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Professional Experience

Professor, Department of Political Science, Kansas State University, 2021-Present.

Director, Middle East Studies Minor, 2021-present

Michael W. Suleiman Chair in Arab and Arab-American Studies, 2015-Present.

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, Kansas State University, 2015-2020.

Founding Director, Minor in Middle East Studies, 2020-

Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Kansas State University, 2008-2015, (on leave 2009-2011).

Research Faculty, Center for Criminology and Public Policy, Florida State University, 2005-2008.

Education

Ph.D., Department of Political Science, Florida State University, 2005.

M.S., Department of Political Science, Florida State University, 2003.

M.A., Political Theory, Ankara University, Turkey, 1997.

B.A., Public Administration, Ankara University, Turkey, 1994.

Publications

Books

Islam, Justice, and Democracy. Temple University Press. **2022**.

Beyond Piety and Politics: Religion, Social Relations, and Public Preferences in the Middle East and North Africa, with F. Michael Wuthrich, Ammar Shamaileh. Indiana University Press, Middle East Studies Series. **2022**.

1877'den Günümüze Parlamento: 22. Dönem TBMM'nde Parlamento ve Parlamenter Rol Algısı, [Parliament in Turkey since 1877: Parliament and Parliamentary Role Perceptions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly in its 22nd Term], with Yusuf Tekin, Siyasal: Ankara, Turkey. **2008**.

Articles

Crafting Cross-Border Connections: Religion and Perceptions of Erdoğan in the Middle East and North Africa, Accepted in *Middle East Law and Governance*.

Military might: a domestic economy explanation of Turkish foreign policy. *Turkish Studies* 24:5 (2023), 764-787.

On Weber, Pathogens, and Culture: A Global Empirical Analysis of Religion and Individualism, *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 61, no 2 (2022): 331-348. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jssr.12778>

Islamist Parties, Intraparty Organizational Dynamics, and Moderation as Strategic Behavior, with Michael Wuthrich, *Mediterranean Politics*, 27:3 (2022), 321-343.

Devotion at Sub-National Level: Ramadan, Nighttime Lights, and Religiosity in the Egyptian Governorates, with Michael Robbins and Sofya Zaytseva, *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 2021 33, no. 1: 99-117. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/edaa01>.

Ethnic violence and substantive representation of minorities in parliament. International Political Science Review, 42(3), 383-399 (with Tevfik Murat Yildirim), *International Political Science Review*, 2021, 42(3), 383-399.

Islam, Social Justice, and Democracy, *Politics & Religion* 12, no. 4 (2019): 549-576.

Hiding Behind the Party Brand or Currying Favor with Constituents: Why Do Representatives Engage in Different Types of Constituency-Oriented Behavior? (with Tevfik Murat Yildirim), 2019, *Party Politics*, 25(3), 369-381.

"Islam, Religious Outlooks, and Support for Democracy" (with Michael Wuthrich and Ammar Shamaileh) *Political Research Quarterly*, 2019, 72(2), 435-449.

"Self-Expression Values, Loyalty Generation, and Support for Authoritarianism: Evidence from the Arab World", *Democratization*, 2018, 25:7, 1132-1152 .

"Who Favors al-Qaeda? Anti-Americanism, Religious Outlooks, and Favorable Attitudes toward Terrorist Organizations" (with Becky O'Donnell and Allison Tanner), *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol 70, Issue 3, pp. 480-494, 2017.

"Globalization, Contact, and Religious Identity: A Cross-National Analysis of Interreligious Favorability", with M.A. Nawaz and T. Sydiq), 2016, *Social Science Quarterly* 97(2):271-292.

"Soft Power, Religion and anti-Americanism in the Middle East" (with Gunes Murat Tezcur), 2016, *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 12(3):374-394.

"Utilitarian and Modern: Clientelism, Citizen Empowerment, and Civic Engagement in the Arab World" (with Ethan Bernick), 2015, *Democratization*, 22: 1161-1182.

"Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Values and Support for Democracy and Shari'a in the Arab World", 2013, *Political Research Quarterly* , 66.4: 781-793.

"Social Identity and Attitudes toward Foreign Policy: Evidence from a Youth Survey in Turkey", 2013, *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 45.01: 25-43.

"A Model and Test of Policymaking Process, (with C. Oakley, G. Pesta, and T. Blomberg), 2013, *Journal of Politics and Law*, 6.4.

"Islamophobia and Threat Perceptions: Explaining anti-Muslim sentiment in the West", 2012, *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, 32.3: 293-309.

"Modernization, Islam or Social Capital What Explains Attitudes toward Democracy in the Muslim World?" 2010, *Comparative Political Studies*, 43.11: 1442-1470.

"Committee Assignments in a Nascent Party System: the Case of the Turkish Grand National Assembly", (first author with W. Forrest and Y. Tekin), 2008, *International Political Science Review*, 29:3: 303-324.

"Treaties, Collective Responses and the Determinants of Aggregate Support for European Integration", 2005, *European Union Politics*, 6.4: 469-492.

Book Chapters & Peer-Reviewed Articles in Turkish

"Islamic Conception of Justice", in *The Concept of Justice in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, ed. Georges Tamer. De Gruyter, Forthcoming.

"Soft Power, Domestic Dividends, and Turkish Foreign Policy: The Case of Palestine," in *Inter-state and Intra-state Conflicts in Global Politics: From Eurasia to China*, ed. T. Ari, Ch. 6. pp. 89-106, **Lexington Books:London**.

Türkiye'nin Dış Politikası Bağlamında Ortadoğu'ya Yönelik Tutumlar: Üniversite Öğrencilerinin Algıları Hakkında Bir Alan Araştırması [Turkish Foreign Policy and Attitudes Toward Middle East: A Case Study of College Students] with Fatih Ertugay, 2011, *Review of International Law and Politics*: Winter.

Parlamentelerin Rol Davranışları Üzerine bir İnceleme: TBMM Üzerine bir Uygulama, 2006. [A study of Parliamentary Role behaviors: The case of Turkish Grand National Assembly, *Istanbul University Journal of Faculty of Political Sciences*].

Demokratik Siyasal Yapılarda Temsil İlkesi: TBMM'nde Bir Alan Araştırması, [Representation in Democratic Institutions: The case of Turkish Grand National Assembly ,2006, *Selcuk University Journal of Administrative and Economic Sciences*].

Avrupa Parlamentosu Seçimleri ve Muhtemel Üyelik Durumunda bu Seçimlerin Türkiye'de Siyasal Hayat ve Partiler Üzerine Yansımalarına İlişkin Öngörüler, 2004, [EP elections and some Insights about the Impact of these Elections on Political Parties in Turkey, *Journal of Liberal Thought*: 9(36)].

Working Papers, In Progress (with the order of progress made)

Beyond Orthodoxy: Antinomian Dervishes and Religious Origins of State-making in the Islamic Frontiers (**under review**).

Religious Divides as Diplomatic Tools: Islamism, Sectarianism, and MENA Public Opinion toward Regional Leaders, (**under review**).

How Cultural Beliefs About A Women's Role Shape Women's Civic Engagement (with Ethan Bernick and Chardie Baird) (**under review**).

Subnational Unit Proliferation and Electoral Dynamics: The Case of Turkey, w Murat Abus.

Historical Origins of Military-Industrial Complex and its Political Implications: Turkish Foreign Policy in Context (book proposal, in progress)

Sufi Paths to Power: Informal Religious Institutions and State-Building in the Muslim World ((book proposal, in progress).

State Building, War, and Representation: Evidence from the Turkish Parliament.

Christian Nationalism and Islamophobia.

Awards & Grants

Michael W. Suleiman Chair in Arab and Arab-American Studies, endowed chair at Kansas State University, 2015-Present.

Visiting Scientist Award, The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey-TUBITAK), Invited to collaborate with a team of social scientists in Turkey (\$ 4000 inclusive of travel and accommodation), 2019-2020.

Economic Foundations of Military Power and Turkish Foreign Policy, \$ 250,000, Smith Richardson Foundation (DECLINED).

"Open/Alternative Textbook Award, Political Islam", *The Center for the Advancement of Digital Scholarship, Kansas State University*, \$ 4,500), 2018-2019.

"Seeking Justice from Cairo to Istanbul: Islam, Social Justice, and Democracy in the Middle East", PI, *Global Religion Research Initiative, project launch grant, Center for the Study of Religion and Society at the University of Notre Dame*, \$ 10,000), 2017-2018.

"Teaching Political Islam, Global Religion Research Initiative", PI, *Curriculum Development Grant, Center for the Study of Religion and Society at the University of Notre Dame*, \$ 4000), 2017.

Commerce Bank and W.T. Kemper Foundation Outstanding Teaching Award, Kansas State University, 2017.

Stamey Award for Excellence in Undergraduate Teaching and Advising, College of Arts and Sciences, Kansas State University, 2016.

Jewell Limar Prestage Best Paper Award from the Southwestern Political Science Association (SPSA) for "How Cultural Beliefs About Women's Role in the World Shape Women's Civic Engagement", with Ethan Bernick and Chardie Baird, 2017.

"Political Islam: A Distance Education Project", PI, curriculum grant for development of a Distance Education course on Political Islam, Kansas State University, \$ 7,000, 2013.

Youth Attitudes toward Turkish Foreign Policy and EU Membership, PI, Cumhuriyet University, 10,000 TL \$ 6600), 2009-2010.

Top Reviewer Award, *Political Research Quarterly*, 2015, 2016.

Artinian Travel Grant, Southern Political Science Association, Awarded but Declined), 2010.

International Studies Association-South Conference, Second Runner-up, Graduate Student Paper Competition, 2004.

Florida State University, Department of Political Science, graduate assistantship, 2002-2005.

Turkish Higher Education Council, Full Scholarship for Graduate Studies, 2000-2004.

Other Publications & Opinion Pieces

Review of M. Hakan Yavuz's "Erdogan: The Making of an Autocrat", *Middle East Policy*, 2021.

Review essay, M. Hakan Yavuz, Nostalgia for the empire: the politics of neo-Ottomanism. *Turkish Studies*, 2021.

Review of Andrew March's "The Caliphate of Man", *Middle East Policy*, 2020.

Review of Erik Love's "Islamophobia and Racism in America", 2017, *Rutgers Book Review Journal*, October 2017,

Review of Paul T. Levin's "Turkey and the European Union: Christian and Secular Images of Islam, 2012, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*:18.

The Many Faces of Kurdish Political Representation in Turkey, *POMEPS Studies Series: Contemporary Turkish Politics*.

Religion, Sectarianism and anti-Americanism in the Middle East (in Turkish with G.M. Tezcur), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2015: 17

Radical Turks: Why Turkish Citizens are Joining ISIS, *ForeignAffairs.com*, 2014: November.

Al-Fatah Congress, de facto Palestinian State and Peace Process in the Middle East (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2009.

The Afghanistan Dilemma: The Foreign Policy Choices of Obama and the future of Af-Pak (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2009: 11.

Afghanistan: Between Security and Nation Building (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2009: 12.

Gaza Blockade and the Future of the Israel-Palestine Conflict (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2010: 2.

America's New War: The Inevitable Rise of Taliban and the Limits of State-building in Afghanistan (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2010: 2.

Can Karzai Provide a Solution for Afghanistan (in Turkish), *Middle Eastern Analysis*, 2010.

Are Turks anti-Semitic?, *Hurriyet Daily News*, 2009.

On European Court of Human Rights, Democracy and Western Muslims *liberal.org*, 2006.

Original Data Sets, Fieldwork

Fieldwork about Turkish foreign policy, May-June 2022.

Fieldwork about human development in provinces of Turkey, May, June, July 2017, December 2019-January 2020.

Fieldwork about perceptions of social justice and political attitudes, May-June 2017.

Fieldwork about religion, economic development, and democratic attitudes in Turkey, May 2016-July 2016.

Fieldwork, Kurdish Political Representation in Turkey, Summer 2016

Turkish Youth Attitudes Survey, 2011.

Turkish Parliamentarians Survey, 2003-2004.

Teaching & Advising Experience

Students Mentored

Currently serving in 4 PhD committees.

Mohaned Al-Hamdi, Civil-Military Relations, Coup-Proofing and Arab Militaries During Arab Spring (PhD, Chair, expected May 2020)

Donya Karimi, Development, Religiosity, and Women's Formal Employment in the Middle East: An Exploratory Study (PhD, committee member)

Yu-Ping Chang, Rationalizing Chinese Hegemony, (PhD, committee member)

Asif Nawaz, How Terrorism Ends: The impact of lethality of terrorist groups on their longevity (PhD, committee member)

Katelyn, Tietzen, With and without the Kremlin: Iraqi Military and Diplomatic Interventions, 1968-2003 (PhD, committee member)

Jacob Mauslein, Three Essays on International Cyber Threats: Target Nation Characteristics, International Rivalry, and Asymmetric Information Exchange (PhD, committee member)

- Numerous students mentored in MA, Master in Security Studies, and undergraduate research.

Kansas State University

Political Islam, Middle East Politics, International Politics of Middle East, Comparative Politics, Advanced Research Methods (Graduate, PhD), Seminar in Comparative Politics (Graduate, PhD), US Security and the Middle East (Graduate, PhD Seminar), Comparative Democratization (Graduate), Middle East Politics (Graduate, PhD Seminar).

Florida State University & Study Abroad Program: Turkey

Middle East Politics, Turkish Politics, Political Islam, West European Politics, European Union Politics, Research Methods in Political Science.

Cumhuriyet University, Turkey (2009-2011)

Middle East and Turkish Foreign Policy, Turkish Constitutional System, Turkish Politics

Adjunct Lecturer, University of Florida

Research Methods

Professional Service

Grant Review Panel

National Science Foundation, 2024.

Carnegie Corporation of New York, Transnational Movements and the Arab Region Proposals-2017.

Global Religion Research Initiative at Notre Dame (Various proposals 2018-Present).

Professional Associations, conference organization

Treasures, APSA Politics and Religion Section 2024-2025.

Executive Committee, APSA Politics and Religion Section 2023-2025.

Susanne Hoerber Rudolph Outstanding Scholar Award, of the Politics Religion section of APSA, member (2023), Chair (2024, 2025).

Member of Organizing Committee, International Conference on Representation and National Sovereignty, 100th Anniversary of Turkish Parliament, Ankara-TURKEY April 2020.

Member of International Travel Award Committee, Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2021.

Reviewer

American Political Science Review, American Journal of Political Science, Journal of Politics, World Politics, Political Research Quarterly, European Union Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Comparative Political Studies, European Journal of Political Research, Political Science Quarterly, Comparative European Politics, Comparative Politics, Democratization, International Studies Quarterly, Foreign Policy Analysis, Political Behavior, Social Science Quarterly, Party Politics, Turkish Studies, Politics and Religion, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion.

On average, I review 1-2 books or book proposals in a year from various publishers, including OUP, TUP, routledge, Lynnee Reiner.

Invited Talks

Economic Origins of Turkish Foreign, "Republic at the Centennial Conference, University of Kansas, 2023.

Turkey's Critical Elections, University of Kansas, 2023.

Islam, Justice and Democracy, Center for Islam and Global Affairs, Istanbul Zaim university, 2023.

Islam, Justice and Democracy, Central European University, MENA Seminar.

The Other Side of the Travel Ban: Religion, Anti-Americanism, and Muslim Political Attitudes toward Violent Extremism, *Social, Ethnic, and Racial Boundaries on Campus and Community in the 21st Century*, Illinois State University, February 9-10, 2018, Normal, IL [INVITED].

Religion, Social Preferences, and Democracy in the Middle East (Ortadoğu'da Din, Sosyal Tercihler ve Demokrasi), *İDE İstanbul Düşünce Evi Talks*, June 13 2017, Istanbul, Turkey, [Invited].

Religious Identities, Measurement, and Attitudes toward Regime Type in the Arab World, *Social Justice in the Arab World Since 2010: Changing Conditions, Mobilizations, and Policies*, February 2-3, 2017. American University of Beirut, Beirut-Lebanon [Invited].

The Many Faces of Kurdish Political Representation, *Contemporary Turkish Politics Workshop*, October 14, 2016, Rice University, Baker Institute and POMEPS[Invited].

Turkey's Soft Power: Public Opinion toward Turkey's Foreign Policy in Comparative Perspective, *From Köprü (Bridge) to Merkez (Center): Turkey's Regional and Global Impact Annual Security Conference Program*, March 3 2014 [invited].

Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Religiosity and Regime Choices in the Middle East, *Workshop on the Origins and Effects of Arab Spring*, Istanbul Şehir University, January 2014 [invited].

Public Lectures/Talks

YDSA of KSU, lecturer, Never Ending Conflict: Israel-Palestine, 2023.

Egyptian Student Association Spring Lecturer, Democracy in the Middle East, 2013.

Vernon Larson Lecture Series, Kansas State University, Arab Spring: Where did it come from? What to Expect? 2013.

Fulbright Abroad Workshop at FAMU, Tallahassee (Turkish culture and politics), 2004.

Administration, Leadership, and & Community Service

Director Founding Director, Middle East Studies Minor, 2020-present

Michael W. Suleiman Chair (2015-Present)

Middle East Lecture Series Coordinator (2016-Present)

Area Studies Task Force Committee (ACTFC), Kassebaum Scholarship Committee, Research and Scholarly Activity Committee (University-level, Multiple years since 2016).

USD-383 Diversity and Inclusion Committee Member (2019)

Senior Policy Researcher and Data Coordinator, Florida State University (2005-2008)

Assistant Department Head, Cumhuriyet University, Turkey, 2008-2011

Coordinator and Researcher, Survey Research Lab, Florida State University (2003-2004)

Skills

Language

Turkish (Native), Dimli (Native), English (Fluent), Arabic (Elementary), Kurdish (elementary)

Programming and Statistical

R, Stata, MPlus

References

Available Upon Request