

# Sabri Ciftci

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## Professional Experience

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

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

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: Lineages of Justice and Muslim Political Attitudes, **Forthcoming, Fall 2021** at *Temple University Press, Religious Engagement in Democratic Politics Series*.

Religion, Public Preferences, and State-Society Relations: Middle East and North Africa in Comparative Perspective, with F. Michael Wuthrich, Ammar Shamaileh, **Forthcoming, Spring 2022** at *Indiana University Press, Middle East Studies Series*.

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*].

### *Articles*

Ramadan Lights and Sub-National Religiosity: Evidence From Egyptian Governorates, with Michael Robbins and Sofya Zaytseva, **forthcoming**, at *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*

Islamist Parties, Intraparty Organizational Dynamics, and Moderation as Strategic Behavior, with Michael Wuthrich, **forthcoming, online view** in *Mediterranean Politics*

Ethnic Conflict and Substantive Representation of Minorities in Parliament (with Tevfik Murat Yildirim) **forthcoming, online view** at *International Political Science Review*.

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.

### Peer-Reviewed Academic Publications in Turkish

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*.

Parlamentterlerin Rol Davraniřlari 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 Arařtırması, [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 İliřkin 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)*

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

Soft Power, Domestic Dividends, and Turkish Foreign Policy: The Case of Palestine, *Book chapter for an edited volume on Turkish Foreign Policy, under contract*

The Political Economy of Representation: Parliamentary Committees, Regional Favoritism, and Sub-national Economic Development in Turkey.

Regional Favoritism, Human Development, and Democracy: Evidence from the Turkish Provinces (with a research team of social scientists in Turkey).

Natural Disasters, Religiosity, and Democracy in the Middle East: A Subnational Analysis

Anti-American Behavior in the Muslim World

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

Hate Groups, Anti-Sharia Legislation, and Islamophobia: The Economic and Social Roots of Anti-Muslim Sentiment in the American South

### 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.

"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 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's liberal.org, 2006.

## Original Data Sets, Fieldwork

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*

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*

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*

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 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.

### *Public Lectures/Talks*

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.

## Recent Presentations and Invited Talks

Distribution or rebellion: Theoretical foundations of Islamist Social Justice, presented in the 7th Biennial Meeting of the International Society for Justice Research (ISJR) Atlanta, Georgia, USA July 25-28, 2018.

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].

Seeking Justice from Cairo to Istanbul: Islam, Social, Justice, and Democracy, *APSA 2017*, San Francisco, CA.

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].

Human Development, Corruption, and Political Satisfaction in Arab Societies: A Sub-national Analysis, *After the Uprisings: The Arab World in Freefall, Fragmentation or Reconfiguration?* March 4 & 5, 2016, Princeton University.

Representation and ethnic conflict: Kurdish insurgency and parliamentary behavior in Turkey, with Tevfik Murat Yildirim, *MESA* 2017.

Secular-Islamist Cleavage, Religiosity and Regime Choices in the Middle East (with Mike Wuthrich, and Ammar Shameileh) *MPSA*, 2016.

Anti-Americanism, Religiosity, and Support for Violent Organizations, *MPSA*, 2015.

Social Justice and Regime Preferences in Muslim Polities, *APSA* 2014.

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].

## University & Community Service

Served over 20 departmental and university wide communities since 2008

Founded a minor in Middle East Studies

Founded and organized Middle East Lecture Series (2015-)

Served as advisor to several student organizations

Served in USD383 Diversity and Inclusion Committee (2019)

## Skills

### Language

Turkish (Native), Dimli (Native), English (Fluent), Arabic (Elementary, Developing), Kurdish (intermediate)

### Programming and Statistical

R, Stata, MPlus

## References

Available Upon Request

Last updated: March 25, 2021