

Dr. Ariel Zellman

Lecturer, Department of Political Studies

Faculty of
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Academic Positions



Senior Lecturer, Political Studies, **Bar-Ilan University**, 2023-
Lecturer, Political Studies, **Bar-Ilan University**, 2015-2023



Post Doctoral Fellow, Truman Institute/Davis Institute
Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2013-2015



Adjunct Lecturer, Ruderman Program for American Jewish
Studies & the State of Israel, **University of Haifa**, 2013-2014



Post Doctoral Fellow, Taub Center for Israel Studies
New York University, 2012-2013

Education



Ph.D. Political Science, **Northwestern University**, 2006-2012
Fields: International Relations & Comparative Politics



M.A. Political Science, **University of British Columbia**, 2005-06
B.A. with Honours, Political Science & International Relations,
University of British Columbia, 2002-2005

Languages

EN English ● ● ● ● ●
עברית Hebrew ● ● ● ● ●
ES Spanish ● ● ● ● ●
عربى Arabic ● ● ● ● ●
CP Serbian ● ● ● ● ●

Technical Proficiencies

LibreOffice Suite
 MS Office Suite
 Ubuntu Linux
 Inkscape
 SPSS
 Stata

Peer Reviewed Books

8 Fox, Jonathan, Matthias Basedau, and **Ariel Zellman** (2023) *Religious Minorities at Risk*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Peer Reviewed Articles

8 Mirilovic, Nikola, **Ariel Zellman**, and Jonathan Fox (2025) Multidimensional Identity Cleavages and Religious Discrimination, *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, doi:10.1177/00220027251324465

8 Fox, Jonathan and **Ariel Zellman** (2024) The Utility of Discrimination: Religious Discrimination and Political Legitimacy in Christian-Majority Countries. *European Political Science Review*, doi:10.1017/S175577392400033X

8 Fox, Jonathan, Meirav Mishali-Ram, **Ariel Zellman**, and Matthias Basedau (2024) Mobilizing for

Jihad: How Political Exclusion and Organized Protest Contribute to Foreign Fighter Outflows, *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 36:7, 887-902 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel, Florian Justwan, and Jonathan Fox (2024) Better to Trust in the Lord? Regime Religiosity, Religious Salience, and Interstate Dispute Resolution, *Journal of Global Security Studies*, 9:1, doi:10.1093/jogss/ogae003 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox (2024) Under God, Indivisible? Religious Salience and Interstate Territorial Conflict, *Journal of Peace Research*, 61:5, 825-841. 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel and Andrea Malji (2023) Diversionary Desecration? Regime Instability and Societal Violence against Minority Sacred Spaces, *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 24:3, 426-449. 📄

8 Basedau, Matthias, Mora Deitch, and Ariel Zellman (2022) Rebels with a Cause: Does Ideology Make Armed Conflicts Longer and Bloodier? *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 66:10, 1826-1853. 📄

8 Weiner, Amanda and Ariel Zellman (2022) Mobilizing the White: White Nationalism and Congressional Politics in the American South, *American Politics Research*, 50:5, 707-722. 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel and Davis Brown (2022) Uneasy Lies the Crown: External Threats to Religious Leadership and Interstate Dispute Militarization, *Security Studies*, 31:1, 152-182. 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox (2022) With Friends Like These: Does American Soft Power Advance International Religious Freedom? *Religions*, 13:6. doi:10.3390/rel13060502. 📄

8 Zellman, Ariel (2020) Cheap Talk or Policy Lock? Nationalist frames and sympathetic audience costs in international territorial disputes, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 8:3, 336-355.

8 Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox (2020) Defending the Faith? Assessing the impact of state religious exclusivity on territorial MID initiation, *Politics & Religion*, 13:3, 465-491.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2019) 'Hawking' territorial conflict: Ethnopolitism and nationalist framing strategies, *East European Politics*, 35:4, 474-495.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2018) Uneven Ground: Nationalist frames and the variable salience of homeland, *Security Studies*, 27:3, 485-510.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2015) Framing consensus: Evaluating the narrative specificity of territorial indivisibility, *Journal of Peace Research*, 52:4, 492-507. 📄

Book Chapters, Reports, Reviews

8 Petri, Dennis, Kyle Wisdom, Jonathan Fox, and Ariel Zellman (2025) Global Religious Freedom Index 2024-2026: Sub-Saharan Africa, *International Institute for Religious Freedom Reports*, Vol 14.

8 Zellman, Ariel and Peter Henne (2024) Book Talk: "Religious Appeals in Power Politics" by Peter Henne, *Interdisciplinary Journal of Research on Religion*, 20:7, 2-10.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2024) Review of "Understanding Territorial Withdrawal: Israeli Occupations and Exits" by Rob Geist Pinfold, *Global Policy Journal*.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2021) Coming Home, *Researchers Remember: Research as an Arena of Memory for Offspring of Holocaust Survivors: A Collected Volume of Academic Autobiographies*. Judith Tydor Baumel-Schwartz and Shmuel Refael-Vivante, eds. Peter Lang, Bern, 391-401.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2014) Review of "Proxy Warfare", *Political Science Quarterly* 129:2.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2011) Review of "Evolving Nationalism: Homeland, Identity, and Religion in Israel, 1925-2005", *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 27:2.

8 Zellman, Ariel (2006) Nuclear cooperation with India & its consequences for the NPT regime, in *Nuclear Cooperation with India: New Challenges, New Opportunities*, eds. Wade L. Huntley and

Karthika Sasikumar, Simons Centre for Disarmament and Non-Proliferation Research, Vancouver, BC, 84-89.

Conference Presentations (previous 9 years)

Zellman, Ariel, Daniel Wajner, and Maor Haim, Evolving Populist Foreign Policy: Leadership, Democracy, and the Turn to Interstate Belligerence, *Workshop: Democratic Participation and Foreign Policy: Competing Contemporary Trends*, Reichman University, June 15-16, 2025.

Zellman, Ariel and Sedef Topal, Hostage to Fortune? Explaining Kidnapping by Ideological Insurgent Groups, *Bi-Annual Politology of Religion (POLREL) Conference*, University of Belgrade, May 23-24, 2025.

Fox, Jonathan, **Ariel Zellman**, and Marko Vekovic, Government Religion Policy and Religious Freedom in the Former Soviet Bloc 1990 to 2023, *POLREL*, University of Belgrade, May 23-24, 2025.

Zellman, Ariel, Carmela Lutmar, Daniel Wajner, and Özgür Özdamar, Populism and International Security, International Impact of Populism: Mitigation or Boost?, *Workshop: Lessons from Europe, the Americas, and the Middle East*, Leonard Davis Institute for International Relations, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, May 6-8, 2025.

Zellman, Ariel and Sedef Topal, Hostage to Fortune? Explaining Kidnapping by Ideological Insurgent Groups, *International Studies Association (ISA) annual conference*, Chicago, March 2-5, 2025.

Zellman, Ariel, Carmela Lutmar, Daniel Wajner, and Özgür Özdamar, Populism and International Security, *Israel Association for International Studies (IAIS) annual conference*, Open University of Israel, Ranana, June 20, 2024.

Mirilovic, Nikola, **Ariel Zellman**, and Jonathan Fox, Cross-cuttingness and Discrimination against Religious Minorities, *Boniuk Institute Spring Convening on Religious Pluralism*, Rice University, May 29-31, 2024. *Previously presented at Southern Political Science Association (SPSA) annual conference*, New Orleans, January 12, 2024.

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox, Introducing the Religion & Territorial Conflict (RTC) Dataset, 1945-2020, *ISA*, San Francisco, April 3-6, 2024.

Basedau, Matthias, Jonathan Fox, and **Ariel Zellman**, Authors meet Critics: Religious Minorities at Risk (Oxford University Press 2023), *ISA*, San Francisco, April 3-6, 2024.

Zellman, Ariel and Andrea Malji, Diversionary Desecration? Elite Crises and Mass Violence against Minority Sacred Spaces, *ISA*, Montreal, March 15-18, 2023.

Zellman, Ariel, Florian Justwan, and Jonathan Fox, Better to Trust in the Lord? State Religiosity, Religious Salience, and Interstate Dispute Resolution, *Eurasian Peace Science Conference (EPSC)*, New York University, Abu Dhabi, January 18-19, 2023.

Zellman, Ariel. The Political Correlates of Hate: White Nationalism & American Congressional Politics, 2005-2020. *American Political Science Association (APSA) annual conference*, Montreal, September 15-18, 2022.

Alafensh, Adam, Jonathan Fox, and **Ariel Zellman**. The Influence of Unemployment on Discrimination against Religious Minorities. *APSA*, Montreal, September 15-18, 2022.

Zellman, Ariel and Amanda Weiner. Mobilizing the White: White Nationalism and Congressional Politics in the American South. *Israel Political Science Association (ISPSA) Conference*, University of Haifa, May 18, 2022.

Zellman, Ariel and Florian Justwan, Thick Sites and Thin Peace: Examining the Sustainability of

Interstate Territorial Conflict Resolution Attempts Involving Sacred Spaces, *ISA*, Nashville, TN, March 30-April 2, 2022.

Zellman, Ariel and Amanda Weiner. Mobilizing the White: White Nationalism and Congressional Politics in the American South. *International Conference on Hate Studies (ICHS)*, Gonzaga University, Spokane, WA, November 6, 2021.

Basedau, Matthias, Mora Deitch, and **Ariel Zellman**, Rebels with a Cause: Does Ideology Make Armed Conflicts Longer and Bloodier? *APSA*, Seattle (Virtual), September 2021. *Previously presented at ISA 2021 & ISA Midwest 2020.*

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox, Under God, Indivisible? Sacred Sites and Interstate Territorial Conflict. *ISA*, Las Vegas (Virtual), April 6-9, 2021.

Zellman, Ariel and Davis Brown, Uneasy Lies the Crown: External Threats to Religious Leadership and Interstate Dispute Militarization. *ISA*, Las Vegas (Virtual), April 6-9, 2021.

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox, Defending the Faith? Assessing the impact of state religious exclusivity on territorial MID initiation, *EPSC*, Koç University, Istanbul, January 13-14, 2020.

Zellman, Ariel, "If I Forget Thee..." - Understanding Zionist Compromises over Jerusalem (1917-1967), *Association of Israel Studies conference (AIS)*, Israel, June 24-26, 2019.

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox, Defending the Faith? Assessing the impact of state religious exclusivity on territorial MID initiation, *Central and East European ISA (CEEISA)*, Belgrade, June 17-19, 2019.

Zellman, Ariel and Jonathan Fox, Defending the Faith? Assessing the impact of state religious exclusivity on territorial MID initiation, *ISA*, Toronto, March 27-30, 2019.

Zellman, Ariel, 'Hawking' territorial conflict: Narrative framing and cleavage consistency in nationalist politics, *ISA*, Baltimore, MA, February 2017.

Zellman, Ariel, Territorial Sovereignty and Ontological Security in Contentious Homeland Politics, *ISA*, Atlanta, GA, March 2016.

Additional Working Papers and Research in Progress

Alafensh, Adam, Jonathan Fox, and **Ariel Zellman**, The Costs of Unemployment: How labor market downturns influence discrimination against religious minorities

Fox, Jonathan and **Ariel Zellman**, Religion and State Project (RAS), Round 4, 1990-2023

Zellman, Ariel, Daniel Wajner, and Maor Haim, Populism, Leadership Duration, and International Conflict: Learning to Bark (Without Bite)

Zellman, Ariel, Political Correlates of Hate: A Quantitative Study of White Nationalist Movements and their Influence on American Congressional Politics, 2005-2020

Zellman, Ariel, Religion and Territorial Conflict (RTC) dataset, 1945-2023

Theses

Doctoral Thesis – "Security or Identity? Narratives of state & nation in international territorial conflict protraction", 2012, **Northwestern University**, Advisers Will Reno, Hendrik Spruyt, and Jason Seawright

Masters Thesis – "Encouraging state irresponsibility: International responses to the conflict in Darfur, Sudan and unintended consequences," 2006, **University of British Columbia**, Adviser Michael Byers

Undergraduate Honours Thesis – “The Janjaweed in the Sudan: A case of chronic paramilitarism,”
2005, **University of British Columbia**, Adviser Brian Job

Invited Lectures & Seminars (previous 5 years)

War in Gaza, A Convergence of Bad Options, **University of Idaho**, 19.3.2024.

🔗 The Mainstreaming of White Nationalism, **Sage Video**, 12.3.2024.

🔗 Political Correlates of Hate, **African Centre for the Study of the United States**, **University of Pretoria**, 14.10.2022.

Domestic Religious Politics and Interstate Rivalries, **Redeemer University**, 13.9.2022.

Uneasy Lies the Crown: External Threats to Religious Leadership and Interstate Dispute Militarization, Departmental seminar/colloquium, **Bar-Ilan University**, 22.12.2020.

Partitioning Homeland: West Bank, Identity & Security in Israeli Political Discourse since 1948, “Israel and the Middle East seminar,” Tulane University Student delegation, Harry S. Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, **Hebrew University in Jerusalem**, 15.6.2015, 5.6.2017.

Jerusalem: The United/Divided City, **Gonzaga University** student delegation to Israel, 24.5.2017.

Received and Commended Academic Grants, Awards (previous 5 years)

Honorable Mention, 2025 Book Award, **Religion and IR Section of International Studies Association**, Basedau, Fox & Zellman (2023) *Religious Minorities at Risk*, Oxford University Press.

Measuring Freedom of Religion or Belief and Its Correlates (MfoRB), with Prof. Jonathan Fox, **Templeton Religion Trust**, TRT-2022-31239, 2023-2026, 261,050 USD

The People's God? Ethnopolitics, Government-Religion Policy, and Discrimination against Religious Minorities, with Prof. Jonathan Fox, **Israel Science Foundation**, 828/23, 2023-2026, 600,000 NIS

Political Correlates of Hate: A Global Study of White Nationalist Movements and their Influence in American Politics, Seed Grant from **Argov Center for the Study of Israel and the Jewish People**, 2020, 4000 NIS.

Under God, Indivisible? Sacred Sites, Religious Actors, and Territorial Conflict, ISF Individual Research Grant, **Israel Science Foundation**, 2019, *Commended*

Under God, Indivisible? Sacred Sites, Religious States, and Interstate Territorial Conflict, ISF Individual Research Grant, **Israel Science Foundation**, 2018, *Commended*

Active Graduate Supervision (Bar-Ilan University, unless otherwise noted)

Ph.D. advisees: Evgeny Berman (2023-), Akiva Tor (2025-), Jony Essa (HUJI, 2019-)

M.A. advisees: Chilik Buda (2021-), Maya Reich (2025-), Omer Rozner (2025-)

Completed Graduate Supervision (Bar-Ilan University)

Uri Jacobson, Ph.D., *Preventing Terror Financing through the Controls of Financial Institutions and World Legislation – Is it Effective?*, Approved March 2024.

Amanda Weiner, M.A., *The Relationship and Interaction Between White Hate Groups in America and Congressional Politicians*, Submitted September 2020.

Yafit Ovadia, M.A., *Israel and the Unusual Tale of White Phosphorus: How External Pressure and*

Social Norms 'Created' a Chemical Weapon, Submitted May 2019.

Current Courses (Bar-Ilan University)

Foundations of Scientific Research, Graduate, Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, 2015-2018, 2025-.

Introduction to Statistics & Computer Applications, Undergraduate, Political Studies, 2016-.

Nations & Nationalism, Undergraduate Seminar, Political Studies, 2015-16, 2017-2018, 2019-.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Political Science, Graduate, MA in Religion and Middle Eastern Politics, International School, 2022-.

Territorial Politics, Graduate, Political Studies, 2015-.

Previously Taught Courses

Introduction to Research Methods, Undergraduate, Political Studies, 2016-2024.

Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Political Science, Graduate, Political Studies, Bar-Ilan University, 2018-2019.

Israeli & American Politics in Comparative Perspective, Graduate, Ruderman Program for American-Jewish Studies, University of Haifa, Spring 2014.

Israeli Territorial Politics, Undergraduate, International Relations, Hebrew University in Jerusalem, 2013-2015.

Israeli Territorial Politics, Undergraduate, Taub Center for Israel Studies, New York University, 2013

Academic Service (Internal, Bar-Ilan University)

Chair, *Institutional Review Board*, Department of Political Studies, 2025-; Member, 2020-2024.

Proctor, English Requirement Exemption Exam, *Department of Political Studies*, 2017-2020; 2023-

Chair, *Academic Conduct Committee*, Department of Political Studies, 2023-.

Departmental Seminar Organizer, *Department of Political Studies*, 2022-2024.

Departmental Liaison, *Bar-Ilan University Library*, 2021-2024.

Academic Service (External)

Bar-Ilan University Co-Representative, Administrative Committee, *Israel Political Science Association (ISPSA)*, 2021-.

Chair, Oversight Committee, *Israel Political Science Association (ISPSA)*, 2023-.

Member, Academic Committee, *Israel Political Science Association (ISPSA) Conference*, 2024

Program Co-Chair, *Religion & IR (REL) section of International Studies Association (ISA)*, 2024-2025

Nominating Committee Chair, *Ethnicity, Nationalism & Migration (ENMISA) section of ISA*, 2024.

Martin O. Heisler Emerging Scholar Award Committee, *ENMISA section of ISA*, 2020 (Chair), 2023

Chair, Outstanding Paper Award Committee, *ENMISA section of ISA*, 2018, 2021

Member-at-large, *ENMISA section of ISA*, 2017-2020

Member, Best Student Paper Award Committee, *REL section of ISA*, 2023.

Mock Interviewer, Israel-Europe R&I Directorate, European Research Council grant applicants, 2017

Editorial Board Member: Politics and Religion Journal (PRJ)

Ad-hoc Journal Reviewer: American Journal of Political Science, American Political Science Review, American Politics Research, Conflict Management and Peace Science, Conflict Resolution Quarterly, East European Politics, East European Politics and Societies, Foreign Policy Analysis, International Interactions, International Journal of Public Opinion Research, International Security, International Studies Quarterly, Israel Studies Review, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Global Security Studies, Journal of Peace Research, Journal of Politics, National Identities, Oxford Research Encyclopedia of International Studies, Political Psychology, Political Science Research and Methods, Politics and Religion, Security Journal, Security Studies, Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism, Territory Politics Governance, Terrorism & Political Violence

Ad-hoc Book Reviewer: Oxford University Press, Routledge Series in Religion and Politics, University of Michigan Press

Professional Affiliations

American Political Science Association (APSA)

Israel Political Science Association (ISPSA)

International Studies Association (ISA)

Association for Israel Studies (AIS)

Field Research

Israel and West Bank, 2010-2011

Serbia and Kosovo, Spring 2011

Serbia and Kosovo, Summer 2009

Israel and West Bank, Summer 2007