

University of Virginia
Department of Politics
Syllabus PLCP 3500 – 001
Populism and Voting Behavior in the U.S., Europe, and Latin America
Spring Semester 2019

MoWe 3:00PM-4:15PM / Gibson Hall 141

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1. Course Overview

Populist leaders like Donald Trump, Marine Le Pen, Nicolás Maduro, Jair Bolsonaro, and Mateo Salvini are prominent today in many countries, altering established patterns of party competition. We will discuss topics such as partisanship, misinformation, economic insecurity and social deprivation, cultural backlash, the politics of nostalgia, and erosion of democracy to explain this phenomenon in the U.S., Europe, and Latin America. We will examine its meaning, causes and effects from a comparative perspective. Students will learn not only an increasingly consensual conceptual approach to analyze populism, but they will also gain knowledge about how governments and institutions deal with this phenomenon.

2. Description

Populism is central to current debates about politics, from radical right parties in Europe to left-wing presidents in Latin America to the Tea Party, Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump in the United States. But populism is also one of the most contested concepts in the social sciences. In line with a growing body of literature, populism should be defined in ideational terms, i.e., as a worldview that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, ‘the pure people’ versus ‘the corrupt elite’, and which argues that politics should be an expression of the *volonté générale* (general will) of the people. This course will provide an introduction to populism in theory and practice, employing an increasingly consensual ideational approach to populism.

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. 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 first part of the semester; the load lightens as final exams approach.

4. Required readings:

Levitsky and Ziblatt, **How Democracies Die (2018)**.

The rest of the readings (chapters, articles) will be available on COLLAB.

5. Grading:

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

Participation: 30%

 In-class participation: 20%

 Discussion questions: 10%

Mid-term Exam (take home): 25%

Final Exam (take home): 25%

Class Presentation: 20%

Grade Scale:

A	95% – 100%
A-	90% – 94%
B+	87% – 89%
B	83% – 86%
B-	80% – 82%
C+	77% – 79%
C	73% – 76%
C-	70% – 72%
C	63% – 69%
D-	60% – 62%
F	0% - 59%

A. Seminar Participation (30%).

A1. In-class participation (20%): 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 question.

Students are required to submit one discussion question every week (Monday or Wednesday). **Questions should be related / speak to the readings of that specific class.** In order to get credit for sending a discussion question for a particular week, you must send the discussion question to me by **e-mail by 10:00 a.m. on the day of class.**

A good question for the sake of our purposes is a question to which there is more than one plausible answer and contributes to class discussion. My advice is to structure your question in the following way:

1. Briefly summarize the argument of the readings of that class.
2. Find a theoretical or empirical puzzle that the readings point out.
3. Reflect and introduce your question
4. Reflect and discuss your question.

Example 1. Could Schaffner's "expressive responding" theory support the argument made in Nyan's article "Taking Corrections Literally But Not Seriously. The Effect of Information of Factual Beliefs and Candidate Favorability." That is, is expressive responding the reason that people show minimal effects on a candidate evaluations or vote choice even though they've reduced their misperceptions with corrective information? And if so, should we be altering the way in which we distribute this "corrective information" to align more with candidates and vote choice overall so that they become more effective?

Example 2. I was intrigued with Plasser and Farrel's articles for the readings this week on the "Americanization" of campaigns and the role of political consultancy as an emerging sector. While I think these two articles did a good job at outlining the landscape there was no discussion on the possible effects that this could have on elections world-wide. This leads me to wonder what are the complications in having foreign political consultants help shape a country's electoral campaign? Is this idea of the "adoption model" of U.S. strategies even plausible in countries that have institutions that differ greatly from the United States? Furthermore, with the rise of "big data" being used for elections here in the United States, could this lead to ethical dilemmas in this sector with the possible sharing and buying of data to countries overseas to help their electoral campaigns?

Example 3. In the Conclusion of the article by Ley, she found that organized crime against political figures decreases voter turnout. This slightly confused me because I would think that this would make people more motivated to support their party. Would voters not want to show their partisanship and make a statement against organized crime by letting their actions say that a party can still win even in the face of adversity? Also, is organized crime not something that is reprimanded strongly and sought to be eliminated? I would think that in some cases it would be fairly easy to know who is behind the organized crime because it is obviously going to be the opposition or an enemy. Is this not heavily looked into and punished?

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.

- B. Mid-term exam (25%):** 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 on **February 27** during class. **The exam is due on March 8st by 7:00pm.** You must send the exam to me **by e-mail.**
- C. Final exam (25%):** 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 on **April 24** during class. **The exam is due on May 3 by 7:00pm.** You must send the exam to me **by e-mail.**
- D. Class Project (20%):** The project consists of analyzing a populist candidate/movement/political party. The first week of class I will circulate a Google doc so you can choose your preferred topic (see schedule above for list of cases).

I expect no more than 20 slides in a PowerPoint presentation.

Populism is defined as a *"worldview that considers society to be ultimately separated into two homogeneous and antagonistic camps, 'the pure people' versus 'the corrupt elite', and which argues that politics should be an expression of the general will of the people."* Taking the definition into account, your analysis should include a discussion about the following topics.

- a. **Party System:** What do political parties represent?
- b. **Candidates:** Who were the main candidates? What do they represent? Who is the populist candidate?
- c. **Candidate/political party:** What type of populism do they represent? (e.g. exclusionary v. inclusionary)
- d. **Context:** What are the grievances of the electorate?
- e. **Framing:** Who is the "corrupt elite" in the country? Analyze the populist message, symbols, and campaign strategy.
- f. **Mobilization:** Describe the populist appeals used by the candidate/party?
- g. **Public Opinion:** Which were the major issues discussed during the campaign? What

does the electorate look like (party identification, ideology, presidential approval, evaluations of the economy, candidate evaluations, etc.).

- h. If relevant, present campaign ads and/or visual cues employed by populist politicians.

You should **come to my office hours** at least a week before your presentation to discuss the content of your presentation.

You will present your topic to the class. Prepare a 10-15 minutes presentation.

**** I will grade both your presentation and the PowerPoint slides. You must send the PDF file to me by e-mail before your presentation.**** The project will be evaluated in terms of (1) quality of the analysis and (2) the extent to which the presentation covers the required subject areas as listed above.

6. Policies

Academic Integrity: Students are expected to complete their own assignments. Plagiarism is the act of using someone else's words or ideas as your own without giving proper credit to the source. It is assumed that all students in this class will abide by the University of Virginia Honor System. For more information see: <http://www.virginia.edu/honor/what-is-academic-fraud-2>.

Absences: 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. I will excuse only absences that the university explicitly requires in accordance with the Undergraduate Handbook.

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).

Disability Services: Any student requiring special accommodations should work with me and the Student Disability Access Center to make the necessary arrangements.

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.

Religious observances: Some students may wish to take part in religious observances that occur during this academic term. If you have a religious observance that conflicts with your participation in the course, please meet with me before the end of the second week of the term to discuss appropriate accommodations.

7. 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 2019 Schedule:		
Date	Topic	Reading(s) and Homework
Jan 14	No Class	I will be attending the Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) annual meeting. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please read Levitsky and Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (2018). (At least) Intro chapter and chapters 1-6. We will discuss the book in several moments of the semester.
Jan 16	No Class	
Jan 21	MLK Holiday – No Class	
First Section: Populism, Partisanship, and Party Polarization in the U.S.		
CLASS 1 (INTRO): Jan 23	What is Populism? Populism in the U.S., Europe, Latin America	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudde and Rovira, "Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America" • Levitsky and Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (2018). Intro chapter and chapters 1-6.
CLASS 2: Jan 28	Populism, the Politics of Resentment and the Culture Wars	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cramer, Katherine. <i>The Politics of Resentment</i>, Chapter 1 and 3. • Hunter, <i>Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America</i>. Intro, chapter 1 and 2. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cramer, Katherine. "The Views of Populists: What Trump Voters' Perspectives and Perceptions of Trump Voters Tell Us About U.S. Democracy" <p><u>Short newspaper article</u> "A New Theory for Why Trump Voters are So Angry—than Actually Makes Sense" Washington Post.</p>

<p>CLASS 3: Jan 30</p>	<p>Populism, the Politics of Nostalgia, and the Tea Party</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Skocpol, Theda. <i>The Tea Party and the Remaking of Republican Conservatism</i>. • Jones, Robert P. <i>The End of White America</i>, Chapter 3. • Gervais and Morris. <i>Reactionary Republicanism. How the tea party paved the way for Donald Trump</i>. Chapter 1 and 2. <p><u>Short Article:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “The Culture War President”, Politico <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Are White Evangelicals Sacrificing the Future In Search Of The Past?”, FiveThirtyEight. • Lewis, Andrew. <i>The Rights Turn in Conservative Christian Politics</i>. Chapter 1 and 2.
<p>CLASS 4: Feb 4</p>	<p>Populism and the Politics of Race</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lonwdes, Joseph. “Populism and Race in the United States from George Wallace to Donald Trump” • Jardina, Ashley, “Demise of Dominance: Group Threat and the New Relevance of White Identity for American Politics,” Chapter 3 (only p. 41-61) and 4 (complete: p. 86-123) <p><u>Short newspaper article</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tesler, and Michael and John Sides. “How Political Science helps Explain the Rise of Trump: The Role of White Identity and Grievances,” <i>Monkey Cage</i> • Vavreck, “The Political Payoff of Making Whites Feel Like a Minority,” <i>The New York Times</i>.
<p>CLASS 5: Feb 6</p>	<p>Populism, (White) Working Class, and Immigration</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kenneth Roberts. “Left, right, and the populist structuring of political competition” • Huntington. 2004. “The Hispanic Challenge” <i>Foreign Policy</i> • Masket, Seth. “What’s the Matter With Kansas? aptly describes the 2016 election — but was written in 2004,” <i>Mischiefs of Faction</i> • Cohn, Nate. “Donald Trump’s Victory Was Built on a Unique Coalition of White Voters,” <i>Washington Post</i> • “Identity Politics are stronger on the right than the left”, <i>The Economist</i> • Griffin and Sides, “Economic Anxiety Didn’t Elect Trump and It May Hurt His Party in the Midterms,” <i>The New York Times</i>. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Guisinger, Alexandra. “Americans’ Views of Trade Aren’t Just About Economics. They Are Also About Race” <i>Monkey Cage</i>.

<p>CLASS 6: Feb 11</p>	<p>Partisanship, Polarization, and Misinformation</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Green et al. <i>Partisan Hearts and Minds</i>. Intro. • Abrahamovitz and McCoy. “United States: Racial Resentment, Negative Partisanship and Polarization in Trump’s America “ • Flynn, DH et al. The Nature and Origins of Misperceptions: Understanding False and Unsupported Beliefs About Politics,” <i>Advanced in Political Psychology</i>. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “New surveys show the persistence of misperceptions,” <i>Huffington Post</i>. • Grossman and Hopkins. <i>Asymmetric Politics: Ideological Republicans and Group Interest Democrats</i>, Intro Chapter and Chapter 3 “And Ideological Movement Versus a Social Group Coalition” • Jardina and Traugott, “The Genesis of the Birther Rumor: Partisanship, Racial Attitudes, and Political Knowledge”
<p>CLASS 7: Feb 13</p>	<p>Populism and Campaigns: GET-OUT- THE-VOTE (GOTV)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck. <i>Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America</i>, Chapters to be announced. • Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck “Hunting where the ducks are: activating support for Donald Trump in the 2016 Republican primary” <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gerber and Green, “Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment,” <i>American Journal of Political Science</i>. • Nickerson and Rogers, "Political Campaigns and Big Data," <i>Journal of Economic Perspectives</i>. <p>Student Presentation #1: Donald Trump (Primary) Student Presentation #2: Bernie Sanders</p>
<p>CLASS 8: Feb 18</p>	<p>Political Campaigns: Campaign Effects</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck. <i>Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America</i>, Chapters to be announced. • Donovan and Redlawsk. “Donald Trump and right-wing populists in comparative perspective” <p>Student Presentation #3: Donald Trump (General Election)</p>
<p>CLASS 9: Feb 20</p>	<p>Populism and Erosion of Democracy in the U.S.:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Levitsky and Ziblatt, How Democracies Die (2018). Ch. 7-9. • Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. “Trump and the Populist Authoritarian Parties: The Silent Revolution in Reverse,” <i>Perspective on Politics</i>.

Second Section: Populism in Europe		
CLASS 10: Feb 25	European Party Systems: Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rooduihn, Matthijs, “The Nucleous of Populism: In Search of the Lowest Common Denominator” • Hawkins et al. “Populism and its causes” • Verbeel and Zaslive: Italy: the case of mutating populism? <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ivaeflatten, Elizabeth, “What Unites Right-Wing Populists in Western Europe?” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i>. • Mudde, Cas. <i>Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe</i>. Ch. 1. “Constructing a conceptual framework”? <p>Student Presentation #4: Italy - Berlusconi Student Presentation #5: Italy – Matteo Salvini (LN-M5S)</p>
CLASS 11: Feb 27	Is it the Economy? Populism, the Economy, and, Nativism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudde, Cas. <i>Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe</i>. Ch. 5. “It’s not the economy, stupid” • Bornshcier and Kriesi. “The populist right, the working class, and the changing face of class politics” <p><u>Short article:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “In Europe, right-wing parties are offering bigger handouts than traditional ones,” <i>The Economist</i> <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Akkerman et al. “‘We the people’ or ‘We the Peoples’ A comparison of Support for the populist radical rights and populist radical left in the Netherlands” • Arzheimer, “The AFD: Finally a successful right-wing populist eurosceptic party for Germany?” <p>Student Presentation #6: Germany - Afd Student Presentation #7: Netherlands – Party for Freedom</p> <p>I WILL DISTRIBUTE THE MID-TERM EXAM</p>
CLASS 12: March 4	“Europe for the Europeans” Populism and Immigration in Europe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mudde, Cas. <i>Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe</i>. Ch. 3. “Who’s afraid of...?” • Norris and Inglehart. <i>Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarianism-Populism</i>. Chapter 6: Immigration. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rydren, “France: The Front National, Ethnonationalism and Populism” <p>Student Presentation #8: France – Jean Marie Le Pen Student Presentation #9: France – Marine Le Pen</p>
March 6:	NO CLASS	MID-TERM EXAM DUE: MARCH 8th -- 7PM

SPRING RECESS

No classes: March 11 / March 13.

<p>CLASS 13: March 18</p>	<p align="center">Populism, Anti-Europeism, and Anti-Globalization</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Norris and Inglehart. <i>Cultural Backlash: Trump, Brexit, and Authoritarianism-Populism</i>. Chapter 11: Brexit. Mudde, Cas. <i>Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe</i>. Ch. 8. "Globalization: the multifaced enemy" <p><u>Short article</u> (The Atlantic):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emont, "The Growing Urban-Rural Divide Around the World" <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vasilopoulou, "European integration and the radical right: three patterns of opposition" <p>Student Presentation #10: Brexit Student Presentation #11: Britain First</p>
<p>CLASS 14: March 20</p>	<p align="center">Populism and the Deinstitutionalization of European Party Systems</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mudde, Cas. <i>Populist Radical Right Parties in Europe</i>. Ch. 6. "Populist Radical Right Democracy" Ramiro and Gomez. "Radical-Left Populism during the Great Recession: Podemos and its competition with the established Radical Left" <p><u>Short article</u> (The Economist)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Spain's democracy is about to turn 40. How well has it worn?" <p>Student Presentation #12: Spain - Podemos Student Presentation #13: Spain - Vox</p>
<p>CLASS 15: March 25</p>	<p align="center">Populism and Erosion of Democracy in Europe</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Batory. "Populist in government? "Hungary's system of national cooperation" <p><u>Short articles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> "A warning from Europe: The Words is Yet to Come", The Atlantic: "Why is Hungary turning to nationalism?", The Economist "It happened there: how democracy died in Hungary," Vox "How autocrats can rig the game and damage democracy," Monkey Cage. <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adam and Bozoki, "State and Faith: Right-wing Populism and Nationalized Religion in Hungary" Morris, Pipa, "Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> Twoezecki, "Poland: A Case of Top-Down Polarization" <p>Student Presentation #14: Hungary – Viktor Orbán Student Presentation #15: Poland – Law and Justice</p>

Third Section: Populism in Latin America		
CLASS 16: March 27	Latin American Party Systems: Introduction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts, “Latin America’s Left Turn,” <i>The Resurgence of the Latin American Left</i>. • Madrid, Raul. “The Origins of the Two Lefts in Latin America,” <i>Political Science Quarterly</i>. • Mainwaring and Torcal. “Party System Institutionalization After the Third Wave of Democratization” • Student Presentation #16: Venezuela – Chavez (before the coup)
CLASS 17: April 1	Populism and the Revolución Bolivariana (I)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kawkins. <i>Venezuela’s Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective</i>. Chapters to be announced. • De la Torre and Ortiz. “Populist polarization and the slow death of democracy in Ecuador” • Student Presentation #17: Venezuela – Chavez (after the coup) • Student Presentation #18: Ecuador – Rafael Correa
CLASS 18: April 3	Movie	<p>“Our Brand Is Crisis” (2005) is a documentary film by Rachel Boynton on American political campaign marketing tactics by Greenberg Carville Shrum in the 2002 Bolivian presidential election</p>
CLASS 19: April 8	Populism and the Revolución Bolivariana (II)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Madrid, Raúl, “The Rise of Etnopopulism in Latin America” • Weyland, "The Threat from the Populist Left" <p>Student Presentation #19: Bolivia – Evo Morales Student Presentation #20: Honduras – Manuel Zelaya</p>
Class 20. April 10	Populism, Personalism, and Party Organizations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stokes, Valeria Brusco and Marcelo Nazareno. “Vote Buying in Argentina,” <i>Latin American Research Review</i>. • Calvo and Murillo. “Argentina: The Persistence of Peronism” <p>Student Presentation #21: Argentina – Nestor Kirchner Student Presentation #22: Argentina – Cristina Fernández Kirchner</p>

<p>Class 21. April 15</p>	<p>Populism and the Latin American Right</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luna and Rovira, “The Right in Contemporary Latin America” in <i>The Resilience of the Latin American Right</i> • Loxton, James, “Authoritarian Successor Parties and the New Right in Latin America” in <i>Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America</i> <p>Student Presentation #23: Perú – Fujimorismo Student Presentation #24: Chile – José Antonio Kast (Acción Republicana)</p>
<p>Class 22. April 17</p>	<p>Right-Wing Populism in Latin America</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Samuels and Zucco. <i>Partisans, Antipartisans, and Nonpartisans Voting Behavior in Brazil</i>. Chapters to be announced. <p><u>Short articles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bevins, Vincent “Jair Bolsonaro, Brazil’s Would-be Dictator,” NYC Books. • Mische, Ann “Protest, Anti-Partisanship, and the Trajectory of Democratic Crisis in Brazil,” Mobilizing Ideas • Mello, Eduardo. “The Decline and Fall of Brazil’s Political Establishment,” Foreign Affairs. <p>Student Presentation #25: Brazil – Bolsonaro Student Presentation #26: Colombia – Uribeismo</p>
<p>CLASS 23: April 22</p>	<p>Populism and the Deinstitutionalization of Party Systems in Latin America</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bruhn: “To hell with your corrupt institutions’ AMLO and Populism in Mexico” <p><u>Short articles</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “A new hope for Mexico?,” Dissent Magazine • “The Left’s Delusions About Mexico’s New President,” New Republic <p>Optional:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greene and Sánchez, “Authoritarian Legacies and Party System Stability” <p>Student Presentation #27: Mexico – López Obrador (2006) Student Presentation #28: Mexico – López Obrador (2018)</p>
<p>CLASS 24: April 24</p>	<p>Populism and Erosion of Democracy in Latin America</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Roberts, “Populism and democracy under Chavez” • Alarcón et al, “Can democracy win in Venezuela?” <p>Student Presentation #29: Ortega’s Nicaragua Student Presentation #30: Maduro’s Venezuela</p> <p>I WILL DISTRIBUTE THE FINAL EXAM DURING CLASS</p>
<p>April 29</p>	<p>No class</p>	<p>FINAL EXAM DUE: MAY 3 by 7PM</p>