**Curriculum Vitae**

September 2023

Jeff Spinner-Halev

Department of Political Science

University of North Carolina

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919-428-3849

**I. Education**

B.A. University of Michigan, Political Science, 1985

Ph.D. University of Michigan, Political Science, 1992

**II. Professional Positions**

Kenan Eminent Professor of Political Ethics, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2005-present.

Interim Chair, Department of Art and Art History, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, January 1, 2022 – June 30, 2023.

Faculty Director, UNC Honors London, Fall 2021.

Acting Chair, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2015.

Interim Director, Carolina Center for Jewish Studies, 2006-7.

Schlesinger Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2002-2005.

Schlesinger Associate Professor of Political Science, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1998-2002.

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1992-1998.

Teaching Assistant and Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, 1988-1991.

Policy Analyst, Citizens for Tax Justice, Washington D.C., 1985-1987.

**III. Books**

*Respect and Loathing in American Democracy: Polarization, Moralization, and the Undermining of Equality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, Chicago Studies in American Politics, forthcoming, 2024). Co-authored with Elizabeth Theiss-Morse.

*Enduring Injustice*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

*Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Co-editor (with Avigail Eisenberg).

*Surviving Diversity: Religion and Democratic Citizenship* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000).

*The Boundaries of Citizenship: Race, Ethnicity and Nationality in the Liberal State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994; paperback edition, 1996).

**IV. Refereed Articles**

“Why Political Philosophy Should be Robust.” *American Political Science Review*, forthcoming, 2024. Co-authored with Alex Kirshner.

“The Challenging Relationship Between Multiculturalism and Religion: Discussion of Michael Karayanni’s A Multicultural Entrapment: Religion and State among the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel,” *Jerusalem Review of Legal Studies*, October, 2022.

“Who Gives Credence to Whom?: Exploring Status and Relational Equality with Empirical Tests.” *Journal of Politics,* volume 84, no. 2 (2022). Co-authored with Tim Ryan.

“Group Agency and Historical Injustice.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, Vol. 25. No. 3 (2022). Republished in *Rectifying Historical Injustice: Debating the Supersession Thesis*, Meyer, Lukas H., and Timothy Waligore, eds. 2023. New York: Routledge.

“The Limits of Liberal Integrity.” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, volume 24, no. 4 (2021): 635-641, DOI: [10.1080/13698230.2020.1744083](https://doi.org/10.1080/13698230.2020.1744083).

“Liberalism, Markets and Responsibility.” *Journal of Politics* volume 79, no. 4 (2017).

“Uncertain Theoretical Foundations of Cultural Rights.” *Two Homelands*, volume 44, no. 1 (2016): 13-24.

"Rawls, Mill, and the Puzzle of Political Liberalism.” *Journal of Politics*, volume 75, no. 1 (2013). Co-authored with Ruth Abbey.

“Liberalismo, Pluralismo E Religione.” *Iride* 25, no. 66 (2012). (In Italian.)

“Discrimination within Religious Schools.” *Journal of Law, Religion and State*, volume 1, no. 1 (2012).

“A Restrained View of Transformation.” *Political Theory*, volume 39, no. 6 (December 2011).

“John Stuart Mill 's Feminism: On Progress, the State, and the Path to Justice.” *Polity*, volume 42, no. 2 (April 2010). Co-authored with Hollie Mann.

“Liberalism and Religion: Against Congruence.” *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* volume 9, no. 2 (July 2008).

“Democracy, Solidarity and the Possibility of Post-Nationalism,” *Political Studies*, volume 56, no. 3 (October 2008).

“From Historical to Enduring Injustice,” *Political Theory*, volume 35, no. 5 (October 2007).

“Hinduism, Christianity, and Liberal Religious Toleration,” *Political Theory*, volume 33, no. 1 (February 2005). Reprinted in *Secularization*, ed. Bryan Turner (New York: Sage Publications, 2010).

“National Identity and Self-Esteem,” *Perspectives on Politics*, volume 1, no. 3 (September 2003). Co-authored with Elizabeth Theiss-Morse.

“Education, Reconciliation and Nested Identities,” *Theory and Research in Education*, Volume 1, no. 1 (March 2003).

“Unoriginal Sin: Zionism and Democratic Exclusion in Comparative Perspective,” *Israel Studies Forum*, volume 18, no. 1 (Fall, 2002).

“Feminism, Multiculturalism, Oppression, and the State,” *Ethics*, volume 112, no. 1 (October, 2001). Published in Chinese in *Zhongxi Zhengzhi Wenhualuncong* (Tianjinrenminchubanshe, 2006).

“The Universal Pretensions of Cultural Rights Arguments,” *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, volume 4, no. 2 (July 2001).

“Land, Culture and Justice: A Framework for Group Rights and Recognition,” *Journal of Political Philosophy*, volume 8, number 3 (September 2000). Reprinted in *Indigenous Rights*, ed. Anthony J. Connolly (Ashgate Publishing, 2009).

“Extending Diversity: Religion in Public and Private Education.” In *Citizenship in Diverse Societies: Theory and Practice*, eds. Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman. (Oxford University Press, 2000). Published in Bosnian in *Dijalog: Casopis za filozofska i drustvena pitanja* (Sarajevo) No. 1-2 (2001), pp. 107-130.

“Difference and Diversity in an Egalitarian Democracy,” *Journal of Political Philosophy*, volume 3, number 3 (September 1995).

“Constructing Communities: Edmund Burke on Revolution,” *Polity*, volume XXIII, number 3 (Spring, 1991).

**V. Book Chapters and Review Essays**

“Multiculturalism and Toleration.” In *The Research Handbook on Multiculturalism,* ed. Geoffrey Brahm Levey (Elgar Publishing: Cheltenham, U.K., forthcoming, 2024). Co-authored with Matthew H. Young.

“Multicultural Citizenship.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Classics in Contemporary Political Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

“Choosing and Caring: Markets and Their Limits.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12.02 (2014): 449-54.

“Historical Injustice.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Philosophy*, ed. David Estlund (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

“The Trouble with Diversity” in *Critical Urban Studies: New Directions*, eds. Jonathan S. Davies and David L. Imbroscio (Albany: SUNY Press, 2010).

“Exclusion, Fear, and Identity in Emerging Democracies” in *Ethics, Politics and Democracy*, ed. Jose V. Ciprut (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009).

“Multiculturalism and its Critics.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, eds. John Dryzek, Bonnie Honig and Anne Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

“Autonomy, Association and Pluralism.” In *Minorities within Minorities: Equality, Rights and Diversity*, eds. Avigail Eisenberg and Jeff Spinner-Halev (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

“Cultural Pluralism and Partial Citizenship,” in *Multicultural Questions*, eds. Steven Lukes and Christian Joppke. (Oxford University Press, 1999).

“Land, Identity and Solidarity.” In *Nationalite, Citoyennete et Solidarite*, ed. Michel Seymour (Montreal: Les Editions Liber, 1999).

**VI. Awards and Fellowships**

Senior Faculty Research and Scholarly Leave (competitive leave award), Spring 2024

Research and Study Leave, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Fall 2019, Fall 2014.

Abbey Fellow, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013-2017.

College of Arts and Sciences Interdisciplinary Initiative Award, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009.

Faculty Fellowship, Institute for Advanced Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004.

Lady Davis Fellowship, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2003.

Faculty Summer Fellowship, Human Rights and Human Diversity Program, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1999

Professor of the Month, Mortar Board, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, September, 1997.

College Award for Distinguished Teaching, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 1997.

Young Scholar Program, Program on Ethics and Public Life, Cornell University, April, 1997.

Laurance S. Rockefeller Visiting Fellowship, The University Center for Human Values, Princeton University, 1995-96.

National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Stipend, 1994.

Horace H. Rackham Dissertation Fellowship, University of Michigan, 1992.

Outstanding Teaching Assistant Award, University of Michigan, 1989‑1990.

**VII. Book Reviews**

Review of CécileLaborde, *Liberalism’s Religion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017) in

*Perspectives on Politics*, 17 no. 4, 1164-1165.

Review of Claire Kim, *Dangerous Crossings* *Race, Species and Nature in a Multicultural Age.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015) in *Perspectives on Politics*, 14, no. 1, (March 2016).

Review of Alan Patten, *Equal Recognition: The Moral Foundations of Minority Rights.* (Princeton University Press, 2014) in *Review of Politics*, 77, Issue 3, (July 2015).

Review of Eyal Chowers, *The Political Philosophy of Zionism: Trading Jewish Words for a Hebraic Land* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) in *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45, no. 2, (May 2013).

Review of Cristina Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity* **(**New York: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Juliet Hooker, *Race and the Politics of Solidarity* **(**New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) in *Perspectives on Politics* 9 no. 3 (September 2011).

Review essay of Jeffrey Blustein, *The Moral Demands of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008) in *Social Theory and Practice* Vol. 35, No. 3 (July 2009).

Review of Burke Hendrix, *Ownership, Authority, and Self-Determination: Moral Principles and Indigenous Rights Claim* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008) in *Perspectives on Politics* 7 no. 1 (March 2009).

Review of Chandran Kukathas, *The Liberal Archipelago: A Theory of Diversity and Freedom* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003) in *Journal of Politics* 67, no 2 (May 2005).

“Teaching Identity and Autonomy,”*Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 39, no. 1 (February 2005). (Review essay of Education and Citizenship in Liberal-Democratic Societies, Oxford University Press, 2003).

Review of Jan Feldman, *Lubavitchers as Citizens: A Liberal Paradox* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 2003) in *Shofar: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Jewish Studies* 23, no 2 (Winter 2005).

Review of Paul A. Passavant, No Escape: Freedom of Speech and the Paradox of Rights in

Perspectives on Politics 1, no. 4 (December 2003).

Review of William Galston, Liberal Pluralism: The Implications of Value Pluralism for Political Theory and Practice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) in Philosophy in Review XXIII, no. 2 (April 2003) .

Review of Dieter Senghaas, The Clash within Civilizations: Coming to Terms with Cultural Conflicts (London: Routledge, 2002) in Review of Politics, 65, no 2 (Spring, 2003).

Review of Rob Reich, Bridging Liberalism and Multiculturalism in American Education (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002) in Philosophy in Review, XXIII, no 1 (February 2003).

Review of Jacob T. Levy, The Multiculturalism of Fear (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) in American Political Science Review, 1 no. 96 (March 2002), 186-7.

Review of Bhikhu Parekh, Rethinking Multiculturalism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000) in Contemporary Sociology 2, no. 31 (March 2002): 192-3.

Review of Iris Marion Young, Inclusion and Democracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000) in Canadian Journal of Political Science 4, no. 34 (December 2001): 891-2.

Review of Fawaz A Gerges, America and Political Islam: Clash of Cultures or Clash of Interests? (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) in Political Studies 48, no. 4 (September 2000): 866.

Review of Wendy F. Katkin, Ned Landsman, and Andrea Tyree, eds., Beyond Pluralism: The Conception of Groups and Group Identities in America (Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois Press

1998) in Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development 21, no. 3 (May, 2000): 266-7.

Review of Noah Pickus, ed., Immigration and Citizenship in the 21st Century (Lanham, MD.: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998) in Ethics 110, no. 4 (July 2000): 861-3.

Review of Will Kymlicka, Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998) in American Political Science Review 93, no. 3 (September, 1999): 704-5.

Review of Alastair Davidson, From Subject to Citizen: Australian Citizenship in the Twentieth Century (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) in American Journal of Sociology 104, no. 2 (September, 1999): 562-563.

Review of Eamonn Callan, Creating Citizens: Political Education and Liberal Democracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), in Canadian Journal of Political Science 31, no. 4 (December, 1998): 830-1.

Review of Amitai Etzioni, The New Golden Rule (New York: Basic Books, 1996) in American Political Science Review, 92, no. 3 (September, 1998): 680-681.

Review of David Miller, On Nationality (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), and David Jacobson, Rights Across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996) in American Political Science Review 90, no. 4 (December 1996): 894-895.

Review of Ronald Beiner, ed., Theorizing Citizenship (Albany: SUNY Press, 1995) in Ethics, 106, no. 4 (July, 1996): 893.

Review of David Hollinger, Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism (New York: Basic Books, 1995) in American Political Science Review 89, no.4 (December 1995): 1009-1010.

**VIII. Selected Presentations (2000-present)**

“A Genealogy of National Identity and Democracy and the Challenge of Multiculturalism.” Presented at Migration Working Group – Scholars of Excellence Edition: Multiculturalism at a Crossroads, Toronto Metropolitan University, May 2023 (invited).

“Political Theory and the Robustness Test.” Presented to the London Political Theory Group, November 2021 (invited). With Alex Kirshner.

“Democratic Equality and the Respect Paradox.” Presented at Nuffield College, Oxford University, October 2021 (invited). Also presented at the London School of Economics Political Theory Seminar, October 2021 (invited).

“Illiberal Entrapment.” Symposium on Michael Karayanni's *A Multicultural Entrapment: Religion and State among the Palestinian-Arabs in Israel*. Hebrew University of Jerusalem, July 2021 (invited).

“A Geneology of Democracy and National Identity.” Presented at the workshop on National Identity and Democracy Challenges, University of Uppsala, February 2020 (invited).

“Democracy and Civic Respect” and “Liberal Citizenship and the Challenge of Respect,” Presented at the Southern Political Science Association Conference, January 2020. With Elizabeth Theiss-Morse.

“The Liberal Respect Paradox.” Conference on “Political Equality and Mass Democracy,” Duke University and the University of Lyon III, France, April 2019 (invited).

“Historical Injustice and Corporate Responsibility.” Northwestern University, Department of Political Science, February 2019 (invited).

“American Citizenship and Respect,” University of Pennsylvania, Department of Political Science, December 2018 (invited).

“Slaying the Leviathan: Responsibility and Historical Injustice.” Conference on “Historical Injustice and Supersession,” University of Graz, Austria, Department of Philosophy, June, 2018 (invited).

Roundtable on Congressional Oversight. Wayne State University, Carl Levin Center at Wayne State Law School, June 2017 (invited).

“Making Sense of Social Equality.” Dartmouth College, Department of Government, May 2017 (invited); Safra Center for Ethics, Tel-Aviv University, June 2017 (invited).

“Misunderstanding Choice and Responsibility.” Notre Dame University, Political Theory Workshop, September 2014 (invited).

“Markets and Injustice,” Keynote Address at the Association of Legal and Social Philosophy, University of Leeds, July 2014 (invited).

“Liberal Religion and Hinduism.” University College London, Department of Political Science, July 2014 (invited).

“Luck, Equality and Markets,” University of Louisville, April 2013 (invited).

“Choice, Luck and Responsibility.” Presented at Bar-Ilan University, Department of Political Science, March 2013 (invited).

“Minority Rights and Individual Rights.” Workshop Presentation at the Center for the Study of Democracy, Toleration, and Religion, Columbia University, April 2011 (invited).

“Minority Group Oppression and State Legitimacy.” Presented at the University of Ottawa, Critical Thinkers Series, March 2011 (invited).

“A Qualified Defense of Group Apologies.” Presented at the Tel-Aviv University, Department of Political Science, December 2010 (invited) and Queen’s University (Canada), March 2011 (invited).

“Equal Recognition: The Moral Foundations of Minority Cultural Rights.” Invited commentator on book manuscript workshop (Alan Patten), Princeton University, May 2009.

“The Bouchard-Taylor Report, One Year Later: International Perspectives.” Invited commentator, University of Montreal, May 2009.

“The Pitfalls of Apology and the Promise of Acknowledgement.” Presented at Kobe University Law School and at the Center for Ainu and Indigenous Studies, Hokkaido University, Japan,

February, 2009 (invited).

“Global Justice in a Post-Colonial World.” Presented at the National University of Singapore September 2008, (invited) and at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2007.

“Zionism and Post-Zionism in Comparative Perspective.” Presented at the Simpson Center for the Humanities, University of Washington, February, 2008 (invited).

“Liberalism and Religion: Against Congruence.” Presented at the Tel-Aviv Law School, Israel, May 2007 (invited).

“The Ethics of Immigration.” Invited commentator on book manuscript workshop (Joseph Carens), Georgia Tech University, November 2007.

“Beyond Group Apologies.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2007 and at Columbia University, October 2007 (invited).

“Cities, Citizenship and the Problem of Liberty.” Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2005 and at Wilfred Laurier University, November 2005 (invited).

“Enduring Injustice.” Presented at the political theory workshop at Washington University, St. Louis, October 2004 (invited), the Conference for the Study of Political Thought (invited), Toronto, November 2005 and the political theory workshop at the University of Virginia, March, 2006 (invited).

“Hinduism, Christianity and Liberal Toleration.” Presented to the Departments of Political Science at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Queen’s University, November, 2003 (invited), and the Einstein Forum, Potsdam, Germany, June, 2004 (invited).

“Education, Reconciliation and Nested Identities.” Presented at the conference for Citizenship Education and Political Theory, Bled, Slovenia, November, 2001 (invited).

“Feminism and Multiculturalism.” Presented at the conference for Dialogue on Democracy and Pluralism in South Asia, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India, March 2001 (invited), and at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2001.

“Globalization and American Identity.” Presented at the Japan Center for Area Studies and Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan, January, 2001 (invited).

“Culture, Community, and Citizenship.” Roundtable participant at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September, 2000.

“A Comparative Theory of Cultural Pluralism.” Presented at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi, India, April 2000 (invited).

**IX. University Service (2000-present)**

Chair, Search Committee, Philosophy, Politics and Economics Assistant Profesor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2023-24.

School of Civic Life and Leadership Working Committee and Faculty Interest Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Carolina, 2023.

Member, Search Committee, External Chair Search, Department of Art & Art History, University of North Carolina, 2022-23.

Member, Search Committee, Philosophy, Politics and Economics Assistant Profesor, Department of Philosophy, University of North Carolina, 2022-23.

Member, Post-Pandemic Teaching Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Carolina, 2021.

Chair, Search Committee, Philosophy, Politics and Economics Assistant Profesor, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2019.

Convener, Political Theory Workshop Seminar, University of North Carolina, 2005-present.

Member, Graduate Affairs Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2015-2017, 2019-2021.

Member, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2005-7, 2008-2014, 2017-2019, 2021-2022.

Chair, Post-Tenure Review Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2010-2011, 2015-2019, 2020-2022.

Member, University Promotion and Tenure Committee, University of North Carolina, 2016-2019.

Member, Educational Policy Committee, College of Arts and Sciences, University of North Carolina, 2012-2015.

Member, Summer Research Fellowship Review Committee, Graduate School, University of North Carolina, 2017-2019.

Chair, Graduate Admissions Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2016-17.

Chair, Planning Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2011-2014, 2016-17.

Co-Convener, Carolina Seminar on Democracy in the Age of Globalization, 2014-15.

Member, Minority Recruitment Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2010-2012.

Chair, Interdepartmental Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2011.

Chair, Middle East Politics Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2007-8.

Member, Middle East Politics Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of North Carolina, 2006-7.

Member, Modern Jewish Thought Search Committee, University of North Carolina, 2006-7.

Member, Carolina Center for Jewish Studies Steering Committee, 2005-6, 2007-2009.

Director, Human Rights and Human Diversity Program, University of Nebraska, 2001-2003.

Member, Humanities Center Advisory Board, University of Nebraska, 2001-2002.

Member, Executive Committee, Human Rights and Human Diversity Program, University of Nebraska, 2000-01.

Member, Executive Committee, Judaic Studies Program, University of Nebraska, 1997-2005.

Member, Executive Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska, 1993-1994, 1997-1998, 2000-2001.

Chair, Comparative Politics Search Committee, Department of Political Science, University of Nebraska, 2002-3.

Member, College of Arts and Sciences Curriculum Committee, University of Nebraska, 1999, 2000.

**IX. Professional Service (2000-present)**

Editorial Board, *American Political Science Review,* 2018-2020

Section Chair, Normative Political Theory, Southern Political Science Association Conference, 2016

Section Chair, Normative Political Theory, American Political Science Association Conference, 2009

Section Chair, Normative Political Theory, Midwest Political Science Association, 2003

Council Member, American Political Science Association, 2002-04

Manuscript and Grant Reviewer (10 to 12 annually):

American Council of Learned Societies, *American Journal of Political Science*, *American Political Science Review*, *Canadian Journal of Philosophy*, *Canadian Journal of Political Science,* Cambridge University Press, Columbia University Press, Cornell University Press, *Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics, Ethics,* Institute for Humane Studies, Johns Hopkins University Press, *Journal of Political Philosophy, Journal of Politics, Journal of Social Philosophy,* McGraw-Hill, National Science Foundation, Oxford University Press, Pennsylvania State University Press, Princeton University Press, *Political Research Quarterly,* *Political Studies,* *Political Theory, Polity, Theory, Culture and Society*, University of British Columbia Press, University of Kansas Press, Yale University Press, *Press, Philosophy, Politics and Economics*, *Law and Social Inquiry,* University of Pennsylvania Press.

**X. Teaching and Research Interests**

Respect and equality

Contemporary political thought

Democratic theory and practice

History of political thought

Racial, ethnic and national identity and politics

Religion and political thought

Philosophy, Politics and Economics

Ethics of Peace, War and Defense