

## Power and “Development”

Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra

Harris School of Public Policy, Spring 2025

Section 1: TR 11:00 am – 12:20 pm Keller’s Cellar, 0023

Section 2: TR 03:30 pm - 04:50 pm Keller’s Cellar, 0010

### 1. Course Overview

*“Like our economic and political worlds, stories too are defined by the principle of ‘nkali:’ How they are told, who tells them, when they’re told, how many stories are told, are really dependent on power.”* **Ngozi Adichie, Chimamanda,** *The Danger of a Single Story.*

### Thematic Description

This course is intended as an introduction to current and future research on the role of *power* in “development.” One ambitious aim of the course is to make sense of the world of today beyond “us” vs. “them,” and through research attitudes and relationships that do not carry the framework of pitying, saving, or fixing as the starting point.

**First**, we will explore narratives of political economy of development dominant until recently. Interestingly, this draws on a particular interpretation of historical facts, which has contributed to representing European and North American institutions and culture as exceptional products of their own inventions and the rest as being “*backward*.”

A turning point of this part will be an analysis of current development practice and scholarship through a paradigmatic example of Europeans trying (and failing) to “help” Africans get their supposedly better institutions, digging deeper into their approach and their presuppositions.

**Second**, we will explore research by historians, anthropologists, and sociologists that challenged this narrative on the grounds that it silenced European domination over the rest of the world:

- a. the rise of the “West” *coincides with* the exceptional wielding of power at a global scale on other societies, leading to the *enslavement* and *dispossession* of other peoples at an unprecedented scale; yet, the origin of the exceptional wealth of some people in Europe and North America is rarely analysed in a global context, necessary to account for this exceptional use of power;
- b. this global military domination came along with *ideologies* that justified it; we will examine the logic of these ideologies, and how they sneaked their way into how social science is done today, shedding light on the approach to development.

**Third**, recognizing that military domination might have created an asymmetry of what knowledge is perceived to be valid, we will try to rebuild our knowledge of development, drawing on sources from outside the power-wielding centres of the West and of economics. We will explore a fertile ground of ground-breaking research in anthropology and also from perspectives outside the “West,” covering a diversity of institutions, processes, worldviews, socio-political traditions, and ideas that have contributed to humanity.

To explore this area of *possibilities*, we will dig into the philosophical foundations of some worldviews as examples in their own words and with the help of philosophers and social anthropologists from outside the West. We will then attempt to re-interpret social organization and historical processes, from the lens of their actors.

## Course Objectives

This class is about the power in the narrative. There are no true narratives, but there are better ones than others. The objective of the class is for you to grow intellectually and as a human beyond common presuppositions that dominate the development discourse today.

It is about ideas that have received little to no voice in what could be called a “dominant” narrative of development. I hope that you come out of the class with a humbler understanding of your position in the world, with an expanded ability to work in societies outside the West with respect and appreciation for the richness of histories, societies, cosmologies and ways of life across societies.

This hopefully will help more naturally adjust policy to the context, to create partnerships and relationships, and ultimately, make informed choices about your relationship and attitude with respect to whatever development means.

## 2. Classroom Ethos and Participation

### Lecture ground rules

*Given the ambitious objectives of the class, discomfort can arise, impeding the quest for truth and knowledge and for intellectual and personal growth. Thus, the classroom will be a respectful space where discomfort is to be expected. Exchange of ideas will be achieved through two ground rules.*

**First**, encouraging not only to speak freely about all issues but also to listen carefully and respectfully. I will follow the following principle: *“Maximal freedom of expression, including offending and uncomfortable ideas, without attacks against the dignity of anyone.”* You should speak civilly and respectfully to one another, especially when you strongly disagree. Specifically, what this means for this class:

- a. we *can* at times feel offended, that being offended does not mean being harmed,
- b. being uncomfortable is to be challenged and being challenged is ok,
- c. being uncomfortable is not the same as being unsafe, and being uncomfortable is ok,

- d. we are adults, we relinquish rights to protection against ideas we may find offensive,
- e. those proposing ideas always come from a place of humanity and not to harm anyone.

**Second**, by promoting a conversation that dissipates private dissent into conversation, so:

- a. talking is strongly encouraged;
- b. you can interrupt the instructor.
- c. you can and are encouraged to disagree and to correct the instructor (try to).

The views in this class do not represent the views of the University (see the Kalven principles). The goal of the class is not to tell you how to think, but to entertain the possibility that there is truth in voices typically silenced, and to bring those to the forefront so that they, too participate the conversation. It is up to you then to know what to do with it.

### **What this class *isn't***

This Class is Optional. Do take another class, if:

- 1) you expect a space to feel comfortable or to confirm your presuppositions.**

The class is built around tolerance for dissent and empathy. This is University principles. It is also the first amendment. It is also the school's Dean Op-Ed.

The goal of the class is to expand our horizons in one dimension, from voices that have typically been omitted from development courses (and ironically, often precisely those voices about whom development is supposed to be). I will entertain the possibility that the voices typically excluded from the dominant narrative can make us stronger, to the fullest extent even if it is uncomfortable. This follows simply from the commitment to seeking the truth.

- 2) you expect to learn about many societies across the globe.**

The class is about ideas, not about surveying societies in the world, nor about the details of historical facts. Most examples will come as illustrations, from *Sub-Saharan Africa*, an area I devoted the last 15 years of my personal and intellectual life. The class is not a superficial tourist guide to the world.

- 3) you expect to learn something concrete;**

This class is about making us grow, in spirit, and in expanding our intellectual and human horizons. The benefits from that experience will accrue through all your interactions in your career. While the focus will predominantly be intellectual, an important part of the class will be about practicing empathy on difficult topics.

The agreement: By joining the class, you explicitly consent to be exposed to topics that can make you uncomfortable, ideas that you will disagree with and that you may even find offensive; to relinquish expectations of learning about all places in the world; to learn something very concrete that you can apply as a future technocrat. Therefore, you are entering this agreement relinquishing your rights to feel comfortable in class.

### 3. Course Logistics

#### Grading breakdown

##### **20%: Ed discussion**

To receive full credit for each lecture, you must complete three tasks *before* class:

1. Post about the readings: One original post (min 500 words) thinking on the readings.
2. Respond to a classmate's post: A thoughtful reply (min 250 words) to a classmate's original post that has not yet received a reply.
3. Engage with a discussion thread: A thoughtful reply (min 250 words) to someone else's reply on another classmate's post that has not yet received a reply.

I will read and assess each submission personally and apply the detector to each. To count,

- Each of the three entries must be considered thoughtful by me
- Must pass our software's test as having no greater than 30% probability of being generated by AI.
- Posting deadlines
  1. For Tues. lecture: 1: Sun 11:59pm; 2: Mon 11:59am; 3: Mon 11:59pm;
  2. For Thurs. lecture: 1: Weds 11:59am; 2: Weds 11:59pm; 3: Thurs 9am;

##### **20%: Participation in Class (*Maximizing Learning as a Public Good*)**

Every time you contribute in class, it will be recorded. Contributions that are not thoughtful will not count, but I will explain why so you can improve. In *real time*, I will tell the note taker during the class if your contribution does not count. Extra thoughtful contributions will count as two, and I will also explain why in *real time*. You are graded on your contribution to the collective learning environment. This means that inviting or facilitating participation by others who have something meaningful to say will also count.

If you're shy, don't worry: you can participate via the specifically dedicated space for class participation in Ed Discussion after class, up to Friday at 11:59pm CT. Each thoughtful entry counts as one contribution; especially thoughtful ones count as two.

##### **20%: Lecture Content Quiz – *there will be only one, but significantly earlier than finals***

One quiz (well before finals) will test your understanding of everything in lectures.

##### **30%: Teamwork (*practicing shared humanity and finding intellectual compromise*)**

You will work in teams to produce one presentation with slides. There is no paper.

##### **10%: Final**

An open-book, take-home final with a long completion window. The exam will test your ability to integrate the lectures, readings, and Ed Discussion in order to rethink a pressing narrative of our time. *Will be weighted by the inverse of AI probability.*

## **Attendance policy**

This is an in-person class. Attendance will be recorded. Absences must be notified prior to the class to the logistics teaching assistant. One absence is acceptable if appropriate justification is given. Two absences even with justification lead to a warning and a possible cancellation of the participation grade. Three absences can lead to removal from the class.

## **Accommodations**

Students who have disability accommodations awarded by the University Student Disability Services Office should inform the Dean of Students. In exceptional circumstances, remote attendance will be made available for students who have a prior justification. If you or someone you know is in need of support, remote counselling services are available. Let us know.

## **Remote participation**

Course recordings, content, and materials will be covered by copyrights held by the University, the instructor, and third parties. Any unauthorized use of such recordings or course materials can violate such copyrights and *will* be referred to the Area Dean of Students. Students acknowledge that they will not: (i) record, share, or disseminate sessions, videos, transcripts, audio, or chats, neither during nor after the end of the course; or (ii) use such materials for any purpose other than in connection with participation in the course.

## **4. Teaching Team**

### **Logistics Teaching Fellow – Blair (Xinyi) Yao**

*Their Roles and responsibilities*

#### **Communication**

- Can be contacted with any concern and question about the class. Her email is [xinyiy@uchicago.edu](mailto:xinyiy@uchicago.edu). Responds within 24 business hours.
- Class announcements
- Available for feedback on presentations

#### **Student engagement tracking – *this is done by the readings TF for the morning section***

- Will circulate sheet at the start of each lecture for present students to sign
- Will take note of each student participation in class, and in Ed discussion

**Office hours and recitation:** none.

*Your Roles and responsibilities*

Be nice to her, she is working hard to make your learning better. Do not send multiple emails nor expect an answer sooner. I imposed the 24h business hours rule.

## Readings Teaching Fellow – [Pepi Pandiloski](#)

### *Their Roles and responsibilities*

**Office hours:** held once per week. Per appointment only. [Link after first lecture](#).

**Teaching session:** held once per week. Each week, one concept will be emphasized.

**Ed discussion debate:** public agitator. Engage with him, you get participation points!

**Communication:** only about readings or slides. Responds within 24 business hours.

### *Your Roles and responsibilities*

Be nice to him, he is working hard to make your learning better. Do not send multiple emails nor expect an answer sooner. I imposed the 24h business hours rule.

## Instructor – [Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra](#)

### *Their Roles and responsibilities*

**Lectures:** held twice per week, unless he forgets.

**Office hours:** held once per week. Per appointment only. [Link after first lecture](#).

**Communication:** available by email at [raul@uchicago.edu](mailto:raul@uchicago.edu). Responds by Friday 11:59pm *if* your email includes the class code in the object as well as Michael Scott.

### *Your Roles and responsibilities*

Be mean to him (try), he is working hard to make your learning uncomfortable.

## Communication norms and expectations

To support a healthy learning environment, here are the expectations for communication with the teaching team:

- Email response times: All instructors and teaching fellows respond within 24 business hours unless otherwise specified. Do not send reminders.
- Emailing Raúl: Use the course code in the subject line, and include “Michael Scott” to guarantee a response by Friday 11:59pm each week.
- Respect the roles: Contact Blair (logistics TF) for anything except readings/slides; contact Pepi (readings TF) only for readings or slides.
- Office hours: Held by appointment only. Links will be shared after the first lecture.
- Be respectful, concise, and patient: The teaching team is working hard to make your learning better and also as uncomfortable as possible. Don’t abuse their inboxes.

## 5. Course Syllabus

### **Lecture 1 – March 25<sup>th</sup>**

#### **Introduction: *Development as Narratives***

*We start with various stories from a militia Eastern Congo as a metaphor for social science.*

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Keim Curtis, Somerville, Caroline. 2009. *Mistaking Africa*: 2nd ed. Boulder (Ch. 5: pp. 69-81)

\* Michel Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past* (Chapter 1: The Power in the Story: pp. 22-30)

\* Said, *Orientalism*, 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary edition, read only:

- Introduction: pp. 1-9

- Chapter 3: pp. 201-208 and pp. 284-293

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

McGovern, Michael (2011) "Popular Development Economics--An Anthropologist among the Mandarins," *Perspectives on Politics*, 9(2): 345-355.

Robinson, James A. (2019) "How different social scientists think"

### **Part I. Political Economy of Development: North Atlantic Narratives of the Great Divergence**

*In Part I, we study a story that has been prevalent in economists' narratives of political economy of development. It draws on the "global North's" own narrative for why the "modern world" rose. It is about Europe's markets, technology, culture, and, recently, institutions.*

### **Lecture 2 – March 27<sup>th</sup>**

#### **North Atlantic Narratives of the Great Divergence: Markets, A Great Idea, Some Disasters**

*A specific interpretation of this old idea re-gained traction at a specific historical juncture. Yet, in the last 60 years, progress in economics explored what is missing in that interpretation.*

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Adam Smith, "The Wealth of Nations" (1776) Book I, Chapter II

\* Stiglitz, Joseph (2001) Nobel Prize lecture, December 8<sup>th</sup> 2001 [pages 472-519]

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Zubin Jelveh, Bruce Kogut, and Suresh Naidu, "Political Language in Economics"

Ronald Coase (1960). "The Problem of Social Cost". Journal of Law and Economics. 3 (1): 1–44. doi:10.1086/466560

Adam Smith, "Theory of Moral sentiments" Part I, Section I (Chapter I)

### **Lecture 3 – April 1<sup>st</sup>**

#### **Better (North Atlantic) Narratives from the Great Divergence: Markets, with Institutions**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\*Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. "Institutions as a fundamental cause of long-run growth." Handbook of economic growth 1 (2005): 385-472.

\*Karl Marx, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Chapter VII (1851)

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

North and Weingast (1989) "Constitutions and Commitment: The evolution of institutions governing public choice in seventeenth century England" Journal of economic history vol 49

North, Douglass C. (1992). "Transaction costs, institutions, and economic performance."

### **Lecture 4– April 3<sup>rd</sup> Lecture replaced with Documentary **Congo Calling****

#### **"We want swimming pools and everything, like the wazungus:" Awkward Symptoms**

*Sometimes motivated by the desire to help, many people jump into "development." Sometimes, they experience challenges navigating the new environment. While they are often very aware of them and find ways to rationalize them, these could be telling something deep.*

Possibly, a conversation with Director Stefan Hilpert.

\* Miranda Fricker, Epistemic Injustice: Chapter 1; Chapters 7.1 and 7.2

### **Lecture 5 – April 8<sup>th</sup>**

#### **"Wazungus Explain Things to Us"**

*Enthused by the promise of progress in the "good" institutions that enabled the Great Divergence, and concerned by dysfunctions in "developing countries," the West tried to transform political institutions outside to look more like theirs. It did not always work.*

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Gauthier Marchais, 2020 "Leaving the white house," (Translated from French: "Le Deni Blanc: Penser la Question Raciale du Point de Vue d'un Blanc": Chapters 3.1, and 3.2

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Mansuri, Ghazala; Rao, Vijayendra. 2004. Community-Based and Driven Development: A Critical Review. Policy Research Working Paper; No.3209. World Bank, Washington, D.C..

Humphreys, Macartan, Raúl Sanchez de la Sierra and Peter van der Windt (2020) "Exporting Democratic Practices:" Journal of Development Economics, Volume 140, 279-301.



## **Part II Power And Development: A Real Political Economy of Development**

### ***Disenchanted Development***

#### **Lecture 6 – April 10<sup>th</sup>**

##### **Unsilencing the Past: First Wave of European Imperialism**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Michel Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*: Chapter 3

\* Northrup David. 2011. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. 3rd ed. Boston MA: Wadsworth (Ch. 1, 2)

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Curtin, P. (1998). *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex*. Cambridge U. Press (Ch. 3)

Sweet, James H. "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1997): 143–66.

Fredrickson, George M. *Racism: A Short History*: Princeton University Press 2016. (Ch1)

Williams, Eric (1964). *Capitalism and Slavery*. London: André Deutsch (Chapters 1, 2)

#### **Lecture 7 – April 15<sup>th</sup> The Birth of Development. Guest Speaker.**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Exterminate all the Brutes, Documentary (HBO), Raoul Peck (Episodes 1-2)

\* Dunbar-Ortiz, *An Indigenous History of the United States*, Chapters 1-4

\* Extra, short: Apartheid Conv. (pages 1, 2), here + Conv. on Genocide (page 1): here

*Optional readings (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Hochschild Adam. 1998. *King Leopold's Ghost: A Story of Greed Terror and Heroism in Colonial Africa*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin (Chapter 10)

### ***Rethinking Development***

#### **Lecture 8 – April 17<sup>th</sup> – Rethinking development: aid or reparations?**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Thompson, J. (2018). *Should Current Generations Make Reparation for Slavery?* (Ch. 1-3)

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Williams, Eric (1964). Capitalism and Slavery. London: André Deutsch (Ch. 3)

Naidu, Suresh "Accounting for Thanksgiving's Ghosts" Jacobin, [here](#)

Nunn, Nathan (2008) "The Long Term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades," QJE, 123 (1): 139--176.

## **Lecture 9 – April 22<sup>nd</sup>**

### **Rethinking development: helping or letting breathe?**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Nunn, Nathan (2019) "Rethinking Economic development," Canadian Journal of Economics,

\* Mersheimer and Walt (2006) The Israel Lobby and US Foreign Policy, pages 1-41

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Susan Williams, "The CIA and the Covert Recolonization of Africa" Ch. 1

Lawrence Devlin (2007): Chief of Station, Congo: A memoir of 1960-67

Berger, D, W Easterly, N Nunn, and S Satyanath. 2013. "Commercial Imperialism? Political Influence and Trade during the Cold War." *American Economic Review*, 103 (2): 863-96.

Dube, Arindrajit, Ethan Kaplan, and Suresh Naidu. "Coups, Corporations and Classified Information." Quarterly Journal of Economics 126, no. 3 (2011): 1375-409.

## ***Repositioning yourself***

## **Lecture 10 – April 24<sup>th</sup> Taking stock together**

### **Hermeneutics of Aid in the Bigger Picture.**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Gauthier Marchais, 2020 "Leaving the white house:" Introduction, Ch. 1, [shortened] Ch. 2

\* Fanon, Franz (1952) *Black Skin, White Masks*, New York: Grove Press.: Chapter 1

\* Marchais, G.; Bazuzi, P. and Lameke, A. (2020) 'The Data is Gold, and we are Gold-diggers', *Critical African Studies* 12.3

### **Part III – Political Economy After “Development:” Re-Humanizing Development**

*“[We need] a better understanding of the way cultural domination has operated. If this stimulates a new kind of dealing with the Orient, indeed if it eliminates the ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’ altogether, then we shall have advanced a little in the ‘unlearning’ of the ‘inherent dominative mode.’” Edward Said (1978), Orientalism*

#### **Lecture 11 – April 29<sup>th</sup> Social Science Starts with Cosmology + Lectures’ Quiz**

##### **Social Worlds, from the Actors’ Perspective**

*We begin exploring some non-western cosmologies. They exist, and have their own logic, too.*

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\*Gyekye Kwame. 1995. *An Essay on African Philosophical Thought: The Akan Conceptual Scheme* Revised ed. Philadelphia: Temple University Press (Chapter 12)

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Sanchez de la Sierra (2022): the role of the supernatural in economics

Nunn, Nathan, and Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra, “Magical Warfare Technologies and the Persistence of False Beliefs,” *American Economic Review*, 107 (2017), 582–587.

Aimable Amani Lameke, Lewis Dunia Butinda, Nathan Nunn, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra and Max Winkler (2022) “Indigenous Religions and Economic Behavior: Beer Sellers in DRC”

Mariam Konate Deme, “Heroism and the Supernatural in the African Epic” (introduction)

#### **Lecture 12 – May 1<sup>st</sup> - (Re)Thinking the Power of Society + Group Task announced**

##### **Institutions, from the Actors’ Perspective**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* McIntosh SK (1999). *Beyond Chiefdoms: Pathways to Complexity in Africa*. C. U. P.: Ch. 13

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Césaire Aimé 1955. *Discours sur le colonialisme: sur la négritude*. Presence Africaine.

Ferguson, James (1985) “The Bovine Mystique: Power, Property and Livestock in Rural Lesotho,” *Man*, 20, 4, pages 647-674.

Polanyi, Karl. 1957. "The Economy as Instituted Process." in *The Sociology of Economic Life*, edited by mark Granovetter and Richard Swedberg. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Vansina, Jan (1990) *Paths in the Rainforests: Toward a History of Political Tradition in Equatorial Africa*, University of Wisconsin Press, Chapters 5,6

## **Lecture 13 – May 6<sup>th</sup> - (Re)Thinking the Power of the State**

### **The State, from the Actors' Perspective: Stationary Bandits**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War making and state making as organized crime," in Bringing The State Back In, eds P.B. Evans, D. Rueschemeyer, & T. Skocpol. Cambridge:

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Sánchez de la Sierra, Raúl (2020) "On the Origins of the State: Stationary Bandits and Taxation in Eastern Congo," *Journal of Political Economy*, 128,1, 32-74. (Introduction only)

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576.

## **Lecture 14 – May 8<sup>th</sup> - (Re)Embedding The State in Society**

### **The State, from the Actors' Perspective: The *Real* State**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra, Kristof Titeca, Stan Xie, Aimable Amani Lameke, Albert Jolino Malukisa (2022) "*The Real State: Inside Conqo's Traffic Police Agency*"

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

J. P. Olivier de Sardan (1999) "A Moral Economy of Corruption in Africa?" *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Mar., 1999), pp. 25-52.

Aimable Amani Lameke, Albert Jolino Malukisa, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra, Vincent Tanutama and Kristof Titeca (2022) "Socially Embedded Corruption : An Experiment"

## **Lecture 15 – May 13<sup>th</sup> (Re)Embedding The Power of Violence in Society**

### **Conflict, from the Actors' Perspective**

*What you read (and is evaluated as readings)*

\* Dunia Butinda, Lewis, (2022) "From Child of Walikale to Combatant: A Return Trip"

*What I talk about (and is not evaluated as readings)*

Marchais, Gauthier, Raúl Sánchez de la Sierra and Qihang Wu (2020) "*Communities Stepping In for the State: The Communal Logic of Militias in Eastern Congo*"

Fearon, James D. "Rationalist Explanations for War." *International Organization* 49 (1995)

## **Part IV – Development after Power: Rehumanizing Political Economy of the Future**

*This part will require a different type of muscle, one that relies on the power of empathy and on shared humanity in order to develop the skill to exchange ideas, engage with dissent, while at the same time being respectful and with the goal to finding the largest possible common ground. Rather than studying power and development, in this part of the class, you will be doing it yourself as the actors.*

### **Lecture 16 – May 15<sup>th</sup>**

#### **Class Discussion**

### **Lecture 17 – May 20<sup>th</sup> [no class, replaced by Final presentations]**

### **Lecture 18 – May 22<sup>nd</sup> [no class, replaced by Final presentations]**

### **Final Presentations – 4 HOURS Both sections together**

Will be scheduled for an evening of the week of May 19<sup>th</sup>.