

**University of Massachusetts, Amherst**  
**COMPARATIVE ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR**  
**Spring Semester 2023**

**Syllabus POLISCI 390STA**  
**MoWeFr 1:25PM - 2:15PM**  
Machmer Hall room W-24

Prof. Rodrigo Castro Cornejo, Department of Political Science  
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## **1. Course Overview**

Why do people vote the way they vote? This course will focus on voting behavior and the influence that attitudinal and social factors, candidates, and campaigns have on vote choice. It will have a special focus on the U.S and Latin America but also considers experiences in Western Europe. The first part of the course will introduce students to topics on survey research and public opinion to understand instruments with which political scientists measure political attitudes and voting behavior. We will also examine factors that explain the vote such as party identification, ideology, religious affiliation, race, levels of education, the urban-rural divide, among others. Throughout the second part of this course, we will see that electoral competition in other countries frequently varies from what we usually experience in the U.S. Hence, our intuition about democratic politics may not automatically travel to these other contexts. We will also attempt to examine how vote-buying, corruption and crime influence voting behavior around the world.

## **2. Course learning objectives**

This course is an introduction to voting behavior designed for students who want to understand why people vote the way they vote. We will engage with different theories to compare and contrast factors that shape patterns of voting behavior in comparative perspective.

By taking this course you will be able to understand:

- Why do people vote as they do?
- What factors shape voters' decision-making at election time?
- How do different political contexts shape the way voters make decisions?
- How do political campaigns affect voters' attitudes and preferences?

Upon successful completion of this class you should be able to:

- Explain and differentiate competing theories about how voters make decisions at election time.
- Identify factors that explain vote choice and evaluate the extent to which these factors drive voters' decisions in different political systems.
- Sharpen analytical and research skills that will help you think critically about elections and voting behavior.

### 3. Requirements

This class will be conducted as a seminar. **I expect that students will have done the assigned readings before coming to class and will be able to summarize their main arguments.** Some of these **readings are technical**; I want you to do your best with the presentation of the statistics but to read for the main ideas. In class, we will discuss the readings. I will also present additional evidence from other studies. The exams will draw on **both the readings and class discussions.** These readings will be heaviest for the middle third of the class; the load lightens as final exams approach.

#### Grading:

Your final grade in this course will be broken down as follows:

Participation: 30%

    In-class participation: 15%

    Discussion questions: 10%

    Homework: 5%

Mid-term Exam (take home): 20%

Final Exam (take home): 20%

Class Project: 30%

Grades will be computed on the following basis:

94-100% = A

80-82% = B-

66-69% = D+

90-93% = A-

76-79% = C+

60-65% = D

86-89% = B+

73-75% = C

< 60% = F

83-85% = B

70-72% = C-

#### A. Seminar Participation (30%).

**A1. In-class participation (15%):** Participation includes class attendance and contributing to the discussion. You must all be active participants in these discussions, and that entails careful and thoughtful reading of each week's assignment.

**A2. Discussion questions (10%):** Students will be required to e-mail me before class your weekly discussion questions.

A good question for the sake of our purposes is a question that follows this order:

1. **First part:** brief summary of the readings (try to connect them and identify the overall argument of the readings).
2. **Second part:** identify the strengths and weakness of the readings (e.g. Is the argument/evidence/conclusion compelling?)
3. **Third part:** A question that you would like to discuss in class. What did you find interesting that deserves further discussion? (e.g. theoretical/empirical puzzle, interesting finding(s)).

Students are required to submit two discussion questions every week (Monday or Wednesday or Friday). **Questions should be related / speak to the readings of that specific class.**

We have **8 substantive weeks in this course** (including classes with readings, excluding movie weeks). **I expect you to submit your discussion questions in 6 of those 8 weeks.** In other words, you don't need to submit any questions in 2 of those weeks. Advice: Be

strategic, don't use those weeks at the beginning of the semester.

In order to get credit for sending a discussion question for a particular week, you must send the discussion questions to me by **e-mail by 10:00 a.m. on the day of class.**

**Note:** You are also welcome to send me **clarifying questions** if the readings were not clear enough or if you have any doubt about any given topic discussed during class. These questions will not be credited as discussion questions.

**A3. Homework (5%):**

- You will field a survey on campus to at least 10 respondents. I will distribute the survey and a handout with instructions.

**B. Mid-term exam (20%):** The midterm will consist of short-answer questions and a short essay. This exam will be take-home. I will circulate the mid-term exam a week in advance. You must send the exam to me by e-mail.

**C. Final exam (20%):** The final exam will consist of short-answer questions covering the latter half of the course and a short essay component. This exam will be take-home. I will circulate the final exam a week in advance. You must send the exam to me by e-mail.

**D. Class Project (30%):** There will also be a requirement for a longer (10-12 double-spaced pages) **research paper** due at the end of the course.

- **Week 4:** Chose research topic
- **Week 8:** Progress on Lit Review
- **Week 10:** Progress on analytical sections
- **Week 12.** Final presentation to the class

I will touch base during the semester to monitor your progress on your course project. You will present your course project to the class during the last two weeks of the semester. **You must send me the final version to my email.**

**Due: two weeks after your presentation to the class.**

#### **4. Policies**

**Academic Integrity:** Since the integrity of any institution of higher education requires honesty in scholarship and research, academic honesty is required of all students at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. Academic dishonesty is prohibited in all programs of the University. Academic dishonesty includes but is not limited to: cheating, fabrication, plagiarism, and facilitating dishonesty. Appropriate sanctions may be imposed on any student who has committed an act of academic dishonesty. Since students are expected to be familiar with this policy and the commonly accepted standards of academic integrity, ignorance of such standards is not normally sufficient evidence of lack of intent. Read the [University of Massachusetts Amherst Academic Honesty Policy](#)

**Disability Accommodations:** The University of Massachusetts Amherst is committed to making reasonable, effective and appropriate accommodations to meet the needs of students with disabilities and help create a barrier-free campus. If you have a disability and require accommodations, please register with Disability Services to have an accommodation letter sent to your faculty. Information on services and materials for registering are also available on the [University of Massachusetts Amherst Disability Services page](#).

**Coursework and attendance.** Students should make every possible effort to attend all classes. Your participation is important to the class and to your own learning process. More than three unexcused absences will result in your grade being lowered by a grade point (e.g. B to C). More than five unexcused absences may result in a failing grade. Please email me in advance if you know you will be missing class.

During the semester, many of you will be dealing with economic stress, work disruptions, caretaking responsibilities, etc. If you feel like you cannot complete assignments or exams on time, please let me know ASAP. I can be flexible and will do my best to help connect you with any resources you might need. Attendance policies - <https://www.umass.edu/registrar/students/policies-and-practices/class-absence-policy>

**COVID-19 statement:** For the health and safety of all members of our campus community, students are expected to follow all COVID-related policies on campus. It is encouraged in my class to wear a mask. Students who are ill must not attend class, and they will be offered reasonable accommodations for missed work. If you do experience a longer-term COVID-related disruption, I expect that you will contact me to review missed coursework and arrange a timeline and plan for completing that work. Be assured that I will do what I can to work with you to facilitate your successful completion of the course.

**Exams:** You should **submit your exams on time**. The grade on late exams will drop 1/3 of a letter grade for every hour late (e.g. B+ to B).

**Classroom Civility and Respect:** The university environment is a wonderful place for the exchange of the ideas and this course is no exception. Learning includes being open-minded and respectful of ideas that are different than yours and may challenge your existing beliefs. While I strongly encourage students to express their thoughts during class, it must always be done in a spirit of respect and courtesy. If a student is unable to conduct themselves in a way that is conducive to a learning atmosphere, that student will be asked to leave. This includes demonstrating respect for your fellow students, as well as for the professor.

**Office Hours:** I will be available to meet with students during all scheduled office hours. No appointment is necessary to meet during these times. If possible, students should attempt to notify me in advance before attending office hours. This makes it possible for me to schedule students' visits in advance so that they do not overlap, which will help avoid long wait times. Similarly, **students should try to notify me in advance of what they would like to discuss. This allows me to prepare and make the most efficient use of time.**

**Other Health Services:** The University has a number of supports to help increase student success across a variety of topics. Resources for students include:

[University Health Services](#)  
[Center for Counseling and Psychological Health](#)  
[Campus Health and Safety](#)

**Writing Center:** The Writing Center is located in W. E. B. Du Bois Library and provides free support on any writing you do while at UMass, whether for a course or not. Trained tutors are available to work with you (in person or [online](#)) as you plan, draft, and revise your writing. Please visit [www.umass.edu/writingcenter](http://www.umass.edu/writingcenter) for hours and [information about making appointments](#). If you have questions about the UMass Writing Center, please email [writingcenter@acad.umass.edu](mailto:writingcenter@acad.umass.edu) or call 413-577-1293. You can also contact [The Learning Resource Center \(LRC\)](#) for academic support.

## 5. Topics and Readings\*

\* Note: We may discover that we want to spend more time on certain topics and less on others. I may consider making changes to the class schedule if such a change would benefit most students' learning in this course.

Spring 2023 Schedule:		
Date	Topic	Reading(s) and Homework
<b><u>WEEK 1</u></b> <b>INTRO CLASS:</b> Feb 6	Introduction to the Course	No readings
<b>CLASS 1:</b> Feb 8	Survey design, public opinion, and the study of electoral behavior.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. R. C. Lewontin. "Measuring American Society: Sex, Lies, and Social Science," <i>The Public Perspective</i>.</li> <li>2. Guntermann and Lenz, "Still Not Important Enough? COVID-19 Policy Views and Vote Choice," <i>Perspectives on Politics</i>.</li> </ol>
<b>CLASS 2</b> Feb 10	Survey design, public opinion, and the study of electoral behavior II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kinder and Kalmoe. <i>Neither liberal nor conservative: ideological innocence in the American Public</i>. Intro and ch. 1</li> </ul> <b>Homework 1</b> You will field a survey on campus to at least 10 respondents. I will distribute the survey during the intro class.
<b>First Section: Voting Behavior in the U.S. and Europe</b>		
<b><u>WEEK 2</u></b> <b>CLASS 3:</b> Feb 13	Partisanship	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Green et al. <i>Partisan Hearts and Minds</i>. Intro.</li> <li>2. Mason, <i>Uncivil Agreement. How Politics Became Our Identity</i>. Cap. 1.</li> </ol> <b>Optional:</b> Mason et al. "Trump support is not normal partisanship," <i>Vox.com</i> <a href="https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2019/6/21/18679314/trump-support-is-not-normal-partisanship">https://www.vox.com/polyarchy/2019/6/21/18679314/trump-support-is-not-normal-partisanship</a>
<b>CLASS 4:</b> Feb 15	Social Identities and Affective Polarization	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Achen and Bartels, <i>Democracy for Realists. Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government</i>. Ch. 9.</li> <li>2. Iyengar, <i>New Directions in Public Opinion</i>. Ch. 4: "Affective Polarization or Hostility Across the Party Divide. An Overview"</li> </ol> <b>Optional:</b> Edsall, "How Much Does We Hate Each Other Matter," <i>The New York Times</i> <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/opinion/political-polarization-partisanship.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2021/09/29/opinion/political-polarization-partisanship.html</a>

<p><b>CLASS 5</b> Feb 17</p>	<p>Partisanship and Motivated Reasoning</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Flynn et al. “The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs about Politics,” <i>Political Psychology</i>, (only pp.1-16).</li> <li>2. YouGov, “One in five Americans believes the US government is using the COVID-19 vaccine to microchip the population,” <a href="https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/07/15/why-wont-americans-get-vaccinated-poll-data">https://today.yougov.com/topics/politics/articles-reports/2021/07/15/why-wont-americans-get-vaccinated-poll-data</a></li> </ol>
<p><b><u>WEEK 3</u></b> Feb 20 <b>NO CLASS</b></p>	<p><b>Holiday – Presidents’ Day</b></p>	
<p><b>CLASS 6:</b> Feb 22</p>	<p>Politics of Place I</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cramer, Katherine. <i>The Politics of Resentment</i>, Chapter 1 and 3.</li> </ul>
<p><b>CLASS 7:</b> Feb 24</p>	<p>Politics of Place II</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mettler and Brown, “The Growing Rural-Urban Political Divide and Democratic Vulnerability,” <i>The AANALS of the American Academy</i>.</li> <li>2. Hopkins, David, <i>The Suburbanization of the Democratic Party, 1992–2018</i></li> </ol>
<p><b><u>WEEK 4</u></b> <b>CLASS 8:</b> Feb 27</p>	<p>Culture Wars</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hunter, <i>Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America</i>. Intro and Ch. 1.</li> <li>2. Jones, Robert P. <i>The End of White America</i>, Ch. 3.</li> </ol> <p><b>Optional:</b> “We polled 1,060 Americans about abortion. This is what they got wrong,” <a href="https://www.vox.com/a/abortion-statistics-opinions-2016/poll">https://www.vox.com/a/abortion-statistics-opinions-2016/poll</a></p>
<p><b>CLASS 9:</b> Mar 1</p>	<p>Politics of Race</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Valentino, Nicholas and David Sears. “Old Times Are Not Forgotten,” (intro, hypotheses and conclusion) <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>.</li> <li>2. Jardina, <i>White Identity Politics</i>. Chapter 1 and ch. 2. (only pp. 34-49)</li> </ol> <p><b>Optional:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Grossmann, “People Are Changing Their Views On Race And Gender Issues To Match Their Party,” <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/people-are-changing-their-views-on-race-and-gender-issues-to-match-their-party/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/people-are-changing-their-views-on-race-and-gender-issues-to-match-their-party/</a></li> <li>• Jefferson and Tesler, “Why Racist White Voters Often Favor Black Republicans” <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-racist-white-voters-often-favor-black-republicans/amp/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-racist-white-voters-often-favor-black-republicans/amp/</a></li> </ul>

<p><b>CLASS 10:</b> Mar 3</p>	<p>Class Voting</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Ronald and Pippa Norris. “Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties,” <i>Perspective on Politics</i>.</li> <li>Masket. “What’s the Matter with Kansas? aptly describes the 2016 election — but was written in 2004,” <i>Mischiefs of Faction</i>. <a href="https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/12/1/13807382/thomas-frank-kansas-2016-election">https://www.vox.com/mischiefs-of-faction/2016/12/1/13807382/thomas-frank-kansas-2016-election</a></li> </ol>
<p><b>WEEK 5</b> <b>CLASS 11:</b> Mar 6</p>	<p>Gender and Politics</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cassese and Barnes, “Reconciling Sexism and Women’s Support for Republican Candidates: A Look at Gender, Class, and Whiteness in the 2012 and 2016 Presidential Races” <i>Political Behavior</i></li> <li>Ralph-Morrow, “The Right Men: How Masculinity Explains the Radical Right Gender Gap,” <i>Political Studies</i></li> </ol> <p><b>Optional:</b> Kam and Archer, “Mobilizing and Demobilizing Modern Sexism and Turnout in the #MeToo Era,” <i>Public Opinion Quarterly</i>.</p>
<p><b>CLASS 12:</b> Mar 8</p>	<p>LGBT Politics</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Silver: “Change Doesn’t Usually Come this Fast,” <i>FiveThirtyEight</i>, <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/change-doesnt-usually-come-this-fast/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/change-doesnt-usually-come-this-fast/</a></li> <li>Hopkins, “Leading the Leaders—or Leaving Them Behind: Party Politicians and the Independence of Public Opinion on the Culture War, 1988–2018.”</li> <li>Egan, “Group Cohesion without Group Mobilization: The case of Lesbians, Gays, and Bisexuals,” <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>. (only pp. 597-605).</li> </ol> <p><b>Optional:</b> Samuels, “Why Some Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Americans Are Loyal to the GOP” <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-some-lesbian-gay-and-bisexual-americans-are-loyal-to-the-gop/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/why-some-lesbian-gay-and-bisexual-americans-are-loyal-to-the-gop/</a></p>
<p><b>CLASS 13:</b> Mar 10</p>	<p>Political Campaigns: <i>Get Out The Vote!</i></p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Michelson and Nickerson. “Voter Mobilization,” <i>Handbook of Experimental Political Science</i></li> <li>Erikson and Wliezien, <i>The Timeline of Presidential Elections</i>, Cap 1.</li> </ol>
<p>Mar 13/15/17</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>SPRING RECESS</b></p>	
<p><b>WEEK 6</b> <b>CLASS 14:</b> Mar 20</p>	<p>Movie</p>	<p><b>On the Basis of Sex</b> (2018) is an American biographical legal drama film based on the life and early cases of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.</p>

<b>CLASS 15:</b> Mar 22		
<b>CLASS 16:</b> Mar 24	Social Movements, Institutions, and Public Opinion	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Banaszak and Ondercin, "Public Opinion as a Movement Outcome: The Case of The U.S. Women's Movement," <i>Mobilization: An International Quarterly</i>.</li> <li>2. Giles et al. "The Supreme Court in American Democracy: Unraveling the Linkages between Public Opinion and Judicial Decision Making," <i>The Journal of Politics</i>.</li> </ol> <p><b>MID-TERM EXAM DUE Mar 25 11:59pm</b></p>
<b>Second Section: Voting Behavior in Comparative Perspective</b>		
<b>WEEK 7</b> <b>CLASS 17:</b> Mar 27	Populism in Europe	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Berman, "Populism and the Decline of Social Democracy"</li> <li>2. Mudde, "Populism in Europe: An Illiberal Democratic Response to Undemocratic Liberalism," <i>Government and Opposition</i>.</li> </ol>
<b>CLASS 18:</b> Mar 29	Populism in Latin America	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mudde and Rovira, "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America," <i>Government and Politics</i>.</li> <li>2. Madrid, Raúl. "The Origins of the Two Lefts in Latin America," <i>Political Science Quarterly</i></li> </ol>
<b>CLASS 19:</b> Mar 31	Populism and Voters	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Svobik, "Polarization Versus Democracy," <i>Journal of Democracy</i></li> <li>2. Kaltwasser, Cristóbal Rovira, and Steven M. Van Hauwaert. "The populist citizen: Empirical evidence from Europe and Latin America." <i>European Political Science Review</i></li> </ol>
<b>WEEK 8</b> <b>CLASS 20:</b> April 3	Latin American Party Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mainwaring and Torcal, "Party System Institutionalization &amp; Party System Theory after the Third Wave of Democratization"</li> </ul>
<b>CLASS 21:</b> Apr 5	The Latin America Left	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Levitsky and Roberts, "Latin America's Left Turn," The Resurgence of the Latin American Left</li> <li>2. Ross and Samuels. "Evidence from Public Opinion," The Resurgence of the Latin American Left</li> </ol>
<b>CLASS 22:</b> Apr 7	The Latin American Right	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Loxton, James, "Authoritarian Successor Parties and the New Right in Latin America" in <i>Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America</i></li> <li>2. "The Right in Contemporary Latin America" by Luna, Juan Pablo and Cristobal Rovira in <i>The Resilience of the Latin American Right</i></li> </ol>



<p><b><u>WEEK 9</u></b> <b>CLASS 23:</b> Apr 10</p>	<p>Political Campaigns in Latin America</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lupu et al. "Toward a Theory of Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies," <i>Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective</i> (only pp. 1-17).</li> <li>2. Baker, Ames, and Renno et al. "The Sources and Dynamics of Mass Partisanship in New Democracy" (only pp. 2-7)</li> </ol>
<p><b>CLASS 24:</b> Apr 12</p>	<p>Clientelism in Latin America</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Stokes, Brusco and Nazareno. "Vote Buying in Argentina," <i>Latin American Research Review</i>.</li> <li>2. Zarazaga. "Brokers Beyond Clientelism: A New Perspective through the Argentine Case," <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i>.</li> </ol>
<p><b>CLASS 25:</b> Apr 14</p>	<p>, Violence and Elections</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ley, "To Vote or Not to Vote: How Criminal Violence Shapes Electoral Participation," <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>.</li> <li>• Schedler, "The criminal subversion of Mexican democracy," <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>WEEK 10</u></b> Apr 17</p>	<p>Patriot's Day holiday</p>	
<p><b>CLASS 26:</b> Apr 19</p>	<p><b>Movie</b></p>	<p><b>Our Brand Is Crisis" (2005)</b> is a documentary film by Rachel Boynton on American political campaign marketing tactics by Greenberg Carville Shrum in the 2002 Bolivian presidential election.</p>
<p><b>CLASS 27:</b> April 21</p>		
<p><b><u>WEEK 11</u></b> <b>CLASS 28:</b> April 24</p>	<p>Case Study: Brazil</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Hunter and Power, "Bolsonaro and Brazil's illiberal backlash." <i>Journal of Democracy</i></li> <li>2. Hunter and Power, "Lula's Second Act." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> </ol>
<p><b>CLASS 29:</b> April 26</p>	<p>Case Study: Chile</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Heiss, "Latin America Erupts: Re-founding Chile." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> <li>2. Luna and Mardones. "Chile: are the parties over?." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> </ol>
<p><b>CLASS 30:</b> April 28</p>	<p>Case Study: Mexico</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Greene and Sánchez-Talanquer, "Latin America's shifting politics: Mexico's party system under stress." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> <li>2. Sánchez-Talanquer and Greene. "Is Mexico falling into the authoritarian trap?." <i>Journal of Democracy</i>.</li> </ol>

<b>WEEK 12</b> <b>CLASS 31:</b> May 1	Class Projects Presentations	Student 1, Student 2, Student 3
<b>Class 32.</b> May 3		Student 4, Student 5, Student 6
<b>Class 33.</b> May 5		Student 7, Student 8, Student 9
<b>WEEK 13</b> <b>CLASS 34:</b> May 8	Class Projects Presentations	Student 10, Student 11, Student 12
<b>Class 35.</b> May 10		Student 13, Student 14, Student 15
<b>Class 36.</b> May 12		Student 16, Student 17, Student 18
<b>Class 37.</b> May 15	Movie	<b>NO” (2012):</b> In 1988, Chilean military dictator Augusto Pinochet, due to international pressure, is forced to call a plebiscite on his presidency.
<b>CLASS 38:</b> May 17		<b>FINAL EXAM DUE May 25 11:59pm</b>