# Political Science 1823 THE POLITICS OF RACE AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

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## **OVERVIEW**

#### **General Information**

Canvas https://canvas.brown.edu/courses/TBD

Where/When We meet Mondays, 3:00–5:30 pm, in TBD.

Office Hours Immediately before and after class, Fridays from 2-3 pm in 332 Blistein House,

and by appointment. If you know in advance that you want to meet, please email me to reserve a 20-minute slot. Otherwise, you're free to come by my office almost

anytime. If I'm free, I'd love to talk.

# **Course Summary**

This course examines the politics of race and the criminal justice system in the U.S. It proceeds in three parts. First, it examines the political origins and consequences of racial disparities in citizens' interactions with the police, courts and prisons. Next, it considers how the public, the media, and politicians relate and respond to these issues. Finally, the course concludes by examining the prospects for reform and the consequences of inaction.

# Why Should You Take This Course?

There are a myriad of reasons to take any course. Let me offer just two reasons to take this course. First, this stuff matters. The U.S. imprisons more people per capita then nearly any other nation in the world. This fact alone is troubling, and it becomes even more so in light of the systemic disparities evident at nearly every stage of the legal system. Simply put, traditionally disadvantage groups in society—racial minorities, the poor, and, in particular, poor racial minorities—have far more frequent and far more severe interactions with the police, courts and prisons than more advantaged groups in society. Not surprisingly these disparities have profound social, economic, and, as we will see in this class, political consequences which serve to reinforce cycles of inequality and injustice.

This brings us a to a second reason to take this course, which is that this stuff is hard. Hard in the sense that the topics we will discuss represent persistent and fundamental challenges for our society. But hard also in the sense that these issues pose questions for social scientists that are very difficult to answer. Why did prison population continue to grow in the past two decades when rates of both

violent and non-violent crime declined? How is it that citizens can see the same events in Ferguson (or Baltimore, or Charlotte) and draw such different conclusions about why these events occurred and what should be done in response? The approaches and potential answers to these questions that we will encounter require a combination of all things that make for good social science—clear theories, clever research designs, and convincing empirical analysis.

Taking this course will provide you with an understanding of the politics and policies associated with race and the criminal justice system. Such knowledge alone will be valuable to you as citizens in a democracy that has and will continue to struggle with issues of justice and equality. Further, by understanding how social scientists approach these difficult issues, this class will teach you skills and modes of reasoning that will be useful to you in your academic careers and beyond.

### GOALS AND EXPECTATIONS

#### **Course Goals**

This course aims to provide a critical understanding of the politics and policies surrounding the issues of race and the criminal justice system in the U.S. It does so through close readings and in-depth discussions of classic and contemporary works on these issues in political science, sociology, and related fields. Beyond gaining a substantive understanding of key issues in these fields, you will learn to assess the role of data and evidence in the evaluation of a particular issue or policy and develop skills to constructively engage with these arguments through you own research and writing.

#### **Course Expectations**

This is a discussion-based seminar. I will provide some background and context to our discussions and do my best to ensure that dialog with the texts and each other proceeds in productive and respectful manner. Ultimately, however, the success of this class depends on you and the work you put in to the course. I expect that you will have done the readings and submitted your assignments on time (more on that below). In terms of participation, I expect that you will come to class eager to learn and engage with that week's topics and with each other's ideas in a critical and respectful manner. Finally, I expect that you will treat the assignments in this class not as chore or necessary evil but as an opportunity for discovery and development. These papers are a chance for you to clarify your understanding of a topic, form your own ideas on a topic and engage in ongoing scholarly and political debates. I look forward to seeing what you have to say and helping you say it in a way that clearly conveys your meaning and intent. To do this, requires that you start the process of writing early, and are revising your work often.

## **Community Standards**

This is a discussion-based course. Political discussions can sometimes grow contentious. All students and the instructor must be respectful of others in the classroom. If you ever feel that the classroom environment is discouraging your participation or problematic in any way, please contact me.

# Accessibility

Brown University is committed to full inclusion of all students. Please inform me if you have a disability or other condition that might require accommodations or modification of any of these course procedures. You may speak with me after class or during office hours. For more information contact Student and Employee Accessibility Services at 401-863-9588 or SEAS@brown.edu.

# **Academic Integrity**

Neither the University nor I tolerate cheating or plagiarism. The Brown Writing Center defines plagiarism as "appropriating another person's ideas or words (spoken or written) without attributing those word or ideas to their true source." The consequences for plagiarism are often severe, and can include suspension or expulsion. This course will follow the guidelines in the Academic Code for determining what is and isn't plagiarism:

In preparing assignments a student often needs or is required to employ outside sources of information or opinion. All such sources should be listed in the bibliography. Citations and footnote references are required for all specific facts that are not common knowledge and about which there is not general agreement. New discoveries or debatable opinions must be credited to the source, with specific references to edition and page even when the student restates the matter in his or her own words. Word-for-word inclusion of any part of someone else's written or oral sentence, even if only a phrase or sentence, requires citation in quotation marks and use of the appropriate conventions for attribution. Citations should normally include author, title, edition, and page. (Quotations longer than one sentence are generally indented from the text of the essay, without quotation marks, and identified by author, title, edition, and page.) Paraphrasing or summarizing the contents of another's work is not dishonest if the source or sources are clearly identified (author, title, edition, and page), but such paraphrasing does not constitute independent work and may be rejected by the instructor. Students who have questions about accurate and proper citation methods are expected to consult reference guides as well as course instructors.

We will discuss specific information about your written work in class in more detail, but if you are unsure of how to properly cite material, please ask for clarification. If you are having difficulty with writing or would like more information or assistance, consult the Writing Center, the Brown library and/or the Academic Code (https://

www.brown.edu/Administration/Dean\_of\_the\_College/curriculum/documents/academic-

code.pdf) for more information.

# Course Structure and Policies

# Grading

Participation	30%
Response Papers	30%
Final Paper	40%

#### *Participation*

Learning is not a passive activity. Your active participation is a crucial part of this seminar and your grade. This includes both regular attendance in class and contribution to class discussion. I will allow one unexcused class absence; any additional ones require permission and/or a Dean's excuse. You should complete all readings and submit all assignments before attending class.

#### Response Papers

Over the course of the semester, you will write three brief response papers (two-pages single spaced) based on the weeks assigned readings. Simply summarizing these readings is not enough. Instead, you should aim to 1) critically evaluate the week's readings in terms of the logic of their claims and the quality of their evidence and 2) offer at least three questions about the readings which can help guide that weeks discussion. The questions can focus on a particular reading, but I encourage you to think about how different readings speak to each other. Papers are due the Sunday before class at 5 p.m. and can be uploaded to the course website or sent directly to me, after which I will circulate them to the rest of the class to be read before class on Monday. We will assign weeks on the first day of class.

#### Final Papers

The final paper for this course can either take the form of a policy memo or research note. Both should be approximately 20 pages double-spaced, not including references and any figures or tables which should be provided in the appendix.

Students electing to write a policy memo should start by identifying an issue area of interest to them (e.g. police, courts, or prison) and a specific policy debate in that field. For example, students may wish to know whether investigative stops are effective at reducing crime, or whether certain sentencing guidelines are effective at reducing recidivism. Students should place this debate within a larger policy context that illustrates the costs and benefits a certain course of action as well as the relevant alternatives. Next students will identify a specific case study or studies that shed light onto their policy question and draw conclusions from this case study in a set of policy recommendations directed toward a specific audience.

Students electing to write a research note will consider a specific research question that speaks to issues identified in the literature; provide a brief review of existing theory and research on this issue; clearly state an argument or hypothesis that extends, revises, or challenges this work and outline an empirical strategy to evaluate this claim. Finally students, should offer some expectations of what the

results of this empirical strategy might be, and offer some conclusions based these hypothetical findings.

A brief abstract outlining your choice of paper and proposed topic is due before class on March 13. A draft of your final paper is due before class on April 24. The following week, May 1, we will use class as a workshop to help you revise this paper. The final paper is due by **11:59 pm May 15**.

#### **Course Time Allotment**

This seminar will meet 14 times, including the last class that will be held during reading period. Over these 14 weeks, you should expect to spend 2.5 hours per week in class (35 hours total); approximately 8 hours per week reading and reviewing required readings (96 hours total, since there are no mandatory readings the first and final weeks); approximately 2.5 hours writing each of your 3 response papers (7.5 hours total); approximately 3 hours researching and writing a proposal for your final paper; between 20-25 hours researching, writing, and revising your final paper; and at least .5 hours meeting with me in person to discuss your work.

# Readings

The following texts are required for the course and available for purchase at the bookstore:

Alexander, M. (2012). The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness. The New Press

Lerman, A. E. and Weaver, V. M. (2014). Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control. University of Chicago Press

Lerman, A. E. (2013). *The modern prison paradox: Politics, punishment, and social community*. Cambridge University Press

Enns, P. K. (2016). *Incarceration Nation: How the United States Became the Most Punitive Democracy in the World*. Cambridge University Press

Copies of additional chapters and articles assigned for each week will be posted to the course website.

## SCHEDULE

**Note:** This schedule is preliminary and subject to change. In particular, the books that we will read (and you will purchase) are fixed, but the required articles and supplemental readings (that I will provide) may vary. The additional readings are not required, but may be useful as you develop and research your final paper. If you miss a class make sure you contact me or one of your colleagues to find out

about changes in the lesson plans or assignments.

#### **PROBLEMS**

The course begins by assessing the origins and consequences of racial disparities in the criminal justice system (CJS) in the U.S. It starts by providing a broad overview of racial disparities in the CJS and their political consequences, before turning to more specific questions about the effects of citizens' interactions with the police, courts and prisons and the political ramifications of these experiences.

# 1 — January 30, 2017— Introduction and Course Overview

**Topics:** Why should you take this course? What will we do?

Readings NONE!

# 2—February 6—The Politics of Race and the Criminal Justice System: What's at Stake?

**Topics:** Why are race and crime so intertwined in American politics? What do we mean when we talk about disparities in the CJS? What are the origins and consequences of such disparities?

#### Readings

**Assigned:** Lerman, A. E. and Weaver, V. (2013). Race and crime in american politics: From law and order to willie horton and beyond

Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness*. The New Press Chapters 1-4

Additional: Not required, but potentially useful.

Weaver, V. M., Hacker, J. S., and Wildeman, C. (2014). Detaining democracy? criminal justice and american civic life. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1):6–21

The Sentincing Project (2013). Report of the sentencing project to the united nations human rights committee regarding racial disparities in the united states criminal justice system. available online at http://sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/12/Race-and-Justice-Shadow-Report-ICCPR.pdf

Walker, S., Spohn, C., and DeLone, M. (2012). The color of justice: Race, ethnicity, and crime in America. Cengage Learning

Schlozman, K. L. and Burch, T. (2009). Political voice in an age of inequality. *America at Risk: The Great Dangers* 

## 3—February 13— The Custodial Citizen

**Topics:** How do citizen's interactions with the criminal justice shape their political attitudes and behavior?

# Readings

**Assigned:** Lerman, A. E. and Weaver, V. M. (2014). *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. University of Chicago Press Chapters 2-7, really the whole thing if you can

Additional: Goffman, A. (2015). On the run: Fugitive life in an American city. Picador

Justice, B. and Meares, T. L. (2014). How the criminal justice system educates citizens. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1):159–177

Soss, J. (2014). Classes, races, and marginalized places notes on the study of democracy's demise. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 651(1):250–254

Burch, T. (2013). *Trading democracy for justice: Criminal convictions and the decline of neighborhood political participation*. University of Chicago Press

Fagan, J. and Meares, T. L. (2008). Punishment, deterrence and social control: The paradox of punishment in minority communities. *Ohio State Journal of Criminal Law*, 6(173)

Uggen, C., Manza, J., and Thompson, M. (2006). Citizenship, democracy, and the civic reintegration of criminal offenders. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 605(1):281–310

Fagan, J. and Tyler, T. R. (2005). Legal socialization of children and adolescents. *Social justice research*, 18(3):217–241

## 4—February 20—Police

**Topics:** What is racial profiling? How would we measure or identify it? What's the difference between implicit and explicit racial bias?

#### **Readings**

Assigned: United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division (2015). Investigation of the Ferguson Police Department. available online at https://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/press-releases/attachments/2015/03/04/ferguson\_police\_department\_report.pdf

Epp, C. R., Maynard-Moody, S., and Haider-Markel, D. P. (2014). *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship*. University of Chicago Press Chapters 2-5

Spencer, K. B., Charbonneau, A. K., and Glaser, J. (2016). Implicit bias and policing. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 10(1):50–63

**Additional:** Glaser, J. (2014). Suspect race: Causes and consequences of racial profiling. Oxford University Press

Tyler, T. R., Fagan, J., and Geller, A. (2014). Street stops and police legitimacy: Teachable moments in young urban men's legal socialization. *Journal of Empirical Legal Studies*, 11(4):751–785

Weitzer, R. (2014). The puzzling neglect of hispanic americans in research on police–citizen relations. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 37(11):1995–2013

Tyler, T. R. and Fagan, J. (2012). The impact of stop and frisk policies upon police legitimacy. *Key issues in the police use of pedestrian stops and searches*, pages 30–36

Gelman, A., Fagan, J., and Kiss, A. (2012). An analysis of the new york city police department's "stop-and-frisk" policy in the context of claims of racial bias. *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 

Wu, Y., Sun, I. Y., and Triplett, R. A. (2009). Race, class or neighborhood context: which matters more in measuring satisfaction with police? *Justice Quarterly*, 26(1):125–156

### 5—February 27—Courts

**Topics:** How do courts and sentencing laws influence outcomes in the CJS? When, how and why does the race of defendant, judge, jury, and prosecution matter?

### Readings

**Assigned:** Spohn, C. (2013). Racial disparities in prosecution, sentencing, and punishment. *The Oxford handbook of ethnicity, crime, and immigration*, pages 166–193

Kahan, D. M. and Meares, T. L. (1997). Coming crisis of criminal procedure, the. *Geo. LJ*, 86:1153

Tonry, M. (1995). *Malign neglect: Race, crime, and punishment in America*. Oxford University Press Chapter 4

Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* The New Press Chapter 5

**Additional:** Verdicts, N. G. (2015). The acquittal of george zimmerman. *Deadly Injustice: Trayvon Martin, Race, and the Criminal Justice System,* page 165

Tyler, T. R. and Sevier, J. (2013). How do the courts create popular legitimacy? the role of establishing the truth, punishing justly, and/or acting through just procedures. *Albany Law Review*, 77(3):1095

Johnson, B. D., Stewart, E. A., Pickett, J., and Gertz, M. (2011). Ethnic threat and social control: Examining public support for judicial use of ethnicity in punishment.

Criminology, 49(2):401–441

Lerman, A. E. (2008). The rights of the accused. *Public opinion and constitutional controversy*, pages 41–61

Buckler, K., Cullen, F. T., and Unnever, J. D. (2007). Citizen assessment of local criminal courts: Does fairness matter? *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 35(5):524–536

Crutchfield, R. D. (2004). Warranted disparity-questioning the justification of racial disparity in criminal justice processing. *Colum. Hum. Rts. L. Rev.*, 36:15

Mustard, D. B. (2001). Racial, ethnic, and gender disparities in sentencing: Evidence from the us federal courts\*. *Journal of Law and Economics*, 44(1):285–314

Welch, S., Combs, M., and Gruhl, J. (1988). Do black judges make a difference? *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 126–136

Uhlman, T. M. (1978). Black elite decision making: The case of trial judges. *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 884–895

#### 6—March 6—Prisons

**DUE:** Mid-semester check-in. Please schedule a time to come meet with me in 332 Blistein House

**Topics:** 

Readings

**Assigned:** Lerman, A. E. (2013). *The modern prison paradox: Politics, punishment, and social community.* Cambridge University Press Chapters 2-5, 7

**Additional:** Travis, J., Western, B., and Redburn, F. S. (2014). The growth of incarceration in the united states: Exploring causes and consequences

Bobo, L. D., Johnson, D., Warren, P. Y., and Farrell, A. (2015). *Deadly Injustice: Trayvon Martin, Race, and the Criminal Justice System*. NYU Press

Western, B. and Wildeman, C. (2009). The black family and mass incarceration. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 621(1):221–242

Loury, G. C., Karlan, P. S., Shelby, T., and Wacquant, L. J. (2008). *Race, incarceration, and American values*. MIT Press Cambridge, MA

Pettit, B. and Western, B. (2004). Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in us incarceration. *American Sociological Review*, 69(2):151–169

Western, B. (2002). The impact of incarceration on wage mobility and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, pages 526–546

#### **POLITICS**

The second portion of the course takes up the question of how various actors in the political system both influence and are influenced by the issues of race and the criminal justice system.

## 7—March 13—CJS and Citizen Behavior

**DUE:** Final Paper Proposal

**Topics:** What effect does contact with the criminal justice system have on political behavior? What are the consequences of these effects?

### Readings

**Assigned:** Uggen, C. and Manza, J. (2002). Democratic contraction? political consequences of felon disenfranchisement in the united states. *American Sociological Review*, pages 777–803

Burch, T. (2012). Did disfranchisement laws help elect president bush? new evidence on the turnout rates and candidate preferences of florida's ex-felons. *Political Behavior*, 34(1):1–26

Gerber, A. S., Huber, G. A., Meredith, M., Biggers, D. R., and Hendry, D. J. (2015a). Can incarcerated felons be (re) integrated into the political system? results from a field experiment. *American Journal of Political Science*, 59(4):912–926

White, A. (2015). Misdemeanor disenfranchisement? the demobilizing effects of brief jail spells on potential voters. working paper, available online at http://scholar.harvard.edu/files/arwhite/files/misdemeanor\_draft\_august2015.pdf

**Additional:** Weaver, V. M. and Lerman, A. E. (2010). Political consequences of the carceral state. *American Political Science Review*, 104(04):817–833

Western, B. (2002). The impact of incarceration on wage mobility and inequality. *American Sociological Review*, pages 526–546

Gerber, A. S., Meredith, M., Huber, G. A., Biggers, D. R., and Hendry, D. J. (2015b). Does incarceration reduce voting? evidence about the political consequences of spending time in prison from pennsylvania and connecticut. working paper, available online at http://huber.research.yale.edu/materials/51\_paper.pdf

# 8—March 20—CJS and Citizen Attitudes

**Topics:** How do different racial and ethnic groups view the criminal justice system? How can we explain variation across groups in support for specific policies?

#### Readings

**Assigned:** Bobo, L. D. and Johnson, D. (2004). A taste for punishment: Black and white americans' views on the death penalty and the war on drugs. *Du Bois Review*, 1(01):151–180

Soss, J., Langbein, L., and Metelko, A. R. (2003). Why do white americans support the death penalty? *Journal of Politics*, 65(2):397–421

Peffley, M. and Hurwitz, J. (2007). Persuasion and resistance: Race and the death penalty in america. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(4):996–1012

Tyler, T. R. (2003). Procedural justice, legitimacy, and the effective rule of law. *Crime and justice*, pages 283–357

**Additional:** Unnever, J. D. (2013). Race, crime, and public opinion. *The Oxford Handbook of Ethnicity, Crime, and Immigration*, pages 70–106

Peffley, M. and Hurwitz, J. (2010). *Justice in America: The separate realities of Blacks and Whites.* Cambridge University Press

Unnever, J. D. (2008). Two worlds far apart: black-white differences in beliefs about why african-american men are disproportionately imprisoned\*. *Criminology*, 46(2):511–538

Unnever, J. D. and Cullen, F. T. (2007). The racial divide in support for the death penalty: Does white racism matter? *Social Forces*, 85(3):1281–1301

Peffley, M. and Hurwitz, J. (2002). The racial components of "race-neutral" crime policy attitudes. *Political Psychology*, 23(1):59–75

## Spring Break—March 27—NO CLASS

## 9—April 3—CJS and Media

**Topics:** How does the media and the way it covers issues of race and crime influence the way people think about these issues?

## Readings

**Assigned:** Gilens, M. (1996). Race and poverty in america public misperceptions and the american news media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 60(4):515–541

Valentino, N. A. (1999). Crime news and the priming of racial attitudes during evaluations of the president. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, pages 293–320

Gilliam, F. D. and Iyengar, S. (2000). Prime suspects: The influence of local television news on the viewing public. *American Journal of Political Science*, pages 560–573

Dardis, F. E., Baumgartner, F. R., Boydstun, A. E., De Boef, S., and Shen, F. (2008). Media framing of capital punishment and its impact on individuals' cognitive responses. *Mass Communication & Society*, 11(2):115–140

**Additional:** Tankebe, J. (2013). Viewing things differently: The dimensions of public perceptions of police legitimacy. *Criminology*, 51(1):103–135

Gilliam, F. D., Valentino, N. A., and Beckmann, M. N. (2002). Where you live and what you watch: The impact of racial proximity and local television news on attitudes about race and crime. *Political Research Quarterly*, 55(4):755–780

Peffley, M., Shields, T., and Williams, B. (1996). The intersection of race and crime in television news stories: An experimental study. *Political Communication*, 13(3):309–327

Jamieson, K. H. (1993). *Dirty politics: Deception, distraction, and democracy*. Oxford University Press on Demand

Entman, R. M. (1992). Blacks in the news: Television, modern racism and cultural change. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 69(2):341–361

# 10—April 10—CJS and Politicians

**Topics:** How do politicians respond and potentially create demands for certain criminal justice policies?

#### Readings

**Assigned:** Enns, P. K. (2016). *Incarceration Nation: How the United States Became the Most Punitive Democracy in the World.* Cambridge University Press Chapters 1-6

Tonry, M. (2004). *Thinking about crime: Sense and sensibility in American penal culture*. Oxford University Press Chapters 4

**Additional:** Canes-Wrone, B., Clark, T. S., and Kelly, J. P. (2014). Judicial selection and death penalty decisions. *American Political Science Review*, 108(01):23–39

Baum, L. (2009). The puzzle of judicial behavior. University of Michigan Press

Baumgartner, F. R., De Boef, S. L., and Boydstun, A. E. (2008). *The decline of the death penalty and the discovery of innocence*. Cambridge University Press

A Huber, G. and Gordon, S. C. (2004). Accountability and coercion: Is justice blind when it runs for office? *American Journal of Political Science*, 48(2):247–263

## POTENTIAL SOLUTIONS

In the final portion of the class, we focus on potential solutions to the issues and problems we've discussed so far. We'll also reserve time for you to work on your final papers.

# 11—April 17—Potential Reforms

**Topics:** How might we change the practice of policing?

#### **Readings**

**Assigned:** Kennedy, D. M. (2011). *Don't shoot: one man, a street fellowship, and the end of violence in inner-city America*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA Chapters 1-3

Epp, C. R., Maynard-Moody, S., and Haider-Markel, D. P. (2014). *Pulled Over: How Police Stops Define Race and Citizenship*. University of Chicago Press Chapters 7-8

## 12—April 24—Potential Reforms

**DUE:** Final Paper Draft

**Topics:** How might we change the criminal justice system more broadly?

#### Readings

**Assigned:** Alexander, M. (2012). *The new Jim Crow: Mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness.* The New Press Chapters 6

Lerman, A. E. and Weaver, V. M. (2014). *Arresting Citizenship: The Democratic Consequences of American Crime Control*. University of Chicago Press Chapter 9

Lerman, A. E. (2013). *The modern prison paradox: Politics, punishment, and social community.* Cambridge University Press Chapter 8

## 13—May 1—Paper Workshop

**Topics:** We'll spend class providing constructive feedback to your papers.

14—May 8—Bringing it all together: Presentations and Closing Discussions

**Topics:** A final discussion of the takeaways from the class

**DUE—May 15—Final Papers**