

**PSCI 5208**  
**GLOBAL SOCIAL POLICY**  
Friday, 11:35 a.m. – 2:25 p.m.  
Room TBA

Instructor: **Cristina Rojas**  
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**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

*Content*

The aim of this seminar is to provide students with the analytical tools to understand and examine social policies and programs. The seminar analyzes the theoretical assumptions supporting various concepts and approaches to social policy, including liberalism, cosmopolitanism, Marxism, postcolonialism and feminism. The seminar also pays attention to recent interventions in social thinking that question the traditional boundaries of social policy, including the identification of humans as the sole subjects of justice; the notion that production is the exclusive site to pursue equality; the privileging of the logic of accumulation over the reproduction of life and care; and the erasure of relational and community politics.

**The main objectives of the course are:**

- To examine the relationship between assumptions about the world (ontology), knowledge (epistemology) and social policy proposals.
- To think critically about who counts for justice and how those that do not count are excluded from social justice.
- To examine critically social policy practices and the possibilities and limits of these practices.

**Organization and assessment**

We will meet weekly in seminar format. Students are expected to complete the required readings for each seminar, participate fully in discussions, and fulfil the course requirements (weekly participation and critical reflection in a final paper).

**A Participation (45%)**

Each reading will get a certain amount of dedicated attention (approximately 20 minutes) and we will finish the class with a more general assessment of the concepts and debates cutting across the articles. Participation will be assessed based on the following assignments:

*Seminar summaries and questions:* All students will be expected to come to class with a one page document for each of the readings. It should have the following components:

1. List of key concepts and terms
2. Summary statement (four sentences maximum) of the author's main argument. This statement should be written in your own words as far as possible. It should not be borrowed directly from the text of the reading.
3. Three or four issues or questions in the reading that are important and merit some discussion, and that you would like to be addressed during class, time permitting. The questions may point to a particularly passage, contentious issue or concept formulated by the authors.

The Thursday morning before the class, each student emails me a copy of their summary statements. Put all three statements in the same computer file, with your name as part of the filename.

## General Discussion

- a. What are the assumptions of each of the readings about the subjects of social justice? What are the criteria to decide who are the givers and beneficiaries of social policy? Who has capacity to know and decide? Who counts for social justice and who doesn't?
- b. Are there any points that are particularly problematic? Are there any points that are particularly useful or persuasive?
- c. When the readings are put together, how do they help us overall in our understanding of the theme of the week?
- d. More generally, what do we learn about global social policy this week? Do these readings complement or contradict what we have learned in the course thus far?

**Final essay:** At the end of the seminar, you will be required to write an essay of approximately 3500 words. The paper could analyze a global social policy formulated by International Organizations, governments, or social movements. You can also expand one of the debates examined in this course, or use the opportunity to formulate your research project for your MA thesis or MPR. The essay is graded in two parts: the outline is worth **15%** and the final paper is worth **40%** of your final grade.

## Summary of Assessments and dates:

- Participation 45% (general contribution to the seminar based on your Seminar Summaries and questions and discussions in class)
- Final paper 55%
  - Outline 15% (due February 15)
  - Final paper 40% (due April 06)

## Required Readings:

All required course materials are available on CuLearn. To access your course materials, go to: <https://carleton.ca/culearn>.

## SCHEDULE

Week 1: January 11.	Introduction: Who Counts for Social Justice?
Week 2: January 18.	Liberal Foundations of International Justice and its Limits
Week 3: January 25.	Humanitarianism and Beyond
Week 4: February 1.	Mobilizing Labour for Improving Distribution
Week 5: February 8.	What's Next for Distributive Politics?
Week 6: February 15.	Social Policy Beyond Work
Winter Break	
Week 7: March 1.	Revalorizing Care
Week 8: March 8.	Social Policy Beyond the State
Week 9: March 15.	Social Policy Beyond the Human/Nature Divide
Week 10: March 22.	The Commons: A Post-capitalist Horizon?
Week 11: March 29.	Indigenous Struggles for Ontological and Epistemological Justice
Week 12: April 5.	A Relational Politics for Social Justice

## READING LIST

### Week 1 Introduction: Who Counts for Social Justice?

- Nancy Fraser 2009. "Who Counts? Dilemmas of Justice in a Postwestphalian World". *Antipode*, 41:1, 281-297.
- Iris Marion Young 2006. "Responsibility and Global Justice: A Social Connection Model", *Social Philosophy & Policy Foundation*. 23:1, 102-130.
- Rancière, Jacques. 2004. Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man? *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 103:2/3, Spring/Summer, 297-310.

#### Recommended Readings

- Fraser, N. 2007. Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World, *Theory, Culture & Society* 24(4): 7–30.
- Kurasawa, Fuyuki 2014. An Alternative Public Sphere? An Anarchist Cosmopolitanism Post-Westphalian times. In Kate Nash, *Transnationalizing the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 79-77

### Week 2 Liberal Foundations of International Justice and its Limits

- Charles Jones 1999. Distributive Justice and the International Context. In *Global Justice. Defending Cosmopolitanism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1-19.
- Robinson, Fiona. 2010. After Liberalism in World Politics? Towards an International Political Theory of Care, *Ethics and Social Welfare*, 4:2, 130-144
- James Ferguson. 2009. Uses of Neoliberalism. *Antipode* Vol. 41:1. 166–184

#### Recommended readings

- Sen, Amartya. 1999. Chapter 1: The Perspective on Freedom. *Development as Freedom*, New York: Knopf, 13-34.
- Hayek, F. A. 1982. Vol 2. The Mirages of Social Justice. In *Law, legislation and liberty: A new statement of the liberal principles of justice and political economy*. London and New York: Routledge. 1-30.
- Des Gasper and Irene van Staveren, 2003. Development as Freedom and as What Else? *Feminist Economics* 9:2, 2003
- Shilliam, Robbie. 2013. Redemption from development: Amartya Sen, Rastafari and promises of Freedom. *Postcolonial Studies*, 15:3, 331-350.
- Duffield, Mark. 2010. 'The Liberal Way of Development and the Development-Security Impasse: Exploring the Global Life-Chance Divide'. *Security Dialogue*, 41:1, 53-76.

### Week 3 Humanitarianism and Beyond

- Archibugi, Daniele 2003. Cosmopolitan Democracy. In Daniele Archibugi (ed) *Debating Cosmopolitics*. London: Verso, 1-15.
- Fassin, Didier. 2013. The Predicament of Humanitarianism, *Qui Parle: Critical Humanities and the Social Sciences*, 22:1, 33-48
- Barad, Karen. "Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter." *Signs: Journal of women in culture and society* 28, no. 3 (2003): 801-831.

#### Recommended Readings:

- Ilcan, Suzan and Kim Rygiel. 2015. "Resiliency Humanitarianism": Responsibilizing Refugees through Humanitarian Emergency Governance in the Camp. *International Political Sociology*, 9, 333-351.
- Meltzer, Judy. 2013. "Good Citizenship" and the Promotion of Personal Savings Accounts in Peru'. *Citizenship Studies* 17:5, 641-52.
- Fassin, Didier. 2011. *Humanitarian Reason: A moral history of the present*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1 and Conclusion.

## **Week 4 Mobilizing Labour for Improving Distribution**

- Gosta-Esping Andersen. 1985. Power and Distributional Regimes. In *Politics & Society*, 14:2, 223-256.
- J.S. O'Connor 1996. Gendering Welfare State Regimes. *Current Sociology*, 44:2, 1-13
- Standing, Guy. 2014. Understanding the Precariat through Labour and Work. *Development and Change*. 45:5, 963–980

### Recommended readings

- Gosta-Esping Andersen 1998. Comparative Welfare Regimes Re-Examined”, in *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 73-94.
- Wright, Erin Olin. 2016. Is the Precariat a Class? *Global Labour Journal*, Vol 7 No 2 (2016)
- Molyneux, Maxine 2006. “Mothers at the Service of the New Poverty Agenda: Progres/Oportunidades, Mexico’s Conditional Transfer Programme” *Social Policy and Administration* 40:4, 2006.
- Gough, Ian 2014. Mapping Social Welfare Regimes beyond OECD, In Melani Cammett and Lauren M. MacLean, *The Politics of Non-State Social Welfare*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 17-30.
- Ferguson, James. 2015. What Comes after the Social. Historicizing the Future of Social Protection in Africa. In *Give man a Fish. Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press, 63-87.

## **Week 5 What’s Next for Distributive Politics?**

- Lavinias, Lena. 2013. 21<sup>st</sup> Century Welfare. *New Left Review*, 85, 5-40
- Ferguson, James. 2015. A Rightful Share and What’s next for distributive politics? In *Give man a Fish. Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press. 165-216.
- Parijs, Philippe van and Yannick Vanderborght. 2017. Ethically Justifiable? Free Riding Versus Fair Shares *Basic Income: A Radical Proposal for a Free Society and a Sane Economy*. Harvard University Press. 99-132

### Recommended readings

- Ferguson, James. 2015. Give man a Fish. From Patriarchal Productionism to the Revalorization of Distribution. In *Give man a Fish. Reflections on the New Politics of Distribution*. Durham: Duke University Press, 35-62.
- Guy Standing 2008. How Cash Transfers Promote the Case for Basic Income. *Basic Income Studies*, 3:1, April, article 5, 1-30.
- Mosse, David. 2010. A Relational Approach to Durable Poverty, Inequality and Power. *Journal of Development Studies*. 46:7, 1156–1178.
- Hardt, Michael. 2010. Guaranteed income: Or, the Separation of Labor from Income. *Hybrid*: 5, 21-31

## **Week 6 Social Policy Beyond Work**

- Federici, Silvia. 2012. The Reproduction of Labour Power in the Global Economy and the Unfinished Feminist Revolution. In *Revolution at Point Zero. Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*, Brooklyn: PM Press, 91-111
- Weeks, Kathy. 2011. Marxism, Productivism and the Refusal to Work. In *The Problem with Work. Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries*. Durham: Duke University Press. 81-111
- Ferguson, James and Tania Murray Li. 2018. *Beyond the “Proper Job:” Political-economic Analysis after the Century of Labouring Man*. Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), Working Paper.

### Recommended readings

- Li, Tania M. 2010. 'To Make Live or Let Die? Rural Dispossession and the Protection of Surplus Populations'. *Antipode* 41: S1, 66-93.

Leisering, Lutz 2009. "Extending Social Security to the Excluded: Are Social Cash Transfers to the Poor an Appropriate Way of Fighting Poverty in Developing Countries?", *Global Social Policy*, 9(2): pp 246–272.

### **Week 7 Revalorizing Care**

Fraser, Nancy. 2016. Contradictions of Capital and Care. *New Left Review*. 100, 99-117

Puig de la Bellacasa, Maria. 2012. 'Nothing Comes without its World': Thinking with Care. *The Sociological Review*, 60:2, 197- 216.

Haraway, Dona. 2016. Making Kin. In *Staying with the Trouble. Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham: Duke University Press, 99-103

#### Recommended Readings

Federici, Silvia. 2012. On Elder Care and the limits of Marxism. In *Revolution at Point Zero. Housework, Reproduction, and Feminist Struggle*, Brooklyn: PM Press, 115-125

Puig de la Bellacasa, Maria. 2017. Soil Times: The Pace of Ecological Care. In *Matters of Care. Speculative Ethics in More than Human Worlds*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 169-215.

Dalmiya, Vrinda. Care-Knowing 2016. In *Caring to Know: Comparative Care Ethics, Feminist Epistemology, and the Mahābhārata*. Oxford Scholarship on line. 1-57.

### **Week 8 Social Policy beyond the State**

Segato, Rita Laura. 2018. A Manifesto in Four Themes. *Critical Times*, 1(1), 198 - 211.

Esteve, Gustavo. 2015. Enclosing the Enclosers Autonomous Experiences from the Grassroots— beyond Development, Globalization & Postmodernity. In Federico Luisetti, John Pickles & Wilson Kaiser, eds. *The Anomie of the Earth. Philosophy, Politics, and Autonomy in Europe and the Americas*, Durham: Duke University Press, 71-92

Escobar, Arturo. 2018. Autonomous Design and the Politics of Relationality and the Communal. In *Design for the Pluriverse. Radical Interdependence, Autonomy and the Making of Worlds*, Duke University Press, 176 – 201.

#### Recommended readings

Federici, Silvia. 2015, Re-enchanting the World: Technology, the Body, and the Construction of the Commons. In Federico Luisetti, John Pickles & Wilson Kaiser, eds. *The Anomie of the Earth*. Op.cit. 202-214.

### **Week 9 Social Policy beyond the Human/Nature Divide**

Puig de la Bellacasa, Maria. 2011. Matters of care in technoscience: Assembling neglected things. *Social Studies of Science*, 41:1, 85-106

TallBear Kim. 2017. "Beyond the Life/Not Life Binary: A Feminist-Indigenous Reading of Cryopreservation, Interspecies Thinking, and the New Materialisms." In *Cryopolitics: Frozen Life in a Melting World*, edited by Kowal, Emma and Radin, Joanna. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Alaimo, Stacy. "Trans-corporeal feminisms and the ethical space of nature." *Material feminisms* (2008): 237-264.

#### Recommended readings:

Povinelli, Elizabeth. 1995. Do rocks listen? The cultural politics of apprehending Australian aboriginal labor. *American Anthropology*, 97:3, 505-18.

Gibson-Graham, J-K, and Ethan Miller. Economy as ecologically livelihood. In Katherine Gibson, Deborah Bird Rose, and Ruth Fincher (Eds). *Manifesto for the Living in the Anthropocene*. Brooklyn, NY: Punctum Books. <http://punctumbooks.com/titles/manifesto-for-living-in-theanthropocene/>

Viveiros de Castro, Eduardo 2012. Economic Development and Cosmopolitical Involvement. In *Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in the South on Nature and Knowledge*, Leslie Green, ed, Cape Town: HSRC, 28-41.

Martin, Aryn, Natasha Myers, Ana Viseu. 2015. The Politics of Care in Technoscience. *Social Studies of Science*, 45:5, 625-641.

### **Week 10 The Commons: A Post-capitalist Horizon?**

Blaser, Mario. 2016. Is Another Cosmopolitics Possible? *Cultural Anthropology* 31, no. 4: 545-570.

Vercellone, Carlo. 2015. From the Crisis to the 'Welfare of the Common' as a New Mode of Production. *Theory Culture & Society*. 32:7-8, 85-99

De la Cadena, Marisol. 2015. Uncommoning Nature. *E-flux journal # 65 Supercommunity* May-August, 1-8.

Recommended readings:

Barbagallo, Camille and Silvia Federici 2012. Introduction. Care Work and the Commons, *The Commoner*, 15, 1-22.

Stengers, Isabelle. 2005. A Cosmopolitical Proposal. In *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*, ed. B. Latour and P. Weibel, 994-1003. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gibson-Graham, J-K, Jenny Cameron, and Stephen Healy. Commoning as Post-capitalist Politics. In Amin, Ash, Howell Philip 2016. *Routledge Studies in Human Geography. Releasing the Commons. Rethinking the Futures of the Commons*, Routledge, 192-212.

Hardt, Michael. 2009. Politics of the Common.

<https://zcomm.org/znetarticle/politics-of-the-common-by-michael-hardt/>

### **Week 11 Indigenous Struggles for Ontological and Epistemological Justice**

Todd, Zoe. "This is Life" Women's Role in Food Provisioning in Paulatuuq, Northwest Territories. In Nathalie Keramoal & Isabel Altamirano-Jiménez, *Living on the Land. Indigenous Women's Understanding of Place*, Athabasca University Press, 191-212

Henderson, James (Sa'ke'j) Youngblood . 2000. Ayukpachi: Empowering Aboriginal Thought. In Marie Battiste (ed), *Reclaiming Indigenous Voice and Visions*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 248-78.

De la Cadena, M. 2010. 'Indigenous cosmopolitics in the Andes: conceptual reflections beyond "politics"'. *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 334-370.

Recommended readings:

Icaza, Rosalba and Rolando Vázquez. 2013. Social Struggles as Epistemic Struggles. *Development and Change* 44:3, 683-704

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. 2015. *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future. Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*.

de Leeuw, Sarah. 2014. State of care: the ontologies of child welfare in British Columbia. *Cultural Geographies*. Vol 21:1, 59- 78

Verran, Helen. 2012. Engagement between Different Knowledge Traditions. Towards doing Difference Generatively and in Good Faith. In *Contested Ecologies: Dialogues in the South on Nature and Knowledge*, Leslie Green, ed, Cape Town: HSRC, 141-160.

Robinson, Andrew and Simon Tormey. 2009. Resisting 'Global Justice': disrupting the colonial 'emancipatory' logic of the West. *Third World Quarterly*. 30: 8, 1395 — 1409.

Louise Humpage (2010) "Institutions, interests, ideas: welfare states and indigenous incorporation" *Journal of European Social Policy*. 20:3

Vivienne Elizabeth and Wendy Larner (2009) "Racializing the 'Social Development' State: Investing in Children in Aotearoa/New Zealand" *Social Politics* 16:1

### **Week 12 A Relational Politics for Social Justice**

- Hall, R. 2016. Caring Labours as Decolonizing Resistance. *Studies in Social Justice*. 10:2, 220-237
- Rojas, Cristina. 2016. Contesting the Colonial Logics of the International: Toward a Relational Politics for the Pluriverse. *International Political Sociology*: 1-14
- Zibechi, Raúl. 2018. People in defence of life and territory. Counter-power and self-defence in Latin America <http://longreads.tni.org/state-of-power-2018/people-defence-life-territory/>

#### Recommended readings

De la Cadena, Marisol, 2015. Ethnographic Cosmopolitics. In *Earth Beings: Ecologies of Practice Across Andean Worlds*, Durham: Duke University Press, 273-286.

## Academic Accommodations

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### Requests for Academic Accommodation

You may need special arrangements to meet your academic obligations during the term. For an accommodation request, the processes are as follows:

#### Pregnancy obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

#### Religious obligation

Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. For more details, visit the Equity Services website: [carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf](http://carleton.ca/equity/wp-content/uploads/Student-Guide-to-Academic-Accommodation.pdf)

### Academic Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you have a documented disability requiring academic accommodations in this course, please contact the Paul Menton Centre for Students with Disabilities (PMC) at 613-520-6608 or [pmc@carleton.ca](mailto:pmc@carleton.ca) for a formal evaluation or contact your PMC coordinator to send your instructor your Letter of Accommodation at the beginning of the term. You must also contact the PMC no later than two weeks before the first in-class scheduled test or exam requiring accommodation (if applicable). After requesting accommodation from PMC, meet with your instructor as soon as possible to ensure accommodation arrangements are made. [carleton.ca/pmc](http://carleton.ca/pmc)

### Survivors of Sexual Violence

As a community, Carleton University is committed to maintaining a positive learning, working and living environment where sexual violence will not be tolerated, and is survivors are supported through academic accommodations as per Carleton's Sexual Violence Policy. For more information about the services available at the university and to obtain information about sexual violence and/or support, visit: [carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support](http://carleton.ca/sexual-violence-support)

### Accommodation for Student Activities

Carleton University recognizes the substantial benefits, both to the individual student and for the university, that result from a student participating in activities beyond the classroom experience. Reasonable accommodation must be provided to students who compete or perform at the national or

international level. Please contact your instructor with any requests for academic accommodation during the first two weeks of class, or as soon as possible after the need for accommodation is known to exist. <https://carleton.ca/senate/wp-content/uploads/Accommodation-for-Student-Activities-1.pdf>

For more information on academic accommodation, please contact the departmental administrator or visit: [students.carleton.ca/course-outline](https://students.carleton.ca/course-outline)

## Plagiarism

The University Senate defines plagiarism as “presenting, whether intentional or not, the ideas, expression of ideas or work of others as one’s own.” This can include:

- reproducing or paraphrasing portions of someone else’s published or unpublished material, regardless of the source, and presenting these as one’s own without proper citation or reference to the original source;
- submitting a take-home examination, essay, laboratory report or other assignment written, in whole or in part, by someone else;
- using ideas or direct, verbatim quotations, or paraphrased material, concepts, or ideas without appropriate acknowledgment in any academic assignment;
- using another’s data or research findings;
- failing to acknowledge sources through the use of proper citations when using another’s works and/or failing to use quotation marks;
- handing in "substantially the same piece of work for academic credit more than once without prior written permission of the course instructor in which the submission occurs.

Plagiarism is a serious offence which cannot be resolved directly with the course’s instructor. The Associate Deans of the Faculty conduct a rigorous investigation, including an interview with the student, when an instructor suspects a piece of work has been plagiarized. Penalties are not trivial. They may include a mark of zero for the plagiarized work or a final grade of "F" for the course. Student or professor materials created for this course (including presentations and posted notes, labs, case studies, assignments and exams) remain the intellectual property of the author(s). They are intended for personal use and may not be reproduced or redistributed without prior written consent of the author(s).

## Submission and Return of Term Work

Papers must be submitted directly to the instructor according to the instructions in the course outline and will not be date-stamped in the departmental office. Late assignments may be submitted to the drop box in the corridor outside B640 Loeb. Assignments will be retrieved every business day at **4 p.m.**, stamped with that day's date, and then distributed to the instructor. For essays not returned in class please attach a **stamped, self-addressed envelope** if you wish to have your assignment returned by mail. Final exams are intended solely for the purpose of evaluation and will not be returned.

## Grading

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor, subject to the approval of the faculty Dean. Final standing in courses will be shown by alphabetical grades. The system of grades used, with corresponding grade points is:

Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale	Percentage	Letter grade	12-point scale
90-100	A+	12	67-69	C+	6
85-89	A	11	63-66	C	5
80-84	A-	10	60-62	C-	4
77-79	B+	9	57-59	D+	3
73-76	B	8	53-56	D	2
70-72	B-	7	50-52	D-	1

### **Approval of final grades**

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by an instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

### **Carleton E-mail Accounts**

All email communication to students from the Department of Political Science will be via official Carleton university e-mail accounts and/or cuLearn. As important course and University information is distributed this way, it is the student's responsibility to monitor their Carleton and cuLearn accounts.

### **Carleton Political Science Society**

"The Carleton Political Science Society (CPSS) has made its mission to provide a social environment for politically inclined students and faculty. By hosting social events, including Model Parliament, debates, professional development sessions and more, CPSS aims to involve all political science students at Carleton University. Our mandate is to arrange social and academic activities in order to instill a sense of belonging within the Department and the larger University community. Members can benefit through our networking opportunities, academic engagement initiatives and numerous events which aim to complement both academic and social life at Carleton University. To find out more, visit us on Facebook <https://www.facebook.com/CarletonPoliticalScienceSociety/> and our website <https://carletonpss.com/>, or stop by our office in Loeb D688!"

### **Official Course Outline**

The course outline posted to the Political Science website is the official course outline.