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Coming of Age in Covid-19:

An Ethnographic Study on the University of Vermont Community

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May 2023

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Introduction

In March 2020, I never would have predicted that being sent home for two weeks over spring break would turn into my senior thesis topic two years down the road, but it did. March 2020 has become something of a flashbulb memory, specifically in the US: This is when, at the state and national level, the Covid-19 pandemic reached a dangerous enough rate of transmission to prompt widespread shutdowns. With the upper respiratory illness spreading at such a fast, unpredictable pace, there was no vaccine established yet (in fact, there wouldn't be for another year), so the safest method of mitigation, aligned with past global disease outbreaks in spite of humanity's rapid medical advancements, was the quarantine: avoiding human contact unless absolutely necessary (Liang et al., 2021). All but essential businesses temporarily closed, including colleges, resulting in residence-hall-bound students like myself being shepherded home to our parents' houses and completing the semester online.

It is clear that covid-19, a disease that spreads by being social, suddenly called into question most of the ways our society functions. This was obvious to me as an American, but more specifically, as a college student. As the pandemic persisted and the University of Vermont administration introduced more and more restrictive rules for their students, specifically those living in residence halls, I found myself tuning in to the cultural shifts taking place. Questions arose that would eventually take research to answer: what had happened to my gleeful freedom, my newfound independence, which I'd only had for six months? And why did my peers and I accept this level of control over our autonomy, when we were paying to be here? The image of the college experience, in the face of covid-19, simply wasn't what it used to be, or even had been in 2019. Being socially limited seemed, unexpectedly, to change everything. When you get right down to it, this project stems from one question I have been occupied by for the past year, if not longer: what happens when the only reliable method to control a disease, social isolation,

directly contrasts with the principles of American individualism and freedom, the main functions and selling points of the American university?

In the emergency management systems in place at many institutions, including universities, it is common to record an after-action review when there has been a crisis. The goal of this is to recap what happened, discuss how effective the methods of management were, identify weak points, and make suggestions for ways to improve the action in the future. After the worst of the covid-19 pandemic—from the shutdown in March 2020, to the vaccine in March 2021, to the lifting of mask mandates in March 2022—the emergency management team at UVM had been working in overdrive for more than two years. They, like many of us, were exhausted. They were tired of talking about it, and tired of picking apart their strategies, and as a result, an official after-action review was never recorded. Now, I cannot claim that there's much I can do about that. Ethnography is by no means a standard after-action review. I was not in the room where it happened, my explanation on behalf of the administrators behind the control systems in place can't possibly reflect 100% accuracy of the covid years. What I have gathered is a thoughtful record of the social effects of the pandemic on the UVM community. I hope that the research in the following pages can accurately convey how the pandemic changed expectations and challenged norms about what it means to be a college student, how these continue to shift as the pandemic fades into a part of our everyday lives, and ultimately, what it was like to come of age in covid-19.

Toward An Anthropology of Covid on Campus

Coming-of-age is a cultural phenomenon describing the transition from child to adult and the adaptation to the associated responsibilities, independence, and autonomy (Mead, 1928; Moffatt, 1989). In the US, this phenomenon often culminates in the college experience (Moffatt,

1989; Nathan, 2005). This has been an ongoing, albeit small, field of research that anthropology has taken an interest in since the socio-economic shift in the mid-twentieth century, when college shifted from a place to purchase an education, to a place to purchase the college experience (Horowitz, 1987; Moffatt, 1989; Nathan, 2005). In the college community, on the other side of students learning to be adults, is the administration in charge of cultivating the college experience to meet their desire for choices on how and where to spend their time (Nathan, 2005). By 2019, when I first enrolled at UVM, college had evolved to be consumer driven. This is not to discount the function of the university as a mass producer of research, especially with UVM being named a top 100 public research university in spring of 2022 by the National Science Foundation (Defibaugh, 2022). If anything, this ultimately factors into the marketability of UVM as a competitive institution for both education and experience.

There is one gap in this research, prior to covid-19, that I wanted to document: the power structures used by administration to control students, because as the governing body of thousands of undergraduates, they are responsible for facilitating the safety and wellbeing of those young adults as well as managing their impact on the rest of the community in which the college is situated. I analyzed the mechanisms through which college administrators utilize biopower, a power structure in which power is applied to people and their bodies rather than the land and what it produces, in combination with principles of postmodern risk assessment, which considers institutional frameworks and their inventions of risk and how it should be perceived in addition to genuine life-or-death analysis performed in individual risk calculation (Foucault, 1979; Fox, 1999). In this thesis, I assert that biopower and postmodern risk assessment are used to carefully curate the college experience to anticipate the actions of students, while providing opportunities for students to exercise the autonomy for which they came to college (Douglas, 1986; Douglas, 1992; Fox, 1999).

These two concepts, the college experience and administrative power, are connected by the buying and selling of autonomy, and their smooth function depends upon this being a reliable transaction. In an ordinary world, this would be anthropologically significant simply because it would be useful to document the shifting relationship between students and administration, and the evolving significance of the college experience, to continue the documentation of what it means to come of age in America. The anthropological perspective becomes even more significant when covid-19 enters the picture: the disease whose only reliable method of mitigation—even in 2023, with vaccines and less severe symptoms—is social distancing, the modern take on the quarantine. Social distancing requires the sacrifice of some levels of autonomy, which the systems in power in the US had to control. To see what this looked like on the college campus—the assessment of risk that became necessary, the administrative perspective on student risk calculation, the ways in which the pandemic reduced the college experience to its bare bones—is a task for an anthropologist, to observe, understand, and explain the shifting compact of power between administrators and students.

Investigating the Culture and Power of Covid-19 at UVM

This study documents individual experiences and social effects of pandemic-related disruptions, and the emergence of new relationships, dispositions, and orientations to campus as a result of the pandemic. Covid-19 altered our most basic assumptions and agreements about how students will manage their bodies and how much surveillance from administration they will accept. It disrupted the freedom advertised by the university and forced the adoption of new modes of biopower exercised over students. Though many, many questions emerged over the course of this project, I chose to guide my research with three major questions: what power dynamics on campus are shifting due to this pandemic, and how are they contributing to

fundamental changes in the relationship between students and institutions of higher education? How do students make sense of their experiences of college life during the pandemic and understand the shifting nature of how they relate to the university and the educational process? And finally, how has the Covid-19 pandemic, including the policies and practices set by UVM administration to manage student health, affected student relationships with each other?

As an anthropologist, I knew one of the most accurate ways to document the social and cultural adjustments that came with covid-19, especially in my college community, would be autoethnographic research. Ethnography is defined as the collection of data through extensive, long-term fieldwork in a community, using methods including participant observation and open-ended interviewing, to view the community through a culturally relative lens and tell its authentic story as a final result (Fetterman, 2010; Vivanco, 2017). Autoethnography expands on this by emphasizing how membership in that community—in this case, myself as a student at UVM for going on four years—can provide a powerful basis for developing cultural insight. It is true that autoethnography can place the observer in a vulnerable position as a subject. I can testify that this project was emotionally challenging; with each interview, I gained more insight on how the student body is grappling with the grief of missing out on over a year of our college experience, but it also pushed me to face my own grief. That being said, autoethnography allows unique insights that could not quite be caught by an outsider looking in—I had no need to establish a place in the community, because I already belonged here.

My methodology was quite simple: I talked to a lot of people. Formally, I interviewed thirteen members of the university community in the spring 2023 semester, who remained anonymous and will be introduced under pseudonyms: ten students, and three administrators. For students, I interviewed three current 4th years—one an RA, three 3rd years, two 1st years, and two 2022 graduates—a member of the Student Government Association, and an RA in the spring of

2021. The three administrators were a Resident Director from the Residential Life department, a Public Communications executive, and an Emergency Management officer. Formal interviews took place somewhere private on campus—in offices, library study rooms, or even in my room at my house, for those that took place via Teams call, and loosely followed a set of interview questions (Appendix B). I reached out to people by text or in-person if possible, especially students, because that medium seemed to feel the most comfortable for everyone involved. After my first few interviews, and for any "real" grownups (administrators, and even the two graduates), I contacted subjects via a scripted email. Unsurprisingly, a lot of those emails went unanswered, but it proved a valuable method for gathering a variety of storytellers. I recorded interview audio on my phone and transcribed and analyzed the data by hand.

Informally, I was able to converse with and observe many people, and this is where I got a lot of contextual information. Anyone who I mentioned the topics of this thesis to—friends, classmates, the barista at the coffee shop, my dental hygienist—was quick to offer their own perspective on the major covid-19 years. I overheard conversations as I lived my life, walking to class or doing homework in the library, of students talking smack about administration, or discussing a friend with symptoms who refused to take a covid-19 rapid test. I took notes on these scenarios by jotting them down in my notebook as soon as possible, writing about them in a blank word document, or recording a voice memo on my phone. If I noticed myself in a group of people, I'd do a quick informal poll sometimes—for example, after the first week of classes in fall 2022, I gathered my roommates and asked roughly how many people they'd noticed wearing face masks in their classes. In this way, I was able to effectively triangulate information between different sides of the UVM community, to encounter, record, and understand diverse perspectives on the pandemic's impact.

In this thesis, I argue that the covid-19 pandemic brought on a cultural uncertainty which prompted institutions, in this case, the University of Vermont, to establish new norms and expectations of students in order to mitigate the disease while keeping the institution in business. This new normal, in many ways, contradicted the cultural phenomenon of the college experience, as students were forced to sacrifice bodily autonomy—the very autonomy that, prior to covid-19, made college so appealing. The sacrifices made by students in order for the university to continue to function generated a lack of trust in the university to continue to provide that college experience, and the coming-of-age process was simultaneously stunted by the lack of autonomy which previously allowed the development of independence, and rushed by the added social responsibility of disease mitigation and health management.

In the following chapters, the covid-19 trajectory is loosely chronological, flowing from the lockdowns in March 2020 to the present day, but several overarching themes emerged: the anthropological concepts of liminality, biopower, institutions, and risk assessment in particular, with supporting analyses of where adolescence, individualism, normalization, youth subculture, risk ordering, and self-surveillance play into these broader themes. All three chapters include their own sets of key questions, which guided my interpretations.

The first chapter, the literature review, is where the background information is concentrated, to form a base level of understanding of the key topics that factored into this research. It first outlines the history of the college experience—how adolescence and rites of passage have been studied, how they fit into universities in America, and how college morphed from strictly education to a coming-of-age experience. I synthesize theories on the use of biopower in institutional power structures and risk assessment and management, to explain the existing power structures at UVM, and explore why they changed during the covid-19 pandemic.

The chapter concludes with an overview of the brief research that has been recently completed from psychology and the social sciences, to summarize what is already known about the effects of the social limitations of the pandemic on the wellbeing of college students and prepare for the ethnographic research in the next chapters.

The second chapter focuses on the application of the concepts of liminality, normalization, and risk ordering to the social upset of the pandemic, to analyze how they factor into the community-oriented youth subculture at UVM. I argue that when the pandemic began, all of society was thrown into a liminal phase, which I connect to Mary Douglas's theories on normalization, specifically how liminal spaces are uncertain, and as our society seeks certainty, we create new norms to find stability; in the age of the institution, we look to our institutions—in this case, the UVM administrators—to guide those norms. This is contrasted by the existing UVM youth subculture, which holds values of *communitas*; students had already moralized the necessity to look out for their community and each other in the pandemic, which complicated efforts made to control them by the UVM administration. The point of this chapter is to establish the position of student culture in the broader social context of the college and covid-19, and set up the existing power structures at UVM, to inform the analysis of the new regulations in the next chapter.

The third and final chapter, also ethnographic, focuses on the 2020-2021 academic year at the University of Vermont, as I experienced it, and as students, Resident Advisors, and administrators navigated the formation of the Green and Gold Promise and resulting social changes (Appendix A). I argue that the ultimate goal of the Green and Gold Promise and its punishments was to employ the Foucauldian concept of self-surveillance, which negatively affected the Resident Advisors, who were used as the main policing officers of these new

regulations. To end the chapter and refocus on the theme of the nuances of the college experience, I argue that these regulations ultimately led to students living in fear and forming superficial friend groups, and as a result, they felt the pandemic and the Promise had a negative, stressful effect on their overall college experience.

Chapter 1: Reviewing the Literature of the American "College Experience," Power Structures of College, and Early Social Effects of the Covid-19 Pandemic on College Students

Sometime before March 2020, Finn—now a junior at UVM—toured the campus. They described, in vivid detail, the beauty that I recalled being warmed by on my own college tour: the gorgeous, sprawling, impossibly green lawns between red brick buildings, the unique coffee shops on every corner, the Adirondack chairs, the hammocks students cocooned in between classes. "I had my nails painted," they said, "and everyone complimented my nails. That never happened at home. I thought people were really accepting here, I thought, *I can't wait to go here, I can't wait to experience this and meet these open-minded people*." They painted a picture of UVM as they saw it before moving to campus, and I, nostalgically, recalled snippets of my own freshman year: sunny afternoons lazing on the library steps doing homework with my friends, the endless possibilities I felt blooming in my chest the first time I peered up at Williams Hall, the joy of being able to buy a cup of Vermont's own Green Mountain Coffee virtually anywhere on campus.

Finn quickly snapped me back to the more recent reality, describing how they moved into their dorm mid-pandemic, in fall 2020, completely alone, resolved to playing guitar with the door open to spark up a conversation with anyone passing by. How later in the year, they shushed friends in their room, always on high alert for the sound of an RA's footsteps, fearing the knock, the "RA, say hi!" the handing over of ID cards to be written up and fined for violating the zero-guest policy. They worried that none of their friendships were genuine, due to the hasty forming of friend groups in the first weeks of school, when everyone feared being alone more than anything. Finn spoke of classes as an afterthought, only briefly mentioning how they

weren't sure how much they would really "get" out of online classes. "I wasn't getting the college experience," they bitterly recounted. "It didn't feel like I was being treated the way they had advertised. I didn't have a voice here." It was clear to Finn that with the pandemic, the college experience—characterized by freedom—was put on hold, dampened by the measures taken to stay open in the face of a highly contagious, constantly mutating disease. Instead of starting anew, chasing their dreams, Finn felt locked into the isolating new social norms. In March 2021, after an attempt to socialize off campus and away from the stricter covid-19 guidelines, they (and six of their friends) were suspended on the terms of the Green and Gold Promise, and finished out freshman year online.

For a long time, the "college experience" has held a firm position in the American Dream: get a college education, and you're guaranteed a job. Since the 1950s, it has been gradually evolving into something more: a rite of passage, an expensive one, and the job market is so oversaturated that a college degree doesn't guarantee anything anymore. Pop culture and stories from older siblings promise four undergraduate years of fun, partying, independence, and, almost as an afterthought, school. College, in both my lived experience and its portrayal in media and literature, is something of a transition zone for the American 18–22-year-old—a place where one isn't a child, but they aren't a full-grown adult with a nine-to-five and a mortgage either. As much as its primary purpose is for the student to gain a higher education in the individual specialization of their choice, the university's secondary purpose is softening the release into American adulthood; combined, these two factors form the idea of the "college experience" (Moffatt, 1989). The college campus has its own built-in support systems: some that are obvious, like the glossy how-to posters in the residence hall laundry rooms, and some more subtle, like the

walkable campus, the budgeting of meal points, and after a required year or two in the dorms, a kick to move out and live independently off-campus.

This dual service of the university—education, and transitioning to adulthood—has made it a crucial steppingstone in the life of the middle-class American young adult, highly sought after and widely regarded as the key to success. As I'll discuss in more depth in chapter 2, even before the pandemic, UVM already had a strong youth subculture, and college already existed as a somewhat liminal space—a rite of passage, where in this liminal phase, there is a sense of radical equity (Turner, 1969). What this means is, over time, UVM had developed cultures and norms, which placed value in individualism, socializing, and to a lesser extent, using your education to inform your position on social justice issues. All of this was complicated by the pandemic's start in March 2020. Most Covid-19 mitigation, which was absolutely necessary to enable colleges to function in any way resembling "normal," directly contrasts with the principles of American individualism, which ultimately amount to having the right to make choices. The only hope for this function was mutual agreement—between students, administrators, and the greater Burlington community—to follow a separate set of rules and sacrifice some level of bodily autonomy. This mutual agreement was complicated by the fact that students and administration were analyzing student risk calculation on two different fronts: the administration anticipated students would make risk-taking decisions based on keeping the lowest infection rates, but students actually calculated risk based on keeping from being caught creating risk—i.e., in a scenario the university had designated as carrying a high risk of infection.

We can't understand how the college experience changed in the face of covid-19, without first understanding the development and previous function of the college experience in American culture. Further, there was research necessary to explain the existing power structures, in order to

analyze how they were adapted to mitigate covid-19. This chapter will do a deep dive into the literature of the American college, the anthropology of power, and early analyses of the social effects of covid-19, to answer three key questions: what is the American college experience, and how did it transform education into such a strong cultural phenomenon? How do the power structures of the American college system function, how did that change with the covid-19 pandemic, and how did risk management change during this new uncertainty? What research has been done so far in the social sciences to analyze the social effects of covid-19, particularly the feelings and actions of college students?

The Place of College in American Culture: The Literature of the College Experience

The anthropology of college draws upon a field anthropology has always been fascinated by: the anthropology of adolescence. Adolescence is defined, at its simplest, as the period of life between childhood and adulthood, which is recognized as a distinct stage of being across cultures (Muuss, 1996). Margaret Mead brought attention to the phenomenon with her ethnography *Coming of Age in Samoa,* a documentation of the adolescent experience of young girls in Samoa. After describing the various ailments of American teenagers—rebellion against authority, increased philosophical musings, etc.—Mead asked the question in her introduction, "were these difficulties due to being adolescent, or to being adolescent in America?" (Mead, 1928, p. 5). And at her conclusion, after completing her ethnographic research in Samoa and comparing it side-by-side with her observations on American adolescence, she asserted that "adolescence is not a time of stress and strain, but cultural conditions make it so" (Mead, 1928, p. 234). The cultural conditions she was referring to are the pressures placed upon American teenagers, especially as they transition from school life—living at home with their parents—to

work life and the associated independence, and she argues that the strict lines drawn between childhood and adulthood in our culture are what cause the transition to be so stressful. In the nearly 100 years since her work was published, this observation has maintained its truth, and college has become a designated space to blur that harsh line. How did the American university come to fulfill that role?

Two college ethnographies, written by college professors living "undercover" as students at universities, form the foundation for my work as an ethnographer of college: *Coming of Age in New Jersey* (Moffatt, 1989) and *My Freshman Year* (Nathan, 2005). These help to bridge the gap between understanding adolescence as a cultural phenomenon in America, and how the American university shifted from a place for education to the designated space for the coming-of-age cultural phenomenon. The story of college starts before their modern-day analyses, though, and both relied heavily on *Campus Life*—historian Helen Horowitz's detailed history of the particularly American phenomenon of college student society—to support their evaluations on the place of college in American culture. According to Horowitz, when "classic" college culture originated, over 200 years ago, it wasn't yet an adolescent cultural phenomenon. It was for upper-class white men, and even then, the dominating culture centered around interacting and trading ideas with their peers; it wasn't necessary to have a college degree to be able to make a living in America (Horowitz, 1987; Nathan, 2005). After the global crisis of World War II, there was an economic boom and a period of prosperity, as the US transitioned to a consumer-capitalist economic model (UN, 2017). As a result, college—now available to men *and* women—became a more reasonable option and federal investment, and the product of the university as a business, the mass production of research, grew in value.

Flash forward to the 1960s, when college became more economically accessible, and the greater radical social movements in the United States reshaped college life. As Moffatt emphasizes in his interpretation of *Campus Life*, since the 1960s, there's been a steady shift from college culture centering around older college traditions to mirroring the contemporary culture of the American masses (Horowitz, 1987; Moffatt, 1989). When you consider the 1980s media boom of movies and books documenting what the collegiate bildungsroman should be like, for example, *Animal House,* this explains the preconceived notions held in the heads of fresh college students and how the new youth culture emerged (Moffatt, 1989). This is seconded by Nathan in her description of the students at AnyU, some 20 years later. She tells an anecdote of the AnyU welcome video's successful marketing strategy, where they created a strong feeling of connection between students, constructed of the only things students had in common: age, pop culture, recent historical events, and the shared interest of getting a degree (Nathan, 2005). This is an important piece to bear in mind, not just the feeling of being brought together that these students experienced, but the equally important fact that the university, as a business, knew how to create and market that feeling to them, by shaping a feeling of collective experience that would facilitate connection. By the 1980s, the American university had taken on the role of not just producing knowledge and churning out intelligent, ready-to-work young people—it was also selling the college experience itself as a product.

One of the most important takeaways from these two ethnographies is their conceptual analyses of the interactions—and competing outcomes—of community, choice, and individualism on the college campus. The main attraction of independence is the perceived right to choose, right? This is something gained in college, especially as it is usually students' first times living away from home: where in childhood, you probably didn't even choose what to have

for dinner, where you lived, or when you went to school, at college the student now had lots of choices to make—for example, meal plans, classes, and where to live—which in turn gave them a sense of individuality and independence (Nathan, 2005). At the same time, there is an existing cultural norm that social, friendly adults desire community (Moffatt, 1989). This causes an interesting juxtaposition, a difficult balance: at college, you are supposed to find your independence, while also finding a community. It is further complicated by Nathan's observation that community is always in flux: with so many choices for where to eat, classes to take, and where to live, it's rare that anyone will be in the same place at the same time often enough to form a community. There are two observations to gain from this: it takes effort to overlap schedules enough to tie together friendships into a social circle, and the ever-present option to change your choices results in community constantly being rearranged, both consistent and inconsistent at the same time (Nathan, 2005).

Earlier, I mentioned that college has become a rite of passage. This is part of Victor Turner's liminality theory, which he adapted from Arnold van Gennep's 1909 theory of rites of passage (Turner, 1969). Liminality asserts that culturally recognized transition phases, such as the shift from childhood to adulthood, are split into three phases: separation, liminality, and reincorporation. The modern college experience neatly fits into this box, as you leave society, childhood, and dependence, to enter the liminal space of the college, then are reincorporated into society with adulthood and independence. In the liminal phase, there is a lack of social order, which results in *communitas*: a sense of radical equity, where existing social hierarchies and power structures temporarily disappear in the shared experience of uncertainty (Turner, 1969). As observed by Moffatt, Nathan, and Mary Douglas, within the last fifty to seventy years, adolescence—via the college experience—and liminality have become so intertwined that the

resulting youth culture has a sense of *communitas* built into its norms: the student is simultaneously within and without the greater American society, between child and adult, independent and dependent, and within and without the constantly "in flux" college community (Douglas, 1986; Moffatt, 1989; Nathan, 2005). As I will expand in Chapter 2, this was upended completely by the norms introduced in order to control the spread of covid-19, but first, I will explain the existing control structures in place at the university level, and how they influence the risk management that determines student decision-making.

The Place of Government Structures in College Culture: The Literature of Biopower and Risk Assessment

Colleges, as institutions, function as miniatures of the governmental structures in place in America. What I mean by this is, the college is its own state, in the sense that there is a government in control—the administration, headed by the president and supporting officers—and citizens: the students, staff, and faculty. Public universities also have the benefits of sovereign immunity, which gives them jurisdiction over the institution, but it doesn't isolate them from the social pressures of the surrounding population (Bhirdo, 1989). The college was liable for the safety of the students, and by extension, the outside community, heightening the necessity of a polished and generally "in control" response. Legally, they faced the regulations in place by the state of Vermont, which trickled down from the national CDC, and socially, they faced backlash from the local community, which would negatively hurt their image and the administrators feared it would threaten marketability. The debate on the faculty role in all of this, as professors are balanced in an increasingly blurry space between participating in governance and being treated as subjects in the emerging corporate university, and their conflicting interests

with the administration, is fleshed out in the next chapter. Here, I am discussing the college government in terms of how their function aligns with Foucault's theory on biopower, in particular, how the public health aspects of the pandemic shifted government risk management in a way that justified government control over bodies.

Foucault's biopower lectures took place in the winter of 1979 and were published posthumously (Senellart, ed., 2004). The goal of the work, overall, is to explain the concept of biopolitics: biopower emerged with the transition from a sovereign power to state powers, with full-functioning governmental structures. Foucault argued even a few years before the biopower lectures that the shift to biopower rendered sovereignty, the former major form of power, to a background position. He is quoted in 1975, succinctly capturing the difference between the two: "this new mechanism of power applies directly to bodies and what they do rather than to the land and what it produces." (Foucault, 1975, in Cisney and Morar, 2016, p. 3). The usefulness of this theory in application to Covid-19 mitigation—particularly in the United States—is, I hope, quite clear. Covid-19 affecting the body opens a gateway for governments to express new levels of regulatory power, threatening the individualist values and autonomy at the heart of the American experience, particularly the college experience. In early discussions of biopower's usefulness to this project, my advisor and I speculated that biopower appeared in full force on UVM campus with the onset of covid-19 mitigation, but upon further reading, I believe it was here all along, albeit more subtly: in the existing student conduct expectations, or any rules having to do with impairment, such as alcohol consumption. If anything, biopower was mutually complicated by pandemic management, and used to its full power by administration, because disease prevention and the associated risk calculation justified a heightened control over bodies.

One of the most important factors determining the success of a new mode of power is risk and its assessment, and the college campus is not excluded from this, especially considering the consumer model: if the institution interprets risk incorrectly, they face the loss of the consumer, the student, to competitor schools. On the administrative side, there is calculation of execution of power based upon risk: how much control will students accept? How is this balanced with the volume of control needed to mitigate problems? And on the student side, risk is calculated completely differently: how much control can students defy while still maintaining their perceived college experience? In covid-19, the risks students focused on calculating were not quite accurately predicted by the administration: the administrators anticipated students would manage themselves with the motivation of keeping the lowest infection rates, but students actually calculated risk based on *keeping from being caught* creating risk—i.e., in a scenario the university had designated as carrying a high risk of infection. Thus, students were ordering the risk of rule breaking and associated punishments from the university higher than the risk the university was trying to control: spreading covid-19. This will be analyzed more deeply in chapters 2 and 3, but Mary Douglas and supporting scholars of the anthropology of risk assessment will provide a baseline understanding here.

The literature consulted on risk prioritizes the work of Mary Douglas, a social anthropologist also working on complex political social theories around the same time as Foucault. Particularly relevant to this project are her works on institutions and cultures during times of crisis—aptly titled, *How Institutions Think* (1986) and *Cultures and Crises* (2013). The former focuses on cognitive processes of rational choice in social behavior, namely, "the individual demand for order and coherence and control of uncertainty" (Douglas, 1986, p. 19). As applicable within an established social group, in this case, the University of Vermont

community of students, staff, administration, and surrounding community members, and within the bounds of analysis of Western capitalist context, anthropology observes that individuals will act in their own self-interest in a large-scale group (Douglas, 1986). Thus, the work of the institution—for example, enforcing Covid restrictions—is made easier if they can do two things: first, convince members of the society that they are in a small-scale, more personal group, which explains the emphasis on finding community in the university's caricature of the college experience, and second, convince the individuals that acting for the good of their whole community is in their individual self-interest. This adds to the already complex liminal space where the college student perpetually exists. The success of the institution's risk management is dependent upon how accurately they assume the interest of the individuals.

Cultures and Crises is mostly a recap of Mary Douglas's assessment of the world's response to the climate crisis, but proves relevant to the crisis of a global pandemic, particularly in her analyses of economic and human needs theories. She discounts any theory based purely on psychology, because it cannot be devoid of culture, and therefore there is no widely applicable political theory based on the human psyche, instead favoring theories on cognition (Douglas, 2013). However, later, she does assert the relevance of risk calculation based on individuals meeting their basic human needs according to Galtung's typology: security, freedom, welfare, and identity, the adverse of which are violence, repression, misery, and alienation, respectively (Douglas et al., 2013, p. 86). So, the administrators in charge of Covid-19 mitigation are also tasked with continuing to satisfy the human needs of the students on campus, which are directly complicated by the disease it must manage.

The university fulfills multiple, often conflicting roles, as a corporation and a sovereign state. One the one hand, the University is a business: it sells the college experience—be it

classes, campus life, new places to socialize—and students "buy" it, via tuition and engagement in these advertised attractions. But on the other, as discussed above, the University is a state with its own functioning government system. They must answer to the other residents of the College Town, and the larger governmental powers of the state of Vermont and the US as a country, for the college does not exist in an imaginary plane, it fits into a greater community. Thus is the dilemma of the university during covid-19: How do they keep their customer happy, while still maintaining the power to govern them? The answer (if there is one) can be explained by a conglomeration of biopower and risk assessment, which according to Deborah Lupton, are two sides of the same coin: the former is the governmentality approach, while the latter is a cultural/symbolic approach (Lupton, 1999). The trick is to use biopower to control the students in a way that aligns with their beliefs, which ultimately depends upon the cultural recognition that gathering bodies creates risk of spreading covid-19. The institution first has to establish the danger of bodies as a fact, which when believed by the population, enables the power of biopower.

The Place of Covid-19 in College Culture: The Literature of the Psychological and Social Effects of Covid-19 Mitigation on College Students

With the widespread covid-19 shutdowns being an almost universally jarring experience that most of the US went through together, it is unsurprising that the field of social science research on covid-19 has been blooming since March 2020, in haste to document the undeniable fact that it was a jarring experience practically guaranteed to have social and mental effects. Most of the research exclusively focusing on the impacts felt by college students came from psychology—college is meant to be a social place, and there will be social ramifications of a

disease that quite literally forces people into isolation as its most reliable mitigation. From anthropology, there are a few early, U.S.-college-specific studies centered on how students were adjusting to the remote-learning shift and how they felt their university administrators were handling the change, using surveys and interviews. The overwhelming conclusion was that students experienced worsening mental health, less access to healthcare, and changing social dynamics in favor of isolation over gathering (Daniels et al., 2020; LaRosa et al., 2022).

Anthropologists have also begun analyzing the cultural importance of being able to gather, which is traditionally a fundamental piece of the college experience: parties, concerts, even sitting in class, studying at the library, or going to the dining hall. To reflect on what I touched on in Section 2 and which will be analyzed a bit more in depth in the following chapter, this is complicated and, often, conflicting in the wake of a pandemic. One particular study identified the covid-19 pandemic as an atmosphere where breathing in close quarters was dangerous, which turned gathering into a politically charged act (Zuckerman & Mathias, 2022). What does it mean for gathering to become a political statement? What happens when there are forbidden gatherings, such as having friends come into your dorm room, and required gatherings, such as eating at a dining hall (the meal plan is a requirement for living on campus at UVM), where you could see the same people, but one act is forbidden and the other is inevitable? It returns to the idealized individuality of the college experience, which is advertised by the institution and conflicts with the also-emphasized encouragement to find community. Covid-19 enabled a new level of institutional control over where college individuals are allowed to physically be, sometimes in direct contradiction with itself, and often in contradiction with the college experience.

Further, the paragraph preceding this one is an analysis of the large-scale implications of the pandemic and its mitigations. On the much, much more personal level of the individual student, and in efforts to understand the neurological processes that go into a college student's response to the pandemic, psychology has proven a helpful field. They dove in with mental health analyses of adolescents which tended to fall into two categories: surveys of college students, and psychological theory on the effects of isolation. The conclusion of the former is that anxiety, stress, and depression were all higher during this time, and that these factors were likely to be higher in individuals who made social distancing efforts (Aknin, De Neve, et al., 2022; Pryor, 2020). The latter, using surveys of adolescents and others, conclude that Covid-19 isolation ("social distancing") is decided by self-preservation, social responsibility, and/or state control (Oosterhoff et al., 2020; Sikali, 2020). Additionally, a study found that stricter isolation policies from governmental bodies were correlated with higher rates of stress and anxiety in individuals (Aknin, Andretti, et al., 2022).

Conclusion

So, the psychology rounds out our background analysis: we've read how institutions think according to Mary Douglas, and we've understood the rationales of biopower governments from Foucault and his critics. Psychology confirms that in a cultural crisis, the individual acts from a place of stress, which is influenced greatly by the actions of the government and institution, which in this case, are the same: UVM administration. This is complicated by the existence of college as a liminal space, where students are both individuals and community members, constantly in flux, acting in their own self-interest and that of the community, which is professed by the administration and may not always align with their self-interest. Even before

covid-19, and in spite of its (according to Foucault) overly controlling governing body, the University was a place where the college experience could be purchased for tuition dollars, rules and all. The pandemic merely catalyzed a series of problems that may have come to a head soon anyways, or may not have, depending on the presence of other aggravating factors. Most covid-19 mitigation, which was absolutely necessary to enable colleges to function in any way resembling "normal," directly contrasts with the principles of American individualism, which is the main selling point of the American University. As stated above, this function depended upon the mutual agreement between students, administrators, and the greater Burlington community to follow a separate set of rules and sacrifice some level of bodily autonomy. At UVM, this mutual agreement required the normalization of a certain set of biopower-coded restrictions, and the result of this approach created a peculiar set of years which I hope to convey with accuracy in the following chapters.

Chapter 2: Normalization and Liminality in the Context of Covid-19

In January of 2020, I was in the second semester of my freshman year of college, and I was grounded in my routines. Every Monday, Wednesday, Friday, at 7:45 am, I trudged through the Vermont ice and snow and gloom to the campus Skinny Pancake, where I paid $1 for a hot coffee refill in my travel cup, sweetened with almond milk and vanilla syrup. From there I slipped and slid my way to the Old Mill Annex, nearly a mile away, to sit and stare at the wall for 20 minutes in silence before my classmates, in varying levels of snowy and sleepy disarray, filed into the classroom for our freshman English 001 class. Granted, an 8:00am class is distressing for most people, but at this point in time, I felt inclined to give up on college altogether if it meant never having an 8:00am again.

Needless to say, the class was not exactly brimming with discussion, as our English-grad-student teacher hoped it would be. But there was an attendance policy, so we kept trudging over there, and I kept buying my cheap, bitter coffee. One icy day, in an event I often reflect on even now due to its eerie premonition, we were discussing topics for our first research papers—as a budding anthropologist, I was focusing on the cultural differences of co-sleeping, but students could choose on anything that interested them. A woman at the back of the class piped up who I had never registered before and frankly, probably never saw again, to say: "I'm going to research this coronavirus thing going on in China. I think it's more serious than any of the news is telling us." And we all nodded, but moved along, not brushing her off, but not really engaging either.

Two months later, mid-March, at the tail end of spring break, UVM administration removed all students from campus to lockdown for the Covid-19 pandemic. What happened in between that time? From a student perspective, especially a freshman student, I can tell you with full certainty: I had absolutely no idea. Looking back, there were bits and pieces of

administrative panic leaking into student life—for example, the sudden introduction of Microsoft Teams a week before spring break—but not enough for it to register. It may sound ridiculous now, but I and my peers had bigger fish to fry in our college lives: midterm exams, spring break plans, figuring out who in my dorm kept taking my wet clothes out of the dryer and leaving them in a sad heap on the grimy laundry room floor. To put it in a generational light, we also live in the age of social media news: the news has become ungrounded, as we are no longer bound by geography (for example, local evening news or daily local newspaper deliveries). Instagram has been my main source of national and global news since 2015. This large-scale information overload has skewed risk perception of danger and hazards, as detailed by the overlap between Turner's liminality and postmodern risk assessment—there is so much information that it is increasingly rare for a newsworthy hazard to affect me, personally, and so I'm desensitized to it. My peers and I heard about another shooting or bombing every week, if not more often. A looming national emergency, like a pandemic, seemed common; at the same time, it was as physically distant and detached from us as the most recent act of violence across the country. All this to say, I was not worried.

A week or two before leaving for spring break, my freshman seminar class required us to take 15 minutes of class time to set up our Microsoft Teams accounts: the program UVM had acquired to use for "remote learning"—administering live online classes—in case the coronavirus exploded while we were away. Even this was not alarming. As a first year, in required first year seminar classes, there were already programs we'd had to sign up for as part of a class: the Navigate App, Handshake, and LinkedIn, just to name a few. The first-year seminar is an initiative that is reflected across colleges at the University of Vermont, as an entire class designed to soften the blow of time management and adulting that comes with moving out

and becoming a full-time independent student. Beginning Microsoft Teams was so normal that we didn't register the gravity of the situation. My college acceptance letters came over email, and that is how I acquired most, if not all, important University correspondence. So, it was not surprising that the Wednesday, March 11, 2020, announcement for the transition to online classes from President Suresh Garimella, came in an email (Appendix C).

Email correspondence has a certain level of associated surrealism, which is only amplified by its ability to be untethered from geographic space—this is an extremely long-winded way to say that I could check my email on my cell phone, and regularly did so, especially over spring break, when my mom and I were in North Carolina. Where were you when the world shut down? When you felt your life shift into a distinct *before* and *after*? I would argue that the Covid-19 pandemic shift occurred over several months, as spring 2020 wore on, but for the first crack in the glass, I was sitting at a café sipping coffee with my mom. The rest of our trip was soured as we set about planning my reluctant return home to their house in Ohio. At first, I refused to leave. The University was offering emergency housing if students chose to stay, because we thought this was temporary. A two-week shutdown, and then back to class and business as usual. It seemed like a waste of resources to drive 14 hours back and forth from Ohio. But by two days later, on Friday, March 13, 2020, ResLife administration declared—again, via email—that all students must vacate the residence halls and provided us with a clean schedule of hours where we could access our dorms to retrieve items "essential" to our learning. I took my laptop, textbooks, and two weeks' worth of clothes, but when I left, the bed was still made and by all means it looked like I still lived there. I had no idea I wouldn't see 75% of my stuff until June.

This chapter explores in greater detail the nuances of UVM administration's ability to establish biopower via normalization, and how that interacted with the existing youth culture. After the shutdown came a period of uncertainty—a liminal space within the liminal space of the college experience. College students, perhaps used to this *communitas*, were quick to adjust, but it created moral issues as existing community-oriented parts of their culture clashed with the isolation necessary for covid-19 mitigation. So why did the process of being sent home, something objectively uncertain, feel so normal? How was I in Vermont one day, living a normal college student life, and at my parents' house eight hundred miles away the next? In this chapter I analyze several aspects of the interactions between the university administration's normalization strategies and the country-wide liminal space of the early covid-19 days, to answer three key questions: how and why did normalization occur at UVM, and what actually was normalized? How did these processes interact with the broader liminality experienced by students and faculty at UVM? How did the *communitas* present in youth subculture clash with the greater cultural *communitas* produced by the pandemic?

Rapid Normalization in the face of perceived Danger: How the CDC and UVM managed Uncertainty

Through the chaos, the student perspective of the shutdown and subsequent speedy move out, while sudden, was reassuringly organized—if not for the genuine purpose of order, then for the purpose of creating a sense of certainty. The well-executed, glossy, UVM-branded email campaign, with its fleet of online forms and FAQ preparation, was a product of both long-term catastrophe planning on UVM administration's part, and round-the-clock work from the beginning of March 2020, leading up to the shutdown. To understand the behind-the-scenes

processes that designed the miraculously smooth transition to remote learning, I had a lengthy interview with Steven, an administrator from the university's Operations for Public Safety. Behind the mysterious veil which all students refer to, vaguely, as "administration," are a systematic arrangement of committees designated to cover every possible situation the University may find itself in: campus emergencies, national disasters, negative press. It is not uncommon for administrative officers to be on several committees or switch roles during their time working at UVM, which is how administrators on the Operations for Public Safety team were also in charge of Emergency Management: the face of the University's Covid-19 response.

UVM administrators made the decision to transition online and remove students from the residence halls in alignment with the rest of the country—both on the scale of comparator schools, and the higher level. The early days of the pandemic in the United States were not pretty. The Center for Disease Control (CDC), for the first time in many years, dictated most government decisions. The main question, especially in March through June of 2020, was, "how can we manage this pandemic without closing everything down?" This was reflected at every scale: national, state, local, and college town. And of course, the answer was, we can't. Without knowing the true nature of the disease yet, the CDC set extremely strict guidelines, mostly to social distance—maintaining a space of at least 6 feet between individuals, wear face masks that covered the nose and mouth, and limit all unnecessary social interactions (CDC, 2020). As society adjusted to these changes, slogans and propaganda took over. "Stop the spread," "just stay home," and words like quarantine, isolate, social distance, mask, incubation period, quickly diffused into the vernacular. It once again comes down to observations of normalization in the face of danger: when there is a hazard, new norms are accepted into society faster due to the collective need for certainty (Douglas, ed. Fardon 2013).

The University of Vermont, with over 12,000 students and thousands of employees, is a major economic contributor to the town of Burlington, Vermont. The decision to remove students from campus was pushed from all directions. The standard population density of residence halls, lecture halls, dining halls—the central and unavoidable gathering spaces of college campuses—were unsafe by CDC guidelines, and administration could not safely transition to a less dense model while supporting the present population. As all but essential businesses—grocery stores, hospitals, gas stations, and government buildings—were ordered to close to promote social distancing, the mechanisms in place to support students' lives outside academia on a college campus, such as dining halls, also fell into the "unnecessary" category. The local community and businesses would not have been able to support the several thousand residence-hall bound students, nor would it have been fair to keep that many people cooped up and attending online classes. Additionally, as I mentioned above, comparator schools and other large institutions were transitioning to a "work from home" model—the "safest" thing to do, for UVM's reputation and for the reassurance of their constituents (parents and students), was to follow the new norm and send everyone home. This decision, ultimately, was grounded in the same science the CDC used to dictate decisions.

"Science" was referred to as the number one source for any administrative decision at UVM, cited by the two public-facing administrators I interviewed. Under the symbolic umbrella of science, they meant researched and reputable: full trust and jurisdiction was placed in the hands of the CDC, who drew on their own research and that of top research facilities in the US, such as Ivy League universities and those with strong medical programs and research hospitals. This reflected the greater political polarization happening in the US in the age of neoliberalism. In Western culture in general, science is the factor our functioning worldview is dependent upon:

it explains the basic relationship between humans and our environment, as we interpret it to imply a natural order (Douglas, 1986; Rochberg, 2019). The power structures in neoliberalism rely upon self-regulation of individuals, who make their own "lifestyle" decisions based on the "expertise" provided by the institution (Crook, 1999, p. 171). In other words, science is the norm, and as Lupton succinctly establishes, "normalization, or the method by which norms of behavior or health status are identified in populations and by which individuals are then compared to determine how best they fit the norm, is the central act of liberal government." (Lupton, 1999, p. 4).

Normalization functions to limit the uncertainty that, otherwise, directly contradicts the effectiveness of liberal government as an institution. The Covid-19 pandemic, in order to be managed, required the normalization of an entirely new social function and organization—so drawing on the existing worldview was the simplest and most reliable way for UVM administration to justify the new normal: online learning and working from home. This is seconded by Fox's postmodern analysis: risk assessment begins with prior knowledge, and the value of that knowledge is decided and reinforced by the government in power, as well as the broader cultural precedent set by a liberal government—in this case, the cultural precedent was a worldview dependent upon science as an undeniable fact (Fox, 1999, p. 20). He goes on to compare this prior knowledge—which has been framed as "intrinsic"—to Wynne (1992) and Grinyer's (1995) analyses of the value placed societally in expertise, which in our society, is science. The important takeaway is that systems in power—in this case, UVM administration as a reflection of the US government—are able to manage the risk assessment of the individuals in their society by controlling information distribution, via email and social media, and interpretation, via the use of "science," as an objective explanation for covid-19 mitigation.

Mary Douglas also touches on this in *How Institutions Think*, to add that the institutions and their moral and motivational frameworks are built from the individual responsibility in our society for classifying right and wrong. What she means is that individuals willingly claim responsibility for our actions, and even more for our thoughts, so these responsibilities are molded together into an institutional framework that reinforces our thoughts and morals (Douglas, 1986). The institutions of the CDC and UVM received little resistance for their new norms, then, because of the uncertainty the pandemic brought, and the moral reasoning largely agreed with that of the individuals (Douglas, 1986). This meant that staff stopped coming to work, students stopped physically coming to class, and in Vermont at least, the new normal was generally accepted because the expertise and moral frameworks in question are actually based off our individual thoughts and risk assessments in the first place. This is how it was unquestionable and even completely reasonable, that at 9:40am on Wednesday, March 18th, 2020, a week after the first email from the Office of the President, I sat at the kitchen table at my parents' house in Ohio, listening to the first online lecture from my environmental studies professor. This was the new routine of the last two months of my freshman year.

The Inflammation of Existing Academic Power Differentials

In many aspects, but especially on UVM's campus, the Covid-19 pandemic brought to light issues—both interpersonal, and institutional—that, otherwise, may have festered for another 20 years before boiling over, or may have quietly been resolved by other means. Informal interviews with several faculty members—a.k.a. professors—revealed ongoing qualms with the administration: what was once a balanced power dynamic has since shifted, even before the pandemic. It began with the socio-economic shift in the mid-twentieth century: this is when

the appeal of college shifted in the eyes of students, from formal education, to coming of age—so to maintain their customers, the college administration had to change what they were selling from an education to an experience (Moffatt, 1989). That being said, the professors still maintain that their purpose, and the purpose of college, is to produce thoughtful, well-educated adults. Before the shift, the administration answered to professors: as a professor disclosed in an informal interview, the administrators were the "arrangers," but professors the actual "doers," and their opinions were held in much higher respect. The administration was in service to the professors, who, after all, knew how to teach best. There was a much more even power dynamic. But now, with the shift in the selling point of the university, the "arrangers" pay little attention, if any, to the observations and advice of the faculty. The hasty (but remember, appearing smooth to students) switch to completely remote learning in March 2020 inflamed the nuances of this increasingly imbalanced relationship.

To return briefly to liminality, there was a short period of *communitas* beginning with the shutdown, especially at UVM. You'll recall from Chapter 1, *communitas* is the concept that during the transition phase of liminality, the uncertainty upsets the existing social hierarchy, and there is a collective feeling of radical equality and community (Turner, 1969). As Stephen Crook asserts, this aligns with Douglas's observation that a significant risk reorganizes a society to a rudimentary, unstructured, or undifferentiated community (Douglas, 1992; Turner, 1995; Crook, 1999). Cats walked across keyboards during meetings, nobody could figure out how to unmute their microphones, and the lines between work and home, public and private, were blurred. Just like the "going home" emails above depersonalized the power structures responsible, making them easier to accept, adopting new technology and spaces contributed to the *communitas* between professors, students, and administration.

This phenomenon also made a lot of student-led initiatives during this time period possible. As individual class decisions on grading and academic policies were left up to professors, students received wildly different syllabus edits, ranging from "this class is ending early, in April, with no exam" (my English 001 class), to "we are adding a new group project and more readings to keep you tethered" (my Natural Resources class). This now created academic uncertainty, yet another risk for both students and professors to negotiate. In the absence of physical campus life, the focus of everyone—administration, professors, and students—was now fully concentrated in the academic responsibilities of the university. With no blanket guidelines set to regulate the professors, the students took initiative in a way that pandemic *communitas* enabled. The student response to the academic uncertainty was the Student Government Association's Committee on Academic Affairs drafting legislation for adopting a Pass/Fail grade option for that semester, at the discretion of the student. This is something that, as relayed to me by Benjamin, a member of the committee and writer of the legislation, was accepted and adapted without argument from the administration, in spite of the fact that the function of SGA in normal times is to fund clubs, not negotiate student rights. Why did the administration pass it without question? A couple reasons, the predominant of which was that the idea had already been floated, if not passed, in comparator universities, and they hesitated to break from the norm of their market competitors. The second reason, according to Benjamin and outside of the narrow vision of the student perspective, was for the benefit of the professors.

This student objection was a direct result of the lack of administrative action in response to faculty needs. As mentioned above, the administration-faculty power dynamic has been shifting for some time, and it came to light with the transition to online learning during spring 2020. Professors were treated as subservient to administration, with technology again enabling a

greater distance between them and the responsibility for the instructions they gave. In lieu of the necessary meetings between administrators and faculty, professors were sent a list of "FAQs" about transitioning to online learning, with almost no guidance on how to actually alter syllabi, leaving changes up to their individual discretion and eradicating any hope of universality—creating even more uncertainty. The FAQ document, which was shared with me in March 2020 by one of my instructors, added another degree of separation (Appendix D). It sent a message that administration believed faculty should accept individual responsibility for their classes, and discouraged attempts to connect with the higher administration. Once again, technology was used to enable depersonalization of higher power, which can make it easier to enforce that power. The Pass/Fail initiative's relief of students' academic stress was actually a byproduct of a relief system for professors. While the pandemic *communitas* enabled the level of equality required for Student Government to pass such a bill, it also provided a space for administration to emphasize and reinforce their power over faculty.

Liminality as a Permanent Factor of Youth Culture and the Clash of Protest Subcultures with Covid-Safety

Aside from the academics, student life and youth subculture "at" UVM were still vibrant that spring and the following summer, mostly online—via social media—and later, in-person. While my interpretation may be limited, as all four springs I've had at UVM have been during the Covid-19 pandemic, it is a safe observation to make that every spring, the students at UVM revolt against a social issue. Currently, in spring 2023, they blame UVM's over-acceptance of incoming students for the looming housing crisis in Burlington, but in spring 2020, UVM students followed the rest of the country in supporting the Black Lives Matter movement. Before

the pandemic, Instagram news was delocalized—it almost never had anything to do with us. But now that the covid-19 national news had become directly applicable to our lives, other social issues were concentrated by association. As more and more of life transitioned online, there was again the case of blurred lines between digital and physical, near and far, real and embellished. Add to this the fact that most students were bored at our parents' houses, attending online lectures, and highly discouraged by the CDC and new social norms to avoid seeing our friends, and it makes sense that social media activism skyrocketed—eventually leading to physical gatherings.

Black Lives Matter has been a significant social movement since 2013 in the US and was exacerbated by the covid-19 pandemic. A slew of racialized police violence events, the murder of George Floyd in particular, reignited this flame—and combined with the pandemic frustration, sparked a wave of protests across the country, even in spite of pandemic restrictions (Dave et al., 2020). UVM students were not immune to this passionate sense of justice, and in fact, had moralized it long before this movement. You'll recall from Chapter 1 that liminal *communitas* has found a permanent residence in youth subcultures—adding to college as a liminal space in and of itself—and within these cultures, functions as an institutionalized state (Turner, 1969; Douglas, 1986; Moffatt, 1989; Crook, 1999; Nathan, 2005). This applies to the deeper moralization of the social justice subculture that UVM students have cultivated. It was not brought into existence by the social stresses of the pandemic, but the act of protesting did create an interesting dilemma in the youth culture when it clashed with covid-19 restrictions.

Before covid-19, there was a growing culture surrounding protests and activism at UVM, which had moralism assigned to it. I first witnessed it in the fall semester of my freshman year, for the Climate March in September. Students, myself and my entire Environmental Studies class

included, marched from UVM campus downtown to block Main Street. In later years, my housemates and I reflected on the lack of risk, and therefore lack of necessity, of protests at UVM—which is perhaps why so many people participate. The act of protesting has risk assigned to it, which we assign value to—taking a higher risk to "protect" something via social activism is heroic, and thus, valuable and respectable, making the individual a "good person." It is morally good and socially valuable in the institution of the UVM student community to protest. On the opposite side of the coin, it is bad and snobbish to not regularly participate in public activism. This created a social dilemma, detailed in the analysis of summer 2020.

Summer was yet another odd, lawless space, as geographically, UVM had no means to actually control students living off-campus. Rumors flew, and there was certainly some unrest with the city of Burlington as we all tried to navigate the unknown, but it was overall relatively "normal" by pre-covid standards. Vermont had some of the lowest Covid-19 rates in the country, with some days reporting only 1 or even 0 new cases. You could see a few friends—as long as you were "safe," which at this point in time, meant masking and staying outside or distanced, since PCR testing was not widely accessible yet, and rapid tests wouldn't be for another six months. Add in the travel restrictions and quarantine requirements, which were diligently followed thanks to the establishment of the CDC's institutional power, and summer 2020 in Burlington was practically a seamless, covid-19 free bubble—with one hiccup: the moral clash of protesting with covid-19 restrictions.

In the student community, it was morally "good" to look out for one another by following covid-19 guidelines; they had been widely accepted at this point as reasonable and the only option. But in being morally "good" and staying home from protests, your integrity as a "good" protestor was on the line. The response was to order risks and adjust the morals in the student

subculture to reflect a “greater good” mentality: if you defied covid restrictions to go to a protest, that was good and noble, but if you defied them to attend a party with 100 people, that was bad. There was, of course, the moral question of selfish vs. selfless—and the selfless student, who protests social issues, must also look out for their community by doing the opposite and staying home. The selfish, bad student skips protests, but throws parties. Social media shaming—again, with the degree of separation from behind the screen allowing depersonalization of the accuser—became full-fledged, especially towards students who did not uphold the new standard for the community-oriented golden student. Overall, however, social media activism was aimed at the perceived power-holding villains: the police and UVM administration.

The tension of student relationships with the local police were undoubtedly intensified by covid-19 restrictions and BLM protests. Like I said, rumors flew. A few off-campus students mentioned in interviews having the cops called on them, frequently, by their non-student neighbors, and an Instagram account posted a petition for the local police to stop patrolling student neighborhoods. These claims were mostly brushed off; we never had proof that the patrols were really happening, and upholding the morally golden student standard, we figured you shouldn’t be breaking restrictions in the first place. Later in the 2020-2021 school year, these rumors reappeared and held true fear. But in the summer, there was still a sense of freedom among students. It was reassuring that there were no actual *laws* preventing gathering, just guidelines. The social norms in the student (and higher) institutions also enforced “bubbling” and staying with your “pod,” so if anything, this self-surveillance was the most powerful tool the CDC and Vermont government—and later, UVM—had set into place. Generally, the sense was that we were not physically on campus, and we—and administration—understood that their jurisdiction had no true possible traction for punishment.

Conclusion

From March to August 2020, the world adjusted to the "new normal." This was difficult to navigate—the US never did have a successful lockdown to eradicate covid-19 completely, but we changed enough by transitioning to the "work from home" model that we entered a liminal space. In this countrywide uncertainty and *communitas*, on our small scale, UVM administrators worked to normalize this new model of experiencing college by enforcing the adaptation of Microsoft Teams for students and professors to continue education. While this did create a sense of certainty, it still placed pressure on students to perform well academically—however, the students were able to take advantage of the *communitas* and lack of consistency between faculty requirements to advocate for Pass/Fail grades, which was passed as a measure to make the transition to online teaching more manageable for professors. With the uncertainty, the administration was able to normalize a different power dynamic between themselves and the faculty, which had been brewing for some time as the appeal of the college shifted from higher education to providing the college experience. As the first spring of covid-19 wore on and the college experience was temporarily put on hold, the youth culture among students persisted as they moralized covid-19 protocols and ordered the risks they were taking in response to them, which incited a culture clash with the vibrant social activism subculture.

In spite of those measures taken by the CDC and UVM to give every reassurance, I still felt the effects of the uncertainty. My academic success was no longer guaranteed. My health was no longer guaranteed. I was eight hundred miles away from my school from March to May, and my return was not guaranteed until the day I moved back. While students protested and self-surveilled, the UVM administration's Emergency Management team was hard at work. In meetings, sometimes back-to-back from 4:30 am to 10 pm, from the discomfort of the home

office, the team set about planning the UVM return to campus in the fall. Another online semester was simply not possible—even this far before the vaccine, there was a societal itch for re-entry from the liminal space. They had an enormous task on their hands: how could a college campus, a place designed to physically cram as many 18 to 22-year-olds as possible into a small geographic space, be reimagined as "Covid safe?" How could it be done in a way to satisfy the Vermont government's watchful eye, while students still get their money's worth? They eradicated triple dorm rooms. They established Covid-19 quarantine housing. They replaced pool tables and cozy chairs with a Covid-19 PCR testing center operation. They designed and placed social distancing stickers on floors and tables, and pasted room capacities in clean green and white posters on the door to every common space. But most successfully, and perhaps most controversially, they required students to sign the Green and Gold Promise to return to campus—the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: The Effects of Covid-19 and Administrative Power on Student Decision Making and Social Relations

My sophomore year morning routine for Tuesdays and Thursdays was very different than any routines the year before, but by October, I had it down—and so did my roommate, Clay. Sharing a dorm room in the first semester of the "green and gold" year meant spending a lot of time together. I woke up at 5:00am for privacy—if I was going to have time to myself, it was while they were sleeping. I would quietly shuffle across the room, grab a clean cloth face mask out of my dresser, loop it behind my ears, and take my shower caddy across the hall to the communal bathroom. Upon returning, I hung my mask on my hook by the door and settled into bed to read and do homework for a couple hours before my roommate woke up. I brewed coffee in the dorm with a pour over, and almost always had microwave oatmeal for breakfast just to avoid the hassle of the dining hall in Covid.

My roommate and I had nearly identical schedules. Online class from 10:05-11:20, which we took on our own laptops facing away from each other at our desks, then a break for lunch. For this, we masked up, walked across the Green to Redstone Market, and patiently waited for our veggie wraps to be made. Now that the dining halls had capacity limits based on CDC guidelines and not just the number of chairs, going anytime between 10:00am and 2:00pm meant you had to stand in line, often for upwards of 20 minutes, which was especially unpleasant when it was cold out. We didn't quite have enough time to take the gamble for a hot meal, so Redstone Market wraps or pre-made sushi usually won out. Then back to the dorm to eat before the in-person class we had together, Anthropology of Hunters and Gatherers, from 1:15-2:30.

Clay and I breathed the same air, unmasked, upwards of 16 hours a day. For an entire academic year, this person was practically the only one I could see without breaking a rule—be it

an actual demand of the Green and Gold Promise I'd signed, or a social taboo in UVM's hyper-activist youth culture. Most of the time, they were less than 10 feet away from me. We ate three meals a day together, either at our desks, or on the rug on the floor between our beds.

Several things happened that made the Tuesday/Thursday schedule particularly strained. It was weird to see Clay in a mask and walk together outside to our in-person class. It was a 40-person course with an entire lecture hall booked for it, the very same lecture hall that nearly 300 people packed shoulder-to-shoulder into for my Intro to Environmental Studies classes the year before. As soon as we entered, we went to our usual seats in the front row—with four taped-off seats between us. Here, "on campus," as opposed to "at home" in the residence hall, we were no longer roommates. We were classmates, and must sit 6 feet apart, with masks on, per the Green and Gold Promise. Sometimes we sat on completely opposite sides of the room. Ironically, our in-person class was the only chance we got to physically spend time apart. After, we speed-walked as fast as we could the mile-and-a-quarter back to our dorm for our next online classes. We got lucky—neither of us had to talk in our online classes very often, so we weren't talking over each other. I was also lucky to be rooming with my best friend, and not a stranger, like most—if not all—of the first-year students. But even though we got along well, we still yearned for the level of freedom we'd had the year before, when you could have a meal with a friend, watch a movie together in someone's dorm, or even just "stop by" to check in. Everything was different, and no part of our day was free of surveillance—whether it was a direct outlet of the University, like the RAs, or our peers, who had the option to fill out an anonymous form to turn us in if they saw us unmasked, having a party, or otherwise violating the new policies.

Although this was my new day-to-day life, with the comfort of a routine, I was far more stressed than the year before, perhaps due to the higher stakes—my qualms freshman year over

someone messing with my laundry only concerned me and that person, whereas now, there was a constant emphasis in my life that anything I did could cause a covid-19 outbreak. My sense of responsibility had shifted from just worrying about me, to worrying about everybody. How had the covid-19 policies convinced me and other students to constantly monitor ourselves, and how was it affecting our relationships with each other? In this chapter, I will argue that UVM administrators carefully orchestrated the Green and Gold Promise to create an environment where students engage in self-surveillance. It is divided into three sections, whose contents are influenced by each other: the first two will detail how UVM exercised power over students—the reasoning behind the methods, the means of surveillance, and the outcome, and the third will discuss how this level of control affected student decision making, friend group formations, and their overall experiences.

As introduced in Chapter 2, UVM did not create the plan for Covid-19 mitigation overnight. There was networking with comparator institutions, a skeleton plan formed by emergency management during the threat of an influenza outbreak in the early 2010s, and the months between March and July 2020 to form a plan. In many ways, the social upset of the pandemic opened a space where UVM administrators could test the full bounds of their power, but in others, it was creating a blueprint in case another public health crisis of this scale occurs in the future. Two students, who were freshmen on campus during the 2020-2021 academic year, expressed that the policies—and their methods of being enforced—felt like a social experiment. “Big brother,” the authoritative, ambiguous government surveillance power in George Orwell’s 1984, was cited by Elise, and the infamous Stanford Prison Experiment was repeatedly referenced by Finn while detailing their experiences in the dorms. Their intertwining stories are detailed below.

I started every student interview with the same question: can you tell me a story about a time UVM's covid-19 policies affected a decision that you made? This was a vague question on purpose—I wanted to see if students would automatically tell me a story about rule-breaking or about avoiding covid-19. As I predicted, the rule-breaking stories came flowing out. One thing was clear in feedback from everyone living in the residence halls: the new covid-19 policies, which were outlined in the Green and Gold Promise and reinforced by weekly emails and signage in and around student common spaces, were always at the forefront of students' minds as we navigated the new campus reality. Oftentimes, this was the only official "interview question" I had to ask; the stories inevitably led to the connection between being able to see friends or meet new people, and how the Green and Gold Promise factored into the decisions that snowballed into forming friendships. How were UVM administrators able to create a plan that so effectively enforced students' self-surveillance, with very little intervention from appointed authority figures? How did this affect the lives of those authority figures, the ResLife staff, as they were caught in the crossfire? What effect did this have on student decision making and peer relationships, and are there longer-term implications of that effect?

Exercise of Power—The Methods: UVM's Green and Gold Promise

Sometimes, when I am opening the door to leave my house, I pause for a second with my hand up, mid-reach to take my face mask off my hook by the light switch. Of course, there is no mask there, since the UVM mandate has been lifted for over a year, and the CDC's, even longer. There has never even been a mask hook with my name tag over it in my off-campus house—the habit stands from my sophomore year dorm. Similarly, I used to often find myself checking my PCR testing status on the UVM Coverified App, before remembering it's been almost a year

since the UVM Testing Center has been open for voluntary testing. I deleted the app soon after, but occasionally, I stumble across a screenshot ("your test result is negative!") of my testing status notification, which I would text to my parents before driving home for breaks, and feel the wave of relief I used to have when I woke up and saw that message. Things have changed a lot since that year, but the automatic effects of the Green and Gold policies—and the peak of the pandemic, in general—seem to persist.

By June of 2020, it was clear that another semester of the work-from-home academic model would not fly. For one thing, most people were not willing to pay full tuition for an online semester of classes, and for another, comparator institutions were bringing students back to campus. The comparator institution was an interesting and elusive topic, often cited by administrators Steven, Elliot, and Ashley, as well as Benjamin, the student I interviewed from student government. It was used as a vague justification for administrative actions, such as covid-19 policies, and decisions that would create certainty by occurring in unison, like when to remove and reinstate the presence of students on campus. The administrators had a difficult task on their hands: how do you reorganize a college campus to maintain CDC guidelines of social distancing—maintaining 6 feet of distance between people—and mask mandates, while not negatively affecting quality of life to the point where students wouldn't be willing to adhere to these standards? The solution came in two parts: signage as a constant reinforcement of CDC and state regulations, and the requirement of students who wanted to live on campus to sign and abide by the Green and Gold Promise, to avoid academic or financial punishment.

The Green and Gold Promise was an extremely successful exercise of power. In two pages, it managed to subtly shift responsibility for Covid-19 mitigation onto UVM students, despite the layout of campus making it nearly impossible to social distance effectively—you'll

recall the discussion of the physical campus arrangement from Chapter 2: dining and residence halls are designed to fit as many people as possible into a small space, which directly contrasts with the requirements of social distancing. The Promise outlines that if signed, students must take a PCR test weekly at the Testing Center, follow masking and social distancing regulations, and have no guests in their dorm rooms. Students expressed in interviews that they agreed with the first two of these requirements, testing and masking, for the public health aspect; they didn't physically limit social interaction. The trouble came with distancing and dorm room guest policies, which sophomores and freshmen—the students required to live in residence halls—were frustrated with. Not only did these regulations limit their social autonomy that they felt they had a right to by coming to campus, but there was also a double standard where students off-campus could not be policed in such a way, since the University didn't own the space they were occupying, and therefore had no jurisdiction over it.

The reasoning behind this Promise, according to Administrator Steven, is that the emergency management team felt the only effective method of control would be a sort of addendum to the existing Code of Student Conduct, with a focus on the presumed common goal of protecting the community—both the UVM community of students, faculty, and staff, and the greater Burlington area. Steven outlined the exact reasoning of the committee in one very succinct quotation:

> "What we needed to say to students in particular is, 'We need you to do a little more this year, actually do a lot more, and you're gonna have to test. And you have to wear masks and you have to keep distant and all these other things and let's make it a pledge. Let's make it a commitment. We're going to require you to do this and we're going to hold you with consequences, and if you do this violation, you're gonna have this consequence. Let's try to install it as a sense of obligation to your fellow students, to the community.'"

Although the Promise was required as part of returning to campus, it was later framed in administrative emails as a "choice." Most students I spoke to didn't recall fully reading it—it was just another piece of paperwork to fill out, along with updated medical records and the existing Code of Student Conduct. One student likened the Promise to the familiar Terms and Conditions pop-up when downloading something onto a computer: they skimmed it, and it seemed reasonable, but they trusted the university enough to sign it without a second thought. That being said, there were a few who told me they chose to take a gap year—not attending classes at all—purely because the Green and Gold Promise sounded "too restrictive." And still, some students opted to stay home and continue attending remotely for the Fall semester, partially motivated by the limitations of the Promise, but also for the incentive of a free summer course and not having to pay room and board.

A large part of the discomfort with the Green and Gold Promise was its implication that students wouldn't put in effort to protect their community unless they were forced to, with their scholarships, socialization, and academic success on the line. These assumptions further complicated the relationship between the student body and their authority figures. As discussed, over the summer, UVM students had already assigned moral value to CDC guidelines, particularly distancing and wearing masks. This was a lasting social principle in the student body. In her interview, Elise expressed how regard for Covid-19 safety factored into her friend group's willingness to accept or reject new friends; notably, this was independent of the Green and Gold policy to limit dorm room occupancy to the official residents:

> "The less people you were around, and the less people you had contact with, like, say sitting in your room with masks off, that kind of contact, that was considered better. I think there was a culture here, and rightfully so, of people being like, 'if you're not wearing your mask, f*** you, get out.'"

Regardless of the relationship between the Promise on the student body's existing social standards, there was also the factor that UVM administration was answering to the greater Burlington community. To investigate this relationship, I interviewed Elliot, an administrator from in UVM's public communications department. Though the Promise existed to control the students, he emphasized that by extension, it was also a reassurance to the public:

> "We have a whole team that deals with city relations, and neighborhood relations. I think we were just trying to do our best to reassure them that we were taking this very seriously, that we had this whole strategy in place, that we had to promise that we had all of these restrictions for distancing and for masking just to try to paint a different picture than where their imagination was taking them. It took a lot of work to convince them, 'Yes we have some cases, but we have all the strategies in place to contain it, and it's allowing us to keep staying open and keeping the community safe.'"

Now, we have to remember the liability UVM faces as an institution, at the state and national level. There were a lot of parties UVM administration had to meet the expectations of, which required greater efforts, especially in the necessity of proving to an outside viewer that yes, the students on the UVM campus were behaving safety under control. There was no sinister, Machiavellian ulterior motive behind the Promise, it was merely the compromise the UVM administrators assumed would please Burlington residents, students' parents, and state guidelines, while (hopefully) not overstepping to the point of student rebellion. Unfortunately, the bounds of administrative control over student autonomy were flawed from the start, especially since autonomy was the appeal of the college experience. A deep fear among students set in, and eventually, rebellion did occur, which I'll talk about later. From the beginning, the students accepted the Promise but, as I gained from my student interviews, instead of using it as guidelines for covid precaution, they calculated risk based on how likely they were to be caught violating the terms and conditions.

As I described in Chapter 2, physically, the UVM college campus is designed to efficiently fit as many people—students—into as small of a space as possible: dorms, dining halls, and classrooms. Covid regulations hit up against those spatial limitations. While most spaces in dorms could be regulated, to require masking in hallways, bathrooms, and dining halls, as these were public or commonly shared areas, the private space of the dorm room could not be compromised. The masking regulation could only go so far as the edge of your table in the dining hall because the main function of the space is to eat, which you can't do with a mask on. To compensate for these private areas of unavoidable exposure, such as dorm rooms and dining halls (and, to some extent, student houses off-campus), the regulations were extremely strict in public spaces. It comes down to risk again: the more likely you were to be in a denser population space—whether it was your choice to be there, or not—the more subject to surveillance and policing you were. As the administrators and the CDC saw it and as a derivative of common sense around airborne illness, higher population density created more risk, and therefore needed to be limited. The dorms, the dining halls, the lecture halls, by sheer capacity, were the highest risk spaces for transmission on campus, and paradoxically, the places where it was most necessary for people to be if they *were* on campus.

The effectiveness of the Green and Gold Promise on policing student bodies, when it came down to it, was dependent upon the fact that the University's (and greater Vermont society's) institution of thought—fueling our collective ideas on social responsibilities—was based upon the individual morals which we compare and validate with each other, which we already established as community-oriented in Chapter 2. Foucault asserts that the institution "straightjackets" minds and bodies, where thought can be directly translated into the moral basis of the institution, and in turn, the institution can overcome new individual thought and mold the

individual to the institution's framework (Foucault, 1970, in Douglas, 1986, p. 92). Mary Douglas takes this analysis one step further, to say "institutions channel our perceptions into forms compatible with the relations they authorize" (Douglas, 1986, p. 92). All this to say, self-surveillance was a successful mode of control by university administrators, because the Green and Gold Promise reflected the moralism held by students; you *shouldn't* be spreading covid-19, you *should* be protecting your community.

When you take a step back and think about it, if you asked a student, anyone, point blank, if they *wanted* to get another person sick, they would say no. The Green and Gold Promise was built on the assumption that students would not be able to measure this risk themselves and need a different incentive on the line; it assumed they would order risk of losing their scholarship higher than potentially spreading an illness. That was both disregarding the sense of morality the student body had already attached to following covid restrictions, and went so far in limiting the students as to cause them to call into question the morality of the institution, and in the spring, rebel with petitions and other forms of protest. In providing an apparatus for their own risk-management, the University's Green and Gold Promise merely introduced a second set of risks for students to calculate: whether they would be caught breaking the rules. In this way, regardless of how it was intended to impact the students, that is how the Green and Gold Promise could be called successful, but at the cost of weakening the thread of trust which still tied administrators and students together at that point.

Exercise of Power—the Means: The Position of the Resident Advisor

Signing the Green and Gold Promise would not be enough control over the students—there needed to be some sort of surveilling officers in place to make sure the rules were being

followed, and if they were not, the rulebreakers were followed up on with the citation, fine, or Student Conduct hearing referenced in the Promise. The frontline workers, the primary Promise enforcers at UVM, were the Resident Advisors. This was a normalized fact even before the pandemic. Traditionally at UVM, RA "walks" on the weekend nights occurred at 7:00pm, 11:00pm, and 1:00am. These were conducted by two on-duty RAs, who walked through each floor of the residence hall they were assigned to, knocking on the doors of noisy dorms and peeking into the communal bathrooms. The function of the Walk is for student safety—in spite of the formality of the Code of Student Conduct, it was normalized and expected that in the collegiate rite of passage, younger students would drink, smoke, and party in the residence halls. The RA Walk is a mechanism in place to administer some sort of control and make sure nobody is in or causing a potentially dangerous situation; on some level, it is also an effort to limit the amount of vandalizing UVM property that seems to trend in the dorms. As an RA, Mark, said, "things aren't enforced unless there's a problem, like a noise complaint or other disruption." Perhaps the normalization of the RA was primed by the student-to-teacher ratio in schools, the presence of counselors in cabins at American summer camp, or even just the social norm of having an "adult" figure in your life, especially during transitional periods. Regardless, I've never heard anybody question RAs. They are a permanent part of campus life, as functional and unquestionable as the dining hall, or signing into your dorm with a key card.

That being said, RAs hold a particularly difficult position on the college campus, and this was true even before the Covid-19 pandemic. The Resident Advisor is an older student, a sophomore, junior, or senior, living on a dorm floor amongst younger students. They are there as an experienced mentor, but also as a primed and polished guide from the university, having gone through training for several weeks before the arrival of students in dorms. And from the

perspectives of every RA I know, they are not usually there because they are passionate about conditioning the next generation of UVM undergraduates, they are there for the financial incentive: free room and board. You can imagine that being a student and also an RA was already a weird position of power to be in—if you didn't enforce the rules, your housing was on the line, so you had to order your risks: enforce the rules and be known as a "hardass", or risk being caught not fully enforcing rules on your floor and losing your job and housing. There was also the fact that the fear for your residents' safety was a true factor—there *was* an obligation, as a more experienced student, to take responsibility for their wellbeing, and if you went the overzealous rule-enforcer route, you risked your students taking risk and hiding more problems from *you.* It was a difficult balance, and I had a hard time even getting RAs to give interviews. In spite of the guaranteed anonymity of my study, there was a considerable fear that anything they said could cost them their job, even in discussing the years after the Green and Gold Promise.

To learn about RAs, and the intricate power structures of the Residential Life ("ResLife") team, at UVM, I had three key interviews: Rebecca, an RA during spring 2021, Mark, a current RA, and Ashley, a Resident Director for ResLife. Through them, I learned how ResLife operates—this is important not just to our understanding of the governmental functioning of the college dorm, but because of how their power and responsibility shifted during the Green and Gold Promise. At UVM, residence halls are divided based on "Learning Communities," which students select before starting their freshman year; Outdoor Experience is in Wing-Davis-Wilks, Leadership and Social Change is in Millis Hall, etc. There are six departments of ResLife, but of the two student-facing ones, the Learning Community Team and the Residential Education Team, we are concerned with the latter; its chain of command presides over students in dorms. This part of ResLife administration operates in a pyramid power structure—when Mark was

explaining it, he laughed as I drew a huge triangle on my notes sheet, but Ashley confirmed the accuracy. The lowest level of power, and closest degree to students, are the RAs. RAs report to the Assistant Resident Directors—grad students—and Resident Directors. The chain of command after them is as follows: Area Coordinators, Assistant Directors, Associate Directors, and at the top of the pyramid, the ResLife Director.

In this pyramid structure, the more power an administrator has, the less direct contact they have with students. This is not unlike the relationship between students and the administrators in charge of most executive decisions to keep UVM functioning. The more degrees between the decision-making the recipients of those rules, the more assumptions that are made about the recipients, and the less normal and accepted the rules. For example, take the conversation that Steven and I had about the administrative choices made to promote social distancing while still maintaining spaces where students were allowed to be. Some, like the outdoor ice rink installed by the Harris Millis residence halls, were a huge success; students loved them. Others, namely, the large outdoor tents the University purchased to create more spaces for attending online classes or hosting club meetups, were disliked by students and largely regarded as a failure. The only remarkable thing I heard about the tents was that, in March or April, a group of students from my building were caught drinking in one and had Green and Gold violation hearings as a result.

The point is, whether it's due to generational differences or the extreme power differentials, surveillance directly from administrators never would have worked. It would be too miserable—and indeed, when ResLife officials like Ashley started supervising additional walks, it was. Surveillance from RAs is normal, and they are far more likely to understand the trials and thought processes of the fresh-to-college underclassmen, given how recently they'd worn those

shoes themselves. In interviews, I briefly bridged the topic of student committees designed to work with administrators on updating the methods of student surveillance. The response from the administrators was that they have those committees in place already. The response from the students—those who even knew of said committees—was that the only kind of student who willingly serves on one is a "narc"—a straight-edge rule follower who won't "understand" the lifestyle of the rulebreaker anyway. That being said, the surveillance system in place already worked pre-covid. There was an understanding between students and RAs that as long as you weren't bothering anybody—stinking up the whole hallway when you smoked pot, talking loudly with your friends in the stairwell at 2 am, etc— you could break the rules. There is also the student community-oriented subculture and resulting self-regulation already existing.

Foucault's concept of power through self-surveillance has been used to explain various methods of control since his lectures in the 1970s. It is based off Bentham's concept of the panopticon, a prison that is shaped so that the guard can see into every cell, but the prisoners can't differentiate when he is looking into their cells; the result is efficient 24/7 surveillance, on the assumption that there is always a guard, and he could always—or never—be watching, but the prisoner wouldn't know (Foucault, 1975). Therefore, the prisoner acts as though he is always being watched. This, Foucault says, has been internalized in contemporary society, to become panopticism: when the watched internalizes the watcher, and polices themselves; power is able to operate in invisible ways. This was not necessarily relatable to the relationship between the RA and their Floor prior to the pandemic: walks were predictably at 7:00, 11:00, and 1:00, otherwise, most RAs make it a point to have a chart on their door indicating where they can be found. But later, when it became uncertain whether RAs were watching or not, who was going to write you

up or not, or which students were going to anonymously report you or not, this self-surveillance was a constant for students in order to avoid punishment.

The RA was never primarily functioning as a method of surveillance: they were meant to be available to help students with the high school to college transition and keep them safe through that; the relationships between RAs and their residents were, as a result, "chill." I can recall a conversation I had with my sophomore year RA during a fire drill, where I nervously asked her if staff would be checking rooms, since I had illegally left out a candle on my desk. "Well, shit, I hope not, I left a box of wine out" was her candid response. So, pertaining to previously existing dormitory rules, namely, having illegal things, RAs were able to show their maintenance of the existing norms. The interaction—and my lack of fear of the RA herself—may also have been due to my sophomore status; I knew RAs as chill, and as a pretty standard rule-follower, I wasn't afraid to bend the rules where, in my experience, I had already seen them bent. This was not the case for everyone, especially the first years who hadn't experienced college pre-pandemic.

I can recall noticing, as the seasoned sophomore, the anxiety of the freshmen. Within the first week of the fall semester, Clay and I were annoyed with our next-door neighbors—we could smell the marijuana through the vent, and they were playing music so loud that our desks rattled. I put on a mask and marched into the hallway, intending on asking them to be quiet. We didn't care about the marijuana, and I didn't care that when they begrudgingly opened the door after my sharp knock, at least six wide-eyed unmasked freshmen were staring at me like deer caught in headlights—a clear Green and Gold violation. I told them to turn the music down because it was annoying, and I went back to my room. I didn't tell the RA, or fill out a form, or threaten to. But they turned the music off and were model neighbors for at least a month. I doubt that this

response came from a place of sudden empathy for their neighbors, rather, I assume the uncertainty of knowing whether I'd snitched to the RA or filled out a complaint form was enough to scare them and thus, reinforce their self-surveillance. After all, they weren't familiar with the UVM community-oriented youth subculture yet—they were new to college, and just trying to navigate that.

RAs expressed discomfort with enforcing the new rules from the get-go. Many core principles stayed the same: there was an unspoken don't-ask-don't-tell, "as long as you're not bothering anybody" policy; however, they were more hesitant to let new students know that fact, because doing so would disrupt the power of the self-surveillance. Enforcing covid-19 restrictions created a slightly stiffer relationship that set them apart from their fellow students, their residents. When first-years arrived in fall 2020, they didn't have an orientation—the two-day, overnight intensive college introduction that my peers and I had been subjected to our first year. The first authority figures they met were RAs and ResLife staff: folks like Mark, Rebecca, and Ashley, whose office was located on the first floor of a residence hall. Finn remarked that when they moved in—alone, because parents weren't allowed, and due to staggered move in, their roommate, Ken, wasn't coming for another three days—it felt like their parents were dropping them off at "rehab, or something bad like that. It felt like I was already in trouble for something." So, the perspective of the resident was that they were walking on eggshells—you could be busted at any minute for violating a covid rule, even if you didn't know you were doing it. The resulting uncertainty and fear of punishment led to social tension and changed social structures, between residents, RAs, and ResLife administrators.

Another thing I learned from my interviews with Ashley, Mark, and Rebecca, is that RAs often face the issue of their supervisors forgetting that they are also students, and not just

employees hired to police the residents. Keep in mind they're not even being paid a stipend—they exchange the work they do for room and board, so by extension, housing security. Their student status, the very thing that allows them to easily be respected by their residents, is what complicates their ability to enforce certain restrictions. As Ashley said, and as we all felt, nobody wanted to be responsible for someone else getting suspended or fined. It became increasingly difficult for RAs to maintain their "chill" status, and the candid relationships that came with this. As the student-facing representatives, and the lowest level in the chain of command, RAs were on the frontline for receiving resident backlash when the Green and Gold Promise escalated. Rebecca, who was only an RA for spring 2021, revealed that she barely even slept in her dorm because she feared for her safety. Her residents, unhappy with their increased likelihood of being suspended or losing their scholarships, regularly vandalized her door and listened in on her conversations. Another RA had allegedly had her residents prop up a jug filled with urine against her door, so that when she opened it, it spilled into her room. And there was no retaliation for these rebellions, because the perpetrators had the privilege of anonymity. According to Rebecca, a lot of RAs quit at the end of that year, including herself.

The stressful interactions weren't limited to RAs; Ashley also reflected on the troubles of the Green and Gold year. In spring 2021, when the Green and Gold violation punishments accelerated, so did the surveillance. This is where panopticism comes back in: ResLife opted to start including additional walks (I have sometimes heard them referred to as "surprise walks," which makes sense, since residents didn't know when they would occur) with members of ResLife staff—Ashley included—and RAs as a team. The staff was mostly there to ensure the safety of the RAs, who had seen an uptick in violence against them on their floors as the year wore on; however, their presence made students assume they were more likely to get in actual

trouble. Additional walks between the standard walks were unpredictable, and where ordinarily, an RA might tiredly tell a resident to put a mask on and give them an unofficial warning, in front of the RA's supervisors, they were far more likely to actually be punished.

Ashley recounted a time that her team knocked on the door of a noisy dorm during an additional walk, and when the resident opened the door, several others went running out. One young man—who was clearly drunk, and unmasked, Ashley noted—jumped down half a flight of stairs and fell, then got up and continued running. The ResLife policy was not to chase after runners, and that they couldn't enter rooms without being let in. However, from the number of residents who took off running at the sight of ResLife staff, it was clear to Ashley that students weren't aware of this policy—they were afraid. Her first priority was ensuring that student was safe. As you'll recall, the main function of ResLife was to keep residents safe, and that priority did not change during the pandemic, only the systems in place to enforce policies and the student perception of them did. Once people were that afraid—of being suspended, fined, or otherwise punished—there was no way to stop the rumors. The Green and Gold Promise threw off any pre-existing trust in administrative figures on campus. The Emergency Management administrators, while cases were on the rise, still prioritized reassuring the Burlington community that covid-19 was under control on campus. They saw no way out but through.

Clearly, the pandemic put a strain on the relationship between RAs, ResLife staff, and their residents. And how couldn't it? RAs could no longer hold "chill" status; they were being monitored more closely than ever—in weekly one-on-one meetings with Resident Directors and with higher-ups present on their walks. An uptick in cases would reveal their failure to accurately monitor their fellow students. They were afraid to do anything but to enforce the rules—and still follow the policy themselves—or else they risked losing their housing. On the other hand,

residents, particularly first-years, had no way of knowing how serious or unserious the Green and Gold rules were, which allowed a deep fear to set in. If it were revealed that the rules could be bent, the value of the self-surveillance would be lost. So, unfortunately, once the fear and rumors started to circulate around campus, it got out of hand and could not be controlled without knocking down the entire system. Steven expressed sadness at this fact: "that's the one thing I would do differently. We never intended for that fear to set in. I wish we'd handled it differently." I don't know how true that statement is—without the fear, self-surveillance wouldn't have been so effective in keeping students from socializing. If not this, there would have been another method of control. The important takeaway is that the policies pushed control over student autonomy too far, RAs, the messengers, directly faced an overwhelming amount of the backlash for it, and this put a strain on their lives and relationships with their floors during that time.

Decision Making and Forming and Maintaining Friendships

In the fall, as students were settling into these new routines, there weren't nearly as many Green and Gold violations. Students self-surveilled, and generally, were quiet about rule-breaking: in interviews, they recalled how they had snuck into each other's dorms and hidden under beds or in closets if there was an unexpected knock on the door. But by spring, cases were on the rise, and so was surveillance: as Douglas covered in *How Institutions Think*, in the face of uncertainty, the institution responds with reinforcement of its current framework; in this case, the culture of surveillance and punishment from the administrators responded with stricter surveillance, and harsher punishments (Douglas, 1986). By mid-February, on-campus students were required to test twice a week, and the Green and Gold Promise was updated to punish *any*

violation with a Student Conduct hearing for suspension. On the other side of the institution's exacerbation of the existing power structure, is the inflammation of its result: fear. This, in turn, had drastic effects on student decision making and social relations.

As I mentioned, the first question I asked in student interviews was, "can you tell me a story about a time UVM's covid-19 protocols affected a decision that you made?" The seven students I asked this of all responded with a story of rule breaking—risk-taking decisions that were made not with the intention of not spreading covid, but with the intention of not getting caught. This is more indicative of the sense of resistance against the rules, but usually, they expressed fear that if they got caught they would lose their scholarship or get suspended, not fear that they would spread covid, which is what the administrators had anticipated. A couple shared how they had orchestrated trips out of state, to take without arousing suspicion that they had traveled, so they could get around UVM's travel restriction and isolation requirements that were in place. The three current juniors, who were first-years at the time, Finn, Ken, and Elise, all reported on how they decided to still see their friends and go in their friends' dorm rooms, but worked to hide it by timing their entrances with when they knew the RA wasn't looking, and shushing each other during RA walks.

In the eyes of the student body, the socially limiting parts of the Green and Gold Promise—most importantly, the restriction on gathering in dorm rooms or not following social distancing stickers in public campus buildings—were not consistent. The legitimacy of the Promise was contradicted by the many double standards in it: you were allowed to eat a meal with someone who wasn't your roommate in the dining hall, but if they came to your room after, you could both be punished, in spite of the fact that you just breathed the same air while eating. Students in a double dorm could only see one person unmasked, their roommate, while students

in suite-style dorms could see up to five roommates unmasked and in the same private space. Students in off-campus housing escaped administrative policing of their private lives altogether. The result of all this is that student risk-taking was motivated around not being caught violating the Promise, because the punishments offered were ranked as a worse fate than getting covid-19, and even abiding by the Promise didn't protect you from catching the disease in the dining hall. When ordering the risks, getting covid and being actively sick, in fact, was ranked at the bottom: Mark, Elise, and another senior, Sofia, all said in interviews unprompted that they were more worried about being caught than being sick. However, somewhere in the middle fell the desire to avoid covid-19 so you weren't sent to the quarantine dorms.

On-campus students who had tested positive for covid on a weekly PCR test, were traced as a close contact of a positive case, or reported themselves for symptoms, were contacted by Student Health Services and placed in quarantine housing in Jeanne Mance Hall on Trinity campus. In the fall, once it was recognized that Jeanne Mance wasn't enough, residents were relocated out of Mercy Hall so that it could be used to quarantine and monitor close-contact students, who would be sent to Jeanne Mance if they had a positive test while in quarantine. The phrases "got sent to Trinity," or "taken to Jeanne Mance," came up often in conversation. There was a fear of being sent away—part of this was fear of missing out on social lives, but mostly, it seemed to stem from the anxiety that other people would know you had covid-19, and had probably spread it, boiling back down to the moralizing discussed in chapter 2: in student youth subculture, it was morally good to be community-oriented, and community-oriented people don't act in a way that would increase their likelihood of getting covid-19. On the academic side of things, there was also significant fear surrounding the uncertainty of whether professors would

adjust their workload if a student was out with covid-19, since they were not held to any specific protocol.

The interesting thing about the fear of being sent to the quarantine dorms was the rave reviews given by those who actually went. One interviewee, a senior named Connor, described Jeanne Mance Hall not as the purgatory most students imagined, but as a safe haven. Most people were "sent away" at the same time as their friends, because if you got covid, the odds were that it was either from your roommate or your friend group, regardless of whether you'd seen them in a way the University deemed acceptable (in the dining hall, outside, with masks) or unacceptable (as a guest in your dorm). Jeanne Mance was somehow, ironically, a space free of the Green and Gold Promise's restrictions. You had already done the thing it was meant to prevent: tested positive for covid-19. So, there was no real reason to enforce these rules in the quarantine dorms, and the result was somehow a reward: at the cost of being sick, you finally got to see your friends without constantly worrying about being busted. Indeed, many people noted in interviews that while they were afraid of the social ramifications of being sent to Jeanne Mance, they fantasized about the privacy of having a single room, and release from the restrictions that dominated their life in the residence halls. One of my roommate Clay's friends claims he lived in the quarantine dorms for three months, even after he recovered, because he disliked his roommate and found the living conditions more tolerable there.

In *Coming of Age in New Jersey*, Moffatt spent a great deal of time documenting the friendships and relationships on his floor at Rutgers. I did not have the same ethnographic privilege of formally studying students in the residence halls when I lived among them, but I did experience it firsthand, without the social setback of being a 35-year-old man. He described the comradery of the floor in vivid detail, explaining how people were either "friendly" or

“unfriendly,” based on criteria such as how much time they spent hanging out in common areas and how often they said hi in the hallways (Moffatt, 1989). This dynamic was not necessarily reflected in my freshman year experience, which I candidly shared with my interviewees. I was on good terms with the people on my floor, but I only regularly hung out with them for the first week or so, before finding more friends with similar interests from my classes; I kept these friends through sophomore year and didn’t really bother to get to know anyone on my new floor.

The pandemic seemed to shift the first-years back to a dynamic similar to what Moffatt experienced at Rutgers and Nathan described at AnyU, although most of the criteria for friendly and unfriendly were changed, as it was directly taking a risk to interact with people other than your roommate. The common room capacities had been limited to six people, when floors typically had at least thirty residents, and by the second semester, ResLife took the furniture out of common spaces to discourage gathering further. With the general uncertainty brought on by the pandemic, and its reinforcement by the Green and Gold Promise, first-year students in 2020-2021 did not have the luxury that seemed to be promised by stories from their older siblings and media representations of going away to college: trying on friend groups until you find one that fits. You did not have the choice, the autonomy, that Nathan emphasized was so appealing about the college experience (Nathan, 2005). They were too limited by the Green and Gold Promise and emerging new social norms to choose friends, which according to students, exaggerated social issues.

Ken and Finn, as roommates, were also in the same friend group. They arrived at UVM campus in fall 2020 three days apart, as random roommates, and luckily, ended up being friends. The two were part of a group of friends all in their residence hall—which Ken noted, was entirely due to the fact that the Green and Gold restrictions made it nearly impossible to meet

people from other buildings, or see them regularly enough to form a friend group. This sentiment was held by Elise as well, who was in a different friend group on a different floor but in the same building as Ken and Finn. Generally, the three concluded that they felt the social norm was to stick with your first friend group. As Elise is quoted saying in the first section of this chapter, there was a collective anxiety about contact tracing. It was understood that if you reported a lot of close contacts, you would be suspected of violating the Green and Gold Promise, since it basically forbade interactions that qualified someone as a close contact. On the other hand, students felt morally uneasy about having close contacts and *not* reporting them—after all, they did not want to get anyone sick. However, this did conflict with the values they felt college was all about: meeting new people and being able to self-regulate as an individual. As Finn bitterly said, "you had to put a cap on your friend groups. It felt like a weird social experiment, a little bit. It was like the University was saying, 'we're gonna give you all of this, but you can't have it. It's in front of you, but you have to resist it.'"

The three students all reflected on how much they had longed for connection and relationships. Between the pressures and uncertainties of the Green and Gold Promise, distrust in RAs, and limited ways to connect with people—online classes didn't have the same organic time or space for chatting with classmates, as in-person classes prior to the pandemic did—the standards for friendship dropped to being the first people you met, and the people you were able to see with the least complications: your residence hall Floor. This was reflected on as an artificial type of friendship, taken out of necessity rather than genuine connection over shared interests. In fact, the students recalled that often, one of the only shared interests was not getting caught—the moments they cited as bonding and solidifying friendships were experiencing

escaping the Green and Gold Promise together, conspiratorially hiding under beds during RA walks, or shushing each other.

On the other hand, once you were in a friend group, you were *in.* Elise especially said she felt uncomfortable "kicking anyone out of a friend group." As you'll recall from Nathan (2005), before the pandemic, the norm was to stop talking to someone and let them find another group, and community was always in flux. This had shifted as the stakes were higher and rigid walls went up. Now, if you kicked someone out of your group, they could very well have no other friends to fall back on. As everyone tried to limit close contacts, her friend group was hesitant to accept new members, and she assumed others would be as well. This led to students describing the feeling of an increased personal responsibility for the wellbeing of their peers, even if they didn't particularly like them. The result of this was a clique social system, akin to what students recalled high school was like. The cliques incurred more "drama"—petty arguments, fights, taking sides, and eventually, finding it necessary to resolve the issue or hold grudges, since it was better to have friends who were mad at you than to be completely alone. Overall, Finn, Ken, and Elise reflected, they were still on good terms with most of these friends two years later, but friendships they formed after the Green and Gold Promise, when community returned to an in-flux state, felt more genuine.

The students and RAs were, mostly, on the same page about the don't-ask-don't-tell policy when it came to following covid-19 restrictions. It was unanimously understood, by Ashley the Resident Director, the RAs I spoke to, and residents, that it was acceptable to break the objectively harsh rules as long as you were able to hide it. This observation hinged on the fact that if students were bothering other residents, it was probably because they were creating enough noise to be bothersome, and as Ashley said, that level of noise is indicative of more

people present in a space than the Green and Gold Promise would allow. So, when far more frequent violations were being handed out, the students were often being caught and written up for being annoying, not because anyone particularly cared that they were seeing their friends. The Green and Gold Promise, rather than keeping students from spreading covid-19 to each other and the outside community, really just provided a socially acceptable means to punish one's peers. This can be explained further by Ken and Finn's experience getting suspended in the second semester of their freshman year, and the uproar that followed.

The social structure of cliques and easy access to socially acceptable exercise of power (via the anonymous reporting form) was a lethal combination. In Finn and Ken's case, in spring 2021, they decided to have a gathering off campus with five of their close friends for a birthday. Their reasoning was that they had already been seeing each other all the time anyway, but they wanted to have fun—a.k.a., speak above a whisper—without the restrictions, which they assumed wouldn't apply to them off-campus, since they didn't apply to off-campus students. They weren't taking any more risk, close-contacts considered, than an off-campus group of six students living in a house together, or even an on-campus suite. What happened next launched a full student rebellion against the Green and Gold Promise, although it had nothing to do with worry about covid-19 spreading. Another resident, who had a petty argument with someone present at the birthday party, saw on social media that they were violating the Promise, and turned all seven students in as petty revenge. As a result, they were all suspended.

This is when rebellion and protest came from students and parents alike, as administrators crossed a line in how much they allowed the Promise to control students' bodies. Perhaps it became clear that the Green and Gold Promise had always been an experiment to see how much control students would allow, or perhaps this particular incident brought to light how self-

contradictory the Promise's limitations were, based on whether you were a student living on-campus or off-campus. Perhaps, as Administrator Steven said, although the fear got out of hand, the Promise had to be seen through to the end. The rising cases at UVM were attributed solely to Promise violations like these, and not how covid-19 could spread like wildfire in a closed space such as a dorm floor, even with masks and gathering restrictions. If the institution took the blame, they would lose their power, so the students were held even more responsible to create certainty for the Burlington community. But this time, they did not let it fly. Several petitions went around, one with the general goal of softening the Green and Gold Promise, and some for specific students pleading to have their suspensions rescinded. In the end, while there were 2644 students found responsible for student conduct violations that school year—four times as many as the previous non-pandemic academic year, 2018-2019—only 20 were fully suspended (Appendix E). 21, including Finn, Ken, and their friends, were given the grace of finishing the semester online and off-campus, as the result of the overwhelming opposition. In May, the UVM administration announced that the Green and Gold Promise would not be renewed the next year, and three weeks before the end of the semester, they changed the policy to allow two masked guests in dorm rooms.

Conclusion

The impact of the harsh restrictions the University enforced on students in the 2020-2021 school year is still felt by those of us who endured it now, two years later, especially for those who were first-years, whose initial experience of college was jarringly different from their expectations. Student decision-making centered around avoiding ramifications for their actions, which hadn't been scrutinized so intensely before. Limits on socializing threw new students into

even more uncertainty, resulting in stress and reorganized methods of forming friend groups, as well as lower standards for friendships. The University was able to use the pandemic as a means to test just how much control students would endure, but between the lack of consistency in their rules, and the existing community-oriented student culture, they only managed to temporarily instill a heightened sense of self-surveillance. In the end, the Green and Gold Promise did not do much more to control students from spreading covid-19 than they were focusing on controlling themselves. While the majority of students, like myself and Clay, went along with the rules and exercised self-control, on some level the Promise encouraged sneakier students, and provided a tool for them to punish each other for offenses that were considered worthy in their community, such as noise violations and petty arguments, which otherwise may well have gone uncontradicted.

For the most part, the 2020-2021 year seems to have been an anomaly, an abnormal year, at least on the zeroed-in scale of the direct impact of the Green and Gold Promise, but only time will tell. According to Mark, who is still an RA in spring 2023, the rollback of the Promise after the end of that year, coupled with widespread covid-19 vaccination, lifting of public restrictions, and general shifts in the perception of covid-19 in society, has slowly allowed RA-resident relationships to bounce back to "normal." This is especially true as the new students coming in never witnessed the fear and uncertainty of the Green and Gold Year, and from my casual interviews with this year's freshmen, it appears that friendship-forming methods are returning to the adventurous style they had before any administrative restrictions. As Steven said, the Promise created an unprecedented level of fear in the student community that will hopefully not be forgotten in future crises: "I would say if we look back, that's something I think we would do differently…I don't know how we would do it, but we would do it differently."

Conclusion

In early March 2023, I had an interview in a residence hall on Redstone campus. It was my first time on Redstone since moving out, in May 2021, almost two years earlier. It felt and looked like nothing had changed—the sidewalk was slushy with half-melted snow, the air was cold and stung the inside of my nose, but it was sunny enough for me to justify unzipping my coat. The buildings looked the same. The only difference is that now there were people—happy people. People walking arm in arm, no masks, carrying lunch home, or meandering towards campus. It was the same place, with a very different atmosphere. As I walked into the lobby of the residence hall, I scanned the room for relics of the covid-19 pandemic. A single student employee sat at the front desk behind a plexiglass barrier, not even looking up while I perused the lobby. A sign was taped up on the darkened windows of an administrator's office—to call it a sign is generous, because it was really just a rumpled piece of printer paper with a list on it in size 12 Calibri font, the default setting of a Word document. It was a sign in nature: where it was posted, I suppose, indicated its intention. The top line read, "UVM supports in-room recovery with roommates, here are the basics you need to know." (Appendix F). Jeanne Mance Hall had converted back to regular housing for this school year, 2022-2023, and the Testing Center closed permanently over the summer. From the lobby alone, you wouldn't know what I'd heard from on-campus students and RAs alike: covid was still ravaging the halls.

Later that day, I spoke to the Anthropology Intro to the Major class—a room full of mostly freshmen and sophomores—about this project, in an effort to recruit a few younger interviewees. My standard elevator pitch, full of casual references to the Green and Gold Promise, suspensions, and the Testing Center, was met with blank stares, and I realized pretty quickly that I hadn't thought through my audience. These students, for the most part, knew only

pool tables and cozy chairs where the Testing Center used to be on the first floor of the Davis Center. They'd never seen the clean green and white "room capacity" stickers on common room doors; they couldn't imagine campus with the amount of control I was describing. On the other hand, faced with a lack of covid-19 resources, they have been forced to navigate the later phases of the pandemic on their own: in interviews, I heard stories of students reorganizing dorms to self-quarantine positive cases, desperately dragging mattresses out of their rooms to sleep in the hallways, RAs having no advice to give because there was radio silence from their supervisors, and stern emails from Resident Directors condemning resident attempts to keep track of covid cases (one of these emails had the same "poster" I mentioned above copy-pasted into it). It was an interesting contrast: while my year and the class below us suffered from too much administrative control, it was clear that a lack of input at all was not void of stress, and merely presented a different set of uncertainties to navigate. In spite of this, the students seemed self-assured and happy with their friend groups; covid-19 navigation was a minor factor in their lives, not at the forefront as it had been in 2020-2021. As I walked wearily home that night, I wondered if my project had any point at all, or if I was doing it too late. What did it matter, if it seemed like campus life was more or less bouncing back to normal as quickly as it had fallen apart? If the uncertainty I had documented was becoming a permanent part of the college experience?

It was so easy to forget how hard it was to be a student during the peak of pandemic restrictions, that specific pain behind your ears from wearing a mask for 15 hours a day, never quite feeling comfortable or at home. In my four years, I witnessed the "normal," bright, glittering UVM in its glory, the sudden halt and frantic planning as the pandemic hit, the reluctant settling in to the new normal, the explosive rebellion against too much control, and the gradual return to something resembling the original dynamic. Through it all, I watched and

experienced the student culture maintain its seasons: lazy summers, laid back, friendly falls, melancholy winters, and furious springs teeming with student rebellion. Even in the extreme uncertainty of the pandemic, this pattern was reassuringly maintained, demonstrating the resilience of the student culture, the life cycle of the academic year, and overall, the immediate cultural response to do whatever it takes maintain some semblance of normalcy.

Summary of Findings

Countless times over the course of this project, I was turned down for interviews because my peers wanted to leave the most socially limiting, anxiety-producing parts of the pandemic in the past. Steven even said that the administration was so tired of talking about it, the emergency management team didn't complete an after-action review. Indeed, like past pandemics and major disruptive events—the influenza epidemic in 1918, for example—there are lasting cultural and economic effects we won't understand or register until decades in the future, when we have the benefit of hindsight. But culturally, there are already some shifts that seem to be holding steadfast in American society and are reflected in UVM's campus. How we navigate illness, how we balance and differentiate work and home, the effectiveness of self-surveillance and regulation, and the trust between administration, students, and faculty, have all been subject to change since March 2020.

While student culture seems, reassuringly, to be returning to its original state, there are ongoing social effects on the campus community. In this thesis, I argued that the American college has become a place to come of age, defined by the autonomy gained during the college experience to guide America's youth from childhood to adulthood. This was not a new argument; works like *Campus Life*, *Coming of Age in New Jersey*, and *My Freshman Year* had

already established the college experience as a fact. However, there were not major cultural upsets that contradicted bodily autonomy during their research periods, and in the nearly twenty years since *My Freshman Year*, social media and the digital world have come into existence and now hold an essential position in American culture, especially as people my age have grown up with this phenomenon. In covid-19, coming of age has changed: the trust between students and college administration has frayed, the student subcultures have adapted to moralize caring about public health, and friendships are complicated by the heightened awareness of health, shifting away from such passionate individuality.

For administrators, the pandemic established a new threshold for accountability. Students will probably not accept more power than they were before, especially if it contradicts the autonomy they expect from the college experience. However, as not-yet adults, they still look towards administration for guidance, so all power was not lost. The administration maintains its role of selling the college experience and keeping a balance between their students and the greater Burlington community, although the pandemic did expose issues the administration has been allowing to grow for several years—for example, the looming housing crisis caused directly by their over-admission of incoming students. As I said, it will be years before we know the full social effects of the covid-19 pandemic. But over the past three years, I came of age in covid-19, and maybe that's the point: in spite of the social unrest, the somehow normalized liminality, the constant self-surveillance and gradual relief as I moved off campus, I still grew up, and so will the classes after me.

For Future Research of Covid-19 and the Shifting Functions of the College Campus

In May 2023, after the completion of the majority of this research, the World Health Organization announced that covid-19 has been downgraded from a public health emergency to an "ongoing health issue" (WHO, 2023). Three years, my entire undergraduate career, and a thesis later, it's supposedly over. There is still that little itch, the nagging question of the after-action review, so here is what I believe should be the takeaway. There was clearly a series of miscommunications, misinterpretations, and overlooked perspectives, which caused UVM administrators to institute a strict set of rules on students, which lacked legitimacy due to their inconsistency. Looking back at when the stakes were much higher, the question presses: what else could they have done? And I have to say, I truly don't know. If there were a similar pandemic, I believe administrators at UVM and comparator institutions would focus on public health aspects of control—weekly testing, vaccine requirements, and masking—and try to avoid limiting the actual social actions of students, especially in the case where state and national restrictions are rescinded. If there is not such a stigma and fear inflamed by the narrative of the university, perhaps students will take the risk management into their own hands—similar to the efforts being made in fall 2022 by residential students. In the end, all parties were just doing their best to navigate a potentially deadly disease which, even now, has seeped into the "normal" of our lives.

On the topic of future anthropological research of the college campus, the field is ripe with emerging cultures and quirks to study, especially with the scarcity of existing research on the college student and the coming-of-age process. I would encourage increased work of college ethnography by students—it is challenging to take on researching your own culture, but being so wrapped up in it is also a gift, as you are privy to the nuances and delicate matters present.

Specifically, with the emergence of social media, entire books could be written on the ethnography of Instagram and information distribution, especially with how rapidly information from the CDC, WHO, and other leaders could be distributed during the pandemic, when safety recommendations were constantly evolving. It may also be worth further research into the life of the RA, balanced between student and officer, and what specific set of pressures they carry. I can only hope that this thesis has filled in a few small gaps in the research of higher education and the American coming-of-age process, and I will leave you with an enthusiastic encouragement to consider more research into the lives and subcultures of college students, through covid-19 and beyond.

Appendix A: The Green and Gold Promise

The Green and Gold Promise

The University of Vermont's Our Common Ground principles guide who we strive to be as a community and affirm the identities and experiences of everyone who lives, learns, and works at UVM. As a caring community, we understand that our health and safety depend on how well we take care of each other. As a member of this community I promise to responsibly protect my health and the health of others. I make these efforts to help prevent the spread of COVID-19 and other risks to our community's health.

The virus that causes COVID-19 is highly contagious. It is possible to develop and contract COVID- 19, even when individuals follow all of the safety precautions recommended by the CDC, the State of Vermont, and the University. The University is following all coronavirus guidelines issued by the CDC and other experts to reduce the spread of infection. However, by engaging in on- or off-campus activities, students can never be completely shielded from all risk of exposure or illness caused by COVID-19 or other infections.

I promise to:

Care for my personal health:

- Complete all university-required safety training.
- Follow social distancing and face mask guidelines.
- Wash my hands often with soap and water for at least 20 seconds or use hand sanitizer.
- Get vaccinated for the seasonal flu in the fall.

Care for the health of all UVM community members:

- Follow physical distancing guidelines (6 feet of distance and limitations on numbers of individuals gathering in a common location) both on and off campus, not making assumptions about who may be more vulnerable to contracting this illness.
- Stay home and not enter campus facilities if I feel sick.
- Stay home if I have been exposed to someone who is sick or has tested positive for COVID-19.
- Wear an appropriate face mask and other protective gear when in public spaces on or off campus, including private spaces if guests or visitors are present, even if 6-foot distancing is possible.
- Keep my clothing, belongings, personal spaces and shared common spaces sanitized, and not share personal items with others, particularly items such as eating utensils and water bottles, which could spread the COVID-19 virus.
- Participate in required testing to preserve the health and wellbeing of the community.
- Follow all directions given by institutional officials and displayed on university signage. Individual activities and facilities may have more specific requirements based upon the unique risks presented.
- This virus does not discriminate and neither will I. No person or group of people is responsible for this virus and I will not blame the presence of COVID-19 on anyone in my community.

Care for the health of our surrounding Vermont community:

- Complete state-required quarantine and/or testing prior to arrival on campus, or if you have had to leave the state for non-essential purposes. Details for these requirements are outlined by the Vermont Department of Health at https://www.healthvermont.gov/response/coronavirus-covid-19/traveling-vermont.
- Monitor for the symptoms of COVID-19 and report to a medical professional if I experience fever of 100.4 F (38 C) or higher, dry cough, difficulty breathing, chills, repeated shaking with chills, muscle pain, headache, sore throat or loss of taste or smell, or other symptoms related to COVID-19.
- Promptly report any known or potential exposures to COVID-19 to the Center for Health and Wellbeing and participate fully and honestly in contact tracing to determine whom I may have potentially exposed to COVID-19.
- Follow the instructions of medical professionals, which may include being tested for COVID-19 and self-quarantining while test results are pending, and/or being evaluated.
- Self-isolate in accordance with Vermont Department of Health guidelines if I test positive for COVID-19.
- Practice safe physical distancing when participating in the community outside of the campus.
- Pay attention to and observe city and state directives.
- Remember that not everyone is affected equally by COVID-19. By complying with COVID-19 health guidelines, I will help those who are most vulnerable to stay safe.

As more information is gathered and known, the University of Vermont and Vermont Department of Health may modify the required health and safety practices outlined above. I understand it is my responsibility to keep apprised of these changes to protect myself and the University community.

I have read, understand, and agree to comply with the "Green and Gold Promise." I also acknowledge that this Promise is a condition of my ability to participate in the academic year 20-21 and utilize university facilities. My failure to comply may lead to immediate removal from campus and/or the inability to use certain facilities. Violations of this pledge will be referred, reviewed and adjudicated in accordance with the procedure outlined in the Code of Student Conduct.

I understand that the only way to get safely through the COVID-19 crisis is if we Rally Together!

Appendix B: Student and Administrator Interview Questions

Students

a. Enrolled at UVM during the peak of Covid-19 Policies—Any time between Spring 2020 and Spring 2022

1. Can you tell me a story about a time UVM's Covid-19 protocols affected a decision you made?
2. Do you feel that UVM's Covid-19 protocols affected your friend groups or social relationships?
    a. Did you limit interactions or prioritize friends in a smaller circle?
        i. If yes, what factors led to these people being in your "bubble"?
        ii. If no, why not?
3. How did you feel about signing the Green and Gold Promise?
4. Can you walk me through a day in your life in Fall 2020 or Spring 2021, when Covid-19 protocols on campus were at their peak? This could include going to class, finding a space for an online class, eating, seeing friends, or getting tested.
    a. Can you walk me through a day in your life now? How are they different?
5. In your day-to-day life now, how often do you think about Covid-19?
    a. Has this changed since Spring 2020?
    b. Have any situations or events heightened your attention to Covid-19?

b. Enrolled at UVM after lifting of most major Covid-19 Policies (Mask mandate and social distancing lifted, no longer required to sign Green and Gold Promise)—After Spring 2022

1. Are you familiar with UVM's Covid-19 policies?
    a. Do you know what to do if you have tested positive for Covid-19, think you may have Covid-19, or have been in close contact with someone who has Covid-19?
2. Can you tell me a story about a time UVM's Covid-19 protocols affected a decision you made?
    a. Or, if you feel that their policies do not affect your campus lifestyle, can you tell me why not?
3. Did UVM's Covid-19 response influence your decision to attend UVM?
    a. Why or why not?
4. In your day-to-day life, how often do you think about Covid-19?
    a. Have any situations or events heightened your attention to Covid-19?

Administrators

1. What was your role in the planning and implementation of the Green and Gold Promise?
2. How much was your day-to-day life in Fall 2020 and Spring 2021 shaped around Covid-19 regulations on campus, if at all?
3. What was your goal in your job as an administrator of Covid-19 protocols?
    a. Do you feel like you fulfilled that goal?
4. If you could go back to the planning stage and do anything differently, would you?
    a. Why or why not?
    b. If you do choose to do anything differently, what would you change?

Appendix C: March 11, 2020 Email from UVM President Suresh Garimella

Dear UVM community members: As we face the local, national, and international challenges posed by the coronavirus outbreak ("COVID-19"), our primary focus remains on the well-being of our students, faculty and staff. In addition to monitoring the situation closely, we have continued to consult with health authorities in order to thoughtfully and appropriately refine our response plans.

Exercising an abundance of caution, the university will shift to remote methods of learning starting Wednesday, March 18, for regularly scheduled classes. In-person classes on Monday and Tuesday, March 16 and 17, will be canceled to provide additional opportunity for faculty and staff to complete preparations for moving to remote instruction.

This decisive action reflects our commitment to help slow the spread of the virus, while also promoting the academic progress of our students and protecting the health and safety of our community. Please note that this change does not apply to medical students in the Larner College of Medicine, which is developing a separate action plan centered on their unique needs.

Specific communications will soon be issued by Provost Patty Prelock to the faculty, Dean Cindy Forehand to graduate students and post-doctoral scholars, and Rafael Rodriguez, executive director of Residential Life, to our residential undergraduate students, whom we are encouraging to not return to the residence halls after Spring Break unless they need to live on campus. These messages will include links to more detailed information and resources.

Also, starting Wednesday, March 18, the university will begin implementing other measures to facilitate the social distancing recommended to slow the spread of COVID-19. The university will remain open, but events and gatherings will be limited to 25 attendees or fewer. Wherever possible, remote delivery will be implemented to support any larger meetings.

These measures will remain in effect until further notice. Given the evolving nature of the situation, and our continual reassessment, we are not in a position to address future events, such as Commencement, at this time.

In summary, I am announcing the following measures:

- In-person classes on Monday, March 16 and Tuesday, March 17 will be cancelled.
- Classes will resume on Wednesday, March 18, but will shift to remote methods of instruction.
- The university will remain open and employees will be expected to report to work.
- Graduate students and post-doctoral scholars will be expected to continue their work, as described in the communication they will receive from Dean Forehand.
- Social distancing measures, such as limiting indoor events to 25 attendees or fewer, will go into effect Wednesday, March 18.

While these changes are significant, I want to emphasize the importance of keeping our university open, and continuing our support of critically important services and activities, such as our student support, administrative functions, and research endeavors.

I recognize these measures are unprecedented and may be unsettling. With that in mind, we will continue to provide regular updates and information. The COVID-19 website (go.uvm.edu/covid19) is a resource for the latest policy decisions and other useful information and, starting today, questions may be sent to COVID19@uvm.edu or to our COVID-19 information helpline that will be staffed from 8:30-4:30 daily (and this weekend) until further notice. The helpline number is 802-656-HELP.

Thank you for your continued support and partnership. I am grateful for the dedication, teamwork, and care that defines our community.

Suresh V. Garimella
President

Appendix D: College of Arts and Sciences Covid-19 FAQs

College of Arts and Sciences COVID-19 FAQ's

CAS COVID-19 FAQ's Updated 3-14-2020

The COVID-19 website is where you can find all university-wide communications related to the situation, including emails sent to undergrad and graduate students. CAS has also launched a new SharePoint page for all CAS specific COVID-19 communications. The site can be found here.

Q: All undergraduate and graduate courses are to be taught remotely. Can we faculty have individual, in-person meetings with undergraduate students?

In-person meetings that are not associated with credit-bearing activities are strongly discouraged. However, they may be permissible under certain circumstances. Please contact the Dean before scheduling an in-person meeting with an undergraduate student.

Q: Can undergraduate students access academic facilities such as studios, practice rooms, research labs, and maker spaces? (see Provost's March 13th Memo "Guidance on Non-Classroom Academic Activity")

Students who reside locally may seek access to academic facilities such as studios, practice rooms, research labs, and maker spaces to continue essential academic activities.

We are working on College guidelines for granting permission for students to access these spaces.

Q: Can students continue with their internship or independent study activities? (see Provost's March 13th Memo "Guidance on Non-Classroom Academic Activity")

All credit-bearing activities must move to remote instruction.

Students currently participating in internships, regardless of location, should contact their internship sites and request remote internship assignments. If it is not possible to continue the internship remotely, the experiential component of the internship should conclude. The remaining academic component of the internship should continue via remote delivery.

Students who reside locally and are currently enrolled in for-credit research in UVM facilities should contact their research supervisors and request remote research assignments. If it is not possible to continue the research remotely, and if the research activity is deemed essential by the dean, the activity may continue. If the student does not reside locally, or is not comfortable returning to the facility for health or safety reasons, the final research write-up, project, or presentation can be based on the research conducted to date, or the faculty may modify the research assignment so that it can be completed remotely.

Q: Can undergraduate students continue with non-credit bearing research? (see Provost's March 13th Memo "Guidance on Non-Classroom Academic Activity")

Local students who are participating in non-paid, non-credit research in UVM facilities and wish to continue should contact their research supervisors and request remote research assignments. If this is not possible, and if the research activity is deemed essential by the dean, the activity may continue.

Q: How do we ensure that students are participating in their remote instructed courses?

Check in with your students regularly. A good practice is to have period assignments that allow you to determine whether students are keeping up with the material. Please use academic alerts if students are not keeping up with assignments.

Q: Is it okay to modify course learning goals as part of moving to remote instruction?
This is up to the discretion of the faculty member as they consider how best to deliver course content remotely. It is critical,

however, that we adhere to the definition of a student credit hour and seek to provide a rigorous learning experience.

Q: Are students allowed back on campus to retrieve their course materials?

Based on the email to students, they are allowed on campus and have been encouraged to come back to campus 3/14 to 3/17 to retrieve their belongings.

Q: If courses change substantially, will students be given an opportunity for late withdrawal?

The withdrawal deadline has been extended from Friday, March 27, to one week later on April 3.

Q: How do we address SAS student accommodations in the remote instruction environment?

We must make every effort to adhere to agreed-upon accommodations. Questions should be directed to SAS.

Q: Are students aware of the difference between remote instruction vs. an online class?

Students may not be aware. It is critical that faculty communicate the nature of the remote instruction for their course and the expectation for work. I've asked that a communication be sent to students highlighting the importance of time management.

Q: Are we going to have remote instruction for the rest of the semester?

No decision has been made. The situation is being monitored.

Q: Many courses charge course or lab fees. If the course no longer involves the experiences that required the fee, will students be refunded their money?

We are seeking guidance on this.

Q: Will student course evaluations be administered?

Yes. We are asking that faculty be given the option to not include this semester's student course evaluations in their annual evaluations or RPT dossiers. For those departments that use paper evaluations, it is too late to convert to Blue. We will work with those departments to identify other means for carrying out student course evaluations.

Q: How do we ensure that students are participating in their remote instructed courses?

Check in with your students regularly and utilize academic alerts. We don't want students to fall away during this time, and communicating with the Student Services department is crucial.

Q: Will there be a way to carry out proctored final exams?

Software solutions for remote exam proctoring are being explored. Blackboard has some features (timed test, unable to go 'back', etc.) that may be used to mitigate efforts to cheat on exams.

Q: Are Admitted Student Visit Days (ASV's) cancelled?

No decision has been made. However, preparations are underway to create a "Virtual ASV."

Q: Is it possible to hold in-person graduate thesis/dissertation defenses?
Yes. If there are no more than 25 people in attendance, you can hold in-person meetings involving graduate students. Faculty

members have the authority to request remote defenses.

Q: Prospective graduate students have been invited to campus for interviews. Will we be able to reimburse students for any loss they incur from canceling in-person interviews?

We are seeking guidance. Please consider cancelling these interviews before students incur these expenses.

Q: Can laboratory technicians, teaching assistants, and federal work study students continue to work?

Paid work study students, teaching assistants, and lab techs can continue their work. Paid undergraduate teaching assistants should work remotely. If there is no work, these students will not be paid. We are unsure if we will be able to pay federal work study students who do not work; that is a federal government decision.

Teaching assistants working for credit must work remotely. If there is no teaching assistant related work for these students, alternative work should be found so that they can complete the TA course.

Q: Are faculty expected to hold office hours?

Faculty should communicate their availability to students in their classes and to their advisees. Faculty might consider informing students about the preferred method of communication (e.g., email or via Blackboard) and the expected turnaround on responses.

Q: How will course registration and advising be handled?

At the moment no decision has been made to adjust the fall course registration schedule. Faculty should contact their advisees identifying their preferred method of communication.

Q: Will funds released from the cancellation of Departmental events be allowed to be carried forward to next fiscal year?

Yes. We will include this in the consideration of year-end reappropriations.

Q: I used my personal credit card to book travel for a conference that has now been cancelled. Will I get refunded?

Please seek a refund or voucher from the airline or conference. Forbes has compiled a list of airline-specific COVID-19 cancellation policies which you can access here.

Vouchers received for purchases on a personal credit card can be used for personal travel at a later time. If you elect to use the voucher for UVM-related travel at a later time, you will be reimbursed when you have completed the UVM-related travel.

Please review UVM's COVID-19 Travel Frequently Asked Questions.
Q: If I already booked travel and paid for all the expenses, do I need to submit a travel authorization?

As of now, all domestic and foreign UVM-related travel is suspended.

Q: Can we carry forward unused Professional Development Funds that were earmarked for travel that is now cancelled?

CBA Article 21.5 states "All funds not formally encumbered or expended by May 1st of each academic year shall become part of a resource pool for re-distribution by the Chair to other faculty who demonstrate special needs, including un-reimbursed professional expenses. No funds may be rolled over into the next fiscal year."

We are seeking guidance but recommend that faculty plan to adhere to the CBA.

Q: Is it possible to repurpose lab fees from a course to pay for students to purchase software necessary for replacement teaching?

Q: if staff have little or no sick time available, will they be paid if they have to quarantine?

HR has issued guidance which can be found here.
Q: If faculty/staff don't have computers at home, how do they work remotely?

We are working to determine which staff functions can be done remotely. We are also working to determine how we might provide computers to staff who may work remotely.

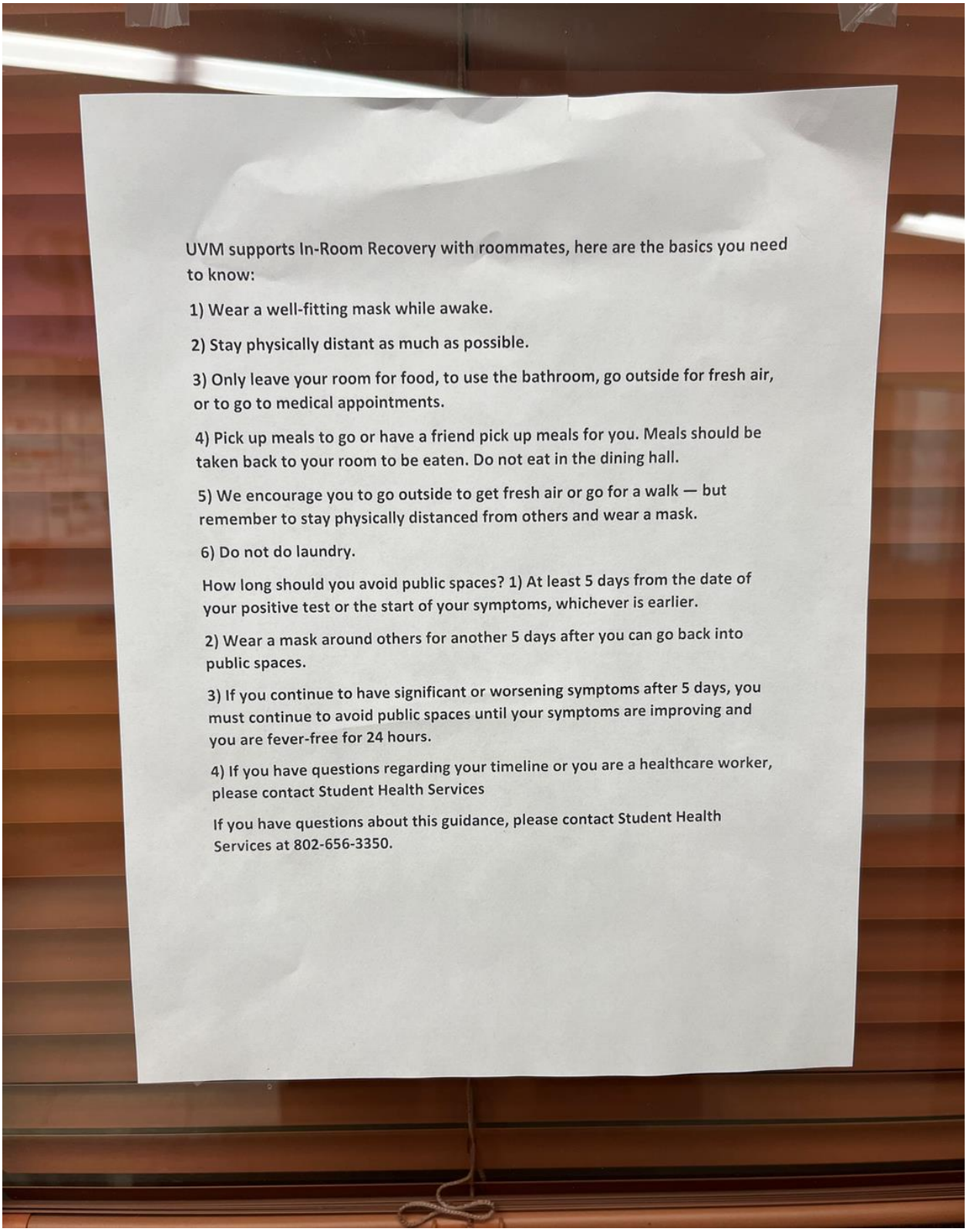
Appendix E: UVM Student Conduct Statistics

Summary of Annual Student Conduct Statistics

	2018-2019	2019-2020	2020-2021***	2021-2022***
TOTAL INCIDENTS	401	409	861	618
TOTAL STUDENTS	837	748	3486	1452
TOTAL HEARINGS	654	656	3085	1007
TOTAL STUDENTS FOUND RESPONSIBLE	640	546	2644	1155
Alcohol*	423	386	413	515
Drugs*	191	194	128	208
Detoxed Students	89	66	51	88
Tobacco (new in 2019-2020)		76	27	47
Property Offenses	91	112	67	159
Public Order Violations	88	101	2782	505

TOTAL SANCTIONS	1044	942	4738	913
Consultations	10	0	0	1
BASICS	215	195	118	417
Alcohol Edu	173	n/a	n/a	n/a
CHOICES! Circle and Reflection (new in 2019-2020)	n/a	57	611	n/a
Educational Sanctions	101	234	903	169
Fines Applied	428	380	399	194
Community Restitution	3	5	0	3
Probation	88	61	38	121
Deferred Suspensions	8	3	1	3
Suspensions	11	6	20	5
Removal from In-Person Semester in Lieu of Suspension	n/a	n/a	21	n/a

Appendix F: UVM Supports In-Room Recovery Sheet



UVM supports In-Room Recovery with roommates, here are the basics you need to know:

1) Wear a well-fitting mask while awake.

2) Stay physically distant as much as possible.

3) Only leave your room for food, to use the bathroom, go outside for fresh air, or to go to medical appointments.

4) Pick up meals to go or have a friend pick up meals for you. Meals should be taken back to your room to be eaten. Do not eat in the dining hall.

5) We encourage you to go outside to get fresh air or go for a walk — but remember to stay physically distanced from others and wear a mask.

6) Do not do laundry.

How long should you avoid public spaces? 1) At least 5 days from the date of your positive test or the start of your symptoms, whichever is earlier.

2) Wear a mask around others for another 5 days after you can go back into public spaces.

3) If you continue to have significant or worsening symptoms after 5 days, you must continue to avoid public spaces until your symptoms are improving and you are fever-free for 24 hours.

4) If you have questions regarding your timeline or you are a healthcare worker, please contact Student Health Services

If you have questions about this guidance, please contact Student Health Services at 802-656-3350.

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