

# Güneş Murat Tezcür

*Director & Professor, Arizona State University*

School of Politics and Global Studies (SPGS)  
Sixth Floor, 975 S. Myrtle Avenue Tempe  
Tempe, AZ 85287 U.S.A

Phone: 602-496-4823  
Email: [tezcur@asu.edu](mailto:tezcur@asu.edu)  
[website](#) & [LinkedIn](#)

Leading [the School of Politics and Global Studies](#) with its PhD program in Political Science, five MA programs, more than 50 faculty members and 15 staff, and around 2,000 students in one of the largest and most innovative and inclusive public research universities in the United States. Making executive decisions with energy and empathy about all aspects of the School, including academic vision and inclusive excellence, administrative management, programmatic activities, budget and fund-raising, recruitment, entrepreneurship, and performance. Specific responsibilities and goals include:

- Setting a forward-thinking vision and building an inclusive collective identity aiming to foster cutting-edge interdisciplinary and collaborative research with a holistic public value, informing and inspiring practical solutions addressing local, national, and global socioeconomic and political issues, and empowering students with diverse backgrounds, especially low-income and first-generation students,
- Being responsible for a budget of close to \$13 million, including over \$3 million locally raised revenues, while pursuing energetic and innovative fund raising via philanthropy, grants, and entrepreneurship,
- Providing direction to five undergraduate majors including BA and BS in Political Science, BA in Global Studies, and BA and BS in International Relations (being launched in fall 2024) hosting around 1,600 students and ensuring success in key metrics including enrollment, graduation rates, retention, and graduation without excess hours,
- Generating opportunities directly conducive to the success of doctoral and MA students in Political Science in terms of publications, funds, and academic and non-academic placement,
- Overseeing three thriving online professional MA programs (Global Security, International Affairs and Leadership, & Political Psychology) with a combined enrollment of around 360 students,
- Cultivating sustainable global connections including dual degree programs, visiting researchers and students, joint projects and events,
- Seeking innovative and expansive curriculum including the offering of new experiential learning and high-impact practice opportunities, developing valuable career skills, and cultivating a sense of democratic citizenship and civic engagement,
- Crafting and promoting a school brand aiming to amplify active alumni engagement and community involvement.

## Education

- 2005 PhD in Political Science, University of Michigan  
2000 BA in International Relations and Political Science, Boğaziçi University

## Previous Academic & Visiting Positions

- 2023 Visiting Professor, University of Wrocław  
2021-23 Director, Jalal Talabani Endowed Chair & Professor, University of Central Florida (UCF)  
2019-21 Jalal Talabani Endowed Chair & Professor, University of Central Florida  
2018 Visiting Researcher, Malmö University  
2015-18 Jalal Talabani Endowed Chair and Associate Professor, University of Central Florida  
2011-15 Associate Professor, Loyola University Chicago  
2012 Visiting Researcher, Koç University  
2005-11 Assistant Professor, Loyola University Chicago

## Research Areas

Political violence; Politics of marginalized minorities; Politics of identity - religion and ethnicity; Democratization; Multi-Method research; Politics of the Middle East.

## Scholarly Publications - [Google scholar](#) profile

### Books

- 2024 Tezcür, G. M. 2024. *Liminal Minorities: Religious Difference & Mass Violence in Muslim Societies*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.  
2022 Tezcür, G. M. Editor. 2022. *The Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. ISBN: 978-0-190-06489-1.  
2021 Tezcür, G. M. Editor. 2021. *Kurds and Yezidis in the Middle East: Shifting Identities, Borders and the Experience of Minority Communities*. London: I. B. Tauris, ISBN 978-0-755-60119-6.  
2019 Tezcür, G. M. Editor. 2019. *A Century of Kurdish Politics: Citizenship, Statehood and Diplomacy*. London: Routledge, ISBN 978-0-367-23671-7. Originally published as a special issue of the journal *Ethnopolitics*.  
2010 Tezcür, G. M. 2010. *Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey: The Paradox of Moderation*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, ISBN 978-0-292-72883-7.  
Reviews: *Contemporary Islam* *Digest of Middle East Studies* *Insight Turkey* *IJMES* *Iranian Studies* *Mediterranean Politics* *Middle East Journal* *Politics and Religion* *World Politics*

### JOURNAL ARTICLES

- 2023 Magiya, Y., Popescu, B., and Tezcür, G. M. "All the Sultan's Men: Regime Type, Insecurity and the Shuffling of Governors." *Comparative Political Studies*.

- Besaw, C., Ritter, K., and Tezcür, G. M. "Beyond Collateral Damage: The Politics of Victimization in a Civil War." *Global Studies Quarterly* 3(3).
- 2021 Tezcür, G. M., R. Schiel, and B. Wilson. 2021. "The Effectiveness of Harnessing Human Rights: The Struggle over the Ilisu Dam in Turkey." *Development and Change* 52(6): 1343-1369.
- Tezcür, G. M. and D. Horschig. 2021. "A Conditional Norm: Chemical Warfare from Colonialism to Contemporary Civil Wars". *Third World Quarterly* 42(2): 366-384.
- Tezcür, G. M. and H. Yildiz. 2021. "Kurdish Politics in post-2011 Syria: From Fragmentation to Hegemony." *Mediterranean Politics* 26(1): 130-138.
- 2020 Tezcür, G. M. 2020. "A Path out of Patriarchy? Political Agency and Social Identity of Women Fighters." *Perspectives on Politics* 18(3): 722-739.
- Tezcür, G. M. and C. Besaw. 2020. "Jihadist Waves: Syria, the Islamic State, and the Changing Nature of Foreign Fighters." *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 37 (2): 215-231.
- 2019 Tezcür, G. M. and P. Asadzade. 2019. "Ethnic Nationalism versus Religious Loyalty: The Case of Kurds in Iran." *Nations and Nationalism* 25 (2): 652-672.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2019. "A Century of the Kurdish Question: Organizational Rivalries, Diplomacy, and Cross-Ethnic Coalitions." *Ethnopolitics* 18 (1): 1-12.
- 2017 Tezcür, G. M., and M. Gurses. 2017. "Ethnic Exclusion and Mobilization: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey." *Comparative Politics* 49 (2): 213-34.
- 2016 Tezcür, G. M. 2016. "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Participation in an Ethnic Rebellion." *American Political Science Review* 110 (2): 247-62.
- Çiftçi, S. and G. M. Tezcür. 2016. "Soft Power, Religion and Anti-Americanism in the Middle East." *Foreign Policy Analysis* 12 (3): 374-94.
- 2015 Tezcür, G. M. 2015. "Violence & Nationalist Mobilization: The Onset of the Kurdish Insurgency in Turkey." *Nationalities Papers* 43 (2): 248-66.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2015. "Catholic and Muslim Human Rights Activism in Violent Internal Conflicts." *Politics and Religion* 8 (1): 111-34.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2015. "Electoral Behavior in Civil Wars: The Kurdish Conflict in Turkey." *Civil Wars* 17 (1): 70-88.
- 2014 Tezcür, G. M. and A. Grigorescu. 2014. "Activism in Turkish Foreign Policy: Balancing European & Regional Interests." *International Studies Perspectives* 15(3): 257-76
- 2013 Tezcür, G. M. 2013. "Prospects for the Resolution of the Kurdish Question." *Insight Turkey* 15 (2): 69-84.
- 2012 Tezcür, G. M., T. Azadarmaki, B. Mehri, and Hooshang Nayebi. 2012. "Support for Democracy in Iran." *Political Research Quarterly* 65 (2): 235-47.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2012. "Trends and Characteristics of the Turkish Party System in Light of the 2011 Elections." *Turkish Studies* 13 (2): 117-34.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2012. "Democracy Promotion, Authoritarian Resiliency and Political Unrest in Iran." *Democratization* 19 (1): 120-40.
- 2011 Matland, R. and G. M. Tezcür 2011. "Women as Candidates: An Experimental Study in Turkey." *Politics & Gender* 7 (3): 365-90.
- 2010 Tezcür, G. M. 2010. "When Democratization Radicalizes?: The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey." *Journal of Peace Research* 47 (6): 775-89.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2010. "Moderation Theory Revisited: The Case of Islamic Political Ac-

tors.” *Party Politics* 16 (1): 69-88.

2009 Tezcür, G. M. 2009. “Judicial Activism in Perilous Times: The Case of Turkey.” *Law & Society Review* 43 (2): 305-36.

Tezcür, G. M. 2009. “Kurdish Nationalism and Identity in Turkey: A Conceptual Reinterpretation.” *European Journal of Turkish Studies* 10.

2008 Tezcür, G. M., and T. Azadarmaki. 2008. “Religiosity and Islamic Rule in Iran.” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 47 (2): 211-24.

2007 Tezcür, G. M. 2007. “Constitutionalism, Judiciary, and Democracy in Islamic Societies.” *Polity* 39 (4): 479-501.

2006 Tezcür, G. M., T. Azadarmaki, and B. Mehri. 2006. “Religious Participation among Muslims: The Iranian Exceptionalism.” *Middle East Critique* 15 (3): 217-32.

#### BOOK CHAPTERS

2023 Tezcür, G. M. 2022. “Etnik Fay Hatlarının Gölgesinde Demokratikleşme Patinajları.” In *Türkiye Siyasetinin Sınırları: Siyasi Davranış, Kurumlar ve Kültür*, eds. A. Çarkoğlu, E. Erdoğan, & M. Moral, Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 311-24.

2022 Tezcür, G. M. 2022. “The Study of Politics in Turkey: New Horizons and Perennial Pitfalls.” In *Oxford Handbook of Turkish Politics*, ed. G. M. Tezcür, New York: Oxford University Press, 1-28.

2021 Tezcür, G. M., Z. Kaya, and B. Sevdeen. 2021. “Survival, Coexistence, and Autonomy: Yezidi Political Identity after Genocide.” In *Kurds and Yezidis in the Middle East: Shifting Identities, Borders and the Experience of Minority Communities*, ed. G. M. Tezcür, London: I. B. Tauris, 77-95.

Ayhan, T. and G. M. Tezcür. 2021. “Overcoming ‘Intimate Hatreds’: Reflections on violence against Yezidis.” In *Conceptualizing Mass Violence Representations, Recollections, and Reinterpretations*, eds. N. J. Aafredri & P. Singh. London: Routledge, 167-80.

2014 Tezcür, G. M. 2014. “The Ebb and Flow of Armed Conflict in Turkey: An Elusive Peace.” In *Conflict, Democratization and the Kurds in the Middle East*, eds. D. Romano & M. Gurses, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 171-88.

2013 Tezcür, G. M. 2013. “Democratic Struggles and Authoritarian Responses in Iran in Comparative Perspective.” In *Middle East Authoritarianisms: Governance, Contestation, and Regime Resilience in Syria and Iran*, eds. S. Heydemann & R. Leenders, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 200-21.

2012 Tezcür, G. M. 2012. “Afterword.” In *Secular State and Religious Society: Two Forces in Play in Turkey*, ed. B. Turam, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 195-205.

2008 Tezcür, G. M. 2008. “Intra-Elite Struggles in Iranian Elections.” In *Political Participation in the Middle East and North Africa*, eds. E. Lust-Okar & S. Zerhouni, Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 51-74.

## Grants, Awards, Honors & Fellowships

#### EXTERNAL GRANTS (PI UNLESS OTHERWISE STATED)

2023-4 National Endowment for the Arts Big Read Grant (co-PI, 10 % credit; PI: Keri Watson).

2021-4 National Science Foundation Build and Broaden 2.0 Grant: “Diversity in Linked Fate:

- 2020-2 [Political Behavior and Opinions of Latinx Americans](#)” (co-PI, 45% credit; PI: Kenicia Wright).  
[IREX Iraq Higher Education Partnership Program Grant](#): “Strengthen Global Citizenship and Leadership of Kurdistan-Iraq Youth, Model United Nations” (in collaboration with Soran University in Kurdistan Regional Government, Iraq).
- 2018 [Global Religion Research Initiative Curriculum Development Grant](#) from the University of Notre Dame: “Minorities and Majorities in the Middle East.”  
[Global Religion Research Initiative International Collaboration Grant](#) from the University of Notre Dame: “After the Last ‘Firman:’ Victimhood, Survival and Societal Transformation among the Yazidis”.
- 2013 [United States Institute of Peace Public Education for Peace Building Support Initiative Grant](#): “Ethnic Conflict in the Middle East: Kurdish Question in Comparative Perspective.”
- 2012-3 [Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Research Grant](#): “Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Joining the Kurdish Insurgency.”
- 2011 The Institute of Turkish Studies Post-Doctoral Grant: “Turkish Elections of 2011.”
- 2007-9 [United States Institute of Peace Research Grant](#): “Religious Political Parties in Electoral Competition: A Comparative Study of Indonesia and Turkey.”
- 2002-3 [National Science Foundation Doctoral Dissertation Improvement Grant](#): “Why do People Support Islamist Parties?” (co-PI; PI: Ronald Inglehart).

#### SELECTED AWARDS, HONORS & FELLOWSHIPS

- 2023 Western Political Science Association Latina/Latino Politics Best Paper.
- 2022 Honorable Mention for Outstanding Article/Book Chapter in Social Sciences & Humanities, Southeast Regional Middle East and Islamic Studies Society.
- 2021 College of Sciences Excellence in Graduate Teaching Award, UCF.  
College of Sciences Nominee for Excellence in Professional Service Award, UCF.
- 2020 Research Incentive Award (RIA), UCF.
- 2019 College of Sciences Nominee for Excellence in Professional Service Award, UCF.
- 2017 The Luminary Award, UCF.
- 2015- Inaugural Holder of the Jalal Talabani Endowed Chair in Kurdish Political Studies, UCF.
- 2014 Graduate School Faculty Member of the Year Award, Loyola University Chicago.
- 2011 Sakıp Sabancı International Research Award 2nd Prize Winner.
- 2003-4 Fellow, European-American Scholars’ Summer Institute on Religion and Secularization.

#### SELECTED INTERNAL GRANTS

- 2017-18, 2022 ORC Research Mentoring Opportunity, UCF.
- 2017, 2022 College of Graduate Studies Conference Support Grant, UCF.
- 2006-10, 2014 Summer Research Stipend, Loyola University Chicago.
- 2007-8, 2012 Paid Leave, Loyola University Chicago.
- 2006-11 Research Support Grant, Loyola University Chicago.
- 2009 Research Grant, Center for Catholic Intellectual Heritage, Loyola University Chicago.
- 2003 Rackham One Term Dissertation Fellowship, University of Michigan.
- 2002 Pre-dissertation Research Award, University of Michigan.

## Other Publications

### BOOK REVIEWS

- 2023 Tezcür, G. M. Review of *Religious Parties and the Politics of Civil Liberties*, by Vineeta Yadav. 2023. *Politics & Religion*
- Tezcür, G. M. 2023. Review of *The Kurdish Women's Freedom Movement: Gender, Body Politics and Militant Femininities*, by Isabel Käser. *Perspectives on Politics* 21(1): 402-3
- 2022 Tezcür, G. M. 2022. Review of *Understanding Insurgency*, by Francis O'Connor. *Turkish Studies* 23(4): 623-5.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2022. Review of *Mosul under ISIS: Eyewitness Accounts of Life in the Caliphate*, by Mathilde Becker Aarseth. *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 22(3): 380-2.
- 2021 Tezcür, G. M. 2021. Review of *Trust and the Islamic Advantage: Religious-Based Movements in Turkey and the Muslim World*, by A. Livny. *Perspectives on Politics* 19(3): 1019-21.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2021. Review of *Female Fighters: Why Rebel Groups Recruit Women for War*, by Reed M. Wood. *Mobilization* 26(1): 129-30.
- 2019 Tezcür, G. M. 2019. Review of *The Political Economy of the Kurds of Turkey*, by Veli Yadirgi. *Journal of the Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association* 6(2): 175-7.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2019. Review of *Religious Statecraft: The Politics of Islam in Iran*, by Mohammad Ayatollahi Tabari. *Political Science Quarterly* 134(3): 556-8.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2019. Review of *Demography and Democracy: Transitions in the Middle East and North Africa*, by Elhum Haghighat. *Perspectives on Politics* 17(3): 912-4.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2019. Review of *The New Political Islam: Human Rights, Democracy, and Justice*, by E. Karagiannis. *The Review of Politics* 81(1): 163-5.
- 2018 Tezcür, G. M. 2018. Review of *Kurdish Hizbullah in Turkey: Islamism, Violence and the State*, by M. Kurt. *Review of Middle East Studies* 52(1): 214-6.
- 2017 Tezcür, G. M. 2017. Review of *Democracy in Iran: Why It Failed and How It Might Succeed*, by M. Parsa. *Mobilization* 22(3): 390-1.
- 2016 Tezcür, G. M. 2016. Review of *National Elections in Turkey: People, Politics, and the Party System*, by M. Wuthrich. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 48(4): 801-2.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2016. Review of *The Emergence of Social Democracy in Turkey: The Left and Transformation of the Republican People's Party*, by Y. Emre. *Party Politics* 22(3): 421-3.
- 2014 Tezcür, G. M. 2014. Review of *Ethnicity and Nationhood in Germany, Russia, and Turkey*, by Ş. Aktürk. *Nationalities Papers* 42(5): 895-8.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2014. Review of *Activists in Office: Kurdish Politics and Protest in Turkey*, by N. Watts. *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46(1): 212-4.
- 2010 Tezcür, G. M. 2010. Review of *Blood, Beliefs and Ballots: The Management of Kurdish Nationalism in Turkey, 2007-2009*, by R. Olson. *Insight Turkey* 12 (2): 247-9.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2010. Review of *Iran in World Politics: The Question of the Islamic Republic*, by A. Adib-Mohaddam. *Insight Turkey* 12 (1): 248-50.
- 2009 Tezcür, G. M. 2009. Review of *Religion, Politics and Turkey's EU Accession*, by D. Jung & C. Raudvere eds. *South European Society & Politics* 14 (2): 237-9.
- 2008 Tezcür, G. M. 2008. Review of *Making Islam Democratic*, by A. Bayat. *Politics and Religion* 1 (1): 148-50.



ACADEMIC COMMENTARIES, ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRIES & REPORTS

- 2018 Tezcür, G. M. 2018. "The Last 'Firman:' ISIS Genocide of Yazidis in Sinjar" in *Echoes of Genocide: Conference on the 30th Anniversary of the Halabja Genocide Booklet*.
- 2017 Tezcür, G. M. 2017. "The Deepening of the Kurdish Question in Turkey." *Orient* III: 15-23.
- 2016 Tezcür, G. M. 2016. "Foreign Fighters from Turkey." *POMEPS Studies*.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2016. "Historical and Contemporary Trends in the Turkish Political Party System." in *The AKP and Turkish Foreign in the Middle East*. LSE Middle East Centre Collected Papers Vol. 5.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2016. "Turkey." In *Encyclopedia of Islam and the Muslim World*, ed. R. C. Martin. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.
- 2015 Tezcür, G. M. 2015. "Turkish Foreign Policy and Homegrown Radicalization in the Post-Arab Uprisings." Boğaziçi University-TÜSİAD Foreign Policy Forum Research Report DPF 2015-RR01.
- 2014 Tezcür, G. M. 2014. "Three Dynamics of Democratization in Turkey: The EU, Elite Rivalries, and Contentious Mobilization." *Orient* I: 15-9.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2014. "Regime Resilience and Pragmatic Governance: The 2013 Iranian Presidential Elections." *Caucasus International* 3 (4): 115-28.
- 2013 Tezcür, G. M. 2013. "Otokratik Esneklik ve Pragmatizm." Boğaziçi University-TÜSİAD Foreign Policy Forum Research Report DPF 2013-RR 02.
- 2012 Tezcür, G. M. 2012. "Turkey's Middle East Policy in the Wake of the Arab Uprisings." *National Strategy Forum Review*, (Summer).
- 2009 Tezcür, G. M. 2009. "Iran's Presidential Election: The Failure of Managed Factionalism." *Insight Turkey* 11 (3): 13-22.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2008. "Palestinian Authority," "Lebanese Civil War," "Iran-Iraq War." In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, ed. W. A. Darity, Jr. Vol. 4. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2008.
- 2003 Tezcür, G. M. 2003. "İran Notları," *Stratejik Analiz* 41 (4): 6-9.
- Tezcür, G. M. 2003. "Plebiscite in the Midst of Hunger: Portrayals from last Turkish Elections." *Journal of the International Institute of the University of Michigan* 10 (2).

COMMENTARIES

- 2021 Horschig, D. and G. M. Tezcür. "Chemical Weapons and the Hierarchy of Victims," *War on the Rocks* (February).
- 2019 Ayhan, T. and G. M. Tezcür. "5 years after Islamic State massacre, an Iraqi minority is transformed by trauma," *The Conversation* (November).
- 2018 Tezcür, G. M., and C. Besaw. "The Generational Waves of Jihadist Foreign Fighters," Oxford Research Group *Sustainable Security Programme* (February).
- 2017 Tezcür, G. M. "Three Years Ago, the Islamic State Massacred the Yazidis in Iraq. Why?" *The Monkey Cage - The Washington Post* (August).
- 2016 Tezcür, G. M., and C. Besaw. "Violence in Turkey is Increasingly Resembling Violence in Syria – Here's Data to Show Why," *Political Violence @ a Glance* (September).
- 2014 Tezcür, G. M., and S. Çiftçi. "Radical Turks: Why Turkish Citizens are Joining ISIS," *Foreign Affairs* (November).
- Tezcür, G. M. "Electoral Politics, Erdoğan's Ambitions, and Democratic Struggles in

- Turkey”, *The Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (April).
- 2013 Tezcür, G. M. “Why is the Constitutional Process Blocked? (III)” Turkey Constitution Watch (December).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Another Kurdish Initiative in Turkey: Is Peace Finally Achievable?” Informed Comment (February).
- 2012 Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey in 2013: Will Erdoğan Shake Up the Region?” Global Public Square – CNN (December).
- 2011 Tezcür, G. M. “The AKP Years in Turkey: The Third Stage.” openDemocracy (September).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Rethinking “Moderate Islam” in the Light of the Arab Uprisings. Muftah (May)
- 2010 Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey’s Referendum: A Democratic Dynamic. openDemocracy (September).
- 2009 Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey in Transition: Reality and Image.” openDemocracy (April).
- 2008 Tezcür, G. M. “The Last Fault Line: Kurdish Dreams, the Middle East Realities.” Post-Global of Newsweek and the Washington Post (March).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey after Hrant Dink.” openDemocracy (January).
- 2007 Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey’s Kurdish Challenge.” openDemocracy (November).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey’s Political Opening.” openDemocracy (July).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Turkey Divided: Politics, Faith and Democracy.” openDemocracy (May).
- Tezcür, G. M. “Hrant Dink: The Murder of Freedom.” openDemocracy (January).
- 2005 Tezcür, G. M. “The Armenian Shadow over Turkey’s Democratisation.” openDemocracy (October).

## Presentations

### INVITED TALKS

Book Talk - *Liminal Minorities: Religious Difference and Mass Violence in Muslim Societies*

- 2024 Abbasi Program in Islamic Studies, Stanford University, California (April)  
Future Security Initiative, Arizona State University (delivered via Zoom) (April)  
Middle East Librarians Association (MELA) Social Justice Lecture Series (delivered via Zoom) (April)
- 2023 Wiseguisse II, Scottsdale, Arizona (January)  
University of Wrocław, Poland (December)  
Leuphana University, Germany (December)
- 2022 “Opening Remarks” at Model UN Conference, Soran University, Kurdistan Region of Iraq (March)
- 2021 “Ambivalences of Emancipation: Gender & Citizenship in Kurdish Politics,” University of South Florida, St. Petersburg (October)
- 2020 “The Politics of Resentment: Majoritarianism and Pluralism in the Middle East” Wadie Jwaideh Lecture, Indiana University Bloomington (delivered via Zoom) (October)  
“Kurdish Studies in North America” Farouk Mustafa Memorial Friday Lecture Series and Kurdish Circle, the University of Chicago (delivered via Zoom) (May)



- 2018 "Revisiting the "Ancient Hatreds" Thesis: Explaining the Islamic State's Campaign against the Yazidis," Malmö University (December)  
 "A Path of Patriarchy? Political Agency and Social Identity of Women Fighters." One Earth Foundation, Broomfield, Colorado (March) & London School of Economics Middle East Center (February)  
 "The "Orient" in the "West" and Beyond: Reflections on Contemporary Refugee Politics," UCF Art Gallery (January)
- 2017 "What do Terrorists and Freedom Fighters Have in Common?" UCF College of Sciences Distinguished Speaker Series (January)  
 "A Century of Solitude: The Kurdish Question in the Middle East," University of Tokyo, Japan (January)  
 "Stories and Statistics: Social Identity, Life-Threatening Risks, the Study of Political Violence," the Institute of Developing Economies-JETRO, Tokyo, Japan (January)  
 "From Soft to Hard Power Politics: Turkey in the Middle East," the Institute of Developing Economies-JETRO, Tokyo, Japan (January)
- 2016 "A Century of Solitude: The Kurdish Question in the Middle East," the Learning Institute for Elders at UCF (November)  
 "Turkish-Iranian Relations," the Foreign Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University and TÜSİAD, Istanbul (October)  
 "Anti-Americanism in the Middle East: Causes and Implications," Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida (April)  
 "The US Foreign Policy in the Middle East and towards Kurdistan," the University of Sulaimani, Iraqi Kurdistan (February)  
 "The US Foreign Policy in the Middle East and towards Kurdistan," the University of Duhok, Iraqi Kurdistan (February)
- 2014 "Nükleer İran: Nükleer Anlaşma Sonrası İç ve Dış Gelişmeler," the Foreign Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University and TÜSİAD, Istanbul (November)  
 "Barış Konuşmaları - 7," Kadim Akademi, Mardin, Turkey (November)  
 "Ethnic Rulers versus Ethnic Insurgents: The Dynamics and Prospects of Kurdish Mobilization," Harvard University (October)  
 "Olağan İnsanlar, Olağandışı Riskler: Silahlı bir Harekete Katılım," Şehir University, Istanbul & (January)
- 2013 "Elveda Hayat: Kürt Silahlı Hareketine Katılım," İstanbul Düşünce Evi, Istanbul (September)
- 2013 "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Joining an Insurgency," Bilkent University, Ankara (September)
- 2012 "Ordinary People, Extraordinary Risks: Joining an Insurgency" at Sabancı University, Istanbul (December) & Koç University, Istanbul (December)  
 "Social and Political Dynamics in the Islamic Republic of Iran," Foreign Policy Forum of Boğaziçi University and TÜSİAD, Istanbul (December)  
 "Kurdish Issues in Turkey," the Chicago Kurdish Cultural Center, July
- 2011 "Muslim Political Encounters in Modern Turkey," American Islamic College, Chicago (November)  
 "Turkish Secularism: A Role Model or a Historical Anomaly?" Arab Spring: What, Where, Why is It? Northwestern University (October)

- “Democratic Struggles and Muslim Reformers in the Middle East,” Grade Lutheran Church, River Forest, IL (September)
- “Support for Democracy in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Iran.” MUAPP/Rigali Lecture Series at Loyola University Chicago (January)
- 2010 “Reconstructing the Triangle: Iran, Israel, and Turkey,” Emanuel Congregation, Chicago (April)
- 2009 “When Democratization Radicalizes? The Kurdish Nationalist Movement in Turkey,” Columbia University (April)
- 2008 “The Paradox of Moderation: Muslim Reformers in Iran and Turkey,” Northwestern University (November) & Dartmouth College (October)
- “A Theory of Political Change: Post-Islamism in Iran and Turkey,” the University of Exeter (May)
- “The Crisis of Turkish Secularism? A Reinterpretation,” Turkish-American Cultural Alliance, Chicago (May)
- “The Challenge of Secularism and Muslim Societies,” Social Science Faculty of Tehran University (March)
- 2007 “The Moderation Theory Revisited: The Case of Islamic Political Actors,” Koç University, İstanbul (December)
- 2003 “The Rise of the Justice and Development Party,” Boğaziçi University, İstanbul (March)

#### INVITED WORKSHOPS

- 2022 “Institute for Academic Leadership: Department Chairs Workshop,” Florida State University, Howey-in-the-Hills, Florida (June & September)
- “Workshop in the Political Economy of the Middle East and North Africa,” Discussant at Panel on Resources & Conflict (delivered via Zoom) (February)
- 2019 “Fourteenth Annual Tel Aviv University Workshop,” (July)
- 2017 “Junior Scholars Book Development Workshop,” POMEPS/Princeton University (October)
- 2016 “Contemporary Turkish Politics,” POMEPS/Rice University’s Baker Institute (October)
- 2015 “The AKP and Turkish Foreign Policy in the Middle East,” London School of Economics and Political Science Middle East Centre, (December)
- 2014 “Origins and Effects of (Post-) Arab Spring on the Middle East and North Africa,” Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Sehir University, Istanbul (January)
- 2012 “Democracy, Culture, and Catholicism,” Pontificia Università Gregoriana, Rome, Italy (June)
- 2011 “Pluralism, Coexistence and Conflict: Majority and Minority Communities in Muslim Societies,” Harvard University (October)
- “Democracy, Culture, and Catholicism,” Antonio Ruiz Montoya University, Lima, Peru (July)
- 2010 “Authoritarianisms, Regime Resilience and State-Society Relations: Comparing Political Change in Syria and Iran,” University of Amsterdam (May)
- “Religious Parties in Processes of Democratic Consolidation - Revisiting the Inclusion-Moderation Thesis,” Princeton University (March)

- 2007 “Turkish Elections 2007,” Sabancı University, İstanbul, (November)
- 2004 European-American Young Scholars’ Summer Institute on Secularization and Religion, Raleigh (July)
- 2003 European-American Young Scholars’ Summer Institute on Secularization and Religion, Erfurt, Germany (July)
- 2002 “Crossing Borders: Revitalizing Area Studies,” University of Michigan (May)

#### INVITED CONFERENCES, PANELS, ROUNDTABLES, SEMINARS & SYMPOSIUMS

- 2024 “Exile in Literature and Life: A Talk by Burhan Sönmez, President of Pen International,” Moderator and Discussant. University of Central Florida, Orlando (April)
- “Building Inclusivity: Chair’s Leadership Conference,” Washington University, St. Louis (March)
- “What’s Religion Got to Do with It?” Panel. Center for the Study of Religion and Conflict, Arizona State University, Tempe (February)
- 2023 “Religion - Empowering, Oppressing, or Both?: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives,” Presidential Panel. Society for the Scientific Study of Religion Conference. Salt Lake City (October)
- “Contemporary Geopolitics in Iraq, Syria, and Turkey,” Virtual briefing. Air War College (February & May)
- “Minority and Ethnic Politics in and from the Middle East,” The Middle East Studies Program Annual Conference. University of Wisconsin - Madison (April)
- “Turkey’s Elections: Electoral Autocracies and Voting,” Virtual roundtable. Northwestern University (April)
- “Turkish Presidential Election: Will Turkey Restore its Democracy or Further Slide into Authoritarianism?” Virtual panel. Syracuse University (April)
- 2021 “Liminal Minorities: Religious Difference & Mass Violence in Muslim Societies,” Religion in Public Talks (November)
- “Kurds and Yezidis in the Middle East: Shifting Identities, Borders, and the Experience of Minority Communities,” Virtual book launch. LSE Middle East Centre & UCF Kurdish Political Studies Program (April)
- “The Judicial Coup against the HDP: Authoritarianism and the Law in Turkey,” Virtual Panel. The Ottoman and Turkish Studies Association (March)
- 2020 “U.S.-Turkey Relations: Vision for the Future,” Virtual dialogue. Hollings Center (December)
- “Kurdish Views of Regional and Global Powers,” Virtual roundtable. National Intelligence Council (July)
- 2019 “Comparative Research on Political Elites,” Conference. Hertie School, Berlin (November)
- 2018 “Turkish Policies towards Syria,” U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. (November)
- “Presentation on Contemporary Kurdish Geopolitics,” Panel. USSOCOM, Tampa (June).
- 2017 “8th Annual Conference on Turkey,” The Middle East Institute, Washington D.C. (December)
- “Learning from the Past: Sharing Experiences across Borders to Combat Extremism,”

- Salzburg Global Seminar, Austria (November)
- “HAWAR.help Human Rights Award Ceremony,” Berlin (June)
- “Contemporary Challenges to Democracy: Turkey & Beyond,” Conference. MacMillan Center, Yale University (April)
- “Navigating Turkish Politics in the Wake of the Attempted Coup,” Panel. Institute for Middle East Studies, George Washington University, Washington, D.C. (March)
- “Middle East Legal Studies Seminar,” Yale University, Marrakesh, Morocco (January)
- 2016 “UCF Security Studies Program Presentations,” CENTCOM, Tampa (August)
- “Dean’s Advisory Board Meeting,” College of Sciences, UCF, Winter Park, Florida (June)
- “The Idea of Culture and Civilization in Contemporary Turkish Politics: Public Debate, Policy and Foreign Relations,” Conference. Wilson Institute, Washington, D.C. (April)
- “The Situation in Iraqi Kurdistan: An Update,” Congressional Lunch Briefing. Washington, D.C. (March)
- 2015 “Ortadoğu’da Kürtler ve Barış,” Symposium. Diyarbakır, Turkey (April)
- 2014 “Kurdistan and the Changing Middle East,” Conference. Jackson School of International Studies, University of Washington (November)
- “After Gezi Park Protests-Rethinking Turkish Politics and Political Culture,” Turkish Studies Symposium. University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (April)
- “Turkey’s Turn? Perennial Linchpin or Emerging Hub?” Conference. The Fletcher School, Tufts University (April)
- “Sanctuary and Sustenance: Syria and the Plight of Refugees,” Conference. Loyola University Chicago (April)
- 2013 “The Kurdish Movement,” Roundtable. Arlington (December)
- “Religion, Language and Identity,” Symposium. Nûbihar Magazine, Diyarbakır, Turkey (September)
- “Turkey’s Kurdish Question: Current Challenges and Prospects,” Conference. St. John’s University, New York (March)
- 2012 “The Kurdish Question,” Conference. Foreign Service Institute, Arlington (November)
- “Resolving Turkey’s Kurdish Issue,” Conference. Rethink Institute, Washington D.C. (May)
- 2011 “Secularism, Islam, and Democracy: Constitutional Tensions and Accommodations,” Conference. Boston College, Boston (October)
- “Comparative Perspectives on Constitution-making, Political Transitions, and Secularism: Turkey, United States, and India,” Conference. Columbia University, New York (March)
- 2008 “Political Shi’a Revival in Iran, Iraq and Lebanon,” Panel. DePaul University (April)
- “The Cross, the Crescent and the Ballot Box: Catholic and Islamic Dialogue on the Rule of Law and International Democracy Promotion,” Conference, Rome (April)
- 2007 “Iran in the New Era: Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy,” Conference. Işık University, İstanbul (December)
- 2006 “How do We Free the Market and Liberate the People? Comparative Reflections on Developing Democracies and the Case of Turkey,” Conference. Northwestern University, Chicago (November)
- “Democracy in Iran, Middle East and Central Asia: Past Traditions and Future Prospects,” Conference. Northeastern Illinois University, Chicago (April).

## SELECTED ORGANIZED CONFERENCES & WORKSHOPS

- 2024 “APSA Virtual Meeting, Religion and Democracy - New Research Frontiers Research Group.” co-organized with David Buckley & Paul Djupe (February).
- 2022 “American Foreign Policy and Intelligence Conference.” UCF (April).
- 2020 “Black Lives: Racism and the Struggle for Justice in the American Democracy.” UCF (July).
- 2019 “Borders, Identities, and Refugees: The Kurdish Experience in the Middle East” Conference.” UCF (March).
- 2017 “Gendered Dynamics of International Security” Conference. UCF (February).
- 2013 “Ethnic Conflict in the Middle East: Kurdish Question in Comparative Perspective” Conference. Loyola University Chicago (November).

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

APSA: APSA: American Political Science Association  
 ASN: Association for the Study of Nationalities  
 ECPR: European Consortium on Political Research IPSA: International Political Science Association  
 ISA: International Studies Association  
 MESA: Middle East Studies Association  
 Midwest: Midwest Political Science Association  
 SPSA: Southern Political Science Association  
 WOCMES: World Conference on Middle Eastern Studies

\*Co-presented with graduate/undergraduate students

- 2024 Midwest
- 2023 SPSA\*, St. Pete Beach Midwest\*, Chicago APSA, Los Angeles MESA, Montreal
- 2022 SPSA\* (virtual) Midwest\* (virtual) APSA, Montreal MESA, Denver
- 2021 SPSA\* (virtual) Midwest\* (virtual) APSA, Seattle MESA (virtual)
- 2020 Sustainability Conference, Santiago APSA\* (virtual)
- 2019 ISA\*, Toronto Midwest\*, Chicago APSA, Washington, D.C. MESA\*, New Orleans
- 2018 MESA\*, San Antonio APSA\*, Boston Conference on Syria\*, St. Andrews WOCMES, Seville ASN\*, New York Midwest\*, Chicago SPSA\*, New Orleans
- 2017 ISA South\*, Orlando ASN, New York ISA\*, Baltimore
- 2016 MESA\*, Boston Midwest\*, Chicago ASN, New York ISA, Atlanta
- 2015 MESA, Denver APSA, San Francisco
- 2014 ASN, New York Midwest\*, Chicago
- 2013 MESA, New Orleans IUS on Armed Forces and Society, Chicago APSA, Chicago ASN, New York ISA, San Francisco
- 2012 ASN, New York
- 2011 IPSA-ECPR Joint Conference, Sao Paulo ISA, Montreal
- 2010 MESA, San Diego Midwest, Chicago
- 2009 MESA, Boston APSA, Toronto
- 2008 MESA, Washington, D.C. ASN, New York
- 2007 APSA, Chicago ECPR Joint Session of Workshops, Helsinki.

2006	MESA, Boston	Mediterranean Social and Political Research Meeting, Montecatini Terme
2005	MESA, Washington, D.C.	APSA, Washington D.C. Middle East Conference, UC Santa Barbara
2004	MESA, San Francisco	Central Eurasian Studies Society, Bloomington APSA, Chicago Midwest, Chicago.
2003	MESA, Anchorage	APSA, Philadelphia Midwest, Chicago

## Teaching & Mentoring

### CHAIR, PhD DISSERTATION COMMITTEES

2017-21	Tutku Ayhan, "Trauma, Resilience, and Empowerment: Post-Genocide Experiences of Yazidi Women." Recipient of a Honorable Mention of APSA's Women, Gender, and Politics Research Section Best Dissertation Award Competition in 2022. UCF PhD; Postdoctoral Fellow at at Barcelona Institute of International Studies.
2018-21	Doreen Horschig, "An Illusional Nuclear Taboo: Mechanisms of Domestic Attitudinal Patterns for Extreme Methods of War." UCF PhD; Associate at the Center for the Strategic and International Studies.
2016-9	Chris Faulkner, "The Causes, Dynamics, and Implications of Child Soldiering." UCF PhD; Assistant Professor at the US Naval War College.
2017-9	Didara Nurmanova, "Exogenous Shocks and Political Instability." UCF PhD.
2016-8	Clayton Besaw, "Inter-Group Conflict, Anger, and Support for Costly Punishment." UCF PhD; Data Scientist at American Equity.
2013-6	Jessica Mecellem, "Individual Criminal Accountability after Civil Wars: Enforced Disappearances in Algeria and Turkey." Loyola PhD; Strategist at the Wakeman Agency.

### MEMBER, PhD DISSERTATION COMMITTEES

2021-present	Erika Ricci. "The Militancy Cycle." UCF PhD candidate.
2019-2022	Tad Schnauer, "Struggling for Security: The Complexity of NATO Burden-Sharing," UCF PhD; Analyst at the Global and National Security Institute, University of South Florida.
2006-7	Khalil Marrar, "Arab Lobby and US foreign policy : The Two-State solution." Loyola PhD; Associate Professor, Governors State University.

### DIRECTOR, M.A. COMMITTEES

2022	Léa Faure, "Sectarianism and Nationalism: Popular support for Hezbollah in Lebanon." (UCF Non-thesis Research Paper)
2017	Christopher Edgerton, "The African American Church & Political Activism: A Field Research in Central Florida." (UCF Non-thesis Research Paper)
2016	Emily Bachman, "Public Support for Political Violence: The Case of Palestine." (UCF Non-thesis Research Paper)

### M.A. COMMITTEES

2021



Sofiya Asedrem, “The Green Morocco Plan: A Case Study Of The Unintended Consequences Of Sustainable Development” (UCF MA Thesis)

#### CHAIR, HONORS IN MAJOR THESES (HUT) COMMITTEES

2023	Daniah Jarrah, “Civil Society Activism in Lebanon.”
2021	Mohammed Al-Awwad, “Authoritarian Resiliency in the Middle East: Jordan and Syria.”
	Jasmine Masri, “Domestic Migrant Workers in Lebanon: Between Precarity and Resiliency.” Recipient of the Founders’ Day Outstanding Honors Undergraduate Thesis Award (Social Sciences, Business and Education Category) and the Order of Pegasus.
2020	Jenna Dovydaitis, “The Lasting Legacy of Chemical Weapons in Iraqi Kurdistan.” Recipient of the Founders’ Day Outstanding Honors Undergraduate Thesis Award (Social Sciences, Business and Education Category) and the Order of Pegasus.
	Ranya Eid, “Middle Eastern and Western Leaders Speeches on Counterterrorism.”
2018	Stephanie Melendez, “Why Do Women and Children Join Insurgencies? A Comparative Study of the PKK and the FARC.”

#### MEMBER, HONORS IN MAJOR THESES (HUT) COMMITTEES

2019	Margaret Morgan, “Female Militarization and Women’s Rights: A Case Study of the Peshmerga and YPJ.”
------	---

#### MENTORING UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

2021	Summer Graduate Fellow (UCF)
2017, 2019, 2023	Kurdish Political Studies Fellow (UCF)
2017	Summer Undergraduate Research Fellow (UCF)
2008-14	Fulbright Applicants (Loyola)
2014-5	Johnson Scholar (Loyola)
2015	Social Justice Fellowship Scholar (Loyola)
2013, 2015	Provost Scholar (Loyola)
2013	McNair Scholar (Loyola)
2006-9	Rudis Scholar (Loyola)
2006-8	Mulcahy Scholar (Loyola)

#### COURSES TAUGHT AT UCF, 2015-2023

Graduate	Professional Development: Academic Careers in Security Studies	Advanced Qualitative Methods	IR of the Middle East	Comparative Politics of the Middle East
Undergrad	Kurdish Politics	Comparative Politics	Middle Eastern Politics	

#### COURSES TAUGHT AT LOYOLA, 2005-2015

Graduate	Comparative Political Systems	Political Violence	Politics of the Middle East
Undergrad	Political Violence	Politics of the Middle East	Catholicism, Islam & Democracy

Religion & Politics: Iran, Iraq, & Lebanon    Encountering the Middle East    Politics of Energy    Intro to International Studies    Inter. Relations in an Age of Globalization

## Service - selected activities

### PROFESSIONAL

2024	Member of the 2024 Program Committee for MESA's 58th Annual Meeting External reviewer for John Cabbot University
2023	External reviewer for Özyeğin University
2022-3	Chair of <a href="#">the Religion and Politics Section of APSA</a>
2022	External reviewer for CUNY John Jay College & CUNY Staten Island
2021-2	Chair Elect of Religion and Politics Section of APSA
2020-present	Advisory Board Member, the Kurdish Studies Series of I.B. Tauris
2019-21	Treasurer-Secretary of the Religion and Politics Section of APSA
2019-21	Elected member of Executive Committee of the Religion and Politics Section of APSA
2020	Review panel member, APSA-NSF Doctoral Diss. Research Improvement Grant Program External reviewer for CUNY- John Jay College External reviewer for Özyeğin University
2019	External reviewer for CUNY - Staten Island Elected member of Nominating Committee, Middle East Studies Association Reviewer, European Research Council Starting Grant
2016-9	Associate editor, <a href="#">The Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Religion &amp; Politics</a>
2016-	Expert witness in court cases (primarily asylum)
2007-	Expert source for news media
2006-	Peer-reviewer, hundreds of manuscripts for more than 60 journals & 9 book publishers
2005-	Panel discussant & organizer at APSA, ASN, MESA, Midwest conferences
2015-7	Editorial Board Member, <i>International Journal of Middle East Studies</i>
2017	External reviewer for York University
2016	External reviewer for NSF & Penn State Behrend
2015	External reviewer for Binghamton University
2014	External reviewer for University of Utah & CUNY
2013	Participant, Summer Institute, Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame
2012	External reviewer for Florida Atlantic University
2009-11	External reviewer for Social Science Research Council Int. Diss. Research Fellowship

### UCF

2021-23	Director of the <a href="#">School of Politics, Security &amp; International Affairs</a> . Accomplishments include: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Robust undergraduate student performance regarding key metrics of student success including four-year and two-year graduation rates, retention rate &amp; graduation without excess hours,</li> <li>• Thriving doctoral and MA programs measured in terms of recruitment, retention and placement as well as student publications, fellowships, and grants,</li> </ul>
---------	---

- Effective budget management that resulted in greater financial resources for both faculty and graduate students (novel internal awards and grants, and increased graduate teaching assistant and part-time faculty stipends),
- A new action plan to address high DFW rates that hinder graduation and retention among undergraduate students,
- Enhanced global outreach in terms of students participating in study abroad programs and winning prestigious fellowships for foreign travel,
- Diversified and inclusive curriculum in terms of course and degree offerings,
- Philanthropic initiatives generating new funds directly contributing to student success,
- Proactive and consistent public engagement including the publication of SPSIA Annual Report,
- Hosting major academic conferences as well as regular social events conducive to intellectual synergy and community building.

2015-23	Founding director of the <a href="#">Kurdish Political Studies Program</a> developing curriculum, organizing campus events including conferences, establishing international partnerships, offering scholarship opportunities, engaging in fund-raising, recruiting students, hosting visiting researchers, and ensuring public outreach.
2017-9, 2022	ORC Research Mentor
2019-21	MA Program Coordinator, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs
2019-21	University Promotion & Tenure Committee, College of Science elected representative
2021	Chair, Cumulative Progress Evaluation Committee for Associate Professors, School of Politics, Security, and International Affairs (SPSIA)
2019	Chair, Search Committee, SPSIA
2017-9	Chair (elected), Research Incentive Awards (RIA) Committee, College of Science
2016-8	Member, Research Committee, College of Sciences
2015-21	Member, Graduate/Ph.D.; Study Abroad Committees, Department of Political Science
2015-8	Member, Strategic Planning Committee, Department of Political Science
2016-7	Member, AESP Review Committee, Department of Political Science
2016-7	Member, Promotion & Tenure Review Committee, Department of Political Science
2016	Chair, Outstanding Master's Thesis Award Committee, Department of Political Science

#### LOYOLA

2015	Faculty Leader, Alternative Break Immersion to El Salvador
2012, 2015	Member, Graduate School Fellowships Committee
2006-15	Co-organizer of Lecture Series, Islamic Studies Minor & Peace & Social Justice Faculty
2011-5	Member, Graduate Studies Committee, Department of Political Science
2008-14	Member, The Fulbright Advisory Committee
2006-8	At-large faculty representative, Academic Council

Last updated: May 10, 2024