

# POU44202: Ethnic Politics and Identity

Department of Political Science

Lecturer: Dino Hadzic

Meeting Schedule: Tuesdays 16:00–18:00 in M4 (Museum Building)

Office Hours: By appointment

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This module aims to introduce students to past and current research on ethnic politics and identity. After an introductory meeting in the first week, the rest of the module is roughly divided into two parts. Because most of the literature on identity politics focuses on *ethnic identity*, weeks two through six will address the relationship between ethnicity and nation building, conflict, economic performance, and electoral competition. After reading week, we will shift our focus to the study of other identities. Topics in this half of the term will include class, gender, religion, LGBT politics, and European identity. Any one of these topics could be a module in itself, so obviously we will not have enough time to extensively review the enormous literature on class politics, gender and politics, etc. Instead, the second half of the term is designed to introduce students to these areas of study (and in particular, well-received recent scholarship) and identify potential opportunities to make contributions.

Meetings will occur in a face-to-face setting. In addition to our weekly meetings, I have uploaded the below materials to Blackboard. You may find them helpful throughout the term:

- This syllabus, which can be found in the “Syllabus” folder.
- All assigned readings, both required and optional. These can be found in each folder that corresponds to a particular week. For instance, the required and optional readings for ethnicity and conflict can be found in the “Week 4: Ethnicity and Conflict” folder.
- My notes for each of the required readings, which can be found in the “Reading Notes” folder.
- Recorded lectures that can be streamed by students, which can be found in the “Lecture Recordings” folder.
- PDF versions of the slides, which can be found in the “PDF Slides” folder.

## ASSESSMENT

Students will be assessed through two essays, a mid-term essay and an end-of-term essay. The mid-term essay counts for 40% of the overall mark while the end-of-term essay counts for 60%. More details for both are provided below:

**Mid-term essay (40% of final mark):** this essay is due at **11:59pm on Friday, March 18, 2022**. It should not exceed 1,500 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. I will deduct five points for every 100 words the essay is above the word

limit. I have no preference for any particular citation style, but please make sure you use citation procedures consistently throughout. You should double-space the essay and provide the word count at the beginning. Additionally, all late submissions, unless excused ahead of time by me or justified with a medical note or tutor's note, will be penalized five points per day. **Under no circumstances will work be accepted after it has been marked and returned to other students or after the end of the term.** The essay should be submitted via Turnitin. You can do so in the "Essay Submission" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, please respond one of these four questions/prompts. Each corresponds to material from the first half of the term:

1. Are salient ethnic identities compatible with a civic, national identity? Why or why not?
2. Some studies that examine the relationship between ethnicity and civil conflict/war conclude that diversity makes civil conflict/war more likely, while other studies do not. How can these disparate sets of findings be reconciled?
3. Politics are often heavily "ethnicised" in diverse societies, but not always. What factors best explain why ethnicity is highly politically salient in some diverse societies but not in others?
4. Some highly diverse societies are very effective at providing public goods while others are not. What best explains this?

**End-of-term essay (60% of final mark):** this essay is due at **11:59pm on Friday, April 22, 2022**. It should not exceed 2,000 words in length, including footnotes but not the list of references. Otherwise, all other instructions from the mid-term essay (regarding penalties, citation style, formatting, etc.) is the same for the end-of-term essay. This essay should be submitted via Turnitin. You can do so in the "Essay Submission" folder on Blackboard.

For this essay, you have two options with respect to the question/prompt. If you would like, you can respond to one of the questions/prompts listed above (obviously, it needs to be one of the three prompts you did not respond to for your mid-term essay). Alternatively, you can submit your own essay question. If you chose the latter option, you will need to submit your proposed question via Turnitin by **11:59pm on Friday, April 8**, but can certainly do so earlier. I will regularly check the "Essay Question" folder to see who has submitted and will return feedback promptly. When I review the essay question I may modify it. This is to ensure that we are both satisfied with the essay question. Obviously, your proposed question needs to be connected to the topics covered in this module. Also, please make your question broadly theoretical, i.e., it should not be restricted to a specific place and time. You are certainly welcome to include empirical examples/case studies in your essay, but the argument/conclusions should be generalizable rather than limited to a particular place. Your proposed essay question will not be formally marked/assessed. Instead, I am having students submit the essay question beforehand to make sure that it is appropriate.

## RECOMMENDED/SUPPLEMENTAL READING LIST

All readings (required and optional) will be made available on Blackboard. With that said, students may wish to obtain the books below for themselves as well. Each of these books has received a significant amount of attention from identity politics scholars and political scientists more generally.

Anderson, Benedict. 2006. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso Books.

Chandra, Kanchan. 2004. *Why Ethnic Parties Succeed: Patronage and Ethnic Head Counts in India*. Cambridge University Press.

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

Posner, Daniel N. 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa*. Cambridge University Press.

## ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Violations of academic integrity (cheating, plagiarism, representing someone else's work as your own, etc.) will not be tolerated. In that vein, please follow best practices as described in the College Calendar (<https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/calendar>). Also, please complete the university's online tutorial on avoiding plagiarism as soon as possible (<https://libguides.tcd.ie/friendly.php?s=plagiarism/ready-steady-write>).

## DISABILITY-RELATED ACCOMMODATIONS

Students who require any disability-related accommodations are encouraged to register with the Trinity Disability Service (<https://www.tcd.ie/disability/>).

## SYLLABUS OUTLINE

|                                       |     |
|---------------------------------------|-----|
| INTRODUCTION                          | 1   |
| ASSESSMENT                            | 1–2 |
| RECOMMENDED/SUPPLEMENTAL READING LIST | 3   |
| ACADEMIC INTEGRITY                    | 3   |
| DISABILITY-RELATED ACCOMMODATIONS     | 3   |

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|--|-------------|
| <b>SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS</b>                    | <b>4–7</b>  |
| –Week 1 (25-Jan-22): Introduction                        | 4           |
| –Week 2 (01-Feb-22): What is Ethnicity?                  | 4           |
| –Week 3 (08-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Nation Building       | 4–5         |
| –Week 4 (15-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Conflict              | 5           |
| –Week 5 (22-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Economic Performance  | 5           |
| –Week 6 (01-Mar-22): Ethnicity and Electoral Competition | 5           |
| –Week 7 (08-Mar-22): Reading Week                        | 6           |
| –Week 8 (15-Mar-22): Class                               | 6           |
| –Week 9 (22-Mar-22): Gender                              | 6           |
| –Week 10 (29-Mar-22): Religion                           | 6           |
| –Week 11 (05-Apr-22): LGBT Politics                      | 6–7         |
| –Week 12 (12-Apr-22): European Identity                  | 7           |
| <b>OPTIONAL READINGS</b>                                 | <b>7–14</b> |

**SCHEDULE AND REQUIRED READINGS**

**Week 1 (25-Jan-22): Introduction**

**Week 2 (01-Feb-22): What is Ethnicity?**

- Chandra, Kanchan. 2006. “What is Ethnic Identity and Does it Matter?” *Annual Review of Political Science* 9(1): 397–424.
- Hale, Henry E. 2004. “Explaining Ethnicity.” *Comparative Political Studies* 37(4): 458–485.

**Week 3 (08-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Nation Building**

- Calhoun, Craig. 1993. “Nationalism and Ethnicity.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 19(1): 211–239.
- Eriksen, Thomas Hylland. 1991. “Ethnicity versus Nationalism.” *Journal of Peace Research* 28(3): 263–278.

- Francis, E. K. 1968. “The Ethnic Factor in Nation-Building.” *Social Forces* 46(3): 338–346.
- Miguel, Edward. 2004. “Tribe or Nation? Nation Building and Public Goods in Kenya versus Tanzania.” *World Politics* 56(3): 327–362.

#### **Week 4 (15-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Conflict**

- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Andreas Wimmer, and Brian Min. 2010. “Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis.” *World Politics* 62(1): 87–119.
- Denny, Elaine K. and Barbara F. Walter. 2014. “Ethnicity and Civil War.” *Journal of Peace Research* 51(2): 199-212.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2003. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97(1): 75–90.
- Gubler, Joshua R. and Joel Sawat Selway. 2012. “Horizontal Inequality, Crosscutting Cleavages, and Civil War.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 56(2): 206–232.

#### **Week 5 (22-Feb-22): Ethnicity and Economic Performance**

- Alesina, Alberto and Eliana La Ferrara. 2005. “Ethnic Diversity and Economic Performance.” *Journal of Economic Literature* 43(3): 762–800.
- Baldwin, Kate and John D. Huber. 2010. “Economic versus Cultural Differences: Forms of Ethnic Diversity and Public Goods Provision.” *American Political Science Review* 104(4): 644–662.
- Charnysh, Volha. 2019. “Diversity, Institutions, and Economic Outcomes: Post-WWII Displacement in Poland.” *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 423–441.
- Habyarimana, James, Macartan Humphreys, Daniel N. Posner, and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2007. “Why Does Ethnic Diversity Undermine Public Goods Provision?” *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 709–725.

#### **Week 6 (01-Mar-22): Ethnicity and Electoral Competition**

- Conroy-Krutz, Jeffrey. 2013. “Information and Ethnic Politics in Africa.” *British Journal of Political Science* 43(2): 345–373.
- Dunning, Thad and Lauren Harrison. 2010. “Cross-cutting Cleavages and Ethnic Voting: An Experimental Study of Cousinage in Mali.” *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 21–39.
- Huber, John D. 2012. “Measuring Ethnic Voting: Do Proportional Electoral Laws Politicize Ethnicity?” *American Journal of Political Science* 56(4): 986–1001.
- Madrid, Raúl. 2005. “Ethnic Cleavages and Electoral Volatility in Latin America.” *Comparative Politics* 38(1): 1–20.

## Week 7 (08-Mar-22): Reading Week

## Week 8 (15-Mar-22): Class

- Heath, Oliver. 2015. "Policy Representation, Social Representation and Class Voting in Britain." *British Journal of Political Science* 45(1): 173–193.
- Lupu, Noam and Jonas Pontusson. 2011. "The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution." *American Political Science Review* 105(2): 316–336.
- Tavits, Margit and Natalia Letki. 2013. "From Values to Interests? The Evolution of Party Competition in New Democracies." *Journal of Politics* 76(1): 246–258.
- Tavits, Margit and Joshua D. Potter. 2015. "The Effect of Inequality and Social Identity on Party Strategies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(3): 744–758.

## Week 9 (22-Mar-22): Gender

- Bauer, Nichole M. 2015. "Emotional, Sensitive, and Unfit for Office? Gender Stereotype Activation and Support Female Candidates." *Political Psychology* 36(6): 691–708.
- Heath, Roseanna Michelle, Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson. 2005. "Women on the Sidelines: Women's Representation on Committees in Latin American Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 420–436.
- Krook, Mona Lena and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2012. "All the President's Men? The Appointment of Female Cabinet Ministers Worldwide." *Journal of Politics* 74(3): 840–855.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2015. "Rising to the Top: Gender, Political Performance, and Party Leadership in Parliamentary Democracies." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(4): 1022–1039.

## Week 10 (29-Mar-22): Religion

- Arikan, Gizem and Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom. 2019a. "'I Was Hungry And You Gave Me Food': Religiosity and Attitudes toward Redistribution." *PLoS ONE* 14(3): e0214054.
- Bloom, Pazit Ben-Nun and Gizem Arikan. 2012a. "Religion and Support for Democracy: A Cross-National Test of the Mediating Mechanisms." *British Journal of Political Science* 43(2): 375–397.
- Scheve, Kenneth and David Stasavage. 2006. "Religion and Preferences for Social Insurance." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1(3): 255–286.
- Stegmüller, Daniel. 2013. "Religion and Redistributive Voting in Western Europe." *Journal of Politics* 75(4): 1064–1076.

## Week 11 (05-Apr-22): LGBT Politics

- Egan, Patrick J. 2012. "Group Cohesion without Group Mobilization: The Case of Lesbians, Gays and Bisexuals." *British Journal of Political Science* 42(3): 597–616.

- McClendon, Gwyneth H. 2014. "Social Esteem and Participation in Contentious Politics: A Field Experiment at an LGBT Pride Rally." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(2): 279–290.
- Page, Douglas. 2018. "When Does Sexuality-Based Discrimination Motivate Political Participation?" *Political Psychology* 39(5): 1013–1030.
- Reynolds, Andrew. 2013. "Representation and Rights: The Impact of LGBT Legislators in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 259–274.

### **Week 12 (12-Apr-22): European Identity**

- Agirdag, Orhan, Karen Phalet, and Mieke Van Houtte. 2016. "European identity as a unifying category: National vs. European identification among native and immigrant pupils." *European Union Politics* 17(2): 285–302.
- Bruter, Michael. 2003. "Winning Hearts and Minds for Europe: The Impact of News and Symbols on Civic and Cultural European Identity." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(10): 1148–1179.
- Duchesne, Sophie and André-Paul Frogner. 2008. "National and European Identifications: A Dual Relationship." *Comparative European Politics* 6(2): 143–168.
- Hobolt, Sara B. and Catherine E. de Vries. 2016. "Public Support for European Integration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 19(1): 413–432.

### **OPTIONAL READINGS**

#### **What is Ethnicity?**

- Glazer, Nathan, Andrew M. Greeley, Orlando Patterson, and Daniel P. Moynihan. 1974. "What is Ethnicity?" *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 27(8): 16–35.
- Harris, Adam S. and Michael G. Findley. 2014. "Is Ethnicity Identifiable? Lessons from an Experiment in South Africa." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 58(1): 4–33.
- Hraba, Joseph and Eric Hoiberg. 1983. "Ideational Origins of Modern Theories of Ethnicity: Individual Freedom vs. Organizational Growth." *Sociological Quarterly* 24(3): 381–391.
- Yinger, J. Milton. 1985. "Ethnicity." *Annual Review of Sociology* 11(1): 151–180.

#### **Ethnicity and Nation Building**

- Brubaker, Rogers. 2009. "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism." *Annual Review of Sociology* 35(1): 21–42.
- Connor, Walker. 1972. "Nation-Building or Nation-Destroying?" *World Politics* 24(3): 319–355.

- Michalopoulos, Stelios. 2012. “The Origins of Ethnolinguistic Diversity.” *American Economic Review* 102(4): 1508–1539.
- Miles, William F. S. and David A. Rocheffort. 1991. “Nationalism Versus Ethnic Identity in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 393–403.

### **Ethnicity and Conflict**

- Caselli, Francesco and Wilbur John Coleman II. 2013. “On the Theory of Ethnic Conflict.” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 11(S1): 161–192.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik and Luc Girardin. 2007. “Beyond Fractionalization: Mapping Ethnicity onto Nationalist Insurgencies.” *American Political Science Review* 101(1): 173–185.
- Cederman, Lars-Erik, Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, and Simon Hug. 2013. “Elections and Ethnic Civil War.” *Comparative Political Studies* 46(3): 387–417.
- Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 2000. “Violence and the Social Construction of Ethnic Identity.” *International Organization* 54(4): 845–877.
- Hadzic, Dino, David Carlson, and Margit Tavits. 2017. “How Exposure to Violence Affects Ethnic Voting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 50(1): 345–362.
- Montalvo, José G. and Marta Reynal-Querol. 2005. “Ethnic Polarization, Potential Conflict, and Civil Wars.” *American Economic Review* 95(3): 796–816.
- Posen, Barry R. 1993. “The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict.” *Survival* 35(1): 27–47.
- Sambais, Nicholas. 2001. “Do Ethnic and Nonethnic Civil Wars Have the Same Causes?: A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry (Part 1).” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45(3): 259–282.
- Sambanis, Nicholas and Moses Shayo. 2013. “Social Identification and Ethnic Conflict.” *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 294–325.
- Varshney, Ashutosh. 2007. “Ethnic and Ethnic Conflict.” In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 274–294.

### **Ethnicity and Economic Performance**

- Alesina, Alberto, Reza Baqir, and William Easterly. 1999. “Public Goods and Ethnic Divisions.” *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 114(4): 1243–1284.
- Ashraf, Quamrul and Oded Galor. 2013. “The ‘Out of Africa’ Hypothesis, Human Genetic Diversity, and Comparative Economic Development.” *American Economic Review* 103(1): 1–46.

- Banerjee, Abhijit, Lakshmi Iyer, and Rohini Somanathan. 2005. “History, Social Divisions, and Public Goods in Rural India.” *Journal of the European Economic Association* 3(2/3): 639–647.
- Michalopoulos, Stelios and Elias Papaioannou. 2013. “Pre-Colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development.” *Econometrica* 81(1): 113–152.
- Miguel, Edward and Mary Kay Gugerty. 2005. “Ethnic Diversity, Social Sanctions, and Public Goods in Kenya.” *Journal of Public Economics* 89(11/12): 2325–2368.

### Ethnicity and Electoral Competition

- Carlson, James M. 1984. “The Impact of Ethnicity on Candidate Image.” *Polity* 16(4): 667–672.
- Chandra, Kanchan. 2005. “Ethnic Parties and Democratic Stability.” *Perspective on Politics* 3(2): 235–252.
- Eifert, Benn, Edward Miguel, and Daniel N. Posner. 2010. “Political Competition and Ethnic Identification in Africa.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 494–510.
- Franck, Raphaël and Ilia Rainer. 2012. “Does the Leader’s Ethnicity Matter? Ethnic Favoritism, Education, and Health in Sub-Saharan Africa.” *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 294–325.
- Hoffman, Barak D. and James D. Long. 2013. “Parties, Ethnicity, and Voting in African Elections.” *Comparative Politics* 45(2): 127–146.
- Ichino, Nahomi and Noah L. Nathan. 2013. “Crossing the Line: Local Ethnic Geography and Voting in Ghana.” *American Political Science Review* 107(2): 344–361.
- Posner, Daniel N. 2004. “The Political Salience of Cultural Difference: Why Chewas and Tumbukas Are Allies in Zambia and Adversaries in Malawi.” *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 529–545.

### Class

- Carnes, Nicholas. 2012. “Does the Numerical Underrepresentation of the Working Class in Congress Matter?” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(1): 5–34.
- Carnes, Nicholas and Eric R. Hansen. 2016. “Does Paying Politicians More Promote Economic Diversity in Legislatures?” *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 699–716.
- Carnes, Nicholas and John Holbein. 2019. “Do Public Officials Exhibit Social Class Biases when they Handle Casework? Evidence from Multiple Correspondence Experiments?” *PLoS ONE* 14(3): e0214244.
- Carnes, Nicholas and Noam Lupu. 2015a. “Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America.” *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1): 1–18.

- Carnes, Nicholas and Noam Lupu. 2015b. “What Good Is a College Degree? Education and Leader Quality Reconsidered.” *Journal of Politics* 78(1): 35–49.
- Carnes, Nicholas and Noam Lupu. 2016. “Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class.” *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 832–844.
- Carnes, Nicholas and Meredith L. Sadin. 2014. “The ‘Mill Worker’s Son’ Heuristic: How Voters Perceive Politicians from Working-Class Families – and How They Really Behave in Office.” *Journal of Politics* 77(1): 285–298.
- Franklin, Mark N. 1984. “How the Decline of Class Voting Opened the Way to Radical Change in British Politics.” *British Journal of Political Science* 14(4): 483–508.
- Kelley, Jonathan, Ian McAllister, and Anthony Mughan. 1985. “The Decline of Class Revisited: Class and Party in England, 1964-1979.” *American Political Science Review* 79(3): 719–737.
- Lipset, Martin Seymour. 1983. “Radicalism or Reformism: The Sources of Working-class Politics.” *American Political Science Review* 77(1): 1–18.
- Masters, Marick F. and John D. Robertson. 1988. “Class Compromises in Industrial Democracies.” *American Political Science Review* 82(4): 1183–1201.
- Przeworski, Adam and Michael Wallerstein. 1982. “The Structure of Class Conflict in Democratic Capitalist Societies.” *American Political Science Review* 76(2): 215–238.
- Shayo, Moses. 2009. “A Model of Social Identity with an Application to Political Economy: Nation, Class, and Redistribution.” *American Political Science Review* 103(2): 147–174.
- Weakliem, David L. 1995. “Two Models of Class Voting.” *British Journal of Political Science* 25(2): 254–270.
- Wyman, Roger E. 1974. “Middle-Class Voters and Progressive Reform: The Conflict of Class and Culture.” *American Political Science Review* 68(2): 488–504.

## Gender

- Anderson, Rindy C. and Casey A. Klofstad. 2012. “Preference for Leaders with Masculine Voices Holds in the Case of Feminine Leadership Roles.” *PLoS ONE* 7(12): e51216.
- Atkeson, Lonna Rae and Nancy Carrillo. 2007. “More is Better: The Influence of Collective Female Descriptive Representation on External Efficacy.” *Politics and Gender* 3(1): 79–101.
- Boyd, Christina L., Lee Epstein, and Andrew D. Martin. 2010. “Untangling the Causal Effects of Sex on Judging.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54(2): 389–411.

- Clayton, Amanda, Diana Z. O'Brien, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2019. "All Male Panels? Representation and Democratic Legitimacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 113–129.
- Dietrich, Bryce J., Matthew Hayes, and Diana Z. O'Brien. 2019. "Pitch Perfect: Vocal Pitch and the Emotional Intensity of Congressional Speech." *American Political Science Review* 113(4): 941–962.
- Falk, Erika and Kate Kenski. 2006. "Issue Saliency and Gender Stereotypes: Support for Women as Presidents in Times of War and Terrorism." *Social Science Quarterly* 87(1): 1–18.
- Herrnson, Paul S., J. Celeste Lay, and Atiya Kai Stokes. 2003. "Women Running 'as Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 244–255.
- Holman, Mirya R., Jennifer L. Merolla, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2016. "Terrorist Threat, Male Stereotypes, and Candidate Evaluations." *Political Research Quarterly* 69(1): 134–147.
- Huddy, Leonie and Nayda Terkildsen. 1993. "The Consequences of Gender Stereotypes for Women Candidates at Different Levels and Types of Office." *Political Research Quarterly* 46(3): 503–525.
- Kathlene, Lyn. 1994. "Power and Influence in State Legislative Policymaking: The Interaction of Gender and Position in Committee Hearing Debates." *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 560–576.
- Kathlene, Lyn. 1995. "Alternative Views of Crime: Legislative Policymaking in Gendered Terms." *Journal of Politics* 57(3): 696–723.
- Koch, Jeffrey W. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Citizens' Impressions of House Candidates' Ideological Orientations." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(2): 453–462.
- 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.
- Lawless, Jennifer L. 2004. "Women, War, and Winning Elections: Gender Stereotyping in the Post-September 11th Era." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(3): 479–490.
- Levy, Dena, Charles Tien, and Rachelle Aved. 2001. "Do Differences Matter? Women Members of Congress and the Hyde Amendment." *Women and Politics* 23(1/2): 105–127.
- Mansbridge, Jane. 1999. "Should Blacks Represent Blacks and Women Represent Women? A Contingent 'Yes'." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 628–657.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2012. "Gender and Select Committee Elections in the British House of Commons." *Politics and Gender* 8(2): 178–204.

- O'Brien, Diana Z. 2018. "'Righting' Conventional Wisdom: Women and Right Parties in Established Democracies." *Politics and Gender* 14(1): 27–55.
- O'Brien, Diana Z., Matthew Mendez, Jordan Carr Peterson, and Jihyun Shin. 2015. "Letting Down the Ladder or Shutting the Door: Female Prime Ministers, Party Leaders, and Cabinet Ministers." *Politics and Gender* 11(4): 689–717.
- O'Brien, Diana Z. and Johanna Rickne. 2016. "Gender Quotas and Women's Political Leadership." *American Political Science Review* 110(1): 112–126.
- Osborn, Tracy and Jeanette Morehouse Mendez. 2010. "Speaking as Women: Women and Floor Speeches in the Senate." *Journal of Women, Politics and Policy* 31(1): 1–21.
- Pearson, Kathryn and Logan Dancey. 2011a. "Elevating Women's Voices in Congress: Speech Participation in the House of Representatives." *Political Research Quarterly* 64(4): 910–923.
- Pearson, Kathryn and Logan Dancey. 2011b. "Speaking for the Underrepresented in the House of Representatives: Voicing Women's Interests in a Partisan Era." *Politics and Gender* 7(4): 493–519.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Gender Stereotypes and Vote Choice." *American Journal of Political Science* 46(1): 20–34.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. and William Mishler. 2005. "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 407–428.
- Swers, Michele. 2007. "Building a Reputation on National Security: The Impact of Stereotypes Related to Gender and Military Experience." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(4): 559–595.
- Volden, Craig, Alan E. Wiseman, and Dana E. Wittmer. 2018. "Women's Issues and Their Fates in the US Congress." *Political Science Research and Methods* 6(4): 679–696.
- Wängnerud, Lena. 2009. "Women in Parliaments: Descriptive and Substantive Representation." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12(1): 51–69.

## Religion

- Arikan, Gizem and Pazit Ben-Nun Bloom. 2019b. "Religion and Political Protest: A Cross-Country Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 52(2): 246–276.
- Bloom, Pazit Ben-Nun and Gizem Arikan. 2012b. "A Two-edged Sword: The Differential Effect of Religious Belief and Religious Social Context on Attitudes towards Democracy." *Political Behavior* 34(2): 249–276.
- Bloom, Pazit Ben-Nun, Gizem Arikan, and Marie Courtemanche. 2015. "Religious Social Identity, Religious Belief, and Anti-Immigration Sentiment." *American Political Science Review* 109(2): 1–19.

- Butler, Daniel M. and Margit Tavits. 2017. “Does the Hijab Increase Representatives’ Perceptions of Social Distance?” *Journal of Politics* 79(2): 727–731.
- De La O, Ana L. and Jonathan A. Rodden. 2008. “Does Religion Distract the Poor? Income and Issue Voting Around the World.” *Comparative Political Studies* 41(4/5): 437–476.
- Kotler-Berkowitz, Laurence A. 2001. “Religion and Voting Behaviour in Great Britain: A Reassessment.” *British Journal of Political Science* 31(3): 523–554.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., R. William Liddle, and Saiful Mujani. 2012. “Testing Islam’s Political Advantage: Evidence from Indonesia.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 584–600.

### **LGBT Politics**

- Brewer, Paul R. 2003. “The Shifting Foundations of Public Opinion about Gay Rights.” *Journal of Politics* 65(4): 1208–1220.
- Camp, Bayliss J. 2008. “Mobilizing the Base and Embarrassing the Opposition: Defense of Marriage Referenda and Cross-Cutting Electoral Cleavages.” *Sociological Perspectives* 51(4): 713–733.
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