

GVPT 888I

Identity Politics

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Location: Tydings 1136. If online see zoom link on ELMS

Time: Tuesdays 1:00pm - 3:45pm

Office hrs: By appt.

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1 Identity Politics

The course surveys (a selection of) the literatures on identity across types and political outcomes. As Brubaker points out "The study of religion and the study of ethnicity, [and] race, ... have been largely separate domains of inquiry, with relatively little cross- fertilization between them. This mutual isolation has been detrimental to both fields."¹ Outside the literature on inter-sectionality, the same can be said about the study of gender. 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. Incorporating some of 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. At the same time we pay close attention to perspective. How does a predominantly white/male perspective influence earlier writing, has this changed over time and then how?

¹Brubaker, Rogers. 2015. *Grounds for Difference*. Harvard University Press.:5

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.

1.1 Course requirements

Seminar *in person* 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 upload (ELMS) weekly synthesis of the readings that make connections across assignments (along with participation 20% of grade). This is a reading heavy course and students are welcome to work in **pairs** on the summaries. To ensure equitable distribution of the work collaborative summaries should include no more than 2 participants and students are encouraged to vary participants every week. Students are expected to lead discussions (15%).² Each student is also expected to make a presentation of an annotated bibliography³ (to be shared with other students). The presentations of annotated bibliographies should dovetail with the student's leading of discussion,⁴ focus (ideally) on the assigned topic of greatest interest to the student, and extend the literature beyond the assigned readings to cover recent published and unpublished contributions (10%).⁵

Finally, 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 the last day of class (45% of grade) when students will have the opportunity to briefly present their conclusions to their classmates, no extensions will be granted.⁶

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.

³For an example of an annotated Bibliography see Birnir and Hultquist 2017.

⁴The number of presentations depend on the number of students in the class. This will be worked out at the beginning of the class.

⁵Some hints for putting together a bibliography including unpublished work. Read the websites of the scholars working on identity topics. Read the programs of recent conferences (for example <https://preprints.apsanet.org/engage/apsa/public-dashboard>). Read the list of recent presentations made in department workshops such as MPOSS at <https://minoritypolitics.netlify.app/>, or find the agenda of such workshops posted with references to titles.

⁶For an example of a literature review see Birnir and Overos 2019.

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

1.2.1 Diversity

The University of Maryland and the Department of Government and Politics values diversity. Diversity refers to differences in race, ethnicity, culture, gender, sexual orientation, religion, age, abilities, class, nationality, and other factors. We are committed to creating a respectful and affirming climate in which all students, staff, and faculty are inspired to achieve their full potential. We believe that actively fostering an affirming environment strengthens our department as a whole. A department that values and celebrates diversity among its students, staff and faculty is best able to develop the strengths and talents of all members of the department community.

I invite you, if you wish, to tell us how you want to be referred to both in terms of your name and your pronouns (he/him, she/her, they/them, etc.). The pronouns someone indicates are not necessarily indicative of their gender identity. Visit trans.umd.edu to learn more. Additionally, how you identify in terms of your gender, race, class, sexuality, religion, and dis/ability, among all aspects of your identity, is your choice whether to disclose (e.g., should it come up in classroom conversation about our experiences and perspectives) and should be self-identified, not presumed or imposed. I will do my best to address and refer to all students accordingly, and I ask you to do the same for all of your fellow Terps.

2 Readings

For an understanding of the core of the debate covered each week the assigned readings will introduce some of the classic texts and/or recent contributions to the topic. In some cases these will be unpublished work. Unpublished work is not to be disseminated beyond the class without the author's explicit written consent.

Several books are required for the course. We expect you will borrow or purchase the books online and/or we will find alternate ways to distribute the required readings. With few exceptions the books are available as e-books. Several articles and chapters are also required reading. Students can find those online (ELMS) or through the UMD library. In week 2 the students should have surveyed the readings for their week to assure that everyone has found access to

all of the readings and to coordinate on strategies to access any missing readings.

As discussion leaders students will research and present current literature extensions (ideally with an emphasis on the intersection of identity types) pertaining to the subject that week.⁷

3 Schedule

Week 1: 8.29

No class, APSA.

3.1 Introduction

Week 2: 9.5

Introductions and logistics. 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. Be ready to share information about the bibliographical organization and software you use.

Recommended:

Stephen Wolfram. 2023. What Is ChatGPT Doing ... and Why Does It Work? Wolfram Media Inc.

See also: <https://writings.stephenwolfram.com/2023/02/what-is-chatgpt-doing-and-why-does-it-work/top>

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 essentialist, to constructivist, while allowing for the idea of a “hardening of identity” resulting from specific political processes. Another important development has been the increasing emphasis on the diversity within non-majority white groups. In this first part

⁷Some 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 “holes” in the literature.

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:

- What difference does it make theoretically to consider each of these identity types through a these different lenses?
- Why is it important to consider the internal diversity of identity groups?
- How far along has the literature come in thinking about the intersection of each of identity types?
- How does the literature measure identity?
- What are the constructs and dimensions that are measured and how?
- What kinds of challenges does a constructivist lens introduce for conceptualization and measurement of identity.
- To what extent is constructivism used by authors to guide their theory and empirical analysis?

Instructions for student discussion leaders. Students should collaborate to make sure everyone has the assigned reading (or that it is being delivered). Scan your week's lit review and explore some 'extensions'. Think about how these ideally relate to your topic of interest to be discussed in a separate meeting with the professor scheduled outside class at a mutually convenient time.

Week 3: 9.12

Defining ethnicity

Required:

Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. "What Is Ethnic Identity and Does It Matter?" Annual Review of Political Science 9: 397-424.

Hutchings, Vincent L., and Nicholas A. Valentino. 2004. "The Centrality of Race in American Politics." Annual Review of Political Science 383-408.

Sen, Maya, and Wasow Omar. 2016. "Race as a bundle of sticks: Designs that estimate effects of seemingly immutable characteristics" Annual Review of Political Science, 19, 499-522.

Carbado, Devon W. and Roithmayr, Daria. 2014. Critical Race Theory Meets Social Science Annual Review of Law and Social Science 2014 10:1, 149-167

Recommended:

Chandra, Kanchan, ed. 2012. *Constructivist Theories of Ethnic Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-4.

Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. New York. Basic Books Classics. Special emphasis on Chapter 10. (Primordial sentiments)

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:

Berger, Peter. 1969. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday. Chapters 1,2,4 and 5 (chapters 1,2, and 4 for the purpose of defining religion, whereas chapter 5 begins our **detour** into secularization theory).

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.

McDaniel, Eric L. 2019. "The Prophetic and the Prosperous: Religious Ideologies and the Maintenance of Group Consciousness." *Political Research Quarterly* 72: 488-503.

Jeremy Menchik, 2017. "Review Essay: The Constructivist Approach to Religion and World Politics," *Comparative Politics* 49(4): 561-581.

Recommended: Brubaker, Rogers. 2015. "Linguistic and Religious Pluralism: Between Difference and Inequality." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*. 41(1): 3-32. Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books Classics. Special emphasis on chapters 4-7.

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

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

Michael Hout and Claude S. Fischer. 2014. Explaining Why More Americans Have No Religious Preference: Political Backlash and Generational Succession, 1987–2012. *Sociological Science*. 1:423-447.

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.

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

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:

Celis, Karen; Johanna Kantola; Georgina Waylen; and S. Laurel Weldon. 2013. Introduction: Gender and Politics: A Gendered World, a Gendered Discipline. In *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Edited by Georgina Waylen,

Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heidi M. Levitt. 2019. A Psychosocial Genealogy of LGBTQ+ Gender: An Empirically Based Theory of Gender and Gender Identity Cultures. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. Vol. 43(3) 275-297.

Collins, Patricia Hill, and Chepp, Valerie. 2013. 'Intersectionality', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford Handbooks.

Watch: "The urgency of intersectionality — Kimberlé Crenshaw:"
[urlhttps://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=akOe5-UsQ2o)

Cassese, Erin C. 2019. *Intersectional Stereotyping in Political Decision Making*. Oxford Research Encyclopedias. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hinz, Annika. 2023. Made for Men: Political Science Departments in the United States as Gendered Institutions. *Politics & Gender*,1-33.

Recommended:

Hill Collins, Patricia, Sirma Bilge. *Intersectionality (Key Concepts)*. 2016. Cambridge and Malden: Polity Press. Chapters 1-3 and 5.

(Eds.) Waylen, Georgina, Karen Celis, Johanna Kantola, and S. Laurel Weldon. *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 3–5.

Mark Solms. *The Biological Foundations of Gender: a Delicate Balance*. 2016. In Schreiber, G. Ed. *Transsexualität in theologie und neurowissenschaften : Ergebnisse, kontroversen, perspektiven*

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 (International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO))* Chapters 2-3.

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

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.

Krook, Mona Lena. 2011. "Gendering Comparative Politics: Achievements and Challenges." *Politics Gender* 7 (1): 99-105.

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

Week 6: 10.3

Constructivism.

Required:

Chandra, Kanchan and Others. 2001. *Symposium: Cumulative Findings in the Study of Ethnic Politics*. *APSA-CP* 12(1): 7-22.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2006. *Ethnicity without groups*. Harvard university press. Introduction & Chapters 1–3.

Lee, Taeku. 2008. *Race, immigration, and the identity-to-politics link*. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.*, 11, 457-478.

Hawkesworth, Mary, 'Sex, Gender, and Sexuality: From Naturalized Presumption to Analytical Categories', in Georgina Waylen and others (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Politics*, Oxford Handbooks (2013; online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Aug. 2013),

Soedirgo, Jessica, & Glas, Aarie. 2020. *Toward active reflexivity: Positionality and practice in the production of knowledge*. *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 53(3), 527-531.

Recommended

Nobles, Melissa. *Shades of citizenship: Race and the census in modern politics*. Stanford University Press, 2000.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Ethnic boundary making: Institutions, power, networks*. Oxford University Press, 2013.

Barth, Fredrik. *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Waveland Press, 1969.

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

Brubaker, Rogers. "Ethnicity, race, and nationalism." *Annual review of sociology* 35 (2009): 21-42.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. "Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation." *American sociological review* (1997): 465-480.

Loveman, Mara. "Is" race" essential?." *American Sociological Review* 64, no. 6 (1999): 891-898.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. "The essential social fact of race." *American sociological review* 64, no. 6 (1999): 899-906.

Week 7: 10.10

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) Chapters 1-3. E-book, browse other chapters for specific methods.

Ethnicity

Csata, Zsombor, Roman Hlatky, and Amy H Liu. 2020. "How to head count ethnic minorities: validity of census surveys versus other identification strategies." *East European Politics*:1-21.

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

Religion

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

Birnir and Satana. 2022. *Alternatives in Mobilization: Ethnicity, Religion and Political Conflict*. London, New York. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Intersectionality & Non-Binary Identities

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

Albaugh, Quinn et al. 2023. "Measuring Transgender and Non-Binary Identities in Online Surveys: Evidence from Two National Election Studies ." *APSA Preprints*. doi: 10.33774/apsa-2023-5tr5q

Recommended:

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

Livney, Avital 2021. Can Religiosity be sensed with satellite data? An Assessment of Luminosity during Ramadan in Turkey. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 85, Special Issue, 2021, pp. 371–398.

Livney, Avital. <https://www.alivny.com/research/improving-integrating-diversity-estimates-using-transparent-methods>

MPOSS talk: August 31 2021: Amanda Sahar d'Urso, "A Boundary of White Inclusion: How Religion Shapes Perceptions of Ethnoracial Assignment" available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IktjFsy8APw>

Alexandra Siegel & Yael Zeira. 2020. *The Ethnicization of Conflict. A Social Media Analysis*. Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Grant Proposal Research Plan.

Birnir, Johanna, Jonathan Wilkenfeld, James Fearon, David Laitin, Ted Gurr, Stephen Saideman, Dawn Brancati, Amy Pate and Agatha Hultquist. 2014. "Socially Relevant Ethnic Groups, Ethnic Structure and AMAR". *Journal of Peace Research*. 52:105-109.

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.

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

Jeffrey K. Hadden. 1987. Toward Desacralizing Secularization Theory. *Social Forces* 65(3): 587-611.

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.

Birbir, 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.

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

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

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

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*. 2002. *Archives européennes de sociologie* XLIII, 2: 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 8: 10.17 Ethnicity and electoral politics

Required:

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

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

Johnson, Marcus. 2021. Electoral Discrimination: The Relationship Between Skin Color and Vote Buying in Latin America. *World Politics*. 72(1), pp.80-120.

Birnir, Jóhanna K. 2007. Divergence in Diversity? The Dissimilar Effects of Cleavages on Electoral Politics in New Democracies. *American Journal of Political Science*, 51(3):602–619.

Ahmed, Ali T., Johnson, Marcus, & Vásquez-Cortès, Mateo (2021). Slavery, Elections and Political Affiliations in Colombia. *Journal of Historical Political Economy*, 1(3), 283-318.

Recommended:

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

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

Ferree, Karen, Clark Gibson, and Barack Hoffman. 2019. "Why the Salience of Social Divisions Matters in Party Systems: Testing the Interactive Hypothesis in South Africa." *Party Politics*. 25(2): 208-220

William H. Riker. *The Number of Political Parties: A Reexamination of Duverger's Law*. 1976. *Comparative Politics*, 9(1): 93-106.

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.

Birnir, Jóhanna K. 2007. *Ethnicity and Electoral Politics*. New York and London. Cambridge University Press.

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

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*. 2005. New York: Cambridge University Press.

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

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

Crisp, Brian F., Betul Demirkaya, Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, and Courtney Millian. 2016. "The Role of Rules in Representation: Group Membership and Electoral Incentives" *British Journal of Political Science*.

Fox, Colm. 2018. "Candidate-centric systems and the politicization of ethnicity: evidence from Indonesia." *Democratization*.

Week 9: 10.26

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.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2003. "Electoral Systems: A Primer for Decision Makers." Journal of Democracy 14(4): 115-126.

Lijphart, Arend. 2004. "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." Journal of Democracy 15(2): 96-109.

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

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.

Manekin, Devorah and Tamar Mitts. 2021. Effective for whom? Ethnic identity and non-violent resistance. American Political Science Review. 1-20.

Recommended ethnic conflict (a broader survey)

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

Birnir, Jóhanna K. Ethnicity and Electoral Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Chapters 6 and 7. (e-book)

Lijphart, Arend. Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977. (e-book)

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.

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.

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

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

651.⁸

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

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.

Lieberma, Evan, Perna Sing. 2012. "The Institutional Origins of Ethnic Violence," (with Perna Singh). *Comparative Politics* 45(1):1-24).

Week 10: 10.31

⁸For background for this article see Steven Wilkinson 2004 or 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.

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.

Mason, Lilliana and Julie Wronski 2018. One Tribe to Bind Them All: How Our Social Group Attachments Strengthen Partisanship. Advances in Political Psychology, 39(1):257-277.

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

Birnir and Satana. 2022. Alternatives in Mobilization: Ethnicity, Religion and Political Conflict. London, New York. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 6.

Recommended:

Livney, Avital. 2021. Trust and the Islamic Advantage in Turkey and the Muslim World. New York and London. Cambridge University Press.

Stephen Ansolabehere and M. Socorro Puy. 2016. Identity Voting. Public Choice. 169:77–95.

Raymond, Christopher D. 2019. Religious Diversity and the Number of Religious Parties Around the World. Journal of Representative Democracy. 55(2):2197-213.

Mason, Lilliana. 2018. "Ideologues Without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities." Public Opinion Quarterly. 82(1): 866-887

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:

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

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

Toft, Monica. 2021. Getting Religion Right in Civil Wars. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 65(9) 1607-1634.

Nilsson, Desiree, Svensson, Isak. 2021. The Intractability of Islamist Insurgencies: Islamist Rebels and the Recurrence of Civil War. *International Studies Quarterly* 0, 1–13.

Birnir and Satana. 2023. "The Challengers Winning Coalition: Mobilization of Religion in Ethnic Civil War." *Journal of Politics*.

Recommended:

Birnir and Satana. 2022. *Alternatives in Mobilization: Ethnicity, Religion and Political Conflict*. London, New York. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 4 and 5.

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.

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.

Gill, Anthony. 1998. *Rendering Unto Caesar: The Catholic Church and the State in Latin America*. University of Chicago Press.

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).

Indra De Soysa and Ragnhild Nordås. 2007. Islam's Bloody Innards? Religion and Political Terror, 1980-2000. *International Studies Quarterly*. 51(4):927-943.

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

Rough draft of literature reviews due for peer review.

Women and electoral politics.

Required:

Sebastián Vallejo Vera and Analía Gómez Vidal. 2022. The Politics of Interruptions: Gendered Disruptions of Legislative Speeches. *The Journal of Politics*. 84(3):1384-1402.

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

Robinson Amanda Lea, Amanda Clayton, Martha Johnson, and Ragnhild Muri-aas. How Do Voters Discriminate Against Women Candidates? Experimental and Qualitative Evidence from Malawi. 2020. *Comparative Political Studies*. 53(3-4): 601-630.

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

Hughes, Melanie M. 2018. The Combination of Gender and Ethnic Quotas in Electoral Politics. In Ruth Rubio-Marín and Will Kymlicka eds. *Gender Parity and Multicultural Feminism: Towards a New Synthesis*. Oxford Scholarship Online. Oxford University Press.

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

Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z O'Brien. 2010. "The politics of group representation: Quotas for women and minorities worldwide." *Comparative Politics* 42(3): 253-272.

Arriola, Leonardo R and Martha C Johnson. 2014. "Ethnic Politics and Women's Empowerment in Africa: Ministerial Appointments to Executive Cabinets." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 495-510.

Esarey, Justin and Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer. 2018. "Women's Representation, Accountability, and Corruption". *British Journal of Political Science*. 48(3): 659-690.

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.

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

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

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

Karen Bird. 2016. Gender Quotas. *Intersections of exclusion: the institutional dynamics of combined gender and ethnic quota systems*. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. Volume 4(2):284-306.

Week 13: 11.21

THANKSGIVING WEEK - Class will be on zoom.

Women and conflict (broad survey beyond electoral conflict)

Required:

Joshua S Goldstein. 2001 *War and Gender*. New York and London: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1,4 and 5.

Skjelsbaek, Inger. 2001. "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? The Construction of Femininity. In Inger Skjelsbæk Dan Smith eds. *War, Gender, Peace, and Conflict*. SAGE. Pp. 47-67.

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.

Elin Bjarnegard, Anders Engvall, Srisompob Jitpiromsri, Erik Melander. 2023.

Armed Violence and Patriarchal Values: A Survey of Young Men in Thailand and Their Military Experiences. *American Political Science Review*. 117(2): 439–453

Recommended:

Dumaine et al. 2021. Repertoires of conflict-related sexual violence: Introducing the RSVAC data package. *Journal of Peace Research* 1–11.

Sjoberg Laura, Kelly Kadera and Cameron Thies. 2018. “Reevaluating Gender and IR Scholarship: Moving Beyond Reiter’s Dichotomies Toward Effective Synergies.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(4): 848-870.

Cohen, Dara and Ragnhild Nordas. 2014 Sexual violence in armed conflict: Introducing the SVAC dataset, 1989–2009. *Journal of Peace Research* 2014, Vol. 51(3) 418–428.

Cohen, Dara and Ragnhild Nordas. 2015. Do States Delegate Shameful Violence to Militias? Patterns of Sexual Violence in Recent Armed Conflicts. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 59(5) 877-898

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

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.

Krook, Mona Lena. *Violence against women in politics*. Springer International Publishing, 2020.

Week 14: 11.28

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

Week 15: 12.5

Revised final review due. Inter-sectional literature review pertaining to X. Authors reflect on the change in their thinking as a result of exposure to the literature and peer review.