gloss over the social order it made sacred. Justifying and hiding the racial hierarchy the country was built on, the new American courthouse transformed this racial order into a naturalized state, diving the nation's people into those that could achieve good and, thus, be ruled by Justice, and those that cannot, who then must be ruled by Violence.

Ultimately, this thesis is concerned about how the process of making Justice in the State is a process of making social order divine. Given the racialized was the Law was made Divine in this country, I am interested in the ways in which making the sacred is also a racialized process. Justice is made, and the making of Justice cannot be understood abstractly nor in a historical vacuum.