

GVPT 888I

Identity Politics

Professor: Johanna K Birnir
Location: Tydings 1111
Time: Th 12:30pm - 3:15pm
Office hrs: By appt.

Fall 2019 v1.3

1 Identity Politics

The course surveys (a selection of) the literatures on identity across types and political outcomes. These literatures, on ethnicity, religion and gender have, by and large, evolved in isolation from each other.¹ Furthermore, within each literature scholars have mostly studied separately the role of identity in shaping non-violent and violent political outcomes. The course starts by pondering the conceptualization, measurement and analytical role of ethnicity, religion and gender across identity types, with special emphasis on variance within identity across time and space. Next we turn our attention to examining the theoretical similarities and differences in the analytical role of each identity type in relation to select substantive political outcomes, both non-violent and violent. In this part of the course we pay special attention to the intersection of identity types and ask whether understanding intersecting identity vectors helps cast light on the political phenomena we are focusing on. Starting with the classics and working our way forward to current examples of the literature, we read studies ranging in methods from individual survey experiments to group level analysis, to cross national analyses relying on identity indexes. Finally, pushing up against the intellectual edge of the field we ask if, and then how, the study of identities can be better integrated to inform scholarly thinking about the inter-secting role of identities in politics.

¹Subtopics within the study of each identity type are often even developed relatively independently.

1.1 Course requirements

Seminar attendance and active participation in discussion throughout the semester is required. This includes regular discussions of how the students' own thinking about their topic of interest changes when employing the varied theoretical perspectives examined in the class. Each student is expected to hand in weekly summaries of the readings (along with participation 20% of grade) and lead discussions (15%).² Each student is also expected to make presentations that extend the literature beyond the assigned readings (10%).³

Students are expected to write a *literature review* on a selected topic in the domain of identity politics, with an emphasis on intersection of at least two identity types. The topic is subject to instructor approval and students will be required to highlight possible data sources for testing of hypotheses. An outline of the literature review is due towards the middle of the class (November), all students will complete a peer review of a fellow student's literature review (10%). A final draft of the literature review is due during finals week (45% of grade), no extensions will be granted.

1.2 Academic Conduct

It is assumed that all students are familiar with and adhere to the code of academic integrity. For the relevant policies see: gradschool.umd.edu

2 Readings

Every week the assigned readings will introduce some of the classic texts for an understanding of the core of the debate covered that week. Each week we will also read a recent contribution/s to the topic for an understanding of how the debate has evolved. Several books are required for the course. Most of these will be available in the bookstore (bookholder.com) but can also be purchased online. Several articles are also required reading. Students can find those online through the UMD library. Some chapters are required reading, we will coordinate on how to distribute those. Finally, students will research and present current literature extensions with an emphasis on the intersection of identity types pertaining to the subject that week.⁴

²The number of discussions led by students will vary depending on the number of students in the class. We will divide up this work in the introductory class.

³The presentations ideally dovetail with the student's leading of discussion and final literature review. The number of presentations depend on the number of students in the class. This will be worked out at the beginning of the class.

⁴Some topics will have more published works, others will have less in this category. Discovering that there are few publications on the assigned topic is a valuable exercise in finding

3 Schedule

3.1 Introduction

Week 1. 8.29

APSA

Week 2. 9.5

Introductions and logistics. Bring your laptop and be ready to share information about the bibliographical organization and software you use. We will get to know each other a little bit, discuss how to set up your bibliographies in a way that you can share them, divide the labor of discussion leadership, coordinate on the distribution of readings etc.

3.2 Definitions and measurements

Scholars have long contemplated the conceptualization and measurement of identity. During the past half a century a paradigmatic shift in thinking about identity moved conceptualization of identity from primordialism, to constructivism, while allowing for the idea of a “hardening of identity” resulting from specific political processes. In this first part of the course we will contemplate what these approaches mean for ethnicity, religion and gender.

Some of the general questions we ask in this part of the class include:

- To what extent are the primordialism/constructivism lenses applied to divergent identity types?
- What difference does it make analytically to consider each of these identity types through a primordial or a constructivist lens?
- How far along has the literature come in thinking about the intersection of each of these identity types?
- How does the literature measure identity?
- What are the constructs and dimensions that are measured and how?

Week 3. 9.12

Defining ethnicity

“holes” in the literature.

Required:

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. New York. Basic Books Classics. Special emphasis on Chapter 10. (Read also Chapters 1-3, and 11-12).

Chandra, Kanchan, ed. 2012. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Evera, Stephen. 2001. "Primordialism Lives." *APSA-CP*, 12(1): 20-22.

Recommended:

Barth, Fredrik, ed. 2000. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Differences*. Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland.

Young, Crawford. 1976. *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Fearon, James D. and David Laitin. *Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity*. 2000. *International Organization*. 54(4):845-877.

Birnir, Johanna and Agatha Hultquist. 2017. "Ethnic Politics." In Sandy Maisel. Ed. *Oxford Bibliographies in Political Science*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Week 4. 9.19

Defining religion (with a detour into secularization theory)

Required:

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books Classics. Special emphasis on chapters 4-7.

Berger, Peter. 1969. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.

Stark, Rodney. 1999. "Secularization, R.I.P." *Sociology of Religion*, 60(3):249-273.

Sonu Bedi. 2007. "What is So Special about Religion? The Dilemma of the Religious Exception." *Journal of Political Philosophy* 15(2): 235-249.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2015. "Linguistic and Religious Pluralism: Between Difference and Inequality." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 41(1): 3-32.

McCauley, John and Daniel Posner. 2017. *The Political Sources of Religious Identification: A Study on the Burkina Faso-Côte d'Ivoire Border*. *British Journal of Political Science*. 49(2):421-441.

Recommended:

Stark, Rodney and Laurence R. Iannaccone. 1994. A Supply-Side Reinterpretation of the "Secularization" of Europe. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*. 33(3):230–252

Berger, Peter. 1999. *The Desecularization of the World: Resurgent Religion and World Politics*. Grand Rapids, MI: Ethics and Policy Center.

Laitin, David D. 1986. *Hegemony and Culture: Politics and Religious Change among the Yoruba*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gill, Anthony. 2001. "Religion and Comparative Politics". *Annual Review of Political Science*. 4(1): 117–138

Eva Bellin, 2008. "Faith in Politics: New Trends in the Study of Religion and Politics," *World Politics* 60(2): 315-47.

Joshua Mitchell. 2007. "Religion is Not a Preference" *Journal of Politics*. 69(2): 351-362.

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart. 2004. *Sacred and Secular*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2013. "Language, Religion, and the Politics of Difference." *Nations and Nationalism* 19:1-20.

— 2013. "Categories of analysis and categories of practice: a note on the study of Muslims in European countries of immigration." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (36): 1-8.

— 2012. "Religion and Nationalism: Four Approaches." *Nations and Nationalism*. (18):2-20.

Week 5. 9.26

Defining gender (with an emphasis on intersectionality)

Required:

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color. *Stanford Law Review*. 43(6): 1241-1299

Joshua S Goldstein. 2001 *War and Gender*. New York and London: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

Skjelsbaek, Inger and Dan Smith eds. 2001. *Gender, Peace and Conflict (Inter-*

national Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)) Chapters 2 and 3. (e-book)

Hill Collins, Patricia, Sirma Bilge. Intersectionality (Key Concepts). 2016. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press.

Birnir, Jóhanna, David Waguespack, Eric Dunford. Gender norms and violent behavior in a virtual world. N.d. ilcss working paper. Current version will be distributed later in the semester.

Recommended:

Butler, Judith. 1990. Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity. New York: Routledge.

Crenshaw Kimberlé Williams. 1989. “Demarginalising the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics”. University of Chicago Legal Forum: 139-167.

Hill, Collins Patricia. 2000. Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. New York: Routledge. Chapters 1-3 and 5.

Caraway, Teri L. 2010. “Gendering Comparative Politics.” Perspectives on Politics 8 (1): 169-175.

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2010. “Comparison and Integration: A Path toward a Comparative Politics of Gender.” Perspectives on Politics 8 (1): 177-182.

Week 6. 10.3

Operationalizing identity.

Required:

Rawi Abdelal, Yoshiko Herrera, Alastair Iain Johnston, and Rose McDermott eds. 2009. Measuring Identity: A Guide for Social Scientists. New York: Cambridge University Press. (e-book)

Ethnicity

Chandra, Kanchan, and Steven Wilkinson. 2008. “Measuring the Effect of Ethnicity.” Comparative Political Studies 41(4–5): 515-563.

Birnir, Johanna; David Laitin; Jonathan Wilkenfeld; David Waguespack; Agatha Hultquist; Ted Gurr. Introducing the AMAR (All Minorities at Risk Data.” 2018. Journal of Conflict Resolution. 62(1):203-226.

Montalvo, José G., and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2012. “Ethnic Polarization,

Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars.” *American Economic Review* 95(3): 796–816.

McCauley, John. 2017. “Disaggregating Identities to Study Ethnic Conflict.” *Ethnopolitics* 16, 1: 12-20.

Selway, Joel. 2011. “The Measurement of Cross-cutting Cleavages and Other Multidimensional Cleavage Structures”. *Political Analysis* 19(1): 48-65.

Livney, Avital. 2019. “Remote Sensing Religiosity in the Muslim World: An Initial Assessment in the Turkish Case” presented at the Vanderbilt Comparative Politics Speaker Series (January 2019); at the Middle East Initiative Speaker Series, Harvard Kennedy School (March 2019); and at University of Wisconsin-Madison Comparative Politics Colloquium (April 2019).

Intersectionality

McCall, Leslie. 2005. “The Complexity of Intersectionality.” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30(3): 1771 – 1800.

Hancock, Angie-Marie. 2007. “When Multiplication Doesn’t Equal Quick Addition: Examining Intersectionality as a Research Paradigm.” *Perspectives on Politics* 5(1): 63-79.

Dubrow, Joshua Kjerulf. 2008. “How Can We Account for Intersectionality in Quantitative Analysis of Survey Data? Empirical Illustration of Central and Eastern Europe.” *Ask: Research and Methods* 17: 85-102.

Liam Kofi Bright, Daniel Malinsky, and Morgan Thompson. 2016. “Causally Interpreting Intersectionality Theory.” *Philosophy of Science*. 83(1):60-81.

Recommended:

Fearon, James D. 2003. “Ethnic and Cultural Diversity by Country.” *Journal of Economic Growth* 8.2: 195–222.

Sambanis, Nicolas and Michael Kalin. “How Should We Think About Social Identity?”. *American Review of Political Science*, 21: 239-257 (2018).

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Minorities at Risk: A Global View of Ethnopolitical Conflict*. Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1993.

Posner, Daniel. “Measuring Ethnic Fractionalization in Africa.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48.4 (2004): 849–863.

Wimmer, Andreas, Lars Eric Cederman, Brian Min. 2009. “Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set.” *American Sociological Review*. 72(2):316-337.

Hale, Henry. "Explaining Ethnicity." *Comparative Political Studies* 37.4 (2004): 458–485.

Brubaker, Rogers. "Ethnicity without Groups." *Archives européennes de sociologie* XLIII, 2 (November 2002): 163-189.

Livney, Avital. 2016. "Counting the Uncounted: Measuring the Politicization of Kurdish Identity in Turkey," *POMEPS Studies* No. 22.

4 Identity and substantive political outcomes

The role of identity (ethnicity, religion and gender), features in explanations of a large range of substantive political outcomes. In this course we will selectively focus only on electoral politics and violent contestations for political power. Each week we will raise questions pertaining specifically to each set of readings and the identity type we are discussing that week. However, every week we will also contemplate the answers to some common questions. These include:

- What is the puzzle posited or the question asked in this piece?
- What is the theory proposed as an answer to this puzzle/question?
- How does identity allow the author to explain the outcome in a way that other political variables cannot?
- What are some plausible alternative explanations (that may or may not be raised by this author)?
- What are the testable implications of this theory (are there some that the author overlooks)?
- What is the evidence used to test the implications of the theory?
- What are the methods used to systematize the evidence and test the implications?
- Are there alternate methods and data that would allow us to better test the authors conjectures?
- What questions remain unanswered and what else remains unclear about this topic? I.e. what is the research frontier here?
- How might the answer (theory) change if accounting for other identity types?

Week 7. 10.10

Ethnicity and electoral politics

Required:

Neto, Octavio Amorim, and Gary W. Cox. 1997. "Electoral Institutions, Cleavage Structures, and the Number of Parties." *American Journal of Political Science* 41.1: 149–174.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why ethnic parties succeed*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4. (e-book)

Birnir, Jóhanna K. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 1-5.

Corstange, Daniel. 2013. "Ethnicity on the Sleeve and Class in the Heart: When do People Respond to Identity and Material Interests?" *British Journal of Political Science*. 43(4):889-914

Posner, Daniel. 2017. "When and Why Do Some Social Cleavages Become Politically Salient Rather Than Others?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*. 40(12):2001-2019.

Adida, Claire, Jessica Gottlieb, Eric Kramon, and Gwyneth McClendon. 2017. "Reducing or reinforcing in-group preferences? An experiment on information and ethnic voting." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 12(4): 437-477.

Recommended:

Greif, Avner, and David D. Laitin. "A Theory of Endogenous Institutional Change." *American Political Science Review* 98.4 (2004): 633–652.

Posner, Daniel. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Reilly, Benjamin. *Democracy and Diversity: Political Engineering in the Asia-Pacific*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Ferree, Karen, Clark Gibson, and Barack Hoffman. 2017. "Why the Salience of Social Divisions Matters in Party Systems: Testing the Interactive Hypothesis in South Africa." *Party Politics*.

Crisp, Brian F., Betül Demirkaya, Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, and Courtney Millian. Forthcoming. "The Role of Rules in Representation: Group Membership and Electoral Incentives" *British Journal of Political Science*.

Posner.

Week 8. 10.17

Ethnicity and conflict (in a broad literature on ethnicity and conflict the focus here is on electoral conflict)

Required:

Tajfel, H., Turner, J. 2001. An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In M. A. Hogg D. Abrams (Eds.), Key readings in social psychology. Intergroup relations: Essential readings (pp. 94-109). New York, NY, US: Psychology Press.

Lijphart, Arend. Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977.

Horowitz, Donald. "Making Moderation Pay: The Comparative Politics of Ethnic Conflict Management." In Conflict and PeaceMaking in Multiethnic Societies. Edited by Joseph Montville and Hans Binnendijk, 451–476. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1990.

Birnir, Jóhanna K. Ethnicity and Electoral Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapters 6-8.

Fjelde, H. and K. Höglund. 2016. Electoral Institutions and Electoral Violence in Sub-Saharan Africa. British Journal of Political Science 46(02): 297-320.

Selway, Joel and K. Templeman. 2012. "The Myth of Consociationalism" Comparative Political Studies 45: 1542-1571.

Toha, Risa. 2017. Political Competition and Ethnic Riots in Democratic Transition: A Lesson from Indonesia. British Journal of Political Science. 47(3):631-651.⁵

Birnir, Johanna. Anita Ghodes. 2018. "Voting in the Shadow of Violence: Violence and Electoral Politics in Peru." Journal of Global Security Studies. 3(2): 181–197.

Recommended ethnic conflict (a broader survey)

Campbell, D.T. 1965. Ethnocentric and Other Altruistic Motives. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press. pp. 283–311

Horowitz, Donald. Ethnic groups in conflict. 1985. Berkeley. University of California Press.

⁵For background for this article see Birnir, Johanna. 2006. Review of Wilkinson, Steven. Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapters. Nationalism and Ethnic Politics. 12(1):112 – 117.

Wilkinson, Steven. *Votes and Violence: Electoral Competition and Ethnic Riots in India*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Chapters. (e-book)

Sambanis, Nicholas and Moses Shayo. "Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict". *American Political Science Review* 107 (2): 294-325 (2013).

Stuart Kaufman. 2001. "The Symbolic Politics of Ethnic War" in *Modern Hatreds*. Cornell: Cornell University Press.

Denny, Elaine K., and Barbara F. Walter. "Ethnicity and Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 51.2 (2014): 199–212.

Davenport, Christian. *How Social Movements Die: Repression and Demobilization of the Republic of New Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Wimmer, Andreas. 2002. *Nationalist Exclusion and Ethnic Conflicts: Shadows of Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gurr, Ted Robert. *Why Men Rebel*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis." *World Politics* 62.1 (2010): 87–119.

Cunningham, Kathleen Gallagher. "Divide and Conquer or Divide and Concede: How Do States Respond to Internally Divided Separatists." *American Political Science Review* 105.2 (2011): 275–297.

Rørbæk, Lasse Lykke. (2019) Ethnic exclusion and civil resistance campaigns: Opting for nonviolent or violent tactics?, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 31:3, 475-493.

Varshney, Ashutosh, Ravi Kanbur and Prem Rajaram. 2011. "Ethnic Diversity and Ethnic Strife. An Interdisciplinary Perspective" , *World Development*. 39(2):147–158.

Forsberg, Erika, Jóhanna K. Birnir, and Christian Davenport. "State of the Field of Ethnic Politics and Conflict: Introduction." *Ethnopolitics* 16.1 (2016): 1–4.

Week 9. 10.24

Birnir giving a talk at UT Austin.

A rough draft of the literature review is due next week.

Week 10. 10.31

Draft of the literature review due to peer reviewers.

Religion and electoral politics

Required:

Lipset, Seymour Martin and Stein Rokkan. 1967. Party Systems and Voter Alignments: Cross-National Perspectives. Vol. 7. Free press. Chapter 1.

Stark, Rodney and Roger Finke. 2002. "Beyond church and sect: Dynamics and stability in religious economies". In Ted Jelen eds. Sacred markets, sacred canopies: Essays on religious markets and religious pluralism, pp. 31–62.

McCauley, John. The Political Mobilization of Ethnic and Religious Identities in Africa. 2014. American Political Science Review 108(4): 801–816.

Mason, Lilliana. 2018. "Ideologues Without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities." Public Opinion Quarterly. Online First.

Rahma Nida Mohamad Fahmi, 2017. "Candidate Religion and Individual Voting Behavior in Indonesia," Working Papers in Economics and Development Studies (WoPEDS) 201702, Department of Economics, Padjadjaran University, revised Sep 2017.

Stephen Ansolabehere M. Socorro Puy, 2016. "Identity voting," Public Choice, Springer, vol. 169(1), pages 77-95.

Livney, Avital (forthcoming). Trust and the Islamic Advantage in Turkey and the Muslim World. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-4 and 6

Recommended:

Kalyvas, Stathis N. (1996). The Rise of Christian Democracy in Europe. Ithaca, N.Y. : Cornell University Press

Iannaccone, Laurence R. (1998). "Introduction to the Economics of Religion". In: Journal of Economic Literature 36.3, pp. 1465–1495

McCauley, John. 2017. The Logic of Ethnic and Religious Conflict in Africa. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Birnir, Johanna and Nil Seda Şatana. "Religion and Legislative Coalitions." Comparative Political Studies. 46(1):3-30.

Mason, Lilliana (2018). Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. m Chapters.

Margolis, Michele F. (2018). From Politics to the Pews: How Partisanship and

the Political Environment Shape Religious Identity. University of Chicago Press

John Gerring, Michael Hoffman and Dominic Zarecki. 2018. The Diverse Effects of Diversity on Democracy. *British Journal of Political Science*. 48(2): 283-314.

Nwankwo Cletus Famous, 2019. "Religion and Voter Choice Homogeneity in the Nigerian Presidential Elections of the Fourth Republic," *Statistics, Politics and Policy*, De Gruyter, vol. 10(1), pages 1-25, June.

Week 11. 11.7

Religion and conflict (broad survey beyond electoral conflict)

Required:

Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs* 72.3 (1993): 22–49.

Toft, Monica Duffy; Philpott, Daniel; Shah, Timothy Samuel. 2011. *God's Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics*. New York: WW Norton and CO.

Matthias Basedau, Jonathan Fox, Jan Pierskalla, Georg Strüver Johannes Vüllers. 2017. "Does Discrimination Breed Grievances and do Grievances Breed Violence? New Evidence from and Analysis of Religious minorities in Developing Countries." *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, 31 (3), 217-239.

Selway, Joel Sawat (2011). "Cross-Cuttingness, Cleavage Structures and Civil War Onset". *British Journal of Political Science* 41.1, pp. 111–138.

Svensson, Isak. 2013. "One God, Many Wars: Religious dimensions of armed conflict in the Middle East and North Africa", *Civil Wars*. 15(4):411-430.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2015. Religious Dimensions of Political Conflict and Violence. *Sociological Theory* 33:1–19.

Finnbogason, Daniel and Svensson, Isak. 2018. The missing jihad: Why have there been no jihadist civil wars in Southeast Asia? *The Pacific Review*, ISSN 0951-2748, E-ISSN 1470-1332, Vol. 31, no 1, p. 96-115.

Recommended:

Fox, Jonathan. "Paradigm Lost: Huntington's Unfulfilled Clash of Civilizations Prediction into the 21st Century." *International Politics* 42.4 (2005): 428–457.

Toft, Monica Duffy. "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War." *International Security* 31.4 (2007): 97–131.

Almond, Gabriel A, R Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan (2003). *Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World*. University of Chicago Press.

Juergensmeyer, Mark (2000). *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Second. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Isak Svensson and Desiree Nilsson. 2018. "Disputes over the Divine: Introducing the Religion and Armed Conflict (RELAC) Data, 1975-2015", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Fox, Jonathan. (2016). *The Unfree Exercise of Religion: a World Survey of Discrimination against Religious Minorities*. English. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Basedau, Matthias, Birte Pfeiffer, and Johannes Vüllers (2016). "Bad Religion? Religion, Collective Action, and the Onset of Armed Conflict in Developing Countries". en. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60.2, pp. 226–255

Brubaker, Rogers. "The social organization and political contestation of cultural difference: Thinking comparatively about religion and language." Pp. 152-168 in *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries Today*, edited by Thomas Eriksen and Marek Jakoubek (Routledge, 2018).

Varshney, Ashutosh. "Civil Society, Islam, and Ethnocommunal Conflict". 2009. in Alfred Stepan, ed, *Democracies in Danger*, Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Birnir, Johanna and Henry Overos. 2019. *Religion and Political Mobilization*. In: Ratuva S. (eds) *The Palgrave Handbook of Ethnicity*. Palgrave Macmillan, Singapore

Week 12. 11.14

Gender and electoral politics.

Required:

Randall, Vicky. 1987. *Women in Politics*. University of Chicago Press.

Inglehart, Ronald and Pippa Norris. 2000. "The Developmental Theory of the Gender Gap: Women's and Men's Voting Behavior in Global Perspective." *International Political Science Review* 21(4): 441-463.

Kathleen Dolan, 2014. "Gender Stereotypes, Candidate Evaluations, and Voting for Women Candidates. What Really Matters?" *Political Research Quarterly* 67, 96-107.

Kristin Kanthak Jonathan Woon. 2015. Women Don't Run? Election Aversion and Candidate Entry. *American Journal of Political Science*. 59(3):595-612.

Esarey, Justin and Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer. Forthcoming. "Women's Representation, Accountability, and Corruption" *British Journal of Political Science*.

Robinson Amanda Lea, Amanda Clayton, Martha Johnson, and Ragnhild Muri-aas. How Do Voters Discriminate Against Women Candidates? Experimental and Qualitative Evidence from Malawi. Forthcoming, *Comparative Political Studies*.

Blaydes, Lisa and Drew Linzer. 2008. "The Political Economy of Women's Support for Fundamentalist Islam." *World Politics* 60, 4: 576-609

Holmsten, Stephanie S., Robert G. Moser, and Mary C. Slosar. 2010. "Do Ethnic Parties Exclude Women?" *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (10): 1179-1201.

Bothelo, Waguespack and Birnir. Current version distributed later in the semester.

Recommended:

Wangnerud, Lena. 2009. "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:51- 69.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2009. *Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide*. New York: Oxford University Press

Wangnerud, Lena. 2009. "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12:51- 69.

<https://countingcountsblog.wordpress.com/>

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. and Catherine Reyes-Housholder. 2017. "Citizen Responses to Female Executives: Is It Sex, Novelty or Both?" *Politics, Groups, Identities* 5(3): 373-398.

Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline
Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, Georgina Waylen, and S. Laurel Weldon
The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics Edited by Georgina Waylen, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon

Week 13. 11.21

Gender and conflict (broad survey beyond electoral conflict)

Required:

Joshua S Goldstein. 2001 War and Gender. New York and London: Cambridge University Press. Rest.

Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer. 2001. Gender, Violence, and International Crisis. The Journal of Conflict Resolution Vol. 45, No. 4: pp. 503-518

Dara Kay Cohen. 2013. "Female combatants and the perpetration of violence: Wartime rape in the Sierra Leone Civil War. World Politics 65(3): 83-415.

Thomas, Jakana and Kanisha Bond. 2015. Women's Participation in Violent Political Organizations. 109:(3)488-506

Bond, Kanisha. Intersectionality and empirical conflict studies. Working paper distributed later in the semester.

Recommended:

Sjoberg Laura, Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies. 2018. "Failure and Critique in Critical Security Studies," Security Dialogue, forthcoming. "Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter's Dichotomies Toward Effective Synergies." Journal of Conflict Resolution 62(4): 848-870.

Laura Sjoberg. 2010. "Women fighters and the beautiful soul narrative." International Review of the Red Cross, 92(877):53-68.

Marshall, Katherine. "Faith, Gender, and International Relations." In Timothy Shah et al, eds. Rethinking Religion, Oxford, Ch. 11.

Skjelsbæk, Inger (1997) Gendered Battlefields. A Gender Analysis of Peace and Conflict, PRIO Report, 6. Oslo: PRIO.

Week 14. 11.28

Thanksgiving week

Week 15. 12.5

Research frontiers. Peer reviews of colleagues inter-secting study of identity and a political outcomes. Collective work-shopping of theories and reviews.

Week 16. 12.12 Final review due. Inter-sectional study of X.