XIULING ZHANG

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland, College Park
3140 Tydings Hall, College Park, MD 20742
xlzhang@umd.edu xiulzhang.github.io

FIELDS OF INTEREST

Identity Politics, Intersectionality, Political Economy of Development, Sub-Saharan Africa

EDUCATION

University of Maryland, College Park
Ph.D. Candidate, Government and Politics, expected Spring 2027.
Fields: Comparative Politics, Methodology
Committee: John McCauley (Chair), Ernesto Calvo, Fiona Shen-Bayh, Giancarlo Visconti

University of California, Los Angeles
M.A., African Studies, 2019.

Peking University
B.A., Double Major in International Politics and Economics, 2017.

RESEARCH

Job Market Paper

Whose Ethnicity Counts? Gender, Patriarchy, and Coethnic Voting in Nigeria

Abstract: Decades of research in comparative political behavior show that voters favor coethnic candidates, yet we know little about women's place in ethnic politics. I argue that female candidates face distinct disadvantages in political arenas where ethnic identity is politically salient yet ethnic ascription is structurally patriarchal. Where patrilineal conventions establish men as the primary anchors of ethnic membership, women's ethnic ties carry less weight in establishing coethnic status, leaving them with less ethnic capital to draw upon for electoral support. I examine these dynamics across two crucial dimensions of ethnic ascription: lineage and marriage. Drawing on two conjoint experiments and qualitative fieldwork in Lagos, Nigeria, I show that paternal ethnic ties confer substantially greater electoral returns than maternal ones, regardless of candidate gender. In marriage, male candidates retain coethnic support when marrying outside their group and even gain support from their wives' communities. Female candidates, however, lose support from their ethnic communities of origin without gaining equivalent support from their husbands' communities. Crucially, this penalty holds even among female voters who otherwise favor female candidates. These findings highlight how patriarchal rules of ethnic ascription translate into distinct electoral disadvantages for women.

Peer-Reviewed Publications

1. Zhang, Xiuling, and John McCauley. "The US Inspires Dreams and China Gets Things Done: Gauging Global South Attachments to Major Powers with Evidence from Nigeria." *Peace & Democracy*, forthcoming.

Under Review

1. Zhang, Xiuling, John McCauley, and Trey Billing. "The Democratic Costs of Terrorist Attacks in Africa." Revise and Resubmit, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.
2. Zhang, Xiuling, and John McCauley. "Project Characteristics and Preferences over Foreign-Funded Initiatives: Evidence from Nigeria." Revise and Resubmit, *Studies in Comparative International*

Development.

3. Zhang, Xiuling. "Victim Identity and Political Blame: Evidence from Nigeria." Under Review.
4. Zhang, Mushixue, Ge Shi, Jiantao Shi, Xiuling Zhang, Wei Wang, Lihang Feng, and Chuang Chen. "Do Road Networks Mitigate or Amplify the Spatial Heterogeneity of Urban Public Goods?" Revise and Resubmit, *Symmetry*.
5. Shi, Ge, Yueming Zeng, Jiantao Shi, Boyuan Lu, Xiuling Zhang, Lin Sun, and Wei Wang. "Spatiotemporal Evolution and Nonlinear Factors Influencing Carbon Emissions in Nigeria." Revise and Resubmit, *ISPRS International Journal of Geo-Information*.

Other Work in Progress

1. Zhang, Xiuling, John McCauley, and Trey Billing. "Terrorist Attacks and the Religiosity of Survivors." Draft available upon request.
2. Zhang, Xiuling. "Eligibility, Identity, and Preferences for Programmatic Goods in Nigeria."
3. Zhang, Xiuling, and Peter Steiner. "Optimal Block Design for Vignette and Conjoint Experiments in Political Science."

TEACHING

University of Maryland, College Park

Instructor of Record

GVPT 484: Government and Politics of Africa, Fall 2025.
GVPT 354: International Development and Conflict Management, Summer 2025 and Summer 2026.

Teaching Assistant

GVPT 203: The Challenge of Authoritarianism, Spring 2026.

SERVICE

2024–2025	Organizer of Graduate Methods workshop, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.
2022–2023	Graduate Student Association Co-Chair, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.
2018–2019	Editor, *Ufahamu: A Journal of African Studies*, UCLA African Studies Center.

SELECTED AWARDS AND GRANTS

2026, 2024	Comparative Politics Summer Grant, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.
2025	Methods Summer Grant, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.
2023	Summer Research Fellowship, Department of Government and Politics, University of Maryland.
2018	Hilton Global Summer Scholar Fellowship, UCLA World Policy Analysis Center.
2017, 2018	Dean's Fellowship, UCLA International Institute.
2016, 2017	Undergraduate Research Award, First Prize, Peking University.
2015–2017	Honor Student; Guanghua, Huang's, and Lujing Scholarships, Peking University.

Professional Experience

2019–2021	Associate, Blackpeak Risk Consulting, Shanghai, China.
2018	ICT Project Assistant, International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA), Kigali, Rwanda.
2016–2017	Research Intern in Trade Policy, Sino Africa Centre of Excellence Foundation, Beijing, China.
2016	Public Relations Intern, BCW (Burson Cohn & Wolfe), Beijing, China.

Skills

Programming	R, Python, Stata, ArcGIS, Git/GitHub
Languages	Mandarin (native), English (proficient), Swahili (conversational)

References

John F. McCauley, Professor, University of Maryland, mccauley@umd.edu
Ernesto Calvo, Professor, University of Maryland, ecalvo@umd.edu
Giancarlo Visconti, Assistant Professor, University of Maryland, gvis@umd.edu