ISTD 4961-01: Capstone: Ethnic Politics

Spring 2023 Monday 07:15 pm- 10:00 pm (In-person)

Dr. Post Basnet

Office: McGannon #124

Office Hours: Friday 1:00 pm- 4:00 pm (or by appointment)

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Course Description:

Welcome to ISTD-4961-01! This is a capstone course designed for senior level students at the university. As such, it is designed to have students demonstrate the various academic skills they have developed over the course of their university life. The course seeks to further encourage students to look at some of the pressing issues of the world, hone their analytical and communication skills, and develop their ability to conduct research. To that end, we will also focus on conducting empirical research in social sciences, and particularly in political science. Depending on the individual interest and background, students can choose either quantitative or qualitative research methods. Because of the nature of this course, a good amount of reading is also required.

The substantive focus of this course is the examination of ethnic politics. Despite the massive sociopolitical changes and the emergence of diverse crosscutting cleavages in the modern world, ethnicity continues to dominate local and national politics in many multiethnic societies and affects the international political system. The flow of migration, changing economic relations, and a host of other factors threaten the stability of even the consolidated democracies. Ethnic politics may also alter the inter-group (power) relations and profoundly affect our wellbeing in society as well as prospects for peace and harmony in the world.

The course provides a broad overview of major theoretical approaches to the study of ethnic politics and examines the existing literature in the fields of international relations and comparative politics. However, the field of ethnic politics also encompasses theories from other social sciences such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, and economics. Insights from these disciplines will broaden our understanding and enrich the field of ethnic politics. Although we will also discuss the role of ethnicity in US politics, the primary focus will be on examining ethnic politics globally and from a comparative perspective.

The course takes up four important questions: What is ethnicity and when/why does it matter? Why are some ethnic groups in conflict but others are not? What are some of the most effective strategies to resolve ethnic conflict? How does the politicization of ethnicity affect social policy, voting, inter-group power relations, social harmony, immigration, and multiculturalism?

Learning Objectives:

We will take a comparative approach with cases from around the world and draw on the major social science theories. Students from all majors should be able to succeed in this course on condition that they put in sufficient effort.

By the end of the course, students should be able to:

- Evaluate the major theories of ethnic identity –its sources, its evolution, and its power on people.
- Apply a variety of scientific methods to answer important empirical questions about ethnic conflict and cooperation.
- Assess the role of history, culture, collective memories, scarce resources etc. on the politicization of ethnicity and identify factors that make it problematic.
- Evaluate different strategies to manage (potential) ethnic conflict.
- Assess the potential impact of ethnic politics on public policy and the state capacity to deliver public goods.
- Assess the impact of immigration on national politics and think critically about the ways to maintain peace in multicultural societies.

Course Requirements:

Participation: Students are expected to finish the course readings before the class period for which they are assigned and participate actively in class discussions. Your attendance and participation are vital for the success of this course. It will constitute 15% of your final grade.

Short papers: There will be four short papers based on the weekly readings. Students are free to choose the weeks they want to write their papers. The four papers will constitute 20% of the final grade.

Mid-term exam: There will be a midterm exam that constitutes 20% of the final grade. It will be an open book exam and you can take it from any place you want. But you will have to finish the exam in three hours once you open it.

Presentations: Each student will choose readings from the course and present them in the classroom twice during the semester. We will discuss this on the first day of the class. The presentations will constitute 10% of your final grade.

Research Project: Students will write a research paper on any ethnic identity issue of their choice. The assigned readings and class discussions could be a source for the research topic. Each student is expected to meet the instructor by the third week of the semester and finalize the research question. Students will submit their research question with annotated bibliography and literature review separately before completing the paper. We will discuss the research process in

the class. At the end of the semester, students will present their paper in the class. The research paper and the presentation will constitute 35% of the final grade.

Attendance and classroom participation - 15%

Research - 35%

- Research question and annotated bibliography 5%
- Literature review 5%
- Final presentation 5%
- Final paper 20%

Four writing assignments - 20%

Two classroom presentations - 10%

Mid-term exam - 20%

Your final grades will be assigned that correspond to the following numeric scale:

A	93-100	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D	60-70
A-	90-92	В	83-86	C	73-76	F	below 60
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72		

Citation Format

For the papers in this course, students will follow the American Political Science Association (APSA) citation style guidelines.

A. How to cite authors in the text:

Use author's last name and date of the publication. Don't cite authors directly unless it is necessary. Summarize what these authors say and cite them.

Kalyvas (2006) demonstrates that civil war violence has much less to do with collective emotions, ideologies, and cultures than currently believed. Instead of being an effective counterinsurgency strategy, state repression may solve the collective action problem for the rebels and fuel a nascent insurgency (Mason and Krane, 1989).

B. Format for Reference list:

1. Book:

Waltz, Kenneth. 2001. Man, the state, and war: A theoretical analysis. Columbia University Press.

2. Article or Chapter in an Edited Book or Collection:

Diehl, Paul F. 2006. "Paths to Peacebuilding: The Transformation of Peace Operations." In *Conflict Prevention and Peace-building in Post-War Societies: Sustaining the Peace,* eds. T. David Mason and James Meernik, eds. London: Routledge

3. Journal Article:

Kydd, A. H. and Barnara F. Walter. 2006. "The Strategies of Terrorism." *International Security*, 31 (Summer): 49–80.

4. Newspaper article:

Talev, Margaret. 2004. "Eyes on Sudan: Victims of Racist Repression Need Help Now." *Sacramento Bee*. 9 July.

Academic Integrity and Honesty:

Academic integrity is honest, truthful, and responsible conduct in all academic endeavors. The mission of Saint Louis University is "the pursuit of truth for the greater glory of God and for the service of humanity." Accordingly, all acts of falsehood demean and compromise the corporate endeavors of teaching, research, health care, and community service via which SLU embodies its mission. The University strives to prepare students for lives of personal and professional integrity, and therefore regards all breaches of academic integrity as matters of serious concern.

The governing University-level Academic Integrity Policy was adopted in Spring 2015, and can be accessed on the Provost's Office website at: https://www.slu.edu/provost/policies/ academic-and-course/policy_academic-integrity_6-26-2015.pdf.

Additionally, each SLU College, School, and Center has adopted its own academic integrity policies, available on their respective websites. All SLU students are expected to know and abide by these policies, which detail definitions of violations, processes for reporting violations, sanctions, and appeals. Please direct questions about any facet of academic integrity to your faculty, the chair of the department of your academic program, or the Dean/Director of the College, School or Center in which your program is housed.

Disability Services Academic Accommodations:

Students with a documented disability who wish to request academic accommodations must formally register their disability with the University. Once successfully registered, students also must notify their course instructor that they wish to use their approved accommodations in the course.

Please contact the Center for Accessibility and Disability Resources (CADR) to schedule an appointment to discuss accommodation requests and eligibility requirements. Most students on the St. Louis campus will contact CADR, located in the Student Success Center and available by email at accessibility_disability@slu.edu or by phone at 314.977.3484. Once approved, information about a student's eligibility for academic accommodations will be shared with course instructors by email from CADR and within the instructor's official course roster. Students who do not have a documented disability but who think they may have one also are encouraged to contact to CADR. Confidentiality will be observed in all inquiries.

Title IX:

Saint Louis University and its faculty are committed to supporting our students and seeking an environment that is free of bias, discrimination, and harassment. If you have encountered any form of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, stalking, domestic or dating violence, we encourage you to report this to the University. If you speak with a faculty member about an incident that involves a Title IX matter, that faculty member must notify SLU's Title IX Coordinator and share the basic facts of your experience. This is true even if you ask the faculty member not to disclose the incident. The Title IX Coordinator will then be available to assist you in understanding all of your options and in connecting you with all possible resources on and off campus.

Anna Kratky is the Title IX Coordinator at Saint Louis University (DuBourg Hall, room 36; anna.kratky@slu.edu; 314-977-3886). If you wish to speak with a confidential source, you may contact the counselors at the University Counseling Center at 314-977-TALK or make an anonymous report through SLU's Integrity Hotline by calling 1-877-525-5669 or online at http://www.lighthouse-services.com/slu. To view SLU's policies, and for resources, please visit the following web addresses: https://www.slu.edu/about/safety/sexual-assault-resources/index.php.

Face Masks (Until further notice):

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, key safeguards like face masks have allowed SLU to safely maintain in-person learning. If public health conditions and local, state, and federal restrictions demand it, the University may require that all members of our campus community wear face masks indoors.

Therefore, any time a university-level face mask requirement is in effect, face masks will be required in this class. This expectation will apply to all students and instructors, unless a medical condition warrants an exemption from the face mask requirement (see below).

When a university-wide face mask requirement is in effect, the following will apply:

- Students who attempt to enter a classroom without wearing masks will be asked by the instructor to put on their masks prior to entry. Students who remove their masks during a class session will be asked by the instructor to resume wearing their masks.
- Students and instructors may remove their masks briefly to take a sip of water but should replace masks immediately. The consumption of food will not be permitted.
- Students who do not comply with the expectation that they wear a mask in accordance with the University-wide face mask requirement may be subject to disciplinary actions per the rules, regulations, and policies of Saint Louis University, including but not limited to those outlined in the *Student Handbook*. Non-compliance with this policy may result in disciplinary action, up to and including any of the following:
 - o dismissal from the course(s)
 - o removal from campus housing (if applicable)
 - o dismissal from the University
- To immediately protect the health and well-being of all students, instructors, and staff, instructors reserve the right to cancel or terminate any class session at which any student fails to comply with a University-wide face mask requirement.

When a university-wide face mask requirement is not in effect, students and instructors may choose to wear a face mask or not, as they prefer for their own individual comfort level.

ADA Accommodations for Face Mask Requirements

Saint Louis University is committed to maintaining an inclusive and accessible environment. Individuals who are unable to wear a face mask due to medical reasons should contact the Office of Disability Services (students) or Human Resources (instructors) to initiate the accommodation process identified in the University's <u>ADA Policy</u>. Inquiries or concerns may also be directed to the <u>Office of Institutional Equity and Diversity</u>. Notification to instructors of SLU-approved ADA accommodations should be made in writing prior to the first class session in any term (or as soon thereafter as possible).

Student Success Center:

In recognition that people learn in a variety of ways and that learning is influenced by multiple factors (e.g., prior experience, study skills, learning disability), resources to support student success are available on campus. The Student Success Center assists students with academic-related services and is located in the Busch Student Center (Suite, 331). Students can visit https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/ to learn more about tutoring services, university writing services, disability services, and academic coaching.

University Writing Services:

Students are encouraged to take advantage of University Writing Services in the Student Success Center; getting feedback benefits writers at all skill levels. Trained writing consultants can help with writing projects, multimedia projects, and oral presentations. University Writing Services offers one-on-one consultations that address everything from brainstorming and developing ideas to crafting strong sentences and documenting sources. For more information, visit https://www.slu.edu/life-at-slu/student-success-center/ or call the Student Success Center at 314-977-3484.

Basic Needs Security:

Students in personal or academic distress and/or who may be specifically experiencing challenges such as securing food or difficulty navigating campus resources, and who believe this may affect their performance in the course, are encouraged to contact the Dean of Students Office (deanofstudents@slu.edu or 314-977-9378) for support. Furthermore, please notify the instructor if you are comfortable in doing so, as this will enable them to assist you with finding the resources you may need.

Some useful datasets for this course

Minority at Risk http://www.mar.umd.edu/ UCDP dataset https://ucdp.uu.se/downloads/ Ethnic Power Relations (EPR) Dataset Family

https://icr.ethz.ch/data/epr/

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem) datasets

https://v-dem.net/

Afrobarometer

https://www.afrobarometer.org/

European Values Study

https://europeanvaluesstudy.eu/

World Values Survey

https://www.worldvaluessurvey.org/wvs.jsp

American National Election Study (ANES)

https://electionstudies.org/data-center/

The Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) Project Issue Data Set: Territorial Claims Data https://dataverse.harvard.edu/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.7910/DVN/E6PSGZ

There is one textbook required for this course:

Hutchinson, John and Anthony D. Smith (eds.). 1996. *Ethnicity*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. (Referred to in the syllabus as the "Reader"). Additional readings will be made available via Canyas.

Class Schedule and Readings:

PART I: Ethnic Identity and its Formation

1. January 23: Introduction to the Class

Required readings:

- -Eriksen, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nation." (Reader)
- -Connor, "Beyond Reason: The Nature of the Ethnopolitical Bond." (Reader)
- -Cederman, LE. 2019. "Blood for soil: The fatal temptations of ethnic politics." *Foreign Aff.*, 98, 61

Research Process-1:

-Lijphart, A. 1971. "Comparative politics and the comparative method." *American political science review*, 65(3), 682-693.

Multimedia:

"Race – The Power of an Illusion." http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V9YMCKp5myI

2. January 30: Contending Approaches to Ethnicity: Primordialism vs Constructivism

Required Readings:

- -Weber, "Origins of Ethnic Groups." (Reader)
- -Geertz, "Primordial Ties." (Reader)

- -Barth, "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries." (Reader)
- -Van Evera, S. 2001. "Primordialism lives!" *APSA-CP: Newsletter of the organized section in comparative politics of the American Political Science Association*, 12(1), 20-22.

Research Process-2:

-Powner, Leanne. 2015. "Chapter 1: From Research Topic to Research Question." In *Empirical Research and Writing*. CQ Press.

Multimedia:

"Whose Is this Song – PREVIEW." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NGCURBHF2Ss

Suggested Reading:

-Chandra, K. 2006. "What is ethnic identity, and does it matter?". Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci., 9, 397-424.

3. February 6: Modernization, Sociological, Psychological, and Rational Choice Perspectives

Required Readings:

- -Bell, "Ethnicity and Social Change." (Reader)
- -Brass, "Ethnic Groups and Ethnic Identity Formation." (Reader).
- -Hechter, "Ethnicity and Rational Choice Theory." (Reader)
- -Hale, H. E. 2004. "Explaining ethnicity." Comparative political studies, 37(4), 458-485.

Research Process-3:

-Powner, Leanne. 2015. "Chapter 3: Doing Pre-research." In *Empirical Research and Writing*. CQ Press.

Suggested Readings:

- -Gellner, "Nationalism as a Product of Industrial Society." (Reader)
- -Anderson, "The nation and the origins of national consciousness" (Reader)
- -Monroe, KR., James Hankin, and Renee Vechten. 2000. "The psychological foundations of identity politics." *Annual Review of Political Science*, *3*(1), 419-447.

Part II: Ethnic Conflict

4. February 13: Ethnic Conflict: Group Comparisons

Required Readings:

- -Horowitz, DL. 1971. "Three dimensions of ethnic politics." World Politics, 23(2), 232-244.
- -Horowitz, DL. 1985. *Ethnic groups in conflict* pp. 141-184, 216-226
- -Mason, TD. 2003. "Structures of ethnic conflict: Revolution versus secession in Rwanda and Sri Lanka." *Terrorism and Political Violence*, *15*(4), 83-113
- -Frasure-Yokley, Lorrie, Natalie Masuoka, and Matt A. Barreto. 2019. "Introduction to Dialogues: linked fate and the politics of groups and identities." *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 7(3), 610-614

Research Process-4

-Kellstedt, Paul and Guy Whitten. 2018. "Chapter 2: The Art of Theory Building." In *The fundamentals of political science research*. Cambridge University Press

Suggested Readings:

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Nils B. Weidmann, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. 2011. "Horizontal inequalities and ethnonationalist civil war: A global comparison." *American political science review* 105(3), 478-495.
- Sambanis, N. 2001. "Do ethnic and nonethnic civil wars have the same causes? A theoretical and empirical inquiry (Part 1). *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 45(3), 259-282
- -Suggested multimedia: Colonialism in 10 Minutes: The Scramble For Africa https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pw12KGSj53k

5. February 17: Ethnic Conflict: Bargaining Approaches

Required Readings:

- Lake, David A., and Donald Rothchild. 1996. "Containing fear: The origins and management of ethnic conflict." *International security*, 21(2), 41-75.
- -Duffy Toft, M. 2002. "Indivisible territory, geographic concentration, and ethnic war." *Security Studies*, 12(2), 82-119.
- -Walter, B. F. 2006. "Information, uncertainty, and the decision to secede." *International Organization*, 60(1), 105-135.
- -Mankoff, J. 2014. Russia's latest land grab: How Putin won Crimea and lost Ukraine. *Foreign Aff.*, 93, 60.

Suggested Readings:

- -Gagnon Jr, V P. 1994. "Ethnic nationalism and international conflict: The case of Serbia." *International security*, 19(3), 130-166.
- -Cederman, Lars-Erik, Luc Girardin, and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch. (2009). Ethnonationalist triads: Assessing the influence of kin groups on civil wars. *World Politics*, *61*(3), 403-437. Suggested movie Pretty Village Pretty Flame

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tbdtdHhXqBM

6. February 27: Ethnic Conflict: Questioning Ethnicity and Groupness

Required Readings:

- -Mueller, J. 2000. "The banality of 'ethnic war". International Security, 25(1), 42-70.
- -Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, insurgency, and civil war." *American political science review*, 97(1), 75-90.
- -Kalyvas, S. N. 2008. "Ethnic defection in civil war." *Comparative Political Studies*, 41(8), 1043-1068.
- -Laitin, David. 2007. "Chapter 1: The Pandemonium of Nations." In *Nations, States, and Violence*. Oxford University Press. Pages 1-27.

Suggested Readings:

- -Posner, D N. 2004. "The political salience of cultural difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas are allies in Zambia and adversaries in Malawi." *American Political Science Review*, 98(4), 529-545.
- -Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 1996. "Explaining interethnic cooperation." *American political science review*, 90(4), 715-735.

Suggested multimedia: Scottish independence: could Britain break up? https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kBHZiXUDV6A

7. March 6: Exam#1

8. March 13: Spring Break

PART III: Ethnic Conflict Management

9. March 20: Consociationalism and its Critique

Required Readings:

- -Lijphart, A. 1969. "Consociational democracy." World politics, 21(2), 207-225.
- -Brass, PR. 1991. "Ethnic conflict in multiethnic societies: the consociational solution and its critics." *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*, 333-48.
- -Horowitz, DL. 2006. "The many uses of federalism." Drake L. Rev., 55, 953.
- -Mengistab, Kidane. 2009. "Identity Politics, Democratisation and State Building in Ethiopia's Federal Arrangement" <u>Identity Politics, Democratisation and State Building in Ethiopia's Federal Arrangement ACCORD</u>

Suggested Readings:

- -Schneckener, U. 2002. "Making power-sharing work: Lessons from successes and failures in ethnic conflict regulation." *Journal of Peace Research*, 39(2), 203-228.
- -Hale, HE. 2004. "Divided we stand: Institutional sources of ethnofederal state survival and collapse." *World politics*, *56*(2), 165-193.

Suggested multimedia: Why Ethiopia is in a civil war https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=W1IYd5vJ6og

10. March 27: Partition and Third-Party Intervention

Required Readings:

- -Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. "Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars." *International Security* 20 (4): 136-75.
- -Bercovitch, Jacob and Karl Derouen, Jr. 2005. "Managing Ethnic Civil Wars: Assessing the Determinants of Successful Mediation," *Civil Wars*, 7, 1 (Spring): 98–116
- -Cunningham, David E. 2010. "Blocking resolution: How external states can prolong civil wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 47(2): 115-127
- -Power, Samantha. 2001. "Bystanders to Genocide: Why the United States Let the Rwandan Tragedy Happen." *The Atlantic Monthly*, 288(2): 84-116.

Multimedia: The creation of modern India and Pakistan, explained https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w FSUcZfcx0

Suggested Reading:

Suggested movie -Hotel Rwanda (2005) | Official Trailer | MGM Studios https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2x8UzELvKlY

- -Sambanis, Nicholas and Jonah Schulhofer-Wohl. 2009. "What's in a Line? Is Partition a Solution to Civil War?" *International Security*
- -Chapman, T., and PG Roeder. 2007. "Partition as a solution to wars of nationalism: The importance of institutions." American Political Science Review, 101(4), 677-691.

PART IV: Ethnic Voting, Social Policy, and Multiculturalism

11. April 3: Ethnic Voting, Parties, and Democratization

Required Readings:

- -Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. "Ethnic parties and democratic stability." Perspectives on politics, 3(2), 235-252.
- -Ishiyama, John. 2011. "Explaining ethnic bloc voting in Africa." *Democratization* 19:761-788.
- -Wilkinson, S. 2006. Votes and violence: Electoral competition and ethnic riots in India. Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1-2 only)
- -Varshney, Ashutosh. 2001. "Ethnic Conflict and Civil Society: India and Beyond." World Politics 53.3

Multimedia:

"Babri Masjid dispute: Religion or politics?"

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iCxNOiXZJHA

Suggested Readings:

- -Houle, Christian. 2018. "Does ethnic voting harm democracy?" Democratization 25, no.: 824-842.
- -Birnir, JK. 2006. Ethnicity and electoral politics. Cambridge University Press. (pp 1-18 only).

12. April 10: Easter Break

13. April 17: Ethnic Politics and Public Policy

Required Readings:

- -Chandra, Kanchan. 2013. "Patronage, Democracy, and Ethnic Politics in India." In Clientelism, social policy and the quality of democracy, ed, Brun, D. A., and L. Diamond
- -Gilens, Martin. 1996. "Race Coding and White Opposition to Welfare." American Political Science Review. 90.3
- -Fearon, J. D. 1999. "Why ethnic politics and 'pork' tend to go together." In an SSRC-MacArthur sponsored conference on "Ethnic Politics and Democratic Stability." University of Chicago.

-Miguel, Edward. 2004. "Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya Versus Tanzania." *World Politics*. 56. April

Suggested Readings:

- -Alesina et al. 1999. "Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 114. 4
- -Collier, et al. 2001. "Implications of Ethnic Diversity." Economic Policy. 16.32.

14. April 24: Immigration

Required Readings:

- -Boissoneault, L. 2017. "How the 19th Century Know Nothing Party Reshaped American Politics." *Smithsonian Magazine*.
- -Lepore, J. 2019. "A new Americanism: Why a nation needs a national story." *Foreign Aff.*, 98, 10.
- -Putnam, Robert. 2007. "E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-First Century." *Scandinavian Political Studies*. 30.2.
- -Golder, M. 2016. "Far right parties in Europe." *Annual Review of Political Science*, 19, 477-497.

Suggested Readings:

- -De Figueriedo, Rui and Zachary Elkins. 2003. "Are Patriots Bigots? An Inquiry into the Vices of In Group Pride." *American Journal of Political Science*. 47.1.
- -Kam, Cindy and Donald Kinder. 2007. "Terror and Ethnocentrism: Foundations of American Support for the War on Terror." *Journal of Politics*. 69: 320-338.
- -Suggested Movie: Gangs of New York

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tkajMup_Nqg&list=RDtkajMup_Nqg&start_radio=1

15. May 1: Multiculturalism and Diaspora

Required Readings:

- -Parekh, "What is Multiculturalism?" (Reader)
- -Appiah, K. A. 2019. "The importance of elsewhere: In defense of cosmopolitanism." *Foreign Aff.*, 98, 20.
- Cohen, Robin. 1996. "Diasporas and the State: From Victims to Challengers." *International Affairs*, 72(3): 507–520
- -Podcast. Hidden Brain: The Mind of the Village." Listen online: https://www.npr.org/2018/03/09/591895426/the-mind-of-the-village-understanding-our-implicit-biases

16. May 8: Presentations

- -Student Presentations
- -Final Paper due on May 10, 2023